Alma Ragauskaitė
Institute of the Lithuanian Language
Vilnius
alma.ragauskaite@lki.lt
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5952-8027

Language Contact Between Lithuanian and Polish in the Historical Anthroponymy of Kėdainiai Town of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Research on the historical multi-ethnic anthroponymy of Kėdainiai is in progress. Based on the analysis of entries made in register books of Kėdainiai in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it can be observed that surnames emerged in different ethnic groups of the local urban community (Lithuanian and Polish).[1] Higher-ranking residents of Kėdainiai already had hereditary personal names in the first half of the seventeenth century, and the middle and lower social classes of townspeople acquired them in the second half. A slower formation of surnames was the case only among the lowest classes of the Kėdainiai community.

Register books of Kėdainiai from the eighteenth century contain a record of all residents of the town with hereditary anthroponyms (Ragauskaitė, 2008, pp. 35–36, 2017b, p. 66). The analysis of binary names of local residents recorded in Kėdainiai

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[1] For more information about the ethnic and religious composition of the population of Kėdainiai in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see e.g. Ragauskaitė, 2016, pp. 47–49, 2017a, pp. 113–115, 2017b, pp. 54–56, 2018c, pp. 175–176; Šinkūnas, 1928, pp. 21–36; Tworek, 1966, pp. 193–194, 1969, p. 213; Žirgulis, 2002b, pp. 130–134.

inventories from the seventeenth century revealed that 180 such anthroponyms were of Lithuanian origin. Out of these historical surnames, 106 forms were reconstructed; 6 (5.4%) of them were ancient Lithuanian double-stemmed anthroponyms; 5 (4.5%) – hypocoristics of double-stemmed personal names and their suffixal derivatives; 95 (90.1%) originated from nicknames. The comparison between 106 reconstructed anthroponyms and modern Lithuanian surnames indicates that 63 (60%) of them continue to function today. Some of the reconstructed surnames (24, i.e. 23%) have modern counterparts of the same origin but different formation. The remaining 19 (17%) have no equivalents in present-day anthroponymy (Ragauskaitė, 2018b, p. 67).

Historical records of Kėdainiai town from the seventeenth century were used to extract 906 personal names (second components in the binary nomination model, Lithuanian and Polish) of local residents. The 906 analysed anthroponyms were classified into two groups: personal names with Lithuanian and Slavic patronymic suffixes, respectively, *-aitis*, *-ėnas*, *-(i)onis*, *-(i)ūnas* and *-evič*, *-ovič*, diminutive suffixes and Polish suffixes of the *-sk-* type, and personal names without such suffixes. The first group was much larger – 666 personal names (73.5% of all anthroponyms); the second group counted 240 (26.5%) anthroponyms (Ragauskaitė, 2018a, p. 112). As evidenced, several ethnic groups of the urban community of Kėdainiai were characterised by different patterns of the naming system, surname formation, origin and structure. This confirms the relevance of the study and the need to continue research on the historical anthroponymy of Kėdainiai residents in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

This article aims to discuss Lithuanian naming trends specific to residents of Kėdainiai in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, underlining characteristic cases of Polonisation of their personal names and the most significant factors that affected the recording of anthroponyms in town books.

The anthroponymic material for this study was mostly extracted from the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century town records.[2] With a major part of Kėdainiai town books from the seventeenth century lost in a fire, the early records are mostly missing (Žirgulis, 2002a, p. 24). The Office of the Chief Archivist of Lithuania holds 24 register books of Kėdainiai written in Latin and Polish. These books are among the most significant sources of historical anthroponymy of Kėdainiai residents (Ragauskaitė, 2008, p. 29; Tyla, 2002, p. 27); they cover the period from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century (1623–1806). A major part of the register books contains entries concerning various events in the town and matters of the local community (inheritance, mortgage, sale and purchase agreements, debt documents, guild statutes, etc.). Records of town council sessions, meetings and town courts go back to 1759 and include several sets: 1759–1763, 1767–1773, 1777–1792 (Tyla, 1999, p. 65).

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[2] See a list of archival sources at the end of the article.

The volume of the books varies: the largest of them (1756–1758) contains 627 pages, while the smallest one has only 84 pages (1732–1740).

Clerks responsible for town register books had set formulas which they partly followed to make a record of people and court case decisions (Jablonskis, 1979, p. 222). It has been established that the entries were written by seventeen clerks (Tyla, 1999, pp. 73–75), e.g. 1744 *Melcher Bowk Pisarz Magdeburgij Kieydanskiey* KAK_7 2v;[3] 1769 *P[an]*[4] *Adam Ciołkiewicz Pisarz* KAK_{15} 78; 1724 *Symona Czyzewskiego Pisarza Magdeburyi Kieydan[skiei]* gen. sg.[5] KAK_4 107; 1759 *Pan Jozeff Dumaszewicz ktory podziękowawszy Miastu za Elekcyą Mieysce Pisarskie* KAK_{10} 1; 1762 *Marcinem Grybassem Pisarzem* abl. sg. KAK_9 23; 1770 *Szlachetny [...] P[an] Jan Gulbin Pisarz* KAK_{15} 90; 1665 *Woyciech Kalinowski Pisarz Kieydanski* KAK_1 51v; 1763 *Stanisławem Lubenem Protunc Pisarzem y Całym Szlachetnym Magistratem* abl. sg. KAK_{14} 23; 1771 *Pan Ignacy Łukaszewicz Pisarz* KAK_{16} 7; 1765 *Mikołajem Judabanem Markowskim Pisarzem y Całym Szlachetnym Magistratem* abl. sg. KAK_{14} 221; 1704 *Pana Adriana Miłoszewskiego Pisarza [...] Kieydanskiego* gen. sg. KAK_3 4v; 1762 *Stefanem Mixiewiczem Protunc Pisarzem* abl. sg. KAK_{13} 41; 1794 *Benedykt Rudelewicz Pisarz Magistratu Miasta [...] wolnego Kieydan* KAK_{24} 142; 1756 *Jozefem Antonim z Bończa Rudkowskim przysięgłym Magdeburyi Kieydanskiey Pisarzem* abl. sg. KAK_{12} 105, also 1753 *Jozefem Antonim z Boncza Rutkowskim Pisarzem* abl. sg. KAK_{11} 109; 1774 *Michał Symonowicz Protunc Pisar* KAK_{10} 16; 1764 *Kazimierzem Walentynowiczem Protunc Pisarzem* abl. sg. KAK_{14} 107.

