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Multilingualism and Unofficial Urban Place Names of Vilnius in the Languages of Lithuanian and Polish Youth

1. Introduction

According to the data of the census conducted in 2011, there are 154 different ethnic groups living in Lithuania, the biggest of which are Lithuanians (84.2%) and Polish (6.6%). Furthermore, these are also the largest ethnic groups in Vilnius (59.4% of Lithuanians and 23% of Polish). As a result, the research presented in this article of unofficial urbanonyms (UU)¹ is based on the youth of those two ethnic groups within the city of Vilnius. Since Lithuanian and Polish young people mostly speak several languages or language varieties, this article attempts to ascertain the actual usage of unofficial urbanonyms in the multilingual environment of Vilnius.

In the field of socio-onomastics, unofficial urban place names have been studied extensively in recent years. Scholars have explored name usage, variation and change (PROTASSOVA–REPONEN 2011, AINIALA 2005, 2009, 2010, 2012, etc.). While Lithuanian studies about official urban place names reach back to the 1960s (MACIEJAUSKIENĖ 1973: 4–5, JURKŠTAS 1979, 1985), studies of the unofficial Lithuanian urbanonyms used in the language of the youth are only just beginning to emerge (BALODE 2014: 66–67, RAČICKAJA 2014, 2014, BALODE, DONIŅA 2015, SIDARAVIČIENĖ 2015, 2016, 2017).

The results of the research on multilingualism² (RAMONIENĖ 2010, 2013, RAMONIENĖ–EXTRA et al. 2011) show that all the inhabitants of the city of Vilnius know more than one language and mostly communicate using Lithuanian, in addition to speaking Slavic languages: Russian, Polish, Belarusian, Ukrainian; Germanic ones: English, German; Romance ones: French, Spanish, Italian; and Latvian (GUDAVIČIENĖ 2010: 217). The languages most commonly known to the Lithuanian and Polish ethnic groups are Lithuanian, Russian, English and Polish (GUDAVIČIENĖ 2010: 217).

In Lithuania, the standard Lithuanian language is used for communication in both public and private situations (RAMONIENĖ 2010: 280). People of a higher

¹ Unofficial urbanonyms (hereinafter referred to as UU) are defined as all place names in the urban environment which are not official (AINIALA 2012: 105).

² Multilingualism is defined as psychological and social state of individuals or groups of persons that is a consequence of linguistic interactions during which two or more linguistic codes are utilised for communication (BUTLER–HAKUTA 2006: 115).



social status and with a higher level of income, as well as younger and more educated inhabitants of the city, are more proficient in English, which they learn in school, though the competition between Russian and English has been observed within all social groups (RAMONIENĖ 2010: 284). After Lithuanian, Russian is the language that is best known and most commonly used by the citizens (RAMONIENĖ 2010: 283).

Sociolinguistic research reveals that the Poles read books or curse mostly in Russian, write, read the press and watch television mostly in Lithuanian or Russian, talk to their spouse in Polish or Russian, so they can easily transition from one language to another. Children are mostly addressed in Lithuanian (GEBEN 2010: 158–159). It has been determined that the Polish youth uses Lithuanian, Russian and Polish daily (SOKOŁOWSKA 2004: 166, GEBEN 2010: 157). Thus, the Polish ethnic group, in contrast with the Lithuanian one, constantly finds itself in a multilingual environment. This naturally leads to a different effect on the UUs.

2. Research material

The unofficial urbanonyms of Vilnius (UUVs) of Lithuanian and Polish youth comprise the basis for this research. The material was collected using questionnaires, which allows information from a lot of people to be collected very quickly, and it is very important to have written forms of the same official urbanonyms. It creates a possibility to compare the form of the same place name, which clearly shows variability.

In questionnaires, respondents aged 16–25 were asked to write down what they call various urban place names in an unofficial setting. In the article, the unofficial names are provided as they were written down in the answers to the questionnaire and they are treated as separate lexical units. Only unofficial urban place names and variants that have an official variant were included in the questionnaire. In total, 62 unofficial urban place names have been analysed and represented.

3. Change of vowels of official urban place names

The unofficial names written down in the questionnaires by Lithuanian and Polish youth groups exhibit qualitative and quantitative changes in the stem and reflect the particularities of urban speech compared to official urban place names.

a) Stem vowels may be lengthened in Lithuanian unofficial name forms:

/u/ – <ū>: *Viršūlai* (: *Viršuliškės*) d.: *Viršuliškės* d.

