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**SEMANTICS OF PRESENT-DAY
VILNIUS COUNTY TOPONYM
OPPOSITIONS**

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**DABARTINĖS VILNIAUS APSKRITIES
TOPONIMŲ OPOZICIJŲ
SEMANTIKA**

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“And in the end, their names were only names and names – and nothing more.
Or, if their names were something more than names...”

Thomas Wolfe, *Of Time and the River* (1935: 608)

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INTRODUCTION

Local studies of toponymy are an essential part of Lithuanian Onomastics, as toponyms reflect the linguistic situation specific to a certain region, its lexical and morphological features, and the historical-cultural development. Toponyms are an integral part of human cultural heritage¹, as the Earth itself speaks to us through them. Like other proper names, toponyms are a part of any language and, like any word, have a grammatical structure and meaning, and exist in human consciousness or the mental lexicon. Therefore, the analysis of toponym motivation and semantics helps reveal the terrain features, flora, and fauna of the area under investigation as well as its historical-cultural realia, which leads to understanding meanings encoded in place names.

Research Object, Novelty, and Relevance. The *object* of the current research is toponym oppositions (oikonyms and hydronyms) that are officially functioning within the borders of present-day Vilnius County. The choice to analyze the toponymy of this area was determined by the County's long, turbulent, and often sad history, which also leads to the complexity of the current investigation, as toponyms of the region are affected by language contacts due to both the cultural periphery and long-term multilingualism of the local population. The *novelty* and *relevance* of the current investigation are based on several arguments.

1. Regional toponymy studies are still rather scarce and insufficient in Lithuania. Different classes of Lithuanian toponyms are most often studied in the basic and common aspects of proper name research – in terms of their composition, etymology (origin), and relationships with other onyms or appellatives – applying structural-grammatical classification and semantic-derivational analysis models that help determine primary forms and meanings of toponyms (cf. Vanagas 1970, etc.; Jurkštas 1985; Mickienė 2001; Endzelytė 2005; Kiseliūnaitė, Simutytė 2005; Razmukaitė 1997; 1998; 2002; 2003; 2009; Sviderskienė 2006; 2006a; 2007; 2016; 2017 etc.; Bartkutė 2008; Bilkis 2008; Kiseliūnaitė 2020, and other works). Such studies of toponyms take an approach that has become somewhat “traditional” in Lithuanian onomastics².

2. Works that deal with aspects central to Cognitive Linguistics in toponymy research in Lithuania are exiguous, although proper names have been the object of such scientific scrutiny worldwide for more than a decade. Only a few attempts to analyze toponyms from the perspective of Cognitive Linguistics theories have been made in Lithuania so far, cf. works by Rūta Marcinkevičienė (2000), Laura Kamandulytė (2006), and Dalia Kačinaitė (2007; 2008).

¹ Cf. UNGENG Resolutions: VIII/9, 2002: Geographical names as cultural heritage; IX/4, 2007: Geographical names as intangible cultural heritage; etc.

² These aspects of toponym research, however, are believed to be crucial for the further analysis of toponyms and help approach the meaning of place names or their cultural, historical, etc. motivation.

We believe that it is possible to look at Lithuanian proper names from the perspective of the theory of conceptual metaphor (hereinafter, CMT) and metonymy³, which is one of the most established and recognized parts of Cognitive Semantics. This approach to toponym analysis may likely help understand their linguistic, cultural, social, historical, etc. motivation⁴.

3. In comparison to research carried out by foreign scholars (e.g. Biolik 1989; Balode 1993; 2012; Khokhlova, Zamorshchikova, Filipova 2018 etc.), studies into semantics and motivation of proper names are still rather infrequent in Lithuania. The fundamental works are the semantic classification of hydronyms proposed by Aleksandras Vanagas (1981a; 1988). Currently, the semantics and motivation of place names in regional toponymy are scrutinized by Dalia Sviderskienė.

4. Since the emergence of toponyms, their main natural function has been the indication of a place or “address”, i.e. they were meant to provide information about the object itself and its relationship with other objects. Both traditional and modern cognitive research into regional toponymy, esp. and mostly in works by foreign scholars (cf. Superanskaja 1970; Korepanova 1973; Kondrashina 1980; Štěpán 2009; Ahundova 2011; Tkachenko 2003; 2013; 2014; Hontsa 2014; Bukharova *et al.* 2016; Ilchenko, Isachuk 2016; Gataullin, Fatykhova 2018; Stachowski 2018; etc.), have been paying attention to a plethora of toponyms that express antonymic (oppositional) relationships based on various differentiating markers or attributes⁵, such as adjectives *upper – lower*, *closer – further* (*near – far*), *old – new*, *big – small*, *wet – dry*, etc., as well as a multitude of “coloured” and/or “black-and-white” toponyms⁶. However, in Lithuanian Onomastics, the existence of augmentative-diminutive correlation and the opposition of *light vs. darkness* in place names were observed only by Vanagas (1981a; 1988) in the semantic classification of hydronyms.

³ The problem of conceptual metaphors in Onomastics was addressed by Nikola Dobrić (2010), Mariusz Rutkowski (2011), Katalina Reszegi (2012), and Aunga Solomon (2018). It was also observed that metonymy is not a rare phenomenon among proper names and two types of metonymic relationships are emerging: first, the use of geographical names (nomenclature terms) for the nomination of topographic objects; second, the use of the existing toponyms for the nomination of other toponymic objects by the principle of analogy (cf. Chaikina, Monzikova, Varnikova 2004; Bába 2011; Reszegi 2012; Thachenko 2013; Van Langendonck, Van de Velde 2016; Van Langendonck 2017).

⁴ The term *motivation* (or *motif of nomination*) in the current thesis is understood as an extralinguistic reason for choosing or creating of a given proper name for a given entity (also, cf. Podolskaya 1978: 87).

⁵ The terms *differentiating attribute*, *differentiating element*, and *differentiating marker* are used synonymously by the mentioned researchers of oppositions in toponymy. For the sake of language economy and to avoid the use of multiple synonymous terms, hereinafter, we will use the term *differentiating marker* abbreviated to DM.

⁶ Sometimes scholars suggest that, for instance, qualifying adjectives of colour in toponyms are motivated by the colour, fertility or other physical characteristics of soil, the prevailing colour of buildings; the qualifying adjectives of size are motivated by the actual size of the named object, etc.

As demonstrated by the above-mentioned scholars and according to the findings of our pilot research (cf. Section 1.4.), toponym oppositions are characteristic of most Slavic and other territories. Still, we believe, that such nomination patterns do not receive due attention. They are not only of great importance in the designation of geographical objects in Lithuanian territories but also play a key role in the formation of the national onomasticon, as such formal and semantic sequences of toponyms are formed taking into consideration both linguistic and extra-linguistic conditions in the area under investigation. Thus, the analysis of structural-semantic oppositions in toponymy may facilitate the identification of many motivating factors that led to the origins of toponyms and may help to clarify the principles of the nomination of toponymic units.

5. Onyms resp. toponyms belong to the lexical level of the language. Therefore, many foreign scholars have been paying particular attention to the problem of the meaning of proper names (cf. Leino 2005; 2007; Coates 2006; 2012; 2015; 2016; Van Langendonck 2007; 2013; 2016; 2017; Sjöblom 2011; Ainiala, Saarelma, Sjöblom 2016), the conceptualization of onyms (cf. Andryuchshenko, Suyunova, Tkachuk 2015; Karpenko, Golubenko 2015), categorization and prototyping of proper names (cf. Szerszunowicz 2010; Sjöblom 2011; Bölcskei 2014; etc), and the problem of the origin and identity of names, as an important factor in the study of Onomastics (cf. Brendler 2006; 2008; 2012; 2016; Slíz 2017). All these questions still require a suitable and complex approach in Lithuanian onomastic research.

The experience of the above-mentioned regional toponymy and Cognitive Onomastics studies demonstrates the incompleteness of the previous research and the need for further linguistic investigation into Lithuanian toponymy. The current dissertation is the first systematic and comprehensive study of Lithuanian regional toponymy, integrating theories of Cognitive Semantics, Cognitive Onomastics, and traditional onomastic research models. It complements the individual studies of various place names and is important for further analysis of the etymology, motivation, and semantics of Lithuanian toponymy. Therefore, the novelty and relevance of the dissertation are in the input it makes into regional and theoretical onomastics through the application of semantic and etymological approaches to reveal toponymic cultural scripts, to form onomastic models and types of Vilnius County toponym oppositions, and to find the concepts reflected in toponyms. The dissertation contributes to the development of cognitive onomastics both theoretically and practically. The *theoretical and practical significance* of the research is revealed through many of the interpretations of toponyms in terms of their forms and motivation described in the dissertation and are published for the first time and form an important register of proper names (gazetteer), which can be used for both scientific and applied scientific purposes. In addition, this dissertation is expected to help preserve and bring toponyms up-to-date as one of the most important parts of cultural heritage. The dissertation also has an *interdisciplinary value*, as it is expected to help researchers of historical toponyms track the distribution, change, and development of toponyms in the given administrative unit. The findings may also provide a valuable reference to anyone interested in proper names.

Aim and objectives. The dissertation *aims* to investigate the formation and origin of the selected Vilnius County toponym oppositions and to identify their linguistic, cultural, social, historical, etc. motivation by applying principles, models, and theories of Cognitive Semantics and Onomastics. To realize this aim, the following *analytical and empirical tasks* were set with reference to the research object:

1. To propose a new approach to Lithuanian toponymy studies, based on the integration of the existing traditional and Cognitive Onomastics scientific-theoretical principles and methodologies;
2. To scrutinize selected manuscript, printed and electronic sources of toponyms, to collect the present-day Vilnius County toponyms, compile their gazetteer, and identify the oppositions they form;
3. To determine the linguistic expression of oppositions in toponyms:
 - a) to identify toponym opposition formation models in classes of oikonyms and hydronyms;
 - b) to compare the productivity ratio of different types of toponym oppositions;
4. To identify the anthropocentric relations prevailing in the selected toponym oppositions and their motivation (historical, cultural, etc.):
 - a) to find out the motivation of differentiating markers and identical toponym lexemes;
 - b) to highlight the hierarchical distribution of motivating concepts in toponym subclasses.

Research Material and Sources. The main body of the research comprises 227 toponym oppositions identified in and selected from the corpus⁷ of 5126 officially functioning Vilnius County place names (3900 oikonyms, 864 limnonyms, and 362 potamonyms) collected by the author in the period from 2018 to 2020. The investigation is based on toponyms and the actual data collected from various modern electronic, printed, and manuscript (archival) sources (cf. Chapter 2). These materials complement each other and help to derive and substantiate sound etymological and toponym motivation versions. Toponyms are investigated both synchronically and diachronically.

Research Theories and Methodology. The theoretical and methodological frameworks of the dissertation are shaped by the integration of traditional and Cognitive Onomastics scientific-theoretical principles developed by Lithuanian and foreign onomasticians. The theoretical framework is also based on the theoretical principles of Cognitive Semantics (cf. Chapters 1 and 2). The following *research methods* were applied to solve scientific problems and carry out the comprehensive analysis of toponymic material:

1. *Theoretical methods* (descriptive-analytical, deduction, synthesis, modelling) were applied for critical analysis and generalization of modern Cognitive Linguistics theories, esp. Cognitive Onomastics (including traditional Onomastics), as well

⁷ Hereinafter, the term *corpus* is used in the sense of a gazetteer (list) compiled by the author of the current thesis (cf. the MW definition of the term *corpus* at <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/corpus>).

as for the development of the Lithuanian toponymy resp. the present-day Vilnius County toponym oppositions research model.

2. *Empirical methods* (data collection and systematic analysis; comparative, comparative-historical, composition, derivational, descriptive, etymological, semantic, cartographic, and statistical analyses) were applied for the critical analysis of the origin, motivation, and semantics of the selected toponyms. At the linguistic level, attempts are made to determine the linguistic expression of toponym oppositions and their composition patterns. At the cognitive level, attempts are made to determine the semantic motivation and anthropocentric relationships encoded in toponyms as well as in correlating DMs.

Dissertation Claims.

1. Toponym oppositions are semantically antonymic when they are formed by correlations of adjectives or their pronominal forms belonging to the same taxonomy, denoting the relative size, relative position in space, relative age of the named objects, or are formed by correlations of prefixes or diminutive suffixes, denoting the named objects' relative position in space or relative size, respectively, and conveying the meanings of concepts.

2. Toponym oppositions are semantically non-antonymic when they are formed by differentiating markers, which are appellatives belonging to different classes, derivatives of other toponyms, or are formed by numbers that do not have a semantic load and are used to distinguish identical toponyms from one another and perform a differentiating function, denote standardized names of renamed objects, indicate the administrative division of named objects, but on the other hand, may mark the chronological development of toponyms.

3. Toponym lexemes of both transparent and opaque motivations and semantics convey the impressions/associations that the nominator most likely had in mind about the named object, gave meaning to them in toponyms with concepts that reflect the most prominent features of named objects and help to better understand and categorize the nominator's surrounding environment.

4. The integration of traditional and Cognitive Onomastics research methods with the theoretical principles of Cognitive Semantics and the analysis of extralinguistic data reveals the complex linguistic structure of toponym oppositions, which is characterized by at least two conceptual levels, i.e. conceptual structures of both differentiating markers and homogeneous toponym lexemes, conditioned by extralinguistic factors and determined by the nominator's needs to express the relationship of new toponyms with existing ones through linguistic means.

5. Differentiating markers, such as adjectives and their pronominal forms or affixes, that form toponym oppositions and convey antonymic semantic relations between the members, have meaning, therefore the meaning exists at the level of the toponym, i.e. the combination of a differentiating marker with a topolexeme, which means that homogeneous topolexemes also have meaning at their level and if the meaning at the

level of the toponym itself is opaque at a certain moment in the toponym's existence, the toponym had it at the time of its formation.

Thesis Structure. The dissertation consists of 15 parts: *Introduction*, eight *Chapters*, *Conclusions*, *References and Sources*, *Illustrations List*, *Glossary of Terms and Concepts*, *Abbreviations*, and *Index of Analyzed Toponyms*.

Thesis Approbation. Three articles (two of them are indexed in the Scopus database) in the international research journal and a study were published; five reports on the topic of the dissertation in international scientific conferences were made:

1. Skorupa Pavel 2019: Oppositions in Vilnius County Toponyms. The 4th International Aleksandras Vanagas' Scientific Conference *Onyms in Space and Space in Onyms*, 7–9 November. Institute of Lithuanian Language, Vilnius, Lithuania.
2. Skorupa Pavel 2019: Semantic Oppositions in Vilnius County Toponyms. *Acta Linguistica Lithuanica* 81, 139–159. ISSN 1648-4444.
3. Skorupa Pavel 2021: Motivation and Semantics of the Present-Day Vilnius County Toponym Oppositions: The Concept of the Object's Position in Space. *Acta Linguistica Lithuanica* 84, 254–282. ISSN 1648-4444.
4. Skorupa Pavel 2021: Semantic Motivation of Vilnius County Toponyms of Slavic Origin. The 27th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, 22–27 August. Kraków, Poland, online.
5. Skorupa Pavel 2021: Footprints of Language Contacts in Present-Day Vilnius County Hydronyms and Oikonyms. The international scientific conference *Interaction of languages and cultures in Europe: border and contact areas*, 8–10 September. Vilnius–Warsaw, Lithuania–Poland, online.
6. Skorupa Pavel 2021: Motivation and Semantics of the Present-day Vilnius County Toponym Oppositions Based on the Concept of the Object's Position in Space. MiOKO 22nd International and National Onomastic Conference, 14–16 October. University of Rzeszów, Rzeszów, Poland.
7. Skorupa Pavel 2021: Toponimų opozicijos: teorinis ir praktinis aspektai [Toponym Oppositions: Theory and Practice]. The 2nd International Scientific Conference *Jaunieji humanitarai ir Kazimieras Būga*, 25–26 November. Institute of the Lithuanian Language, Vilnius, Lithuania.
8. Skorupa Pavel 2021: Footprints of Language Contacts in the Present-Day Vilnius County Hydronyms and Oikonyms: the impact of Slavic languages on Lithuanian toponymy. *Acta Linguistica Lithuanica* 85, 219–243. ISSN 1648-4444.
9. Skorupa Pavel 2021: *Vilnius County Toponyms as Signs of National and Cultural Identity*. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas. ISBN 978-609-411-306-2, DOI doi.org/10.35321/e-pub.18.vilnius-county-toponyms

CHAPTER 1

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF COGNITIVE ONOMASTICS

Place names occupy an important and specific position in any language, as they facilitate the perception of the landscape and convey information on the terrain features, flora, fauna, people, etc. of the area under investigation and shed light on historical-cultural realia, like social environment objects, phenomena, etc. Together with and separately from other proper names, toponyms reflect and reveal both lexical and morphological features, such as orthographic developments and pronunciation, of a certain region, which leads to an understanding of the motivation of certain toponyms. The grammatical function and semantic properties of proper names have been an issue in scientific research since the times of Antiquity and treaties of great philosophers. However, there is no unified theory of proper names as various onomastic schools around the world pursue different research directions, especially in Cognitive Onomastics. Hence, this chapter presents the theoretical framework of the current doctoral research, examining the previous studies of cognitive linguistics, socio-onomastics, and semantics, which, we believe, will help to delineate the research model and explain the conceptualization and meaning of proper names resp. toponyms, the metaphoric and metonymic transpositions of concepts, the problems of antonymy in onomastics, and the issue of prototype theory that may be used in the analysis of proper names resp. toponyms.

1.1. MEANING AND CONCEPTUALIZATION OF PROPER NAMES RESP. TOPONYMS

Until 1990, there were no serious attempts to explore proper names in the multidisciplinary aspect of Cognitive Linguistics (Brendler 2016: 19). From the perspective of Cognitive Semantics, a language primarily reflects concepts, rather than the objective reality, that exist in the consciousness of the language user and are expressed through linguistic units. As proper names belong to the lexical level of language, in this chapter, we will focus on the issues of meaning and conceptualization of proper names.

1.1.1. Meaning of Proper Names resp. Toponyms

A proper name is a part of any language and, as any word, has its grammatical structure and meaning (semantics). Proper names are an integral part of the language because language exists in the human consciousness, in the mental lexicon, which makes a system of linguistic ability that reflects knowledge of words and their mental

equivalents – concepts (Karpenko, Golubenko 2015: 286). At the heart of this system is a set of complex functions that link linguistic units with representations of extra-linguistic knowledge. The meaning of any proper name resp. toponym can be understood as the lexical meaning of the word that makes up the name, i.e. the meaning of an appellative that was used as a name and motivated it. Most of the onyms resp. toponyms were motivated by the most prominent features of the referents they designated, i.e. were considered descriptive features of referents. The term *etymological meaning* or *identifiable meaning* may be used to define such original, authentic semantic content of the name (Ainiala, Saarelma, Sjöblom 2016: 32).

The first contribution to the study of Cognitive Onomastics and the meaning of names is Thomas Hobbes' treatise *Of Names* (1655), in which the British philosopher defines a name as "a word taken at pleasure to serve for a mark, which may arise in our mind a thought like to some thought we had before, and which being pronounced to others, may be to them a sign of what thought the speaker had, or had not before in his mind" (Hobbes 2002 [1655]: 13). This means that names, as linguistic signs that reflect concepts that exist in human consciousness, evoke both the speaker and addressee's thoughts. Hobbes' understanding of the language and the related concept of the onym most closely reflect the essence of the proper name as opposed to John Stuart Mill's (1906 [1872]) definition of the proper name, which is widely used in Linguistics today, and according to which the lexical components of proper names do not convey meaning, i.e. proper names are deprived of semantic features.

Special attention to semantic-pragmatic aspects of proper names is paid by Willy Van Langendonck (2007; 2013; 2016; 2017), who believes that proper names are based on both grammatical attributes and categorical assumptions leading to the subcategorization of onyms. According to the scholar, although onyms "do not have asserted lexical meaning" they "do display presuppositional meanings of several kinds: categorical (basic level), associative senses (introduced either via the name bearer or via the name form), emotive senses and grammatical meanings" (Van Langendonck 2007: 7). In other words, although proper names have no definitions, they have inherent assumptions, i.e. grammatical meaning, a categorical or basic level assumption, and connotative, pragmatic meanings encoded in naming lemmas, such as emotional, literary, and magical connotations. The scholar is convinced that onyms can have meaning, however, this is an additional associative or connotative meaning as opposed to lexical meaning or sense. The connotative meanings of proper names are associated with and provide encyclopedic or subjective information about the denotation or referent of the name (Van Langendonck 2007; 2013). This means that having no sense (lexical meaning), proper names can refer to an entity (a person or object) and, due to this function, they are considered the most prototypical nouns.

