

Onoma 55
Journal of the International Council of Onomastic Sciences

ISSN: 0078-463X; e-ISSN: 1783-1644
Journal homepage: https://onomajournal.org/

Newly discovered Lithuanian compound names with first stem of Christian origin as witnesses of the intersection of pagan and Christian cultures

Daiva Sinkevičiūtė*

Department of Baltic Studies, Institute for the Languages and Cultures of the Baltic, Vilnius University, Lithuania

To cite this article: Sinkevičiūtė, Daiva. 2020. Newly discovered Lithuanian compound names with first stem of Christian origin as witnesses of the intersection of pagan and Christian cultures. *Onoma* 55, 149–166. DOI: 10.34158/ONOMA.55/2020/9

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.34158/ONOMA.55/2020/9

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Article history
Received on 12 February 2020.
Final form accepted on 15 June 2021.
Published online on 28 July 2021.

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Abstract: The article presents new Lithuanian compound names with first stem of Christian origin from the *Lithuanian Metrica* (15th–16th century), all of them relevant to the broader issue of the Christianization of Northeastern Europe. It has been proposed that the first element of Christian compound names came from East Slavic in the 10th–13th centuries. A new analysis of the evidence, both already known and new, shows that this is incorrect, as the vast majority of names can equally well come from East Slavic and from Polish. In addition, East Slavic names could come to

* Department of Baltic Studies, Institute for the Languages and Cultures of the Baltic, Vilnius University, 5 Universiteto st., LT–01131 Vilnius, Lithuania, daiva.sinkeviciute@flf.vu.lt

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Lithuania via Poland, whereas Polish names could reach Lithuania via Byelorussia. Thus, the compound names treated in this article do not require an early influence of Orthodox Christianity in the pagan culture of the Baltic peoples.

Keywords: Lithuanian, personal names, compound names, Christian names.

Noms composés lituaniens nouvellement découverts avec le premier radical d'origine chrétienne, témoins de l'intersection des cultures païenne et chrétienne

Résumé : L'article présente de nouveaux noms composés lituaniens ayant un premier radical d'origine chrétienne, collectés dans la *Métrique lituanienne* (XV^{e}–XVI^{e} s.). Tous ces mots sont importants dans un contexte plus large, et reposent la question du passage du paganisme vers le christianisme de l'Europe du Nord-Est. On considérait auparavant que le premier formant des noms composés chrétiens provenait du slave oriental aux X^{e}–XIII^{e} siècles. Une nouvelle analyse des données, déjà connues et nouvelles, montre toutefois que cette hypothèse est contestable, car la grande majorité des noms peut également provenir autant du slave oriental que du polonais. De plus, les noms slaves orientaux auraient pu entrer en Lituanie via la Pologne, tandis que les noms polonais auraient pu atteindre la Lituanie depuis la Biélorussie. Les noms composés traités dans cet article ne témoignent donc pas d'influence précoce du christianisme orthodoxe sur la culture païenne des peuples baltes.

Mots-clés : Lituanien, anthroponymes, noms de personne composés, noms chrétiens.

Neue entdeckte litauische Personennamen mit Erststamm christlicher Herkunft als Zeugen des Ineinandergreifens heidnischer und christlicher Kulturen

Zusammenfassung: Im vorliegenden Beitrag werden diejenigen neuen litauischen zweistämmigen Personennamen aus der *Litauische Matrikel* (15.–16. Jh.) analysiert, deren Erstglied christlicher Provenienz ist. Diese Namen können zum besseren Verständnis der Ausbreitung des Christentums unter den nordöstlichen Völkern Europas beitragen. Die frühere Forschung hat die Herkunft der christlichen Namenbestandteile mit den im 10.–13. Jh. von den östlichen Slawen übernommenen Taufnamen in Verbindung gebracht. Allerdings wird diese Annahme sowohl durch ältere als auch besonders durch jüngere Untersuchungen widerlegt, denn die meisten Namen können ebenso auf die ostslawischen Sprachen wie auf das Polnische zurückgeführt werden. Außerdem ist zu berücksichtigen, dass die in den ostslawischen Sprachen entstandenen Namen über Polen nach Litauen gelangt oder umgekehrt polnische Namen durch Vermittlung von Weißrussland bis nach Litauen gekommen sein können. Die hier behandelten Personennamen mit christlichem Erstglied können somit keinen Beweis für den frühen Einfluss des orthodoxen Christentums auf die heidnische Kultur der Balten bilden.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Litauisch, Personennamen, zweistämmige Namen, christliche Namen.

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Onoma 55 (2020), 149–166. DOI: 10.34158/ONOMA.55/2020/9

Newly discovered Lithuanian compound names with first stem of Christian origin as witnesses of the intersection of pagan and Christian cultures

DAIVA SINKEVIČIŪTĖ

1. Introduction

Lithuanian compound names formed with a first stem of Christian origin[1] and a second stem attested in other Lithuanian compound names are an innovation of the Lithuanian naming system (Jurkėnas 1966: 203). These first stems are one of the arguments used to support the theory that still before the official Christianization of Lithuania (1387) the Lithuanian naming system made use of Christian names whose formal properties imply that they were taken from East Slavic (Zinkevičius 2005; 2008: 243–486). They would imply that the Baltic pagan culture experienced an early influence of Orthodox Christianity.

The main purpose of this article is to determine whether Christian names taken from West Slavic also became first stems of this type of names. This would reflect the impact of Western Christianity in the Lithuanian naming system. In Sinkevičiūtė (2018a, 2018b) I have argued that new Lithuanian compound names were created by combining a new first element with a second element that was already in use. I have also found compound names whose second element of Lithuanian origin was remade into a Christian one (Sinkevičiūtė 2019). Therefore, I will try to determine how Christian names affected the first stem of Lithuanian compound names.

