GERMAN SURNAMES IN THE SOUTH-BOHEMIAN BORDERLAND AND THEIR WORD-FORMATION ASPECTS

NJEMAČKA PREZIMENA NA JUŽNOJ ČEŠKOJ GRANICI I ASPEKTI NJIHOVOG JEZIČNOG FORMIRANJA

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Abstract

This paper deals with the German surnames used by the inhabitants of the South- Bohemian border region and with their specific features. The first of these is the higher frequency of such surnames in the region (over 18 % in South Bohemia compared to the national average of about 13 %), the second aspect is their word-formation. In the process of integration of German surnames into the Czech language, the ending most commonly employed in South Bohemia turned out to be *-a*, followed by other productive suffixes, such as the diminutive suffixes *-ek, -ík/-ik, -ka* and *-ko*.

The most productive suffixes employed at the national level were *-ek, -ík* (with variants) and *-ák*. /**1**/

Sažetak

Ovaj se rad bavi njemačkim prezimenima koje koriste stanovnici južne češke pogranične regije i njihovim specifičnostima. Prva od njih je veća učestalost takvih prezimena u regiji (preko 18% u Južnoj Češkoj u usporedbi s nacionalnim prosjekom od oko 13%), drugi aspekt je tvorba riječi. U procesu integracije njemačkih prezimena u češki jezik pokazalo se da je sufiks koji je najčešće korišten u južnoj Češkoj -a, a slijede ga i ostali produktivni sufiksi, poput sufiksa umanjenica -ek, -ík / -ik, -ka i -ko.

Najproduktivniji sufiksi korišteni na nacionalnoj razini bili su -ek, -ík (s varijantama) i -ák. /**1**/

I. INTRODUCTION

German surnames used by the inhabitants of the Czech Republic can be traced back to direct contacts of ethnic Czechs with ethnic Germans, spanning centuries. In South Bohemia, these contacts were made more intense by the existence of the Golden Trail, the most significant medieval communication route, one of whose branches connected the towns of Passau and Prachatice from the early 11th century /**2**/. Until after WWII, another factor was the large German population in the Czech border region, the Sudeten, which dated back to the 13th century and was naturally in contact with the Czech inhabitants.

As a result of this long-term contact, the two languages, Czech and German, exerted mutual influence. In Czech, this influence is reflected at the levels of phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexis /**3**/. The processes involved included adoption of German words, loans, and calques, and resulted in the frequent occurrence of German surnames, place names and names for landscape features.

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II. OBJECT OF THE RESEARCH, METHODOLOGY, MATERIAL-BASED CORPUS

This paper deals with word-formation analyses of German surnames currently used in the South-Bohemian region. The examples adduced come from a corpus compiled for the area explored, using archive materials and transcripts of documents obtained from selected local authorities. The area explored includes a belt along the border of South Bohemia delimited by the towns of Volary, Netolice, and the city of České Budějovice. The focus on this particular part of South Bohemia results from its history of German settlement and from the ancient trade route, the *Golden Trail*, which once crossed it. The data in the corpus are divided chronologically into three separate parts: 1) German surnames used in the area before WWII; 2) German surnames used in the area in the 1950s; 3) German surnames used in the area in the late 20th century and at present. This paper presents examples of German surnames from the third part of the corpus obtained by analysing the documents cited in the *Sources* and *Online Sources*, which are given in the final *Bibliography*. The first piece of evidence of the centuries-long co-existence of Czech and German population in South Bohemia is the still increased frequency of German surnames in this region. According to J. Beneš /**4**/, German surnames in Bohemia amounted to 8.5% in relation to Czech ones in the 1950s and 1960s, while in Moravia the proportion was 6.7% (the proportion of the bearers of these surnames was not identified). Similarly, M. Knappová /**5**/ concludes that German surnames constitute about one tenth of the overall number of surnames in Bohemia. J. Matúšová /**1**/, who has undertaken the most extensive research, puts the proportion of surnames of German origin among all of the surnames used in the territory of the Czech Republic at around 21.5%, that is, roughly a fifth. A comparison of the number of the separate surname bearers suggested that roughly 13% of Czechs currently used surnames of German origin. However, the South-Bohemian towns explored in this study show a higher proportion of German surname bearers: 18.96 % in Prachatice, 18.52 % in Volary, and 16.37 % in Netolice. Even

in the city of České Budějovice, which, although not situated in the Sudeten and never crossed by the Golden Trail, was largely German from its rise in the first half of the 13th century until the early 20th century, the proportion of German surname bearers is still 18.32 %.