The connotational meanings of proper names resp. toponyms are also observed by Joana Szerszunowicz (2010), who claims that they form onymic groups and evoke cer-

tain cultural connotations in the speaker's consciousness. Such cultural connotations result from any common and proper words denoting cultural phenomena. The researcher believes that onyms perform a dual function, i.e. denotative (as a proper name) and connotative (as a common word). The largest group of onyms with connotative potential is composed of anthroponyms, whereas toponyms form the second largest group (Szerszunowicz 2010: 548–549). Analyzing one of the toponym categories (urbanonyms) using multifactorial analysis, Szerszunowicz states that most proper names are aesthetically and emotionally motivated and convey evaluations that can be bipolar (e.g. *positive – negative*; *old – new*; etc.) and gradable (e.g. *new – newer – newest*) and observes that such connotations can be universal and understandable in many cultures, or are specific to a particular culture and can only be decoded at the national level.

Richard Coates (2006; 2012; 2015; 2016) diverges from other researchers and sets out his reductionist approach to proper names under the framework of the pragmatic theory of properhood, the essence of which is that onyms are references rather than a structural category. Coates believes that proper names have no meaning and the essence of the name is in the referential, not the denotative function, which means that names identify individual name bearers, whether unique or not, and if the name bearer is unique, its name may convey all encyclopedic information about it, but such information may be limited to the user's knowledge. However, if the name is not unique, it has more than one denotation or potential referent, and the use of such a name becomes relatively uninformative without the context in which it is used. Coates (2012; 2015) claims that names have no meaning but may have a transparent etymology, esp. in names of fictional characters, which, unlike true onyms, can be translated into other languages. Although names can provide a great deal of encyclopedic knowledge, they may have a variety of connotations, e.g. names of historical figures, which can only be informative in a particular context. Such information is only available in the auxiliary recall process, but is not encoded in the names themselves and may, therefore, simply not be available when such a name is uttered. Hence, names are uninformative and meaningless, as they have no systematic lexical connections (Coates 2012: 137–138).

1.1.2. Conceptualization of Proper Names resp. Toponyms

People learn about the world by living in it, and the results of cognition are in certain ways fixed in consciousness. This is done through conceptualization. Language is an open system and its properties are determined by conceptualization processes related to the human experience, whereas the perception of language, context, and general knowledge takes place in the human brain while linguistic information is being analyzed (Skrebцова 2011: 18–19).

Proper names exist in language, and language exists in the human mind, its mental lexicon, which reflects knowledge of words, their mental equivalents, and concepts.

As Elena Kubriakova (1996: 90) puts it, the concept is a unit of mental resources of the human consciousness; a unit of contents of memory, mental lexicon, conceptual system, and *lingua mentalis*, the image of the whole world as reflected in the human psyche. A similar definition is presented by John Lyons (1996: 110): “By a concept is to be understood an idea, thought or mental construct employing which the mind apprehends or comes to know things”. In other words, a concept is a perception of the world and objects or phenomena that exist in it. Each concept captures complex encyclopedic information about the objects or phenomena being reflected, the relationship of society to the named object or phenomenon, i.e. a linguistic interpretation of the arrangement of the world captured in consciousness. Therefore, the mental nature of onyms resp. toponyms is considered one of the key research objects in Cognitive Onomastics, the proponents of which argue that the meaning of the proper name is a reflection of reality in human consciousness.

Being a mental entity, the concept is a multilayered product of collective consciousness activity and cultural life. In Zinaida Popova and Josif Sternin’s view, the essence and heterogeneity of the concept are obvious, and its structure can be represented as 1) an image – the visual component formed from perceptual-cognitive attributes (properties); 2) an informative content that is very close to the dictionary definition; 3) an interpretive field (evaluation), the encyclopedic sphere, sociocultural sphere (Popova, Sternin 2007: 108). This suggests that proper names resp. toponyms retain linguistic or encyclopedic knowledge⁸ in human mental activity. When an onym becomes a part of the human mental lexicon, it is conceptualized⁹, its meaning is created, i.e. new information is conceived, and a concept is formed and categorized. Through the categorization, an onym is assigned to different groups – classes, categories, etc. In this way, proper names are transformed into concepts and become a part of the mental lexicon by forming “frames”. This onomastic knowledge is known as the *onomastic concept* (Andryuchshenko, Suyunova, Tkachuk 2015: 4–5) or the *onymic*

⁸ This reflects the third principle of Cognitive Semantics, the point of which is that linguistic meaning is essentially encyclopedic and linguistic units (words) are considered access points to knowledge resources related to a particular concept or conceptual domain (Evans, Green 2006: 160), i.e. words only help to create meaning. German cognitivist Ernst Hansack is one of the first scientists in the world who applied the achievements of cognitive science in onomastic research and has distinguished practical onomastics, the key goal of which is to study proper names in different languages, their history, structure, etc. Hansack (1990; 2000) defines a name as an “access point” to all available information about an individual object, i.e. highlights an encyclopedic representation of the meaning of the name (also, cf. Brendler 2016: 19–20, 65–82).

⁹ According to the second principle of Cognitive Semantics, semantic structure is a conceptual. This suggests that language reflects concepts in the consciousness of the speaker rather than objects of the outside world. This means that semantic structure, i.e. meanings traditionally associated with words and other linguistic units, can be equated to concepts. Those traditional meanings of words are linguistic or lexical concepts, i.e. a traditional form in which conceptual structure is encoded in language (Evans, Green 2006: 158).

concept (Karpenko, Golubenko 2015: 287). Onymic concepts¹⁰ are sources of information, mental or psychological resources of the human consciousness, and an information structure that reflects knowledge and senses, providing the basis for onymic categories, i.e. associations of common names based on a common concept or name concept. Onymic categories are of the same type as other lexical categories because language uses the same cognitive mechanisms for categorization¹¹.

Onymic categories reflect an individual's linguistic knowledge and their ability to identify objects of reality. In each language, the onymic concept is expressed at both the grammatical and lexical levels – grammatical and semantic onymization. Grammatical onymization of concepts occurs with the help of auxiliary morphemes (prefixes, suffixes), root morphemes (combining two or more parts with or without a vowel), and syntax (names consisting of several words). Meanwhile, semantic onymization of concepts can be simple, metaphorical, metonymic, or hybrid and is conditioned by the oppositions of social, cultural, linguistic, and other factors. Thus, onymic concepts are closely linked to dialectal concepts in a given region, providing a structured way of conveying knowledge about cultural and linguistic characteristics. Onyms cannot be separated from their source and retain many of certain conceptual characteristics that the onymic concept (name) structure helps to identify. Therefore, onyms convey both extra-linguistic knowledge of the world categories and linguistic knowledge – meanings and their categories and are the result of a perception of reality (Andryuchshenko, Suyunova, Tkachuk 2015: 5–6). The onymic concept has a three-fold structure: 1) the verbal field (verbal expression); 2) the information field (“autobiographical” and encyclopedic information about the object); 3) the sensory field that captures visual, auditory, and kinetic information (Karpenko, Golubenko 2015: 288–289).

The name resp. toponym is a label that helps structure the encyclopedic, historical, personal information stored in memory, which Charles Fillmore (1982: 123) refers to as *frames*, i.e. tools that help organize the physical senses¹². People differently identify and interpret relationships between different locations through senses and cognition. These interpretations determine the naming processes. Onyms convey a variety of information, thus, an onymic frame has various categories, subcategories, etc. Karpenko and Golubenko (2015: 289) distinguish 10 onymic frames: anthroponymic, toponymic, theonymic, ergonymic, zoonymic, phytonymic, cosmonymic, chrononymic, chrematonymic, and ideonymic. Each onymic frame has its subframe, e.g. the toponymic

¹⁰ The *onomastic concept* and *onymic concept* are two terms that refer to the same notion (cf. Andryuchshenko, Suyunova, Tkachuk 2015; Karpenko, Golubenko 2015). Thus, hereinafter, the term *onymic concept* is used.

¹¹ On proper names categorization, cf. Section 1.2.

¹² This reflects the first principle of Cognitive Semantics, under which conceptual structure is embodied. From this perspective, concepts are based on human interaction with the physical world. The visual-schematic concept is one of the ways in which physical experience promotes the emergence of meaningful concepts (Evans, Green 2006: 158).

frame includes hydronyms, oikonyms, helonyms, oronyms, hodonyms, etc. Further, each of them can be divided into even smaller frames, e.g. the hydronymic frame can be divided into potamonyms, limnonyms, etc.

Therefore, we believe, proper names are true linguistic signs, which have not only a grammatical form but also semantic content in the human consciousness. In addition to the linguistic form, onyms have extralinguistic referents, which convey onomastic knowledge expressed by onymic concepts.

1.2. CATEGORIZATION AND PROTOTYPE THEORY IN ONOMASTIC RESEARCH

The nature of the language sign and categorization have become key concerns in Cognitive Linguistics. The perception of the world and human actions in it starts with mental activity, i.e. bringing together and identifying the connection between objects and phenomena that surround a human being. Such a cognitive process can be called the categorization of the world. Research by cognitive psychologists, such as Eleonora Rosch (1976; 1977; 1978) and her colleagues, has led to the formation of prototype¹³ theory, according to which people create categories that are the result of cognitive processes and are represented by the most typical objects or their properties. The attribution of an object or concept to a given category depends on the correspondence of the properties of that object to the prototype of the given category.

Research by Rosch and other cognitive psychologists has shown that the boundaries of the categories into which people divide the world around them are often vague, as the objects or phenomena that fall into them are different – some are more central, the main ones, having the most of features of the category, others are peripheral and have fewer traits specific to a particular category (Gudavičius 2009: 66). According to the first principle of the theory of prototypes, people try to obtain as much information as possible about the world around them by reducing mental activity, i.e. instead of storing all available information about individual experiences, people group similar experiences into relevant categories that determine the economy of cognitive representation. According to the second principle, the world around us has a correlation structure, and objects are grouped into certain categories according to the features common to those objects (Evans, Green 2006: 255). These two principles determine the system of human categorization.

¹³ In linguistics, the term *prototype* defines the concept models that allow one to view the concept as a structure that assigns a particular object or phenomenon to a particular category (Saeed 2016: 35). The concept of prototype was taken over by Semantic theory and extended to the description of linguistic categories and word classes. The center of this description has become a prototype (object or phenomenon), which to the speakers seems to be typical, exemplary of a set of similar objects or phenomena (Gudavičius 2009: 67). Such an approach is the opposite of the Objectivist Approach that provides an incomplete, reduced view of meaning.

The prototype theory can be extended to the description of linguistic categories and word classes. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980: 190) believe that categorization is the natural recognition of objects or phenomena that surround a person and either highlight or ignore their most striking features. Nations develop folk theories about the world around them, based on experience and culture (cf. Fillmore 1982; Lakoff 1987). Folk theories are cultural approaches to things or phenomena. As already mentioned, the boundaries between categories are not always clearly defined. Moreover, categories may differ at the societal and individual levels and reflect cultural, social, and environmental experiences, etc. From this perspective, linguistic categories also include typical and peripheral units, depending on whether they have morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties that characterize a prototype of a given category.

The concept of the prototype, we believe, is also applicable in onomastic studies. Words denoting phenomena are usually nouns. Proper names also perform the naming function, therefore, based on their semantic characteristics and functions, proper names can be considered a part of the category of nouns and treated as linguistic units. Proper names, as linguistic units, mean the processing of cognitive information, i.e. reflect ways one understands the world around them. Cognitive mechanisms in the naming process are a complex phenomenon that reveals the most striking feature of the named object. Andrea Bölcskei (2014: 1010) claims that places are named after their most striking features, and the naming itself represents a cognitive process that depends on the nominator's perception of the mental expression of objective reality. The researcher observes that in a particular language, oikonyms reflect the concept of a settlement prototype, perceived by the representatives of that culture, and their general knowledge of geographical, historical, and social characteristics related to a particular settlement. Thus, oikonyms can safely be called cultural signs, as it is highly likely that people who understand conceptual information¹⁴ belong to the same culture (Bölcskei 2014: 1016). Each onym is unique and marks the object named with it, e.g. oikonyms are often motivated by their relation to the person, the characteristics of the areas surrounding the settlements, or their geographical location.

Prototyping, categorization, etc. justify the synchronical semantic interpretation of proper names combined with etymologization. This facilitates the understanding of the diachronic changes in onyms and name systems, such as the extent to which names are used, the creation of new name categories, etc. (Sjöblom 2011: 66–67). With reference to the prototype theory, it is sometimes difficult to draw a strict line between proper names and appellatives. There are words in any language that are considered proper names by users without any context. However, some words are at

¹⁴ Bölcskei (2014: 1010–1018) identifies the most prominent conceptual features of a settlement that can be represented by the following model of feature categories: 1) universal (size, position in space, shape, etc.); 2) cultural (religion, trade or economics, etc.); 3) unique features (lifestyle, property, etc.). According to the scholar, such model of cultural prototypes can be applied in studies of different cultural regions.

the periphery of a category and their assignment to proper names depends on the context in which the word is used. It has been noticed that the distinction between proper names and appellatives may be aggravated due to the following reasons: 1) a word not used in the context is a proper name but appears to have a classifying (descriptive) meaning in a particular context; 2) a word is used mono-referentially but can also simultaneously refer to different referents in different situations, i.e. in some contexts, the same name may have different referents, which will result in its classifying rather than individualizing meaning; 3) the word has an obvious individualizing or classifying function, regardless of its context (Ainiala, Saarelma, Sjöblom 2016: 29). Thus, the concept of prototypes shows that the boundaries between appellatives and proper names are not clearly expressed. Therefore, the concept of the prototype can be successfully used in Onomastics, as the most prominent semantic units in the core of prototype categories help to understand peripheral meanings of words.

1.3. METAPHOR AND METONYMY

Cognitivists study the ways speech reflects a person's understanding of the surrounding world; how meanings are interpreted and what mental concepts about the world are formed in the consciousness and how this is reflected in language. It is commonly accepted in cognitivist studies that meaning does not exist in isolation from humans¹⁵, who create and use that meaning. Metaphors¹⁶ are mental projections or mappings, which affect thinking and imagination in everyday situations (Solomon 2018: 89). From this perspective, the conceptual structure is projected based on mental projections between the conceptual domains. "Some of these mappings are due to pre-conceptual embodied experiences while others build on these experiences to form more complex conceptual structures" (Evans, Green 2006: 286). Cognitivists are guided by the principle that a person's ability to cognize depends on metaphors that exist in language, communication, and interpretation of meaning, which depend on projections between the target and source domains.

Metaphors convey images, feelings, attitudes, values, religious beliefs, philosophies, traditions, and patterns of thinking in any culture. Onyms, the main function of which

¹⁵ The construction of meaning is conceptualization. Language itself does not encode meaning, because words are only clues to create meaning. From this perspective, meaning is created at the conceptualization level, i.e. meaning-making is equaled to conceptualization – linguistic units promote conceptualization and activate the knowledge needed to establish relationships between individual mental spaces (conceptual information packages) (Evans, Green 2006: 162).

¹⁶ Note: the term *metaphor* in Cognitive Linguistics theory differs from the stylistic tool used in Literature. In Cognitive Linguistics, metaphor refers to a semantic concept that reflects concepts that exist in human consciousness. And the process of metaphorization is based on the transfer of meaning from the conceptual domain of the source to the target domain (Dobrić 2010: 138). Cf. metaphors in the theory of traditional linguistics refer to the juxtaposition of unrelated meanings based on the similarity of some of their properties (Vaitkevičiūtė 2007: 705).

is to distinguish a particular object from other similar objects, are an important tool for understanding the culture and worldview of a particular nation. As it was already said, during the naming process, people take into account the specific characteristics and the location of the object. For example, when naming geographical objects, the position of the object in space, e.g. at the source of the river or its mouth, nature, historical context, ethnocultural traditions, e.g. the creators of place names may express their positive or negative attitude towards the named geographical object, are taken into account (Gataullin, Fatykhova 2018: 212; Khokhlova, Zamorshchikova, Filipova 2018: 276). Therefore, toponyms can convey evaluative characteristics and the semantic analysis of onyms resp. toponyms can help reveal the anthropocentric standpoint of a nation about the surrounding world, the nation's historical and cultural experiences, and attitudes toward places of sacred significance. This approach is expressed through cognitive tools such as metaphors, comparisons, metonymies, etc.

1.3.1. Metaphor

The theory of conceptual metaphor (CMT) is one of the most established and accepted parts of Cognitive Semantics. Metaphor is inseparable from language. In Cognitive Linguistics, metaphor is a conceptual, not a linguistic phenomenon, where one conceptual domain is structured in relation to another domain. The most important function of a metaphor is the expansion of meaning by promotion of new meanings. Cognitivists believe that the metaphor-based meaning extension is common to all levels of language (Evans, Green 2006: 38). Lakoff and Johnson (1980; 1999) argue that human thinking and behaviour are intrinsically metaphorical, as the metaphor exists in everyday life not only in language but also in thoughts and actions and determine what we do, feel and think every day. Because communication is based on the same conceptual framework that we use in speaking and acting, language becomes an important resource that allows us to understand that system. However, our conceptual framework is not conscious. Metaphors in speech reflect the fact that our perceptions, thinking, and actions are defined by unconscious concepts of metaphors (Lakoff, Johnson 1980: 3). Metaphors are considered tools for understanding one experience based on the expression of another. The metaphor is expressed linguistically simply because it exists in the human conceptual system and, therefore, is understood as a concept or a conceptual metaphor.

Metaphors are closely related to image schemes. Based on the theory of conceptual metaphor, people use their imagination to project and understand experiences, using metaphors and metonymies that are based on visual schemes between the source and target domains. The target domain is abstract and can be related to the source domain because they both have some common features. Linguistic metaphors are expressions of a deeper system of conceptual metaphors. The visual or image schemes in the human conceptual system emerge from sensory and perceptual experiences. As maintained by

Lakoff, Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), and Johnson (1987), image schemes are source domains for metaphoric projections. The essence of such an approach is that image schemes are structures of knowledge that originate from a variety of experiences until those experiences were conceptualized in the human consciousness. Such structures make sense at the conceptual level because they emerge from bodily experiences, which in themselves are significant. Kövecses (2002: 4) defines the conceptual metaphor as conceptual domain A is conceptual domain B. This means that one domain (target) is understood based on another domain (source). The source domain is usually less abstract and complex, while the target domain is more abstract and subjective. Conceptual correspondences exist between both domains. Lakoff (1987: 281) observed that there is some relationship between conceptualization and thinking — mental space, i.e. any phenomenon of reality, hypothetical situation, or a past event. The source and target domains theory (i.e. the CMT) is based on prototype theory, later modified by Lakoff (1987) into the *Idealized Cognitive Models* (hereinafter, ICMs) theory. ICMs are very abstract frames that are responsible for the effect of typicality in categorization. Lakoff believed that linguistic units, such as words, should be considered as conceptual categories based on ICM or prototypes (cf. Section 1.2. above).

The CMT can also be applied in proper name research, as demonstrated by Nikola Dobrić (2010) in the research of Serbian anthroponyms. Dobrić distinguishes the following aspects of the name: 1) source, 2) conceptual structure (cognitive trait(s)), 3) target (the anthroponym). For instance, the source (appellative): Sr *vuk* (wolf) → cognitive traits: fury, malice, power → the target (proper name): Sr *Vuk* (Wolf). Despite the notion of modern semantics that proper names have no meaning, the same meaning was a crucial factor in the origin of many anthroponyms, as all names from different cultures initially had a meaning, and certain motivation and were determined by and derived from place names, names of local deities, folklore, etc. The transfer of semantic and conceptual structures from one conceptual domain to another is of great importance for the creation of onymic prototypes: transferring the meaning of an appellative to an onym, or using a place name to designate a person, thereby indicating the place where the person was born (Dobrić 2010: 139–141). It is noteworthy that the analysis of onyms under the framework of CMT is not the etymological analysis but rather an attempt to determine how the conceptual structure of words has motivated and still motivates their creation.

Mariusz Rutkowski (2011: 141–148) also believes that onyms can be metaphorical, i.e. may have additional connotations depending on the context in which they are used. Onymic connotations are extralinguistic knowledge and for the proper name to have connotations it has to be used metaphorically. When a proper name, which originally denoted another object (denotation), is used to name the object, a metaphor or metaphorization of the name occurs. In the framework of Onomastic studies, this is not a comparison of objects, but rather the identification of certain characteristics that make up the semantic mechanism of the name's metaphor. These characteristics

derive from the connotation of the first-named object. Knowledge of these connotations is needed to reproduce the metaphor.

Based on the conceptual metaphor model, i.e. by transferring cognitive traits (concepts) from one domain to another (from appellatives to onyms): the source (appellative) → a conceptual structure (a cognitive trait) → the target (a proper name), one can analyze concepts that motivate the origins of onyms, cf. an example from Lithuanian toponymy: *Pāpis* – the lake north of Baltoji Vokė town (Šlėn D). The name may be derived from Lith *pāpas* (Vanagas 1981: 244) ‘breasts; a nipple; a bump, a knurl’ (LKŽe). Therefore, this name can be considered metaphorical, with a figurative meaning: Lith *pāpas* → a knurl/breast → *Pāpis*. The name may have been motivated by two “peninsulas” on the opposite banks of the northern part of the lake, which may have been compared to the breasts¹⁷.