/i/ – <y>: *Gedimynkė* (: *Gediminas*) un.: *Vilniaus Gedimino technikos universitetas* ‘Vilnius Gediminas Technical University’ un.

b) Stem vowels may be shortened in Lithuanian unofficial name forms:

/ū/ – <u>: *Žirmunkės* (: *Žirmūnai*) d.: *Žirmūnai* d.

/y/ – <i>: *Tris bobos* ‘Three old ladies’ (: *trys: boba*) ‘the sculpture depicts three female beings’ s.: *Trys mūzos* s. ‘The Three Muses’ s.

c) The quality of the stem vowel may be changed in Lithuanian unofficial name forms:

/a/ – <o>: *Santorai* (: *Santariškės*) d.: *Santariškės* d.

/a/ – <e>: *Mekas* (: *McDonald’s*) f.f.rest.: *McDonald’s* f.f.rest.

/o/ – <a>: *Salama* (: *Salomėja*) gym.: *Vilniaus Salomėjos Neries gimnazija* gym. ‘Vilnius Salomėja Neris gymnasium’ gym.

/i/ – <a>: *Naujanai* (: *Naujininkai*) d.: *Naujininkai* d.

/i/ – <e>: *Naujenai* (: *Naujininkai*) d.: *Naujininkai* d.

/e/ – <è>: *Univèras* (: *universitetas*) un.: *Vilniaus universitetas* ‘Vilnius University’ un.

/e/ – <ie>: *Univieras* (: *universitetas*) un.: *Vilniaus universitetas* ‘Vilnius University’ un.

The stem changes of UUs used in language of Lithuanian youth reflect colloquial speech, where several tendencies may be observed: lengthening or shortening of the stem, as well as qualitative changes. Deformations of quality and quantity of the stem are also characteristic to the shortening of two-stem names used in spoken language (SINKEVIČIŪTĖ 2002: 329). Sociolinguistic research shows that lengthening short vowels that are stressed is also characteristic of the colloquial language of Vilnius (GRUMADIENĖ 1989, ALIŪKAITĖ 2014).

Polish UUs also exhibit changes in the quantity of the stem in written form:

/e/ – <ie>: *Giedyminka* (: *Gediminas*) a.: *Gedimino prospektas* ‘Gediminas avenue’ a.

/dž/ – <dz>: *Wiedzmy*³ pl. nom. (: *wiedźma*) s.: *Trys Mūzos* ‘The Three Muses’ s.

³ Lit. *Ragana* – Pol. *Wiedźma*



/i/ – <e>: *Pomnik*⁴ *Gedemina* (: *pomnik*: *Gediminas*) mon.: *Paminklas LDK didžiajam kunigaikščiui Gediminui* ‘Monument to commemorate the Grand Duke Gediminas of Grand Duchy of Lithuania’ mon.

/i/ – <y>: *Gedyminka* (: *Gediminas*) a: *Gedimino prospektas* ‘Gediminas avenue’ a.

/I/ – <l>: *Teatr młodziezowego*⁵ sg. gnt. (: *teatr*: *młodzież*) th.: *Valstybinis jaunimo teatras* ‘State Youth Theatre’ th.

The written forms for the unofficial names provided by the Polish youth demonstrate several tendencies. First, spelling the vowel /i/ as <y> in the anthroponym *Gediminas* in the unofficial form might be related to the Polish stress system, which favours stressing the penultimate syllable. Second, it can be seen how forms from Lithuanian names are applied to the linguistic system of the Polish language, cf. /e/ spelled as <ie>. Third, the homogenization of the consonants /dž/ and /l/ is a particularity of the local Polish language.

Summarising the written forms of UUs provided by the Lithuanians and the Poles, it can be stated that changes in the sounds within UUs reflect the current tendencies in the changes of the Lithuanian and Polish colloquial languages.