III. GERMAN SURNAMES IN SOUTH BOHEMIAN BORDER AREA AND THEIR ETYMOLOGICAL AND FORD-FORMING ANALYSIS

The word-formation of German surnames used by Czechs shows some specific features in South Bohemia. From the word-formation point of view, German surnames in Bohemia are represented both by morphologically simple words and morphologically complex ones. The latter include forms derived by suffixes (especially *-er, -mann, -auer* and various diminutive suffixes), and compounds. J. Matúšová /**1**/ points out that a large proportion of these were not coined in the process of creating a surname, but rather came to be used as surnames in their "finished" form. As a result, German surnames are difficult to classify into distinct word-formation categories and types. In the process of integration of German surnames into Czech, the influence of the target language is marked particularly by the addition of Czech word-formation suffixes and endings to German lexical bases. According to J. Matúšová /**1**/, the word-formation integration of German surnames into Czech most frequently employed the suffixes *-ek, -ík* and *-ák* (along with their variants). Other suffixes (e.g. *-áš, -át, -ský*) were used rarely or exceptionally. The most productive Czech word-formation device in the present corpus, which included a total of 6,237 German surnames presently used by Czechs in the four municipalities, turned out to be the ending *-a*. This ending (a morphological suffix, inflectional suffix) represents a Czech morpheme performing two functions: 1) a grammatical function: a) it assigns the word to a particular part of speech; b) expresses grammatical categories, and 2) a word-forming function.

The ending *-a* is typical of a large number of Czech common nouns (especially feminine nouns following the inflectional paradigm *žena*, but also masculine nouns following the

paradigm *předseda*), as well as surnames; this is often true even if the base from which the surname originated does not have this suffix, e.g. *Buna* - from the personal name Budivoj; *Kasa* – from the verb *kasat se* = hurry, get ready to take on sb, to hitch up a piece of clothing; *Paťha* – from the verb *paťhat* = to limp /**6**/. As pointed out by J. Beneš /**4**/, the ending -*a* is probably related to (or rather identical with) the Greek, Latin and German suffix -*o*, e.g. in the common noun *cicer* and the surname *Cicero*.

The ending -*a* is used in German surnames borne by Czechs along with lexical bases representing various semantic types /**7**/, e.g.:

Bejna 1) related to parts of the body: *Bein* = a leg, followed by the ending -*a*; 2) related to animal nouns, more specifically insects: in Middle High German (MHG) *bin, bîn* = a bee, the ending -*a*

Bína – 1) from nouns denoting craftsmen working with wood: *Binder* = a cooper; in the Czech-speaking environment the common suffix -*(d)er* was replaced by the ending -*a* in a process known as resuffixation; 2) from the initial part of the personal name *Benedikt* followed by the ending -*a*

Fábera - a surname formed in the period of Renaissance humanism from the German surname *Schmidt*/*Schmitt* through translation into Latin /**8**/; in the Czech-speaking environment the ending -*a* was added to the original form *Faber → Fábera*

Frojda - a surname derived from nouns denoting various physical and mental features, in this case from feelings and states of mind: in MHG *vröude, vreude* = a merry mind, joy; in the Czech-speaking environment with the added ending -*a*

Haberta - the Czech ending -*a* is added to a surname originating from the complete form of the first name *Eberhart, Habart*

Hagara - a surname derived by the ending -*a* from the surname *Haager*/*Hager*; these surnames are derived by the German suffix -*er* from place names on territories inhabited by Germans: *Haag* – Bavaria, Austria, Silesia, *Hag* – Austria

Kalla - the Czech ending -*a* is added to German surnames borne by Czechs and originating from personal names or first names, in this case from *Gallus*

Keprta - the Czech ending -*a* is used with a German surname used by Czechs and originating from personal or first names: *Gebhart* + -*a*

Kolafa - a surname derived by the Czech ending -*a* from German words denoting wooden utensils: *Kochlöffel* = a cooking spoon

Krauz/*Krauza* - the surname *Kraus* is formed from adjectives denoting conspicuous appearance: MHG.: *krûs* = curly, frizzy, in the Czech-speaking environment the surname *Krauza* is derived from the surname *Kraus*/*Krauz* by the addition of the ending -*a*

Krejza - a surname originating from common nouns for landscape features: MHG *kreis* = a circle, surrounding area, boundary, MGH *kreiz* = a circle, a surrounding area, territory or region /**8**/ + the Czech ending -*a*

Other surnames were formed in a similar way, by adding the ending -*a*, e.g. *Hejna, Krýcha, Kursa*/*Kurza, Maxa, Nádera, Patera, Sebera, Šanda, Špeta, Šturma, Turyna*/*Turina*, and *Zitta*, as well as many others.

