

KRUNOSLAV PUŠKAR

OŠ Ljudevita Modeca Križevci
Franje Račkoga 3, HR-48260 Križevci
krunoslavpuskar2@gmail.com

WHAT'S IN A NAME? REASONS BEHIND THE CHOICE OF CONTEMPORARY TRADITIONAL AND NON- TRADITIONAL CROATIAN NAMES

This paper deals with the contemporary Croatian anthroponymicon. Although there has been a lot of research into Croatian first names in the recent years, all of the studies primarily dealt with the frequency of names, their provenance, and the degrees of their adaptation into the Croatian language system, but not with the actual motivation behind name choice. This study, therefore, tries to fill this gap by analysing parents' answers on the reasons for giving their children certain names during the last ten years. By doing so, this study has departed from the usual onomastic research and has turned towards more popular socio-anthroponomastic one. The research was conducted in three kindergartens in the town of Križevci and focused, therefore, only on children attending them. Having employed a questionnaire method consisting of close-ended and open-ended items, our research tried to discover the true motivation behind the repertoire of 122 first names which we collected, 47 of which are traditional and 75 non-traditional names. Since there can be quite a number of reasons behind name choice, we analysed them through the prism of the concept of *social intuition* or social factors which usually influence name choice, such as parents' education, child's gender, the way parents want to present themselves and their children in society, etc. These social factors were analysed separately for traditional and separately for non-traditional names in order to compare them and see why non-traditional names are gaining more and more popularity in the contemporary Croatian onomasticon. Although our research mostly concentrated on first names that were given rather recently (and) within a smaller social environment, the results obtained at the micro level provided us with invaluable facts about the socio-anthroponomastic situation at the macro level.

1. Introduction

Linguistic disciplines such as etymology, morphology and semantics, as well as various other fields such as cultural anthropology, history, sociology, etc., all deal with the study of names. Anthroponomastics as a study of anthroponyms has therefore always been of great interest to researchers who studied names from their own perspectives. However, one segment of anthroponomastic research is still conspicuously missing and that is the parents' motivation behind name choice. Although name choice has been studied extensively during the last years, there has only been a small number of studies which focus on how names are actually chosen.¹ Building on the recent studies in the field of socio-anthroponomastics (or the sociolinguistic study of names), this study tries to bridge this gap by conducting an in-depth research on first names in the contemporary Croatian anthroponymicon, with special reference to the parents' intrinsic motivation for giving a certain name.

2. Theoretical framework

In this study the emphasis is thus placed on the sociolinguistic perspective of onomastic research. Sociolinguistics as a study of effects of society on language use and vice versa can bring to the fore certain social aspects and tendencies which contributed to the choice of a specific name. As some onomasticians (e.g. Šimundić 1978: 166; Frančić 2006: 405; Šimunović 2009) concluded, certain social reasons behind name choice can already be discerned in the very name, that is, anthroponyms themselves can be »carriers of important messages about the time in which they appeared, about the place in which they were confirmed, as well as about the ones who named them« (Frančić 2006: 405) (transl. by K.P.). However, as the same onomasticians would emphasise, there is rarely only one reason for choosing a particular name and it is, moreover, difficult to single out the most prominent reasons with certainty. As Šimundić (1978: 166) inferred, »[t]he real motivation of first names is like a very wide assortment. By choosing a name, the namegiver displays their own aims, wishes of understanding certain things, taste, intentions, political and ideological affiliation, attitude towards religion, fascination with works of art and famous people etc. All these factors are vivid and prone to change just like life itself, and for that reason it is impossible to encompass them. However, it is quite possible to cover the majority of them« (transl. by K.P.).²

¹ The first study of name choice reasons was made by Kiviniemi in 1979 (Kiviniemi 1982: 127–173), but since then there has not been a considerable number of similar studies (cf. Virkkula 2014). To our knowledge, in Croatia no one has carried out such a study to date.

² Lieberson and Bell (1992: 514) would offer a perhaps more compact rendering of naming

Since the range of extralinguistic reasons behind name choice tends to be quite wide, it is at present explored through the concept of *social intuition* (cf. Virkkula 2014).³ According to Virkkula (ibid.: 4), »social intuition includes everything parents choosing names may intuitively think or feel is significant in naming. These factors include family background, age, education, sex of the child named, perceptions of gender roles within society and parents' reactions to these«. Since the repertoire of first names is in itself dynamic and susceptible to change, social intuition presents »awareness of what is in fashion and thus characteristic of a social group at a certain time« (ibid.) (cf. Kiviniemi 1993: 10; 2006: 69). However, as Virkkula (2014: 3) acknowledges, social intuition in name choice is actually »a vast object of study (...) and thus the empirical findings (...) can only sketch the outlines of this complex subject«. For this very reason, it is of paramount importance to devise a comprehensive methodology which would provide researchers with the most accurate insight into name choice by surveying the namegivers, i.e. the parents – the only respondents who can produce the right information on the motivation behind their naming activity (ibid.: 75). For, as Virkkula (ibid.: 38) succinctly pointed out, »without a survey on why parents have chosen the names they did, the analysis becomes speculative or tendentious«.⁴

As far as Virkkula's study is concerned, it is actually a comparative study which compared social intuition in Croatian and Bulgarian capitals, Zagreb and Sofia, respectively, and it is quite a thorough study in the still rare socio-anthropomastic field of research. Following in her footsteps, we devised a similar comparative study exploring parents' social intuition, but in only one town, in Križevci, Croatia. In particular, the intent of our study was to examine parents' reasons behind their first name choices, but by comparing the social intuition behind their preferences for traditional and non-traditional names. By doing so and by employing a somewhat different methodology (see section 3.2.1. below and Appendix), our study largely departed from its study model.

practices: »The naming activity is ultimately a social process and the resulting pattern of name usage reflects the combined influence of the imagery associated with each name, the notions parents have about the future characteristics of their children, estimates of the response of others to the name, the awareness and knowledge of names through the mass media and other sources, parents' beliefs about what are appropriate children's names for persons of their status and institutionalized norms and pressures.«

³ It has to be pointed out that not all researchers use the term *social intuition*: some, such as Lieberson (2000), prefer *social taste* instead. However, the meaning of these two different terms amounts to the same concept and they can be used both. In order not to confuse the readers, we will make use only of the term *social intuition* throughout the paper.

⁴ Of course, it is also possible to research naming reasons in various other sources, such as diaries and correspondences, but the success of this kind of research largely depends on the informativeness of the source.

3. Reasons behind the choice of contemporary traditional and non-traditional Croatian names

Before proceeding with our study, it has to be pointed out that Croatian traditional names include national names⁵ (e.g. *Branko* and *Zdenka*), as well as Christian (e.g. *Ivan* and *Ana*) and foreign names (e.g. *Sven* and *Ivona*), since the latter two types have been in use for centuries and have fully adapted to the Croatian language system.⁶ Non-traditional names are foreign names which can be unadapted (e.g. *Claudia*), partly adapted (e.g. *Klaudia*), and fully adapted (e.g. *Klaudija*), but which, however, display no tradition in the Croatian name repertoire. Non-traditional names can also be Christian names (e.g. *Jona* and *Hana*) which have become popular only recently.⁷ In order for a name to be considered traditional, it needs to have appeared in some earlier period of research.

3.1. Place of research

As mentioned above, our place of research was the town of Križevci. According to the Croatian Bureau of Statistics, Križevci is a rather small town which had a relatively stable number of inhabitants between 1991 and 2011 (see Table 1).⁸ Although many residents actually left the town during this period in search of better job opportunities, many moved to it from its surrounding areas, having contributed, in turn, to a steady population number. Due to its favourable traffic connections to other towns and the proximity of Croatia's capital, Zagreb, Križevci has remained an important traffic junction, ushering in various linguistic and non-linguistic influences.

Census years	1991	2001	2011
Population	11.236	11.830	11.619

Table 1. Križevci Census results (1991–2001)

The reason why we chose this particular town were the results of one of our previous studies (Puškar 2016), which has shown major changes in the town's anthroponymicon since the Second World War. Having divided the post-war period into four socially significant sub-periods (1946–1950, 1971–1975, 1991–1995,

⁵ The term *national names* can be subdivided under 1) original Slavic names (e.g. *Golub* and *Gruba*), which have fallen out of usage, 2) original Croatian names (e.g. *Domagoj* and *Jadranka*), and 3) translated Christian names (e.g. *Dragutin* < *Karlo* and *Ljubica* < *Amalia*), of which many have fallen out of usage. In this paper, we will consider the term *national names* in its widest sense.

⁶ Cf. the well-known quote made by Maretić (1886: 81), emphasising that Christian names can also be considered national, that is, traditional names since they have adapted to the rules of the Croatian language through centuries.