Metaphor and also metonymy (cf. below) present an important way of nomination, i.e. semantic derivation, or name transposition. Through semantic derivation, the appellative becomes a toponym without any changes in its structure and reflects the features that directly characterize the named object. In the past, many nations had metaphoric toponyms, since the figurative vision of the world was more developed (Chaikina, Monzikova, Varnikova 2004: 21–22). Therefore, we believe, the analysis of toponyms under the framework of Cognitive Semantics may help reconstruct the nominator’s worldview.

1.3.2. Metonymy

From the perspective of Cognitive Linguistics, metonymy is considered to be a general cognitive ability in which people build associations between interrelated objects and concepts. The basis of such associations is the incompatibility of the mental representations of two closely related elements (cf. Lakoff, Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987). From this perspective, the linguistic realization of metonymy is not a change of meaning, but rather the emergence of additional meaning from a context that is very close to the phenomenon of polysemy.

As we have outlined above, proper names are very often semantically motivated and characterize an object, emphasizing its most striking features. Such names are often metaphorical or metonymic. Similarly to metaphor, metonymy is not a rare phenomenon among proper names (cf. Van Langendonck, Van de Velde 2016; Van Langendonck 2017). Two types of metonymic relationships are emerging in onomastic research: the first is the use of geographical names or nomenclature terms for the nomination of topographic objects; the second is the use of already existing toponyms for the nomination of other toponymic objects. According to Barbara Bába (2011: 983),

¹⁷ On the other hand, the motivation of the limnonym may be of a deeper, symbolic meaning to the nominator, as the breast in many cultures is considered the primary source of food to a new born. Thus, lake *Pāpis* could have been considered a source of food (fish, birds, etc.) to people living in its vicinity (in ancient times).

geographical names, as names denoting a place, form an important part of any language onomasticon and are often used as toponyms. Toponyms are considered to be an important aspect of the landscape of any country and nation, reflecting the human perception of the surrounding space. For example, words (or nomenclature terms) such as “mountain”, “river”, “forest”, “road”, etc. are often used as landmarks in space and often turn into proper names resp. toponyms. From this perspective, metonymy-based¹⁸ naming can be clearly defined, e.g. *the Upėšė* and *the Mažoji Upėšė* (the Merkys tribs.) are two rivers in the Dainava forest. The potamonym *Upėšė* is the Lith Suf *-ėšė* derivative (Vanagas 1970: 138) from Lith *upė* (river) ‘natural flow, stream’ (Vanagas 1981: 355). According to Vanagas (1981a: 35), the transformation of a nomenclature term into a toponym occurs for two reasons: first, the nomenclature term is transformed into a toponym when there are no more identical objects in the same area, e.g. there is only one river, lake, mountain, forest, etc. (this is how the nomenclature term performs a distinctive function); second, when there are several identical topo-objects in the same area, all of which have special names (these names distinguish certain topo-objects from the others; the one that does not have a name that differs from the others in the absence of a name – the absence of a name performs a distinctive function).

The national-cultural component in the semantic structure of the toponym indicates its national identity and reflects the historical, territorial, and natural-geographical features of human life (Gataullin, Fatykhova 2018: 217; Khokhlova, Zamorshchikova, Filipova 2018: 276). Thus, we believe, that toponyms are an important source of information about peoples and ethnic communities, the areas in which they live, their culture, everyday life, language, historical events, and landscape characteristics in the past and present¹⁹. For instance, landscape characteristics are illustrated by *the Kamenà*²⁰ (the Visinčia trib.) – the river in Belarus and Lithuania. Vanagas (1970: 131) claims that the potamonym is the Lith Suf *-en-* derivative from Lith *kāmas* ‘hassock, hump’ (LKŽe)²¹.

¹⁸ From the perspective of Cognitive Linguistics, metonymy is considered to be a general cognitive ability in which people build associations between interrelated objects and concepts. The basis of such associations is the incompatibility of the mental representations of two closely related elements (cf. Lakoff, Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987). From this perspective, the linguistic realization of metonymy is not a change of meaning, but rather the emergence of additional meaning from a context very close to the phenomenon of polysemy.

¹⁹ The analysis of place names helps to get information about a particular country or region: 1) the type of place and the position of objects in space, 2) orientation in space, 3) qualitative characteristics (evaluation, smell, color, origin, shape, size, etc.); 4) vegetation; 5) animal life; 6) the type of territory and their physiography; 7) hydrology; 8) soil; 9) economics (e.g. farming, hunting, etc.); 10) history, ethnonyms, man and society (place names refer to certain historical events, personalities, etc.); 11) places of worship.

²⁰ Pol. *Kamionka*; Bel / Rus *Каменка*.

²¹ The scholar also relates this potamonym with the following river names: Kamainia, Kamaja, Kamoja, Kamatis, Kamatė, Kamatėlė, Kamainė, Kamona, Kamuna; also, the lake name Kamanys; Latvian names, such as Kameņi k., Kamaņu pļava pv., Kameņu-pļava, the Kameņu-upe (Vanagas 1981: 144).

However, the possibility that the name is of Slavic origin should not be ruled out. From our observations (we have been by this river multiple times), there is plenty of stones both in the riverbed and on its banks. Therefore, the name can be associated with Slav *kamień/камень* ‘stone’ and the primary form might have been Bel/Rus *Камен(н)а(я) (река), i.e. a “stony river”²². There are similar names in the Russian Federation (e.g. the Каменная река in Karelia, or lake Каменное), Belarus (the Каменная река – a 40 km segment of the Neris²³ with multiple rapids). Also, the concept of the “stony river” is “echoed” in the names of settlements located close to the river: the village Akmenỹnė, Šlčn D (R1872 Rus/Bel Каменка), and R1872 Rus/Bel Околиця Каменка (currently, the village Sangėliškės, Šlčn D). Therefore, it is possible to claim that the river’s name is motivated by the stony riverbed: Slav *kamień/камень* (stone) → stony river(bed) (Rus каменная река) → *Kamenà* (← Bel/Rus *Камена/ *Каменна/ *Каменная (река)).

The second perspective of the metonymic nomination is based on the fact that people create toponyms based on models that already exist in the toponymic system, i.e. toponyms are created through analogy²⁴. The metonymic transposition occurs when a primary name, such as names of islands, rivers, forests, etc., is moved (transferred) to a settlement located on that island, by a river or forest, etc. In such a way, the secondary nomination occurs, which, according to Katalin Reszegi (2012: 372), is determined by the fact that in the linguistic consciousness²⁵ of the community, the two places cannot be separated. Thus, when viewed through the prism of metonymy, names become polysemous. However, this is by no means a linguistic metonymy, as in toponymy, for instance, it is not a change of meaning, but rather the emergence of a name motivated by metonymy, i.e. when an existing name is used to name a new related place (toponymic object). Toponyms the meanings of which have been shifted to other places also indicate changes in the nomenclature, which is based on the flexibility of the meaning structure and the need of users for new name meanings (Sjöblom 2011: 74). In this case, the semantic component of a given name has a slightly different meaning, cf.: the potamonym *Versekà* (← Lith *ver̃stis/vĩrsti/versmẽ* (to swirl/ to gush/a spring)) – a swirling, gushing stream of water → the village *Versekà* (the settlement on the *Versekà* river). It has to be also noted that metonymy-motivated, analogy-based onyms may not necessarily be geographically close to each other (cf. Leino 2005; 2007; Bába 2011; Reszegi 2012; and others).

²² This can be proved by the form still used by the locals, who refer to the river as *Каменная* (“stony”).

²³ Bel *Вілія*, Rus *Вилия*, Pol *Wilia*.

²⁴ The importance of analogy and naming patterns (models) in proper names research is noticed by Antti Leino (2005; 2007).

²⁵ People get information about the world around them by living in the community; their behavior patterns and communicative (linguistic) abilities shape the cognitive system. Therefore, language influences people’s perception of spaces, forming spatial concepts that are related to real spaces and places through language (words). Words that associate mental concepts with real spaces and form mental maps are toponyms (Reszegi 2012: 373).

In addition to the names already mentioned, there are many toponyms motivated by metonymy in Lithuanian toponymy. The name of *Baltōji Vokė*_{tn} (Šlčn D) may have been motivated by and originated from *Baltōji Vokė* peat bog name and both names may have resulted from the metonymic transposition from the river *Vokė*²⁶; or *Júodupis* village in the southern part of Klaipėda district municipality highly likely got its name from the *Júodupis* stream. According to Yulia Chaikina, Liudmila Monzikova, and Yevgeniya Varnikova (2004: 21), metonymy as a way of the semantic derivation of onyms is especially common in the class of oikonyms. There are numerous cases of metonymy-motivated toponyms formed through analogy in the Lithuanian onomastics and it is possible to detect entire clusters of such names, cf. any entry in the *Dictionary of Lithuanian Place Names*.

To sum up, both conceptual metaphor and metonymy are considered tools for understanding one experience based on the expression of another. Both of these tools rely on cross-domain image schemes. In the case of metaphor, this is the transfer (transposition) of semantic and conceptual structures from one conceptual domain to another, e.g. the transfer of a body part concept to a proper name. Whereas in the case of metonymy, the conceptual transfer takes place in the same conceptual domain, e.g. from a proper name to a proper name. Various directions in Onomastic research discussed above demonstrate that while onomasticon can be and is explored in various aspects of Cognitive Linguistics using very different research models and methods, it is difficult to rectify general specific methodologies that apply to onomastic resp. toponymy research. Nevertheless, the common semantic analysis of proper names, without which it is practically impossible to determine their linguistic, historical, and cultural motivation is very important.

1.4. PROBLEM OF ANTONYMY AND OPPOSITION IN TOPONYMY

The problem of antonymy and opposition in toponymy has been dealt with by the representatives of many onomastic schools (cf. Introduction), who claim that the antonymic relationships between place names of different classes are typical to most territories. We believe that the analysis of such nomination patterns will at least to a certain extent help explain both linguistic and extralinguistic grounds of the origins of toponyms in Lithuanian lands. However, plenty of logical questions arise before plunging into the tremendous variety of simple, derived, compound, and composite place names of Vilnius County. Can toponyms express antonymic relationships? What elements in the names of geographic objects create the opposite semantic meaning? What categories do such toponyms create? What linguistic or extralinguistic factors determined the origins of such names? etc.

²⁶ *The Vokė* (the Neris trib.) is a stream flowing from the lake *Pāpis*. The name may be culturally motivated and derived from the Tat. *voka* 'water' (Krajewski 2013: 225), or from Lith *vóktis* 'to clean', *vókti* 'to clean, to harvest (grain, hay, garden)' (LKŽe).

1.4.1. Concept of Opposition

Antonymic relationships in toponymy exist in merely every class of place names – oikonyms, hydronyms, micro toponyms (names of ravines, floodplains, ridges, tracts, capes, islands, etc.) – and are expressed through binary oppositions²⁷, i.e. pairs of related place names that are opposite in meaning. In Nataliya Podol'skaja's (1978: 40) view, a binary opposition in toponymy is the opposition or contrast of two related objects to distinguish them through names with identical base lexemes and antonymic DMs. As observed by Vera Kondrashina (1980: 29), sometimes the opposition may be formed by more than two members, one of which may have no DM, i.e. may have a clear base. The identification of antonyms or (binary) oppositions in toponymy, therefore, is the identification of the dependent uses of toponyms that make up the simplest microsystem (Tkachenko 2014: 68). This means that antonymic toponyms, or toponymic antonyms, are typically examined in a toponymic context and explained by the correlation of objects that are limited both linguistically and geographically, i.e. spatially.

Most often toponym pairs based on the oppositional, antonymic relationship are within the boundaries of one region, i.e. nearby from one another (cf. Štěpán 2009; Tkachenko 2003; 2013; 2014; Ilchenko, Isachuk 2016). Thus, antonymic pairs in regional toponymy resp. hydronymy, oikonymy, etc., are purely contextual and are limited by the hydronymic, oikonymic, or any other (micro-)system toponyms create within their class²⁸: *limnonym* × *limnonym*, *potamonym* × *potamonym*, *oikonym* × *oikonym*, *oronym* × *oronym*, *drimonym* × *drimonym*, etc.

Our preliminary research into toponymic systems of different countries has shown that the antonymic or rather oppositional relationships between place names can be observed in many language groups – Baltic resp. Lithuanian, Latvian; Slavic resp. Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, Czech, etc.; Germanic resp. English, German, etc.; Turkic resp. Turkish, Kazakh, etc.; and many others, cf.:

²⁷ The concept of binary oppositions in language was first proposed in Ferdinand de Saussure's structuralism theory, under the framework of which the binary opposition is a pair of related terms or concepts that are opposite in their meaning. According to de Saussure (1959: 53ff.), (binary) opposition is a means by which language units have value or meaning, i.e. each language unit is defined in relation to another unit. This is not by any means a contradictory (i.e. relationship of negations), but rather a structural, complementary relationship. Therefore, the meaning of the linguistic unit is not absolute, but rather relative (contextual) and may be derived from both syntagmatic (contextual) and paradigmatic (group) relationships of the unit. The theory of oppositions has been particularly developed and successfully applied in phonology. In his "Principles of Phonology" (1971), Nikolai Trubetzkoy describes the systematic relations of the phonemes of various languages and, based on the relation between the opposition members, points out the following types: privative, gradual, and equipollent oppositions (Trubetzkoy 1971: 74–77). Evalda Jakaitienė (1988: 76–86) applied these theories of oppositions to lexical semantics, adding two more categories, i.e. disjunctive and zero oppositions.

²⁸ Hereinafter, the correlation of toponyms forming the opposition will be marked with "×".

- potamonyms: *Júodupis* × *Baltupis* (Lithuania), *Jugla* × *Mazā Jugla* (Latvia), *Czarny Dunajec* × *Biały Dunajec* (Poland), *Бурлук* × *Бурлучек* (Ukraine), *Caldew* × *Little Caldew*, *Black Lyne* × *White Lyne* (the UK), *Große Laber* × *Kleine Laber* (Germany), etc.;
- limnonyms: *Šilinis* × *Pāšilinis* (Lithuania), *Selmeť Wielki* × *Selmeť Mały* (Poland), *Белое озеро* × *Черное озеро* (Russia), *Ağgöl* × *Qaragöl* (*White Lake* × *Black Lake*, Azerbaijan), etc.;
- oikonyms: *Áukštosios Viėsos* × *Žėmosios Viėsos* (Lithuania), *Libice nad Cidlinou* × *Libice nad Doubravou* (the Czech Republic), *Деренковеуь Першый* × *Деренковеуь Другый* (Ukraine), *Верхняя Ентала* × *Нижняя Ентала* (Russia), *Альшанікі I* × *Альшанікі II* (Belarus), etc.

As maintained in the onomastic literature (Kondrashina 1980: 29–35; Štěpán 2009: 915–919; Tkachenko 2003: 58–60; 2013: 399–404; 2014: 67–69; Ilchenko, Isachuk 2016: 100–101; and others), antonymic relationships in toponymy are created by both composite (complex) and compound names²⁹, based on the correlation of lexical and/or grammatical differentiating attributes or markers, which are used as pre- or post-modifiers to distinguish between two or more identical names. In the case of composite place names, the opposite relationship is formed when the common component of opposition members, i.e. the identical part of names, is modified by an autonomous DM, usually the qualifying adjectives of size, age, horizontal or vertical position in space, colour, etc. with antonymic relationships, such as *big* – *small* (also, *great* – *small*), *old* – *new*, *upper* – *lower* (sometimes – *middle*), *further* – *closer*, *black* – *white*, etc. In the case of compound place names, the opposite relationship is created by names that share a common lexeme and a lexeme, usually the first element of a compound name, which performs the role similar to a DM that creates an opposite antonymic correlation of the opposition members. DMs in both composite and compound place names, according to Pavel Štěpán (2009: 915–917), create antonymic relationships that fall into several semantic categories, based on the concepts of extent, position, age, owner, colour, etc. of the designated object.

Onomasticians have also been paying attention to the plethora of “coloured” and/or “black-and-white” place names in various toponymic classes (cf. Superanskaja 1970; Vanagas 1981a; Štěpán 2009; Leino 2011; Gataullin, Fatykhova 2018; Stachowski 2018; and others). As with any other simple adjective and/or its pronominal form, colour adjectives in toponyms have additional, differentiating properties. According to Ravil Gataullin and Lija Fatykhova (2018: 213), in many cultures, the colour designations *white* and *black* in toponyms are considered oppositional and convey additional posi-

²⁹ According to Irina Ilchenko and Nastasiya Isachuk (2016: 100), compound names have most probably originated from toponymic phrases as a result of the common linguistic univerbation process, which may be explained by either the desire for simpler and more economical expression of the toponym in one word, or by a greater degree of the toponym’s terminological role.

tive or negative meanings of good and evil, life and death, youth and senility, etc. Antii Leino (2011) and Kamil Stachowski (2018) believe that colours in toponymy, esp. hydronymy, e.g. *black* × *white*, are often motivated by their opposition and are determined and are characterized by the correlating objects' geographical proximity, i.e. by the direct opposition of topo-objects modified by colour adjectives. Gataullin and Fatykhova (2018: 214) suggest that in hydronymy the plain rivers, fed by groundwater, are called “black” as opposed to mountain rivers, which are “white”. Colour components in toponymy, according to Stachowski (2018: 199–200) can be motivated by either 1) geographical factors, i.e. such names can be derived through analogy from other toponyms (esp. hydronyms) the geographical object is near; 2) geological factors, i.e. the colour of the soil in the vicinity of the named object, and/or fertility of the soil, which is closely related to its colour – the darker the colour of the soil, the more fertile it is; 3) the colour of buildings; or 4) colour symbolism, as in many cultures colours in toponyms may have a symbolic meaning, e.g. regarding space, esp. points of the compass: the North, South, East and West³⁰; also, 5) colour oppositions may correspond to oppositions, such as *old* × *new*, *upper* × *lower*, *big* × *small*, e.g. colour *white* could mean *big* and, eventually, *old*, as opposed to *black* with the meaning of *small* and, eventually, *new*; or 6) colours may serve a DM between two identical names. Stachowski's (2018) studies of oppositions *black* × *white* in toponymy also showed that, for instance, most rivers can be called “black” when they are tributaries of larger rivers, thus, emphasizing the insignificance of the tributaries.

In the majority of cases, oppositions in toponymy are motivated by a variety of extralinguistic factors, determined by the needs of the society at a certain stage of its development to express the relationship of new names to existing ones with the help of linguistic means (Ilchenko, Isachuk 2016: 101). In addition, oppositions may reflect various spheres of human activities, including, but not limited to, territorial and natural-geographic features of human life, as well as cognition (Ilchenko, Isachuk 2016; Gataullin, Fatykhova 2018). Therefore, it may be claimed that such constructions in the broadest sense are the product of both the historical and cultural development of a nation. Moreover, toponym oppositions, as any other antonymic correlations may serve as the means to categorize the physical reality, as, for instance, from the anthropological view, do oppositions through “schemes which allow the natural and social universe to be grasped as an organized whole” (Lévi-Strauss 1966: 135) through categories, such as *high* – *low*, *sky* – *land*, *day* – *night*, *right* – *left*, *west* – *east*, *stability* – *movement*, *sacred* – *profane*, *good* – *bad*, etc. (ibid. 139, 142ff.).

As observed by some researchers into regional toponymy (cf. Kondrashina 1980: 33–34; Štěpán 2009: 915–917; Hontsa 2014: 88–89), there are examples of DMs in place names that form an opposition, however, their semantic relationships are not

³⁰ This system is believed to resemble Chinese and Turkish colour systems, which supposedly motivated the emergence of Slavic-origin onyms such as *White Russia*, *Black Russia*, and *Red Russia*.

antonymic. Usually, such toponym oppositions create a certain micro-system, i.e. are inside the borders of a certain territory, as the place names correlate with each other, reflecting the relativity of the location of the objects they designate. These oppositions may include:

- DMs that belong to different taxonomies, i.e. one of the opposition members may be marked by the element that belongs to the class of appellatives or proper names, while the other member may have a marker of a different class or a zero marker, cf. oikonyms *Trākų Vokė* × *Mūrinė Vokė*³¹(Lithuania), *Усть-Баяк* × *Средний Баяк* × *Верхний Баяк*³² (Russia);
- cardinal and/or ordinal numbers³³, cf. oikonyms *Альшанікі I* × *Альшанікі II* (Belarus), *Gemeliškis I* × *Gemeliškis II* (Lithuania), *Деренковець Перший* × *Деренковець Другий* (Ukraine); pond names *Viesų I tvenkinys* × *Viesų II tvenkinys* × *Viesų III tvenkinys* (Lithuania);
- prepositional phrases in which the pre-position does not carry the opposite semantic load, cf. oikonyms *Libice nad Cidlinou* × *Libice nad Doubravou* (the Czech Republic).