Of particular interest is the surname *Lexa*, formed from a part of the personal name *Alexius*. Referring to M. Gottschald /**9**/, J. Beneš /**4**/ states that in names from Austrian-Bavarian dialects that end in -*a* and are not of Slavonic origin, the ending -*a* corresponds graphically to the suffix -*er*, as in *Lexa < Lexer < Alexius*.

As far as the productivity of word-forming devices used in the process of Czechification of German surnames is concerned, the second place belongs to diminutive suffixes, particularly the word-forming suffixes -*ek* and -*ík*/-*ik*. In addition to quantitative characteristics, diminutives also convey a secondary feature of expressiveness, which is largely positive, but may also suggest a negative connotation, especially irony or scorn. Names created by means of these suffixes may therefore originally have denoted people of short stature or younger people, e.g. sons, or expressed an evaluative assessment of their bearers. These names were then probably passed on to subsequent generations as surnames.

The diminutive suffix -*ek* may be found in the following examples:

Ambrůzek - diphthongisation and a subsequent monophthongisation of the lexical base *ó > uo > ů* + Czech diminutive suffix -*ek* < *Ambros*

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< in Greek *Ambrosius* ´ranking among the im-mortals´, ´godly´

Bínek - the diminutive suffix *-ek* + *Bína* < from nouns denoting craftsmen working with wood: *Binder* = a cooper

Friedek - a surname originating from the hypocorism of the German first name *Friedrich* by the addition of the Czech suffix *-ek*

Froněk - a surname derived from the Czech modification of the German equivalent of the first name *František – Franz*; with the Czech suffix *-ek* added

Illek - a diminutive surname from the initial part of personal and first names: *Ill* < from *Hild-* or *Hilarius* + the Czech diminutive suffix *-ek*

Šádek - a surname originating from ab-stract nouns, namely those denoting property and proprietary relations: MHG *schade* = forfei-ture, loss, doom, also injury; Czech diminutive suffix *-ek*

Šlosek - possibly a shortened form of the surname *Šlosárek*, which originated from nouns denoting craftsmen working with metal: from Germ. *Schlosser* = a locksmith + the Czech di-minutive suffix *-ek*

Šteffek/Stefek - a surname from the Czech modification of the German equivalent of the first name *Štěpán – Stefan/Stephan* + the di-minutive suffix *-ek*; some cases are interpreted as a Czech modification of the German form, others as Germanisation of the Czech form /**4**/

Toušek – 1) from the surname *Touš* < *Tausch*, MHG *tûsch* = jest, scorn, deception, fraud, exchange; 2) from the personal names *Matouš*, *Tuchomysl*; with the diminutive suffix *-ek* added in a Czech-speaking environment

Another diminutive suffix, *-ík/-ik*, is also quite frequent in German surnames of Czechs living in the South-Bohemian border-land. J. Beneš /**4**/ and J. Matúšová /**1**/ point out that in some cases the Czech diminutive suffix *-ík/-ik* was added to forms already containing the German diminutive suffix *-(e)l*, causing in fact double diminutivisation, as in e.g. *Bertlík, Kris-tlík, Manlík* /**1**/. Cases of double diminutivisation were also identified in the present corpus, albeit very occasionally: *Hansalik* - a surname origi-nating from a Czech modification of the Ger-man equivalent of the Czech first name *Jan -*

Hans + the German suffix *-(e)l*: the diminutive *Hansl* + the Czech suffix *-ik*

The diminutive suffixes *-ík/-ik* may also be foundin the present corpus, for example, in the following surnames:

Paulík - a surname originating from a Czech modification of the German variant of the first name *Pavel - Paul* + the Czech diminu-tive suffix *-ík*

Venclík - a surname from the Czech modification of the German form of the first name *Wenzel*; the group *-lík* is used here, in which the consonant *-l* preceding the suffix *-ík* is simultaneously a component of the stem in the base form

Vincik, Vincík - 1) a surname originating from the personal name *Vincenc*; 2) a surname originating from German place names on the territory of the former Prussian province of Si-lesia and Lusatia: *Winzig* = Wiǹsko, distr. Wołów; the Czech suffix *-ik/-ík*

