

CONTEMPORARY POLISH SURNAMES MOTIVATED BY APPELLATIVES RELATED TO RELIGION

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Abstract: Certain surnames currently used in Poland are motivated by religious terms: adjectives referring to Christian morality (*Grzeszny* 'sinful', *Miłosierny* 'merciful'), the Bible (*Apostol* 'apostle', *Herod*, *Piekelnny* 'of hell'), pious exclamations (*Bożemój* 'my God!', *Laboga* 'by God!'), Latin or Polish prayers (*Oremus* 'let us pray', *Ojczenasz* 'Our Father'), and terms for vestments or other church objects (*Rokietka* 'rochet', *Kropidło* 'aspergillum'). There is also a group related to non-Catholic denominations and their rituals: *Luter* 'protestant', *Pogan* 'pagan', *Panachida* 'memorial service in the Eastern Orthodox Church', *Kadysz* 'Kaddish'. These surnames are discussed with respect to their frequency and possible motivation.

Keywords: surnames, religion, church, Christianity, Latin.

Introduction

The advent of Christianity in Poland, formally effected in 966, meant a profound cultural change which, among other spheres of social life, also had a major influence on anthroponomastics. This influence was exercised in two distinct ways. The more obvious one was the gradual replacement of the bulk of pagan personal names with Judeo-Christian onomancy. The process markedly accelerated in the 16th century after the Council of Trent, though never ultimately completed (i.e. some pre-Christian names survived, and some in the 19th century underwent a revival).

Less directly visible, although no less important, was the introduction of Christian culture and imagery into nicknames, later to become fixed surnames. The latter will be the subject of the present article. Over 400 surnames motivated by appellatives related to religion are discussed below. They can be divided according to mixed, semantic-syntactic classifying criteria: semantic – according to the type of motivation, and syntactic – according to formal properties of the word or phrase motivating the anthroponym.

Adjectives applicable to people (e.g. *pious*, *sinful*, *innocent*) and their nominal derivatives

The first group of interest for us here will be surnames motivated by adjectives referring to a person's character and behaviour viewed in the light of the Christian doctrine. They include the following names: *Boski* 198¹ (from *boski* 'divine'), *Nabożny* 639,

¹ The number after each surname refers to the number of its bearers according to Rymut

Pobożny 32, Pobożniak 163, Poboży/Poboża 228, Zbożny 28, Zbożniak 33, Zbożnik 34 (from *nabożny*, *pobożny*, *zbożny*, all meaning ‘pious’), Zbawiony 72 (*zbawiony* ‘saved’), Święty 609/Świenty 169 (< *święty* ‘saint, sacred’), Świętoszek 6 (*świętoszek* ‘prude’ < *święty*), Winny 181 (*winny* ‘guilty’, *wina* ‘guilt’ but also *winny* ‘of wine/vine; sweet and sour in taste’, cf. *wino* ‘wine’), Niewinny 97 (*niewinny* ‘innocent’), Śmiertelny 18 (*śmiertelny* ‘mortal’), Nieśmiertelny 26 (*nieśmiertelny* ‘immortal’), Miłosierny ‘merciful’, Nieczysty 12 (*nieczysty* ‘impure’), Grzeszny 94 (*grzeszny* ‘sinful’ < *grzech* ‘sin’), Grzesznik 94 (*grzesznik* ‘sinner’) and Zynder 36, Sinder 13, Synder 9 (from German *Sünder* ‘sinner’, cf. Breza 2004a: 133; perhaps the following names are its derivatives: Synderczyk 8, Synderecki 26, Synderek 4, Synderkiewicz 17, Synderowski 23, Synderski 4); Pomaz 4, Pomazan 6, Pomazany 38, Pomazański 41, Pomazanka 69 (all from *pomazany/pomazaniec* ‘Messiah, God’s anointed one’, cf. the personal name *Pomazek*, attested in 1499).

