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Structure of Lithuanian Nicknames

1. Nicknames are non-officially used proper names denoting a characteristic attribute and constituting one of the subclasses of personal names. A nickname maybe comprehended in two ways: 1) a nickname originated from a personal name, which was usually used in the past and eventually turned into the surname (e.g. *Vilkas* ‘Wolf’, *Rudys* ‘Brown’, *Trumpius* ‘Short’) and 2) a nickname used newly by the surname (by *Vilkas* it is possible to dub any person, e.g. Jonaitis, Petkevičius and others) (ZINKEVIČIUS 2008: 16). The paper analyses current occurrence of nicknames. According to VITALIJA MACIEJAUSKIENĖ, “it is very important to know as much as possible about the specificity of one or another class (subclasses) of onyms: how the system of proper names originated and was formed, whether it is still being filled by the new items, whether it is closed or stable, what kind of linguistic and extralinguistic circumstances have determined its character” (MACIEJAUSKIENĖ 2001: 168). Nicknames are used to emphasise physical attributes, manner, the content of speech, residence, origins and other traits of the nicknamed one. The ones who give the nickname to a person rely on extralinguistic factors. Extralinguistic factors are related to the constantly changing reality and aim at creating new, more effective, stylistically connoted words. Even though the motivation of words, especially of proper nouns, fades, the inner form of the name shows why that thing was named in one way or another (cf. GUDAVIČIUS 2000: 104). Veluona vicinity is characteristic of the nicknames which originated mostly due to subjective (psychological) reasons, when the nickname is given on the basis of a person’s characteristic attribute which was noticed by the people round about. Nicknaming is used to distinguish the nicknamed one from others, emphasising his/her kinship, origins, residence, physical attributes, inner features, the content of speech, activities, various associations, etc. Extralinguistic factors have the strongest influence on derivation, structure and usage of nicknames.

While studying the usage of nicknames, Politeness Theory is to be taken into account, where politeness is understood as a rational strategic behaviour to be showed in various ways in order to save the face of the person he/she is talking to. In general terms, “face” refers to an individual’s own image, the manner of self-presentation to others, and reputation (cf. HILBIG 2010: 29). Face can be understood as positive or negative. Negative face should not be understood as negatively connoted as it makes opposition to the positive face. To avoid possibly misleading terms GIEDRĖ ČEPAITIENĖ (2007: 25) offers to use the terms “contact face” and “distance face” as they denote these concepts of politeness more accurately. The positive (or contact) face is related to each



person's desire to be understood, accepted by others, considered, likable, and the negative (or distance) face relates to the desire to keep the distance, to be independent, to have freedom to act, to have the right to personal space and time, to be free, undisturbed (cf. BROWN–LEVINSON 1987: 61–63). The speaker considers whether the addressee needs the positive face (familiar, close, friendly) or the negative face (distant, formal, respectful) and chooses the correct locution strategy for either positive politeness or negative politeness. In the paper the nicknames are analysed also according to the politeness theory and the politeness strategy is identifying.

The creation of nicknames could be taken as one of the ways to complement the actually used vocabulary. Under standard conditions for language development, the central way of lexis enrichment and upgrading is the creation of new words out of other existing words changing their morphological (morphemic) structure (cf. URBUTIS 2009: 37). Interlocutors' need to have a new word might be satisfied by borrowing words; it depends on outer conditions of language functioning and interlocutors' relation to foreigners.

The authors of the article have already discussed the names (MICKIENĖ–BARANAUSKIENĖ 2012a: 208–215) collected in the points of Kaunas, Marijampolė and Pasvalys, and the onomastic motivation of nicknames of 386 inhabitants in Veliuona area (MICKIENĖ–BARANAUSKIENĖ 2012b: 175–188).

The paper analyses nicknames that were recorded in Veliuona vicinity during the project of the Institute of the Lithuanian Language *Modern Research of Geolinguistics in Lithuania: Optimisation of Network of Points and Interactive Spread of Dialectal Information* (2011–2014). Nicknames recorded by the pupils of Veliuona Vicinity School from 1978 to 1990 and held in its museum are analysed as well.