In addition to the diminutive suffix *-ík/-ik*, the morphological integration of German surnames into Czech may also employ the suf-fix *-lík/-lik*. This is however less productive and in the present corpus it was only used as an al-ternative to the suffix *-ík/-ik:*

Mertlík – 1) from the German surname *Mertl* + the Czech diminutive suffix *-ík*; 2) from a Czech modification of the German form of the first name *Martin* + the Czech diminutive suffix *-lík*

Šebelík - possibly originating from the surname *Šebele, Šebelle* < *Šebestián* + the diminu-tive suffix *-ík*, or from the German name *Sebes-tian* + the Czech suffix *-lík*

Other diminutive suffixes used in the process of adaptation of German surnames to the Czech-speaking environment include *-ka* and *-ko*. The diminutive suffix *-ka* yielded, for example, the following German names used by Czechs:

Binka - a surname originating from the noun denoting the inhabitants of Bohemia = *der Böhme*, accompanied by a dialectal vowel change *ö > i*, and an exchange of consonant clus-ters *mk/nk* + the Czech suffix *-ka*

Faltka - a surname from the adopted basic forms of personal and Christian names: from *Valentin*; with a modification resulting in

the Czech variant: *en > a*, and with the added diminutive suffix *-ka*

Fatka - possibly a surname from common nouns, in particular from words expressing kinship: originating from *Vater*, with the Czech diminutive suffix *-ka* used instead of the German suffix *-er*; resuffixation

Šperka - a surnames from common nouns, in particular from nouns denoting birds: *Spatz* = a sparrow, the MHG form *Sperk* /**4**/ + the Czech diminutive suffix *-ka*

The suffix *-ko* may be identified in the following surnames:

Andraschko - a surname from the name *Andres* (an older form) or *Andreas* (a newer form) formed by analogy to the Czech diminutive *Ondráček/Ondrášek* < from the Czech Christian name *Ondřej*, with the Czech diminutive suffix *-ko*

Valko - a surname from common nouns, here from nouns denoting different birds: *Falke* = a falcon + the Czech diminutive suffix *-ko*

A relatively productive word-formation suffix turned out to be *-ský* in the present corpus, along with its variants *-cký, -ovský*. The suffix *-ský* was particularly popular in the process of translating German surnames into Czech in the period after May 1945, which was marked by Czechification supported by the Czechoslovak government /**1**/. It is currently used especially in names derived from anthroponyms and toponyms, e.g.:

Friedecký - a surname from the adapted form of a Christian name of German origin *Friedrich* + the Czech suffix *-cký*

Hanzlovský - a surname from the Czech modification of the German equivalent of the Christian name *Jan: Johann, Hans* + the Czech suffix *-(ov)ský*

Štambachský – a surname derived by the Czech suffix *-ský* from the place name *Steinbach* in Bavaria, Austria and Silesia

Štamberský – a surname from German names of Czech settlements: *Štamberk* near Brandýs nad Labem, near Vlašim, and also from the place name *Steinberg* near Nové Město na Moravě, and near Ústí nad Labem, with the Czech suffix *-ský* added

Rathovský – a surname derived by means of *-ovský*, the extended variant of the Czech word-forming suffix *-ský*, from the name

Rath /**10**/: 1) a surname from a part of the personal name *Ratpoto*; 2) a surname from words denoting officials in local authorities, here from *rat* = a senior official, a municipal council member; 3) a surname from an adjective denoting physical features and colour of skin or hair: *rot* = red

Wimberský - a surname from the German place name *Winterberg*, i.e. *Vimperk* in Czech, situated close to the town of Prachatice; with the Czech suffix *-ský* added. Word-formation also includes the creation of feminine forms of surnames. While masculine and feminine surnames display no difference in German, in Czech, the feminine forms are derived from masculine ones, which is a feature peculiar to the grammatical system of Czech that has developed along with the surnames /**11**/. Male German surnames mostly end in consonants, which is why their feminine variants are usually formed by adding the suffix *-ová* in the Czech-speaking environment.

The present corpus compiled on the basis of lists of voters in the 2016 election, containing both the male and female forms, includes feminine surnames derived exclusively by the suffix *-ová*, e.g. *Attendorn – Attendornová, Berger – Bergerová, Böhm – Böhmová, Eibl – Eiblová, Eichler – Eichlerová, Fischer – Fischerová, Friedrich – Friedrichová, Fürbach – Fürbachová, Geier – Geierová, Pöschl – Pöschlová*, etc.