⁷ For the recent popularity of Christian names such as *Jona* and *Hana* see Frančić (2002).

⁸ For the Croatian Bureau of Statistics see https://www.dzs.hr/default_e.htm.

and 2010–2014), the study determined a higher number of non-traditional names and a gradual loss of traditional names with every sub-period. However, the study also discovered that, even though smaller in number, traditional names still tend to be among more frequent ones.⁹ In order to shed light on the reasons behind such a change in onomastic provenance, we thoroughly explored parents' motivation behind name choice around the last sub-period.

3.2. Methodology

3.2.1. Questionnaire

Our instrument for eliciting data on name choice was a questionnaire consisting of six parts: 1) demographic information on the child (their first, middle and family name, nickname, date of birth, age, gender, nationality, and denomination), 2) three sets of items on reasons behind name choice (consisting of close-ended items, a combination of close-ended and open-ended items, and only open-ended items), 3) demographic information on the parents, 4) demographic information on the siblings (if any), 5) demographic information on the grandparents, and 6) the question on who filled in the questionnaire. Our questionnaire relied heavily on Virkkula's (2014) questionnaire, which in turn relied on Kalkanova's (1996) questionnaire and Kiviniemi's studies on reasons for name choice (Kiviniemi 1982: 172–173; 2006: 128–150), the only difference being the response format of the three sets of items.¹⁰ In particular, where Virkkula (2014) offered a 5-point self-report Likert-type scale of agreement, we supplied only three possibilities for every question: YES, NO, and MAYBE. This format of the three sets of items provided us with, in our opinion, more direct and conclusive results.

3.2.2. Place of research

As it was the case with Virkkula's (2014) study, we also carried out our study in local kindergartens and not in, for instance, maternity hospitals and primary schools. Reasons for such a decision are quite simple. Firstly, when it comes to timing, maternity hospitals and primary schools do not appear to be adequate places for research. While conducting research in maternity hospitals tends to be both too soon and disturbing for parents, research in primary schools could turn out to be too late for parents to remember their original reasons for their name

⁹ This tendency at the macro level was determined by Frančić (2002), who analysed first names of children born in 2001 in seven major Croatian cities: Dubrovnik, Karlovac, Osijek, Rijeka, Split, Varaždin, and Zagreb. According to her research, the most frequent traditional male names were *Ivan*, *Luka*, and *Marko*, whereas the most frequent traditional female names were *Lucija*, *Ana*, and *Petra*.

¹⁰ Although we did not resort to the mentioned studies by Kalkanova (1996) and Kiviniemi (1982, 2006), we point them out for the sake of reference and comparison.

choice.¹¹ Therefore, time-wise, kindergartens prove to be the best places for this type of research. Secondly, a wise choice of kindergartens can help find parents that belong to a fairly comparable social and economic status. Having these facts in mind, we conducted our research in three socially comparable kindergartens in the town of Križevci.¹²

3.2.3. Respondents

The study was carried out during October and November 2015. In all of the kindergartens it was the staff who distributed and collected the questionnaires, and the parents completed them at home. The parents had approximately one week to fill in the questionnaire. However, since the return rate was not high, the staff had to urge the parents several times to complete the administered questionnaires.¹³ Eventually, approximately one fourth of the parents returned the filled-in questionnaires or, to be more precise, the total number of collected analysable questionnaires was 122.¹⁴ This concerned us in the beginning, but, as the kindergarten staff later assured us, such a low number turns out to be a common practice among the parents for any questionnaire administered to them and should not be worrisome.

As the questionnaire required a lot of personal information, parents were guaranteed respondent confidentiality. At the very beginning of the questionnaire a note on respondent confidentiality promised the parents that they, their children, and their families would not be identifiable in the study analysis. For that reason, the family names of the children and their parents are not mentioned in this paper, even though the questionnaire asked for them.

According to the answers to the last question of the questionnaire on who completed it, the main respondents in our study were mothers (see Table 2). The second largest group of respondents were parents who filled in the questionnaire together, and the third and last group of respondents were fathers. It is interesting to note that there is a markedly higher percentage of female respondents who chose a non-traditional name for their child, and that there is a markedly higher percentage of combined female and male respondents who chose a traditional name. However, one should not confuse respondents and the actual namegivers,

¹¹ Of course, there was also a possibility to do our research in registry offices. However, since registry offices can only provide the researcher with limited information and do not offer parents' reasons on name choice (they can be at best speculative), they were not taken into consideration.

¹² In order to protect the confidentiality of the respondents, we will not mention which kindergartens we included in the study.

¹³ Here I would like to thank the kindergartens for their invaluable help throughout all the processes of this study.

¹⁴ A number of questionnaires that were returned incomplete in any way were, of course, not included in the study.

even though they sometimes coincide (for the namegivers see Table 6 below).

	Traditional names	Non-traditional names
Mother	55.32 %	73.33 %
Father	8.51 %	6.67 %
Both parents	36.17 %	20 %
Someone else	0 %	0 %

Table 2. Who filled in the questionnaire?

It should be pointed out that with reference to ethnicity all our respondents were Croats except one, whose ethnicity was left unspecified (since the whole family lives in two countries: Croatia and Germany). Apart from their nationality, our study wanted to find out the denomination of our respondents. According to the results, the majority of our respondents specified they were Catholic, whilst seven respondents left their religious orientation unspecified (three respondents who chose a traditional name for their child and four respondents who chose a non-traditional name), and one respondent (who chose a non-traditional name for their child) emphasised that she is an atheist. Although our study did not manage to find any correlation between the Catholic faith and the type of names that were chosen, future studies should definitely try to look into this.

Another correlation which we wanted to explore was the correlation between the educational level of our respondents and the type of names that were chosen. This correlation has never been researched in Croatia, although many onomasticians called for it (cf. Šimunović 1964–1965: 142; Šimunović 2006: 367; Frančić 1996: 27), whereas abroad it has largely been corroborated by many researchers. In particular, Lieberson (2000) detected differences in naming among Texas people of a different socioeconomic status, as well as among New York people of a different educational level (Lieberson and Bell 1992). How seriously low educational level and socioeconomic status can affect a higher frequency of non-traditional names was shown by Knappová (1985: 94–104) in her research carried out in the Czech Republic, in which she explained that giving this type of names can be interpreted as the parents' compensation for their low educational and socioeconomic status. As far as our research is concerned, we focused only on the educational level of parents, even though future research should also look into the socioeconomic status of parents. According to the obtained results (see Table 3), there is no conclusive evidence that would confirm that lower educational level influences parents' choice of non-traditional names. Although our results do indicate slightly higher levels of education among parents who chose a traditional name for their child, these levels are not high enough to be relevant. At any rate,

future research should seriously deal with this correlation in order to find clear and unequivocal evidence for the Croatian context.

Traditional names	Non-traditional names
Educational level of parent 1 – parent 2	Educational level of parent 1 – parent 2
secondary edu. – secondary edu. (42.55 %)	secondary edu. – secondary edu. (49.33 %)
univ. degree – secondary edu. (25.53 %)	univ. degree – secondary edu. (17.33 %)
higher vocat. – secondary edu. (14.89 %)	higher vocat. – secondary edu. (14.67 %)
univ. degree – univ. degree (12.77 %)	higher vocat. – univ. degree (8.00 %)
higher vocat. – higher vocat. (2.13 %)	univ. degree – univ. degree (8.00 %)
higher vocat. – univ. degree (2.13 %)	higher vocat. – higher vocat. (2.67 %)

Table 3. Educational level of respondents

4. Results and discussion

As mentioned above, in this study we analysed the names of kindergarten children and reasons behind their parents' choice. The average age of children at the time of the research (October–November 2015) was roughly 3.5 years: the youngest child participating in our research was 16 months old and the oldest seven years old. In other words, this study analysed parents' social intuition in the period from approximately 2007 until 2014. The number of names which we analysed within this time span is 122, 47 of which are traditional and 75 non-traditional – see Table 4.

	Traditional names (N = 47)	Non-traditional names (N = 75)
Male names	24	36
Female names	23	39

Table 4. Names analysed: traditional (N = 47) and non-traditional (N = 75)

Of these 122 randomly collected names, some names appear more than once, leaving us with 93 different names which appear in our research (45 male and 48 female names in total). All the most frequent names are given in Table 5.