The whole inventory of Lithuanian compound names is not yet known, as some of the sources have not yet been properly studied. In this article I will add some new compound names and compound name stems to the stock of Lithuanian compound names. The new evidence comes from the *Lithuanian Metrica*[2]. The names are reconstructed from lists of people in texts of the end

[1] The label ‘Christian names’ does not only cover names of Hebrew, Greek or Latin origin, but also names of saints taken from other languages.

[2] The *Lithuanian Metrica* is the oldest and most important archive of Lithuania, encompassing documents from the 14th to the 18th centuries. It consists of 664 books with documents (copies, originals, registers) compiled in the Chancery of the Grand Duke of Lithuanian (LM 1(1): 5–7; LM 11(11): 5). The *Lithuanian Metrica* includes various records, judicial resolutions of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, diplomatic correspondence, financial documents, property inventories etc. (LM 11(11): 5). The *Lithuanian Metrica* is being edited according to modern standards since 1987. Each tome includes two identification numbers, the first one according to (approximate) chronology, the second

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of the 15th century and of the 16th century written in Ruthenian and sometimes in Polish[3].

In what follows I will first present the linguistic and historical state of Lithuania in the 15th and 16th centuries and will discuss the state of the art of the research on Lithuanian compound names. I will then discuss the compound names with first stem of Christian origin, paying special attention to the names that are here presented for the first time. I will try to determine:

- Which Christian names became new stems more often (including their shortenings)?
- Which borrowed names – from East and West Slavic – had an impact in the formation of new compound names?
- Why did names of Christian origin and their shortenings become stems of new compound names?

2. Linguistic and historical state of Lithuania in the 15th–16th century

The texts from which the new names have been discovered clearly display the state of writing in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. At the end of the 15th century and throughout the 16th century most documents were written in Latin and in Ruthenian (Kiaupienė & Petrauskas 2009: 272–276). After the Lublin union (1569), documents in Polish began to increase (Kiaupienė & Lukšaitė 2013: 569–572).

The Ruthenian language in which the names are written is slightly different from the language used in documents of the Grand Duchy of Moscow, as it includes West Slavic elements. There were differences in the lexicon, spelling, and other formal aspects (Zinkevičius 1987: 120). The Polish language in which the names are written is called *polszczyzna litewska* (Zinkevičius 1988: 115) and is also peculiar, as it includes many elements of Lithuanian and of the written Slavic office language (in its turn with a strong Byelorussian component) (Zinkevičius 1977: 43).

In the 15th and 16th centuries the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was bigger than that of present-day Lithuania. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania had already lost the territories by the Oka river, and later lost Chernihiv, Smolensk and other territories. After the Lublin union (1569),

one according to Stanisław Ptaszycki's 1887 classification depending on content (books of inscriptions, books of judicial decrees, books of public affairs, books of censuses of customs etc.) (LM 5(5): 579). So far (until 2020) more than 60 tomes of the *Metrica* have been edited, most of them in Lithuania, but also in Byelorussia, Ukraine, Poland and Russia.

[3] The *Lithuanian Metrica* are official documents mostly written in Ruthenian, Polish, Latin and German (for the status of these languages see Zinkevičius 1987: 111–144). Authors of Ruthenian texts came from Orthodox countries. Texts in Polish, Latin and German were written by non-Orthodox, both from the local population and foreigners (Kiaupienė & Petrauskas 2009: 272–276).

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according to which the voivodeships of Kiev, Volyn, Bratslav and Podlasie passed to Poland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania encompassed the voivodeships of Vilnius, Trakai, Navahrudak, Brest, Minsk, Mstislavl, Vitebsk, Polotsk as well as the eldership of Samogitia (Kiaupienė & Lukšaitė 2013: 133–136).

The area in which Lithuanian was spoken was smaller than the whole Grand Duchy, but included parts of Slavic territory (Zinkevičius 1987: 112). Part of the Slavic inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania inhabited territories that formerly had been inhabited by Baltic people (see Dini 2014: 51–61 for the boundaries, which are determined from river names). For this reason, in the documents it is possible to find Baltic names in current Slavic territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania that were formerly inhabited by Balts (Zinkevičius 2008: 612).

3. Research into Lithuanian compound names and their relation to Christian names

The study of compound names in Ruthenian texts was begun by no less an authority than Būga (1911), who determined the form of the Lithuanian names and discussed the correspondences between Lithuanian sounds and Ruthenian letters. Būga's research was continued by Jurkėnas (1966), who from what had been published of the *Lithuanian Metrica* at the beginning of the 20th century reconstructed Lithuanian compound names and discussed the origin of their stems. Compound names and their spelling in Polish sources have been mostly studied by Zinkevičius (1977) and Smoczyński (1982). Both presented them together with other names of Lithuanian origin. In Sinkevičiūtė (2014, with references) I have studied variants of compound names as they have been generated in the documents. The object of these works, in any case, are compound names, most of which are made with stems of Lithuanian origin.

The most exhaustive collection of Lithuanian compound names and their stems has been published by Zinkevičius (2008). His collection, however, is not completely reliable, as it includes ghost names and part of the evidence is simply missing. The names of his collections are mostly reconstructed from modern surnames and place names originating in person's proper names. However, in reality some of them are borrowed names or names altered in different ways (Sinkevičiūtė 2010).

Zinkevičius (2005: 46–47; 2008: 484–486) sorted out a special group of Lithuanian compound names with first stem of Christian origin. This was one of Zinkevičius' arguments indicating that names of Christian origin borrowed from East Slavic were used in Lithuania before the official Christianization in 1387.