The surnames of clerks responsible for the books under consideration are known from the sources, and their etymology suggests that most of them were Polish. The ethnicity of the clerks and their individual preferences could have influenced the methods of Polonisation of Lithuanian anthroponyms. These extralinguistic factors had an impact on the writing of Lithuanian historical personal names of Kėdainiai residents.

The following major research methods are used to discuss the data of historical anthroponymy: descriptive, reconstructive and comparative (Ragauskaitė, 2005, p. 31). From all of the discussed seventeenth- and eighteenth-century records, 505 cases of names of Kėdainiai residents were selected (using two or three personal names). The study also includes calculations of different types of anthroponyms, i.e. suffixal and those with different endings.

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[3] All anthroponyms presented in the article are recorded in sources. Each name comes with the year of the record, the abbreviation of the source and page number. This presentation of anthroponyms of Kėdainiai residents aims to preserve the original writing, which means that it is different from the tradition of historical source publications (based on Lepszy, 1953, pp. 7–15; Wolff, 1957, pp. 155–181).

[4] Abbreviations used in the sources are written in full, with the supplied part in square brackets.

[5] Abbreviations: abl. – ablative; cur. – current; dat. – dative; gen. – genitive; n. – name; sg. – singular; sur. – surname.

Naming trends in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

It is important to determine clearly which anthroponyms from the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century records under consideration are attributable to residents of Kėdainiai. The sources do not provide them on separate lists but in various types of entries. The identification criteria for the selection of personal names of townspeople have been discussed in literature (Ragauskaitė, 1999, p. 146, 2000, p. 94, 2003, p. 82, 2004, pp. 8–9, 2005, pp. 18–23, 2006, pp. 81–82, 2014, p. 9, 2015, pp. 59–61). Members of the local community of Kėdainiai are easily distinguishable since they are referred to using the designations *mieszczanin*, *obywatel* in Polish and indicators of their post or occupation (artisan, craftsman, councillor, etc.), e.g. **D e b e i k a* , **D e - b e i k i s* : 1705 *Symon Debeykiewicz Rayca Kieydanski* KAK$_3$ 10 – 1704 *Pana Szymona Debeykowicza Raycy Kieydanskiego* gen. sg. KAK$_3$ 3v, cf. cur. sur. *Debeikà*, *Debeĩkis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 477); **G i n e i t a s* : 1767 *Sławetnego Kaspera Gineytowicza Maystra Kunſztu Gancarskiego y Decemvira* gen. sg. KAK$_{15}$ 7, cf. cur. sur. *Gìneitas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 670); **K e m e r a s* : 1633 *Ja Piotr Dawidowicz Kiemeras Mieszczanin* KAK$_1$ 5, cf. cur. sur. *Kẽmeras* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 970); **M i n - g a i l a* : 1722 *Utsiwego Jana Mingayły obywatela Kieydanskiego* gen. sg. KAK$_4$ 29v, cf. cur. sur. *Mingáila* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 249).

The naming system of Kėdainiai residents varied. The selected personal names contain surnames with Lithuanian morphemes (stems, endings and suffixes). The first components of these personal names are Christian names, most frequently in traditional (Polish or Latin) forms. The names of Kėdainiai residents of Lithuanian ethnicity were also compared with modern Lithuanian names, e.g. 1691 *Adam*[6] KAK$_2$ 45v; 1792 *Adamus* KKK 447; cf. cur. n. *Adõmas* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 61); 1691 *Andrzeia* gen. sg. KAK$_2$ 37v; 1779 *Andræ* gen. sg. KKK 333; 1714 *Andrzey* KAK$_3$ 35; cf. cur. n. *Andriējus* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 74); 1765 *Antonim* abl. sg. KAK$_{10}$ 110; cf. cur. n. *Antānas* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 76); 1690 *Bartłomieia* gen. sg. KAK$_2$ 28; 1774 *Bałtromieiowi* dat. sg. KAK$_{17}$ 23; cf. cur. n. *Baltramiējus* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 89); 1755 *Casimirus* KKK 29; 1716 *Kazimierz* KAK$_3$ 75v; cf. cur. n. *Kazìmieras* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 223); 1733 *Dawida* gen. sg. KAK$_5$ 33; cf. cur. n. *Dóvydas* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 128); 1785 *Franciscus* KKK 264; cf. cur. n. *Prancìškus* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 302); 1667 *Gabrielem* abl. sg. KAK$_1$ 65; cf. cur. n. *Gabriēlius* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 160); 1680 *Georgius* KAK$_1$ 89; 1760 *Georgius* KKK 93; 1764 *Jerzy* KAK$_{10}$ 87; cf. cur. n. *Jùrgis* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 215); 1776 *Jakub* KAK$_{17}$ 184; cf. cur. n. *Jokūbas* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 207); 1674 *Jana* gen. sg. KAK$_1$ 89; 1774 *Ianowi* dat. sg. KAK$_{17}$ 23; 1770 *Jan* KAK$_{15}$ 90; 1769 *Joannes* KKK 239; cf. cur. n. *Jõnas* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 208); 1679 *Jozefa* gen. sg. KAK$_1$ 100; 1754 *Josephus* KKK 15; 1777

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[6] The names are listed in alphabetical order; various forms of the names are included; for reasons of space, only one page number where a particular form appears is provided.