In his article, Tkachenko (2014: 68) maintains that not all onomasticians acknowledge the existence of antonyms at the level of proper names because names with etymologically antonymic lexemes form a single onomastic sequence and the objective correlation of names is more important than their conceptual aspect, whereas in appellative antonyms this phenomenon is strictly conceptual, as the correlation of appellatives is restored only through the correlation of concepts. Nevertheless, two distinct categories of toponymic antonyms resp. oppositions, which are structurally similar to appellative antonyms, can be pointed out, i.e. *lexical* and *grammatical* toponymic antonyms. *Lexical toponymic antonyms* are formed by homogeneous name lexemes (roots) in both compound and composite names. This also can be observed in Lithuanian toponymy among both compound names, cf. oikonyms *Senādvāris* × *Naujādvāris*, and composite names, cf. limnonyms *Īlma Didžiōji* × *Īlma Mažōji* or oikonyms *Senieji*

³¹ Here, the opposition is formed by the correlation of the Gen case of the oikonym *Trākai* → *Trākų* and Lith adjective *mūrinis* (-ė) 'made of stone or bricks' → *Mūrinė*.

³² Here, the opposition is formed by three names marked by different Rus appellatives: the first name is modified by the contracted form of the noun *устье* 'the mouth of the river' (SRYAe), the second modifier is the adjective *средний* 'middle' (SRYAe), while the third name is modified by the adjective *верхний* 'upper/higher' (SRYAe).

³³ In linguistics resp. traditional grammar, a cardinal number is an independent part of a speech made up of words denoting numbers. These words can mean abstract numbers or, most often, they are associated with nouns and indicate the number of items or their number in the queue, e.g. *one, two, three*, etc., or *1, 2, 3*, etc. Cardinal numbers are often classified as definite numerals and are related to ordinal numbers, e.g. *first, second, third*, etc., or *1st, 2nd, 3rd*, etc. (cf. DLKG 238ff.). As seen from the examples of toponyms, in toponymy, numbers are used as DMs of identical names that are written either in words or in digits. In either case, we will consider them DMs of place names.

Miežionys × *Naujėji Miežionys*, etc. In the compound oikonyms, the antonymic relationship is formed by the semantics of the lexemes (name roots) in the pre-position Lith *sėnas* ‘old’ and *naūjas* ‘new’, whereas in the case of composite names the antonymy is expressed by DMs (autonomous words) in pre- or post-position to the single-root identical names. *Grammatical toponymic antonyms* are formed by single-root names marked with different affixes (prefixes or suffixes) that are opposite in meaning, cf. Lith oikonyms *Pakenė* × *Užūkenė*.

According to John I. Saeed (2016: 63), contrary to *antonyms*, which from the traditional linguistic perspective are viewed as words with the opposite meaning, i.e. words in semantic opposition represented by a chain of successive negations, the term *opposition* is a broader general label that indicates a relationship between two entities that does not necessarily mean that one entity is the negative of the other. As demonstrated above, antonymy in its literal meaning can be observed only among members of toponym oppositions the composite elements of which belong to the same taxonomy and demonstrate an opposite semantic relationship.

1.4.2. Opposition Categories and Structural Types

In the onomastic literature (cf. Korepanova 1973: 31; Kondrashina 1980: 30–32; Tkachenko 2013: 400–404; 2014: 68–69; Ilchenko, Isachuk 2016: 100–102; etc.), two structural types are pointed out among lexical and grammatical toponymic antonyms resp. oppositions. The first type is the *complete opposition* with the complete antonymic expression of the constituent parts in all names forming the opposition, i.e. the members of the opposition (identical name bases/lexemes) are marked with a certain DM (a suffix, prefix, or any other composite element, e.g. an autonomous word, typically, a qualifying adjective)³⁴. The second type is the *incomplete opposition* with the incomplete antonymic expression of the constituent parts in one of the toponyms forming the opposition, i.e. one of the toponyms is clear/unmarked, while the other member(s) is(are) modified with a certain DM (a suffix, prefix, or any composite element)³⁵.

In the case of complete opposition, either lexical or grammatical, all the members are modified with DMs. At the lexical level, antonymy resp. opposition is usually expressed by DMs (usually, qualifying adjectives) (cf. Kondrashina 1980; Štěpán 2009; Tkachenko 2003; 2013; 2014; Ilchenko, Isachuk 2016; and others) that go either in pre- or post-position to the base lexeme. We will present such oppositions schematically by two models: *NameDM* × *NameDM* and *DMName* × *DMName*. At the

³⁴ This opposition type corresponds to the one that Trubetzkoy (1971: 75) and Jakaitienė (1988: 80–81) define as the equipollent opposition, the members of which are semantically equivalent and are marked with a certain distinguishing feature.

³⁵ This type is equivalent to what Trubetzkoy (1971: 75) and Jakaitienė (1988: 77–79) name the privative opposition, in which one member has a certain differentiating marker while the other does not.

grammatical level, antonymic resp. oppositional relationships can be observed in single-root toponyms (identical names) with prefixes and in some languages (e.g. the Czech language) with prepositional phrases of opposite semantics (cf. Štěpán 2009; Tkachenko 2014). We will describe such oppositions schematically with the pattern $DMName \times DMName$.

In the case of incomplete opposition, one member is not modified by the DM. According to Tkachenko (2014: 68), correlates with incomplete expression of the constituent parts in one of the toponyms at the level of the stem are observed in antonymic (semantic) connections at the grammatical level, i.e. in toponym pairs (groups) resp. oppositions one of the members of which is derived using suffixes or prefixes. The same is observed at the level of lexical oppositions, when one member lacks semantically defined lexemes that determine the spatial orientation of the object, topographic features, historical information, etc. Schematically such oppositions at both lexical and grammatical levels will be described with two models: $Name \times NameDM$ and $Name \times DMName$.

Additionally, the existence of toponyms (either pairs or groups) with the simultaneous lexical and grammatical antonymy resp. opposition can be pointed out, esp. in the works of Yevgeniy Tkachenko (2013; 2014). Tkachenko (2014: 69) observes that such antonymy occurs among geographically and etymologically bound names, but only at the lexical level expressed by the opposition of the concepts *great/big – small, old – new*, etc. Schematically such oppositions may be presented by the patterns $DMName \times DMNameDM$ and $DMName \times NameDM$.

To sum up, oppositions in toponymy are pairs of related place names with opposite meanings that result from the same base lexemes and antonymic DMs. Although not all names demonstrate opposite semantics, oppositional place names, both composite and compound, are divided into lexical and grammatical toponymic antonyms. The term *opposition* is a broader label than the term *antonym* and encompasses a relationship between/among entities not necessarily negative of one other. According to their type, oppositions in toponymy can be divided into *complete* and *incomplete*, i.e. with either complete or incomplete antonymic expression of the constituent parts in the toponyms forming the pair or group. The most common markers that form the oppositional relationships in toponyms are qualifying adjectives, affixes, numerals, prepositional phrases, etc., the choice of which in the nomination process is motivated by extralinguistic factors.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK: SOURCES AND RESEARCH MODEL

The chapter outlines the methodological framework of the research and contains a brief review and justification of the used sources, the outline of the research model, as well as an overview of the history of Vilnius County and language contacts, which, we believe, help to better understand the key paths of borrowings and specific meaning of words and, eventually, toponyms. The chapter also establishes the key principles of the semantic and extralinguistic research of toponyms. The investigation is based on toponyms – proper names of geographical objects, both settlement and non-settlement names – hydronyms and oikonyms currently officially functioning in Vilnius County³⁶ (see Picture 1).



Picture 1. Present-Day Vilnius County (Source: made by the author).

³⁶ Vilnius County covers a big part (about one third) of the interwar Western Vilnius Region that now is part of Lithuania. Currently, the County consists of 6 district municipalities, 1 municipality, and 1 city municipality: Elektrėnai Municipality (EI), Šalčininkai District Municipality (Šlčn D), Širvintos District Municipality (Šr D), Švenčionys District Municipality (Švnč D), Trakai District Municipality (Trak D), Ukmergė District Municipality (Ukm D), Vilnius City Municipality (VC), and Vilnius District Municipality (V D).

2.1. RESEARCH MATERIAL AND SOURCES

The main body of the research comprises toponym oppositions selected from the corpus of 5126 present-day Vilnius County place names. The corpus comprises 3900 oikonyms (city, town, village, railway stations with settlement names) and 1226 hydronyms – 864 limnonyms (718 lake and 146 pond names) and 362 potamonyms (river and stream names).

The investigation is based on toponyms and the actual data collected by the author in the period from 2018 to 2020 from various modern electronic, printed and manuscript (archival) sources: 1) Vilnius County municipalities' websites³⁷; 2) electronic catalogues³⁸; 3) modern and historical interactive maps³⁹; 4) scientific research on onomastics, etymology, history, etc.⁴⁰; 5) lexicographic sources⁴¹; 6) historical registers⁴²; 7) archival materials⁴³.

³⁷ Cf. Toponym Sources.

³⁸ Esp. *Gamtos katalogas. Lietuvos vandens telkiniai* (hereinafter, GK; <http://ezerai.vilnius21.lt/>).

³⁹ *The Rivers, Lakes and Ponds Cadaster of the Republic of Lithuania* (Lith *Lietuvos Respublikos upių, ežerų ir tvenkinių kadastras*; <https://uetk.am.lt/>; hereinafter, UETK); Geoportal web site (hereinafter, GP; <https://www.geoportal.lt/>); Russian 1872 map (hereinafter, R1872; <https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/russia-1872/>).

⁴⁰ Cf. References.

⁴¹ Cf. Lexicographic Sources.

⁴² Гошкевич Иосиф И. 1905. *Виленская губернія. Полный списокъ населенныхъ мѣстъ со статистическими данными о каждомъ поселеніи*. [En – *Vilna Governorate. The Full List of Settlements with Statistical Data* – author's translation] (hereinafter, G1905); Centrinė statistikos valdyba prie Lietuvos TSR ministrų tarybos 1974: *Lietuvos TSR kaimo gyvenamosios vietovės 1959 ir 1970 metais (Visasąjunginių gyventojų surašymo duomenys)* [En – Central Board of Statistics under the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR 1974: *Rural settlements of the Lithuanian SSR in 1959 and 1970 (All-Union census data)* – author's translation] (hereinafter, SV1974); Корево Антон К. 1861. *Матеріалы для географіи и статистики Россіи, собранные офицерами генерального штаба. Виленская губернія* [En – *Materials for the Geography and Statistics of Russia, Collected by Officers of the General Staff. Vilna Governorate*. – author's translation] (hereinafter, K1861); Ковенский Губернский Статистический комитет 1903: *Алфавитный списокъ населённыхъ мѣстъ Ковенской губерніи на 1902 годъ* [En – Kovno Governorate Statistical Committee 1903: *Alphabetical List of Populated Places of the Kovno Governorate for 1902*. – author's translation] (hereinafter, KG1903) (cf. Toponym Sources). These sources present a variety of information about settlements, their historic types, size in terms of land parcels belonging to them, sometimes list names of owners, number of inhabitants, economic activities in their vicinity, localization, and distances to bigger settlements, etc.

⁴³ The Catalogue of Lithuanian Place Names Written from the Living Language (hereinafter, VK) of the Research Center of Baltic Languages and Onomastics at the Institute of the Lithuanian Language. The VK contains about 600 000 Lithuanian place names, which Kazimieras Būga began to collect at the beginning of the 20th c. After the scholar's death, the State Archaeological Commission under the Ministry of Education and the Commission of Surnames and Place Names under the Ministry of the Interior proceeded with the collection of proper names (Alminauskis 1934). Later, the work was continued by the Toponymy Group (Institute of the Lithuanian Language and Literature). The filing of Lithuanian proper names was completed in the 1980s (Maciejauskienė 2002: 56–64). Today,

We believe, these materials complement each other, help to derive and substantiate sound etymological (including toponym motivation) versions, and form the basis of the research. Toponyms are investigated both synchronically and diachronically.

The investigation was carried out in nine main stages:

1. Screening Vilnius County municipalities' websites, electronic catalogues, and modern interactive maps for the currently officially functioning toponyms;
2. The compilation of three lists of toponyms: A – Currently functioning oikonyms list, B – Currently functioning potamonyms list, and C – Currently functioning limnonyms list;
3. The systematic analysis of the corpus, i.e. identification of cases of dependent use of two or more toponyms by going through the lists and identifying the interdependent toponyms – place names with identical lexemes (with or without DMs, i.e. an autonomous word, affix, numeral, etc.);
4. The compilation of three lists of toponym oppositions: A – Currently functioning oikonym oppositions list, B – Currently functioning potonym opposition list, and C – Currently functioning limnonym oppositions list;
5. Screening the lists of the selected toponym oppositions by the factor of distance⁴⁴;
6. Shortlisting the selected toponym oppositions;
7. The analysis of the historical interactive map, historical registers, and archival materials for historical forms of the selected toponym oppositions as well as the related extralinguistic data;
8. The etymological, semantic, and extralinguistic analysis of the shortlisted toponym oppositions;
9. The classification of the analyzed toponym oppositions.

2.2. RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

The research is limited to the analysis of 491 toponyms (139 hydronyms and 352 oikonyms) selected from the corpus of currently officially functioning in Vilnius County. The selected toponyms form 227 toponym oppositions (pairs or groups) within their class. The selection of toponym oppositions was carried out in two stages:

1. The systematic analysis of the corpus to identify cases of dependent use of two or more toponyms;
2. Screening the selected toponym oppositions by the factor of distance⁴⁵.

the Catalogue serves as the basis for the publication of the *Dictionary of Lithuanian Place Names* (Maciejauskienė 2001: 29ff.; 2002a: 102–117): vols. I, II, III, and IV of the dictionary were published in 2008, 2014, 2018, and 2021, respectively. The VK serves a unique source for toponymy research.

⁴⁴ For the methodology and its justification, see Section 2.2.

⁴⁵ For the detailed description of the research stages, see Section 2.1.

The selection of the oppositions was carried out in adherence to the views of many researchers of opposition in regional toponymy (cf. Korepanova 1973; Štěpán 2009; Ahundova 2011; Tkachenko 2003; 2013; 2014; Ilchenko, Isachuk 2016; Stachowski 2018; Gataullin, Fatykhova 2018; and others), who observe that toponym oppositions, the correlation of the additional features of which is semantically antonymic or not, are context dependent and are possible only in a certain (micro-)system⁴⁶. Hence, we believe the distance of up to 20 ± 5 km is the maximum to consider two or more correlating toponyms an opposition, with reference to Stachowski's (2018: 201) observation about the distance one can regularly travel, esp. on foot, from one location to another and back within one day.

In the current dissertation, the distance between the objects forming toponym oppositions (oikonym, potamonym, limnonym) was measured using the distance measuring tools (straight line) on GP and UETK websites. The selected toponyms in oppositions exist within 0,04 to 20 ± 5 km from each other inside the borders of the present-day Vilnius County. The maximum distance between the named objects is 24 km. In several cases, one of the correlating toponyms was outside but close to the current administrative border of the County. Such toponyms were not excluded from the research on the condition that they meet the selection criteria.

2.3. SCIENTIFIC-THEORETICAL RESEARCH PRINCIPLES AND METHODOLOGIES

The analysis is based on the integration of traditional⁴⁷ and Cognitive Onomastics scientific-theoretical research principles and methodologies developed by Lithuanian and foreign onomasticians and linguists. With reference to the theories of Cognitive Linguistics and Cognitive Onomastics as well as the traditional onomastic research models presented in Chapter 1, the linguistic research and the classification of Vilnius County toponym oppositions are based on the etymological, derivational, and semantic analyses of DMs and identical toponym lexemes (hereinafter, ITLs). Oppositions in the current research are viewed not only as an antonymic semantic relationship between the DMs of toponyms (ITLs) but as any type of relationship between DMs, including the elements of compound toponyms that have a distinct function.

⁴⁶ The concept of micro-system in toponymy relates to place names that exist inside and are bound by the borders of a certain territory. Such toponyms correlate with each other, reflecting the relativity of the location of the objects they designate. This concept is often used in the studies of regional toponymy and oppositions in regional toponymy (cf. the above-mentioned authors).

⁴⁷ Under the term *traditional onomastics* we understand the etymological, typological and structural studies of proper names, which sometimes also include the analysis of the semantic aspect of onyms. According to Terhi Ainiala and Jan-Ola Östman (2017: 3): "<...> onomastics traditionally has largely focused on the etymology and typology of names".

2.3.1. Linguistic Analysis

The etymological analysis of toponym oppositions is based on the works of Būga (1958; 1959; 1961)⁴⁸, Vanagas (1970; 1981; 1981a; 1988; 1996), Jurkštas (1985), and others; Volume I, II, III, and IV of the *Dictionary of Lithuanian Place Names* (hereinafter, LVŽ I, LVŽ II, LVŽ III, and LVŽ IV); various lexicographic sources – Lithuanian, Russian, Polish, etc. (electronic) dictionaries (cf. References and Sources), as we believe that in many cases the etymology of toponyms is impossible without the determination of the appellatives' origin.

The composition analysis of Vilnius County toponym oppositions is based on, but not limited to the structural-grammatical classification of hydronyms proposed by Vanagas (1970: 21–27). To determine the motivation of Vilnius County toponyms, the semantic classification of hydronyms proposed by Vanagas (1981a: 19–120; 1988: 51–65) is also applied. According to this classification, all hydronyms fall into three categories: motivated, unmotivated, and of opaque motivation. This classification was developed and applied to the analysis of toponyms of various classes in Sviderskienė's works (cf. References).

Sviderskienė believes that both Vanagas' classifications can be easily applied to the study of all classes of toponyms (not just hydronyms) and categorizes place names into toponyms of both transparent and opaque motivation names, as well as into toponyms that have multiple motivations. Toponyms of explicit motivation according to 1) properties of the objects (i.e. animal and plant names; physiographic features (bottom features, shape, function, spatial position, or configuration, etc.), colour; demonological motivation; water quality (viscosity, liquidity, substances in water, etc.), the physical state of the water); 2) relationship with other objects (i.e. possessivity and place motivation, environmental motivation); 3) the relationship with the person (belongingness, historical-cultural relations; names of anthroponymic origin); 4) situation or event-motivated toponyms; 5) micro-system motivated toponyms (Sviderskienė 2016: 247–257). The opaque motivational class includes all toponyms the interpretation of motivation of which is aggravated by the lack of additional information supporting the versions of the motivational interpretation and is, therefore, limited to the mere finding of possibility. This group may include toponyms the motivation of which is unclear due to: 1) the lexical character of the base (root, or first component of the name) and its belonging to the appellative or anthroponymic class is not quite clear; 2) polysemy of the reference word (motivation can be interpreted by several meanings

⁴⁸ In our research, we adhere, but not limit ourselves to the methods used by Būga, which he called the “comparative potamology (river names)” method (Lith „Lyginamasis potamologijos (upėvardžių)“ metodas) (Būga 1961: 510) and the toponymy comparative method, which he referred to as “land nomenclature comparative studies” (Lith „Žemės vardyno lyginamosios studijos“) (1961: 736). Both methods boil down to the comparison of potamonyms and limnonyms with names of other rivers and lakes, or other toponyms with similar toponyms, within or outside the Lithuanian state borders.

of the reference word); 3) lexemes of the same expression (form) with different meanings; 4) metaphoricity 5) semantics of a complex nature (words in different languages can evoke different associations); 6) implicit assessment (usually associated with negative experiences, etc.) (ibid. 258–263).

According to the known theories of Cognitive Onomastics (cf. Chapter 1), all onyms have meaning. Therefore, we will elaborate on the aforementioned semantic classification of hydronyms proposed by Vanagas and later developed by Sviderskienė and will apply them in part, considering unmotivated toponyms, their (sub-)classes as motivated by principles of conceptual metaphor and metonymy. We adhere to Vanagas' opinion that toponyms, being the result of human linguistic activities, were once explicit in meaning and easy to associate with the generic words they were derived from (cf. Vanagas 1970; 1988), and believe that the principles of Cognitive Semantics and Cognitive Onomastics theories make it possible to reconstruct the faded meaning of toponyms. The present-day Vilnius County toponym oppositions and their (sub-)classes are analyzed according to the concepts that motivated their origin⁴⁹, based on the conceptual metaphor model, i.e. transfer of cognitive traits (concepts) from one domain to another (from appellatives to onyms): source domain (appellative) → conceptual structure (cognitive trait) → target domain (onym) (cf. Lakoff, Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2002; Dobrić 2010). The transfer of semantic and conceptual structures from one conceptual domain to another is of great importance for the creation of onymic prototypes: transferring the meaning of an appellative to an onym, or using a place name to designate a person. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the analysis of onyms under the framework of conceptual metaphor is not an etymological analysis but rather an attempt to determine how the conceptual structure of words has motivated and still motivates their creation (Dobrić 2010: 139–141).

2.3.2. Extralinguistic Analysis

Since the emergence of toponyms, their main natural function has been the indication of a place (address), i.e. they were meant to provide information about the object itself and its relationship with other objects. Therefore, to understand the semantics of the opposition-forming DMs as well as the ITLs in toponym oppositions, besides the linguistic analysis, we believe, extralinguistic (geographical, historical, socio-cultural) data has to be considered:

1. *For the analysis and classification of potamonyms*, the location of the named object and its relation to other objects in its vicinity, the length of the named rivers and streams;

⁴⁹ Hereinafter, possible motivating concepts are indicated in brackets: [CONCEPT]. In the case of opaque motivation of a toponym, several possible motivating concepts are provided: [CONCEPT/CONCEPT].

