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Family Names

Origins, History, Anthropology and Sociology

Edited by
Harry Parkin and Richard Coates

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About the Editors

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Preface

The study of surnames (family names) has been practised in various ways for a long time, but with no great intensity. The Editors judged that the time was right to bring together a collection of papers representing the range of different perspectives that can be collated on the topic—linguistic, historical, genealogical, sociological, and anthropological—with a view to stimulating more widespread interests and academic research of both disciplinary and interdisciplinary kinds.

We have been greatly aided by the efficient work of the MDPI *Genealogy* Editorial team, namely Coraline Chen, Laverne Hu, Yue Li, Lauren Liu, Arana Lu, Lola Wang, and Cissy Zheng, to whom we extend our gratitude.

Harry Parkin and Richard Coates
Editors

Introduction to the Special Issue of *Genealogy* on Surnames

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Giving personal names to individual children is a cultural universal. This happens through a process which is often semi-formal. Individuals responsible for the child and its welfare select one or more names, sometimes in consultation with others who may have a ritual or official role (family members, shamans, priests, government functionaries, etc.). A person does not necessarily bear the same given name throughout their life. Following standards differently set in different societies, an initial given name may be temporary or durable, alterable or set in stone, subject to playful variation, and changed or added to for religious or social reasons which are too multifarious to go into in depth here.

The situation with *surnames*—defined preliminarily as names attaching to an individual in addition to the primary given name(s)—is somewhat different. Not all present-day societies require people to have surnames; for example, Tamil and Indonesian (notably Javanese and Sundanese), though under Western influence individuals in these societies may adopt one. In those societies which traditionally do permit or require surnames, there is often a focus on relationships, and one of two broad but conceptually related strategies is adopted: the additional name(s) may take the form of a genealogical parade (X son of Y son of Z son of A. . .), or may be inherited, typically from the father. In some cases of inheritance, e.g., Portuguese and Spanish names are retained from both parents, though in these the name inherited from the mother is abandoned in the following generation. Genealogies, curated by professional remembrancers, were the staple of traditional (aristocratic) Welsh family history, and remain so in, e.g., Wolof and Manding societies. These typically patrifocal family histories provide a template for one typical form of inherited surname (Y's son). Inherited surnames became the norm in western Europe and have influenced practices worldwide. Formally, the two types may overlap. Icelanders' additional names take the form of a genealogy abbreviated to one generation (Guðni *Jóhannesson* the current president of Iceland, whose father was *Jóhannes*), and these are not inherited; additional names of precisely the same formal type may be inherited in e.g., English naming practice (Samuel *Johnson* the lexicographer, whose father was not *John* but *Michael*).

In practical terms, the main function of surnaming is to distinguish bearers of the same given name(s) from each other in societies where given names are typically drawn from a small traditional pool, or where naming a child after another person is prevalent. The outset of surnaming in almost all cases draws meaningfully on the vocabulary of a language traditional or current in the relevant area. A by-product of inherited surnaming is to emphasize genetic ("blood") relationships and the central importance of family unity and status; hence of course the term *family name*, which is often used as a casual synonym of *surname*. We use *surname* here as a cover-term for any additional name in the broadest sense of that concept, respecting the word's etymology (medieval Norman French *surnon*, *surnom* 'additional name').[1]

Inherited surnames worldwide tend to fall into a quite small number of categories, notably having lexical reference to the bearer's genetic history or some other relationship (as indicated above), their physical or moral personal characteristics, their occupation or

social status, and their place of abode or origin. These were no doubt first applied by others as distinguishers, but a chosen self-designation may serve the same function. Historically this choosing has often happened when a society previously without inheritable surnames adopts them systematically. A paradigm case is the requirement of the Surname Law (Soyadı Kanunu) of 21 June 1934 in Türkiye that all people should adopt a surname, where the earlier Ottoman regime had traditionally required no such thing. People, often with guidance, created surnames which were then made official and inheritable, often voluntarily affirming inclusion in the new social order (thus, e.g., *Öztürk* 'genuine Turk').

In this special issue of *Genealogy*, the Guest Editors have taken a liberal approach to the scope of the subject-matter. In our call for papers, we announced that we would understand *surname* or *family name* to include not just inherited surnames, which are arguably the most salient type of additional name, but also names that perform analogous roles in a wide range of cultures, such as patronyms and metronyms, clan names, *nasab*, *laqab*, *nisba*, and *kunya* in Arabic-language cultures, etc.—any name, in fact, which explicitly positions the individual within a larger social structure. In principle we would also consider submissions on the presence or absence of additional naming in some society.

We observed that relatively little has published globally on the topic of additional-naming, and that what there is tends to focus quite narrowly on a few issues such as name etymology, the role(s) of names in individual family histories, and name change practices in different societies. Much published work involving surnames or family names is genealogical (therefore highly specific to individual families), sociological (therefore tending to focus on particular societies or cultures), or lexicographical (therefore essentially summarizing a current state of historical knowledge). Accordingly, we considered it timely to seek to bring together contributions from as many geographical, linguistic and cultural areas as possible; and from as many as possible of the disciplines which have an established or potential professional interest in personal naming at the family level (or analogous): linguistics/onomastics, lexicography, history, genealogy, social psychology, anthropology, human biology, genetics, computer science and AI, marketing, etc. To achieve this, we did not specify a single overarching theme, because we wanted to expose scholars working in these various fields to the full richness of current thinking, from a wide range of viewpoints, about this socially important and dynamic category of names, not just from a genealogical perspective, and thereby to hint at possible directions for further research and cross-disciplinary collaboration. We were pleased to consider submissions from any disciplinary area, whether oriented to history, praxis or theory, and whether using established or novel methodological approaches to the study of surnames. We expected submissions to fall into five broad areas:

1. Projects and methods in surname research;
2. Systematic aspects of surnames and naming;
3. Linguistic aspects of surnames and naming;
4. Praxis in relation to surnaming;
5. Studies relating to individual surnames, especially family names, but in which the focus was on the name itself rather than on wider genealogical matters.

The papers we put before our readers fulfil our brief as follows.

The surname topics appearing in the papers deal exclusively with the Northern Hemisphere, but they range widely nevertheless, relating to Canada, Iceland, France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the former Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, historic Georgia, Ghana and Vietnam as sites of study, and they embrace the wider cultural domains representable as Armenian, Jewish and Caribbean Dutch.

Many of the papers demonstrate the interdisciplinary nature of family name study through their application of methods associated with different and discrete fields. For example, those by Jane Pilcher et al. and Melanie MacEacheron show that methods of social science can contribute a great deal to our understanding of how family names work, while many others reflect the important contribution of linguistic methods, as we shall set out in more detail below.

No imminent or ongoing projects are reported on as such, but a derivative or spinoff of a significant endeavour appears in one paper reported on below, namely the Akan Personal Names Project, being undertaken at the University of Education, Winneba, Ghana. Some of the studies were individually grant-funded. That by Jane Pilcher et al. was supported in the UK by the Leverhulme Trust. Some of the research for Kendra Willson's paper was conducted while the author was a Collegium Fellow at the Turku Institute for Advanced Study (2015–2017) and a EURIAS/Marie Skłodowska-Curie Junior Fellow at the Polish Institute for Advanced Study (2018–2019). Žaneta Dvořáková's article was financially supported within the statutory activity of the Czech Language Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences. The involvement of the Guest Editors stems from their participation in the Family Names of the United Kingdom project (2010-16), funded by the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council.[2]

Systematic aspects of surnaming are covered in Kendra Willson's paper about the social tension between the use of true patronymics and inherited surnames in pre- and post-independence Iceland. Turning to a major linguistic issue, Justyna Walkowiak deals with the vexed and strongly current question of Lithuanian female surnames, these being the only ones in Europe to encode marital status morphologically.

Linguistic analysis features strongly in three further papers. Alexander Beider's article on Jewish surnames of the territory of modern independent Georgia expounds the origin, chronology and morphology of names and name types over a long period. Two papers concentrate on the relation between linguistic and cultural concerns. Yaw Sekyi-Baidoo analyses the conceptual underpinnings of semantically transparent Akan (Fante and Twi) names in the light of Akan culture, identifying *commemorability* as the key driver of traditional and inventive naming, applied first in given-naming with secondary transferred use in family names. In similar vein, Nguyen Viet Khoa's paper covers etymological and pragmatic aspects of Vietnamese (Kinh) surnaming, with a detailed analysis of *Nguyễn*, which is the dominant surname in Vietnam, attaching to about one-third of the population.

As Jane Pilcher and her collaborators affirm, "Names are increasingly recognised in sociology as important routes for understanding family relationships, as well as familial and individual identities". They are therefore bearers of the potential for socially motivated change or substitution. Regarding praxis in relation to surnames, issues of status and identity are dealt with in several papers, both historical and current in content. Žaneta Dvořáková analyses changes in surnames among Czech and Moravian Jews between 1867 and WW1, and concludes that the main goal was less a quest for assimilation to the surrounding German-speaking culture than an attempt to discard names perceived as ethnically stereotypical and potentially stigmatizing. Two papers follow a social science approach. Melanie MacEacheron's survey of choices made by Canadian brides seeks to establish what indicators are the best predictors of birth surname retention. Jane Pilcher, Jan Flaherty, Hannah Deakin-Smith, Amanda Coffey and Eve Makis's novel study deals with how the question of surname choice is viewed, understood and operationalized in the UK both by adopted children and by people who adopt them, and explores how tensions between the two perspectives may arise.

Two papers focus on issues that are essentially those of diaspora. An analysis of the Armenian diaspora in France on the basis of material in the INSEEE database is provided by Pierre Darlu and Pascal Chareille's paper on the changing distribution of Armenian surnames in 20th-century France. Leendert Brouwer's polemical article deals with some issues, amounting to contradictions and absurdities, arising in the Dutch legal system regarding the right to change or create one's surname, especially in the way that this affects people of Caribbean origin residing in the mainland Netherlands.

One paper provides a historical analysis of a particular surname, namely the Vietnamese *Nguyễn*, as noted above.

We believe that the topics and methods covered by the papers in this Special Issue reflect the unique interdisciplinarity of the study of family names and names in general, and the strength of the papers shows how vibrant and varied the field has become. When

considered together, and in the context of previous research on names, it is clear that the study of family names continues to develop in new and interesting ways, and that they can be acknowledged as a significant site of research from a wide range of perspectives.

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Notes

[1]   It is of course possible for some element to be appended to a given name irrespective of its distinguishing function, for example, as an honorific like Turkish *bey* or the various Zulu *izibongo* or Yoruba *oríkì* 'praise names' which we do not regard as *name* elements. We also do not treat *bynames* as such in this Special Issue of *Genealogy*, insofar as they overlap with the traditional classical concept of *epitheton ornans*, e.g., *Apollo Musagetes* 'Apollo, [in his guise as] leader of the Muses', where *Musagetes* does not distinguish one Apollo from another, but singles out one aspect of the uniquely-named god Apollo's nature. We acknowledge, of course, that what was originally a descriptive byname may give rise to an inheritable surname, especially in Western contexts, e.g., *Whitehead*, *Legrand*, *Fusco*, *Suess*, *Latif*.

[2]   https://gtr.ukri.org/person/44806162-0882-485E-B2EA-23303F253834, accessed on 7 June 2024.

The Commemorability Principle in Akan Personal Name Construction

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Abstract: The movement from regular lexicon to onomasticon, especially anthroponomasticon, is often mediated by cultural principles which may determine which concepts could normally be selected for the formation of personal names. Restrictive traditions have guiding principles making some concepts acceptable or not, and some names *central* or *peripheral*. In this paper, I discuss the principle of *commemorability* as gatekeeping the selection of concepts for the formation of personal names in Akan; and, having established the restrictiveness of the Akan anthroponomastic system, I identify the two considerations of *honourability* and *preservability* as making up the commemorability principle. The study is inductive, establishing the theory that explains the principles for the selection of appropriate concepts for the construction of personal names, and it relies on ethnographic resources including observation, interviews, and focus group discussions supported by name content analysis to generate the theory. The paper establishes that *commemorability* is founded on a general philosophy that upholds *the societal*, *effort and perseverance*, and *social cognitive value* in the selection of concepts for constructing personal names. Guided by these considerations, concepts are placed within a value ranking system to determine their 'commemorability', with items that rank as 'honourable' normally selected and processed as personal names. In the construction itself, there is a preference for the cognitive over the physical and the general beyond the specific, and there is an overriding preference for the use of general commemorability concepts which represent *excellence*, *prominence*, *fullness*, *abundance*, *inexhaustibility*, *strength*, *endurance*, and *resilience*, among others, which are used both as base-concepts for family names or as 'amplifier' concepts in the construction of extension names.

Keywords: Akan naming; anthroponym; family name; appellation; circumstantial name; day-name

1. Introduction

This paper looks at the family names of the Akan of Southern Ghana from the point of view of the considerations that guide the selection of concepts for the construction of family names. The paper pays attention to what the family names represent in the Akan cognitive construct, and how language helps to explain the choice of concepts. The study, therefore, focuses on what could be seen as the *deeper etymology*, which looks beyond the linguistic structures to the cognitive cultural considerations that determine the selection of concepts for the formation of Akan personal names in the first place. By so doing, it helps to identify name concepts, to establish their meaning, and to explain their linguistic make-up. In effect, then, the study pursues the subject of the genealogy of Akan traditional family names by investigating the very fundamental cognitive and cultural conceptualisation which then gives rise to the concepts used in the construction of the names. From this cognitive source would the concepts, the body of names emanating from each of them, and their manifestations across time and space, be deeply appreciated. For instance, having used the commemorability principle to identify the **boa** (verb) or **mmoa** (noun) name concept as representing the value of **help** or **helpfulness**, it then becomes possible to connect such names, such as *Boaten/Amoa*, *Boadu/Amoadu*, *Boaten/Amoaten*, *Buaben/Amoabeng*, *Boakwa/Amoakwa*, as based on the boa concept, with other concepts

as amplifier affixes[1] (and other names, such as *Akwaboa, Samoa, Gyamoa, Damoa, Anamoa*, as representing names emanating with the **boa** concept as amplifier affixes. Thus, other studies, looking at the development of the form of the names and their use across time and space, from linguistic, historical and other perspectives, depend, directly or indirectly, on the understanding of the conceptual identity of the names as well as their morphological make-up, morphophonological processes, and use of these names across time and space.

Traditionally, the Akan have a basic two-name syntax made up of the forename which is usually the day name, which indicates one's day of birth and sex, and the surname. The surname category is made up of a selection from name typologies including the nickname, circumstantial name, proverbial name, appellation, or the family name. As explained later below, the nickname, proverbial name, appellation, and circumstantial name are chosen from the non-mandatory aspects of Akan personal naming, and they are therefore used as surnames in ordinary or casual contexts, whilst the family name is seen as the archetypal surname, sometimes confined in use to formal or special contexts. In modern naming, names from the traditional surname categories mentioned above, as well as their Europeanised forms, feature as surnames, sometimes resulting in compounded formal surnames. The study focuses on the traditional characteristic surname, *the family name*, which is bestowed by one's father, representing the best ideas, concepts and values about life and humanity, and passed on from generation to generation.

As intimated above, this paper focuses on the relationship between the names, on the one hand, and the general lexicon and the cognitive culture from which the names are constructed, on the other. It discusses the philosophical values that guide the selection of concepts from the regular language for the construction of personal names, referred to as the *commemorability* principle. The Akan personal names system is made up of day names, family names, circumstantial names, appellations, nicknames, tease names, titles, and others which reflect different aspects of the Akan cosmology, social organization and experience. For instance, whereas the *day name* reflects the connection between one's soul and the Supreme Being with the concepts emanating from the conceptualization of war experiences, *circumstantial names* mirror the family's engagement with one's birth or childhood; and *nicknames* capture the society's experience of one's being, attitudes and activities. The *family name* reflects the society's higher values and how they are connected to individuals, and for its concentration on values, the family name becomes the main focus of the commemorability principle, helping to explain the basis for the selection of the concepts that represent the values considered acceptable for the construction of family names. In spite of this concentration, the commemorability principle could also be used to investigate the selection of choices for the creation of other names, in terms of the typologies of concepts and their levels of commemorability, i.e., how high or low in commemorability concepts selected for the creation of the family and other categories of names would be. For instance, whilst the Akan family name would focus on high commemorability values, circumstantial names reflecting a notable parent's loss of infant children would select concepts of sorrow, indignation, and contempt, which are deemed low in commemorability. It is envisaged that future studies will focus on the application of the principle to the study of family names from specific ideations, and to the study of other categories of personal names.

The onomasticon generally emanates from, and depends on, the regular lexicon and everyday language as a whole, with its syntactic, morphological, phonological, and graphological resources and principles. Name types could be seen as genres in linguistic cultures, and, being genres, there would be principles guiding the relationship between the regular linguistic culture and name-products. Each of the different categorisations of names—personal names with their different typologies, settlement names, names of buildings, names of physical geographical features, and even names of times and seasons—may be inclined to the regular lexicon and language in some identifiable or distinct ways. Since the central aspect of human experience is ideation or the world of concepts, one would understand that an important aspect of the relationship between the lexicon and anthro-

ponomasticon (and indeed the other categorisations of names) would be the directions and choices in ideational content, raising the question:

> *What aspects of our experience can be selected for use as personal names?*

Since they form a part of the bigger cognitive and linguistic resource, both the creation and the use of names could be seen as reflecting instantiation; and here, we can see two forms of instantiation—linguistic and discoursal instantiation. *Linguistic instantiation* refers to the creation of a linguistic artifact from the system and the underlying culture; and *discoursal instantiation* to the use of these already-constructed forms in specific situational or speech contexts. The use of names in specific speech situations would be governed by linguistic and communicative systems (in discoursal instantiation), but the creation of the names (in linguistic instantiation) would be by cognitive/cultural systems—which may be called a kind of cognitive grammar—emanating from the understanding of the cognitive systems, the value system which guides choices, and strategies for constructing the names.

The relationship between regular language and its concepts and the onomasticon and its concepts is seen differently in linguistic cultures; and with respect to the flow from the lexicon to the onomasticon, we might talk about *restriction* or *guidedness*—with some cultures having conceptually-guided onomastic processes, and others operating freer or less guided ones. Cultures determine how restricted or free the movement from the lexicon to the anthroponomasticon would be; and even in contexts deemed restricted, different cultures would point to different things to be guided *to* or guided *away from.* Thus, whereas vocations and landmarks feature prominently in German names such as *Stein* (rock), *Dahl* (valley), *Weber* (weaver), *Müller* (miller), *Huber* (farmer) (see Bahlow 2002), these concepts may be absent in Akan and Ewe personal names (Egblewogbe 1977).

In restricted anthroponomastic cultures, there is often a recognised relationship between the senses of names and the identity of the persons they refer to. This may not be seen in terms of a direct conceptual relationship, but a cognitive one, based largely on values: that the nature of estimation of the cognitive sense of the concept of a name reflects the value that is placed on the person. Surely, then, there would be values and rules governing which items of the conceptual world could be selected for which types of names—personal name, settlement name, etc. In non-restricted traditions, on the contrary, there is little or no such conceptual or cognitive connection between name and reference. All one needs is a clear linguistic sign, and it could refer to any designated reference—human, animal, object, or plant.

1.1. Personal Names, Meaning and Culture

There have sometimes been attempts to classify Western societies as having so-called meaningless names, in contrast with African and Asian communities, where names are said to be full of meaning:

> Names are of such importance to the Ibibio that they are part and parcel of their language, not just mere labels like John, Kurt, Susan, Robertson, etc. which happen to be tagged onto some individuals for identity, but also a reflection of the grammatical structure of the language, in addition to their individual lexical meaning. (Essien 2000, p. 103)

A look at dictionaries of names across European communities, and indeed different communities, points, however, to the fact that the issue may not be with whether names are meaningful or not, or whether the linguistic form identified as a name has a connection to a conceptual sense or meaning. The issue may rather be with whether there is an attachment to or concern for the semantic import of names or the general issue of the meaningfulness of names in the process of allotting names or referring to persons using names. Obviously, it is the second consideration—of the inattention to semantic import—that makes Essien (ibid.) see names in Western societies as mere labels. This would, perhaps, stem from the fact that in many societies, names would have gone through semantic atrophy, at the end of which processes, the meaning of names could be lost to users. Where the lexical or

linguistic meanings of names are known, they may no longer be of importance in naming and referring, since attention would only be on the indexical or referential functions of the name (Sekyi-Baidoo 2019). However, interestingly, whilst touting the meaningfulness of African names, it is also on record that attempts to explain the meaning of names have not been very successful in all communities, making the names also simply referential in contemporary use.

Looking at the stages of *onomastication* or *delexicalization* (Sekyi-Baidoo 2014, 2019), it would be necessary in our studies, then, to make a distinction between studies that concentrate on the *construction* of names, on the one hand, and studies about the *use* of names, on the other. Studies on the construction of names focus on the relationship between the names and the language and culture from which the names are constructed in the first place. Such studies focus on the conceptual, lexical, grammatical, and phonological choices by which names are constructed, with a primary focus on which aspects of experience are or could be selected for the construction of names of persons (anthroponyms) and names of places (toponyms). Studies concentrating on the use of the names, coming from discoursal and pragmatic perspectives, would concentrate on the principles and practices in the allocation and use of names in labelling and human communication, as reflected in Machaba (2004) below:

> Traditionally, every child was given a name usually a few weeks, sometimes months after she was born. The given name served various purposes apart from distinguishing the child from others. This name was very important as it was her personality, it was the child herself. She and her name were one and could not be easily separated from each other. It was with this name that she was known to the community and the ancestors of the family. It has been variously stated that it was also this name that witches would use together with some medicine if they wanted to cast a spell on her. This name became part of her until her death. (p. 59)

Surely, though, the discoursal-pragmatic perspectives on the study of names could not always ignore the principles for the creation of the names and the meanings thereof; and it is believed that even in contexts where the actual lexical senses of the names may have been forgotten or lost, the system guiding the allotment and use of names may originally have been influenced by the concepts and the etymological or underlying meanings of the names. Our attention in this paper is on the conceptualisation of names leading to their construction, which reflects a complex relationship between language, culture, and name, as captured by Mensah et al. (2021):

> Personal names are symbolic resources that can reflect ideological and social systems of some societies. Historical and contemporary perspectives on personal naming research have shown that they are embedded with deep cultural significances... There is, therefore, an inexorable, if not tripartite relationship between language, name and society with human beings at the center of the chain. (p. 248)

The succinct capturing of the relationship between personal names and culture below is true of the African contexts as with, perhaps, all situations of the construction of personal names:

> African personal names are creative cultural symbols that represent experiences, conflicts or situations with deep historical resonances... These names are a body of knowledge that reflect a wide gamut of African culture: language, history, philosophy, spirituality and worldview. African names mirror the patterns of the society's cultural and social organization and are pointers to individuals' identities and collective belonging. (Mensah et al. 2021, p. 249)

The relationship between names/naming, language, and culture could also be seen from a systemic-functional point of view. The systemic functional architecture of language is represented in hierarchies and relationships involving the context or culture, semantics, and lexicogrammar, and at the centre of the theory is the pattern of choices available at

various levels of language: choices in aspects of the culture to be represented (content), choices in the meanings or senses which would be represented in linguistic constructions (here, the names), choices in the concepts and the grammatical strategies employed (lexicogrammatical), and even choices in the phonology and graphology, which constitute the *expression*. Names are a *lexicogrammatical* output, and they are the product of the choices of aspects of the culture and aspects of language and senses, or concepts. In a sense, the onomasticon could be seen as a genre, with cultural or contextual principles for its creation. The cultural or contextual guide for the selection of experience and the choice of concepts for the formation of personal and settlement names in Akan is what we shall refer to here as the *commemorability principle*.

Whilst acknowledging that names have naturally emanated from the conceptualisation of a people or a culture, it is also difficult to imagine that all concepts within a culture could be used as personal names. Naming is a kind of experiential storage system (Halliday 1978), and a name is a symbol of our experience, a storage device, over and above its regular use as an indexical device. All language cultures do have this storage system and the storage and indexical devices called *names*; and in all cultures, names of persons, and proper names in general, are *secondary* lexicon, based on the lexicon of general language, and created with the facility of *conceptual selection or filtering*, which is the focus of this paper.

1.2. Problem

Surely a lot of studies have been made on the Akan conceptualisation of the *person*, the Akan social organisation and the issues of morality and ontology (Danquah 1928; Gyekye 1995, 2011; Pobee 1979; Wiredu 1992, 1995, 1998). Whilst the thinking behind several practices, traditions and concepts have been explained by these studies, the philosophical underpinning of the Akan practice of naming does not seem to have been given any known attention, despite the fact that the place of the name in Akan society has been explained in some of these studies. Again, works on Akan names have been phonological and grammatical, on the one hand, and **sociolinguistic**, on the other. The grammatical has concentrated on the lexical and especially morphological structures and strategies for the construction of, especially, the *day name* (Christaller 1933; Boadi 1984, n.d.; Kropp Dakubu 1981; Obeng 1997, 2001; Ofori 2019), *linearity and other circumstantial names*, and the *female forms of names* (Adomako 2017). So far, the most pervasive of the studies have been in the sociolinguistic dimension, and have looked at the typologies of names and their response to patterns of cosmological or cultural representation (Boachie 2000; Agyekum 2006), focusing mainly on day names and circumstantial names, and some on name occurrence or choices in sociolinguistic or discoursal contexts (Afful 1998, 2006).

Whilst so much is known about the sociolinguistics of the Akan name, indeed names of other ethnicities in Ghana and West Africa, there appears to be little regarding the semantic underpinning of the names and the concepts from which the names are derived in the first place—with the exception of circumstantial and theophoric names—let alone the philosophical perspectives from which the broad ideations or the individual concepts are selected in the construction of personal names. The assumption here is that if cultural, religious, and social practices are grounded on some philosophical or value construct, then one would expect that the names by which things, places and persons are identified would also be founded on some values and principles—which would go beyond the discoursal principles regarding who could be or should be called by one name or another.

In Sekyi-Baidoo (2019), I attempted to discuss Akan personal names with attention to this semantic underpinning, and there emerged a connection between the Akan philosophical and value system and the choice of concepts processed as personal names. The concept of commemorability was, thus, introduced in Sekyi-Baidoo (2019), not introduced as a general philosophical underpinning for Akan personal names, but only as a way to identify which senses of the **boa** form—or which of the names using the **boa** structure—would be identified or not as belonging to the ideational categorisation of **boa** (help) names. In the study, the form **boa/moa** could, from its phonological construction, be interpreted as

animal, help, or bundled parcel. Whilst the principle of HELPABILITY helped to determine whether a form could be interpreted as belonging to the ideation of *help*, that of COMMEMORABILITY helped to determine whether the sense so derived qualified for preservation and use as the name of a person. In the study, the principles of honourability and preservability were identified as the component considerations through which an experience or concept could be selected and processed as a personal name: that a concept should cognitively be recognised as having high social esteem, and that this esteemed concept would also be deserving of being processed as an anthroponym. In another study, Sekyi-Baidoo (2021), the same principle of commemorability was discussed as featuring centrally in the formation of settlement names.

Whilst some attempt has been made in my previous studies to identify the commemorability principle, these do not represent a comprehensive representation of the principle. Its place in the Akan philosophy and value system has not been discussed, neither have the various aspects of what is referred to as commemorable, and how all these present a comprehensive framework for studying the ideational content of names, been developed. Without these, it would be difficult, from the rather limited scope of the discussions in Sekyi-Baidoo (2019), to appreciate the actual place of the principle concept within the Akan philosophical and onomastic space. I wish to state, here, that whilst commemorability is relevant to personal names and settlement names, and to other categories of names, this paper focuses on its application in respect of personal names.

1.3. Guiding Questions

The study is guided by the following questions:

i. What is commemorability and how does it reflect in the two main component principles of honourability and preservability?
ii. What are the general philosophical values of the Akan culture that underlie the commemorability principle?
iii. How does the commemorability principle play out in the choice of concepts for the construction of family names in Akan?

1.4. Methodology

The study is qualitative and basically inductive in nature, with a view to utilizing data obtained through the ethnographic resources of observation, interviews, focus group discussions, ethnographic tests, narrative accounts, document study, and the study of the structure and content of names, for the construction of a theory that would account for the cultural factors that inform the selection of concepts for the construction of personal names in the Akan culture. The discussion of the commemorability theory is a part of a bigger Akan Personal Names Project that aims at producing a dictionary of Akan personal names and a monograph on the concepts exploited for the construction of the names, which is currently in its fourth year. The Akan Personal Names Project, as a whole, is guided by the institutional research framework of the University of Education, Winneba, for ethical considerations for qualitative study, with guidelines for submissions, approvals, and checks for informed, voluntary consent, anonymity and confidentiality as well as sincerity and rigour in the analysis and presentation of results.

Interviews were a major resource for the study, and these included both formal and informal interviews. For the informal interviews, I took every opportunity to enquire from people what their reactions would be about a name whose lexical sense could defy commemorability principles. At other times, I presented people with a number of names, some of which would contain hypothetical names with commemorability challenges, and asked for their response. Over 110 people, both Akan and people from other ethnicities who had lived among Akans, were contacted, which included cultural experts as well as regular users of the language. The informal interviews also involved casual discussions with groups. Again, on several occasions, I introduced some of these interviews and discussions in my graduate classes. In some ways, these could also be seen as informal focus group

discussions, owing to the discussions that often developed during the informal interviews. Formal and focus group discussions, on the other hand, involved cultural consultants, who had, beyond their intuitive knowledge as native speakers, considerable knowledge and experience in the linguistics and culture of Akan. Further, in order to validate the spellings, transcriptions, and interpretations of the name tokens, concepts, and proverbs or sayings employed in the paper, I engaged the attention of experienced scholars in Akan linguistics and philosophy individually as well as in focus group discussions.

The focus of this investigation is not to present an account of people's reactions to specific names nor their ideas about the senses of names, but to use the information gathered from these responses to aid the study of the principles guiding the choice of concepts for the construction of personal names (and settlement names), which is presented here as the *commemorability principle* or *theory*.

1.5. The Akan and Their Names

The term Akan is used to refer to a congregation of languages and dialects living in the southern parts of Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire. In recognition of the extent of the language and its system of names, the paper, following Manoukian (1964), Dolphyne (2006), Abakah (2016), and Sekyi-Baidoo (2019) distinguishes between linguistic and ethnographic Akan. Linguistic Akan is divided into the Modern and the Historical Akan. Modern Akan covers the languages or dialects in Ghana, generally classified under Twi and Fante, comprising such ethnolinguistic identities as Fante, Asante, Akuapem, Bono, Wassa, Akyem, Assin, Agona, and Breman. These dialects have a high degree of mutual intelligibility and are often considered inter-substitutable in many contexts. Historical Akan, on the other hand, is made up of languages believed to have been a part of the Proto-Akan or the earlier version of Akan, which through language change and huge influences from other languages parted from the Akan stock. These are generally languages of the Bia stock, including Sefwi, Ahanta, Nzema, Aowin, and Baule of Ghana and Southern Côte d'Ivoire.

Our use of *Akan* also covers the ethnographic Akan, which in addition to the modern and historical Akan groups covers the bilingual Guan settlements of the Eastern, Central, and Volta regions of Ghana. For all these, the Akan culture, including its names, is quite prevalent. In the Guan settlements of Effutu, Awutu, Larteh, Kyerepon, and Aowin, the naming system—the names, name structure and name categorisation as well as the cultural practices relating to naming—do follow that of Modern Akan.

1.5.1. Akan Personal Names and Naming

The Akan sees personal naming basically as an expression of experience, beliefs and values, the establishment of human identity, and a response to human life and dignity; and names are constructed (and allotted) to reflect all these in different ways. Boachie (2000) captures this connection between names and cultural experience thus:

> . . .they have semantic content which reflect real world knowledge. Such names encode socio cultural information and reflect the peoples experience about the world. They are given to individuals as a way of talking about what one experiences, values, thinks and knows in the world. (p. 38)

A similar idea of the interaction between culture and personal names is shared by other communities. Sekyi-Baidoo (2019) introduces the idea of the choice of concepts in the construction of names, and connects it to the issue of identity and value:

> The Akan constantly relates to and acknowledges all aspects of the universe in one experience or the other, including his relationship with others with whom they share humanity, which is but a part of the universe. In the construction of names, he selects from these wide experiences in a way as to be able to reflect the experience that he finds necessary to keep or share. (p. 36)

Commemorability would be seen, in the discussions, as a major consideration that guides the selection from these wide experiences in the construction of personal names.

1.5.2. Typology of Akan Personal Names

The Akan operates a mandatory two-part naming system and an optional addition of two other categories of names. First among the mandatory names is the *day name,* which a person acquires by being born on a specific day of the week and of a particular gender. Every Akan has a day name, which is now a very popular name in ethnographic Akan and beyond. Further, an Akan received a name bestowed on them by their father from among the names of his family or his revered acquaintances, which is called abusuadin or *family name*, or better still agyadin (paternal name). The optional names are categorised into the *circumstantial names* and *the nicknames*. Circumstantial names relate to the places of birth, period of time, festivals or sacred days, manner of birth, etc. (Agyekum 2006), within which a person is born or lives one's early childhood. Accolades, descriptions, nicknames which one acquires by one's physical features, abilities, activities and experiences, and associated persons, places, and happenings, etc., are *nicknames* or *cognomens*.

2. The Akan Concept of Commemorability

Whilst sociolinguistic and discoursal principles might determine the allocation and use of the existing body of names to a person (or place), the construction of the names is itself based on a conceptual framework, which is a kind of filter between the conceptual or cognitive world of the language, on the one hand, and the names, the anthroponomasticon or the toponomasticon, on the other. The filtration principle defines what content of personal names would be acceptable or not, or which aspects of the experience of Akan society could possibly be selected and constructed into names to be used for persons (and settlements)—and this, simply put, is the Akan onomastic principle of *commemorability*. Even as a child, I observed the funny responses we, as pupils and students, gave to some names—which was later going to be a crucial source of intuition for my study. I was later to recognise that those names caused our reaction because of some real or suspected challenge they made regarding the acceptability of their senses as personal names.

The Akan believes that not all concepts or aspects of experience, belief or thought could properly be processed into a personal name, and that, simply put, some concepts will fit as names whilst others would not fit. The commemorability principle assesses or determines the acceptability of a concept as a personal name (or settlement name), and it explains why a concept would be accepted as a personal name, and upon what considerations it could be accepted. This principle is itself based, first, on the Akan conceptualisation that there is a cognitive link between the semantic or lexical content of a name and what it refers to (here, a person); and, second, that Akan conceptualises experiences into a kind of value structure, by which some things are placed in different categories of value, relating to relevance, necessity, esteem, etc. The basis of the principle is that since the human being is a cherished centre of the conceptualisation of life, they should be referred to by names with higher aspects of the value structure, to reflect their place. We shall return to the discussions of the Akan value structure soon.

The theoretical principle of *commemorability* came out of my study of names for the *Akan Personal Names* publication, and most importantly, from the ongoing *Dictionary of Akan Personal Names* project. It came out of, first, my discovery of the marked aspects of certain categorisations of experience in the little corpus of names I dealt with, which was confirmed through my observations of reactions to certain names and their response to questions. The term is derived from the word commemorate, which is from the Latin MEMOR + COM (together): to remember together, or mark or celebrate. The Akan principle of commemorability is made up of two considerations:

- honourability;
- preservability.

Honourability—from honour—is an abstract concept entailing a perceived quality of worthiness and respectability. Something seen to be bringing or deserving of honour is said to be honourable; and it is explained as "worthy of respect or reverence, respectable" or "signifying or rendering distinction or respect". **Preservability** simply means fitting to

remember, and it is based on the concept of **preserve** which is defined as to keep in safety and protect from harm, decay, loss, or destruction. The distinction between the two aspects is based on the consideration that not all things deemed to bring honour are necessarily worth preserving. A cultural consultant gave the following illustrative scenario:

> Fa no sɛ wonni sika a wodebɛyɛ wo papa ayie, anaa sɛ wonni ntoma a woderekɔ wadamfo Papa ayie, anaaso bio, sɛ ɛkɔm de wo paa ara yie a wonni aduani biara a woredie. Sɛ obi ma wo sika de yɛ wo Papa ayie no, anaa ɔma wo ntoma kɔ ayie no, anna ɔma wo aduane pata wo kɔm a, sɛ wani bɛgye, ɛbɛyɛ wo fɛ, na wobɛhoahoa nipa korɔ sɛ wayɛ ade sombo bi, ahyɛ wo anuonyam, apepa wanimguaseɛ. Ade papa paa. Yoo, na wani so bɛgye sɛ yɛbɛka wei nyina wɔ nnipa mu, ato hɔ ama womma ne wo nananom abɛte sɛ na wowɔ ahokyere saa mu? Nipakorɔ no koraa sɛ nani rennye sɛ woreka no badwu mu sɛ ɔmaa wo biribi dii. Wobɛka no wɔ dwamu sɛ ɔyɛ wo boafo a ɔsombo, afrɛ no *Boafo* anaa *Ayɛboafo*, na mmom woremfrɛ no *Ɔmaabosea*, *Ɔfɛmntoma* anaa *Ɔmaaduane*!

> *(Imagine you don't have funds to organise your father's funeral, or that you don't have the cloth to wear to attend the funeral of the father of a very good friend of yours, or perhaps, that youre very hungry but have no food to eat. If someone gives you a loan which you use to organise your father's funeral, or gives you cloth for the funeral, or gives you food to quench your hunger. Surely, you would be happy, you would appreciate it and you would honour the person for something valuable done for you, for helping to honour you and averting your humiliation. Great thing. Sure! But will you be happy that all this is said in public or kept so your children and grandchildren would grow to hear how needy you were? Even the person who assisted you, wouldn't be happy that you announce in public that he fed you. Would you declare in public that he is your helper, calling him Helper or Rare Support, or that would you call him Loangiver, Clothlender or Foodgiver?)*

This statement was discussed at several focus groups and in dyadic interviews, and it was unanimously agreed that, as the consultant stated, names representing *Boafo* (Helper or Support) will be accepted in the Akan context; but *Loangiver*, *Clothlender* or *Foodgiver*, though being the basis for the general concept of *Helper* or *Support*, would not receive recognition and honour as a name, or even an appellation. Thus, whilst an experience or concept may have honour—here, bailing others out of their crucial challenges—it may not be acceptable to be used as a personal name in its direct representation.

As said earlier, the distinction between *honour* and *preservation* is premised on the fact that not all things deemed of value need to be preserved and spoken of in the future. And sometimes, some things are deemed to be acceptable or *honourable* in their individual or raw experience, but *preservable* only in their ultimate value to life or community—and the meeting point of these considerations, and others, is what gives the concept of *commemorability*. It is important to appreciate, first, that *preservability* and *honourability* are not necessarily exclusive, and that they speak to one another, meaning that the ultimate preservability of a concept or experience could affect the honour associated with it. Second, the considerations of honourability and preservability derive from relevant general philosophical values of the Akan, as will be explained further.

The working of these two concepts is quite complex or intricate, and as established above, individual concepts do pass through a complex philosophical consideration for the determination of their commemorability value. We take, for illustration, the dual concepts of gun and warfare. They are ordinarily seen by the Akan as life-negating, destructive, and sources of pain. It is in the light of this that the feelings of the society of an impending war are reflected as **dwo** (*twa adwo* 'to sob') and **bena** (*bɔ bena* 'to wail'), which are the root concepts for the Monday and Tuesday names or day and day-names. The Akan proverb

> *Etuo mu yɛ sum.*

> 'It is dark inside the barrel of the gun.'

reflects the uncertainty, fear and pain associated with the gun. Similarly, the proverb

Yedu amanfoso a, na yɛ akae yaanom

(When we reach the deserted town, then we remember our lost folk.)

points to the ravages of war in the destruction of settlements and the loss of kin or persons, and is deemed dishonourable. However, from the deeper or wider perspective, warfare or militarism is considered very central to the existence and prosperity of Akan society, since it was the means by which the society—ethnicity, kingdom, clan, people and their land— was protected, and by the same process did the society or ethnicity expand and get enriched. Thus, as it came out from the interviews and focus group discussions, *warfare* was given *low honourability* from the point of view of the human person, but very *high* from the point of view of a society's existence, size, peace, and well-being, considering its place in the history of the Akan and its various sub-ethnic groupings. Respondents were unanimous on the fact that the experience of war should be *preserved* both for its victories and losses because of the lessons that could be learnt and their place in the history of the society. The *gun* was also responded to from similar perspectives—*low honourability* or dishonour for the fear it evokes, and for the death it brings, but *high honourability* for its place in defending the society and for the victories. For the recognition of the honour and preservability relating to the deeper considerations of warfare, Rattray (1956) notes that the majority of the main chiefs of an Akan chieftaincy squad are based on warfare, and according to Sekyi-Baidoo (2019), militarism constitutes the largest thematic consideration for Akan personal names, identifying such sub-thematic areas as notion of war, fighter concept, army/strategy, victory and redemption, and weaponry, all of which point to marked commemorability of the concepts associated with militarism.

Another concept worth discussing in respect of the direct or deeper value assessment is **da**, which is seen to be of *low honourability* and *low preservability*, from a neutral, ordinary, everyday consideration; but *high honourability and preservability* from a deeper consideration. From the everyday perspective, **da** simply means day, i.e., the full division of 24 h, covering both daytime and nighttime, and this is reflected in the names of day: *Dwoda* 'Monday', *Benada* 'Tuesday', *Wukuada* 'Wednesday', etc., and also in calculations of time as in *dakoro* 'one day', *nnansa* 'third day', 'three days', *nnawɔtwe* 'eighth day', 'eight days' or 'a week', and *adanuanan* '40th day' or 'forty days'[2]. As seen in the discussions below (Section 2.2) this sense of *day* would be considered as neutral, in the structure of experience. As a neutral concept, **da** is, thus, not associated with any identifiable sense of honour or recognition. It would, ultimately, be classified as having low commemorability and incapable of being processed as a personal name.

On the other hand, **da** is also conceptualised as representing opportunity and brightness, and the concept *dasani*, lit. 'days-deplete-person' or 'mortal', is used to refer both to the exhaustion of one's days of life (mortality) and the exhaustion of one's life opportunities (decay). It is even argued that the fact that other living phenomena, especially the animals, who also have limited days are not referred to as *dasani*, 'mortal', points to the fact that the consideration may not simply be about existence, but abilities and opportunities, which are the value of life or days. Thus, since animals do not live their lives according to opportunities and prospects, they are normally not referred to as 'dasani'. The *opportunity* sense is evident in the connection between **da** 'day' and **ade/adze** in the conceptualisation of day and night in Akan, in terms of sustenance or endurance for **adekyee** (day), and exhaustion for **adesaa** (night). **De** itself is explained by Christaller (1933) as follows:

> . . .*thing, substance, espec. an inanimate object; any object of the senses or of thought*. . .
> *Property, possession; part, portion; goods, wares, merchandise*. . .*riches, fortune, wealth*. . .
> *Unknown agent, power, cause*. . .*striking act of strength; skill or cunning, feat, deed exploit.*

Daytime is conceptualised as a period of time when **ade** 'matter, possession, wealth, power, etc.' is rife or attainable (from **kye**[3]—enduring or longevity), and *night* as a period of time when **ade** is unattainable or difficult to come by (from **sã**—'to be exhausted'). From this connection, **da** gets its deeper sense—away from the *neutral* sense of a natural division in time—to the more *honourable* sense of opportunity which is closely associated with the

essence or value in human life; and from this sense come the names *Dakwa*[4] 'life of bravery or strength', *Daten* 'life of virtuousness', *Dapo* 'life of greatness', *Dako* 'life of resilience', and *Adasa/Dassa*[5] 'transience of life'. The above illustrates the complexity of commemorability considerations, both in its application in the naming process and in our analysis.

2.1. Akan Values of Life

As intimated above, the determination of the commemorability value of a concept is dependent on a general value system that is embedded in Akan philosophy. The following considerations, among others, underlie the Akan value structure and the dual occurrence of *honourability* and *preservability*.

2.1.1. Society Is the Crust of Life

The Akan value system places ultimate value on the *societal* or the *communal*, rather than the personal or the interpersonal. Interpersonal things are valued only in terms of their furtherance of *societal* values, which is reflected in the social basis of ethics, the concept of humanism, and the notion of the common good. According to Gyekye (2011):

> The views of the traditional thinkers indicate that what is good is constituted by the deeds, habits, and behaviour patterns considered by society as worthwhile because of their consequences for human welfare. The goods would include such things as generosity, honesty, faithfulness, truthfulness, compassion, hospitality, happiness, that which brings peace, justice, respect, and so on... good or moral value is determined in terms of its consequences for humankind and human society. All this can be interpreted to mean that African morality originates from considerations of human welfare and interests. ... Actions that promote human welfare or interest are good, while those that detract from human welfare are bad. It is, thus, pretty clear that African ethics is humanistic ethics, a moral system that is preoccupied with human welfare.

In this consideration, the Akan places weight on the things that are of benefit to the larger society. Actions, events and things that go beyond oneself to benefit another, denoting sacrifice, are accorded a high value. With these principles, human activities are taken through a certain social filtration, and the things deemed to have high social value are deemed to have a high level of commemorability too. In the context of the above, the following would represent the society's structure of social essence from the point of view of the human being, from *low* to *high*:

Person or individual
Dyadic relationships
Nuclear family
Extended family/Clan
Village/Town
Division
Ethnicity
Humanity.

In the ordinary, everyday interpretation of the structure, the individual would be considered to have a low commemorability value, and the concept *nipa* 'human being' or *dasani* 'mortal' would, therefore, normally not be used as a family name. Also, dyadic or interpersonal relationships, such as friendship and marriage, are viewed from the point of view of personal interest and joy, and would therefore not qualify for commemoration as a personal name. The concepts of clans (Asene, Asakyiri), concepts of settlements, and most especially, concepts of ethnicity (*Asante, Akyem, Dankyira, Adanse*) may be processed as personal names, if the sense adopted for naming reflects the image, the major values, and the identity of the ethnicity. The sense of humanity, expressed in **ni** or **oni** is easily processed as a name (*Oni, Nisa, Nieku, Niku, Niako, Nifo*, and *Nipa*[6]), though **nipa** (person, individual) is not usually processed as a name.

Notwithstanding the structure above, concepts of the *individual* and the events around them could be processed as personal names when given a *humanity* interpretation; and as we shall see later, the aspects of humanity relating to the spirit, soul, and mental essence and those relating to the organisation and protection of society and social cohesion are deemed of high societal and commemorative value.

2.1.2. Life Is Essentially Human, Aided by the Spiritual

Of the place of religion in the life of the African, Mbiti (1969) writes that the African people are deeply and extensively religious, with religion permeating every aspect of their lives, making it difficult for one to isolate the religious from the non-religious. However, whilst acknowledging the place of the spiritual in our life and existence, the Akan believes that the spiritual is important only for its connection to the physical and mental experiences of a human being. The focus of life is humanity and its existence, in its physicality—personal and societal manifestations—and the spiritual comes in as far as it concerns the existence of humans. Gyekye (2011) emphasises the physicality of life, drawing attention to the supportive role of the spiritual in a life which is basically physical:

> . . .even though the African people do not consider God and other supernatural beings as the sources of their moral values and principles, nevertheless, they are ever aware of the powers of the supernatural beings and are ever ready to exploit their munificence for the promotion of human welfare, prosperity, and happiness.

The Akan reveres and worships the supernatural, but it commemorates mystical or spiritual entities and concepts only when they are definable in human terms, i.e., how they manifest in human form. For instance, the river deity, in itself, is considered essentially spiritual and out of commemoration; but it attains commemoration from the point of view of its manifestation in theophorous children[7], who are believed to be gifts from the deity. In essence, then, the commemoration is not of the deity itself, but of the fact that it has a place in human form. In this regard, concepts such as **sunsum**/**honhom** 'spirit', **sasa/saman** 'spirit of the dead person or animal', are, despite their connection to physical or human existence, considered essentially spiritual—and only feared or worshipped, but not commemorated in family naming.

Again, *Nyankopɔn* or *Onyame*, the Supreme Being, is itself considered purely spiritual, and is therefore normally not commemorated. It is interesting to note that whilst the names and accolades of God that depict its power and supremacy, such as *Nyankopɔn* 'Only great deity', *Amowia* 'Giver of sunshine', *Totrobonsu* 'Giver of rain/source of water', are not commemorated, the name *Nyame* 'That which gives satisfaction' is commemorated as a name[8] since its sense is based on the human being—who obtains the goodness and experiences the satisfaction. In a similar consideration, the Akan believes that the soul of the human being, **ɔkra**[9], carries the essence of God; but whilst the Supreme Being itself is considered spiritual and sacred—and *uncommemorable*, its human manifestation in the form of the **kra** 'the human soul', is *commemorated* in names such *Okra*, *Krapa*, *Akrasi*, *Krapi* (*Creppie*).

Adding to the **kra** concept is **amo**, another term for the human soul, which is reflected in such names as *Amo*, *Amofa*, *Amonu*. However, whilst **kra** refers to the manifestation of God in humanity, **amo** is a direct reference to the human soul, with no consideration of its connection to the Supreme Being, which makes **amo** more human in essence, perhaps, than **kra**. The human-spiritual distinction and its implications for commemoration is reflected in the idea of the *sacred* as discussed below in the structure of experience.

2.1.3. Life Is War—A Continuous Struggle and Fight

The Akan proverbs

- *Ɔbra yɛ ko* 'Life is war'
- *Abrabɔ yɛ animia* 'Life/living is an endurance'

capture the Akan idea of the essence of life, that it is a continuous struggle with self, other persons and nature; and a successful life is a life that is able to manage or win the confrontations of life. The concept **bra** or **ɔbra** 'existence'/'life' is itself derived from the verb **bra**, meaning 'to obstruct, to injunct, to inhibit'. From this perspective, life is seen as an endless fight against impediments or situations that separate a person from their goals and visions, which would cover every aspect of life. To the Akan, even such basic activities of life are seen as wars that one must fight and win—or lose. Getting food and eating is a battle against hunger, and it is expressed as **ko kɔm** 'fight hunger'; and overcoming hunger or famine is captured as **kum kɔm** lit. 'kill hunger'. Similarly, attending to sickness is a war—**ko yareɛ** 'fight illness', etc.

From this philosophy that defines life in terms of struggles against impediments or obstructions, attitudes that are crucial for checking, withstanding, defying, and overcoming any kind of obstacles—biological, psychic, spiritual, health, and warfare—are held with a high value; and these include concepts pointing to physical, mental and psychic strength, courage, resilience, endurance, alertness, revolt, and other militaristic attitudes, as below, which are of a high value:

- *mmɔden*—'a strong exertion, effort, zeal, earnestness, ardour' (Christaller p. 306)
- *animia*—'exertion, endeavour...perseverance' (Christaller p. 329)
- *nkoden*—'hard fighting'
- *penekyɛre*—'perseverance'
- *akokoduru*—lit. 'heavy chest' i.e., 'bravery'

all so that one could attain victory. The Akan, thus, considers the reverse of the qualities above as *dishonourable*, or even as *taboos*. The Akan saying:

Yenim ko; yennim dwane.

'We know how to fight; we don't know how to retreat'

sums up the value in confronting life, overcoming odds, and pushing for victory, and various concepts reflecting the capacity, conviction and attitude for fighting are processed as personal names.

Again, with the focus on life as a continual war, emotional concepts of *pain* and *suffering* are rated with high value, because they are deemed to reflect the reality of life, over the concepts of *joy* and *peace*; and for the construction of personal names, name-concepts of joy and peace such as *Ago* (from **ago}** lit. 'to soften up'), *Afriyie*, lit. 'One who has come at a good time' and *Bediitɔ*, lit. 'One who emerges to eat the mashed yam delicacy', i.e., 'the pampered one' are only considered from the perspectives of the pain, suffering, hardship, effort, and perseverance which provide background and meaning for the relief expressed in the names. With this focus on *adversity* and *endurance*, thus, the following themes or concepts depicting human weakness[10] are generally deemed inappropriate for family naming:

- concepts which point to loss of struggle or inability, unwillingness or avoidance to fight or endure: *nkoguo* 'loss'/'defeat', *su* 'crying'/'weeping', *awerɛhoɔ* 'sorrow'[11], *kɔdaanna* 'worries', *amanehunu* 'adversity', *akwadwore* 'sloth', *ehu* 'fear'/'cowardice';
- concepts reflecting ease or absence of adversity[12]—*anigye* 'happiness'/'joy', *akomatoyamu* 'contentment', *ahotɔ* 'comfort', *asomdwee* 'peace', and *nkunim* 'victory'.

2.1.4. Humans Are Limited and Dependent

The most resourceful is still limited in the face of life's needs and threats, and one therefore always needs support from others. This recognition of human *limitedness* is expressed in the proverb:

Nipa nnyɛ abedua na ne nsa atwa neho ahyia.

'Humans are not palm trees that they should be self-complete',

and in Gyekye 1996,

> . . . the individual human person lacks self-sufficiency is clear from the fact that our capacities and talents, as human beings, are plainly limited and not adequate for the realisation of individual potential and the fulfilment of basic needs. (p. 37)

The natural response to human insufficiency or limitation is *interdependency*, which is also deep in Akan philosophical thought and values, and expressed by Wiredu 1998:

> Self-reliance is of course understood and recommended by the Akans, but its possibility is predicated upon this ineliminable residue of human dependency. Human beings, therefore, at all times . . . need the help of their kind. (p. 293)

> The idea of the insufficiency of humans and the need for support from others is closely associated with the earlier philosophical value which sees real life from the point of view of the society. In assisting others, the Akan believes that one does not only epitomise society's own values about the real essence of life, but also works on behalf of society to help fulfil its responsibilities to humanity. The following sets of sayings reflect the Akan dual philosophies of *human limitation and insufficiency* and the *need for support or interdependence*:

For human limitation:

> *Nipa yɛ mmɔbɔ.*
>
> 'The human being is to be pitied';
>
> *Nipa nkyɛ na wadi amia*
>
> 'It does not take much for a human being to fall into trouble'.

For the need for support:

> *Ade tɔ w ani a so a, wo yɔnko na oyi ma wo.*
>
> 'When something gets into your eye, it is your friend who removes it for you';
>
> *Nipa hia mmoa*
>
> 'Humans need to be helped';
>
> *Nipa na ɔma nipa yɛ nipa*
>
> 'It is a human being who affirms another's humanity'.

To this end, concepts that reflect the offer of assistance to others are often processed as **boa** 'help' names (Sekyi-Baidoo 2019) and under other themes.

2.1.5. The Reality of Life Is in Its Meaning or Value

Life occurs bodily, with things we can see and touch and what we hear, but it is given meaning by the *adwene* 'mind', which determines the *nkyeraseɛ* 'value' or 'meaning' of experience. The Akan statement *Onni adwene* 'someone has no brain/mind' expresses a distinction between the biological concept of brain, which everyone possesses as human being, and the quasi-spiritual one of the *adwene* which one gains as a part of one's *personhood* (Gyekye 1987, 1995; Wiredu 1992, 1995; Mbaegbu 2010). One is deemed to be *aboa* 'animal', 'beast' if one acts thoughtlessly:

> . . .adwene means mind including thoughts, which can be actual or potential. If the Akan say that someone has no adwene, it means he has no capacity for having good thoughts and thus no potential of becoming a good thinker. This does not mean that he cannot have any actual thoughts. (Müller 2008, p. 174)

Adwene includes the appreciation of the natural principles and realities of life and the ethical values of society. Central to the concept of *adwene* is the capacity, not only to plan and execute things, but also to process and extract meaning from material things and non-material experience, and in this connection, the *adwene* manifests as *asekyerɛ*, i.e., meaning. *Asekyerɛ* could, in sum, be explained as social and cognitive value; and the philosophy here is that material and non-material things and happenings are ultimately interpreted in terms of their value in our idea of the world and life, and that the actual essence of anything in our experience is not the ontological manifestation but its meaning or value. Thus, two things different in materiality could have the same cognitive and social

value, and one thing could have different values or meanings in different contexts. Akan family names generally do not focus on materiality but on the cognitive and social value. In that regard, the Akan exploits cognitive values or deeper meanings of concepts rather than the physical experiences, and bodily representations are, thus, selected based on their cognitive values rather than their mere materiality. I illustrate this below with some *tree* and *animal* concepts.

Tree concepts typically used as personal names are *odum* 'Milicia regia', *onyina* 'Ceiba pentadra', **essia** 'Petersianthus macrocarpus'. The names of the trees and the personal names derived from them are not based on the simple physical characteristics of the trees but on the cognitive concepts associated with them. **Odum** is associated with robustness and durability, **onyina** with immensity, and **essia** with firmness[13]. Personal names produced from these cognitive concepts include *Odum*, *Gyadum*, *Dumsa* (from **odum**); *Esia*, *Asiama*, *Asiadu*, *Asiakwa* (from **essia/assia**); and *Onyina/Nyinah*, *Nyinakwa*, *Nyinsa* from **nyina**. It is interesting to note that though a *Baku* tree is identified as the biggest tree in Ghana and West Africa, the **baku** tree itself has not been conceptualised as representing the cognitive concept of immensity among the Akan and is therefore not exploited for the purposes of personal naming in the way the other species have been used as explained above. Similarly, whilst the *gyata* 'lion' is known to have a more massive physique, strength and power than the leopard, the latter's great flexibility, eagerness, rapidness, running dynamics, and great climbing abilities are favoured in cognitive conceptualisation to the lion. The Akan associates *gyata* with raw ferocity and power and destruction, and the leopard with strength, cunning, intelligence, and reliability. Consequently, **Twie** (another name for the leopard) is used as a family name concept, producing such names as *Twie*, *Twiesa*, and *Twieku*. Evidently, then, it is the social implication and cognitive conceptualisations, which the Akan considers as the real meaning or sense, which guide the selection of concepts for personal naming in Akan.

2.1.6. Physical Features Could Be Superficial but Important to Value

Whilst the Akan culture places keen emphasis on cognitive and social value beyond the outward, physical or direct manifestation, as discussed above, it also holds that notwithstanding the immensity or importance of the value associated with a concept or an experience, its physical characteristics or associated environmental conditions could also affect its ultimate value and commemorability index. The saying

Domo afifiri bini mu.

'Best mushrooms have grown in excreta'

underlies the effect of physical and environmental features on the value of a phenomenon. Mushrooms are deemed by the Akan as one of the best sources of nutrients, and the *domo*, a high variety, has a majestic symbolism; but all this value is negated by the facts of its context. Physical aspects taken as affecting the value of a phenomenon include its make-up characteristics, its products, and its primary material class. For instance, the *dog* (*kraman*) is seen as a very important animal among the Akans. Beyond its role as an effective, longstanding friend of humans, it is also connected to the origin of some clans and sub-ethnicities. In recognition of the place of the dog across ethnicities, it is used as the state symbol of several ethnicities or settlements; and it is a totem of the Aduana clans[14]. However, notwithstanding this recognition, the physical profile of the dog—the fact that it is domestic, with its day-to-day weaknesses in its eating, waste, and sexual habits—is not favourable to its ultimate cognitive value.

Again, the fact that of two sharp cutting hand instruments—the *akofena/afena* 'sword' and *sekan/nkrante* 'cutlass' or 'machete'—one of them, *Akofena/Afena*, is deemed to have a high commemorability value, but *sekan* or *nkrante* is deemed not high enough in value, and is not used as a name, points to the place of physical characteristics and associations in commemorability considerations. Both instruments are used at the battlefront, and according to some respondents, the cutlass may even be needed more often on the battlefield, not

only as an instrument of attack on the enemy—which is what the *akofena* is for—but also for helping the movement, camping, feeding, and the general sustenance of the army. However, from the point of view of the physical or environmental, the *akofena* is associated with the context of war, which is considered high in social value, whereas the *sekan* or *nkrante* is more often associated with everyday and household activities—weeding, harvesting, peeling and cutting food items for cooking, cutting meat, cutting tree branches for wood for building human settlements (houses or huts), and a plethora of daily activities—and for all these, the *sekan* or *nkrante* is associated with contexts that do not support a high social or cognitive value.

2.2. Akan Structure of Experience

In light of the values discussed above, the Akan categorises aspects of experience—objects, animals, humans, activities, descriptions, thoughts—into a value system, and the placement of a concept within this value space is crucial for its consideration or not as a family name concept. Attention needs to be drawn to the fact that this value structure, as discussed below, could be seen as a culmination of various cognitive and cultural considerations, including those discussed above. The following idea of a value structure was gathered from the study:

i.   Sacred
ii.   Honourable
iii.   Neutral
iv.   Tolerable
v.   Abusive
vi.   Taboo.

2.2.1. The Sacred

At the top of the value structure, the Supreme Being, deities, spirits, *nsamanfo* 'spirits of the dead', etc., are deemed *sacred*. Whilst the sacred is revered by the Akan, it is also deemed to be removed from our human experience and therefore excluded from human activities, including the construction of names. It is necessary, here, to recognise the differential use of *sunsum* or *honhom*, on the one hand, and **kra**, on the other. Whilst both are spiritual concepts, *honhom* refers to the spiritual elements directly, in their total spiritual form or realm—and is considered *sacred*, whilst *ɔkra* refers to the spirit as embodied in the human being, who is physical. In that sense, *ɔkra*, though spiritual, is human—and not sacred.

2.2.2. The Honourable

Whilst the concept of sacredness is spiritual in its clearest manifestation, the idea of the honourable is seen in the abandonment or rejection of basic human tendencies and objects that reflect as:

■   Selfishness, self-centredness;
■   Transience of life;
■   Concentration of the flesh or the physical with its challenges;
■   Concentration of the sweet, the easy, the near, the clear, the rosy;
■   Effeminateness[15];
■   Simple everyday activities, events, materials, and associated persons;
■   Ordinariness, dependence on natural qualities or resources.

Opposite these attributes above, which point to the dishonourable, are the following, which are generally considered to be of high social value and honour:

■   Focus on the community or the other;
■   Focus on overcoming the weakness of the flesh;
■   Focus on the display of effort, strength, and resistance, especially for the common good;

- Focus on the great, the superlative, which comes by effort and sacrifice, with sympathy for the little anyway;
- Focus on non-ordinary activities or experiences.

2.2.3. The Neutral

Honourability may be seen as the absence of base tendencies or the presence of things of merit. Flowing from that, *neutrality* can be seen simply as the absence of both base and merit tendencies, that something is not up for merit or honour nor for blame or dishonour. This covers a lot of concepts, artifacts or activities, and includes regular everyday phenomena such as the *human being*, *times*, *seasons and ordinary spaces*. They can simply be seen as the general, everyday things that neither call for praise nor blame.

2.2.4. The Tolerable

The *tolerable* is defined in terms of the existence of tendencies deemed base but not in such terms as to cause one to reject or shun them. Beyond the fact that tolerable concepts do not have alarming levels of baseness, tolerability also depends on the following considerations:

✓ That the said occurrence is natural or beyond human control;
✓ That it comes out of accident or is unavoidable;
✓ That it calls for human sympathy rather than anger or humour.

2.2.5. The Abusive

Things that are labelled abusive insult sensibilities. Abusive concepts include explicit invectives and references which express disgust and disrespect for the self or another. Abusive concepts and experiences often refer to persons and groups, and they disrupt the cohesion and solidarity in a community.

2.2.6. The Taboo

Taboos embody regulations set to guide the moral, mystical, and religious sensibilities, and the sustenance of a people. Things for which societies set taboos are therefore seen to be very core to the society as a whole, and in many societies, taboos could receive severe kinds of punishments. Things that offend the moral and religious values of the Akan in the deepest ways are deemed taboo. For instance, whilst defeating one's foes in a war is deemed honourable, intentionally killing these soldiers by cutting through their throat or their stomach offends natural sensibilities, and is tabooed.

There are two ways in which these parameters may apply in Akan values, which would also influence personal name construction. First, some experiences, artifacts or concepts might be generally associated with one or more of the parameter items; and second, within a specific line of experience some aspects or activities may be placed in one parameter item or another. For the first, war, kinship, chieftaincy, helping, etc., may generally be placed under *honourable*, whilst animals, plants, food, household items might be placed under *neutral*; and illness, death, pain, loss, defeat, hunger may be placed under *tolerable*. Yet within the general conceptualisation of **war**, some aspects may be considered honourable, neutral, tolerable, abusive, or taboo, which is the second parameter. Below, I attempt a value profile of **war**, focusing on the three categorisations of the *honourable*, *neutral*, and *tolerable*. It needs to be pointed out that concepts used in family name construction will normally come from the *honourable*.

Honourable
Activities: going to battle, marking and firing, conquering, defeating, redeeming, protecting
Items: gun, sword, shield, whetting stone
Person: captain, military ranks and positions, the victor

Neutral

Activities: running, planning, taking cover, defending oneself, returning home
Items: machete, cudgel, stone
Person: maleness

Tolerable

Activities: killing oneself or others, suffering defeat, escaping, taking cover
Items: stick, food
Person: the dead, captives

Concepts from the neutral and tolerable category are usually not used as family names, but may be used to construct appellations, tease names, or circumstantial names reflecting lamentation or indignation[16]. Attention to the value categories of expressions in the formation of different kinds of personal names is often very strict. In furtherance of the above discussions, it is necessary, at this juncture, to draw attention to the fact that the name *Banyin*[17] (*Banin*) is different conceptually from the *neutral* concept of maleness or man, which is also **banyin**[18].

3. Commemorability and Personal Naming in Akan

In this section, I discuss the general principles in the application of the commemorability principle to the construction of Akan names. This will focus on the general manifestation of the component principles of honourability and preservability in the choice and application of personal name concepts, still guided by the general Akan values of life and structure of experience. The discussion will cover the following:

- Cognitive Values/General over Physical Manifestation
- Preference of the Mystical to the Physical
- The use of General Commemorability Concepts
- Extensive Use of Concepts of General Commemorability

3.1. Cognitive Values over Physical Manifestations

Deep in Akan values, the actual essence of life is not in the physical things but in the experience, its cognitive impact and what it means to the understanding of human life. The physical things are, thus, as seen above, not the essence of life, but resources to create, attain or conceptualise the actualities of life; and they are, therefore, usually not the aspects of honour and preservation themselves, but are only representations or symbols or pointers to the essence. In the construction of personal names, cognitive values are normally employed; and where physical objects and experiences are employed, it is because they are understood to represent cognitive values. The practice is that between individual objects and experiences and a general cognitive concept, the Akan family name process would pick the items of general conceptualisation, except in cases where the general concepts do not embody the value being harnessed for the name. For instance, whereas specific tree species or animal kinds could cognitively represent certain commemorability values, as seen with the *odum*, *nyina*, and *essia*, as trees; and *twie* 'leopard' and *kɔre* 'eagle', the general expression *dua*[19] 'tree' and *aboa* 'animal'/'beast' are neutral or even abusive concepts, and very low in value, and are not commemorable as names.

Where the concepts are used as though they refer to specific instances, they are still interpreted cognitively, in family naming, as representing the general cognitive value. Thus, *Aboa/Boa* or *Amoa* is not interpreted as 'an act of help' or 'a help' but as 'a symbol of helpfulness'. However, sometimes an interesting distinction is made between two name manifestations, which may point to the use of the specific or general cognitive concept, as in the case of *Ɔpeafo* and *Apea*. The agentivised form, *Ɔpeafo*, and the conceptual form, *Apea*, and its amplified name-concepts *Apeakwa*, *Peasah*, *Apeatu*, *Apeaban*, are both formed from the Akan concept **pea**, meaning strong, solid. However, whereas *Apea* is used as a family

name, *Ɔpeafo*, using *fo* (person affix), is largely an accolade or an honorific, descriptive of individuals.

Focusing on the general cognitive concept, with names relating to war, for example, the individual names—*Safo, Sapɔn, Seesi, Nsadu, Nsako*—are based on the conceptualisation of the human experience in war—marksmanship, bravery, organisation, and the whole experience of war as a crucial aspect of our life and sustenance, the endurance, the redemption and liberation of others or the community, the seizure of persons and lands to increase ethnic jurisdictions—rather than the individual persons and their actions or objects of war. It is in this that lies the distinction between *sani* (lit. war person –warrior), which is an appellative[20] construction, and the onymic form *Safo*, which could simply be conceptualised as a person associated with the concept of fighting or war, or better still with militarism, or, in the best form, symbolism of the experience of war or militarism. We shall see more illustrations below.

The preference for cognitive concepts is based on the fact that unlike in several other linguistic cultures including Ewe, Dagbani, Gurene, etc., Akan family names are rarely descriptive, narrative, or even proverbial in nature. Thus, names of aphoristic, descriptive or narrative content such as *Nyamekyɛ* 'God's gift', *Afriyie* 'One who is born during good times', *Nyamennae* 'God is not asleep', or *Bɔwonda* 'Make your own grave' are traditionally circumstantial names, nicknames or appellations. On the contrary, family names normally represent society's cherished values, which are encapsulated in concepts; and the attention is on the values or the cognitive concepts, not the forms employed in their representation. Thus, the *odum* concept is processed as a personal name, due to the values of *formidability*, *strength* and *longevity* associated with it, and not because of the tree itself. And as explained, the **dum**, as the name for the tree, was itself derived from the cognitive concept encapsulated in **dum**[21]. Akan family names, as intimated above, do not normally seek to describe their bearers, perhaps not even really the earliest bearers of the names, but even for the primal bearers, the name may have been formed to help identify one cherished value of the society. Thus, when amplifier affixes are used, as will be discussed below—as in **ten** (pure, true) or **ko** (resilient, enduring) for, say, **kwa** (maleness, strength, bravery) to give *Kwaten* and *Kwaako*—it is deeper recognition or endorsement of the cognitive values expressed in the base name, *Kwaa* or *Akwa*.

The preference for cognitive concepts to physical objects is, as explained in the study, an attempt to sustain the purity of the cognitive value. This is because individual objects may on their own reflect different experiences, which might disturb the identity of the value being harnessed for naming. Let us take, for instance, the concept of *humanity*, **ni**, as against the specific manifestations of *abofra* 'child', *panin* 'adult', *ababaawa* 'young woman', *abrante* 'young man', *abrewa* 'old woman' or *akwadaa* 'old man', or even *nipa* 'human being'. Each of these manifestations of humans could invoke several ideas that may not be helpful to the value of the cognitive concept, making it difficult to be processed as a family name.

It is necessary to observe here that *Nipa* as a name is made distinct from *onipa* as a noun. Again, the physical manifestation of **ban** would be the fence which is domestic and neutral, and would normally not be processed as a family name. Finally, as intimated earlier, whilst the specific, physical manifestations of **boa** (help or helpfulness) might have low levels of commemorability associated with them, as in giving food to the hungry, assisting one to carry their load, giving medicine to heal the sick, the general cognitive concept of help is able to avoid the negatives and maintain the concept of help in its purest manifestation to be processed as a personal name.

To illustrate further the focus on cognitive values rather than individual occurrences, HELP (*mmoa*), and PROTECTION (*ban*) are high cognitive values among the Akan, and several sayings and practices do affirm their importance. **Ban** itself refers both to this social value of security and protection as well as the physical manifestations of walls, fences, accoutrements, and spiritual phenomena such as prayer, amulets and charms. However, **ban** in the various manifestations of personal names—*Aban (Abban)*, *Bampo, Bankram (Bancram), Abankwa, Bansah*—refers not to the agents nor objects, but to the concept

of **protection**. Similarly, the amplifying affixes to these concepts—**pó** 'immense', **kram** 'engulfing', **kwa** 'strong', 'resilient', **sã** 'exhaustive'—do not enhance one's delivery of security, but commemorate an amplified value of security and protection.

The manifestation of this principle in the construction of **nua** names is interesting. First, the term **nua** 'sibling'/'cousin' comes originally from *niwa*—**ni**[22] 'mother' and **ba/wa** 'child', meaning mother's child. In the course of time, the term came to represent all siblings, whether on one's mother's or father's side, full or half/step siblings, and even cousins. The **ni** (mother) concept, for its emphasis on corporeality[23] (unlike the spiritual and mystic association of *agya*—father) is not used as a name. Similarly, **nua**, which is based on this relationship of corporeality, is also not used as a name—because it refers to individuals or to specific biological and marital connections, rather than representing the general cognitive concept of solidarity or harmony—which is realised in the amplified forms *Nuama*, *Nuako*, *Nuasa*, *Nuakye*.

Finally, the use of agentive affixes as in *Boafo* lit. 'helper', *Safo* lit. 'warrior', *Bamfo* lit. 'protector', *Kwafo* lit. 'male person', and *Danfo* lit. 'friend' seems to point to specific experiences. However, in reality, the names are interpreted as follows:

- *Boafo*—symbolism of helpfulness;
- *Bani/Bamfo*—symbolism of protection or security;
- *Kwafo*—symbolism of maleness or strength and bravery;
- *Danfo*—symbolism of dependability.

Attention to the morphological and phonological details could sometimes help to draw attention to the focus on concept in name formation. Let us go back to **ban** 'protection'. A person who gives protection is morphologically constructed as *banbɔfo*. B**an** itself is normally a noun, and does not occur as a verb, except with the employment of **bɔ**, a verbal item, making the person who gives protection *banbɔfo* lit. 'protection-giving-person'. However, since the name form is connected to the cognitive concept, there is no need for a verbal element, and the *person* affix (**ni/fo**) is attached directly to the concept, giving *Banfo* (*Bamfo*[24]) or *Bani*. Further, **kwa** b**e**ing a noun—not a verb—and singular, the form of the *person* affix it could pick would be **ni**. Thus, if a specific experience were intended, the form would be **Kwani*. Evidently, then, **fo** is attached to the cognitive concept, with the interpretation of symbolism of maleness or bravery. Again, distinction is made between the specific experience of dependability[25]—represented as people in an interdependability relationship *ndanfo* (singular, *danfo/adamfo*)—and the general cognitive value of dependability, which is onymised as *Danfo* (*Danful*) or *Damfo*. The two are also phonologically distinguished—[dànfò] *danfo*—friend, and [dànfó], *Danfo*—name.

3.2. Preference of the Mystical to the Physical

The Akan sees life as having three levels of operation—the spiritual, the mystic, and the physical—and these represent the three component aspects of the human being: the soul 'ɔkra', which is inherited from God, representing the spiritual; the spirit 'sunsum', representing the mystic essence, which is inherited from one's father; and the *mogya/bogya* 'blood', the physical essence, inherited through the mother. The Akan principle is that the spiritual (relating to the soul and its connection to God and the spiritual pantheon) is transcendent—removed from the experience of humans, and therefore cannot be commemorated. Again, the physical (*mmogya* or *honam*—body) is considered too mundane or physical to merit honour and commemoration. Between these is the mystical level of the father, which is considered worth commemorating. The general principles relating to the tripartite personality of the *person* are outlined below, to be taken up further:

- The **mother** (*honam* or *mmogya/bogya*) conceptualisation is physical or corporeal, and does not manifest in family naming.
- **Father** (*sunsum*) is mystical, representing the earthly manifestation of the spiritual essence of the human being. *Sunsum* relates to such aspects of life as protection, wisdom, courage, magnetism, etc. Unlike the mother essence (*mogya*), which perishes

with the body, the mystical force from the father is held in the father's family and by his successor, hence the saying,

> *Agya bi wu a, agya bi te ase.*

> 'If the father dies another of a father would be alive'.

- It might appear—since place-in-linearity names are normally counted per the mother's birth—that naming with respect to birth would be considered from the point of view of the physical. To the Akan, in reality, acknowledging births in naming is not about corporeality but spirituality, as seen in the **amo** and **kra** names, and the day names.

- Similarly, considering that one becomes human, bearing *honam/mogya*, one could simply associate names that commemorate birth with motherhood. However, the actual essence of the celebration, in Akan thought, is that 'another spiritual entity has joined the ranks.' With the idea of 'spirit becoming human' in focus, the attention is on the **agya** 'father', through whose spiritual essence the breath of God becomes manifest in the physical. The idea of the primary role of the father in the life of the person is reflected in the saying,

> *Agya na ɛwo*

> 'It is the father who procreates'.

Fatherhood/Maleness is celebrated in a number of name-concepts or bases and family names: **kwa** (*Kwaku*, *Kwafo*), **nyin/nin** (*Enin/Aninakwa*), **barima** (*Berempɔn*, *Beredu*), **gya** (*Agya*, *Gyapɔn*).

As mentioned earlier, whilst the spiritual is deeply acknowledged and worshipped, spiritual entities are normally not commemorated, since they are seen to be beyond the scope of human physical existence, and how could one preserve that which already has a preserved life or which never dies? Preservation, as gathered from the interviews and focus group discussions, is for those things that can perish, which excludes the spirits. Akan commemoration is really for human experience and persons, activities, animals, and objects that make this life worthwhile. Personal names are not based on purely spiritual concepts; and of the spiritual concepts—*ɔsaman* 'ghost', *bosom* 'deity', *sunsum* 'spirit', *nananom* 'ancestors', and *ɔkra* 'soul'—only **ɔkra** is used as a personal name. This is due to the fact, as explained above, that the name *Ɔkra* is not about the spiritual essence of personhood, but the fact that a spiritual entity has manifested in humanity.

The centrality of the soul in the realisation of one's life, among the Akan, draws attention to the place of the soul and its derived name concepts and names:

> The *okra* is that which constitute the innermost self, the essence, of the individual person. *Okra* is individual's life, for which reason it is usually referred to as *okrateasefo*, that is, the living soul, a seeming tautology that yet is significant. The expression is intended to emphasize that *okra* is identical with life. The *okra* is the transmitter of the individual's destiny (fate: *nkrabea*). It is explained as a spark of the Supreme Being. (Gyekye 1987, p. 85)

The Akan believes that one inherits the soul from God and that one takes leave from God on a day to begin life on earth, which then becomes the day of birth—*Monday, Tuesday*... *Sunday*. People born on the same day are, thus, believed to belong to the same soul group. Christaller (1933), Kropp Dakubu (1981), Obeng (2001), and Ofori (2019) believe that there was organised worship for the seven day-deities in the past. There are, however, several instances in which fathers have changed the day names of their children in order to create a stronger spiritual bond between the children and himself or others. When a child naturally shares the same day spirit with one's father, the circumstantial name, *Kra*, is used to signify this spiritual bond. The name, *Kra*, from the discussions, refers not really to the spiritual essence of the soul, but to its manifestation in the physical life.