Jozeff KAK$_{18}$ 1; 1768 *Jozefowi* dat. sg. KAK$_{15}$ 45; cf. cur. n. *Juõzapas* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 214); 1780 *Kaspera* gen. sg. KAK$_{20}$ 50; cf. cur. n. *Kãsparas* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 222); 1690 *Krzystof* KAK$_2$ 20v; cf. cur. n. *Kristofòras* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 237); 1633 *Macieia* gen. sg. KAK$_1$ 2; 1785 *Maciey* KAK$_{21}$ 47; 1755 *Mathias* KKK 30; cf. cur. n. *Motiẽjus* (LVKŽ, 1985, pp. 279–280); 1753 *Marcin* KAK$_2$ 198; cf. cur. n. *Martýnas* (LVKŽ, 1985, pp. 264–265); 1719 *Michael* KAK$_3$ 91v; cf. cur. n. *Mikalõjus* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 270); 1786 *Michał* KAK$_{22}$ 103v; cf. cur. n. *Mýkolas* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 270); 1633 *Piotr* KAK$_1$ 5; cf. cur. n. *Pẽtras* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 299); 1690 *Symona* gen. sg. KAK$_2$ 15v; 1752 *Symonem* abl. sg. KAK$_8$ 301; cf. cur. n. *Sìmonas* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 329); 1680 *Stanisław* KAK$_1$ 71; 1753 *Stanislaus* KKK 7; 1777 *Stanisława* gen. sg. KAK$_{19}$ 4v; cf. cur. n. *Stanìslovas* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 335); 1682 *Stephan* KAK$_1$ 73; 1742 *Stefan* KAK$_6$ 217; 1714 *Stephana* gen. sg. KAK$_3$ 38; cf. cur. n. *Stẽponas* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 336); 1775 *Thome* KKK 292; cf. cur. n. *Tòmas* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 350); 1623 *Urbana* gen. sg. KAK$_1$ 1; cf. cur. n. *Ùrbonas* (LVKŽ, 1985, pp. 353–354); 1691 *Wawrzyniec* KAK$_2$ 43; 1763 *Laurentio* KKK 145; cf. cur. n. *Laurýnas* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 242); 1634 *Woyciech* KAK$_1$ 7; cf. cur. n. *Vaitiẽkus* (LVKŽ, 1985, p. 361). What needs to be noted is the abundance of graphic variants used to write the names of town residents. However, it is surnames or personal names used in their stead that are the primary focus of this study.

Polonisation trends particular to anthroponyms of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

As mentioned above, historical documents of Kėdainiai were written by clerks whose native tongue was probably mostly Polish. Therefore, when recording anthroponyms of Lithuanian origin they conveyed their forms in various ways. Some personal names, especially in earlier records from the seventeenth century, are conveyed rather faithfully (with Lithuanian patronymic suffixes *-aitis*, *-ėnas*, *-(i)onis*, *-(i)ūnas*, and Lithuanian endings *-as*, *-is*), e.g. **G r i g e l a i t i s*: 1691 *Andrzeia Grigielaycia* gen. sg. KAK$_2$ 37v; cf. cur. sur. *Grigeláitis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 713); **K u d l a i t i s*: 1690 *Bartłomieia Fiedorowicza alias Kudłaycia* gen. sg. KAK$_2$ 28; such a surname does not function in present-day anthroponymy; regarding *kudl-*, cf. cur. sur. *Kudlà*, *Kùdlas*, *Kùdlis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 1102); **L a p i e n a i t i s*: 1691 *Uczciwemu Panu Macieiowi Lapienayciowi* dat. sg. KAK$_2$ 26; such a surname does not function in present-day anthroponymy; regarding *lapien-*, cf. cur. sur. *Lapienas*, *Lapíenė*, *Lapiẽnis*, *Lapienius* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 23); **M a r t y n a i t i s*: 1691 *Juzefa Martynaycia* gen. sg. KAK$_2$ 37v; cf. cur. sur. *Martynáitis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 167); *L a b u t i s: 1690 *Uczciwego Symona Labucia* gen. sg. KAK$_2$ 15v; cf. cur. sur. *Labùtis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 13); **P l a č i a k i s*: 1634 *Ja Woyciech Płaczekis Mieszczanin Miasta* KAK$_1$ 7 – 1633 *Mieszczaninowi Kieydanskiemu Woyciechowi*

Jakubowiczowi Placiakiowy dat. sg. KAK₁ 2; cf. cur. sur. *Plãčiakis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 466); *Š u k i s, *Š u k y s: 1633 *Macieia Szukia* gen. sg. KAK₁ 2; cf. cur. sur. *Šùkis, Šukỹ*s (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, pp. 986–987).

However, the greater part of anthroponyms was altered in a variety of ways. This also stemmed from linguistic factors, especially the interplay between the Lithuanian and Polish languages (Būga, 1958, p. 232; Falk, 1963, pp. 88–94, 1966, pp. 4–7; Garliauskas, 1998, pp. 124–202, 2000, pp. 232–244, 2004, pp. 24–30; Maciejauskienė, 1989, pp. 67–68, 1991, pp. 173–177; Ragauskaitė, 2005, pp. 61–66, 2015, pp. 63–64, 2018b, pp. 57–58, 2019, pp. 182–183; Safarewicz, 1950, pp. 113–119; Sinkevičiūtė, 2016, pp. 223–229; Sinkevičiūtė & Račickaja, 2014, pp. 297–300; Zinkevičius, 1977, pp. 127–129, 2008, pp. 57–65). The most frequent alterations were as follows:

– *a* replaced with *o*, e.g. *B a n a i t i s: 1691 *Ja Wawrzyniec Lubenas alias Bonaytis Mieszczanin Miaſta Kieydan* KAK₂ 43; cf. cur. sur. *Banáitis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 184); *R i m d e i k a: 1720 *Ja Jan Rymdeyko* […] *Obywatele Miasta* KAK₃ 99v; cf. cur. sur. *Rimdeikà* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 608); **S k i r g a i l a*: 1761 *P*[*an*] *Ian Skirgayłło* KAK₁₀ 49 – 1795 *Ja Jan Skirgayło Obywatel Miaſta Kieydan* KAK₂₄ 51; 1797 *P*[*an*] *Marcin Skirgayło Ob*[*ywatel*] *Kieydańſki* KAK₂₄ 119v; cf. cur. sur. *Skirgáila* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 742);

– *au* replaced with *ow*: *D a u j o t a s: 1733 *Dawida Dowiata* gen. sg. KAK₅ 33; cf. cur. sur. *Dáujotas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 471); **S k a u m i n a s*: 1665 *Pana Piotra Zygmontowicza Skowmina* […] *Burmistrzow Rajcow Ławnikow Miasta* gen. sg. KAK₁ 47; cf. cur. sur. *Skaũminas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 733);

– *e* replaced with *ie*: *G e d e i k a: 1768 *utsciwy Jan Giedeyko* KAK₁₅ 36; 1785 *Maciey Giedeyko* KAK₂₁ 47; cf. cur. sur. *Gedeikà* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 639); **K e t v i r t i s*: 1623 *od domu Urbana Kietwircia* gen. sg. KAK₁ 1; cf. cur. sur. *Ketvìrtis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 981);

– *o* replaced with *a*: *J o m a n t a s: 1667 *Gabrielem Jamontem Burmiſtrzami Ławnikami* abl. sg. KAK₁ 65; 1714 *Stephana Jamonta Ławnika Kieydan*[*skiego*] gen. sg. KAK₃ 38; cf. cur. sur. *Jómantas, Jõmantas, Jomantas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, pp. 840–841).

The existing data demonstrates the tendency to add Slavic suffixes -*evič* and -*ovič*, e.g. *K u n k u l i s, *K u n k u l y s: 1691 *Ja Adam Janowicz Kunkulewicz* […] *Mieszczanie Miasta Kieydan* KAK₂ 34; 1691 *Panu Janie Kunkulewiczu* dat. sg. KAK₂ 34v; cf. cur. sur. *Kuñkulis, Kunkùlis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 1124); *K u t r a, *K u t r y s: 1690 *Krzystof Kutrewicz Ławnik* KAK₂ 20v; cf. cur. sur. *Kutrà, Kutrỹs* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 1142); **M a n t v i l a s*: 1691 *Ja Woyciech Mątwiłowicz Mieszczanin Miasta Kieydan* KAK₂ 47; cf. cur. sur. *Mañtvilas, Mantvìlas, Mantvilas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 156); *P l i k i s, *P l i k y s: 1674 *Pana Jana Plikowicza* gen. sg. KAK₁ 89; cf. cur. sur. *Plìkis, Plikỹs* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 476); *R i m š a, *R i m š i s: 1762 *Symon Rymſzewicz* KAK₁₀ 157; cf. cur. sur. *Rìmša, Rimšis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 611).

Also, there are some instances when surnames of Kėdainiai residents are written without endings, e.g. *G u l b i n a s : 1794 *Jerzy Gulbin* KAK$_{24}$ 5; 1782 *Ja Kazimierz Gulbin Radca M*[*iasta*] *Kejdan* KAK$_{21}$ 2v; 1753 *Pan Marcin Gulbin Obywa*[*tel*] *Kiey*[*danski*] KAK$_2$ 198; cf. cur. sur. *Gulbinas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 741); *L u b ė n a s : 1788 *Ja Bartłomiey Luben Mayster Kunsztu Kowalskiego y Obyw*[*atel*] *Kieydan*[*ski*] KAK$_{21}$ 82v; 1777 *Uczciwi Jozeff Luben* KAK$_{18}$ 1; 1764 *Uczciwy Maciey Luben O*[*bywatel*] *Kieydan*[*ski*] KAK$_{10}$ 97; 1759 *Stanisław Luben Decemvirowie* KAK$_{10}$ 8; 1777 *Uczciwy Stefan Luben* KAK$_{18}$ 2; such a surname does not function in present-day anthroponymy; regarding *lub-*, cf. cur. sur. *Lùbas, Lubáuskas, Lubenskas, Lubỹs* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 109); **S t a n k ū n a s* : 1680 *Stanisław Stankun Mieſczanin Miasta* […] *Kieydan* KAK$_1$ 71; cf. cur. sur. *Stankūnas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 804).

An exhaustive investigation into personal names of Kėdainiai residents in the seventeenth century in terms of their formation revealed that in this period the most productive were patronymic suffixes *-evič* (203, i.e. 22.4%) and *-aitis* (106, i.e. 11.7%). Besides, the Kėdainiai inventory of 1666 has an evident increase in anthroponyms with suffixes of the *-sk-* type (1604: 10 personal names (1.10%), 1666: 60 anthroponyms (6.62%)). This clearly indicates the Polonisation of personal names (Ragauskaitė, 2018a, pp. 111–112).

Kėdainiai register books from the eighteenth century indicate an obvious predominance of town resident surnames with Slavic suffixes *-evič, -ovič*, e.g. *B u d r i s , *B u d r y s : 1704 *P*[*ana*] *Jozefa Budrewicza Woyta teraznieyszego Kieydanskiego* gen. sg. KAK$_3$ 3; cf. cur. sur. *Bùdris, Budrỹs* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 330); **M a n t r i m a s* : 1765 *z Uczciwym Antonim Montrimowiczem* abl. sg. KAK$_{10}$ 110; 1775 *Michałowi Montrimowiczowi Obyw*[*atelowi*] *Kieydan*[*skiemu*] dat. sg. KAK$_{17}$ 112; cf. cur. sur. *Mantrìmas, Mañtrimas, Mantrimas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 155); *N o r b u t a s : 1714 *sławney Pamięci Andrzeiu Narbutowiczu na Ulicy Konskiey* dat. sg. KAK$_3$ 67; cf. cur. sur. *Nórbutas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 332); **N o r m a n t a s* : 1719 *Michael Narmontowicz* KAK$_3$ 91v; cf. cur. sur. *Nórmantas, Normantas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 335); *Š a p a l a s : 1785 *Jerzy Szapał* KAK$_{22}$ 67 – 1785 *Jerzy Szapałas* KAK$_{22}$ 16 – 1796 *Jerzy Szappałłowiczi* dat. sg. KAK$_{24}$ 89; cf. cur. sur. *Šãpalas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 886).