Data analysis is based on a questionnaire survey method, that is, the questionnaires of points of the Lithuanian language atlas (http://www.tarmes.lt/index_meniu.php?id=5). In the process of the analysis of nicknames their recurrence was observed, thus there is no doubt that they were used by the majority of local people. It was also observed that nicknames are being passed down from generation to generation (all family members share the same nickname); therefore, it is possible to claim that the nickname outlives its owner. On the other hand, nicknames constantly change, adapt to newly arising language realities, modernise. For this reason, it is necessary to collect and study them.

The paper aims at identifying the characteristic attributes of nickname structure.



First, the analysis of nickname structure was carried out, which proved that it is necessary to group nicknames into primary and secondary. However, in the

process of research, it is difficult to set a clear criterion for grouping nicknames into primary and secondary as when derivational motivations of the nicknames and their appellatives coincide, there might be misunderstandings. Therefore, the paper invokes the structural analysis of nicknames to find universal criteria that would allow the distinction between the primary and the secondary.

Primary nicknames originate from corresponding onyms and appellatives which are categorised on onomastic level without structural changes, i.e. they do not differ structurally from the motivated word. The motivated word of these nicknames could be: derivationally non-dividable; derivationally dividable (usually appellative) possessing personal name affix; derivationally dividable, possessing another appellative affix (BUTKUS 1995: 33–34). The secondary nickname group comprises derivatives.

The paper carried out structural analysis of 241 secondary nicknames.

2. Derivation of common words could only be described during the process of the analysis of derivational relations, i.e. the opposition between derivatives and underlying words, preliminarily identifying the basis and the formative for the derivation, thus presenting the formal and semantic structure of the derivative (cf. URBUTIS 2009: 287). Structural analysis of proper nouns discloses that words that do not have a clear basis could also be called derivatives; contrasting them with other names it is possible to find the roots, or derivational formatives reappearing in other words (JAKAITIENĖ 2009: 277). According to ALVYDAS BUTKUS (1995: 33), there are quite different criteria for nickname derivation as one of the types of proper nouns in comparison to the criteria for common words in case where a nickname derives from a proper or common word and differs from it structurally.

A more detailed structural classification is provided by ŽANETA URBANAVIČIŪTĖ and VIDA ŽIČKUTĖ in the article *Lietuvių pravardės* (Lithuanian Nicknames). In the article, the nicknames are classified into: 1) non-derivatives, 2) derivatives that further are classified into inflectional, suffixal, prefixational, prefixational-suffixal, 3) composites that further are classified into blends and compounds 4) derivatives-composites, and 5) phrases (URBANAVIČIŪTĖ–ŽIČKUTĖ 1975: 60–61). According to VITALIJA MACIEJAUSKIENĖ, such classification does not connect to the identification of the types of nickname derivation, it just describes the structure of these personal names (MACIEJAUSKIENĖ 2001: 173).

Structural analysis of nicknames enables determination of the structure of proper and common nouns that are chosen to create nicknames. Structural analysis of secondary nicknames showed that there are nicknames that have the underlying word and the formative(s), blends, compounds and nickname phrases.

2.1. The biggest part of the group of secondary nicknames comprises nicknames that have the underlying word and the **suffix** (111 nicknames, 46.1%).

2.1.1. The underlying word – **onym**, s.a. name (50).

The majority of them are built up from names and have Lithuanian diminutive suffixes *-(i)ukas, -(i)ukė, -elė, -ytė, -utė*, e.g. **Adom-ukas**: *Adam* (the father is *Adam*), **Dan-ukas**: *Donato* (because his name is *Donatas*), **Gil-iukas**: *Gileta* (because her name is *Gileta*), **Ingridž-iukė**: *Ingrid* (because her name is *Ingrida*), **Lev-ukas**: *Levas* (because his father's name is *Levas*), **Dan-elė**: *Dana* (because her name is *Dana*), **Laim-elė, Laim-ytė**: *Laima*, **Monik-utė**: *Monica* (has very female soft moves).