4. The morphology of UUVs

Names used by Lithuanians are not changed morphologically and the provided forms do not exhibit a tendency for variations. This is contrary to the UUs of the Polish youth, in which variations in parts of speech, cases, gender and derivation are common.⁶ Nonetheless, these phenomena are related and the same name can be written down not only by changing the part of speech, word formation, but also the case and the gender, for instance:

a) Changes between adjectival and nominal forms may be observed in Polish UUs:

*Uniwersytet edukologii*⁷ sg. nom. (: *uniwersytet*: **edukologia*) un.: *Lietuvos edukologijos universitetas* ‘Lithuanian University of Educational Sciences’ un. and *Uniwersytet edukologiczny* sg. nom. (: *uniwersytet*: *edukologiczny*)

⁴ Lit. *Paminklas* – Pol. *Pomnik*.

⁵ Translation of *Jaunimo teatras* into Polish.

⁶ Only one case was observed where the formation UU was affected by the Polish form, cf.: *Dramatkė* (: *drama*) theatre: *Lietuvos nacionalinis dramos teatras* theatre, cf.: Pol. *dramatyczny*.

⁷ Lexeme **edukologia* is not characteristic for the Polish language. Unofficial forms *Uniwersytet edukologii* and *Uniwersytet edukologiczny* are translated from Lithuanian *Edukologijos universitetas*.



un.: *Lietuvos edukologijos universitetas*) ‘Lithuanian University of Educational Sciences’ un.

[Teatr] *operycznego i baletycznego*⁸ sg. gen. (: **operyczny*: **baletyczny*) th.: *Lietuvos nacionalinis operos ir baleto teatras* ‘Lithuanian National Opera and Ballet Theatre’ th. and *Teatr opery i baletu*⁹ sg. gen. (: *teatr*: *opera*: *ballet*) th.: *Lietuvos nacionalinis operos ir baleto teatras* ‘Lithuanian National Opera and Ballet Theatre’ th.

b) The UUs are being changed formation-wise in Polish:

[Teatr] *operycznego i baletycznego* sg. gen. (: **operyczny*: **baletyczny*) th.: *Lietuvos nacionalinis operos ir baleto teatras* ‘Lithuanian National Opera and Ballet Theatre’ th. The forms *oper-ycznego* and *balet-ycznego* are probably created following an analogy with *dram-atycznego*, cf.: Pol. *Teatr dramatyczny* ‘Drama theatre’.

There are cases of UUs in use that have a Russian pronominal form *-oe*, and a suffix of a Slavic origin *-k-*, cf.: *Gediminkoje* (: *Gediminas*) a.: *Gedimino prospektas* a.

c) An inflexion may be added to different forms of the same name:

A UU is provided with a singular genitive inflection that is added to the adapted name: *Zamek*¹⁰ *Gedymina* gen. sg. (: *zamek*: *Gediminas*) t.: *Gedimino pilies bokštas* ‘Gediminas Castle Tower’ t.

Or the name is not adapted and a genitive inflexion *-a* is added, cf.: *Wieza Gedyminasa* gen. sg. (: *wieża*: *Gediminas*) t.: *Gedimino pilies bokštas* ‘Gediminas Castle Tower’ t.

d) Variations in UU cases are reflected in the written form of the urbanonym *Halės turgus* ‘Halė market’:

The name is written with a Polish language instrumental inflection *-q*, cf.: *Pod Halą* (: *pod*: *Halė*) or an inflection from the local Polish language *-u*: *Pod Halu* (: *pod*: *Halė*).

With the urbanonym *Halės turgus*, an influence of Lithuanian can also be observed, cf. the forms: *Pod Halė* (: *pod*: *Halė*) and *Podhalė* (: *pod*: *Halė*).

⁸ [Teatr] *operycznego i baletycznego* and *Teatr opery i baletu* is translation into Polish from Lithuanian *Operos ir baleto [teatras]*.

⁹ In standard Polish: *Teatr operowy i baletowy*.

¹⁰ Lit. *Pilis* – Pol. *Zamek*.



e) Gender variations:

The writing of the UU *Halės turgus* with an *-(i)a* can be observed in the local Polish speech, where words of the neuter gender with *-o*, *-e* and *-ę* acquire the forms of the feminine gender with *-a* (Turska 1995, 20), cf.: *Pod Galia* (: *pod: Halė*), *Pod Hala* (: *pod: Halė*), *Podhala* (: *pod: Halė*), *Podhalia* (: *pod: Halė*) ‘Halė Market’ m., also cf., *Jajko* (: *jajko*) s.: *Margutis* s.; *Jajka* (: *jajko*) s.: *Margutis* ‘Easter Egg’ s.