	MALE FIRST NAMES	N	Percentage	FEMALE FIRST NAMES	N	Percentage
1.	Ivan	4	8.89 %	Petra	4	8.33 %
2.	David	3	6.67 %	Leona	3	6.25 %
3.	Karlo	3	6.67 %	Lucija	3	6.25 %
4.	Marko	3	6.67 %	Ena	2	4.17 %
5.	Jakov	2	4.44 %	Lara	2	4.17 %
6.	Jona	2	4.44 %	Lea	2	4.17 %
7.	Leo	2	4.44 %	Magdalena	2	4.17 %
8.	Luka	2	4.44 %	Mila	2	4.17 %
9.	Matej	2	4.44 %	Sara	2	4.17 %
10.	Patrik	2	4.44 %	Tea	2	4.17 %

Table 5. The most frequent male and female names obtained by the questionnaire

It is interesting to note that, among ten most frequent male and female names, approximately half of them are traditional and half non-traditional. As can be seen, the majority of frequent male names tends to be non-traditional (*David, Karlo, Jakov, Jona, Matej, Patrik*), whereas frequent female names tend to be to the same extent traditional (*Petra, Lucija, Lara, Lea, Tea*) and non-traditional (*Leona, Ena, Magdalena, Mila, Sara*),¹⁵ which confirms in turn the hypothesis formulated by Frančić (2002) that traditional first names, although smaller in number than non-traditional first names, show a tendency to be quite frequent.

Here, it should be explained what we consider a traditional and what a non-traditional name. Even though we made a differentiation at the beginning of the previous chapter, it should be pointed out that this differentiation largely depends on the time frame and place involved. If, for instance, a certain name occurs at a micro level for the first time, but shows a significant and continuous occurrence at the macro level, it is to be considered a non-traditional name at this micro level nevertheless, since it is tied to the place of its occurrence where it is actually regarded as a novelty. In addition, if a certain name appears at this same micro level, for example, 100 years after its first appearance, it is again to be considered a non-traditional name since, having no name bearers within three or even more generations, it does not have continuity, but is again a novelty. Therefore, taking

¹⁵ It has to be pointed out that in our previous research (Puškar 2016) we found out that male first names tend to be more traditional than female first names. It is not clear to us why such a finding has not been confirmed in this research. The only explanation which comes to our mind is the fact that the mentioned finding was based on a larger corpus of names, while in this study the name corpus is considerably smaller. At any rate, future research should seriously look into the provenance of male and female first names in order to draw a final conclusion.

into consideration the factors of time and place, we consider names with no previous occurrence or continuity non-traditional.

Here is a list of traditional and non-traditional names as concluded from the results of a previous study (Puškar 2016):

- a) traditional male names (N = 16): *Bruno, Dario, Darko, Dino, Domagoj, Filip, Ivan, Jan, Karlo, Luka, Marko, Nikola, Petar, Sandro, Sven, Viktor.*
- b) traditional female names (N = 17): *Ana, Anica, Dora, Helena, Ivona, Janja, Jelena, Karla, Klara, Lana, Lucija, Magda, Magdalena, Maja, Marta, Petra, Sofija.*
- c) non-traditional male names (N = 28): *Adam, Aron, Dado, David, Dorijan, Emil, Fran, Frano, Gabrijel, Ivano, Ivor, Izak, Jakov, Jona, Kevin, Kris, Leo, Lovro, Lukas, Matej, Mateo, Noa, Natko, Nino, Patrik, Pavo, Teo Mirko, Tin.*
- d) non-traditional female names (N = 32): *Angela, Ariela, Blaž, Ema, Ena, Gabriela, Gita, Hanna, Julija, Klea, Lara, Lea, Lena, Leona, Lorena, Magda Vanesa, Marcela, Mia, Mila, Nika, Ora, Ozana, Paola, Patricia, Riona, Sara, Tara, Tea, Tesa, Tina, Tonka, Vanda.*

When we take into account all traditional and non-traditional names, not just the most frequent ones, and analyse them according to their namegivers, we can easily conclude that traditional names are mainly given by parents only, whereas non-traditional names tend to also be given by other members of the family, besides parents – see Table 6.¹⁶ Interestingly, fathers seem to be more included while choosing a traditional name than a non-traditional one, while mothers participate more in choosing a non-traditional name than a traditional one.

Namegiver(s)	Traditional name	Namegiver(s)	Non-traditional name
parents	57.44 %	parents	56 %
mother	21.28 %	mother	28 %
father	17.02 %	father	6.67 %
mother, father, and brother	2.13 %	parents, brother, and sister	1.33 %
sister	2.13 %	mother and sisters	1.33 %

¹⁶ It seems that Šimundić (1978: 166) had this situation in mind when he stated the following: »It happens so that the whole family spends days and weeks in putting forward a name for a newborn baby; sometimes this tends to be a real problem for certain parents. Then phantasy takes wing, people come up with their solutions in various ways, invent, create, combine, consult, reach a compromise etc.« (transl. by K.P.).

		sisters	1.33 %
		sister	1.33 %
		father and sister	1.33 %
		brother	1.33 %
		grandmother	1.33 %

Table 6. Who chose the name?

4.1. Reasons behind the choice of traditional and non-traditional names

Part of our study consisted of close-ended items which tried to find individual differences in specific name choice. In particular, nine close-ended items attempted to find differences in traditional and non-traditional naming practice with reference to the (un)usualness of the name chosen, its perceived modernity, tradition or belonging to a specific ethnic/religious group, its perceived euphony and compatibility with the family name, as well as to whether the child was named after a family member. Respondents were able to evaluate every item based on the degree to which it referred to them, that is, they could choose one of the three options (YES, NO, and MAYBE).

According to the results (see Table 7), parents who choose a traditional name for their child tend to choose it because it is not unusual (87.23 %), not quite modern (59.57 %), and because it is to an extent traditional for the Croatian people (53.19 %), and therefore not common outside of Croatia (57.45 %), even though it does not necessarily need to be a sign of belonging to a specific ethnic/religious group (74.47 %).

The results have also shown that regardless of the fact that traditional names tend to be widely used in the family, they are mainly not hereditary (65.96 %), that is, a certain name is not likely to co-occur in the last two or three generations of one family, which tells us a lot about the current naming practice.¹⁷

As far as its euphony and compatibility with the family name is concerned, our respondents who gave their child a traditional name think that it should definitely be euphonious (82.98 %), but not inevitably compatible with the family name (44.68 %), which is also an interesting result. The low percentage of the perceived importance of compatibility of the first name with the family name could be explained by the fact that our respondents may not have known what compat-

¹⁷ Indeed, the analysis has shown that only 11 out of 47 traditional names were given after a member of the family (a grandparent, in most cases): male names (N=8) commemorated a family member almost three times more often than female names (N=3). One should investigate in the future if male names really commemorate a family member more often than female names do. A future study should also definitely look into the inheritance of names throughout past and compare the results with the current situation.

ibility actually referred to, and here it referred to the fact that if the first name ends in the same sound with which the family name begins, the two names become incompatible.¹⁸ Having analysed the full names of our respondents' children, it turned out that their first and family names tend to be fully compatible with each other since they do not share this same sound. What is more, we found out that some of our respondents who chose a traditional name for their child seem to be aware of what makes a compatible and euphonious full name since in four cases they gave their children (two female and two male children) a name beginning with the same letter as the family name.¹⁹

	Traditional names			Non-traditional names		
	YES	NO	MAYBE	YES	NO	MAYBE
We chose the specific name because it is...						
1. unusual	2.13	87.23	10.64	22.67	48.00	29.33
2. usual	46.81	38.30	14.89	16.00	73.33	10.67
3. modern	27.66	59.57	12.77	50.67	33.33	16.00
4. hereditary in our family	25.53	65.96	8.51	4.00	92.00	4.00
5. traditional for our people	53.19	34.04	12.77	12.00	72.00	16.00
6. also common outside of the ethnic community	23.40	57.45	19.15	20.00	62.67	17.33
7. nice and euphonious	82.98	12.77	4.25	85.34	9.33	5.33
8. compatible with the family name	34.04	44.68	21.28	25.33	57.34	17.33
9. a sign of belonging to a specific ethnic/religious group	17.02	74.47	8.51	16.00	78.67	5.33

Table 7. Reasons behind the choice of traditional and non-traditional names

According to the results, the namegivers of a non-traditional name are even more likely to give a euphonious name (85.34 %) and a name which is not compatible with the family name (57.34 %) than the namegivers of a traditional name. It turns out that our respondents were quite right when claiming this since the analysis of the names given has shown that there are two full names which are not compatible with each other: in one case the first name ends in an -s and the family name begins with a Z-, whereas in the other the first name ends in -ko and the family name begins with Ko- as well. However, apart from these two cases, all other full names are compatible with each other. What is more, parents tend to

¹⁸ For other examples of the first and family name incongruity see Frančić (1996: 31–33).