The data analysis reflects the tendency to use diminutives in the Lithuanian language. Lithuanian is extremely rich in diminutive suffixes: *-el-, -ėl-, -(i)uk-, -(i)ut-, -ait-, -yt-, -ul-, -už-, -(i)ūkšt-, -okšn-, -šė, -in-, -už-, -iš-, -il-, -ėz-, -ik-, -(i)ok-, -iotė, -al-, -(i)ūt-, -uitis, -ykšt-, -išč-, -yšč-, -yn-, -ėk-, -ėn-, -(i)oklis, -(i)okšt-, -ut-, -ein-, -ikas, -uik-, -yk-, -ekš-, -(i)ūz-, -uol-, -aikštis, -elšė, -uila, -es-*, and the others. It is possible to form a diminutive from any concrete countable noun. Diminutive nouns are used in emotional speech, e.g. **Adom-ukas**: *Adam* (the father is *Adam*). These diminutive suffixes *-(i)ukas, -(i)ukė, -elė, -ytė, -utė* are the most frequently used in the contemporary Lithuanian language.

Nicknames often take the Slavonic suffix *-ka, -kė*, e.g. **Maruš-ka**: *Marius* n., **Jan-ka**: *Jonas* n., **Rič-ka**: *Ričardas* 'Richard' n., **Vit-ka**: *Vytautas* n., **Zan-kė**: *Zanas* n., **Stas-ka**: *Stasys* n., **Pran-kė**: *Pranas* n.

Derivates formed with suffixes *-ka, -kė* are considered hybrids. They have negative connotation and are used in Lithuanian dialects.

2.1.2. There is a great number (61) of nicknames the underlying word of which is an **appellative**. The majority of such nicknames have Lithuanian suffixes *-(i)ukas, -utė, -ėlis, -utis, -elė, -inis, -ikės*, e.g. **Griūš-iukas**: *grūšia* 'pear' (pear-shaped face), **Šveln-iukas**: *švelnus* 'soft', **Maž-iukas**: *mažas* 'little' (he of little height, short and stout), **Moksl-iukas**: *mokslas* 'science' (a man who knows much, much-knowing), **Bačk-utė**: *bačka* 'barrel' (because of stoutness); **Liūdn-utė**: *liūdna* 'sad' (she often feels sad), **Džiūvės-ėlis**: *džiūvėsis* 'hardtack' (because she is very slim), **Klebon-ėlis**: *klebonas* 'parson' (talks and walks like a woman), **Kišk-utis**: *kiškis* 'hare' (walks with little jumps), **Srov-elė**: *srovė* 'stream', **Triuš-inis**: *triušis* 'rabbit' (had been growing and selling hares), **Anč-ikės**: *antys* 'ducks' (because they waddle).

The basic function of a diminutive suffix is to express smallness in size. These suffixes also indicate only an attitude – favourable (affection, good humour) or unfavourable, pejorative (depreciation, contempt) – on the part of the speaker to person or thing, with no reference to size.



There are some cases of nicknames that have Slavonic suffix *-ka*, *-kė*, ending *-(i)akas*, e.g. **Kiet-ekas**: *kietas* ‘cool’ (a person who feels superior), **Vokietka**: *vokietė* ‘a German woman’.

Only one nickname of mixed structure is recorded (0.4%), its underlying word is an onym (oikonym), e.g. **Paakmenorius**: *Akmena* mount (lived near the *Akmena* hill).

2.2. The group of nicknames with an **ending** is comparatively large as well (83 nicknames; 34.4%). These nicknames take an onym (name or surname) (45) or an appellative (38) as its underlying word.

Nicknames with an **onym** as the underlying word mostly possess the ending *-(i)us*, e.g. **Lin-ius**: *Linas* ‘flax’ n., **Cil-ius**: *Cilišauskas* surn., **Mindž-ius**: *Mindaugas* n., **Pin-ius**: *Pinaitis* surn., **Šarius**: *Šarūnas* n.

(i)us-stem nouns are not very numerous in the Lithuanian language (LG 1997: 114). Nicknames with ending *-(i)us* are the names of the quality (denominative characteristic possessors), therefore such derivatives are common in derivation of the nicknames, recorded in Veliuona vicinity.

Some of the nicknames with an ending *-ė* compiled of nicknames or names could have appeared earlier than the current variant of the surname, e.g. **Bakan-ė**: *Bakanaitė* sur., **Aldon-ė**: *Aldona* n., **Pošk-ė**: *Poškutė* sur., **Vizg-ė**: *Vizgaitienė* (from the verb ‘to wag’) surn.