However, single cases of surnames with Lithuanian endings or suffixes could still be found during this period as well, e.g. *B u i v y d a s : 1780 *Jozefowi Buywidowi Maystrom Cechu Szwieckiego* dat. sg. KAK$_{20}$ 74; 1780 *Uczciwych Macieja Buywida* […] *Maystrow Kunsztu Szwieckiego* gen. sg. KAK$_{20}$ 6; 1723 *z Ucciwym Stanislawem Buywidem* abl. sg. KAK$_4$ 87; cf. cur. sur. *Bùivydas, Buĩvydas, Buivydas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 337); *G u s t a s : 1786 *Uczciwy Michał Gustas Mayster Kunsztu Ciesielskiego* KAK$_{22}$ 103v – 1764 *Michał Gusttas* KAK$_{10}$ 87; cf. cur. sur. *Gùstas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 748); **M a n t v y d a s* : 1780 *Georgius Montwid* KAK$_1$ 89; cf. cur. sur. *Mañtvydas, Mantvydas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 155); *M i k š t a s : 1796 *Jozeff Miksztas*

Teść [...] *Obywatele Kieydańscy* KAK₄ 80; cf. cur. sur. *Mikštas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 233); **P a v ė s i s*: 1765 *Janowi Pawiesiowi Oby*[*watelowi*] *Kieyd*[*anskiemu*] dat. sg. KAK₁₀ 148; cf. cur. sur. *Pavėsis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 414); **R a t y s*: 1776 *Jakub Ratys* KAK₁₇ 184; such a surname does not function in present-day anthroponymy; regarding *rat-*, cf. cur. sur. *Rātas, Ratãvičius, Ratė, Ratēlis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 580); **R e p š y s*: 1774 *Ianowi Repsziowi* dat. sg. KAK₁₇ 23; cf. cur. sur. *Repšŷs* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 599); **T r e i g y s*: 1761 *Uczciwy Jerzy Treygis* [...] *Obywatele Kiedanscy* KAK₁₀ 50; cf. cur. sur. *Treigŷs* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 1064); **V i r b a l a s*: 1730 *Jakuba Wirbała* [...] *w Miescie Kieydanach* gen. sg. KAK₂ 60; cf. cur. sur. *Virbalas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 1227).

Some surnames were still recorded with Lithuanian patronymic suffixes *-aitis*, *-ėnas*, *-(i)onis*, *-(i)ūnas*, e.g. **K a p l a i t i s*: 1716 *Ja Kazimierz Kapłaytis stolarz* KAK₃ 75v; such a surname does not function in present-day anthroponymy; regarding *kapl-*, cf. cur. sur. *Kapliáuskas, Kãplonas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 916); **K a z e r a i t i s*: 1777 *Stanisława Kazeraycia* gen. sg. KAK₁₇ 215; such a surname does not function in present-day anthroponymy; regarding *kazer-*, cf. cur. sur. *Kazeráuskas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 957); **M a t i j o š a i t i s*: 1767 *Uczciwym* [...] *Janowi Matiosiaycziowi* dat. sg. KAK₁₀ 148; cf. cur. sur. *Matijošáitis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 180); **M a t u l a i t i s*: 1704 *D*[*omini*] *Francisci Matulaytys* KAK₃ 4; cf. cur. sur. *Matuláitis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 183); **P a u l i u k a i t i s*: 1714 *Uczciwy Andrzey Paulukaytis* [...] *obywatele Miasta Kieydan* KAK₃ 35; cf. cur. sur. *Pauliukáitis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 410); **S t e l m a c h a i t i s*: 1733 *z Ucciwym Marcinem Stelmachayciem* abl. sg. KAK₅ 16v; such a surname does not function in present-day anthroponymy; regarding *stelmach-*, cf. cur. sur. *Stelmokáitis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 816); **Š i m a i t i s*: 1704 *Jakub Szimaytis* [...] *Mieszczanie Miasta Kieydan* KAK₃ 4; cf. cur. sur. *Šimáitis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 928); **M a t u l i o n i s*: 1762 *Stanisława Matulonia Obyw*[*atela*] *Kieydan*[*skiego*] gen. sg. KAK₁₀ 70; cf. cur. sur. *Matuliónis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 183); **B a č e l i ū n a s*: 1797 *Maciey Baczelunas Mayster* KAK₂₄ 123; 1797 *Uczciwy Michał Baczelunas Obyw*[*atel*] *Kieydan*[*ski*] KAK₂₄ 123; 1796 *Ja Szymon Baczelunas Obywatel Kieydanski* KAK₂₄ 58v; such a surname does not function in present-day anthroponymy; regarding *bačel-*, cf. cur. sur. *Bačēlis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 150); **G r i g a l i ū n a s*: 1770 *Macieia Grygaluna Obywatela Kieydanskiego* gen. sg. KAK₁₅ 110; 1760 *Uczciwym Wawrzyncowi Grygalunowi* dat. sg. KAK₁₂ 20; cf. cur. sur. *Grigaliūnas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 711); **K r i s č i ū n a s*: 1791 *Mathiæ Krisciunowi* dat. sg. KAK₂₃ 6; 1776 *Michał Krysciunas* KAK₁₇ 171; cf. cur. sur. *Krisčiūnas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 1079); **P r a n c k ū n a s*: 1723 *Stefana Pranckuna* gen. sg. KAK₄ 79v; cf. cur. sur. *Pranckūnas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 503).