¹⁹ In one case, the same initial letter was also given to the two brothers of the child whose name, i.e. the reasons for choosing it, were analysed.

make an additional effort for the full name to be compatible by giving a first name which begins in the same letter as the family name: our study found six cases (three female and three male names) in which this was the naming practice.²⁰

As it was expected, our respondents chose a non-traditional name for their child because they did not want a frequently used (73.33 %) and a traditional name (72 %) which would be a sign of their belonging to a specific ethnic/religious group (78.67 %), but a modern one (50.67 %) which, interestingly, need not necessarily be common outside their ethnic community (62.67 %). Since this type of names is uncommon in the local anthroponymy, it is only logical that it is not perceived hereditary (92 %) either.

However, even though these names are uncommon in the local onomasticon, parents always manage to find ways to commemorate a family member by giving their child a modern variant of their name. For instance, *Natko* is named after his grandfather *Božidar*²¹ and *Franjo* is named after his great-grandfather *Franjo*, which are interesting examples of how to make a traditional name modern and, at the same time, hereditary.²²

4.2. Other reasons behind the choice of traditional and non-traditional names

The second part of our study wanted to find out other reasons behind the choice of traditional and non-traditional names and consisted of both close-ended and open-ended items. Concerning the close-ended items, there were again nine of them and respondents were able to respond to them with one of the three possibilities (YES, NO, and MAYBE). However, every close-ended item was followed by one or two open-ended items which further elaborated the topic.

For instance, the purpose of the first close-ended item (see Table 8) was to find out if respondents who chose a traditional name for their child chose it because of its very meaning and the follow-up open-ended item asked if they knew the meaning of the name. According to the results, 44.68 % decided on the traditional name because of its meaning and 53.19 % of our respondents provided us with the

²⁰ In two cases, all siblings had the same initial letter in their first and family name.

²¹ Here, our respondent thought that the name *Natko* is a derivation from the also existing name *Natan* (Eng. *Nathan* ← Heb. *Natan* 'He has given' or 'He will give'), which does not need to be the case, and that it shares the same meaning as the Croatian name *Božidar* (meaning 'the gift of God').

²² Altogether, there are eight examples of the commemoration with a non-traditional name: male names commemorated a family member (here, mainly a great grandparent) five times and female names three times, which points to the conclusion that family members are indeed commemorated more often by a male name. However, a female name can also be commemorative if there are no male successors in the family, as it can be seen with the female name *Marcela* in our study which has been present (in its male form: *Marcel*) for three generations of the family.

meaning of the name, which points to the fact that the meaning of the name does not tend to be a deciding factor in the naming process.

The same can be concluded with nicknames which can occur with a certain name: 97.87 % of our respondents stated that while choosing a name they did not aim for a specific nickname and 89.36 % claimed that they did not want to avoid a specific nickname they disliked. By analysing the answers to the follow-up questions, we found only one nickname which parents had in mind while choosing a name, and that was *Megi* from *Magdalena* »because it has a certain ring to it, it is nice and simple«.

Another item in this set of items further explored the chosen names of international provenance which we touched upon in the previous set of items. Having asked our respondents if they wanted an international name for their child, 74.47 % of them said they did not, which can be clearly seen from the very names. In particular, many traditional names move away from the popular international tendencies within naming by retaining the intervocalic *-j-*, Croatian digraphs and diacritics to an extent, which show a tendency to be completely abandoned in non-traditional names. To be more precise, the drop of the intervocalic *-j-* in names such as *Lucija* and *Sofija*, which has become widely popular in the Croatian naming practice, does not usually occur in traditional names.²³ However, Croatian digraphs can be seen in only one instance, *Janja*, which employs the digraph *nj*, whereas Croatian diacritics are not to be found in our corpus of traditional names at all. Here, one must ask oneself three questions: 1) are names with Croatian digraphs and diacritics deliberately abandoned?, 2) is our random corpus of names too small to contain such names?, 3) how frequent do Croatian digraphs and diacritics appear in Croatian names overall?. Future studies should definitely look into this issue.

At any rate, the follow-up question asked our respondents why they would give an international name to their child in the first place. As expected, the mentioned reason for the choice of an international name is that with an international name it is easier to adjust to a new environment and language. As the respondents stated themselves: »[w]e wanted her name (*Karla*) to fit more easily into every environment and every religion« and »[b]ecause it (*Magda*) is more easily pronounced and remembered by foreigners. Today, it is an imperative to think globally«.

Indeed, even respondents who did not aim for an international name intentionally, intuitively chose a short name that would not be difficult to use in a different social context. According to the results, of 23 female traditional names, the

²³ The only exception in our corpus is the name *Dario*, which has, however, a long tradition in the local and national onomasticon and, in that way, need not be perceived as a contemporary display of international values.

most frequent names tend to be those with only two syllables (56.53 %), which are then followed by three-syllable names (34.78 %) and, finally, four-syllable names (8.69 %) ²⁴, whereas of 24 male traditional names the most frequent tend to be two-syllable names (79.17 %), followed by three-syllable names (12.50 %), and even one-syllable names (8.33 %), which makes male traditional names shorter than female traditional names.

Since the questionnaire managed to obtain the names of other siblings (if any), we wanted to find out if the traditional naming practice occurs with all the children's names in a family. According to the results (see Figure 1), only 29.79 % of the children tend to share a traditional name with all their siblings. This percentage is not very high since 21.28 % of the children were given a traditional name only as the second child in the family, which would mean that parents first tried a non-traditional name for their firstborn child and then decided on a traditional name for their second child, which makes their naming practice highly unpredictable. Similarly, as 36.17 % of only children were given a traditional name, it is equally unpredictable what kind of name their parents would give to the second, third, fourth child, etc. It is certain that some of them will opt for a non-traditional one.

If we compare the obtained results, we can conclude that 8.51 % of traditional names were given only to the first child in the family, whereas the other children were given non-traditional names. This would mean that, when parents decide on non-traditional names, especially for the first two of their children, the other children are then highly likely to be given this type of name as well. In particular, only 4.25 % of the third children in the family were given a traditional name, while there was no case of the fourth child being given a traditional name if the siblings were all given non-traditional names.

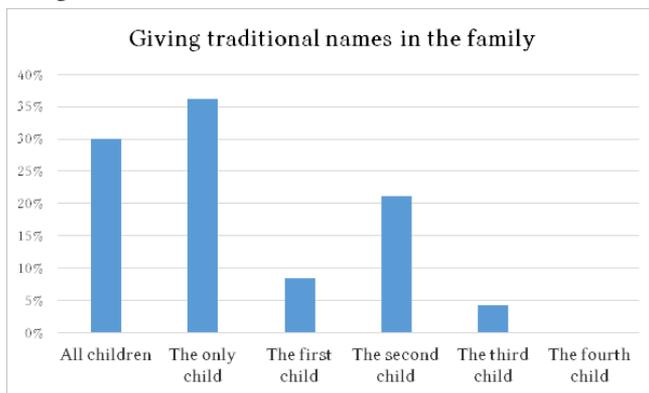


Figure 1. Giving traditional names in the family

²⁴ Here, it has to be pointed out that among four-syllable names there is only one name which occurs twice: *Magdalena*.

Another item of interest in our research was whether our respondents wanted the name to be connected with the day, month and the year of the child's birth. With this item we actually wanted to find out if our respondents used the calendar principle in the naming process and named their child according to the saint's feast day around which the child was (planned to be) born. Interestingly, 95.75 % of the parents responded negatively to this item, while the rest of them were uncertain about it, which, in effect, tells us that naming after the calendar principle has virtually fallen out of usage. Moreover, those parents who expressed uncertainty concerning this item declared that the similarity between the child's name and the saint's feast day is due to sheer coincidence: »[w]e didn't think about it, but the name (*Magdalena*) accidentally coincided with the date of conception (by *in vitro* fertilisation)« or »[t]he date of *Maja's* birth is close to the 15th August (*The Assumption of Mary* → *Mary* → *Maja*)«.

Based on the first set of items, it was concluded that our respondents are not prone to giving hereditary names to their children and, in that way, establishing a family naming practice. However, as the answers to another item from the second set of items showed, some respondents do want their child's name to be similar to the other names in the family or somehow connected to them, even though the majority of them said this was not their intention (63.83 %).²⁵ The similarity or connection to other names in the family can occur in various forms, some of which are: giving a female variant of an already present male name (e.g. *Karla* after her older brother *Karlo*), giving a modern variant of the same name (e.g. *Karlo* after his great-grandfather *Dragutin*), giving a name drawn from the same thematic repertoire (e.g. the Bible: *Petra* after her older sister *Paula*), or giving a name which begins with the same initial letter (e.g. *Sven* after his father *Saša*), etc. Of course, some of the previously mentioned names tend to be connected in more than one way, but not all the parents are aware of this fact. As *Luka's* mother pointed out, »Lara and Luka are siblings. They have short names with the same initial letter«.