Nicknames with an ending *-ė* are often used in Veliuona vicinity because they are the names of the quality (denominative characteristic possessors).

The underlying word of nicknames could be an **appellative** of various speech parts. Nouns: **Čiukčius**: noun *Chukchi* ‘one of the peoples in north-eastern Siberia’ (LKŽe: electronic Lithuanian Language Dictionary) (narrow eyes), **Durpius**: noun ‘peat’ (from the peatbog), **Guzius**: noun ‘lump’, **Knypas**: noun *knypa* ‘the one who is thin, weak, morbid, almost dead’ (LKŽe: electronic Lithuanian Language Dictionary), **Žuvius**: noun ‘fish’, **Ūsius**: noun ‘a whisker’. Verbs: **Bezdė**: verb ‘to fart’ (a foul woman), **Kandžius**: verb ‘to bite, sting’. Adjectives: **Švelnys**: adjective ‘soft (he)’.

2.3. Blend nicknames take the smallest part (in total 9; 3.7%).

Blend nicknames might be created out of two **onyms**, e.g. **Preikš-jurgis**: *Preikša* sur., *Jurgis* ‘George’ n.

Sometimes it is difficult to indicate whether the nickname component is a proper or common word, especially when the motivation of the word is not clear, e.g. **Gud-marė**: *gudas* ‘Byelorussian’ or *Gudas* ‘Byelorussian’ sur., *Marė* n. (a shortening of the name *Marytė* ‘little Mary’).

One of the possible components of the nicknames might be an **onym**, the other an **appellative**, out of which both are nouns, e.g. *Mol-petris*: *molis* ‘clay’, *Petras* ‘Peter’ n. (Peter who built stoves), *Tryd-marė*: *tryda* ‘the runs’, ‘the one, who get nervous without a reason, a hotspur’ (www.lkz.lt), *Marė* v. (a hotspur little Mary).

Both components of the nicknames might be **appellatives**, out of which one is an adjective, and the other is a noun, e.g. *Juo-duonė*: *juoda* ‘black’, *duona* ‘bread’, *Rūg-žentis*: *rūgštus* ‘sour’, *žentas* ‘son-in-law’, *Smulk-ia-žuvis*: *smulki* ‘small’, *žuvis* ‘fish’; both nouns, e.g. *Vėž-gaidis*: *vėžys* ‘crayfish’, *gaidys* ‘cock’; a noun and a verb, e.g. *Žem-siurbė*: *žemė* ‘earth’, *siurbti* ‘suck’ (because used to eat ooze).

In the Lithuanian language composite nouns are formed with the linking vowels *-ė-*, *-y-*, *-o-*, *-ū-*, *-(i)a-*, *-i-*, *-u-* or without them. Analysed blend nicknames mostly are without the linking vowels.

2.4. 33 compound nicknames were found (13.7%).

Both components of a nickname are **onyms** (1), e.g. *Melniko Andrius*: *Melnikas* sur., *Andrius* ‘Andrew’ n.

Such compound nicknames may only have a differential function, distinguishing one person with the same name from the other.

One of the components is an **onym** (7), e.g. *Liurbis Levas*: *liurbis* ‘a wimp, a sloven, clumsy, inept’ (LKŽe: electronic Lithuanian Language Dictionary), *Levas* v., *Raudonės Karalius*: *Raudonė* tw.n., *karalius* ‘king’, *Mišky Stasiukas*: *miškas* ‘the woods’, *Stasiukas* n., *Sibirinis Gaidukas*: *Sibiras* ‘Siberia’ p.n., *gaidukas* ‘little cock’, *Trolis Mumis*: *trolis* ‘troll; Scandinavian mythical creature’ (LKŽe: electronic Lithuanian Language Dictionary), *Mumis* ‘Mummy’ n., *Karakumų Pabaisa*: *Karakumai* ‘Kara Kum’ p.n., *pabaisa* ‘beast’, *Lietuvos Lenciūginis*: *Lietuva* ‘Lithuania’ p.n., *lenciūgas* ‘chain’ (policeman), *Džekis Kiau Kiau*: *Džekis* ‘Jacky’ n., *kiau*.