Perhaps of a keener mystical value is the *sunsum*, which is linked to the father. Interestingly, *sunsum* is itself deemed too spiritual for commemoration as a personal name, but it becomes the basis for several name concepts and practices in Akan. The fundamental

place of the *sunsum* and its connection to God and the father, which would underlie its place in personal naming, is explained by Afriyie (2000) thus:

> We could say that the *sunsum* was derived directly from God in the first man. It is the part of the divine in a man which he passes down to his offspring. If human beings are conceived as consisting of both spiritual and physical elements, then it must be possible for them to pass on to their offspring something of their spiritual element... The *sunsum* is a spiritual element. It is divine and yet it comes indirectly from God to a person through the father. (Afriyie 2000, pp. 18–19)

Fatherhood is itself very crucial in naming in Akan, beyond the fact the father is the embodiment of the *sunsum*, as explained above. First, in general terms, the Akan concept for fatherhood **agya** is the basis for the **gya** names such as *Agya*, (fem. *Gyaba/Gyawa*), *Gyabun*, *Agyakwa*, *Agyadu*, *Agyafi*, *Gyafua*, *Gyasi (Gaisie)*), and this is based on the understanding that fatherhood is the epitome or symbolism of the idea of guidance and protection in life's journey, which is expressed in the concept **gya** (to lead, to guide, to protect), which is the basis for the **agya** concept. Sekyi-Baidoo (2019) explains how the father, through his sunsum, becomes a symbolism of guidance for a child:

> Sunsum is associated with aspects which are related to such non-physically sourced qualities as confidence, courage, natural honour and charisma, emotional and spiritual strength or resistance, eloquence and favour, pride, general life choices, invincibility etc. which are usually not entirely explicable in physical terms. (p. 49)

So important is the guiding role of the father that without his consent, one could not take up any formal role in one's mother's lineage—even in a system that is traditionally matrilineal. Again, the so-called family name, which is normally a person's most important and revered name, referred to sometimes as *adakamudin*[26], is given by one's father. Properly considered, that category of name is *agyadin* (paternal name or father-given name), not just because it is chosen by one's father, but that, it is originally taken from the father's ntorɔ[27] (patrilineage) or from persons whose lives a father associates with or cherishes. Further, it is the father who, putting together the categories of names available to a child, determines the string of names a child would be known as, and their order; sometimes, at naming, he determines which name would be used as a child's everyday name.

As intimated above, the father could even change the day name of a child, such that a child born on Friday may be called *Kwaku* (Wednesday-born male) instead of *Kofi* (Friday-born male), if a father believes that the change of day name would help connect a child to the guardian spirit of the superordinate-namesake[28]. All this is in recognition of the salient role of the *sunsum*, a father's guardian spirit; and it is believed one's own *sunsum* is stimulated by that of a father to access available mystical gifts, including the capacity to access the mystical resources available in the names given to a child[29]. Looking at the capacity imbued by the *sunsum* as seen in Sekyi-Baidoo (2019) it is evident that the aspects of life deemed to have honourability (and which appear as personal name concepts) are invariably all connected to the *sunsum*. A very significant one among the qualities provided is one's confidence, courage, spiritual strength or resistance, and invincibility, which are embodied in the concept of **were** (lit. skin or inner skin), the base concept for such names as *Awere*, *Weredu/Wiredu*, *Wereko*, and *Werenkyi* (*Yirenkyi*).

A look at the commemorable concepts associated with the *person* confirms the preference for the mystical over the physical: whilst the mystical aspects of the person, made up of the aspects relating to the *soul* 'ɔkra' and the *spirit* 'sunsum' have a few names emanating from them, the physical aspects are sparingly used[30]. Associated with the mystical are the following name concepts with their base and extension names:

- **kra** (the soul as coming from the Supreme Being)—*Okra, Krapi, Akrasi;*
- **mo** (the soul as being manifest in physical life)—*Amo, Amofa, Amowi;*
- **were** (the genus—emanating from **sunsum**)—*Awere, Wereko, Weredu.*

However, so far, the only concepts associated with the human body are **ti** 'head' as in *Oti*, *Tieku*, and *Tibu*, and the **ani** (the eye) as in *Ani*, *Aniedu*, *Anifo*. Even here, it is sometimes argued that **ni,** as in the names listed above, may not be associated with the eye. An analysis of the commemorability profile of other concepts could reveal different lines of choices, but one could predict that concepts selected for personal naming would, as discussed above, have cognitive interpretations that would invariably be identified with qualities associated with the *sunsum* as in Sekyi-Baidoo (ibid).

3.3. Cognitive Values and General Commemorability

Whilst the philosophy of commemorability in personal names is reflected in experiential concepts, the Akan also uses general commemorability concepts, first, by themselves as names reflecting different aspects of what the Akan finds *honourable* and *preservable*; and, second, as *amplifier affixes* which heighten the value in the concepts, thereby intensifying the strength of the values in base-name[31] concepts. General commemorability concepts revolve around the values of *prominence/pre-eminence*, *excellence*, *fullness/extensiveness*, *exhaustiveness/inexhaustibility*, *translucence and truth*, *extremity*, *strength*, *resilience*, and *social cohesion*, as presented below, and indeed others. Being cognitive concepts, they are embodied, and are, thus, derived from regular life experiences.

Below, I discuss briefly the relationship between the cognitive concepts and human experience, focusing on a few concepts connected to relationship with the earth or what I may call *concepts of physical space*.

- **PIM**—to be massive, yet firm into the ground, and with an upright posture. It is distinguished from **pi** in the sense that whilst **pi** also shares the sense of *uprightness* and *upright* posture, **pim** carries an additional cognitive idea of *massiveness* and *weightiness*. It represents immensity, importance, formidability, and strength.
- **TA**—to become flat, level with and firm to the ground, which points to strength and firmness—not between a vertical object and a horizontal one, as in **pim**, but *horizontal* against *horizontal*. It gives the idea of a natural solidness or weightiness, which present something as too firm on the ground to drift or be blown away. It represents firmness and unity.
- **TIA**—not extensive on the earth, horizontally or vertically—short. **Tia** represents the non-physical conceptualisation of the *terse* or *concise*, or that which makes something concise, or which shortens a search, as in *aberewatia*—*aberewa* (old woman) + *tia* (the best kind). *Aberewatia* points to the very old woman, who in her deepest oldness as a woman, represents the deepest repository of folklore and history one could have access to. **Tia** points to the best and most available.
- **WARE**—**Ware** captures the idea of a remarkable stretch, vertically or horizontally. It carries the sense of the *extensive* and *remarkable* with respect to an object, person, or character trait.
- **TENE**—could be seen in two related yet distinct senses, both emanating from the idea of *outspreading*, which could be physical, referring to the remarkable stretch from source to reach. The stretch could also be seen metaphorically in terms of the reach of influence, which may itself be based on truthfulness or purity of character. These two senses of **ten/tene,** however, extend differently, and this is where their distinctiveness becomes evident. **Tene** as *tall* extends as **tenten**, but **tene** as truth or purity does not extend morphologically. At best, this extensiveness would be expressed in adverbs such as **paa** 'remarkably' or **pii** 'very much'.

In terms of their relationship to the earth, as we have discussed above, **pim** and **ta**, on the one hand, reflect ability and strength in exerting, joining, and firming up to the earth, whilst **tia**, **ware**, and **ten** conceptualise the vertical and horizontal coverage on the surface of the earth, and it is from this that their cognitive values are derived.

The physical-oriented conceptualisations, as in **tia** (short), **ware** (long) and **tene** (physically extensive), are distinguishable from their more descriptive synonyms—*tenten* and *kɔnkɔnko*, which are descriptive appellations showing tallness. *Tenten* and K*ɔnkɔnko* are

both appellations of *Opoku*, evidently pointing to a past user who was very tall and famous. Below, cognitive concepts are grouped under the various themes (prominence, excellence, etc.) with examples of names. Some of the name tokens reflect their use as base concepts or base names, and others show their use as amplifier affixes. The part of the name reflecting the concept has been bolded for attention.

Excellence

- **Ten** (true, kind, perfect)—*Ɔ**ten**, **Ten**adu, Kwa**ten**, Boa**ten***
- **Tia** (pithy)—***Tia**, **Tia**kwa, Kwa**tia**, Amoa**tia***
- **Kan** (leadership, illuminating)—*O**kan**, N**kan**sa, **Kan**ko, O**kan**ta*

Prominence

- **Po** (big/massive)—***Po**bi, Gyam**po**, Kwa**po**, **Po**ku*
- **Pɔn** (great, pre-eminence)—*Ɔ**pɔn**, Gya**pɔn**, Sa**pɔn**, **Pɔn**kwa*
- **Bi** (of substance, merit)—***Bi**, Gye**bi**, Asa**bi**, Fo**bi**, Po**bi***
- **Yi** (special, set aside)—*A**yi**, Sa**yi** (Osei), Da**yi**/Dei (Adai), Ag**yei***
- **Gyir** (distinct, marked)—*A**gyir**, Kwe**gyir**, Sa**gyir**, Fe**gyir***
- **Kyi** (Separate, far from others)—*O**kyir**, Sa**kyi**, **Kyi**reku, Da**kyi***

Extremity

- **Tu** (uttermost)—*O**tu** (Otoo), **Tu**foɔ, Kwa**tu**, Pa**tu***
- **Wu** (extreme)—*O**wu**, **Wu**ssa, Da**wu**, Gya**wu** (Gyau), Apa**wu** (Apau)*

Translucence/Clarity/Brightness

- **Annɔ** (light, truth)—***Annɔ**, **An**ɔkye, **An**obiri, Akwa**nnɔ**, Gya**nnɔ***
- **Nyan** (awakening, brightness)—***Nyan**, **Nyan**sa, Kwa**nyan**, Bo**nyan***
- **Te** (clear, pure)—*A**te**fo, A**te**fa, Boa**te**, Nyan**te***

Fullness/Extensiveness

- **Mu** (absolute)—*A**mu**/**Mu**, Ama**mu***
- **Ma** (full)—*Am**mah**[32], **Ma**fo, Asia**ma**, Boa**ma***
- **Du** (complete, round)—*A**du**, E**du**fo, A**du**ko, Sa**du** (**Nsadu**), Boa**du** (Amoa**du**)*
- **Fua** (whole)—***Fua**, Kwe**fua**, Sa**fua**, Da**fua**, **Fua**kye*
- **Ware** (extensive)—*O**ware** (**Wade**ɛ), Adu**ware**, Ate**ware**, Ofosu**ware***

Exhaustiveness/Inexhaustibility

- **Pem** (comprehensive)—*Kwa**pem**, Da**pem**, Gya**pem***
- **Ampem** (inexhaustible, indefatigable)—*A**mpem**, Boa**mpem***
- **Sã** (exhaustive)—*A**sã**, Ada**sã**, Kwa**sã**, Amoa**sã**, Aba**ssã**, Afo**sã***
- **ansã** (inexhaustible)—*A**nsã**, Gya**nsã**, Kwa**nsã**, Boa**nsã***

Strength, Resilience, Endurance

- **Ko** (enduring)—*A**ko**, A**ko**tia, **Ko**ten, Amoa**ko**, Gya**ko***
- **Pea** (strong, pithy)—*A**pea**, **A**peadu, Gya**pea**, **Pea**nim (**Pia**nim)*
- **Pim** (stable, rooted)—***Pim**, Gya**pim**, **Pim**pim*
- **Ta** (fixed)—*Ta**a, **Ta**bi, **Ta**nɔ, Bo**ta***
- **Ben** (tough)—*Ɔ**ben**, **Ben**sa, Sa**ben**, Kwa**ben***
- **Dua** (tactical, tenacious)—***Dua**, E**dua**fo, A**dua**kye, Ko**dua***
- **Kye** (persistent, durable)—***Kye**, Boa**kye**, Fa**kye**, Sa**kye**, Kwa**kye***
- **Kyẽ** (of longevity, permanence)—*A**kyẽ**wa, A**kyẽ**na, A**kyẽ**ampɔn*

Social Joy and Cohesion

- **Frɛ** (gregarious)—*A**frɛ** , **Fre**dua, **Frɛ** kye, Amoa**frɛ***
- **Dé** (extroverted)—*O**de**, **De**de, Kwa**dede***
- **Fra** (Mixable)—*****Pim**, Gya**pim**, **Pim**pim***

The cognitive concepts are derived from nouns, verbs, and especially adjectives, and they represent the ideas of the Akan culture about the best or most commemorable aspects of life. For instance, the concept **boa** refers to the experience of assisting others, which is a core aspect of Akan values. From this experience is derived the cognitive concept of **boa** *helpfulness*, which reflects society's value that entities and persons are expected to be helpful to society. Again, **dua** (to manoeuvre) derives from the experience of making a way through a tough path or situation, and from this is derived the cognitive concept **dua,** representing tenacity and adeptness. Over time, almost all the main concepts are processed as cognitive concepts, and are used both as base and affix in the construction of family names in Akan. Below, the general commemorability concepts—**pea** 'solid', **boa** 'help', **gya** 'fatherhood', **kwa** 'maleness', and **fo** 'counsel'/'wisdom'—are presented as *base concepts*, with other commemorability concepts, such as **ampem** 'inexhaustible', **nɔ** 'radiant'/'truthful', **ben** 'tough', **bi** 'of merit', and **du** 'complete', functioning as *amplifier concepts*, for the construction of extension names.(See Table 1)

Table 1. Akan personal names using general commemorability concepts.

Amplifying Concept	Concept Name	Name Concepts and Extension Forms				
		APEA (Strong, Solid)	**ABOA AMOA (Help)**	**AGYA (Guidance, Protection)**	**KWA (Bravery)**	**FO (Counsel, Wisdom)**
Ampem (inexhaustive)	*Ampem*	-	*Boampem*	*Gyampem*	-	-
Annɔ (radiant)	*Annɔ*	*Appeanɔ*	*Boannɔ*	*Gyandɔ Gyannɔ*	*Akwannɔ*	*Anɔkye*
Ben (tough)	*Ɔben*	-	*Amoaben*	*Gyaben Agyaben*	*Kwaben*	*Foben*
Bi (of merit)	*Bi (Bih)*	*Appeabi*	*Amoabi*	*Gyabi*	*Gyabi*	*Fobi*
Du (complete)	*Adu*	*Apeadu*	*Boadu Amoadu*	*Gyadu Agyadu*	*Kwadu*	*Afodu*
Dua (tenacious)	*Dua/Odua*		*Boadua*		*Kodua*	*Afodua*
Ko (enduring)	*Ako, Ɔko*	*Apeako*	*Amoatia Boatia*	*Gyako Agyako*	*Kwako Akwako*	-
Kwa	*Akwa/Kwaa*	*Apeakwa*	*Amoakwa*	*Agyakwa*	*Kwakwa*	*Afokwa*
Kye (durable)	*Kye*	*Apeakye*	*Boakye Amoakye*	*Gyakye*	*Kwakye*	*Afokye*
Nyan (awakening)	*Nyan/Enyan*	*Apeanyan*	*Boanyan*	-	*Kwanyan*	-
Pɔn (preeminent)	*Ɔpɔn/Oppong*	*Apeapɔn*	*Amoapɔn*	*Gyapɔn Agyapɔn*	*Kwapɔn*	
Pea	*Apea*	-	*Boapea*	*Gyapea*	*Kwapea*	-
Pem -(comprehensive)	*ɔpem*	-	*Boapem Amoapem*	*Gyapem*	*Kwapem*	*Afopem*
Po (immense)	*Po (Poh)*	*Apeapo*	*Amoapo*	*Gyapo*	*Kwapo*	-
Sã (exhaustive)	*Asa*	*Peasa*	*Boasa Amoasa*	*Gyasa*	*Kwassa*	*Afosa*
Ten (upright)	*Ɔten (Oteng)*	*Apeaten*	*Boaten Amoaten*	*Gyaten*	*Kwaten*	*Afoten*
Tia (pithy)	*Tia*	*Apeatia*	*Boatia Amoatia*	*Gyatia*	*Kwatia*	*Fotia Afotia*
Tu (uttermost)	*Otu*	*Apeatu*	-	*Gyatu*	*Kwetu*	-
Wu (extreme)	*Owu*	*Apeawu*	*Amoawu*	*Gyawu*	*Kwawu*	*Fowu*
Yi (unique)	*Oyi/Ayi*	-	*Amoayi*	*Agyayi Agyei*	*Kwayi*	-
Pim (Stable)	*Pim*	-	*Boapim*	*Gyapim*	*Kwapim*	

As shown above, the Akan family name is, generally, constructed through affixation, with a *base*, which represents the concept being exploited for the construction of the name, and an *affix*, i.e., an amplifier suffix which adds value to the base concept, by introducing another level of commemoration. For example, **boa** 'help' is extended with **ansa** 'inexhaustible', **ten** 'truthful'/'pure', and **nɔ** 'truthfulness', yielding amplified ideas about the concept or value of helpfulness as follows:

- *Boansa*—inexhaustible helpfulness/help;
- *Boaten*—pure, unalloyed helpfulness;
- *Boako*—resilient helpfulness.

The base could also occur with a nominal affix, zero affix, or with person/agent affixes, giving the following, as in the case of **boa**:

- *Boa*
- *Aboa/Amoa*
- *Boafo/Amoafo*

Cognitive commemorability concepts are used as amplifier affixes, as evident in the table above, creating *extension names* (Sekyi-Baidoo 2019). They could also, on their own, function as base concepts, and be able to admit other amplifier concepts. Situations where the base concept occurs also as the amplifier affix, as in *Kwakwa*, above, and others such as *Karikari*, *Kyekye*, *Prepra*, *Kyikyi*, *Tete*, *Titi*, present an interesting constructional occurrence.

4. Conclusions

So important is the commemorability principle in the construction and use of the Akan family name that when the outcome of a construction coincides with the form of a concept that is considered to be of low commemorability value, the name could drop from the anthroponomasticon, or that something could be done to the phonology in order to distinguish it from the non-commemorable concept and to avert the possible association with what could be seen as dishonourable. This salience of commemorability in the construction of the family name, as explained in the discussion, is based on the place of the family name in the Akan value and conceptualisation and value space—as representing society and its values. As explained in the paper, the commemorability principle serves as a necessary filtration mechanism for identifying and preserving the concepts that represent society and its cherished values.

Commemorability might not be necessary in the representation of one's relationship with family or social circumstances (circumstantial names) or with the representation of one's own experience in life (appellations), which are based not on values but *reality*. It is in light of this that sika 'wealth'/'money' could not easily be used as a family name but as an appellation. Again, **bena** 'wailing' is acceptable as the base for the Tuesday day name as in *Abena* and *Kwabena*, but the concept of wailing would be deemed *dishonourable* and would not be used in the construction of the family name.

It is necessary to note that there have been movements across the name categorisations, with some circumstantial names and appellations becoming family names and some family names becoming circumstantial or appellations, and modern Akan has adopted new motivations[33] and systems for naming. However, in all these, it is often possible, with the commemorability assessments, to see how commemorability principles would have featured in all these dynamisms in personal naming. It is possible to find that commemorability issues could account for the popularity of names, with the hypothesis that the cognitive acceptability of a name concept could affect its spread or sustainability. In the study of the senses of family names, the commemorability principle has been useful, especially in situations where a name may be traced to two or more lexical or conceptual sources due to its phonology[34]. In such cases, the principle has helped to determine which of the different possible senses would pass the social value test; and more often than not, there are family accounts and contributions from consultants which have supported the determination.

What this paper has tried to do is to present an elaborate account of the principle of commemorability, placing it within the Akan value and philosophical system, explaining its main component theoretical considerations of honourability and preservability, and attempting to describe some tendencies that come with its application. As remarked at the beginning of the paper, commemorability is not restricted to personal naming; and in settlement names, there is a clear existence of principles that direct the choice or acceptability of concepts for the construction of names of towns, villages, and even ethnonyms in Akan. There is a need to pay specific attention to the values and principles that guide the commemorability system in Akan settlement naming. Again, going back to personal naming, it would be necessary to investigate how specific ideational domains, such as animal concepts, plant concepts, etc. have been guided by commemorability in the formation of the personal names we have.

Finally, whilst this theory has been developed with specific attention to Akan naming, it is possible to imagine that findings from other onomastic cultures may provide useful ideas about what principles may have guided the choice and presentation of concepts for the construction of personal names and different categories of onyms. Surely, studies relating to these considerations could not be absent in the extant literature; but at this juncture, more targeted studies into choices—even in cultures which may be seen as *liberal* in their selection of concepts for naming—may reveal interesting principles and practices which would inform more deeply about the connection between culture and name construction.

Notes

[1] Akan family names are normally base, made up of only the base concept, or extension names, which are made up of the base concept and an amplifier affix suffixed to the base form. Amplifier affixes extend the concept of the name with other concepts.

[2] All the expressions are formed around the concept **da** 'day'. With *Dwoda*, *Benada* and *Wukuada*, the **da** element expresses the general concept of the day as in the English Tuesday or Friday. In *dakoro*, *nnansa*, *nnawɔtwe* and *adaduanan*, it is the base, with the suffixes showing the number of days: **koro** 'one', **nsa** 'three', **wɔtwe** 'eight', and **duanan** 'fortieth'. The plural of **da** is **nda** or **nna,** as in *nnansa* and *nnawɔtwe*.

[3] Christaller explains *adekyee* and *adesa* conceptually in terms of illumination, which is quite descriptive of the physical atmosphere; but a more cognitive consideration identifies their distinction in terms of *kye* (to have more life) and *sa* (to be exhausted), which conceptualises the expressions of day and night in terms of *access* and *availabililty*.

[4] **kwa** (brave, strong), **ten** (virtuous or true kind), **po** (big, great, eminent), **ko** (enduring, resilient) and **sa** (exhaustive, comprehensive) are affixes, and they are part of the general cognitive commemorability concepts which are discussed below.

[5] The existence of *adasa* [ádàsà]—'mortal' from **da** (day/existence) + **sa** (exhaust), meaning mortal being and *adasa* [àdàsá]-'name'—**da** (life opportunity) + **sa** (exhaustive), meaning exhaustive life opportunity, underlies the distinction between the two conceptualisations around **da**.

[6] There is originally a phonological distinction between the person concept, **nipa,** [nípá] and the personal name, *Nipa* [nìpá], meaning excellence in humanity. The *pa* affix is used in other names such as *Kwapa*, *Adanpa*, and *Sapa*.

[7] Apart from bearing the name of the deity, theophorous children do not bear any visible physical or behavioural features that identify them as *gift-children* from a specific deity. The identification is considered basically spiritual, and for persons derived from deities—other than the Supreme Being—they are often expected to stay connected to the deity in sacrifices and periodic visitations to the shrine or river, and they sometimes wear ornaments as prescribed by the deity—or suffer some repercussions.

[8] Others are of the opinion that the personal name, *Nyame*, is originally *Nyam*, with an [i] paragoge, from the concept **nyam** 'to glow', 'to turn about in strength and power', which points to the fact that even the *Nyame* name of God is not commemorated as a personal name. This original *Nyam* name form is very evident in Fante contexts, and there is evidence of the same being

rendered as Nyame in recent naming or in formal contexts, pointing to a distinction between Nyame—the name of the Supreme Being—and *Nyam*—the personal name, with the two clearly distinguished in regular language.

9   In the Akan concept of Man, an individual is seen to be made up of three major elements: the ɔkra (soul), which is derived from and associated with God; the sunsum (spirit), which is derived through the father; and mogya (blood) which is derived from the mother.

10   It is necessary to see how the commemorability considerations would apply in the context of the day name. Differently, the day name system, which is narrative in nature, focusing not on the general human experience at the preparatory or onset, prosecution, and closure aspects of war, does not go through the conceptual distillation that the family name undergoes; but even there, one sees some attempt to avoid non-commemorable concepts as base concepts for name construction. Deeply considered, public expression of keen joy could be regarded as non-commemorable.

11   A conceptual distinction needs to be made between **awerɛhoɔ** (sorrow), which points to an inconsolability, showing protracted visible expression of grief, and **yaw** (pain), which is seen as a mental recognition of loss. The Akan finds **yaw** commemorable, first, showing a sense of appreciation of loss, and, second, a likelihood of self-control and possibly a herioic response. **Yaw** concept names include *Yaw, Yaben, Yatia, Yafo, Yadu, and Yakwa.*

12   It is important to recognise that whilst names from these concepts are often used as personal names in recent times—*Ahotɔ, Nkunim, Asomdwee*—they are used, not as family names, but as forenames, perhaps in replacement of such European names as *Joy, Peace, Victor*.

13   The names of the trees are derived from the cognitive concepts.

14   The Akan peoples are organised into matrilineal clans, one of which is the Aduana. The notable attributes of Aduana people, including intelligence, hard work, friendliness, and bravery, are all believed to be connected to their association with the dog, which is their totem. The Essumeja paramountcy of the Ashanti State, known to be one of the earliest, also has the dog as its symbol.

15   It is necessary to point out that this conceptualisation of *effeminateness* as dishourable is based on the patriachal orientation of Akan society, which is itself partly hinged on the crucial place of warfare in the life and organisation of Akan society, giving the male an elevated position as far as the protection of the society is concerned, which is evident in the concept for the male, *barima*, from **ba di ma**, lit. 'child/person intercede for', **i.e.,** the intercessor.

16   The Akan family name, as opposed to other personal names such as teasenames and cognomens, is distinguished by its primary focus on concepts considered to have strong social or cognitive value. It is thus possible, sometimes, to distinguish between original family names and those adopted from other name categorisations based on the value of their concepts.

17   As a family name, *Banyin* (*Banin* or *Benyin*) is constructed from the base **ba** (person) and the affix **nyin** (of greatness). Other names using the same base with amplifier affixes are *Abedi, Abadu* (Abedu), *Baafi, Basa* (Bassaw).

18   The form of the **maleness** concept (signifying bravery and strength) that is used as a personal name is usually *Barima*, which is normally an appellation (to *Yaw*, Thursday male day name) or a title for a chief or leader of an army, as in ***Barima** Asumadu Sakyi* (Paramount Chief of Kumawu, Ashanti), and ***Osabarima** Kwesi Atta* (paramount chief of Oguaa, i.e. Cape Coast). In *Osabarima*, the concept of malemess, **barima**, is prefixed with **sa** war**,** which defines the context of maleness, signifying bravery and strength.

19   **Dua** [dùꜝá] (tree) is distinct from **dua** [dùꜝà]—verb—meaning to manoeuvre, which is the base concept for the names *Dua, Duako, Eduafo, Eduakwa*, etc.

20   Appellative here is distinct from appellation. *Appellation* is used in this paper as a name or description which comes as an addition (by-name) to another name or a head-name. An *appellative* is, simply, a common noun, where a noun describes what it refers to. It is the opposite of the *onym* or a proper name, which does not seek to describe its referent. For example, in *You are a helper*, helper is an appellative; but in *This is Mr. Jay Helper,* Helper is an onym. The process of making an expression function as name is onymisation or proprialisation, and that of making an expression function to describe its reference or function as a common noun is appellativisation.

21   The **dum** concept 'heavy, stable, secure' reflects in the following words *fadum* 'pillar', *gyafadum* 'heavy, unquenchable fire', and *nkaedum* lit. 'remembrance secure', i.e. 'statue', all of which carry the idea of weightiness and stability. These words and the name of the tree may all have been derived from a general cognitive **dum** concept; or that *fadum, gyafadum* and *nkaedum* were derived from the cognitive idea of weightiness and stability derived from the heavy and enduring odum tree.

22   There is no direct connection between **ni** mother and **nipa** person. The idea of *person*, however, manifests as **ni**, as in *Asanteni*, lit. 'Asante person' or 'citizen of Asante'; *okuani*, lit. 'farming person' or 'farmer'; and *sani* lit. 'war person' or 'soldier/warrior'.

23   The aspect of the person associated with the mother is the physical essence of mogya (blood), representing the bodily line or inheritance, and this is not processed as a name, except in proverbial names such as *Mmogyabiyɛdɔm* (lit. 'one of your own blood could become your foe', i.e., your kin could also be your enemy).

24   The change from *Banfo* to *Bamfo* and *Danfo* to *Damfo* as below are due to homorgarnic assimilation that changes the alveolar nasal [n] to the labial nasal [m] in the context of the labial [f].

25   Dependability is expressed as **dan** in Akan, as in *Medan me maame* 'I rely on/depend on my mother'.

26   **Adakamudin** (lit. 'box-inside-name' i.e., a name kept safe in a box) stems from the practice that the name given by a father is often not put in everyday use, but kept for very important or formal contexts. One's day names, circumstantial names, and accolades or nicknames are used to safeguard the honour associated with the father-given family name.

27   Aside from the matrilineal clans (abusua), the Akan also has mystic patrilineal lineages called the ntɔn whose names are prefixed with **bosom** (deity) reflecting their spiritual nature, such as *Bosomakomfo*, *Bosomkyekye*, *Bosomnketia*. Amponsah-Kusi (2008) identifies a list of names associated with each of the 12 mystical lineages.

28   Among Akans, a child does not necessarily inherit the father's name, nor is there a prescribed pattern for what we would call traditional surnames or family names. Rather, a father chooses a person he respects, living or dead, whose name he offers to the newborn. The terms subordinate and superordinate namesake are used in Sekyi-Baidoo (2019, p. 383) to describe the relationship between the one whose name is being bequeathed (superordinate) and the new bearer of the name.

29   It is believed that each name, especially the family name, has a set of mystic properties, made up of, first, the experience and concept that gave rise to the name in the first place, and the accumulated strength brought to a name by the works of its earlier users, especially including the superordinate namesake. See Sekyi-Baidoo (2019, pp. 50–51).

30   We might cite the case of *Anantuo*, which was a part of the name of the Chief of Mampong, Boahen Anantuo, who led the Asante army in the Asante-Denkyira war. *Anantuo* (lit. 'lower leg') must have been used primarily as an appellation or nickname, not as a family name.

31   In Sekyi-Baidoo (2019), the distinction is made between names formed simply using the concepts such as *Boa* (helpfulness) or *Annɔ* (brightness, illumination), identified as **base names**, and others formed using these base names with amplifier senses, such as *Boakye*, *Boaben* or *Anɔkye*, *Anɔben*, which are seen as **extension names**.

32   *Amma* [ámá] also rendered as *Ammah* or *Armah* is distinct from *Ama* [am.á], the female day-name for Saturday.

33   For example, concepts around *joy* and *satisfaction*, as reflected in the concepts *anigye* 'happiness', *ahotɔ* 'relief'/'pleasure', *asomdwee* 'peace', *nhyira* 'blessings', *aseda* 'thanks'/'thanksgiving', and *ayeyi* 'praise', which traditionally did not usually feature as motivations even for circumstantial naming, have recently featured as name concepts usually in local first names, and in some cases as surnames.

34   For example, the name *Bankye* could be connected to three different lexical structures: (i). **ba** 'tuber' + **nkye** 'not lasting'—i.e., cassava; (ii) **ba** 'child' + **nkye** 'not lasting'—i.e., 'a child who will not survive childhood'; or (iii) **ban** 'security' + kye 'endure'—i.e., 'enduring security. Commemorability considerations will establish that *cassava* (a food item) and the concept of *child mortality* do not qualify to be used as concepts for family names, but *security* and the additional concept of *endurance* meets commemorability expectations. Thus, the name *Bankye*, with its anglicised form **Banchie**, is derived from the idea of security, and not cassava nor child mortality.

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Article

Toward an Onomastic Account of Vietnamese Surnames

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Abstract: This article presents a comprehensive exploration of Vietnamese surnames, with a specific focus on those attributed to the Kinh people, from an onomastic perspective. Beginning with a broad overview of general studies on Vietnamese names, the paper introduces the prevailing name structure, which follows the format [Surname + (Middle name) + Given name]. The study then delves into a careful examination of Vietnamese surnames, addressing key facets such as their origin, distinctive characteristics, quantity, and distribution. Notably, the article emphasizes the widespread usage of the Nguyễn surname, offering arguments and insights into its prevalence. Furthermore, the paper discusses the intricate nature of the meanings associated with Vietnamese surnames and highlights the legal considerations surrounding them. By combining historical context with cultural significance, the article aims to provide valuable insights into the complexities inherent in Vietnamese surnames. Ultimately, this research contributes to a deeper understanding of the historical roots and cultural significance of Kinh group surnames within the broader context of Vietnamese onomastics.

Keywords: family name; Vietnamese personal name; Kinh people; Nguyễn surname; name model

1. Introduction

1.1. Vietnamese Personal Names

The population of Vietnam, as per the 2019 Census, stands slightly above 96 million. The majority of this population, 85.3%, comprises the Vietnamese people, alternatively known as Viet or Kinh. Despite the coexistence of 54 ethnic groups within the nation, the Kinh, acting as a unified social and ethnic majority, wield considerable influence across political, economic, and linguistic spheres. The Kinh community serves as custodians of the predominant culture, and generally, the designation "Vietnamese" is commonly used interchangeably with "Kinh" and vice versa. In Viet Nam, the populace predominantly communicates in Vietnamese, the official national language, which is also the language of the Kinh. This language is characterized as a tonal monosyllabic Mon–Khmer language.[1]

The term "Vietnamese personal names" can be understood in two ways. Specifically, it refers to the names of Kinh individuals, referred to here as VPNs (Vietnamese personal names). In a more general sense, VPNs encompass the personal names of all Vietnamese people, irrespective of their ethnic background. While the main focus of this article is to describe Kinh personal names, the author uses the broader term VPNs due to the aforementioned considerations. When precision is required, the author opts for expressions such as "Vietnamese personal names" or "personal names of the Kinh people/group".

As Nguyễn (2010) holds, it is important to clarify that the term "VPNs" primarily denotes "Vietnamese given names" in this context. However, in a broader sense, it is occasionally employed to encompass other components such as surnames and middle names within the overall structure of Vietnamese names. Additionally, within this article, the expression "structure of VPNs" is loosely indicative of the various models of Vietnamese given names, while the term "pattern" is utilized to denote the individual elements constituting these models (see Section 2 below).

1.2. Research Studies on Vietnamese Personal Names

The examination of Vietnamese proper names, which includes personal names, seems to have begun a bit later compared to onomastic studies in European countries, including Britain. As per Phạm (1996), during the period spanning the 1930s to the 1950s, a handful of scholars, including Phan (1930) and Đào (1951), initiated the exploration of VPNs. However, their work predominantly consisted of presenting overviews or proposing further investigations into various facets of Vietnamese personal names, such as the origin of surnames, the rationale behind naming, naming practices, or alterations in given names.

Only in the 1960s, gaining more prominence in the 1970s, did a notable cohort of researchers from diverse fields start displaying significant academic curiosity in the examination of proper names. This interest was spurred by urgent requests from education reformists advocating orthographical standardization, particularly concerning the practical aspect of capitalizing proper nouns/names. Within their individual discourses, academics from a variety of fields—including philosophy, linguistics, history, and ethnography—were all forced to address the onomastic characteristics of given names. This was especially clear in their attempts to clarify name patterns and identify their functions within the naming system. The exploration of VPNs can be classified into distinct categories, encompassing historical, ethnographic, sociological, and linguistic perspectives (see Diệp 1986; Hồ 1967a, 1967b; Lê [1992] 2005; Nguyễn 1973b; Nguyễn 1967; Nguyễn 2010, 2022; Phạm 1996, 2003; Thái 1963; Trần 1960).

Scholars with backgrounds in history, ethnography, and sociology typically center their attention on delineating personal names and elucidating the rationale behind changes and evolutions in Vietnamese society over historical periods. In contrast, as Nguyễn (2010) maintains, researchers employing linguistic approaches predominantly delve into the orthography of proper names or other facets related to the standardization of VPNs (see Hoàng and Nguyễn 1984; Hồ 1976; Lê 1972; Lê [1992] 2005; Lê and Nguyễn 1962; Nguyễn 1973a; Nguyễn 1972a; Nguyễn 1995; Nguyễn 1972b; Nguyễn 1979). In brief, whether rooted in linguistic or non–linguistic frameworks, as per (Phạm 1996, p. 25), prior investigations into VPNs predominantly center around four key aspects: (1) the origin of personal names (including surnames); (2) the structure of personal names; (3) historical and cultural characteristics and naming practices; and changes and developments of names through historical periods.

This article aims at contributing to a comprehensive understanding of Vietnamese surnames, particularly those associated with the Kinh people, by exploring their historical roots, cultural significance, and the inherent complexities within the broader context of Vietnamese onomastics. It commences by introducing the topic of "Vietnamese Personal Names" followed by an overview of existing studies in the same domain. Section 2 delves into the "Structure of Vietnamese Personal Names" establishing a foundational understanding. The focal point of the research lies in Section 3, concentrating on "Vietnamese Family Names (Surnames)." Subsections cover the origin, distinctions between given names, middle names, and surnames, along with discussions on characteristics, quantity, and notable instances such as the prevalence of the Nguyễn surname. The section concludes by addressing the meanings associated with Vietnamese surnames and relevant legal considerations, offering a concise and comprehensive insight into the intricacies of Vietnamese family names.

2. Structure of Vietnamese Personal Names

The structure of Vietnamese personal names is generally non–controversial, with two universally acknowledged models (Lê [1992] 2005; Phạm 1996; Nguyễn 2010). The first model (Model 1), widely prevalent today, follows the pattern of [surname + middle name + given name] (e.g., *Triệu Thị Trinh*, *Khúc Thừa Dụ*, *Nguyễn Ái Quốc*, *Võ Thị Sáu*). [Surname + given name] (such as *Phùng Hưng*, *Đinh Điền*, *Phạm Hùng*) is agreed as the second model (Model 2). Concerning the comprehensive structure of VPNs, which includes the surname, middle name, and given name, Trần (1984) contends that the evolution of this

nomenclature framework began in the third century BC and gradually gained prevalence, reaching widespread usage by the mid–20th century.

Nguyễn's analysis, based on the names of 333 members of Parliament (MPs) in 1946 and candidates for the 2006 university entrance exams in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, reveals a decline in the traditional structure of Model 2 (a monosyllabic surname and a monosyllabic given name). While 51 out of 333 MPs in 1946 adhered to this model (15.31%), in 2006, only 267 out of 39,159 candidates in Hanoi followed suit (0.68%). In Ho Chi Minh City, among 57,327 candidates, merely 479 retained this traditional model, accounting for 0.83% (2010, p. 58).

The initial component of Vietnamese personal names' structure, the surname, frequently comprises a single syllable (a monosyllabic surname). However, as asserted by (Lê [1992] 2005), aside from one–syllable surnames, there exists a limited number of Vietnamese surnames composed of more than one word or syllable. In such instances, surnames are either compound or joint surnames (e.g., ***Tôn Thất*** *Tùng*, ***Nguyễn Lê*** *Tuệ Minh*).

Concerning the middle name, a conventional agreement posits that the majority of middle names are monosyllabic. However, Phan (1972), Nguyễn (1975), Phạm (1988), and (Lê [1992] 2005) argue that the prevalence lies in middle names with two or more syllables (disyllabic or polysyllabic). Furthermore, in certain cases, a complete name may encompass more than one distinct middle name. As per these scholars, in a female name such as *Lê Thị Thu Hằng*, for example, *Thị* and *Thu* are two separate middle names. In this article, a different view on this issue is held in the case of the aforementioned example. It is posited that there exists only a single middle name, denoted by the word/syllable *Thị*. *Thu* is one part of the disyllabic given name *Thu Hằng*, since the meaning of the name becomes fully apparent only when considered as a two–word denomination. *Hằng* may refer to the "moon" or "Goddess of the Moon", or it may refer to human characteristics such as durability, determination, or loyalty, while *Thu* lexically means "Autumn". *Thu Hằng* would refer to an "Autumn moon", which is considered a very beautiful female name in Vietnamese culture. The parents of this girl likely intend to underscore the notion that "our daughter possesses a beauty akin to the moon in Autumn."

On the given name, as (Nguyễn 2010, p. 59) discusses, in contrast to the surname, there is a consensus among most researchers that both monosyllabic and disyllabic (compound) given names exist, with monosyllabic names outnumbering disyllabic ones. Nevertheless, owing to the widespread adoption of the [Surname + Middle name + Given name] model and customary addressing norms, numerous researchers propose the delineation of compound given names (Phan 1972; Nguyễn 1973a). For example, in the case of the name *Nguyễn Ái Quốc*, where *Ái Quốc* constitutes a singular nominal expression meaning "patriot", the researchers assert that the name should be parsed into two parts, with *Ái* serving as the middle name and *Quốc* as the given name.

In fact, this poses a current challenge in the processing and study of VPNs. Additionally, it extends to a more profound and enduring issue in onomastics, namely, the meaning or sense of proper names. In the given example, when considering the name strictly as a label for a particular individual, the optimal approach is to deconstruct the name into three segments (*Nguyễn*—surname; *Ái*—middle name; *Quốc*—given name). However, if the emphasis is on the "sense" or "content" of the name, it should remain undivided. This is because only when *Ái Quốc* is treated as a single given name does the complete meaning of the name ("patriot") become fully conveyed.[2]

Given the phonological attributes of the Vietnamese language and adherence to traditional stereotypes, a majority of traditional Vietnamese given names are monosyllabic. Phạm (1996) notes that monosyllabic given names constitute approximately 83%. Nevertheless, there has been a substantial increase in the number of given names with more than one syllable, typically with two syllables, in recent years (Lê [1992] 2005; Nguyễn 2010).

Vietnamese monosyllabic names exhibit minimal or no clear gender distinctions. Although it is theoretically feasible to differentiate male from female names, such distinctions are largely relative and arbitrary due to the absence of firm rules. In Vietnamese, being

an analytic language with names derived from lexical words, determining the gender of an individual with a monosyllabic main name is challenging. Conversely, disyllabic main names display more evident gender–specific characteristics. The following examples, drawn from Nguyễn (2010)'s work, illustrate the challenges in determining gender solely based on main names in Vietnamese culture. For instance, discerning the gender of an individual with the main name *Hạnh* "happy", "happiness" proves impractical. However, Vietnamese adults commonly attribute a gender association, associating a compound given name such as *Thúy Hạnh* with a woman and *Đức Hạnh* with a man. When employed as middle names or positioned preceding monosyllabic given names, morphemes such as *Thúy* and *Đức* significantly impact the likelihood of being associated with a specific gender. Traditionally, *Thúy* "deep blue" serves as a middle name for women, while *Đức* "morality" is a middle name for men.

The inclination of Vietnamese individuals towards choosing compound given names stems from the belief that only word compounding can capture beauty and moral nobility (Lê [1992] 2005). It is unsurprising that a predominant proportion of names signifying aesthetic qualities are allocated as female given names, such as *Hiền Thục* "graceful", *Hiếu Thảo* "devoted", and *Ánh Hằng* "moon light". Compound names signifying moral nobility typically align with male given names such as *Tuấn Tài* "talent", *Trung Nghĩa* "noble loyalty", *Đức Nhân* "man of morality", "gentleman".

Officially, VPNs do not undergo ellipsis or truncation. This practice is avoided to prevent a given name from potentially becoming another. Vietnamese, being an isolating language, maintains a stable word form, and grammatical categories are not expressed through affixes. However, as previously noted in supporting the separation of disyllabic names, the first component in compound names can be considered the middle name and is frequently omitted in everyday conversation. For example, the name *Hồng Thuỷ* may be truncated to the second element, which is *Thuỷ*. This form of ellipsis is prevalent in informal communication (Nguyễn 2010).

In brief, Vietnamese name researchers may diverge in their perspectives on specific facets of VPN patterns. Nevertheless, there is a prevailing consensus that at least two overarching models of VPNs exist: [Surname + Middle name + Given name] and [Surname + Given name]. These name patterns can be nested within each other to form a structure like this: [Surname + (Middle name) + Given name], where the middle name component may or may not be present.

3. Vietnamese Family Names (Surnames)

3.1. The Origin

This section presents a concise overview of the origins of VPNs. Delving into the "organic" relationships, particularly existential connections, between the surname and other components within the structure of VPNs, an investigation is undertaken to explore the origins of both the given name and the middle name.

3.1.1. Given Names and Middle Names

In Vietnamese, as reported by (Lê [1992] 2005), Phạm (1996), Nguyễn (2010), various terms refer to the given name, such as "tên đẻ" (birth name, given at birth), "tên bộ" (registered name), "tên cá nhân" (personal name), and "tên chính" (main name). The given name is often referred to as "first name" in English, reflecting its position preceding the surname. However, in Viet Nam and numerous other East Asian countries, the given name consistently follows the surname or family name. This distinction arises from the societal emphasis on individualism or collectivism within these respective cultures (see Hofstede 2001).

VPNs, akin to names in other cultures, have a historical origin dating back to the time when humans first started naming entities. Trần (1984) ethnologically suggests that the practice of using vocabulary words as personal names in Viet Nam traces back to the third century BC. However, the exact inception of personal names remains uncertain.

Notably, many Vietnamese given names originated as vocabulary words. Despite this clarity regarding given names, there are varied views on the origins of other elements in personal names, such as middle names.

Researchers express differing opinions on the origin of Vietnamese middle names. Trần (1984) contends that Vietnamese middle names have ancient roots, originating alongside surnames around 300 BC. Conversely, Nguyễn (1975) argues that Vietnamese middle names emerged later than surnames. According to this researcher, until the 20th century, most Vietnamese full names consisted of only two elements—surname and given name.

3.1.2. Surnames

As can be seen from the name structure, the Vietnamese surname does not appear last; rather, it comes first. This is why the terms "family name" or "surname" are employed instead of "last name" to prevent any potential confusion.

Debates about the origins of Vietnamese family names present two opposing views. One perspective argues that Vietnamese people lack distinct surnames, attributing their names predominantly to Chinese influences. Scholars such as Nguyễn (1967) and Nguyễn (1975) assert the Chinese origin of all Vietnamese surnames. In contrast, proponents of an alternative viewpoint, including Hồ (1967b), Trần (1984), and (Lê [1992] 2005), advocate for the coexistence of borrowed Chinese surnames and authentic Vietnamese family names. Despite contrasting stances, these perspectives contribute to a nuanced understanding of the complex history of Vietnamese family names.

Drawing on ethnographic evidence, Diệp (1986) and Diệp and Đào (1990) propose a hypothesis suggesting that indigenous Vietnamese surnames emerged from place–names in the Red River delta. For instance, the prevalent surname *Nguyễn* might trace its roots to Old Vietnamese terms for spring, canal, or small river "*nguồn, ngòi*", originally denoting those residing alongside such water bodies (see also Nguyễn 2010). Trần (1984), in an effort to establish the local origin of Vietnamese surnames, posits that they evolved from traditional totems such as *Gà* (Chicken tribe) and *Trâu* (Buffalo tribe). According to this scholar, these names, now acknowledged as surnames, began to be adopted at the start of the first millennium.

The perspective posited is that Vietnamese surnames can encompass both indigenous names and linguistically borrowed surnames, primarily derived from Chinese origins. Due to the early period of Chinese dominance, family names in Viet Nam have a much longer history compared to many other regions worldwide. It cannot be denied that the idea of adopting surnames stems from the intersection and influence of Chinese culture.

According to Nosowitz (2017), the concept of a family name was unfamiliar to most societies unless they were subjected to conquest by cultures that utilized such naming conventions. Notable conquerors introducing family names included the Romans, Normans, Chinese, and later the Spanish, Portuguese, Germans, and Americans. It was the Chinese who introduced family names to Viet Nam. The presence of surnames in Viet Nam traces back to 111 BC, marking the commencement of an extended thousand–year occupation by the Han Dynasty from China (although there were brief attempts at independence before the Vietnamese successfully ousted the Chinese in 939 AD). The period prior to this remains uncertain regarding how the Vietnamese managed names, given the absence of written records. Before the dominance of the Chinese, it is likely that the Vietnamese had not used family names. While some reports suggest otherwise, there is a lack of clear scientific evidence to support this claim.

According to Lê ([1992] 2005) and Biện (2015), during the period before the Chinese domination, the Vietnamese people, like many other ethnic groups, used only personal names in addressing each other. There is no evidence of surnames among the Vietnamese during this time. The earliest records mentioning Vietnamese having surnames indicate that, at the latest, by the first half of the 2nd century, the Vietnamese started using surnames, either independently or through cultural interaction with the Han culture. This absence of family names was not unusual in historical contexts, as much of the world did not

adopt them prior to the 18th century. Instead, "patronymic" names were more widespread, referencing only the immediately preceding generation. Such names are still prevalent in various parts of the world, notably in Scandinavia and the Middle East. Surnames ending in *–son* or including *Ben* or *Ibn* typically signify patronymic names (Nosowitz 2017).[3]

From a historical and cultural perspective, it can be easily observed that the surnames of contemporary Vietnamese people mostly belong to the 16 ancestral lineages that once held significant influence in history. In chronological order, these surnames are *Thục*, *Trưng*, *Triệu*, *Mai*, *Khúc*, *Lý*, *Phùng*, *Kiều*, *Ngô*, *Đinh*, *Lê*, *Trần*, *Hồ*, *Mạc*, *Trịnh*, and *Nguyễn*. Individuals may either be direct descendants of these names or adopt them, either by borrowing or being compelled to use them, even if they are not truly related to the original lineages (Nguyễn 1998).

In feudal times, Vietnamese individuals often adopted the family name of the ruling authority as an expression of loyalty. This practice involved the frequent changing of names to align with the succession of rulers. Families sometimes voluntarily changed their surnames to that of the ruling dynasty to demonstrate loyalty. Individuals, such as *Nguyễn Trãi*, were granted new names by the king, such as *Lê Trãi*, aligning with the ruling dynasty.[4] Others were compelled to change their surnames to that of the current dynasty, especially after the overthrow of a previous dynasty, as a way to show allegiance to the new ruling power. In many cases, the government forced the populace to abandon their original surnames to adopt a national identity, preventing dissenting groups from attempting to overthrow the ruling dynasty or causing unrest among those associated with the recently toppled regime for political reasons (aligning with fate or divine will). During the time of Gia Long and Minh Mạng in the Nguyễn Dynasty (early 19th century), individuals with the surname *Lê* were required to change their surname to *Nguyễn*. This was done because, during that period, leaders of movements opposing the dynasty often bore the surname *Lê* (Lê [1992] 2005).

In addition, the act of changing surnames in the history of Viet Nam comes from various other reasons. Some individuals changed their surnames to evade taxes, avoid military responsibilities and penalties, or due to urgent situations where they were compelled to alter their names to avoid undesirable consequences. Under the Vietnamese feudal regimes, when one person in a family was accused, sometimes the entire family had to bear the consequences, and changing the surname could be a measure to distance themselves from the reputation or relationship with the accused. Furthermore, to adhere to the avoidance of the royal name taboo, many individuals were compelled to change their surnames whenever a new lord, king, or dynasty ascended to power.

In terms of new surnames, the last ruling family in Viet Nam, the Nguyễn Dynasty, which ruled from 1802 to 1945, contributed a number of names and surnames. The descendants of this *Nguyễn* family, from the reign of Minh Mạng (1820–1841) onwards, have differentiated themselves by lineages and generations through various distinct "new" surnames. In order, the descendants of the same generation carry different individual surnames, though there is an implicit understanding that they all belong to the *Nguyễn* family (e.g., *Công Tằng Tôn Nữ*, *Tôn Thất*...). In general, these "new" surnames serve to identify individuals as belonging to the royal *Nguyễn* family and as descendants of the emperors' branches. However, these surnames are not considered surnames in the traditional sense.

Last but not least, the source of many Vietnamese surnames is from Chinese names. Back in history, the Vietnamese people originated from the southern plains of the Yangtze River in China to the Red River Delta in Viet Nam today. Faced with Han Chinese invasions, their ancestors had to migrate southward and establish a nation in the Red River Delta, Northern Viet Nam, around the 4th century BC. Subsequently, there was a process of expanding the territories by various dynasties moving southward. The southward expansion halted when the French occupied and established French Indochina. On the other hand, the country experienced a thousand years of domination by the Han Chinese and later by various Chinese dynasties. Some soldiers came to Giao Chỉ (ancient name for northern Viet Nam) and chose to settle, establishing families and generations. Additionally, the nation

has also welcomed many Chinese immigrants seeking refuge or resettlement. Notably, members of the Ming dynasty's nobility settled in Southern Viet Nam after their homeland was invaded by the Manchu (Qing) forces.

This is the historical reason for some Vietnamese surnames of Chinese origin, such as *Khổng, Lưu, Trương, Mai, Lâm, Lữ, Nhan, Sử, Tăng, Trịnh, Vương*, etc., or of Khmer (Cambodian) origin such as *Thạch, Sơn, Danh, Kim, Lâm*, etc., which were bestowed by the Nguyễn dynasty. Additionally, surnames of Cham origin such as *Chế, Chiêm*, etc., or those of ethnic minorities such as *Linh, Giáp, Ma, Đèo, Kha, Diêu, Vi, Quách, Nông, Chữ, Ngân, Ông, Trà, Lang, Lục, Sầm*, etc. (see Lê [1992] 2005).

3.2. Main Characteristics of Vietnamese Surnames

Vietnamese surnames, with their rich historical and cultural significance, exhibit distinctive characteristics that set them apart from naming conventions in other parts of the world. These names play a crucial role in distinguishing individuals based on their origin and lineage, embodying a connection to the past.

The primary function of Vietnamese surnames is to identify individuals sharing a common ancestry or lineage from those with different origins. These names are often accompanied by given names and, in some cases, a middle name. While the inclusion of a middle name is common, it is not mandatory. The position of the surname is at the forefront of the full name, emphasizing its significance in personal identification. In contrast to Western and some Asian countries, where individuals address each other by their surnames, Vietnamese people use given names for communication. Single given names such as *Hùng, Trang, Tuấn, Linh*… are typical and reflect a personal and informal approach in addressing one another.

A peculiarity of the Vietnamese denomination system is observed in the marital practices of Vietnamese women. When marrying, women traditionally retain their maiden surnames instead of adopting their husband's surname. However, in certain contexts, it is acceptable for individuals to use the husband's given name to refer to the wife. For example, if *Trần Thị Thuận* married *Nguyễn Đức Long*, she might be referred to (unofficially) as *Mrs Long*.

The influence of Chinese culture is evident in Viet Nam, especially among those of Chinese descent. Many new surnames have been introduced, contributing to the cultural diversity of Viet Nam. The Kinh people, primarily comprising the Vietnamese majority, typically have single–syllable surnames, though exceptions such as *Hoàng Phủ, Tôn Thất*, and *Tôn Nữ* exist. In contrast, other ethnic minorities often have surnames consisting of two syllables or more. In recent times, there has been a trend of Vietnamese individuals creating new surnames. An example is the *Khiếu* surname, reflecting the dynamic nature of Vietnamese naming conventions and the evolving cultural landscape (Lê 2013, pp. 28–31).

In short, Vietnamese surnames play a pivotal role in preserving cultural identity and familial connections. Their unique characteristics, from their function in distinguishing individuals to the influence of historical and cultural factors, contribute to the rich tapestry of Viet Nam's naming traditions.

3.3. The Quantity

In contrast to the great quantity of given names, Vietnamese surnames are significantly outnumbered. This discrepancy arises from the linguistic principle that virtually every word in the Vietnamese lexicon can be employed as a given name, thereby amplifying the overall count of given names.

Regarding the quantity of surnames in Viet Nam, Lê (Lê [1992] 2005, pp. 38–56) indicates that there are approximately 1050 Vietnamese surnames, encompassing those of all 54 ethnic groups in the country, with 165 identified as Kinh surnames. However, the "precise number of Kinh surnames remains uncertain" and further onomastic studies are required for a more accurate determination (Lê [1992] 2005, p. 38). Many researchers, when addressing the count of Kinh surnames, generally employ the term "several hundred",

refraining from providing an exact enumeration. Although (Phạm 1996, p. 53) concedes his inability to present a comprehensive list of Kinh surnames, the researcher does furnish a catalog of 174 monosyllabic Kinh surnames, which is regarded as the most comprehensive to date. It is noteworthy that the majority of Kinh surnames are monosyllabic, while the rest are either joint or compound surnames. During the research studies conducted by the author on Vietnamese names, a systematic cataloging process identified 312 distinct surnames within the Kinh population (see Appendix A). This pivotal finding is rooted in the analysis of data from the 2006 university entrance examination, which encompassed 883,835 candidates who participated in the exams nationwide. The statistics were officially disclosed by the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET) in 2006. This database includes essential information fields regarding candidates, encompassing full names, birthdates, gender, birthplaces, ethnicity, schools, districts, and provinces. Extracting data from individuals self–declaring as "Kinh" in the ethnicity field yields a total of 312 records. It is important to note that this information is self–reported by the candidates and has not undergone a verification process for accuracy (see also Nguyễn 2010).

According to Lê ([1992] 2005), the *Nguyễn* family name is the most populous in Viet Nam, comprising 38.4% of the population. The second–largest is the *Trần* family name with 12.1%, followed by the *Lê* at 9.5%, the *Phạm* at 7%, the *Hoàng/Huỳnh* at 5.1%, the *Phan* at 4.5%, and the *Vũ/Võ* at 3.9%. These seven family names alone account for 80.5% of the population. The *Nguyễn* surname, along with 13 other common ones, make up approximately 90% of the population of Viet Nam.

Figure 1 presents 14 common surnames of the Vietnamese people along with their respective population percentages as compiled (Lê [1992] 2005).
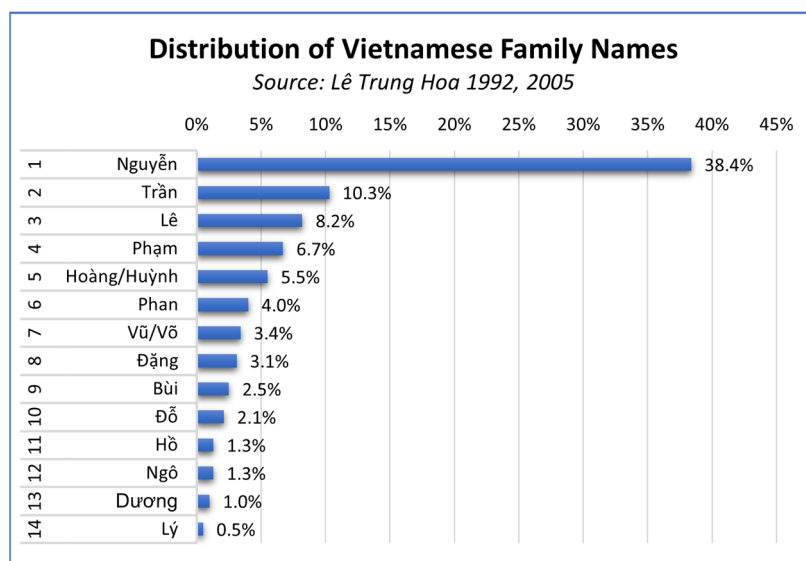
Figure 1. Fourteen most popular surnames (Lê [1992] 2005).

Nevertheless, the compilation of the 15 common surnames among the Vietnamese people in the book *100 Common Surnames in Viet Nam* published by the Viet Nam Social Sciences Publishing House in 2022 (NXBKHXH), presents slightly different percentages.

As seen in Figure 2, the 15 most common surnames in Viet Nam collectively constitute well over 90% of the population. In contrast, the 15 most popular surnames in the United States represent less than six percent of the population (Nosowitz 2017).
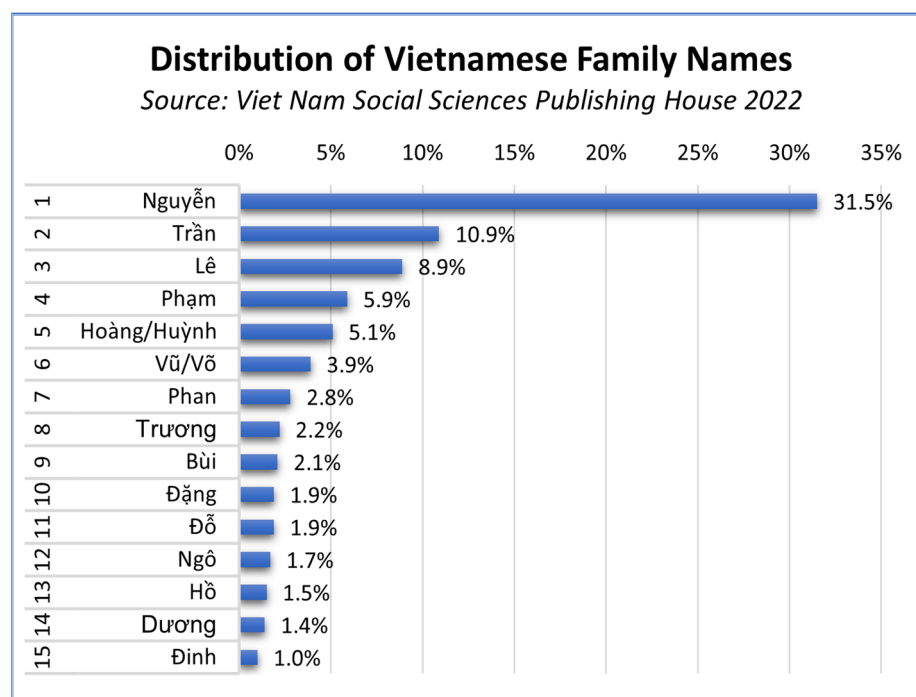
Figure 2. Fifteen most popular surnames (NXBKHXH 2022).

3.4. The Nguyễn Surname

As regards the popularity of *Nguyễn*, this family name is unarguably the most common surname of the Vietnamese people (as *Kim* and *Park* are in Korea). By some estimates, 30 to 39 percent of Vietnamese people bear this surname (Lê [1992] 2005). The author's compilation and analysis of the 100 most commonly occurring surnames from a list of 883,835 candidates aforementioned reveals that the *Nguyễn* surname was identified as representing 31.5689% at the national level, with percentages of 30.61% in Ho Chi Minh City and 39.01% in Hà Nội (see Appendix B; see also Nguyễn 2010).

Nosowitz (2017) learned from the censuses in the Anglosphere in the first two decades of the 21st century that *Smith* is still the most commonly used surname. As per the 2010 US census, approximately 0.8% of Americans bear this surname. According to the data from the 2015 KOSIS census, the three most commonly occurring surnames in Korea are *Kim*, *Lee*, *and Park*, representing 21.5%, 14.7%, and 8.4% of the population, respectively. Meanwhile, in Viet Nam, the prevalence of the *Nguyễn* surname is staggering, constituting a remarkable 30% to 40% of the entire population. It is not an exaggeration that for approximately every three Vietnamese individuals, one bears the surname *Nguyễn* (noting that the country's population was about over 96 million in 2019).

But why is *Nguyễn* so populous? Regarding the *Nguyễn* surname, it holds an additional, somewhat perplexing reason for its prevalence, especially from a Western perspective. According to Lê ([1992] 2005), during the reign of Trần Thái Tông in 1232, after seizing power from the Lý dynasty, *Trần Thủ Độ*—the de facto ruler—citing the reason that the *Trần* family had the same surname as the *Lý* family, ordered all individuals with the surname *Lý*, who were descendants of the just–overthrown royal family, to change their surname to *Nguyễn*. However, the true intention was to eliminate the *Lý* royal family from memory by effectively discontinuing the use of the *Lý* surname. This historical event adds another layer of complexity to the prevalence and significance of the *Nguyễn* surname.

Moreover, the tradition of adopting the ruler's family name as a display of loyalty likely explains the abundance of *Nguyễn* in Viet Nam. Similar instances occurred in Korea with the surname *Park*, originating from King *Hyeokgeose Park*, the founder of a thousand–year dynasty. While this naming practice is not unique to Viet Nam, it reflects a historical tendency, as seen in Korea where the name *Park* (or *Bak* precisely) was embraced by many

after a peasant revolution in 1894 as a symbol of caste system abolition (Chung 2014, p. 71). The *Nguyễn* surname, originally significant, became even more prevalent as it evolved into the ruling lineage dominating the entire country for several centuries. With more than 300 years spanning nine lords and thirteen kings (until 1945), this family name experienced substantial growth. This does not include the additional families who adopted the *Nguyễn* surname as a distinguished reward granted by the king for their loyalty (the king's surname).

Besides its popularity, the pronunciation of the *Nguyễn* surname is also significantly impressive. There is a myth that one cannot be proficient in the Vietnamese language if they cannot pronounce the *Nguyễn* surname correctly. These variations are not necessarily wrong, but a fundamental challenge arises from the fact that there is not a universally accepted pronunciation for *Nguyễn*. The initial "Ng" sound is unfamiliar to Western ears as the beginning of a word. Viet Nam encompasses various dialects, with the primary division hinging on geography, particularly between the north and south. In the south, where sounds are often clipped, *Nguyễn* might be pronounced akin to "Win" or "Wen". Conversely, in the north, the pronunciation tends to retain the full sound, resulting in something closer to "N'Win" or "Nuh'Win", all compressed into a single syllable as best as possible. For a more technical characterization of the pronunciation, see footnote 5.[5]

Interestingly, *Nguyễn*—the most widely used name—also happens to be the most challenging to pronounce!

3.5. Vietnamese Surnames—The Meaning

All Vietnamese surnames have linguistic origins. Yet, as the aforementioned researchers emphasize, the majority of Vietnamese surnames are now etymologically opaque, being regarded more as names than as words.

In Vietnamese, another term referring to the mass is "trăm họ", which literally means "hundred surnames." As Lê ([1992] 2005) and Lê (2013) maintain, among the surnames some trace back to three or four thousand years, to a time when each tribe had its own symbol, be it a plant, an animal, or an object. Subsequently, certain families adopted these symbols as their surnames, for example, the surname *Âu*. Others symbolize professions, such as the surname *Đào* "potter", or reflect the way of life of a tribe, as in the case of the surname *Trần* "fishery at river lower reaches." Some denote the origin of the tribe or family. Initially, surnames were tribal names, which is why in English, they are referred to as "patronyms to distinguish them from "family name".

Originally recorded in Classical Chinese, later supplemented with Nôm script (ancient Vietnamese Chinese script) and eventually romanized into Quốc ngữ (national language script, romanized writing system), Vietnamese family names have undergone significant influences along their historical journey. They have undergone transformations or misconceptions, making it challenging for contemporary individuals to grasp their original meanings. Despite sharing the same pronunciation as today, not every character necessarily evokes the same meaning. For instance, the surname *Đinh* is now understood to mean "citizen" or "person", but its historical meaning may have been different. *Quách* carries the connotation of something sturdy, resistant, and simultaneously signifies an outer layer. The surname *Lê* originally meant "common people" in a general sense (Lê [1992] 2005).

For the reasons mentioned, when these surnames are recorded, they are understood as being written as a common noun but not necessarily interpreted to have the exact same meaning as that noun. Similar to how the English have surnames such as *Butcher*, *Baker*, and *Smith*, which may indicate their ancestors' professions, the characters in these surnames do not necessarily have to evoke actions, states, or objects associated with the noun. This is especially true since the introduction of the Latin alphabet, where characters are less pictorial and can be more prone to misunderstandings. Surnames listed in contemporary dictionaries should not be considered definitively meaningful. Therefore, it is not possible to assert that a surname written in a certain way must mean a specific thing, or that it is equivalent to a common noun describing an object or action.

3.6. Vietnamese Surnames—Legal Issues

As observed by Thiều (2023), in the Civil Code of 2015, the right to have a surname and given name is regulated in Article 26, part of Section 2 concerning personal rights.

Within the specific factors that define an individual, the surname and given name are often considered the most fundamental. The surname of an individual notionally reflects their bloodline origin, while the given name serves as a unique identifier for each person. Article 26, Section 1 of the Civil Code of 2015 affirms: "Individuals have the right to have a surname and given name (including a middle name, if any). The surname and given name of a person are determined based on that person's birth registration." This provision highlights the intimate connection between the right to have a surname and given name and the right to register one's birth. In essence, the surname and given name of an individual correspond to the entries in their birth registration document.

The determination of an individual's surname at birth is regulated under Section 2, Article 26 of the Civil Code of 2015, specifically stating: "The surname of an individual is determined by agreement between the father's surname and the mother's surname; in the absence of an agreement, the child's surname is determined based on customary practices. In cases where the father's surname cannot be determined, the child's surname is determined based on the mother's surname."

In the case of abandoned children, when the biological parents cannot be identified and the child is adopted, the surname of the child is determined based on the surname of the adoptive father, or of the adoptive mother as agreed upon by the adoptive parents. If there is only one adoptive parent, then the child's surname is determined by that person's surname. If the abandoned child has not been adopted, and the biological parents cannot be identified, the child's surname is determined based on the proposal of the head of the childcare facility or the requestor for the child's birth registration if the child is temporarily under their care.

Therefore, compared to the regulations on the right to have a surname and given name in Article 26 of the Civil Code of 2005, the provisions on this right in the Civil Code of 2015 have been expressed more clearly. This is evident through the addition of the possibility of including a middle name (if any) in Section 1 and the determination of the surname for the person born, based on the agreement between the father and mother. In cases where there is no agreement between the parents, the surname of the child, during the birth registration process, is determined based on customary practices.

4. Conclusions

In summary, this study has used the lens of onomastics to conduct a detailed investigation of Vietnamese surnames, with a focus on those associated with the Kinh group. The article effectively presents a comprehensive analysis of Vietnamese naming customs, outlining the widely used [Surname + (Middle name) + Given name] structure. Through a thorough investigation of the origin, unique traits, distribution, and quantity of Vietnamese surnames, this study has shown the diverse range of naming customs that exist within the Kinh population. The focus on the ubiquitous Nguyễn surname has revealed intriguing insights into its widespread usage, further deepening our understanding of its cultural prevalence. Additionally, the discussion on the meanings associated with Vietnamese surnames and the legal considerations surrounding them has underscored the intricate nature of these linguistic artifacts.

Unlike given names, which theoretically could be derived from any lexical words, the inventory of Kinh family names remains relatively limited, documented at several hundred (174 as per Phạm Tất Thắng's findings in 1996 and 312 based on this current dataset). Furthermore, the semantic distinctions of Kinh family names often elude clarity and contemporary understanding. The primary challenges encountered in this research pertain to the acquisition of comprehensive, reliable, and current data. Notably, the research faces the limitations of a database that, while of high quality, is dated back to 2006. Consequently, the study underscores the necessity for future investigations to diligently amass data

reflective of more recent demographic shifts and nomenclatural developments in the realm of Vietnamese family names, particularly within the Kinh ethnic group. More studies and discussions are recommended to help uncover the many facets of Vietnamese surnames and to help people understand the rich linguistic history that has shaped the identity of the Kinh ethnic group and the Vietnamese people as a whole.

This study aspires to serve as a substantive scholarly asset, targeting academics, researchers, and enthusiasts intrigued by the complexities, historical development, and cultural relevance of Vietnamese surnames. By intertwining historical context with cultural insights, the article contributes to an enriched understanding of onomastics in Viet Nam. It endeavors to present a nuanced perspective on the intricate interplay among language, history, and identity within the specific domain of Vietnamese onomastics, fostering a comprehensive appreciation of the subject matter.

Institutional Review Board Statement: Not applicable.

Informed Consent Statement: Not applicable.

Data Availability Statement: Data are contained within the article.

Conflicts of Interest: The author declares no conflicts of interest.

Appendix A

Table A1. List of 312 surnames of the Kinh people.

List of 312 Surnames of the Kinh People					
1	Ái	105	Hoa	209	Phí
2	An	106	Hoà	210	Phó
3	Ân	107	Hoài	211	Phong
4	Anh	108	Hoàng Phủ	212	Phú
5	Ánh	109	Hoàng/Huỳnh	213	Phù
6	Ao	110	Hồng	214	Phùng
7	Âu	111	Hứa	215	Phương
8	Ẩu	112	Hùng	216	Quách
9	Âu Dương	113	Hưng	217	Quán
10	Bá	114	Hướng	218	Quản
11	Bạc	115	Hy	219	Quang
12	Bạch	116	Kha	220	Quàng
13	Bàn	117	Khà	221	Quảng
14	Bàng	118	Khai	222	Quế
15	Bành	119	Khâu	223	Quốc
16	Bảo	120	Khiếu	224	Quyền
17	Bế	121	Khoa	225	Sái
18	Bì	122	Khổng	226	Sâm
19	Biện	123	Khu	227	Sầm
20	Bình	124	Khuất	228	Sơn
21	Bồ	125	Khúc	229	Sử
22	Bùi	126	Khương	230	Sùng
23	Ca	127	Khưu	231	Sỳ
24	Cà	128	Kiều	232	Tạ
25	Cai	129	Kiểu	233	Tán
26	Cái	130	Kim	234	Tấn

Table A1. *Cont.*

	List of 312 Surnames of the Kinh People				
27	Cam	131	Kinh	235	Tăng
28	Cầm	132	Kông	236	Tào
29	Cẩn	133	La	237	Tất
30	Cảnh	134	Lã/Lữ	238	Tề
31	Cao	135	Lạc	239	Thạch
32	Cáp	136	Lại	240	Thái
33	Cát	137	Lâm	241	Thẩm
34	Chắng	138	Lăng	242	Thân
35	Chế	139	Lành	243	Thang
36	Chiêm/Chim	140	Lãnh	244	Thanh
37	Chử	141	Lầu	245	Thành
38	Chu/Châu	142	Lê	246	Thào
39	Chung	143	Lèng	247	Thập
40	Chúng	144	Lều	248	Thế
41	Chương	145	Liên	249	Thi
42	Cồ	146	Liệp	250	Thiềm
43	Cổ	147	Liêu	251	Thiều
44	Công	148	Liễu	252	Thiệu
45	Cống	149	Linh	253	Thịnh
46	Cù	150	Lò	254	Thoa
47	Cự	151	Lô	255	Thôi
48	Cung	152	Lỗ	256	Thóng
49	Dã	153	Lộ	257	Thục
50	Đắc	154	Loan	258	Tiếp
51	Đái	155	Lộc	259	Tiết
52	Đàm	156	Long	260	Tiêu
53	Đan	157	Lù	261	Tinh
54	Đăng	158	Lư	262	Tô
55	Đặng	159	Lục	263	Tôn
56	Danh	160	Lương	264	Tôn Nữ
57	Đào	161	Lương	265	Tôn Thất
58	Đầu	162	Lường	266	Tòng
59	Đậu	163	Lưu	267	Tông
60	Đèo	164	Luyện	268	Tống
61	Diêm	165	Ly	269	Trà
62	Điền	166	Lý	270	Trác
63	Diếp	167	Ma	271	Trần
64	Diệp	168	Mã	272	Trang
65	Điêu	169	Mạc	273	Tráng
66	Điều	170	Mạch	274	Trâu
67	Đinh	171	Mai	275	Tri
68	Đinh	172	Man	276	Trì
69	Đình	173	Mẫn	277	Triệu
70	Đồ	174	Mang	278	Trình
71	Đỗ	175	Mạnh	279	Trịnh
72	Đoái	176	Mâu	280	Trung
73	Doãn	177	Mầu	281	Trưng
74	Đoàn	178	Mậu	282	Trương
75	Đoạn	179	Mễ	283	Từ
76	Đới/Đái	180	Miêu	284	Tuấn
77	Đôn	181	Minh	285	Tướng
78	Đống	182	Mộc	286	Tưởng
79	Đồng	183	Mông	287	Ty
80	Đổng	184	Mùa	288	Uân

Table A1. *Cont.*

	List of 312 Surnames of the Kinh People					
81	Du	185	Mục	289	Ung
82	Dư	186	Ngạc	290	Ừng
83	Đức	187	Ngân	291	Ứng
84	Dương	188	Nghị	292	Uông
85	Đương	189	Nghiêm	293	Văn
86	Đường	190	Ngô	294	Vạn
87	Duy	191	Ngọ	295	Vàng
88	Giả	192	Ngọc	296	Vâng
89	Giản	193	Ngôn	297	Văng
90	Giang	194	Ngũ	298	Vi
91	Giàng	195	Nguy	299	Viêm
92	Giảng	196	Nguyễn	300	Viên
93	Giao	197	Nhâm	301	Việt
94	Giáp	198	Nhan	302	Vĩnh
95	Hà	199	Nhữ	303	Vòng
96	Hạ	200	Niê	304	Vu
97	Hán	201	Ninh	305	Vừ
98	Hàn	202	Nông	306	Vũ/Võ
99	Hàng	203	Ô	307	Vương
100	Hầu	204	Ong	308	Vưu
101	Hầu	205	Ông	309	Xa
102	Hề	206	Phạm	310	Xung
103	Hình	207	Phan	311	Y
104	Hồ	208	Phi	312	Yên

Appendix B

The top 100 surnames were compiled at both regional (Ha Noi and HCM City) and national levels, encompassing a total of 883,835 candidates—39,159 from Ha Noi and 57,327 from HCM City. It is essential to note that these statistics encompass surnames from all 54 ethnic groups in Vietnam, with the Kinh group being predominant, constituting 86.21% of the population, as per the General Statistics Office of Viet Nam in 2006. This table is extracted from (Nguyễn 2010, pp. 333–34).

Table A2. The top 100 Vietnamese surnames.