2. *For the analysis and classification of limnonyms*, the location of the named object and its relation to other objects in its vicinity, the size of the surface area (km²), and lengths of shorelines (km) (this data is taken from GK, UETK, and GP websites);
3. *For the analysis and classification of oikonyms*, the location of the named object and its relation to other objects in its vicinity, the settlement type, and size (often from the historical perspective). The data is taken from the historical sources available at the time of writing⁵⁰.

In the case of oikonyms, settlement types, including those that historically existed in Lithuanian territories were paid attention to. Considering the language of the sources, the abbreviations of settlement types, hereinafter, are quoted in Russian. The analyzed settlement types include:

- 1) Rus *колония* (hereinafter, кол.) – *colony* (Lith *kolònija*, Pol *kolonia*) – historically, a settlement (residence place) of persons who have moved from one country to another or from one area to another. This settlement was formed as a result of the expansion of localities in areas remote from the previously existing buildings, in particular, a town or village (SRY; SRYe; LKŽe; VLEe);
- 2) Rus *господский двор* (hereinafter, госп. д.), *имение*, Old Rus *имѣние* (hereinafter, им.), also *усадьба* (hereinafter, ус.) – *estate* (Lith *dvāras*, *dvariniņko sodýba*) – landowner ownership, usually with a manor and adjacent lands (SRY 219; SRYe; LKŽe; VLEe);
- 3) Rus *фольварк* (hereinafter, ф.) – *folwark* (Bel *фальварк*, Lith *palivárkas*, Pol *folwark*) – historically, a small manor, farm, a separate settlement owned by one owner (a landlord's economy) in Poland, Lithuania, Belarus and western Ukraine (later, in the Russian Empire with the annexation of the Baltic and Belarussian lands after the division of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) (LKŽe; SRYAe);
- 4) Rus *сторожка*, also *лесная сторожка* (hereinafter, лес. стор.) – *lodge* – a small house/lodge for the watchman (woodman/forester) (SRY 685; SRYAe; G1905 2);
- 5) Rus *околица* (hereinafter, окол.) – *okolitsa* (Lith *káimo pakraštys*, Bel *аколіца, ваколіца*) – the outskirts or edge of the village (place around the village, its surroundings) (SRY 395; SRYe);
- 6) Rus *посёлок, подселье, подсёлок, присёлок* (hereinafter, пос.) – *posyolok* (Lith *káimas*) – a small settlement near any other settlement (town, village, etc.). Historically, a posyolok is a settlement of people from outside and is the opposite of Old Rus *высльокъ*, Rus *выселок* (hereinafter, выс.) – *vyselok* (Lith *káimas*) – a small settlement in a new place that is separated from a larger, older settlement (SRY 107, 502; SRYAe; G1905 2);

⁵⁰ Much of the data on settlement types, area of the belonging land parcels, certain economic activities, landlords' names, historical name forms, etc., is available in K1861, KG1903, G1905, SV1974 (cf. Toponym Sources).

- 7) Old Rus *застѣнокъ*, Rus *застенок* (hereinafter, з.) – *steading* (Lith *viėnsėdis* (*užusienis*), Pol *zaścianek*) – a small rural settlement. In historical maps and sources (cf. Toponym Sources), it is marked as Pol *zaścianek*, Rus *застенок*. It is noteworthy that in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (later, in some parts of Poland), and later in the Russian Empire Rus *застенок* (← from Pol ← *sciana*, Rus *стена* ‘wall, barrier, border’ → Pol *zaścianek*, Bel *засцёнак*, Lith *užusienis*) referred to a small rural settlement that typically consisted of one household (homestead, *steading*) lying separately with farm buildings and the land belonging to it (cf. Krasinski SSP2 243; LKŽe);
- 8) Rus *город* (hereinafter, г.) – *town (city)* (Lith *miestas*, Pol *miasto*) – a permanent and densely settled settlement with administratively defined boundaries, whose dwellers are involved primarily in non-agricultural activities (SRY 125; SRYAe; VLEe; LKŽe);
- 9) Rus *местечко* (hereinafter, м.) – *townlet (small town)* (Lith *miestėlis*, Pol *miasteczko*) – a historical type of rural settlement similar to a market town in former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (i.e. in the territories of the present-day Lithuania, Belarus, Latvia, Poland, Ukraine and western part of Russia), which after the annexation has become widespread in the Russian Empire. In the past, townlets were an intermediate link between urban and rural areas, with a special administrative status other than that of a town (or city), and often with a significant proportion of the Jewish population. During the Soviet occupation (approx. since 1950) some townlets became district centres and were granted the status of town (city), while most of the others became the central settlements of collective farms and Soviet farms. Their differences from the new agricultural settlements were mainly due to the old heritage – a more complex and expressive network of streets, surviving market squares, and churches (SRY 307; SRYAe; VLEe);
- 10) Rus *деревня* (hereinafter, д.), *село* (hereinafter, сел.) – *village* (Lith *kaimas*, Pol *wioska, osada*) – a historical settlement (from several to several dozen and more homesteads), where the majority of the population is engaged in agriculture. It is typically larger than the hamlet (*steading*) but smaller than the town (LKŽe; SRYAe; VLEe).

In addition, we believe that the size of the settlement can partly be traced from the area of lands that historically belonged to it as well as the number of households or yards (Lith *kiėmas* ‘a separate household, property/farm’ (LKŽe), hereinafter, [y.]). In the historical registers, the area of land is indicated in an archaic land measurement used in tsarist Russia – Rus *десятина* (hereinafter, дес.) – *dessiatin* (Lith *dešimtinė*), which was equal to 2 400 sazhen and is approximately equivalent to 1,09 hectares (10 926,5 m²) (LKŽe; SRY 145; SRYAe; VLEe).

Finally, during the analysis, while evaluating the geographical information, esp. the named object’s relation to the neighbouring object (hills, valleys, rivers), the

object's position above the sea level (MSL – meters above sea level) was considered. This information was obtained using object elevation measurement tools available on GP and UETK websites. Of course, it is unlikely that at the time of nomination, the information about the position of the object above sea level was known. People most probably simply considered the position of the object in relation to other neighbouring objects in the specific location, regarding the relief of the given area.

2.3.3. Significance of Historical-Linguistic and Socio-Cultural Contexts

All of the above authors emphasize the importance of historical-linguistic and socio-cultural contexts in onomastics resp. toponymy research, because without these contexts the etymologization of onyms resp. toponyms, identification of their origins, linguistic, cultural, social, etc. interpretation of motivations are impossible. To have a clear understanding of what influence the historical-linguistic and socio-cultural contexts had or still have on the toponymy of the present-day Vilnius County and Lithuanian onomasticon in general, concise knowledge of the geopolitical and cultural situation of the region from the historical perspective is required.

Today, there is no doubt that the onomasticon of any nation is not purely national. There is no larger nation that has not experienced any influence from linguistic, cultural, or economic communication with neighbouring nations and the historical-political development of the state. The land of the surviving Baltic languages (Lithuanian and Latvian) is now a small territory. Lithuania for a long time was surrounded by its immediate neighbours: Slavs (Belarussians, Poles, Russians), Germans, and Finno-Ugrians⁵¹. Moreover, Lithuania's historic lands as well as the present territory have long been home to representatives of various ethnic groups and cultures, who have left their footprint in the Lithuanian language, culture, and other spheres of life, including Lithuanian proper names. With the introduction of Christianity (1251–

⁵¹ Kazimieras Būga was probably the first to state that the ancient Lithuanians had contacts with the ancient Finns and, no doubt, with the Latvians, Slavs and other nations. Lithuanian contacts with the Finno-Ugric etc. (Finnish, Livonian, Estonian etc.) languages and cultures are not only traced in words of Lithuanian origin (cf. Būga 1961: 493–496), but also in Lithuanian hydronyms of Finno-Ugric origin, e.g. the two potamonyms *Kivė* are most probably of the Finnish origin and are derived from Finn *kivi* 'stone', or the name of the lake and the corresponding name of the river *Jarà* may be derived from Finn *järvi* 'lake' (Vanagas 1988: 86, 88). Also, the ancient Lithuanians had contacts with the Latvians, whom Būga (1961: 551; 737–738) originates from the lands of the present Vilnius region. This is evidenced by some Latvian toponyms that were brought by Latvian ancestors to the present-day Latvia, e.g. the Latvian toponym *Gaujiņu purvs* is derived from the Lithuanian river *Gaujà*, or Lv. potamonym *Neriņš* is derived from Lith *Neris* (Vanagas 1988: 5). The contacts of ancient Lithuanians with the Slavs are also evidenced by toponyms, e.g. *Vilija* and *Šumskas* originate from the ancient Volhynian *Велья* and *Шюмьскъ*, respectively (Būga 1961: 503).

1387) (cf. Muldoon 1997: 137–140; Vitkus 2001: 42–43; Zinkevičius 2011: 193ff.) and later the establishment of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (created after the Union of Lublin in 1569 and formally known as the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), names of foreign origin entered the Lithuanian anthroponymy and toponymy. Many Lithuanian proper names were impinged by Slavic languages, esp. Polish (Jurkštas 1985: 25–26; Zinkevičius 2011: 237ff.). During that period, the Lithuanian nobility often focused on Poland and other countries and often gave their places of residence names brought from abroad. The Polonization of the Lithuanian onomasticon continued for several centuries and was especially pronounced in Vilnius Region in the first half of the 20th c. when the region was annexed by Poland and was known as Wilno Voivodeship. After the dissolution of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth Lithuania fell under the Russian Empire's rule (1795–1918) and the process of Russification started and continued during the Soviet period (1944–1990). It is believed that during the period when Lithuania was fully under the Russian Empire, later, partially under the Polish influences (the annexation of Vilnius lands), and, eventually, for half of the century was occupied by the Soviet regime, toponyms of transparent, explicit semantics suffered most as they were translated into Polish and later into Russian. Lithuanian place names of other regions were also Slavicized or Germanized but remained healthier because they had the basis of the functioning Lithuanian language (cf. Jurkštas 1985: 5–7, 37–38; Zinkevičius 2011: 247ff.). Currently, the aspect of language and cultural contacts in Lithuanian onomastic research is addressed in the works of Laimutis Bilkis (2020; 2020a), Grasilda Blažienė (2011; 2013; 2018; 2020; 2021), Kazimieras Garšva (1993; 1999; 2019; 2020; 2020a), Darius Ivoška (2016; 2018; 2019; 2019a; 2020; 2020a), Dalia Kiseliūnaitė (2020) and others.

The result of centuries-long contacts is toponyms of non-Lithuanian origin, esp. Slavic (Belarussian, Polish, Russian), in the present-day Vilnius County that covers a big part (about one-third) of the interwar Western Vilnius Region (1922–1939), the territory in the present-day Lithuania and Belarus that was originally inhabited by ethnic Baltic tribes. The fact that the Balts populated the territories well to the east and south-east of the present-day Lithuania is evidenced in the works of Būga⁵², Zinkevičius (2011), and other onomasticians and linguists, and is verified by the archaeological research, cf. works of Eugenijus Jovaiša (2012; 2014; 2016; 2020; 2020a etc.), and other scholars.

The present-day Vilnius County marks the cultural and linguistic periphery inhabited by Lithuanians and rather big Slavic ethnic groups. In 2011, 23% of the County's

⁵² In the territory of the present-day Belarus, there is a significant layer of Baltic toponyms, esp. hydronyms; also, certain aspects of the material culture, language, certain customs and beliefs can be traced. By far the biggest trace of the Balts in Belarus are toponyms as, there are more Baltic (Lithuanian) names on the Belarussian border than those of Belarussian origin (cf. Būga 1961: 493–550).

population were Poles, 10% were Russians, and 3% were Belarussians (LSD 2013 2). Throughout history, the numbers of representatives of the mentioned ethnicities fluctuated significantly. The result of the centuries-long contacts and long-term multilingualism of the local population as well as a long, magnificent, and often turbulent history of this land among other things is a small number of still functioning toponyms of Slavic origin. The entirety of names that reflect language contacts is presented in our article “Footprints of Language Contacts in the Present-Day Vilnius County Hydronyms and Oikonyms: The Impact of Slavic Languages on Lithuanian Toponymy” (Skorupa 2021). Also, some of the most telling examples that reflect both language contacts and aspects of the cultural and historical development of Vilnius County are presented in our study *Vilnius County Toponyms as Signs of National and Cultural Identity* (Skorupa 2021a). However, it has to be noted that toponyms of Slavic origin (the total of 150 toponyms: 12 potamonyms, 10 limnonyms, 128 oikonyms) are non-autochthonous legacies and make only 2,92% in the corpus of 5126 currently officially functioning potamonyms, limnonyms, and oikonyms in Vilnius County.

To sum up, there is no doubt that proper names of any nation reflect its social and historical-cultural development since national onymic systems (e.g. anthroponymy, toponymy) were created based on cultural traditions (cf. Dacewicz, Abramowicz 2001: 32–33). Due to the historical development of Vilnius Region (including the current Vilnius County) its onomasticon, including toponymy, also reflects the influence of other cultures or nations. All toponyms perpetuate both the national and cultural identity of the population, which gave the places both Lithuanian and non-Lithuanian names. Thus, we believe that in a multicultural environment, the identification of a toponym’s motivation is possible only with a thorough knowledge of historical-cultural realities and aspects of language development. The historical-cultural context is also important when it comes to determining the linguistic motivation (development and patterns of word formation in a particular linguistic environment) of onyms. The influence of historical-linguistic and socio-cultural contexts, i.e. the influence of other languages (Slavonization, Germanization, etc.), disturbance and decay of natural development, forms the specifics of the Lithuanian toponymy research.

2.4. TERMINOLOGY AND CONCEPTS

The terms of Greek origin already established in the traditional Lithuanian toponymy studies are used to maintain the terminology system⁵³ of the dissertation: *hydronym* – a water body name (*potonym* – a river name; *limnonym* – a lake/pond name); *oikonym* – a settlement name (including, *polisonym* (*polionym*, *astionym*) – a city, town

⁵³ Cf. International Council of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS) Onomastic terminology and ICOS lists of Onomastic terms at <https://icosweb.net/publications/onomastic-terminology/>; also, Подольская Наталия В. 1978: *Словарь русской ономастической терминологии*. Москва: Наука.

name; *koronym* (*horionym*) – a village name); *toponym* – a place name (sometimes used in a restricted sense of inhabited places)⁵⁴. Additionally, these terms were used in the analysis of toponym origin and semantic motivation: *anthroponym* – a person's name, esp. a surname; *helonym* – a swamp (bog, marsh, or wetland) name; *oronym* – a mountain or hill name.

Also, the word- (name-)formation analysis terms are used: *primary place name* – a proper name that during the toponymization or transonymization process, i.e. when appellatives or proper names become toponyms, does not acquire any word-formation features (cf. Vanagas 1970: 28); *secondary place name* – a place name that is a result of any derivational process and has certain obvious word-formation features (cf. Vanagas 1970: 53); *toponymization* – a linguistic process during which an appellative becomes a toponym (appellative → toponym) (cf. Podol'skaja 1983: 5–6); *transonymization* – a linguistic process during which an onym of any class becomes a toponym (anthroponym → toponym; toponym → toponym) (cf. Podol'skaja 1983: 5–6); (*binary*) *opposition* – (in toponymy) the opposition or contrast of two related objects to distinguish them using names with the same base lexemes and antonymic differentiating markers (elements) (Podol'skaja 1978: 40).

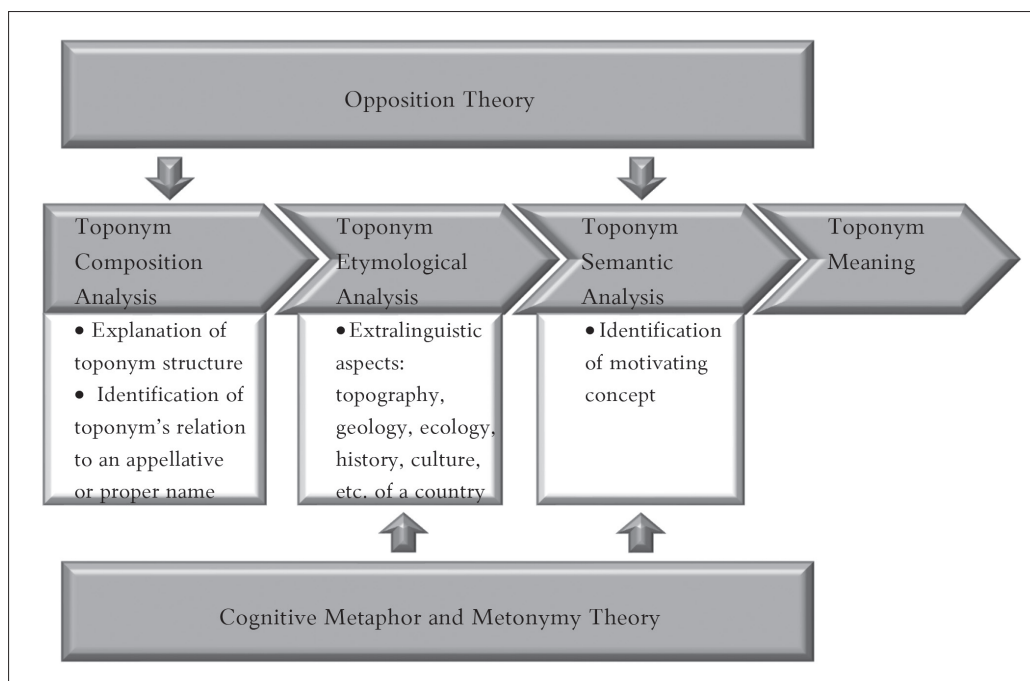
Proponents of Cognitive Onomastics argue that the meaning of the proper name is a reflection of reality in human consciousness and when an onym becomes a part of the human mental lexicon, it is conceptualized, becoming an *onymic concept* – a source of information, mental or psychological resources of the human consciousness, an information structure that reflects knowledge and senses, providing the basis for onymic categories, i.e. associations of common names based on a common concept (name concept) (cf. Section 1.2.).

* * *

We believe that the combination of traditional onomastic research methods with theories of cognitive semantics and onomastics as well as extralinguistic data analysis will help if not restore the original meanings of toponyms, then will at least help clarify their etymologies. The methods employed in the thesis and the research procedure can be presented schematically (see Picture 2).

In the following chapters, each analyzed toponym is accompanied by references to the named objects (in subscript) and precise location, followed by the oldest form of the name (with the indication of the source) available to the author at the time of writing. In case there has been a certain change in the form of the analyzed name, all the available forms of the toponym are listed. The location and older forms are given in parentheses. Only the current forms of toponyms are italicized, and, where possible, stressed. Due to the specifics of the empirical material and its analysis, oik-

⁵⁴ Cf. ICOS OT. We will use this term in its broader sense as a name of any geographical object, including, but not limited to, hydronyms, oikononyms, etc.



Picture 2. Research Procedure (Source: made by the author).

onyms and a relatively small number of hydronyms discussed in the following sections are listed alphabetically without their division into distinct (sub)classes.

Oppositions of Vilnius County's officially functioning toponyms (oikonyms and hydronyms) are presented in their entirety at the moment of writing this dissertation. Some of the toponyms may have already been analyzed in the works of Lithuanian onomasticians and four volumes of the *Dictionary of Lithuanian Place Names (LVŽ)*. To the best of our ability and with due respect, we make references to scholars who have analyzed such place names and their respective works. Any missing toponyms or uncredited works are solely our errors.

Chapter 3

TOPONYM OPPOSITIONS: LEXICAL, GRAMMATICAL, OTHER FEATURES

This chapter introduces the selected toponym oppositions in their entirety currently officially functioning in Vilnius County. Here, the key focus is on the categories and structural types (the composition patterns) of toponym oppositions. Also, the quantitative analysis of the opposition categories with subgroups is presented. The formal linguistic analysis of 227 composite and compound oppositions formed by 491 toponyms (24 potamonyms, 115 limnonyms, and 352 oikononyms) on the syntactic (word-formation) level is carried out with reference to the opposition in toponymy theories and is based on the structural types of toponym oppositions (cf. Section 1.4.).

3.1. LEXICAL TOPONYM OPPOSITIONS

It has been observed that in composite toponyms the majority of oppositions are formed by the correlations of DMs, i.e. autonomous words (typically, qualitative adjectives), that serve pre- or post-modifiers to ITLs. In the case of compound toponyms (only one example was identified during the research), oppositions are formed by the correlation of antonymic lexemes that serve as pre-modifiers to ITLs. The analysis of lexical toponym oppositions has shown that they demonstrate either *complete* or *incomplete* correlations.