For this reason, it is often assumed that Christian names came to Lithuania from two different sources. A first group came from (present-day) Byelorussia from the 10th to the 13th century, whereas a second group came

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from Poland after the official Christianization of Lithuania in 1387. This is shown by the specific forms of East and West Slavic Christian names, on the one hand, and by the religious borrowings from East Slavic in the 10th to 13th centuries, on the other (Zinkevičius 2005: 7–52).

However, one has to note that already in the Middle Ages East Slavic name forms made it into Polish through (present-day) Ukraine (Malec 1995: 17–22; Rymut 1999: XLI–XLII). For this reason, it is often hard to determine the source of a given borrowing.

4. Already known Lithuanian compound names with Christian first stem. Problems with their identification

In the onomastic literature there are compound names with first element of Christian origin. Some of them have been found in historical sources: *Dim-gáil-a*[4]: *dim-* < *Dim-à* < *Dimìtrijus* (Būga 1911: 29)[5], *Jõk-min-as*[6]: *jok-*[7] < *Jõk-as* < *Jokũbas* (Jurkėnas 1966: 204), *Jón-vil-as*[8]: *jon-* < *Jõn-as* (Jurkėnas 1966: 204)[9], *Mã-taut-as*[10] < **Mãt-i-taut-as*: *mat-* < *Mãt-as* < *Motiẽjus* (Būga 1911: 39), *Stoñk-vil-as*[11]: *stonk-*[12] < *Stoñk-us* < *Stanìslovas* (Jurkėnas 1966: 204). Not all names are assessed in the same way. Zinkevičius (2008: 84), for instance, considers that because of its bleached meaning *dim-* looks like an inherited item.

Zinkevičius (2005: 46–47; 2008: 484–486) reconstructed other proper names from surnames and place names. This is the case of the following names: *Ján-kant-as*: *jan-* < *Jãn-as* 'Jonas', *Jár-mant-as*: *jar-* < *Jãr-as* < *Jarmala*, *Jùr-gird-as, Jùr-taut-as*: *jur-* < *Jùr-as* < *Jùrijus* 'Jurgis', *Lùk-min-as*: *luk-* < *Lùk-as* < *Lukõšius*, *Mãc-vil-as*: *mac-* < *Mãc-as* < *Motiẽjus*, *Mit-i-gáil-a*:

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4 Cf. *Дымъкгаила* 1523 (LM 12(12) 236: 250). See below in section 5 on the rendering of Lithuanian sounds in the Ruthenian alphabet.

5 The variant *Din-gáil-a* (cf. *Юреи Динкгаиловичь* 1495 (LM 5(5) 111: 84) of *Dim-gáil-a* is a later positional variant (Būga 1911: 27).

6 Cf. *Якмина* (gen. sg.) 1509 (LM 8(8) 426: 318), *Петрока Якминевича* (gen. sg.) 1526 (LM 12(12) 614: 473), *Якмин Кгинбутаитис* 1528 (LM 523(1): 153), *Лобортъ Якминовичъ* 1528 (LM 523(1): 148), *Петръ Якминовичъ* 1528 (LM 523(1): 162).

7 This stem can be derived from shortened compound names: *jok-* < *Jõk-as* (< *Jó-kant-as*, *Jó-kint-as*).

8 Cf. *Янъвила Едевича* (gen. sg.) 1523 (LM 12(12) 219: 240), *Грыгор Янъвиловичъ* 152 (LM 523(1): 179).

9 *Jõnas* is the Lithuanian name for Hebrew *Yohanan* 'John'. It is unrelated to Engl. *Jonas*.

10 Cf. *Мищ Мотовтоитис* 1528 (LM 523(1): 163).

11 Cf. *Станквилъ Монвиловичъ* 1528 (LM 523(1): 60).

12 On the other hand, the stem *stonk-* can be derived from *stong-*, since /g/ is written as <k>; cf. *Stoñg-vil-as*, whose first stem *stong-* is a variant of *stang-* (related to Lith. *stañg-us* 'resilient', Zinkevičius 2008: 139) due to dialectal pronunciation and foreign spelling. A spelling of /g/ as <k> for *Stoñk-vil-as*, however, cannot be paralleled in the evidence researched here.

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mit- < *Mìt-as* < *Dimìtras*[13], *Sìm-bor-as*[14]: *sim-* < *Sìm-as* < *Sìmonas*, *Šìm-bar-as*[15]: *šim-* < *Šìm-as* < *Šìmonas* 'Simonas', *Tomk-ò-vyd-as*: *tomk-* < *Tom̃k-us* < *Tamõšius* 'Tomas', *Ùl-vyd-as*: *ul-* < *Ul-ỹs* < *Ulijõnas* 'Julijonas', *Vem̃-but-as* < *Veñ-but-as*: *ven-* < *Ven-ỹs* < *Benedìktas*, *Zin-gáil-a*: *zin-* < *Zìn-ius* < *Zènonas*.

Zinkevičius (2008: 73–169) did not include the stems *jan-*, *jar-*, *jur-*, *mac-* and *tomk-* in the list of stems of names of Lithuanian origin. However, names with first stem *luk-*, *mit-*, *sim-*, *šim-*, *ul-*, *ven-* and *zin-*, for which Zinkevičius assumed Christian origin (except for *ven-*), actually made it into the collection of Lithuanian compound names, and Zinkevičius (2008: 73–169) systematically assumes a different origin for them. He considers them to belong to the inherited lexicon (*luk-*, *mit-*, *sim-*, *šim-*, *ul-*, *ven-*) or to be variants of it (*zin-*), even though he only presents a concrete connection with the Lithuanian lexicon for *mit-*, cf. *mìt-yti* (*mìt-o*) 'feed' (Zinkevičius 2008: 117).