		HCM CITY		HÀ NỘI			NATIONAL		
		Count	Per.		Count	Per.		Count	Per.
1	Nguyễn	17,546	30.61%	Nguyễn	15,025	39.01%	Nguyễn	279,014	31.5689%
2	Trần	6291	10.97%	Trần	2953	7.67%	Trần	83,582	9.4568%
3	Lê	4627	8.07%	Lê	2866	7.44%	Lê	76,584	8.6651%
4	Phạm	3474	6.06%	Phạm	2371	6.16%	Phạm	56,736	6.4194%
5	Huỳnh	2014	3.51%	Vũ	1703	4.42%	Hoàng	26,961	3.0505%
6	Võ	1632	2.85%	Đỗ	1565	4.06%	Vũ	26,907	3.0444%
7	Phan	1502	2.62%	Hoàng	1430	3.71%	Bùi	24,867	2.8136%
8	Trương	1255	2.19%	Bùi	1012	2.63%	Phan	21,662	2.4509%
9	Vũ	1228	2.14%	Ngô	904	2.35%	Đỗ	21,612	2.4453%
10	Bùi	1165	2.03%	Đặng	795	2.06%	Võ	18,484	2.0914%
11	Đỗ	1116	1.95%	Dương	625	1.62%	Đặng	17,877	2.0227%
12	Đặng	1091	1.90%	Đào	614	1.59%	Ngô	15,848	1.7931%
13	Ngô	984	1.72%	Phan	517	1.34%	Huỳnh	15,106	1.7092%
14	Hồ	868	1.51%	Đinh	444	1.15%	Trương	13,796	1.5609%
15	Hoàng	844	1.47%	Trịnh	394	1.02%	Dương	12,921	1.4619%
16	Dương	824	1.44%	Trương	346	0.90%	Đinh	12,243	1.3852%
17	Đinh	588	1.03%	Tạ	308	0.80%	Hồ	11,481	1.2990%
18	Đoàn	569	0.99%	Đoàn	307	0.80%	Trịnh	9019	1.0204%

Table A2. *Cont.*

		HCM CITY			HÀ NỘI			NATIONAL	
		Count	Per.		Count	Per.		Count	Per.
19	Lâm	556	0.97%	Chu	303	0.79%	Đào	8924	1.0097%
20	Trịnh	501	0.87%	Lưu	298	0.77%	Đoàn	8559	0.9684%
21	Mai	499	0.87%	Hà	263	0.68%	Hà	8518	0.9638%
22	Lý	471	0.82%	Cao	251	0.65%	Mai	7951	0.8996%
23	Lưu	435	0.76%	Mai	213	0.55%	Cao	6691	0.7570%
24	Đào	419	0.73%	Lương	205	0.53%	Lương	6444	0.7291%
25	Lương	404	0.70%	Vương	205	0.53%	Lưu	5199	0.5882%
26	Hà	398	0.69%	Phùng	190	0.49%	Tạ	3968	0.4490%
27	Cao	369	0.64%	Hồ	141	0.37%	Phùng	3872	0.4381%
28	Thái	282	0.49%	Nghiêm	125	0.32%	Lâm	3668	0.4150%
29	Tô	244	0.43%	Đàm	124	0.32%	Chu	3292	0.3725%
30	Châu	225	0.39%	Võ	95	0.25%	Lý	3249	0.3676%
31	Vương	222	0.39%	Tô	90	0.23%	Thái	2794	0.3161%
32	Tạ	218	0.38%	Triệu	88	0.23%	Nông	2685	0.3038%
33	Phùng	208	0.36%	Lại	86	0.22%	Tô	2475	0.2800%
34	Tăng	197	0.34%	Thái	72	0.19%	Vương	2241	0.2536%
35	Quách	150	0.26%	Lý	68	0.18%	Đàm	1800	0.2037%
36	Văn	138	0.24%	Chử	62	0.16%	Triệu	1726	0.1953%
37	Hứa	130	0.23%	Quách	59	0.15%	Quách	1636	0.1851%
38	Diệp	109	0.19%	Kiều	56	0.15%	Văn	1601	0.1811%
39	Từ	107	0.19%	Lâm	54	0.14%	Lại	1553	0.1757%
40	Hồng	104	0.18%	Lã	46	0.12%	Châu	1529	0.1730%
41	Lại	103	0.18%	Tống	46	0.12%	Tống	1486	0.1681%
42	Chu	100	0.17%	Phí	45	0.12%	Vi	1409	0.1594%
43	La	97	0.17%	Đồng	44	0.11%	Đồng	1330	0.1505%
44	Giang	94	0.16%	Doãn	40	0.10%	Kiều	1293	0.1463%
45	Chung	93	0.16%	Công	38	0.10%	Tăng	1056	0.1195%
46	Đàm	92	0.16%	Khúc	38	0.10%	Thân	1026	0.1161%
47	Tống	82	0.14%	Văn	37	0.10%	Hứa	964	0.1091%
48	Hùynh	67	0.12%	Bạch	37	0.10%	Lò	936	0.1059%
49	Trang	66	0.12%	Tăng	27	0.07%	Đậu	886	0.1002%
50	Tôn	66	0.12%	Giang	27	0.07%	Ma	844	0.0955%
51	Lư	63	0.11%	Khổng	24	0.06%	La	825	0.0933%
52	Triệu	61	0.11%	Thạch	23	0.06%	Nghiêm	781	0.0884%
53	Kiều	60	0.10%	Âu	22	0.06%	Từ	743	0.0841%
54	Liêu	56	0.10%	Khuất	21	0.05%	Thạch	726	0.0821%
55	Mã	51	0.09%	Tưởng	21	0.05%	H′	653	0.0739%
56	Đồng	50	0.09%	Hoa	20	0.05%	Y	646	0.0731%
57	Thân	46	0.08%	Từ	20	0.05%	Hùynh	645	0.0730%
58	Lữ	46	0.08%	Huỳnh	20	0.05%	Lã	623	0.0705%
59	Dư	44	0.08%	Cù	19	0.05%	Lường	618	0.0699%
60	Lai	35	0.06%	Khương	19	0.05%	Mạc	591	0.0669%
61	Mạch	34	0.06%	Cung	19	0.05%	Bạch	574	0.0649%
62	Lã	34	0.06%	An	18	0.05%	Diệp	546	0.0618%
63	Tất	33	0.06%	Đậu	17	0.04%	Tôn	545	0.0617%
64	Lục	33	0.06%	Mạc	16	0.04%	Lục	531	0.0601%
65	Bành	32	0.06%	Kim	16	0.04%	Doãn	523	0.0592%
66	Âu	32	0.06%	Quản	16	0.04%	Lữ	507	0.0574%
67	Quan	31	0.05%	Phương	15	0.04%	Ninh	499	0.0565%
68	Khưu	31	0.05%	Tôn	15	0.04%	Kim	486	0.0550%
69	Nghiêm	31	0.05%	Thành	15	0.04%	Mã	481	0.0544%
70	Thạch	30	0.05%	Phó	15	0.04%	Phí	465	0.0526%
71	Thiều	30	0.05%	Nông	15	0.04%	Giang	442	0.0500%
72	Viên	28	0.05%	Thẩm	14	0.04%	Bế	440	0.0498%

Table A2. *Cont.*

		HCM CITY			HÀ NỘI			NATIONAL	
		Count	Per.		Count	Per.		Count	Per.
73	Tiêu	28	0.05%	Nhữ	14	0.04%	Giáp	416	0.0471%
74	Đoàn	27	0.05%	Dư	14	0.04%	Thiều	403	0.0456%
75	Phương	27	0.05%	Ninh	14	0.04%	Khổng	391	0.0442%
76	Nhan	26	0.05%	Lục	14	0.04%	Danh	375	0.0424%
77	Ninh	26	0.05%	Cẩn	13	0.03%	Cù	361	0.0408%
78	Khổng	24	0.04%	Thiều	12	0.03%	Khuất	351	0.0397%
79	Ông	24	0.04%	Đình	11	0.03%	Lô	345	0.0390%
80	Trầm	22	0.04%	Vi	10	0.03%	Dư	322	0.0364%
81	Bạch	22	0.04%	Đường	9	0.02%	Chung	279	0.0316%
82	Đường	21	0.04%	Hứa	8	0.02%	Trang	278	0.0315%
83	Hàng	21	0.04%	Thân	8	0.02%	Vy	278	0.0315%
84	Nhâm	21	0.04%	Hy	8	0.02%	Lư	266	0.0301%
85	Trà	20	0.03%	Nhâm	7	0.02%	Khương	263	0.0298%
86	Phù	20	0.03%	La	7	0.02%	Đường	248	0.0281%
87	Vòng	19	0.03%	Hạ	7	0.02%	Quàng	247	0.0279%
88	Kha	19	0.03%	Lữ	7	0.02%	Hồng	243	0.0275%
89	Thi	18	0.03%	Ma	7	0.02%	Tiêu	242	0.0274%
90	Lạc	18	0.03%	Tào	7	0.02%	Nhữ	241	0.0273%
91	Ngụy	17	0.03%	Ngạc	6	0.02%	Phương	232	0.0262%
92	Du	16	0.03%	Cồ	6	0.02%	Khúc	231	0.0261%
93	Kim	16	0.03%	Thịnh	6	0.02%	Cẩn	226	0.0256%
94	Phó	16	0.03%	Cát	5	0.01%	Âu	220	0.0249%
95	Khương	16	0.03%	Đới	5	0.01%	Lăng	218	0.0247%
96	Liên	16	0.03%	Bành	5	0.01%	Trình	211	0.0239%
97	Ngũ	16	0.03%	Châu	5	0.01%	Liêu	203	0.0230%
98	Mạc	15	0.03%	Trang	5	0.01%	Sầm	198	0.0224%
99	Doãn	15	0.03%	Lai	5	0.01%	Biện	190	0.0215%
100	Quang	14	0.02%	Lều	5	0.01%	Trà	186	0.0210%

Notes

[1] In terms of origin, according to Mai et al. (1997), purely Vietnamese words are formed on the basis of the vocabulary of the South–East Asian and Tay–Thai languages (see also Edmondson 2006, pp. 432–37).

[2] The name *Nguyễn Ái Quốc* holds profound significance in Vietnamese history and national pride. It served as a pseudonym, translating to "Nguyen the Patriot", used by Hồ Chí Minh—the founding father of modern Vietnam—before he gained widespread recognition by his eventual name. The adoption of this pseudonym symbolized his unwavering commitment to the Vietnamese pursuit of independence, initially against French colonists and later against the Japanese during World War II.

[3] Such English names are only etymologically patronymic, unlike *Ibn X*, *Ben/Bar X*, which are literally patronymic.

[4] Nguyễn Trãi (1380–1442) was a distinguished Vietnamese Confucian scholar, renowned poet, adept politician, and master strategist. His capabilities were often ascribed to almost miraculous or mythical deeds during his role as the principal advisor to Lê Lợi, who led the resistance against the Ming dynasty and founded the Later Lê dynasty and became the first king of the restored kingdom of Đại Việt. Nguyễn Trãi is credited with composing crucial political statements for Lê Lợi and motivating the Vietnamese populace to actively rebel against Ming dynasty rulers. Additionally, he authored the "Great Proclamation upon the Pacification of the Wu". As a very important figure of the country, the name Nguyễn Trãi is used to name many important entities (see also Phùng 2016).

[5] IPA pronunciation of *Nguyễn*
(Hà Nội): [ŋwiən˦ˀ]
(Huế): [ŋwiəŋ˨]
(Hồ Chí Minh City): [ŋwiəŋ˨]

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Article

Lithuanian Feminine Surname Debates from a Central European Perspective

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Abstract: Contemporary Lithuania remains the only European country in which official feminine surnames indicate their bearers' marital status, and this has been the object of fierce public debates over the past decade. Czechia and Slovakia grapple with surprisingly similar issues, even though Czech and Slovak feminine surnames do not reveal marital status. Similar debates in Poland took place a century earlier, a fact which may indicate the possible direction of the changes in the three countries studied. The aim of this article is to present debates concerning feminine surnames in Lithuania from a wider perspective, regarding contemporary Czechia and Slovakia, as well as Poland in the interwar period, and to show from a wider Central and Eastern European perspective that, despite the obvious differences in naming patterns, Lithuanian discussions are not exceptional, and they are part of a larger tendency towards more freedom in the choice of official surname forms for women. It is evident that, although female surnames are inexorably embedded in the language systems of the countries in which they function, their future largely depends on extralinguistic factors such as societal attitudes. While feminine surnames in European states generally seem to be on the decline, the most controversial remain those types that reveal marital status or imply male possession of women, though pragmatic factors might play some role as well, particularly in the case of minorities.

Keywords: anthroponomastics; feminine surnames; family names; marital status; Lithuanian; Czech; Slovak; Polish

1. Introduction

Contemporary Lithuania remains the only European country in which official feminine surnames indicate their bearers' marital status. In 2003, new regulations came into force that allowed for a third form of the feminine surname (alongside the traditional single/married dichotomy), one neutral with regard to marital status. This fact instigated fierce public debate and criticism of the new forms, which were regarded by many as destructive for the Lithuanian language system.

Seemingly unique, Lithuanian discussions are in fact not exceptional, as they reflect a larger tendency to discuss the societal role of feminine surnames and to claim more freedom in the choice of the official surname form for women. In Czechia and Slovakia, these debates focus not on the marital status of their bearers but rather on the freedom to use a gender-neutral form. Poland or Slovenia, being a step or two ahead in the liberalization process today, underwent quite similar developments in the past, even if heated debates took place approximately a century earlier in Poland. Discussions concerning women's surnames were held even in European countries with no feminine surname forms (e.g., such forms of address as *Mrs John Wood*, in which the given name of the married woman is completely obliterated). With feminine surnames in European states generally being on the decline, the most controversial to this day remain those that imply the male possession of women.

Even though controversies surrounding the form of feminine surnames in the countries in which they are used might fuel public debate or find their reflection in scholarly

publications, seldom is on such occasion a wider, cross-cultural perspective employed. For diverse reasons, ranging from the relative incompatibility of specific linguistic, historical and cultural conditions to more practical considerations, the scholarly debate often remains within the confines of only one country, even though a comparison between countries might offer new vistas; as Sulis and Gheno note in reference to language inclusivity, "each debate tends to unfold in relative isolation within national boundaries, and [...] the critical bibliography on such matters is available mainly in the language that is the object of discussion" (Sulis and Gheno 2022, p. 155). An attempt to bridge the cross-cultural gap by proposing a common denominator to seemingly incompatibly diverse national patterns has been made with regard to constellations of standard language vis à vis non-standard varieties by Auer (2005), who claims that "on a sufficient level of generalisation there is a systematicity behind the superficial heterogeneity which unfolds from a historical perspective". In this paper, I aim to provide a postulated comparative perspective, one that involves four neighbouring countries.

2. Methodology

In this paper, I offer an analysis of the situation in Lithuania, set against the backdrop of three other Central and Eastern European (CEE) states: Slovakia, Czechia and Poland. While doing so, I will combine a discussion of the formal aspects of the onyms under consideration with references to public debate in the media, especially in the case of Lithuania. My principal research question is centred on how the particular, seemingly different sociolinguistic circumstances in the four states under consideration could at some point in history have resulted in similarly framed debates in each of them. To this end, I will attempt to identify the "systematicity behind the superficial heterogeneity" (Auer 2005), or, to put it differently, the common sociolinguistic factors that come into play. My basic assumption implies the existence of a certain developmental pattern (and a kind of chronological order) in the history of feminine surnames in Central Europe. My supporting hypothesis is that a tendency also exists in these countries for feminine surnames to gradually disappear, albeit slowly (in a process that spans decades, if not centuries), a trend whose detectable markers are individual foot-in-the-door mechanisms, i.e., factors that facilitate the acceptance of new language forms—in this case, forms diverging from the previously used system.

The issues in question, onomastic in nature, are also inherently sociolinguistic (cf. Spolsky 1998, pp. 21–22), insofar as they touch upon some of the key notions of the field, including the notion of standard language as opposed to regiolects, minority issues (cf. Kamusella 2008), linguistic human rights (Jernudd 1995) and gender linguistics (Kolek and Valdrová 2020), as well as, especially, linguistic prescriptivism and language planning (Beal et al. 2023). In the words of Bastardas (2004, pp. 193–94):

> The discipline that we have agreed to call "language policy and planning" sees to the study of decision-making processes and public intervention in the linguistic organization of society. It also studies the structures that such an organization may adopt and its evolutionary effects on sociomeanings and language behaviors, both public and private. Ideally, it would differentiate itself from sociolinguistics in the sense that sociolinguistics would project a global perspective on the phenomena being studied, while language policy and planning could be an applied, more pared down, perspective, specializing in the most political aspects of the situation. Thus, while in sociolinguistics we attempt to understand reality, making it intelligible to us, in language policy and planning we devote our efforts more to organizing, designing and changing certain parts of this reality. This is, however, a distinction among fields that dovetail, since one field is part of the other and the two are mutually interrelated.

The high importance traditionally accorded to language planning in the four countries under consideration might be attributable to their complex socio-political and linguistic history (Kamusella 2008; Janicki and Jaworski 1993; Cvrček 2008; Vaicekauskienė and Šepetys

2016) but also to societal attitudes, which provide support for formal state interventions into language use.

Not to be overlooked are the political factors. The four CEE countries selected for analysis share a common pre-1989 Eastern Bloc past, a fact which certainly has bearing on attitudes to language correctness, as prescriptivism has traditionally featured heavily on the language-political agenda there. The languages of these countries are either West Slavic (Polish, Slovak, Czech) or genetically related within the Balto-Slavic group (Lithuanian); thus, typologically, they are all inflected (fusional) languages, which is also related to the presence of feminine surnames and to their formation—and which feeds the arguments about the language-systemic unavoidability of the obligatory suffixation of female surnames.

I will first discuss Lithuania as the only state in Europe where there still exists a two-way division among official feminine surnames into those that denote married women and those that mark the unmarried ones. I will begin with outlining the form and creation of these surnames, and then go on to analyse a law introduced in 2003, which enabled Lithuanian women to use a third form—one that is neutral with regard to the marital status of its bearer. While welcome by some, it was also fiercely criticised by others, often for language-external reasons. In a later section, I will search for foot-in-the-door mechanisms, i.e., factors that facilitate the acceptance of a new language form—in this case, one diverging from the previously used system. In what follows, I will closely look at the use and social reception of feminine surnames in Slovakia, Czechia and finally Poland, striving to find the foot-in-the-door factors mentioned above, and also to identify the reasons why the traditional feminine-surname system is cracking. There, I will briefly explore some other naming cultures with vestiges of feminine surnames—notably, the case of Latvian as, on the one hand, concerning the only living language closely genetically related to Lithuanian, and, on the other hand, conspicuous by not being affected by female surname debates. This article will end with conclusions.

The issue of feminine surname formation—in the countries where they nowadays exist—has been discussed by scholars such as Valentová (2016), Misad (2012) and Opalková (2016) for Slovakia; Harvalík (2016) for Czechia; and Walkowiak (2012) for Poland, and is also included in normative grammars and similar reference works—e.g., Vladarskienė and Zemlevičiūtė (2022) for Lithuania. Among the works that apply a more general linguistic approach, embedding names in a wider grammatical perspective, Unterbeck and Rissanen (2000) might be mentioned, as well as selected passages from Hellinger and Motschenbacher (2015).

3. Lithuania: Feminine Surnames until 2003

Contemporary Lithuania is the only European country in which the surname of a woman is—or since 2003, at least potentially has been—indicative of its bearer's marital status. Until quite recently, there used to be a three-way division of Lithuanian surnames (see Table 1): the masculine type and two types of feminine surnames, formed by suffixation of the masculine stem. These suffixes are different for married women and for unmarried ones (Vladarskienė and Zemlevičiūtė 2022). In the case of the surnames of married women, the suffix *-(i)uvienė* is reserved for the *-(i)us*-ending surnames (*Adamkus–Adamkuvienė*, *Skardžius–Skardžiuvienė*) and the shorter one, *-(i)enė*, for all the other morphological types. However, longer surnames, i.e., those with more than two syllables (especially those with the Slavic ending *-čius*), tend to take a shorter form for brevity (*Stankevičius–Stankevičienė* rather than *Stankevičiuvienė*). A case in point is Alma *Adamkienė* (not *Adamkuvienė*), the wife of Lithuania's former president Valdas Adamkus. All these rules hold true for literary language (*bendrinė kalba*), while dialectal forms display even more variety. One might invoke the above-mentioned tendency to replace *-(i)uvienė* with *-ienė*: in Low Lithuanian, the latter applies to all *-(i)us*-ending surnames, regardless of their length.

Table 1. Feminine surname formation in Lithuania until 2003.

Surname Type	Masculine Form—Examples	Feminine Form—Married Women	Feminine Form—Unmarried Women
Surname ending with *-as, -a*	Kazlausk-as Virpš-a	Kazlausk-ienė Virpš-ienė	Kazlausk-aitė Virpš-aitė
Surname ending with *-is, -ys, -ė, -ia/-(j)a*	Žvirbl-is Bals-ys Lap-ė Stundž-ia Saj-a	Žvirbl-ienė Bals-ienė Lap-ienė Stundž-ienė Saj-ienė	Žvirbl-ytė Bals-ytė Lap-ytė Stundž-ytė Saj-ytė
Surname ending with *-us, -(i)us/-(j)us*	Adamk-us Stankevič-ius Roj-us	Adamk-ienė or Adamk-uvienė Stankevič-ienė or Stankevič-iuvienė Roj-uvienė	Adamk-utė Stankevič-iūtė Roj-ūtė

4. The 2003 Change and the Ensuing Public Debate

The situation outlined above changed in 2003, when the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language (Valstybinė lietuvių kalbos komisija), instigated by the office of Equal Opportunities Ombudsperson (then Aušrinė Burneikienė) and EU directives, decided to legitimise non-suffixed female surnames ending with *-ė* as an alternative to traditional feminine suffixes.

The new regulation was carefully worded; by way of justification for introducing the novelty, it evoked "the public opinion" (*visuomenės reiškiamas nuomones*) and emphasised the fact that the hitherto used regulations regarding the formation of feminine surnames should be considered basic (*pagrindinėmis*). "In those cases where we want to obtain a form that would not indicate marital status, it is possible to create a form on the basis of the masculine form using the ending -ė, stated the resolution, implicitly reinforcing the impression of the exceptional and perhaps even tentative status of the new surname ending (*Nutarimas* 2003).

In 2009, a letter was addressed to the parliament, demanding for the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language to be made to revoke the resolution. Among the signatories, there were poet Justinas Marcinkevičius, former minister for education Zigmas Zinkevičius, ethnologist Gražina Kadžytė, as well as several specialists in the Lithuanian language: Arnoldas Piročkinas, Aldona Paulauskienė, Aldonas Pupkis and Kazimieras Garšva (Gudavičiūtė 2009).

The arguments in the public debate were highly emotional. The traditional surname forms were described as "uniquely beautiful surnames [...] showing the sacred belongingness to the family, close ties of marriage", "characterised by particular beauty", existing "only in the language created by our nation" and creating "the most perfect system of surname formation". By contrast, under the new resolution, "the pearls of our language are trodden under foot". The newly introduced forms were considered "unaesthetical-sounding"; little wonder that "only immoral, dishonourably living women are contemptuously called with such surnames". Their real purpose, it was claimed, was "to conceal the fact of being married, and some people might wonder why" (Albinas Petrulis, cited in Garšva 2012, p. 216). Finally, advice was offered to women to "take the [traditional] surname with suffix or not marry at all" and a suggestion was directed at the women who might support the non-suffixed surnames: "why don't you renounce Lithuanian citizenship" (Digrytė 2009).

The members of the State Commission appeared certain of the strength of their arguments—not the least important of them being the fact that Vitalija Maciejauskienė, one of the most eminent anthroponomasticians, did not object to the 2003 regulation. Perhaps it was also felt that non-suffixed surnames were admitted as a compromise, so that

women would not seek masculine, non-inflected surnames. Rita Miliūnaitė, who in 2009 researched societal attitudes towards the new endings on the basis of Internet discussions, shortlisted 2763 commentaries for analysis and classified them according to the type of argument used. She came to the conclusion that about 15 per cent were factual arguments, relating to the history and function of Lithuanian surnames and to surname systems in other languages. Sociopsychological arguments, such as gender equality, emancipation and personality factors, accounted for 26.7 per cent of all arguments, while aesthetic evaluation was responsible for 10.7 per cent. The largest group, however—41 per cent—was made up by value-related arguments, which comprised referring to tradition, morality and the authority of linguists (Miliūnaitė 2013). R. Miliūnaitė's research also revealed a mismatch between the new regulations—perhaps not so much instigated by a societal need as by external pressure—and rather conservative attitudes of a considerable part of the society, especially the men.

At the same time, inadvertently or not, apparent misunderstandings have arisen. For instance, the opponents of the new solution have pointed out that its only benefit is a surname that is shorter (and therefore less unwieldy in dealing with foreigners), yet the same effect might and should have been achieved more easily by renouncing the *-evič(i)*- affix. This rather misses the point of the 2003 resolution, which was not a shortening (after all, the ending *-ė* applies to all surnames, not only to those with *-evič(i)*-) but offering an option for women not to indicate their marital status in surnames. Moreover, in the opinion of the opponents of unsuffixed surnames, such a name would reveal its bearer as being a woman of marriageable age who had in fact probably been married at least once, because her surname was changed, while neither young girls nor old age pensioners would call themselves by such name forms. In fact, all women, not only married or divorced ones, have the right to apply for surname change by force of the 2003 resolution.

In 2009, the year of heated media debates in Lithuania surrounding the issue of feminine surnames, the positioning of women who favoured the newly introduced surname option as immoral and sexually promiscuous became visible and defined the area of the debate. Not only did the journalists writing about the topic feel forced to address this charge, but even Irena Smetonienė, the then head of the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language, joined in protesting against the denigration of women who use what came to be perceived as masculine surname forms (Bareišis 2009).

Other arguments from the State Commission were related more to the language than to morals and were consequently not as elusive and easy to reject. The factual argumentation went in two directions. First, the newly proposed forms with the ending *-ė* were described as traditionally existing in Lithuanian (alongside those with the suffix *-yčia*—Jonikas 1976) and backed by such undisputed authorities as Jonas Jablonskis, according to whom surnames with the suffixes *-aitė*, *-ytė* and *-ūtė* are said to be relatively new in the language, dating back to the 1920s. Although the oldest single attestations of the suffixed feminine surnames date back to the 16th century, they only became more frequent in the 17th century. Thus, one cannot say that they have been used since time immemorial, contrary to the claims that they are Indo-European[1]. Incidentally, the attestations of surnames with the suffixes *-ova*, *-evna* and *-ovna* come from the same time, giving rise to the second argument employed by the State Commission—namely, the suggestion that it is exactly the traditional feminine suffixes (and not the "new" ones) that are Polish in spirit.[2] In other words, the "traditional" ones are not so traditional in that light but rather re-invented and possibly even un-Lithuanian.

The women who decided to use the new surnames also emphasised the aspect of personal freedom and the fact that languages change. Among these women were linguist Irena Baliulė,[3] pop singer Natalija Zvonkė-Bunkė,[4] journalist Indrė Viržintė, circus magician Diana Gaičiūnaitė-Dirmė (cf. Dovidavičienė 2009) and writer Ona Baliukonė. The research commissioned by the newspaper "Lietuvos rytas" revealed that in 2009, six years after the new regulation was introduced, there were already 3480 women in Lithuania with the non-suffixed surname (Gudavičiūtė 2009); in 2023, that number is set at approximately nine thousand.[5]

5. Other Sources of Influence on Lithuanian Feminine Surnames

Apart from the "neutral" *-è*-suffixed form, the traditional surname system is being undermined from several other directions, leading to certain societal habituation to forms from outside the traditional pattern and also acting like a foot-in-the-door phenomenon (once a minor concession is made, it will be easier to obtain a major one). One of them is the use of surnames for unmarried women by married ones, a phenomenon that disturbs the consistency of the pattern. The list of publicly known women who chose to keep their maiden names after marriage is quite long: fashion models Asta Valentaitė and Monika Račiūnaitė, designer Daiva Urbonavičiūtė, politician Nijolė Oželytė, actress Vaiva Mainelytė, pianist Guoda Gedvilaitė, singers Jurga Šedulkytė and Irena Starošaitė, writer Jolita Seredaitė, ballet dancer Loreta Bartusevičiūtė, hosts of TV programmes Nomeda Marčėnaitė and Živilė Vaškytė, theatre manager Giedrė Liugaitė, etc. This is perhaps not so surprising, considering the fact that the signatories of the 2009 letter to the parliament advised the women wishing to conceal their marital status to keep their maiden name after marriage.[6]

Another factor contributing to the trend is for women to use masculine surnames. Examples include Daina Bosas (Danish citizen, nee Randers); Izolda Gudelis (married a Lithuanian of American citizenship); TV hostess Lidija Rasutis (lived in the USA); director of the Kuronian Spit national park, Aušra Feser; designer Aušra Žvirblienė-Haglund; graphic designer and jeweller, Jurga Karčiauskaitė-Lago; as well as academics Vaida Našlėnaitė Eberhardt, Inga Hilbig and Eglė Vaivadaitė-Kaidi. Admittedly, most of them owe their surnames to foreign husbands but not all. For instance, journalist Aurelija Simutis has no foreign citizenship or husband; she has borne her masculine name since 1999 and helped initiate the 2003 law change.[7]

The supporters of the 2003 resolution invoke a number of famous or at least publicly visible Lithuanian women who once bore or are now bearing (for a variety of reasons) non-suffixed surnames or surname-like pen names: Salomėja Nėris, Gabrielė Petkevičaitė-Bitė, Eva Simoneit, Marija Gimbutas, Liūnė Sutema, Eglė Juodvalkė, Carla Rigg and Vilė Vėl.

Yet another foot-in-the-door mechanism comes in the form of non-suffixed, undeclinable Polish minority surnames for women (cf. *Ana Vonsovič*, gen. *Anos Vonsovič*, dat. *Anai Vonsovič*, etc.), as well as Russian and Ukrainian surname patterns (*Alina Orlova/Orlovskaja, Evelina Sašenko*) and the names of foreigners that appear in Lithuanian media.

The most recent voice in the debate is the 2023 proposal by Lithuanian politician and MP Ieva Pakarklytė that an exception be made for surnames that end with *-a* or *-ia* in the masculine form (e.g., *Juška, Švēgžda, Šarka, Pelėda, Mažeika, Lydeka, Strolia*), whose feminine forms would be, according to the bill, identical to the masculine ones.[8] The arguments used on this occasion ranged from linguistic ones (Lithuanian masculine surnames ending with *-a* are grammatically feminine, with many identical to feminine-gender common nouns still in use today, e.g., *pelėda*—"owl", *lydeka*—"pike", *šarka*—"magpie"; therefore, it is a paradox that women must not bear them) to those invoking identity and personal freedom. It is worth noting that in the case of such surnames as *Lapė* or *Kregždė*, which end with *-è*[9], the "neutral" feminine surname introduced in 2003 was also formally identical to the masculine one.

Even though the suggestion would concern only a small segment of the surname pool, it nevertheless occasioned considerable public debate. Some journalists, using slippery-slope argumentation, envisioned further changes, which in their opinion would ultimately destroy the surname system, "which we have already systematically organised after all the occupiers, foreign rule and forced assimilation".[10] The side effect of the proposed regulation, if eventually accepted, would be the introduction of yet another way for women's surnames in Lithuania to not reveal the marital status of their bearers.

6. Slovakia

In contrast to Lithuania, Slovak surnames do not reveal a woman's marital status, although feminine surnames are obligatory by law (cf. *Pravidlá* 2000). They are formed

with the suffix *-ová* added to the masculine form of nominative-type surnames (see Table 2). This is the general rule, subject to certain morphological adjustments due to the historical development of Slavic languages, which included, e.g., the admission of Romanian, Albanian or Turkish surnames into the name stock (1c). Moreover, surnames that end in *-ec*, *-ek* or *-ok* may drop the vowel in the feminine form in the last syllable (1b), though native surnames with features of foreign orthography typically retain these vowels (1b′). The preservation (or the lack of it) of these vowels may also be related to the contemporary etymological transparency of a surname, to the family tradition of using the feminine form or to other factors too numerous to further discuss here. There are also modifications in the case of some foreign surnames.

Table 2. Feminine surname formation in contemporary Slovakia.

Surname Type	Masculine Form—Examples	Feminine Form
1a. Nominal type	Mečiar Bednár Ondrejov	Mečiar-ová Bednár-ová Ondrejov-ová
1b. Nominal type with morphological adjustments	Škorec Vlček Svitok	Škorc-ová Vlčk-ová Svitk-ová
1b′. Exceptions—native surnames with the features of foreign orthography	Jellinek	Jellinek-ová
1c. Nominal type with a final vowel—including the *-u* ending ones of Romanian, Albanian or Turkish origin	Ryba Lacko Olteanu	Ryb-ová Lack-ová Oltean-ová
2. Adjectival type	Smutn-ý Biel-y Radeck-i	Smutn-á Biel-á Radeck-á
3. Surnames ending with *-iech*, *-ech*, *-ých,-eje*, *-oje*, *-e*	Balažoviech Mikulášových Kováčeje	Balažoviech-ová or Balažoviech Mikulášových-ová or Mikulášových Kováčeje-ová or Kováčeje
Surnames ending with *-ovie* or *-ů*	Brezíkovie Jirků	Brezíkovie Jirků

In the adjectival type, only *-á* is added. However, certain features inherently present in the system act as a foot-in-the-door phenomenon. In the case of surnames that in the masculine form end with *-iech*, *-ech* and *-ých*,[11] the *-ová* suffix is not obligatory; this similarly occurs in those ending in *-eje*, *-oje* and *-e*. Moreover, in the case of the native ending *-ovie* or the Czech ending *-ů* (e.g., *Jirků*), the feminine form is the same as the masculine one.

There are exceptions to the principles above, which are visible in public life. For instance, the singers Szidi Tobias (of Hungarian ancestry), Dara Rolins and Jana Kirschner, as well as the hostess of TV programmes and business coach Andrea Vadkerti all use non-suffixed surnames. Incidentally, in 1997, Vadkerti was officially required to use the suffixed surname form Vadkertiová in her TV programmes.[12]

By law, the feminine suffix in surnames is not obligatory if one of the spouses is not a citizen of Slovakia; if both spouses are citizens of Slovakia, but the wife is of a non-Slovak nationality (this refers especially to Hungarians—the most numerous minority, whose naming patterns markedly differ from Slovak ones) or if a female citizen of Slovakia is also a citizen of another country. The renouncing of the feminine suffix in such a case is not treated as a name change (*Zákon* 2006, §7 (2) d).

Those who support the status quo stress the integrity of the language system and its tradition (for a discussion of both with reference to feminine surnames, see Valentová 2016), patriotism or potential problems with communication. Thus, it would be impossible and ungrammatical, they claim, to say "Poviem pani Straka" ("I'll tell Mrs Straka") instead of: "Poviem pani Strakovej".[13]

Their opponents emphasise individual liberty, potential problems abroad (when a family is not recognised as such due to the differences in the surnames of its members) and the comic aspect of foreign surnames with Slovak suffixes, such as Icelandic, Lithuanian, Chinese, Indonesian or Hungarian surnames, respectively: *Björk Gudmundsdottirová*, *Edita Pucinskaiteová*,[14] *Gong Liová*, *Megawati Sukarnoputriová*, *Loschan Férencnéová*.[15]

In 2012, a proposal to allow Slovak women to choose non-suffixed surnames upon written request was put forward by the Ministry of the Interior, led by Robert Kaliňák. However, the Ministry of Culture opposed the project, arguing that registration is conducted in the state language—Slovak—therefore, the data entered into the register must respect its rules. The proposal would thus be contrary to the State Language Act.[16] Consequently, the project was not implemented.

7. Czechia[17]

Similarly to Slovakia, feminine surnames are also obligatory in documents and in general public use in Czechia. They are formed with the suffix *-ová* added to the masculine form of nominative-type surnames (owing to the history of Slavic languages; similar to Slovak surnames, there are certain morphological adjustments connected with the names that have a movable *-e-*, *-o-* or *-a-*before the word-final consonant; see 1b in Table 3) and with the suffix *-á* in the case of adjectival-type surnames. Also, similar to Slovak, the final vowel disappears in native surnames ending in *-a*, *-e*, *-ě* and *-o* (1c in Table 3).

Table 3. Feminine surname formation in contemporary Czechia.

Surname Type	Masculine Form—Examples	Feminine Form
1a. Nominal type	Novák Kubiš	Novák-ová Kubiš-ová
1b. Nominal type with morphological adjustments	Štěpánek Havel	Štěpánk-ová Havl-ová
1c. Nominal type with final vowel	Svoboda Kubice Purkyně Máslo	Svobod-ová Kubic-ová Purkyň-ová Másl-ová
2. Adjectival type	Mal-ý	Mal-á
Surnames ending with *-ů*	Jirků Paulů Janů	Jirků Paulů Janů
Surnames ending with *-i*, *-y*, *-u* (typically of non-Czech origin)	Petöfi Konopí Bondy Dočekau Dovrtěu	Petöfi-ová or Petöfi Konop-ová or Konopí Bondy-ová or Bondy Dočekau-ová or Dočekau Dovrtěu-ová or Dovrtěu
The plural genitive form surnames ending with *-ých*	Malých Černých	Malých Černých
Many foreign surnames, also dialectal ones	Szabó Karenin Fojtův	Szabó-ová or Szabó Karenin-ová or Karenina Fojt-ová or Fojtův

The foot-in-the-door phenomena are quite similar in their essence to Slovak ones. For instance, surnames ending with *-ů* do not form suffixed feminine forms (i.e., both

men and women bear the same form). In the case of some surnames of non-Czech origin, it is permitted when the feminine form in the nominative is identical to the masculine one. Surnames ending in *-ých*, which etymologically have the plural genitive form, still grammatically transparent to Czech language users, have the same nominative form for both genders. Finally, in the case of many surnames of foreign origin, it is admissible for their female bearers to use the non-suffixed form (e.g., *Szabó*—of Hungarian origin), or to use the feminine form typical of the language of origin (e.g., *Karenin*—of Russian origin). The same applies to certain surnames of dialectal origins.

By law, the feminine suffix in surnames has not been obligatory since 2000 for women who are Czech citizens of non-Czech nationality (at the written request of the woman concerned or of the parents of a female child). Since 2004, this possibility has been available to Czech citizens of non-Czech nationality, to Czech citizens who have or will have permanent residency abroad, to foreigners and to Czech women who marry foreigners (cf. Harvalík 2016).

Similarly to the Slovak language, the supporters of preserving the Czech system of feminine surname formation also emphasise tradition and the cohesion of the language system. As Harvalík (2016) noted, "The forming of feminine surname forms (native and foreign) may be by its bearers perceived as inappropriate change, but insisting that it not take place interferes strongly with the Czech language system" (p. 28). At the same time, the consistent top-to-bottom introduction of the obligatory suffixation of Czech female surnames may be linked to de-Germanization after WW2 and generally to compulsory Czechization, as evidenced by the fate of the names of foreigners in post-war Czechia (Kolek and Valdrová 2020, pp. 50–51).

Their opponents stress individual freedom, human rights and present gender inequality. According to linguist Jana Valdrová, "various forms of surnames and cultures used to coexist in the country up until the Second World War. After the Expulsion of Germans of former Czechoslovakia, foreign, uninflected forms of surnames stopped being used".[18] Yet another aspect of the situation is the fact that, as observed by Jana Talmanová, head registrar at Prague 1 City Hall, the current law has forced many women to relinquish their Czech nationality—they instead wish to be registered as Greeks, Ukrainians or Hungarians (cited in Ponikelska 2004).

In 2015, a lecture with a following debate devoted to the problem of suffixed feminine surnames in the Czech language was organised in Prague by the Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences.[19] At the beginning of 2023, one of the Czech online news dailies, *Deník N*, announced that it was dropping the practice of using the suffix *-ová* for foreign women's surnames, a decision which was reportedly met with diverse reactions, from approval to protests (Fodor 2023).

8. Poland

Compared with Slovakia and Czechia, the situation in Poland appears free from conflict in the present day. From the point of view of forming feminine forms, three surname types can be distinguished today (see Table 4). The first and probably largest group (nearly 63 per cent among the most frequent one thousand surnames) comprises nominal-type names, which have the same masculine and feminine form in official use today. The second largest (about 36 per cent in the top thousand) is the adjectival-type group ending with *-ski* or *-cki/-dzki* (in their feminine form *-ska* or *-cka/-dzka*, respectively). The third group is interesting, though numerically insignificant (under 2 per cent in the top thousand): it is adjectival but mostly ending in *-y* or occasionally *-i*, both corresponding to *-a* in the feminine form. These surnames are often identical with common adjectives, e.g., *biały*—"white", *cichy*—"silent", *lekki*—"light (not heavy)", and it is largely for this reason that the woman has a choice whether to use them in the masculine or feminine form. Since the choice is legally binding for all her female offspring, the moment when women can choose the form of their surname basically occurs at marriage.

Table 4. Feminine surname formation in contemporary Poland.

Surname Type	Masculine Form—Examples	Feminine Form
1. Nominal type		Nowak Wójcik Kowalczyk Mazur Fredro Sikora Kmita
2. Adjectival -ski/-cki (-dzki) ending	Kowalsk-i Malinowsk-i Rudeck-i Zawadzk-i	Kowalsk-a Malinowsk-a Rudeck-a Zawadzk-a
3. Adjectival -y/-i ending	Biał-y Cich-y Lekk-i	Biał-y or Biał-a Cich-y or Cich-a Lekk-i or Lekk-a

Until the Second World War, however, the first (nominal) surname type was traditionally suffixed (see Table 5). Most surnames of that type used to assume the suffix *-owa* for married women and *-ówna* for unmarried ones.[20] Only if the masculine surname ended with *-a* was the suffix different, often with complex morphophonetic modifications.

Table 5. Feminine surname formation before WW2.

Surname Type	Masculine Form—Examples	Feminine Form—Married Women	Feminine Form—Unmarried Women
Nominal type with ending other than *-a*	Nowak Wójcik Kowalczyk Mazur Fredro	Nowak-owa Wójcik-owa Kowalczyk-owa Mazur-owa Fredr-owa	Nowak-ówna Wójcik-ówna Kowalczyk-ówna Mazur-ówna Fredr-ówna
Nominal type *-a* ending	Sikor-a Kmit-a	Sikorz-yna Kmic-ina	Sikorz-anka Kmici-anka

The reasons for the active (re-)adoption of all these complicated patterns can be found in the socio-political history of the country. At the end of the 18th century, Poland was partitioned among Russia, Prussia and Austria. Consequently, German, as one of the new languages of civil registration, and French, as the language of the educated in 19th century Russia, are considered likely factors contributing to the gradual demise of feminine surname suffixes. Another one might be the beginnings of the emancipation of Polish women at the time. These changes did not go unnoticed. In 1907, Polish poet Lucjan Rydel wrote the following about these suffixes:

> While in Bohemia, I used to witness misunderstandings due to the same feminine ending -ova for the mother and the daughter [...] I used to think then with pride that the Polish language has such beautiful and logical distinctions in its very endings, as well as the comfort and conciseness resulting from richness; now there's talk of expulsion from language of such a beautiful, clever and useful trait! Why? Because a couple thousand female maniacs and bluestockings feel like it! Millions of Polish peasants keep this distinction and they will keep it because they are not big-headed. (Rydel 1907, p. 10, own translation)

Rydel also envisioned the likely confusion that would ensue if feminine surnames were deprived of suffixes and used in dependent cases.

Suffixation was already slowly dying out in 1918, when Poland regained independence. Then, the suffixation of feminine surnames became obligatory. The *-a*-ending type was especially troublesome, to the extent that registry clerks had to receive detailed written instructions on how to form feminine surnames for each of the 32 different morphological patterns (Litwin 1932, p. 25). Interestingly, in 1924, on average only about half of the women who bore suffixable surnames voluntarily used them with suffixes (Walkowiak 2012).

After WWII, suffixed surnames ceased to be officially used, although shortly after the war, vestiges of pre-war discussions occasionally resurfaced in scholarly writings of Polish language specialists, despite state regulations. Accordingly, in 1951, Pawłowski, writing in a spirit that today sounds laden with heavy sex bias, warned against the likely misunderstandings that might result from the inability to identify the gender of the person in question; thus, a client who trusted a male dentist or a male barrister more than a female one might be unpleasantly disappointed if, upon entering the waiting room or the barrister's chambers, he would find a woman instead (Pawłowski 1951, pp. 41–42).

Today the suffixed nominal surname forms only appear in informal—especially spoken—language, sometimes with derogatory undertones (cf. Skudrzyk[owa] 1996). Even when not pejorative, they often function independently of marital status, as evidenced by several actresses, who, despite being married, use forms characteristic of unmarried women, probably to make their surnames more attractive (*Beata Ścibakówna, Agnieszka Kotulanka, Zofia Kucówna*). Another professional group in which suffixed surnames could still be found after 1945 were some writers (*Ewa Szelburg-Zarembina, Joanna Kulmowa*) or university specialists of the Polish language or literature (*Zofia Kurzowa, Maria Renata Mayenowa*).[21] However, in the 21st century, even Polish language professors believe that "the custom of endowing surnames with maiden suffixes is for psycho-sociological and morphological reasons a thing of the past in language. For why should a woman inform people by the shape of her surname about her marital status?" (Miodek 2006). Contrary to Rydel's fears, the non-declinability of all feminine surnames that do not end in *-a* is the norm today and an inherent feature of these names in Polish.

9. Other European Countries

Official feminine surnames also exist in Latvia, Russia, Belarus, Bulgaria, Ukraine and Macedonia. They only preserve the masculine/feminine contrast (and not married vs. unmarried). In other Slavic states, as well as in the region of Lusatia (Germany), suffixed feminine surnames only have informal status. For example, in Slovenia, official surnames are the same for both sexes (*Svet, Maze*): when referring to a man, they are inflected; when to a woman—uninflected. Their use with suffixes is obligatory (grammatically, not legally) when a woman is only referred to by her surname: *Svetova, Mazejeva*. There are two types of feminine suffixes: *-ova* after a hard consonant (*Danilova, Trdinova, Kozakova*) and *-eva* after a (genetically) soft consonant (*Bulovčeva, Majdičeva, Mazejeva*). Recently, there has been an increasing tendency to omit the *-ova/-eva* suffix in speech, possibly due to the fact that such surnames are felt to indicate possession, which is not politically correct today. Adjectival surnames are characterised by differential gender: *Matičetov–Matičetova* (Nowakowska 2016). In Croatia, the distinction between masculine and feminine surnames has disappeared altogether, its only contemporary vestige perhaps being the practice in the media of adding the suffix *-ova/-eva*—in order to enable declension—to surnames of female foreigners that do not end in *-a*, e.g., *Steffi Grafova* (Motschenbacher and Weikert 2015, p. 79).

10. Conclusions

The history of feminine surnames in Central Europe follows a developmental pattern and a specific chronological order, with a dichotomic division into those for married and unmarried women slowly disappearing, so that only one female surname form is left—though even that one may prove controversial if its use entails what comes to be perceived as a violation of personal freedom.

Lithuanian is one of the late-standard languages (Subačius 2002). Its standardization dates back to the 19th century, in contrast to many languages in Western Europe (as well as Polish and Hungarian), where it took place in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Late standardization is what Lithuanian shares with Belarusian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Russian, Serbian, Slovak, Slovenian and Ukrainian; probably Czech and Latvian should also be included here. According to Vaicekauskienė (2012), "this has marked the standardization ideologies with the expressed need for constant institutionalised protection of the authenticity and purity of the established state language from any external influence" (p. 84). Yet this does not seem to be the only reason for the emotional surname debates in contemporary Lithuania, Czechia or Slovakia (but not in other countries with feminine surnames).

Latvia seems to offer an explanation. Its present surname pattern owes its existence to a 1927 reform, whereby a two-way system with no suffixes was introduced, featuring only the endings *-a* or *-e* for women and *-s/-š* or *-is* for men, respectively: *Kalns–Kalna*, *Ozoliņš–Ozoliņa*, *Balodis–Balode* (Hanks 2003, p. xcv). There are some exceptions to the pattern though—surnames with the same ending for males and females (*Liepa*, *Egle*) or foreign, non-declinable vowel-ending surnames (*Martinelli*, *Iannaccaro*) as well as a certain pre-war tradition of the masculine surname form for women, not followed any more today. Nevertheless, in contrast to Lithuania, Latvian women do not appear interested in contesting the *status quo*.[22] It would seem that, as there is no information about the surname bearer's marital status in suffixes, nor is there a connotation of ownership evidently still felt by users of the suffixes *-owa*, *-ová* or *-ienė* (despite claims by linguists that such suffixes are not indicative of possession today), Latvian women evidently do not find gendered surnames in any way problematic.

The proprietary dependence of women on men, implied by the suffixed surname, is perhaps the common denominator that unites the surname debates in Lithuania with those in Czechia, Slovakia and—before the war—Poland. The adverse consequences of the feeling of ownership—incompatible with lifestyles in contemporary European countries—are visible even in those naming cultures in which feminine surnames are not formed by suffixation. For example, in English-speaking countries not long ago, it was quite usual to refer to a married woman using the full name of her husband. Examples include the actress known to the audience as *Mrs Patrick Campbell*, as well as women writers who wrote not under their real names but under the names *Mrs Humphry Ward*, *Mrs James Joyce Arthur*, *Mrs Robert Henrey* or *Mrs Henry Wood*. In a similar fashion, for centuries, Hungarian women used to adopt their husband's full name with the feminine derivative (formative syllable) *-né* after marriage, abandoning their maiden name altogether, and this also occurred in official documents, e.g., *Kis* [husband's surname] *Jánosné* [husband's given name *János* + *-né*] (Fercsik 2012). The above-mentioned names symbolically expressed the possession of a woman by a man, to the extent that not only her maiden (birth) name but even her own given name disappeared in, e.g., official correspondence or even on tombstones.[23]

Putting female surnames in the service of the nation constitutes another common feature in some of the analysed countries. In Poland, this happened after WW1, in Czechoslovakia—after WW2. Other than in Poland, though, in the Czechoslovak case ethnic homogenization was also involved:

> From the perspective of gender onomastics, it is possible to see the surprisingly close bond between personal names and the political situation of the day. The pre-war multinational society was characterized by a variety of given names and surnames. From 1946, both names and surnames were Czechized. (Kolek and Valdrová 2020, p. 54)

There is also an interesting parallelism between the Czech argument that a sentence like *Susan Sontag navštívila Shirley Temple* ("Susan Sonntag visited Shirley Temple", cf. Kolek and Valdrová 2020) precludes the correct recognition of the subject and object when used without suffixes, and a similarly constructed Polish sentence, *Baran mówi o Kowal* ("Baran is

speaking about Kowal", cf. Pawłowski 1951), faces the same analogical objections—in the latter case, however, the worries appear immaterial today.

Yet another shared reason for controversies surrounding feminine surnames might be the fact that their creation can pose problems. Rules for their formation tend to be complex. For instance, registry clerks in interwar Poland had to use special books with instructions that helped them build feminine surnames correctly, taking into account such counter-intuitive (and occasionally, also hard to pronounce or spell) forms as *Gaździna* and *Gaździanka* from *Gazda*; *Różdżyna* and *Różdżanka* from *Różga*; *Wydżdżyna* and *Wydżdżanka* from *Wydżga*; and *Pocieszyna* and *Pocieszanka* from *Pociecha* (Walkowiak 2012). Minority and international aspects are also not to be overlooked: foreign surnames embellished with native suffixation acquire some hybrid characteristics that may look grotesque (e.g., in the case of foreigners' names in the media), violate the bearer's identity (in the case of national or ethnic minorities), or simply pose problems abroad (where female surnames may fail to be recognized as related to their male versions). All things considered, a combination of all the above—the implication of ownership, a history of prescriptivism and various above-mentioned pragmatic and identity considerations—might jointly contribute to the tendency towards the slow disappearance of feminine surname forms.

Notes

[1] http://www.ve.lt/naujienos/lietuva/lietuvos-naujienos/kam-moterims-vyriskos-pavardes/ (accessed on 12 September 2023).

[2] Ibid. It would seem that a suggestion of a linguistic feature in Lithuanian being genetically Polish is detrimental for the favourable evaluation of this feature.

[3] http://www.ve.lt/naujienos/nuomones/nuomones/ar-moteris-turi-teise-trumpinti-pavarde-44048/ (accessed on 12 September 2023).

[4] According to anecdotal evidence, it was Zvonkė's high-profile non-suffixed surname that occasioned the 2009 media debate, six years after the new regulation was introduced.

[5] https://www.lrt.lt/naujienos/lietuvoje/2/2027756/parlamente-pirmas-zingsnis-del-siulymo-leisti-moteru-pavardes-rasyti-su-galune-a (accessed on 12 September 2023).

[6] See note 3 above.

[7] http://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/emigrants/lietuvos-moteru-vargai-del-pavardes.d?id=30709499 (accessed on 12 September 2023).

[8] https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAP/e557d8a0ea5611eda305cb3bdf2af4d8?jfwid=-bxdpcdur9 (accessed on 12 September 2023).

[9] In Lithuanian the nouns that gave rise to these surnames are gramatically feminine: *lapė* 'fox', *kregždė* 'swallow'.

[10] https://www.15min.lt/naujiena/aktualu/nuomones/dalia-kiseliunaite-dar-karta-apie-moteru-pavardziu-burbula-18-2064732 (accessed on 12 September 2023).

[11] In contrast with the earlier discussed types of Slovak surnames, these are structurally in plural genitive form, somewhat like *the Wilsons'*. One can easily imagine the genesis of such a surname: *Whose boy is that? The Wilsons'*.

[12] https://www.sme.sk/c/2065396/zenske-priezvisko-bez-pripony-ova-uvedene-v-matrike-sa-nesmie-pouzivat-vo-verejnom-styku.html (accessed on 12 September 2023).

[13] http://archiv.extraplus.sk/2153/komplexy-z-prechylovania (accessed on 12 September 2023).

[14] While incorrect, this form appeared in the Slovak press, with 11 corpus attestations (cf. Garabík 2005).

[15] https://korpus.juls.savba.sk/attachments/publications/2005_Garabik_menazeny.pdf (accessed on 12 September 2023).

[16] https://domov.sme.sk/c/6673595/kalinak-chce-dat-zenam-moznost-nepouzivat-ova-madaric-je-proti.html (accessed on 12 September 2023).

[17] The principles of forming feminine surnames are outlined according to the set of principles *Internetová jazyková příručka*, 2008–2017, prepared by the Institute of the Czech Language of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, http://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?id=700#nadpis7 (accessed on 12 September 2023).

[18] Daniela Kaňková *The Peculiar Culture Of Gender Surname Inflection*, 1 February 2021. https://femonomic.com/the-peculiar-culture-of-gender-surname-inflection/ (accessed on 12 September 2023).

[19] *Stát mě přechýlil.* Noc vědců a vědkyň (European Researchers' Night), 25 September 2015.

[20] The only exception was surnames whose masculine form ends in *-g*, *-ge*, *-go* (*Szeląg*, *Lange*, *Wielgo*)—the surnames of unmarried women should end in *-anka*, not *-ówna* (*Szelążanka*, *Lanżanka*, *Wielżanka*) to avoid the association with the appellative *gówna* 'feces'.

[21] For a more detailed discussion of feminine surnames in Polish, see (Walkowiak 2016).

[22] Opinion of linguist Sanita Lazdiņa, email communication of 18 August 2017.

[23] Cf. the photo of the tomb of István Markus and his wife at http://felvidek.ma/2016/12/a-zselyi-evangelikus-temeto/ (accessed on 12 September 2023). Today the -né-ending names are just one of several officially acceptable options in Hungary.

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Article

Surnames of Georgian Jews: Historical and Linguistic Aspects

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Abstract: The article provides an analysis of several aspects of the corpus of surnames used by Jews who lived after the end of the Middle Ages in the territory that today corresponds to the Republic of Georgia. One section covers historical aspects: the earliest attestations and their exact status and the period when the use of surnames became stabilized. The next two sections discuss morphological aspects: the endings found in the surnames and historical, linguistic, and social explanations of the distribution observed, compound names, names with demonymic suffixes, and those based on hypocoristic forms of given names (a detailed coverage of methods of constructing such forms is also provided). In the remaining sections, the reader will find an analysis of phonetic peculiarities found in Georgian Jewish surnames, the types of surnames with their statistical distribution, as well as the description of surnames that were not created in Georgia but were brought as ready-made forms by Jews who migrated during the 19th–20th centuries to Georgia from other territories.

Keywords: Jewish surnames; Georgia; history of Georgian Jews; etymology of surnames

1. Introduction

Very few scholarly studies of surnames used by Jews who lived in the territory that today corresponds to the Republic of Georgia have been published until now. The earliest works are due to Gagulashvili, who in 1987 compiled the first representative list of surnames (Gagulashvili 1987) and in 1996 suggested etymologies for a few dozens of them (Gagulashvili 1996). Enoch (2014) analyszes the endings of Georgian Jewish surnames, provides a comprehensive list of surnames used by Georgian Jews, and discusses etymologies for a few of them. This article discusses several major questions of Georgian Jewish onomastics that were either outside of the scope of the above studies or received no answer in them. One of these questions deals with historical aspects: the earliest attestations of surnames and the period when the use of surnames became stabilized. Several topics addressed here are morphological. They concern the structure of surnames, endings used along with the explanation of the distribution observed, and the methods of constructing hypocoristic forms of given names that became the bases for numerous patronymic and matronymic surnames. Finally, this article discusses surnames brought during the 19th–20th centuries to Georgia by Jewish migrants from other regions.[1]

2. History of Names

The scarcity of historical documents dealing with Georgian Jews before the 17th century does not allow us to determine the period when Georgian Jews started to use hereditary family names. Several authors point to the Early Middle Ages. For example, Mamistvalishvili (2011, p. 77) implies this proceeding in two steps. Firstly, he quotes the opinion by Ǧlonṭi (1986, p. 48) about the 7th–8th centuries being the period of the mass inception of family names within various social groups of Georgian Christians. Secondly, he claims—without providing any argument to support his idea—that Georgian Jews most likely received their surnames simultaneously with Georgian Christians.[2] The quote from Ǧlonṭi is accurate, but it is taken out of its context. In his book, Ǧlonṭi focuses on the inception of Georgian given names and personal nicknames. When discussing family names, he mainly deals with those known during the last centuries. He discusses at length the

non-hereditary character of numerous family names and the gradual split of the descendants of the same male ancestor into branches bearing different family names (pp. 44–47). Ğlonṭi also emphasizes (p. 47) that the roots of some modern surnames are very old. In this context, his remark about the inception of family names in the 7th–8th centuries is no more than a hypothesis. The period selected is the one that immediately precedes the time from which the oldest available Georgian written sources date. Most importantly, his hypothesis concerns the roots of the surnames, not the surnames themselves, which appear much later. For example, famous medieval Georgian authors such as the chronicler Leonti Mroveli (11th century) and the poet Shota Rustaveli (circa 1172–circa 1216) had no surnames.[3] Today, a large majority of Georgian Christians have surnames ending in *-dze* or *-shvili*. The earliest references to names with these endings date from the 13th and the 14th centuries, respectively. Moreover, nothing implies that these early forms were hereditary. In both cases, they could also be patronymics, or names based on the given names of the grandfathers, not retained by the following generations (Nikonov 1988, pp. 152, 155). For much more recent times, we still have rich documented evidence about the non-fixed and non-hereditary last names used by Georgian Christians. For example, during the first half of the 16th century, the son of Gabriela Betiasshvili is called Ganona Gabrielasshvili (that is, 'child of Gabriela'). A person with the given name Avtandil, the son of Iese and the grandson of Tamaz, appears in various documents from the end of the 17th century under three different last names: Iesesshvili 'child of Iese', Tamazisshvili 'child of Tamaz', and Baratashvili (a name used in several generations of the same family, apparently inherited from a more distant ancestor) (Ḳldiashvili et al. 1991, pp. 21, 394–95, 585). In documents from the 17th century, we find numerous Christians called by their given names only.[4] This situation was possible because before the 19th century, there was no legal obligation to have a hereditary surname for any inhabitant of Georgia independently of the religion.

The oldest documents from Georgia in which Jews are called by names other than their given names provide references to Ioseb Buğapaisdze (1260) and Eliozisdze (between 1519 and 1530, this person from Tskhinvali appears in the document without his given name).[5] No element in our possession implies that the last names of these two persons were their hereditary surnames. For example, Eliozisdze just means 'son of Elioz' in Georgian. This way, his last name could be his patronymic, or a non-hereditary name based on the given name of his grandfather.[6]

The same dilemma is still valid for certain last names ending in *-shvili* 'child of' appearing until the mid-19th century. In scarce sources from the second half of the 17th century dealing with Georgian Jews, we find references to such last names as Ḱezerashvili, Khakhanashvili, and Matvalasshvili (Ḳldiashvili et al. 2004, p. 9; 2015, pp. 32, 372). In theory, all of these could be non-hereditary, designating sons or grandsons of men called Ḱezera, Khakhana, and Matvala, respectively. In 1737, documents from western Kartli mention three local Jews: Shabatas-shvili Balua, Isrelashvili Ḱobia, and Mosias-shvili Daniela (Berdzenishvili 1940, p. 174). Here, we can also be dealing with Jews without surnames, that is, just sons or grandsons of Shabata, Isr(a)ela, and Mosia. Surely, the modern Georgian language uses *-dze* 'son of' to form patronymics. Yet the pattern of adding *-shvili* to form patronymics was still operational, at least regionally, even in the middle of the 19th century. For example, a document compiled in 1845, most likely in western Kartli, describing the distribution of the legacy of the deceased Georgian prince Palavandov between his sons, refers, among others, to a group of male Jewish serfs.[7] For some of them, their given name (Ioseba, Bato, Tsise, Ḳaḳa, Israela, and Elishaǩa) is followed immediately by their surname Ḳrikheli. In other cases, the whole name is composed of three elements that can appear in a different order: the given name, the patronymic, and the surname Ḳrikheli, with the word *khakham(i)* that can be added before the given name:[8] Ḳaḳo Ḱezerashvili Ḳrikheli, Eliḳashvili *khakhami* Elishaǩa Ḳrikheli, Iskhaḳashvili *khakham* Iaḳobi Ḳrikheli, Eliḳashvili Ṭaṭo Ḳrikheli, Babalashvili Datua Ḳrikheli, Ḱezerashvili Ḱezera Ḳrikheli, Davitashvili Ḳrikheli *khakhami* Moshe, Svimonashvili Moshe Ḳrikheli, and Mardakhas-shvili Ḳrikheli Shalo. There is no doubt that in the above list, all forms end-

ing in *-shvili* are not surnames but patronymics. For example, the names of the last three persons can be translated as Moses, the son of David Ḳrikheli; Moses, the son of Simon Ḳrikheli; and Shalo(m), the son of Mordecai Ḳrikheli.[9] Other Jewish serfs mentioned in the same document are Babalashvili Iskhaḳi, Iskhaḳashvili Shamoela, Eliḳashvili Ḳaḳo, and Abrama *gorishi* 'from Gori.' For the first three of them, their name ending in *-shvili* is ambiguous. It could be a surname. Yet we cannot exclude the possibility of it being a patronymic, so we can be dealing with sons (or grandsons) of Babala, Iskhaḳa 'Isaac', and Eliḳa 'Elijah.' One can observe that the last person in the above set of names is listed without any surname. This fact can be interpreted in two ways. On the one hand, we cannot exclude a possibility that some serfs owned by Georgian noble landlords simply had no surname. On the other hand, some Jews could have surnames, but because of the absence of any official status of these surnames, they could be non-fixed and considered of little, if any, importance and omitted in legal documents. An example can illustrate this scenario. A document from 1789 refers to the donation of the Jewish serf Elia Gagulashvili to a monastery in Racha. In certain documents from the first third of the 19th century, the same Elia appears without his surname (David 1989, vol. 1, pp. 139, 254).

The census of Tskhinvali made in 1781 (Tabuashvili 2013, pp. 56–60) notes the presence in that town of fourteen Jewish households. The family heads bear the following last names: Aṭenelashvili, Davitashvili, Eliashvili, Elishaḳashvili, Israilashvili, Khukhashvili, Khundiashvili, Mamistvalashvili (two), and Ṗaṗisimedishvili. We also find households of Ḳatsoba Manashera, Binia Khakhami, Shaloma, and Gagula. Yet we cannot be sure that these four families had no surname. For the first two of them, the actual surnames could be Manasherashvili (known from other sources from 18th-century Tskhinvali) and Khakhmishvili, and the last two names appear in two lines of the document that are corrupted. Note, however, that nine Christian families are recorded in the same census with no surnames. In neighboring villages, we find references to Jews called by given names only: Babala, Daniela, Elia, and Ḳaḳia (Tabuashvili 2013, pp. 46, 47, 66).

Table 1 provides other examples of references to Georgian Jewish men with no surnames.

Table 1. References to Jews with no surnames in Georgian Christian sources.

Name	Period	Place or *Province*	Source
Ioseba	1st third of the 17th century	*Imereti*	(Mamistvalishvili 2011, p. 133)
Ṗaṗia, Khatuna, Mardakha	1642	Largvisi (Tskhinvali area)	(Ḳldiashvili et al. 2015, p. 358)
Mardakha	1671	Tamarasheni	(Ḳldiashvili et al. 2004, p. 56)
Mardakha	Between 1676 and 1709	Mukhauri (Tskhinvali area)	(Ḳldiashvili et al. 2004, p. 56)
Ḳoba, Abrama, Ṗaṗua, Datuna	1723	Tskhinvali	(Berdzenishvili 1940, p. 168)
Manukha	1766	Tamarasheni	(Mamistvalishvili 2011, p. 224)
Ḳaḳia	1782	Kutaisi	(Berdzenishvili 1940, p. 191)
Shabata, Itskhak[10]	1791	Sujuna	(David 1989, vol. 1, p. 140)
Mardakha	End of the 18th century	*Kartli*	(David 1989, vol. 1, p. 140)
Shalom	Circa 1800	Unclear	(David 1989, vol. 1, p. 140)
Abrama, Ǩobo, Shaloma, and Elia, sons of Shamoela	1802	*Imereti*	(Berdzenishvili 1940, p. 218)
Shabata	1800s	*Kartli*	(David 1989, vol. 1, p. 140)
Elia	1809	Surami	(David 1989, vol. 1, p. 187)
Kobia	1838	Unclear	(David 1989, vol. 1, p. 188)

The marginal character of numerous surnames for the conscience of their own bearers and/or other members of their communities follows from certain Jewish documents compiled in Hebrew during the second half of the 19th century, when all Georgian Jews neces-

sarily already had official hereditary surnames. In his book (Chorny 1884), the Ashkenazic traveler Joseph Judah Chorny often refers to Georgian Jews he meets by their traditional Jewish names only: the Rabbi Shalom in Breti (p. 265) and Rabbi Eliahu from Sachkhere in Surami (p. 149). In 1869, a letter was signed by thirteen leaders of the Jewish community of Atskhuri (Akhaltsikhe area). For three of them, their last names could be either surnames or Georgian patronymics (*Iakobashvili יעקב שױלי and two *Berishvili ברי שױלי). Two others have the last name *Cohen כהן, which could be their surname or an indication of the priestly origin. The eight remaining men are all called according to the traditional Jewish pattern *X ben Y*, that is, after their given names and patronymics (Chorny 1884, p. 256). A document published in the Hebrew press in 1870 was signed by twenty-six representatives of the community of Kulashi (Imereti), of whom twelve appear without surnames. Among the signatories of a similar document from the community of Sujuna (Mingrelia), we find three bearers of the surnames Mikhelashvili, one Israelashvili, and numerous persons called after the traditional Hebrew pattern *X ben Y* (David 1989, vol. 1, pp. 428–29). Note that both surnames in question are of patronymic origin meaning 'child of Michael' and 'child of Israel', respectively, and, therefore, they could appear rather recently. Surnames are exceptional in Jewish tombstones in Georgia before the end of the 19th century.[11] It is also important to observe that in the Montefiore Jewish census of Jerusalem made in 1875, the majority of persons born in Georgia are listed without surnames, and among last names that look like surnames, the commonest are Mizrahi 'Oriental' and Gurji 'Georgian', both of which are unknown in Georgia and represent typical nicknames assigned already in the Land of Israel (Beider 2023).

The oldest known surnames whose hereditary character is doubtless appear in the 17th century: Danela Pichkhadze was a Jewish serf donated in 1644 to the Gelati monastery, and brothers Matvala and Shalia Jinjikhashvili were serfs living in Mdzovreti (near Kareli) circa 1670.[12] Both surnames, Pichkhadze and Jinjikhashvili, survived until our days, and both are based on Georgian nicknames: compare *pichkhi* 'branch cuttings' and *jinjikhi* 'lukewarm', respectively.[13]

Jinjikhashvili appears in the legend recorded by Joseph Judah Chorny in the town of Kareli during the second half of the 19th century.[14] Local Jewish leaders related to him a story about three Jewish boys who in the past were the only survivors of the massacre by Persians of the inhabitants of the village of Mdzovreti. These boys were found by Jews from Tskhinvali. As adults, they returned first to Mdzovreti and later settled in Kareli. All members of the community of Kareli are said to be their descendants. The three men received nicknames that later became surnames. One became Ṭsiṭsuashvili because he liked to sit under the conifer trees.[15] Another was a tall red-haired fellow, and for this reason, he became Jinjikhashvili. The third one received his name, Dzorelashvili, after the name of their native village. We do not know the exact factual basis for this legend. Of the etymologies proposed for these three surnames, the last one, toponymic, is fully reliable. The text about Jinjikhashvili just represents an attempt, maybe of a relatively recent origin, to explain why a person could receive a nickname meaning 'lukewarm.' Note that the link to Mdzovreti appearing in this story is well correlated with the place of the earliest known reference to Jinjikhashvili, two centuries before the legend was recorded. The census of Kareli made in 1781 (Tabuashvili 2012, p. 176) sheds additional light on the above legend. It shows that five Jewish families dwelled there at that moment, those of Markoza Gzirisshvili, Babata[16] Jinjikhashvili, Moshia Iosebasshvili, Batua Ṭsiṭsuashvili, and Mardakha Ṭsiṭsuashvili. For the first four families, the source indicates their provenance from Mdzovreti. This way, not only the census data corroborate the idea that Jews of Kareli originated in Mdzovreti, but also the timeframe of this resettlement becomes clear: the second half of the 18th century. Indirectly, this information implies that the surname Dzorelashvili was created after 1781. Perhaps it became the family name for either Iosebasshvili (which could be a patronymic rather than a hereditary surname at the moment of the census) or Gzirisshvili (this name does not appear in more recent documents).

For numerous surnames borne by Georgian Jews during the last two centuries, their earliest reference in available sources dates from the 18th century. For this reason, if we want to avoid speculative assertions, it would be logical to consider that it was precisely during that period that the Georgian Jewish surnames were mainly formed.[17] This idea is compatible with the above analysis of the history of the surname Dzorelashvili. Globally, it is also well correlated with the fact—discussed above—that during the 19th century, surnames were not an integral part of the Georgian Jewish naming system yet.[18] Several other indirect factors also point to a relatively recent adoption of surnames. One can observe a high proportion of surnames derived from male given names.[19] These patronymic surnames are not sufficiently specific—especially if they are based on common biblical names—to serve as markers of belonging to specific families. Normally, for surnames formed well before the 18th century, one would expect a higher percentage of nickname-based names that are really distinguishing a family from others. Also, numerous patronymic surnames borne by Jews are based on hypocoristic forms of given names with diminutive suffixes including the consonant /k/. Before the 18th century, such forms are rare for Georgian Christians, and there is no reason to consider that this pattern of forming hypocoristic forms had any Jewish specificity.[20] Moreover, surnames used during the 19th century in areas where the Jewish presence is well attested in the 18th century are usually limited to certain geographic areas. Examples appear in Table 2.[21]

Table 2. Examples of surnames limited geographically in the 19th century.

Area/Place	Surnames
Western Kartli	Astanjelashvili, Aṭanelashvili, Beniashvili, Biniḳashvili, Datuashvili, Davarashvili, Dediashvili, Dzorelashvili, Iosebashvili, Jinjikhashvili, Khukhashvili, Ḳozhiashvili, Leviashvili, Mamistvalashvili, Manasherashvili, Naniḳashvili, Ṗaṗismedashvili, Ṭoriḳashvili, Tsitsuashvili, Zizovi
Oni	Beriḳashvili, Buzuḳashvili, Chachashvili, Chanchalashvili, Gagulashvili, Gorelishvili, Khakhiashvili, Khiṭibashvili, Konashvili, Kosashvili, Shimshilashvili, Ṭoṭiashvili
Kutaisi and its area	Babaliḳashvili, Bachilishvili, Batashvili, Biniaurishvili, Boterashvili, Buziashvili, Chakhosvhili, Chilashvili, Chuṭiashvili, Datiashvili, Eligulashvili, Eluashvili, Iakobishvili/Iaǩobishvili, Jğuniashvili, Ḳakiṭelashvili, Ḳaṭaṗariashvili, Khikhinashvili, Khoṭeveli, Lekviashvili, Mirilashvili, Rizhinashvili, Shamelashvili, Shatashvili, Tarunishvili, Tavdidishvili, Tetrokalasvhili, Tetruashvili, Topchiashvili, Tsitsiashvili, Ṭsveniashvili, Zhuṭiashvili
Akhaltsikhe and its area	Abajanovi, Aivazashvili, Aḳoshvili, Anṭoshvili, Bajoti, Baḳaloti, Baṭonjanashvili, Bibilashvili, Charukhchevi, Darchiashvili, Injabeli, Injashvili, Ḳatsobashvili, Ḳazhiloti, Khakhmishvili, Korpashvili, Kurkchishvili, Nanaziashvili, Ṗiṭimashvili, Ṭetsoti
Lailashi	Batiashvili, Beberashvili, Beruchashvili, Januashvili, Ḳiḳalishvili, Mardakhiashvili, Meǧrelishvili, Sepiashvili, Zonenashvili
Sujuna	Khubelashvili, Mikhelashvili

The above geographic distribution indicates that these surnames were most likely adopted locally. However, no element implies that various Georgian communities were isolated from each other. If surnames appearing in Table 2 would be old, since Jews represented a very small minority, one would expect many of these surnames to spread by migrants to various areas. Surely, this argument is not absolute. For example, Jinjikhashvili seems to remain restricted to western Kartli, and this surname was already used in the 17th century. Still, the argument remains cogent from the statistical point of view: the number of examples in Table 2 is large, and, moreover, this table is not exhaustive.

Some of the last names appearing in sources from the 18th century are derived from male given names. For them, these early references can correspond either to patronymics or to actual hereditary surnames. Examples include: Aronashvili, Biniashvili, Davitashvili, Iosebashvili, Janashvili, Ḳobiashvili, Ḳoḳiashvili, Mamistvalashvili, Manasherashvili, Shamuelashvili, and Ṭsitsuashvili. The exact status of these forms can be firmly determined only using genealogical data. However, some general information can be also useful. Firstly, one can compare the geographical distribution of these names in the 18th cen-

tury and during the following period when their status as hereditary family names is already doubtless. A document compiled during the 1730s refers to Shamuelashvili Ǩobia (Berdzenishvili 1940, p. 169). No other mention of Shamuelashvili is found: it does not seem to be used in the 20th century as a surname. Here, the odds are high that the form appearing in the 1730s is a patronymic. The name Manasherashvili appears in Tskhinvali in 1709 borne by a family from Imereti. Later, we find numerous other references to Manasherashvili in Tskhinvali and its area, whereas in other regions, this name was rather unusual. Consequently, the odds are high that these later references correspond to descendants of the migrants from Imereti for whom, in turn, this name was either their surname or the patronymic that became a fixed family name for the next generations. Secondly, the less common the given name for Jews, the larger the chances for the name in *-shvili* based on it to be hereditary. According to this criterion, Mamistvalashvili (derived from a Georgian-based given name) is much more likely to be a surname already during the 18th century than, say, Aronashvili, Davitashvili, and Iosebashvili (based on local forms of biblical Aron, David, and Joseph, respectively). For last names known in the 18th century whose roots are not male given names, we are dealing with surnames. This is the case with several names of toponymic origin (Khoṭoveli and Ḳrikheli), names based on female given names (Tetruashvili), or those derived from nicknames (Khundiashvili).

3. Endings of Surnames

Table 3 presents the statistical distribution of surnames used by Georgian Jews during the 19th–20th centuries by their endings.[22]

Table 3. Percentages of surnames with various endings.

-shvili	*-dze*	*-oti*	*-eli*	*-ovi/-evi*	Other	Total Number of Surnames
92	2	1	1	2	2	379

One can observe that a large majority of surnames end in *-shvili*. This word means 'child' in Georgian. It is applicable independently of the gender of the person and his/her age. The number of surnames with other endings is small. Among those ending in *-dze* 'son' are: Babaladze, Beridze, Jinjikhadze, Ḳatsobadze, Khisḳiadze, Manasheridze, Pichkhadze, and Shamashidze. In this list, Pichkhadze—as discussed in the previous section—is the oldest known Georgian Jewish surname, attested for the first time during the first half of the 17th century. For this reason, it is commonly used. Others are significantly younger, and all of them are unusual: the odds are high that many of them represent secondary forms derived from the original surnames ending in *-shvili*.[23] This scenario is particularly plausible for Jinjikhadze. On the one hand, Jinjikhashvili is an old and common surname. On the other hand, the root of these two forms is not a male given name: this factor significantly diminishes the probability of their independent inception. Yet, in pairs such as Babaladze/Babalashvili and Ḳatsobadze/Ḳatsobashvili, the two elements can be, at least in theory, independent and taken by sons or grandsons of different Jews called Babala and Ḳatsoba.

Several surnames end in the Georgian demonymic suffix *-eli*. They are based on toponyms located in various regions: Khoṭeveli and Ḳrikheli in the province of Racha, Ksovreli in western Kartli, Diğvireli in the area that today corresponds to northeastern Turkey.

Among Georgian Jewish surnames ending in *-ovi/-evi*, we find: Charukhchevi, Ieḳutielovi, Ḳobaivanovi, Ḳoḳielovi, Natanelovi, and Zizovi.[24] This ending comes from the main Russian patronymic suffix *-ov*, the variant *-ev* being used in Russian after palatalized consonants (of which the Russian Cyrillic ч transliterated in this article as 'ch' is an example). Their final *-i* represents the Georgian nominative singular suffix, automatically added in the Georgian spelling but absent from the Russian one. For this series of names, we can be sure that they appeared during the 19th century, after the incorporation of Geor-

gia to the Russian Empire. Several alternative scenarios can be suggested for their inception, and only genealogical data could help to determine which one of them was valid. Firstly, these names could be simply created. For example, sons of bearers of biblical names Iekutiel 'Jekuthiel' and Natanel 'Nathaniel' could acquire the surnames Iekutielov(i) and Natanelov(i), respectively. Secondly, we cannot exclude a possibility that the first bearer was a Mountain Jewish or Bukharan Jewish migrant to Georgia. For example, Zizov(i) could be a corrupted form of Azizov, a surname used by Mountain Jews and based on a given name Aziz, borrowed from Muslims. Note that given names of this kind were much more common among Mountain Jews who lived in the territory where the majority was Muslim than among Georgian Jews whose non-Jewish neighbors in Kartli and Imereti were Christians. Finally, the surnames ending in *-ov(i)* or *-ev(i)* could be secondary, Russified forms of the previous, unattested forms with non-Russian endings. For example, *Charukhchi, *Ḳobaivani, and *Ḳoḳielashvili became Charukhchev(i), Ḳobaivanov(i), and Ḳoḳielov(i), respectively.