3.1.1. Incomplete lexical oppositions

Among *composite toponyms*, such oppositions are formed by the incomplete correlation of the constituent parts, i.e. autonomous words that serve DMs to correlating ITLs. Typically one of the correlating toponyms in the opposition has a zero-DM (an elipsized marker). In several cases, in the class of oikononyms, the opposition is formed by more than two names. Incomplete lexical oppositions (26 cases: 2 potamonym, 2 limnonym, and 22 oikonym oppositions) in composite toponyms follow the pattern *Name* × *DMName* and are formed by the correlations of:

- 1) pronominal adjective forms Lith *m s aukštàsis* ‘the high; higher’ – *žemàsis* ‘the low; lower’ (*m pl aukštíjėi* – *žemíjėi*) in oikononyms *Bezdónys* × *Bezdónys* × *Aukštíjėi Bezdónys*, *Pamerkỹs* × *Aukštàsis Pamerkỹs*;
- 2) pronominal adjective forms Lith *m s didýsis* ‘the big, the great; greater’ – *mažàsis* ‘the small, the minor; lesser’ (*m pl didíjėi* – *mažíjėi*, *f s didžióji* – *mažóji*, *f pl didžiosios* – *māžosios*) in:

- a) potamonyms *Upėšė* × *Mažoji Upėšė*, *Kenà* × *Mažoji Kenà*;
- b) limnonyms *Antāvilio ēžeras* × *Mažasis Antāvilio ēžeras*, *Gulbinas* × *Mažasis Gulbinas*;
- c) oikonyms *Gedūnai* × *Didieji Gedūnai*, *Katūtiškės* × *Māžosios Katūtiškės*, *Kudžionys* × *Mažieji Kudžionys*, *Laibiškės* × *Didžiōsios Laibiškės*, *Liepōnys* × *Mažieji Liepōnys*, *Mėdininkai* × *Didieji Mėdininkai*, *Riešė* × *Riešė* × *Didžioji Riešė* × *Mažoji Riešė*;
- 3) adjectives Lith *m pl* forms *kalniniai* ‘of the mountain/hill’ – *klōniniai* ‘of the valley’⁵⁵ in oikonyms *Jagėlōnys* × *Klōniniai Jagėlōnys*;
- 4) pronominal adjective forms Lith *m s senasis* ‘the old’ – *naujasis* ‘the new’ (*m pl senieji* – *naujieji*) in oikonyms *Kalviai* × *Naujieji Kalviai*, *Leņtvaris* × *Leņtvaris* × *Naujasis Leņtvaris*, *Macėliai* × *Senieji Macėliai*, *Migūcionys* × *Senieji Migūcionys* × *Naujieji Migūcionys*, *Piktakōnys* × *Naujieji Piktakōnys*, *Trākai* × *Senieji Trākai*, *Zadvárninkai* × *Naujieji Zadvárninkai*;
- 5) other autonomous words in oikonyms *Antākalniai* × *Gelėžiy Antākalniai*, *Būdà* × *Semeliškiy Būdà*, *Karklėnai* × *Ūžupio Karklėnai* × *Didieji Karklėnai*, *Tartōkas* × *Šalčininkėliy Tartōkas*, *Ūtā* × *Stākū Ūtā*.

The biggest number (20 cases) of incomplete lexical toponym oppositions is formed by the correlation of pronominal qualitative adjectives with visible grammatical categories of both gender and number in agreement with the inflexions of ITLs. The correlation of simple qualitative adjectives in incomplete lexical toponym oppositions is rather infrequent and comprises only 1 case in the class of oikonyms. The zero-marker of the unmodified toponym in each correlation of both simple and pronominal adjectives can be easily retrieved from the context of the opposition. In 5 oppositions the DMs of one of the members are either the Gen case of other appellatives, cf. *Ūžupio Karklėnai*, or proper names resp. oikonyms, cf. *Gelėžiy Antākalniai*, *Semeliškiy Būdà*, *Šalčininkėliy Tartōkas*, *Stākū Ūtā*).

3.1.2. Complete Lexical Oppositions

These lexical oppositions are formed by the complete correlation of the autonomous words in pre- or post-position in both *composite* and *compound toponyms* and follow two structural patterns: *DMName* × *DMName* and *NameDM* × *NameDM*. From the perspective of word formation, the opposition members with pre- and post-modifiers are classified as composite place names. Such oppositions are observed in the classes of potamonyms, limnonyms, and oikonyms. The *DMName* × *DMName* pattern can

⁵⁵ Adjectives Lith *klōninis* ‘of the valley’ (meaning ‘located/situated in the valley’) and *kalninis* ‘of the hill/mountain’ (meaning ‘located/situated on the hill/mountain’) are derived from the nomenclature terms Lith *klōnis/klōnis* ‘valley, dip, lowland, ravine’ and *kálnas* ‘high natural ground elevation; hill, mountain’ (LKŽe).

be observed in 28 composite toponym oppositions (1 potamonym, 4 limnonym, and 22 oikonym) formed by 58 names and in only 1 compound oikonym opposition. The *NameDM* × *NameDM* pattern can be observed in the category of 3 composite toponyms oppositions (1 potamonym, 2 limnonym) formed by 6 names. Complete lexical oppositions are formed by the correlation of:

- 1) adjectives Lith *m s* *áukštas* ‘high’ – *žėmas* ‘low’ and their pronominal forms Lith *m pl* *aukštieji* ‘the high; higher’ – *žemieji* ‘the low; lower’ in:
 - a) limnonyms *Nėvardas Áukštas* × *Nėvardas Žėmas*;
 - b) oikonyms *Aukštieji Karklėnai* × *Žemieji Karklėnai*, *Aukštieji Rusokai* × *Žemieji Rusokai*, *Aukštieji Semeniūkai* × *Žemieji Semeniūkai*, *Aukštieji Svirnai* × *Žemieji Svirnai*;
- 2) adjectives Lith *m s* *didelis* ‘big’ – *māžas* ‘small’ and their pronominal forms Lith *m s* *didysis* ‘the big, the great; greater’ – *mažasis* ‘the small, the minor; lesser’ (*m pl* *didieji* – *mažieji*, *f s* *didžioji* – *mažoji*, *f pl* *didžiosios* – *māžosios*) in:
 - a) potamonyms *Cūdykas Dìdelis* × *Cūdykas Māžas*, *Didysis Piřčiupis* × *Mažasis Piřčiupis*;
 - b) limnonyms *Īlma Didžioji* × *Īlma Mažoji*, *Dìdelis Macijonėlis* × *Māžas Macijonėlis*, *Didysai Siaurys* × *Mažasai Siaurys*, *Didieji Vagiėkai* × *Mažieji Vagiėkai*;
 - c) oikonyms *Didieji Baušiai* × *Mažieji Baušiai*, *Didžiosios Kabiškės* × *Māžosios Kabiškės*, *Didžioji Kúosinė* × *Mažoji Kúosinė*, *Didieji Lygáiniai* × *Mažieji Lygáiniai*, *Didžiosios Sėlos* × *Māžosios Sėlos*;
- 3) pronominal adjective forms Lith *f s* *juodoji* ‘the black’ – *baltoji* ‘the white’ in oikonyms *Juodoji Vókė* × *Baltoji Vókė* × *Baltoji Vókė*;
- 4) adjectives Lith *m pl* *kalniniai* ‘of the mountains/hills’ – *klōniniai* ‘of the valleys’ in oikonyms *Kalniniai Mijáugonys* × *Klōniniai Mijáugonys*;
- 5) adjectives Lith *m s* *sėnas* ‘old’ – *naūjas* ‘new’ (*m pl* *seni* – *nauji*, *f s* *senà* – *naujà*) and their pronominal forms *m s* *senasis* ‘the old’ – *naujasis* ‘the new’ (*m pl* *senieji* – *naujieji*, *f s* *senoji* – *naujoji*, *f pl* *sėnosios* – *naūjosios*) in oikonyms *Senoji Būdà* × *Naujoji Būdà*, *Senādvaris* × *Naujādvaris*, *Sėnas Janāvas* × *Naūjas Janāvas*, *Sėnosios Kietāviškės* × *Naūjosios Kietāviškės*, *Senieji Miežiōnys* × *Naujieji Miežiōnys*, *Senà Pašaminė* × *Naujà Pašaminė*, *Sėnosios Rakliškės* × *Naūjosios Rakliškės*, *Sėnas Strūnāitis* × *Naūjas Strūnāitis*, *Seni Šamīniai* × *Nauji Šamīniai*, *Senasis Tařpupis* × *Naujasis Tařpupis*;
- 6) other combinations of autonomous words in:
 - a) limnonyms *Leñtvario akis* × *Naūjojo Leñtvario akis*;
 - b) oikonyms *Áukštosios Viėsos* × *Žėmosios Viėsos* × *Sėnosios Viėsos*, *Trākų Vókė* × *Mūrinė Vókė*.

The biggest part of complete lexical toponym oppositions is based on the correlation of adjectives (9 cases) or their pronominal forms (19 cases) in the classes of potamonyms, limnonyms, and oikonyms. All the adjective-based oppositions have the

grammatical categories of both gender and number in agreement with the inflexions of ITLs. Only one opposition is formed by the correlation of adjectives Lith *m pl kalniniai* – *klėniniai* in the class of oikonyms. One limnonym opposition *Didysai Siaurys* × *Mažasai Siaurys* stands out from all the lexical oppositions as it is based on Lith (dial.) *m s didysai* – *mažasai*. The only compound oikonym opposition *Senādvāris* × *Naujādvāris* identified in the corpus presents the *Adjective + common Noun* compound names formation model. Both names *Senādvāris* and *Naujādvāris* are lexicalized compounds with the complete antonymic correlation of name-forming lexemes Lith *sēnas* ‘old’ and *naūjas* ‘new’ in the opposition as pre-modifiers to the root lexeme Lith *dvāras* ‘an estate, property’ in both oikonyms that are formed by the compounding of roots with their further contraction. Three oppositions are formed with the correlations of DMs that belong to different taxonomies (cf. *Āukštosios Viėsos* × *Žėmosios Viėsos* × *Sėnosios Viėsos*), are derivatives from oikonyms (cf. *Leñtvario akis* × *Naūjojo Leñtvario akis*), or one DM in the opposition is derived from oikonym while the other is derived from the appellative (cf. *Trākų Vókė* × *Mūrinė Vókė*).

3.2. GRAMMATICAL TOPONYM OPPOSITIONS: AFFIXES AS DIFFERENTIATING MARKERS

The formal linguistic analysis of toponym oppositions on the syntactic level has shown that many of them are formed by both incomplete and complete correlations of affixes (prefixes or suffixes, esp. DIM suffixes) used as DMs in pre- or post-position to ITLs. In most cases, grammatical toponym oppositions are formed by affixes-derived ITLs in correlation to toponyms without modifying elements (zero DMs), i.e. names with the zero-suffix or zero-prefix morpheme. According to Tkachenko (2014: 68), ITLs can be considered antonyms only in such pairs; outside such a toponymic context, one should not talk of binary opposition.

3.2.1. Suffixes as Differentiating Markers

Suffixes, as the grammatical opposition forming elements, make the biggest group of toponym oppositions the antonymic relationships in which are expressed by the correlation of the suffix-marked and suffix-unmarked ITLs, i.e. one member has a zero-suffix morpheme, while the other in most cases has a DIM Suf as a DM. Such correlations present the *incomplete grammatical opposition* that follows the pattern *Name* × *NameDM* in 91 cases formed by 183 toponyms (8 potamonym, 32 limnonym, and 49 oikonym oppositions):

- 1) Lith Suf *-ait-* (*-is*) derivatives in limnonym oppositions *Bėlys* × *Bėlaitis*, *Drabūžis* × *Drabūžaitis*, *Gėla* × *Gėlaitis*, *Gruožys* × *Gruožaitis*, *Gėlvis* × *Gelvaitis*, *Kāris* × *Karaitis*, *Liedis* × *Liedaitis*, *Mónis* × *Monaitis*, *Ungurys* × *Unguraitis*;

- 2) Lith Suf *-el-* (*-is*, *-ė*, *-ės*, *-iai*) derivatives in:
 - a) potamonym oppositions *Kenà* × *Kenėlė* (*Kinėlė*), *Lātvē* × *Latvėlė*, *Mūšià* × *Mūšėlė*, *Nērupis* × *Nerupėlis*, *Strūnà* × *Strūnėlė*, *Zizdrà* × *Zizdrėlė*;
 - b) limnonym oppositions *Akìs* × *Akėlė*, *Báltas* × *Baltėlis*;
 - c) oikonym oppositions *Dubiaĩ* × *Dubėliai*, *Dūkštos* × *Dūkštėliai*, *Grūžos* × *Gružėlės*, *Kálvoiai* × *Kalvėliai* × *Kalvēliai*, *Liúnai* × *Liūnėliai*, *Naidaĩ* × *Naidėliai*, *Trakaĩ* × *Trakėliai*;
- 3) Lith Suf *-ėl-* (*-is*, *-ė*, *-iai*) derivatives in:
 - a) potamonym opposition *Žeimenà* × *Žeimenėlė*;
 - b) limnonym oppositions *Jagūdis* × *Jagudėlis*, *Juodýnas* × *Juodynėlis*, *Pažemýs* × *Pažemėlis*, *Sudotà* × *Sudotėlis*, *Šamìnis* × *Šaminėlis*, *Varnákis* × *Varnakėlis*, *Žālesas* (*Pìkeliškių ežeras*) × *Žalesėlis*;
 - c) oikonym oppositions *Akmenà/Akmenà* × *Akmenėlė*, *Alsakiaĩ* × *Alsakėliai*, *Bařdiškiai* × *Bardiškėliai*, *Barōnai* × *Baronėliai* × *Baronėliai*, *Bugēniai* × *Bugenėliai*, *Butkúnai* × *Butkūnėliai*, *Dainavà* × *Dainavėlė*, *Déltuva* × *Deltuvėlė*, *Dūsmenys* × *Dusmenėliai*, *Gélvonai* × *Gélvonai* × *Gelvonėliai*, *Grúožninkai* × *Gruožninkėliai*, *Jauniúnai* × *Jauniūnėliai*, *Juodakiaĩ* × *Juodakėliai*, *Júodiškis* × *Juodiškėlis*, *Kaimýnai* × *Kaimynėliai*, *Laukénai* × *Laukėnėliai*, *Lauménai* × *Laumėnėliai*, *Lazdìnai* × *Lazdinėliai*, *Mėžiónys* × *Mėžionėliai*, *Miškìnai* × *Miškinėliai*, *Mùsninkai* × *Musninkėliai*, *Nemenčínė* × *Nemenčinėlė*, *Noškúnai* × *Noškūnėliai*, *Prūdiškė* × *Prūdiškėlė*, *Purnuškės* × *Purnuškėliai*, ¹*Raguà* × *Raguvėlė*, ²*Raguà* × *Raguvėlė*, *Sámninkai* × *Samninkėliai*, *Šālčíninkai* × *Šalčininkai* × *Šalčininkėliai*, *Širvintos* × *Širvintos* × *Širvintėlės*, *Šiūkštiškiai* × *Šiūkštiškėliai*, *Skominaĩ* × *Skominėliai*, *Švenčiónys* × *Švenčionėliai*, *Taujénai* × *Taujėnai* × *Taujėnėliai*, *Vytinė* × *Vytinė*;
- 4) Lith Suf *-ykšč-* (*-ia*) derivative in potamonym opposition *Šalčià* × *Šalčýkščia*;
- 5) Lith Suf *-ykšt-* (*-is*) derivatives in limnonym oppositions *Kretuónas* × *Kretuonykštis*, *Samānis* × *Samanýkštis*;
- 6) Lith Suf *-(i)uk-* (*-as*, *-ai*) derivatives in:
 - a) limnonym oppositions *Beržuōlis* × *Beržuoliùkas*, *Briaūnis* × *Briauniùkas*, *Bedūgnis* × *Bedugniùkas*, *Gėjus* × *Gėjùkas*, *Gaigālis* × *Gaigaliùkas*, *Júodis* × *Juodžiùkas*, *Krākinis* × *Krakinùkas*, *Spindžiūs* × *Spindžiùkas*, *Šėrmis* × *Šermùkas*, *Šiēmetis* × *Šiēmetùkas*, *Švenčius* × *Švenčiùkas*;
 - b) oikonym oppositions *Daučiónys* × *Daučioniùkai*, *Makūčiai* × *Makučiùkai*, *Pakirniai* × *Pakirniùkai*, *Palėpiei* × *Paliepiùkai*, *Praniaĩ* × *Praniùkai*;
- 7) Lith Suf *-ut-* (*-is*) derivative in limnonym opposition *Bakà* × *Bakūtis*;
- 8) Slav Suf *-k-* (*-a*) derivative in oikonym oppositions *Slabadà* × *Slabadkà*.

As can be seen from the cases above, the most productive is Lith Suf *-ėl-* (*-is*, *-ė*, *-iai*) – 44 derivatives (36 oikonyms, 7 limnonyms, and 1 potamonym). Less productive are Lith Suf *-(i)uk-* (*-as*, *-ė*) – 16 derivatives (11 limnonyms and 5 oikonyms)

and Lith Suf *-el-* (*-is*, *-ė*, *-ės*, *-iai*) – 16 derivatives (8 oikonyms, 6 potamononyms, and 2 limnononyms). These are followed by Lith Suf *-ait-* (*-is*) – 9 limnononym derivatives. The least productive are Lith Suf *-ykšč-* (*-ia*) – 1 potamononym derivative, Lith Suf *-ut-* (*-is*) – 1 limnononym derivative, and Slav Suf *-k-*(*-a*) – 1 oikonym derivative.

3.2.2. Prefixes as Differentiating Markers

Prefixes-based toponym oppositions, as compared to those based on suffixes, form a much smaller group and include toponyms that form both *incomplete* and *complete grammatical* correlations. In these oppositions, the antonymic (opposite) semantics is expressed by the correlation of the prefix-marked toponym to the prefix-marked toponym or the prefix-marked toponym to the non-prefixed name (zero-prefix morpheme)⁵⁶. In any case, the presence of a prefix-modified toponym allows us to talk about the antonymic correlation of names in each opposition. Such oppositions are observed in 15 cases formed by 29 toponyms (2 limnonym and 11 oikonym oppositions) that follow two structural patterns:

- 1) the *Name* × *DMName* pattern presents the *incomplete grammatical opposition* in:
 - a) limnonyms *Īlgis* × *Paĩlgis*, *Šilinis* × *Pāšilinis*;
 - b) oikonyms *Alabūrdiškės* × *Pāalaburdiškės*, *Daciūnai* × *Pādaciūnai*, *Dūkštos* × *Padūkštai*, *Haliampolis* × *Podhaliampolis*, *Kenà* (*Kinē*) × *Pakenē* × *Pakenē*, *Kenà* × *Užūkenė*, *Laukėnėliai* × *Palaukėnėliai*, *Jurgeliūnys* × *Pājurgeliūnys*, *Pikeliškės* × *Pāpikeliškės*, *Ūdrūnys* × *Paūdrūnys*, *Vytinė* × *Pāvytinė*, *Voverė* × *Pavoverė*;
- 2) the *DMName* × *DMName* pattern presents the *complete grammatical opposition* in oikonyms *Pakenē* × *Pakenē* × *Užūkenė*.

The majority of incomplete oppositions (12 cases) are formed by Lith Pref *pa-* derivatives in correlation with the unmarked toponym. Pref *pa-* in the Lithuanian language denotes a place either a) along/by the object indicated by the reference word, or b) below the object indicated by the reference word (DLKG 145). Consequently, all Pref *pa-* derived toponyms indicate the place near (along/by) or below the place/object indicated by the toponym's root. According to Vanagas (1970: 218–221), Lith Pref *pa-* derivatives from other prefix derivatives are all used metaphorically, as they are derived to denote a place along/by another place. Later, the name of that place could have been transferred to a hydronym or other toponym class. This applies to hydronyms (and, we believe, to other toponyms) of both transparent and opaque derivations. It is often difficult to decide whether the name is primary or secondary. Thus, the limnonym *Pāšilinis* may convey the meaning of a place near Lith *šilas* 'coniferous wood' (LKŽe), or the place near lake *Šilinis*, which *Pāšilinis* makes an

⁵⁶ The prefix here is considered as the pre-modifier of the toponym as opposed to the one with the zero-DM.

opposition with. In one oikonym opposition, the incomplete grammatical relationship is based on Slav Pref *pod-* correlation with the unmarked toponym, which has the meaning equivalent to that of Lith Pref *pa-*.

The only complete grammatical opposition is formed by 3 prefix-derived oikonoms: villages *Pakenė*, *Užūkenė*, and a railway station with the settlement *Pakenė*. Lith Pref *už(u)-* denotes the place behind the entity indicated by the reference word. This prefix is also used to derive words, which denote the back and/or the edge of the entity being referred to by the reference noun or another entity behind it (DLKG 146). This means that Lith Pref *už(u)-* derived toponyms indicate the place behind, beyond, or outside the place/object indicated by the toponym's root. Thus, the oikonym *Užūkenė* will most likely mean the place (settlement) beyond the *Kenà* river, or outside the settlement of *Kenà*.