The purpose of that same set of items was to find out if our respondents named their child after someone outside the family circle. Having asked them if they named their child after a friend, almost all of them (97.87 %) said they did not, whereas the rest of them responded that they were uncertain if a friend's name actually influenced their name choice. The majority of our respondents also answered negatively (93.62 %) when asked if they wanted to name their

²⁵ However, some names for which the respondents claimed were not connected to the other names in the family, do show an obvious similarity. For instance, *Ivan* has a father named *Ivica*, and a grandfather from his mother's side called *Ivan*, which makes *Ivan* a hereditary name, whereas *Marko* has older brothers called *Mihael* and *Matej*, which are names with both the same initial letter and the same thematic origin (the Bible).

child after a famous person, e.g. a politician or a sportsperson. Although 2.13 % responded positively, only one respondent mentioned the model for her child's name *Ivan*: »Pope Saint John Paul II«. The same can be concluded about the last item in this set with which we wanted to find out if the respondents named their child after a fictitious person, e.g. a character from a book or a film. The majority responded negatively (97.87 %), and only one respondent mentioned the actual name which influenced the choice of their child's name *Dora*: »a character from the novel *Zlatarovo zlato*«.

We chose the specific name because...	Traditional names			Non-traditional names		
	YES	NO	MAYBE	YES	NO	MAYBE
1. we liked the meaning of the name	44.68	34.04	21.28	45.33	38.67	16.00
2. we wanted a specific nickname	0	97.87	2.13	0	94.67	5.33
3. we wanted to avoid a specific nickname we disliked	4.26	89.36	6.38	10.67	82.67	6.66
4. we wanted an international name	2.13	74.47	23.40	20.00	66.67	13.33
5. we wanted the name to be connected with the day, month and the year of child's birth	0	95.75	4.25	0	100	0
6. we wanted the name to be similar to other names in our family or somehow connected to them	23.40	63.83	12.77	12.00	85.33	2.67
7. we wanted to name our child after a friend	0	97.87	2.13	0	98.67	1.33
8. we wanted to name our child after a famous person, e.g. a politician or a sportsperson	2.13	93.62	4.25	8.00	92.00	0
9. we wanted to name our child after a fictitious person, e.g. a character from a book or a film	2.13	97.87	0	2.67	93.33	4.00

Table 8. Other reasons behind the choice of traditional and non-traditional names

There is only a slight difference between non-traditional names and traditional names when it comes to naming a child after people outside the family, but respondents who gave non-traditional names to their children provided us with more explanations and reasons for having done so than the respondents whose naming practice proved to be traditional. For instance, 92.00 % of respondents who chose a non-traditional name did not want to name their child after a famous person, e.g. a politician or a sportsperson, but the ones who did want it, mainly mentioned their role-model and the reason for choosing that particular person:

Paola – »Paula Radscliffe, an icon of British sport and world athletics«,

Tina – »Tina Maze, because she won the Alpine Skiing World Cup that year«,

Klea – »Cleopatra – because she was a very powerful and courageous woman, and these are the very qualities I want my child to have«,

Fran – »Fran Krsto Frankopan, a Croatian poet and martyr, and Saint Francis of Assisi, a saint of the Catholic Church and a desired role-model for the child«, and

Ivano – »the handball player Ivano Balić, because of his courage and assertiveness«.

When it comes to naming children after a fictitious person, e.g. a character from a book or a film, again the majority responded that they were not influenced by this when choosing their child's name (93.33 %), although this is a smaller percentage than in the case of respondents who resorted to the traditional naming practice. The names, the models for these names, and the reasons for choosing them would be the following:

Tesa – »[w]hich is a name we heard in a film«,

Tonka – »[a]fter the song *Tonka* which goes: 'Tonka, say 'cricket'...'. It is a nice song and nice name«,

Kevin – »[w]e liked the character from the film *Home Alone* because we found him sweet and nice«,

Izak – »Isaac is the son of Abraham from the Bible, and we liked his name«,

Jona – »Jonah, a prophet from the Old Testament. We wanted the child to be proud of his name when he reads the story«, and

Jona – »*The Book of Jonah* is one of the shortest books in the Bible, but we chose the name in order to be different from others, we didn't want a frequent name«.

As can be clearly seen from the last two examples, parents can give the same name, but have or provide different reasons why they actually decided on it.

As it was the case with the corpus of traditional names, respondents who gave their child a non-traditional name also did not want to name him/her after a friend (98.67 %). However, in contrast to respondents with a traditional naming practice, the respondents who gave their child a non-traditional name wanted the name to be more similar to other names in the family or somehow connected to

them, although the majority responded negatively to this item (85.33 %).²⁶ Again, in order for the names to be somehow connected, our respondents chose the same thematic origin, the same initial letter, or names of the same length:

Jakov – »*Jacob* is a biblical name, as well as the name of his brother *Petar*«,

Leona – »[a]ll names of our children begin in an *L*: *Leona*, *Larisa*, and *Lana*«,

Ivano – »[f]ather's name is *Igor*, mother's name is *Ivana*. They all begin in an *I*«,
and

Ena – »[s]he has a short name as her sister *Ira*«.

The purpose of another item was to find out if respondents decided on a certain name based on its meaning. According to the results, for 45.33 % of the respondents who chose a non-traditional name meaning turned out to be an important factor, and 49.33 % of them provided us with the meaning of the name, which is a somewhat smaller percentage compared to the respondents who chose a traditional name (53.19 %). Here, it can be concluded that meaning does not play a decisive role in choosing a name.

It turns out that the same could be concluded with nicknames. Even though not as persuasive as the respondents who decided on a traditional name, the respondents who chose a non-traditional name stated that they did not want a specific nickname for their child (94.67 %) and did not want to avoid a specific nickname they disliked (82.67 %). As the respondents explained, they intended »[n]o nickname in particular, except any for which she (*Angela*) would be made fun of« and that »[t]he name (*Tina*) is already too short for a nickname, which was my goal«. Even though the length of a name cannot guarantee the absence of a nickname (it virtually never does), the non-traditional names from our corpus

²⁶ It is interesting to note that for some respondents who replied negatively to this item a connection can be found between the chosen names, even though they did not point it out. For instance,

1) family members have the same initial letter: e.g. *Kevin* has a father named *Krunoslav*, and a younger brother named *Kris*; *Aron* has a mother called *Ana-Marija*, and a younger brother called *Arian*; *Ariela* has a mother named *Andreja*, and an older sister named *Antea*;

2) parents have matching initial letters in their names and so do their children: e.g. *Ivana* and *Ivica* named their children *Luka* and *Lucija*; *Marija* and *Matija* named their children *Lara* and *Luka*;

3) siblings have the same final letters: e.g. *Tea* has a younger sister named *Lea*; *Riona* has an older sister named *Leona*, which makes these names minimal pairs;

4) all siblings have the same initial letter and their names are of the same thematic origin (the Bible): e.g. *Matej* has two older brothers called *Mihael* and *Marko*;

5) all siblings have names of the same length (all are two-syllable names): e.g. *Pavo* has an older sister named *Vita*, a younger sister named *Mila*, and a younger brother named *Dane*;

6) all siblings' names are names of the same thematic origin (Christian): e.g. *Fran* (a variant of *Franjo* – *Francis*) has a younger sister called *Petra* and two older sisters called *Klara* and *Marta*.

It is curious how these respondents emphasised no connection between these names. They are either not aware of it (which is highly unlikely) or they did not fully understand the item in the questionnaire.

are indeed short.

In particular, of 39 female names, the most frequent are two-syllable names (64.11 %), which are followed by three-syllable names (25.64 %), four-syllable names (7.69 %), and one double name: *Magda Vanesa* (2.56 %). By comparison, of 36 male names, the most frequent are two-syllable names (75 %), followed by three-syllable names (11.11 %) and even one-syllable names (11.11 %). There is also one male double name: *Teo Mirko* (2.78 %). If we compare male and female non-traditional names, we can conclude that male names are, once again, shorter than female names. However, if we compare traditional and non-traditional female names, we can conclude that non-traditional female names are, on average, shorter than traditional female names. The same can be concluded for non-traditional male names which turn out to be shorter than traditional male names.