Nouns relating to the afterlife

A separate semantic field comprises the afterlife in the Christian doctrine. Thus, the Polish appellative *piekło* ‘hell’ gave rise to the following surnames: *Piekło* 701, *Piekietko* 289, *Piekietek* 143, *Piekielniak* 392, *Piekielnicki* 36, *Piekielnik* 178, *Piekielski* 111, *Piekłak* 164, *Pieklik* 310, *Piekłus* 11, *Piekłowski* 48, *Piekelnny* 458 (cf. *piekelnny* ‘hellish’). The appellatives *raj* and *niebo* ‘paradise’ became the motivation for *Raj* 1633, *Rajski* 2608 (cf. *rajski* ‘of Paradise’) and *Niebo* 12. This number might be extended by several more surnames reminiscent of Latin *paradisus* ‘paradise’: *Paradysz* 391, *Paradisz* 10, *Paradzisz* 2, *Paradies* 18 (German spelling), *Paradyż* 29. This motivation also finds reflection in other Slavic languages, a case in point being the Russian or Bulgarian surname *Парадизов*. Only one surname – *Czyścicki* 50 – is traceable to *czyścic* ‘purgatory’.

It must be borne in mind, though, that in contemporary Poland there are at least four villages or settlements (and a cave) by the name *Raj*, three villages called *Paradyż*, two villages – *Czyścic*, as well as over a dozen villages or their parts named *Piekło*. Therefore, many of the above-mentioned surnames might be toponymic.

Names of various denominations

Somehow surprisingly, perhaps, the surname *Katolik*, first attested in 1690, is not so rare (487) as one might expect of a society that traditionally used to equate being a Pole with adherence to Catholicism – assuming, naturally, that a name is to distinguish a person from the crowd (to put it differently, a surname from a nickname meaning ‘farmer’ is not highly likely to emerge in a community whose members are predominantly farmers). The name *Katolicki* 30 is its likely derivative. The impact of Reformation is visible in the names *Luter* 336, *Luterek* 576, *Luteracki* 19, *Luterek* 1, *Lutarewicz* 70. However, in some cases the origin of the surname must have been the German name *Luther*, since the same-sounding personal name (proto-surname?) was first attested in 1359, whereas the Reformation started only in 1517.

(2005).

There is also a series of family names derived from the name of the spiritual leader Jean Calvin: *Kalwinek* 117, *Kalwiński* 51, *Kalwinicki* 6, *Kalwiňak* 1. Some of them perhaps do not so much indicate the faith as such, but rather reflect the appellative *kalwin* – once meaning ‘godless person, non-believer, doubter’ (cf. Rymut 1999: 369). A similar sense is carried by the surname *Heretyk* 182 (from the appellative *heretyk* ‘heretic’, cf. Breza 2004a: 137, though it might also be a distorted version of the given name *Harat* < *Artym*). The appellatives *kacerz* and *kociarz* (*kocia wiara* being a colloquial expression for a religion different from the Catholic one, especially referring to one of the Protestant groups) may have occasioned the names *Kacerz* 10, *Kociarz* 44, *Kociara* 90, *Kociarski* 4 (or in some cases perhaps just from the appellative *kot* ‘cat’)². The name *Babtyst* 10 obviously refers to the protestant group(s) known as Baptists (Polish *baptysi*, singular *baptysta*), and *Starowierow* 2 – to Old Believers (Polish *starowierzy*, *starowiercy*, *staroobrzędowcy*, cf. *stary* ‘old’, *wiara* ‘faith’). Several names owe their existence to the appellatives *uniat/unita* ‘member of the Ruthenian Uniate Church³’, cf. *unia* ‘union’: *Uniat* 23, *Uniatowicz* 25, *Uniatowski* 125, *Uniatycki* 4, *Unicki* 34, *Unijat* 5, *Unijewski* 53 (cf. Breza 2004b: 150–151).

Only a few surnames can be traced to the names of members of non-Christian denominations and akin words. Among these, there are a handful surnames inspired by *kabała* ‘Kabbalah’: *Kabała* 2036 (first attested in 1398), *Kabałyk* 12, *Kabala* 820, *Kabalak* 97, *Kabalec* 50, *Kabalewicz* 1, *Kabalewski* 2, *Kabalski* 34. The related personal name *Kabalka*, today extinct, was first attested in 1401. As Rymut (1999: 362) points out, the appellative *kabala* may have figuratively meant ‘problem, trouble’ as well. The Karaite community, once within the confines of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (in Trakai, near Vilnius), is directly evoked in the names *Karaim* 68, *Karaimow* 12 (cf. Polish appellative *karaim*, *karaita*), while the reference to Muslims (Polish *saracen* ‘Arab, Muslim’ < Greek Σαρακηνοί *Sarakēnoi*, ultimately from Arabic) can today be detected in the surnames *Saracen* 239, *Saraceń* 7, *Saracín* 3, *Saracyn* 179, *Saracyń* 3, *Saraczyn* 57, *Saraczyński* 6, *Seraczyn* 9. Pagans are evoked in the surnames *Pagan* 368, *Poganiec* 18, *Pogórski* 2, *Pagan* 2, *Poganis* 4 (< Lithuanian *paganis* ‘pagan’); *poganin* once meant not only a pagan, but generally ‘non-Christian, idolater, infidel, heathen, godless person’ (cf. SWil 1090).

