

Michaela Boháčová (Brno, Czech Republic)
Žaneta Dvořáková (Prague, Czech Republic)

The development of the Czech anthroponymic system from a cognitive-pragmatic perspective*

1. A brief overview of diachronic research on personal names in the Czech environment

Czech onomastics has a long tradition in the research of personal names. JOSEF DOBROVSKÝ (1753–1829) is considered the founder of Czech anthroponomastics, but unfortunately, he did not finish his forthcoming dictionary of all Slavic personal names *Onomasticum Slavicum*. However, others continued his work. The examination of various groups of personal names in synchronic and diachronic perspectives has been and is the subject of many specialized monographs and studies. The current research on the development of anthroponyms is mainly based on the material-rich monographic publications that were produced in the 1960s: the publication of JAN SVOBODA (1964) focused on Old Czech given names, and the monograph of JOSEF BENEŠ (1962) on the formation of family names (surnames). The first of these, JAN SVOBODA, extracted from printed sources more than 56,000 Old Czech personal names documented from the earliest times until 1419.¹ In addition to the monograph published based on this material, he also prepared the *Dictionary of Old Czech Personal Names*. Unfortunately, it was never published. Only the register is available to the public today, accessible within the website of sources for Old Czech (IndexSvob.), which can be used for further research only in a very limited way. The excerpts for the dictionary are stored as internal material in the Department of Onomastics of the Czech Language Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences and have been extracted for this work (KartSvob.). The

* This study has been produced with the assistance of the database Czech Medieval Sources online, provided by the LINDAT/CLARIAH-CZ Research Infrastructure (<https://lindat.cz>), supported by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of the Czech Republic (Project No. LM2023062). The author's part by Michaela Boháčová was created within the project *Lexikon a gramatika češtiny IV – 2024, MUNI/A/1368/2023* (Lexicon and Grammar of Czech IV – 2024; MUNI/A/1368/2023). The preparation of the author's part by Žaneta Dvořáková was financed within the statutory activity of the Czech Language Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences (RVO No. 68378092).

¹ The repertoire of Old Czech personal names was supplemented by names that can be reconstructed from toponyms (e.g. personal name **Zachota* from the toponym *Zachotin*). Such names should be treated as indirectly attested forms (SVOBODA 1964: 25–31) and will not be discussed in detail in our text, as they require a more profound commentary beyond the scope of this paper.



second of the mentioned researchers, JOSEF BENEŠ, focused on forming the second name, i.e. the family name. In addition to the abovementioned publication on their development, he also authorizes a monograph on German family names attested in the Czech lands (2020). From BENEŠ's materials, his daughter DOBRAVA MOLDANOVÁ compiled an etymological dictionary containing explanations of more than 30,000 Czech family names (2019).

In the 1990s, JANA PLESKALOVÁ returned to researching the oldest Czech personal names. She focused on the earliest period of Czech language development up to the 13th century, from which we do not have coherent Czech texts. Proper names are one of the essential groups of words through which we can learn about the state of the Czech language in this period (1998). JANA PLESKALOVÁ is also the author of a comprehensive treatment of the development of personal names in the Czech lands from 1000–2010 (2011), based both on her research and on many studies published on subgroups of personal names. She also excerpted names from editions of older sources, and her work contains a rich bibliography.

The research of personal names in a diachronic perspective in the Czech environment today is carried out along two lines:

1. Description of the developmental tendencies leading to the current official state, i.e. the search for the roots of the two-name anthroponymic system and its gradual crystallization, including analyses of the repertoire of given names in various developmental phases of Czech, its changes and dynamics, as well as efforts to capture the germs of family names and their gradual stabilization up to the current state culminating *de jure* in the 18th century (anchoring the hereditary family names).
2. Form of identification of persons in older times. This line of research has been developing since about the 1990s, and a significant impetus has been the heuristic work with historical sources, which have since been made available in digital form. The return to direct work with sources containing personal names has made it possible to build on earlier research on personal names and refine or revise some earlier conclusions. At the same time, it has opened up new topics, such as the examination of how persons are identified in the sources (names are often part of entire phrases), the naming of socially marginalized or less important persons in the eyes of society at that time, about whom the oldest sources are often silent (women and children), and the names of the Jewish or Roma population.

Our text is based on this tradition of Czech onomastics, but it also presents the results of more recent research and draws heavily on primary sources. Although our text focuses on the development of personal names, it is necessary to mention in the introduction what their current state is. At the official level, in



the Czech environment, there is a two-name system in the given name + family name structure. According to the current legislation, an individual is identified by at least one given name (maximum two) and family name. This state of affairs results from a lengthy development traced from the time of the first documents of Czech personal names (roughly in the 9th century). While given names are nowadays generally chosen from a relatively limited repertoire (list names),² family names are hereditary (referential names). In addition to the official layer of personal names, there is – as in other languages – a very dynamic and rich group of unofficial personal names, comprising mainly nicknames (descriptive names) and hypocoristics (affective names).

2. Pragmatic aspects in anthroponym research

In line with the whole volume, our text aims to look at the development of the Czech anthroponymic system through the lens of the pragmatic and cognitive-semantic approach as presented in the works of VALÉRIA TÓTH (especially 2017; 2022; HOFFMANN–TÓTH 2015). Although such treatment is still lacking in Czech anthroponomastics, aspects of the pragmatic approach are present in the traditional emphasis of Czech onomastics on the communicative level of proper names and at the moment of their formation (ŠRÁMEK 1999: 20–21). The motivational level of proper name formation and the emphasis on the naming process are intensively elaborated in Czech onomastics, especially on geographical names. Motivational aspects in personal names have been dealt with, e.g. by MILOSLAVA KNAPPOVÁ (1989; 1999; 2017), but naturally only on contemporary material, since it is on the synchronic level that the reasons for the choice of names (in the case of list names) or their origin (descriptive names) can best be traced. From a diachronic perspective, examining the motivations for name choice or origination is very difficult, as we can rarely glean this information from the sources. The greater the temporal distance from the anthroponymic material, the more difficult it is to examine the reasons for naming a particular individual. For this reason, the methods of interpreting names in a diachronic perspective rely on knowledge of the formation and origin of contemporary names: we assume that the cognitive processes by which descriptive names are formed today (especially nicknames as one type of unofficial personal names) function as certain universals, and that descriptive names were formed by similar processes in earlier times. Parallels for earlier times can also be found in the present-day motives for the choice of

² The registry offices rely on the dictionary of MILOSLAVA KNAPPOVÁ (2020), which contains more than 17 thousand verified forms of names. The Institute for the Czech Language of the CAS assesses the suitability for registering other names not listed here from a linguistic point of view. The conditions for the registration of names of Czech citizens are laid down in Act No. 301/2000 Coll.



given names (referential names): as today, in the past names were very often chosen according to members of the immediate or extended family, according to ancestors, godparents, the fashion of the time or the popularity of certain saints, whose names were then often chosen for children in a given period (e.g. the name *Joseph/Josef*, popular in the Baroque period).

3. Periodization of Czech language development, description of sources, and role of personal names

Czech was one of the (West) Slavic languages that emerged from Proto-Slavic at the end of the 10th century. Its further development is traditionally divided into the oldest period, the so-called Proto-Czech (1000–1150), followed by Old Czech (until 1500), Middle Czech (until the third quarter of the 18th century), and New Czech. For each period, we have different source materials from which we can learn about the language of the time and, thus, the proper names. Before we proceed to a more detailed description of the available sources and the development of personal names, we can briefly mention at the outset that the development in the Czech lands was quite similar to the situation in other countries of the Christian cultural circle.³ As elsewhere in Europe, it is assumed that descriptive names, which are most closely associated with the common vocabulary, constituted the oldest layer of personal names in the Czech environment. Unfortunately, we do not have sufficient evidence of the practice of their giving or creation in the earliest period, and this situation is therefore reconstructed. The further development of the anthroponymic system characterizes a gradual influx of names from outside, namely German names and names related to Christianity. The latter represents a layer of referential names. At the same time, the whole system of individual identification moves from one-name system to two-name system.

3.1. Resources

We have no documented continuous Czech written texts for the earliest developmental phase of Czech (10th–13th century). Latin played the role of the cultural language at this time. The oldest continuous Czech texts date back to the end of the 13th century and are mostly shorter literary compositions. The language of this earliest period is recognized through disconnected monuments, single words, or passages that are part of a foreign language text – mostly Latin (but also German, less often Hebrew or Arabic). Among them, the most important place is occupied by the single words in a foreign language texts, the

³ On the development of Slavic languages, see KALETA 1987–1989; KALETA 1991. A broader European context is provided by LEIBRING 2016. The detailed development of anthroponyms in selected countries or cultures is also offered in EICHLER et al. 1996: 1176–1329 and BRENDLER–BRENDLER 2007.



so-called *Bohemica*, i.e. Czech appellatives (culture-specific words, terminology), and especially proper names (geographical and personal), which could not be translated and were more or less adapted into Latin (PLESKALOVÁ 2009). Documents of personal names before the 10th century are scarce: from the charters of the 9th century, we have documented, e.g. the name of the Great Moravian duke Svatopluk: *Zvuentapu de Maravna* (879, ‘Svatopluk of Moravia’, CDB I: 14), from the 10th century the name of duke Boleslav: *dux Bolezlaus* (992, CDB I: 43). By 872, the Fuld Annals document the names of five Bohemian dukes, four of which are of Slavic origin, one probably of Germanic origin (REJZEK 2021: 112).

The most valuable source of Bohemian personal names are administrative texts, dominated in number and meaning by Latin charters. They are editorially published for the 13th century (CDB I–VI) and thus provide a precious and readily available source of proper names.⁴ The personal names in the charters denote the persons who had the documents drawn up (the pope, the ruler, i.e. the clerical or secular nobility) or the witnesses to the legal act in question (again, the clerical or secular nobility). To a much lesser extent, the names of persons who are otherwise affected by the act in question (peasants, artisans) are mentioned in the documents. This is very significant because we see that personal names were stratified precisely with regard to the social status of the bearer (typically, different names are attested for the nobility and the non-noble people). The number of female personal names in the lists is minimal, a condition that is universally valid from a diachronic perspective and reflects the status of women in earlier society. Women are often identified through their role as wives or widows, daughters or sisters. We do not even encounter the names of immature individuals, i.e. children, until the early modern period. For the earlier period, necrologies (obituaries) are a precious source, especially the 13th-century *Necrology of Podlažice*, which contains a large number of personal names, not only of members of the nobility but also of non-noble people (PLAČEK 1907; VINTROVÁ 2012).