Contrary to the first two purely theoretical scenarios, the last one is corroborated by the existence of numerous secondary Russified surnames in which their final Georgian ending was replaced with *-ov* or *-ev* in Russian-language administrative documents. This phenomenon was commonplace for Georgian Christians (including nobles) for whom the Russian ending replaced one of the two most common Georgian endings, *-dze* or *-shvili*. Since Georgian Jewish surnames mainly end in *-shvili*, it was this suffix that was replaced. Thus, we have such pairs and Aivazashvili and Aivazov(i), Aṭanelashvili and Aṭanelov(i), Baazashvili and Baazov(i), Khakhanashvili and Khakhanov(i), Mamistvalashvili and Mamistvalov(i), Manasherashvili and Manasherov(i), Ṗaṗismedashvili and Ṗaṗismedov(i), Ṗaṭarḳatsishvili and Ṗaṭarḳatsov(i), Rapaelashvili and Rapaelov(i). The Russified forms were typical for northwestern Kartli, that is, Tskhinvali and its area.[25] In theory, we cannot exclude a possibility that in some cases, bearers of the surnames ending in *-shvili* and *-ov(i)* belong to independent families. This phenomenon is particularly plausible for (potentially) polygenetic surnames based on common biblical male given names: Abramashvili and Abramov(i), Aronashvili and Aronov(i), Danielashvili and Danielov(i), Solomonishvili and Solomonov(i). If the same forms of given names were used by various Jewish groups, then the origin of specific branches becomes particularly ambiguous. For example, Abramov(i) and Aronov(i) in Tbilisi can be, in principle, of Mountain Jewish, Georgian, Ashkenazic, or Bukharan origins.[26] In other cases, distinctions can be made due to differences in the pronunciation of Hebrew in various Jewish traditions. For example, biblical names ending in *-el(i)* in Georgian usually end in *-il* for Mountain and Bukharan Jews. For this reason, we have such doublets as Danielov(i) and Danilov(i), Rapaelov(i)/Rafaelov and Rafailov(i), in which the first forms most likely reveal Georgian Jews, whereas the second ones are typical for Mountain Jews. Iekutielov(i) cannot be of Ashkenazic origin, because biblical Jekuthiel is pronounced with internal /s/ in Yiddish (compare Standard and Lithuanian Yiddish *Yekusiel*). Not all Russified forms ending in *-ov* or *-ev* appearing in historical documents were valid for the same persons in other documents. Some spellings seem to be due to the Russification made by particular scribes: these forms do not appear in more recent sources. A Russian document from 1828 is an example. In it, all Georgian surnames, Jewish and non-Jewish, are Russified. We find there not only Krikhelov (instead of Krikheli), but also several forms in which the ending *-shvili* was changed to *-shvilev*: Khundiashvilev, Nanikashvilev, and Khakhanashvilev.[27]

In certain documents from Tskhinvali and its area, we find forms ending in *-ant* (or *-ent*): Biniaant, Davaraant, Mamistvalant, and Ṗaṭarḳatsient.[28] In Georgian, forms with this ending have the meaning 'belonging to the house/family of.' For example, Biniaant can designate any member of the Biniashvili family. This way, such forms are no more than morphological variants of other surnames, those ending in *-shvili*. For this reason, the suffix *-ant* is ignored in Table 3. In Akhaltsikhe, a series of surnames end in *-oti* or *-ati*: Bajoti, Baḳaloti, Injabelati, Izhoti, Ḳazhiloti, Ḳorlati, Piṭimati, Shalkhoti, and Ṭetsoti. To the same group belong Ḳatsoṭi, Ḳezeroṭi, Shalolati, and, maybe, also Ṭeṭrodi.[29] This suffix should

represent a dialectal form of *-ant*.[30] This idea would explain their morphological and phonetic similarities and the existence of such pairs as Injabelati and Injabeli, Izhoti and Injashvili, Ḳatsoṭi and Ḳatsoshvili, Ǩezeroṭi and Ǩezerashvili, Shalolati and Shalolashvili, Ṭetsoti and Ṭetsoshvili. The only surnames ending in *-oti* considered in Table 3 are those for which no other form with the same root was found.

Remaining Georgian Jewish surnames have various endings: Shishiani (of uncertain derivation), a few family names coinciding with full forms of male given names such as Gabrieli 'Gabriel' and Rakhavia, several forms ending in Georgian diminutive suffixes (Babaluḳi, Bibiluri, and Solomonia, with the suffixes *-uḳi*, *-uri*, and *-ia*), surnames coinciding with Georgian common nouns (Mashia 'slipper' and Poladi 'steel'[31]), Khakhmigeri 'stepson of *khakham* (a person having religious responsibilities in the Jewish congregation).' For the last surname, we also find its morphological variant, Khakhmigerishvili, which most likely represents a secondary form created as a result of standardization, that is, influenced by the fact that a large majority of Georgian Jewish surnames end in *-shvili*. From the semantic point of view, the opposite process—the creation of Khakhmigeri after dropping *-shvili* in Kakhmigerishvili—is significantly less plausible: the expression 'child of stepson (of *khakham*)' could hardly be present already in the original form. This way, the creation of the surname Khakhmigeri, without adding *-shvili* 'child' and *-dze* 'son', is not a surprise: all three words, *geri*, *shvili*, and *dze*, belong to the same semantic group. Contrary to Khakhmigeri, all the other names in the above list are unusual. Some of them could be secondary forms that appeared after the shortening of the original forms. This idea is particularly attractive for Gabrieli: the form Gabrielashvili exists as well. It is a good candidate for being the source for Gabrieli. Similarly, Mashia could be drawn from Mashashvili. For Solomonia and Mashia, we cannot exclude dealing with forms that originated in Mingrelia, where *-ia* is the most standard ending of surnames used by Christians.

For Georgian Christians, surnames ending in *-eli* appear in various regions, but their total number is small. Other endings depend primarily on the region. In western provinces such as Imereti and Guria, surnames ending in *-dze* are by far the most commonly used (about two thirds of the total), though those ending in *-shvili* cover 20–25 percent. In eastern areas such as Kakheti and the eastern part of Kartli, almost all surnames end in *-shvili*. The transitory area between the *-dze* and the *-shvili* territories corresponds, in the north, to Racha (the region of the town of Oni, with comparable proportions of both groups of surnames) and, in the south, to western Kartli (the Gori area). In the latter, in towns situated on the Kura River, the proportion between names with these two endings changes dramatically from west to east: in Khashuri, 76 percent end in *-dze* and 24 percent in *-shvili*; in Kareli, 40 percent and 59 percent; in Gori, 28 percent and 66 percent; and in Kaspi, 10 percent and 85 percent. In Mingrelia, surnames mainly end in *-ia*, *-ua*, or *-ava*. In Svaneti (northwestern mountainous part of Georgia), surnames ending in *–(i)ani* 'belonging to' largely dominate. In northeastern Georgia, surnames usually end in *-uri* or *-uli*. In Guria, a small group of surnames has the ending *–(n)ṭi*, unknown in other regions.[32]

Comparing the above information about Jewish and Christian surnames, we can observe that both groups show similar behavior for surnames ending in *-eli* only. Exceptional Jewish surnames ending in *-ia* and *-uri* are unattested in the areas where Christian surnames with these endings were frequently used. A few Jewish surnames ending in *-oṭi/-oti* are not from Guria: as explained above in this section, they have no link to Gurian Christian surnames ending in *–(n)ṭi*.

The fact that a large majority of surnames end in *-shvili* represents the main peculiarity of the Jewish corpus. These surnames were found not only in areas that were transitory for Christians between the *-dze* and *-shvili* territories (near such localities as Oni and Kareli), but also in Imereti, where such surnames were significantly less common for Christians than those ending in *-dze*. Available data from the 1886 census allow for a detailed comparison between these two religious groups for the regions of Racha and Lechkhumi. In the town of Oni, the administrative center of Racha, all seventeen surnames borne by Jews end in *-shvili*. Among surnames in the same town based on the Georgian language that

were borne by non-Jews (mainly Georgian Christians and also possibly some Armenians), 16 end in *-shvili* (27 percent), 32 in *-dze* (54 percent), and 11 have other endings (19 percent). For Georgian Christians who were the only inhabitants of the village of Ḳvatskhuti situated 25 km west to Oni, the distribution is similar enough as for non-Jews of Oni: 11 surnames end in *-shvili* (30 percent), 23 in *-dze* (62 percent), and 3 in other endings (8 percent).[33] One can observe that Georgian Christians of Racha used both endings, *-dze* and *-shvili*, with a clear preference for *-dze*. In Lechkhumi, a region situated west of Racha and north of Imereti, the difference between Jews and non-Jews is even more striking. In the town of Lailashi, the only place in Lechkhumi where the population was not exclusively Georgian, all twelve Jewish surnames end in *-shvili*. Among surnames borne by Christians, only one ends in *-shvili*, six in *-dze*, one in *-ani*, one in another Georgian ending, and three (most likely borne by Armenians) in the Russian suffix *-ov*. In the neighboring village with the same name of Lailashi, all inhabitants were Georgian Christians. Local families had names with the following endings: eleven *-dze*, ten *-ani*, one *-shvili*, and three others.[34] One can observe that for Christians of Lechkhumi, surnames ending in *-shvili* were marginal. In this way, it is unlikely that Jews of Lailashi acquired their surnames locally during the same period as Christians. More likely, either they brought them as ready-made forms when moving there from another area, or they adopted them locally during a different period.

Certain authors who are knowledgeable about the main features of the geographic distribution of Georgian Christian surnames and the fact that almost all Georgian Jewish surnames end in *-shvili* suggest the following scenario: initially, Jewish surnames originated in eastern Georgia, and later, Jews bearing these surnames migrated to western Georgian territories.[35] Formulated this way, this scenario is too simplistic and implausible. It should surely be nuanced. As discussed in Section 3, historical sources show that for the last few centuries, the cradle of Georgian Jewry was situated in a compact area covering western Kartli (Tskhinvali, Kareli, and their areas), Meskheti (Akhaltsikhe and its area), and Imereti (Kutaisi and its area). In Tskhinvali, the ending *-shvili* was typical for Georgian Christian surnames. For example, the census of 1781 lists surnames for 108 Christian families. Among them, 88 end in *-shvili* (80 percent) and 22 in *-dze* (20 percent).[36] As indicated above in this section, for Christians of Kareli, *-shvili* was also more commonly used than *-dze*. Moreover, even in 1845, the ending *-shvili* was used in Georgian Christian documents to indicate patronymics in western Kartli.[37] These factors show that in this area, the Jewish pattern of forming surnames was clearly influenced by the local Christian culture. They do not explain, however, the absence of Jewish surnames ending in *-dze* in that area. Two additional factors could be important here.

The first of them is related to chronology rather than geography. The adoption of surnames by Georgian Jews seems to be recent enough, and in Georgia, surnames ending in *-shvili* appear to be precisely more recent than those ending in *-dze*. For Jews, the last assertion is corroborated by the fact that the three oldest known Jewish last names ending in a patronymic suffix end in *-dze*: Buğapaisdze, Eliozisdze, and Pichkhadze. For Christians, several indirect corroborations of the same idea can be found in areas where both categories of surnames were present. Firstly, as it is true for numerous other cultures, it is logical to consider that the classes situated at the top of the social hierarchy acquired surnames before other social groups. The Georgian society of the 19th century distinguished three classes: *tavadebi* 'princes', *aznaurebi* 'gentry', and *glekhebi* 'peasants.' In the census of the province of Racha (1886), only eleven different surnames were borne by *tavadebi*: five ending in *-dze*, six ending in various other suffixes, and none ending in *-shvili*. The distribution for *aznaurebi* was quite different: 35 ending in *-dze* (49 percent), 19 in *-shvili* (26 percent), and 18 in other endings (25 percent).[38] For peasants, as discussed above, it was similar enough to that of *aznaurebi*. Secondly, in Tbilisi, the number of different surnames ending in *-shvili* is larger than that ending in *-dze*: this is not a surprise, because Tbilisi is situated deeply in the *-shvili* territory. Yet 45 percent of inhabitants have surnames ending in *-dze*, and only 30 percent have surnames ending in *-shvili* (Nikonov 1988, p. 154). Consequently, the frequency of use of surnames ending in *-dze* is significantly larger than the same parameter for

surnames ending in *-shvili*. A conjecture about surnames ending in *-dze* being older than those ending in *-shvili* can explain this phenomenon.[39] In other words, Jews could acquire their family names when the addition of *-shvili* was already the main pattern. Moreover, the same conjecture can help to explain the fact that 20–25 percent of Georgian Christians have names ending in *-shvili* in Imereti. In this province, these names ending in *-shvili* could, at least in theory, cover the younger layer of surnames, those assigned following the new pattern relatively recently to people—including local Jews—having no surnames at that moment. For Meskheti, the chronological factor could be decisive. All surnames from Akhaltsikhe and its neighboring villages known to us appear in sources compiled after 1829, when the area was already cut from the Ottoman empire and attached to Georgia, which in turn was already a part of the Russian Empire. These surnames mainly end in *-shvili*, and none of them end in *-dze*.[40] It is plausible that all names ending in *-shvili* appeared there already after the end of the Ottoman period following the Georgian standard pattern at that time.[41] It is also possible that in the Georgian dialect spoken in Akhatsikhe, *-shvili* rather than *-dze* was the standard ending for patronymics.

The second factor explaining the large prevalence of names ending in *-shvili* for Jews could be social. For Christians in central Georgia, it does not seem to have a significant role: names ending in *-shvili* and *-dze* were commonly used by peasants and the gentry, and in western Kartli, some princes bore names ending in *-shvili* too.[42] Yet it is possible that it became customary for Christian clerks to record Jews—a special religious sub-group within that of serfs—with last names ending *-shvili*.[43]

4. Other Morphological Peculiarities

A large majority of surnames of Georgian Jews are based on the Georgian language. For this reason, an understanding of their structure would be impossible without indicating basic morphological features of this idiom.[44] Globally speaking, morphological peculiarities of Jewish surnames in Georgia are not specifically Jewish. We find them in the surnames of Christians too.[45]

Surnames and their roots mainly have the form of a noun or an adjective. The exact forms of Georgian nouns and adjectives depend on the grammatical case.[46] If the stem ends in a consonant, the nominative singular form acquires the ending *-i*. If the stem ends in *-a*, *-e*, *-o*, or *-u*, this form coincides with the stem. Genitive singular forms acquire the ending *-is* for stems ending in a consonant. If the stem ends in *-a* or *-e*, this vowel is dropped when adding *-is*. We find an illustration for this rule in *mam-is-tval-i* 'father's eye' (compare *mama* 'father' and *tval-i* 'eye') and *ṗaṗ-is-imed-i* 'grandfather's hope' (compare *papa* 'grandfather' and *imed-i* 'hope'), the bases for the surnames Mamistvalishvili and Ṗaṗisimedishvili, respectively. However, in genitive forms of personal names ending in *-a* or *-e*, this final vowel is usually kept, and the /i/ of the suffix *-is* is dropped.

Etymologically, the most common patterns of forming last names in Georgia—those with the endings *-dze* 'son of' and *-shvil-i* 'child of'—involve the genitive case of the preceding word. For this reason, these forms can serve as a good illustration of the development of the above rules. The oldest known examples include the genitive suffix *-is*: compare Buǧapa-is-dze (1260, with the final stem vowel *-a* not dropped) and Elioz-is-dze (circa 1520). In certain forms appearing in the 17th century, we can already observe the elision of the initial vowel of the suffix *-is*: Matavala-s-shvil-i and Tsetsela-s-shvil-i. Numerous examples of forms including the suffix *–is* or, much more commonly, its shortened form *-s* appear in the 18th century. Among them are: Batina-s-shvil-i, Besiḳa-s-shvil-i, Chlaḳ-is-shvil-i, Davita-s-shvil-i, Guguna-s-shvil-i, Jana-s-shvil-i, Ḳobia-s-shvil-i, Ḳoḳia-s-shvil-i, Mosia-s-shvil-i, Shabata-s-shvili, Shalela-s-shvil-i, Shedana-s-shvil-i, and Ṭsiṭsoa-s-shvil-i. A few examples are known in the first half of the 19th century too: Ṭsamala-s-shvil-i and Tetrokala-s-shvil-i. Gradually, this internal genitive-case-related /s/ disappeared with only the forms in which *-shvil-i* or *-dze* follow a kept vowel.[47] For Jews, the earliest examples are known already in the 17th century: compare Pichkha-dze and Khakhana-shvil-i. During the second half of the 19th century, the internal /s/ was dropped altogether in Georgian

surnames (independently of the religion), remaining in certain written sources only inside of patronymics.[48]

In genitive forms, during the addition of *-is*, the elision of the last vowel present in the stem can take place. For stems ending in a sonorant preceded by a vowel such as *-al*, *-am*, *-an*, *-ar*, *-el*, *-ol*, or *-or*, the disappearing of this vowel is regular.[49] Multiple examples can be found in Jewish surnames: *bagdadel-i* > Bagdadl-i-shvil-i, *kachal-i* > Kachl-i-shvil-i, *khakham-i* > Khakhm-i-shvil-i, *mṭsḳeṗeli* > Maṭsḳeṗlishvili, *modžǧvar-i* > Modžǧvr-i-shvil-i, *natsval-i* > Natsvl-i-shvil-i, *potol-i* > Potl-i-shvil-i, *roḳeṭel-i* > Roḳeṭl-i-shvil-i, and *ṭsitel-i* > Ṭsitl-i-shvil-i.

The stem of several surnames ending in *-shvili* represents a compound word composed of two stems. In Georgian, several methods are used to form such words. One of them was already discussed above, namely, a combination of two nouns in which the first one appears in a genitive case: Mamistvalishvili and Ṗaṗisimedishvili. Another method uses a simple concatenation of the two stems, without any connecting element. In this case, the stem determining the semantic category of the compound can be in either the first or the second position (Chikobava 1967, pp. 35–36). Examples of stems combining two nouns or an adjective and a noun include: *akhal-i*[50] 'new' + *ḳats-i* 'man' > Akhal-ḳats-i-shvil-i, *ḳaṭa* 'cat' + *ṗaria* 'thief' (the combination of these roots also means 'valerian') > Ḳaṭa-ṗaria-shvil-i, *ṗaṭara* 'small' + *ḳats-i* 'man' > Ṗaṭara-ḳats-i-shvil-i, *tav-i* 'head' + *did-i* 'big' > Tav-did-i-shvil-i. In surnames, the last vowel of the first stem or the first vowel of the second one can be dropped: the variants Ṗaṭarḳatsishvili and Ṗaṗismedashvili are more common than Ṗaṭaraḳatsishvili and Ṗaṗisimedashvili. A small set of names based on nicknames combine a noun (*ḳaṭa* 'cat', *khakhvi* 'onion', *tapli* 'honey') and *čhamia* 'eater': Ḳaṭačhamiashvili, Khakhvičhamiashvili, and Tapličhamiashvili.

Georgian participles are formed by adding the prefix *m-* and the suffix *-el-i* to the verbal stem (Chikobava 1967, p. 52). The surname Maṭsḳeṗlishvili is an example. Its initial part, *m-ṭsḳeṗ-el-i*, is a participle of the verb *ṭsḳeṗa* 'to cane'. Names of certain occupations are constructed by adding the prefix *me-* and the suffix *-e* to the object of the work (Chikobava 1967, p. 34). Meḳinulashvili illustrates this pattern: its root **me-ḳinul-e* is related to *ḳinul-i* 'ice'.[51] The suffix *-el-i* is also used to create demonyms: the names of inhabitants of various places. It is usually added to the toponym stem: Al-i > Al-el-i-shvil-i, Aṭen-i > Aṭen-el-a-shvil-i, Diǧvir-i > Diǧvir-el-i, Gor-i > Gor-el-i-shvil-i, Khoṭev-i > Khoṭev-el-i, and Ḳrikh-i > Ḳrikh-el-i. For toponyms ending in *-a* or *-e*, this final vowel of their stem is dropped: Guria > Guri-el-i-shvil-i. If a place name ends in the suffix *-et-i* 'land of' or *-is-i*, these endings are also dropped: Ajam-et-i > Ajam-el-a-shvil-i, Ksovr-is-i (or Ksovr-et-i) > Ksovr-e-l-i, (M)dzor-et-i > Dzor-el-a-shvil-i.

The surname Ḳobaivanov(i) is a Russified form, with the Russian suffix *-ov* added to an original name. Its initial letters coincide with the male given name Ḳoba used by Georgian Jews. The remaining part, *-ivan-*, looks like a suffix that could have here either a patronymic or a diminutive role.[52]

A large number of surnames are based on diminutive forms. Modern Georgian uses the following suffixes to construct such forms: *-a*, *-ilo*, several suffixes with /ḳ/ (such as *-aḳ-i*, *-iḳ-i*, *-iḳo*, and *-uḳa*), *-una* and *-unia*, *-uchuna*, *-utsuna*, and *-utsana*.[53] The suffix *-a* is particularly common. When it is added to base forms having a stem ending in a consonant, the elision of the final *-i* (present in the nominative case) is optional. It is in surnames drawn from given names that *-a* and other diminutive suffixes are particularly commonly present. Table 4 presents a list of suffixes used in hypocoristic forms of Georgian given names. Data for the second column, the one dealing with Christian examples, correspond to forms of only three full names: biblical *Davit-i* 'David' and *Gabriel-i* 'Gabriel' (they start with *Da-* and *Gab-*, respectively) and *Giorg-i* 'George', one of the most commonly used names for Georgian Christians (all other forms).[54] In the second and the third columns, given names reconstructed from surnames are preceded by the asterisk sign (*). For almost all personal names appearing in the last column, known Jewish surnames end in *-shvili*. The only exceptions—surnames coinciding with hypocoristic forms of given names appearing in this column—are underlined. The given names of the last column put in ital-

ics are female. Numerous Jewish forms from Table 4 were not limited to Jews but were used by Christians too.

Table 4. Diminutive forms of Christian and Jewish given names.

Suffix	Christian Examples	Jewish Examples
a	Davit-a, Dat-a; Gabriel-a, *Gab-a, *Gabr-a; Giorg-a, Gi-a, Gig-a, Gog-a	Abner-a, Abram-a, Dat-a, Davit-a, Eliǩazar-a, Eliǩezer-a, Khaim-a, Ioseb-a, Iskhaḳ-a, Israel-a, Levi-a, *Manasher-a, Mardakh-a, Sepi-a, Shat-a, *Shamuel-a
i-a	Dat-i-a; Gabel-i-a; Gog-i-a	*Aḳ-i-a, *Aron-i-a, *Bat-i-a, *Ber-i-a, Dat-ia, Davit-i-a, Jan-i-a, Ṗaṗ-i-a, *Sar-i-a, *Shash-i-a, *Shat-i-a, *Shimsh-i-a, *Solomon-i-a, *Tsits-i-a, *Turp-i-a
o	Dat-o; *Gabro; *Gogo	*Aḳ-o, Bin-o, El-o, Ḳats-o, Shal-o
o-a	Dat-o-a; Gig-o-a	*Tetr-o-a
u-a, vi-a, v-a	Dat-u-a, Dat-vi-a; Gabu-a; Gigu-a, Gogua, *Gogva	Bal-u-a, Bat-u-a, *Chiḳ-v-a, Dat-u-a, El-u-a, *Lel-u-a, Shab-u-a, *Shash-u-a, *Tetr-u-a, *Tsits-u-a
an-a, en-a, in-a, on-a, un(-i)-a	Dat-in-a, Dat-on-a, Dat-un-a; Gab-un-i-a; *Gog-an-a, Gog-in-a	Bat-in-a, Bat-un-a, Ber-un-a, Bin-in-a, *Mosh-en-a, *Ṗaṗ-in-a, Ṗaṗ-un-a, *Shash-un-a
aṭ-a, eṭ-a, iṭ-a, oṭ-a, uṭ-a	Gab-iṭ-a; Gi-guṭ-a, Gog-aṭ-a, Gog-iṭ-a, *Gog-oṭ-a	No example found
aḳ-a, eḳ-a, iḳ-a, oḳ-a, uḳ-a, uḳ-i	*Dat-iḳ-a, Dat-uḳ-a, Dat-uḳ-i	Babal-iḳ-a, Babal-uḳ-i, Bach-iḳ-a, Bat-oḳ-a, Ber-iḳ-a, Bin-iḳ-a, Dat-iḳ-a, Dat-uḳ-i, *El-iḳ-i, *Mikh-aḳ-a, *Nan-iḳ-a, *Shal-iḳ-a, *Shaml-iḳ-a, *Susun-iḳ-a, *Ṭaṭ-iḳ-a
al-a, el-a, il-a, ol-a, ul-a	Gab-il-a;[55] Gig-ol-a, Gog-el-a, Gog-il-a	Bab-al-a, *Ǩob-el-a, *Ḳoḳi-el-a, *Mir-il-a, *Shal-el-a, *Shal-ol-a, *Shapat-el-a
ur-i	Gig-a-ur-i, Goga-l-a-ur-i	*Bab-ur-i, *Bibil-ur-i, *Binia-uri[56]
ab-a, eb-a, ib-a, ob-a	*Gig-ab-a, *Gog-eb-a, Gog-ib-a	Ḳats-ob-a, *Tot-ob-a
ach-i, ich-a, och-a, uch-a	Gig-ich-a, Gog-ich-a, *Gog-och-a, *Gog-uch-a	*Ber-ich-a, *Ber-uch-a, *Ḳaḳ-ach-i, *Lel-uch-a

The addition of a diminutive suffix represents the most common method of constructing hypocoristic forms of personal names. For some names in Table 4, the addition of the suffix was concomitant to the root truncation. The parts dropped can be internal (Data from Davita, *Shata from Shabata), initial (*Bata from Shabata, Ḳoba from Iaḳobi, *Rami from Abrami), final (*Shimshia from Shimshoni), or initial and final simultaneously (*Aḳia and *Aḳo from Iaḳobi). The reduplication of one of the syllables or just its consonants is another method. For Christians, we find it, for example, in *Gaga from Gabriel.[57] Among initial parts of the Jewish surnames ending in *-shvili*, we find such examples as *Jajana, Ḳaḳa, Ḳoḳo, *Khakhua, *Khukha, and *Shashua.

As it can be seen from Table 4, the majority of hypocoristic forms of given names end in *-a*. For this reason, surnames based on such forms end in *-ashvili* (for Georgian Christians and Jews) or *-adze* (almost exclusively for Georgian Christians). For Jews, such surnames are particularly common. A statistical analysis of 184 Jewish patronymic surnames ending in *-shvili* shows the following distribution by the vowel that precedes this ending: 78 percent of 'a', 7 percent of 'i', 6 percent of 'o', and 11 percent of surnames for which two variants, one with 'a' and another with 'o', exist.[58]

We also often find the suffix -*a* in surnames based on sobriquets having a form of a diminutive noun based on physical, moral, or other characteristics (Khundi**a**shvili from *khund-i* 'small dove', Maǧal**a**shvili from *maǧali* 'tall', Pichkh**a**dze from *pichkh-i* 'branch cuttings'), occupational terms (Topchi**a**shvili from *topch-i* 'gunsmith'), and even toponyms (Ajamel**a**shvili, Aṭenel**a**shvili, Digur**a**shvili, Dzorel**a**shvili). In total, among 82 Jewish surnames of these types ending in -*shvili*, the preceding vowel is: 'a' (58 percent), 'i' (24 percent), 'o' (2 percent), and one variant with 'a' and another with 'o' (16 percent).[59]

In theory, the existence in Georgia of numerous patronymic surnames ending in -*ashvili* or -*adze* could contribute to the creation of a standardization pattern (a) either provoking a change of the vowel in certain surnames that were originally ending in -*ishvili* or -*idze*, or (b) used directly to construct surnames, as if the actual patronymic suffix were not -*shvili* and -*dze*, but -*ashvili* and -*adze*. The last method could have been reinforced by the fact that the final -*i* of the word preceding the patronymic suffix is not a part of the stem: this -*i* disappears in grammatical cases other than the nominative. For example, Maǧalashvili could appear as (1) a patronymic surname based on the personal nickname Maǧala (that, in turn, represents a diminutive form of *maǧal-i* 'tall'), (2) a secondary form of the original surname *Maǧalishvili, or (3) a patronymic surname based on the personal nickname Maǧali. The first scenario sounds the most plausible, because it is the simplest one. To corroborate the second scenario, one would need to find references to the presumed primary form *Maǧalishvili. The absence of such reference makes this scenario implausible for this specific surname. Yet we have an example of the change in the opposite direction. The form Mamistval**a**shvili is present in numerous sources from the 17th–19th centuries. It is only in the 20th century that we find the first reference to Mamistval**i**shvili, and the odds are high that the last form is secondary.

It is in the 15th century that hypocoristic forms of male given names start to appear as the roots of surnames of Georgian Christians. At that moment, such names are restricted to low social strata. During the next two centuries, they became commonly used in all social groups.[60] Yet, even during that period, hypocoristic forms ending in suffixes including /ḳ/ were rare. All such forms present in the second column of Table 4 are drawn from Davita 'David', and no example derived from Gabriel or Giorgi is known. Yet surnames based on such forms are quite common for Georgian Jews. There is no reason to consider that we face here a Jewish peculiarity. Indeed, as indicated above, -*aḳ-i*, -*iḳ-i*, -*iḳo*, and -*uḳa* appear in a relatively short list of diminutive suffixes commonly used in modern Georgian. Since the second, Christian, column of Table 4 is based on sources from the 15th–17th centuries, the explanation of the observed difference is chronological. Jewish names based on hypocoristic forms with /ḳ/ are more recent: they are likely to be formed after the 17th century.

As explained in the previous section, the suffixes -*at(i)* and -*ot(i)* are dialectal variants of the standard Georgian suffix -*ant* 'belonging to a family/house of', and a series of forms ending in these suffixes (including Ḳazhiloti) is attested in Akhaltsikhe. In Tbilisi, we find a few examples of surnames ending in -*oṭi*: Ḳatsoṭi, Ḳazhiloṭi, and Ḳezeroṭi. The change from /t/ to /ṭ/ could be operated locally under the influence of the existence of various Georgian diminutive suffixes including this consonant (compare the line with *aṭ-a*, *eṭ-a*, *iṭ-a*, *oṭ-a*, *uṭ-a* in Table 4) and because in Tbilisi's Georgian, the suffix -*ot(i)* is unknown.

5. Phonetic Peculiarities

The Georgian alphabet is phonetic: one letter corresponds to one sound, and vice versa. Distinctive phonetic features mainly concern consonants. One of them is the absence of /f/ in Georgian, the closest sound being the aspirated *p*. For example, biblical Ephraim is Epremi in Georgian, this form being the basis for the surname E**p**remishvili.[61] The letter *f*—present in the Russian variant spelling of the same surname, E**f**remashvili (Ефремашвили)—is either related to the Russian colloquial form Efrem 'Ephraim' or to the direct influence of the Hebrew form. The same absence of /f/ in Georgian also explains the form **P**izitsḳi for the Ashkenazic surname spelled **F**izycki in Polish and **F**izitskiy (Физицкий) in Russian.

Georgian has two velar fricatives: voiced ღ (transliterated in this article as *ǧ*) and its unvoiced equivalent ხ (*kh*). The first of them does not exist in standard Russian, in which the closest sound is the stop г (*g*), the direct equivalent to the Georgian letter გ (*g*).

The existence of two sets of stops and affricates, ejective (pronounced with a glottalic airstream) and aspirated, represents one of the main peculiarities of the Georgian phonology. Table 5 presents both sets, indicating in every cell the Georgian letter followed by the Latin-based character used in this article for its transliteration. The last line indicates the Russian transliteration of these consonants, followed, in the parentheses, by the transliteration of these Cyrillic letters to the Latin characters used in this article. Note that the same Russian letters are used in various columns for both the aspirated and the ejective Georgian consonants. Moreover, the same Cyrillic *к* /k/ is used for three different Georgian consonants, the velar and the uvular stops.

Table 5. Two sets of Georgian unvoiced stops and affricates.

	Stop				Affricates	
	Labial	**Dental**	**Velar**	**Uvular**	**Alveolar**	**Post-Alveolar**
Aspirated	ფ (*p*)	თ (*t*)	ქ (*k*)	-	ც (*ts*)	ჩ (*ch*)
Ejective	პ (*ṗ*)	ტ (*ṭ*)	კ (*k̇*)	ყ (*ǩ*)	წ (*ṫs*)	ჭ (*ċh*)
Russian transcription	п (*p*)	т (*t*)	к (*k*)	к (*k*)	ц (*ts*)	ч (*ch*)

In the 20th century, for some Jewish surnames, several alternate Georgian spellings are attested. Their existence can be related to several independent phenomena. An intermediary role of Russian could be one of the reasons for the variation. As explained in the two previous paragraphs, several contrasts existing in Georgian do not exist in Russian. Since Russian was the official language of the Russian Empire and—later, between 1922 and 1991—the USSR, the Russian spelling was the basic one for certain surnames in Georgia. Some alternative Georgian spellings could appear after the incorrect back transcription from Russian to Georgian—for example, from Georgian Aṭanelashvili (ატანელაშვილი) to Russian Atanelashvili (Атанелашвили) to Georgian Atanelashvili (ათანელაშვილი). Several other pairs could appear in a similar way: Naṭanelovi and Natanelovi, **T**aronishvili and **Ṭ**aronishvili, A**p**riamashvili and A**ṗ**riamashvili, **Tsits**uashvili and **Ṭsiṭs**uashvili, **Tsoṭs**olashvili and **Ṭsoṭs**olashvili, (Eli)**k̇**ezerashvili and (Eli)**k**ezerashvili.

Certain other reasons for variation are phonetic. In Georgian, the assimilation of consonants is a common phenomenon (Chikobava 1967, p. 28). A voiced consonant placed before an unvoiced one also becomes unvoiced. We observe this regressive assimilation in Ekhis**k**elashvili derived from Ekhiz**k**elashvili[62] and Sha**p**toshvili from Sha**b**toshvili. The assimilation of consonants can also occur at a distance: Chanchanashvili from Chanchalashvili. A similar phenomenon, with a loss of voice, can be responsible for the given name Sha**p**ata, a phonetic variant of Sha**b**ata. These two forms gave rise to the surnames Shapatashvili and Shabatashvili, respectively. In the vicinity of an ejective consonant, an aspirated one can be replaced with its ejective counterpart: compare Roḳe**ṭ**lishvili from Roḳe**t**lishvili (the change from *t* to *ṭ* being related to the presence of *k̇*)[63] and **Ṗ**iṭimashvili from **P**iṭimashvili (the initial consonant changes because of the presence of *ṭ*). Yet, in Piṭimashvili from the same Piṭimashvili, we observe the replacement of the internal ejective by its aspirated equivalent because the initial consonant is aspirated. **Zh**uṭiashvili gave rise to the variant **Ċh**uṭiashvili after the replacement of the initial consonant by an aspirated unvoiced affricate because of the presence of *ṭ* (another aspirated unvoiced consonant) in the following syllable. Several other phonetic changes can be observed for consonants in the position before another consonant: interchanges between /m/ and /v/ (Na**m**talashvili, a variant of Na**v**tolishvili, Khe**m**surishvili from *khevsuri* 'one from Khevsureti', Sha**v**liḳashvili from Sha**m**liḳashvili) and the elision of /r/ (Ṗalagashvili from Ṗa**r**lagashvili). In several forms, we observe the interchange between /sh/ and /ch/ (Chelelashvili from Shalelashvili in Sachkhere (Imereti) and Lelu**sh**ashvili from Lelu**ch**ashvili),[64]

/ch/ and /ts/ (Tsiḳvashvili from Chiḳvashvili, Chkhvirashvili from Tskhvirashvili). Kurchishvili results from Kurkchishvili after the simplification of the consonantal cluster.

The inception of Khanuḳashvili as a variant of Khanuḳashvili is likely to have a morphological basis. Its root Khanuḳa, a male given name of Hebrew origin, was apparently re-interpreted as ending in the Georgian diminutive suffix -*uḳa*. Elishaḱashvili, a variant of Elishaḱashvili, could appear in a similar way, after the ending of the root -*aḱa* replaced with the Georgian diminutive suffix -*aḳa*.

The vowel /u/, when placed before /a/, sounds close to the consonant /v/. For this reason, we find such pairs as Baluashvili and Balvashvili, Chakhvashvili and Chakhuashvili, Chiḳvashvili and Chiḳuashvili, Tsitsuashvili and Tsitsvashvili.

In several cases, we observe an assimilation of vowels. For example, Aṭenelashvili is the oldest attested form, and, moreover, the /e/ in the second syllable conforms to the idea that this name is derived from the toponym Aṭeni. In more recent sources, we find Aṭanelashvili or its Russified variant Aṭanelov(i). The change was influenced by the stressed /a/ of the first syllable.[65] The same phenomenon explains the variant Khoṭoveli instead of the etymological Khoṭeveli.[66]

Several surnames exist in two variants: one with /o/and another with /a/, or one with /i/ and another with /e/: Kosashvili and Kasashvili, Moṭsonashvili and Moṭsanashvili, Tsatsiashvili and Tsotsiashvili, Taplishvili and Toplishvili, Mirilashvili and Mirelashvili. Here, we are dealing with the intermediary role of Russian in which, in an unstressed syllable, a contrast exists neither between /a/ and /o/ nor between /i/ and /e/, and in the Russian pronunciation, in all these surnames, the accented vowel appears in the penultimate syllable -*shvi*-.

An additional group of variants is related to forms of biblical names coming from different biblical traditions: Judeo-Georgian and Georgian Orthodox Christian. Table 6 presents the main peculiarities of the Judeo-Georgian pronunciation of Hebrew.[67] The surnames in its last column are followed in the parentheses by the Hebrew word or given name from which the surname is drawn.

Table 6. Judeo-Georgian pronunciation of Hebrew.

Hebrew	Judeo-Georgian	Examples
ב (*v*)	ბ (*b*)	A**b**ramashvili (אברהם), Ga**b**rielashvili (גבריאל), Ri**b**ashvili (רבקה)
ח (*ḥ*), כ (*ḵ*)	ხ (*kh*)	**Kh**aimashvili (חיים), **Khakh**mishvili (חכם), **Kh**asidashvili (חסיד), Is**kh**aḳashvili (יצחק), Be**kh**orashvili (בכור), Mi**kh**aelashvili (מיכאל), Ie**kh**isḳelashvili (יחזקאל)
כּ (*k*)	კ (*k*)	**K**oenishvili (כהן), Khanu**k**ashvili (חנוכה)
ו (*w*)	ვ (*v*)	Le**v**ishvili (לוי), Da**v**idashvili (דוד)
ק (*q*)	კ (*k*)	Ie**k**utielovi (יקותיאל), Is**k**haḳashvili (יצחק)
ת; ט (*t*)	თ (*t*)	Nav**t**olishvili (נפתלי), Ieku**t**ielovi (יקותיאל)
צ (*s*), שׂ(*ś*)	ს (*s*)	Iskha**s**ashvili (יצחק), **S**ariashvili (שרה)
ע (ʕ)	კ̌ (*ǩ*)	Eli**ǩ**ezerashvili (אליעזר), Ia**ǩ**obishvili (יַעֲקֹב), Shim**ǩ**onashvili (שמעון), Elisha**ǩ**ashvili (אלישע)
שׁ (*š*)	შ (*sh*)	Mo**sh**ashvili (משה), **Sh**imǩonashvili (שמעון)

For example, *ṭ* in Namṭalashvili can be related to the Georgian *Napṭali* 'Naphtali', and *t* in Namtalashvili can result from the Judeo-Georgian form of the same male name. Davitashvili and Davidashvili are based on the Georgian Christian and the Jewish forms of David, respectively. Iakobishvili has as its root *Iaḳobi*, the Georgian form of Jacob. Yet, in Iaǩobishvili, the internal *ǩ* comes from the Judeo-Georgian reading of the letter *ayin* present in the Hebrew spelling of Jacob (יעקב).[68] The same alternation between the Jewish *ǩ* and the Christian *ḳ* can be observed in surnames based on hypocoristic forms of Jacob: **Ǩ**oboshvili and **Ḳ**oboshvili, **Ǩ**oǩuashvili and **Ḳ**oḳuashvili. Mo**sh**iashvili and Mo**s**iashvili are based on hypocoristic forms of the Jewish (*Moshe*) and Georgian Christian (*Mose*) variants of Moses.

Similar to the Sephardic and different from the Ashkenazic pronunciation, the *shewa* under the first consonant is pronounced in Judeo-Georgian as /e/: compare B**e**khorashvili

from Hebrew *bḵôr* בְּכוֹר 'firstling', **I**ekhisḳelashvili from יֶחֶזְקֵאל 'Ezekiel', and **Z**ebulashvili from a hypocoristic form of biblical *zvûlun* זְבֻלֻן 'Zebulon.'

6. Types of Surnames

Table 7 provides the percentages covered by Georgian Jewish surnames of various types. It ignores names brought by Jewish migrants to Georgia and secondary surnames obtained after the change of the ending in the original, primary, surname.

Table 7. Types of Georgian Jewish surnames.

Patronymic	Matronymic	Nickname-Based	Occupational	Toponymic	Total Number of Surnames
56%	8%	23%	7%	6%	367

One can observe that the number of surnames based on male given names is larger than that of all other types taken together. This feature is usually valid for ethno-cultural groups whose surnames were adopted relatively recently, when numerous personal patronymics acquired the status of hereditary surnames. During the period when the possession of a surname is not required by the local administration, surnames develop naturally from nicknames that distinguish their bearers from other members of the group. Yet patronymics, especially those based on common given names, can hardly serve as individual nicknames. For example, for the son of Abrami 'Abraham', his patronymic, Abramishvili, is not a distinctive feature if there are several men called Abrami in the same place. Surely, for tiny congregations, even this biblical name can be individual. Moreover, if a given name is specifically Jewish in a place where Jews represent a small minority, then this name can be a distinctive feature for all neighbors, Jews and non-Jews, and so a potential basis for an individual nickname. Nevertheless, even in such cases, chances for it to become hereditary are not high, since for the next generations, the memory about Abrami or his children who used the patronymic Abramishvili could be lost already.

Male given names that became sources for patronymic surnames belong to several categories. One of them encompasses biblical names that represent either Jewish or Christian forms. For this reason, we have such pairs as Davidashvili and Davitashvili, Iaḱobishvili and Iaḳobishvili, Iskhaḳashvili and Isaaḳashvili, Shimḱonashvili and Simonishvili, Moshiashvili and Mosiashvili.[69] Some other surnames are drawn from forms of biblical names that were both Jewish and Christian (Abramishvili, Aronishvili, Danielashvili, Eliashvili, Gabrielishvili, Iosebashvili from Joseph, Israelashvili, Mordekhashvili from Mordecai), specifically Jewish (Iekhisḳielishvili from Ezekiel, Shimshonashvili from Samson),[70] or Georgian Christian (Eliozishvili from Elijah). Numerous surnames are based on hypocoristic forms of biblical names.[71] This is true for all those ending in *-ashvili* present in the list above, as well as multiple other names including, for example, Biniashvili and Beniashvili from Benjamin; Davitiashvili, Dat(i)ashvili, Datuashvili, and Datiḳashvili, all related to David; Ḱazarashvili from Eleazar; Ḱezerashvili from Eliezer; and Ḳob(i)ashvili, Ḱoboshvili, Ḳoḳoshvili, and Ḱoḱuashvili, all related to Jacob. A small category covers surnames based on non-biblical Hebrew given names: Bekhorishvili, Khaimashvili, and Khanukashvili. Abramkhaimashvili is derived from a double given name. A large category includes surnames based on Georgian Christian non-biblical given names. Examples include: Beridze, Darchiashvili, Gagulashvili, Ḳatsoshvili, Khakhanashvili, Mamistvalashvili, Matvalashvili, Ṗaaṭashvili, Ṗaṗiashvili, Ṗaṗunashvili, Sepiashvili, Shotashvili, and Tsitsiashvili. Often, we find in historical sources references to Jews bearing corresponding given names. For example, Jews called Matvala and Ṗaṗia appear in the second half of the 17th century (Ḳldiashvili et al. 2015, pp. 32, 373). These references show an important degree of cultural assimilation of Georgian Jews at that period. Indirectly, they also imply that these families were not recent migrants to Georgia. For some other Georgian given names, no reference of their use by Georgian Jews is found in available sources. For this reason, we cannot exclude the possibility of surnames drawn from them

to be borrowed by Jews from Christians as ready-made forms. This scenario, however, remains purely theoretical. We do not find any factual corroboration for its validity. It is also unclear under what conditions such a borrowing could take place. We know no examples of Georgian Orthodox Christian masters who assigned their own names to their serfs. It would be even less plausible that before the 20th century, traditional Georgian Jews could themselves adopt the surnames of their owners[72] or those of their other Christian neighbors. The idea that the surnames in question indirectly reveal the use by Georgian Jews of the corresponding male given names appears the most logically attractive. Certain Georgian Christian given names that became sources for Jewish surnames are of Turkish origin—for example, Aivaz(i), the base for Aivazashvili. A small group of surnames—Abajanashvili and Abatkhanashvili—have Muslim given names as their sources. They can reveal descendants of migrants from Persia or the Ottoman Empire. Alternatively, they can represent traces of the Persian and the Ottoman rules in the Caucasus, including the territory of Georgia. Some names could be due to Mountain Jewish ancestors. For example, Zizov(i), known in western Kartli during the second half of the 19th century, can be either a corrupted form of Azizov, a surname borne by Mountain Jews, or it can be directly based on a variant of the given name Aziz, of ultimate Arabic origin (from which the surname Azizov is derived). The surname Manasherashvili is based on Manashera, a form related to biblical Manasseh. This given name, with /r/ that is absent from the biblical form, does not appear in available sources from Georgia. Yet a close form, Manashir, was commonly used by Mountain Jews (Danilova 2000, p. 195). For these reasons, the progenitor of the Manasherashvili family could be a Mountain Jew. Alternatively, this surname can reveal common ancestry of one part of Georgian and Mountain Jews, with the form of the given name with /r/ inherited from these common ancestors.

Matronymic surnames are significantly less frequently found than the patronymic ones. This fact is perfectly in line with the traditional naming of people in Georgia by their patronymics. For Christians, surnames derived from female given names are marginal. For Jews, as it can be seen from Table 7, their part is significant enough. The analysis of female given names and family names based on them is difficult because of the extreme scarcity of references to women—other than queens—in Georgian sources written before the 19th century. The patriarchal character of the Georgian society, both Christian and Jewish, is directly responsible for this situation. The census of Kutaisi made in 1850 (Berdzenishvili 1945, pp. 315–28) is the earliest available source that provides a representative list of female given names used by Georgian Jews. It includes, among others, several names that became sources for surnames, either directly or via their hypocoristic forms: Khana 'Hannah' for Khan(i)ashvili, Ḳona ('bunch of flowers' in Georgian) for Ḳon(i)ashvili, Miro 'Miriam' for Mirilashvili, Ribḳa 'Revecca' for Ribashvili, Sara for Sariashvili, and Tetra ('white' in Georgian) for Tetr(u)ashvili. Some other Jewish surnames seem to be based on hypocoristic forms of given names that are commonly used today in Georgia: Eterashvili from Eteri, Laliashvili from Lali or Lala, and Lelu(ch)ashvili from Lela. These given names could be used by Jews because they sound close to biblical Esther and Lea. One surname, Rizhinashvili, could be related to Regina, a given name typical for Jewish migrants to the Ottoman Empire from medieval Iberia and Italy. No trace of any other Sephardic or Italian name is found in other matronymic or patronymic surnames.

The number of surnames of toponymic origin is small. It is only in this category that surnames having no patronymic endings are relatively numerous: Khoṭeveli, Ḳrikheli, Ksovreli, Diǧvireli, and possibly Ḳanzaveli. All of them end in the Georgian demonymic suffix *-eli*. Other surnames including this suffix in their structure end in *-shvili*: Ajamelashvili, Alelishvili, Aṭenelashvili, Baǧdadlishvili, Dzorelashvili, Gaznelishvili, Gorelishvili, Gurielishvili, and Roḳeṭlishvili. In a few cases, *-shvili* was added directly to the toponym: Baǧdadishvili, Digurashvili, and Ḳasṗishvili. Only Baǧdad(l)ishvili is likely to point to the foreign origin of the first bearer. All other toponyms are local. Several names are based on ethnonyms: Megrelishvili from *megreli* 'Mingrelian', Khemsurishvili from *khevsuri* 'one from Khevsureti (northeastern Georgia)', and Lezgishvili from *lezgi* 'Lezgin'.

For the Jewish families, such names either indicate their provenance from the corresponding regions, or, less likely, they are based on nicknames that relate them—according to some feature—to the corresponding ethnic groups.

Occupational names are not numerous either. Moreover, even those known often originated in the same area: Akhaltsikhe and its region. It is in that city that we find the earliest references to Charukhchev (from the Ottoman Turkish noun meaning 'maker and/or seller of rawhide sandals', compare modern Turkish *çarıkçı*), Kurkchishvili (from *kurkchi* 'furrier'), and Meḳinulashvili (from *meḳinule* 'one who works/deals with ice'). Two brothers, Osman and Abdulla Topchiashvili (*topchi* 'gunsmith'), appear at the end of the 18th century in western Georgia. Their typical Muslim given names and especially the first one, Osman, of doubtless Turkish origin, reveal migrants from the Ottoman territories, that is, most likely, the Akhaltsikhe area. All these names are related to crafts that apparently were not typical for Georgian Christians; note that two of the three Georgian nouns mentioned above (*kurkchi* and *topchi*) are both of Turkic origin (compare Turkish *kürkçü* and *topçu*, respectively). Baḳaloti—also from Akhaltsikhe—seems to be based on Georgian *baḳali* (or directly Turkish *bakal*) 'grocer'. Several names are derived from Judeo-Georgian nouns of Hebrew origin: Khakhmishvili from *khakhami* 'rabbi or any person regularly involved in the religious life of the Jewish community', Shaliakhishvili from *shaliakhi* 'messenger (from the Land of Israel)', and Shamashidze from *shamashi* 'prayer leader.'

As in almost all other Jewish communities, we find surnames designating the belonging of their bearers to Jewish castes: Koenishvili (Cohen) and Levishvili. Both names are rarely used. Moreover, both can be patronymic, since Georgian Jews used the given names Koen and Levi. The surname Leviashvili, based on Levia, a hypocoristic form of Levi, is almost surely patronymic.

Multiple surnames are based on nicknames related to some non-professional characteristics of their bearers. In this group, we find roots having a meaning that can be positive ('pure in spirit, bright'—Natliashvili), neutral ('newcomer'—Akhalḳatsishvili, 'slim waisted'—Injabeli, 'thin'—Injashvili,[73] 'lukewarm'—Jinjikhashvili, 'bald'—Kachlishvili, 'beardless'—Kosashvili, 'tall'—Maǧalashvili, 'big-headed'—Tavdidishvili, 'tiny little'—Tsutsunashvili, 'with long nose'—Tskhvirashvili, 'plump'—Bot(v)erashvili, a series related to colors including 'black'—Shavishvili, 'white'—Tetrashvili,[74] 'red'—Tsiṭlishvili, and 'yellow'—Ḳvitelashvili), or negative, or, at least, that can be interpreted as derogatory or ridiculing ('headache'—Davarashvili, 'little fly'—Buziashvili, 'ugly'—Jǧuniashvili, 'cat-eater'—Ḳaṭachamiashvili, 'valerian, cat-stealer'—Ḳaṭaṗariashvili). Such names are based on sobriquets that could be assigned by Jewish or non-Jewish neighbors. Their large number is related to the natural way of the inception of surnames.

There are no doubtless examples of surnames borne by Georgian Jews before the 20th century that would be borrowed from Georgian Christian. Yet more than 150 surnames (that is, about forty percent of all Jewish surnames) are shared by both religious groups. Patronymic surnames of this kind were discussed above in this section: they cover about two thirds of the shared names. Numerous occupational, nickname-based, and toponymic surnames are also not specifically Jewish, because the same characteristics were valid for the first bearers independently of the religion. Several categories of surnames are unknown among non-Jews. One of them encompasses those derived from given names used by Jews only. Numerous examples are patronymic: Abnerashvili, Abramkhaimashvili, Aroniashvili, Bekhorishvili, Eligulashvli, Eliḳazarashvili, Eliḳezerashvili, Elishaḳashvili, Iekhisḳielishvili, Iskhaḳashvili, Israelashvili, Khaimashvili, Khanukashvili, Khiskiadze, Leviashvili, Manasherashvili, Mardakhiashvili, and Shimshonashvili. A few examples (including Mirilashvili) are matronymic. All names with Hebrew roots (Khakhmishvili, Khasidashvili, Koenishvili, Shaliakhishvili) and some based on Turkish words (Charukhchevi, Injabeli, Injashvili) are also specifically Jewish. By a combination of circumstances, only Jewish bearers are known for certain surnames whose etymology does not preclude their use by non-Jews. Among them are some toponymic names (Ajamelashvili, Aṭenelashvili, Diǧvireli, Dzorelashvili, Ḳasṗishvili, Khoṭeveli), matronymics (Ṭurṗiashvili),

nickname-based names (Jinjikhashvili, Khakhvičhamiashvili, Naskhleṭashvili, Pichkhadze, and Potlishvili), and occupational names (Kurkchishvili and Meḳinulashvili).

In the corpus of surnames borne by Georgian Jews, we do not find doubtless examples of migrated surnames, that is, names brought as ready-made by migrants from other countries.[75] Several factors can be responsible for this phenomenon. Firstly, it is clear that Georgia has never been the destination of mass migrations of Jews belonging to communities using surnames. According to various elements discussed in this paper, it appears that Akhaltsikhe (Turkish Ahıska), the administrative center of an *eyalet* of the Ottoman Empire, was an important source for the Jewish congregations present in the territory of modern Georgia during the 17th–20th centuries. The total absence of examples of surnames of Sephardic or Italian origins indicates that the Jewish population of Akhaltsikhe (before Jewish migrations from that city) was not formed by migrants from major Ottoman Jewish centers.[76] Apparently, it was constituted by other groups of Jews, mainly local: those who moved to this city from various parts of modern Georgia and/or those with Romaniote and/or Mizrahi roots from the territories of modern eastern Turkey, Syria, Iraq, and Iran. If individual Sephardic Jews (usually with hereditary surnames) were joining the communities of Georgian Jews during this period, they would lose their surnames, because for local Jews, surnames were either of little importance or even absent.

7. Surnames of Jewish Migrants to Georgia (19th–20th Centuries)

During the 19th–20th centuries, numerous Jewish migrants came to Georgia from other regions of the Russian Empire and, several years after the Bolshevik Revolution, from the USSR. Ashkenazic Jews represent by far the largest group. Their main destination was Tbilisi, the capital city of Georgia. For example, archival documents from that city indicate the presence in 1836 of the following Jews: Brodskiy, Eydel'son, Krimskiy, Ladizhinskiy (Ladyzhinskiy), Magilevskiy (Mogilevskiy), Meshingiser, Sakharov, Sal'man, Shteyn, Tsmelyanskiy (Smelyanskiy), and Zaydenberg.[77] Gradually, the number of these migrants—primarily originating from the Pale of Settlement—exceeded the number of local Jews. In certain places, the Ashkenazic newcomers were the only Jews present. For example, in the list of 47 Jews of Sukhumi (Abkhazia) who donated some money in 1901 to Zionist activities (David 1989, vol. 2, p. 373), we find 45 bearers of Ashkenazic names and two men with the surname Kag'ya (Каґья in Russian), a specifically Krymchak surname. Documents dealing with Jews from Batumi (Adjara) from the same period also refer to Ashkenazim only.[78] The presence of 427 Jews is attested in Tbilisi in 1864–1865. Yet only one of these families was local: others were recent migrants, mainly of Ashkenazic origin (Ter-Oganov 2019, p. 170). Table 8 provides statistical data based on tombstone inscriptions in the Jewish cemeteries of 20th-century Tbilisi. This calculation—based on JCG 2016—considers the numbers of surnames, not that of persons.[79]

Table 8. Percentages of surnames belonging to various Jewish groups in Tbilisi (20th century).

Georgian	Ashkenazic	Mountain Jewish or Bukharan	Total Number of Surnames
12%	83%	5%	2411

Ashkenazic migrants came to Tbilisi with ready-made surnames, mainly based on Germanic (German, Yiddish) and Slavic (Ukrainian, Belarusian, Polish, and Russian) languages: we find the same surnames used in Ukraine, Belorussia, and/or Lithuania. In a few cases, new variants seem to appear already in Georgia. For example, Musashchikov could exist in eastern Belorussia because it is in that region that we find its variant forms Musyashchikov and Masashchikov (Beider 2008). Yet the form Musastikov, derived from Musashchikov, seems to appear in Georgia. The name Razamat is unattested in available sources for the Pale of Settlement: it is known only in Tbilisi (JCG 2016) and Baku. Either all its bearers moved to the Caucasus, or it represents a variant of some other surname, for example, Rozmait, with the corruption that took place already after the migration or im-

mediately before it. Pozhamchi (Пожамчи) is unknown outside of Tbilisi. The odds are high that this name represents a corrupted form of Podzamcze (Polish spelling), known as a Jewish surname in Galicia. No reference was found outside of Georgia for Melukha, another family of Ashkenazic stock. During the second half of the 20th century, certain bearers of the last surname were already considered Georgian Jews.[80] The same merging process was valid at the same period for members of several other originally Ashkenazic families including Mesengiser,[81] Minovich, and Fizitskiy. Apparently the last of these families came from the Kingdom of Poland, where the surname was spelled Fizycki in Polish. In any case, no reference to it is known in the Russian Pale of Settlement. No Jewish bearer of Vantsovskiy, also used by Georgian Jews during the second half of the 20th century, is known in Eastern Europe. This situation is either due to the non-exhaustive character of the collected corpus of Jewish names of Eastern Europe, or the family descends, on its paternal line, from a Slavic Christian.[82]

A significant number of Mountain Jews came to Georgia, primarily Tbilisi. These families originated in Azerbaijan and North Caucasus. In the areas in question, local Jews mainly acquired surnames only after the annexation of these territories by the Russian Empire. Typically, these names have forms of Russian patronymics ending in the suffixes *-ov* or *-ev* and having a male given name as their root. Among examples known in Tbilisi are: Abramov, Agaronov, Amirov, Aronov, Avdeev, Azizov, Babaev, Babizhaev, Badalov, Bakhshiev, Bashirov, Budagov, Danilov, Davidov, Gavrilov, Gililov, Ibragimov, Ikhaev, Irmiyaev, Isaev, Isakov, Israilov, Izmaylov, Khanukaev, Khudadatov, Leviev, Magaseev, Mardakhaev, Mekhtiev, Mierov, Mikhaylov, Mishiev, Naftaliev, Nasimov, Nisanov, Pisakhov, Rafailov, Ragimov, Rakhamimov, Rakhmanov, Ruvinov, Safarov, Salimov, Sasunov, Shabanov, Shabataev, Shalumov, Shamailov, Shamilov, Shayaev, Shuminov, Simanduev, Simkhaev, Suleymanov, Uzilov, and Zakharov. Some of the above names—as, for example, Abramov, Aronov, Babaev, Badalov, Danielov, Davidov, Gavrilov, Simkhaev, and Suleymanov—are also used by Bukharan Jews. Consequently, the corresponding families in Tbilisi could, in theory, originate in Central Asia too. However, because of the geographic proximity, the Mountain Jewish origin of these families is much more plausible. The Bukharan origin is plausible only for a few surnames (for example, Alaev) for which references are well known in the Jewish communities of Central Asia but absent from available sources dealing with Mountain Jews.

Not all Mountain Jews coming to Tbilisi had already fixed surnames. Moreover, the patronymic-based names ending in *-ov/-ev* assigned by the Russian administration were marginal for the conscience of their bearers who continued to use in daily life traditional naming patterns that do not include surnames. Outside of the purely administrative context, surnames were often non-existing. For example, in the list of Jewish migrants who came to Tbilisi from Vartashen (now Oğuz, western Azerbaijan) during the 20th century compiled by a local Jewish historian, surnames are provided only for physicians and authors who lived at the end of the century, but not for tradesmen who moved there during the first two decades (Shirin 2010, pp. 131–34). For this reason, we cannot exclude a possibility that some Mountain Jews acquired their surnames already after the migration to Georgia. This is particularly plausible in two cases. Firstly, this is applicable for forms that do not appear in available lists of surnames used by Mountain Jews outside of Georgia as, for example, patronymic forms Saraydarov, Nagdiev, and Yunisov,[83] as well as Ilou and Ninish coinciding with given names. Secondly, it is the case when the surname root is identical to the father's given name—for example, Iosif Shamailovich (that is, Joseph, the son of Samuel) Shamailov, born in 1880. Several last names known in 20th-century Tbilisi have patronymic endings typical for inhabitants of former Persian and/or Ottoman provinces. One group ends in *-zade:* David-Zade, Isak̦-Zade, and Zavlun-Zade. This element, commonly known in Azerbaijan, ultimately comes from Persian *zâde* 'offspring', and it was also borrowed by Ottoman Turkish. Another larger group ends in *-oğli*: Biniamin-Oğli, Chiraoğli, Daniel-Oğli, Iairoğli, Ifraim-Oğli, Isaoğli, Levioğli, Pasha-Oğli, and Shamiloğli. This Turkic element is the Azeri patronymic suffix *-oğlı* 'son of' (spelled *-oğlu* in standard

Azeri). For both known bearers of the last name Levioğli (born in 1883 and 1902), Levi was the given name of their father(s). Similarly, for the earliest known bearers of the surname Pasha-Oğli in Tbilisi (born in 1895, 1904, and 1910, apparently three brothers), Pasha was the given name of their father. Most likely, in both cases, the Azeri patronymic became a hereditary family name during the first half of the 20th century only. The non-fixed character of surnames can be illustrated by the use of several different forms in the same family: the grandfather Khudad-Oğli (born 1898), apparently his sons Khudodat-ogli (born 1935) and Khudadov (born 1942), and his grandson Khudadatov (born 1961). The ending *gızı*, the Azeri word for 'daughter of' (spelled *qızı* in modern literary Azeri), represents the female equivalent of *oğlı*. In Russian-language tombstone inscriptions of Tbilisi, we find Bylkha Shamaykizi (born 1901), the daughter of Shamay; Mariam Bilyalgyzi (born 1905); Lia Mekhtikizi (born 1891), the daughter of Moshe; Jeirani Mekhtikizi (born 1909), the daughter of Mikhael; and Mariya Mekhtikidze (born 1918), the daughter of Abram. For the first four women, their name ending in *-kizi* can be just their patronymic rather than a hereditary surname.[84] In the last case, Mekhtikidze seems to be a Georgianized form of Mekhtikizi, with the ending replaced by *-dze*, a common ending of Georgian surnames. Zavlunishivili is another example of Georgianizing of an original non-Georgian surname. Indeed, its root, Zavlun, represents a form of the biblical Zebulon that was not used by Georgian Jews. Yet it was used by Mountain Jews: compare the surname Zavlun-Zade mentioned above that could be the source for Zavlunishvili; note that both names are known in Tbilisi only.

Achkinazi, Bakshi, and Konfino are surnames of Krymchak origin known in Tbilisi (JCG 2016). One surname, Davitian, ends in the patronymic suffix *-ian* typical for Armenian and Iranian surnames. Several tombstones belong to 'subbotniki', the families of ethnic East Slavs who abandoned Christianity and converted to Judaism. All these families already had their surnames before their conversion and their expulsion by the Russian government to the Caucasus. Luk'yanchenko (Lukyanchenko), Bashkarev, and Chaplygin are examples of these originally East Slavic Christian surnames.

8. Conclusions

As discussed in this article, more than 350 different surnames were used by Georgian Jews. More than half of them are patronymic, often based on hypocoristic rather than full forms of given names. It was during the 18th century that the use of hereditary family names became standard for Georgian Jews, and the earliest attestations date from the 17th century. The fact that a large majority of Georgian Jewish surnames end in *-shvili* can be explained by a combination of geographical, chronological, and social factors. The number of surnames brought to Georgia as ready-made forms by Jewish migrants from other regions of the Russian Empire and later the USSR is significantly larger than that of surnames borne by local Jews.

Notes

1   Surnames and given names appear in this article transliterated from Georgian to English according to the following rules: ა (a), ბ (b), გ (g), დ (d), ე (e), ვ (v), ზ (z), თ (t), ი (i), კ (ķ), ლ (l), მ (m), ნ (n), ო (o), პ (ṗ), ჟ (zh), რ (r), ს (s), ტ (ṭ), უ (u), ფ (p), ქ (k), ღ (ğ), ყ (ǩ), შ (sh), ჩ (ch), ც (ts), ძ (dz), წ (ṭs), ჭ (ċh), ხ (kh), ჯ (j), ჰ (h). These rules were conventionally devised for this study. For a few letters, they deviate from international standards. For example, ყ is usually transliterated as q, and here, ǩ is used to keep

2   The same idea is present in (David 1989, vol. 1, p. 111), also without arguments.

3   Their last names are based on Georgian toponyms. For Leonti, the link is indirect: he was a *mroveli*, that is, an Orthodox bishop located in the town of Ruisi (from which the word *mroveli* is derived). Shota was born in the village of Rustavi: *rustaveli* just means 'one from Rustavi.'

4   Compare, for example, the list of Gabriel(a) and Davit(a) in (Ḳldiashvili et al. 1991, pp. 581–84) and (Ḳldiashvili and Surguladze 1993, pp. 12–23), respectively.

5   Ḳldiashvili et al. (1991, p. 572) and Ḳldiashvili and Surguladze (1993, p. 127). The same references appear in Mamistvalishvili (2011, p. 219), but (1) for Buğapaisdze, the author provides the spelling Бугҍабаисӡзе (Enoch 2014, p. 10 respells it, according to the transcription from Georgian transcription, as Buğpabaisdze; no reference to this name appears in any other available document); (2) for Eliozisdze, with the year 1392.

6   Mamistvalishvili (2011, p. 152) states that the "surname" Eliozisdze disappeared from the Jewish communities because of the conversion to Christianity of the members of this "family." To back his idea, he quotes several historical documents from the 15th century in which bearers of the same last name of Eliozisdze are Christians. His argument is inappropriate. Most likely, it was inspired by the assertion by David (1989, vol. 1, p. 112) about Elioz being an exclusively Jewish given name. Yet Georgian sources show that the given name Elioz, a local variant of biblical Elias 'Elijah', was used by Christians too. Therefore, it is not a surprise that last names based on it, hereditary or patronymic, were commonly found among various, apparently unrelated, Christian families (see Ḳldiashvili and Surguladze 1993, pp. 126–30). Moreover, as indicated in the previous footnote, the reference to the Jewish Eliozisdze is placed in (Ḳldiashvili and Surguladze 1993, p. 127) to the first third of the 16th century rather than to 1392.

7   Berdzenishvili (1945, pp. 312–14). Western Kartli is the most plausible area, because we know about the presence of both the Palavandov and the Ḳrikheli families in that area from other documents.

8   This word of Hebrew origin designates a person having some religious responsibilities in the Jewish congregation.

9   This correct interpretation appears in David (1989, vol. 1, pp. 188–89). Yet Mamistvalishvili (2011, p. 79) misinterprets this text, considering that in these cases, we deal with the "surnames" Babalashvili, Eliḳashvili, Ḱezerashvili, Svimonashvili etc., whereas *ḳrikheli* is just a demonym indicating the provenance of these persons from the village of Ḳrikhi. Following this misconception, in Mamistvalishvili (2011, pp. 236–37), the comma sign in the same list is placed several times in incorrect places in comparison to their place in the original document. Ḳrikheli is a surname derived from the toponym in question. In the mid-19th century, a nickname based on the name of the small village of Ḳrikhi (where no Jewish presence at that period is attested) would be implausible. Moreover, as indicated below, in the list in question, we find a reference to Abrama *gorishi* 'from Gori', that is, with the provenance from a place designated using the suffix *-shi*, not *-eli*. Apparently, Mamistvalishvili did not realize that for all names ending in *-shvili* appearing in the list, their root is a male given name. He could also be misled by the non-use of *-shvili* as a patronymic suffix in modern standardized Georgian language, as well as the real existence of such surnames as Babalashvili, Eliḳashvili, and Ḱezerashvili. Another example of the use of *-shvili* to form patronymics can be found in the census of Tskhinvali (1781): Maisuradze Bezhanashvili Ṭeṭi (Tabuashvili 2013, p. 55). This Christian man was Ṭeṭi, the son of Bezhana, and his surname was Maisuradze.

10   Names from Mamistvalishvili (2011) and David (1989) appear here in the forms transliterated from Russian. Forms whose Russian spelling does not allow for identifying the exact Georgian consonants are preceded by an asterisk sign *.

11   An expert on Georgian Jewish epitaphs, Babalikashvili (1970, p. 281) indicates that before the 20th century, surnames are almost never found in the tombstone inscriptions. Data collected by him (quoted in David 1989, vol. 1, pp. 539–42) include the inscriptions with no surnames from the following places: Akhaltsikhe (1765, 1769, 1841, 1858), Bandza (1841), Vani (1869), Poti (1871), Sujuna (1880, 1883), and Lailashi (1883). Among rare exceptions are the tombstone of Moses ben Abraham Khakhiashvili in Oni (1882) and, in a Georgian-language inscription, Moshe Khakhmishvili in Akhaltsikhe (circa 1890, Babalikashvili 1970, p. 281).

12   (Ḳldiashvili et al. 2007, p. 323; 2015, p. 503). The Gelati monastery is situated in Imereti. This religious institution of high importance could have possessions in various parts of modern Georgia. For this reason, the Jew in question was not necessarily living in Imereti. The document from Mdzovreti does not indicate explicitly that the brothers were Jewish. Yet the religion of the family follows from the facts that, on the one hand, the surname Jinjikhashvili is unusual (it does not appear in any other available document compiled before the 18th century), and, on the other hand, we know about a Jew named Khanana Jinjikhashvili who lived later in the same Mdzovreti (compare Mamistvalishvili 2011, p. 116).

13   Mamistvalishvili (2011, p. 255) refers to the Jewish serf Abram Jğuniashvili, donated by the queen of Imereti in 1578 to Dositeos Kutateli, the metropolitan of the Georgian Orthodox Church. If this information would be reliable, it would be the oldest reference to a Georgian Jewish surname. Yet the date is erroneous. In another place in the same book (Mamistvalishvili 2011, p. 238), we find a mention of Abram Jğuniashvili, donated by Dositeos Kutateli in 1814 to his nephew. (The same document is quoted in David 1989, vol. 1, p. 187, for the year 1819.) The coincidence of both the name of the Jewish serf and that of his ecclesiastic owner could not be fortuitous: we are surely dealing with the same persons. The name Jğuniashvili does not appear in (Ḳldiashvili et al. 2007), which represents a comprehensive dictionary of all persons mentioned in available Georgian sources

for the period before the 18th century. From Georgian historical documents, we learn that Dositeos Kutaleli lived during the first half of the 19th century: he was opposed to certain measures introduced by the Russian administration of Georgia.

14   In Chorny (1884, p. 335), this name is spelled שוויל דאשינדזישיקא. David (1989, vol. 1, p. 112) suggests the correct form.

15   Compare Georgian *tsitsvi* 'conifer needle'.

16   Most likely, a misinterpretation of either *Shabata or *Babala.

17   The same chronology (though without arguments) is suggested in Gagulashvili (1987, p. 60).

18   Surely, the criterion of the absence of earlier references is to be taken with caution and only if—as in the topic under discussion— it is complemented by additional factors. In theory, this absence can be directly related to the scarcity of sources dealing with Georgian Jews before the 18th century. This fact can be explained in several ways. It can be related to objective factors implying a small size of communities and/or their localization in certain areas. It can also be related to subjective factors such as a limited availability of early documents. For example, the editors of Ḳldiashvili et al. (1991, p. 23) indicate that the corpus of all surviving Georgian legal documents from the 11th–17th centuries—on which they based their dictionary—is uneven from the point of view of geography: western Georgia (Imereti, Mingrelia, and Guria) is underrepresented. Browsing through that dictionary, a reader can also observe that documents from Meskheti are almost absent as well. Yet, as indicated in Section 3, the Jewish population is likely to be concentrated, in addition to western Kartli, precisely in Meskheti and Imereti. Moreover, certain groups of this population are better covered by historical documents than others. Numerous sources deal with Georgian Christian nobles. However, Jews were often serfs (of the kings, the Church, or particular Christian landlords), and so it is not a surprise that the number of references to them is not large. One can also observe that prior to censuses of the 19th century, sources from Georgia do not refer to women except for those from the high nobility. This rule is general: it is applicable to both Christians and Jews. Yet we have no doubt that women from other social groups were present in these territories well before the 19th century!

19   See Table 6 in Section 5.

20   See the discussion of this pattern in Section 4, with examples present in Table 4.

21   Table 2 ignores references in Tbilisi and Baku, known almost exclusively during the 20th century only and belonging to recent migrants to these cities. Among surnames found in various regions of Georgia, those derived from common male given names can be polygenetic: Aronashvili, Biniashvili, Davitashvili, Eliashvili, Elishaḳashvili, and Israelashvili. A few surnames that can be monogenetic are also found in several regions, apparently because of migrations of certain branches. Examples: Pichkhadze (western Kartli and Kutaisi), Janashvili (western Kartli and Kutaisi area), Khundiashvili (Sachkhere from Tskhinvali, Tskhinvali from Akhaldaba, all these places being close enough), Ḳrikheli (western Kartli and Kutaisi), Amshiḳashvili and Shamliḳashvili (both in Oni and Kutaisi), Modzǧvirishvili (western Kartli and Lailashi), Shalelalshili (Kutaisi, Mingrelia, Tbilisi area).

22   The paper by Enoch (2014) is almost entirely dedicated to the discussion of the morphological structure of Georgian Jewish surnames. Yet, partly because the historical aspects are beyond the scope of that paper, there is small overlap between his step and that of this section.

23   Compare Enoch (2014, pp. 17–18). Only for Khisḳiadze and Shamashidze, no cognate form ending in *-shvili* is known.

24   All forms ending in *-ovi* or *-evi* for which we also find surnames with the same root ending in *-shvili* are ignored in Table 3.

25   David (1989, vol. 1, p. 111) states that the use of *-ov* in place of *-shvili* was typical for Tskhinvali, Gori, and Surami. Even if documented evidence was found for Tskhinvali only, we can note that all three places in question belonged to the same Gori district of Kutaisi governorate during the 19th century.

26   Several elements present in tombstone inscriptions of Tbilisi (JCG 2016) can be helpful to distinguish various sources. Firstly, certain given names allow us to identify the origin because their use was restricted to specific communities. For example, Yiddish-based names reveal Ashkenazim, and given names borrowed from Muslims most often imply Mountain Jews. Secondly, surnames of other members of the same family (buried together) can be helpful: endogamous marriages were more common, especially during the first half of the 20th century. Thirdly, the inscription language is also relevant: most often, Georgian for Georgian Jews and Russian for Ashkenazim and Mountain Jews.

27   David (1989, vol. 1, pp. 258–60). A curious example of Russification appears in a document of 1831 dealing with Jews from the village of Breti (Gori district): a plural Russian form Davarishvilebovy (David 1989, vol. 1, p. 255). In it, the Russian ending *-ov* (with the final *-y* corresponding to the nominative plural) was added to the Georgian plural Davarishvilebi (the singular would be Davarishvili).

28   Ṗaṗismedovi (1996, p. 9) notes that when naming a person in Tskhinvali, the forms ending in *-ant* or *-ent* precede the given name of the person: Biniaant Iosebi, Davaraant Gabo, and Ṗaṭarḳatsient Abrami. A document compiled in 1751 refers to Mamistvalant Dzagiashvili Moshia, that is, Moshia, the son of Dzagia, from the Mamistvalashvili family (the surname Mamistvalashvili appears in the same document too). In the census of Tskhinvali (1781), several Christians (who, according to their names, seem to all be Armenians) are listed with names following the same pattern: Simonaant Arutenashvili Davida (that is, Davida, the son of Arutena Simonaant) and Ohanant Gabrielashvili Ǧtisavara (that is, Ǧtisavara, the son of Gabriela Ohanant; the same family also appears as Ohanashvili) (Tabuashvili 2013, pp. 56, 59). On the Georgian Christian forms ending in *-ant(i)*, see also Ǧlonṭi (1986, pp. 44–45).

29 As it can be seen from examples appearing in Ṗaṗismedovi (1996, p. 9) (Ḳazhilot Arona, Bajot Bino, Piṭimat Israela, and Shaklhot Davita), similarly to the suffix *-ant*, the elements *-ot* or *-at* (that is, without the final *-i*) precede the given name of the person. See also the discussion on the use of *-oṭi* instead of *-oti* in the next section.

30 Enoch (2014, p. 21) writes that the ending *-oti* is of unclear, most likely non-Georgian, origin.

31 Poladi can be a male given name too.

32 The information about the geographic distribution of Georgian Christian surnames is taken here from Nikonov (1988, pp. 150–67).

33 Calculations for Racha were made using data present in Ḳezevadze (2018a, pp. 17–18, 24–25, 83, 86). For Oni, two surnames that belonged to Russian or Ukrainian Christians and several surnames ending in *-ov* with non-Slavic roots (borne by Armenians or, less likely, Georgian Christians) were ignored. That source does not indicate the religion of bearers of various surnames used in a locality. It just lists surnames and the numbers of inhabitants: 618 Jews, 116 Armenians, and 126 Orthodox Christians (mainly Georgian). Yet, for Oni, one can tell Jews from non-Jews using the list of all Georgian Christian surnames in Racha during the 1840s (Ḳezevadze 2018a, pp. 74–80) and other sources dealing with Jews from Oni, the only place in Racha where Jews dwelled during the 19th century.

34 Calculations made using data present in Ḳezevadze (2018b, pp. 11, 38). In the town of Lailashi, we find the following numbers of households: 84 Jewish, 27 Georgian Christian, and 26 Armenian.