The onym of the compound nicknames is an oikonym: *Raudonė*, *Sibiras*, *Lietuva*, *Karakumai*, or a name: *Levas*, *Stasiukas*, *Džekis*, *Mumis*. The components reflect Lithuanian (*Raudonė*, *Lietuva*; *Levas*, *Stasiukas*) and not Lithuanian (*Sibiras*, *Karakumai*; *Džekis*, *Mumis*) onyms.

Some compound nicknames are created using common words (**appellatives**) as their components, out of which both are nouns (13), e.g. *Bičiulio Beždžionė*: *bičiulis* ‘buddy’, *beždžionė* ‘monkey’ (looks like a monkey), *Dievo Karvė* ‘a ladybird’. In the Lithuanian language a ladybird may be called directly *boružė* and metaphorically *Dievo karvė*: *Dievas* ‘God’, *karvė* ‘cow’, *Dinozauro Galva*: *dinozauras* ‘dinosaur’, *galva* ‘head’, *Kanalizacijos Undinė*: *kanalizacija*

‘canalisation’, *undine* ‘mermaid’ (because of the habit to walk slowly), **Lauko Gėlė, Laukų Gėlėlė**: *laukas* ‘field’, *gėlė* ‘flower’, **Lauko Pelė**: *laukas* ‘field’, *pelė* ‘mouse’ (very quiet), **Liaudies Išmintis**: *liaudis* ‘folk’, *išmintis* ‘wisdom’ (knows much), **Meldų Katinas**: *meldai* ‘bulrushes’, *katinas* ‘cat’, **Perkūno Oželis**: *perkūnas* ‘thunder’, *oželis* ‘goatling’ (because of thin voice), **Proto Bokštas**: *protas* ‘mind’, *bokštas* ‘tower’ (too a thoughtful person), **Uody Bulius**: *uodai* ‘midges’, *bulius* ‘bull’.

As can be seen from the analysis of the compound nicknames the majority of these nicknames are the possessive constructions, e.g. **Bičiulio Beždžionė** ‘Buddy’s Monkey’: *bičiulis* ‘buddy’, *beždžionė* ‘monkey’ (looks like a monkey).

Only one of this group is formed from two nominative case components, e.g. **Šlipsas Šerifas**: *šlipsas* ‘tie’, *šerifas* ‘sheriff’ (because the father is a policeman).

Compound nicknames may be created from adjectives and nouns (10), e.g. **Akiniuotas Smurfas**: *akiniuotas* ‘spectacled’, *smurfas* ‘smurf’, **Brangusis Vikšrelis**: *brangusis* ‘darling’, *vikšrelis* ‘little grub’ (because of the habit to repeat the word ‘darling’), **Žąsinas Žandinis**: *žąsinas* ‘gander’, *žandinis* ‘jaw like’ (because of having a birthmark on the cheek), **Didžioji Tapkė**: *didžioji* ‘the big’, *tapkė* ‘slipper’ (very tall), **Geležinis Vilkas**: *geležinis* ‘of iron’, *vilkas* ‘wolf’, **Kuodė Baltoji**: *kuodė* ‘crested tit’ (‘shock-headed, a spastic woman’), *baltoji* ‘the white’, **Medinė Lėlė**: *medinė* ‘wooden’, *lėlė* ‘doll’, **Pavogtas Veidas**: *pavogtas* ‘stolen’, *veidas* ‘face’, **Sena Boba**: *sena* ‘old’, *boba* ‘woman’.

In such compound nicknames the adjective denotes the attribute that is specific to a person designated by the noun, e.g. **Šlapia Višta**: *šlapia* ‘wet’, *višta* ‘hen’ adjective describes the stupid women. In the Lithuanian language the names of animals and birds often are used to create the nickname that expresses subjective (usually negative) personal characteristics.

2.5. There are some cases of **nicknames–phrases** (4; 1.7%), e.g. **Viskas Kad Nu** ‘all that hupp’ (because of the habit to use this phrase), **Visų Galų Meistras** ‘master in everything’ (a person boasting of himself), **Dzindriau-Lindriau**, **Nieka Nieka** ‘nothing nothing’ (because always says so).