The provided forms show that the morphological structure of the UUs is changed in the speech of the Polish youth, as demonstrated by the changes in the part of speech, cases, gender and word formation. Changes are influenced by the Lithuanian language or local Polish speech.

5. The vocabulary of UUVs

Having analysed the unofficial names provided by Lithuanians, it can be seen that, contrary to the Polish UUs, the use of slang is especially characteristic. This layer of unofficial urban place names is taken into account based on the background of UU, because it is mostly influenced by other languages.

Babkės, cf.: *Babkių* pl. gen. [ministerija] (: *babkės*) ‘the activity of the ministry is related to money’ min.: *Finansų ministerija* ‘Ministry of Finance’. Respectively, *babkės* (*bapkės*) cf., Rus. *бабки*: ‘money’ (ZAIKAUSKAS 2007: 24, KUDIRKA 2012: 52).

Barakynas, cf., *Barakynas* (: *barakas*) ‘district dormitories’ d.: *Saulėtekis* d. Respectively, *barakas* ‘student dormitory’ (ZAIKAUSKAS 2007: 26, KUDIRKA 2012: 63).

Bašnė, cf., *Bašnė* (: *basznia*) twr.: *Gedimino pilies bokštas* twr., cf. local Polish *basznia* tower, might also come from rus. *башня* ‘tower’ (SRJA I, 66).

Bomžynas, cf.: *Bomžynas* (: *bomžas*) ‘where poor people live’ d.: *Naujininkai* d. Respectively, *bomžynas*, cf. Rus. *бомжстник* ‘a place where the homeless, vagrants, drifters are’ (KUDIRKA 2012: 90).

Chujnia, cf., *Chujnia* ‘the sculpture is received negatively’s: *Krantinės arka* ‘Quay Arc’ s. Respectively, *chuinia*, cf. rus. *хуйня*, Pol. *chujnia*: 1. ‘Nonsense, junk, shit; poor, shitty; a thing of poor quality, of little value’; 2. ‘Nothing, insignificant thing, mix ups; empty chatter, gibberish’; 3. ‘Small thing, insignificant thing, trinket, peace of crap’; 4. ‘Thing or phenomenon (usually unclear, incomprehensible, hard to describe, tricky)’ (KUDIRKA 2012: 111–112). *Chuinia*: ‘rubbish, nonsense’ (ZAIKAUSKAS 2007: 36).

Chujovi, cf., *Chujovi* ‘the café is received negatively’ c.: *Artistai* ‘Artists’ c. Respectively, *chujovas*, *-a*, cf. rus. *хуёвый*, Pol. *chujowy*: ‘bad, poor, unsuitable,



screwed up' (KUDIRKA 2012: 114). *Chujovas* 'bad, hard, unhappy, poor, failed, etc.' (ZAIKAUSKAS 2007: 37).

Čiudakas, cf., *Čiudakų* [teatras] (: *čiudakas*) 'oddball' th.: *Vilniaus keistuolių teatras* 'Vilnius Oddball theatre' th. Respectively, *čiudakas*, cf. rus. чудак: 'weirdo, oddball' (KUDIRKA 2012: 126).

Čiurka, cf., *Čiurka* (: *čiurka*) 'the Japanese have slanted eyes' nc.: *In Japan* nc. Respectively, *čiurka*, cf. rus. чурка: 'slur for an Asian' (KUDIRKA 2012: 127). *Čiurka*: 1. 'Asian, yellow-skinned (Chinese, Japanese, Uzbek, etc.)'; 2. 'Idiot, moron, doofus' (ZAIKAUSKAS 2007: 40).

Čiuvakas, cf., *Čiuvakų teatras* (: *čiuvakas: teatras*) 'weirdos' theatre' th.: *Valstybinis jaunimo teatras* State Youth Theatre th. Respectively, *čiuvakas*, cf.: rus. чувак: 'youth, man' (KUDIRKA 2012: 127). *Čiuvakas*: 1. 'Boyfriend to a girl'; 2. 'Guy, dude, friend' (ZAIKAUSKAS 2007: 40).

Dyleris, cf., *Forgery of business dealers* (*verslas: dyleris: kalvis*) 'where future businessmen study' sc.: *Tarptautinė verslo ir teisės mokykla* 'International School of Law and Business' sc. Respectively, *dyleris*, *dileris*, *dealeris*, -ė, cf. En. *dealer*: 'drug merchant' (KUDIRKA 2012: 143).