Since *luk-*, *mit-*, *sim-*, *šim-*, *ul-*, *ven-* and *zin-* coincide with Christian stems and are well attested in non-compound names, Christian origin seems more likely. The case of *mit-*, like that of *jok-* discussed above, implies different derivational possibilities.

Some of the compound names in Zinkevičius' collection (2008: 73–169) are given as having a possible second explanation as names of Christian origin. This is the case of the stems *ieš-*, *stak-* and *stan-* (in addition to the already mentioned *ul-*), whose Christian origin Zinkevičius assumed to be secondary, whereas he doubted the Christian origin of *ieš-* without presenting an alternative explanation.

For the following compound names Zinkevičius (2008: 73–169) suggested Christian origin of their first element: *Iẽš-mant-as*, *Iẽš-taut-as*[16]: *ieš-*[17] < *ješ-* < *Ješ-as*, cf. *Jašas* 'Jonas' (LPŽ 1985: 819–820), *Stãk-min-as*, *Stãk-vil-as*: *stak-* < *Stãk-as* < *Eustãchijus* or *Stanìslovas*, cf. *Stãchas* (LPŽ 1989: 790), *Ùl-tar-as*: *ul-* < *Ul-ỹs* < *Ulijõnas* 'Julijonas' (LPŽ 1989: 1101). Since here the stems clearly coincide with the Christian lexicon, I include these names in my corpus.[18]

So, the first stems of Christian origin that have been established so far are the following ones: *dim-*, *ieš-*, *jan-*, *jar-*, *jok-*, *jon-*, *jur-*, *luk-*, *mac-*, *mat-*, *mit-*, *sim-*, *stak-*, *stonk-*, *šim-*, *tomk-*, *ul-*, *ven-* and *zin-*. Most of these stems

[13] LPŽ (1989: 259) derives the stem *mit-* in *Mit-i-gáil-a* from *mint-* due to Latvian influence. This is supported by areal arguments, as this name is attested in an area not far from the Latvian border. Neither the name **Mint-gail-as*, nor the stem *mint-* were found in our corpus. For this reason, the stem *mit-* is assumed to be authentic.

[14] Cf. *Joannem Simborium* (acc. sg.) 1586 (LM 276(62) 160: 151).

[15] Cf. *Миколаи Шимъборовичъ* 1528 (LM 523(1): 31).

[16] Cf. *Петръ Яновичъ Ешовътовича* (gen. sg.) 1520 (LM 25(25) 165: 229).

[17] LPŽ (1985: 562) derives the stem *ieš-* (cf. *Eĩ-but-as*) from *eiš-*, which is a variant of *ei-*, but does not give a reason for the development of *eiš-* to *ieš-*.

[18] Zinkevičius presented other stems, but for names with stem *stan-* the second stems turned out to be unreliable. I have also excluded the stems *kam-*, *vaič-* and *vaš-*, whose inclusion was not properly argued for by Zinkevičius (2005: 46–47; 2008: 484–486).

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were established by Zinkevičius, even though he later changed his mind concerning the origin of some of them. This, of course, only shows that there is no universal way to analyse names. In my view, the fact that these stems occur in more than one name and the fact that they are clearly related to an existing name variant (for instance, *dim-* and *Dim-à*) are strong arguments indicating that they are in fact stems of Christian origin. In order to determine the origin of the stems it is important to take into account their relative frequency and the clarity of their connection to a base.

5. Presentation of new names and reconstruction methodology

In this section I will present new names that I have found in the *Lithuanian Metrica*. Their stems are reconstructed according to the principles of representation of Lithuanian phonemes in Ruthenian and Polish (Būga 1911: 19–23; Zinkevičius 1977: 98–105). The corpus consists of 11 new names from Ruthenian sources and 2 from Polish sources.

The following correspondences between Lithuanian vowels and Ruthenian letters are systematic: /a/ is written <о> (and, correspondingly, /an/ <он>, /ai/ <ои>, and /jo/ <я>); /e/ is written <е>, /i/ and /i:/ <и>, and /u/ <у> (and, correspondingly, /ju/ <ю>). The diphthong /ar/ is written as <ар> and <ор>, which is usually explained as depending on accent position and intonation. The diphthong /au/ is written <ов>, as usually in Ruthenian documents[19]. The writing of consonants is normally unproblematic, but it must be noted that /g/ is written <кг>[20].

In Polish documents /i/ is written <i> and /a/ is written <o>, <a> (cf. *Stãsvilas*) being a rarer variant (Zinkevičius 1977: 99). As in Ruthenian, the writing of consonants is normally unproblematic, but note that /v/ is written <w> and /l/ <ł>. The Polish letter <z> is used for Lithuanian /s/ (cf. *Stãsvilas*)[21].

However, one has to note that stems of Christian origin could be written according to the Christian names used in other languages, in which case they would not only display the tendencies in the representation of Lithuanian phonemes or, say, dialectal features (Jurkėnas 1966: 20–21). It thus seems that the spelling of names of Christian origin was even less consequent than the spelling of inherited Lithuanian names. As a consequence of all this, a remarkable number of spelling variants appeared in Lithuania.

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[19] Būga does not include the writing of /au/ as <ов> among the regular correspondences between Lithuanian sounds and Ruthenian letters, but its regularity is evident from the frequent writing of /au/ as <ов> in names with stem *daug-*, *taut-* (Būga 1911: 24, 37–39).

[20] Būga did not comment on the writing of /g/ in his treatment of regular correspondences, but when presenting the stems *gail-*, *gėl-* and *gal-* he gives the writing <кг> as usual (cf. Būga 1911: 29–32, 32–33, 34–35).