The above examples of surname Polonisation, particular to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, indicate that authentic Lithuanian anthroponyms of Kėdainiai residents were modified in different ways. Therefore, in the spoken language these

people were referred to differently than recorded in the analysed sources. Clearly, this attests to interlaced traditions of written Polish and spoken Lithuanian. The article presents the most characteristic distinctive features particular to the recording of personal names of Kėdainiai residents on the basis of records in historical documents rather than the spoken language. This stems from the nature of analysed historical sources, their context, the skills of clerks, and from various social status of particular individuals who appear in them. Long records of meetings and court sessions were handwritten, with very few recording formulas being used. In these large-scale historical records, names and surnames were only elements of the text.

It can be observed that Slavicisation had a different impact on the recording of names of town residents in Kėdainiai documents of administrative nature and church registers from the eighteenth century. This can be demonstrated on the basis of the 1752–1799 register of christenings kept by St George's Church of Kėdainiai Parish. This Catholic parish church provided christenings for children of Kėdainiai residents and peasants from surrounding villages. These people were mostly Lithuanians, and their names preserved Lithuanian suffixes and endings. Only those cases were selected which had an indication *Keydany*. The surnames are those of godparents and parents of christened children. They have Lithuanian endings and patronymic suffixes *-aitis* (written *-aytis*), *-(i)onis* (written *-(i)onis*), *-(i)ūnas* (written *-(i)unas*) and the diminutive suffix *-ulis* (written *-ulis*), e.g. *A b r o m a i t i s* : 1754 *Josephus Abromaytis* […] *Keydany* KKK 15; cf. cur. sur. *Abromáitis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 60); *L a u - r y n a i t i s* : 1756 *Georgio Ławrynaytis* […] *Keydany* KKK 41; cf. cur. sur. *Laurynáitis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 35); *L u k o š a i t i s* : 1769 *Joannes Łukaszaytis* […] *Keydany* KKK 239; cf. cur. sur. *Lukošáitis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 114); *M y k o l a i t i s* : 1756 *Georgius Mikołaytis* […] *Keydany* KKK 41; cf. cur. sur. *Mýkolaitis*, *Mykoláitis*, *Mykolaitis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, pp. 231–232); *P e t r a i t i s* : 1755 *Mathias Petraytis* […] *Keydany* KKK 30; cf. cur. sur. *Petráitis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 437); *P e t r i l a i t i s* : 1757 *Joannes Petryłaytis* […] *Keydany* KKK 50; cf. cur. sur. *Petrilaitis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 441); *S a m a i t i s* : 1769 *Andrea Samaytis* […] *Keydany* KKK 234; cf. cur. sur. *Samáitis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 667); *B r a z i o n i s* : 1785 *Franciscus Brazionis* […] *Keydany* KKK 264; cf. cur. sur. *Braziónis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 302); *G e n i o n i s* : 1780 *Josephus Gienionis* […] *Keydany* KKK 345; cf. cur. sur. *Geniónis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 652); *J e n e l i o n i s* : 1775 *Thome Jenelonis* […] *Keydany* KKK 292; cf. cur. sur. *Jeneliónis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 829); *S t a - n i o n i s* : 1792 *Adamus Stanionis* […] *Keydany* KKK 447; cf. cur. sur. *Staniónis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 801); *K r i š č i ū n a s* : 1764 *Georgio Kriszcziunas* […] *Keydany* KKK 179; cf. cur. sur. *Kriščiūnas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 1, p. 1081); *P l a n č i ū n a s* : 1760 *Georgius Płancziunas* […] *Keydany* KKK 93; cf. cur. sur. *Plančiūnas* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 467); *R a z u l i s* : 1755 *Stanislaus Razulis* […] *Keydany* KKK 23; cf. cur. sur. *Razùlis* (LPŽ, 1985–1989, vol. 2, p. 587).

Kėdainiai Reformists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries fostered the Lithuanian language. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania of the seventeenth century, the town of Kėdainiai was a Reformist centre of Lithuanianness. In this town, the Mass was said in Lithuanian from the third decade of the seventeenth century until 1785, with a five-year interruption in 1682–1687 (Lukšaitė, 1970, pp. 15, 23). The burgomaster Steponas Jaugelis Telega participated in the session of town Reformists which decided to organise books required for the Mass in Lithuanian. The synod was responsible for appointing priests who knew Lithuanian for full-time service in Kėdainiai. The book *Knyga nobažnystės* [The Book of the Christian Faith] was published in Kėdainiai, not Vilnius. According to Ingė Lukšaitė (Lukšaitė, 2001, pp. 4, 10), it was the most important Lithuanian publication of the century: including four books under one title, it was a sign that over the first half of the seventeenth century the community of the Lithuanian Reformed church – *Unitas Lithuaniae* (The Evangelical Reformed Church of Lithuania) – experienced significant shifts in its cultural self-awareness. These circumstances clearly demonstrate that the Lithuanian language was used and fostered in the public life of Kėdainiai in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To some extent, these manifestations of Lithuanianness were also reflected in the analysed sources.

Conclusions

Historical records from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Kėdainiai register books from 1623–1799) were used to extract 505 cases of names of Kėdainiai residents. As established, the most frequent was the binary type that used a name and a surname or a personal name that performed the function of the latter. In this model, the first component was a Christian name, most often recorded in a traditional Polish or Latin form.

The results of this study of the historical anthroponymy of Kėdainiai indicate that personal names of the seventeenth century were Polonised: cases of phonetic alterations were noted, some surnames had no endings, some Lithuanian patronymic and diminutive suffixes were replaced with Slavic suffixes, and Slavic patronymic suffixes *-evič*, *-ovič* were added to names without suffixes.