3.3. TOPONYM OPPOSITIONS: NUMBERS AS DIFFERENTIATING MARKERS

Numbers that are used to make the distinction between two (sometimes, among three or more) identical toponyms make an interesting group of DMs in Vilnius County toponymy. These are observed only in the classes of limnonyms (ponds) and oikonoms (12 and 53 cases respectively) that form both *complete* and *incomplete oppositions*.

Incomplete oppositions are based on the correlation of unmodified toponym with a number(s)-modified one(s) follow the pattern *Name* × *NameDM* and comprise 9 cases (2 limnonym and 7 oikonym oppositions) formed by 24 toponyms, cf.:

- a) limnonyms *Bražuolės tvenkinys* × *Bražuolės I tvenkinys* × *Bražuolės II tvenkinys*, *Taujėnų tvenkinys* × *Taujėnų II tvenkinys*;
- b) oikonoms *Aliónys* (*Aliónys I*) × *Aliónys II*, *Antākalnis* × *Antākalnis I* × *Antākalnis II* × *Antākalnis III*, *Naujālaukis* (*Naujālaukis I*) × *Naujālaukis II*, *Naujālaukis* × *Naujālaukis II*, *Nemenčinė* × *Nemenčinė II*, *Parijā* × *Parijā I* × *Parijā II*, *Varnikāi* and *Varnikāi* × *Varnikėliai I* × *Varnikėliai II*.

Complete oppositions based on numbers follow the pattern *NameDM* × *NameDM* and comprise 56 cases (10 limnonym and 46 oikonym oppositions) formed by 128 toponyms, cf.:

- a) limnonyms *Buivydiškių I tvenkinys* × *Buivydiškių II tvenkinys* × *Buivydiškių III tvenkinys* × *Buivydiškių IV tvenkinys* × *Buivydiškių V tvenkinys* × *Buivydiškių VI tvenkinys*, *Júodės I tvenkinys* × *Júodės II tvenkinys* × *Júodės III tvenkinys* × *Júodės IV tvenkinys*, *Mostiškių I tvenkinys* × *Mostiškių II tvenkinys*, *Navakonių I tvenkinys* × *Navakonių II tvenkinys*, *Šalčininkų I tvenkinys* × *Šalčininkų II tvenkinys*, *Tetėnų I tvenkinys* × *Tetėnų II tvenkinys*, *Tōlkiškių I tvenkinys* × *Tōlkiškių II tvenkinys*, *Turniškių I tvenkinys* × *Turniškių II tvenkinys*, *Viesų I tvenkinys* × *Viesų II tvenkinys* × *Viesų III tvenkinys*, *Virksčių I tvenkinys* × *Virksčių II tvenkinys*;

- b) oikonyms *Alėšiškės I* × *Alėšiškės II*, *Antāliedė I* × *Antāliedė II*, *Airėnai I* × *Airėnai II*, *Ažūmiškė I* × *Ažūmiškė II*, *Bastūnai I* × *Bastūnai II*, *Būdà I* × *Būdà III*, *Buivėdžiai I* × *Buivėdžiai II*, *Burbliškė I* × *Burbliškė II*, *Dailydūkas I* × *Dailydūkas II*, *Gemeliškis I* × *Gemeliškis II*, *Gimžiai I* × *Gimžiai II*, *Jusiškis I* × *Jusiškis II*, *Kalnuotė I* × *Kalnuotė II* × *Kalnuotė IV* × *Kalnuotė V* × *Kalnuotė VII*, *Kiaukliškis I* × *Kiaukliškis II*, *Kochanovkà I* × *Kochanovkà II* × *Kochanovkà III*, *Kryžiauka I* × *Kryžiauka II*, *Kunigiškiai I* × *Kunigiškiai II*, *Kúosinė I* × *Kúosinė II* × *Kúosinė III*, *Lāpiškiai I* × *Lāpiškiai II*, *Levāniškis I* × *Levāniškis II*, *Liūnai I* × *Liūnai II*, *Lygūmai I* × *Lygūmai II*, *Maigiai I* × *Maigiai II*, *Malināuka I* × *Malināuka II*, *Meriónys I* × *Meriónys II*, *Myliai I* × *Myliai II*, *Nacėliškiai I* × *Nacėliškiai II*, *Naujāsodis I* × *Naujāsodis II*, *Navasiòlkai I* × *Navasiòlkai II* × *Navasiòlkai III*, *Nenórtai I* × *Nenórtai II*, *Pāgaigalė I* × *Pāgaigalė II*, *Pāšilė I* × *Pāšilė II* × *Pāšilė III*, *Piliakalnis I* × *Piliakalnis II*, *Pirktinė I* × *Pirktinė II*, *Pliáuškės I* × *Pliáuškės II* × *Pliáuškės III*, *Poguliánka I* × *Poguliánka II*, *Ramōniškiai I* × *Ramōniškiai II*, *Raudonė I* × *Raudonė II*, *Sakališkė I* × *Sakališkė II*, *Saveikiškis I* × *Saveikiškis II*, *Šėškuškė I* × *Šėškuškė II*, *Šėsuolėliai I* × *Šėsuolėliai II*, *Ūosininkai I* × *Ūosininkai II* × *Ūosininkai III*, *Urnėžiai I* × *Urnėžiai II*, *Vaičiūkiškė I* × *Vaičiūkiškė II*, *Versekà I* × *Versekà II*.

The use of numbers in place names, esp. oikonyms, with ITLs, is characteristic of the nomination patterns already since the 19th c. (cf. Tkachenko 2013; R1872), and has become rather frequent since the beginning of the 20th c. (Štěpán 2009: 915). It is important to notice that numbers are used only in official sources (municipalities' websites, documents, maps, etc.) to make the distinction between identical toponyms. However, the locals do not usually use numbers when referring to a certain place, for instance, the villages *Buivėdžiai I* and *Buivėdžiai II* are both referred to as *Buivėdžiai*, while oikonyms *Ūosininkai I*, *Ūosininkai II*, and *Ūosininkai III* are known as *Ūosininkai* in the everyday usage. The same applies to pond names. All the ponds are artificial toponymic objects and their names listed in this section are Gen case derivatives (indicated by Lith *pl m* inflexion *-ų* or *s f* inflexion *-ės*) from the settlement and non-settlement names they are located in or close to. Therefore, these names will be further analyzed as being part of the toponymic continuum that motivated them (cf. Chapter 7).

* * *

To sum up, the patterns *Name* × *DMName* and *DMName* × *DMName* are the most productive among lexical oppositions, comprising 26 and 29 cases respectively. The complete correlations of DMs in post-position to ITLs (the *NameDM* × *NameDM* pattern) in lexical oppositions are rather scarce and comprise only 3 cases. This means that at the lexical level, most often toponyms are modified by DMs in pre-position to ITLs. The majority of lexical oppositions is formed by the correlation of DMs that are adjectives or their pronominal forms (48 cases). In the modern Lithuanian language, pronominal forms of qualitative adjectives express the category of definiteness,

and, therefore, sometimes, may be considered an equivalent to the English definite article. These adjectives have a variety of purposes, one of which is the distinguishing of known objects in terms of the spatial, temporal, physical, and other qualities by a) the comparison of the higher degree of the known quality, b) any property of one object opposite to another (typically, albeit not always, when no more than two objects are opposed), and c) some peculiar, individual feature not inherent in other objects of that kind. The same purposes of the pronominal adjective forms are used to distinguish objects within the class of proper names (DLKG 174–177). It has to be noted that in almost all cases, there is a possibility to use a simple adjective form to modify the object, however, the meaning will be completely different, cf., *the Black Sea* and *the black sea*. All the incomplete and complete lexical toponym oppositions formed by the correlation of qualitative adjectives and their pronominal forms respectively express either incomplete or complete antonymic relationships (48 cases). In 10 cases the correlations of DMs are non-antonymic and are formed by either 1) the unmarked toponyms with appellative-modified toponyms, 2) the unmarked toponyms with DMs derived from other toponyms, or 3) DMs that belong to different taxonomies (for the detailed discussion, cf. Chapter 8). The case that stands out in the group of lexical oppositions is based on the correlation of the dialectal pronominal adjective forms of Lith *m s didysai – mažasai*.

In the category of grammatical toponym oppositions, the group of suffixes-based oppositions is the biggest (91 cases) and comprises potamonyms, limnonyms, and oikonoms. Such pairs present the incomplete grammatical opposition that follows the pattern *Name × NameDM*. Both complete and incomplete prefixes-based toponym oppositions can be observed in 15 cases. The incomplete prefix-based oppositions follow the pattern *name × DMName* and include 2 limnonym and 10 oikonym oppositions. The only complete prefix-based toponym opposition in the analyzed corpus follows the pattern *DMName × DMName*.

In Vilnius County, toponym oppositions based on the correlation of numbers can be observed only in the classes of limnonyms (pond names) and oikonoms. These follow the *Name × NameDM* and *NameDM × NameDM* formation models. The latter is the most productive and comprises 57 oppositions.

TOPONYM OPPOSITIONS: CONCEPT OF *SIZE*

The chapter focuses on the detailed semantic analysis and classification of toponyms (limnonyms, potamonyms, and oikonoms), their DMs and ITLs, according to the concept of *size*. The description of each opposition comprises an extralinguistic outline, data from historical sources as well as semantic analysis. At the end of the chapter, the outline of the main semantic groups of DMs and ITLs is given, highlighting the concepts, and the names of (in)tangible world, that motivated the toponyms.

This semantic category, based on antonymic augmentative-diminutive relationships resp. the named objects' *relative size* in Vilnius County toponymy is expressed by grammatical and lexical means: diminutive suffixes (DIM Suf) and adjectives Lith *didelis* 'big' – *māžas* 'small', including the corresponding pronominal adjective forms. According to Władysław Makarski (1998: 45–46) and Joanna Szczerbowska-Kopacz (2011: 180), names based on adjectives *big* and *small* and names derived using suffixes from primary toponyms are typical to the neighbouring locations. For instance, in oikonymy, the DIM Suf marks names derived from the existing geographical names, "parent" settlements' names. Here also belong toponyms marked with the DM *small*, which is a formal variant of the DIM Suf. Such DMs (suffixes and lexemes), in Makarski's (ibid. 48) view, express specifying meanings – the size of the named object, its smallness, or largeness. Sometimes, the DIM Suf or the differentiating adjective is a result of renaming and indicates the small size of settlements established in the vicinities of larger ones (Szczerbowska-Kopacz 2011: 180). In contrast, the differentiating adjective *big* points to the largeness of the named object and, esp. in oikonymy, would mean that the settlements so named must have been the oldest and most populous (Złotkowski 2017: 107).

4.1. LEXICAL OPPOSITIONS: LIMNONYMS, POTAMONYMS, OIKONYMS

Lexical oppositions convey the meaning of the named objects' *relative size* by the correlation of simple adjectives and their pronominal forms in both marked and unmarked opposition members. In the unmarked opposition member, the meaning of size is coded by the ellipsis and may be easily restored from the context of the opposition.

4.1.1. *Antāvilio ēžeras_L* × *Mažasis Antāvilio ēžeras_L*

Antāvilio ēžeras – Antakalnis eld, V C; R1872 Rus Оз. Антоவில்.

Mažasis Antāvilio ēžeras – Antakalnis eld, V C, 0,12 km north of *Antāvilio ēžeras*.

Both limnonyms may be classified as composite names⁵⁷, Gen case derivatives, ITLs of which may be related to the settlement name Antaviliaĩ (or Antāvilis) in the vicinity of which both lakes are located (cf. Vanagas 1970: 260; 1981: 43). However, most probably this is an erroneous suggestion, and it is the lake name that gave name to the mentioned settlement. According to Jurkštas (1985: 49 – 50), the mentioned official lake names are of secondary origin. This can be traced from the oikonym *Antavilis*, more commonly known as *Antaviliai*, derived using Lith Pref *anta-* from **Avilỹs*, or **Avilis*, the lake's true name. This form is also evidenced by the Slavonized version of the limnonym R1872 Rus Оз. Антови́ль, and most probably gave name to the settlement Antaviliaĩ (or Antāvilis) (cf. G1905 57 Антови́ль, им. Корсака)⁵⁸. Antāvilis is also the name of the stream (2,7 km, the Neris trib.), which starts on the west bank of *Antāvilio ėžeras* [lake], joins it with *Mažasis Antāvilio ėžeras*, flows through it and is headed in a south-western direction until it drains its waters into the Neris. Given the historical records, it may be claimed that *Antāvilio ėžeras*, or rather **Antāvilis* ← *anta-* + **Avilỹs*, or **Avilis*, is a primary hydronym in this opposition and may be related to lake *Avilỹs* (Imbradas, Zarasai D) (cf. Jurkštas 1985: 50). This and other related names (potamonyms *Avilė*, *Avilaitė*, *Aūlamas*, *Aulamėlis*, limnonym *Avilaitis*), according to Vanagas (1981: 53, 54), may be related and derived from Indo-Eur **aulo-s* 'oblong hollow, depression in the ground; duct', or even further with Indo-Eur **av-* 'source, river flow/current'. However, these scholar's contemplations and suggested derivational models are too far-fetched and the form *Antāvilis* (**Avilỹs*) as well as ITLs in the current official lake names *Antāvilio ėžeras*, *Mažasis Antāvilio ėžeras*, and the related lake *Antāvilio pùsdubenis*⁵⁹, the Antāvilis stream may be deemed to be of unclear origin. Based on ITLs, it may be claimed that the limnonyms *Mažasis Antāvilio ėžeras* and *Antāvilio pùsdubenis* are derived by the principle of analogy from *Antāvilio ėžeras*, in the vicinity of which the named lakes are located. Therefore, both limnonyms may be motivated by the lakes' they denote position in relation to other objects and express the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: 1) *Mažasis Antāvilio ėžeras* ← the lake in the vicinity/course of the Antāvilis stream, 2) *Mažasis Antāvilio ėžeras* ← the lake in the vicinity of the settlement Antaviliaĩ (or Antāvilis), or 3) *Mažasis Antāvilio ėžeras* ← the lake in the vicinity of *Antāvilio ėžeras*.⁶⁰ The DM *Mažasis* is motivated by the actual size of the lake (0,01 km², 0,63 km) as compared to the size of *Antāvilio ėžeras* (0,178 km², 2,71 km). The con-

⁵⁷ According to Vanagas (1970: 258), Gen case names are composed of several independent words, one of which has the defining or determining function and is derived from either an appellative or a proper name. All elements in such combinations form a single syntactic unit that performs the functions of a place name, whereas, if taken separately, the elements of a Gen case name lose the function ascribed to the proper name. Moreover, in the majority of cases, the first Gen case element in the name defines or explains other element(s) in the composite (or compound name), which usually refers to the natural object (river, ditch, ravine, lake, etc.) that the former separates from other identical natural objects.

⁵⁸ For the older forms of the oikonym and its history, cf. Vaitkevičius (2012: 127) and SGKP XV (1) 44.

⁵⁹ Lith *pùsdubenis* ← Lith (neologism) *dubuō* 'hollow; depression in the ground; lowland' (LKŽe).

⁶⁰ The same conceptualization most probably applies to *Antāvilio pùsdubenis*.

ceptualization of the official *Antāvilio ežeras* name may be also explained by its position in relation to another object, expressing the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: 1) *Antāvilio ežeras* ← the lake in the vicinity/course of the Antāvilis stream, 2) *Antāvilio ežeras* ← the lake in the vicinity of the settlement Antaviliai (Antāvilis).

4.1.2. *Didieji Baušiai*_v × *Maziėji Baušiai*_v

Didieji Baušiai – Šalčininkai eld, Šlėn D; SV1974 524 Didieji Baušiai_v, G1905 74 Rus выс. Богущи, 115 дес., R1872 Rus Богущи 19 [y].

Maziėji Baušiai – Šalčininkai eld, Šlėn D, 1,4 km north of *Didieji Baušiai*; SV1974 524 Maziėji Baušiai_v, G1905 74 Rus д. Богущы, 86 дес., R1872 Rus д. Богущы 6 [y].

The ITL *Baušiai* in both oikonyms is probably a *pl* inflexion derivative from Lith *Baušys* or *Báuša*, which could be shortened forms of Pol *Bogusza*, *Bogusz*, *Bohusz* (cf. PDB). This at least explains the origin of the old oikonym forms Rus Богущи. From the historical types of the settlements, it may be claimed that the current village *Didieji Baušiai* is a newer settlement, cf. Rus выс.[елок]. In G1905 74, it is recorded that the settlement had more lands (Rus 115 дес.), hence, the DM *Didieji* ‘big, great’. The current *Maziėji Baušiai* is an older settlement, from which the people who established *Didieji Baušiai* moved. The DM *Maziėji* ‘small’ is motivated by the historical size of the settlement *Maziėji Baušiai*, which had fewer lands – Rus 66 дес. (cf. G1905 74). Both DMs were added to the oikonyms most probably by the mid-20th c. based on the historical sizes of both settlements. Therefore, the component *Baušiai* in *Maziėji Baušiai* is highly likely motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: (*Maziėji*) *Baušiai* ← *Bauš-ys*, *Báuš-a* + *-iai* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Baušys*, *Báuša*/the *Baušiai* family. The ITL in *Didieji Baušiai* is a metonymic transposition of the older oikonym to the new settlement and the name is made by the principle of analogy and expresses the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: (*Didieji*) *Baušiai* ← the settlement established in the vicinity of (*Maziėji*) *Baušiai*.

4.1.3. *Cùdykas Dìdelis*_{st} × *Cùdykas Māžas*_{st}

Cùdykas Dìdelis – 1,9 km, the Visinčia trib., Pabarė eld, Šlėn D.

Cùdykas Māžas – 0,57 km, the *Cùdykas Dìdelis* trib., Pabarė eld, Šlėn D.

The *Cùdykas Dìdelis* has a small unnamed tributary, which, we believe, once had been named the *Cùdykas Māžas*⁶¹. According to Vanagas (1970: 275), it is a polar-

⁶¹ The *Cùdykas Māžas* is mentioned in one of the entries in the VK („Cudzyk; Cudzykai (tarm.) upl. tarp Vyspos ir Visinčios k.“) [“Cudzyk; Cudzykai (dial.) streams between Vyspa and Visinčia villages“], however, UETK as well as Šlėn D map currently contain only the *Cùdykas Dìdelis* name. We believe that the *Cùdykas Māžas* is now a nameless stream, or rather a meioration ditch, 0,57 km length left trib. of the *Cùdykas Dìdelis*.

izing qualifying hydronym that forms the opposition⁶² to *Cùdykas Māžas*. Both potamonyms may be derived from anthroponyms *Tidikas* → *Cidzykas* → *Cudzykas* (Vanagas 1981: 76). The anthroponym could be transferred to the potamonyms by the principle of metonymy. With reference to LVŽ II 31, all the place names in this cluster (*Cùdykas* meadow, *the Cùdykas Dìdelis*, *the Cùdykas Māžas*, *the Cùdgriovys* // *the Šūdgriovys*) may be related to Lith *cudà/cūda?* ‘amazing, extraordinary’, cf. Lith *cūdas* ‘wonder, miracle, marvel’ (LKŽe) ← from Pol *cud* ‘wonder, miracle, marvel’ (WSJPe); or potamonyms could be derived from Pol *cudzy* ‘alien, foreign, strange’, or Pol PN *Cudzik*. Thus, the motivation of both potamonyms may be explained by the transposition of several concepts: Lith *cudà/cūda/cūdas* → amazing, extraordinary, marvellous/wonderful (river) → *Cùdykas (Dìdelis/Māžas)*, or Pol *cudzy* → strange/alien river → *Cùdykas (Dìdelis/Māžas)*. The potamonyms could also be PN-motivated: *Tidikas/Cidzykas/Cudzykas /Cudzik* → *Cùdykas (Dìdelis/Māžas)*. The DMs are motivated by the lengths of the streams.

4.1.4. *Gedūnai*_v × *Didieji Gedūnai*_v

Gedūnai – Dieveniškės eld, Šlčn D; SV1974 519 *Gedūnai*_v, G1905 230 Rus д. Гедуны, 3 дес., R1872 Rus з. Габбаръ.

Didieji Gedūnai – Dieveniškės eld, Šlčn D, 12,4 km southwest of *Gedūnai*; SV1974 519 *Didieji Gedūnai*_v, G1905 230 Rus ф., з. Гедуны, 237 дес., R1872 Rus ф. Гедуны.