The Bible

Quite many surnames have been motivated by the Scriptures. However, in what follows Biblical names have been consciously disregarded because of their sheer number. Only those Biblical personages that in the Polish culture have *not* occasioned Christian (given) names (contemporary or historical) are included here. First and

² The appellative *kacerz* is derived from Old Czech *kacieř* < German *Ketzer* < Greek *katharós* ‘pure’ (SJPDor). However, the colloquial phrase *kocia wiara* may also be related to *koci zamek* – an aneikonym referring to the former existence in that place of a Hussite wagon fort (from distorted Hungarian *kosci* ‘wagon, coach, cart’) – cf. Kryciński (2016: 125–127).

³ The old name for the Eastern Catholic Churches, in full communion with the Pope.

foremost, the name *Jesus* (Polish *Jezus*) must be discussed. In the Polish culture it has always been considered inappropriate for mortals, which also explains the scarcity of patronymic surnames based on the given name *Jezus*. Nevertheless, certain surnames, probably derived from nicknames with the ironic meaning 'prude', contain the root *Jez-/Jeż-* traceable to this name: *Jezusek* 429, *Jezutek* 40, *Jezuzek* 1, *Jezyszek* 1, *Jeżyszek* 19. By contrast, in the Hispanic culture *Jezus* as a given name is common. Consequently, the surname *Jezus* is frequent in Portugal (#9 in 2004⁴). The Spanish equivalent is *de Jesús* ('of Jesus'), with spelling variants *de Jesus*, *DeJesus*, *DeJesús*.

The appellative *patriarcha* 'patriarch' gave rise to *Patriarcha* 4, *Patrjach* 10, *Patryarcha* 202, *Patryjarcha* 4, *Patryjach* 10, *Patryjak* 44, *Patryarsz* 8, *Patrias* 85, *Patrijas* 6, *Patryas* 152, *Patryjas* 65⁵. From *prorok* 'prophet' the following are derived: *Prorok* 1699, *Prorocki* 16, *Prorokowski* 6. The word *apostoł* 'apostle' lies at the root of the contemporary surnames *Apostoł* 148, *Apostol* 1, *Apostolik* 34, *Apostolski* 113, *Apostoluk* 105, *Apostołów* 5, *Apostołowicz* 47, *Apostoł* 2, *Postoł* 114, *Postolski* 239, *Postoł* 149 and German-based *Apostel* 616. While the forms with *Pos-* may have resulted from the apheresis of the initial vowel, an alternative etymology might be *postoł/postoły* 'kind of simple shoe: the foot is bound with a piece of cloth, with a rectangular piece of leather with holes in the function of the sole' (SWil 1150, Rymut 2001: 283, Breza 2002: 348–350). There is only one surname (*Ewangelista* 42) that relates directly to the authors of the Holy Writ and does not mention their names.

The good supernatural beings mentioned in the Bible include angels (cf. Polish *anioł* and the surnames *Anioł* 3827, *Anioła* 659, *Aniołczyk* 132, *Aniołek* 469, *Aniołkiewicz* 58, *Aniołkowski* 494, *Aniołowicz* 3, *Aniołowski* 209, *Archaniolowicz* 68; Latin *angelus* and the surnames *Angel* 249, *Angelus* 68, *Angelis* 4, *Angielus* 3 and Eastern Slavic *Angielow* 4, *Angiel* 202; cf. Breza 2004b: 140) and cherubs (cf. Polish appellative *cherubin*, earlier *cherub* < Akkadian *karabu*, and the surnames *Cherubin* 267, *Cherubiński* 39, *Herubin* 92, *Herubiński* 44). The derivatives of *Serafin* will not be discussed here since this used to be a Christian name in Poland.