The shortness of non-traditional names is certainly one of the reasons why these names sound international. Although the majority of our respondents who decided on a non-traditional name (66.67 %) said that they did not want an international name, the percentage tends to be smaller than the percentage of our respondents who chose a traditional name and who stated the same (74.47 %). As explained above, the most common reason for choosing an international name would be easier adjustment to a new environment and language: »[b]ecause the name (*Kevin*) is easily pronounced anywhere, it is recognisable and easy to remember« and »[b]ecause if (*Tara*) is going to live and work abroad, she will fit in better«.

Fitting-in is an important factor while choosing a name and that is why a lot of our respondents (36.11 %) decided on female names which can be used internationally, that is, they mainly chose a name which needed zero adaptation into the Croatian language: *Angela, Ena, Lara, Lena, Leona, Lorena, Mia, Nika, Ora, Paola, Riona, Tara*, and *Tea*. These names are followed by fully adapted international names (27.78 %): *Ema, Julija, Klea, Lea, Marcela, Ozana, Sara, Tesa, Vanda*, and *Vanesa*, and unadapted names (8.33 %): *Ariela, Gabriela*, and *Patricia*. In our corpus there is only one partially adapted international name (2.78 %): *Hanna*.²⁷

Concerning the male international names in our corpus, there is no partially adapted name or unadapted name. These names tend to be either fully adapted (23.08 %): *Aron, Dorijan, Gabrijel, Izak, Jakov, Jona, Mateo, Noa*, and *Patrik*, or they, just like female names, mainly need no adaptation at all (25.64 %): *Adam, David, Emil, Ivano, Ivor, Kevin, Kris, Leo, Lukas*, and *Nino*. Here, it has to be pointed out that in this corpus of non-traditional names even Croatian names

²⁷ *Hanna* could be a partially adapted variant of the name *Hannah*, but also an original given name.

such as *Fran* and *Tin* can be used internationally without much difficulty, with the only exception of the name *Blaž*, which turns out to be the only name in our study with a Croatian diacritic.

Since internationality is a significant factor when choosing a name, even if this is mainly intuitively, it is only natural that the calendar principle plays almost no role whatsoever. In particular, when asked if they wanted the name to be connected with the day, month and the year of the child's birth, all our respondents (100 %) who chose a non-traditional name for their child responded negatively.

As in the case of traditional names, we also wanted to find out how often are non-traditional names given to all the children in a family. According to the results (see Figure 2), 44 % of the respondents gave all their children non-traditional names, as opposed to the 29,79% of the respondents who gave all their children traditional names. This only confirms our conclusion that if parents give their first two children non-traditional names, they will also give their other children the same type of name. Since 21.33 % of only children within a family received a non-traditional name as well, we can easily predict the same kind of name for the majority of other siblings, if parents decide on having more children. In only 9.33 % of the cases parents gave their first child a non-traditional name, but opted for traditional ones for his/her siblings. In other cases, 12 % of parents decided on a non-traditional name only for their second and third child, respectively, and 1.34 % of parents decided on a non-traditional name only for their fourth child, which again confirms our conclusion that the respondents who chose a traditional name for their first child show a tendency not to choose the same type of name for their other children.

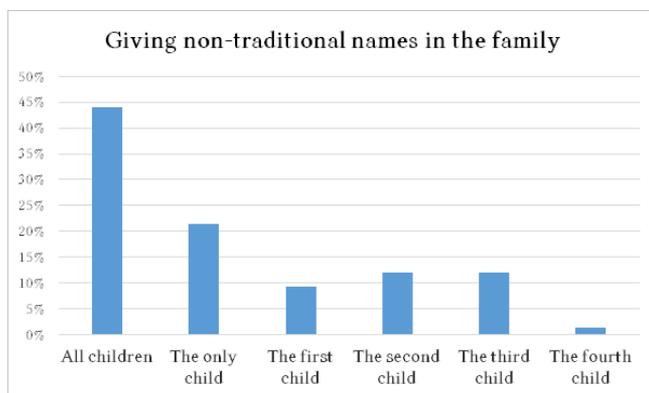


Figure 2. Giving non-traditional names in the family

4.3. The process of choosing a name

The purpose of the third and final set of items was to find out more about the naming process itself.²⁸ We asked all our respondents five questions and their answers are presented and compared here.

The first question read: *How did you choose the name?* A great number of our respondents who decided on a traditional name pointed out that they chose this type of name in agreement with their spouse or, as one respondent said, »[i]n agreement and after long-lasting negotiations« (*Dora*). These negotiations mainly mean that parents usually make a list of desirable names and ultimately decide on a name which meets the criteria of both parents:

»[w]e agreed on three names and concluded that *Klara* sounds the most gentle of these names, and Saint Clara's Feast Day is also right in the week between our birthdays«.

Apart from the very sound of the name, respondents also emphasised various other criteria:

»tradition, that is, a sign of belonging to the Roman Catholic Church and Croatian nation. It was not supposed to be fashionable or used too often« (*Magda*);

»[w]e wanted the name to be shorter, easy to remember, not too modern« (*Maja*);

»I didn't want it to be a 'long' name because people tend to replace long names with nicknames! I find the name beautiful and that it matches the nationality« (*Karlo*).

Of course, not everyone defined their criteria, but were intuitively aware of them. Parents' intuition is the reason why a certain number of respondents pointed out that they liked the name even before the pregnancy for no specific reason. Even when they say that the name choice was a coincidence, it actually never is, as the following example clearly shows:

»[a]ccidentally while going through the names beginning with an *S*« (*Sven*, and the father's name is *Saša*).

When it comes to *who* chooses the name, the respondents who decided on a non-traditional name do not differ from the respondents who chose a traditional name. A great number of them opted for a certain name in agreement with their spouse. However, the respondents who decided on a non-traditional name do show a more selective manner of choosing a name, even when it is from the same source:

²⁸ The process of naming is a concept introduced by Aldrin (2011). The phases in Aldrin's concept of the process of naming are: the inspiration phase, the comparison phase, the testing phase, the decision-making phase, the formalisation phase, and the narrative phase. Although we did not strictly concentrate on each phase separately, they are all included in this final set of items. However, future studies should pay more attention to them in their analysis of first names.

»I looked for a 'rare' name, used the Bible in order to find a name connected to my faith. Another important thing was for the name to be of Hebrew origin« (*Jona*);
»[w]e wanted the child to carry a name after a person who is a role-model, and for us biblical characters and saints are role-models. We are practical believers, our faith is the source of our life, so we wanted to find a name for our child in keeping with our religious tradition. Apart from that, we wanted the name to be present in the tradition of our people in order to preserve our onomastic cultural heritage« (*Fran*).

Some respondents emphasised that they searched for names which would be similar in structure for all of their children:

»[w]e looked for a short name (4 letters in each name: *Vita*, *Pavo*, *Mila*) and a simple name so that the child can pronounce it at an early age and without any problems (without the sound *r*). We wanted a short name in order to avoid nicknames« (*Mila*);

»I wanted it to begin with the letter *T* because his sister's name is *Tara*, and I wanted it to be simple, short and easy to pronounce in other countries« (*Teo Mirko*).

Again, a number of respondents did not point out their criteria, but mentioned that they decided on the name spontaneously and instantly upon hearing it, especially via electronic media:

»[a]ccidentally, while we were watching *Home Alone* for the millionth time during the Christmas season« (*Kevin*);

»[w]hen I was 12 years old, I watched a film called *Gone With the Wind*. The plantation in the film was called *Tara* and I said immediately that this would be the name for my daughter. I really liked the name and no one could have persuaded me to choose another one« (*Tara*);

»I have always liked that name. I think I heard it for the first time in a film and it really impressed me« (*Sara*).

Some respondents emphasised the first impression the chosen name would leave on other people:

»[w]hile going through "rare" names on the Internet, I was searching for a name which would impress me personally when I pronounce it, and a name which would remind me of a specific person« (*Klea*).

In order to find out what particularly helped our respondents in their search for an appropriate name, we asked the following question: *Have you used a name book or some similar source?* Interestingly, only two respondents (4.25 %) who decided on a traditional name for their child mentioned baby name books as a source of their inspiration, whereas the majority of respondents (70.22 %) stated that they had never resorted to such sources. Other respondents mentioned that their inspiration was the Internet (8.51 %), *Danica* – the Croatian Catholic calendar (4.25 %), both *Danica* and the Internet (2.13 %), the newspaper *Jutarnji list* (2.13 %), a list of the most common names in Croatia (2.13 %), etc.

The respondents who chose a non-traditional name stressed a similar practice, with 64 % not having turned to baby name books and only 5.33 % having done that. However, a great number of respondents (21.33 %) resorted to the Internet as their prime source of inspiration, while a very small number made use of both books and the Internet (2.67 %) or the Catholic calendar (1.33 %). Also, some respondents mentioned turning to the Bible (1.33 %) and the children's Bible (1.33 %) as their sources of inspiration.