In summary, it is possible to claim that in terms of structure secondary nicknames have the suffix, the ending, are of mixed structure, blends, compounds and nickname phrases. It was noted that the analysed secondary nicknames recorded at Veliuona vicinities tend to be composed from appellatives.

According to the Politeness Theory, nicknames, such as familiar addressing, second person singular forms of verbs and pronouns, slang words, dialectal words are the markers for the group identity, that is why their usage undoubtedly



relates to the positive politeness strategy with a purpose to create atmosphere of belonging, to joke, to go into contact with the addressee.

On the other hand, in order to specify the purpose of the locution strategy as much as possible, the attention is paid to the real situation of the talk, to the age, social distance and social power of interlocutors, thus the conclusion can be made that it is sought to create the atmosphere of belonging or the purpose is to insult, to mock, or to demean. Since nicknames were only fixed as used by the local residents, and the real situation of talking was not evaluated, to study nicknames according to the positive politeness strategy is not recommended.

3. During the project of the Institute of the Lithuanian Language *Modern Research of Geolinguistics in Lithuania: Optimisation of Network of Points and Interactive Spread of Dialectal Information* all nicknames recorded in Veliuona vicinity were analysed structurally. In the paper, on the grounds of structural analysis, nicknames were classified into two groups by universal criteria that allow the distinction between the primary and the secondary. Primary nicknames originate from corresponding onyms and appellatives which are categorised on onomastic level without structural changes, i.e. they do not differ structurally from the motivated word. The secondary nickname group comprises derivatives.

After structural analysis of 241 secondary nicknames it was revealed that nicknames that are mostly used in Veliuona vicinity have the suffix (111; 46.1%) and the ending (83; 34.4%). The underlying word of nicknames with suffixes more often is an appellative (61 out of 111), and of the nicknames with the ending – onym (45 out of 83). A fair part of secondary nicknames are compound nicknames (33; 13.7%), out of which 8 are formed of onyms. Structurally, there are 4 (1.7%) nickname phrases. Out of 9 blend nicknames 4 are formed of onyms. It was noted that from all the nicknames analysed and recorded in all Veliuona vicinities 108 nicknames were formed of onyms: names, surnames and oikonoms. 133 nicknames were formed of appellatives of various speech parts: nouns, adjectives and verbs.

The structural analysis of the secondary nicknames, recorded in Veliuona vicinity, reveals the most usual derivation method. Nicknames are mostly formed by adding various suffixes. The diminutive suffixes *-(i)ukas*, *-(i)ukė*, *-elė*, *-ytė*, *-utė* used to create nicknames are common to the Lithuanian language. Suffixation is the most frequent method also to form appellatives in the Lithuanian language. The second group of secondary nicknames consists of nicknames with an ending, especially with *-(i)us* and *-ė*. Nicknames with ending *-(i)us* and *-ė* are the names of the quality, therefore, such derivatives are common in derivation of the nicknames, recorded in Veliuona vicinity.

Structure of the secondary nicknames also indicate an attitude – favourable or unfavourable, pejorative – on the part of the speaker to person or thing.

Nicknames, such as familiar addressing, are the markers for the group identity, that is why their usage relates to the positive politeness strategy with a purpose to create atmosphere of belonging, to joke, to go into contact with the addressee.

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Abstract

The paper analyses nicknames that were recorded in Veliuona vicinity during the project of the Institute of the Lithuanian Language *Modern Research of Geolinguistics in Lithuania: Optimisation of Network of Points and Interactive Spread of Dialectal Information*.¹ The paper aims at identifying the characteristic attributes of nickname structure.

The paper invokes structural analysis of nicknames to find universal criteria that would enable the distinction of nicknames into primary and secondary. Structural analysis discloses the structure of proper and common words that are usually selected for nickname creation. Having analysed the nicknames structurally, suffixal, inflectional, mixed structure, compound, composite and phrasal nicknames were distinguished. It was determined that suffixes and inflections are mostly used for nickname creation.

Keywords: the primary nicknames, the secondary nicknames, the structural analysis of nicknames, Onima, Appellatives

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