35 Compare, for example, (Lerner 2008, pp. 160, 240; Krikheli 2017, p. 345).

36 Calculation made using data from Tabuashvili (2013, pp. 54–61).

37 See the previous section.

38 Calculations performed using data present in (Ḳezevadze 2018a).

39 The same result could also be obtained if, for surnames ending in *-dze*, the number of independent families bearing them would be larger. No information in our possession implies the validity of this idea.

40 See Table 2 in Section 2.

41 Some data indirectly corroborate this idea. The surname Injashvili from Akhaltsikhe is likely to be derived from Turkish *ince* 'thin'. If this etymological conjecture is true, then the suffix *-shvili* in it is secondary, added to obtain a Georgian-sounding name. An area around the town of Artvin usually called eastern Lazistan was conquered by Russians in 1828, recovered by Turks, became the part of Russian Georgia in 1878, and was finally ceded to Turkey in 1921. It was inhabited by Lazs, Muslims who speak a Kartvelian language akin to Mingrelian. In that region, sources from the turn of the 20th century indicate the presence of numerous Laz family names ending in *-shvili* (Gogokhia 2019, p. 71). Most likely, they were assigned in this form precisely during this period. Eastern Lazistan is in several aspects similar to Meskheti. Both areas belonged in the past to Georgia and were taken from Turks during the 19th century. According to the testimony by Joseph Judah Chorny recorded in the 1860s, Jews of Akhaltsikhe were speakers of both Georgian and Turkish (Ter-Oganov 2019, p. 104).

42 The Palavandishvili family (some of whose members later Russified their names to Palavandov) is an example.

43 Two Russian-language documents from Kutaisi from the first half of the 19th century refer to six local Armenian families: three with Russified surnames ending in *-ov* (Solomonov, Baindurov, Oganezov) and three ending in *-shvili* (Akopashvili, Mokliyashvili, Dushyashvili) (David 1989, vol. 1, p. 191; Shukyan 1940, p. 71). This sample is surely too small to allow for any extrapolation. Yet it illustrates a phenomenon similar to that observed for Jews: the use by a representative of a religious minority (having a similar social position as Jews: both groups dominated in the domain of trade) of *-shvili* rather than *-dze* in the territory where the local Georgian Christians mainly used surnames ending in *-dze*. In the census of Tskhinvali made in 1781 (see its discussion in Section 2, immediately before Table 1), names ending in *-shvili* dominate for all inhabitants independently of their religion. Still, one can observe that only surnames ending in *-shvili* are used by families for which typical Armenian given names (Akop, Arutyun, Baghdasar, Sarkis, etc.) are either borne by family heads or represent the surname roots. The surnames ending in *-dze* are restricted to Georgian Christians.

44 In this section, the information about the Georgian morphology is mainly taken from Chikobava (1967, pp. 30–36). All other complementary sources are indicated explicitly.

45 Krikheli (2017, p. 345) asserts the existence of a Jewish morphological specificity. To back his idea, he provides the following example: according to him, Ṗaṗashvili and Tsitsashvili are Christian, though slightly different surnames; Ṗaṗiashvili and Tsitsiashvili are Jewish. Both the general idea and the example are inappropriate. The surnames Ṗaṗiashvili and Tsitsiashvili are used by Georgian Christians too.

46 In this section, the endings present only in certain grammatical cases are separated from the stem by the dash sign.

47 The elision of /s/ is likely to be motivated phonetically. The simplification of consonantal clusters from *sshvili* to *shvili* and from *sdze* to *dze* looks like a regressive assimilation.

48 In the mid-19th century, this /s/ could also be dropped in patronymics. This can be seen in the document from 1845 dealing with the legacy of a Georgian prince (including multiple members of the Jewish Ḳrikheli family) discussed in Section 2. In it, only Mardakha-s-shvil-i includes the internal /s/. Other patronymics such as Babala-shvil-i, Eliḳa-shvil-i, Ḳezera-shvil-i, and Svimona-shvil-i omit it. Enoch (2014, pp. 10–11, 14–15) asserts that the presence of the genitive marker *(i)s* is relevant for distinguishing non-hereditary names (in which it can be present) and hereditary surnames (in which it cannot be present). The

information provided in this section shows that his consideration is inaccurate. The marker is irrelevant for such a distinction: it can be present or not present in both hereditary and non-hereditary names. Its absence is related to the time (before or after the standardization was completed) and not to the status of a name. For Georgian Christians, the example of the princely family Palavandi(s)shvili can illustrate the same rule. References to the form with the internal /s/ are numerous in the 17th century (Ḳldiashvili et al. 2007, p. 281) and are known even at the end of the 18th century (compare, for example, Palavandis-shvili in Berdzenishvili 1940, p. 185). Yet, in all these cases, we are surely dealing with a hereditary surname.

[49] This elision characterizes not only the genitive, but also several other grammatical cases (Basheleishvili 2007, p. 151).

[50] In this and several other examples, one can observe the presence of the internal /a/ instead of /i/. It is a diminutive suffix explained in the next paragraph.

[51] The use of /ḳ/ instead of the expected /ǩ/ could be due to a dialectal feature peculiar to Akhaltsikhe. Note that the name Baḳaloti, whose root is most likely related to Georgian *baǩali* 'grocer', also comes from the same city. In the 20th century, branches of the Ṭroḳelashvili family were known in Tbilisi and Baku, the cities to which numerous migrants came from Akhaltsikhe. This factor makes the etymological link between this name and Georgian *ṭroǩi* 'very fat' plausible.

[52] The closest Kartvelian suffixes are *-ovan-i* ad *-evan-i*, used to create adjectives from nouns primarily in Mingrelia, Svaneti, and eastern Lazistan (Vogt 1971, p. 232; Gogokhia 2019, p. 16). In the last of these regions (today in northeasten Turkey), the local Laz population that spoke an idiom close to Mingrelian language has a series of surnames ending in the suffixes having various vowels followed by *-van-i* (Gogokhia 2019, p. 81).

[53] (Chikobava 1967, p. 34; Vogt 1971, pp. 227–28). The forms ending in *-o* usually appear in the vocative case.

[54] These data are extracted from Ḳldiashvili et al. 1991. Information provided by Gvantseladze (2019), also based on the same source, was helpful to identify forms related to Giorgi.

[55] In this form, /l/ is not necessarily a part of the suffix: it could be a part of the root too.

[56] Mamistvalishvili (2011, p. 167) includes Biniaurishvili, along with with Urishvili and Israelashvili, in his list of surnames that, according to him, are based on the 'ethnonyms' designating Jews and, for this reason, revealing descendants of Christians converted to Judaism. Apparently, he considers that the first two names include in their structure the Georgian word *uria* 'Jew', whereas the last one is related to the expression 'people of Israel.' His idea has no basis. On the one hand, these names are derived from Jewish male given names. In the first two of them, *uri* is a Georgian diminutive suffix and the root (biblical name Uri), respectively. Israelashvili just means 'child of Israela (a commonly used given name)'. On the other hand, even if any of these surnames were indeed related to a word meaning 'Jew', it could be a nickname used by neighbors for a single Jewish family living among non-Jews. The logics behind the idea that a name of this kind would reveal Christian converts to Judaism remains obscure. Plisetskiy (1931, p. 14) makes a similar erroneous link between etymologically unrelated elements that sound identical when he states that numerous surnames ending in *-uria* used in Georgia only by Christians reveal descendants of Jews converted to Christianity.

[57] The reduplication of consonants is usual for hypocoristic forms of Georgian Christian given names. Ǧlonṭi (1986, p. 25) provides the following examples: Bibi, Bubu, Gege, Gigi, Gugu, Ḳeḳe, Ḳiḳi, Ḳuḳu, Soso, Tata, Zaza, and Zozo.

[58] Lerner (2008, p. 239) states that Georgian Jewish patronymic surnames are usually derived from hypocoristic forms of given names ending in *-a*, and surnames used by Georgian Christians are based on full forms. He provides only one example: Jewish Tsitsiashvili and Christian princely family Tsitsishvili. Even if the full forms appearing in surnames of high nobility are not a surprise, the example is inappropriate: Tsitsiahsvili is used by Christians too, and Tsitsishvili is also known as a Jewish name. Without making a statistical analysis of surnames borne by Christians, the global idea by Lerner appears speculative. We do find Jewish surnames based on full forms of given names, and Christian surnames ending in *-ashvili* and *-adze* are commonly found in (Ḳldiashvili et al. 1991, 2015) and modern Georgian sources. No information available to us suggests that they are less common than names ending in *-ishvili* and *-idze*.

[59] This calculation ignores about thirty names ending in *-ashvili* or *-oshvili* derived from nouns or adjectives for which *-a* or *-o* represent the final sound of their stem.

[60] Gvantseladze (2019) (based on his analysis of the first volume of (Ḳldiashvili et al. 1991).

[61] In this section, bold-face letters are used to emphasize the elements under discussion.

[62] The exact inception scheme of the variant Eǧisḳelashvili—in which the internal *kh* was voiced to *ǧ*—remains unclear. A third variant, E**g**isḳelashvili, could come from Eǧisḳelashvili via the intermediary of Russian. Enoch (2014, pp. 27–28) includes in his list multiple forms with the internal *k*: Iegis**k**elashvili, Ieǧis**k**elashvili, etc. Such forms do not appear in other sources (for example, JCG 2016). As a result, perhaps this *k* instead of the expected *ḳ* results from a typographic error.

[63] Enoch (2014, p. 12) also proposes either the Russian intermediary or the assimilation of consonants in this surname.

[64] Some of these changes are noted by Enoch (2015, p. 183) among peculiarities of the Judeo-Georgian speech: the change from /v/ to /m/ (two examples), the elision of /r/ (one specifically Jewish example), the change from /sh/ to /ch/ in Kulashi (Imereti).

[65] In Georgian words having two or three syllables, the vowel of the first syllable is stressed. Longer words have two stressed vowels: in the first syllable and also in the third syllable from the end (Chikobava 1967, p. 28).

66   Enoch (2014, p. 19) asserts that the modification of the original /e/ in this surname was due to the regressive dissimilation of vowels, the presence of /e/ in the suffix *el-i* triggering the change of /e/ in the preceding syllable. However, his idea does not provide any explanation for the resulting vowel. The idea of the progressive assimilation—when a vowel changes to the same vowel as the one present in the preceding, stressed syllable—sounds much simpler and, therefore, more plausible.

67   The main rules of the Judeo-Georgian pronunciation of Hebrew are taken in this section from Enoch (2015, pp. 184, 189).

68   The form Ia**k**obishvili could be related to the intermediary of Russian.

69   See the explanation of some of these forms in the previous section.

70   Compare the Georgian Christian forms of these biblical names: Ezeḳieli, Samoeli, and Samsoni, respectively.

71   See Section 4 for patterns used to construct hypocoristic forms.

72   Plisetskiy (1931, p. 16) asserts "as a fact" the use by certain Jewish families of surnames of Christian princes who were their owners. However, he provides neither a single argument to back his assertion nor an example. Moreover, on the same page, he also states that Tsitsiashvili is not used by Christians. This statement can be easily refuted (compare, for example, Tabuashvili 2013, p. 100).

73   This and the previous surnames have Turkish roots. Both are from Akhaltsikhe.

74   This surname is more likely to be matronymic rather than nickname-based.

75   This assertion concerns only the Georgian-speaking communities that traditionally considered themselves to be "Georgian Jews." It does not concern various migrants who came to the territory of Georgia in the 19th–20th centuries whose surnames are discussed in the next section.

76   Lerner (2008, p. 169) states that Sephardic migrants settled in Akhaltsikhe, where they mixed with local Jews and received surnames ending in *-shvili*. He quotes Babalikashvili (1970, pp. 280–81), who indicates the presence of the expression *senior (סניור, סניור) in a few tombstone inscriptions from the second half of the 19th century—such as Hannah, the daughter of *senior* Jacob (1866), Zipporah, the daughter of *senior* Isaac (1877), and Esther, the daughter of *senior* Joseph (1891)—and the use of the same word in the sense of 'Mister' in the vernacular idiom of Jews from Akhaltsikhe during the same period. For Lerner, this factor represents an "irrefutable proof" for his general idea. Yet we may also be dealing with a fashionable pattern that was introduced. Since Akhaltsikhe was the center of an Ottoman *eyalet*, local merchants and rabbis could introduce this pattern rather recently because of their contacts with Jews from other Ottoman centers. In other words, the influence could be cultural rather than demographic. (A similar explanation is provided in Babalikashvili (1970, p. 281), who quotes a personal communication by Michael Zand.) If multiple Sephardim were present in Akhaltsikhe, we would expect to find Sephardic surnames and/or given names there.

77   Compare https://forum.vgd.ru/762/95424/10.htm?a=stdforum_view&o (accessed on 30 April 2023). On the legal and administrative aspects of the presence of Ashkenazic Jews in Georgia during the first third of the 19th century, see (David 1989, vol. 1, pp. 117–25).

78   See quotes from these documents in (David 1989, vol. 2, pp. 375–77). They corroborate the assertion by Mamistvalishvili (2011, p. 98) about almost all Jewish inhabitants of Batumi in 1899 (about 200 families) being recent Ashkenazic migrants. The census of 1926 shows the presence of 1988 Jews in Batumi, of which only 43 were Georgian. In Sukhumi, the largest city of Abkhazia, the same source speaks about 974 Jews, of which 215 were Georgian (Gachechiladze 2021, p. 9).

79   The situation in Tbilisi should not be extrapolated to that of other places in Georgia. On the one hand, the influx of Ashkenazim was mainly oriented to Tbilisi. On the other hand, Georgian Jews in the capital city of Georgia were not local either: their families migrated during the same period from Akhaltsikhe and other places in Georgia. In Kutaisi, and especially smaller localities such as Tskhinvali, Kulashi, Oni, and Sujuna, the proportions of Georgian Jews in the total Jewish population were much higher than in Tbilisi. Jewish inhabitants of these places mainly bore Georgian-sounding surnames.

80   For the only bearer of the surname Melukha appearing in the database of the Yad Vashem Museum, born in Kutaisi in 1908 or 1909, the given name of his mother is Feyga, of Yiddish origin.

81   As indicated above in this section, a variant of the last name, Meshingiser, was already present in Tbilisi in 1836.

82   Plisetskiy (1931, p. 86) describes an example of a *khakham* from Akhaltsikhe who called himself *rabi* 'rabbi' and, at the turn of the 20th century, changed his original name Davitashvili to Rabinovich, typical for Ashkenazic Jews. We cannot exclude the possibility that this new surname did not become official: in the Russian Empire, the change of surnames by Jews was prohibited by the law. David (1989, vol. 1, p. 112) asserts that—because of the presence of numerous Ashkenazic families in 19th century Georgia—some Jewish families of local origin received Ashkenazic surnames such as Messengiser, Zlatkin, Vantsovskiy, Sapitskiy, Shekhter, Tal'man, Kertsman, and Bukhbinder. That author does not provide any argument to corroborate his idea, which seems to have no basis. Enoch (2014) indicates the Ashkenazic origin of the following Georgian Jewish surnames (with the Georgian nominative ending *-i* added to the stems ending in consonants): Melukha, Mesengiser-i, Minovich-i, Pizitski (Russian *физицкий*), and Khokhviḳ-i. The last example seems to be erroneous. It is surely based on the name Хохвик, which appears in the list of the leaders of the Tskhinvali community in 1869 originally published in the Hebrew press. David (1989, vol. 2, p. 73), who published his Russian transcription of the list, put a question mark after this name, indicating the possibility of a typographic and/or transcription error. He was certainly right to do this. No similar name appears in various other documents available

for Tskhinvali: we are surely dealing with a misinterpretation of some kind. Independently of the genuine form (Khakhia-shvili?), we can be confident about the non-Ashkenazic origin of the person in question: his given name, Nisim, is unknown among Ashkenazim.

83 Members of the Saraydarov family intermarried with Georgian Jews, and their tombstone inscriptions appear in Georgian only, not in Russian. For the last two surnames, the Russian-language tombstones correspond to Nagdi, the son of Mikhail Nagdiev (born in 1905), and Yunis, the son of Yashvaya Yunisov (born in 1920). One can observe that the same unusual given names, Nagdi and Yunis, are both the first names and the roots of the unusual surnames. Most likely, the surnames are based on the given names of the grandfathers, in honor of whom these men were named.

84 The Mountain Jewish male given name Mekhti was borrowed by Jews from Muslims. It is quite likely that it was used as a *kinnui* for such *shemot ha-qodesh*—having the same initial consonant—as Mikhael 'Michael' and Moshe 'Moses'.

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Article

Evolution of Armenian Surname Distribution in France between 1891 and 1990

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Abstract: The evolution of the Armenian presence in mainland France from 1891 to 1990 is described on the basis of an inventory of more than 7000 family names of Armenian origin extracted from the INSEE surname database. Several surname samplings are proposed, and parameters such as the number of different Armenian names, the number of births with these names and their proportions are used as descriptors for each of the 320 French arrondissements and the four successive 25-year periods between 1891 and 1990. Before 1915, Armenian surnames and births with these names are infrequent and almost exclusively located in Paris and the arrondissements of Marseille. From 1915 onwards, subsequent to the genocide in Turkey, the number of births and the diversity of Armenian surnames rose sharply until 1940, before stabilizing thereafter. The diaspora remains essentially centred in Paris, Lyon, and Marseille, with little regional extension around these poles.

Keywords: surname; Armenian; France; 19th–20th century

1. Introduction

The Armenian genocide of 1915–1916 triggered a major wave of emigration. The extermination of the Armenian population which, at the beginning of the 20th century, was mainly established between the Russian Empire to the north, the Ottoman Empire to the west, and Persia to the southeast, had begun in Asia Minor some twenty years earlier with the Hamidian massacres (1894–1897) and the Cilician massacre (1909). The process continued after the genocide with massacres in Iranian Azerbaijan, the Caucasus, Cilicia, and Smyrna between 1918 and 1922 (Kunth 2007; Kaiser 2010). Survivors chose to go into definitive exile in the Middle East, Europe or America, forming a diaspora that has been well documented (Mouradian and Kunth 2010; Hovannisian 2006; Boudjikanian 1982; Ter Minassian 1989, 1994; Ter Minassian 1997).

In France, the presence of Armenians is attested from well before the mass exodus of survivors beginning in 1920. It bears witness to the long-standing commercial exchanges (from the late Middle Ages on) between France and regions of Asia Minor and the Caucasus. In this context, it was above all in ports such as Marseille and in the capital city of Paris that Armenians first settled. While there is an abundant historical documentation in the form of local or family monographs (Temime 2007; Boudjikanian-Keuroghlian 1978; Hovanessian 1988; Huard 2007; Morel-Deledalle et al. 2007; Adjemian 2020) shedding light on the conditions of arrival of these new Armenian communities from the Ottoman or Russian empires and the ways in which they integrated into French society, major surveys of France as a whole are poorly documented and provide scant demographic and geolocalized statistics. This is why we propose to fill these gaps using a statistic that is seldom employed in this context, and which is based on family names. Indeed, the vast majority of Armenian surnames are characteristic and easily distinguishable from surnames of French origin. They can be readily traced in France, across both space and time, using

the surname databases currently available, thus enabling a quantitative approach to the Armenian presence in France, which is the subject of this note.

2. Materials and Methods

Our aim is to examine how Armenian surnames are distributed in France and how this distribution has changed both in space and time. To do this, the dataset of surnames from 1891 to 1990 produced by INSEE (1985) was used, as it represents the most complete source of surnames in France. It covers over four periods (P1: 1891–1915; P2: 1916–1940; P3: 1941–1965; P4: 1966–1990). There is, however, a certain bias in these data because according to INSEE, they only record people who were still alive in 1972. Indeed, it has been found to include almost 20% more births for the first two periods (Darlu and Chareille 2020).

The next question is that of identifying which of the 500,000 or so surnames in the INSEE dataset are of Armenian origin. In order to make the list as representative as possible, it was necessary to compile beforehand a list of such names by including, where feasable, the commonest names in Armenia. Two different strategies were applied in this study. The first consists of identifying the commonest names in Armenia, and then locating them in France. The second involves searching directly the INSEE dataset for all Armenian-sounding names, that is, those ending in "–YAN" or "–IAN", which are known to indicate their essentially Armenian origin.

(1) The first strategy consists of referring to the list of Armenian names on the "globalsurnames.com" website, which ranks the 1000 most frequent surnames held by people currently living in Armenia.[1] The vast majority of the names on this list (991/1000) end with the suffix "–YAN". This ending is a marker of filiation (in the sense of "son of"), comparable to such suffixes as "–SON" endings (Johnson = son of John), "–EZ" (Martinez = son of Martin), or the forms "–VICI", "–WITZ", "–VITZ", "–WICZ", "–VI(T)CH" (Mikhaïlovitch) or "–CHVILI" (Davitachvili) and "–DZE" (Shevardnadze) in Georgia.[2] This Armenian list ranges from the name GRIGORYAN (83,517 occurrences) to the 1000th name, XAZARYAN (8 occurrences). Very few of the 1000 names on this list can be of ambiguous, possibly non-Armenian origin, and all of the following rank above 500: PETROV, PETROVA, IVANOV, IVANOVA, SARKISOV. They were therefore eliminated from the list. On the other hand, other names such as BAKUNC, SHALUNC, SHEGUNC and BZNUNI were retained because they seem to be present almost exclusively in Armenia, and are not found in the INSEE database for France.

The localization in France of the surnames on this list in the INSEE dataset cannot be determined without taking into account the francization of names, whether voluntary or imposed, when the immigrants arrived in France. Armenian characters were transliterated into the Latin alphabet in various possible ways: the suffix "–YAN" could be also spelled "–IAN" (e.g., MANUKYAN to MANUKIAN), and U as OU (e.g., MANUCHIAN to MANOUCHIAN), implying sometimes changes in pronunciation. A new list was therefore compiled containing not only the 995 initial surnames ending in "–YAN" (systematically employed in the initial Armenian list), but also all the possible spelling variants of these names. Ultimately, only those surnames for which at least one birth in mainland France was recorded in the INSEE file were retained from this set of names. This resulted in a list of 346 names whose Armenian origin is not open to question, designated as sample I of "ARM" surnames.

(2) The second approach is to list all surnames ending in "–IAN" or "–YAN" found in the INSEE birth records. Clearly, not all such names are necessarily of exclusively Armenian origin, even if this is most probably the case. Therefore, in order to minimize possible errors in assigning origin on the basis of "–IAN" or "–YAN" endings alone, selection was also dependent on two other criteria: (a) firstly, a decision to retain only names with at least eight characters (including the suffixes "–IAN" or "–YAN"), on the basis of the fact that 747 of the 1000 most frequent Armenian names in Armenia contain more than seven characters (the length of the name is therefore a criterion for retention in this selection); (b) the second criterion is to exclude names from this selection when the probability of their

being of Armenian origin is low or nil. We know that certain names, particularly in the southwest of France, also possess endings of the "–IAN" type: SAILHIAN, SEBASTIAN, BAUSSIAN, VALENTIAN, DARMAYAN, COURBIAN, CARLHIAN, COUSTURIAN, etc. The suffix "–IAN" is also common in Iranian surnames.[3] However, of the 1000 most frequent Iranian names, none of the 35 ending in "-IAN" appear in the "IAN list" of names of Armenian origin. Nor are they found in the INSEE list corresponding to period P1 (the 35 possibly Iranian names ending in "–IAN" correspond, incidentally, to a total of only 39 births in France during periods P2–P4). Attentive, but (as we shall see later) probably not perfectly exhaustive, examination led us to consider that 176 of these names are probably of "non-Armenian" origin. This is supported by the fact that these names are among the most frequent in period P1 (1891–1915), i.e., before the great Armenian migration. Once these names have been excluded a priori, we obtain sample II, the so-called "IAN" list, of 7533 different names.

There is an important difference between sample I (ARM) and sample II (IAN). The ARM sample contains only the most frequent surnames in Armenia, whereas the IAN sample, which contains only a selection of these surnames (those of at least eight letters), includes names that are less frequent in Armenia than the 1000 most frequent names in the ARM list. The ARM list therefore does not reflect the totality of Armenian immigrants, but only those with frequently found names. It is nevertheless reasonable to consider that very few Armenian immigrant names have failed to be included in this list, unless either the distribution of such names in France were to differ radically from that of the most frequent names in Armenia, or their geographical localization were to diverge from that of the most frequent Armenian names. From this perspective, it is unlikely that bias has been created. On the other hand, the larger list—sample II (the IAN list)—contains a considerable number of Armenian names, but also possibly (and unfortunately) a few names that are not of Armenian origin. The procedure adopted to establish the IAN list minimizes the number of "false positives" (non-Armenian names ending in "–IAN" and "–YAN"), but can neither guarantee that the names included are true positives (hence names that are markers of Armenian origin) nor ensure that certain rejected names are not, in fact, authentic Armenian names (and therefore wrongly considered to be French).

For this quantitative study, which covers France as a whole, the most relevant geographical unit needed to be larger than the commune, given the size of our surname sample compared to the number of communes in France (around 34,000). Therefore, the intermediate administrative scale of the arrondissement, situated between the commune and the department, was preferred. The initial, commune-level INSEE data were thus aggregated at the arrondissement level. The relevance of this regrouping is reinforced by the fact that from the P3 (1941–1965) and P4 (1966–1990) periods onwards, births are often registered in the localities where maternity units are located, which are generally in the main town of the arrondissement, and no longer in the communes. However, despite this data aggregation, commune-level figures remain available for discussion. The number of arrondissements taken into account here is 320. For the statistical processing of the data, we calculated the following variables for each arrondissement and each period (P1 to P4):

(1)   the number N_{ij} of births registered in the INSEE dataset under one of the names in the ARM list (depending on the sample selected), for period i in arrondissement j

(2)   the proportion f_{ij} ($\times 100$), expressed as a percentage (%) of these births for period i in arrondissement j compared to the overall number of Armenian births calculated for all arrondissements j in period i

$$f_{ij} = 100 \times N_{ij} / \sum_j N_{ij}$$

(3)   The number S_{ij} of different Armenian surnames in each arrondissement j.

With regard to the cartographic representations, the wide dispersion of the number N_{ij} of births per arrondissement j, from 0 or a single birth to more than 1300, led us to carry out logarithmic transformations of the values ($Ln(1+ N_{ij})$) and to constitute identical classes

for the four periods in order to propose a single identical scale for all the maps (cf. Figure 1 below) and to better understand the variations from one period to another. In order to be able to compare the increase in the number of Armenian births from one period to the next and by arrondissement, we have compared the f_{ij} values (and not the gross numbers).
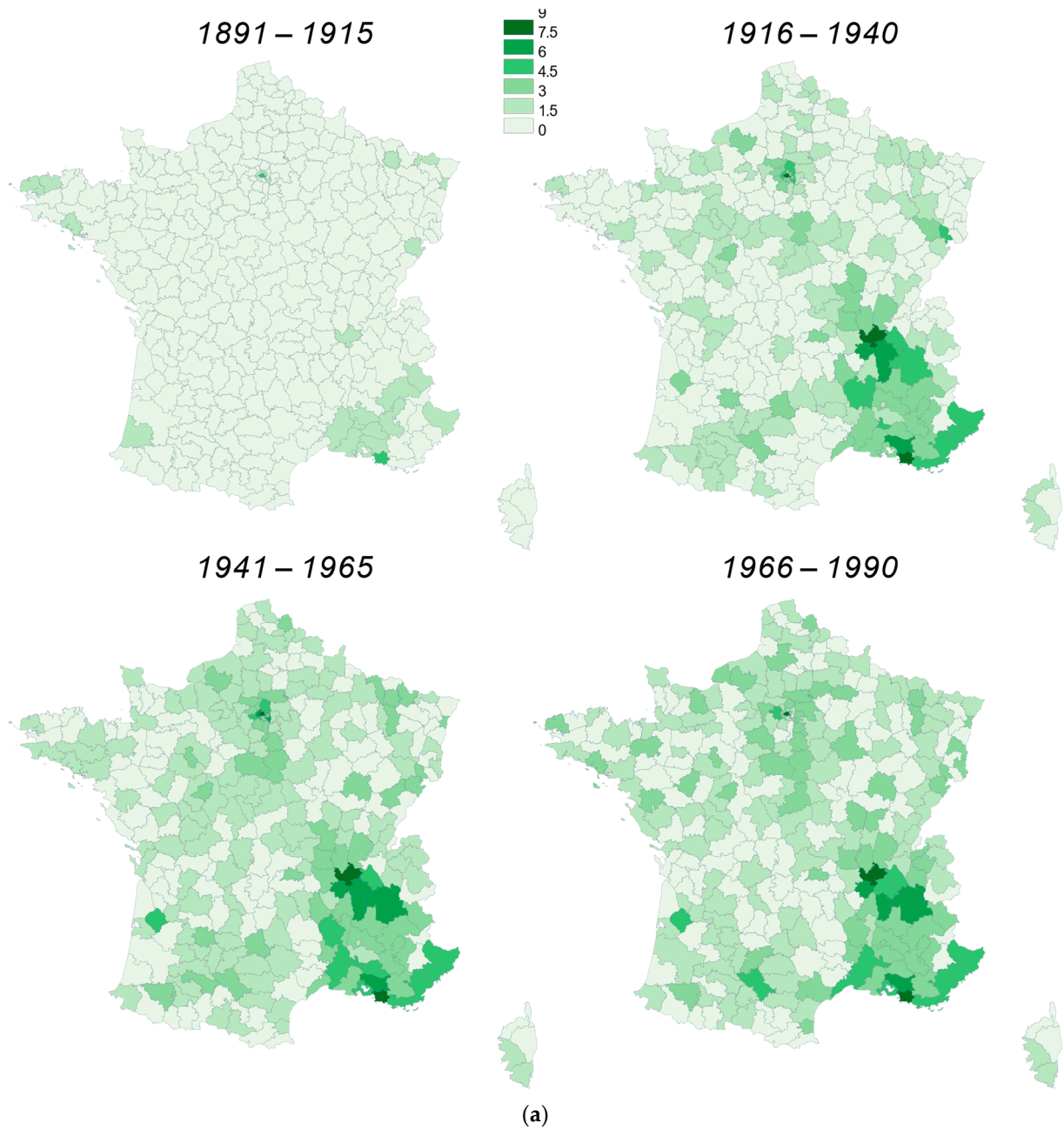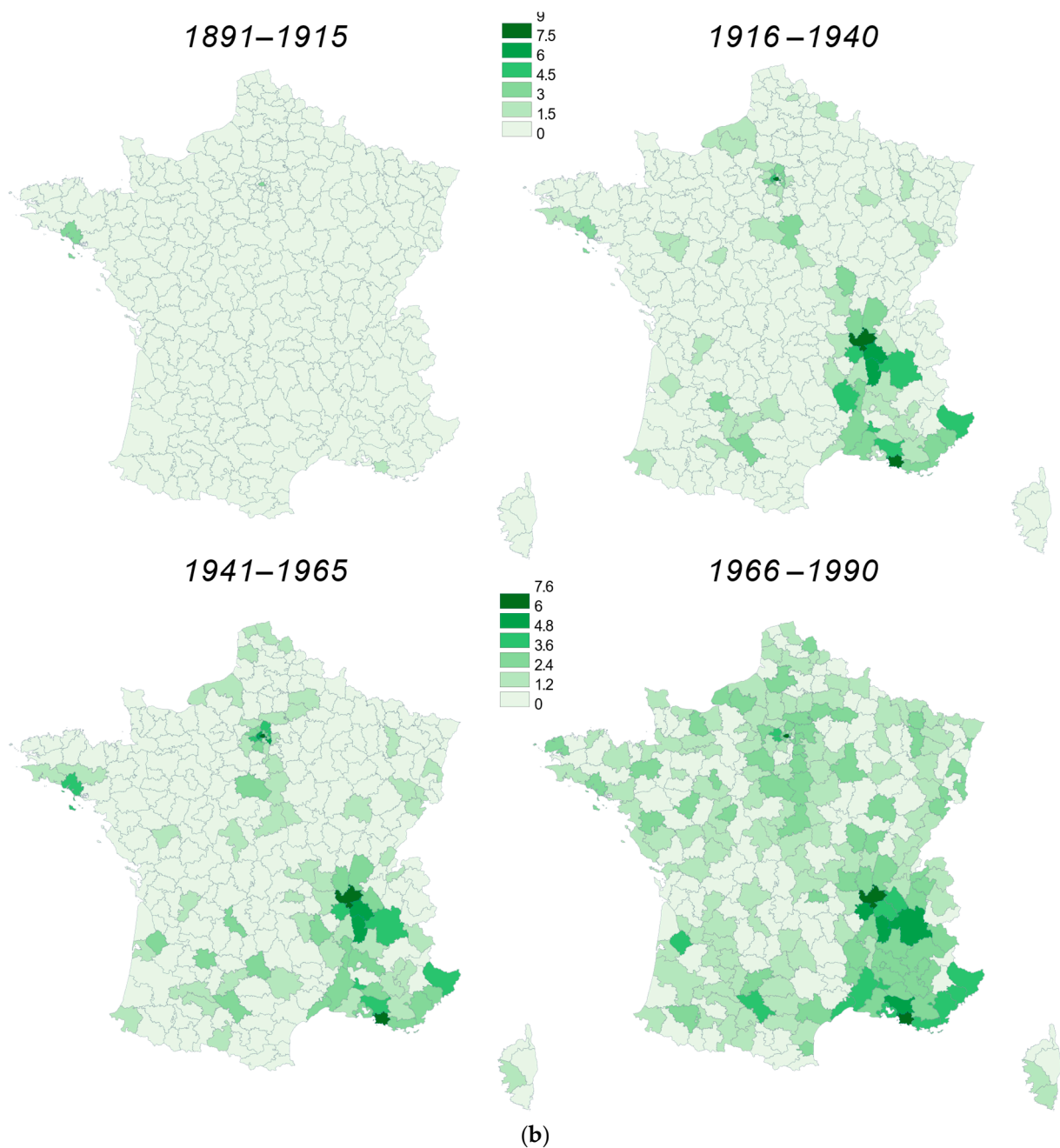

(**a**)

Figure 1. *Cont.*

Figure 1. (**a**) Distribution of the number of births bearing names of Armenian origin by arrondissement and period (logarithmic scale and representation with the same six equal classes for all periods). List II (IAN). (Produced using Philcarto[4]). (**b**) Distribution of the number of births bearing names of Armenian origin by arrondissement and period (logarithmic scale and representation with the same six equal classes for all periods). List I (ARM) of Armenian names. (Produced using Philcarto).

3. Results and Discussion

The first result is not really new. Coincidentally, the 1915 break in the INSEE data coincides with the first Armenian arrivals in France subsequent to the genocide. This is clearly reflected by the results in Table 1 and a comparison of the maps in Figure 1a,b for P1 (1891–1915) and P2 (1916–1940). Before 1915, the Armenian presence in France was significant only in Paris and Marseille. The value of $f_{1,Paris}$ is 40.28% for the ARM list, with 23 different surnames for 29 births, and 34.54% for the IAN list, with 146 different surnames

for 220 births. For Marseille, the value of $f_{1,Marseille}$ is 8.3%, with 5 different surnames for 5 births for the ARM list, and 19.3% for the IAN list, with 63 different names for 101 births.

Although the ARM list contains fewer surnames than the IAN list, the ratio between the number of surnames and the number of births is 1 (5/5) in Marseille and 0.66 (146/220) in Paris during the first period. Each surname in Marseille therefore corresponds to a single birth, whereas in Paris each surname may be borne by a larger number of births. This allows us to conclude that before 1915, the Armenian population in Marseille was more recent than in Paris, allowing it less time to register a large number of births.

In Lyon, Armenian names and births are either not found or particularly rare before 1915: the value of $f_{1,Lyon}$ is in fact zero with regard to the ARM list, and barely exceeds 1% with regard to the IAN list. Even so, among this 1%, there are names whose Armenian origin is uncertain (e.g., CAZAMIAN, CECILIAN), but, even if they were Armenian, they would only represent a small proportion of the data, because they do not appear in the list of the 1000 most frequent surnames in Armenia.

Between 1891 and 1916, Paris and Marseille alone accounted for 54% of births bearing an Armenian name in mainland France (IAN list), and 48.6% for the ARM list. Other births are distributed according to the number of names. For example, in the IAN list, which does not preclude the inclusion of non-Armenian surnames ending in "–IAN", we found four different names for a total of eight births in the Doubs department, three of which differ by only one spelling variant, while the fourth was probably non-Armenian for eight births. We further found that in Finistère, there were five names in "–IAN", but of questionable Armenian origin; in the Aube, there were two probably non-Armenian names; in the Marne, there was one Armenian name and three births; and in the Aisne, there was one Armenian name and one birth, to mention but a few of the statistics for departments outside Paris, Lyon or Marseille. In the Morbihan, where four names ended in "–IAN" (IAN list), two births were registered under the surname ASLANIAN in the town of Hennebont during P1. This name is common in present-day Armenia, ranking 63rd (with 8501 occurrences). However, these ASLANIANS did not settle in the region, as they were not found in Hennebont in later periods. On the other hand, between 1916 and 1990, there were 195 ASLANIAN births, mainly in Paris, Marseille and Lyon.

As illustrated above, many of the names in these departments, which are far from the main Armenian reception centres, are "false positives", i.e., names retained by our sampling procedure for construction of the IAN list because they resemble Armenian names, but which turn out to be non-Armenian. One example is the Landes department, where the name DARBAYAN is found, exclusively in this department (with ten births between 1891 and 1990). It is difficult to decide a priori whether it is of Occitan or Armenian origin, even though it does not appear in the list of the 1000 most frequent Armenian names. All such surnames ending in "–IAN" or "–YAN" that are rare and generally very localized constitute a sort of "background noise", which does not alter the information provided by all the clearly Armenian names, whose frequencies are higher.

The configuration changes radically after 1915. The arrival of Armenian migrants after 1915 and the resulting births over the following 25 years are remarkably high (see averages and standard deviations for the 320 arrondissements, Table 1). It is well known that migrants arriving in a country tend to group together where their relatives or compatriots have already settled. Armenians are no exception to this rule. According to the International Labor Office, there were almost 30,000 Armenian refugees in France in 1925 (Ter Minassian 1994, 1997). They point out that by this date "almost half of the Armenian refugees in France were living in Issy-les-Moulineaux or Alfortville [Parisian suburbs]. The diaspora that emerged from the break-up knew these two islands of refuge." The INSEE data show that Armenian births were mainly, but not exclusively, located around conurbations such as Marseille, Lyon and Paris, and here and there in the south west (Figure 1). The proportion of arrondissements recording at least one birth with an Armenian surname rose from 3.75% in P1 (ARM list) to 38.4% in P2. This quantitative shift can also be seen in the IAN list: 23% of arrondissements registered at least one birth with an Armenian name

in P1, and this rose to 77% in P2 and to 86.6% in P4. The jump between P1 and P2 shows the extent of migration following the Armenian genocide.

The Armenian presence can be assessed over the long term; some names, already present before 1915, are still present in subsequent periods. There are 25 such names (in the IAN list: ABDALIAN, BAGHDASSARIAN, MOUTAFFIAN, PANOSSIAN, TCHAKIRIAN, for example), while 1665 names not found in the first period are present continuously in at least one arrondissement over the last three periods. Thus, they demonstrate the arrival of Armenians after the genocide.

Whether we consider the number of births per arrondissement or the number of different Armenian surnames per arrondissement (Table 1), the conclusions we can draw are very similar. This is because there is a strong correlation between the number of births *N* and the number of different surnames *S*, as shown in Figure 2. This log–log correlation is strong (r = 0.99). The greater the variety of surnames, the greater the number of births. This explains why the comments made about the number of births per arrondissement remain valid for the number of different surnames per arrondissement.

Table 1. Statistics on the number of births registered under Armenian surnames and the number of different Armenian surnames by period, calculated for the 320 arrondissements (m: mean; sd: standard deviation; max: maximum; Ardt > 0: proportion of arrondissements with at least one Armenian surname; f_{Paris}, f_{Lyon} and $f_{Marseille}$ ($\times 10^{-5}$): proportion of births or number of different surnames in Paris, Lyon and Marseille.

Births		1891–1915	1916–1940	1940–1965	1966–1990	Names		1891–1915	1916–1940	1940–1965	1966–1990
ARM	m	0.225	12.206	15.009	11.291	ARM	m	0.100	3.259	3.759	3.484
	sd	2.277	90.130	95.377	71.858		sd	0.921	13.397	13.200	12.423
	max	29	1380	1428	1055		max	15	165	134	141
	Ardt > 0	3.75%	38.44%	48.44%	55.63%		Ardt > 0	3.75%	38.44%	48.44%	55.63%
	$f_{i,Paris}$ %	40.28	17.77	13.82	12.12		$f_{i,Paris}$ %	46.88	11.03	10.39	9.78
	$f_{i,Lyon}$ %	0.00	10.39	11.89	14.81		$f_{i,Lyon}$ %	0.00	8.44	7.73	9.15
	$f_{i,Marseille}$ %	8.33	35.33	29.73	29.20		$f_{i,Marseille}$ %	18.75	15.82	11.14	12.65
IAN	m	1.638	67.172	79.697	61.209	IAN	m	1.063	29.184	29.538	25.319
	sd	11.683	487.947	495.496	376.615		sd	7.977	164.568	136.285	114.073
	max	181	7271	7409	5530		max	127	2145	1692	1423
	Ardt > 0	23.44%	77.19%	89.06%	86.56%		Ardt > 0	23.44%	77.19%	89.06%	86.56%
	$f_{i,Paris}$ %	34.54	19.62	14.46	12.18		$f_{i,Paris}$ %	37.35%	18.38%	14.58%	13.16%
	$f_{i,Lyon}$ %	1.55	9.23	10.56	14.10		$f_{i,Lyon}$ %	0.88%	8.75%	8.1%	10.33%
	$f_{i,Marseille}$ %	19.27	33.82	29.05	28.23		$f_{i,Marseille}$ %	18.53%	22.97%	17.9%	17.55%

The results from the two samples, IAN and ARM, show a high degree of agreement, as can be seen in Table 1 and Figure 1a,b. While the correlation between the logarithmic transformations of the data for the first period P1 (1891–1915) between the two samples IAN and ARM is relatively low (r = 0.486 and ρ = 0.234, respectively, Bravais–Pearson and Spearman correlations), these correlations are much higher for the following three periods, respectively: r = 0.889 and ρ = 0.755, r = 0.865 and ρ = 0.749, and r = 0.858 and ρ = 0.785. The weak correlation observed for P1 stems from the very small number (12) of arrondissements wherein an Armenian name is attested (this number is 75 for the IAN list). It is also explained by the fact that the ARM list contains fewer surnames and neglects possibly infrequent Armenian names, unlike the IAN list, which contains more surnames. This difference reduces in subsequent periods (P2 to P4). Despite this, we can consider that the two sampling strategies used to select Armenian surname data allow fairly congruent conclusions regarding the evolution of the spatio-temporal distribution of Armenians in France between 1890 and 1990.

While the geographical expansion of Armenians outward from Paris, Lyon, and Marseille into new arrondissements exploded just after 1915, it remained modest in subsequent periods. It is remarkable to note that the proportion of arrondissements receiving Armenians increased between P1 and P4, as measured by the proportion of agglomerations with at least one birth (Table 1). Between P1 (23.4%, IAN list) and P2 (77.2%), this increase is a sign

of a significant geographical expansion. It then continues between P2 and P3 (89%) before stagnating or falling slightly in P4 (86.6%).
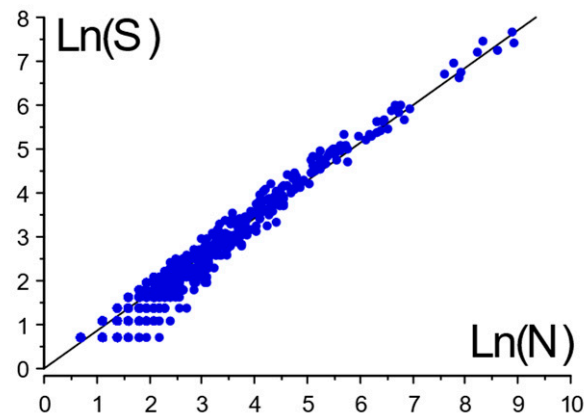

Figure 2. Ln–Ln relationship between the number of births and the number of different Armenian surnames by arrondissement. IAN list of Armenian names.

Table 2 provides some additional results: the number of births increases significantly on average between the P2 and P3 periods, but then stagnates between P3 and P4. The correlation between the numbers of births between periods P1 and P2, although significant, is relatively weak, so it can be considered that the determination of the geographical locations of Armenians before 1915 is only moderately predictive of those observed in subsequent periods.

Table 2. Comparison of means m and correlations r between successive series of the logarithm Ln(1 + *N*) of the number of births *N* calculated over the 320 arrondissements. Student's *t*-test: * = *p* < 0.0001; NS = not significant. r is the Bravais–Pearson coefficient of correlation and ρ the Spearman correlation between two successive periods.

	m	*t*	**r**	**ρ**
P1: 1891–1915	0.323			
P2: 1916–1940	1.692	17.17 *	0.489 *	0.337
P3: 1941–1965	2.164	10.39 *	0.875 *	0.760
P4: 1966–1990	2.182	0.35 NS	0.829 *	0.784

Another question concerns the increase in the proportion of Armenians in each arrondissement over time. To answer this question, the variation in f_{ij} from one period to the next is a good indicator. It should be remembered that f_{ij} represents the proportion of births with an Armenian surname in France occurring in arrondissement *j* and by period *i*. The map in Figure 3 shows the distribution of variations in f_{ij} between period P2 and period P4 ($f_{P4,j} - f_{P2,j}$) for the names of the IAN list. Among the arrondissements showing a very significant increase in this Armenian component is Lyon, where the value of *f* between P2 and P4 rises from 9.23% to 14.10% (Table 1). This is the case, to a lesser extent, for increases seen in Grenoble (from 1.83% to 2.48%), Versailles (from 0.3% to 1.7%), and Istres (from 0.3% to 1.6%). Among the arrondissements with a decline in figures are Paris (from 34.54% to 12.18%, cf. Table 1), Valence in the Drôme (from 3.96% to 1.40%), and Marseille, Vienne, and Nanterre. These decreases could be explained by the wider spatial distribution of names in P4 than in P2. The situation in Bouches-du-Rhône is more complex. In the Marseille arrondissement, the drop is one of the largest (from 33.83% to 28.23%, cf. Table 1), while in the Istres arrondissement, on the other hand, there is an increase in the proportion (from 0.51% to 1.55%). However, this increase only concerns a very limited number of names (48 in P2, and 126 in P4) compared with the situation in Marseille (respectively 2145 and

1453). These results suggest a transfer of population from the Marseille arrondissement to another (Istres, among others). The regions where there is an increase in the proportion of births with an Armenian surname (in red on the map) are mainly located (cf. Figure 3) in the north east of the Paris Basin, in Languedoc, and in Aquitaine, to the detriment of the areas (in blue on the map) along an axis from the Rhône to the Paris Basin and beyond, including Paris.
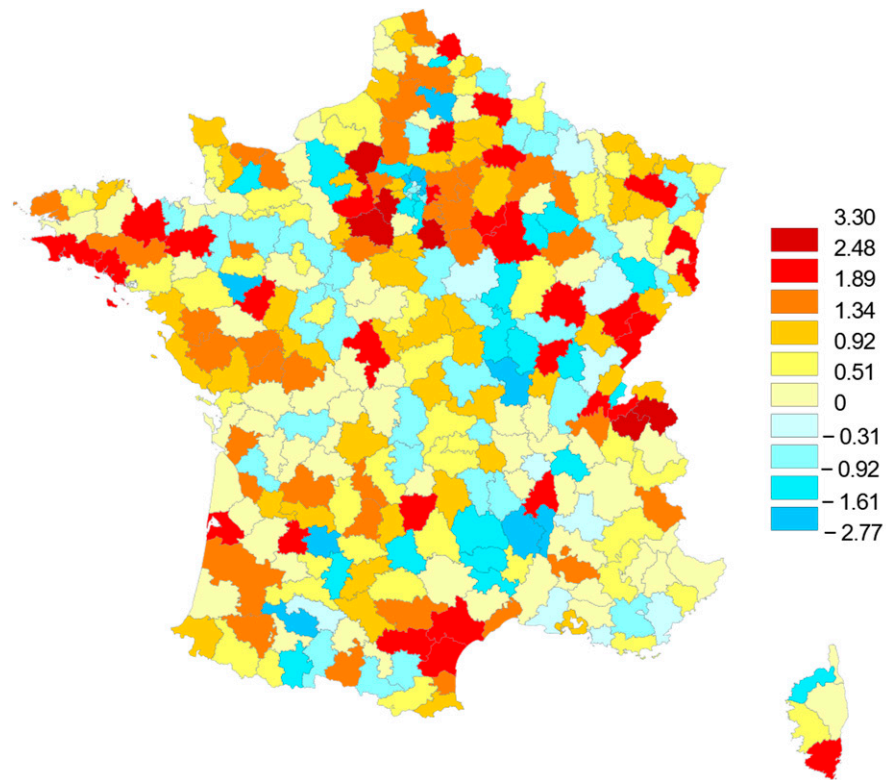
Figure 3. Variation between the periods 1916–1940 (P2) and 1966–1990 (P4) in the number *N* of births with an Armenian surname (after logarithmic transformation, Ln(1 + *N*), and classes according to the Jenks algorithm (Jenks 1967), 10 classes). The arrondissements whose proportion increased between P2 and P4 are shown in red, and those whose proportion decreased are shown in blue (produced using Philcarto).

4. Conclusions

The surname approach used in this study has demonstrated its ability to provide useful information. The number of surnames selected here, over 7000, is sufficiently high to provide a solid statistical basis for our conclusions, even if possible biases should not be overlooked, such as those generated by variations in the spelling of names, the selection of names according to their length, the inclusion of "false positives" (French names mistaken for Armenian names), and/or the exclusion of "true negatives" (elimination of Armenian names "mimicking" French names). One might question the choice made here of migration indicators such as the number of births and the diversity of Armenian names by arrondissement. However, it would be difficult to deny that these indicators validly reflect migration in the sense that the arrival of new families is always accompanied by the arrival of a descendant generation. The diversity of surnames (Armenian surnames by arrondissement) remains an indicator linked to the number of births; the influx of migrants is accompanied by an increase in the diversity of surnames, even if this diversity is not interpreted here in terms of an origin in Armenia.

All the results confirm the massive arrival of Armenians after 1915, whereas their presence before this period was minimal, and mainly located in large cities such as Paris and Marseille. Lyon, despite being a major city along the Marseille–Paris axis, does not

seem to have originally been an Armenian centre of any importance. Subsequently, between 1916 and 1940, with the arrival of migrants, the number of births and the diversity of surnames increased sharply, before slowing between 1940 and 1990. However, the geographical distribution of the Armenian population increased, first gaining ground in the arrondissements near the major towns where Armenian immigrants had first settled, and subsequently, albeit modestly, in more distant arrondissements. Over the years, the diaspora has largely remained within relatively narrow geographical areas, seeing a moderate degree of expansion across the country as a whole, while remaining stable at the local level.

Notes

[1]   https://globalsurnames.com/fr/am, accessed 18 August 2023. This site does not specify how the ranking is determined.
[2]   These spellings are nevertheless dependent on the transliteration of names sometimes originally written in an alphabet other than Latin. Note that these elements are, in the source languages and transliterations, preceded by one of a range of vowels which are part of the native suffixes but which are not specified here.
[3]   https://globalsurnames.com/fr/ir, accessed 22 November 2023.
[4]   http://philcarto.free.fr, accessed on 29 August 2023.

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Jewish Surname Changes (Sampling of Prague Birth Registries 1867–1918)

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Abstract: The study focuses on changes of surnames among Czech and Moravian Jews. The changes are tracked until the start of the German occupation in 1939. The source material is comprised of Jewish birth registers from 1867 to 1918 from Prague, as this was the most populous Jewish community of the region. These records are part of fund No. 167 stored in the Czech National Archive. More than 17,000 Jewish children were born in Prague during this period and only 350 of them changed their surnames. Surnames were mostly changed by young men under the age of 30. A large wave of renaming occurred mainly at the beginning of the 1920s shortly after the formation of Czechoslovakia (1918). Renaming was part of the assimilation process but was not connected to conversion to Christianity. The main goal was the effort to remove names perceived as ethnically stereotypical, which could stigmatize their bearers (e.g., *Kohn*, *Löwy*, *Abeles*, *Taussig*, *Goldstein*, etc.). Characteristic of the new surnames was the effort to preserve the same initial letter from the original surname. The phenomenon is compared with the situation in neighboring countries (Germany, Hungary, and Poland).

Keywords: onomastics; surnames; Jews; Bohemia and Moravia

1. Introduction

In my study, I will focus on surname changes among Jews born in the period following 1867, when Jews in the then Austro–Hungarian Empire were legally given equal rights with the rest of the population, to 1918, when the Austro–Hungarian Empire collapsed and independent Czechoslovakia was created. I will follow the changes of their surnames until the beginning of the German occupation and the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in 1939. The source for my research will be registers of Jews born in Prague in the years 1867–1918, as the largest Jewish community in the Lands of Bohemian Crown lived here.[1]

During my research, I will be interested in which surnames were most often changed, what the relationship was between the original name and the new one (e.g., phonetic similarity—*Kohn > Korn*) and whether the new surnames were Czech (*Löwy > Levý*) or German (*Löwy > Löhner*). I will also look for answers to the question of when the largest number of these family name changes took place and what the structure of the applicants was (age, gender). I will also note how frequent this phenomenon was in comparison with neighboring countries, e.g., Germany (Bering 1992), Hungary (Farkas 2009, 2012a), or Poland (Woźniak 2016).

I will focus only on the changes of surnames which the bearers decided and requested for various reasons. The change was thus a manifestation of their free will. Therefore, I will not take into account surname changes that occurred as a result of various other legal acts:

1. For women, adoption of the husband's surname upon marriage (according to § 92 of the General Civil Code of 1 June 1811);
2. Legitimization of illegitimate children who were originally registered with their mother's surname later receiving the surname of the father who claimed paternity

(according to § 164 of the General Civil Code of 1 June 1811),[2] or who were legitimized by the later marriage of their parents (according to § 161 of the General Civil Code of 1 June 1811)[3];

3. Change of surname as a result of adoption (according to § 182 of the General Civil Code of 1 June 1811)[4].

The decision to change the family name meant a conscious breaking of the line leading to one's parents and other ancestors. This can make genealogical research very problematic because it can make it difficult to find other family ties (e.g., siblings continue to have different surnames).[5]

2. Results

2.1. Legislation

Patent on Jewish names No. 698 was issued by emperor Joseph II. on 23 July 1787. It ordered not only the obligation to accept hereditary surnames, but also German first names. These hereditary surnames should then remain unchanged. If someone arbitrarily changed the name once adopted, they risked a fine of 50 guilders, or even expulsion from the Empire (§ 7 of this patent). Official changes of surnames were only permitted by Decree of the Court Office No. 16255 of 5 June 1826, but only in the case of conversion to Christianity or promotion to nobility, in other cases the emperor himself decided on them and permission to change had the character of imperial grace (Žáček 1936, p. 329). In 1866, the authority to permit a name change was transferred to the regional political authorities, based on the Order of the Imperial–Royal Ministry of State No. 1452 of 18 March 1866 (Pražák 1906, p. 44), In our case, then, the decision on changes of personal names was made by the Governorship (Statthalterei) in Prague.[6]

The mentioned conditions established by the Decree of the Court Office from 1826 were also valid during the period of the Czechoslovak Republic and were definitively abolished only in 1950.

The situation was more complicated if someone wanted to change their first name. As stated by J. Pražák (1906, p. 44): "We do not have an explicit prescription, from which practice sometimes infers that anyone can change this name at will, while others consider any change of first name to be absolutely impossible; the third intermediate point of view points to the fact that it is appropriate to use in that case what is stipulated in the case of the change of surname, so that such a change is not impossible, but it can only happen with the permission of the provincial government". In practice, some Jews used a first name other than the one under which they were registered in the birth register, without officially requesting such a change. However, these officially unauthorized and unregistered name changes today greatly complicate the identification of individual persons in archival sources (see Matušíková 2015, p. 281).

From the point of view of the legal reasons described above, I could divide the examined surname changes as follows:

- Conversion to Christianity: Conversion to Christianity is explicitly mentioned in the name change notes only in seven cases. Therefore, name changes were probably not primarily connected with leaving the Jewish religion.[7] In five cases, the recorded changes concerned only the surname, e.g., *Karl Muneles* (* 1873) became *Munory* in 1902 (Birth Register 1872, 1873, inv. No. 2505, scan 42, entry 206). In two cases, first names were also affected, e.g., *Adolf Töpletz* (* 1884) completely changed his first name and surname and became *Josef František Urbánek* in 1903 (Birth Register 1884, inv. No. 2527, scan 5, entry 27).
- Elevation to nobility: Jews who acquired a noble title and surname during the Austro–Hungarian period also form a marginal group of those who changed their family name. It is significant, however, that after the formation of Czechoslovakia they were forced to change their surnames again, as noble titles were abolished by Act No. 61/1918 of 10 December 1918. They chose different strategies, e.g., *Emanuel Grab* (* 1868)

received the noble surname *Grab von Hermannswörth* in 1915, which he changed to *Grab-Hermannswörth* in 1922 (Birth Register 1863–1871, inv. No. 2503, scan 144, entry 187). *Eduard Porges* had used the name *Porges knight von Portheim* since 1890, as we read in the birth records of his children, and in 1920, the family changed it to *Portheim* (Birth Register 1863–1871, inv. no. 2503, scan 148, entry 24; Birth Register 1863–1871, inv. No. 2503, scan 211, entry 35).

- Others: For the majority of surname changes, no reason was given in the registers, so I assume that in these cases it was not a matter of conversion or promotion to nobility. Unfortunately, we do not have the original requests, nor the decisions, from which it would be possible to find out more detailed information about the individual changes and their causes, we only see their results in the registers.

2.2. Age

In the corpus, changes of surnames of children and adults must be distinguished. The change of surname was applied to the husband and wife and automatically to all their (minor) children. E.g., the change of surname from *Löwy* to *Lindt* in 1915 concerned five children registered in the Prague Jewish registers; the oldest, Ella, was 19 years old (Birth Register 1896, inv. No. 2552, scan 15, entry 154) and the youngest, Maria, was 8 (Birth Register 1907, inv. No. 2574, scan 5, entry 30). But, as we can see in the example of the *Amschelberg* family (and many others), in order to preserve the same family name, three adult siblings changed their surname to *Andres* in 1921. Changing the surname could thus be both an individual decision and a family strategy.

Figure 1 shows that most surname changes took place among men between the ages of 22 and 29, with a peak at the age of 25, i.e., the period when they finished their education, were looking for employment on the labor market and were starting to build a career and have their own family.[8]
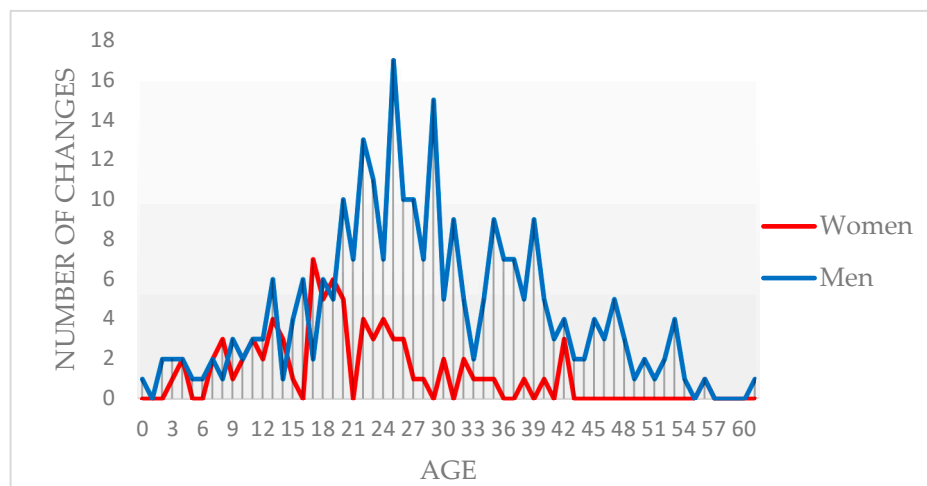
Figure 1. Age at surname change.

The oldest person who changed his surname before World War II was 61 years old. It was *David Kohn* (* 1876), who changed his name to *Kalina* in 1937 (Birth Register 1876, inv. No. 2511, scan 11, entry 108) together with his sons *Karl* (* 1905) and *Hans* (* 1908) (Birth Register 1905, inv. No. 2569, scan 11, entry 84; Birth Register 1908, inv. No. 2575, scan 6, entry 44). The youngest to be renamed was one-month-old *Ludwig* (* 1907), whose family changed their surname *Itzeles* to *Itzner* (Birth Register 1907, inv. No. 2573, scan 9, entry 50).

As T. Farkas (2012a, p. 5) states, in Hungary, it was mainly Jews living in cities, with higher education, who came from a Hungarian language environment and who mostly subscribed to Reform Judaism, who chose a different name. Name changes were therefore not only associated with assimilation, but also with secularization. Even in the Lands of Bohemian Crown, surname changes at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th

century are mostly encountered in the middle and upper social strata. Many Jews, however, retained their first and last names even after entering high offices (Matušíková 2015, p. 281).

2.3. Number of Changes

In my corpus, I collected 344 changes of surnames only, 5 changes of first names only, and 6 changes of both surname and first name. There are significantly fewer surname changes made by women (79), and they mainly occurred within the framework of surname changes of the whole family. It was probably due to the social status of women at the time and the fact that it was mandatory for women to take their husband's surname after marriage. Men changed their surnames in 271 cases (in 6 cases together with first name). See Figure 2.
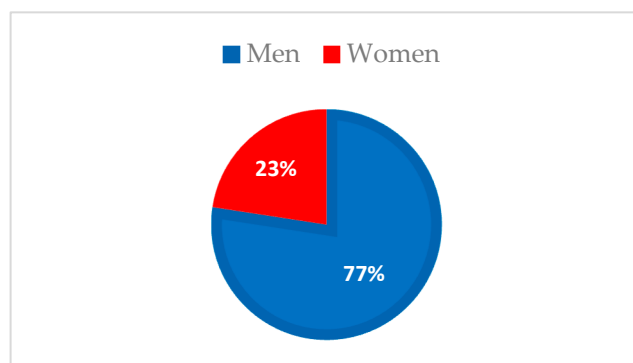
Figure 2. Surname changes by gender.

There are very rare cases when one person changed his name several times in his life, e.g., *Egon Max Kohn* (* 1899) first changed his surname to *Komba* (28 February 1926) and three months later (8 May 1926) to *Kolm* (Birth Register 1899, inv. No. 2557, scan 7, entry 54).

In Prague, 8353 Jewish girls and 8,802 Jewish boys were born in the monitored period 1867–1918, i.e., a total of 17,155 children across 51 years. By 1939, only 350 of them had changed their surname, accounting for 2% of the total. I can therefore state that surname changes among Czech Jews (according to this Prague survey) never reached the same amounts as, for example, among Hungarian Jews, where, according to estimates, every 8th–12th Jew changed his name (Farkas 2009, p. 379; 2012a, p. 8).[9]

2.4. Reaction to Changes

With the birth of nationalism, names became ethnic symbols, referring to the origins of their bearers, and names considered Jewish could therefore stigmatize their bearers.[10] At the turn of the 19th century, criticism of Jews changing their names abounded in Czech press. Reports about these changes were accompanied by antisemitic comments, with journalists assuming that Jews did so because they were ashamed of their names[11] or that they did so only to hide their origins and improve their social status (for details see Dvořáková Forthcoming). Hungarian Jews were the main target of Czech newspapers claiming, for example—ironically—that "the more Hungarian a name from this [i.e., financial and business] class sounds, the safer is the assumption of Jewish origin" (Moravská orlice 1907, p. 1).

On the other hand, Czech Jews striving for assimilation, united in the Association of Czech Academicians Jews, evaluated the changes in Hungary unequivocally positively, as can be seen, for example, from G. N. Mayerhoffer's (Mayerhoffer 1895–1896, p. 103) article in Kalendář česko-židovský, published by the association: "Patriotism cannot be proven by words, it is proven by actions. Under the current conditions, Hungarian Jews testify to their love for their country by supporting all national purposes. They oppose all non-Hungarian nationalities—they have become Hungarians completely. [. . .] The fever of Magyarization

threw itself upon all foreign names; even those Jews did not miss, and there is not a day that a Hungarian Jew does not cast off the last mark that distinguishes him from his new nation—his German name—and exchange it for a Hungarian one".[12]

As stated by R. Bondyová (2006, p. 10): "The history of Jewish names in Bohemia and Moravia, as well as of their bearers, moves between two opposing poles: between the effort to cling to the past and the effort to break free from it, between the effort to maintain uniqueness of the Jewish existence and the effort to assimilate, between the desire to preserve the heritage of the fathers forever and the desire to get rid of it as soon as possible. Jewish names, like their bearers, are in constant flux".

2.5. Changes of Surnames over Time

Among Jewish children born in the years 1867–1918, I noted the first change of surname in 1884. It was the thirteen-year-old *Viktor Löwy* (* 1871), whose family changed their surname to *Löhner* (Birth Register 1863–1871, inv. No. 2503, scan 225, entry 151). The last pre-war changes are among the most tragic, as I see in them the last desperate attempt to escape Nazi persecution. Later, changes should no longer have been possible, as the Reich Law on the Change of Surnames and First Names (Gesetz über die Änderung von Familiennamen und Vornamen) came into force on 1 February 1940. Nevertheless, J. Matúšová (2015, p. 44) states that several cases of changes of typical Jewish surnames from the period of the World War II are documented in the records of the Prague municipality, and she expresses the assumption that these changes had to be very expensive (e.g., *Israel > Hohlfeld*, *Kohn > Kohoutek / Kolm / Kovář / Kroll*, *Kokštein > Kobal*, *Löwy > Lexa*, *Rosenbaum > Ulbric*, *Siebeschein > Knops*). In the Prague birth registers, however, the last recorded pre-war changes date from September 1938 and then continue from 1945.

As stated by J. Vobecká (2007, p. 90): "Between the years 1890 and 1900, there was a large shift of the Jewish population from German to Czech. While in 1890 about 74% of Prague's Jews (12,588 persons, data for Prague I–VII) claimed to speak German, in 1900 it was only 45% (8230 persons). The largest share of this decline was the poorer strata of Jewry". Later during the Czechoslovak republic, a high percentage of the Jewish population was bilingual (Čapková 2005, p. 48). The gradual leaning towards the Czech language was also evident in the changes of surnames. While during the Austro–Hungarian period the change of Jewish surnames to German or German-sounding ones prevailed (e.g., *Baum > Braun*, *Epstein > Elmhornst*, *Stösseles > Stettner*, etc.), after the formation of Czechoslovakia in 1918, the number of Czech surnames increased (e.g., *Katz > Kalina*, *Klauders > Kopecký*, *Meisterles > Matějka*, etc.), as well as requests for Czech form of surnames previously written in German spelling (e.g., *Pollaczek > Poláček*, *Wotitzky > Votický*, etc.).

Figure 3 shows the number of changes in individual years. However, the presented data must be interpreted with caution. I count each surname change separately, i.e., each renamed individual separately; e.g., in 1911, we can see in the graph a supposed increase in the number of changes, but this is only due to the fact that several larger families were renamed, e.g., *Metzeles > Mertens* (six people). Similarly, a year later the family *Nefeles > Nef* (four persons) changed their surname; in 1915 the family *Löwy > Lindt* (five persons) and *Bondy > Bondrop* (four persons), etc., affected the total number.

The increase in the number of changes in connection with the increase in anti-Semitism at the very turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, which I expected, and which occurred, for example, in Prussia, was not confirmed in my corpora (cf. Bering 1992).[13]

The real increase in the number of changes occurred after the formation of independent Czechoslovakia (1918), especially in its first years, with a peak in 1920, when 40 people changed their surnames. This can be attributed to a certain contemporary enthusiasm for the young republic, an attempt to express Czech patriotism by choosing a Czech surname, but perhaps the simplification of the administrative processing of applications in the new state could also have played a role.
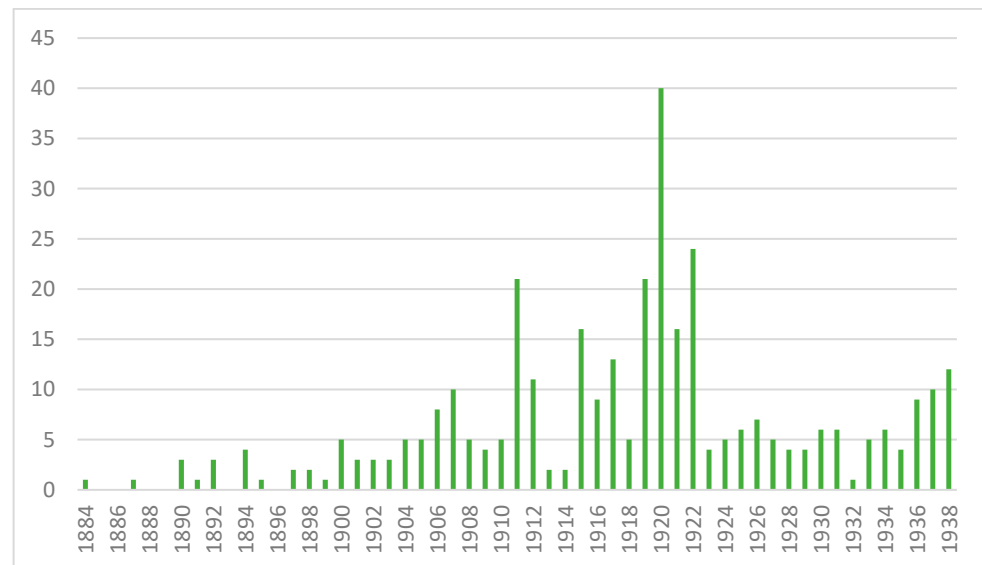
Figure 3. Surname changes in individual years.

2.6. Surnames Old and New

Table 1 shows the surnames that were most frequently changed.

Table 1. The most frequently changed surnames.

Original Surname	Number of Changes	New Surname
Kohn	62	*Bán, Hahn, Horvath, Kalina, Kant, Karbach, Karlík, Keller, Kemp, Kesler, Kienzl, Klemens, Klement, Klemm, Kliment, Kluge, Kodet, Kohler, Kolar, Kolbeck, Kolberg, Kolbrych, Komba, Konrad, Korda, Korff, Korn, Kornegger, Körner, Korte, Kostina, Kovář, Kristian, Kühns, Marinek*
Löwy	26	*Lanner, Lauda, Lendvort (?), Lenhart, Lenk, Lesný, Levý, Lindt, Lingg, Löhner, Lohsing, Lorenz, Loskot*
Karpeles	19	*Käbler, Karst, Karel, Karlen, Kavan, Kestner, Kinzel, Klimeš, Köhler, Kostner, Krüger*
Abeles	15	*Albert, Albrecht, Anders, Angert, Arens, Arnold, Auer, Havelna*
Pereles	15	*Palócz, Pelear, Perger, Perner, Perten, Petera, Pretori, Teudt*
Jeiteles	12	*Jäger, Jessler, Jeithner, Jettmar, Jetel, Junk, Imhofer, Föger*
Nefeles	9	*Nef, Neruda, Nessler*
Pollak	9	*Pohnert, Polák, Pollmer*
Metzeles	8	*Meindl, Mertens, Metzl*
Taussig	6	*Tausil, Tasold, Torn*

It is not surprising that the first two places are occupied by the surnames *Kohn* and *Löwy* (i.e., forms of Hebrew *Cohen* and *Levi*), which are tied primarily to the Jewish community. The same happened in Germany (Bering 1992, p. 154) and in Hungary (Farkas 2012a, p. 2). A potential reason for the high number of changes of these names could not be only their "Jewishness" but also their frequency among the Jewish population. As A. Volfová (1994, pp. 48–49) calculated in her diploma thesis, the 20 most common surnames among Jews in

Prague between 1900 and 1945 were *Kohn*, *Pick*, *Pollak*, *Kraus*, *Fischer*, *Taussig*, *Stein*, *Steiner*, *Neumann*, *Heller*, *Popper*, *Freund*, *Klein*, *Fuchs*, *Löwy*, *Adler*, *Lederer*, *Bondy*, *Katz*, and *Fischl*.

Patronymic and matronymic surnames with the ending *-es* were also clearly felt to have a strong ethnic character because they were derived from Hebrew and Yiddish personal names that did not occur among the non-Jewish population (cf. Bondyová 2006, p. 44). In addition to the most frequently changed surnames in the Table 1, I can also list others formed in this way from my corpus, e.g., *Itzeles*, *Jampehles*, *Kindeles*, *Paschales*, *Schneles*, *Teveles*, etc. Many of them were documented in Prague as early as in the 17th century (see Beider 1995, pp. 18–29).

In Czech society, surnames formed from toponyms were considered by many to be typically Jewish, as indeed they were common among Jews here (cf. Beneš 1978, p. 17). In the corpus, we can see changes of surnames based on the names of cities (e.g., *Eger*, *Jerusalem*, *Wiener*) and names of countries and regions (e.g., *Österreicher* 'Austrian', *Pollak* 'Pole', *Schlesinger* 'Silesian').[14]

Another type of surname that was frequently changed was German compound surnames, such as *Goldstein*, *Kräuterblüth*, *Lichtenstern*, *Lilienfeld*, *Rosenberg*, *Weissenstein*, etc.[15]

Perhaps with the exception of the surname *Kuh* (from the German Kuh 'cow'), which was changed to *Kuhn*, I did not find any changes in the Prague registers due to the semantic content and the possible derogatory nature of the name (cf. Woźniak 2016, p. 128). However, surnames that referred to various Jewish realities were removed, e.g., *Koscherak* (> *Kosek*), *Sabath* (> *Sand*), etc.

As can be seen from Table 1, most new surnames have the same first letter as the original surname in order to preserve the monogram. This happens both with new Czech surnames (e.g., *Bondy > Borský*, *Katz > Kýval*, *Klarfeld > Kalina*) and German ones (e.g., *Bondy > Burghardt*, *Goldstein > Göllner*, *Rind > Rieder*). The same tendency was noted by K. Forgács (1990, p. 325) on the material of Hungarian Jewish changes; in her survey, this occurred in 66.92% of cases. Sometimes, Jews also tried to preserve a larger part of the original surname, especially the first syllable (e.g., *Muneles > Munory*, *Taubeles > Taubner*). Some new surnames were created directly by shortening the original ones (e.g., *Bindeles > Bind*, *Mameles > Mamel*, *Sucha řipa > Suchý*) or by changing them (e.g., *Hock > Hauck*, *Pick > Pik*). I also observe the striving for phonetic similarity (e.g., *Arnstein > Arnošt*, *Damenstein > Daneš*).

There were numerous spelling changes in my corpora. There was a "bohemisation" of German surnames (e.g., *Geszlieder > Gešlídr*), but mainly surnames of Czech origin, which were written in the German spelling in the past, were newly written correctly in Czech (e.g., *Biehal > Běhal*, *Hatschek > Háček*, *Natscheradetz > Načeradec*).

A partial Czech translation based on the meaning of the German surname *Bergstein* as *Horský* ("of a mountain") was completely unique.

The last group consists of changes where the old and new surnames are nothing alike and seemingly unrelated. Personal reasons must be sought behind the choice of such surnames, e.g., family ties, aesthetic sense, etc. This includes both newly Czech surnames (e.g., *Freund > Slavník*, *Töpletz > Urbánek*, *Winternitz > Pokorný*) and German (e.g., *Goldstein > Ditmar*, *Patzan > Werther*, *Weissenstein > Frankl*).

3. Materials and Methods

Fund No. 167, entitled Registers of Jewish Religious Communities in Czech Regions, is stored in the Czech National Archive. Jewish registers from the years 1784–1949 were digitized in 2011 and were first available on the website www.badatelna.eu; now, they are available via the archive application VadeMeCum (https://vademecum.nacr.cz, accessed on 1 May 2023).

Records were compulsorily kept in German during the Austro–Hungarian period. Later, records and notes were written mainly in Czech. The structure of entries in the registers was fixed by preprinted columns. The last column was set aside for miscellaneous notes. It contains records of deaths (including declarations of deaths after World War

II), legitimization of illegitimate children, corrections of errors in records, information on leaving the Jewish faith and, finally, notices of name changes. These notes had an established form, they always contained the date of the change, a reference to the decision number given by the competent authority in this matter, followed by the date of entry, name of the registrar, and a stamp. The notes were written by hand, and it must be said that, in some cases, very illegible handwriting.

Figure 4 shows the number of births of girls and boys registered in the Jewish registers in Prague in the monitored period 1867–1918. In total, there were 8353 girls and 8802 boys.
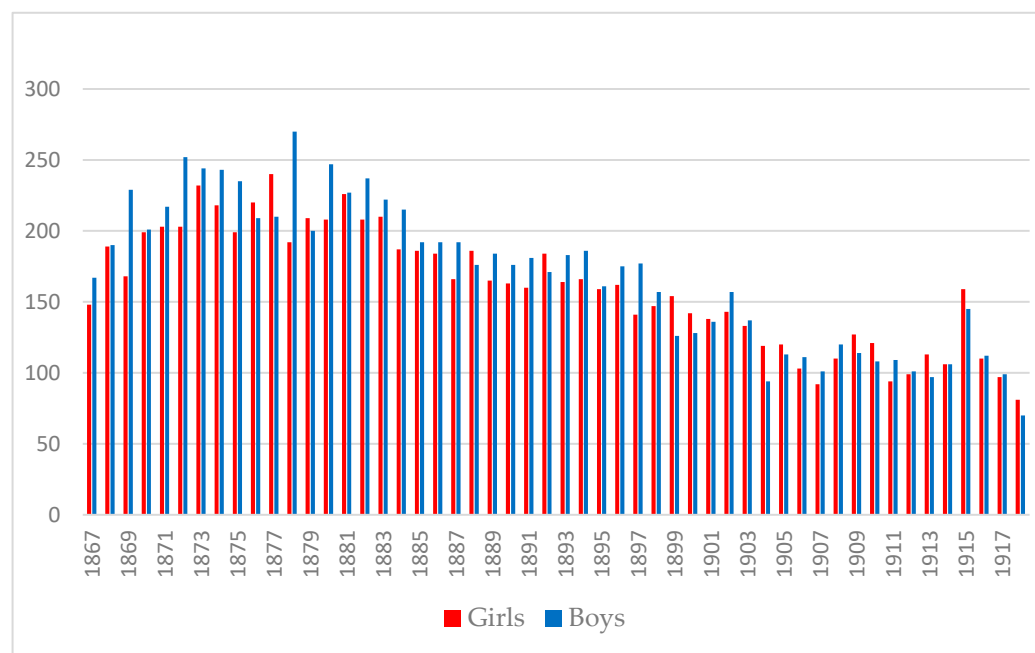
Figure 4. Numbers of Jewish girls and boys born in Prague (1867–1918).