[21] The writing of /s/ as <z> is confirmed by the writing of the stem *turs-* of the name *Tursas* with <z> beside usual <s>, cf. Zinkevičius (1977: 211).

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For each name I first give the reconstructed form, followed by the names actually attested in the *Lithuanian Metrica* in chronological order. The reconstructed name is given without suffixes, only with the nominative singular ending *-as*[22]. The names are accented according to the accentuation of similar names in Zinkevičius (1977, 2008) and LPŽ.

In the case of names that are not attested in the nominative, I give information on number and case. After that, I give the date of the document in which the names are attested and the reference to the *Lithuanian Metrica* (volume number, document number, and page). In the case of stems that occur more than once, the arrow (↑) sends to previous names in which the stem is discussed.

I discuss the evidence according to the following parameters. For every name I give other names with the same stem, as established by other scholars, and their spelling in the *Lithuanian Metrica*. Christian and Lithuanian stems are treated separately. For borrowed stems I give their base name and a Lithuanian surname with this stem. When the base name is a name of Christian origin or its regular shortening (the first part of the Christian name became a stem), I give its correspondence in the Slavic languages. When the base name has been deformed or is an irregular shortening, its formation is explained. The origin of the stem (Polish or East Slavic, and its frequency) is discussed according to these data. The second stems attested in Lithuanian compound names are grounded on parallel names in the works of Zinkevičius (2008: 73–169), Būga (1911) or Jurkėnas (1966). Cognates in the Lithuanian lexicon are also given.

6. New names with first stem of Christian origin from the *Lithuanian Metrica*

The following new names have been found in the *Lithuanian Metrica*:

– *Dìm-ged-as*: *Кгедбутъ Димькгедаитисъ* 1536 (LM 19(19) 161: 195); *Кгиньвилъ Димъкгедаитис* 1536 (LM 19(19) 161: 195). Note also *Dìm-gail-as* (see above↑). The stem *dim-* < *Dim-à* (cf. *Dim-áitis* etc., LPŽ 1985: 498) < *Dimìtras*, cf. Po. *Demetriusz, Dymitr*, Br. *Dzmitryj*, Ru. *Dmitrij*, *Dimitrij*, Ukr. *Dmytro* (Janowowa et al. 1991: 68–69), C. Sl. *Dimitrii*, *Dimitrъ*, *Dъmitrъ* (Malec 1995: 31). The stem *dim-* is the East Slavic form, but Polish has a variant *dym-* (Malec 1994: 210; Rymut 1999: 163–164), which indicates that *dim-* may also have been taken from Polish. The stem *ged-* < Lith. *ged-áuti* ‘long for’, *pasi-gẽd-o* ‘missed’, cf. *Vain-ì-ged-as* (Būga 1911: 45; Zinkevičius 2008: 90).

– *Dìm-jot-as*: *Богъдана Димъятовича* (gen. sg.) 1532 (LM 15(15) 126: 157). For *dim-* see *Dìm-ged-as*↑. The stem *jot-* < Lith. *jó-ti* ‘ride’, *jót-is* ‘riding, horse-race’, cf. *Daũ-jot-as* (Būga 1911: 26; Zinkevičius 2008: 98–99).

[22] This is the most common ending for Lithuanian male names (cf. Sinkevičiūtė 2018a: 120).

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– *Jón-taut-as*: *Юря Янътовътовича* (gen. sg.) 1540–1543 (LM 231(12) 243: 207). Note also *Ján-kant-as*, *Jón-vil-as* (see above↑). The stem *jon-* < *Jõn-as* (cf. *Jon-áitis* etc., LPŽ 1985: 841), cf. Po. *Jan*, Br. *Ivan*, Ru. *Ivan*, *Joan*, Ukr. *Ivan* (Janowowa et al. 1991: 140–141), C. Sl. *Ioan*, *Ioannъ* (Malec 1995: 59). The stem *jon-* is the Polish form, but *Jan* was borrowed from Polish into Byelorussian (Biryla 1966: 83–87; Zinkevičius 2008: 367), and Lithuanian could have taken it from Byelorussian. The stem *taut-* < Lith. *taut-à* 'nation', cf. *Eĩ-taut-as* (Būga 1911: 35; Zinkevičius 2008: 148–149).
– *Jùr-vyd-as*: *Станиславъ Юрвидовичъ* 1530 (LM 225(6) 404: 272). Note also *Jùr-gird-as*, *Jùr-taut-as* (see above↑). The stem *jur-* < *Jùr-as* (cf. *Jur-áitis* etc., LPŽ 1985: 863) < *Jùrijus*, cf. Po. *Jerzy*, Br. *Georgij*, *Jury*, Ru. *Georgij*, *Jurij*, Ukr. *Georgij*, *Jurij* (Janowowa et al. 1991: 142), C. Sl. *Georgii* (Malec 1995: 63). The stem *jur-* is the East Slavic form, but Polish also has the form *jur-* (Malec 1994: 251–253; Rymut 1999: 349–350), borrowed either from German or from East Slavic (Zinkevičius 2005: 35). Lithuanian could thus also have been taken it from Polish. The stem *vyd-* < Lith. *iš-výd-o* 'saw', cf. *Ar̃-vyd-as* (Būga 1911: 30; Zinkevičius 2008: 160).
– *Már-taut-as* < **Márt-tautas*: *Неркуса Мортовтовича* (gen. sg.) 1511 (LM 9(9) 3: 74). Note also *Márt-vin-as* (see above↑). If the stem is *mart-*, then *mart-* < *Mart-ỹs* (cf. *Mart-ùlis* etc., LPŽ 1989: 169) < *Martỹnas*, cf. Po. *Marcin*, Br. *Marcin*, *Martyn*, Ru. *Martin*, Ukr. *Martyn* (Janowowa et al. 1991: 181–182), C. Sl. *Marътinъ* (Malec 1995: 86), as well as the Polish form *mart-* (Rymut 2001: 68). It is unclear from where exactly was *mart-* borrowed. If the stem is *mar-*, it can be related, in theory, either to Lith. *mar-éti* (*mãr-i*) 'to lie dying' or to *mãr-ios* 'see'. For *taut-* see *Jón-taut-as*↑.
– *Stãs-vil-as*: *Stazwiłowei* (dat. sg.) 1538 (LM 1(1) 211: 57). The stem *stas-* < *Stãs-ius* (cf. *Stas-áitis* etc., LPŽ 1989: 807) < *Stanìslovas*, cf. Po. *Stanisław*, Br. *Stanislaŭ*, Ru. *Stanislav*, Ukr. *Stanislav* (Janowowa et al. 1991: 249), also Po. *Stas* < *Stanisław* (Rymut 2001: 478), Br. *Стась* < *Станислав* (Biryla 1966: 155–156). It is unclear from where did *stas-* spread (cf. also Zinkevičius 2008: 473–474). The stem *vil-* < Lith. *vìl-tis* 'hope', cf. *Jót-vil-as* (Būga 1911: 24; Zinkevičius 2008: 161–162).
– *Vón-bar-as*: *Володцко Ванъборовичъ* 1528 (LM 523(1): 178). The stem *von-* < *Von-ỹs* (cf. *Võn-iškiai* (village), Pupkis 2002: 429) < *Ivãnas* 'Jonas', cf. Po. *Jan*, Br. *Ivan*, Ru. *Ivan*, *Joan*, Ukr. *Ivan* (Janowowa et al. 1991: 140–141), also Ru. *Ваня* < *Иван* (Petrovskij 2000: 144). The stem *von-* must be the East Slavic form, as Polish has a different form. However, Polish also has forms in *Van-* (Malec