In the early medieval period, the number of sources increased and varied in genre and language. The most important sources of personal names are still legal texts, written in Czech from the end of the 14th century onwards, many of which have been edited and are now available digitally. In the following period, the number of sources grew rapidly: in addition to deeds, other types of sources appeared, some of which have not yet been fully mined (e.g. testaments, guild records, executioner’s records, lists of serfs, etc.), and especially more or less

⁴ Several charters of this period are preserved only from later copies or are younger falses, which is always mentioned in the description of the charter. Factually and in terms of content, we can approach them with confidence.



systematically kept sources recording property conditions (urbaria, field registers, tax rolls, cadastres), which provide insight into the naming habits of the non-noble population. From the mid-17th century onwards, civil registers (register books of births, weddings, and deaths) were a significant source, as they were kept in different languages (Latin, Czech, and German), which naturally influenced the form of the names recorded there (e.g. the same person is listed as *Franciscus* – *František* – *Franz*). Many of these materials are now gradually available electronically by the various regional archives.

Obviously, we have different resources for each developmental period. Personal names are included in these texts in different amounts and also in different forms, depending on the type of source: differently, names are captured in charters in which they are part of a continuous text; differently, names are captured in sources of the necrology type, which contain names in a simple list, usually without further information about the person. Returning to part 1 of our paper, we outlined two lines of contemporary anthroponymical research development. In that case, it is clear that certain types of sources are more suitable for tracing the repertoire of personal names, its changes, and dynamics, while other types of sources are more suitable for tracing how an individual was identified at different times and how the whole system of naming developed and became established. Naturally, texts in which names are part of a larger narrative are more suitable for these investigations. The nature of the source must also be considered about the social stratum of the society it depicts, as this is reflected in conclusions about contemporary naming practices.

4. Development of personal names in Czech

The Czech language inherited some of the personal names from the Proto-Slavic language, as well as the oldest ways of their formation and naming motifs. Their Proto-Slavic origin is evidenced by their spread in other (West) Slavic languages. In the earliest period of Czech, three basic word-formation structures were realized in personal names (PLESKALOVÁ 1998: 10; SVOBODA 1964: 35–43; BLANÁR 1996):

1. compound personal names, composed of two autosemantic bases: e.g. the name of the Great Moravian duke Svatopluk: *Zvuentapu de Maravna* (879, ‘Svatopluk of Moravia’, CDB I: 14; *Svatopluk* < proto-Slavic **svęťь* ‘mighty, strong’ + proto-Slavic **рѣлкѣ* ‘regiment, detachment’ = ‘one who is strong in regiments, military people’);

2. simple personal names, which were mainly formed from appellatives or on the background of appellative types, names of metaphorical, metonymic origin: *Bič* (12th century, < *bič* ‘whip’, CDB I: 59), *Čížek* (13th century, < *čížek* ‘siskin’, CDB V/II: 385);



3. simple personal names, which were formed by derivation from other personal names, either by simple contraction or by suffixation – in this way names were formed both from old compound Slavic names (*Sbyš* 1192, < *Sby-slav* + *-š*, CDB I: 307) and from adopted names of foreign origin (*Bareš* 13th century, < *Bar-toloměj* + *-eš*, CDB II: 318).

These three groups represent the oldest layer of personal names. In particular, the compound personal names (1.) are interesting from a cognitive and pragmatic point of view. The semantics of the components of the oldest composites show that they were initially descriptive names, reflecting the characteristics of the bearer or wishing to attribute some to him. Gradually, however, this mode of formation became a pattern that produced formations with relatively loosely connected components that often carried quite contradictory meanings. The resulting personal name thus “made no sense”, e.g. *Lstimír* (*lest* ‘trick’ + *mír* ‘peace’) or frequent personal names with the second component *-slav* (on this in detail SVOBODA 1964: 37–38). These formations testify to the loosening of the original descriptive function of these names. The literature states that these names were reserved for nobility (PLESKALOVÁ 1998: 10; also detailed in SVOBODA 1964: 35–40). In the Czech environment, we have no documented cases of the repeated choice of a particular component to express belonging to a clan or family (cf. LEIBRING 2016: 202).

In the oldest layer of Czech names, we see archaic motifs inherent in all Indo-European languages. Names in the second group represent the core of the oldest descriptive names. They are the most closely related of all names to the common vocabulary of the language. Unfortunately, we cannot reveal the exact motivation of the names with the passage of many centuries,⁵ so these names are classified according to more easily identifiable features, i.e. according to formal (formation, morphology) and semantic criteria. Although it is not easy to determine the motivation of their origin, there are types among them whose continuation can still be found in some archaic cultures. For example, prophylactic, apotropaic (protective), or predestinative (wishful, predetermining) names are distinguished in this way. In the onomastic literature, it is stated that simple names were originally more typical for non-noble persons (PLESKALOVÁ 1998: 10; SVOBODA 1964: 41–45). This earliest layer of names is still alive today in the form of nicknames (see descriptive names below).

⁵ Similarly, it is impossible to determine the original motivation of current nicknames if we do not know the circumstances of their origin: for example, if someone has the nickname *Medvěd* (‘bear’), he could have got it by his gait, by his stocky body type, by his character (he is hesitant, slow), by the way he speaks (he grumbles), by the fact that he likes honey, wears a T-shirt with a bear on it, etc.



The last group of name types inherited from Proto-Slavic is names formed by contraction of other personal names (3.), either native (composite) or adopted (i.e. referential names). However, these names can no longer be classified as descriptive names. The way they are formed shows that the semantics of the original base are obscured, hence the loss of connection with the vocabulary. Therefore, they belong to the category of referential names. For their formation, see affective names.

In further development, the progressive types of personal names in Czech are of types (2.) and (3.), i.e. descriptive simple names formed from native appellatives or from the general vocabulary (2.) and names formed by contraction of already existing personal names (3.), often associated with further derivation using a rich repertoire of suffixes of native (Slavic or Czech) origin. These names are based on other personal names of native origin (composites) and on a new layer of adopted names (German names, names associated with Christianity), i.e. referential names.

4.1. Descriptive names in Czech

In this chapter, we present descriptive Czech names according to the typology of VALÉRIA TÓTH (2022: 126–132). These are examples of names from sources before the legal establishment of hereditary unchangeable family names (see below), i.e. before 1786. Names are given in transliterated form, with the date, context (transliterated or transcribed, depending on the source), and abbreviation of the source given for the documents. In quotation marks, we give the source word in Czech (sometimes in older or dialectal form), and the English equivalent. Word-formation processes are summarized after the typology.⁶

Typology of Czech descriptive names

I. the descriptive name constituent is a noun

1. common noun

1.1. common noun indicating a person

a) ethnonym

Čech (1336: Mikscho *Czech*, KartSvob.; ‘Czech’)

Polák (1409: Mikš *Polák* z Vežek, LCS I: 339; ‘Pole’)

Uher (1581: Pavel *Uher*, MŠ 67; ‘Hungarian’)

Poláček (16th/17th cent.: Ondra *Poláček*, LJ 27; *Polák* ‘Pole’ + suffix *-ek*)

Slezák (1695: Řiha *Slezák*, MŠ 67; ‘Silesian’)



⁶ The Czech anthroponomastic literature uses somewhat different classification criteria, combining semantic and formal aspects (cf. BENEŠ 1962; SVOBODA 1964; PLESKALOVÁ 2011).

- b) occupational name, title, rank name, word indicating social status
Císař (1380: Johannes, confessor regine Bohemie dictus *Cyessarz*, KartSvob.; *císař* ‘emperor’)
Tesař (1404: Nicolai *Tessarz* de Praga, KartSvob.; *tesař* ‘carpenter’)
Purkrábek (1483: *Purkrábek*, MŠ 83; *purkrabi* ‘the official administering the castle’ + suffix *-ek*)
Král (1581: Tomáš *Král*, MŠ 82; *král* ‘king’)
Maršálek (1695: Matěj *Maršálek*, MŠ 82; *maršálek* ‘marshal’)
Řezník (16th/17th cent.: Šimek *Řezník*, LJ 43; *řezník* ‘butcher’)
- c) name of relative
Dědoš (13th cent.: *Dědoš*, AV 46; *děd* ‘grandfather’ + suffix *-oš*)
Bratroň (13th cent.: *Bratroň*, AV 44; *bratr* ‘brother’ + suffix *-oň*)
Babka (1387: Buzko dictus *Babka* de Tomycz recepit, KartSvob.; *bába* ‘grandmother’ + suffix *-ka*)
Synek (1412: *Synek* z Svitavice, LCS II: 370; *syn* ‘son’ + suffix *-ek*)
Strýček (1483: *Strýček*, MŠ 83; *strýc* ‘uncle’ + suffix *-ek*)
Ujčík (1483: *Ujčík*, MŠ 83; *ujec* ‘uncle on mother’s side’ + suffix *-ík*)
- d) other noun denoting a person
Jeptiška (1382: Johann dictus *Jeptisska*, KartSvob.; *jeptiška* ‘nun’)
Novák (1398: Mathias *Nowak*, KartSvob.; *novák* ‘newly settled’)
Žák (1581: Matůš *Žák*, MŠ 85; *žák* ‘student; priesthood candidate’)
Čert (1669: Ondřej Pešek aneb *Čert*, ROŽMBERSKÝ 2007: 154; *čert* ‘devil’)
Škrítek (16th/17th cent.: Jakub *Škrítka*, LJ 57; *skřítek*, *škřítek* ‘gnome’, plural genitive)
- 1.2. common noun denoting a living being that is not a person
- a) plant name
Cibule (1380: Johannes dictus *Cibule*, KartSvob.; *cibule* ‘onion’)
Vrba (1408: Příbek *Vrba* z Krp, KartSvob.; *vrba* ‘willow tree’)
Petružel (1483: *Petružel*, MŠ 99; *petružel*, *petržel* ‘parsley’)
Melún (1581: Barchoň *Melún*, MŠ 99; *melún*, *meloun* ‘melon’)
Borůvka (1695: Matěj *Borůvka*, MŠ 99; *borůvka* ‘blueberry’)
- b) animal name
Kavka (13th cent.: *Kavka*, AV 29; *kavka* ‘jackdaw’)
Osel (13th cent.: *Osel*, AV 29; *osel* ‘donkey’)
Holub (1419: Johannes *Holub* de Bitreho, KartSvob.; *holub* ‘pigeon’)
Vopička (1483: *Vopička*, MŠ 98; *opice*, *vopice* ‘monkey’ + suffix *-ka*)
Kozelek (1581: Jakub *Kozelek*, MŠ 97; *kozel* ‘billy goat’ + suffix *-ek*)
- 1.3. common noun denoting an inanimate thing
- a) name of part of the body
Boček (1234: *Bochcek*, CDB III/I: 81; *bok* ‘hip’ + suffix *-ek*)
Hlaváč (1316: Hincó dictus *Hlawacz*, KartSvob.; *hlava* ‘head’ + suffix *-áč*)