Among the evil Biblical spirits there is, first and foremost, the devil. Its many Polish names – *szatan*, *diabeł*, *bies*, *czart*, *boruta* – gave rise to many diverse surnames. Thus, *szatan* (< Hebrew *satan*, Greek Σατανᾶς, *Satanás*) can be traced in the names *Szatan* 2214, *Szatanek* 427, *Szataniak* 214, *Szatanik* 1060, *Szatanowski* 81, *Szatański* 272, *Szataniuk* 1, *Szatańczyk* 1, *Satan* 13, *Satanowski* 61, *Satanik* 2. The word *diabeł* is recognisable in *Diabelec* 52, *Diabelek* 42, *Diableń* 5, *Diabulek* 7, *Diawoł* 20 and *Diawil* 1 (Ukrainian – cf. Breza 2004b: 143). The names *Bies* 608, *Biesak* 24, *Biesiakiewicz* 4, *Biesek* 734, *Biesik* 246, *Biesicki* 32, *Biess* 2, *Biessek* 10, *Bis* 2168, *Bisa* 14, *Bisacki* 17, *Bisak* 62, *Bisakowski* 9, *Bisecki* 3 and probably some others all owe their existence to the appellative *bies/bis*. The surnames *Korfanty* 454 and *Korfant* 19 reflect the 17th-century

⁴ http://anossavida.pt/sites/default/files/100_apelidos.pdf, accessed 17.04.2017.

⁵ On the spelling variants cf. <http://www.wtg-gniazdo.org/forum/viewtopic.php?p=84217>

Silesian appellative *korfanty* 'devil' (Brückner 1927: 257). The archaic appellative *lukawy* 'evil spirit' (also 'sly, insidious; greedy; envious', cf. Arct 163) finds its reflection in Łukawy 77 (40 male bearers of this form, 31 women with the feminine name Łukawa, and 6 women bearing the masculine form). The appellative *czart* is detectable in *Czart* 223, *Czartek* 42 and *Czartowski* 159. A more dialectal, familiar version, *Boruta*, finds its reflection in *Boruta* 2758, *Borutka* 50, *Borutko* 27, *Borutta* 12. Considering that *boruta* is also the name of a pre-Christian (pagan) Slavic demon, the list of his alternative names could be extended to include e.g. *borowy*, *borowiec*, *leszy*, *laskowiec*, *laskowy*, *leśnik*, *gajowy*, *leśny dziad* and others. Most of these names have high-frequency equivalents among contemporary Polish surnames – if not for any other reason, then at least by virtue of the fact that the general meaning of each is roughly '(the inhabitant) of the wood/grove', which makes them etymologically indistinguishable from toponymic surnames⁶. Therefore, they will not be discussed in more detail here. Similar considerations preclude the inclusion of the surname *Rokita*, which may have originated not only from the name of a Slavic demon, but also from a plant name (Latin *Salix rosmarinifolia* 'rosemary-leaved willow').

Similarly motivated are the surnames *Mannteufel* 9, *Manteufel* 202, *Manteuffel* 25, *Manteuffell* 2 and – in Polonised orthography – *Mantojfel* 40. In its original orthography, *Manteuffel*, this is the surname of a well-known noble family from Pomerania. The High German noun *Mannteufel*, corresponding to the Low German *Manduvel*, denotes 'the devil's servant', thus being an antonym to *Gottschalk* 'God's servant'. An older Polish version of the name (attested at the end of the 13th century, in 1640, recorded as *Mandywel*; cf. Kościński 1906: 118) is continued to this day in the form *Mandywel* 7. According to Breza (2000: 121), all these stem ultimately from Low German *Düvel* 'devil'/High German *Teufel*. As Breza (2000: 121) points out, there is also a nickname *mandivel* in Kashubian, as well as a Kashubian byname *Mandywel*. The above-mentioned Low German *Düvel* gave rise to the surnames *Dywel* 106 and *Dywelski* 105.

A Biblical place name of exceptional importance is certainly *Jerusalem*, the source of many surnames in Polish: *Jeruzalem* 55, *Jeruzal* 417, *Jeruzalski* 271, *Jeruzel* 78, *Jerusel* 16, *Jeruzelski* 2, *Jeruzol* 30, *Jerużalski* 30, *Jaruzal* 79, *Jaruzalski* 5, *Jaruzel* 224, *Jaruzelski* 19, *Jerozalski* 46, *Jerożalski* 3, *Jerozolimski* 18. Most of these are probably coinages from Polish toponyms: for instance, there are three villages in Poland by the name of *Jeruzal*. The name of one of them, in Skierniewice County, was recorded as *Jeruszel* in 1520 and as *Jaruzel* in 1579 (SGKP XV/2: 19). The Jaruzelski family is known to have been living there in the 16th century, which makes it likely that the toponym preceded the surname. There is also a village in Poland called *Jeruzale*, and another one – *Jeruzalem* (in Kashubia).