Apart from knowing *how* they chose the name, we also wanted to know *when* our respondents chose the name. The respondents who decided on a traditional name pointed out that they chose the name (immediately) before the child's birth (34.04 %), sometime during pregnancy (36.17 %) or when they found out the child's sex (19.15 %). Only a few respondents pointed out that they decided on the name in their childhood (2.13 %), many years before pregnancy (2.13 %), on the very day the child was born (2.13 %) or after the child's birth (2.13 %).

The respondents with a non-traditional naming practice mentioned similar patterns concerning the time when they chose the name for their child, with 29.33 % of the respondents naming their child (immediately) before birth, 9.33 % of them when they found out the child's sex, and most of the respondents (41.54 %) some time during pregnancy. Some respondents also mentioned deciding on the child's name many years before the conception: when the respondent was 12 years old (1.33 %), when in high school (1.33 %), before pregnancy (2.67 %), or when the older brother was born (1.33 %). What is interesting about these respondents is the fact that they waited very long with choosing a name as some of them decided on the name on their way to maternity hospital (2.67 %), in maternity hospital itself (4 %), or even after the child's birth (1.33 %).

At any rate, when asked the fourth question *Would you change the name now?*, all our respondents replied negatively with mainly no further explication. It seems that the very process of naming turns out to be too demanding for parents and that the name that is eventually chosen is their final decision and the crown of their hard labour. As one respondent said, »I would never change the name. I had been thinking about it for a long time before I finally chose it« (*Klea*).

The last question was: *Is there any story behind name choice?*. Given that every name choice is a specific, challenging and very often a long process, we tried to elicit individual answers which would give us a summary of their naming process and provide us in turn with a clearer picture of the respondents' naming practice. However, the respondents who decided on a traditional name offered only a few answers to this final question:

»[w]e couldn't decide on any name from the list so we prayed in order to receive a name in accordance with His will« (*Janja*);

»[c]onsidering the difficulties with the conception and the anticipation of the child for many years, Victor is a completely justified name. We accepted our son's suggestion unanimously« (*Viktor*);

»[w]hen I found out I was pregnant, I instantly knew that if it was a boy, he would be called *Leon*. However, a couple of days before birth, my grandfather, who was my whole world, my best friend, and my guiding hand, died. I immediately changed the name, because this name is sacred for my family« (*Marko*).

As expected, the respondents with a non-traditional naming practice provided us with more answers to the same question than the respondents with a traditional naming practice. These answers once again show the respondents' trends in choosing names and a more refined naming practice:

»I wanted him to have a 'rare' name, just like me (*Glorija*), to stand out from the crowd« (*Jona*);

»Dad wasn't very thrilled with the name choice, but since he didn't want to go into the delivery room with me, I told him he had no right to choose. And today he likes it very much. No one has anything against it nor finds it odd« (*Tara*);

»[y]es. Me and my wife are both in sport, and running is part of our life. We actually met on a race in Ljubljana. We follow world results in marathon and for Silvija, she (Paula Radscliffe) has always been the number one runner. So our Paola got her name, the only difference being putting an *o* instead of a *u*« (*Paola*);

»[w]e chose *Teo* a couple of days before his birth, and we chose *Mirko* when he was born because I saw how much my husband missed his father and how sad he was that his father had not lived long enough to get to know his grandson. He expressed that feeling only when Teo had already been born and said that he would like him to be called *Mirko*. So we decided to pay our respects to his late father« (*Teo Mirko*);

»[p]arents couldn't agree so the girl got two names, and later she will decide herself which one she is going to keep« (*Magda Vanesa*);

»*Aron, Axel, Abel, Erik, and Jona* – these were the names we considered. And then we waited to see which one we would like the most by repeatedly pronouncing the names« (*Jona*);

»[w]e decided on *Tea*, and when our second girl was born, we called her *Lea*. We think they are very original with these names« (*Tea*);

»Tina Maze won the World Cup that year, which happened to be after the birth of my Tina. Maze is an Olympic champion in many disciplines. Her success was crucial to us in choosing the name for our child, and I would like my Tina to be successful in life, just like my role-model« (*Tina*);

»[w]hen his older brother Luka was born, nurses in maternity hospital didn't call him by his real name, but called him *Blaž* instead. We liked that and said that if Luka gets a brother, we would call him *Blaž*« (*Blaž*);

»[y]es, we got the inspiration for the name from the title of Thompson's album

Ora et labora (Pray and work), whose promotion I attended. I liked the religious story which was told throughout the album, and we prayed a lot to get *Ora* as well« (*Ora*).

5. Concluding remarks

Through the prism of social intuition, this study examined parents' reasons behind first name choices for their newborn children in Križevci, Croatia. Having used a questionnaire which was carried out in three socially comparable kindergartens, we quantitatively and qualitatively analysed 122 randomly collected names, 47 of which were traditional and 75 non-traditional. Apart from the reasons for name choice, this study also tried to find a correlation between these two types of names and the educational level of parents. According to the results, no conclusive evidence was found which would confirm that parents with a lower educational level tend to choose non-traditional names. For that reason, future studies should deal with this segment of research in more depth in order to confirm or dismiss this hypothesis. However, this study has shown that traditional names are mainly given by parents only, whereas non-traditional names tend to be given by other members of the family as well, which points to the fact that the namegivers who eventually decide on a non-traditional name are likely to have included other family members in the naming process in order to choose an appropriate name.

The study consisted of three parts, all of which tried to find differences and similarities in specific name choice among respondents who chose traditional and non-traditional names for their children. The first part contained nine closed-ended items dealing with the (un)usualness of the name that was chosen, its perceived modernity, tradition or belonging to a specific ethnic/religious group, its perceived euphony and compatibility with the family name, as well as its inheritance from older family members. According to the results, the namegivers of non-traditional names are more likely to give a euphonious name (85.34 %) and a name which is not compatible with the family name (57.34 %) than the namegivers of traditional names, although perception of name euphony and compatibility can be highly subjective. At any rate, our respondents chose a non-traditional name for their child because they, in contrast to respondents who chose a traditional name, mainly did not want a usual (73.33 %), traditional (72 %), and a hereditary (92 %) name which would be a sign of their belonging to a specific ethnic/religious group (78.67 %), but a modern one (50.67 %), which does not necessarily need to be common outside of their ethnic community (62.67 %). These results clearly show that the main difference between choosing traditional and non-traditional names is in the fact that the namegivers of non-traditional names want their children's names to sound international.

The second part of our study also consisted of nine items, but in this part each item was both open- and close-ended. According to the results, there is not much difference in non-traditional and traditional names when it comes to naming a child after people outside the family: 92 % of the respondents who chose a non-traditional name and 93.62 % of the respondents who chose a traditional name did not want to name their child after a famous person, e.g. a politician or a sportsperson. However, only respondents with a non-traditional naming practice mentioned the reasons for choosing a particular role-model's name for their child. As for naming children after a fictitious person, e.g. a character from a book or a film, the majority of respondents with a non-traditional naming practice again denied any such influence (93.33 %), which is a somewhat lower percentage than that of the respondents with a traditional naming practice (97.87 %). Naming a child after a friend does not tend to be popular for either groups of respondents (98.67 % of the respondents with a non-traditional naming practice and 97.87 % of the respondents with a traditional naming practice denied any such influence). However, the respondents who decided on a non-traditional name are more likely to choose a name which is similar or somehow connected to their own name, even though the majority of respondents answered this item negatively (85.33 %). Family names which are somehow connected usually share the same thematic origin (mainly Christian), the same initial letter or the same name length. As this study shows, for neither groups of our respondents is meaning the main factor when choosing a name (for 44.68 % of the respondents with a traditional and 45.33 % of the respondents with a non-traditional naming practice it turns out to be significant), which clearly shows that a name's structure and sound have precedence over its meaning. It turns out that the choice and avoidance of nicknames does not tend to be of great importance to the majority of our respondents either.

As far as the names' structure is concerned, the study has found that male names are, on average, shorter than female names in both groups of respondents, consisting mainly of only two syllables. However, according to the results, non-traditional female names tend to be shorter than traditional female names, and non-traditional male names tend to be shorter than traditional male names, which once again clearly shows the current trend in naming, i.e. choosing international-sounding names, even though the majority of respondents maintained that they did not intentionally look for such a name. At any rate, the most common reasons for an international name, as they explained themselves, would be an easier adjustment to a new environment and language if their child ever decided to live in another country. The study has shown that parents, whether fully aware of the reason or not, are likely to choose a non-traditional name for their second, third, or fourth child rather than a traditional one if they have already chosen a non-

traditional name for their first child. Since internationality is a significant factor while deciding on a name, the calendar principle plays almost no role whatsoever: 95.75 % of the respondents who chose a traditional name and all our respondents (100 %) who chose a non-traditional name for their child responded negatively to this.