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1994: 249; Rymut 2001: 651), so that Polish origin cannot be categorically excluded. The stem *bar-* < Lith. *bár-ti* 'fight', cf. *Daũ-bar-as* (Jurkėnas 1966: 36; Zinkevičius 2008: 77).

The origin of some of the stems can have a different explanation than as Christian names. These are the following names:

– *Añ-but-as*: *Дашъку Онъбутовичу* (dat. sg.) 1486 (LM 4(4) 1.7: 39). The stem *an-* < *An-ỹs* (cf. *An-áitis* etc., LPŽ 1985: 96): 1. < *Anìsijus*, cf. Po. *Anizjusz*, Br. *Onisij*, Ru. *Onisij*, Ukr. *Onysij* (Biryla 1966: 129–130; Janowowa et al. 1991: 25), C. Sl. *Onissi* (Malec 1995: 102); 2. < *Anùpras*, cf. Po. *Onufry*, Br. *Anufryj*, *Anuprej*, Ru. *Onufrij*, Ukr. *Onufrij*, *Onuprij*, *Onoprij* (Janowowa et al. 1991: 207), C. Sl. *Onufrii* (Malec 1995: 102); 3. < *Onà*, cf. Po. *Anna*, *Hanna*, Br. *Ganna*, *Anna*, Ru. *Anna*, Ukr. *Ganna*, *Anna* (Janowowa et al. 1991: 25), C. Sl. *Анъна*, *Ana* (Malec 1995: 11). Since *an-* belongs to all Slavic languages, it is unclear where it comes from. However, *an-* can be a shortened form *añ* from the preposition Lith. *añt* (Zinkevičius 2008: 74). The stem *but-* < Lith. *bùt-as* 'lodging', cf. *Svìr-but-as* (Būga 1911: 29; Zinkevičius 2008: 80–81).

– *Árt-a-vyd-as*: *Романа Ямуновича Артовида* (gen. sg.) 1525 (LM 12(12) 462: 369). The stem *art-* < *Árt-as* < *Artẽmijus*, cf. Po. *Artemiusz*, Br. *Artemij*, Ru. *Artemij*, *Artëm*, Ukr. *Artemij*, *Artem* (Janowowa et al. 1991: 33–34), C. Sl. *Artemii* (Malec 1995: 14). Since, *art-* belongs to all Slavic languages, it is unclear where it exactly comes from. However, *art-* can be taken from names of German origin (cf. *Arťmanas*, LPŽ 1985: 126). For *vyd-* see *Jùr-vyd-as*↑.

– *Arť-vil-as*: *Suthka Ortwiłowicza* (gen. sg.) 1511 (LM 11(11) 82: 99). For *art-* see *Árt-a-vyd-as*↑. For *vil-* see *Stãs-vil-as*↑.

– *Jùs-vyd-as*: *Гриц Юсвидовичъ* 1528 (LM 523(1): 161). The stem *jus-* < *Jùs-ius* (cf. *Jus-áitis* etc., LPŽ 1985: 872) < *Justìnas*, cf. Po. *Justyn*, Br. *Uscin*, *Justyn*, Ru. *Ustin*, *Justin*, Ukr. *Ustyn*, *Justyn* (Janowowa et al. 1991: 147), C. Sl. *Ijustinъ* (Malec 1995: 67). Since all these languages present the same beginning, it is unclear where the stem comes from. However, *jus-* can be related to Lith. *jùs-ti*, *ju-ñ-t-a* 'to feel', although this is not very likely. For *vyd-* see *Jùr-vyd-as*↑.