- Brada* (1413: Johannes *Brada*, KartSvob.; *brada* ‘chin; beard’)
Nožička (1695: Matěj *Nožička*, MŠ 72; *noha* ‘leg’ + suffix *-ička*)
Prdelka (16th/17th cent.: *Prdelka*, LJ 34; *prdel* ‘bum, ass’ + suffix *-ka*)
- b) common noun denoting an object
Bidlo (1406: Janoni dicto *Bydlo* de Olomuczan, KartSvob.; *bidlo* ‘rod, pole’)
Vdolek (1412: Petrus *Wdolek* cerdo, BENEŠ 1962: 231; *vdolek* ‘type of pastry’)
Jehlička (1454: Johannes *Gehliczka* sartor, BENEŠ 1962: 233; *jehla* ‘needle’ + suffix *-ička* or ‘small needle’)
Peřina (1581: Jan *Peřina*, MŠ 106; *peřina* ‘eiderdown’)
Zástěra (1695: *Zástěra*, MŠ 106; *zástěra* ‘apron’)
- c) name of materials
Kožíšek (1394: Hawliconis *Kozyssek*, KartSvob.; *kožíšek* ‘fur’)
Škrob (1483: mlynář *Škrob*, MŠ 106; *škrob* ‘starch’)
Karmazínek (1582: Řehoř Kneysl jinák *Karmazínek* řezník, Alm. 126; *karmazín* ‘scarlet silk fabric’ + suffix *-ek*)
- 1.4. (geographical) common noun denoting a place⁷
Hora (1398: Georg *Hora*, KartSvob.; *hora* ‘mountain’)
Háj (1415: Laurinus dictus *Hay* de Podhagie, KartSvob.; *háj* ‘grove’)
Koutník (1695: Vondra *Koutník*, MŠ 69; *kout* ‘corner’ + suffix *-ník*)
Skala (16th/17th cent.: Jiřík *Skala*, LJ 52; *skála* ‘rock’)
- 1.5. common noun with abstract meaning
Čas (1318: Jacobus dictus *Sczas*, KartSvob.; *čas* ‘time’)
Chlad (1385: domus *Chladonis*, KartSvob.; *chlad* ‘coolness’)
Pátek (1483: *Pátek*, MŠ 108; *pátek* ‘Friday’)
Nevěra (1581: Jura *Nevěra*, MŠ 108; *nevěra* ‘infidelity’)
Hlad (1695: Jíra *Hlad*, MŠ 108; *hlad* ‘hunger’)
2. proper name
2.1. toponym⁸
Kostelák (1405: Nicolaus de Kostelcze dictus *Kostelák*, DD VII: 27; ‘from Kostelec’)
Plzák (1481: *Plzák*, MŠ 64; ‘from Plzeň/Pilsen’)
Jordán (16th/17th cent.: Jiřík *Jordán*, LJ 57; ‘Jordan river’, i.e. biblical hydronym adapted into Czech)
- 2.2. personal name
a) descriptive name: none⁹

⁷ For this group, it is not possible to decide whether the base is an appellative or a toponym (see TÓTH 2022: 128).

⁸ Names in adjective form are also formed from toponyms (see below).

⁹ See TÓTH 2022: 128.



b) referential name

Johanko (1405: Johannes dictus *Johanko* /< Johannes ‘John’/ de Wranouicz, LCS I: 115)

Michalec (1386: Johannes dictus *Michalecz* < *Michal* ‘Michael’, DD VII: 57)

Mikula (1581: Jakub *Mikula* < *Mikuláš* ‘Nicolas’, MŠ 33)

Štěpánův (1581: Jan *Štěpánův* < *Štěpán* ‘Stephen’, MŠ 58; possessive adjective)¹⁰

Václavčín (1581: Mikuláš *Václavčín* < *Václavka*,¹¹ MŠ 62; possessive adjective)

Paulů (1695: Pavel *Paulů* < *Paul*, MŠ 58; possessive adjective)

Vávra (1695: Urban *Vávra* < *Vavřinec* ‘Lawrence’, MŠ 33)

Kubina (16th/17th cent.: Jakub *Kubina* < *Jakub* ‘Jacob’, LJ 5)

c) nexus name

Tampír (< Heinri Duval *Dampierre*; the name of a retired soldier who served in Dampierre’s regiment during the Thirty Years’ War; MOLDA-NOVÁ 2019: 195)

d) affective name: this name category cannot be delimited¹²

e) multi-dimensional name

Burian (1413: Jan řečený *Burian* z Gutšteina, KartSvob.; *búrny* ‘thunderstorm’ + *Jan* ‘John’ = St. John, protector during storms)

Pivojan (1695: Vondra *Pivojan*, MŠ 115; *pivo* ‘beer’ + *Jan* ‘John’)

2.3. other proper name

Bucifal (1713: Andreas *Butzefaluß*, after Alexander the Great’s horse, BENEŠ 2020: 379)

II. the descriptive name constituent is an adjective (or adjective-like lexeme)

1. adjective without a formant

Dlúhý (1397: Johannis dicti *Dluhy*, KartSvob.; *dlúhý/dlouhý* ‘long, tall’)

Bílý (1403: Jan *Biely* z Domamyslic, KartSvob.; *bílý* ‘white, light’)

Hladký (1417: Buzko *Hladky* de Podworzan, KartSvob.; *hladký* ‘smooth, kind’)

Mokrý (1581: Tomek *Mokrý*, MŠ 73; *mokrý* ‘wet’)

Slabej (1695: Vávra *Slabej*, MŠ 73; *slabý/slabej* ‘weak’)

2. adjective with formant

Bezedno (1389: Georgi *Bezedna*, KartSvob.; *bezedný* ‘bottomless’)

¹⁰ The following three examples are possessive adjectives formed from personal names. Although they are grammatically adjectives, we keep them in this category, as the feature of nominality is very strongly present in them (see KARLÍK–VESELOVSKÁ 2017).

¹¹ *Václavčín* = possessive adjective from the name of a woman *Václavka* (from *Václav* ‘Wenceslas’ + suffix *-ka*), it is a so-called metronymic, i.e. a personal name created from the name of the mother.

¹² See TÓTH 2022: 129.



Železný (1399: domus Galli *Zelezny*, KartSvob.; *železný* ‘iron’)
Zlatý (1404: domus Henrici *Zlati*, KartSvob.; *zlatý* ‘gold’)
Žatecký (1405: Martini *Zateczky*, KartSvob.; ‘from Zatec’)
Vzteklý (1572: Václav *Vzteklý*, BENEŠ 1962: 279; *vzteklý* ‘furious, angry’)
Očadlý (1581: Václav *Očadlý*, MŠ 74; *očadlý* ‘branded by fire’)
Staroveský (1581: Martin *Staroveský*, MŠ 66; ‘from Stará Ves’)
Drahný (1581: Melchar *Drahný*, MŠ 74; *drahný* ‘large, nice, good’)
Huňatej (1695: Jakub *Huňatej*, MŠ 73; *huňatý/huňatej* ‘shaggy, bushy’)
Podskalský (16th/17th cent.: Pavel *Podskalský*, LJ 28; *pod skálou* ‘under the rock’ + suffix *-ský*)
Morkovský (16th/17th cent.: Jaroš *Morkovský*, LJ 25; ‘from Morkovice’)

3. present participle

a) active participle: none¹³

b) passive participle:¹⁴

Nedan (12th cent.: *Nedan*, PLESKALOVÁ 1998: 96; *nedat* ‘don’t give’)

Trpěn (13th cent.: *Trpěn*, AV 69; *trpět* ‘suffer’)

4. past participle

Túlal (1386: Blahutonis *Tulal*, KartSvob.; *túlati sě/toulat se* ‘roam, wander’)

Bumbal (1439: Wenceslaus dictus *Bumbal*, BENEŠ 1962: 270; *bumbat* ‘drink’, *bumbal* ‘hard drinker’)

Nesvačil (1506: Paulus pelliſex dictus *Nesvačil*, BENEŠ 1962: 270; *nesvačit* ‘don’t eat snack’)

Vytasil (1695: Jíra *Vytasil*, MŠ 92; *vytasit* ‘draw, unsheathe, pull out’)

Připil (1695: Jíra Pyšnej v posudních knihách *Připil* jmenovaný, MŠ 92; *připít* ‘drink to somebody’s health’)

5. (word formed from) numeral

Pátý (1483: *Pátý*, MŠ 111; *pátý* ‘fifth’)

Třetina (1581: Jan *Třetina*, MŠ 111; *třetí* ‘third’ + suffix *-ina*; substantive)

Jediný (1581: Martin ze *Jediného*, MŠ 110; *jediný* ‘the only’)

III. the descriptive name constituent is a verb (or verb-like lexeme)

Semele (1655: Dobiáš *Semele*, jinak Svoboda, ze mlýna Lhoty řečeného, ROŽMBERSKÝ 2007: 154; imperative from *semlít* ‘grind’)

¹³ The reason is probably that adjectives with *-cí* (originally of participial origin: *dělající* ‘doing’) are in Czech at the end of the derivational series, i.e. further derivation from them is impossible (see LAMPRECHT–ŠLOSAR–BAUER 1986: 312). Thus, other formations necessary in communication for the functioning of personal names (e.g. possessive adjectives or affective names) cannot be formed from them.

¹⁴ FRANTIŠEK KOPEČNÝ does not exclude the original active meaning of the forms of the *Radovan* type (from *radovat se*, in the meaning ‘rejoicing’), which look like passive participles (1991: 171–172).



Nestroj (1695: Josef *Nestroj*, MŠ 88; imperative from *nestrojít (se)* ‘don’t prepare; don’t dress up’)

Rozumíš (1708: Matthias *Rozumíš*, BENEŠ 1962: 281; indicative from *rozumět* ‘you understand’)

IV. the descriptive name constituent is a lexeme from another part of speech (adverbs, particles, interjections)

Odevšad (1374: Mikes de Slatyna Welcony de *Odeuvsad*, KartSvob.; ‘from everywhere’)

Haťapaťa (1525: Vítém *Hatíapatiou*, BENEŠ 1962: 298; *haťapaťa* is rhymes from children’s speech)

Znenáhlo (1606: Martin *Znenáhlo*, BENEŠ 1962: 297; *znenáhla* ‘suddenly’)

Hejha (16th/17th cent.: Havel *Hejha*, LJ 59; *hejhá* is typical calling to the geese)

V. the descriptive name constituent is a syntagma

1. subjective subordinate syntagma

Kosthoří (1451: Johannis *Kosthořie*, BENEŠ 1962: 280; *kost hoří* ‘bone is burning’)

Nehvěvejse (1654: Tomáš *Nehněvejse*, BENEŠ 1962: 281; *nehněvej se* ‘don’t be angry’)

2. objective subordinate syntagma

Kostihlod (1483: *Kostihlod*, MŠ 115; *hlodá kost* ‘gnawing bone’)

Močihub (1500: Markvarth *Močihub* z Kralovic, AČ 16: 545; *moči hubu* ‘wetting mouth’)

Nedřihrach (16th/17th cent.: Vítek *Nedřihrach*, LJ 60; *nedři hrách* ‘don’t rub the peas’)

3. attributive subordinate syntagma

3.1. qualifier structure

Kozíhlava (1356: Johannis et Milota fratrum dictorum *Kozyhlawa* de Czrnicz, KartSvob.; ‘having a goat’s head’)

Bezchleb (1383: Wanko dictus *Bezchleb*, KartSvob.; ‘without bread’)

Suchečert (1483: Toman *Suchečert*, MŠ 115; ‘dry devil’)

Nevoda (1675: Václav *Nevoda*, mlynář ze Žďáru, ROŽMBERSKÝ 2007: 154; ‘no water’)

3.2. quantifier structure

Půlpán (1494: Michal *Puolpán*, AČ 17: 396; ‘half lord’)

Pulmiska (1581: Václav *Pulmiska*, MŠ 115; ‘half a bowl’)

3.3. possessive structure: not found in the sources

4. adverbial subordinate syntagma

Přespole (1400: Martini *Przespole*, KartSvob.; ‘across the field’)

Donebe (1682: Ioan *Donebe* braxator vagabundus, BENEŠ 1962: 304; ‘into heaven’)



5. non-grammatical phrases

Čertbaba (1581: Jan *Čertbaba*, MŠ 115; *čert* ‘devil’ + *baba* ‘old woman; hag’)

In the case of names where the base is a **noun**, there are cases of merely taking the appellative without further formation (*Král* ‘king’, *Čert* ‘devil’, *Cibule* ‘onion’, *Holub* ‘pigeon’). Most were created based on figurative naming, i.e. metaphor or metonymy (semantic formation). We do not know its exact nature and can only guess if, for example, the motive of the name *Brada* was the large chin of the person concerned or the distinctive beard growing on the chin (the Old Czech noun *brada* ‘chin’ also had the meaning ‘beard growing on the chin’), or some event related to the beard/chin.