Duchas, cf., *Trys duchės* pl. nom. (: *trys: duchas*) 'the sculpture depicts three creatures of the female gender' s.: *Trys Mūzos* 'The Three Muses' s. Respectively, *dūchas*, -ė, cf. rus. дык 'inexperienced, weak, silly, doofus'; 2. 'An army recruit until they are sworn in'; 3. 'One who works for others as a servant' (KUDIRKA 2012: 152). *Duchas* (*dūchas*): 1. 'A young soldier who just started service'; 2. 'A weak, abused prisoner that follows the orders of others'; 3. 'Pawn'; 4. 'Stupid, idiot, doofus' (ZAIKAUSKAS 2007: 48).

Fake, cf., *Fake universitetas* (: *fake: universitetas*) 'fake university' un.: *Mykolo Romerio universitetas* un., cf. En. 'fake'.

Kazarma, cf., *Kazarma* (: *kazarma*) 'the dormitory reminds of *kazarma*' dorm: *Baltupių bendrabutis* 'Baltupiai dormitory' dorm.: Respectively, *kazarmos*, cf. rus. казарма: 'military barracks' (KUDIRKA 2012: 258).

Liudajedas, cf., *Liudajedai* (: *liudajedas*) s.: *Trys mūzos* 'Quay Arc' s., cf. rus. людоед 'man-eater, ogre' (SRJA II, 210).

Požarka, cf., *Koralų požarka* (: *Karoliniškės: požarka*) sc.: *Ugniagesių gelbetojų mokykla* 'A school for firefighters' sch., cf. rus. пожарка 'fire station, fire' (SRJA III, 234).

Šlanga, cf., *Šlanga* (: *šlanga*) 'sculpture reminds of a hose' s.: *Krantinės arka* 'Quay Arc' s., cf. rus. шланг 'hose' (SRJA IV, 722).



Šulė, cf., *Gabijos šulė* (: *Gabija*: *šulė*) ‘a gymnasium (high school) is called *šule*’ gym.: *Vilniaus “Gabijos” gimnazija* ‘Vilnius ‘Gabija’ gymnasium’ gym.: also cf., *Mickevičiaus šulė* (: *Mickevičius*: *šulė*) gym.: *Vilniaus Adomo Mickevičiaus gimnazija* ‘Vilnius Adam Mickiewicz Gymnasium’ gym. Respectively, **Šulė**, cf. ger. *Schule*: ‘secondary, elementary, high school, gymnasium’ (KUDIRKA 2012: 585). **Šulė**: ‘school’ (ZAIKAUSKAS 2007: 158).

Truba (Trūba), cf., *Truba surūdijus* (: *truba*: *surūdyti*) s.: *Kratinės arka* ‘Quay Arc’ s., Respectively, **Truba**: cf. rus. *mpyba*; cf. rus. *mpyba* ‘pipe’ (SRJA IV, 416).

Žopa, cf., *Geros žopos* (: *gera*: *žopa*) gym.: *Vilniaus Simono Daukanto gimnazija* ‘Vilnius Simonas Daukantas Gymnasium’ gym. Respectively, **Žopa**: rus. *жона*: *Behind, ass* (KUDIRKA 2012: 674).

A comparison with two dictionaries (ZAIKAUSKAS 2007, KUDIRKA 2012) of Lithuanian jargon reveals that the slang used by the Lithuanian youth is well known to other social groups. However, new lexis can be observed. For instance, *Bašnė* twr.: *Gedimino pilies bokštas*, which is based on the local Polish *basznia* ‘tower’, might also come from rus. *башня* ‘tower’, or *Fake universitetas* ‘fake university’ un.: *Mykolo Romerio universitetas* un., cf. En. ‘Fake’ and others. In conclusion, it seems that unofficial urban place names not only reflect the urban speech of Lithuanians, but also supplement the vocabulary of slang and nomenclature of UUs.

Contrary to the UUs of Lithuanian youth, not only are slang names observed in UUs used by the Polish youth, but also code switching and translation into Polish are also used. Two slang names of the Polish youth are registered: **Bomżatnik**, cf., *Bomżatnik* (: *bomż*) sh.: *Norfa* sh.: cf. rus. *бомжатник*: ‘a place where the homeless, vagrants, drifters are’ (KUDIRKA 2012: 90) and **Niżni** cf.: *Niżnie* (: *niżni*: *Paneriai*) Ponary d. cf., local Pol. **niżni*. The latter reflects the local Polish language.