Some irregularity may arise in feminine forms derived from masculine surnames by the suffixes *-er* and *-el*, e.g. *Raušer, Ritter, Sitter, Šnelcer; Antel, Apfel, Schlegel, Štancel.* In this process (and in masculine surnames also when they are inflected – in oblique cases) the vowel *-e-* preceding the consonants *-r* and *-l* is usually only retained in names of foreigners, while in surnames of strictly Czech origin it is omitted. However, the general rule is that the form of both the masculine and feminine surnames is determined by what has been recorded in the registers of births and marriages, by the family traditions and by pronunciation: If the vowel *-e-* is retained in pronunciation, it is also retained in oblique cases and in the feminine counterparts of masculine surnames: *Berger –* both *Bergra* and *Bergera, Bergrová* and *Bergerová; Antel – Antla* and *Antela, Antlová* and *Antelová* /**12**/.

IV. CONCLUSION

German surnames used by Czechs became morphologically integrated into the Czech language by adopting Czech word-formation suffixes. This, however, does not apply to all German surnames. Some of them are used in Czech in their original form (though usually phonologically and orthographically modified), but without Czech suffixes, e.g. *Amort, Baier, Bauer, Cajs, Eder, Fišer, Fux, Hoch, Klein, Majer, Pop, Schön, Šulc, Tišler, Vágner, Vinš, Wald, Zoch*, and many others. In South Bohemia, German surnames integrated by means of derivation usually end in *-a*, with the diminutive suffixes *-ek, -ík/-ik, -ka, -ko* also being productive. On the other hand, the Czech suffix *–ský*, along with its variants *-cký* and *–ovský*, is less frequent. Feminine forms derived from German masculine surnames became fully integrated into Czech by adopting the Czech word-formation suffix *-ová*.

German surnames used in the South-Bohemian borderland show some specific features. As suggested by this study, they are used by more inhabitants than in the rest of the country and they display a number of unique word-formation strategies.

Notes

/1/ Matúšová, J. (2015): *Německá vlastní jména v češtině*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny

/2/ The traffic on the Golden Trail came to an end in the early 18th century.

/3/ Newerkla, S. M. (2007): Areály jazykového kontaktu ve střední Evropě a německo-český mikroareál ve východním Rakousku. *Slovo a slovesnost*, 68, p. 271-286.

/4/ Beneš, J. (1/1998, 2/1998): *Německá příjmení u Čechů I, II*. Indices processed by Marie Nováková. Ústí nad Labem: J. E. Purkyně University in Ústí nad Labem.

/5/ Knappová, M. (2009): K evidenci příjmení v Česku v r. 2007. In: M. Harvalík, E. Minářová and J. M. Tušková (eds.), *Teoretické a komunikační aspekty proprií. Prof. Rudolfu Šrámkovi k životnímu jubileu*. Brno: Masaryk University, Faculty of Education, p. 133-141.

/6/ Moldanová, D. (2015): Naše příjmení. Praha: Agentura Pankrác.

/7/ Unless stated otherwise, the interpretation of semantic types is based on J. Beneš, 1/1998.

/8/ *Duden: Lexikon der Familiennamen. Herkunft und Bedeutung von 20 000 Nachnamen:* R. and V. Kolheim (2008): Mannheim – Leipzig – Wien – Zürich: Dudenverlag.

/9/ Gottschald, M. (2006): *Deutsch Námenkunde. Mit einer Einführung in die Familienkunde von Rudolf Schützeichel*. 6, durchgesehene und bibliographisch aktualisierte Auflage.   Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter.

/10/ Another etymology of the surname *Rathouský/Rathauský* suggests derivation from the common noun *Rathaus* by means of the suffix *-ský*, where *-s* is simultaneously a component of the stem of the base and of the added suffix *-ský.*

/11/ Knappová, M. (2008): *Naše a cizí příjmení v současné češtině*. 2nd ed. Liberec: AZ KORT.

/12/ Svobodová, D. (2010): Ženské podoby nečeských příjmení. In: J. David, J. M. Čornejová and M. Harvalík (eds.), *Mnohotvárnost a specifičnost onomastiky. IV. česká onomastická konference. 15-17 September 2019, Ostrava. Proceedings.* Praha: FF Ostravské univerzity v Ostravě, Ústav pro jazyk český AV ČR, p. 454-462.

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