Cases where the formation of the name is accompanied by suffixation are more frequent, e.g. *Bratroň* < *bratr* ‘brother’ + suffix *-oň*. The formation of names from propriums is dominated by forms with suffixes. The base is either the whole word (*Žatecký* < toponym *Žatec* + *-ký*; adjective form) or a shortened base (*Plzák* < base *Plz-* from toponym *Plzeň* + *-ák*; noun ‘the one from Pilsen’). Similar is the case with derivatives from referential names: complete base *Michal* ‘Michael’ + *-ec* (> *Michalec*), short base (beginning or end of the name) *Mikula* < *Mik-* (from *Mikuláš* ‘Nicolas’) + *-ula*, *Kubina* < *Kub-* (from *Jakub* ‘Jacob’) + *ina*. The repertoire of suffixes used in forming personal names – not only descriptive but also referential and affective – is very rich in Czech since the earliest times (see affective names).

The names of the type *Štěpánův* in the form of possessive adjectives (‘Stephen’s’) are a distinctive group. Although they are formally adjectives in Czech, we keep them in category I (nouns) because this type of word has very strong nominal features in Czech (cf. footnote 10; KARLÍK–VESELOVSKÁ 2017).¹⁵

The type of **adjectives** dominates the adjectival names without and with a formant. Most of the names are based on compound adjectival (long) forms; nominal forms are rarely attested (*Bezedno* from *bezedný* ‘bottomless’).¹⁶ Names in adjectival form with a formant are related to various types of adjectives – whether made from substantives (*Huňatej* from *houně* ‘heavy blanket’) or verbs (*Očadlý* from *očadnout* ‘brand by fire’) or based on prepositional phrases (*Podskalský* ‘under the rock’).¹⁷ A distinctive type are detoponymic names such as *Žatecký* (‘from Žatec’), *Benešovský* (‘from

¹⁵ This type of adjective originally had a nominal declension in the earliest period (LAMPRECHT–ŠLOSAR–BAUER 1986: 173–174), unlike in contemporary Czech.

¹⁶ This name can also be understood as a compound word: *bez(e)* ‘without’ + *dno* ‘bottom’.

¹⁷ For this reason, they are often classified as different types of personal names in Czech, depending on the nature of the base noun.



Benešov'). A widespread Czech type of descriptive name is the past participle, formed from imperfect and perfect verbs (*Tulal, Připil*). All other types of descriptive nouns are less represented and belong to the marginal ones.

The examples given in the typology do not include the names of women. This is because women's names were mainly formed with inflected suffixes. We often cannot distinguish whether their base was an appellative or a proprium (typically the father's or husband's name). E.g. *Maryna Mlynářova* or *Dorota Mlynářka* contain an inflected form of the word *mlynář* ('miller') or from the proprium *Mlynář*. These names could, therefore, refer to a woman with this trade or, more likely, to the wife of a *mlynář* 'miller' (i.e. a person practicing the trade of miller) or a *Mlynář* (i.e. a man with the name *Mlynář*). The descriptiveness of the women's names is thus disputed or mediated through the names of the husband or father. Descriptive names can be considered for names like *Pěkná Anka* (*pěkná* 'pretty' + *Anka* = hypocoristic form from the name *Anna*; LJ 35), of which, however, very few are attested. In older times, the names of women were formed by many suffixes, most often *-ka, -ova, -ová*, the last of which is the only one possible in written New Czech.

As seen from the examples above, most descriptive names are in the position of a supplementary person identifier, standing after the first (given) name. In Czech onomastics, the term "*příjmi*" (i.e. *proto family name, byname*) is used for this additional name. Since the legal codification of its inheritance, the term "*příjmení*" (i.e. *family name, surname*) is used, which is unchangeable, unlike the proto family name. Nowadays, **nicknames**, one of the unofficial personal names, are a typical example of descriptive names. Unlike referential names (which are not connected to the common vocabulary), they bring to the surface the specific lexical content of the words from which they are formed (ŠRÁMEK 1977: 30). It is therefore evident that nicknames and family names were formed in the past according to the same mechanisms. It is, therefore, often not possible to distinguish the two types in the sources: e.g. the above-mentioned *Petružel* (1483) – is it a nickname or a proto family name without the missing given name?¹⁸ If we focus on the descriptive function of these names and the motives for their origin, perhaps the question of their precise terminological distinction is irrelevant. Rather important is the study of contemporary nicknames, which is crucial for the diachronic analysis of these names. We see a motivational and formal variety in contemporary nicknames that we can expect to find even in descriptive names of the earliest period. As VALÉRIA TÓTH states, nicknames originate according to the same cognitive mechanisms by which the old

¹⁸ Some scholars are guided in distinguishing the two types by the number of names, i.e. if a person is called by only one name, it is a nickname; if by two, the second name is a proto family name. This seems to us to be somewhat mechanical, and we think that the two types cannot be classified in this simple way (cf. KNAPPOVÁ 1999: 82; PLESKALOVÁ 2011: 51).



descriptive names originated, i.e. besides the role of distinguishing persons of the same referent, they were also supposed to “describe” a person (2022: 118–119).

At this point, it is not even possible or necessary to detail the motivations of contemporary nicknames since they basically correspond to the motives of the formation of older descriptive names.¹⁹ We will mention one specific type here. These are the motivational nicknames that are attested in today’s scout groups: the girl was nicknamed *Mýval* (*mýval* ‘raccoon’, the Czech word *mýval* is derived from the verb *mýt* ‘wash’) in order to pay more attention to hygiene (ILLEOVÁ 2021: 31). In some scout groups, members get their first nickname based on their vices, and if they stay in the group and kick their habit, they are allowed to choose a new nickname (HANUŠKOVÁ 2012: 21). Perhaps this type of motif existed in old descriptive names as well, but we have no evidence of it in the Czech environment.

Hypocoristic (i.e. secondary) variations of nicknames are also a very dynamic group: e.g. the bearer of the nickname *Drobek* (*drobek* ‘crumb’, figuratively also ‘a person of small stature’) is also called *Drobenka* an association with the noun *drobenka* (‘sprinkles on a cake’, ‘crumbly matter’), or *Drobinátor* – an association with the proprium *Terminator*; ILLEOVÁ 2024). In nicknames and their variations, language play, various associations, and connotations towards the appellative vocabulary and the proprial sphere of the home and foreign languages are very intensively applied.

4.2. Referential names in Czech

As JAN SVOBODA says: “Proper names had a lexical meaning when they were created, but for the actual onomastic function of names, the lexical meaning has become completely irrelevant; therefore they often disappear and are abolished. This means that the connection of proper names with the vocabulary is being abolished, not only lexically but also phonologically and morphologically; extraordinary changes are taking place, and names are being isolated, differentiated formally, and morphologically from appellatives [...]. However, even if proper names coincide with appellatives for the most part, this connection is completely irrelevant to their naming action; therefore, unintelligible names fulfill the onomastic function just as well (and often better since they are not associated with undesirable associations).” (1964: 10–11). VALÉRIA TÓTH refers to such names as referential and defines them as follows: “Referential names have only the most elemental functions of personal names. Thus, they identify the person without any other function added to this role (e.g. characterization, description, effective role).” (2022: 136).



¹⁹ For their division in Czech onomastics, see KNAPPOVÁ 1999; PLESKALOVÁ 2011.

4.2.1. Adopted names

VALÉRIA TÓTH (2022) includes in the category of referential names mainly names adopted from other languages, which were etymologically obscured and semantically empty for the speakers of the adopting language. Typically, these are names that came to our territory with the arrival of Christianity (e.g. the female names *Judita*, *Magdaléna*, *Barbora*, *Gertruda*), i.e. biblical names (especially Hebrew, Aramaic, etc.), saints' names (especially Greek, Latin and German), or other Christian names brought by monastic orders.

Christianity has penetrated us since the 9th century. The oldest documents on Czech history show that names associated with Christianity were part of the Czech anthroponymic system as early as the 11th century. However, Christian names were initially limited to monasteries and clergy, i.e. to the nobility (KNAPPOVÁ 2020: 19). Old native Slavic names still had a considerable prevalence in the 13th century. Gradually, however, Slavic names – except for a few names of important Czech saints (St. Václav, St. Ludmila, St. Vojtěch) – gradually receded from the function of official names. The use of saint's names then prevailed in our country during the 14th century (SVOBODA 1964: 176; PLESKALOVÁ 2011: 60, 63–64; KNAPPOVÁ 2020: 19). In this context, there was a so-called second wave of Christian names. According to JANA PLESKALOVÁ 2011: 61), the most frequently used names in our country at that time were the male names *Johannes* (*Jan*, *Johann*), *Nicolaus* (*Mikuláš*), *Petrus* (*Petr*, *Peter*) and *Venceslaus* (*Václav*), and the female names *Anna*, *Margaretha* (*Markéta*), *Katherina* (*Kateřina*), *Elisabeth* (*Eliška*) and *Dorothea* (*Dorota*).

The foreign names were incorporated into the Czech language in terms of spelling and morphology and treated the same way as native names.²⁰ For example, homonyms and diminutive forms were formed from them; they were shortened, etc. (e.g. *Bartoloměj* > *Bárta*, *Bareš*; *Sebastian* > *Bastian*, *Sebast*, see in detail SVOBODA 1964: 178–182). In the records, these formal hypocoristics (for the term, see below) then appear alongside the official forms (*Johannes alias dictus Hanko de Stikowicz*) or even directly represent them (*Janek de Dolní Plaveč*) (PLESKALOVÁ 2011: 62, 67).