The third part of the study consisted of five open-ended items which required from the respondents to answer the following questions: *How did you choose the name?*, *Have you used a name book or some similar source?*, *When did you choose the name?*, *Would you change the name now?*, and *Is there a story behind the name you chose for your child?*. Answers to these questions were also analysed separately for the respondents with a traditional and those with a non-traditional naming practice and it was concluded that there is not much difference in their answers. According to our qualitative analysis, the biggest difference lies in the level of selectivity in name choice among the respondents with a non-traditional naming practice, which only confirms the results obtained by the quantitative analysis.

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Što je u imenu? Razlozi odabira suvremenih tradicionalnih i netradicionalnih hrvatskih imena

Sažetak

Ovaj se rad bavi razlozima preferencije suvremenih osobnih imena na tragu sve popularnijih socioantroponomastičkih istraživanja. Upotrebom metode upitnika koji se sastojao od otvorenih i zatvorenih pitanja, u istraživanju provedenu u trima dječjim vrtićima u Križevcima, pokušala se otkriti stvarna motivacija prikupljenoga repertoara od 122 osobna imena, od kojih je 47 tradicionalnih, a 75 netradicionalnih. Raspon razloga odabira imena, koji može biti vrlo širok, u ovome se radu analizira kvantitativno i kvalitativno kroz prizmu koncepta *društvene intuicije* ili društvenih čimbenika koji obično utječu na odabir imena. Ti su čimbenici analizirani posebno za netradicionalna, posebno za tradicionalna imena kako bi ih se usporedilo i utvrdilo zašto su netradicionalna imena sve popularnija. Usporedbom stupnja obrazovanja nije utvrđena korelacija između nižega stupnja obrazovanja roditelja i odabira netradicionalnih imena. No, utvrđeno je da tradicionalna imena odabiru sami roditelji, dok se kod odabira netradicionalnih imena uključuju i ostali članovi obitelji. Biratelji netradicionalnih imena skloniji su odabiru imena koja će se lakše uklopiti u međunarodne okvire. Osobno ime, bilo ono tradicionalno ili ne, ne odabire se prema nekoj slavnoj osobi, fiktivnoj osobi ili obiteljskome prijatelju. Doimensko značenje riječi u imenskoj osnovi također ne igra veliku ulogu pri odabiru imena, kao ni nadimak koji bi mogao uslijediti nakon odabira imena. Istraživanje je pokazalo da je ispitanicima važnije da ime bude što kraće (odabrana netradicionalna muška i ženska osobna imena kraća su od tradicionalnih) te da su ispitanici skloniji odabiru netradicionalnoga imena za drugo dijete ako i prvo dijete nosi takvo ime. Kvalitativna je analiza (kao i kvantitativna) pokazala viši stupanj selektivnosti pri odabiru netradicionalnih imena.

Keywords: anthroponymy, socio-anthroponomastics, social intuition

Ključne riječi: antroponimija, socioantroponomastika, društvena intuicija

Appendix: the questionnaire

UPITNIK

Molim Vas da ispunite ovaj upitnik koji se bavi istraživanjem razlogā nadijevanja osobnoga imena. Premda se upitnikom od Vas traže mnogi osobni podatci, uvjeravam Vas da će svi osobni podatci osim podatka o djetetovu imenu biti tajni i da neće biti javno obznanjeni.

Hvala Vam unaprijed na uloženoj trudu i vremenu!

Krunoslav Puškar, prof.; *krunoslavpuskar2@gmail.com*

INFORMACIJE O DJETETU:

Ime:	Prezime:	Krsno ime:
Nadimak:	Datum rođenja:	Starost:
Spol:	Nacionalnost:	Vjeroispovijest:

RAZLOZI ODABIRA IMENA:

Odredite opisuju li sljedeće tvrdnje i Vaša stajališta! (Zaokružite odgovarajuću mogućnost desno!) *Odabrali smo navedeno djetetovo ime jer smo htjeli da ono bude...*

1. neobično	DA	NE	MOŽDA
2. obično	DA	NE	MOŽDA
3. moderno	DA	NE	MOŽDA
4. nasljedno u našoj obitelji	DA	NE	MOŽDA
5. tradicionalno u našem narodu	DA	NE	MOŽDA
6. uobičajeno i izvan naše etničke zajednice	DA	NE	MOŽDA
7. lijepo i milozvučno	DA	NE	MOŽDA
8. podudarno (da „se slaže”) s djetetovim prezime- nom	DA	NE	MOŽDA
9. znak pripadnosti određenoj etničkoj/vjerskoj zajednici	DA	NE	MOŽDA

Odredite opisuju li sljedeće tvrdnje i Vaša stajališta! (Zaokružite odgovarajuću mogućnost desno i dajte svoj komentar ispod svake tvrdnje!) <i>Htjeli smo dati našem djetetu ime koje smo odabrali...</i>			
10. jer se nama sviđjelo značenje imena a) Što znači ime? _____ _____	DA	NE	MOŽDA
11. jer smo htjeli da naše dijete dobije određeni nadimak a) Koji nadimak? _____ _____ b) Zašto baš taj nadimak? _____ _____	DA	NE	MOŽDA
12. jer smo htjeli izbjeći određeni nadimak koji nam se ne sviđa a) Koji nadimak? _____ _____ b) Zašto baš taj nadimak? _____ _____	DA	NE	MOŽDA
13. jer smo htjeli da njegovo ime bude međunarodno a) Zašto biste htjeli dati međunarodno ime? _____ _____	DA	NE	MOŽDA
14. jer smo htjeli da njegovo ime bude povezano s danom, mjesecom ili godinom kad je dijete rođeno a) Kako je djetetovo ime povezano s danom, mjesecom ili godinom rođenja djeteta? _____ _____	DA	NE	MOŽDA
15. jer smo htjeli da ime bude slično drugim imenima u našoj obitelji, da je to ime u nekoj vezi s drugim imenima u obitelji a) Kako su ta imena slična? U kakvoj su vezi? _____ _____	DA	NE	MOŽDA
16. jer smo htjeli nazvati naše dijete po nekome prijatelju a) Zašto baš po tome prijatelju? _____ _____	DA	NE	MOŽDA
17. jer smo htjeli nazvati naše dijete po nekoj poznatoj osobi, npr. političaru ili sportašu a) Tko je ta osoba? Zašto ste htjeli dati ime baš po toj osobi? _____ _____	DA	NE	MOŽDA

18. jer smo htjeli nazvati naše dijete po nekoj fiktivnoj osobi, npr. po osobi iz neke knjige ili nekoga filma a) Tko je ta osoba? Zašto ste htjeli dati ime baš po toj osobi? _____ _____	DA	NE	MOŽDA
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Tko je izabrao ime djetetu? _____

Koji su drugi razlozi koji su utjecali na izbor imena Vašega djeteta? (Dajte svoje opširno objašnjenje!)

- a. Kako ste odabrali ime? _____
- b. Jeste li se koristili nekom knjigom s imenima ili slično? _____
- c. Kada ste odabrali ime? _____
- d. Biste li sada promijenili djetetovo ime? Zašto? _____
- e. Imate li kakvu priču vezanu uz ime ili izbor imena? _____

INFORMACIJE O DJETETOVIM RODITELJIMA:

	majka	otac
Ime:		
Starost:		
Mjesto rođenja:		
Mjesto stanovanja:		
Obrazovanje:		
Zanimanje:		
Nacionalnost:		

INFORMACIJE O DJETETOVOJ BRAĆI I SESTRAMA (ako ih ima):

BRAT 1/SESTRA 1	BRAT 2/SESTRA 2	BRAT 3/SESTRA 3	BRAT 4/SESTRA 4
Ime:	Ime:	Ime:	Ime:
Spol:	Spol:	Spol:	Spol:
Starost:	Starost:	Starost:	Starost:

INFORMACIJE O DJETETOVU DJEDU I BAKI *PO MAJCI*:

	djed	baka
Ime:		
Starost:		
Mjesto rođenja:		
Mjesto stanovanja:		
Nacionalnost:		

INFORMACIJE O DJETETOVU DJEDU I BAKI *PO OCU*:

	djed	baka
Ime:		
Starost:		
Mjesto rođenja:		
Mjesto stanovanja:		
Nacionalnost:		

Tko je ispunio ovaj upitnik? (Zaokružite jednu mogućnost!)

- a. majka
- b. otac
- c. oba roditelja
- d. netko drugi, tko: _____

Hvala Vam!