Another Biblical name reflected in the Polish anthroponomy is *Sodoma* (Sodom) in the sense of 'place of depravity': *Sodoma* 73, *Sodomlak* 18, *Sodomski* 33, *Sadomski*

⁶ In Van Langendonck's categories, this would correspond to the difference between characterising and relational surnames (cf. Van Langendonck 2012: 225–226).

69. An intriguing form is *Sodomora* 12 – maybe a portmanteau word coined from the pair *Sodoma i Gomora* ('Sodom and Gomorrah'). *Pasja* 'passion' (of Christ) gave rise to *Pasja* 84 and *Pasjak* 17. Judas Iscariot motivated the appellative *judasz* 'traitor', hence the surnames *Judasz* 440, *Judas* 47, *Judasik* 15⁷; *lewita* 'Levite' (descendant of Levi in the male line) lies at the root of the surname *Lewita* 41. Finally, the name *Dydynski* 272 probably comes from Thomas the Apostle, called *Didymus*.

Pious exclamations and other theophoric onyms

An interesting group of surnames derives from exclamations and invocations to God. Van Langendonck (2012: 226) calls such names delocutives. They comprise those meaning 'by God! For God's sake!', that is, *Dlaboga* 6, *Dlabocha* 4, *Laboga* 28, *Loboga* 1. Some mean 'my God': *Bożemój* 24, *Borzemój* 4. Several have the sense 'God give, may God give', some later meant 'indeed': *Bożedaj* 20, *Bożedajek* 59, *Bozydaj* 14, *Dadzibóg*⁸ 89, *Dadzibug* 16, *Dajbóg* 3, *Dalibóg* 2, *Dolibóg* 188, *Dolibog* 65, *Dolibok* 3. Yet others carry the meaning '(by) dear God': *Miłobóg* 50, *Miłobog* 2. Somewhat unclear are *Modlibóg* 7 (*modlić się* 'to pray'), *Pobóg* 73, *Jaksiboga* 7. Finally, the surnames *Ponachajba* 46, *Ponagajbo* 8 and *Ponahajba* 16 all go back to the Ukrainian *panahajbo* '[may] God help' (Rymut 2001: 277), cf. the Ukrainian name Панагайбо and Russian Панагайбо, Панагайба and Панагбееев.

Some other theophoric surnames include: *Bogochwalski* 5, *Bogolubow* 9, *Bogomilski* 3/*Bogumilski* 11 – from *bogumilny* 'acceptable to God'⁹, *Bogorodzki* 8, *Bogorodz* 78, *Bohorodycz* 36, *Bohorodzicz* 9, *Bochorodycz* 14 (all from *Bogurodzica* 'Mother of God' or its Eastern Slavic variants), *Bogójawleński* 13, *Bogudał* 71 (see also Szczaus 2003).

However, the seemingly theophoric surname *Bogowolski* 11 (cf. *Bóg* 'God', *wola* 'will') is actually derived from *boguwola*, the folk name of the bird golden oriole (Latin *Oriolus galbula* or *Oriolus oriolus*).

Snippets of church language in Latin

As Breza (2000: 250–251) aptly emphasizes, nicknames echoing religious Latin phrases were once given to people connected with the church: perhaps, for example, they repeated awkwardly after the priest the words of Latin prayers. One has to remember that until the 1960s the language of the Catholic Church was Latin. Today several Latin phrases in surnames are still recognisable. Among them, there is *Oremus* 'let us pray' 110, with secondary surnames *Oremczak* 7, *Oremczuk* 39, *Oremek* 145, *Oramus* 521, *Oram* 18 and *Orymus* 12; interestingly, there is also a colloquial appellative

⁷ However, direct transition from personal name cannot be ruled out (*Judas* was also the name of another apostle in the *New Testament*, otherwise known as *Judas Thaddaeus*).

⁸ In Slavic mythology *Dadzbóg/Dabób/Dažboh* is an east Slavic god of the Sun, presumably also of wealth and fire, often identified with *Swarozyc* (cf. Poniatowski 1969: 84).