4. Conclusions

More than 17,000 children born during the period of Austro–Hungarian Empire, i.e., between 1867 and 1918, are recorded in the Prague Jewish registers. According to the notes in these registers, only 350 of them changed their surname before the proclamation of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in 1939. Surname changes were not as widespread a phenomenon here as they were in Hungary, but they nevertheless became the target of criticism in the Czech press.

Surnames were mostly changed by young men under the age of 30. A large wave of renaming occurred mainly at the beginning of the 1920s shortly after the formation of Czechoslovakia (1918). Just before the outbreak of the World War II, changing of one's surname was probably an attempt to avoid Nazi racial persecution (e.g., *Josef Pick > Pik* on 14 September 1938).

In general, renaming was part of the assimilation process, but was not connected to conversion to Christianity. The main goal was the effort to remove names perceived as ethnically stereotypical, which could stigmatize their bearers. These were mainly surnames typically linked to the Jewish community (e.g., *Kohn*, *Löwy*), surnames formed by the characteristic ending *-es* (e.g., *Abeles*, *Karpeles*), and surnames with a high frequency of occurrence among Czech Jews. Compound German surnames (e.g., *Goldreich*, *Rozenzweig*) and names derived from toponyms (e.g., *Taussig* derived from the name of the city called Tausk in Yiddish, Domažlice in Czech) or names of countries and regions (e.g., *Polák* from Poland) were also removed. The newly chosen surnames were mainly German during the Austro–Hungarian period, and increasingly Czech after the formation of Czechoslovakia. At the same time, the changes also included the spelling of surnames (e.g., *Raubitschek > Roubíček*).

Characteristic of the new surnames was the effort to preserve the same initial letter from the original surname.

Institutional Review Board Statement: Not applicable.

Informed Consent Statement: Not applicable.

Data Availability Statement: All birth records are available in the Czech National Archive in fund No. 167 called "Registers of Jewish Religious Communities in Czech Regions" ("Matriky židovských náboženských obcí v českých krajích"), on-line: https://vademecum.nacr.cz, accessed on 1 May 2023.

Notes

1. In the second half of the 19th century, there was a large migration of Jews from the countryside to larger industrial cities. While in 1869 there were 15,000 Jews living in wider Prague (i.e., 16.9% of the total Jewish population in Bohemia), in 1900 there were already 27,000 (i.e., 29%) and in 1921 almost 32,000 (i.e., 39.8%). Data from 1921 also show that 60% of Prague's Jews were born outside the capital (Kieval 2011, p. 26). "While approximately 30,000 people of the Jewish faith lived in Prague at the beginning of the First Republic [i.e., 1918–1938], there were 200,000 in Vienna, 215,000 in Berlin and 350,000 in Warsaw. Although Prague thus became the natural center of Jewish life in the Czech lands, its Jewish community was numerically insignificant compared to other capital cities". (Čapková 2005, p. 24).

2. E.g., *Joachim Grünfeld* claimed to be the father of *Karolina Porgesová* (* 1870), and the girl was therefore renamed *Grünfeldová* in 1873 (Birth Register 1858–1869, inv. No. 2501, scan 197, entry 83).

3. E.g., in 1901, *Jindřich Kantor* (* 1884) was legitimized by his parents' marriage, and his name was therefore changed to *Bondy* after his father (Birth Register 1884, inv. No. 2527, scan 8, entry 72).

4. E.g., *Alfred Tänzerles* (*1867) and *Isidor Tänzerles* (* 1870) were adopted by *Josef Welisch*, and therefore they were renamed *Welisch* in 1897 (Birth Register 1863–1871, inv. No. 2503, scan 107, entry 125). On the other hand, *Carl Donat* (* 1869) adopted by *Ludwig Moskovits* was given the double surname *Donat-Moskovits* in 1912 (Birth Register 1863–1871, inv. No. 2503, scan 174, entry 201).

5. E.g., *Jakob Sabath* and *Rosa neé Löblová* had two sons. *Walter* (* 1896) kept the surname *Sabath* (Birth Register 1896, inv. No. 2551, scan 14, entry 124), while his brother *Alfred* (* 1894) changed his surname on *Sandt* in 1920 (Birth Register N 1894, inv. No. 2547, scan 18, entry 185).

6. By comparison, Jews in Prussia had to adopt names under the assimilation edict in 1812. According to the 1816 ban, they were not allowed to change them. From 1822 the name change had the status of royal grace (Bering 1992, p. 80). After 1867, when the minister of the interior gained oversight of the name change agenda, various obstacles were placed by the authorities to Jews requesting a name change. At that time the debate about names also shifted from the opposition of Jewish vs. Christian names to national Jewish vs. German names. As an extreme case, D. Bering cites the *Moses* brothers, who took 28 years and had to submit 10 applications before their surname changed to *Moser* (Bering 1992, p. 183). Cf. also legal regulations in Hungary described by T. Farkas (2012b) and an overview of interwar legislation on name change in Poland by E. Woźniak (2016).

7. Compare also the situation in post-war New York, which was analysed by K. Fermaglich. She also came to the conclusion that "although some Jews may have chosen to change their names as a signal of alienation or as part of a substantial separation from the Jewish community, evidence suggests that the number of name changers seeking to abandon the Jewish community altogether were actually quite small. For the large majority of Jews who sought new names, name changing did not entail flight from the Jewish community at all. It was instead an open secret within the community, a way of hiding in plain sight" (Fermaglich 2018, p. 86).

8. It is interesting that the situation in Poland in the 1920s was completely different, according to the survey conducted by E. Woźniak (2016, pp. 131–32). According to her findings, the majority of renamed Jews were those in their forties and fifties (57%). These men were mainly merchants and businessmen, officials, doctors, artists, teachers, and students.

9. Even in the Prague registries, there are rare changes of surnames to Hungarian ones (e.g., *Gerstl > Geszti*, *Kohn > Horváth*, *Perelis > Palócz*, *Schlesinger > Szabo*). Apparently, these were Jews who settled in Hungary. I also find rare changes to Polish (*Perlsee > Sowinski*) and Slovenian (*Schwarz > Sovič*) surnames.

10. For names as ethnic symbols see T. Farkas (2012a, p. 2), for the term ethnic epithets see I. L. Allen (1983).

11. See, e.g., the report about brothers *Löwy* from Prague asking for a new surname *Lechner* published in newspaper Katolické listy (1901, p. 4).

12. Compare similar opinion in Poland described by J. B. Walkowiak (2016, p. 226): "Józef Kirschrot (1842–1906), a Polish lawyer, journalist and social activist of Jewish descent, who was an ardent advocate of the assimilation of Jews in Poland, suggested in

1882 in Kurier Warszawski that Polish Jews should attach Polish surnames to their German-sounding surnames in order to blend into the society more effectively. He set the example and in 1882 assumed the name Kirszrot-Prawnicki".

[13] As D. Bering states, the real number of requests to change one's name in Prussia never reached the level described by the anti-Semitic press at the time, which called for the preservation of German names; on the contrary, it was relatively low in comparison to the total number of requests and to the size of the Jewish population in Prussia. Cf., e.g., the table of requests from the years 1900–1913 presented by D. Bering (1992, p. 124).

[14] However, I also find rare changes that go against this tendency (e.g., *Osterreicher > Praga*, *Popper > Pražák*, *Rozenzweig > Rovenský*, *Ziegler > Milotický*). All of these new surnames are motivated by the names of Czech cities (Praha, Rovensko, Milotice), so their bearers could have been motivated by some relation to these places.

[15] In this respect, one exchange of a Jewish surname for another seems paradoxical: *Regina Kleinhändlerová* (* 1916) changed her name to *Rosenfeldová* in 1935 (Birth Register 1916, inv. No. 2592, scan 9, entry 41).

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Article

Family Name Adoption in the Dutch Colonies at the Abolition of Slavery in the Context of National Family Name Legislation: A Reflection on Contemporary Name Change

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Abstract: Name change can only take place in the Netherlands under strict conditions and according to patronizing regulations. At the moment, an amendment of name law is being drafted that would give descendants of Dutch citizens whose ancestors lived in slavery an exemption. If they have a family name that their ancestors received upon their release, they may change it free of charge. It remains to be seen, however, whether the desire to adopt new names in keeping with a reclaimed African identity can also be granted. After all, that would conflict with the general regulations when creating a new name. The whole issue shows political opportunism. First, it would be useful to get a good picture of name adoption in light of surnaming in general. Is it right to consider the names in question as slave names? Are they really that bad? It is more likely that precisely the exceptional position now obtained leads to undesirable profiling. In fact, the only solution to embarrass no one is a wholesale revision of the name law that does away with outdated 19th century limitations. Why should anyone be unhappy with their name? Why should someone who insists on having a different name be prevented from doing so? This essay examines the announced change in the law against the background of surnaming in general and the acquisition of family names in Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles in particular.

Keywords: family names; surnames; onomastics; name law; name change; slavery; politics; The Netherlands; Suriname; Dutch Antilles

Art. 63 (Burgerlijk Wetboek 1e boek derde titel zesde afdeling): Niemand mag zijnen geslachtsnaam veranderen of eenen anderen bij den zijnen voegen, zonder toestemming des Konings.

Art. 63 (Civil Code 1st book third title sixth section): No one may change his family name or add another to his without the King's permission. (Still written in 19th century Dutch.)

1. Introduction

1.1. Upcoming Name Law Change and Name Science

Ministry of Justice officials in the Netherlands are currently working on an amendment to the law that would allow descendants of enslaved people to change their family names free of charge. The initiative was taken by the political party Denk ('Think'), the Tropenmuseum of world cultures organized a well-attended names special to raise awareness[1], the Ojise foundation is promoting name changes[2] and some large municipalities are already anticipating the change in the law by assuming the costs still associated with the procedure[3].

This benevolent measure is in line with the apology offered by the government. The date 1 July 2023 marked 150 years since the abolition of slavery, with traditional *keti koti* ('broken chains') celebrations and a moving speech by the king[4].

But is it the right thing to do? Has consideration been given to possible consequences? Is it not to be feared that the generosity that is advocated does not actually demonstrate short-sightedness?

In any case, it is clear that the whole issue is not viewed from an onomastic perspective. It has not been deemed necessary to be aware of the history of surnaming over the centuries. I do think it is worth paying attention to that with regard to the adoption of family names in Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles. This may provide a nuanced picture that makes all involved less biased.

1.2. The Onomastic Background

One would say that when it comes to proper names, name science is fundamental. However, in government involvement in the name law, naming expertise is mostly ignored. It is akin to not realizing that this scientific field exists. This is not surprising, then, since scholarly attention to proper names has been drastically reduced in recent decades. Curiously, academic indifference contrasts with the public's generous attention to proper names. In the postwar years, a department of onomastics was set up at the Meertens Institute of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences, but this department has since been discontinued despite the success of the databases of given names and family names on the Internet[5]. The Database of First Names naturally attracts many expectant parents. The popularity of the family name database is largely due to the growing interest in genealogy and family history.

As of 2012, the CBG Center for Family History has taken over the maintenance of the Database of Surnames in the Netherlands, renamed CBG Familienamen/CBG Family Names, and thanks to the information gathered in it about countless names, this database is also a rich source for the input of this essay[6] (Figure 1).
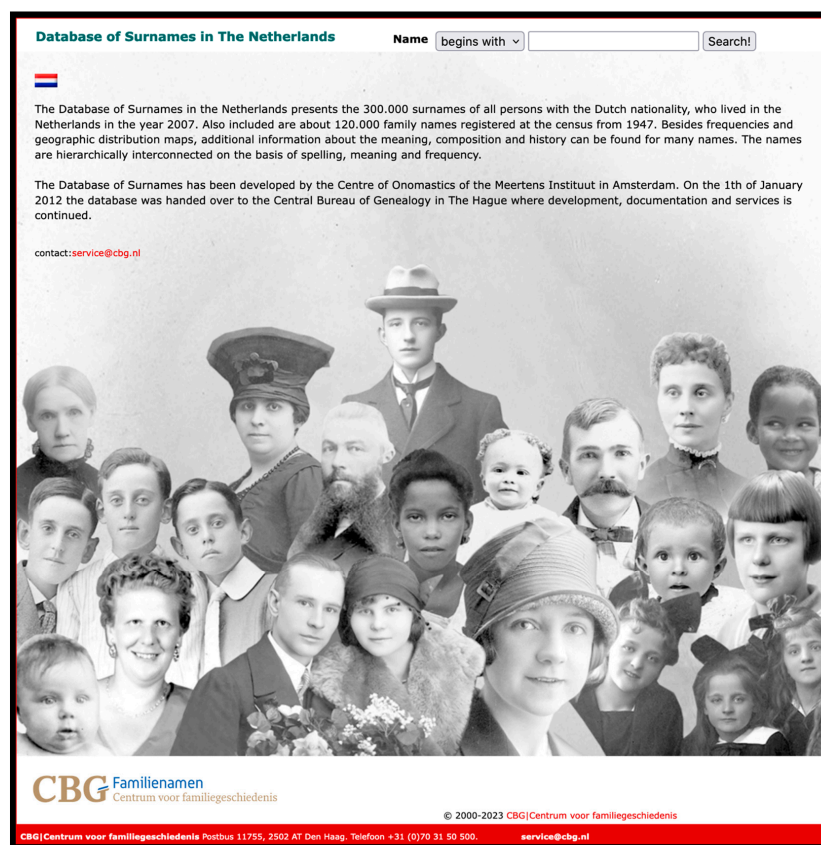

Figure 1. Opening page of the website CBG Familienamen/CBG Family Names, i.e., Nederlandse Familienamenbank (Database of Surnames in the Netherlands).

2. Surname History and Name Change

2.1. Development from Surname to Family Name

Before I address the issue of name change for compatriots whose ancestors lived in slavery, it seems appropriate to summarize the history of surnames in the Netherlands[7]. This will include information on name change under the Name Act in general.

At some place and time in history, when surnames were written down in documents to identify people, for example in contracts and for tax purposes, they became more or less hereditary. Starting in the Middle Ages, the surname wave flowed across the country from the south, present-day Belgium, swirled from crowded cities into the calm countryside and, a few centuries later, also leaked through backward regions. And at the same time, the surname system evolved in social strata from rich to poor, or from being somebody to nobody, until finally everybody was allowed to exist under state control. The result is that every Dutch citizen is registered with a family name, which is confirmed by his or her identity card or passport.

The development of the surname system took centuries, and while naming after parents, giving nicknames and letting others know where you live or come from by your name may have been a widespread oral tradition, the process was in fact part of the rise of written culture. Subsequently, the church administration also benefited from the identification of members. Genealogists find links to previous generations before the introduction of the Civil Registry especially in these.

Well considered, it is curious that in the present time one walks around with an old name that once belonged to an ancestor one knows nothing about. Those interested in family history can go back a long way in time by genealogical means, but if one even gets to those responsible for the name in question, the naming motive is often still guesswork.

Someone with a name like Smit will understand that he or she bears this name because (along the father's family line) a distant ancestor was a smith by trade. But the socioonomastic context is unclear. Generally, people assume that their ancestors chose their names themselves. They are not aware that their family names are the result of a long period of nicknaming and that those names were actually given. Nicknames can be good or bad. Some Dutch families literally do have the name De Goede (The Good) or De Slegte (The Bad). Thus, with their inseparable name, persons named De Slegte still confirm the negative image once attributed to an ancestor for one reason or another. In our time, by the way, the family name De Slegte has been established by a well-known retail chain of second-hand books and remnants of publishing houses that is not doing so badly.

Onomastic research reveals that with regard to surnames, there are several categories of naming motives. The most common surname types are those referring to toponyms and those derived from first names, called patronymics, and in many fewer constructions metronymics, if a female first name is the source. Then there are many occupational names. These, like the profusion of patronyms, emphasize the patriarchal mark on society in the past through their masculine word forms. Also innumerable are the surnames that indicate outer or inner personal characteristics. Contemporary namesakes may even have names that may indicate physical defects or peculiarities, which is especially inconvenient because the offspring with that name are no longer blind or deaf and do not limp or stutter.

Apart from quite transparent surnames, whose meaning can be guessed at, there are also quite a few names that are not easily interpreted. Sometimes these are, for example, patronymics to nowadays unknown given names or they are adaptations of immigrants' foreign-language names.

A surname can be a hook of the rod for those who want to fish for their genealogical family history, but for most of us, a family name is a name that simply belongs to us, and that is all there is to it. If you have the family name Visser 'fisher' and have never caught a fish, you do not need to feel awkward. Still, the image of a name and its connotations lurks around unconsciously and sometimes consciously. Many people have only a foggy view on family names as a mystical or mysterious phenomenon. The lack of scholarly interest in proper names does not help to clear the view.

2.2. Misconceptions about Family Names

In the Netherlands, children are still incorrectly taught in school that they owe their Dutch family name to Napoleon[8]. They were told that there are odd names among them because they were adopted by provocative patriots at the time. Unfortunately, these seemingly heroic patriots only made fools of themselves, and their descendants still have to live with those funny names. An oft-cited example of such a name is the family name Naaktgeboren 'born naked'. But Naaktgeboren originally was a nickname that existed already as a surname in the 17th century[9] (Figure 2).

Nederlandse Familienamenbank **Naam** [begint met ▾] [ ] [Zoek!]

Naaktgeboren
< Naborn
Aagenborg
Posthumus
Welboren
Radenborg

| aantal en verspreiding | **analyse en verklaring** | documentatie | varianten | CBG Bronnen |

verklaring:
De familienaam Naaktgeboren is waarschijnlijk ontstaan uit een taalreproducerende bijnaam die werd gegeven aan iemand die bijvoorbeeld eens of bij herhaling opmerkte dat we allemaal naakt zijn geboren en zo blijk gaf van zijn Hollandse nuchterheid.
Een andere verklaring is dat sprake is van adaptatie van de Duitse naam Nachgeboren, een equivalent van de naam Posthumus, gegeven aan een kind dat na de dood van zijn vader is geboren. De eerste vermelding betrof de merkwaardige naamvorm Naechtiegeboren. Maar daar zijn enkele bezwaren tegenin te brengen. In de eerste plaats is de naam Nachgeboren of Nagebor(e)n niet (meer) bekend in Duitsland. Bovendien is de vader van de eerst bekende naamdrager niet vóór de geboorte overleden en aangezien hij alleen met een patroniem is genoteerd en niet van elders afkomstig is, is het vrijwel uitgesloten dat de achternaam uit Duitsland komt.

Citeren:
Leendert Brouwer, 'Naaktgeboren', in: Nederlandse Familienamenbank = CBG Familienamen, Amsterdam, Meertens Instituut / Den Haag, CBG Centrum voor familiegeschiedenis, 2000...

kenmerken:
zinwoord   betrekking
adaptatie

CBG Familienamen
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Figure 2. Presentation of the explanation of Naaktgeboren in the Database of Surnames in the Netherlands.

What the textbooks actually refer to is the introduction of civil registration under French rule in 1811, which required everyone to have a fixed family name. But it is like teaching that before Christ there was no time. In fact, almost all of the inhabitants of the Netherlands used surnames before 1811. That is, in some remote and sparsely populated areas, an active patronymic system still sufficed. These patronymics changed from generation to generation, as is still common in Iceland. Also, many residents across the country were known by a string of three names: a first name, a patronymic and a surname, usually already a hereditary family name. The use of a three-name structure ended rather abruptly with the introduction of the Civil Registry. Only first names and family names were noted. To create fixed family names, many patronymics were registered as such.

In 1811, heads of households not yet known by a family name were expressly invited to adopt or confirm one for themselves and their families at a town hall in preparation for registration with the Civil Registry. It turns out that mainly in rural areas of the northeastern

provinces, good use was made of the name adoption registers. In Amsterdam and other places with Jewish communities, practically only Ashkenazic Jewish residents showed up. They took the opportunity to adopt so-called civil names in addition to their Jewish, Hebrew-oriented names. This was seen as an important emancipatory step in the process of assimilation and recognition as full citizens.

The municipal agencies of the Civil Registry were maintained when the French withdrew in 1813 and the Netherlands became an independent kingdom. The government had definitively taken over from the clergy the registration of the joyous facts of birth and marriage and the sad declaration of death.

2.3. Family Names and Spelling

It is noteworthy that family names were fixed in a hereditary spelling form, which often deviates from the spelling that would be common today. Because the standard spelling formulated in those days had not yet penetrated to all layers of the population and the civil service also still had its own habits, the spelling was rather varied. An archaic form became even more of a feature of family names thanks to several spelling reforms from which proper names were excluded. From a geographical point of view, family names spelled in old-fashioned ways are particularly characteristic of the Southern Netherlands, i.e., contemporary Flanders and Limburg. Surnames were recorded there earlier than in the north and the name bearers and clerks were faithful to the spelling they were used to.

An example of a general spelling adjustment is that of the consonant [x] in the noun *knecht* 'servant'. The spelling reform of 1863 stipulated that words in which this consonant appears in the place of *knecht* should be written with -*ch*- instead of -*g*-. However, as far as the family name derived from it is concerned, the name form Knegt is by far in the majority.

The family name De Vries is the third Dutch name in quantity after De Jong and Jansen, and this name is the number one name in Amsterdam, from which it can be simply concluded that very many Frisians migrated to the capital. The spelling with a V suggests that De Vries is pronounced with a voiced V, but the province is now called Friesland and its inhabitants are Friezen with a voiceless F. The family name should now be De Fries or, in Frisian, even De Frys (Friesland is Fryslân), but that name form does not occur.

2.4. Name Change under Strict Name Law

The strictness of the family name system is anchored in name legislation. Family names have to be copied from generation to generation, exactly as they had been adopted by the Civil Registry since 1811. But gradually some names were legally allowed to be changed, the procedure of which was sealed with a Royal Decree. Thus, for instance double names were created among the bourgeoisie when it was shown that the name of mother's family was in danger of becoming extinct. Replacement of one name by another, if it did not concern changing a parents' name into another parents' name, became possible when the image of such names was recognized as burdensome to one's well-being. Those names were formally specified as being indecent or derisory. Later, the category of very common family names, which do not have much distinctiveness anymore, was also added.

The processing of a name change application is centralized, and the application is reviewed by a department of the Ministry of Justice[10]. If you have a name that is not classified as indecent, ridiculous or too common, there is one more way to get rid of it. You will then need to provide a written opinion from a psychiatric expert advocating name change for your mental health. For example, nasty family circumstances could be a reason to want to distance yourself from your family and take this rigorous step. Recently, name law has been accommodated by allowing victims of abuse and violence within family circles to change their names free of charge without having to show expert attestation. However, there must be a criminal conviction or an award of benefits from the Violent Crime Compensation Fund.

2.5. Changing Indecent Names

When a name change is allowed, the choice of a new name is also patronized. The new name must meet several conditions to be authorized. To avoid the possibility of usurpation, i.e., unwanted identification with a (prominent) family, it should really be a new name and not an existing name. However, the new name must be recognizable as a Dutch name. Of course, one name of shame should not be replaced by another embarrassing name. A slight change in the name to be changed is promoted, but creativity is usually valued. The expense for such a procedure at the Bureau Justis is currently EUR 835. Until the mid-1990s, a name change had to be announced in the Official Gazette, but in recent decades this is no longer carried out to protect privacy.

To get an idea of the types of changes, some examples are in order. A well-known so-called indecent name is the family name Poepjes. Poepjes in itself is not indecent in origin, as practically no changed name qualifies for this qualification, but the association with *poep* 'poop' has turned this patronymic into a shameful name (Figure 3). Poepjes is mostly a Frisian family name and probably a more western variant of Popken, a diminutive of the common Dutch and German form Poppe, in the Dictionary of American Family Names explained as a nursery name or a short form of a Germanic personal name such as Bodobert[11]. According to the reference years 1947 and 2007 in CBG Family Names, Poepjes has decreased by 50% during this period from 563 to 281 name bearers. CBG Family Names has 27 new names from former families with the name Poepjes, five of which begin with *Poe-* and another seven with *Po(o)r*, of which six are with *Po(o)rt* 'gate'. Most of them have a toponymic appearance. Twelve new names are constructed with the typical Frisian suffixes *-ma*, *-stra* or *-inga*. Another possible explanation for the name presents itself with the name change to Velinga. This family was motivated by the synonomy of *poepe*, from German *Pupe*, and *veling*, someone from East and Westphalia, as vernacular words for German seasonal workers[12].

Figure 3. *Cont.*

Figure 3. Where do surnames come from? Presentation of the adoption of the name Poepjes in 1811 in an educational video by the Dutch Open-Air Museum in Arnhem for the Canon of the Netherlands: Napoleon and the introduction of family names.[13]

An example of a common occupational name that has additionally acquired sexual connotations is the name Naaijer, from the verb *naaien* 'to sew', for a tailor. This verb is also one of the slang words for copulating, and therefore Naaijer has been changed by at least five families.

The fact that more than 25 families named Klootwijk have changed their name shows not only that dirty words in place names will not be condoned but also that contemporary mockery outweighs the connection through a name with prominent ancestors. Lumbered with the family name Klootwijk, you may be related to the owners of the knightly mansion Clootwijck at Almkerk. In many of the 25 name changes, the noun *wijk* 'settlement, district' returns in the new pseudo-toponymic construction, e.g., Van Cootwijk, Kloosterwijk, (Van) Kootwijk, Korewijk, (Van) Kroonwijk, Rooswijk and Slootwijk[14]. A branch has also revived the medieval spelling form Van Cloetwijck.

The replaced taboo word is *kloot*, not as intended in the proper name as a relict of an ancient personal name or with the meaning 'globe', but in the plural *kloten* with the meaning bollocks or testicles. For a real asshole or dickhead, the Dutch use the noun *klootzak* 'scrotum'. Since this swearword is also shortened to *zak* 'sack', it has also been allowed in the past to change the family name Zak to a more bearable name. However, thanks to immigration, the number of bearers of the foreign surname Zak has increased in the Netherlands. Zak in the meaning 'sack, bag' is a part of several Dutch names such as Wolzak 'wool bag', Gortzak 'groats sack', Peperzak 'pepper sack' and Hoppezak 'hop sack'.

2.6. Guidelines for Constructing New Names and the Limitations

To change a name, a small modulation can simply be applied by adding a diaeresis. For example, the family name Piest has been changed to Piëst to emphasize how this presumably German-origin name should be pronounced. Piest could otherwise be understood as the third person singular of the verb *piesen* 'to piss'. But for a branch of the family Piëst,

this addition was not sufficient. Another name change with Royal Decree from Piëst to Piejest followed. Even if in some cases it makes sense to stay close to the changed name, should this necessarily be recommended? Moreover, it goes against the premise that the new name should pass for a Dutch one. If you do not know that Tjelpa is a reshuffling of Platje, which was changed because of its association with *platjes* 'pubic lice', you would think it is a foreign name. Rio from Riool (*riool* 'sewer') is an easy and understandable name change, but it does not provide a Dutch-like name. Rio is a Spanish and Portuguese noun for 'river'. In the world, it is a wide-spread surname, but in the Netherlands, it was not yet known.

In such cases, the requirement of constructing a Dutch-like name seems to have been toned down to the ability to pronounce a name. Indeed, by extension, it is still possible for immigrants to adapt a name that is unpronounceable to the Dutch as it benefits their integration. For example, Engee was transformed from Ng, Krezmien from Krzemien, Hantink from Hnatiuk and Zwerk from Cvrk. The last two have become truly Dutch names.

Some immigrants who want to integrate optimally have managed to come up with a completely invented new name. One of them is the family name Terphuis, chosen by a refugee who refers with his new name to a (safe) house on a *terp*, a Frisian noun for a settlement on a (refuge) hill in the period before dikes were built to protect the low land from the sea water. Terphuis is a name in the line of the common Frisian family name Terpstra[15].

Adaptations of foreign names used to be commonplace in earlier times, and that has also resulted in indecent or mocking names that would qualify for name change. The French name Picard, for someone from Picardy, has been interpreted as Piekhaar 'spiky hair', the form of which has also been spelled as Pikhaar, which unfortunately can be explained as 'pubic hair' (of men: vernacular *pik* 'penis'). In 1988, a namesake was allowed to change this name to Pinkhaar, which could be read as 'hair of a pinky' (*pink* = 'little finger, pinky'). A small branch of the Scottish Abercrombie family is known in the Netherlands by the name Apekrom ('crooked as a monkey').

These pre-Napoleonic distortions cannot be corrected because they entered the Civil Registry as such. However, this principle is in contradiction with a recent amendment of the name law in favor of Frisian names. As a consequence of the recognition of Frisian as an independent language, this amendment provides Frisians in the province of Friesland with the opportunity to convert their (hybrid) Dutch-Frisian name into an authentic Frisian form. But such a name change is only permitted if it can be shown that a Frisian form actually preceded the current one.

That is precisely what is problematic in Friesland, where the patronymic system was still in effect before 1811. The names of most rural residents were new when they entered the Civil Registry. When the opportunity for a name change is seized, it mainly concerns the conversion of a Dutch *ij* into a Frisian *y*, for instance IJpma into Ypma, Dijkstra into Dykstra, which could be demonstrated because in the past the *ij* was often written without dots; the *ij* and the *y* are in fact the same in Dutch names.

Would anyone have been able to change the name De Vries to De Frys? The entire adjustment to please the Frisians does not take into account the fact that spelling was not standardized in the past and any name could appear in many spellings, which is the reason for the enormous spelling variation in names today.

2.7. Outstanding Individual Creations and Negation

Name changes involving names that cannot in themselves be considered abject are usually undertaken by strong-willed loners. To mention just two of them: Duizendschoon and Van der Lijstersangh. The surname Duizendschoon has been borrowed from the generic name of a flower that translates as Sweet William in English and in Dutch is a compound of *duizend* 'thousand' and *schoon* 'beautiful, fair'. Van der Lijstersangh can be translated as 'From the Thrush Song', indicating a place of residence where thrushes sing, to be considered a variant of the common name Vogelzang 'Birdsong'. Lijstersangh is an

antiquated spelling of *lijsterzang*. These new names can be called real creations, adopted by individuals who needed an appropriate name.

A notable newcomer is the name De Naamloze 'The Nameless One'. It is impossible not to have a name, but somebody persisted in adopting a unique name for herself by which she expresses not having a name. The Secretary of State initially did not approve of her choice, but the woman in question defended her motivation in court. She stated that she had experienced a spiritual rebirth. Since this transformation she no longer exists as a civil person and that was why she wanted to get rid of her name. The judge ruled that this name had to be accepted, because it did not yet exist, it was Dutch and it was not an indecent or offensive name[16].

Madame de Naamloze is not the first to distinguish herself with a proper name that contradicts in content the identifying function of naming. Who are you when your name is Niemand ('nobody')? Are you perhaps affiliated with those who bear the family name Niemantsverdriet 'no one's grief'? The fairly common surname Zondervan means 'without surname', as the prepositon *van* 'from' is characteristic for many Dutch surnames. This surname that is a surname of someone who does not have a surname originated at a time when many did have a surname and those without *van* were thus embarrassed and surnamed Zondervan.

The essentially ironic name change of an existing family name into De Naamloze calls for reflection on the phenomenon of proper names. Does one need to have a name? How did people know each other in the days when there was no written word? Whenever and wherever, from the beginning, the nicknames must have forced themselves upon the people. Read Homer for the epithets.

We should also realize that proper names such as surnames and also place names have gone through a lengthy process to be retained in a fixed form as a relic by us in modern times. They are just names. There is no actual connection to content or sense anymore[17]. It is interesting to observe that even contemporary individual nicknames become surnames without the naming motive still playing a role.

Family names serve primarily in an established system by which the population can be monitored. You need a permanent last name on an ID card or passport. Periodic phasing and alternation with respect to surnames are no longer formally accepted practices in the Western world, except for the adoption of a spouse's name by his spouse in some societies[18]. Legally though, it is easier to change, for instance, a pseudonym into a real family name in countries with an English law tradition. Bob Dylan, who was born as Robert Zimmerman, actually now has the family name Dylan and thus his children are also named Dylan[19].

3. Name Aquisition by Freedmen in Suriname

3.1. Assigned Slave Names

In the shameful past, whole communities were enslaved and cruelly kidnapped from their African native soil to serve Dutch and other West European colonists in the Dutch colonies for the benefit of their prosperity and the Dutch economy. Slaves were no civilians. No surnames were assigned to them, only slave names that could be considered singular personal names, although a slave name may have consisted of two (given) names. Those slave names showed hardly any traces of African origin. Upon embarkation in West Africa, no names were recorded and there was no writing culture in which they could be preserved. After disembarkation in Suriname, the abductees were assigned Western names.

The slave registers of the West Indies show a rich variety of personal names[20]. Most slave names in the 19th century make a distinguished impression. In addition to traditional high-class English, Spanish, French, Dutch and German personal names, there are notable names referring to historical figures, such as Napoleon and Lucretia[21], and names that evoke a desired image such as Princess, Duchesse, Lapaix, Sansouci, Gracia, Cupido and Victorie. Also worth mentioning are geographical names such as Azia, China, Surinamia, Washington (also referring to George Washington, of course), Amsterdam and Rotterdam, and nickname-like names, which are not all favorable, such as Brilletje ('small glasses'),

Kardinaal ('cardinal'), Mentor ('mentor, tutor'), Flink ('brave, firm'), Dwingeland ('a forcing person'), Nooitgedacht ('never thought of'), Welkom ('welcome'), Weltevreden ('well satisfied'), Winst ('profit'), Geluk ('luck, happiness') and Ongeluk ('unluck').

3.2. Family Names Obtained by Manumission

Before slavery was abolished in 1863, many individuals with slave status were already freed or ransomed over the years. When they were manumitted, in due time they were also registered as civilians and therefore were assigned family names[22]. Manumission often involved children who arose from the relationship of an owner and a slave woman. In the colonies, concubinage, the cohabitation of a European settler and his housekeeper, was the rule rather than the exception. As heirs or as money-earning craftsmen or merchants, freedmen themselves became slaveholders.

Whether there was blood relationship with the former owner or not, initially the name acquired often expressed interdependence anyway. In some cases, a possessive *van*, 'of', was simply put in front of the owner's name. This led, for example, to the curious name form Van van de Vijver, with twice the preposition *van* 'of, from, at' for someone who, before he was a freedman, belonged to Van de Vijver. In the latter habitational name, the preposition indicates where someone lived: at the *vijver* 'pond'[23].

Other names were partly or completely reversed: Vriesde from De Vries, Tdlohreg from Gerholdt. This kind of treatment of an existing name was also known in the Dutch East Indies. In these former Dutch colonies, such names affirmed a half-hearted recognition of blood relationship between settlers and their natural children by native women.

However, in Suriname, modifying existing names, or adding the preposition *van*, to create new names for dependent subjects was no longer tolerated several decades before the Emancipation of 1863. According to the Manumission Act of 1832, surnaming henceforth had to be a governmental matter. The adoption of names already known in Suriname was allowed only with the permission of the families concerned.

3.3. Family Names Obtained after the Abolition of Slavery

The vast majority of the slave population obtained family names at the Emancipation of 1863. Prior to that, so-called *borderels* were completed for each plantation for comparison with the slave registers kept by the government. The district commissioner and his secretary then visited the plantations to check the presence and health of the slaves listed on the borderels. The slave owners were financially compensated quite a bit per slave.

The borderels only contained slave names. Subsequently, personal names to be included in the Civil Registry were recorded in Emancipation Registers. Thus, the former slaves obtained a sometimes entirely new first name and a family name, which indeed had to be a family name, since in these matrifocal communities, a (grand)mother and her (grand)children were kept together by the same name. Family relationships could extend across several plantations, and namesakes in Paramaribo mostly involved relatives who had been sent to the capital for work or training. Escaped slaves and their descendants who lived as maroons in the interior, like the natives, did not obtain a surname by which they were incorporated into society until much later.

There was reportedly a festive mood when the officials arrived on the plantations in 1863. No more slavery. Civil rights were established. From then on, the descendants of the exploited and suppressed slave population became Dutch nationals with Dutch family names or with family names derived from other European languages. A few exhibit a name that traces back to African roots via the vernacular languages Sranan Tongo in Suriname and Papiamentu in the Netherlands Antilles.

3.4. Comparison with the Imposed Name Registration in the Netherlands under French Rule

The concept of surnaming is based on naming each other. Family names normally arise from surnames. Only twice in the naming history of the Netherlands have measures been taken to provide family names to entire population groups from one moment to the

next, family names that had to be formed out of the blue. So that was in 1811 with the introduction of civil registration and 1863 with the Emancipation of fellow human beings who had lived in slavery.

However you look at it, in a way, these two situations are similar. They were both government issues. People who were not used to surnames for themselves had to make up family names on the spot. Everyone who showed up was practically illiterate. There are no testimonies, but we can assume that in 1811 the town clerks or the deputies of the French government had a finger in the pie when an applicant had to construct and choose a family name. Existing names served as models. In fact, in 1811, many common names were copied or made into new names. Many Frisians, as well as quite a few Jews, took some of the most familiar names such as De Jong and De Vries. Partly for this reason, they are certainly the most frequent Dutch family names today. These names were easy default choices. A frequently adopted name in Friesland is the topographical or habitational name Dijkstra for someone who lived by a dike or in a place named after its dike such as Surhuizumerdijk and Haskerdijken[24]. New names were constructed with old suffixes, such as *-inga*, *-ma* and *-stra*. The latter suffix is a contraction of Old Frisian *sittera*, meaning '(of the) inhabitant(s) of', and which in surnames is preceded by a place name. But in 1811, allusive occupational names were also created with *-stra*, such as Schaafstra (*schaaf* 'block plane') for a carpenter and Klompstra (*klomp* 'wooden shoe') for a clogmaker.

Regarding name assignment in Suriname and the Antilles, the prevailing perception is that the freedmen had little say in their names and that they were assigned to them at random. The plantation owners allegedly submitted lists of names to the itinerant commissioners, which they simply copied into the registers. However, any such name lists are not archived.

In any case, one difference between the two situations is that in the year 1863, those involved had to take into account guidelines that were in line with the regulations that had by now been formulated in the Dutch name law. No indecent or ridiculous names were to be adopted, nor were names that were already familiar family names in the country. Whereas liberated American slaves were given common (English) names[25], in Suriname, this had to be dispensed with. No references to the names of the former owners and their representatives that might suggest an intimate connection should be obtained. In practice, however, names were also adopted that may not have been familiar in Suriname but were certainly already existing European names. Moreover, several existing names were taken apart to create new names from them.

If the commissioner and his secretary in 1863 did not simply copy the names that may have been handed to them by representatives of the plantation owners, they will at least, in cooperation with these administrators, have helped the new civilians in an advisory role. A patronizing attitude cannot be denied them. Assistance will also have been sought from the so-called black officer, the head of the enslaved community whose responsibilities on the plantation included the distribution of labor.

3.5. What Kind of Names Were Adopted on the Plantations in 1863?

In Suriname, the traveling officials were responsible for the adoption of thousands of names in little time. What kind of names were actually taken and approved? Perhaps an already familiar nickname would fit, or an appropriate occupational name, but most names had to be thought up from scratch.

A notable category within the concept of nicknaming concerns names denoting a virtue, derived from or composed with adjectives. Known in contemporary Holland are names of Surinamese descent such as Braaf ('obedient'), Braafheid ('obedience'), Braafhart ('Braveheart'), Goedhart ('good heart'), Grootfaam ('great fame'), Tevreden ('satisfied'), Weltevreden ('well-satisfied'), Vreedzaam ('peaceful'), Groeizaam ('well growing'), Waakzaam ('watchful'), Werkzam ('diligent'), Deugdzaam ('virtuous'), Getrouw ('faithful'), De Getrouwe ('the faithful'), Vertrouwd ('trusty'), Trustfull (an English name: 'reliable, trustworthy'), Zuinig ('thrifty'), Zorgvol ('caring'), Omzigtig ('cautious, careful'),

Moedig ('brave'), Strijdhaftig ('combative') and Draaibaar ('turnable, agile'). Some of these names were already known in the Netherlands, such as Braaf, Braafhart, Goedhart and Weltevreden, or were considered a variant of a traditonal name, such as Trouw and Moed en Deugd.

Desirable good traits or qualities were also expressed through nouns of abstract notions, for example, in the names Vrede ('peace'), Vreugd ('joy'), Welzijn ('wellness'), Liefde ('love') and Hoop ('hope') and the compositions Hooplot ('hope' and 'fate') and Goedhoop ('good hope'), Zuiverloon ('pure wages') next to Trouwloon ('loyal wages') in the Antilles, Koelbloed ('cool blood'), Geduld ('patience'), Promes (French 'promesse', English 'promise'), Verbond ('alliance') and Vrijdom ('freedom'). As names that were by no means intended to portray an ideal situation, the family names Crisis ('crisis') and Hongerbron ('hunger source') can be mentioned.

Some of these adopted names may refer to the process taking place. As such, the names Koningverander ('king change') and the variants Konigferander and Koningferander, Koningsgift ('king's gift'), Koningswet ('king's law'), Koningswil ('king's will') and Koningverdraag or Koningsverdraag ('king's treaty') are certainly to be noted. The family name Koningverdraag was adopted at the Berg and Dal plantation by the "creole mother" Charmantje Salomain, born in 1801, her daughter and two grandchildren. In 2007, there were 15 people with the name Koningverdraag living in the Netherlands and 17 with the variant Koningsverdraag. On Wikipedia we read: "Celebrations were organized during which King William III of the Netherlands was presented as a key figure and benefactor of the freed slaves".

Other adopted names that can be mentioned in this context are the family names Borgerrecht ('civil right'), Accord ('agreement') and possibly also the expressive names Nooitmeer and Nimmermeer (both 'never again')[26].

3.6. Family Names Derived from Place Names and Toponymic Creations

It is so striking that European place names were adopted as family names everywhere that one would think that the government representatives charged with the task carried an atlas so that random names could be designated in it for that purpose. That the soccer player Giorgio Wijnaldum's ancestors themselves had a connection to the Frisian village can be highly doubted. Clarence Seedorf even has a German place name as his family name. It appears that the owners of the plantation, where his ancestors toiled, were Germans. May we assume that anyone else who attended the ceremony had some link to the Frisian village or to any of the various places named Seedorf in Germany? Or was Wijnaldum inventively selected simply because more adopted surnames contain the element of *wijn* 'wine'? Compare Wijngaarde, Wijntuin, Boldewijn, Holwijn, Bergwijn, Wijnstein, Wijnhard and so on. Seedorf, by the way, is also a German family name.

On three different plantations, about a dozen people who had lived in slavery obtained the family name Oxford, possibly in reminiscence of a plantation named Oxford. Cambridge is another adopted family name, although no such plantation is known in Suriname. Several plantation owners were British, and therefore they were also slave owners until 1863, under the critical supervision of the British government, as slavery was abolished in England in 1833. The adopted family names on Hugh Wright's sugar plantation Alliance were mostly English, for instance. However, on another plantation of this particularly active investor, the adopted names were not mainly English but a little bit of everything.

The preposition *van*, so common in Dutch habitational names, is missing from most toponymic surnames, probably because it recalled the property function it had acquired decades earlier in name formation at manumission. A certain systematics can sometimes be observed. At the plantation De Morgenster, where the family name Amsterdam was adopted, some other family names were derived from places around Amsterdam. A century later, the family names Amsterdam, Naarden, Baarn and De Rijp found their way to the Netherlands. At the plantation Ponthieu, by the way, the family name Madretsma

was adopted as an inversion of Amsterdam. Madretsma is also a familiar name in the Netherlands these days.

Several plantation names served as denotatum, but not for those who resided on the plantation in question at the time. The plantation names are reminiscent of the names of country estates of the urban elite in the Netherlands. Dozens of plantation names were compounds with the elements of *rust* 'rest, peace' and *lust* 'lust' in the sense of pleasure to enjoy at a *warande* 'pleasure garden', idealizing country life, and the elements *hoop* 'hope' and *zorg* 'care', evoking the uncertainty of the bold step to start such a venture in the far West.

For creating new family names, existing names were tinkered with, and the vocabulary also lent itself to the creation of original compositions, usually of a pseudo-toponymic nature. For example, the element *zorg* was now also used to compose family names, some of which were permanently added to the Dutch name stock, such as Kortzorg (*kort* 'brief'), Meerzorg (*meer* 'more') and Willemzorg, referring to King William III, Zorgvliet (*vliet* 'stream') and Burgzorg (*burg* 'castle'), while Burgrust was another perennial creation. Meerzorg, by the way, was already an existing name of some plantations and country estates in the homeland. Zorgvliet was also a plantation name as well as the name of a royal mansion in The Hague, spelled Sorghvliet, now the official residence of the prime minister after being renamed Catshuis, after the poet Jacob Cats, who lived there in the 17th century.

The compositions Burgzorg and Burgrust do not make much sense, but *burg* is, of course, a common component of names. Burgrust unobtrusively fits into a cluster of names already known in the Netherlands such as Zeldenrust (*zelden* 'seldom'), Holtrust (*holt* 'wood'), Onrust ('unrest') and Nooitrust (*nooit* 'never'), while Burgrust also reflects the name Rustenburg, a plantation name also adopted as a family name and already known as a topographical surname in the Netherlands. Rustenburg is a rather common house name in the Netherlands.

3.7. A Few More Observations Regarding the New Names

We must not forget that we are trying to understand names given 150 years ago, and as it is with most traditional surnames from a more distant past, the motivations were not recorded at the time of name adoption. We may observe some systematics here and there. Some names come in pairs, for example, Brijraam ('knitting window') and Haakmat ('crochet mat'), and perhaps we can also recognize Blaaspijp ('blowpipe') and Doelwijt ('target') as such.

Seemingly contrary to regulations, seventeen names beginning with Bra-, fourteen with an E and eighteen with Sij- were adopted on the Dordrecht plantation, honoring the three owners, Brakke, Evertsz and Van Sijpesteijn. Who came up with the idea, we would like to know.

The commissioner will have allowed these names because this kind of reconstruction is not seen as deforming existing surnames in the way it was considered odious in manumission times. To be mentioned are the names Braafheid (see above), Brandveen and Brasdorp as family names exported to the Netherlands, while the adopted names Braambeek (the variant with the preposion *van*), Braambosch and Braskamp already existed here. Also, on this plantation, most new creations suggest a toponymic origin.

Another questionable naming practice took place at the La Prosperité plantation. All thirteen adopted family names begin with a P. The family name Pengel, originally a German name, was adopted here by a large family, and that is why more than 500 persons in the Netherlands currently have this name.

As the most common Surinamese family name in the Netherlands (Bol and Vrij 2009), we also find a name beginning with a P, but this name comes from the plantation Onverwacht ('unexpected'). It concerns the name Pinas with more than 1250 namesakes, which came to Suriname by a Jewish Dutchman of Spanish origin and was registered in 1863 by Martha Pinas and her 48 children and grandchildren.

Not all families were so large and close. However, due to the variety of names adopted, Pinas is in fact the only Afro-Surinamese name in the top ten of the most frequent Surinamese names in the Netherlands. The other names in the top ten are family names of the descendants of the British Indian and Javanese indentured laborers who succeeded the Afro-Surinamese enslaved. These population groups only adopted their names decades later, but they were able to use the repertoire of names from the countries of origin. What is felt to be particularly wrong with Afro-Surinamese family names is that they do not reflect African origins. This is a painful realization for descendants who share the traumatic experiences of their exploited forebears. Yet, we can also realize that very beautiful names have been adopted that many Dutch people, drawn from the Dutch clay, can be jealous of. Consider, for example, wealthy vegetation names such as Bloemenveld ('flower field'), Cederboom ('cedar tree'), Broodboom ('bread tree'), Letterboom ('letter tree', a tropical species of mulberry tree characterized by black veins reminiscent of the letter S or snakes, hence also named snake tree, and from which walking sticks are made), Koningsbloem ('kingflower'), Leliëndal ('lily valley'), Leliënhof ('lily court'), Olijfveld ('olive field'), Druivendal ('grape valley'), Dru.ventak ('grapevine'), Lepelblad ('spoon leaf'), Roosblad ('rose leaf'), Rozenstruik ('rose bush'), Groenbast ('green bark') and Klaverweide ('clover meadow'). Were these names merely a reflection of the settlers' paradise desires in line with their plantation names, such as Morgenstond ('dawn, early morning hour') and Goudmijn (Goldmine), which also happen to be adopted family names, or were the freedmen who acquired these names also happy or even proud of them? Whatever, since those gardens of Eden had to be created on the backs of enslaved human beings, the descendants of the victims have reasonable doubt about the good intentions of those fine names, which, they are convinced, also came out of that ironic mold. That their names significantly enrich the Dutch naming stock is not a valued measure.

4. Name Aquisition by Freedmen in the Netherlands Antilles

4.1. Different Circumstances, Different Names

The situation in the Netherlands Antilles or Dutch Caribbean differed from Suriname in that there were far fewer large-scale plantations. Nevertheless, many people lived in slavery. The port cities functioned as transshipment ports and markets, including for slaves shipped from Africa. On the island of Bonaire, slaves of the West Indian Company and, after 1792, of the government were put to work in the salt pans. These government slaves could be hired next to freedmen by individuals for all kinds of work, such as loading and unloading. There were estates everywhere where slaves served as servants, handymen, gardeners and farm laborers[27].

Two sources brought together in one website with a search function, made available by the National Archives of Curaçao, are important for understanding the situation at the time of the 1863 emancipation regarding the adoption of family names on Curaçao, the largest and most populous island in the Dutch Caribbean. First, there are the borderels, on the basis of which the slave owners received the amount of 200 guilders per slave as compensation. With that, we know that approximately 7000 slaves were emancipated in Curaçao. Then there are also notebooks in which the name adoptions were recorded, but those seem to be incomplete.

In May 1863, prior to the emancipation date of July 1, based on the borderels, the attendance and health of slaves in each district had to be checked by committees consisting of three delegates and a physician. In the city district of Willemstad, slaves were required to make their appearance at the council house where the committee sat daily. In the four outer districts, the committees went around the plantations and estates.

Also in May, slave owners in the districts were sent a form on which the names to be adopted were to be noted. The pre-printed text read:

Your honor is requested to enter below the family names to be adopted, the first names and the date of birth or presumed age of the slaves owned by you or under your administration.

In filling in the surnames, care should be taken not to give known family names to the slaves.

The registration must be done as much as possible family-wise, namely: the mother with her children under one and the same family name.

Your honor is also urgently requested to return this billet, duly completed, within eight days from today to

The District Commissioner in the. . . District (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Page from the Register of Freedmen in the Third District of Curaçao regarding the slaves of the late Margaritha Anthony on the Plantersrust plantation with their obtained family names, dated 14 May 1863.

From the Third District, 73 forms were collected and bound into a 95-page notebook. Some forms list dozens of slaves to be freed, others only one or two. From the City District, a notebook has survived, in which 3145 name adoptions were recorded, signed on the last page by the district commissioner J.H. Schotborg. Each page has six columns to include the registration number, family names (the pre-printed word *moedersnamen* 'mother's names' is crossed out), first names, date of birth or presumed age and remarks. The field for remarks contains the names of the former owners and is hard to read because it is filled in with pencil. Certificates were issued to the newly named.

This allows us to conclude that on Curaçao slaveholders were responsible for the assignment of family names. We do not know to what extent the slaves had a say in the family names assigned to them. However, many of these names have proved unsustainable, even if they belonged to large families.

4.2. Names from the Vernacular

The vernacular language in the Netherlands Antilles is Papiamentu, a Creole language that reflects many influences. The names adopted equally represent various spheres of influence. A list of the most common Antillean family names in the Netherlands illustrates this tellingly: Martina, Martis, Maduro, Zimmerman, Richardson, Jansen, Tromp, Croes, Sambo, Martha, Winklaar, Hooi, Lourens, Maria, Janga, Henriquez, Cicilia, Cijntje, Daal, Alberto, Francisca, Leito, De Windt... Among the names of European origin, we also find here names that can be labeled as African: Sambo and Janga, lower on the list possibly Coffie, Wanga, Wawoe, Kwidama, Djaoen, Goeloe, Bito, Hato and Mambi.

More than 500 Dutch people with Caribbean roots bear the family name Sambo. Sambo is considered a stereotypical nickname for a boy of color and is listed as such in a dictionary of swear names[28], but the literal original meaning is 'child of a mulatto and a black man or woman'. Sambo is a common surname in Mozambique and Nigeria, for instance.

The specific Curaçao name Kirindongo, also spread as Quirindongo throughout the United States[29], as a Papiamentu name refers to the Spanish slang word *querindongo* for 'lover', but it appears to contain the component *-dongo* known from several African names[30].

A family name in Papiamentu with special historical significance is the name Kenepa. The noun *kenepa* designates a fruit tree that has the scientific name *melicoccus bijugatus*. The family name adopted in the City District by two sisters and a bevy of children presumably refers to the Kenepa plantation. Now there is a museum commemorating the slave uprising that began here in 1795 led by the folk hero Tula.

4.3. Creativity and Allusions

Focusing on Dutch-oriented names, we see some well-known Dutch names, such as Jansen and Tromp, and then some specific variants of Dutch names, such as Croes, Winklaar, Hooi and De Windt. Originally, they were the names of settlers. Croes is a very well-known name on the island of Aruba.

Lower on the name list are names similar in creativity to names obtained in Suriname. To name just a few that catch the eye: Windster ('windstar'), Toppenberg (*top* 'summit', *berg* 'mountain'), Scharbaai (*schar* is unclear in this context, *baai* 'bay'), Trouwloon ('loyal wages'), Vlijt and Vlijtig ('diligent'), Vrutaal (possibly vernacular for *brutaal* 'insolent'), Winterdal ('winter valley'), Welvaart ('welfare', but already familiar in the Netherlands), Van Eer (*eer* 'honor'), Goedgedrag ('good behaviour'), Sparen ('to save'), Milliard ('milliard, billion'), Mutueel ('mutual'), Flaneur ('flâneur, stroller'), Loopstok ('walking stick'), Blindeling ('blindly'), Kleinmoedig ('small-hearted'), Scherptong ('sharp tongue'), Kibbelaar ('quibbler') and so forth.

Some obtained names allude to the name of a former slave owner. A good example is the name Rooispruit for a child or sprout of a man named Rojer. However, the surname Rooispruit does not exist anymore, while Rojer as a specific Antillean name form is well represented in the Netherlands and is more common than Roijer or Royer, the name form traditionally found in the Netherlands. One such allusive name that did end up in the Netherlands is the family name Borgschot, adopted in 1863 by former slaves of the slave owner and magistrate named Schotborg. Another one is Torbed, an inversion of Debrot. Balmina Elbertina Torbed, born in 1825, belonged personally to Mrs. Suzanna G. Debrot (1812–1863)[31]. The family name Torbed was also given by other members of the family Debrot.

Let us imagine how one evening in May elsewhere on the island all of them from the Saint-Michael plantation gathered on the porch of *shon* or master Généreux de Lima, who was himself a colored person, to face the fact that they needed a last name. Someone, perhaps De Lima himself, started playing around with the name De Lima and came up with the names Delmina, Madeli, Lidema, Milade, Demila, Medila, Dimela, Ledima, Dameli, Demali, Lademi, Lamedi, Medali, Limade, Lemadi, Dimale, Damile, Daïmle, Madile, Deimla, Leimda, Meïlda, Mialde, Dalide and Delmai en Liamde. These were the names De Lima passed on to the district commissioner[32]. Johanna, 36 years old, obtained the family

name Demali for herself and her four children. Theirs is one of only two known in the Netherlands nowadays. Someone named Dimale also ended up in the Netherlands. But his or her name seems to be an original West African name[33]. So, by mixing up his own name, shon Genereus, as he was known, accidentally created a real African name for one of his freedmen.

You can jest about this, but actually here different names were formed from an existing name pretty much as is formally prescribed for name changes in the Netherlands. These transformations of existing names in 1863 do not indicate kinship but mutual recognition.

4.4. Metronymics and Patronymics

We recognize many adopted names in the current Dutch name stock. But apparently many slave names known from the slave registers or borderels also entered on occasion directly into civil status records. We can see this simply because the family names that go back to first names are in the majority of the Dutch Caribbean family names. The most distinctive family name category of the Netherlands Antilles concerns the metronymics: surnames derived from female first names. The most frequent Antillean name is one of them: Martina. But patronymics also stand out. Martis, number two above, is therefore the most frequent Antillean 'patronymic' in the Netherlands.

An explanation is the strong relation to the Roman Catholic Church. Most slave names were in fact baptismal names, and they proved stronger than assigned surnames when it came to the acquisition of personal data at the Civil Registry.

In the above list of the most common Antillean family names in the Netherlands after Martina, the following metronymics can be distinguished: Martha, Maria, Cicilia, Cijntje and Francisca. Also common in this category are the names Isenia, Paulina, Bernardina, Marchena, Mercera, Mathilda, Mercelina, Angela, Juliana, Felicia, Pieternella, Cecilia, Manuela, Molina, Leonora, Antonia, Rosa, Paula, Rosalia, Poulina, Bernabela, Carolina, Elizabeth, Isidora, Louisa, etcetera.

Most are Spanish names, but there are also some names that reflect the Dutch presence. In the old-fashioned name form Cijntje, also written as Cyntje, we should read the formerly popular given name Sientje, a diminuvated short form of Christian names ending on *-cina/-sina*, such as Francina, Gesina, Josina and Klasina. Other family names from specific Dutch girls' names include Pieternella, Elizabeth, Gijsbertha, Geertruida, Cornelia, Dorothea, Theodora, Celestijn, Seintje (variant of Cijntje), Bregita, Noor, Gustina, Adriana, Roosje, Daantje, Margaretha, Jennie, Jakoba, Wieske, Roos, Lambertina, Balo(o)tje and Ansjeliena, some of which are certainly also international and the last one is just a Dutch spelling form for the Spanish name Angelina.

Such a list can also be made of the common family names that are based on boys' names: Lourens, Henriquez, Alberto, Willems, Geerman, Frans, Pieter, Thomas, Martinus, Martijn, Albertus, Pietersz, Girigorie, Anthony, Thielman, Williams, Nicolaas, Ricardo, Adamus, Pieters, Jones, Jacobs, Rodriguez, Ignacio, Hansen, Chirino, Peterson, Engelhardt, Alexander, Hernandez, Lopez, Janzen, Manuel, Simon, Simmons, Christiaan, Evertsz, Gomez, Balentien, Job, James, Martes, Minguel, Lucas, Jacobus, Everts, Dirksz, Joseph, Philips, Martien. . .

Most of these names are Spanish, Dutch and English, some transformed by the Papiamentu vernacular. Among them we find a number of names of old Dutch families (Willems, Pietersz, Jacobs, Janzen, Evertsz, Dirksz) and some common Spanish and English patronymics. But it is noteworthy that many of these family names, and in fact all of the metronymics, are just identical to first names. Except for those archaic Dutch patronymics, these family names lack the additions of genitive inflections or worn forms of *zoon* 'son' and *dochter* 'daughter' that are characteristic for traditional patronymics and metronymics. Enslaved people were known as Xxx, which was their slave name, of Yyy, which was the slave name of their mother. In the slave registers next to the slave names of the enrolees, the names of the mothers are listed. Whether the matrifocal aspect of the African slave

community was traditional or not, the subordinate role of the fathers was brought about by authority in the slave registers and borderels anyway.

4.5. The Influence of the Catholic Church

A glance at the borderels evokes the image of a society in which many newborns were carefully assigned fancy names. They often had two baptismal names. For instance, five of the sons of Cathalina Isenia were named Martis Martien, Willem Martis, Theodorus Martis, Juan Martis and Benedictus Martijn; she herself was a daughter of Maria Rosaria.

Since we can assume that many family names entered the Civil Registry from the slave registers or borderels, it is also plausible that often second given names were considered surnames. Hence the high frequency of Martina and Martis as family names as well as regular Dutch forms as Martinus, Martijn and Martien. The popularity of (second) given names deriving from Martinus is probably due to the popularity of the first apostolic vicar Martinus Niewindt (1796–1860).

A factual example of the adoption of a second given name is the surnaming of Maria Victoria, to whom, as well as her two children, the family name Victoria was assigned in the register of freedmen in the City District[34]. We also find here an explanation of some Antillean family names that seem to have originated from person designations in the religious sphere. The family names Apostel, Obispo and Confessor were known as second baptismal names in the borderels[35].

Those slave names in the borderels are not given by slave owners. Most of them are Roman Catholic baptismal names. Roman Catholic priests baptized the slaves and their children. The Dutch elite was not Roman Catholic.

And what about those remarkable names, including several names after historical and literary characters, with which a number of children have been honored? There were two dozen Napoleons, including a Louis Napoleon and a Napoleon Emperator as a slave owner! Several Wellingtons, more than a dozen Washingtons, three Garibaldi's born in 1860, several Cesars and a Julius Cezar, a Julius Maximilianus, a Hannibal, a Horatius, a few Olympias, a Lycurgus, an Othello, a Torquato Tasso, a Lucretia Borgia and several other Borgias, a Menzikoff[36], a few Miltons and Melvilles.

Whoever came up with these names, it cannot be denied that he or she had no regard for history and literature and had a rich imagination. One consequence of this, at least, is that currently in the Netherlands, descendants are walking around with the names Washington, Borgia and Milton, which are in fact unremarkable family names worldwide. The other names mentioned did not reach the Netherlands as a family name.

Although the common slave name Napoleon was assigned also as a family name, it does not seem to have survived either. However, from Suriname, the family names Bonapart and Bonaparte remain. It is understandable that nowadays someone would be uncomfortable with this name. It must be like running with the name of a dubious sports hero from long ago on your back. Imperator is an Antillean family name in the Netherlands. Finally, the family names Corsica and Austerlitz can also be mentioned as Surinamese-Antillean names from the Napoleonic theme. The adopted family name Solferino, recalling a victory of Napoleon III, has not proved viable.

5. What Is at Play Regarding the Intended Amendment and Some Critical Comments

5.1. Preliminary Investigation for the Purpose of the Law Amendment

Afro-Surinamese and Afro-Antillean immigrants will be allowed to formally change their names in the Netherlands. They do not have to pay the usual fees. This is the politically accomplished and socially encouraged proposal to be legally developed. The Research and Documentation Centre of the Dutch Ministry of Justice and Security commissioned the Verwey-Jonker Instituut, which conducts research into the social issues of today and tomorrow, to conduct an exploratory study, for which the Verwey-Jonker Instituut organized several expert meetings with the theme 'name change in connection with the Dutch slavery past'.

There has not been a discussion about possible consequences. The righteousness implied by the revision of the law is sufficient. Even the actual demand for name change has not been checked.

In fact, the Verwey-Jonker Instituut was merely asked to ascertain whether there were name lists of slaves on the basis of which it could be shown that any application indeed concerned a descendant of an enslaved person. It seems that preliminary investigation had been initiated without realizing that slaves had no surnames at all. Manumission records and Emancipation Registers then had to connect the names of descendants to slavery.

The final report concludes that there are many useful sources, especially as far as Suriname is concerned, but there are also gaps, so that the undesirable situation can arise where a person assumes that his or her name is one associated with slavery but cannot prove it. It is therefore recommended that documentary evidence be waived when processing applications for name change by descendants of slaves. The perceived individual need should be leading, possibly combined with domicile of one of the ancestors[37].

The Cabinet response to 'Chains of the Past', the report of findings of the Advisory Committee of the Slavery Past Dialogue Group, dated 19 December 2022 and signed by the prime minister, includes a paragraph on surnames that incorporates this recommendation[38] (Figure 5). No heavy burden of proof needed is the premise. The Verwey-Jonker Instituut report also notes that experts advocate a generous approach toward newly created names. They realize that the current practice of name changes leaves little room for a radically different, new surname. A new family name according to the rules that it is formed by transposing a few letters of the original name or adding a prefix or suffix, or replaced by a name that does not yet exist in the Netherlands and sounds Dutch, then still remains a burden for the person in question. Minister Weerwind of Legal Protection instructed his legal officials tasked with drafting the new legislation to take these empathetic suggestions to heart[39].

Figure 5. Visualization of the Cabinet's plans by the Ministry of Interior and Kingdom Relations: Free change of slaveholder-related surname.

5.2. What Is the Situation Actually with Regard to the Dutch East Indies?

So far, we have only discussed the slave name situation in the former West Indies colonies. However, the scrupulous staff of the Verwey-Jonker Instituut also convened a meeting regarding this issue in the Dutch East Indies, present-day Indonesia. Actual slavery as in the West Indies has been also evident in the East Indies but in the ages before the abolition of the trade in enslaved people in 1807. The more complex Dutch East Indies history reveals mostly imposed docility of the indigenous population toward the colonists,

in which the hierarchy within the Indonesian principalities also comes into play. There are no naming lists that can prove a relationship between slavery and naming. Although the inference of the benevolent policy would be that leniency should also be offered to persons of Asian origin who would like to change their European family names, this cannot but lead to the uncomfortable insight that the Netherlands, after the transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia in 1949, only accepted *repatrianten* ('returnees'). Most of them had Dutch or European names, but they never had been in Europe before. The point is that the returnees needed to be assigned the Netherlands nationality. The archive of approximately 150,000 applications for Dutch passports was recently made available online by the CBG Center for Family History[40].

5.3. New Colonial Names Compared to Common Dutch Names

Although the assigned family names of the freed slaves in Suriname and the Antilles have been attributed the abjectness of slave names, the names in question are really the result of liberation and inclusion in the Civil Registry as citizens. They are also assumed to be derogatory names that differ from common Dutch names. It is refuted that the authorities in charge were acting in good faith. Those who were surnamed had no free choice.

What is overlooked is that not only were family names obtained but also individual first names, which often differed from their slave names. This indicates that at least their choice of Christian names was respected.

From an onomastic point of view, those eligible for name change are no worse off with their names than the rest of the Dutch. We may frown at names like Bakboord ('larboard'), Bijlhout ('axwood'), Boekstaaf ('book rod, bookmark'), Muntslag ('coinage'), Zeefuik (sea trap), Windzak ('windsack'), Bergwijn ('mountain wine'), Graanoogst ('grain harvest') and Purperhart (purple heart), but they are no more peculiar than traditional Dutch names such as Baksteen ('brick'), Botbijl (however, not to be explained as 'blunt axe' but as a broadly shaped axe), Boekweit ('buckwheat'), Hamerslag ('hammerblow'), Zeevat ('sea barrel', but probably a folk-etymological reinterpretation of a foreign name), Hoppezak ('hopsack'), Aardewijn ('earth wine', but probably from Hardewijn, from a Germanic personal name *hard* 'strong' and *win* 'friend'), Wijnoogst ('wine harvest') and Groenhart ('green heart'), a name also been chosen in Suriname but already existing as a Dutch family name. Also, the family name Bijlhout had long been known in the Netherlands as a less common variant of Bijlholt.

Against the names Crisis and Hongerbron mentioned in paragraph 3.5, we can place the primal Dutch names Onrust ('unrest, turmoil, uprising') and Hongerkamp. The latter surname has been derived from a field name denoting poor soil quality, and Onrust goes back to a house name.

Playing with names by alternating syllables is a procedure that has been used before. The family name Omtzigt, similar in meaning to the Surinamese name Omzigtig ('cautious', from the verb *omzien* 'look around'), originated in a Dutch village with several farm names containing the word *-zicht* 'view', including Cromzigt (*crom, krom* 'curved, bent'), which also became a family name, and refers to the view over the river Kromme Mijdrecht[41].

5.4. Those Who Have Expressed a Desire to Change Their Name

Media interviews indicate that there is interest in name change primarily among descendants who realize that the spiritual and cultural renaissance they experience as people of African descent does not match their inherited family name. Thus, members of the Ojise Foundation unofficially adopted an African name. Founder Delano Hankers changed his names to Kofi Ogun. He was born on a Friday, hence Kofi as his new first name. He says Ogun means 'guide' and he wants to guide his people. Ogun is a common Nigerian surname, by the way. According to the Dictionary of American Family Names, Ogún is the traditional god of iron and war in the Yoruba religious culture[42]. Delano Hankers' alias Kofi Ogun has not tried to change his name officially yet because he is against having to

obtain a document in which a psychological expert declares that he is mentally better off with a new name, as is now (still) a requirement for him in the proceedings[43].

Someone else who has come forward in the press with his name change did submit a psychiatric testimony to the Justice Department for this purpose. Jeffrey Buckle, from Ghana, was troubled by his last name since his aunt had told him that his forefather had had this name forced upon him after living in American slavery. Buckle is a common English name, though, and it is also common in Ghana. Jeffrey was allowed to exchange his father's last name for his father's middle name, Quarsie[44]. With an opinion piece of his own in a daily newspaper, Jeffrey recently advocated that everyone should have their slave names changed[45].

Quarsie is unique in the Netherlands with this name form, but his new family name is, in fact, a variant of Quarshie and Quashie, Anglicized forms of the personal name Kwasi, denoting a boy born on Sunday, which forms as well as Kwasi and Kwasie, which are nowadays also part of the Dutch names treasure. Kwasi and Kwasie are rare examples of African family names from Suriname.

5.5. Dubious Traditional Dutch Names

What has not come up in the discussion is to what extent slavery and the taboos associated with it are reflected in Dutch naming traditionally. In terms of nicknames, color has always been a favorite reference. Although we must take in account that it may have been the color of one's nose or clothes, we may assume that the family names De Rooij (The Red), De Wit (The White), De Bruin (The Brown), De Grijs (The Gray) and De Zwart (The Black) mostly refer to the hair color of the ancestors who were assigned these names, to which is to be added the expression of shades of hair and skin in names such as Blank (White, without color), Bleecke (Pale), De Blonde (The Blond), De Ligt (The Light one) and Donker (Dark).

These names are very common family names, and each has numerous variants, with or without an article. In the 12th century, count Dirk VI of Holland had a brother named *Floris de Zwarte*, and this Black Floris put himself at the head of the Frisians to take up the fight against his brother. Because of his surname, we assume that his hair was black. Did his skin also have a blackish complexion? Not necessarily.

However, a certain *Louwerens de Swart* (Laurence the Black) was kidnapped from Madagascar in 1595 and brought aboard as a slave. At the time of his baptism, he had survived many hardships and established an admirable record of service. It is unknown if he has offspring, but it should not be ruled out that he passed on his name to later generations[46].

The family name De Moor is another name established early in the Low Countries[47]. The name refers to the folk name the Moors, a people in northwest Africa called Mauri by the Greeks, from *mauros* 'black'. The motive for giving the surname could be that someone who was so named was a Moor, resembled a Moor, was a traveler to the Moorland or lived in a house known, for example, as The Smoking Moor with the image of a smoking Moor on a signboard. The noun *moor* denotes a black person.

Every year in December, *Sinterklaas* is celebrated on a grand scale in the Netherlands. Our Saint Nicholas arrives by steamboat from Spain. With him travels a bunch of *Zwarte Pieten* (Black Peters). Actually, Zwarte Piet was as black as a Moor, but he is not anymore. Wherever he appears in front of the children now, he is just a white servant with sooty patches, caused by climbing through chimneys, or he is painted with all the colors of the rainbow. Only in villages where Christian conservatism reigns supreme is he as black as ever. The association of Black Pete with slavery has become taboo, as has the use of the word *zwarte* 'black' for a descendant of an enslaved person.

Also derogatory is the use of words such as *neger* 'negro' and *nikker* 'nigger'. You may be surprised, but we also have family names like Neger, Hottentot, Kroeskop, Balneger and Balnikker in the Netherlands. In explanation of the N-name, a homonymous way out is offered. Neger is also a German name and is explained as such from the occupational name Neher or Näher for someone who sews fabrics, a sticher or tailor. But just as the noun *neger*

originated from French *nègre*, from Latin *niger* 'black', in the Netherlands, the family name Neger may also have originated from the common French surname Negre, and then it is really about a Black person.

Someone named Hottentot was banned from Facebook for using his real name[48]. Possibly, there really is a connection to South Africa. Someone named Jan Hottentot of Amsterdam born at the Cape of Good Hope was listed with his son Abraham Hottentot in 1779[49].

Kroeskop 'frizzyhead', associated with the hair growth of someone from Africa, may simply be a nickname for someone with frizzy hair. But Kroeskop will be felt by everyone as a pejorative name.

While it may be reassuring that Balneger and Balnikker are adaptations of a Swiss topographic name, probably referring to a location called Balmegg[50], this does not take away from the fact that in both derivations those two taboo words have emerged.

Since the Black African population has been abused for centuries for the sake of slavery, the word negro has become synonymous with slave. Dehumanizing stereotyping then requires distancing oneself from the terms in question.

What about the above family names? Because of the connotations, name bearers who want to get rid of their names will obtain permission to change their names. But will it pay to try to get out from under the dues?

6. Plea for a Wholesale Overhaul of the Name Law

6.1. Problems with Amending the Name Law in Favor of a Single Population Group

There is no easy task for those who must legally shape the generous accommodation of those who wish to change their name if it is the name of an ancestor who lived in slavery. By casually advocating leniency for the type of names selected, the report already realized that it is not enough for those involved to provide that they may change their names for free. If someone is willing to change a family name that qualifies as a slave name into a new Dutchy name, the creation of the new name is actually as patronizingly guided by government representatives as it was with the name adoption in 1863. The new name will still be linked to the slavery past.

The current practice of name changes leaves little room for a radically different, new family name. The rules for determining a new name to be chosen should also be updated. But how can this be legally met if the restrictions apply to all name changes? Should the stability of the Name Act be further compromised by giving a certain population the right to a free choice of name and continuing to restrict other people from doing so?

Moreover, the well-intentioned approach of asking for hardly any burden of proof actually leads to objectionable ethnic profiling. After all, anyone with African blood who does not have an African name qualifies.

6.2. The Population of Suriname and the Antilles Itself Has Not Been Taken into Account

Apparently, it is assumed that initially only the select few who have already expressed an interest in changing their family name will take advantage of the new arrangement and that also in the future the opportunity will be seized only on the basis of individual decisions taken after ample consideration. One might be right about that. The institute's report shows that they are well aware that not everyone in their own circle will be happy with a family member's name change. Although aware of this, the view remains that the opportunity to change one's name, for the sake of the individual's wishes, should be provided for in name law.

So that ignores the fact that all Afro-Surinamese and Afro-Antilleans, not only here in the Netherlands but also overseas, will face this change in the law, which not everyone will be convinced is in their favor. Free name change for our family members in the Netherlands? Is this not actually another patronizing imposition? Is independent Suriname supposed to follow? The accommodating policy could be seen as intimidating.

Suriname's population is made up primarily of the Creole descendants of African enslaved people and their low-paid successors who were lured to Suriname for the benefit of the economic interests of Western European investors. The Hindostans from India were initially only numbers. They were registered on arrival under ship, year and a number in Paramaribo, such as LR73 no. 392. The Javanese created compound names with recurring components in various names: Kartopawiro, Pawiroredjo, Redjopawiro, Kartoredjo, Kromopawiro, Pawirodikromo and so on. In the Netherlands, there are 150 names with the Surinamese-Javanese component *kromo* 'the simple people', 92 with *redjo* 'happiness, wealth' and 75 with *pawiro* 'warrior'. The Chinese were registered with their entire string of names as one family name (they consist of the *xing* 'family name' plus the *ming* 'personal name').

The population in the former West Indian colonies is a veritable hodgepodge from everywhere.

The Verwey-Jonker Institute also involved experts from the Caribbean part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in their meetings. They reported that the need for the possibility of name change in the communities of descendants of enslaved people is not great and certainly not in the Antilles itself. One even looks a little suspicious of the name change discussion. A quote by one of the experts from the report is as follows: "As if we should distance ourselves from a name that refers to the slavery past? That seems a bit odd to me. Do they want to polish something away on the seventh island (i.e., the Netherlands)?"

The very indulgent inclination shows indifference. One has not really bothered to look into the acquisition of the names, and one assumes unquestioningly that they are derogatory slave names. The general view in the Netherlands that it is good that slavery-infested names could be changed for free means that all descendants have to be made aware that they bear controversial names. Their name is no longer a piece of evidence that made their ancestors full citizens, but it has become a stigmatizing name, one that merely associates them with slavery.

6.3. More Imperfections That Were Not Considered

Also, by reverting to the names of the past, the Dutch government is pandering to the realization of a black and white image, while *black comes in all colors* nowadays[51]. Clarence Seedorf advertised for MyHeritage that DNA testing revealed that he is 6.3% Scandinavian (Figure 6).
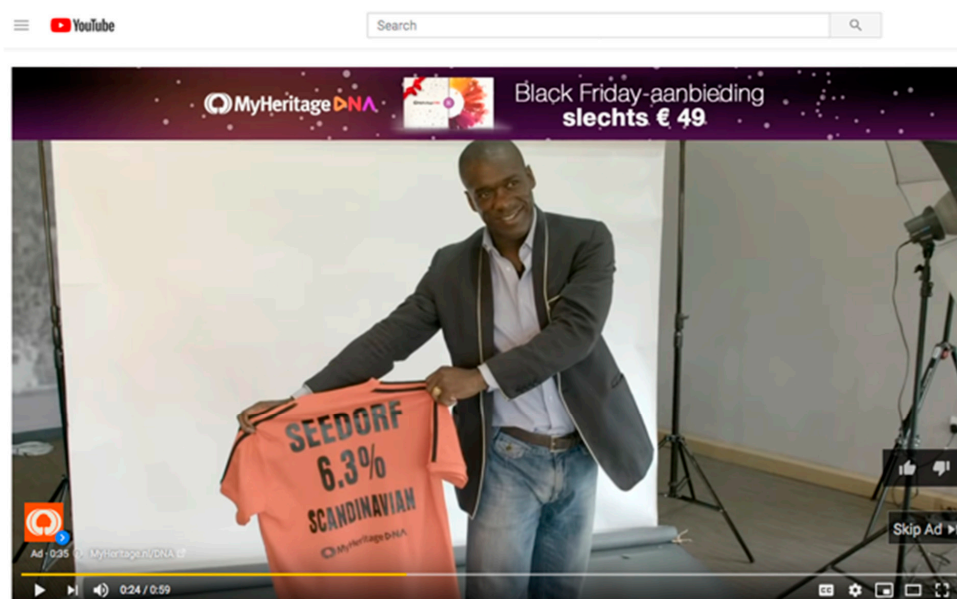

Figure 6. Clarence Seedorf promotes MyHeritage: DNA test shows he is 6.3% Scandinavian.