Because UUs are written down, code switching is rarely observed, although a few examples are revealed:

Pod, cf., *Pod Halė* (: *pod*: *Halė*) turg.: *Halės turgus* turg. Halė market, cf. Lit. *Halė*.

Teatr, cf., *Teatr jaunimo* (: *teatr*: *jaunimas*) th.: *Valstybinis jaunimo teatras* ‘State Youth Theatre’: cf. Lit. *jaunimas* ‘youth’ and Pol. *teatr* ‘theatre’;

Teatr, cf., *Teatr keistuolių* (: *teatr*: *keistuolis*) th.: *Vilniaus keistuolių teatras* ‘Vilnius Oddball theatre’ th.: cf. Lit. *keistuolis* ‘weirdo, oddball’ and Pol. *teatr* ‘theatre’.



In summary, it can be stated that the lexical layer of the UUs used by the Polish youth reflects urban speech. Slang is used, while code switching is also characteristic. However, UUs are mostly translated into standard or local Polish.

6. The order of lexemes of UUVs

Even though it is hard to make claims about the order of lexemes of UUVs, which consists of a few members, several unofficial names, which are used by the Polish and exhibit variations, were noted cf.:

*Młodzieżowy teatr*¹¹ (: *młodzieżowy: teatr*) th.: *Valstybinis jaunimo teatras* ‘State Youth Theatre’ th.

*Mały teatr*¹² (: *mały: teatr*) th.: *Valstybinis Lietuvos mažasis teatras* ‘State Lithuanian Small Theatre’ th.

*Nacjonalny dramatyczny teatr*¹³ (: *nacjonalny: dramatyczny: teatr*) th.: *Lietuvos nacionalinis dramos teatras* ‘Lithuanian National Drama Theatre’ th.

The names used by the Polish youth have a written form based on the word order dictated by the Lithuanian language.

7. Conclusions

UUs are used in an environment that includes four languages, i.e. Lithuanian, Russian, English and Polish. An important influence can also be observed coming from the colloquial variants of Lithuanian and Polish. Yet the analysis of UUVs shows the difference in the influence multilingualism has on the UUs used by the Lithuanian and Polish ethnic groups: from the names provided by the Polish youth, a clear effect on the morphological system of the names can be seen, while in the case of Lithuanians, it is the lexical aspect that is affected. The names used by both ethnic groups experience structural changes: the vowels show a tendency to change both quantitatively and qualitatively. In summarizing the UUs provided by Lithuanians and Poles, it can be stated that that multilingualism has an effect on the whole of the UUs within all linguistic levels. Unofficial names reflect the changes in the sound system, structure and vocabulary of the contemporary spoken languages of the Lithuanian and Polish youths that live in Vilnius.

¹¹ Lit. *Jaunimo teatras* – Pol. *Teatr młodzieżowy*.

¹² Lit. *Mažasis teatras* – Pol. *Teatr mały*.

¹³ Lit. *Nacionalinis dramos teatras* – Pol. *Teatr narionalny dramatyczny*.



Abbreviations

a. – avenue	nc. – nightclub
c – cafe	nom. – nominative
d. – district	Pol. – Polish
dorm. – dormitory	sh. – shop
En. – English	s. – sculpture
f.f.rest. – fast food restaurant	sc. – school
gen. – genitive	sg. – singular
ger. – german	p. – pizzeria
gym. – gymnasium	pl. – plural
Lit. – Lithuanian	Rus. – Russian
m. – mall	t. – tower
min. – ministry	th – theatre
mon. – monument	un. – university

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Abstract

According to the data of the census conducted in 2011, the biggest ethnic groups living in Vilnius are Lithuanians (59.4%) and Polish (23%). Since the Lithuanian and Polish youth mostly speak several languages or language varieties, this article attempts to ascertain the actual usage of unofficial urbanonyms in the multilingual environment of Vilnius.

The analysis of unofficial urban place names of Vilnius reveals that multilingualism has a different effect on names used by Lithuanian and Polish youth.

Keywords: unofficial urbanonyms, multilingual environment, socio-
onomastics