⁹ Cf. the *Bible*, *Romans* 12:1–2 (*New King James* version). Nevertheless, this surname might also be derived from the given name *Bogumil*.

oremus in Polish, meaning 'objurgation, a rebuke, a reprimand, scolding'. The surname *Pronobis* '[pray] for us' 907 was first attested in 1692, while its likely distorted form *Promobis* died out in the 1990s. Other examples are *Laudamus* 'let us praise' 33, *Noster* 112 (probably from *Pater Noster* 'Our Father'), *Agnus* 5 (perhaps from *Agnus Dei* 'Lamb of God'), *Credo* 14 ('I believe', the Apostles' Creed; this name was also used historically in the form *Kredo*, today extinct), *Beatus* 'blessed' 3, *Oratur* (3rd person singular passive form of the Latin verb 'to pray') 2, *Dominus* 'Lord' 7/*Domino* (dative and ablative singular form of *Dominus*) 653 and *Sekular* 384 (cf. *in saecula saeculorum* 'forever and ever').

Certain surnames are difficult to interpret, such as *Kornobis* 622 (*Kornobys* 12, *Cornobis* 4), perhaps derived from *Cor Jesu miserere nobis* 'the heart of Jesus, have mercy on us' (from the Litany of the Sacred Heart of Jesus), and *Anobis* (perhaps from the collect for purity in the Roman Mass: *Aufer a nobis iniquitates nostras* 'take away from us our iniquities') 9.

The surnames *Orant* 34 and probably also *Orantek* 72, *Orantowska* 1, *Orantyk* 2 relate to the Latin verb *orare* 'speak; pray, implore', *orans*, -ntis 'praying'. Finally, while there is no primary surname from the Latin *memento* (literally 'remember' – either of two prayers in the canon of the Mass, one for living persons and the other for dead persons), there is a secondary form *Mementowski* 14.

Prayers, hymns, religious services and rituals

Several surnames come from the names of various services in church. Thus, the Polish surname *Jutrznia* 31 is derived from *jutrznia* 'lauds (the divine office taking place in the early morning)'. The names *Nieszpor* 20, *Nieszporek* 803, *Nieszporowski* 4, *Nieszporski* 54, *Nieszpór* 10 and *Nieszpur* 1 all come from *nieszpory* 'vespers' (from Latin *Vesperae* < *vesper* 'evening'). *Rorat* 719, *Rorata* 59, *Roratowski* 36 and *Rorot* 95 all have their origin in the service called *rорати* 'Rorate Mass', from the beginning of the Latin hymn *Rorate coeli* 'Drop down ye heavens [dew] from above' (Rymut 2001: 360). The appellative *panichida/panachida* (Russian *Панихида*, Belorusian *Паніхіда*, Ukrainian *Панахида*) 'memorial service for the departed in the East Orthodox Church' gave rise to the names *Panachida* 43, *Panacheda* 19 and *Panachet* 3. *Trizna*, the Eastern Slavic ritual feast, in the Eastern Orthodoxy held on the grave of the deceased directly after burial, echoes in the names *Tryzna* 202, *Tryzno* 110 and *Tryznowski* 38. The word *kadysz/kadisz* 'Kaddish (in Judaism a hymn of praise to God, especially at a funeral service)' resounds in the surnames *Kadysz* 58, *Kadyszewski* 121, *Kadyszyn* 2, *Kadiszewski* 3 and perhaps *Kadziszewski* 130.

Names of prayers or holy hymns motivated some names as well. *Kantyka* 672 stems from *kantyk* 'canticle' (a hymn, psalm or other song of praise taken from biblical or holy texts other than the Psalms). In the Eastern Orthodox Church *kontakion* or *kondakion* is a kind of hymn; from either the Greek form *κοντάκιον* or its Old Church Slavonic version *ко́ндакъ* stem the surnames *Kondak* 183, *Kondaków* 5, *Kontak* 67 and *Kontakiewicz* 15 (cf. Breza 2004b: 144). The word *pacierz* 'prayer; spine' (< Latin *Pater*

Noster ‘Our Father’) gave *Pacierz* 166 and *Pacierzyński* 1, while its diminutive *paciorek* (also meaning ‘prayer bead’) lies at the root of *Paciorka* 7, *Paciorek* 4171, *Paciorkiewicz* 102, *Paciorko* 42, *Paciorkowski* 961, *Paciorkowski* 7 and *Paciorski* 1. Finally, *litania* ‘litany’ can be detected in *Litaniuk* 8 and *Litański* 29.