– *Sìs-mil-as* (or *Sỹs-mil-as*): *Станис Сисмиловичъ* 1528 (LM 523(1): 150). If the stem is *sis-*, then *sis-* < *Sìs-as* (cf. *Sìs-as* etc., LPŽ 1989: 725) < *Sisõjus*, cf. Br. *Sisoj*, Ru. *Sisoj*, Ukr. *Sisoj* (Biryla 1966: 152). Since the names are proper to the East Slavic languages, the stem *sis-* has properly been taken from them. It can also be the case that names with *sis-* can be Slavic names of nickname origin (LPŽ 1989: 725). If the stem is *sys-*, then *sys-* < Lith. *sỹs-ti* 'to pee'. The stem *mil-* < Lith. *pa-mìl-ti* 'fall in love', cf. *Vìs-mil-as* (Jurkėnas 1966: 142; Zinkevičius 2008: 115–116).

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– *Tank-a-vaĩd-as* (or *Tank-a-vaĩd-as* < **Tamk-a-vaĩd-as*, cf. *Tomk-ò-vyd-as*↑): *Левонъ Тонковоидовичъ* 1542 (LM 231(12) 227: 197). If the stem is *tank-*, then *tank-* < *Tañk-us* (cf. *Tank-ū́nas* etc., LPŽ 1989: 1018), which in Slavic comes from *Antãnas*, cf. Po. *Antoni*, Br. *Anton*, Ru. *Anton*, *Antonij*, Ukr. *Anton*, *Antin*, *Antonij* (Janowowa et al. 1991: 26–27), also Po. *Tonk* < *Antoni* (Rymut 2001: 612), Ru. *Тонкин* < *Антон* (Ganžina 2001: 27–28). The stem *tank-* is proper to all these Slavic languages and, accordingly, it is unclear where it comes from. If the stem is *tamk-*, then *tamk-* < *Tam̃k-us* (cf. *Tamk-ū́nas* etc., LPŽ 1989: 1015), which is related to *Tòmas*, cf. Po. *Tomasz*, Br. *Fama*, *Tamaš*, Ru. *Foma*, Ukr. *Choma*, *Foma* (Janowowa et al. 1991: 266), C. Sl. *Toma* (Malec 1995: 128), also Po. *Tomko* < *Tomasz* (Rymut 2001: 611). This shows that *tomk-* originated in Polish, but *tomk-* also occurs in Byelorussian (Biryla 1966: 169–170), which could have taken it from Polish. However, *tank-* can be related to Lith. *tánk-us* 'thick'. The stem *vaid-* < Lith. *váid-ytis* 'show oneself', cf. *Sù-vaid-as* (Būga 1911: 26; Zinkevičius 2008: 154).

As can be seen, the names are rare in the sources, as most are written only once. Most names are in lists of males, and most of them are found in binary naming formulas consisting of name and patronymic. Our evidence has been mostly extracted from these patronymics. The structures of the lists from which the names have been reconstructed are the normal ones for this epoch (Maciejauskienė 1991: 20–49, 250–256; Ragauskaitė 2005: 33–55).

7. Origin of the stems of Christian origin and their influence in the Lithuanian compound names

7.1. Inventory of stems of Christian origin and their frequency

From the researched names we have been able to establish the following new stems of Christian origin: *an-*, *art-*, *jus-*, *sis-*, *stas-* and *von-*, maybe also *mart-*, *tamk-*, *tank-*, if the first stems are to be related to Christian names (see above↑). They are thus to be added to the inventory of stems of Christian origin, which hitherto consisted of *dim-*, *ieš-*, *jan-*, *jar-*, *jok-*, *jon-, jur-*, *luk-*, *mac-*, *mat-*, *mit-*, *sim-*, *stak-*, *stonk-*, *šim-*, *tomk-*, *ul-*, *ven-* and *zin-*.

The stems *dim-*, *jon-* and *jur-* were already known, but the new evidence supports their reliability. These stems together with *art-* and *ieš-*, *stak-* and *ul-* (already known from previous scholarship) are the ones that occur more often and, accordingly, are the best-established stems in the system of Lithuanian compound names.

There is a certain variation in the stems. The stems *jon-*, *tamk-* have graphic variants *jan-*, *tomk-*. Their appearance could be due to interference

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with the form of cognate names in the language of the scribes. Different forms of the stems derived from the same name of Christian origin are also attested. This is the case of *Jõnas* and the variants *jan-*, *jon-* and *van-*. In addition to the case of *Jõnas*, already known, a similar variation is found for *Dimìtrijus* (cf. *dim-*, *mit-*), *Motiẽjus* (cf. *mac-*, *mat-*), *Sìmonas* (cf. *sim-*, *šim-*) and *Stanìslovas* (cf. *stak-*, *stas-*, *stonk-*). As can be seen, the majority of stems of Christian origin come from *Jõnas* and *Stanìslovas*.

The frequency of the stems of Christian origin can probably be explained as reflecting the popularity of their base names. This is in part supported by the most common names in the catholic Lithuania of the 17th century: *Jõnas*, *Stanìslovas*, as well as *Motiẽjus*, *Sìmonas* etc., although the naming tendencies were changing (Jovaiša 2005: 147–184, with references).

7.2. Polish or East Slavic influence?

An important question that we have met already several times is which borrowed names had a greater impact in the system of Lithuanian compound names of Christian origin, those from East Slavic or those from West Slavic. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give a definitive answer. Many of the names have the same form in both varieties of Slavic, so that the precise source can hardly be determined (cf. Zinkevičius 2005: 32–39). Another problem is that Polish borrowed names from East Slavic in the Middle Ages.