The family name is an essential part of one's family history, but it is only one name out of four in three generations and one out of eleven if one's great-grandparents' generation is included. A name is not one history. Who today is named Rijkaard, Winter, Seedorf, Kluivert, Bogarde or Davids, just to name a few Surinamese-Dutch soccer players who contributed to Ajax's fame several decades ago?

Dwight van van de Vijver bears his manumission name as a *geuzennaam*, which is a Dutch term referring to the Geuzen, a rebellious group of freebooters during the Eighty Years' War, who bore their mocking nickname with pride. Relationship between owners and former slaves expressed in derivation of names could be complicated[52], but if DNA testing were to reveal that he is actually related to the Van de Vijver family, then under the current name law he would simply not be allowed to drop the ridiculous and embarrassing first *van* for the Kafkaesque reason that Van de Vijver is an already existing Dutch name.

In family circles, the unpronounceable name Tdlohreg may be pronounced as Gerholdt. A request to change Tdlohreg to the original form Gerholdt would probably be accepted, since the German surname Gerholdt is not known in the Netherlands today. But this correction drives the reversed Gerholdts unmistakably into the arms of their former possessors. One has to make all sorts of considerations. Another branch of the family may prefer to create a very different name. Finally, perhaps no one will change this name, no matter how curious the existing name. It is simply theirs.

Those with reversed names with East Indian roots, such as the Rhemrev and Kijdsmeir families, however, need not discuss the option of name change because their names are the fruit of a relationship between a settler and an indigenous servant and not with an enslaved servant.

Older fellow countrymen may chuckle at the family name Geertruida, because for them, Geertruida is particularly an old-fashioned feminine first name, a Dutch form of the German personal name Gertrud. But probably his family name will not bother Lutsharel Geertruida from Curaçao, the tough defender of national champions Feyenoord, even though his family name is one of dozens of Antillean metronymics that attest to a slave past. In the Caribbean islands, those metronymics, as well as many patronymics, did indeed originate from slave names. Those slave names were actually (Catholic) baptismal names and not names given by (Protestant) slave owners. They survived the half-hearted attempt to provide the freedmen with a 'real' family name of their own in 1863. Descendants now face the dilemma that by changing such a name they may be brushing away bondage, as well as an imposed Catholic religion, but they are also renouncing the name of their dear foremother.

Women's emancipation, by the way, benefits from the fact that these metronymics that put a close-knit community of foremothers in the limelight somewhat counterbalance all those patronymics that stick to us as family names.

6.4. A Simple Solution for Everyone

Should those reading this doubt whether favoring descendants who have lived in slavery and want to change their names is a good thing, I hope it is because of the nuanced picture I have tried to paint here. But the critical look in this essay at the proposed law amendment is not meant to be a conservative plea for preserving the name law as it is today. On the contrary, it argues for an overall revision or transition of the Name Act, which is, after all, still stuck in an outdated system with irrelevant restrictions despite this adjustment.

Of course, someone who finds his or her name objectionable because of the slavery past attached to it should be allowed to go through life with another name. But is it wise to confront everyone who may have such a name with the prejudices?

The Verwey-Jonker Institute report states that it is important to make archival sources available as adequately as possible so that those involved can be encouraged to delve into their family history. It says that the shame of previous generations must give way to interest and pride of new generations who want to know exactly what happened[53]. Does

genealogical research lead to distancing oneself from a name or not? Either way, it would be good if knowledge of family history were to be complemented by a broader understanding of the concept of naming.

Many names are worth treasuring. It is true that I would be sorry if nice names were sacrificed, but no one will miss nasty names. In addition, the only ones who have the right to really judge whether their name is beautiful or appropriate or not are those who bear the name. Surinamese with the family name Staphorst must have felt quite uncomfortable when members of the protest movement Kick Out Zwarte Piet were kicked out of the town Staphorst themselves last year by the local population during the arrival of Sinterklaas and his Black Petes. Feelings about a name might change over time, though. For example, Jewish people have been known to change a distinctly Jewish name and their children have subsequently wanted that Jewish name back. Valuing a name, however, is a personal matter.

The point is, why shouldn't everyone be allowed to have a name they prefer? No one is embarrassed if a law amendment excludes nobody. A name law that capitalizes on this is not even that revolutionary. In England, America and probably other countries that were not occupied by Napoleon's French armies in the first decade of the 19th century, certainly anyone can enter into name change proceedings. Name change is not patronized by the government. You do not need a Royal Decree sealed by the Ministry of Justice and Security. In the United States, no one objected when black activist Malcolm Little changed his name to Malcolm X to underline the anonymity and illiteracy of his ancestors, nor when world boxing champion Cassius Clay changed his name to Muhammad Ali to express in it his conversion to Islam.

A family name may be considered a meaningless label, but it is not. Possibly, many people would prefer another name instead of their own, but only someone who really wants another name and has weighed the consequences will work on it. Even if you do not have to pay the usual dues, it will cost you. Is an obstacle like a psychiatric recommendation not plainly absurd? It is about time that everyone received self-determination over their name. You change your name only if you necessarily want to.

Notes

[1] Initiator Gideon Everduim of Denk provided a program on this day (9/17/2022) about decolonization and name change: "What if your name hurts? Many names bear colonial traces that lead to name shame." https://amsterdam.wereldmuseum.nl/nl/zien-en-doen/activiteiten/namenspecial (accessed on 20 November 2023).

[2] On the opening page of the website: "Take an African name again. Hey, Afro-Dutch people you can change your name to an African name!" https://www.ojise.com/nl/ (accessed on 20 November 2023).

[3] Utrecht vergoedt paspoort voor nazaten slaafgemaakten bij nieuwe naam/Utrecht will reimburse passports for descendants of enslaved with a new name. NOS Nieuws 7/7/2023. https://nos.nl/artikel/2481878-utrecht-vergoedt-paspoort-voor-nazaten-slaafgemaakten-bij-nieuwe-naam (accessed on 20 November 2023).

[4] Although the abolition of slavery (the Emancipation) was proclaimed 160 years ago in 1863, it is recognized that liberation did not become a reality until ten years later, due to the obligation to be attached as contract workers to the plantation and its owner during the ten-year transition period under state control. Herdenkingsjaar slavernijverleden/Commemoration year of the history of slavery: https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/discriminatie-en-racisme/slavernijverleden/herdenkingsjaar-slavernijverleden (accessed on 28 November 2023).

[5] Gerrit Bloothooft: De naamkunde verdient een huis/Onomastics deserves a home. In: Neerlandistiek.nl 24-9-2022. https://neerlandistiek.nl/2022/09/de-naamkunde-verdient-een-huis/ (accessed on 28 November 2023). Karina van Dalen-Oskam's initiative to give the field a new impetus is currently recognized by the Humanities Cluster of the Royal Academy.

6   (CBG Familienamen/CBG Family Names 2000–2023).

7   For insight into the history of Dutch surnames, one can rely on various publications by Ann Marynissen, among others: De atlas van familienamen in het Nederlandse taalgebied/The atlas of family names in the Dutch language area. In: Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Toponymie & Dialectologie, 1995, vol. 67, pp. 139–71, and Ursprung, Motivierung und Bildung von Familiennamen am Beispiel des niederländischen Sprachgebiets/Origin, motivation and formation of family names using the example of the Dutch-speaking area. In: Familiennamen an Niederrhein und Maas. Von Angenendt bis Seegers/Zeegers. Schriftenreihe der Niederrhein-Akademie, Band 9. Bottrop, Peter Pomp, 2010, pp. 11–35. Website: Atlas van familienamen in het Nederlandse taalgebied (AFNeT). https://familienamen.eu/atlas/start (accessed on 28 November 2023).

8   M. Goris: Brandaan lesboek geschiedenis/Brandaan history textbook. Den Bosch, Malmberg, 2008. Cf. Napoleon en de invoering van familienamen/Napoleon and the introduction of family names. Canon van Nederland/Canon of the Netherlands. Arnhem, Nederlands Openluchtmuseum/Dutch Open Air Museum. https://www.canonvannederland.nl/nl/page/194140/napoleon-en-de-invoering-van-familienamen---lessonup (accessed on 28 November 2023).

9   Leendert Brouwer: Naaktgeboren. In: (CBG Familienamen/CBG Family Names 2000–2023).

10 Naamswijziging/Name Change. Brochure naamswijziging/brochure name change. Den Haag, Justis-Ministerie van Justitie en Veiligheid/Ministry of Justice and Security. Available online: https://www.justis.nl/producten/naamswijziging (accessed on 20 November 2023).

11 (Dictionary of American Family Names 2022, vol. 4, p. 2589).

12 Leendert Brouwer: Poepjes. In: (CBG Familienamen/CBG Family Names 2000–2023).

13 See Note 8 above.

14 Leendert Brouwer: Klootwijk. In: (CBG Familienamen/CBG Family Names 2000–2023; Naamswijzigingen KB/Name Changes RD 2019).

15 Janny Groen: Worstelen met de Hollandse hokjesgeest/Wrestling with Dutch sectarianism. Interview Sander Terphuis. In: De Volkskrant 25-1-2012, p. 10. Cf. Sander Terphuis' website: https://www.sanderterphuis.nl/ (accessed on 20 November 2023).

16 Leendert Brouwer: De Naamloze. In: (CBG Familienamen/CBG Family Names 2000–2023).

17 One of the in-depth name theory studies to be mentioned: Richard Coates: The meaning of names: A defence of The Pragmatic Theory of Properhood (TPTP) addressed to Van Langendonck, Anderson, Colman and McClure. In: Onoma 2006 (published in 2011), vol. 52, pp. 7–26. https://doi.org/10.34158/ONOMA.52/2017/1 (accessed on 20 November 2023).

18 The rule in the Netherlands is that a person marrying may use the name of the person being married to, but formally the birth name is maintained in the identity papers.

19 Bob Dylan in an interview: "You're born, you know, the wrong names, wrong parents. I mean, that happens. You call yourself what you want to call yourself. This is the land of the free".

20 Suriname: Slavenregisters, 1816–1863. https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/zoekhulpen/suriname-slavenregisters-1816-1863 (accessed on 28 November 2023).

21 Upon release, Lucretia was linked to the surname Borgia.

22 Main sources for the paragraphs about name adoption at Manumission and Emancipation in Suriname are the websites Suriname: Vrijgelaten slaven (manumissies) 1832–1863/Suriname: Freed slaves (manumissions) 1832–1863 and Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen: Vrijverklaarde slaven (Emancipatie 1863)/Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles: Declared Free Slaves (Emancipation 1863), based on (Ten Hove and Dragtenstein 1997) and (Ten Hove et al. 2003).

23 Dwight van van de Vijver is a well-known police officer, as he is involved in television programs. One program is dedicated to his search for his Surinamese roots. "I am proud of my family name", he says in *Geboeid-terug naar de plantage* (Shackled/fascinated—back to the plantation), broadcast by EO/NPO 2, Dec. 4, 11 and 18, 2019.

24 (Dictionary of American Family Names 2022, vol. 2, p. 937).

25 Simon Lenarčič: African-American names. In: (Dictionary of American Family Names 2022, vol. 1, pp. xxxvi–xxxviii).

26 You would think that with her name it could hardly be a coincidence that Linda Nooitmeer is the president of the National Institute of Dutch Slavery History.

27 (Monsanto 2009).

28 M. De Coster, Groot scheldwoordenboek: van apenkont tot zweefteef/Large swearing dictionary: from monkey ass to floating bitch, Antwerpen, 2007. https://etymologiebank.nl/trefwoord/sambo (accessed on 28 November 2023).

29 (Dictionary of American Family Names 2022, vol. 4, p. 2643).

30 Yubi Kirindongo, born Willemstad, Curaçao 1946, is a well-known sculptor who created the monument to the 1795 slave revolt in Curaçao. https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yubi_Kirindongo (accessed on 28 November 2023).

31 (Register Freedmen Curaçao 1863, inventory number 116, sheet 13). Suzanna's father came from Switzerland. Cola Debrot (1902–1981), another descendant, is considered the founder of Antillean literature; from 1962 to 1970, he served as governor of the Netherlands Antilles.

32 (Register Freedmen Curaçao 1863, inventory number 116, sheet 23 and 023a).

33   Forebears https://forebears.io/x/nl/surnames/dimale (accessed on 28 November 2023).

34   (Register Freedmen Curaçao 1863, inventory number 117, sheet 44).

35   Searching the Curaçao slave registry website for the name Apostel yields 23 hits, all second given names. One of them was Matteeuw Apostel, born in 1775, enrolled in J.G.F. Hoyer's slave register in 1838; he was a son of Bitoria and died in 1846 (Slavenregister 59, inventarisnummer 59, blad 863, Curaçao 1839–1863). Obispo provides 38 hits, also all second first names. Confessor 16 hits. Disclaimer: some individuals are mentioned more than once. (Register Freedmen Curaçao 1863).

36   Martinus Menzikof Jerho, born 1855. (Register Freedmen Curaçao 1863, inventory number 116, sheet 44).

37   (Van der Klein et al. 2022).

38   Government response to 'Chains of the past', the report of findings issued by the Advisory Board of the Slavery Past Dialogue Group, Parliamentary letter 19-12-2022. https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/kamerstukken/2022/12/19/kamerbrief-m et-reactie-kabinet-op-rapport-adviescollege-dialooggroep-slavernijverleden (accessed on 28 November 2023).

39   The Minister of Legal Protection is named Franc Weerwind. The noun *weerwind* is a compound of the adverb *weer* 'again(st), fro' and the noun *wind* 'wind': a *weerwind* is an unsteady twisting wind, more or less against the wind direction. Franc's ancestors had been enslaved in Suriname and have adopted their name at the Emancipation of 1863. We would like to believe that this is a metaphorical nickname and not a name picked at random from the vocabulary. Leendert Brouwer: Weerwind. In: (CBG Familienamen/CBG Family Names 2000–2023).

40   Indisch Oud-Paspoortarchief online/Dutch East Indies Old Passport Archive online: https://cbg.nl/actueel/indische-paspoort aanvragen-online/ (accessed on 28 November 2023).

41   Leendert Brouwer: Omtzigt. In: (CBG Familienamen/CBG Family Names 2000–2023).

42   (Dictionary of American Family Names 2022, vol. 4, p. 2388).

43   Helma Coolman: Nazaten van slaafgemaakten veranderen hun naam: "Zo dichter bij mijn culturele identiteit"/Descendants of enslaved people change their names: "This way closer to my cultural identity". NOS Nieuws 17-1-2023. The Afro-spiritual foundation Ojise encourages Afro-Surinamese name changes (cf. See Note 2 above). https://nos.nl/collectie/13918/artikel/247 9230-nazaten-van-slaafgemaakten-veranderen-hun-naam-zo-dichter-bij-mijn-culturele-identiteit (accessed on 28 November 2023).

44   Elsbeth Stoker, 'Interview Jeffrey Quarsie: "Ik moest psychologische klachten verzinnen om kans te maken op een naamswijzig-ing/I had to make up psychological complaints for a chance at a name change"', In: De Volkskrant 19-9-2022.

45   Jeffrey Quarsie: Surinaamse en Antilliaanse Nederlanders, verbreek voorgoed de ketenen en verander je achternaam/Surinamese and Antillean Dutch, break the chains for good and change your family name. In: Trouw 1-7-2023. https://www.trouw.nl/opinie/ surinaamse-en-antilliaanse-nederlanders-verbreek-voorgoed-de-ketenen-en-verander-je-achternaam~bfa8a15d/?referrer=http s://www.google.com/ (accessed on 28 November 2023).

46   Leendert van der Valk: Jongens van goeden begrijpe. De vroegste slavernij, deel I. In: De Groene Amsterdammer 23-6-2022, pp. 32–41.

47   Leendert Brouwer: De Moor. In: (CBG Familienamen/CBG Family Names 2000–2023).

48   Surname Hottentot is not allowed. In: Metro 2-7-2015.

49   Delia Robertson: First Fifty Years-a project collating Cape of Good Hope records. https://www.e-family.co.za/ffy/g18/p18922. htm (accessed on 28 November 2023).

50   Leendert Brouwer: Balneger. In: (CBG Familienamen/CBG Family Names 2000–2023).

51   Reference to writer Dorothy West who quoted her mother: "Come on, children, let's go out and drive the white folks crazy". https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dorothy_West (accessed on 28 November 2023).

52   Peggy Plet & Okke ten Hove: Een erkenning is niet altijd wat het lijkt. De stamvader van Dwight van van de Vijver/A recognition is not always what it seems. The progenitor of Dwight of Van de Vijver. In: Gen.Magazine 26 (2020), no. 3, pp. 68–73.

53   A footnote in the report includes a quote from Frank Quirindongo, the president of the Slavery Platform and Legacy of Slavery: "Only by knowing your past can you understand yourself".

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genealogy

Article

A 150-Year Debate over Surnames vs. Patronymics in Iceland

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Abstract: Iceland stands out in today's Europe due to the fact that most Icelanders use patronymics rather than surnames. However, a small percentage of Icelanders do have surnames inherited in a fixed form. The first surnames were adopted in the 17th and 18th centuries. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, increasing numbers of Icelanders were taking up surnames, often Danicized or Latinized versions of Icelandic patronymics or place names. The practice became controversial with the rise of the independence movement, which was closely connected to linguistic purism. The use of surnames in Iceland has been debated since the 19th century. Whereas the other Nordic countries introduced legislation requiring citizens to have surnames, Iceland went in the opposite direction, forbidding new surnames starting in 1925. However, the surnames that were already in use were allowed to remain in circulation. This created an inequality which has haunted Icelandic name law discourse since. Having a surname in Iceland has often been linked with social prestige, and surnames have been perceived as a limited good. Since the 1990s, the fraction of Icelanders with surnames has increased through immigration and some liberalizations in the rules regarding the inheritance of existing Icelandic surnames. In the name of gender equity, surnames can be inherited along any line, not only patrilineal. Since 1996, immigrants seeking Icelandic citizenship are no longer required to change their names, and their children can inherit their surnames. The category of *millinöfn* (middle name), surname-like names that are not inflected for gender, was introduced in the 1996 law; some Icelanders with *millinöfn* use them as surnames in daily life even if they officially have patronymics. Despite the expansion in eligibility to take surnames, the basic principle that no new Icelandic surnames are allowed remains in the law and remains a point of contention. Many of the same themes—individual freedom vs. the preservation of cultural heritage, national vs. international orientation, gender equity—have recurred in the discourse over more than a century, reframed in the context of contemporary cultural values at any given time.

Keywords: Iceland; surnames; patronymics; name law

1. Introduction

One of the "exotic" features of modern Iceland's international image is the fact that most Icelanders lack inherited surnames, but use patronymics (or in rare cases metronymics; see Guðrún Kvaran 1996). It is associated with the conservatism of the language (preserving the Nordic tradition), the smallness of the society (everyone is on a first-name basis), and in general with romantic ideas of Iceland as "primitive" or "authentic". For some Icelanders, the distinctive naming practice is a source of national pride, but for others an inconvenience in international contexts.

Relatively few people, especially outside Iceland, are aware that the tradition has been maintained with the help of restrictive laws. While the other Nordic countries passed legislation requiring citizens to take surnames starting in the 19th or early 20th centuries (Denmark 1828, Sweden 1900, Finland 1920, Norway 1923), Iceland went in the opposite direction, with a ban on new surnames starting in 1925. Already at that point the question had been debated for generations, with "camps" recognizable as following the national tradition vs. international trends. The declinability of surnames has been a recurrent issue, connecting name practices to the tradition of linguistic purism in which the morphological

conservatism and complexity of the Icelandic language are seen as essential to its nature, which is threatened by an influx of indeclinable names (Willson 2002, Forthcoming).

Although Icelandic name law has been liberalized somewhat starting in the 1990s, the ban on the adoption of new surnames by Icelanders stands, although it is widely recognized as discriminatory. Bills for more liberal name laws are proposed much more often than they pass. Some elements of the discourse have recurred many times over the past 150 years, although the framing has evolved.

The history of surname use in Iceland and Icelandic personal name law has been described, inter alia, by Kvaran and Arnarvatni (1991). The long debate over surnames has recently been discussed in detail by Páll Björnsson (2021) and the social connotations of surnames by Benný Sif Ísleifsdóttir (2013, 2015a, 2015b). As these writings are in Icelandic, the present paper gives a brief presentation in English of the development of Icelandic laws on surnames since the early 20th century and some central themes in the discourse surrounding it.

The article begins with a synopsis of the historical emergence of surnames in Iceland, the debate over them in the 19th century, and legislation on personal names passed in the 20th century. Next, there is a discussion of the personal name committee introduced in the 1990s. The following sections focus on recurrent themes in the discussion of surname law: the declinability of names, issues of gender equity, and the comparison of the name rights of Icelanders and foreigners. Finally, there is a discussion of the category of *millinöfn* "middle names", which were introduced in 1996 as a compromise between banning and permitting surnames.

2. Surnames in Iceland

The first surnames used by Icelanders were taken by members of the learned elite starting from around 1700. The patronymics of Icelanders who studied in Denmark were registered in Latinized forms without being used as fixed surnames (Sigurðsson, Páll 1993–1994, III 400). According to Kvaran and Arnarvatni (1991, p. 70), the first surname was *Vídalín*, a Latinized version of the place name *Víðidalur*, used occasionally by Arngrímur "lærði" [the learned] Jónsson (1568–1648) and later adopted by his grandchildren as a surname. *Thorlacius*, based on the personal name *Þorlákur*, soon followed. Many early adopters belonged to the learned elite and some had spent time in Denmark. Icelanders living in Denmark often adopted surnames, e.g., Danicizing their patronymics to end with -*sen* or adapting Icelandic place names (e.g., *Blöndal < Blöndudalur*, *Briem < Brjánslækur*) (Sigurðsson, Páll 1993–1994, vol. 3, p. 400). Icelanders who emigrated to North and South America in the late 19th century took up surnames there (whether by choice or according to the law of the land); some urged Icelanders back home to do the same (Páll Björnsson 2017, p. 154; 2021, pp. 38–40). However, others opposed this innovation. According to Páll Björnsson (2021, pp. 22–23), the first article published in an Icelandic paper objecting to the proliferation of surnames appeared in *Norðra* in 1857 and may have been written by its editor, Sveinn Skúlason. The nineteenth-century discourse associated surnames with towns and emphasized the urban–rural contrast (Páll Björnsson 2021, pp. 28–30). The pace of name changes may have slowed somewhat with the rise of the independence movement in the mid-nineteenth century (Kjartan G. Ottósson 1990, p. 139), but surnames were on the rise when the first Icelandic name law was passed in 1913; it permitted the adoption of surnames with the permission of *Stjórnarráð* [the Ministry Offices] (Kjartan G. Ottósson 1990, p. 140). In 1925, a law was passed which forbade new surnames: "Ættarnafn má enginn taka sér hér eftir" (Lög um mannanöfn 1925, article 2) [Henceforth no one may take a surname]. However, the surnames that had already been adopted were allowed to remain in circulation:

Þeir íslenskir þegnar og niðjar þeirra, sem bera ættarnöfn, sem eldri eru en frá þeim tíma, er lög nr. 4110. nóv. 1913 komu í gildi, mega halda þeim, enda hafi þau ættarnöfn, sem yngri eru en frá síðastliðnum aldamótum, verið tekin upp með löglegri heimild, sbr. 9. gr. þeirra laga. Sama er og um þá erlenda menn, er til landsins flytjast. Þeir íslenskir

þegnar og börn þeirra, sem nú bera ættarnöfn, sem upp eru tekin síðan lög nr. 41 1913 komu í gildi, mega halda þeim alla ævi (Lög um mannanöfn 1913). Konur þeirra manna, sem rétt hafa til þess að bera ættarnöfn, mega nefna sig ættarnafni manns síns.

[Those Icelandic subjects and their heirs who now bear surnames that are older than from the time when law no. 41, 10 November 1913 came into effect may retain them as long as those surnames that are younger than from the most recent turn of the century were adopted with legal permission, see article 9 of that law. The same applies to the foreign people who move to the country. Those Icelandic subjects and their children who now bear surnames that were adopted after law no. 41 of 1913 came into effect, may retain them throughout their lives. The wives of those men who have the right to bear surnames may name themselves with their husbands' names.]

It is repeatedly recognized in commentary that the unequal surname rights are a problem (e.g., Um frumvarp 1990, p. 21). Already in 1881 it was expressed that a mixed system in which some people had surnames and others patronymics was unstable:

Siður sá, að kenna sig við föður sinn eða móður, er því mjög gamall hér á landi. Hann var áður algengur um öll norðurlönd, en þó Íslendingar nú einir haldi honum eptir, eins og þeir einir hafa varðveitt þá tungu, sem áður var töluð um öll norðurlönd, virðist engin ástæða til að leggja hann niður og taka upp í staðinn ættarnöfn þau, er lögboðin hafa verið annarsstaðar. En annaðhvort virðist nauðsynlegt að gera; að halda því ástandi, sem nú er, getur, þegar fram í sækir, leitt til ýmissa vandræða. (Jónsson and Ólafsson 1881, pp. 610–11).

[The practice of identifying oneself through one's father or mother is hence very old in this country. It was previously common throughout the Nordic countries, and although now only the Icelanders maintain it, as they alone have preserved the language that was previously spoken throughout the Nordic countries, there seems to be no reason to abandon it and instead take up the surnames that have been stipulated by law elsewhere. But it seems necessary to do one thing or the other; to maintain the situation as it currently is may in the long run lead to various difficulties.]

Jón Jónsson and Jón Ólafsson's comment does not specify what those difficulties are. Ambiguity as to whether a name is a surname or a patronymic can generally be avoided by forbidding surnames ending in *-son*, which was part of their proposal (article 3, Jónsson and Ólafsson 1881, p. 610). The mixed system has survived for nearly a century and a half since their statement, through many social, administrative, and technological changes. Nonetheless, it has been a topic of perennial controversy.

Because the early adopters of surnames tended to belong to the upper and upwardly mobile classes, having a surname has been perceived as a status symbol, somewhat analogous to aristocratic names in other European countries (Benný Sif Ísleifsdóttir 2013, 2015a); surnames have been compared to protected trademarks (Benný Sif Ísleifsdóttir 2015b). Those who had surnames were reluctant to relinquish them, at the same time as the prevalent ideology of linguistic purism favored maintaining the patronymic system. This tension has been an intractable knot in Icelandic name law discourse (Um frumvarp 1990, pp. 17–19).

Although bills for new name laws were proposed regularly over the decades (Frumvarp 1956, 1973, 1981), a new one did not pass until 1989 (taking effect in 1991). However, the 1925 name law was not consistently enforced; Halldór Halldórsson (1961, p. 329) characterized it as the Icelandic law most frequently violated, along with the ban on importing nylon stockings.

The 1991 law included a means for enforcement, in the form of the personal name committee (see next section) and the requirement that a name be in the official name registry (*mannanafnaskrá*) before a person could be registered with that name in the national registry (*Þjóðskrá*). This new enforcement brought attention to the law with attendant dissatisfaction.

A revised law was passed just a few years later (Lög 45/1996 um mannanöfn 1996). The provision that "Eiginnafn skal vera íslenskt eða hafa unnið sér hefð í íslensku máli" (article 2, Kvaran and Arnarvatni 1991, p. 81) [a given name must be Icelandic or have established a tradition in the language], which Halldór Ármann Sigurðsson (1993, pp. 9–25) discussed

as ambiguous, was replaced by the similarly ambiguous specification "Eiginnafn skal geta tekið íslenska eignarfallsendingu eða hafa unnið sér hefð í íslensku máli" (Lög 45/1996 um mannanöfn 1996, chp. 2, article 4) [a given name shall be able to take an Icelandic genitive ending or have established a tradition in the Icelandic language]. Rules pertaining to naturalized citizens and their children were also liberalized. However, the personal name committee was maintained, although the mode of the selection of members changed slightly. Although individual clauses of this law have been amended or eliminated since (notably as an effect of the Gender Autonomy Act of 2019, Lög um kynrænt sjálfræði 80 2019), it remains in force at the time of writing (2023), while five proposals for substantially more liberal name laws, two of them presented to parliament twice in successive years, have failed to pass (Frumvarp 2006, 2014, 2015, 2018, 2019, 2021, 2022). (One law related to personal names, on their registration in the national registry, did pass in 2011 (Frumvarp 2011; Lög um breyting 2011)). In discussion of the various failed bills, both before and after the new laws of the 1990s, the problem of surnames appears to have been a particularly difficult point.

3. The Personal Name Committee

The 1991 law largely repeated the content of the 1925 one, but innovated a means for enforcement. A personal name committee (*mannanafnanefnd*) was appointed to review novel given and middle names before they could be registered with the national registry or added to the list of official names. Under the 1991 law, the committee consisted of two members chosen by the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Iceland and one selected by the Faculty of Law (Svavar Sigmundsson 1992, p. 87). Under the 1996 law, one member is selected by the Faculty of Humanities, one by the Faculty of Law, and the third by the Icelandic language committee (*íslensk málnefnd*) (Lög 45/1996 um mannanöfn 1996, chp. 8, article 21).

Much resentment over the law focuses on the committee, whose members have at various times attempted to explain that it is not their task to have opinions about names (e.g., Baldur Sigurðsson 2008; Snorri Másson 2019). There have, however, been differences among different committees in their interpretation of the law and a trend toward a broader interpretation of such concepts as "geta tekið íslenska eignarfallsendingu" [be able to take an Icelandic genitive ending], "ekki brjóta í bág við íslenskt málkerfi" [not be inconsistent with the Icelandic language system], or "ritað í samræmi við almennar ritreglur íslensks máls" [written in accordance with general Icelandic orthographic principles] (Lög 45/1996 um mannanöfn 1996, chp. 2, article 5).

4. Declinability

A central issue in the debate over surnames since the 19th century has been whether they are consistent with the Icelandic language system and whether they pose a threat to it. Most surnames in use in Iceland have been treated as indeclinable (apart from an optional gen.sg. *-s*) (Ingólfur Pálmason 1987). Icelandic surnames were often intended for international use (hence, e.g., the avoidance of the specifically Icelandic letter *þ* in the recommendations in *Nöfn Íslendinga* 1915, seen for instance in the surname *Thors* rather than *Þórs*) and adapted into forms reminiscent of Danish, which does not show the elaborate inflections that Icelandic has. Another reason surnames are not declined is that there is resistance to using either a masculine or feminine declension for names that can be applied to different genders. The indeclinability of surnames has been a recurrent theme in the surname debate, with opponents appealing to a potential threat to the Icelandic inflectional system posed by indeclinable surnames. I have argued that in the early 20th century debate, discussion of the declinability of surnames was used as a coded way of expressing views on broader issues such as Iceland's relationship to Denmark (Willson 2002). The fear that indeclinable names will lead to a breakdown of the Icelandic inflectional system is part of the theme of the fragility of the language that has pervaded Icelandic language planning discourse (Willson Forthcoming). Icelandic differs from other living

Germanic languages in the conservatism of both its vocabulary and its inflectional system. The archaic language, providing a direct connection to the medieval literature, has been an important factor in Icelandic national identity, particularly through the independence movement. The Norwegians and other Mainland Scandinavians are sometimes said to have "lost their language" when the language changed enough that they could no longer read medieval texts:

Norðmenn glötuðu málinu vegna þess að þeir áttu engan [sic] bókmentir á eigin máli að lesa. Við hjeldum málinu vegna þess að forfeður okkar í tuttugu liði, höfðu aðgang að því, að lesa það, sem þeirra eigin feður höfðu skrifað. (Ajax 1936, p. 3) [The Norwegians lost the language because they had no literature to read in their own language. We maintained the language because our ancestors for twenty generations had access to reading what their own fathers had written.]

The prospect of Icelandic losing its inflections has been presented as a threat to its essential nature: "En nái sníkjumenningin beygingunum úr tungu vorri, þá er slitið sambandið á milli vor og fortíðarinnar, þá er íslenzkan orðin ill danska" (Bjarni Jónsson frá Vogi 1924, p. 1) [But if the parasitic culture gets the inflections out of our language, then the connection between us and the past is broken; then Icelandic has become bad Danish]. Although the idea that language change is equivalent to language loss has become less prominent in Icelandic language planning discourse, debate over whether indeclinable names are liable to influence the Icelandic language system more broadly continues (e.g., Guðrún Kvaran in Svensson 2016 vs. Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson 2019; see further Willson 2023, Forthcoming).

5. Gender Equity and Surname Use

The 1991 law permitted surnames to be inherited along the female line as well as the male. A person was entitled to bear a surname if any grandparent would have had that right according to the new law. This greatly expanded the set of people who are eligible to bear surnames, without permitting the creation of new Icelandic surnames (a policy noted as strange by Baldur Jónsson 1991, p. 2). Svavar Sigmundsson (1995, p. 106) reports 254 cases of surnames adopted in this way by the end of 1994, including 38 in the first two months after the law took effect. Ellen Dröfn Gunnarsdóttir (2005, p. 107) reports a doubling in the fraction of Icelanders from 3% in the 1980s to 6% two decades later. Guðrún Kvaran says in an interview (Valsdóttir and Gylfadóttir 2007, p. 82) that it is more common than people imagine for an older person to take up a surname under the more liberalized law so that his or her grandchildren can in turn do so.

A significant liberalization of the personal name law came with the Gender Autonomy Act (Lög um kynrænt sjálfræði) of 2019. As a result of the law, chapter 2, article 5 of the personal name law "Stúlku skal gefa kvenmannsnafn og dreng skal gefa karlmannsnafn" [a girl shall be given a woman's name and a boy shall be given a man's name] (cf. text preserved in Frumvarp 1995) was removed. The principle that given names should be gender-specific had previously been challenged in two court cases, in which the plaintiffs Blær (2013) and Alex (2019) (or their parents) had won the right to use these names for girls although they were listed in *mannanafnaskrá* as masculine (see RÚV = Blær vann mál sitt gegn ríkinu 2013, on the Blær case and Freyr Gígja Gunnarsson 2019 on the Alex case). The ramifications of the decoupling of personal names and gender for the Icelandic inflectional system and onomasticon have yet to unfold (Willson 2023). While this clause applies to given names, an increase in variation in the inflection of names may also influence other name categories.

With the Gender Autonomy Act, persons registered as non-binary have the right to use parentonyms with the neuter suffix *-bur*, or the parent's name in the genitive form with no further suffix, in lieu of the traditional *-son* or *-dóttir*. I do not have data on the number of people who have taken such names. The use of *millinöfn* without patronymics in daily life is also a strategy used by some people who identify as non-binary.

6. Icelanders vs. Foreigners

A recurrent motif in Icelandic name law discourse is comparison between the name rights of foreigners in Iceland and those of Icelanders at home and abroad (Willson 2017). Surname rights are frequently evoked in this connection.

While the name law of 1925 permitted immigrants and their heirs to retain their surnames, the 1952 law on citizenship included a clause: "Þeir, sem heita erlendum nöfnum, skulu þó ekki öðlast íslenzkan ríkisborgarasrétt með lögum þessum fyrr en þeir hafa fengið íslenzk nöfn samkvæmt lögum nr. 54 27. júní 1925, um mannanöfn." (Lög um veitingu ríkisborgararéttar 1952, article 2, p. 50) [Those who bear foreign names, shall, however, not be granted Icelandic citizenship under this law until they have received Icelandic names according to law 54, 27 June 1925, on personal names.] Iceland became somewhat notorious for forcing immigrants to change their names.

The liberalization of name law in relation to naturalized citizens and their children was motivated by human rights concerns (see Svavar Sigmundsson 1992, p. 86) (e.g., the right to private and family life guaranteed in article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR 2021), which the European Court on Human Rights has often interpreted as including the right to a name). At the same time, it creates a new division in which not all Icelanders have the same name rights.

Comedian and former Reykjavík mayor Jón Gnarr, born Jón Gunnar Kristinsson, who had taken the name *Gnarr* first as a stage name and then as a *millinafn*, was not allowed to adopt it as a surname and pointed out foreign surnames that were circulating in Iceland in expressing his frustration—suggesting that immigrants have more expansive name rights than native Icelanders. Eventually, he registered a name change in the US, which Iceland was obliged to recognize (Willson 2017, p. 175–76).

7. Millinöfn "Middle Names" as Pseudosurnames

The category of *millinöfn* "middle names" was introduced in the 1996 law (Lög 45/1996 um mannanöfn 1996, chp. 3). It is permitted to give a child a *millinafn* in addition to one or two given names. A *millinafn* shall be derived from Icelandic word stems but cannot have a nominative ending. Names that have established a tradition as only men's or only women's names cannot be *millinöfn*. Like given names, *millinöfn* should be written according to Icelandic orthographic principles unless there is a tradition for a different spelling, may not be inconsistent with the Icelandic language system, and may not be such that it can cause trouble for the bearer. A name that does not fill the other criteria is permitted if any of the bearer's full siblings, parents, or grandparents bore it as a given, middle, or surname (Lög 45/1996 um mannanöfn 1996, chp. 3, article 6). New *millinöfn* also require approval by the personal name committee. People who have surnames are permitted to change them to *millinöfn* (article 7).

The 1991 law forbade the use of surnames as first names ("Óheimilt er að gefa barni ættarnafn sem eiginnafn nema hefð sé fyrir því nafni," Lög nr. 37/1991 1991, article 2, cf. Svavar Sigmundsson 1995, p. 108) [It is forbidden to give a child a surname as a given name unless there is a tradition for that name.] The category of *millinöfn* was created in order to fill a slot between given names and *kenninöfn* (surnames or patro- or metronymics). A parent's name in the genitive form with no additional suffix was also permitted as a *millinafn*, hence providing a way to recognize two parents, one in the *millinafn* and the other in the *kenninafn*.

The intention was to appease the desire for surnames among many Icelanders without having them replace patronymics, as people with *millinöfn* also have patro- or metronymics as their official *kenninöfn*. The hope was that people who had the right to surnames would convert them to *millinöfn* (Frumvarp 1995, under "Meginhugmyndir og markmið nefndarinnar"). Rather predictably, these hopes do not seem to have been entirely realized. The privileged status of the pre-1925 "real" surnames persists, with attendant resentment. At the same time, many who officially have *millinöfn* use them as surnames and do not

use their parentonyms in daily life. Guðrún Kvaran (2004) refers to *millinöfn* as "dulbúin ættarnöfn" [surnames in disguise].

Ninety-five *millinöfn* had been registered as of 2004. Most resembled the surnames in circulation in Iceland—often derived from Icelandic place names, disyllabic forms with no overt nominative endings (Guðrún Kvaran 2004). Many are existing surnames (e.g., *Vídalín*). There are eight with the suffix -an (e.g., *Aldan*, *Giljan*, *Hrafnan*), which was introduced into surnames from Celtic bynames found in Old Norse texts (e.g., *Kvaran*) but also attached to Norse roots (following the proposals in *Íslenzk mannanöfn* 1915), e.g., the byname *Liljan*. A few are monosyllabic, recalling given names or general nouns (*Bald*, *Ben*, *Dan*, *Falk*, *Har*, *Ljós*, *Matt*, *Val*) (Guðrún Kvaran 2004).

8. Conclusions

While the preservation of the patronymic system as a whole forms part of Iceland's national "brand," many individuals would prefer to have the choice to use surnames instead or as well. Gradual liberalizations of the law motivated by other factors such as gender equity and the rights of immigrants have increased the fraction of the population that has the right to bear surnames, an option which many have used (but not all those who legally can). Others use *millinöfn* as de facto surnames in daily life although they officially have patronymics. Nonetheless, the ban on new Icelandic surnames stands and remains a point of contention in the center of name law discourse, not least because of the upper-class connotations.

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Article

Canadian Brides'-to-Be Surname Choice: Potential Evidence of Transmitted Bilateral Descent Reckoning

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Abstract: Women's marital surname change is important, in part, because it affects how often only husbands' (fathers') surnames are passed on to offspring: this, in turn, affects the frequency of these "family" names. Brides-to-be, novelly, from across especially western and central Canada ($N = 184$), were surveyed as to marital surname hyphenation/retention versus change intention, and attitude towards women's such choices in general. Among women engaged to men, the hypothesized predictors of income and number of future children desired were positively predictive of marital surname retention/hyphenation under univariate analysis. Under multiple regression analysis using these and other predictors from the literature, previously found to be predictive of this DV under univariate analysis, only some of these other predictors were predictive. Of greatest predictiveness was the bride-to-be's own mother's marital surname choice (with brides-to-be, more often than would otherwise be predicted, following their mother's such choice), thus suggesting a possible shift to a transmitted manner of bilateral descent reckoning, towards greater bilateral such reckoning, among a portion of the population. Reported, general attitude towards women's marital surname retention was predictive of participant brides-to-be's own reported (imminent) marital surname retention/hyphenation.

Keywords: marital surname change; brides-to-be; income; children of marriage; bilateral descent reckoning; Canada

1. Introduction

Women persist in taking their husbands' names at marriage, despite recent progress toward economic and social equality of the sexes, and despite the fact that the default, and easier, option is to retain one's natal surname.[1] Approximately 79% of U.S. wives in opposite-sex marriages surveyed in 2023, for instance, reported having taken husband's surname (Lin 2023). The persistence of marital name change demands explanation. It is my conjecture that a major piece of the puzzle resides in the fact that marriage is a special institution quite different from other economic and social partnerships. Marriage is to be understood as fundamentally a reproductive union (Daly and Wilson 1988): it is the context in which children tend to be raised, notwithstanding the tremendous historical and cross-cultural variability in the expectations and practices associated with marriage (Murdock 1949).

Social scientists have identified a number of predictors of marital surname change and/or related attitudes, including professional, economic, and educational status, attendance at religious services, age, cultural/ethnic origin, one's mother's marital surname choice, and cohabitation before marriage (Blakemore et al. 2005; Boxer and Gritsenko 2005; Goldin and Shim 2004; Hoffnung 2006; Intons-Peterson and Crawford 1985; Johnson and Scheuble 1995; Kline et al. 1996; Noack and Wiik 2008; Scheuble and Johnson 1993, 2005; Twenge 1997; but see Stefanova et al. 2023 regarding academic professional status among females having undergone marital surname change, and positive perception). However, none of these authors has explicitly addressed the unique status of marriage

as a reproductive partnership that creates bonds not only between a particular man and woman, but also between such man and woman and the natal families of each.

There is some evidence that fathers want children to be surnamed for them and that it has an effect on them. In the U.S., children are overwhelmingly surnamed solely for their fathers (Johnson and Scheuble 2002; see also Duchesne 2006 for data from a Canadian sub-jurisdiction). That fathers' investment in children surnamed for them is increased thereby is more difficult to evidence. That being said, Furstenberg and Talvitie (1980) found that when young, unmarried, African American mothers named their children for the fathers (first or middle name) of these, these fathers tended to invest more in the children and have more contact with them. It is possible, however, that these mothers named children more often after fathers where these seemed more likely to invest and have contact with the children. Male undergraduates in a Canadian city, on average (in a small study), reported preference for both women's marital surname change, and children of marriage being surnamed for the father (Lockwood et al. 2011). Husbands of women who did not take his surname at marriage have also been rated as less powerful in the relationship (Robnett et al. 2018)—perhaps greater likelihood of children of the union not being surnamed for him is one reason.

It is possible that sharing a name may influence the amount by which someone, even one with whom no other ties are shared, is helped, or another person feels close to him/her. Oates and Wilson (2002) found a small favor was most often bestowed from someone sharing both first and surnames with the requestor, compared with someone sharing only one name (with those sharing neither name least likely to help). When an uncommon surname was shared, helping was greater than when an uncommon first name was shared. It is not inconceivable that a child being surnamed for its (putative) father may lead to some, including even paternal relatives, thinking that father is the child's genetic father more often than would otherwise occur. A shared surname may also make one's patrilineal relatives seem more to be members of one's family, than are other relatives. Indeed, one definition of "surname" is "the name borne in common by members of a family" (Merriam-Webster.com, accessed on 1 January 2024). Schneider and Cottrell (1975) also found, in the U.S., that even though men visit with/are visited by maternal relatives more than paternal ones, they can name more distant paternal than maternal relatives. These authors also found, among both male and female participants, that links to distant, paternal relatives are given more via father's father than via father's mother. It is thus possible this practice is due to or influenced by holding a surname in common.

Substantial evidence exists that children experience more interaction with and receive more nurturance from relatives from their mother's side of the family (matrilineal relatives), than from their father's, when members of both sides of the family are close enough to access. An early report was that of Young and Willmott (1957), who found that East London children spent more time with their maternal than with their paternal grandmothers. Jackson (1971) demonstrated a similar effect controlling for proximity: African American grandparents saw their daughters' children more often than their sons' children, if both son and daughter lived in the same location as the grandparents *or* if both lived elsewhere. Similarly, Smith (1988) reported that Canadian children visited their maternal grandparents more often than their paternal grandparents despite the fact that both sets of grandparents' homes were equidistant from those of the grandchildren. After divorce, the relationship between maternal grandparents and grandchildren in the U.S. often deepens, whereas the frequency of contact with paternal grandparents typically declines (Cherlin and Furstenberg 1986).

The above phenomena have been taken by evolutionists (starting with Smith 1991) to be based at least in part on the different, average pay-offs of investment in (putative) grandchildren to each class of grandparent (mother's mother, mother's father, father's mother, or father's father). Due to the possibility of cuckoldry, not only must putative fathers be uncertain of whether a child is genetically theirs: some putative grandparents must also be uncertain of whether a child is genetically their grandchild. Only the maternal

grandmother can have complete certainty. The paternal grandfather may either have been cuckolded himself, or his son (the grandchild's putative father) may have been. Each of the maternal grandfather and paternal grandmother have one such uncertain genetic relatedness 'link'. Therefore, to the extent it is advantageous to preferentially invest in one's genetic relatives, the only class of grandparent for whom it would always be advantageous to invest would be maternal grandmother. The class of grandparent for whom it would be least advantageous, without more, would be paternal grandfather. It would be of intermediate advantageousness to each of the other two classes of grandparent, without more, to invest. A number of studies' data have been interpreted as consistent with this basis of investment (termed differential grandparental investment: Smith 1991; Euler and Weitzel 1996; and see Shackelford et al. 2004; DeKay 1995).

Social scientists not possessing a Darwinian worldview have also noted the tendency for maternal grandmothers to surpass other grandparents in affection, contact, and investment, followed by maternal grandfathers and paternal grandmothers, and finally by paternal grandfathers (e.g., Hoffman 1980; Hartshorne and Manaster 1983; Hodgson 1992; Kahana and Kahana 1970; Kennedy 1990; Robins and Tomanec 1962; and see Van Ranst et al. 1995; but see Roberto and Stroes 1992; and see also Hill and Hurtado 1996, regarding grandmother presence and grandchild survival). These authors generally interpret the observed sequence as a consequence of close mother-daughter ties rather than of uncertain genetic links. Based only on sociological concepts of "affinity, opportunity structure, and functional exchange", for example, Silverstein and Bengtson (1997) predicted that adults would be closer to their mothers than to their fathers, and that women would be closer to their parents, especially their mothers, than would men; their findings were consistent with the first prediction, and women were indeed closer to their mothers than were men, but adults of both sexes were equally close to their fathers. Irrespective of how this result is interpreted, there clearly seems to exist in the modern West greater average interaction with, resource allocation from, and affection received from one's matrilineal compared with one's patrilineal relatives.

Children may tend to be closer with their maternal relatives, with the likely exception of patrilocal societies in which it would be unfeasible for children to have greater interaction with maternal compared with paternal relatives (see e.g., Pashos 2000). Even in patrilineal societies, however, matrilineal relatives may invest more in grandchildren (Hawkes et al. 1997; Sear et al. 2000, 2002).

1.1. Investment Recruitment from Patrilineal Kin

To the extent the above evidence shows maternal relatives' inputs into children's growth and development are more assured than paternal relatives', might it provide a particular benefit to children for efforts to be made to elicit support for them from the latter group (and especially from the member of that group most related to the child—the child's father)? That is, between two investors, if investment from one is assured but that from the other is not, it may result in the greatest, total investment if efforts (which must be of a limited nature) at eliciting investment are made more to the latter (here, paternal relatives). Perhaps women's marital surname change, which is usually followed by patrilineal surnaming of children, comprises such an effort, and patrilineal family—perhaps especially father's—investment in children increases following it. This would provide an explanation for brides' parents approving of their daughters undergoing marital surname change: something for which no potential motivation has previously been provided in the literature to the author's best knowledge. Any utility of such investment recruitment should vary depending on practices governing resource transfer to younger generation(s) (e.g., in one of the few societies following matrilineal inheritance, children's surnaming is matrilineal (Karthikeyan and Fisher 2023); more educated Chinese women not from a matrilineal ethnic minority, who presumably are less dependent on male partners or the parents of these for financial support, are more likely to surname their children for themselves (Li et al. 2021)). Any utility of

such investment recruitment should also be greater in the case of (wealthier) parents transferring more resources to male than to female offspring (Smith et al. 1987; see also Chagnon 1979; and Dickemann 1979).

1.2. Surnaming of Children

Marital names affect how children are named, and hence whether names persist over generations (and, if the above rule in Schneider and Cottrell 1975, is followed, who is remembered to be a "relative"). In many countries, including Canada and the United States, a large majority of children carry their fathers' surnames (Emens 2007), and this majority approaches 100% in those cases in which the mother took the father's name at marriage (Johnson and Scheuble 2002; Duchesne 2006). Although it is highly unlikely that women, as a group, believe that surnaming the children of their marriages for their husbands (at the time) will necessarily lead to these husbands taking legal responsibility for the children (Intons-Peterson and Crawford 1985), it is not implausible that name-saking increases investment (see, e.g., Furstenberg and Talvitie 1980; Cherlin and Furstenberg 1986). Additionally, the results of three surveys suggest that brides who retain pre-marital surname are more likely to be perceived by third parties as likely to be sexually unfaithful within the marriage, or to leave it (Stafford and Kline 1996; Suter 2004; Robnett et al. 2016). Such actions, if taken, would perhaps lead to lesser investment by husbands in the children of the marriage due to cuckoldry concerns in the former case (see also Tach et al. 2010, regarding lesser involvement with children born out of wedlock, by fathers no longer in romantic relationships with the children's mothers). Husbands in the latter case might be expected to expect lesser marital duration, and, hence, all else being equal, fewer children of the marriage to help support. Data collected from young men, only, show these report viewing women who undergo marital surname change as more committed to marriage (Scheuble et al. 2012). Thus, this traditional practice would seem to be one in which both sexes have an interest.

As evidenced by studies discussed above, grandparents often invest substantially in grandchildren, aligning in part with degree of likely genetic relatedness. As part of this differential grandparental solicitude, maternal grandparents invest more, on average, than paternal ones. As such, a woman's parents'-in-law (i.e., her future children's putative paternal grandparents') support may be understood as not assured, and therefore also as something which, if valuable, would be advantageous to seek. Assuming her surname change to that of her husband (and his parents) yields greater emotional closeness to and/or perceived solidarity with them, it may achieve the good favor of the in-laws. Assuming it does, such name change may function as a signal that enhances investment by the in-laws in the signaler and her future children. It is not here suggested that women need be consciously aware that marital surname change will function in this way: Women may simply wish to please their in-laws and understand that the act is likely to do so (proximal reason for the act), while being unlikely to offend her own parents, with whom she already has long-time, strong bonds (and one of whom has absolute assurance her investment will be to her genetic grandchild).

The aim of the present study was to test novel hypotheses about predictors of brides'-to-be attitude toward and actual surname retention or change at marriage. The central ideas behind hypotheses were that,

(1) marital name change is one of a number of possible "signals" to a potential groom and/or to his kin that a potential bride is committed to staying within the marital union (see, e.g., MacEacheron 2021), which a potential groom might use to discern such intention, and

(2) by signaling she will change surname, a potential bride can increase the likelihood her husband and his relatives will invest in her well-being and that of the future children of her marriage, to the extent her signal is costly to her (e.g., increasing her identifiability as married and to her particular husband, rendering any infidelity more detectable; costly to revoke in case of marital dissolution [i.e., requiring yet

another surname change]; representing some break with her natal family/joining of her husband's; and perhaps being costly to career (e.g., Goldin and Shim 2004)), and indicates increased likelihood children of the marriage will be genetically those of the husband/his side of the family.

2. Methods[2]

The first of the two dependent variables (DV 1) was assessed with a 6-point Likert-scale item: "In general, women should retain their birth names" (presented in the context of questions regarding marital surname change) with anchors of "strongly disagree" (1) and "strongly agree" (6). It is similar (though phrased in reverse compared) to that used in Hamilton et al. (2011) ("It is generally better if a woman changes her last name to her husband's name when she marries.", p. 151). It was chosen on similar grounds to those of these authors: it was thought to tap *general* attitude towards the practice. DV 2, a self-report as to whether the participant (bride-to-be) would be taking her groom's surname, combining the two (e.g., via hyphenation), or retaining her surname, is described in more detail below. Given the second dependent variable (DV 2) was own reported retention/hyphenation versus change of surname at imminent marriage, I deemed asking participants what their attitude toward the practice *for themselves* was, to be less likely to provide additional, meaningful insight as to attitude to the practice than asking their attitude toward the practice generally.

Much of the literature on women's marital surname choice is and was conducted on convenience samples. Hence, it is/was conducted on women (in the West) under average age at first marriage (in Canada, in 2008, 29.1 years: Statistics Canada 2016). Such young women, thus, may be being assessed on ideal wishes/attitudes towards the practice. These may very well differ in those women negotiating an actual marriage and future in-law relations. Only the latter set of participants can provide ecologically valid data (though such women could change their minds as to taking a husband's surname, during later engagement). Additionally, surveying brides-to-be may allow for greater diversity in age, education, and socioeconomic status within the sample.

Searches in *PsycTESTS* on 23 June 2014 of "female-female competition", "female competition", and "husband competition" revealed no measures of perception of level of competitiveness for acquisition of a husband. Given previous research has shown women's local, intrasexual economic competitiveness level might be related to marital surname choice (MacEacheron 2011, 2020), I asked surveyed brides-to-be the question, "How much, if at all, would you say women in your area compete with each other to find the best husband that they can?" (answered on a 7-point Likert-type scale).

I derived the first hypothesis from the supposition that women's marital surname change functions as a commitment signal (MacEacheron 2016b, 2021), and thereby husband and affinal investment enhancer, among those who will most need such support. Such individuals (among brides) were thought to be those wanting and expecting more children. Thus, Hypothesis 1 states: *Endorsement of the view that women should take the husband's surname at marriage will be predicted by the number of children desired*. In this study, brides'-to-be individual incomes, as well as those of their betrotheds, were queried. This provided the opportunity to directly test *hypotheses 2 and 3: (2) that individual women's own income and (3) that of their grooms, are predictive of these women's surname retention/hyphenation*.[3]

Perceived importance to a bride of husband's investment may, however, also be a function of the level of investment she anticipates from her genetic relatives and how dependable she perceives that to be. A bride emotionally close with her family of origin may be concerned that marital surname change would show disregard for them and/or for their cultural group (if she is marrying out of it, as would commonly be expected to be the case for brides in a multicultural country such as Canada). Additionally, if such a bride perceives her family of origin as dependable and adequate investors in herself and her future children, she may be less motivated than other brides to sacrifice her surname, in any attempt to enhance resource recruitment from her husband and/or

future in-laws.[4] Numerous predictors why some women take their husbands' surnames at marriage and others do not have been proposed in diverse research (see, e.g., review in MacEacheron 2016a). Those that were possible to include—ethnic group, religiosity, level of education, income, intended age at marriage, the participant's own mother's taking of her husband's surname at marriage, closeness to each parent, and some items concerning feminist attitude—were tested in the current study.

The Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale (Fassinger 1994) was used to measure feminist attitude. It is a brief (10-item), well-validated, reliable (Cronbach's α = 0.89) scale (see discussion in Fassinger 1994). Concern was expressed by one colleague that it might measure how participants view the state of feminism currently (*viz.* e.g., its questions, all in the present tense, "The leaders of the women's movement may be extreme, but they have the right idea"; "The women's movement is too radical and extreme in its views"), rather than how much they agree with feminism. This colleague thus suggested adding a single question following the other political questions in the survey: "How much do you identify as a feminist?" using the same response scale. This was done. Need for autonomy was also suggested by a colleague as plausibly related to desire to retain surname at marriage. A search of "autonomy" on *PsycTESTS* was conducted on 23 July 2014. Results included several instruments assessing autonomy versus sociotropy within romantic relationships. The shortest of these which was designed for heterosexual couples who were not necessarily already sex partners or cohabiting, and validated, was chosen. This 16-item instrument (Cochran and Peplau 1985) is comprised of Egalitarian Autonomy and Dyadic Attachment sub-scales. Scores on each of these sub-scales were assessed for association with each of the DVs.

Although state-level levels of support for the U.S. Republican and Democratic parties were not predictive of actual state-level surname retention in MacEacheron (2021) when regressed along with state-level women's full-time and salaried income, political orientation was assessed in the present study. This assessment was included in order to allow determination of whether political orientation is predictive at the individual (bride) level, and to allow for potential controlling of this predictor in multiple regressions (assuming it is related to either/both DV(s)), as previously suggested (e.g., MacEacheron 2021). Lambert and Raichle's (2000) Liberal-Conservative Self-Report Scale was used due to its brevity and (some level of) validation.

The following items were also included: (i) sex of fiancé(e), (ii) whether participant and, separately, her fiancé(e), was/were currently students, (iii) current level of education, (iv) whether the wedding was to be a destination wedding[5], and (v) likelihood each of own parents would help with future children (if any). These were added for various reasons. (i) was added since hypotheses related to opposite-sex brides-to-be, thus knowing sex of fiancé(e) was necessary for testing these. (ii) was added so that *future* income after graduation, if applicable, could be used as the income predictor, rather than current income (e.g., within a temporary, part-time position). This was done, since income after graduation would presumably better represent income during most of marriage. (iii) was added as a control variable, because education was assumed to be completed for most brides-to-be (and thus completed education could be measured in this sample), and this has previously been found to predict both DVs. (iv) was added at the suggestion of an anonymous colleague, since part of my reasoning was that investment would be greater from mother's mother compared with mother's father, and I had further posited that closeness felt to each parent would be positively related to investment amount: the addition of this question allowed testing of that.

The 10-item measure Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale (Fassinger 1994) was added given some work has indicated such attitude may be predictive of women's marital surname choice (e.g., Kerns 2011; Peters 2018). As the ultimate result of a suggestion from colleagues, Cochran and Peplau's (1985) scale measuring autonomy and sociotropy, was added. This instrument is comprised of Egalitarian Autonomy and Dyadic Attachment sub-scales. Autonomy was thought by the colleague to logically

relate to marital surname choice, so it was deemed prudent to be able to control for. Scores on each of these sub-scales were assessed for association with each of the DVs, as exploratory analyses.

The created item regarding degree, if any, of female-female competition for husbands was included in order to be able to test a hypothesis concerning cross-provincial Gini differences (which, however, could not be found given insufficient data collection from some provinces). Since searches in *PsycTESTS* on 23 June 2014 of "female-female competition", "female competition", and "husband competition" revealed no measures of perception of level of competitiveness for acquisition of a husband, the given item was created.

Greater scores on each (sub-)scale indicates greater endorsement by the participants of the (sub-)scale.

2.1. Research Participants

184 brides-to-be (females) were recruited via the pan-Canadian bridal website "weddingbells.ca", in exchange for a CAD 5 Amazon.com gift certificate said to be usable towards a piece of bridal merchandise, if they submitted an email address. Due to weddingbells.ca's average click-through rate only likely resulting in 57 participants over a three-month period of webpage advertisement per a representative, a direct emailing of the same advertisement to weddingbells.ca registrants was conducted. Doing so provided, additionally, some assurance that participants would actually be Canadian spouses-to-be, as registrants indicate they are such and registration would be of little interest to non-Canadian non-spouses-to-be. Approximately 20 such participants from each Canadian province were sought, in order to attain acceptable statistical power in OLS regression of a province-level predictor. Once-only participation from any given computer was allowed. The survey was presented in the form of a *Qualtrics* web interface.

2.2. Dependent Variables

In the analyses that follow, the principle dependent variable (DV 2) is the participant's answer to the question "Will you change, hyphenate (or otherwise combine), or retain your current surname when you marry? Please do *not* check "Retain", if you will be using your current surname as a middle name after marriage. (Please check one):". Participants answered one of "Change", "Hyphenate (or otherwise combine)", or "Retain". The other dependent variable (DV 1) is conceptualizable as *general* attitude toward women's marital surname retention and, by implication, women's marital surname change. Note its inclusion allowed for assessment of whether endorsement of the general attitude item (DV 1) was related to actual retention/hyphenation/change decision (DV 2).

2.3. Statistical Methods

Analyses were performed using *SPSS* 22.0 or higher. Where not already required in order to test hypotheses, univariate associations between (1) each of the putative predictors and (2) (each of) the DV(s) were also calculated. Where it was significantly associated with a DV, a putative predictor was regressed alongside all other such predictors (except where to do so would introduce multicollinearity of predictors) in a regression predicting that DV. In this way, the relative predictiveness of each such predictor was ascertained. Each regression performed was tested to ensure the standard assumptions justifying the use of that regression model had been met. All Likert-type scales except where otherwise noted were treated as continuous.

3. Results

Recruitment of a greater number of participants, based on the number of statistical comparisons planned and anticipated, was called for but was precluded by funding limitations.

3.1. Descriptive Statistics

Brides-to-be primarily from across western and central Canada ($N = 184$) were surveyed. Usable data were obtained from British Columbia ($n = 19$: 42.1% retaining/hyphenating), Alberta ($n = 23$: 21.7% retaining/hyphenating), Saskatchewan ($n = 3$, 1 woman retaining/hyphenating), Manitoba ($n = 26$: 19.2% retaining/hyphenating), Ontario ($n = 82$: 34.1% retaining/hyphenating), Quebec ($n = 14$: 71.4% retaining/hyphenating), New Brunswick ($n = 1$: woman not retaining/hyphenating), and Nova Scotia ($n = 5$: 1 woman retaining/hyphenating). Thus, of the $n = 174$ answering "Will you change, hyphenate (or otherwise combine), or retain your current surname when you marry?" (DV 1), 115 (62.2%) indicated they would change, 18 (9.7%) indicated they would hyphenate or otherwise combine, and 41 (22.2%) indicated they would retain their surnames. This means a total of 59 participants (33.9%) indicated they would retain/hyphenate. DV 2 consisted of rated agreement with "In general, women should retain their birth names [at marriage]". The range of answers to this item was 1—"Strongly disagree" to 6—"Strongly agree": $M = 3.13 \pm 1.17$. The first DV was associated with the second ($t (165) = 4.87$, $p < 0.001$, $d = 0.76$ or moderate to large), with participants who would retain/hyphenate reporting greater agreement with the item ($M_{\text{retainers/hyphenators}} = 3.70 \pm 1.18$, $n = 57$: $M_{\text{changers}} = 2.83 \pm 1.06$, $n = 110$).

Discounting Quebec where legal, marital surname change is not permitted (Civil Code of Québec 1991), as well as provinces from which fewer than 20 brides-to-be hailed, there was not a significant inter-provincial variation overall in retention/hyphenation of surname: $\chi^2 (3) = 4.10$, $n = 150$, $p = $ ns. Even British Columbia, with the highest rate of retention/hyphenation, did not differ from the other provinces not including Quebec, from which at least 20 brides hailed (data collapsed together), in retention/hyphenation frequency: $\chi^2 (1) = 1.34$, $n = 150$, $p = $ ns.

3.2. Demographic Characteristics of Sample

In 33.0% of cases ($n = 61$ out of $N = 185$, with 1 participant declining to answer) the sex of the fiancé(e) was reported as female. Note that weddingbells.ca, the registrants of which were sampled via the survey, is based on and affiliated with *Weddingbells* magazine. The edition of that magazine published during the time of the survey (Fall and Winter 2015: Toronto and Greater Ontario edition) profiled only one same-sex wedding out of a total of twenty. That wedding was, additionally, of two men. That fact, along with the fact that lesbians and bisexual women comprise less than 33% of the female population (with 5.0% of Canadian women polled citing self-identification as homosexual, bisexual, or transgendered: Blaze Carlson 2012) suggest, however, that at least some participants reporting a female fiancée may actually have had a male fiancé. Thus, the data from these participants is not used further, except to characterize the sample. (Note that of those participants who emailed the author to claim their gift certificate compensation for participation, all either appeared to the author to (1) have female gendered first names and/or (2) be female based on the photograph, if any, that accompanied their email. Thus, it appeared grooms-to-be entering opposite-sex marriages had not completed the survey, and reported their betrotheds as female.)

Brides-to-be ranged in age from 20 to 60 years ($N = 184$, mean = 30.02 ± 7.10 years). Age participants reported they would be at time of upcoming marriage, ranged from 22 to 62 years ($n = 174$, mean = 30.81 ± 6.90 years). Reported income of brides-to-be spanned the ranges of "$0–$20,000" to "over $100,000" annually ($n = 163$, median "$41,000–$60,000"). Reported incomes of fiancé(e)s spanned the same ranges ($n = 161$, median also "$41,000–$60,000"). In 92 of the $n = 159$ couples the income data for both members of which were provided, the participant's fiancé(e) was stated to earn (or to be expecting to earn, if a student) a higher bracket of income (from those provided) than the participant. In 17 of these couples, the bride-to-be was stated to earn (or to be expecting to earn, if a student) a higher bracket of income than her fiancé(e).

Each participant was asked her ethnicity/race or ethnicities/races, as well as that/those of her fiancé(e). Responses were categorized using U.S. Census racial designations (e.g., United States Census Bureau 2013), as well as Hispanic/Latino/Latina, and "Canadian" (where this was the sole "ethnicity" cited by the participant). Note that "Caribbean", "West Indian", "Jamaican" and "African" were coded as "African-American/Black", and "Guatamalan" and "Ecuadorian" were coded as "Hispanic/Latino/Latina". Out of 175 participants providing data, the following number reported each of the following ethnicities/races: 2 (1.1%) African-American/Black; 18 (9.7%) Asian; 138 (74.6%) White; 1 (0.50%) Hispanic/Latino/Latina; 10 (5.4%) Bi-/Multi-Racial; and 5 (2.7%) "Canadian". One participant stated she preferred not to answer. Out of the 175 participants providing data concerning their fiancé(e)s' ethnicity/ethnicities, the following number reported each of the following ethnicities: 3 (1.6%) African-American/Black; 15 (8.1%) Asian; 140 (75.7%) White; 1 (0.5%) American Indian; 2 (1.1%) Hispanic/Latino/Latina; 7 (3.8%) Bi-/Multi-Racial; and 6 (3.2%) "Canadian". One participant stated she preferred not to answer. Finally, one participant stated that she and her fiancé(e)'s ethnicity was "Brown": their ethnicities were not coded, due to uncertainty regarding what that meant. (They were, however, coded as having the same ethnicity.)

Participants were coded as to whether each and her fiancé(e) belonged to the same ethnicity/ethnicities or not, where usable ethnicity data was provided for each member of the couple. Where each member belonged (only) to the same racial group or, in the case of Bi-/Multi-Racial individuals, both/all of the same racial groups, they were coded as being of same ethnicity/ethnicities. In all other cases they were coded as being of different ethnicity/ethnicities. Where a participant reported herself and her fiancé(e) both as "Canadian", they were coded as being of the same ethnicity. Of the $n = 175$ participants providing usable data concerning themselves and their fiancé(s)s, 27 (15.4%) were of different ethnicity/ethnicities, and 148 (84.6%) were of the same ethnicity/ethnicities.

Participants provided their highest level of completed education, from a list of options. Of the $n = 176$ providing data, each of the following levels of education was reported as completed by the following number of participants: "some high school", 2 (1.1%); "high school diploma", 13 (7.0%); "some community college/CÉGEP"[6], 14 (7.6%); "community college/CÉGEP diploma", 25 (13.5%); "some university", 12 (6.5%); "Bachelor's degree", 75 (40.5%); "Master's degree", 22 (11.9%); "PhD", 3 (1.6%); and "Professional degree", 10 (5.4%). 18 (9.8%) of the 184 participants reported currently being students. 14 (7.6%) of the 184 participants reported their fiancé(e) as being a student, with one not reporting the fiancé(e)'s student/non-student status.

Participants indicated whether or not each was currently living with her fiancé(e). Out of the $n = 177$ providing data, 41 (22.2%) indicated they were not currently co-residing: 136 (73.5%) indicated they were. One participant providing data on this variable stated she was "Living with family and fiance": She was coded as coresiding with her fiancé(e). Participants reported whether their current engagement was to an individual who would be their first, second, third, or fourth or higher order spouse. Of the $n = 177$ providing data, 169 (91.4%) indicated that this was to be their first marriage, 8 (4.3%) indicated that it was to be their second marriage, and none indicated a higher-order marriage.

Participants entered text in response to the question "What is your religious affiliation?" Of those answering ($n = 171$), 91 reported themselves Christian (49.2%), 3 Buddhist (1.6%), 2 Pagan (1.1%), 1 each Hindu, Muslim, and Jewish (0.5% each), 62 Atheist, Agnostic, no affiliation, or not applicable (33.5%), and 9 something else not implying a denomination (e.g., "spiritual": 4.9%). Participants were asked to choose one of the following four responses as their frequency of attendance at religious services: "weekly or more often", $n = 17$ (9.2%); "monthly", $n = 14$ (7.6%); "once or twice a year", $n = 36$ (19.5%); and "never or almost never", $n = 109$ (58.9%).

3.3. The Bride-to-Be's Own Parents

Level of emotional closeness to father ranged from 1—"Not at all close" to 6—"Very close" (6-point Likert-type scale: n = 182 including 17 who rated the question as not applicable: among those answering, M = 4.57 ± 1.63). Level of emotional closeness to mothers also ranged from 1 to 6, on the same scale (n = 182 including 4 who rated the question as not applicable: among those answering, M = 5.22 ± 1.23). Level of assistance with any future children expected from own father ranged from 1—"Not at all likely" to 6—"Very likely" (anchors on a 6-point Likert-type scale: n = 171 including 25 who rated the question as not applicable: among those answering, M = 4.38 ± 1.85). Level of assistance with any future children expected from own mother was rated using the same scale, and possessed the same range (n = 171 including 13 who rated the question as not applicable: among those answering, M = 5.04 ± 1.50). Participants were asked whether their mothers had taken their (the participants') fathers' surnames. Out of n = 179 answering the question, 34 (18.4%) reported their mother had not, and 145 (78.4%) reported she had.

3.4. Attitude Measures

Overall, n = 176 participants responded to the item "How much, if at all, would you say women in your area compete with each other to find the best husband that they can?", on a 7-point Likert type scale with anchors 1 "Not at all" to 7—"A great deal". Responses represented the full scale range, M = 3.11 ± 1.80. Participants' ratings as to how "conservative" they were, ranged from 0—"not at all conservative" to 10—"extremely conservative" (on an 11-point Likert-type scale: n = 164, M = 3.62 ± 2.36). On a similar Likert-type scale, participants self-rated how "liberal" they were: M = 7.05 + 2.32 (n = 164). Finally, on a similar scale, participants' ratings of feminist identification ranged from 0 to 10 (n = 164, M = 5.52 ± 2.56). Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale (Fassinger 1994) scores ranged from 22 to 49 (possible range is from 1 to 50), n = 159, M = 35.24 ± 5.48.

The Cochran and Peplau (1985) Sociotropy scale is comprised of Egalitarian Autonomy and Dyadic Attachment sub-scales. Scores on each of these can range from 8 to 72. Scores on the former sub-scale ranged from 32 to 72, n = 155, M = 35.24 ± 5.48. Scores on the latter ranged from 34 to 72, n = 154, M = 62.45 ± 7.42. These two subscales' correlation with one another was r = 0.46 (n = 154, p < 0.001).

3.5. Childbearing/Childbearing Plans

Of the n = 173 answering the question, 22 (11.9%) reported being mothers, and 151 (81.6%) reported current childlessness. Among n = 165 answering the question, desiring each of the following number of children is as follows: 0 children, 15 (8.1%); 1 child, 8 (1.4%); 2 children, 93 (50.3%); 3 children, 25 (13.5%); 4 children, 21 (11.4%); 5 children, 2 (1.1%); and 6 children, 1 (0.5%). The average number of children desired was 2.24 ± 1.11. Finally, participants were asked "If you have no children now but want/intend to, at what age would you like to have your first?" Of the n = 140 providing valid data, that age ranged from 20 to 42 years (M = 30.43 ± 2.99). (Two entries of 13 and one of 120 years were considered to be mistaken entries, and thus not used in calculations.)

3.6. Testing of Hypotheses

Note all subsequent values concern only women reporting male fiancés.

Of the n = 117 answering "Will you change, hyphenate (or otherwise combine), or retain your current surname when you marry?" (DV 1), 74 (63.2%) indicated they would change, 12 (10.2%) indicated they would hyphenate or otherwise combine, and 31 (26.5%) indicated they would retain their surnames. Thus, a total of 43 participants (36.8%) indicated they would retain/hyphenate. DV 2 consisted of rated agreement with "In general, women should retain their birth names [at marriage]". n = 114 answered this item. The range of answers to this item was 1—"Strongly disagree" to 6—"Strongly agree": M = 3.15 ± 1.12.

The first DV was associated with the second (t (68) = -4.32, $p < 0.001$, $d = 0.90$ or large), with participants who would retain/hyphenate reporting greater agreement with the item ($M_{\text{retainers/hyphenators}} = 3.74 \pm 1.21$, $n = 42$; $M_{\text{changers}} = 2.81 \pm 0.91$, $n = 72$).

Hypothesis 1: Endorsement of the view that women should take the husband's surname at marriage will be predicted by the number of children desired

As noted, mean number of children desired was 2.24 + 1.11 (range: 0 to 6). Note that a derived variable, number of *future* children desired, was also computed by subtracting number of existing children from total number desired. Its range was 0 to 6, with mean number of children desired 2.05 + 1.14. In order for the above hypothesis to be supported, given that it is based on the idea that brides will particularly try to garner assistance from the future spouse for children shared with the future spouse (and, particularly, with a male spouse), in part via surname change, number of future children desired would need to be associated with degree of agreement with the dependent variable "In general, women should retain their birth names [at marriage]" (i.e., by a negative correlation). This assumes, however, that already-existing children are not those of the participant's fiancé: something not discernible from the data.

If the basis for the above hypothesis is sound, attitude to women's changing of surname at marriage (versus retention/hyphenation) would seem to be better predictable by number of future children desired than by total number of children desired. Indeed, I had intended "number of children desired" to be interpreted as "number of future children desired" in the relevant survey item. Number of children desired was not related to agreement with the given statement when either total number of children desired ($r = -0.10$, $n = 107$, $p = $ ns) or number of future children desired ($r = -0.10$, $n = 107$, $p = $ ns) were considered. Number of (future) children one desires may be a better predictor of one's own marital surname choice, however, than of general attitude to the practice. Thus the predictiveness of surname change versus retention/hyphenation, of number of (future) children desired, was assessed. Number of future children desired was marginally predictive of this choice (for women changing surname, $M_{\text{future children desired}} = 2.19 \pm 0.93$, $n = 69$; for women retaining/hyphenating, $M_{\text{future children desired}} = 1.88 \pm 1.22$, $n = 40$; t (107) = 1.51, $n = 109$, $p = 0.06$, $d = 0.29$ or small). Given that this analysis, however, is only adequately powered to detect large effect sizes, this result must be viewed with caution.[7]

Hypotheses 2 and 3: (2) that individual women's own income and (3) that of their grooms, are predictive of these women's surname retention/hyphenation

Participant income bracket (positively) predicted retention/hyphenation (mean yearly income of those changing of 2.72, mean yearly income of those retaining/hyphenating of 3.14, where 1 = CAD 0–20,000; 2 = CAD 21,000–40,000; 3 = CAD 41,000–60,000; 4 = CAD 61,000–80,000; 5 = CAD 81,000–100,000; and 6 = over CAD 100,000; t (104) = -1.72, $n = 106$, $p = 0.04$, $d = 0.34$ or small). Note this analysis, however, was only adequately powered to detect large effect sizes. Thus hypothesis 2 received partial support. Income of the fiancé (or anticipated income, if he was a student), was not associated with this choice of the bride, under t-test: t (102) = -0.52, $n = 104$, $p = $ ns. Thus, hypothesis 3 received no support.

3.7. Additional Associations with Surname Retention/Hyphenation versus Change and Attitude Thereto

As noted, certain variables other than those needed to test Hypotheses 1 to 3 were included in the instrument and tested for predictiveness of the DVs. Only such variables found to be associated with either DV will be cited below, for the sake of brevity. (All variables' associations with both DVs are available upon request from the author.)

Significant Associations with Surname Retention/Hyphenation versus Change (DV 1)

Brides-to-be who reported they would keep/hyphenate their surnames were older (for women changing surname, $M = 28.53 \pm 5.24$, $n = 74$; for women retaining/hyphenating, $M = 32.56 \pm 9.08$, $n = 43$; t (58) = -2.66, $p = 0.010$, $d = 0.58$ or moderate), and would be older as of the date they report they planned to marry (for women changing surname,

$M = 29.35 \pm 5.05$, $n = 74$; for women retaining/hyphenating, $M = 33.28 \pm 9.17$, $n = 43$; t (57) $= -2.59$, $n = 107$, $p = 0.012$, $d = 0.57$ or moderate). These analyses must be interpreted with caution, however, given they were only adequately powered to detect large effect sizes.