The following surnames are related to the appellative *jałmużna* ‘alms’: *Jałmużna* 232, *Jałmużniak* 42, *Jałmużniak* 2, *Jałmużny* 32, *Jałmużyński* 14.

Names of holidays

The surname *Zaduszko* 27 is reminiscent of *Zaduszki* ‘All Souls’ Day’, whereas *Pascha* 4, *Paschalis* 27 and *Paschalski* 15 can be linked with *Pascha* ‘Easter’ (*Paschalis* is a name first attested in Poland in the 11th century, today having gone out of use).

Breza (2003) lists several surnames motivated by the Russian-language names of Orthodox Christian holidays. They include *Blagowieszczański* 6, *Blagowieszczeński* 9 (cf. Russian *Благовещение Пресвятой Богородицы* ‘Annunciation’); *Kreszczyński* 5 (*Крещение Господне* ‘Baptism of Jesus’); *Pokrowski* 66 (*Покров Пресвятой Богородицы* ‘the Intercession of the Theotokos’, a feast of the Mother of God in the Eastern Orthodox churches, celebrated on October 1, or October 14 in the Julian calendar); *Preobrażeński* 8 (from *Преображение Господне* ‘the Transfiguration of Jesus’). There are several spelling variants of the name that commemorates Christmas, the birth of Christ (*Рождество Христово*): *Rożdżestwieński* 6, *Rożdżestwienska* 1, *Rożdestwiński* 5. The names *Uspienska* 1, *Uspienski* 2, *Uspieński* 4, *Uśpieński* 15 and *Uśpiński* 13 all derive from *Успение Пресвятой Богородицы* ‘the Dormition of the Mother of God’, corresponding to Assumption in the Catholic doctrine. Finally, *Wozniesiński* 2 refers to *Вознесение Господне* ‘the Ascension of Jesus’.

As Breza (2004: 145) notes, the names *Miasojed* 19 and *Miasojedow* 9 are related to the term *miasojed* ‘the days when it is allowed [in Eastern Orthodox Christianity] to eat meat’. Their purported cognate *Miesojed* 8, difficult for Breza to account for phonetically, is most probably due to the influence of Lithuanian – cf. Lithuanian *mesa* ‘meat’ and the Lithuanian surnames *Mėsajėdas* and *Mesoėdas*, or even the hybrid Polish-Lithuanian *Menoė̄das*. A related concept is *miasopust* (Russian *мясопыт*, Czech *masopust*), *mięsopust* ‘carnival, or especially the last days of it, shortly before Ash Wednesday’, reflected in the surnames *Mięsopust* 29 and *Miasopust* 6. Similarly, the surnames *Mašlenicki* 4, *Mašlenik* 24 and *Mašlennik* 5 indicate the relationship with the above-mentioned period, in the Eastern Orthodox Church known as *maslenica*/*maslenica* (Belorusian *Масленіца*, *Масъленіца*, *Масъленка*, Russian *Масленица*) – celebrated shortly before the beginning of Lent.

The surnames *Spasówka* 132, *Spassówka* 6 and *Spasuwka* 4 might be related to the appellative *spasówka* ‘the fast before the holiday of Spas’ (cf. Rymut 2001: 466), though indirectly: there are several villages of that name, so the surname is probably toponymic. The holiday of Spas (‘Saviour’), commemorating the Transfiguration of Christ, is Eastern Orthodox, but with strong pagan roots (cf. Lozko and Wacyk 1997).

Some more Polish surnames with the root *Spas-* might have similar origins (cf. Breza 2004b: 150), though alternative etymologies are also possible.

The surname *Szczodrak* 336 and its apparently Silesian phonetic variation *Szczodrok* 122 (maybe also *Szczodroch* 4), derived by Rymut (2001: 529) from the adjective *szczodry* 'generous', might have an alternative motivation. The term *szczodrak*, *szcodraki*¹⁰ once referred to a kind of special cake or pie in the shape of animals or dolls, given as present to children during the pre-Christian Slavic winter festival, celebrated around the time of the winter solstice, called *Szczodre Gody* (Ziółkowska 1989: 207).

Surnames motivated by Christian holidays do not exist in Polish alone. For instance, the Italian surname *Santoro* is derived from the Latin phrase *festum Omnitum Sanctorum* 'feast of all the saints', whereas the French surnames *Noël* and *Pascal* (Latin *Paschiasius*, Spanish *Pascual*, Catalan *Pasqual*) evoke Christmas and Easter respectively. In Croatia the surname *Božić* with the meaning 'Christmas' or 'young/small god' (cf. Kropej 2012: 77) ranked 16th in popularity in 2008, with 8258 bearers¹¹. The same name is also popular in Slovenia.