In addition to the names of saints, other names of German origin (e.g. *Ota*, *Konrád*, *Adalbert*) were introduced to us together with German nobility and settlers from the early Middle Ages. These names were adapted into Czech (*Ulrich* > *Oldřich*, *Heinrich* > *Jindřich*). With the development of international cultural contacts, the fashion for French names based on characters from medieval heroic novels was also related (e.g. *Tristam*, *Isolda*, *Parcifal*, etc. –

²⁰ The adaptations of biblical names have been dealt with in detail by KAREL KOMÁREK (2000: 68–101).



see BOK 1995 for details). These names, however, had limited penetration in the Czech environment and probably only among the lower nobility (ŠIMŮNEK 2005).

The Baroque period (18th century) brought significant changes in the repertoire of Christian names. The so-called third wave of Christian names brought with the cult of the Virgin Mary the spread of the names *Marie* and *Josef*, which were taboo until then. As a consequence of the canonization of new saints, the names *Terezie*, *Karel*, *František*, *Antonín*, etc. began to appear in our country and quickly gained popularity (KNAPPOVÁ 2020: 20). Female variants derived from the names of these saints, e.g. *Josefa*, *Františka*, *Karla*, *Antonie*, also became widespread (KOPEČNÝ 1991: 20).

It must be said, that the question of the absence of the “meaning” of these foreign names suggested above is somewhat more complicated. The oldest names were often translated in such a way that their original semantic content was preserved (*Florian* – *Květoň*, *Honorius* – *Ctibor*); they were also associated with native names based on folk etymology, e.g. spelling similarities (*Thobias* – *Dobeš*, *Blažej* – *Blasius*, SVOBODA 1964: 177). However, even other names were not without “meaning” for medieval people, but this was not based on the etymological meaning of the base appellatives in the original language. In the case of saintly names, they were given due to their close association with the person of the saint or martyr who bore the name. In other words, the connotations associated with the name were more important to medieval man. He did not choose a name of Greek origin for his child because it means ‘farmer’ (from the Greek *geórgos*); this very likely did not play a role in the choice of the name, but he knew very well the legend of St. George, in which he killed the dragon, he knew that St. George belonged to the Fourteen Holy Helpers and was the patron saint of knights, and he probably named his son *Jiří* (‘George’) for this reason. This was the secondary “meaning” he put into the name.²¹ The saint’s names simultaneously took over the older functions of protective names (the saint became the patron and protector of the child named after him; he was to be his intercessor in heaven) and wishful names (the baptized person claimed the qualities and virtues of the saint, who was to become his moral model in life).

The shift away from the descriptive nature of names was also related to a change in the motivational stimuli that influenced the choice of names. JANA PLESKALOVÁ (2011: 104–107) distinguishes six main influences: family



²¹ Of course, the fashion of the time may have also played a role, e.g. *Jiří* was one of the most popular male names in the Czech lands in the 16th and 17th centuries.

customs (e.g. naming after parents, grandparents or godparents²²), contemporary social popularity (e.g. the penetration of new Latin and Greek names such as *Veronika*, *Helena*, *Maxmilián*, *Julius*, etc. in the Humanism period; naming after members of the ruling family), individual impulses, religious influences (e.g. naming after which saint was celebrating a feast at the time of the child's birth;²³ the popularity of Old Testament names under the influence of the Reformation, e.g. *Amos*), linguistic influences, and local customs (e.g. naming after the patron saint of a local church or monastery). MILOSLAVA KNAPPOVÁ (2020: 26–40) also mentions the influence of the social status and education of the parents as another influential factor (e.g. different repertoire of names in the countryside and among the townspeople). The choice of names was then significantly guided by the Church's regulations, which significantly influenced the onymic system of most European countries, i.e. mainly the *Catechism Romanus* (1566) and the subsequent *Rituale Romanum* (1614).

“As far as the occurrence of names and their popularity is concerned, the surviving records show that in the period from the 13th century to the first half of the 19th century, the most frequent male names in our country were *Jan*, *Petr*, *Mikuláš*, *Jiří* (from the 15th century), *Václav*, *Martin*, *Ondřej*, *Tomáš*, *Jakub*, *Matěj*, *Pavel*, *Adam* (from the 16th century), *Josef*, *František*, *Karel*, *Antonín* (from the 18th century), and female names *Kateřina*, *Anna*, *Dorota*, *Markéta*, *Alžběta*, *Klára*, *Ludmila*, *Magdaléna*, *Barbora*, *Marie* (from the 18th century). However, the order of the individual names was variable in different periods and territories.” (KNAPPOVÁ 2020: 20). Overall, however, the repertoire of names was somewhat limited. According to FRANTIŠEK KOPEČNÝ (1991: 11, 15), for example, in tax rolls of the three Central Bohemian regions from 1654, only 129 given names were recorded (103 without variants), of which 33 names occur only once, and seven names occur twice; 60.6% of all the men listed here were named *Jakub*, and 23.5% were named *Jan*; the situation was similar for the women recorded – 28% of them were named *Anna*.²⁴

²² FRANTIŠEK KOPEČNÝ states that it was common in aristocratic families for the first son to be named after his grandfather, the second after his godfather, and the third after his father (and similarly for daughters) (1991: 29). For the naming habits of the Czech nobility in the late Middle Ages, see ŠIMŮNEK 2005.

²³ The belief that this was how the child “brought his/her name into the world” was quite strong. It can also explain the proliferation of otherwise uncommon given names, e.g. a boy born on 3rd October 1652 was named *Hieronimus* (*Jeroným*) because the Catholic Church commemorates the feast of St. Jerome on 5th October. Sometimes, the mechanical naming of a child according to the calendar could also be a kind of punishment for an unwed mother and her illegitimate child (see PLESKALOVÁ 2011: 107).

²⁴ The frequency of occurrence of individual names in the 16th–18th centuries is also given by JANA PLESKALOVÁ (2011: 98–103).



As FRANTIŠEK KOPEČNÝ further states: “From the 16th century onwards, the fashion for multiple given names took hold, first among the nobility. The reasons for this phenomenon were religious (the bearer had more patrons), social (it was possible to honor more relatives and godparents), and practical (with a considerable concentration of names, it was necessary to distinguish by a second name). The fashion spread from the nobility to the bourgeoisie and the clergy, and from there to the serfs.” (1991: 21).

4.2.2. Family names after the roof

Among the referential names, we could also include the so-called “*family names after the roof*” (sometimes referred to as *thatched names*, *roof names*, or *Hofname* in German). These are “family names acquired by the new owner of a house or business after the former owner. The name tells where (in whose house/homestead) the named person lives/resided, whose trade he took over, where he moved, moved to, etc.” (PLESKALOVÁ 2017a). As a specific type of family name, they had a significant position in the rural environment, especially from the 16th century onwards. Before that, they were rarely recorded (e.g. “when *Martin ze Šestajovic* bought a house from *Jan Chudoba* in 1404, he was then called *Martin Chudoba*”; BENEŠ 1962: 10). JOSEF BENEŠ saw not only rural conservatism behind the naming of the new owner with the family name of the former owner but also the fact that the authorities kept records of the trade under the name of the former owners (1962: 10; cf. e.g. 1605: *Staněk Vaňků jinak Habouch po předešlém hospodáři* ‘Staněk Vaňků, otherwise Habouch after the previous owner’, PLESKALOVÁ 2011: 119; 1755: *Matěj podle živnosti Kupera, podle otce svého Matěj Radil* ‘Matěj after the trade Kupera, after his father Matěj Radil’).

The family name after the roof sometimes completely replaced the original family name. One particular illustrative case: According to the entry in the book of the town hall in Číhošť, *Bohuslav Vlček* was appointed administrator of the estate of the deceased *Matěj Vavříčka* in the village Hroznětín, and subsequently the Vavříčka’s homestead was sold to him in 1668. Bohuslav had several children here, and he was always listed as *Bohuslav Vavříčka* in their birth records as the father (1667 Mikuláš, 1669 Václav, 1673 Havel, 1675 Anna). The homestead was inherited by his son Havel, who was always referred to as *Havel Vavříčka* in all documents. After Havel’s death, his widow Marie Magdalena remarried in 1716 to *Jakub Lebeda*, who took over the homestead. In the register of births, we find records of the births of their children (1717 Havel, 1720 Václav, 1722 Jakub, 1726 Vít), and *Jakub Vavříčka* was listed as the father of all of them.

At other times, family names after roof were used as nicknames alongside family names, especially in situations where several families with the same



name lived in the village – cf. the examples cited by JOSEF BENEŠ from tax rolls (1654), e.g. *Václav Chvátal, jinak Svoboda*; *Jiří Jelínek, jinak Vltavský* (*jinak* ‘or; alias’); *J. Vavrouš, alias Vysušil* etc. (1962: 10).

As we can see, the names after the roof are not individual names (identifying only one individual) but denote the whole family. However, they are impermanent – when a family moves, it takes on another name after the roof. Needless to say, this practice makes contemporary genealogical research, for example, very difficult. Even in the past, there was some confusion in population records because of it. The first-ever government decree on family names, dated 20th October 1770, stated that “the names of the baptized and married must no longer be entered in the church records according to the homestead, but according to the family” (JAKSCH 1828: 205). Nevertheless, even in later records, we encounter the inclusion of both the family name and the name after the roof, but always with an explanation that makes it clear that they are parallel names, e.g. 1800: *Tomáš Kautek nebo Augusta*; 1809: *Frantz Bystron alias Bellehradski*; 1864: *Vojtech Rejšek vulgo Vrčarna*, etc.

In some rural areas (especially in southern and western Bohemia, Wallachia, and Silesia), family names after the roof are still used as unofficial nicknames (PLESKALOVÁ 2017a). They are not always based only on the family name of the original owner but occasionally also on the given names and nicknames of the owners or are motivated by their occupation.

4.3. The nexus names in Czech

VALÉRIA TÓTH singles out nexus or relational names (2022: 153). Unlike Hungarian, however, the so-called names of clans, which VALÉRIA TÓTH describes, never developed in the Czech onymic system. Similarly, unlike some other Slavic languages, Czech did not develop a three-part system involving patronymics (*otčestvo* in Russian). Therefore, in the context of referential names, we will deal only with family names.

However, an important methodological question in this respect is where to draw the line between proto family name and family name. According to VALÉRIA TÓTH: “The most important criteria of family names as nexus-indicating personal name category are the denomination, identification of family members under a common name and thus the use of the name as a kind of family symbol, and the transfer of this name form from one generation to the other, that is the inheritance of the name.” (2022: 165). ZOFIA KALETA also believes that “[s]urnames become hereditary for at least two generations and [...] they included all the members of a family, a whole generation” and cites a Czech example from 1513 “*Jakub Šmuhař z Rochova ... Mikuláše Šmuhaře odtadž z Rochova, bratra téhož Jakuba*” ‘Jakub Šmuhař from Rochov... Mikuláš Šmuhař from Rochov as well, brother of the same Jakub’ (1991: 59).



According to JAN SVOBODA, although there is evidence from the 14th and 15th centuries that family names were passed on to the second generation, and although names denoting the whole family mainly were established among the subjects during the 16th and 17th centuries, in the Czech onomastic tradition we speak of family names only from the moment when the state began to intervene legislatively in this field (1964: 187; cf. BENEŠ 1962: 12).