Brides-to-be who reported they would keep/hyphenate surname at marriage were emotionally closer to their fathers (for women changing surname, $M = 4.38 \pm 1.62$, $n = 68$; for women retaining/hyphenating, $M = 5.22 \pm 1.06$, $n = 37$; t (100) $= -3.18$, $p = 0.002$, $d = 0.58$ or moderate). Brides-to-be reporting they would keep or hyphenate their surnames also rated their fathers as more likely to help with any children (for women changing surname, $M = 4.19 \pm 1.93$, $n = 68$; for women retaining/hyphenating, $M = 5.03 \pm 1.51$, $n = 34$; t (82) $= -2.40$, $p = 0.019$, $d = 0.46$ or small to moderate). Mothers of participants were rated as more likely to help with the participants' own children, where applicable, than were fathers of participants ($M_{mother} = 5.09 + 1.42$, $M_{father} = 4.46 \pm 1.84$; t (100) $= 4.28$, $n = 101$, mean difference $= 0.63 \pm 1.49$, $p < 0.001$, $d = 0.43$ or moderate). Additionally, participants reported being closer to their mothers ($M = 5.29 \pm 1.05$) than to their fathers ($M = 4.65 \pm 1.50$; t (108) $= 4.96$, $n = 109$, $p < 0.001$, $d = 0.48$ or small to moderate).

In general, brides-to-be who reported they would retain/hyphenate their surnames were less politically conservative ($M_{retainers/hyphenators} = 3.67 \pm 2.23$, $n = 42$: $M_{changers} = 5.23 \pm 2.23$, $n = 70$; t (110) $= 3.59$, $p < 0.001$, $d = 0.70$ or moderate). Note, however, the sample size only provided adequate statistical power in this analysis to detect large effect sizes, so this result must be viewed with caution. In general, brides-to-be reporting surname retention/hyphenation were more politically liberal ($M_{retainers/hyphenators} = 8.19 \pm 1.92$, $n = 42$: $M_{changers} = 6.53 \pm 2.26$, $n = 70$; t (98) $= -4.15$, $p < 0.001$, $d = 0.78$ or moderate to large). Retainers/hyphenators did not rate as greater, local female-female competition for husbands, compared with changers ($M_{retainers/hyphenators} = 3.33 \pm 1.74$, $n = 43$: $M_{changers} = 2.89 \pm 1.92$, $n = 74$; t (115) $= -1.22$, $p =$ ns). Participants indicating they would retain or hyphenate surname had higher educational attainment (χ^2 (8) $= 22.20$, $n = 117$, $p = 0.005$, w $= 0.44$ or moderate). Brides-to-be reporting they would retain or hyphenate their surnames identified to a greater degree as feminists ($M_{retainers/hyphenators} = 7.14 \pm 1.98$, $n = 42$; $M_{changers} = 4.93 \pm 2.60$, $n = 70$: t (110) $= -4.75$, $p < 0.001$, $d = 0.927$ or large), and had higher scores on the Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale (Fassinger 1994: $M_{retainers/hyphenators} = 37.38 \pm 4.99$, $n = 40$; $M_{changers} = 34.78 \pm 5.47$, $n = 69$: t (107) $= -2.46$, $p = 0.015$, $d = 0.49$ or moderate).

Given a colleague's suggestion of bride ethnicity/race or ethnicities/races and difference in these within the couple as predictors of marital surname change, whether "White" participants did not differ from others (including those of bi-/multi-racial heritage including "White") in retention/hyphenation versus change of surname was tested. (Note that no individual, non-"White" group numbered at least 20, so only the current comparison could be made.) That is, among participants indicating ethnicity, whether she was "White" or not did not predict retention/hyphenation versus change (χ^2 (1) $= 2.65$, $n = 116$, $p =$ ns). Whether the participant and her fiancé(e) were of the same ($n = 95$) versus different ($n = 21$) ethnicity/race or ethnicities/races, if more than one was cited per participant or fiancé(e), was also non-predictive (χ^2 (1) $= 0.79$, $n = 116$, $p =$ ns).

Age at which next child was desired, if applicable, was not predictive of endorsement of DV 2 ($r = 0.12$, $n = 94$, $p =$ ns). Greater agreement with this DV was marginally (and weakly) associated with increased emotional closeness of the participant to her father ($r = 0.19$, $n = 102$, $p = 0.054$) and not associated with such closeness to mother ($r = 0.05$, $n = 111$, $p =$ ns). Political liberalism and endorsement of DV 2 were unrelated ($r = 0.08$, $n = 112$, $p =$ ns). Political conservativism was also uncorrelated with DV 2 ($r = -0.11$, $n = 112$, $p =$ ns), while it was negatively related to retention/hyphenation (DV 1). (As would be expected, political conservativism and political liberalism were negatively correlated: $r = -0.37$ or moderate, $n = 112$, $p < 0.001$.) Level of reported, local competition for husbands was not related to DV 2 ($r = 0.04$, $n = 114$, $p =$ ns). Analogous to their relationship with DV 1, feminist identification ($r = 0.22$ or small, $n = 112$, $p = 0.017$) and higher Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale (Fassinger 1994) scores ($r = 0.24$ or

small, $n = 109$, $p = 0.011$) were positively associated with DV 2. Note, generally, regarding all correlations computed, statistical power was adequate to detect moderate or greater effect sizes: thus, all small effect sizes from such analyses must be viewed with caution. Educational attainment was not associated with endorsement of DV 2 (F (8, 105) = 0.78, p = ns).

The bride's own mother not having taken her father's surname was marginally related to her endorsing DV 2 more (t (33) = −2.02, $n = 114$, $p = 0.052$, $d = 0.52$ or moderate): this test, however, was adequately powered to detect large effect sizes, only. Analogously, as noted, participants whose own mothers took their fathers' surnames were more likely to retain/hyphenate surname themselves (DV 1). Sameness/difference of ethnicity/ethnicities between participant and her fiancé(e) was unpredictive of DV 2 (t (111) = −0.01, $n = 113$, p = ns).

3.8. Multivariate Analysis of Predictors of Each DV

To assess relative magnitude of predictiveness of hypothesized predictors with that of other predictors of retention/hyphenation versus name change (DV 1), two models were planned to be tested under multiple, logistic regressions for the sub-sample of women marrying men. Likewise, to assess relative magnitude of predictiveness of hypothesized predictors with that of other predictors of level of agreement with the statement "In general, women should keep their birth names (at marriage)" (DV 2), two models were planned to be tested under multiple OLS regressions. Model 1, if any, for each DV, included only predictor(s) as hypothesized herein, assuming each was found to be associated with the relevant DV, on its own. Then added (to complete Model 2), would be all additional variables found to individually predict that DV. To avoid multicollinearity of predictors, all such predictors were first assessed for moderate or greater relatedness each to the other (e.g., for correlations, $r \geq |0.30|$: see Table 1) and, if deemed conceptually related to any other predictor, all but the strongest of the inter-related predictors discarded.

Table 1. Correlations between predictors of DV 1 (surname retention/hyphenation versus change) and predictors of DV 2 (endorsement of statement "In general, women should keep their birth names". [†] $p < 0.1$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p \leq 0.001$: n's 88 to 117).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Participant income	-	−0.22 *	0.34 ***	0.36 ***	0.39 ***	0.14	0.05	0.15	−0.21 *	−0.09	0.02	0.14
Number of future children desired	−0.22 *	-	−0.54 ***	−0.53 ***	−0.14	0.06	0.18 [†]	−0.08	0.28 **	−0.04	−0.02	−0.33 ***
Age	0.34 ***	−0.54 ***	-	1.00 ***	0.83 ***	−0.06	−0.17 [†]	−0.13	−0.14	−0.08	−0.02	0.09
Age at marriage	0.36 ***	−0.53 ***	1.00 ***	-	0.84 ***	−0.12	−0.20 *	−0.13	−0.14	−0.08	−0.03	0.09
Age next child desired	0.39 ***	−0.14	0.83 ***	0.84 ***	-	−0.03	−0.07	−0.06	−0.03	−0.07	−0.05	0.08
Emotional closeness to father	0.14	0.06	−0.06	−0.12	−0.03	-	0.60 ***	0.12	0.09	0.14	0.08	0.12
Likelihood father help with children	0.05	0.18	−0.17 [†]	−0.20 *	−0.07	0.60 ***	-	0.11	0.03	0.22 *	0.19 [†]	0.07
Liberalism	0.15	−0.08	−0.13	−0.13	−0.06	0.12	0.11	-	−0.37 ***	0.40 ***	0.21 *	0.16 [†]
Conservativism	−0.21 *	0.28 **	−0.14	−0.14	−0.03	0.09	0.03	−0.37 ***	-	−0.29 **	−0.29 **	−0.19 *
Feminist identification	−0.09	−0.04	−0.08	−0.08	−0.07	0.14	0.22 *	0.40 ***	−0.29 **	-	0.60 ***	0.29 **
Feminism scale	0.02	−0.02	−0.02	−0.03	−0.05	0.08	0.19 [†]	0.21 *	−0.29 **	0.60 ***	-	0.28 **
Egalitarianism	0.14	−0.33 ***	0.09	0.09	0.08	0.12	0.07	0.16 [†]	−0.19 *	0.29 **	0.28 **	-

For the first DV of retention/hyphenation versus change, the significant, hypothesized predictors were participant income, and number of future children desired (see Model 1, Table 2). Also found to be predictive were age, age when marriage would take place, age at which next child was desired, closeness to father, rated likelihood of father assisting with children, liberalism, conservativism, feminist identification, Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale (Fassinger 1994) score, whether the participant's mother had taken her father's surname, and educational attainment. Within the following groups of the above, conceptually-related variables, intercorrelations of $r \geq |.30|$ were observed: (1) age, age when marriage would take place, and age at which next child was desired; (2) closeness to father, and rated likelihood of father assisting with children; (3) liberal identification, and conservative identification; and (4) feminist identification, and Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale score. Within these groups, the following variables, each on its own, was most predictive of DV 1: (1) age, (2) closeness to father, (3) liberal identification, and (4) feminist identification. These, along with the variables in Model 1 (participant's income, and number of future children desired), whether the participant's mother had taken her father's surname, and educational attainment, were used in the relevant regression (see Model 2, Table 2).

Table 2. Predictors of change (versus retention/hyphenation) of surname, addressing two logistic multiple regression models (Model 1, *n* = 100, Cox & Snell pseudo-R^2 = 0.04, Nagelkerke pseudo-R^2 = 0.05: Model 2, *n* = 86, Cox & Snell pseudo-R^2 = 0.44, Nagelkerke pseudo-R^2 = 0.61).

Predictor Variables	Model 1					Model 2				
	b	Std. Error	Wald	*p*	Exp(b)	b	Std. Error	Wald	*p*	Exp(b)
Participant income	−0.28	0.18	2.30	0.129	0.76	−0.55	0.36	2.29	0.130	0.58
Number of future children desired	0.18	0.22	0.65	0.422	1.19	−0.26	0.35	0.55	0.458	0.77
Age						−0.08	0.11	0.62	0.432	0.92
Emotional closeness to Father						−0.68	0.35	3.81	0.051	0.50
Liberalism						−0.54	0.22	6.13	0.013	0.58
Feminist identification						−0.39	0.16	5.59	0.018	0.68
Whether mother took father's surname						1.21	0.48	6.22	0.013	3.34
Educational attainment						−0.42	0.27	2.31	0.128	0.66

For the second DV of level of agreement with the statement "In general, women should retain their birth names", none of the hypothesized predictors was significant: thus, no Model 1 was tested. DV 2 was predicted by feminist identification, Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale score, whether mother took father's surname, and the Egalitarianism-Autonomy subscale of Cochran and Peplau (1985). Since feminist identification and Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale score were both at least moderately intercorrelated and deemed conceptually related, only that most strongly related to DV 2 in the current sub-sample (Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale score) was used in the relevant regression (along with DV's other two univariate predictors: see Table 3).

Table 3. Predictors of level of agreement with "In general, women should retain their birth names", addressing OLS multiple regression model (*n* = 105, Adjusted-R^2 = 0.14).

Predictor Variable	β	*t*	*p*
Feminism Scale Score	0.18	1.92	0.058
Mother Took Father's Surname	−0.26	−2.86	0.005
Egalitarianism	0.24	2.55	0.012

Summary of Logistic Regression Results (DV 1)

Table 2 contains b and Wald value, significance level, and exponentiated (b) value (or, odds ratio) for the regression for which retention/hyphenation versus surname change was the DV. Note the effect size of Model 2, based on its Nagelkerke pseudo-R^2, might be considered moderate within the social sciences (see generally Ferguson 2009, regarding adjusted-R^2 size considered moderate).

Neither participant income nor number of future children desired remained predictive, when both of these were used in the same regression as predictors of surname retention/hyphenation versus change (Table 2, Model 1). When these predictors were used alongside the others in Model 2 (Table 2), the following, only, were predictive of retention/hyphenation: greater reported level of emotional closeness to father (marginally), greater liberalism, greater feminist identification, and the participant's mother not having taken her father's surname. Thus, all of participant income, number of future children desired, age, and educational attainment were unpredictive.

Summary of OLS Regression Results (DV 2)

Table 3 contains beta and *t* values, as well as significance levels, for the regressions the DV of which was level of endorsement of "In general, women should retain their birth names [at marriage]" (DV 2). Shapiro-Wilk testing for normal distribution of DV 2 showed non-normal distribution ($p \leq 0.001$): Thus, this regression does not meet the assumptions of regression analysis and will not be discussed further.

4. Discussion

In this study, factors associated with women's marital surname retention/hyphenation versus change from the literature were assessed for relatedness, each on its own as well as together (in multiple regression) if found to be related on its own, with two DVs. The first DV was reported retention/hyphenation versus change of surname at (imminent) marriage: the second was endorsement of the statement "In general, women should retain their surnames [at marriage]". Data were gathered via survey of registrants with the website of the only pan-Canadian bridal magazine to the author's knowledge, *Weddingbells*. Participants were asked to self- exclude if not female, not brides-to-be, and/or not Canadian residents.

4.1. Income of the Participant and Her Groom: Hypotheses 1 and 2

Incomes were investigated in part, due to the expensiveness of raising children, and the 'motherhood penalty/fatherhood bonus' to income, associated with childcare (predominantly by mothers: Cain Miller 2014). Only bride's (participant's), not groom's, income as positively predictive of marital surname retention/hyphenation was supported as a predictor (Hypothesis 1). Effect size was small, yet the analyses producing them only adequately powered to detect moderate effect sizes. Participant's income was not predictive when regressed alongside number of future children desired, only (which was also non-predictive, in the regression: Model 1, Table 2). When these two variables were regressed alongside age, greater emotional closeness to her father on the part of the participant, liberal identification, feminist identification, the participant's mother not having taken her father's surname, and educational attainment to predict retention/hyphenation (Model 2, Table 2), only liberal identification, feminist identification, and the participant's mother not having taken her father's surname were significantly predictive. Perhaps those of greater income within the sub-sample were also higher in liberal and feminist self-identification and tended more often to have mothers who did not take their fathers' surnames. In any case, income being most strongly causal to the decision to retain/hyphenate surname at marriage amongst variables found to be predictive was not supported.

Analogous analyses were also performed with DV 2. Brides-to-be of higher income division were not more likely to endorse this DV. Thus, it cannot be concluded that this predictor bore any relationship to DV 2 endorsement. Therefore, bride-to-be self-reported income should be interpreted as having predicted surname change versus retention/hyphenation

under underpowered univariate analysis (perhaps due to lesser need on the bride's part of eliciting the husband's investment) but not general attitude to the practice. No support was found for the groom-to-be's income (as reported by bride-to-be) as predictive of either DV.

Given that own income (on its own—that is, via univariate analysis) was predictive of brides'-to-be retaining/hyphenating surname, the study's underlying reasoning that lesser need for investment from husband and/or in-laws leads to less need to 'get in good' with these might be seen as somewhat bolstered. There is, however, an alternative interpretation in the literature. Goldin and Shim (2004), for example, discuss the possibility that women who are established in occupations in which they have built up goodwill under their surnames would suffer a professional/economic detriment via surname change. If so, a conscious reasoning process on the part of women, to change surname only where a detriment to earnings and/or professional reputation would not exceed some level, is implicated. Such a possibility cannot be discounted, and the absence of need to 'get in good', as above, cannot be preferred as explanatory, given the current study's data. MacEacheron (2011, 2021), however, found, using large-scale, pan-U.S. data from two different years, that *state-level* average/median women's income (alongside household income inequality expressed by the Gini coefficient, plus their interaction) was positively predictive of surname retention/hyphenation (rather than change to that of the husband) among destination brides to Hawai'i. Note, in arguing for what might be called facultative, costly, commitment signaling, of brides' pre-marital surname 'sacrifice' versus retention choice, MacEacheron (2021, at p. 206) states,

> "... It seems implausible that thousands of brides looked up their state women's full-time/salaried median income, and household-to-household income inequality, and made a surnaming decision influenced by these. It is difficult to imagine how the observed pattern of (uncoordinated) action on the part of thousands could occur, without at least some enabling psychological mechanism of detection or noticing of inequality. Based on the results of this study, I tentatively speculate the women studied tended to at least somewhat accurately perceive local (1) income earning potential for their sex; and (2) levels of resource-level inequality, and that these influenced, via unknown mechanism, many of their marital surnaming decisions..."

Given MacEacheron's (2011, 2021) studies were large-scale, replicated, pan-U.S., and multi-year, and assuming there is indeed no possible mechanism by which such results could have been obtained solely via a conscious reasoning process on the part of brides in making their marital surname choice, it would seem the preponderance of evidence currently favors an in-part *non-conscious*/not-detectable-via-introspection (nor via survey) process, related to own income (potential) and relative income inequality, by which women arrive at a marital surname choice. More research—for instance among brides of lesser income (which those able to pay to travel to Hawai'i from anywhere else in the U.S. would not be, and those registered with a bridal magazine may not be)—in any case, could still be conducted.

Even if a woman's marital surname choice on her wedding day means she has made some sacrifice (costly signal) that bolsters the credibility of her commitment, why should she imagine that sacrifice will be rewarded via her groom's behavior? Her signal would indeed mean her husband's surname group gained at least one member (she), plus, in all likelihood, any children born of the marriage, and her own family surname group would be at least one fewer in number. Her signal would indeed mean she was publicly identifiable whenever and wherever her surname (plus honorific "Mrs.") was spoken, as married, and to her husband, perhaps making her less able to engage in a clandestine, adulterous affair. Her signal might mean she foregoes some business/economic advantage. And she might actually be more committed—that is, under a wider range of circumstances—to staying within the marriage (MacEacheron 2021). But why would she make such a sacrifice if her husband could commit adultery and/or divert resources from her and any children, regardless of the value of her signal? Her husband might be incentivized to invest in

children, who are more assuredly genetically his—of which her signal might persuade him. An additional mechanism preventing potential grooms from accepting their potential brides' marital surname change, yet simply failing to 'reciprocate' during marriage via an analogous level of commitment and investment in her and any children, however, is suggested. Note that by marrying a woman who has signaled she will take his surname (which she then does), such a husband accepts such a wife displaying, whenever and wherever her surname (plus honorific 'Mrs.') is spoken, that he is married and to her. By publicly and repeatedly labelling herself as his wife, that is, a wife who has changed surname also publicly and repeatedly labels him as her husband, in a manner not under his control. Speculatively, in this way, a potential bride, by signaling she will undergo marital surname change/abstain from it, might also facilitate her assortative mating on preferred level of (un)conditionality of remaining within the marriage, while increasing husband's investment in the children of the marriage.

4.2. Number of Children Desired (Hypothesis 3)

Number of children desired was hypothesized to predict endorsement of "In general, it is better for a woman to retain her birth name [at marriage]" (DV 2). It was not significantly associated, however, with that DV. Thus, Hypothesis 2 was not supported. The range of number of children desired, zero to five, would seem to include enough variability to have allowed for detection of such a relationship between this predictor and DV 2. The average number desired (2.23 ± 1.06: average number of *future* children desired, $M = 2.07 \pm 1.05$) may suggest that the large majority of participants wanted few enough children, that they might continue working (and thus not be, presumably, completely dependent on resource investment from the husband and/or other(s)). Future research could assess whether, in countries such as the U.S. in which ability to work may be more jeopardized by motherhood due to the absence of guaranteed, paid, maternity leave, number of children desired might be predictive of such attitude.

As noted in the Results section, number of children desired might better have been hypothesized as a predictor of one's own marital surname change versus retention/hyphenation (DV 1) than of general attitude toward the practice (DV 2). As also noted, however, number of future children desired was only marginally predictive of marital surname change (in the anticipated direction). The given effect size, additionally, was small, with retainers/hyphenators on average desiring 1.88 future children, and changers desiring on average 2.19.

4.3. Change/Retention/Hyphenation Decision and/or General Attitude Thereto

DV 2 consisted of endorsement of a single statement: "In general, women should retain their birth names (at marriage)". As such, it may be considered a less stable measure than a multi-item scale score. No relevant scale, however, existed to my best knowledge (and this one was based on one previously used: Hamilton et al. 2011). DV 1 consisted of reporting one's own (imminent) marital surnaming intention, which was coded as simply 'change' versus 'retain/hyphenate' surname.

Participants reported emotional closeness to each of her parents. Closeness to father, only, was significantly related to retention/hyphenation and approval of women's marital surname retention in general. This is perhaps unsurprising given that it is the father's surname, assuming the bride-to-be was herself surnamed traditionally, that she would be giving up via marital surname change. Closeness to a father may imply his greater willingness to invest in his daughter: This was evidenced in this study, by greater rated likelihood of such fathers helping with their daughter's children.

No such assumption regarding *future* investment, no matter how emotionally close the bride currently is to her future parents-in-law is, however, might be made: A bride's parents-in-law will have ongoing genetic grandparental uncertainty concerning each of her successive, future children while her own father, as long as he detects no new reason to doubt his paternity of her, will not. Future work could query closeness of the bride-to-be to

each of future mother-in-law and future father-in-law, and assess how close the bride tends to be to these two at given levels of closeness to her own father, before she will undergo marital surname change.

4.4. Multiple Regression

The hypothesized predictors of DV 1 (reported change versus hyphenation/retention of surname at imminent marriage) found to be predictive under univariate analysis, were participant income and number of future children desired (see Model 1, Table 2). Also found to be predictive under univariate regression were age, age when marriage would take place, age at which next child was desired, emotional closeness to father, rated likelihood of father assisting with children, liberal identification, conservative identification, feminist identification, Attitudes Toward Feminism and the Women's Movement Scale (Fassinger 1994) score, whether the participant's mother had taken the participant's father's surname, and educational attainment. Of these latter predictors, as noted, age, emotional closeness to father, liberal identification, feminist identification, whether the participant's mother had taken the participant's father's surname, and educational attainment only, were included in the regression. That was done, since these were at least moderately inter-correlated with one or more other of these variables and also conceptually related (see Table 1), and possessed the strongest correlation among such other variables with DV 1. Of all predictors used (including those hypothesized), only liberal identification, feminist identification, and mother not having taken father's surname were (positively) predictive of retention/hyphenation. This suggests either a more complicated relationship of the hypothesized predictors to retention/hyphenation, or lesser or no such relationship when the predictiveness of these other predictors is taken into account.

Let us take the case of the strongest predictor of participant marital surname change: her reporting that her mother took the participant's father's surname. Since this predictor's exponentiated b value (odds ratio) of 3.34 is greater than zero, the participant reporting her mother took the participant's father's surname, corresponded to greater odds of the participant's own marital surname change (versus retention or hyphenation). Subtracting this value from 1 and multiplying that by 100 (i.e., [1–3.34] × 100), yields percent change odds that the participant reports she will undergo marital surname change. Here, a participant reporting her mother had taken the participant's father's surname was associated with a 234% increase in odds the participant would report she would undergo marital surname change. The regression's pseudo-R^2 values (Cox & Snell pseudo-R^2 = 0.44, Nagelkerke pseudo-R^2 = 0.61) may each be considered to be moderate (see generally regarding Adjusted-R^2 values: Ferguson 2009). At α = 0.05, power = 0.80, for the given regression, however, only large effect sizes are detectable (Cohen 1992). Thus, this result should be taken as suggestive, only.

Given a bride's taking of her groom's surname is an apparently strong predictor of any children of the marriage also having only his surname (e.g., Johnson and Scheuble 2002; Duchesne 2006), the just-noted regression result, if confirmed via replication, would be consistent with familial or sub-cultural transmission of the practice. This would be as speculated in MacEacheron (2016a, at pp. 157–58):

> "... Women's choice to not undergo marital surname change will have been acknowledged as legal for all purposes across the U.S.A. for between 30 and 40 years... Additionally, given the U.S.A.'s cultural influence on Canada, the options of surname retention and hyphenation should have been salient in that country too, for this same amount of time. Even women in states in which it most recently became legal for all purposes to retain pre-marital surname at marriage, who married at that point in time, are now old enough to be grandmothers... Thus, it is possible that North American patrilineal descent reckoning, which may be an ultimate reason for marital surname change, will now have been either reclaimed or subverted in some families. Such reclamation could occur

as a counter-reaction to the bilateral descent reckoning that implicitly occurs via giving children a dual (both mother's and father's) surname..."

Interestingly, factors associated with the two DVs differed. That is, while the items liberal identification and (marginally) emotional closeness to father were positively predictive of retention/hyphenation under the relevant multiple regression, they were not predictive of endorsement of the statement "In general, women should retain their birth surname [at marriage]" under univariate analyses. A possible explanation is that the two DVs are not entirely related. This, in turn, might be because women who retain/hyphenate surname may espouse choice in such decisions more than they espouse similar practice for other women: The statement (DV 2) espouses the practice, rather than that it be a choice.

4.5. Strengths, Limitations, and Future Directions

This research was novel in several aspects. First, no rates of women's marital surname change, retention, and hyphenation across various parts of Canada had been previously assessed. The proportions, when all brides-to-be were considered, of each of these options, were as follows within the full sample: retention, 0.22; hyphenation, 0.10; change, 0.62. The second, main, novel aspect of this study: simultaneous assessment of the relative predictiveness of this many variables, previously found in the literature associated with marital name change and attitude thereto in North America, performed on brides-to-be or married women. The final, main novelty of the study: the relationship between brides'-to-be own marital surname choice, and their general attitude to the practice, being assessed.

Brides-to-be, though their marriages are imminent, are still stating intention to retain/ hyphenate versus change surname, since the actual change or retention/hyphenation occurs only at time of marriage. Records of women's surname change versus retention/ hyphenation on the grounds of marriage, however, if kept by government, are not accessible, and it was not feasible to collect data from brides on their wedding days (when the decision, presumably, is usually finalized).

Participants were registrants on a bridal magazine website. To the extent such magazines include suggestions for purchasing items that will be used for one day only, as well as for purchase of other very time-limited, expensive activities in celebration of a wedding (such as an engagement party and honeymoon), they may disproportionately attract wealthy brides-to-be. (Thay may also tend to attract brides with no perceived need to hurry to marry, given the time required to plan a wedding on the scale of the those featured in the magazine.) Indeed, the median income bracket of participants was CAD 41,000 to CAD 60,000, which was greater than the average yearly earnings for female, Canadian earners in 2011: CAD 32,100 (Milan 2013). At 30.02 (+7.10) years of age on average, these brides may have been, again on average, slightly older than typical Canadian brides-to-be: 29.1, as of 2008 (Statistics Canada 2016). Greater age was found to predict both DVs and, as discussed, greater income was partially supported as a (positive) predictor of retention/hyphenation and positive attitude toward retention. Thus, the actual rate of retention/hyphenation and, to the extent it is related, endorsement of DV 2, may be assumed to not be as great among all Canadian brides-to-be as these were among this study's participants.

Future Directions for Research

In order to test hypotheses concerning any inter-jurisdictional differences in women's marital surname choice, recruiting greater numbers is generally suggested. Note that the small population size of several provinces (e.g., the smallest, Prince Edward Island, at 146,447: Prince Edward Island Statistics Bureau 2015) might require snowball sampling.

Given that the behavior at issue, women's (opposite-sex) marital surname change, is an intersexual phenomenon, given the dearth of studies on marital surname change of women marrying women, and given the prevalence of heterosexuals, limiting the hypotheses in the current study to women engaged to men seemed justifiable. One of the initial questions on the survey, as to sex of the participant's fiancé(e), was worded "Sex of your fiancé(e):" (followed by tick-box options). It is suggested it be re-worded

for clarity, given it was unlikely a third of the participants actually comprised women marrying women. This would allow all data, including that from women marrying women (whether or not analyzed separately, as is suggested given it is unclear in a female-female marriage which spouse, if any, would change surname), to be used. Placing a graphic of either two brides, or a bride and a groom (each couple perhaps holding hands), next to the relevant tick-box choice might make the question less capable of misinterpretation. Such future work could also include hypotheses and questions that pertain to same-sex marriage brides particularly.

The current research did not address any difference in intended name change or attitude thereto, depending on whether the participant anticipated or desired a change in honorific (especially, changing from "Miss" to "Mrs."), or not (because current honorific would not change, for instance because it was "Dr.", "Professor", "Pastor", etc.) It is possible, for instance, that where a bride-to-be anticipated or desired no change in honorific (e.g., because she used "Ms." previously and planned on continuing doing so), changing surname would hold less appeal. That is possible, in turn, because she might consider the cost to her of surname change (in inconvenience, for instance) less worthwhile, where she could not signal her married status thereby. Thus, future research could investigate this by additionally asking for current, as well as planned post-marital, honorific.

Finally, this study's brides-to-be also cannot be taken as representative of various religious and ethnic groups within Canada. That is, due to low enrollment by brides-to-be who were neither Christian nor without religious affiliation, no conclusions may be drawn concerning them. Comparisons between ethnic groups, also for the same reason, were not possible, except for between "White" and non- "White" participants (between which no differences in either DV was discovered). In general, to the extent the given sample was non-representative, as well as small in size, the results obtained therefrom must be interpreted as potentially non-replicable in a representative sample. Greater sampling, perhaps at bridal shows and events around the country, including any catering to those of minority religious or ethnic groups, could remedy this issue. Also a possibility would be snowball sampling of brides-to-be (see, e.g., Atkinson and Flint 2001). Finally, wedding officiants might be approached to record frequency of women's marital surname change and hyphenation/retention. These may be likely to be aware of such surname choice, since they may announce after the ceremony, "I now present, for the first time, Mr. and Mrs. X", only if applicable.

Measuring Attitudes and Behavior of Brides-to-Be, Rather Than of Married or Unmarried Women

Brides-to-be to be were chosen as research participants in part due to the fact they have almost certainly, since they are on the eves of their marriages, at least considered marital surname change for themselves, within a given partnership and economic and other contexts. Thus, characteristics of that partnership, of the bride and groom and the bride's parents, and other circumstances which might impact such decision, can be measured, along with the decision itself (and general attitude thereto). On the advice of a colleague, in any subsequent, related survey work, it is suggested that the bride's-to-be perception of the attitude of the groom-to-be and his natal family as to her marital surname choice be queried. This is suggested, since there logically may be variation in the amount of pressure from the groom/his family on brides-to-be to undergo marital surname change, and this potential predictor has not yet been quantitatively studied.

Married women might have been studied in this survey, but brides-to-be were preferred, since marital surname change or retention/hyphenation is decided upon at time of marriage, potentially in part in response to the available cues and circumstances. Memory for such cues and circumstances could erode over time making married women less suitable participants. Also problematic would be the fact there is evidence that surname retention/hyphenation has generally increased over time. As such, a cohort effect, with married women who wed more years ago having chosen surname change at a greater rate, was possible. Brides-to-be in the portion of the dataset comprising women marrying men, were of varying age

(ranging from 20 to 60 years: $M = 29.93 + 7.03$), allowing for comparison of the effect of age without possible confounding by the above, predicted, cohort effect.

5. Conclusions

Participant's income and (marginally) future number of children desired, as predicted, as well as age, were positively predictive of reported intention to hyphenate/retain surname at imminent marriage among participants engaged to men. This is consistent with brides-to-be who could be expected to, on average and without more, need fewer resources during marriage (to help fund children) also being more likely to state they would not undergo marital surname change. This was investigated, in part, due to my conjecture that marriage, uniquely, comprises a *reproductive* partnership. Groom's income was not predictive of participants reporting they would retain or hyphenate surname at marriage, contrary to prediction. This calls into question the idea that women are, in part, competing for higher-income grooms via marital surname change.

Under multiple regression analyses, non-intercorrelated variables found to be individually predictive of retention/hyphenation were assessed alongside each other for their relative predictiveness of that DV. Among women engaged to men, all of the participant's own income, number of future children desired, age, educational attainment, and emotional closeness to father were not significantly predictive when regressed alongside liberal identification, feminist identification, and the participant's mother not having taken her father's surname. Thus, the relative importance of the hypothesized, univariate predictors of participant income and number of future children desired, compared with these other predictors, is called into question, unless perhaps the significant predictors are associated with higher income and/or fewer children desired.

The other DV (DV 2: endorsement of "In general, women should retain their birth surname [at marriage]") was positively related to reported (imminent) intention to retain/hyphenate versus change own surname at marriage (DV 1).

Participant's own mother's marital surnaming decision was most predictive of the participant's own such choice. This may point to a new sub-culture utilizing greater bilateral descent reckoning, or of such reckoning becoming entrenched as tradition within some families. This study comprised the first instance of such finding in Canada. The other significant predictors, under regression, were liberal identification, and feminist identification.

Results of analyses noted in this Conclusion were only adequately powered to detect large effect sizes: significant results found, however, except for relationship of DV 1 with DV 2, were of less than large effect size. Thus, those results must be interpreted with caution.

Notes

[1] Based closely on a chapter of author's Ph.D. thesis, available at https://www.proquest.com/docview/2714866063?pq-origsite=gscholar&fromopenview=true accessed on 1 January 2024, some wording is identical to previously unpublished portions, and/or identical to previously unpublished portions of M.Sc. thesis, available at https://macsphere.mcmaster.ca/handle/11375/21048 accessed on 1 January 2024.

[2] The aim of the present study was to re-test several hypotheses created as part of the author's 2009 MSc thesis, which surveyed Canadian undergraduate women none of whom had ever been married, on actual, Canadian, brides-to-be.

³   Note additional hypotheses were initially created, in case sufficient data from all Canadian provinces had been collected to allow their testing: not enough such data were collected. One additional hypothesis, beyond the scope of this paper, was also created: details are available on request from author.

⁴   Previous, unpublished work (MacEacheron 2009), however, showed that closeness to mother was *not* predictive of negative attitude to women's marital surname change when used as a predictor alongside motivation to avoid in-laws, plus other predictors from the literature, within a linear regression (closeness to father was, however, a marginally significant predictor of such attitude within the regression).

⁵   Not discussed further, at a reviewer's request: details available on request from author.

⁶   *CÉGEP*, or *Collège d'enseignement general et professionnel*, is a Quebec-only education level preparatory for university, similar to that of community college elsewhere in Canada (e.g., Quebec General and Vocational Colleges Act, c-29, as amended).

⁷   Bride's age and, separately, (state-level, median women's) income were strong predictors of retention/hyphenation in (MacEacheron 2011, 2021), and income as a predictor received partial support under Hypothesis 1a. Since age in women predicts number of future children expectable, and such number might in turn predict attitude to or actual retention/hyphenation, whether number of children desired might act as a mediator between age and each of the two DVs was assessed. Such mediation, however, did not occur (for DV 2 [own marital surname decision]; $n = 109$, C.I. of indirect effect of age on DV was -0.135 to 0.005: for DV 1 [general attitude toward practice], $n = 107$, C.I. of indirect effect was -0.018 to 0.054).

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Surnames in Adoption: (Re)creating Identities of Belonging

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Abstract: Names are increasingly recognised in sociology as important routes for understanding family relationships, as well as familial and individual identities. In this article, we use qualitative 'name story' data to examine the meanings of surnames for adults who were adopted as a child and for adults who have adopted a child. Our findings suggest that adult adoptees and adopters can feel differently about surnames and how these connect them—or otherwise—to familial identities of belonging and to their own individual identities. Especially for adopters, shared surnames are understood as important for 'family-making' through the way they cement and display familial belonging. Adult adoptees' feelings about belonging, birth surnames and adoptive surnames appeared more complicated and often changed over time. For some, adoption enabled a flexibility in the choice and use of different surnames. Cultures of patronymic and patrilineal surnaming meant that women adoptees and women adopters also faced an additional layer of complexity that shaped decisions made about surnames and family belonging. Through examining experiences of and feelings about family names in adoption, our article highlights the complexities of surname praxis in identity construction, adoptive family life and lineages.

Keywords: surnames; adoption; name stories; family belonging; identities

1. Introduction

Names are increasingly seen as an important 'lens' through which family relationships and people's family-linked identities can be examined and understood (Finch 2008, p. 713; e.g., Carter and Duncan 2018; Davies 2011). In this article, we bring together the fields of family sociology, socio-onomastics and adoption studies to examine surnames and surnaming in families formed through adoption. This type of family is of sociological and genealogical interest not least because of what happens to an adopted child's family name: when parental responsibility for a child is legally transferred to adoptive parent(s), the surname of a child is invariably changed to align with that of their new adoptive parent(s).

Our article begins with a review of sociological research literature about surnames and families, a body of evidence which we argue has yet to examine substantively the significance and meaning of surnames in experiences of adoption. We outline the theoretical framework on identities and on names that has shaped the wider study of names in adoption we draw upon in this article. Our account of the design of our study describes the creative life-writing methods and qualitative life-story interviewing we used to capture 'name stories' through which adults in England and Wales recounted and made sense of their adoption-related naming and identity experiences. In the main part of our article, we extend knowledge and deepen understandings about the significance of names in adoption through presenting and analysing new data about experiences of family surnames in adoptive family life. Our findings suggest that adopters and adult adoptees can feel quite differently about surnames and how these link them—or otherwise—to familial identities

and to their own individual identities. Through examining experiences of, and feelings about, family names in adoption, our article highlights the complexities of surname praxis in identity construction, adoptive family life and lineages.

1.1. 'We' Identities and Surnames

Sociologically, surnames are conceptualised as denoting 'We' identities (Elias 1991) of belonging and embeddedness in relationships of family and kinship, including genealogical connections spanning across generations over time (Finch 2008). For Lawler (2014, pp. 45–46), for example, the growth internationally in popularity of services like Ancestry.com suggests that people's (re)constitution of identities as individuals is increasingly bound up with a sense of their genealogical belonging to family.

Surnames (as 'family' names) can be understood as important tools to signal collective familial identity, of belonging together (Hanks and Parkin 2016). However, patriarchal (i.e., patronymic and patrilineal) surnaming traditions in most European countries, in English-speaking countries, and in many other countries around the world, mean that it is men's surnames that tend to predominate as markers of the familial 'We'. In other words, in marriage to a man, the majority of women change their surname to his (Carter and Duncan 2018; Gooding and Kreider 2010; YouGov 2016; Valetas 2001). Moreover, there remain normative expectations that children of heterosexual couples, irrespective of the marital status or marital surnaming practice of their parents, are surnamed after their father (Goodall and Spark 2020; Johnson and Scheuble 2002; Nugent 2010). Evidence about surnames and the 'We' identities of couples who are gay is limited, but studies of gay men couples suggest that surname changing is not practiced (e.g., Clarke et al. 2008; Patterson and Farr 2017; Suter and Oswald 2003). Studies of gay women couples with children reveal variations in surnaming practices (e.g., Almack 2005; Dempsey and Lindsay 2017; Gartrell et al. 1999; Underwood and Robnett 2021).

Diversity of family types and fluidities in family relationships are now recognised to be characteristic of contemporary UK society, and elsewhere in the global north (e.g., Treas et al. 2014). In response, sociological theorisations of family have shifted from a concern with membership criteria based on, for example, marital and/or biological relationships, and towards understandings of 'family' as defined more by the 'doing' and 'display' of 'family-like' practices (Finch 2007; Morgan 1996, 2011). Diversity of family types, and the fluidity of family affiliations that change and are re-negotiated throughout life, can mean that links between surnames and the 'doing' and 'display' of family and kin-related identities of belonging are ambiguous and complex (Finch 2008; see, e.g., Davies 2011; Duncan et al. 2018; Simpson 1998). Surnames may be unpredictable and somewhat messy displayers of who counts as 'family' in the UK (and elsewhere), but, as we noted earlier, patriarchal surnaming practices remain the norm and are themselves an important source of complexity in the constructions of the familial 'We'. Moreover, evidence suggests that surnames do still matter as displayers of people's individual and familial identities—for example, in maintaining a professional identity (e.g., Laskowski 2010), for establishing a new identity as a couple (e.g., Kerns 2011), or for signalling that 'we are a proper family' especially when living in a complex arrangement (e.g., Duncan et al. 2018).

Families formed through adoption are exemplars of complex arrangements of family relationships. Adoption is a set of legal processes through which parental responsibility for a child is legally transferred from, most often, birth parent(s) to adoptive parent(s), resulting in a 'new' family. Current adoption law and social policy in England and Wales clearly portrays the changing of children's surnames, post-adoption, as a normative and routine practice that marks children's legal transfer from one set of parents to another (Pilcher and Coffey 2022). Especially since the post-1970s shift from 'closed', secretive adoptions to a culture of 'openness' (Kornitzer 1968; O'Halloran 2015), adoptions are a 'version of kinship that includes both adoptive relatives and birth relatives' (Jones and Hackett 2011, p. 45), and, we add, adoptive *names* and birth *names*. The complex medley of children's birth-given first names and surnames, and/or adoptive-given first names

or surnames, is an important example of how names have a heightened importance in experiences of adoption, for both adoptees and adopters (Pilcher et al. 2020). Research shows that first names matter for experiences linked to adoptees' birth heritage, culture and identity (Jacobson 2008; Ostler 2013; Reynolds et al. 2017; Scherman and Harré 2004; Suter 2012). Evidence on surnames in adoption suggests that, in belonging to a family form that is already complex and 'other', sharing (at least part of) a surname with their child(ren) may be especially meaningful for adoptive parents, regardless of whether those parents are heterosexual or gay (Patterson and Farr 2017). In studies of adoption, whose primary focus lays elsewhere, having the same surname as their foster parents and/or adopters is shown to be significant for some children (Beek and Schofield 2002; Sinclair et al. 2001). The actual, or possible, knowledge that adopted children may have about birth family surnames is noted in other adoption studies to be potentially troubling for adoptive family making (McDonald and McSherry 2011; Meakings et al. 2017; Watson et al. 2015). With the exception of these few studies, though, the significance of surnames for experiences of adoption remains underexplored. In this article, drawing on our qualitative study of names in adoptive family life, we advance knowledge and understanding by exploring the meanings surnames have for the individual identities and familial identities of adoptive parents and adult adoptees.

1.2. Theoretical Framework

Our argument in this article, like the wider study of which it is a part, draws on 'identities as social processes', with roots in Mead's (1934) work on the social self and Goffman's (1956, 1968) theorisation of the social (re)production of identities. From such perspectives, identities are understood to be simultaneously both individual and collective reflexive experiences of sameness and difference, produced in and through social relationships, and conditioned by systems of power and inequalities (Lawler 2014). This framework leads us to theorise people's names as core to practices by which people come to identify, categorise and locate both themselves and others. From this perspective, names are 'power-full', producing and reproducing identities, relationships and inequalities through the ideas, values and meanings they contain and convey (Pilcher 2016).

A framework of identities as social processes focuses acute attention on family relationships because it is within this locale that names are first 'given' and then interactively experienced as identificatory tools, and through which individuals gain a sense of identities as rooted in shared, collective identities. In families, parents choose first names for their child to signal individual and socio-cultural identities (Pilcher 2016) and make surname choices for their child to constitute and display family identities (Finch 2008). We argue that adoption magnifies and complicates these seemingly taken-for-granted practices of naming because it entails a meshing of birth family alongside adoptive family, and so the re-imagining of family and identity. Consequently, we regard 'name stories' told by adoptees and adopters as tools in their creative working through which to make sense of their self, socio-cultural and familial identities.

1.3. Research Project, Methods and Data

We explored the complexities of names, identities and belongings in experiences of adoption in a two-year qualitative study which began in September 2022. Focusing on domestic non-kinship adoption in England and Wales, our study examines the naming and identity experiences of adults who were adopted when they were a child, and of adoptive parents. These two groups of participants were separate; that is, they were not related to each other in any way. Several of our participants were adult adoptees who had also adopted a child or children themselves. None of the members of the study's research team had been adopted as a child, but one team member (Coffey) is an adopter. Another team member (Pilcher) experienced a surname change as a child, but this was not as a consequence of adoption. All members of the research team are parents and have experience of naming a child.

In this study, we used interdisciplinary and creative 'life story' research tools to capture the rich complexities of participants' accounts of their experiences and understandings of names, naming, identities and belonging in adoption. Participants were invited to share their stories via a purposefully designed life-writing booklet, containing prompts and suggestions. A pre-recorded online workshop was available to support participants to creatively write in the booklets about their name and identity experiences. As a research tool, creative writing can liberate participants from anxiously focusing on producing a 'true' account and may allow people to focus more clearly on the meaning of their experiences (Barone and Eisner 2012). Follow-up one-to-one video-call life-story interviews engaged with our participants' creative life-writing and aimed to further capture and explore adoption name stories. Our participants were therefore provided with complementary tools to help them (re)assemble their socially embedded autobiographical narratives of memories, experiences, characters, actions, artefacts and events (Lawler 2008; Plummer 1995) around names and identities in adoption, and via which they could creatively work through and re-tell their self, familial and socio-cultural identities.

Our participants were recruited through a multi-faceted strategy including via social media and multiple grassroots organisations working in adoption support, and through snowballing. Our target sample of adult adoptees and adoptive parents aimed to reflect the socio-economic profiles (social class, gender and ethnicity) of people impacted by adoption. Of our participants who were adult adoptees, 20 were women and 8 were men. The ages of our adult adoptee participants varied. Four were young (aged 18–39) and three were aged 65 years or above. The single largest age group of adoptees were those between 51 and 60 years (14 out of 28 participants). Of the participants who had adopted a child, 16 were women and 6 were men. The majority of our twenty-two adopter participants were aged 35–50 years, but one was aged under 35 and four were aged 51–70. The information voluntarily shared with us in their creative writing and/or interviews suggests that most of our adopter participants were in a heterosexual partnership. Three adopters were in gay partnerships or were solo adopters who were gay, and several of our adoptee participants were also gay. In terms of ethnicity, the majority of participants described themselves as white British. Six participants said they had mixed or multiple ethnicities, three others described themselves as white Welsh, one identified as white Polish and one identified as belonging to the Traveller (or 'gypsy') community. Our participants were mostly educated to at least an undergraduate degree level (n = 36), and 32 participants reported annual household incomes above the national average for the UK.

Our focus on names and identities, and our awareness of the especial sensitivities around names for people affected by adoption, meant that we gave our participants guidance about the choice and use of pseudonyms to anonymise their data. We offered participants the chance to use their current first name or a first-name pseudonym of their own choice (albeit subject to certain conditions, e.g., that it had not already been used by another participant). All other names of participants, and all names of people they mentioned, were pseudonymised to reflect gender, ethnicity and age, or in some cases, were redacted. All other potentially identifying information in participant data was also redacted.

The data we present in this article were managed through the use of qualitative data software (NVivo) and analysed using thematic analyses (Braun and Clarke 2006). Our thematic approach drew on a coding frame developed from our research questions, participants' written materials and their interviews, and in dialogue with existing work on names, identities and/or adoption. Data from the life-story interviews were read and analysed, alongside and in relation to participants' creative life-writing, to assist the development of layered and multi-faceted understandings. In the remainder of our article, we present and analyse these data to examine, first, how surnames feature in adoptees' accounts of familial belonging, followed by how adopters reflected on surnames in their family making.

2. Surnames and Identities of Belonging for Adults Who Were Adopted as a Child

Without exception, and irrespective of the era when their adoption took place, the birth surnames of all adoptees in our study had been changed to match the surname of one or more of their adopters. This is not an unexpected finding: as we evidenced earlier, the normative family practice of surname sharing remains common in most types of families with children. Moreover, the taken-for-grantedness about surname change for children, so as to align with the surname of adoptive parents, predominates in adoption legislation, guidance and procedures (Pilcher and Coffey 2022). Our discussion of how, given this context, surnames feature in adoptees' accounts of familial belonging is organised around two recurrent and related themes that emerged from our data analysis: (i) 'family-making and unmaking', where surname change due to adoption is recognised as important for the 'We' identities of families formed through adoption and/or as having detrimental consequences for birth family belongings; and (ii) 'flexibility of choices and uses', where the multiplicity of surnames experienced by adoptees in their lives can empower some to make situational or permanent adjustments in how surnames display their meaningful family belongings.

2.1. Meanings of Surname Change for Adoptees: Family Making and Unmaking

Surname change and surname alignment in the context of adoption was certainly viewed positively by some adoptees in our study, with specific benefits for identities of belonging within families formed through adoption:

> I love having my [adoptive] surname, I do. . .and you know, I can see why I got it and you know it means I feel connected to my adoptive family, you know, it's a good thing.

> *Tiegan Watson, adoptee: interview*

> I think it sums it up with family. I think it's important to have the same surname especially. because I just think it could be . . . it's difficult . . . er you would feel more of an out[sider]. . . well I don't know, I think I felt a bit of an outsider, a bit different because of being adopted, being mixed race. I think if my surname was different as well, I think that would have just been another cherry on the top. Something else for a child to cope with.

> *Rachel Morgan, adoptee: interview*

> . . . Obviously I would have . . . when I was adopted by Mum and Dad and then they adopted my brother as well, we've all got the same surname, Tomlinson. So . . . I think if I had a different name to them, it would always feel like you're not really properly adopted, really, into that family. I mean if they . . . if they were James and Trudy Tomlinson and I was Natasha Hatton and my brother was William Thomas, it would just . . . it's not kind of . . . wouldn't really seem . . . final I think, or like, I don't know.

> *Jane Tomlinson, adoptee: interview*

For Jane, then, it is 'obvious' that all members of her adoptive family—parents and children—should have the same surname: it was the 'final' step to becoming and being a 'properly' constituted family. The sharing of a single family surname was meaningful for Jane, Tiegan and Rachel because this displayed (Finch 2007) their belonging and connection to their adoptive family, rather than, as Jane suggested, an otherwise random collection of individuals with disparate surnames, or as Rachel suggested, a group of people with different ethnicities. Another adoptee also talked about children's surname change being a routine feature of adoption, with 'practical' benefits:

I think you know if you . . . I think if you're adopted into a family, then I think it's fair enough to carry that family surname. It's practical and it's true. Other people that come into the family change their surnames. So, I don't really see that being too much of a problem.

Eddie Catton, adoptee: interview

Eddie normalised surname change as a consequence of adoption by likening it to the fact that 'other people' change their surnames when they join a family: he went on to cite the example of his wife who had changed her surname to his when they got married. For Eddie, then, surname change linked to adoption is as unproblematic a family practice and a way of displaying who belongs in a family as is surname change (for heterosexual women) linked to marriage. (As we discuss later, though, women adoptees—and women adopters—may experience a complex mix of feelings about changing their surnames at marriage to signal belonging, and, for some, it is far from a straightforward choice).

Jane and Eddie are examples of adoptees who, to use Eddie's word's, did not see surname change in adoption as 'too much of a problem'. This was not the case for other adoptees like Carol or Paul, however, who were angry that their birth surnames had been replaced by adoptive surnames. Carol wrote that the birth family surnames of adoptees should not be 'stolen, taken, removed or altered' and that 'my original surname is my birth right' (Carol Withers, adoptee: creative writing booklet). For Carol, then, her birth surname, shared with her birth mother, was integral to her feelings about birth family belonging and inheritance. Similarly, Paul wrote about surname change as damaging the identity of adoptees, causing a disconnect with 'your clan, your place, your forebears':

Names that tie you to your identity. . .Hugely important to many people, their inherent BEING [original emphasis], their mirroring of facial features down the generations, traits in behaviour and emotion, "You're a real (insert surname here)".

Paul Harlowe, adoptee: creative writing booklet

In Paul's understanding, then, unlike (as he described them) 'new shiny' adoptive surnames, birth surnames are richly meaningful in terms of identities of belonging: they signal genealogical links and help affirm a familial belonging based on genetic inheritance. But, as another adoptee's name story shows, adoptive surnames can also be meaningful for adoptees in the making of identities of belonging for their own families and genealogical lines of descent. Andrew wrote that he was about 10 years old when he was told that his names had been changed. Gradually, his initial feelings of shock and hurt faded: 'I've become more comfortable with the name change, after all I am who I am'. Becoming a father himself, though, was an especially significant event that had transformed Andrew's feelings about his adoptive surname:

Having had my own child I love the fact that she has my surname. The only genetic mirror I have in my life has given real meaningful context to my [sur]name.

Andrew Campbell, adoptee: creative writing booklet

Here, Andrew's pleasure in sharing his surname with his child derives from his use of it in the making of his own family's identity of belonging and the passing on of his surname to his own bloodline. For him, it mattered that his surname was able to display a biological relationship of belonging together, or as he said, a 'genetic' link. Such a link was, of course, absent in his relationship with his adoptive parents.

2.2. Surnames and Adoptees: Flexibility of Choices and Uses

As was the case for Andrew Campbell, quoted above, other adoptees in our study wrote or spoke about how their feelings about surnames had shifted over time because of a change of one type or another in their family relationships. For Chris, a breakdown in his relationship with his adoptive parents, and a dislike of his adoptive surname, had led to him to change his surname back to his birth surname ('Salisbury') in his later adult

life. He said doing so had marked a 'fresh start' for his identity and reflected his deeper 'attachment' to his birth surname:

> I would say that erm, I feel more attached to erm the surname Salisbury, I feel that you know, I'm more . . . for example I'm more interested in the historical roots of that name. I've looked into the erm . . . into the history of that. Whereas Hickenbottom was just . . . well it was just a [sur]name I was given wasn't it you know, I was just erm tagged with that name. Erm and I've not . . . I don't think really I've had much of an association with it, erm because of erm, it was just kind of . . . erm, how can I put it? Erm . . . . . . just something that I'd been labelled with I suppose.

Chris Salisbury, adoptee: interview

Chris implied that the depth of feeling he has about his birth surname of 'Salisbury' derives from the way it links him to his genealogical 'historical roots' and connects him to his birth family ancestors. In contrast, his adoptive surname 'Hickenbottom' lacked that meaningfulness in terms of a deep sense of belonging: it was merely a 'tag' and a 'label', applied when he was adopted.

Chris' rejection of his adoptive surname was bound up with the breakdown of his relationship with his adoptive parents. For another adoptee, Courtney-Grace Short, the breakdown of her relationship with her adoptive father also seemed to be linked to a change in her feelings about her adoptive surname. In her interview, Courtney-Grace explained that she used 'Short', her legal surname (and that of her adoptive father), especially in the context of her activism ('I like doing stuff with his surname that he legally gave me, that he's not going to agree with at all'). She said she also used other surnames, linked to her life history as an adoptee, that she felt a connection with. Like her adoptive surname, these surnames were situationally deployed according to context and her purposes. The array of surnames Courtney-Grace used in addition to her birth surname included 'Cook' (the surname of Courtney-Grace's adoptive mother, to whom she had a strong emotional attachment) and 'Abakumov', her birth father's surname that her birth mother had written on her birth certificate. For Courtney-Grace, her birth surname was meaningful because it signalled her Eastern European genealogy and underpinned her (reclaimed) ethnic identity as 'British mixed'. In her interview, Courtney-Grace reflected on her use of multiple surnames, saying that 'I just figured other adoptees do that but it's . . . it occurs to me now that they might not (laughs)'. She went on to explain that the authenticity of her claims to various surnames stemmed from the multiplicity of her different types of parents: 'Yeah, well they're all . . . all of them were a productive parent at one point in their life to me'.

Courtney-Grace was not, in fact, the only adoptee in our sample who used different surnames in various contexts—including for passwords, in email addresses and as pen-names—to signal their feelings of multiple familial belongings and attachments to parents of various sorts. For Evelyn, her situational use of different surnames began when relationships changed due to a bereavement in her adoptive family:

> After my adoptive dad died around ten years ago, after asking my adoptive mum if it was OK with her, I began using Stephanie Ahmadi, my full birth name, for poetry and writing and still do sometimes.

Evelyn Harrison, adoptee: creative writing booklet

Tiegan was another adoptee who had strong attachments to multiple surnames, including the surname of her 'amazing' former foster family with whom she remained close. Her main attachments, though, were to her adoptive surname, 'Watson', and to her birth surname 'Young'. We quoted Tiegan earlier (in the previous section) where she explained in her interview why she 'loves' her adoptive surname. Tiegan also wrote about how her adoptive surname, 'Watson', 'means a lot, I was given it and that connection' (creative writing booklet). But Tiegan's birth surname was very important to her, too, especially since she had re-established contact with her birth family. She wrote about how her now stronger identification with her birth surname seemed, at times, to burst out:

I am known sometimes, when asked for my surname, to say 'Young' [birth surname] instead of 'Watson' [adoptive surname] and then have to apologise as [that is] not my legal surname. Even though it's not my legal [surname], I try [to] recognise I haven't lost it, as [there's] nothing stopping me identifying with it and seeing it as mine still.

Tiegan Watson, adoptee: creative writing booklet

For Tiegan, then, her birth surname was authentically (if not legally) hers to 'possess' ('it's mine still') and to use, as a way of showing to herself and others that she 'still' belonged to her birth family as well as to her adoptive family. The name stories of Chris, Courtney-Grace, Evelyn and Tiegan suggest how experience of surname change enables some adoptees to identify, whether simultaneously or serially, with multiple familial groups and empowers in them a flexibility about the choice and use of surnames in line with their (often complex and fluid) feelings of belonging signalled by their various surname-based affiliations.

The choice and use of surnames by women adoptees in our sample who were married (or who had been) were framed, not only by their adoption but also by the wider cultural context of patriarchal surnaming (Pilcher 2017) we noted earlier. Being someone who had already had a surname change due to adoption added an additional layer of complexity in decisions about whether or not to change their surnames at marriage:

When I got married I decided not to change my name. This was partly driven by a feminist belief in not changing my name to my husband's...Perhaps the real reason was a feeling that others had already made decisions that had changed my name a number of times previously and I didn't want to do it again.

Philippa Bacca, adoptee: creative writing booklet

Clearly, Philippa's decision not to change her surname at marriage, although informed by feminist principles, also reflected her experience as an adoptee where the decisions made by 'others' had resulted in a history of fractured name-based identities. Similarly, Eleanor wrote how, when she got married, she had at first 'struggled' with the idea of changing her surname 'again':

After some thought, I decided to take my husband's surname. I was going to combine our surnames to make a double-barrelled name, as I felt reluctant to give up the surname I had carried since I was a baby, but I also wanted to take my husband's name in the traditional way. I wanted our future children to have the same name as both of us, and this was very important to me.

Eleanor Brown, adoptee: creative writing booklet

Eleanor's dilemma over her marital surname change was very much about the tensions between her attachment to her adoptive surname, the power of 'tradition', and her strength of feeling that, when forming her own family, a single, shared surname was an important sign of their belonging together. For other women adoptees, choosing to change surnames at marriage was accompanied by very strong identifications with their married surname— again, because of a prior history of surname changing.

When I got married my [sur]name changed and I was SO [original emphasis] happy... It is the most significant moment in my life in terms of my identity. For [over 20] years I had other names that I didn't feel connected to and then once I got married I felt like I belonged and I was who I was always meant to be.//My surname is shared by my husband and I and we gave it to our daughter. I am in a tribe of 3 and that name means I belong and I am loved and I am part of something exclusive and special. My surname means more to me than my first name.

Louise Hall, adoptee: creative writing booklet

Louise's name story is a good example of how gendered marital surnaming conventions can advantage women adoptees, culturally enabling them to make their own positive, consensual choice either to retain or to change how their surname displays their meaningful family belonging. This is also evident in Jackie's name story:

> My name...is Jackie Peaks. Peaks is my married name—my husband's name and my children's name. It is who I am now.//—the mother and the wife. It is the person I became and the person who introduced herself to her birth family.//I was Jackie Sniper. That was my adopted name given to me by my adopted parents. I am not sure that it has ever truly felt like I know who that is or who she should be but it was who I was for most of my life.

Jackie Peaks, adoptee: creative writing booklet

Being a 'Peaks' mattered for Jackie because it signalled her familial identities as a wife and a mother and displayed her belonging to this family. Neither her adoptive surname nor her birth surname had ever felt as meaningful to her.

Our findings show that adult adoptees' experiences of and attachments to surnames as signals of familial belonging were varied and complex, were often linked to relationship changes of one type or another, and relatedly, shifted over time. Next, we examine the ways surnames feature as identities of belonging in the name stories of adults who had adopted a child.

3. Surnames and Identities of Belonging for Adopters

Most children leaving the care system in England and Wales for adoption are aged 1–4 years (71%) or 5–9 years (21%) (Department for Education 2017). The adopters in our study were mostly parents whose children were still aged under ten. Our adopter participants therefore tended to be people who were in the relatively early stages of their adoptive family life, and in the context of the contemporary culture of openness in adoption we noted earlier (Jones 2016). Irrespective of how recently adoption had taken place, all of our adopter participants had changed the surnames of their child(ren) to align with either their own and/or their partner's. Again, this is not a surprising finding, given the strength of patriarchal surnaming practices along with the assumption of the normalcy of surname changing and alignment evident in adoption legislation, guidance and procedures. Against this background, we identify two themes in our data on how surnames as identities of belonging featured in adopters' name stories. Of particular prominence in adopters' accounts was 'family-making'. Here, alignment of surnames between parent(s) and child(ren) is seen as a foundational family practice, fundamentally important both for cementing and displaying adoptive family togetherness. The second, and related, theme was 'gender dynamics', where women adopters spoke about how the accepted benefits of a unitary, shared surname in their adoptive family unit nonetheless required some navigation and/or negotiation in the face of patriarchal surnaming conventions.

3.1. Meanings of Surname Change for Adopters: Family Making

Amongst our adopter participants, there was a strong assumption that changing their child's original birth surname to their own surname and/or that of their partner, was, as we previously noted it to be, a completely normal and expected practice. The normalcy of surname change was expressed through participants' use of words such as 'obviously', 'automatic' and 'of course':

> Obviously post-adoption, Evey would have our surname.

Helen Evans, adopter: creative writing booklet

> It was automatic, she would take my surname. And it was never even considered that there'd be anything else.

Katy Dubois, solo adopter: interview

But erm yeah, I just think it was a given that the birth certificates changed to reflect the adoption process and then your surname is the official name if you like.

Colin Armstrong, adopter: interview

Colin located the 'givenness' of surname change in the context of the formal requirements of adoption as a legal procedure. Other adopters also legitimised their practice of surname changing by referring to advice they had been given by, for example, social workers or other adoption advisers:

In all instances, it is encouraged . . . for the child to take the surname of the family adopting them.

Matty Meadows, adopter: creative writing booklet

Our social worker, she said for the child to have erm a different surname to either of its parents erm the child might find that quite difficult in terms of their belonging you know, where . . . where do they belong and who do they belong to and what family are they part of?

Sophie Wright, adopter: interview

Sophie's account of advice given by a social worker closely focuses on how shared surnames are seen to be important because of their signalling of familial belonging, particularly from the perspective of an adoptee. 'Belonging' was the most prominent theme in the adopters' accounts of surnames in their experiences of adoption. Sharing of surnames, in whole or in part, was seen as a fundamentally important practice of, and for, adoptive family making:

We originally fostered Addi and when we adopted, we all felt it was important to take our family name, Baker. This helped us and her to feel like we were actually going to be a family, which we had all been working towards/hoping for some time.

Annie Baker, adopter: creative writing booklet

For Annie, then, being able to finally share the 'family name, Baker' marked not just a legal step in their family formation but was also an important symbol of their 'being' a family. As she put it in her follow-up interview, 'actually be[ing] able to be, like, Team Baker and erm have the same surname felt quite important'. Other adopters also used the word 'team' in relation to surnames and their displaying of family belonging, a word choice that connotes 'being on the same side' and a combining together of individuals:

Interviewer: And that's something that was important to you, having the same surname?

Er yeah, that was really, really important to me that we all had the same surname. I don't know why erm just that you weren't different, it's unity, all together, you're all a team and . . . like, it sounds awful that, it is that belonging.

Iris Matthews, adopter: interview

The adopters also wrote or spoke about their perception that shared surnames were meaningful to their children in terms of feelings of family belonging they engendered in them. Robert said in his interview that, from his child's perspective, it would be 'strange' not to have a 'last name' in common with him and his partner:

And we appreciate her last name was changed to our [last] name, that's absolutely you know, fine and we would always embrace that and I think that's important for her erm identity as well. So, to grow up to feel that belonging to a, to a family and to see us as Mum and Dad really would be possibly strange to have a different surname.

Robert Fry, adopter: interview

Similarly, Margaret and Rachel each attributed what the meaning of a shared surname was for their respective children, arising from the way it helped to mask their adopted status to outsiders:

> Whereas if you had a different [sur]name, then they would have had to explain that wouldn't they? Erm so it was up to them to tell people if they were adopted but not to have to tell them by saying, "Well why is your name Colback when your mum and dad are Barber?".

Margaret Barber, adopter: interview

> It would be different . . . just mess up with your head a little bit if you were . . . you're already feeling a bit, you don't fit in and then to have a different surname than your mum and your dad but just . . . I think it's important just to be inclusive you know, in your own little unit.

Rachel Morgan, adopter: interview

Some adopters shared their own feelings about the significant point in their family-making journey when their child's surname had officially and legally changed. Colin Armstrong, for example, said in his interview, 'Erm . . . well I was very proud, she really became part of the family', whilst another solo adopter wrote effusively of her delight and of her surprise at her realisation of how much it mattered to her that, as parent and child, they 'get to be called' by the same surname:

> Lastly the name Bragan. The same last name as me. I jumped for joy on the day you finally became a Bragan. I didn't think it mattered to me as much as it did but some days I pinch myself that you get to be called Bragan.

Cat Bragan, solo adopter: not-to-be-sent-letter, creative writing booklet

Some adopters' feelings at their child sharing their surname were tightly bound up with how this connected the child to a wider kin network and/or secured the continuation of the family name and lineage into a new generation. Sioned, a solo adopter, talked about how her surname 'Davies' tied herself and now her child to a wider, longer genealogy and also, importantly, to her family's Welsh ethnicity:

> Our family names are very important. It's a step into er our identity if you like. Erm . . . who we are, where we've come from.//Erm so it's the feeling of belonging, being part of something more, erm being part of something that was long . . . here long before you arrived and something that will carry on er to the future.

Sioned Davies, solo adopter: interview

Future and past connections of belonging mentioned here by Sioned also featured in the surname stories of other adopters. Sam explained that, when they married, she and her wife Emma had each kept their surnames, and their child Arthur has only Emma's surname. One of their reasons for this choice was to link Arthur to Emma's grandfather, to whom Emma had a strong emotional attachment:

> [Emma]'s grampy was like a father figure for her growing up. And so it was like a nice familiar link that Arthur doesn't even need to know about as such but it's something that he will kind of grow to learn and there's stories there that are histories, that are now his.

Sam Trent, adopter: interview

In her creative writing booklet, Sophie explained that, for various reasons, 'me and my dad are the only Wrights in the family now'. The decision made by Sophie and her partner (who had a different surname) that their adopted child should have the surname Wright was especially meaningful for that reason: 'So now there will be 3 Wrights in the family, and that's nice'. Similarly, Cat wrote in her booklet:

My dad had daughters and so we thought the Bragan name would run out after us. But now I am raising a new Bragan and I think my dad is pretty chuffed about that.

Cat Bragan, solo adopter: creative writing booklet

For these adopters, then, sharing a surname connects their child to family belonging and lineage and are experienced as meaningful and as true, irrespective of biological or genetic inheritance. As Cat said, despite her own lack of brothers, her adoption of a child as a solo adopter assured the continuation of the Bragan family name for at least another generation. Cat was not the only adopter who referenced patriarchal surnaming traditions in their accounts of surnames, family belonging and lineage, as we show next.

3.2. Meanings of Surname Change for Adopters: Gender Dynamics

The adopters in our study were unanimous as to the family-making benefits of changing their child's birth surname to match their own/their partner's, whether from their own perspective, the assumed perspectives of their children or those of members of the wider family. However, some women adopters wrote or spoke about how these benefits for collective family identity had to be navigated or negotiated in relation to their own individual identity. Iris, for example, explained in her interview that her 'maiden' surname was really important to her identity, and that when she got married, it was 'really important to keep my name'. When it came to adopting a child as a couple, though, this was a new 'naming crisis point' (Pilcher 2017) because she felt it was important that 'we all had the same surname'. She discussed possible strategies with her husband to try and resolve her dilemma, including him changing his surname to hers or giving their child her surname as a middle name. However, for various reasons, these strategies were seen as unviable. Iris reluctantly conceded and, to 'keep it simple', the display and cementing of her family's identity of belonging together was achieved by everyone sharing her husband's surname:

The absolute sole purpose was that. And I even cried, I didn't want to lose me surname. And I know people double-barrel and everything but again it was just keeping it simple.

Iris Matthews, adopter: interview

Unlike Iris, Sophie Wright—quoted in the previous section—came to an agreement with her husband to pass on only her surname to their adopted child, rather than his own. Sophie explained that the sharing of her birth family surname to create and to display adoptive family belonging came about due to a mix of factors, including her views on the gender politics of surnames, her professional identity and pragmatism about ease of use:

When I married my husband we talked about me taking his name but it's quite hard to say and you have to spell it every time to you say it . . . I also didn't like the idea of being a 'Mrs something' when I'd worked so hard to become Dr Wright, I didn't want to lose that so I kept Wright.

Sophie Wright, adopter: creative writing booklet

Like Sophie Wright, adopter Catia Rodriguez spoke in her interview about how she had retained her surname at marriage. This decision was revisited when she and her husband adopted a child, but, in the end, Catia decided to keep her surname. Their child was given a double-barrelled surname, thereby displaying a connection to both parents. Double-barrelling surname was a strategy used by another woman adopter, not only to retain her surname but also to create and to display family belonging:

We're all Hall-Parish. So, I'm a Hall and [my husband's] a Parish and when we got married we joined our names together, so obviously both the boys have it as well, yeah.

Ellen Hall-Parish, adopter: interview

As with adoptees, patriarchal cultures of surnaming can be an additional layer in the complexity of meanings surnames have for adopters' practices of family making.

4. Discussion

The meanings of surnames for the individual, familial and/or genealogical identities and belongings of people with experiences of adoption are underexplored in research. Our examination of this topic, using new data from England and Wales, shows the value of doing so. First, our findings show that adoptees and adopters can feel differently about surnames and how these connect them—or otherwise—to familial identities of belonging and of genealogy, and so, to their own individual identities. For adopters, sharing surnames (partly or wholly) between themselves and their child(ren) is self-evidently and singularly important for 'family-making'. The adopters and adult adoptees in our study wrote and/or talked appreciatively about the benefits of surname sharing between parents and children in adoptive families. But the adoptees also directly addressed an issue that was an 'absent presence' in the adopters' accounts: how family making also entails 'family-unmaking' of birth family surnames, relationships and genealogies, and so, too, an unmaking of adoptees' individual identities. These differences in the surname stories of adoptees and adopters likely reflect, at least partially, their different stages in their adoption journeys. The adopter participants in our study tended to be in the relatively early period of a much desired and often long-awaited family life, and whose children, aged under ten, had, as yet, only a limited sense of their 'adoptive identity' (Grotevant 1997). Typically, in the changed contexts of adoption cultures post-1970s, the children of our adopter participants likely came to be placed for adoption having had difficult, or even traumatic, early life experiences with their birth family (O'Halloran 2015). For all these reasons, it is understandable that the adopters in our study were focused on securing bonds between themselves and their children, and this priority was clearly evident in the family-making emphasis of their surname stories. In contrast, the adoptee participants in our study were adults, with the majority being middle aged. Their adoption had mostly occurred in the pre-1970s era of 'closed' adoptions, which typically involved babies whose unmarried mother had been 'encouraged', in the sexual-moral culture of that time, to 'give them up' (O'Halloran 2015). These circumstances of their adoption and/or the development of their 'adoptive identity' over their lifetime meant that, for adult adoptees, surnames can be as meaningful for family *unmaking* and identity *unmaking* as they are for 'family-making'—whether in the formation of their own families and/or in their (sometimes fragile) attachments to and identifications with birth and/or adoptive families. Future research might further explore surnames and identities of belonging for those types of adoptees and adopters underrepresented in our study—specifically adoptees who are young adults, and adopters whose children are now adults.

A second, and related, way our study advances understandings of how surnames are meaningful in experiences of adoption lays in our findings about the complexity of adult adoptees' feelings about surnames. Changes and fluidity in family relationships may be inherent and signalled, albeit rather messily, by surnames (Finch 2008), but our findings suggest the distinctiveness of adult adoptees' experiences of the multifarious belonging functions of surnames. Over time, the adoptees' feelings about birth surnames, surname-change and adoptive surnames had, at key points, shifted—on discovering that their birth surname had been changed, on getting married and/or having their own children, after reconnecting with their birth family, or experiencing a bereavement in, or an estrangement from, their adoptive family. For some adoptees, the multiplicity of surnames they identified with and the familial attachments of belonging felt at different points of their lives permitted a flexibility in choices and contextual uses of an array of surnames.

Thirdly, our study on surnames and belonging in adoption has produced new knowledge about how both adopters and adoptees use surnames in their creations and recreations of genealogical connections of belonging. The adopters in our study felt that giving their surname(s) to their child(ren) securely connected their child(ren) genealogically to past family history and/or extended the future of the family surname and lineage into another generation. Our findings here show how surname sharing is a tool adopters use in the creative making, imagining and display of familial lineages (Davies 2011; Finch 2007; Ma-

son 2008), independently of biological relationships or genetic inheritance. In contrast, such genealogies of 'fictive' kinship (Lawler 2014, p. 64), although valued, were often experienced by the adult adoptees in our study as weaker than those stronger connections of biological belonging to genealogies signalled by their birth surname. Our findings on the meaningfulness of surnames for these belongings extend previous understandings about the importance of genetic connections for people whose family lineages are 'troubled' (Lawler 2014, p. 53) by the 'kinship consequences' (Mason 2008) of adoption (Barn and Mansuri 2019; Carsten 2004; Patton-Imani 2018; Yngvesson and Mahoney 2000).

Fourthly, our study evidences similarities in the gender dynamics of surnaming choices and practices in adopters' and adoptees' experiences of the (un)making of individual identities and adoptive and/or birth family relationships of belonging. In a culture of patriarchal surnaming in which men's surnames are still privileged as signalling familial 'We' identities, many (heterosexual) women face a 'crisis point' (Pilcher 2017) as to which surname to choose and use for themselves and/or their children within their family unit (e.g., Carter and Duncan 2018; Nugent 2010; Patterson and Farr 2017). Our findings show that such decisions are even more complex for women who are adoptees and for women who are adopters. For women adoptees, who had already had a surname change due to their adoption, the prospect of undergoing a further surname change at marriage or to share a surname with their child was something they either rejected, reluctantly accepted or wholeheartedly welcomed—depending on the meaningfulness of whichever surname they did, or did not, feel a strong attachment to. Our findings show that women adopters (except the few who were solo adopters) similarly had to navigate and negotiate around the additional complexities within adoptive family life of the gendered dynamics of signalling of familial belonging through surnames. For women adopters, at least those in heterosexual partnerships, the important practice of adoptive family making through sharing surnames (in part or in whole) with husbands/partners/children often involved an unmaking of their own surname-based lineage and so also an unmaking or remaking of their own surnamed identities. Although, in our study, there were fewer men adopter and adoptee participants than women, through what they shared with us in their name stories, men adoptees and men adopters did not seem to have experienced (at least, not in relation to their *own* surname) the kinds of navigations and negotiations about surnames and identities of belonging faced by our women participants.

5. Conclusions

Adoptions, in any era, are complex because they are a 'version of kinship that includes both adoptive relatives and birth relatives' (Jones and Hackett 2011, p. 45), from which adopted individuals make sense of their 'adoptive identity' (Grotevant 1997) throughout their lives. Our argument in this article is that surnames are especially, and distinctively, meaningful for the multifarious family belongings and identities of adult adoptees and in the family-making practices of adopters. For both adoptees and adopters, these meanings are important in the here and now of their everyday lives and can also stretch backwards and forwards across time via often complex networks of genealogical identifications. As noted by Kramer (2011, p. 393) 'people take as much pleasure in *making* [original emphasis] themselves connected and rooted, as in being rooted and connected'.

Our analysis of the surname stories of adoptees and adopters supports the theoretical propositions we outlined earlier: of individual identities and identities of belongings being produced in and through social (and, here, acutely, familial) relationships, and of names (here, surnames) as being 'power-full', (re)creating identities, relationships and inequalities through the ideas, values and meanings they contain and convey—whether about birth heritage and genetic connections, created, experiential or imagined genealogies and/or the cultural privileging of men's family surnames. Arguably, 'authentic, connected' kinships of genealogical belonging are a fantasy for us all (Lawler 2014, p. 59). But, as we explored in this article, 'the common…experience of the arbitrariness of belonging' and of 'constructed'

individual and collective identities (Yngvesson and Mahoney 2000, p. 102) are especially evident in the surname stories of adoptees and adopters.

Limitations of Our Study: The findings of our study are limited by the characteristics of our sample of adopters and of adoptees. Despite our best efforts, adoptee participants aged 50 plus are over-represented and adoptees aged 18–40 are under-represented in our study. Given the changed practices and cultures of adoption in England and Wales before and since the 1970s, and the longer lives in which older adoptees have had time to reach an understanding of their adoptive identities, the unevenness in the age profile of our adoptees likely impacted our findings about meanings of surnames for family belongings and lineages. In the case of adopters, and again despite our best efforts, we mainly recruited participants with children under the age of ten and who were therefore in the first few years of adoptive family life. If our study had successfully recruited more adopters whose children are now teenagers or adults, the surname stories of adopters might have included a more varied set of experiences. Our study had more women than men participants. Consequently, gendered dynamics in family belongings through surnames might have emerged as a more significant theme than it might otherwise have. Participants in our study were mostly white and lived within English and Welsh family structures: we are aware that adoptees and adopters living in other cultures of collective family structures might have different surname stories. Lastly, our study was purposively designed to capture, through creative writing and life-history interviewing, and from the perspectives of (adult) adoptees and adopters, the richness and depth of experiences of names in adoptive families. Appropriate for a qualitative study, we do not make any claims as to the representativeness or generalisability of our findings.

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