The new names show that the stem *sis-* (< *Sìs-as* < *Sisõjus*) was probably borrowed from East Slavic, if, on the other hand, its base was a Christian name. The stems *dim-* (< *Dim-à* < *Dimìtras*), *jur-* (< *Jùr-as* < *Jùrijus* 'Jurgis') and *von-* (< *Von-ỹs* < *Ivãnas* 'Jonas') were taken from East Slavic, but they were also borrowed from East Slavic into Polish and, accordingly, one cannot exclude the possibility that they came into Lithuania from Poland.

The forms of the stems *jar-* (< *Jãr-as* < *Jarmala*, cf. Zinkevičius 2005: 43), *mit-* (< *Mìt-as* < *Dimìtras*, cf. Zinkevičius 2005: 21), *sim-* (< *Sìm-as* < *Sìmonas*, cf. Zinkevičius 2005: 29–30), *ul-* (< *Ul-ỹs* < *Ulijõnas* 'Julijonas', cf. Zinkevičius 2005: 45), *ven-* (< *Ven-ỹs* < *Benedìktas*, cf. Zinkevičius 2005: 19) and *zin-* (< *Zìn-ius* < *Zènonas*, cf. Zinkevičius 2005: 23–24) require an East Slavic source. But Christian names with the stems *jar-*, *mit-*, *sim-*, *ul-*, *ven-* and *zin-* could also have been taken from names that made it from East Slavic into Polish (cf. Malec 1994; Rymut 1999–2001).

The stems *jan-* (< *Jãn-as*), *jon-* (< *Jõn-as*) and *tamk-* (< *Tamk-us* < *Tamõšius* 'Tomas') were formed in Polish. But these forms were borrowed into Byelorussian and, accordingly, Lithuanian could have borrowed from this language. The same holds true for *šim-* (< *Šìm-as* < *Šìmonas* 'Simonas', cf. Zinkevičius 2005: 30), as *šim-* was also in use in Byelorussia (Biryla 1966: 151–152), and for *luk-* (< *Lùk-as* < *Lukõšius*, cf. Zinkevičius 2008: 438), as *luk-* was also in use in Byelorussia (Biryla 1966: 110).

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The remaining new name stems *an-* (< *An-ỹs* < *Anìsijus*, *Anùpras* or *Onà*), *art-* (< *Árt-as* < *Artẽmijus*), *jus-* (< *Jùs-ius* < *Justìnas*), *mart-* (< *Mart-ỹs* < *Martỹnas*), *stas-* (< *Stãs-ius* < *Stanìslovas*) and *tank-* (< *Tañk-us* < *Antãnas*) arose in Christian names attested in both East Slavic and Polish. For this reason, it is unclear from where did they come into Lithuanian.

To this list can be added the following stems, already identified by other scholars: *ieš-* (< *Ješ-as*, cf. *Jaš-as* 'Jonas', LPŽ 1985: 819–820), *jok-* (< *Jõk-as* < *Jokũbas*, cf. Zinkevičius 2005: 39), *mac-* (< *Mãc-as* < *Motiẽjus*, cf. Zinkevičius 2005: 36–37), *mat-* (< *Mãt-as* < *Motiẽjus*, cf. Zinkevičius 2005: 36–37), *stak-* (< *Stãk-as* < *Stanìslovas* or *Eustãchijus*, cf. *Stãchas*, LPŽ 1989: 790; Zinkevičius 2008: 473–474), *stonk-* (< *Stónk-us* < *Stanìslovas*, cf. Zinkevičius 2008: 473–474).

In short, the reliable stems of the first compound Christian names are of two types: some of them have a Polish or East Slavic form, the others have the same form in both varieties of Slavic. However, the East Slavic forms could have been taken from Polish borrowings, and the Polish forms could have been taken from Byelorussian borrowings. For this reason, it is impossible to say which language had a stronger influence.

So, the stems of Christian origin have both East Slavic and Polish forms. But Zinkevičius' theory that the first Lithuanian compound Christian names imply that the first contacts were with East Slavic is not properly grounded, as the names could have been taken from Polish. This is shown both by the new names and by the analysis of the previously known names.

7.3. Reasons for the success of stems of Christian origin

The new names and the already known ones indicate that the number of stems of Christian origin was not small. This implies that Christian names and their shortenings were integrated into the system of compound names. One of the probable reasons why they became stems of compound names is precisely their frequency. Because of their common use they were normal elements of the system.

Another reason was that the semantic component of the stems of compound names was not felt anymore. This is supported by the research of inherited Lithuanian compound names, where it is clear that the first stem became semantically unrelated to the second one (Sinkevičiūtė 2018a, 2018b).

It can also be the case that the first stem of names of Christian origin became structurally indistinguishable from those from Lithuanian appellatives and were thus felt as native elements. This could be the reason why they became part of the system. In some cases (e.g. the names in *jus-*, *tank-* etc.) they are difficult to distinguish from appellative stems.

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8. Conclusions

The new evidence shows that Christian names and their shortenings were integrated in the system of compound names, as is evident from their frequent use in the 15th and 16th centuries. The names show that the creation of new Lithuanian compound names was a living process at that time and that both elements of the compounds often had no semantic connection with each other.

The analysis of the newly found compound names with first stem of Christian origin and of previously known names shows that the theory that the first element of the Christian compound names came from East Slavic in the 10th–13th centuries is not correct. In many cases it is impossible to decide whether the name came from Polish or from East Slavic. In addition, names of East Slavic origin could come to Lithuania through Poland, whereas names of Polish origin could reach Lithuania from Byelorussia, where they were also in use. For this reason, the compound names treated in this article need not have been in use in Lithuania before the 14th century. They certainly do not require an early influence of Orthodox Christianity in the pagan culture of the Baltic peoples.

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