The first gubernatorial regulations concerning family names were issued in 1770, prohibiting the changing of given names and family names.²⁵ The de jure inheritance of family names was enshrined in 1786 by Imperial Patent No. 591, according to which wives were obliged to adopt their husband's family name, and legitimate children were to continue to bear their father's family name. Changes of family names were only permitted by a decree of the court office of 1826 in the case of conversion to Christianity or promotion to nobility. This fixed the system of family names.

However, let us first look at how the second part of our Czech binomial onymic system came into being.

4.3.1. Method of identification of persons in sources and development of the anthroponymic system

It is assumed that the development of the current official anthroponymic systems has moved from the initial one-name system to two-name system. Czech literature traditionally considers the period up to the 13th century as the period of prevailing mononymy (PLESKALOVÁ 2011: 36–37). However, more profound research on the sources shows that pure mononymy is not the predominant way of identifying persons in this period, and it is related to the type of source and the person's social status. In the Latin charters, which mostly record persons of noble status, persons are identified mainly by a broader structure, for which VALÉRIA TÓTH introduces the very apt description of *structure denoting a person* (2022: 13). It included at least one personal name (of various types and origins), and then either another personal name or a word that sufficiently identified the individual in a given context: e.g. the duke mentioned above *Zvuentapu de Maravna* (879; 'Svatopluk of Moravia', CDB I: 14). JANA PLESKALOVÁ states that in the period 1158–1197 only 20% of all persons in the Latin charters are identified by only one name (2011: 38); all other persons are identified by refining additions. In the period 1279–1283, only 7% are identified by one name (PLESKALOVÁ 2011: 41).²⁶ The tendency

²⁵ "Subjects should not change their given names and last names as recorded in the baptismal register." (JAKSCH 1828: 206).

²⁶ ZOFIA KALETA argues that in the West Slavic languages, localization prevailed over patronymics in the earliest descriptions, and appellative designations were secondary (1987–1989: 15–16). JANA PLESKALOVÁ comes to the same conclusion: at the end of the 13th century,



towards better identification of persons is thus evident. A different source type is the aforementioned *Necrology of Podlažice* from the 13th century, which is compiled as a list of persons assigned to particular days of the year for intercessory prayers. It records the names of persons of noble and (mostly) non-noble origin, and the majority (80%) are recorded with only one name. It is, therefore, always necessary to be aware of what type of source we are working with, its primary purpose (legal text or inventory of persons), and what social group it captures, as these aspects reflect how the persons in the source are identified.

The structure denoting people included expressions of various kinds, but mostly with descriptive meaning. It could be an expression that classified the person socially (Latin *dux* ‘duke’, *episcopus* ‘bishop’, *scriba* ‘scribe’, *agaso* ‘grooms’, or Czech: *měšťan* ‘citizen’, *rychtář* ‘mayor’), locally (*proprium*: 1173: *Wilhelmus dictus de Pulin*, CDB I: 416), or a combination of both types was used (1165: *Petrus, dictus abbas de Insula*, CDB I: 207, i.e. ‘Petr, called abbot of Ostrov’ – the Benedictine monastery of Ostrov near Davle is meant), or another descriptive name was used (1169: *Bohušě barbatus* ‘bearded’, CDB I: 218), or the identification was made by another personal name (relationship: 1180/1182: *Janík cum fratre Matheo*, CDB I: 266). Women were very often identified in this way: *uxor/manželka* ‘wife’, *vidua/vdova* ‘widow’ or *filia/dcera* ‘daughter’. The additional designation is usually – but not always – quoted with the Latin words *dictus*, *cognominatus*, *alias* (‘so-called’), in later Czech documents with the equivalent of the same meaning *řečený*.²⁷

Younger sources from the last quarter of the 14th and the first half of the 15th century, including Czech ones, show that the marking system was already entirely developed, and more than one name was needed to identify an individual. In the 14th century, naming structures are also attested for persons of bourgeois origin (1402: *Hermannus dictus Kasse, Kaše* ‘porridge’, DD VII: 7). Again, however, these are persons of nobility or at least wealth, whose names are recorded in connection with property transfers, confirmations or in the case of property disputes. Similar structures are attested in the case of nobles, and they dominate by identification through affiliation with a seat (*Heralt řečený Puška z Kunštátu* ‘Heralt called Puška from Kunštát’, *Jan řečený Puška z Kunina Města, seděním na Otoslavicích* ‘Jan called Puška from Kunino Město sitting in Otoslavice’, BROMOVÁ 2008: 30–31).

according to her findings, the localizing expression was dominant as an additional identifier (2011: 41).

²⁷ ZOFIA KALETA states that these expressions were one of the symptoms of the process of proprialization of the original descriptive designations (1991: 57–58).



The non-noble people as a non-wealthy class are less noticed in the documentary sources. For the names of the non-noble people, we have sources intended to record the obligations of the subjects to the nobility (urbars) and younger sources such as cadastres. In the older sources of this type, mononymy prevailed, but people are identified by the village to which the urbar is kept or by the different size of the homestead (ŠTEFKOVÁ 2010; 2011). The sources show that the identification of persons by two names gradually became established, but elaborate descriptions such as *Jakub Trnka jinak Vyskočil* or *Jan Tater jinak Studený* are not rare (16th/17th century, LJ 70; *jinak* ‘or; otherwise’). The second or other names were not always stable and hereditary; they were changeable and not hereditary. In the 1730s, for example, *Jiřík Matěju* is attested, later named (after the roof – see above) as *Jiřík Klíčnikovej*, also as *Jíra Klíč* and *Jiřík Klíčnik* (LJ 74). Until the 18th century, the primary identifier of persons was the given name (in whose position the layer of referential names prevailed over the centuries). Additional identification, i.e. family name, was based on descriptive names.

It should also be mentioned that the family names comprised all layers of the national language. Therefore, they also preserve phenomena from various dialects, both at the level of phones (*Vrabec* – *Brabec*), morphology (diminutive names from personal names of the *Adamčik* type are, according to RUDOLF ŠRÁMEK, concentrated in Silesia; 1999: 140) and lexical (*Truhlář* in Bohemia – *Stolař* in Moravia, both meaning ‘joiner’). In contemporary family names, not only the historical vocabulary is preserved, but in some cases, also, the older spelling (e.g. *Vrana* – *Wrana*, *Jirsa* – *Girsa*, *Koutský* – *Kautský*).

4.3.2. The taxonomic-typological description of Czech family names

As already mentioned above, the system of Czech family names was fixed in 1786 with the issuance of an imperial patent. Here, we present a typology of contemporary Czech family names. Our description is based on analyzing the 200 most common family names currently used in the Czech Republic, as compiled in the *Dictionary of Family Names in the Visegrad Countries* (DFNVC). We drew the data from the Ministry of Interior’s data for 2016 (published in 2017 on the Ministry’s website, later withdrawn). Unfortunately, we do not have more recent information available, as the Ministry has stopped providing it due to privacy concerns. The most frequent 200 family names (in both male and female forms combined) were carried by 2,164,631 people in 2016. At that time, according to the Czech Statistical Office, the population of the Czech Republic was 10,578,800.²⁸ This shows that the 200 most common family names cover about 20% of the population. It also means that the average number of bearers of one of the most common family names is 10,823.



²⁸ https://www.czso.cz/csu/czso/oby_cr

We can divide these family names into descriptive names (e.g. *Černý* ‘black’, *Krejčí* ‘tailor’, *Němec* ‘German’, *Stránský* from the toponym *Stráň*, *Strana* or *Stránka* + suffix *-ský*), referential names, names derived from family names (e.g. *Marek* ‘Mark’, *Vaněk* from the hypocoristic form of the name *Václav*) and names adopted from other languages (e.g. *Müller* ‘miller’ from German, *Horváth* ‘Croat’ from Hungarian, *Kováč* ‘blacksmith’ from Slovak²⁹). Naturally, it is not always possible to determine clearly which category a name falls into, as for some (13 in particular), etymological interpretation is possible from both the given name and the appellative (e.g. *Daněk* could have arisen both from the hypocoristic form of the given name *Daniel* as a referential name and from the appellative *daněk* ‘fallow deer’ as a descriptive name).

Figure 1 shows us the 200 most common family names in terms of the representation of each type of name. The following chart then shows the same types but with the number of bearers of each family name type taken into account.

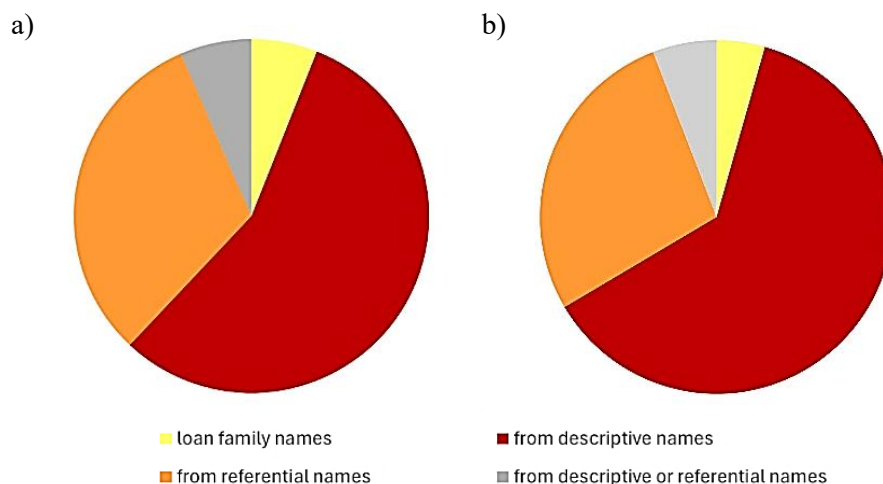


Figure 1. Sources of today's most frequent family names a) in terms of individual names; b) based on the number of name bearers

We can see that descriptive family names are more frequent than referential ones, even in the number of bearers. In the DFNVC, we further divided descriptive family names according to their motivation into family names a) referring to occupation, activity, social status (e.g. *Dvořák* ‘free farmer on a large farm’, formerly also ‘court servant’, *Kolář* ‘wheel maker’); b) referring to the place of residence and origin – we included both detoponymic and

²⁹ In the case of the family name *Kováč*, however, an interpretation from the Moravian dialectal appellative *kováč* meaning ‘blacksmith’ is also possible.



deappellative names (e.g. *Moravec* came ‘from Moravia’, *Konečný* lived ‘at the end of the village’); c) referring to an internal or external characteristic, circumstance or event (e.g. *Malý* ‘small’, *Pokorný* ‘humble’); d) referring to nationality or ethnicity (e.g. *Vlach* ‘Italian’). It should be stressed, however, that the motivations listed are our interpretation, as we do not know the original motivations. Usually, more than one possible explanation for the origin of a family name is offered (see Figure 2). For example, the family name *Beránek* is semantically transparent, it originated from a diminutive of the Czech appellative *beran* ‘ram’, but in different families, it could have been so for different reasons: it could have been named after the characteristics for someone ‘gentle like a little ram’ or someone curly-haired, it could have been a name according to occupation (sheep breeder) or residence (house with a ram as a house sign), etc. (cf. BENEŠ 1962: 30). *Beránek* is attested as a proto family name from 1400 (*Johannes Beranek plebanus*) (BENEŠ 1962: 190).