Most cases of Polonisation of anthroponyms were found in Kėdainiai register books from the eighteenth century. In this period, Slavic patronymic suffixes *-evič*, *-ovič* were predominant in surnames of Kėdainiai residents.
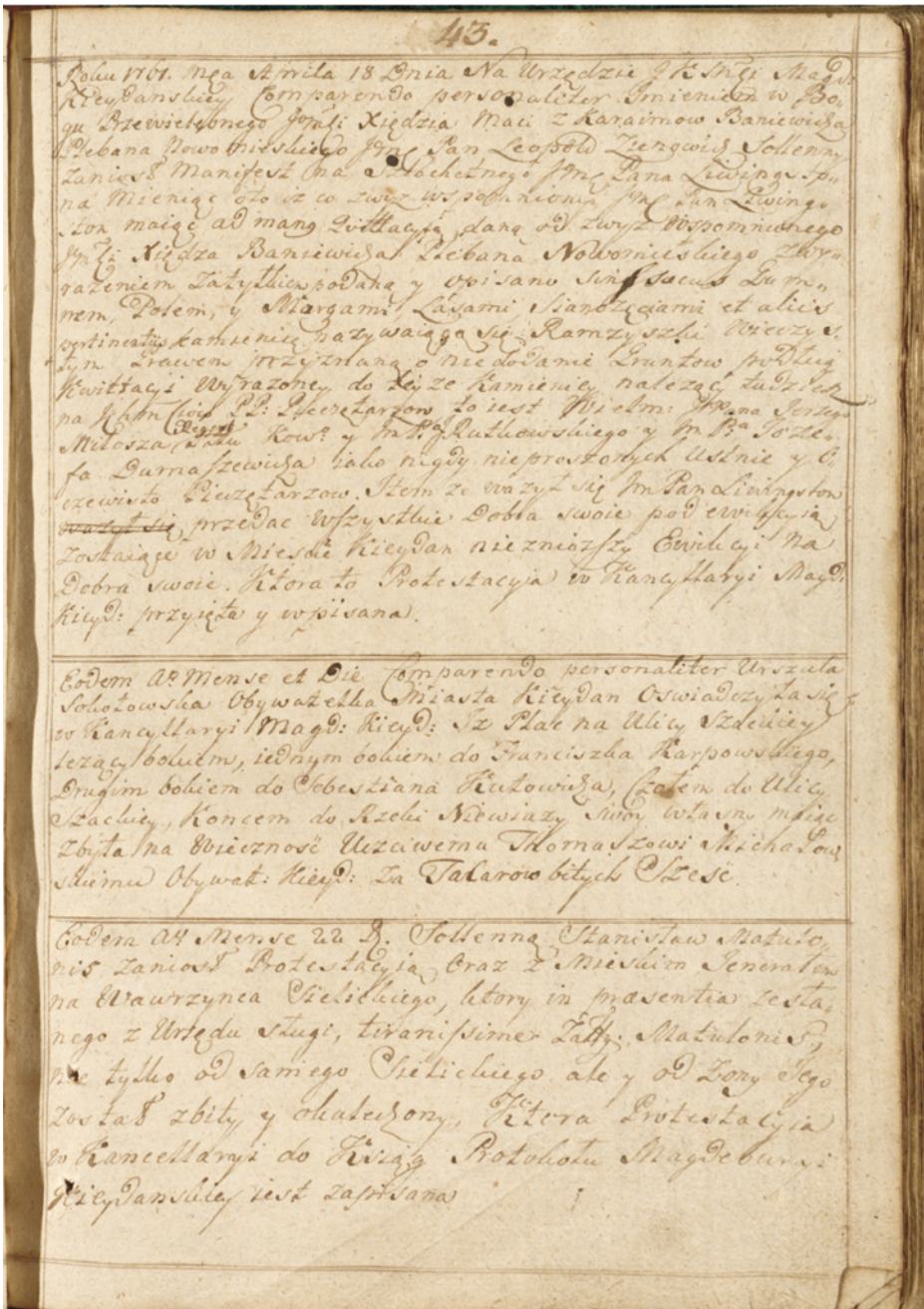
Appendix

Figure 1: Kėdainiai register book of 1623–1806, passage dated 1633 (p. 2)

Figure 2: Kėdainiai register book of 1750–1766, passage dated 1761 (p. 43)

Archival sources

KAK₁ – Kėdainių 1623–1806 m. aktų knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1623–1806]. Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas [Office of the Chief Archivist of Lithuania], hereafter LVIA, f. SA, b. 15360.

KAK₂ – Kėdainių aktų 1690–1775 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1690–1775]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15357.

KAK₃ – Kėdainių aktų 1704–1720 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1704–1720]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15358.

KAK₄ – Kėdainių aktų 1721–1725 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1721–1725]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15359.

KAK₅ – Kėdainių aktų 1732–1740 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1732–1740]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15361.

KAK₆ – Kėdainių aktų 1732–1743 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1732–1743]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15362.

KAK₇ – Kėdainių aktų 1744–1750 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1744–1750]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15363.

KAK₈ – Kėdainių aktų 1750–1752 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1750–1752]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15364.

KAK₉ – Kėdainių aktų 1750–1761 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1750–1761]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15367.

KAK₁₀ – Kėdainių aktų 1750–1766 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1750–1766]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15368.

KAK₁₁ – Kėdainių aktų 1753–1755 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1753–1755]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15365.

KAK₁₂ – Kėdainių aktų 1756–1758 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1756–1758]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15366.

KAK₁₃ – Kėdainių aktų 1762–1763 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1762–1763]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15369.

KAK₁₄ – Kėdainių aktų 1763–1770 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1763–1770]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15370.

KAK₁₅ – Kėdainių aktų 1767–1770 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1767–1770]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15371.

KAK₁₆ – Kėdainių aktų 1771–1773 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1771–1773]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15372.

KAK₁₇ – Kėdainių aktų 1774–1777 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1774–1777]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15373.