Names of objects associated with the church

Several surnames may metonymically be traceable to church objects (a tool signifies the person who uses it to do the job). In Polish onomastics such names are sometimes called *indirectly occupational*: derived not directly from names of occupations but from the names of objects associated with them (e.g. *needle* for *tailor*). Among them there are church vestments and accessories worn by the clergy: *rokieta* ('rochet' – in Polish from Italian *rocchetto*, ultimately from Latin *rochettum*) – *Rokieta* 33; *alba* ('alb' – from Latin *albus* 'white') – *Alba* 55 (cf. Rudnicka-Fira 2003: 273); *komża* 'surplice' – *Komża* 11, *Komza* 270; *habit* 'habit' – *Habit* 38, *Habiciak* 56, perhaps also *Habiczak* 6; *ornat* 'chasuble' – *Ornat* 843, *Ornacki* 153, *Ornatowicz* 6, *Ornatowski* 404, *Ornatoski* 6, *Ornatkiewicz* 11, *Ornatek* 90; *tiara* '(papal) tiara' – *Tiara* 12; *infuła* 'mitre' – *Infulecki* 87 (cf. Breza 2011: 35); *stula* 'stole' – *Stula* 294.

There are also names motivated by various objects used in a church. These include *Gromnica* 27, *Gromnicki* 307 – from *gromnica* 'thunder candle'¹², cf. *grom* 'thunder'; *Kropidło* 136, *Kropidłowski* 2660 – from *kropidło* 'aspergillum'; *Kropielnicki* 522, *Kropielnicki* 71 – from *kropielnica* 'holy water font, stoup'; *Opłatek* 106, *Opłatkowski* 124 – from *opłatek* 'Christmas wafer'. *Ikoniak* 106, *Ikonowicz* 5 and, according to Rymut

¹⁰ The tradition of baking *szczodraki* in folk culture in some parts of Poland remained to this day, cf. <http://www.polskieradio.pl/8/478/Artykul/293052,Lubelskie-szczodraki,> accessed 02.05.2017.

¹¹ <http://www.croatian-genealogy.com/most-frequent-croatian-surnames/>, accessed 17.04.2017.

¹² A large beeswax candle, blessed in Poland during Candlemas (February 2), traditionally believed to ward off lightning during thunderstorms, used also in Christian rites of passage (baptism, First Communion, deathbed rituals).

(1999: 319), also *Ikan* 1, *Ikaniewicz* 13 and *Ikanowicz* 10 derive from *ikona*, *ikon* ‘icon’. The appellative *kadzidło* ‘incense’ lies at the root of the surnames *Kadzidło* 38 and *Kadzidłowski* 74, though the latter name is toponymic and only indirectly connected with religion¹³.

Of Eastern Orthodox provenance is probably the surname *Proskura* 317 and its derivatives: *Proskurka* 2, *Proskurnicki* 77, *Proskurniczy* 2, *Proskurowski* 17, *Proskuryń* 7. As Breza (2004b: 147) maintains, at their roots lies the word *proskura* (or *prosfora*, *prosfira*) meaning ‘sacred bread used for the Host’ (from Greek πρόσφορον, *prósphorón* ‘offering’, cf. also Arct 1902: 407).

Places of worship

There is a plethora of surnames motivated by the appellative *kościół* – some are discussed in the article in the present volume devoted to the people of the church (notably *Kościelny* from *kościelny* ‘sexton, sacristan’. But it must be remembered that such a name may have also once referred to somebody living near a church (to that category belong also *Zakościelny* 508 ‘(living) behind a church’), *Podkościelny* 406 ‘(living) by a church’), *Kościółek* 1921 ‘little church’, *Kościółkiewicz* 5, *Kościółko* 69 and *Kościółkowski* 10. They are semantically transparent to a layman, which cannot be said in equal measure of *Czertok* 8 (from *czertok* ‘temple’, cf. Breza 2004b: 142).

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¹³ Kadzidło, a village in Ostrołęka County in east-central Poland, is known for its exploitation of amber, whose tiny pieces used to be placed by the Kurpie people in bonfires to give them an incense-like smell (this custom earned them the nickname *kadzidłaki* ‘the incense people’, although the incense they made was of secular rather than church use).

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