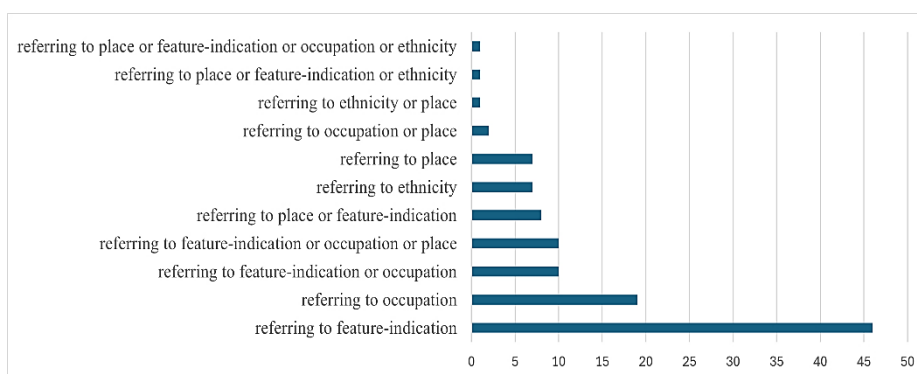


Figure 2. *The most frequent types of family names created from descriptive names (in terms of individual names)*

4.4. Affective names in Czech

Names with an affective function are characterized as names with a particular emotional attribute that reflects the relationship between the name giver (name user) and the named person. It is a secondary category of names whose existence depends on the existence of other groups of names. They are characterized by their use in informal communication, in a close, often family circle (cf. TÓTH 2022: 184). In the Czech environment, these include so-called hypocoristics, among which Czech onomastics traditionally includes expressive variations of given names (*Katka*, *Katuška* < *Kateřina*) and of family names (*Kovy*, *Kovin* < *Kovář*) (PLESKALOVÁ 2017b; PASTYŘÍK 2003).



4.4.1. Hypocoristics as a typical group of affective names

Affective names can be considered to be names formed by shortening other personal names (cf. type 3 in chapter 4), i.e. ancient formations.³⁰ The contraction of compound names and the subsequent derivation, i.e. the derivation of new names using suffixes, can already be found in the early monuments to the history of Czech and is the most productive way of forming personal names in Old Czech. They are derived from native bases, mostly old composites (e.g. Old Czech *Sláva*, *Slavat*, *Slávek*, *Slavoň*, *Slavoň* derived from names with the *-slav-* component), as well as from adopted names (Old Czech *Janec*, *Janek*, *Januš*, *Janota* derived from the name *Jan*). The formation of derivatives from these names is both a testimony to the loss of the descriptive meaning of names of native origin and a proof of the full inclusion of names of foreign origin, i.e. referential names, into the anthroponymic system of Czech. Very soon this type of creation became a certain model according to which other forms were created, as VALÉRIA TÓTH points out (2022: 121).

Determining the degree of emotional symptom is very problematic for affective names from older times (cf. TÓTH 2022: 27). The question is whether names such as *Jura*, *Pavlík*, *Bohuška*, documented in the 13th century as official names of persons had the same degree of emotional symptom as they have today (all of them exist even today as hypocoristic forms, i.e. affective names). We assume that many of these forms were already losing their emotional attributes in the earliest, becoming emotionally neutral and fulfilling only nominalizing and individualizing functions. Their hypocoristic character is therefore only formal, apparent. In the Czech literature, the term *formal hypocoristics* (“formální hypokoristika”) has been introduced for these forms of names (PLESKALOVÁ 1996; 1998). The problem, however, is that in the earliest times, it is difficult to distinguish them from true hypocoristics, i.e. those that had some emotional attribute. A specific criterion may be when a (formal) hypocoristic serves as a basis for further formation of hypocoristics: e.g. the Old Czech personal name *Radošek* was formed by deriving from the name *Radoš*, which is itself already a derivative from the base *Rad-*, which has its origin in some composite with the component *-rad-*. Then it is clear that the emotional attribute of the name *Radoš* is strongly weakened. The name is already included among neutral names (cf. PLESKALOVÁ 2011: 46).

A specific criterion may also be the naming of a person by a hypocoristic form in an administrative document, for which we assume a high degree of formality – then it is probably a formal hypocoristic. Older sources document cases where the same person is referred to by two different but related names derived from

³⁰ JAN SVOBODA states that the shortening of original compound names is a phenomenon of Indo-European origin (1964: 105).



each other: *Janda – Johan, Mareš – Martin, Pašek – Paulus*, so the alternation of two forms of names was not uncommon (SVOBODA 1964: 32–34; PLESKALOVÁ 2011: 67). This variation was gradually reduced. From the position of the official family names, these affective (or rather pseudo-affective names in the case of formal hypocoristics) were displaced by the gradual introduction of new referential names. Gradually, the latter became established in their primary, attributeless form on the official level. Hypocoristic forms have thus survived to the present day in the position of a second identifier, the present-day family names (but with zero affective value and zero emotional attribute – e.g. the family name *Michálek* does not mean ‘little Michal’³¹). They function as a living category today in informal, unofficial communication: *Michálek* is a hypocoristic form (e.g. affective name) of a boy named *Michal*.

The process of gradual weakening of the emotional symptom of affective names can also be seen in some current official given names: the current Czech given names *Milan, Radek, or Zdeněk* are also original hypocoristics, but their emotional symptom is now zero, and we perceive them as neutral forms of given names. The process of losing the hypocoristic symptom is still ongoing in the language: this is how, for example, the name *Katka* (from *Kateřina*) loses the emotional symptom typical for hypocoristics (KNAPPOVÁ 2017).

The formation of hypocoristics in Czech is characterized by an extremely rich and wide range of derivational devices. Hypocoristics are formed from various bases of personal names by dozens of different suffixes, both simple (*-ek, -ka, -ula*) and compound (*-eček, -íček, -ička, -uška*), which have a higher degree of expressiveness. At this point, we describe their formation at least briefly. The basis of hypocoristics can be:

– full name base: *Hana > Hani, Hanka, Hanička, Hanula; Jan > Janek, Janík, Janeček, Janíček;*

– reduced base: without the suffix *Tomáš > Tom* (shortening), the beginning of the name *Lukáš > Luky, Lukin, Lukajda;* the middle of the name *Antonín > Tonda, Toník, Toniček;* the end of the name *Alžběta > Bětka, Bětuška, Bětuna.*

Hypocoristics can be derived only from some parts of the initial word (*František > Fanoš*), by sound variations (*David > Dáda*), or from a base taken from another language, e.g. *Honza* for *Jan* from German *Hans* for *Johannes*.

The relationship between forms of hypocoristics and gender is remarkable. While official family names in the Czech are primarily concerned with the unambiguous gender identification of the bearer, many forms of hypocoristics

³¹ Among Czech family names, we find many original hypocoristic forms (cf. the figure above – this is the majority). For example, there are more than 200 family names in Czech from the name *Jan* (including its German variant *Johannes* and the German hypocoristics *Hans*) (PLESKALOVÁ 2011: 68).

are commonly found that are gender-ambiguous – *Peťa, Peťka, Peťula, Peťulka* can name both a man (*Petr*) and a woman (*Petra*), *Kája* can be both a woman (*Karolína, Klára*) and a man (*Karel*). It is, therefore, not impossible that this was the case in earlier times. The suffix *-a* (accompanied by the softening of the preceding consonant) is attested from the earliest times for the formation of male hypocoristics, and at present, it belongs, together with the *-k-* suffixes, to the most common suffixes for the formation of both male and female hypocoristics.

5. Summary

Our contribution is methodologically based on the pragmatic and cognitive-semantic approach given by VALÉRIA TÓTH. However, it also draws on the Czech anthroponomastic tradition represented mainly by the works of JAN SVOBODA, JOSEF BENEŠ, and JANA PLESKALOVÁ. We have briefly presented our approach to personal names, our research in this area, and the sources we used in the introduction of our paper.

The main aim of our study was to describe the development of the Czech anthroponymic system. In the earliest period of Czech history, we distinguished three basic word-formation structures for personal names (composites, simple names derived from appellatives, and simple names formed by contraction). Subsequently, following VALÉRIA TÓTH's classification combining semantic and formal considerations, we have described in detail four types of names: descriptive names, semantically empty referential names (adopted names, family names after the roof), hereditary family names (and proto family names) and affective names (hypocoristics). Based on the analysis of the 200 currently most frequent family names, we then provided their taxonomic-typological description. Descriptive family names, more frequent in Czech than referential ones, were further classified according to motivation (physical and mental characteristics; occupation and social status; residence and origin; ethnicity).

References

- AČ = *Archiv český 1–43*. [Czech Archive 1–43.] Praha 1840–2018.
Alm. = *Almanach Královského hlavního města Prahy 8*. [Almanac of the Royal Capital of Prague 8.] Praha, 1905.
AV = see VINTROVÁ, ALŽBĚTA 2012.
BENEŠ, JOSEF 1962. *O českých příjmeních*. [About Czech family names.] Praha, ČSAV.



- BENEŠ, JOSEF 2020. *Německá příjmení u Čechů*. [German family names among Czechs.] 2nd edition. Praha, Agentura Pankrác.
- BLANÁR, VINCENT 1996. Morphologie und Wortbildung der ältesten Personennamen: Slavisch. [Morphology and word formation of the oldest personal names: Slavic.] In: EICHLER, ERNST et al. eds. *Namenforschung/Name Studies/Les noms propres II*. Berlin–New York, Walter de Gruyter. 1193–1198.
- BOK, VÁCLAV 1995. K výskytu jmen z eposu o Tristanovi a Isoldě ve středověkých a raně novověkých Čechách. [Proper names from the romance of Tristram and Isolde occurring in medieval and early modern Bohemia.] *Acta onomastica* 36: 42–47.
- BRENDLER, ANDREA–BRENDLER, SILVIO eds. 2007. *Europäische Personennamensysteme. Ein Handbuch von Abasisch bis Zentralladinisch*. Hamburg, Baar.
- BROMOVÁ, VERONIKA 2008. Šlechtická jména ve staročeských listinách. [Noble names in Old Czech documents.] In: KOSEK, PAVEL–ČORNEJOVÁ, MICHAELA eds. *Jazyk a jeho proměny. Prof. Janě Pleskalové k životnímu jubileu*. Brno, Host. 27–36.
- CDB = *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae I–VI*: I 805–1197, II 1198–1230, III/1 1231–1238, III/2 1238–1240, IV/1 1241–1253, IV/2 1241–1253, V/1 1253–1266, V/2 1267–1278, V/3 Series regestorum, V/4 1253–1278, VI/1 1278–1283. Praha, 1907–2006.
- DD VII = *Desky dvorské Království českého. Díl VII. První kniha půhonná z let 1383–1407*. [Court Records of the Bohemian Kingdom, VII. First Book of citations 1383–1407.] Praha, 1929.
- DFNVC = *Dictionary of Family Names in the Visegrad Countries = Slovník příjmení v zemích Víšegrádské skupiny = A visegrádi orszákok családnév-szótára = Słownik nazwisk państw wyszehradzkich = Slovník priezvisk vyšehradských krajín*. 2024. Ed.-in-chief MARIANN SLÍZ. Praha–Budapest–Poznań–Nitra, ÚJČ–ELTE–AMU–UKF. URL: <https://v4surnames.elte.hu/> (28. 5. 2024).
- EICHLER, ERNST et al. eds. 1996. *Namenforschung/Name Studies/Les noms propres II*. Berlin – New York, Walter de Gruyter.
- HANUŠKOVÁ, PETRA 2012. *Přezdívky v českém skautingu*. [Nicknames in Czech scouting.] Diploma thesis. Brno, Masarykova univerzita. URL: <https://theses.cz/id/g7kjza/> (28. 5. 2024).
- HOFFMANN, ISTVÁN–TÓTH, VALÉRIA 2015. Viewpoints on the cognitive-pragmatic description of personal names. *Word* 61(2): 141–164.
- ILLEOVÁ, ZUZANA 2021. *Neoficiální antroponyma členů skautských oddílů*. [Unofficial anthroponyms of scout troop members.] Diploma thesis. Brno, Masarykova univerzita. URL: <https://is.muni.cz/th/y3h1r/> (28. 5. 2024).