KAK₁₈ – Kėdainių aktų 1777–1779 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1777–1779]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15374.

KAK₁₉ – Kėdainių aktų 1777–1780 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1777–1780]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15375.

KAK$_{20}$ – Kėdainių aktų 1779–1782 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1779–1782]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15376.

KAK$_{21}$ – Kėdainių aktų 1782–1791 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1782–1791]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15377.

KAK$_{22}$ – Kėdainių aktų 1783–1792 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1783–1792]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15378.

KAK$_{23}$ – Kėdainių aktų 1791–1806 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1791–1806]. LVIA, f. SA, b.15379.

KAK$_{24}$ – Kėdainių aktų 1794–1798 m. knyga [Kėdainiai register book, 1794–1798]. LVIA, f. SA, b. 15380.

KKK – Kėdainių katalikų Šv. Jurgio bažnyčios krikšto 1752–1799 m. metrikų knyga [Catholic parish in Kėdainiai, St George's Church register of christenings, 1752–1799]. LVIA, f. 1424, ap. 1, b. 1.

Abbreviations

LPŽ – Maciejauskienė, V., Razmukaitė, M., & Vanagas, A. (Ed.). *Lietuvių pavardžių žodynas*, 1–2. Vilnius: Mokslas, 1985–1989.

LVKŽ – Kuzavinis, K., & Savukynas, B. *Lietuvių vardų kilmės žodynas*. Vilnius: Mokslas, 1985.

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Language Contact Between Lithuanian and Polish in the Historical Anthroponymy of Kėdainiai Town of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Abstract

This article presents Lithuanian naming trends specific to residents of Kėdainiai in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, underlining characteristic cases of Polonisation of their personal names and the most significant factors that affected the recording of anthroponyms in town books. Historical records from the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries (24 Kėdainiai register books from 1623–1799) were used to extract 505 cases of names of Kėdainiai residents. For comparison, the study also considers examples from the 1752–1799 register of christenings kept by St George's Church of Kėdainiai Parish. The sources under consideration mostly relied on the binary nomination model (using a name and a surname or a personal name that performed the function of the latter), where the first component was a Christian name written in Polish or Latin. In seventeenth-century records, surnames were Polonised: obvious cases of phonetic alterations were noted, some surnames had no endings, some Lithuanian patronymic and diminutive suffixes were replaced with Slavic suffixes, and Slavic patronymic suffixes *-evič*, *-ovič* were added to names without suffixes. However, the Slavicisation of anthroponyms particular to Kėdainiai residents in the seventeenth century was not very intense due to extralinguistic and historical circumstances. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the town of Kėdainiai was a Reformist centre of Lithuanianness, and the Lithuanian language was used in the public life of the town. This element of Lithuanianness can also be noticed in the analysed historical sources. Anthroponyms were mostly Polonised in Kėdainiai register books from the eighteenth century. Slavic patronymic suffixes *-evič*, *-ovič* were predominant in this period.

Keywords: Kėdainiai; 17th–18th centuries; Kėdainiai residents; surnames; Polonisation

Litewsko-polskie kontakty językowe w historycznej antroponimii siedemnasto- i osiemnastowiecznych Kiejdan

Streszczenie

Niniejszy artykuł omawia litewskie tendencje antroponimiczne charakterystyczne dla mieszkańców Kiejdan w XVII i XVIII wieku, podkreślając charakterystyczne przypadki polonizacji oraz najistotniejsze czynniki, które wpłynęły na zapis antroponimów w księgach miejskich. Z siedemnasto- i osiemnastowiecznych zapisów (24 księgi miejskie z lat 1623–1799) wyekstrahowano 505 przypadków nazwisk mieszkańców Kiejdan. Dla porównania, w opracowaniu uwzględniono również przykłady z księgi chrztów z lat 1752–1799, prowadzonej przez kościół parafialny św. Jerzego w Kiejdanach. W omawianych zapisach źródłowych stosowano głównie antroponimy o modelu dwuczłonowym (użycie imienia i nazwiska lub imienia, które pełniło funkcję nazwiska), gdzie pierwszym elementem było imię chrzestne zapisywane po polsku lub po łacinie. W zapisach siedemnastowiecznych nazwiska polonizowano: odnotowano oczywiste przypadki zmian fonetycznych, niektóre nazwiska nie miały końcówek, niektóre litewskie przyrostki patronimiczne i deminutywne zastępowano

przyrostkami słowiańskimi, słowiańskie przyrostki patronimiczne *-ewicz*, *-owicz* dodawano do nazwisk, które nie miały przyrostków. Mimo że slawizacja antroponimów była charakterystyczna dla Kiejdan w XVII wieku, nie była jednak szczególnie intensywna ze względu na uwarunkowania pozajęzykowe i historyczne. Kiejdany były ośrodkiem reformacji i litewskości, który posługiwał się językiem litewskim w życiu publicznym miasta. Ten element litewskości można również dostrzec w analizowanych źródłach historycznych. W księgach kiejdańskich z XVIII wieku antroponimy występują przeważnie w formach spolszczonych. W tym okresie dominowały słowiańskie przyrostki patronimiczne *-ewicz*, *-owicz*.

Słowa kluczowe: Kiejdany; XVII–XVIII wiek; mieszkańcy Kiejdan; nazwiska; polonizacja

Dr Alma Ragauskaitė, Senior Researcher at the Research Centre of Baltic Languages and Proper Names, Institute of the Lithuanian Language. PhD thesis – 2002, Institute of the Lithuanian Language and Vytautas Magnus University; author of one book and over thirty scholarly and popular articles; co-author of the Dictionary of Lithuanian Place Names, she wrote texts for the second and third volumes. Her scholarly interests include historical and contemporary anthroponymy, historical and contemporary toponymy. She implements and leads research projects.

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Correspondence: Alma Ragauskaitė, Institute of the Lithuanian Language, Vilnius, e-mail: alma.ragauskaite@lki.lt