- ILLEOVÁ, ZUZANA 2024. *Neoficiální antroponyma ve skautingu*. [Unofficial anthroponyms in scouting.] Diploma thesis. Brno, Masarykova univerzita. IndexSvob. = *Index Slovníku staročeských osobních jmen Jana Svobody*. [Index of the Dictionary of Old Czech Personal Names by Jan Svoboda.] URL: <https://vokabular.ujc.cas.cz/informace.aspx?t=IndexSvob&o=slovniky> (comment) <https://vokabular.ujc.cas.cz/hledani.aspx> (search) and_(28. 5. 2024).
- JAKSCH, PETER KARL 1828. *Gesetzlexikon im Geistlichen, Religions- und Toleranzfache, wie auch in Güter- Stiftungs- Studien- und Zensursachen für das Königreich Böhmen von 1601 bis Ende 1800, IV. L–O*. Prag, Gedruckt von Straschiripka's Buchdruckerey.
- KALETA, ZOFIA 1987–1989. The evolutionary stages of Slavic surnames in the context of European name-giving. *Onoma* 29(1–3): 11–25.
- KALETA, ZOFIA 1991. On the stabilization of Slavic surnames. In: NÄRHI, EEVA M. ed. *Proceedings of the 17th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences*. Helsinki, University of Helsinki – The Finnish Research Centre for Domestic Languages. 53–68.
- KARLÍK, PETR–VESELOVSKÁ, LUDMILA 2017. Posesivní -ův-/-in- adjektivum. [Possessive -ův-/-in- adjective.] In: KARLÍK, PETR–NEKULA, MAREK–PLESKALOVÁ, JANA eds. *CzechEncy – Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*. URL: <https://www.czechency.org/slovník/POSESIVNÍ-ŮV-/-IN-ADJEKTIVUM> (16. 5. 2024).
- KartSvob. = *Kartotéka Slovníku staročeských osobních jmen Jana Svobody*. Interní materiál oddělení onomastiky Ústavu pro jazyk český AV ČR. [The card catalogue of the Dictionary of Old Czech Personal Names by Jan Svoboda. Internal material of The Department of Onomastics of Czech Language Institute of Czech Academy of Sciences.]
- KNAPPOVÁ, MILOSLAVA 1989. *Rodné jméno v jazyce a společnosti*. [Given name in language and society.] Praha, Academia.
- KNAPPOVÁ, MILOSLAVA 1999. Přezdívky v proměnách staletí. [Nicknames in the course of centuries.] *Acta Onomastica* 40: 82–88.
- KNAPPOVÁ, MILOSLAVA 2017. Rodné jméno. [Given name.] In: KARLÍK, PETR–NEKULA, MAREK–PLESKALOVÁ, JANA eds. *CzechEncy – Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*. URL: https://www.czechency.org/slovník/RODNÉ_JMÉNO (24. 4. 2024).
- KNAPPOVÁ, MILOSLAVA 2020. *Jak se bude vaše dítě jmenovat?* [What will your child's name be?] 6th edition. Praha, Academia.
- KOMÁREK, KAREL 2000. *Osobní jména v českých biblích*. [Personal names in Czech bibles.] Olomouc, Votobia.
- KOPEČNÝ, FRANTIŠEK 1991. *Průvodce našimi jmény*. [Guide to our names.] 2nd edition. Praha, Academia.



- LAMPRECHT, ARNOŠT–ŠLOSAR, DUŠAN–BAUER, JAROSLAV 1986. *Historická mluvnice češtiny*. [Historical grammar of Czech.] Praha, SPN.
- LCS I, II = *Libri citationum et sententiarum I, II*; I 1374–1411, ed. Vincentius Brandl, Brunnae 1872; II 1406–1420, ed. V. Brandl, Brunnae, 1873.
- LEIBRING, KATHARINA 2016. Given Names in European Naming Systems. In: HOUGH, CAROLE ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. 199–213.
- LJ = JANOŠOVÁ LENKA 2000. *Antroponyma v pozemkových knihách boskovického panství (70. léta 16. století – 50. léta 17. století)*. [Anthroponyms in the land registers of the Boskovice estate (1670s – 1750s).] Diploma thesis. Brno, Masarykova univerzita.
- MOLDANOVÁ, DOBRAVA 2019. *Naše příjmení*. [Our family names.] 5th edition. Praha, Agentura Pankrác.
- MŠ = see ŠTEFKOVÁ, MARTA 2010.
- PASTYŘÍK, SVATOPLUK 2003. *Studie o současných hypokoristických podobách rodných jmen v češtině*. [A study of contemporary hypocoristic forms of given names in Czech.] Hradec Králové, Gaudeamus.
- PLAČEK, JOSEF 1907. Příspěvky k otázce Nekrologu Podlažického. [Contributions to the issue of the Necrology of Podlažice.] *Listy filologické* 34: 101–115.
- PLESKALOVÁ, JANA 1996. O úloze tzv. hypokoristik v nejstarším období češtiny. [On the role of so-called hypocoristics in the earliest period of Czech.] *Naše řeč* 79: 204–206.
- PLESKALOVÁ, JANA 1998. *Tvoření nejstarších českých osobních jmen*. [Creation of the oldest Czech personal names.] Brno, Masarykova univerzita.
- PLESKALOVÁ, JANA 2007. *Das tschechische Personennamensystem*. In: BRENDLER, ANDREA–BRENDLER, SILVIO eds. *Europäische Personennamensysteme*. Hamburg, Baar. 741–748.
- PLESKALOVÁ, JANA 2009. Česká antroponyma v latinských textech 12.–13. století. [Czech anthroponyms in Latin texts of the 12th–13th centuries.] *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 14(1–2): 211–216.
- PLESKALOVÁ, JANA 2011. Vývoj vlastních jmen osobních v českých zemích v letech 1000–2010. [Development of personal names in the Czech Lands in 1000–2010.] Brno, Host–Masarykova univerzita.
- PLESKALOVÁ, JANA 2017a. Jméno po chalupě. [Family names ‘after the roof’] In: KARLÍK, PETR–NEKULA, MAREK–PLESKALOVÁ, JANA eds. *CzechEncy – Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny*. URL: https://www.czechency.org/slovník/JMÉNO_PO_CHALUPĚ (6. 5. 2024).
- PLESKALOVÁ, JANA 2017b. Hypokoristikum. [Hypocoristics.] In: KARLÍK, PETR–NEKULA, MAREK–PLESKALOVÁ, JANA eds. *CzechEncy – Nový*

- encyklopedický slovník češtiny*. URL: <https://www.czechency.org/slovník/HYPOKORISTIKUM> (9. 5. 2024).
- REJZEK, JIŘÍ 2021. *Zrození češtiny*. [Born of the Czech language.] Praha, NLN.
- ROŽMBERSKÝ, PETR 2007. Příspěvek ke vzniku a motivaci některých příjmí a příjmení. [Towards the rise and motivation of some bynames and surnames.] *Acta onomastica* 48: 152–155.
- ŠIMŮNEK, ROBERT 2005. Rodová jména, příjmí a rodové tradice české šlechty v pozdním středověku. [Patronymic Names, Bynames, and Traditions of the Czech Nobility in the Late Middle Ages.] *Acta onomastica* 46(1): 116–142.
- ŠRÁMEK, RUDOLF 1977. Problematika studia přezdívek obcí. [The issue of studying nicknames of municipalities.] *Národopisné aktuality* 15(1): 29–52.
- ŠRÁMEK, RUDOLF 1999. *Úvod do obecné onomastiky*. [Introduction into general onomastics.] Brno, Masarykova univerzita.
- ŠTEFKOVÁ, MARTA 2010. *Antroponyma v urbářích 15.–17. století*. [Proper names in urbars of the 15th–17th century.] Diploma thesis. Brno, Masarykova univerzita. URL: <https://theses.cz/id/lv71k2/> (28. 5. 2024).
- ŠTEFKOVÁ, MARTA 2011. Antroponymická soustava v urbářích 15. století. [The system of proper names in urbars of the 15th century.] *Linguistica Brunensia* 59(1–2): 173–181.
- SVOBODA, JAN 1964. *Staročeská osobní jména a naše příjmení*. [Old Czech personal names and our family names.] Praha, ČSAV.
- TÓTH, VALÉRIA 2017. The history of the Hungarian personal name system in the context of cognitive-pragmatic description. In: AINIÁLA, TERHI–SAARIKIVI, JANNE eds. *Personal Name Systems in Finnic and Beyond*. Helsinki, Uralica Helsingiensia 12. 363–380. URL: <https://journal.fi/uralicahelsingiensia/issue/view/uh12/uh12> (28. 5. 2024).
- TÓTH, VALÉRIA 2022. *Personal Names in a Medieval Context*. Hamburg, Buske.
- VINTROVÁ, ALŽBĚTA 2012. *Antroponyma v Podlažickém nekrologiu*. [Anthroponyms in the Necrology of Podlažice.] Diploma thesis. Brno, Masarykova univerzita. URL: <https://theses.cz/id/s0r5e1/> (28. 5. 2024).

Abstract

The first part of the study provides an overview of existing Czech research on personal names and presents the material base from which information on the development of the Czech language and Czech naming customs can be drawn. The next part shows the development of personal names and their typology following VALÉRIA TÓTH's classification combining semantic and formal considerations. Four types of names are described: descriptive names, semantically empty referential names (adopted names, family names after the roof), hereditary family names (and proto family names) and affective names (hypocoristics).

Keywords: onomastics, development of personal names, given names, family names, surnames, Czech