The ITL *Gedūnai* in both oikonyms is related to and derived from Lith PN *Gedūnas* (LVŽ III 115). At the beginning of the 20th c., both the folwark and steading Rus Гедуны (the currently functioning settlement *Didieji Gedūnai*) belonged to Rus Умястовкий (G1905 230). The current oikonyms *Gedūnai* as well as *Didieji Gedūnai* are the result of renaming, most probably due to the change of ownership or standardization of names. The historical form R1872 Rus з. Габбаръ of the present-day *Gedūnai* most probably is related to Lith *garbōrius* (← Pol *garbarz*) ‘furrier, skinner; leather-dresser’ (LKŽe), or Bel *зaпбap* ‘furrier, skinner; leather-dresser’ (Skarnik.by), cf. Bel PN *Гapбap* (Biryła 1969: 102), and was motivated by the profession (trade) of the person to whom the settlement belonged. Therefore, the oikonym was a metaphoric transposition of [PROFESSION]: Lith *garbōrius* (← Pol *garbarz*) → a small settlement

⁶² In his work Vanagas (1981a: 118) classified the *Cùdykas Dìdelis* as a hydronym of an antonymic value, forming an oppositional pair. The first components of the members of an opposition are adjectival antonyms, e.g. *high – low*, *big – small*, etc. The researcher claimed that the semantics of such hydronyms is not entirely transparent, as some of these hydronyms are very close to the names of rivers and lakes of diminutive meaning, others are close to the meanings of greatness. Most often than not the initial value of one component of the hydronyms of the same oppositional pair is the one possessed and expressed by the adjective, whereas the second member could be formed as an opposition to the first member.

where the furrier/leather-dresser lived → Rus 3. ГАРБАРЪ. The current functioning oikonym *Gedūnai* is most probably motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Gedūnai* ← the settlement belonging to *Gedūnas*/the *Gedūnai* family. The DM *Didieji* is motivated by the historical size of the settlement *Didieji Gedūnai* in terms of land that belonged to them – both folwark and steading were approx. 268 dessiatins. The current *Gedūnai* historically was a much smaller settlement with only 3 dessiatins of land (cf. G1905 230).

4.1.5. *Gulbinas_L* × *Mažasis Gulbinas_L*

Gulbinas – V C, Žaliejai ežeraĩ group; R1872 Rus ОЗ. Ржесткое.

Mažasis Gulbinas – V C, southeast of *Gulbinas*, Žaliejai ežeraĩ group; R1872 Rus ОЗ. Зеленное.

Shores of lake *Gulbinas* are steep and forested, only the middle part of the shore, where the Riešė (the Neris trib.) flows, is low and swampy. The lake is joined with lake *Mažasis Gulbinas* by a 35 m channel in the southeast. The limnonym is related to Lith *gulbinas* ‘swan male’ (cf. Vanagas 1981: 127) and may be associated with the nesting place of swans. On the other hand, the lake is in a very picturesque location, surrounded by forests (*Gulbinai* and *Kryžiokai* forests). At the time of naming, the beauty of the lake and the landscape around it could have been compared to the beauty of a swan, one of the most beautiful and graceful water birds. Therefore, the limnonym may be considered a transposition of either 1) the bird species’ beauty: Lith *gulbinas* → the lake beautiful as the swan → *Gulbinas*, or 2) the bird species’ nesting place: Lith *gulbinas* → the lake where swans nest → *Gulbinas*. *Mažasis Gulbinas* is surrounded by the *Gulbinai* forest. The limnonym is motivated by its position in relation to lake *Gulbinas* as well as its size in comparison with the former, which is indicated by the DM *Mažasis* and shares the same etymology. Thus, the limnonym is a metonymic transposition of the bigger lake’s name: *Mažasis Gulbinas* ← a smaller lake in the vicinity of lake *Gulbinas*. DMs are motivated by the actual size of both lakes, cf. *Gulbinas* (0,371 km², 4,9km) × *Mažasis Gulbinas* (0,102 km², 1,87 km).

4.1.6. *Ilma Didžioji_L* × *Ilma Mažoji_L*

Ilma Didžioji – Pabradė eld, Švčn D; R1872 Rus ОЗ. Ильмъ большой.

Ilma Mažoji – Pabradė eld, Švčn D, 0,06 km east of *Ilma Didžioji*; R1872 Rus ОЗ. Ильмъ малой.

Ilma Didžioji is a composite limnonym of unclear origin. The first component, according to Vanagas (1981: 129) may be related to Lith the *Elmė* river, lake *Elmis*, related to the *Almė* ← Lith *almėti*, *elmėti* ‘to slowly leak, drip, seep; to slowly flow’ (LKŽe). Also, the component *Ilma* may be related to Lith *Ilmėdas_L* and can be com-

pared to Latv rivers *the Īmade, the Īmāde, the Īmede, the Īmatu-straits*, villages *Īlmat, Īlmete*, lawn *Īlmātes*, which as well as Lith *Īlmėdas* may be of Finno-Ugric origin (ibid.). These names may be related to Est *ilm* ‘weather; (poetic) worlds’, or Finn *ilma* ‘air; weather’, both from Proto-Finnic **ilmaᑦ*, from Proto-Uralic **ilmaᑦ*, which lost an additional meaning of God (cf. WSD). On the other hand, the component may be related to and derived from Rus *ильм* (old. *ф ильма*), Bel *ільма* ‘large deciduous tree with valuable, durable wood, common in Europe’ (SRY, SRYe) (Lith *gúoba, gúobas* ‘elm, wych-elm (*Ulmus*)’ (LKŽe)), taking into consideration the limnonym form written in R1872. At least three species of trees from the Ulmaceae family grow in various parts of Lithuania⁶³. The DM *Didžioji* relates to the size of the lake in comparison to the one in its opposition, cf. *Īlma Didžioji* (0,061 km², 1,19 km), *Īlma Mažoji* (0,021 km², 0,64 km). There may be several versions of the conceptualization of the limnonym: 1) the limnonym may be of Lith resp. Balt origin, motivated by the slow movement of water and be a transposition of this concept: Lith *almėti, elmėti* → a lake with slowly moving, flowing water → *Īlma Didžioji*; 2) the limnonym may be very archaic and related to Proto-Finnic **ilmaᑦ*, from Proto-Uralic **ilma* and may refer to a certain deity of air or weather, and, thus, mark a certain place of worship, though less likely: Est *ilm*, Finn *ilma* (Proto-Finnic **ilma*) → ?the deity of wind/the lake in a windy terrain → *Īlma Didžioji*; or more likely, 3) the limnonym is of Slav origin and refers to the locality where trees from the Ulmaceae family may be found and is a transposition of the tree species⁶⁴: Rus *ильм* (old. *ф ильма*), Bel *ільма* → the lake in the woodland where trees from the Ulmaceae family may be found → *Īlma Didžioji*. The first component of *Īlma Mažoji* is a transposition from *Īlma Didžioji* by the principle of analogy and shares the same origin. The second component of the limnonym is motivated by the lake’s size and carries the antonymic load in correlation with the bigger lake: *Īlma Mažoji* ← the smaller lake in the vicinity of *Īlma Didžioji*.

4.1.7. *Didžiosios Kabiškės*_v × *Māžosios Kabiškės*_v

Didžiosios Kabiškės – Nemenčinė eld, V D; SV1974 745 *Didžiosios Kabiškės*_v, G1905 59 Rus д. Большие Кобишки, 118 дес., R1872 Rus д. Бол.[ьшие] Кобишки 5 [y].
Māžosios Kabiškės – Nemenčinė eld, V D, at the southern outskirts (0,3 km) of *Didžiosios Kabiškės*; SV1974 745 *Māžosios Kabiškės*_v, G1905 59 Rus д. Малые Кобишки, 86 дес., R1872 Rus д. Мал.[ые] Кобишки 5 [y].

⁶³ Elm trees grow esp. in central districts – Prienai, Kaunas, Raseiniai, Kėdainiai, Širvintos, Kaišiadorys. These trees grow in the larger river valleys, on the slopes of some lakes, in shady places together with oaks, lindens, ashes (TLE2 16).

⁶⁴ The areas around both *Īlma Didžioji* and *Īlma Mažoji* are overgrown with forests. Moreover there still are oikonyms of Slav. origin in the vicinity of both lakes, such as Piorkos_v, Vispa_{stead} (for the origin of oikonyms, cf. Skorupa 2021), as well as now non-existent oikonyms Rus Москровка, з. Дольники, Госп. д. Сорокполь, etc. (cf. R1872).

The ITL *Kabiškės* is of an unclear origin and may relate to now non-existent Lith PN **Kabas* or **Kabys*, cf. Bel PN *Каб* and its DIM forms *Кабік*, *Кабко*, *?Кабушка* (cf. Biryla 1969: 164). Therefore, the ITL *Kabiškės* may be motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: (*Didžiosios, Māžosios*) *Kabiškės* ← **Kab-as/*Kab-ys* + *-iškės* ← a settlement belonging to/founded by **Kabas/*Kabys*.⁶⁵ DMs *Didžiosios* and *Māžosios* are motivated by and relate to the historical and current size of both settlements, 118 and 86 дес. respectively (G1905 59).

4.1.8. *Katūtiškės*_v × *Māžosios Katūtiškės*_v

Katūtiškės – Rukainiai eld, V D; SV1974 752 *Katutiškės*_v, G1905 43 Rus д. Катутишки, 162 дес., R1872 Rus д. Катутишки 6 [y].

Māžosios Katūtiškės – Medininkai eld, V D, 0,48 km east of *Katūtiškės*; SV1974 743 *Mažosios Katutiškės*_v, G1905 43 Rus з. Катутишки, 94 дес., R1872 Rus з. Катутишки 1 [y].

The ITL *Katūtiškės* is most probably Lith Suf *-iškės* derivative from Lith PN *Katūtis* (cf. PDB, Razmukaitė 1998: 59). Thus, the oikonym may be motivated by the PN name and its metonymic transposition, based on the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Katūtiškės* ← *Katūt-is* + *-iškės* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Katūtis*. Based on the extralinguistic data (old settlement types and location), *Māžosios Katūtiškės* is motivated by its position in relation to *Katūtiškės* village and is a name formed by analogy, i.e. a metonymic transposition of the bigger village's name: *Māžosios Katūtiškės* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Katūtiškės*. Probably the settlement was established by people who moved/separated from the bigger one. The DM *Māžosios* is motivated by the settlement's size and type from the historical perspective, cf. G1905 43 Rus д. Катутишки, 162 дес. [*Katūtiškės*] and G1905 43 Rus з. Катутишки, 94 дес. [*Māžosios Katūtiškės*].

4.1.9. *Kenà*_R × *Mažoji Kenà*_R

The Kenà (Kinė) – 23,9 km, the Vilnia trib., V D; R1872 P. Кѣна.

The Mažoji Kenà – 10,4 km, the Merkys trib., V D, Šlėn D.

The river *Kenà* (or *Kinė*) gave name to several settlements. The sources of the *Kenà* and the *Mažoji Kenà* are 6,6 km away from one another and flow in opposite directions. *Mažoji Kenà* is the name made by the principle of analogy from the potamonym *Kenà*, as the opposition of the former with the adjective *māžas* (*-à*) (small) 'of small dimensions; spare, sparse; slight, weak; less important' (LKŽe). Vanagas (1981: 156)

⁶⁵ It is noteworthy, that at the moment of writing the paper, we lacked the extralinguistic data to decide which of two oikonyms is the primary one, motivated and served the prototype for the other.

claimed that the name *Kenà* is derived from Lith *kinẽ* ‘raised place in a meadow, bog, or water’ or ‘roots of trees and shrubs on the river bank (in water)’, also, from Lith *kinis* ‘crust on the water; slough, marsh’ or ‘small island in a river or lake; the area of the slough, marsh’ (LKŽe). Therefore, the motivation for the name is quite confusing and can be interpreted in several ways as a transposition of the concepts [OVERGROWN PLACE/MARSH]: *kinẽ* → a place (river (valley)) overgrown with trees and shrubs → (*Mažoji Kenà* (and *Kinėlė*); or *kinis* → a crust on the water; a slough, marsh → (*Mažoji Kenà* (and *Kinėlė*). DMs are motivated by the actual length of both rivers.

4.1.10. *Kudžionys*_v × *Mažieji Kudžionys*_v

Kudžionys – Turgeliai eld, Šlčn D; SV1974 526 Kudžionys_v, G1905 75 Rus д. Кудяны, 107 дес., R1872 Rus д. Кудяны 5 [y].

Mažieji Kudžionys – Turgeliai eld, Šlčn D, 0,7 km north of *Kudžionys*; SV1974 526 Mažieji Kudžionys_v, G1905 75 Rus ус. Кудяны (Балинских), 27 дес., R1872 Rus Михайловские 2 [y].

The oikonym *Kudžionys* is most probably Lith Suf *-onys* derivative from and is related to Lith PN *Kudzys*, cf. Pol *Chudz* (PDB), *Kudys*, *Kudis*, if not a variant of *Kuodys* or a similar name, then most probably is related to, *Kudà* (PDB). Based on the historical forms (cf. above), the oikonym is more likely related to *Kudzys*, cf. Bel **Кудзян* (Biryla 1969: 266). The oikonym could be motivated by and is a metonymic transposition of the PN, based on the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Kudžionys* ← *Kudz-ys* (**Кудзян*)/**Kudz-ys* + *-onys* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Kudzys* (**Кудзян*). The settlement *Mažieji Kudžionys* developed from a manor in the vicinity of and got its name from the settlement *Kudžionys* (cf. the historical status of both settlements). The oikonym is a metonymic transposition and is formed by the principle of analogy, the location in the vicinity of *Kudžionys* being the prominent feature: *Mažieji Kudžionys* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Kudžionys* village. The DM *Mažieji* was added during the renaming process (most probably during the change of the settlement status) to make the distinction between the two settlements, cf. G1905 75 Rus д. Кудяны 107 дес. vs. G1905 75 Rus ус. Кудяны (Балинских) 27 дес.

4.1.11. *Didžioji Kuosinė*_v × *Mažoji Kuosinė*_v

Didžioji Kuosinė – Kalveliai eld, V D, on the *Kuosinė* stream (the Kena trib.); SV1974 756 Didžioji Kuosinė_v, G1905 82 Rus д. Кашина Великая, 541 дес., R1872 Rus Косина 22 [y].

Mažoji Kuosinė – Kalveliai eld, V D, 2 km southeast of *Didžioji Kuosinė*, upstream the *Kuosinė*; SV1974 757 Mažoji Kuosinė_v, G1905 82 Rus д. Кашина Малая, 341 дес., R1872 Rus д. Косинка 15 [y].

The ITL *Kúosinė* is either related to 1) zoolexeme Lith *kúosa* ‘jackdaw, daw – crow family bird (*Coloeus monedula*)’ (LKŽe), or 2) Lith PN *Kúosa* (cf. PDB). Thus, the oikonym may be considered Lith Suf *-inė* derivative. The Suf is used to form words referring to the place (cf. DLKG 134, SRR I 263ff.), or could convey the meaning of possessivity, as this is one of the typical oikonym forming suffixes to derive oikonyms from PNs (cf. Razmukaitė 1998: 47ff.). On the other hand, the oikonym may be related to and motivated by the potamonym *Kúosinė* (20 km, the Kena trib.). The last version seems to be the most plausible. In case the oikonym is related to zoolexeme, it may convey the concept [BIRD SPECIES] and indicate the place where daws nest and/or live and may be a metaphoric transposition of such place: Lith *kúos-a* + *-inė* → the place where there is plenty of daws → *Kúosinė*. If the oikonym is related to the PN, it may be considered a metonymic transposition, embedding the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Kúosinė* ← *Kúos-a* + *-inė* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Kúosa*. But most likely, the oikonym is motivated by the settlement’s location on/by the *Kúosinė* and is a metonymic transposition of the potamonym, conveying the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Kúosinė* ← the settlement on/by the *Kúosinė* river. It should also be noted that the settlement and oikonym *Didžioji Kúosinė* was most probably the first settlement and motivated all the other oikonyms in this micro-system (also, cf. Section 7.23.). DMs in this opposition were added to the oikonyms most probably at a certain point after the settlements’ establishment: DMs *Didžioji* and *Mažoji* are motivated by the size (from the historical perspective) of both settlements in terms of lands that belonged to them, cf. G1905 82 Rus д. Касина Великая, 556 дес. [*Didžioji Kúosinė*] vs. G1905 82 Rus д. Касина Малая, 341 дес. [*Mažoji Kúosinė*].

4.1.12. *Laĩbiškės*, × *Didžiōsios Laĩbiškės*,

Laĩbiškės – Medininkai eld, V D, 1,6 km northwest of *Didžiōsios Laĩbiškės*; SV1974 743 *Laĩbiškės*, G1905 43 Rus д. Лайбишки, 86 дес., R1872 Rus з. Лайбишки.

Didžiōsios Laĩbiškės – Medininkai eld, V D; SV1974 743 *Didžiōsios Laĩbiškės*, G1905 43 Rus кол. Лайбишки, 167 дес., R1872 Rus д. Лайбишки.

The ITL *Laĩbiškės* is most probably Lith Suf *-iškės* derivative from Lith PN *Láiba* (cf. Razmukaitė 1998: 97). The oikonym, thus, may be motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Laĩbiškės* ← *Láib-a* + *-iškės* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Láiba*. *Didžiōsios Laĩbiškės* was historically a bigger settlement (R1872 Rus д. Лайбишки), which had a status of a village, whereas, the current *Laĩbiškės* (R1872 Rus з. Лайбишки) was a smaller settlement, most probably established by people who separated from the bigger one. Therefore, the present-day oikonym *Laĩbiškės* is a secondary name, made by the principle of analogy from the bigger settlement’s name, is motivated by its proximity to the bigger village, and is a metonymic transposition of the oikonym: *Laĩbiškės* ←

the small(er) settlement in the vicinity of *Didžiōsios Laībiškės*, established by people, who moved from the bigger settlement. The DM *Didžiōsios* is motivated by and marks the historically older, bigger settlement.

4.1.13. *Liepónys*_v × *Mažieji Liepónys*_v

Liepónys – Rūdiškės eld, Trak D; SV1974 650 *Lieponys*_v, G1905 335 Rus д. Лейпуны, 885 дес., R1872 Rus Лейпуны 19 [y].

Mažieji Liepónys – Rūdiškės eld, Trak D, 1,7 km south of *Liepónys*, across the *Spėngla* stream; SV1974 650 *Mažieji Lieponys*_v, G1905 335 Rus евр.[ейская] кол. Лейпуны, 425 дес., R1872 Rus Лейпуны 9 [y].

The oikonym *Liepónys* is most probably the *pl* of Lith PN *Liepóni(u)s*, related to such surnames, as *Liēpa*, *Liēpis* (cf. Zinkevičius 2008: 518, PDB). On the other hand, considering the old form R1872 Rus Лейпуны, the oikonym might have been Lith **Leipunai*, related to PN **Leipunas*, cf. PNs *Leīpas*, *Leīpus* (PDB). Therefore, the oikonym is motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Liepónys* ← *pl* of *Liepóni(u)s* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Liepóni(u)s*/the *Liepónys* family. *Mažieji Liepónys* is obviously the result of renaming, cf. G1905 Rus ф. Лейпунки, R1872 Rus Лейпуны, and most probably marks a smaller settlement, established in the vicinity of *Liepónys*. The oikonym is made by analogy and is a metonymic transposition of the bigger settlement's name: *Mažieji Liepónys* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Liepónys*. The DM *Mažieji* was added to make the distinction between two settlements with ITLs and refers to the size and importance of the settlement in relation to *Liepónys* in terms of the area of lands (as well as settlement type), from the historical perspective, cf. G1905 335 Rus д. Лейпуны, 885 дес. [*Liepónys*] vs. G1905 335 Rus евр. кол. Лейпуны, 425 дес. [*Mažieji Liepónys*].

4.1.14. *Didieji Lygáiniai*_v × *Mažieji Lygáiniai*_v

Didieji Lygáiniai – Pagiriai eld, V D; SV1974 655 *Didieji Lygainiai*_v, Лигойни-Болшие, 444 дес., R1872 Rus д. Лигони 18 [y].

Mažieji Lygáiniai – Pagiriai eld, V D, 0,7 km south of *Didieji Lygáiniai*; G1905 331 Rus д. Лигойни-Малые, 103 дес., R1872 Rus д. Лигони 5 [y].

The ITL *Lygáiniai* is Lith Suf *-ainiai* (the old form derivational Suf is Lith *-oniai*, cf. Rus *-они* in Rus Лигони) derivative. The Suf *-ainiai* (sg *-ainis*) is used to form names of nominal characteristic holders (DLKG 117). The ITL may be related to Lith *lýgus* 'without depressions and bumps, flat' and to the physiographic term Lith *lygumà* 'flat place, a plain; flatland' (LKŽe). Both villages are located on lake Ilgutis, surrounded by plains. Hence, the oikonyms may be a transposition of a physiographic

term Lith *lygumà*, reflecting the plain, flat (Lith *lýgus*) relief of the area: Lith *lyg-umà* (Lith *lýg-us*) + *-ainiai* → the settlement in the plains (flat area) → *Didieji Lygáiniai*. On the other hand, the ITL *Lygáiniai* may be *pl* of Lith PN *Lýgainas* (cf. Zinkevičius 2008: 216). The oikonym, thus, could be a metonymic transposition of the PN, based on the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Lygáiniai* ← *pl* of *Lýgainas* ← the settlement established by/belonging to *Lýgainas/the Lygainai* family. *Mažieji Lygáiniai* is probably the oikonym made by the principle of analogy and is motivated by the settlement's location both in the plains as well as the settlement (*Didieji*) *Lygáiniai*. Most likely, the oikonym is a metonymic transposition of the primary oikonym: (*Mažieji*) *Lygáiniai* ← the settlement in the plains in the vicinity of (*Didieji*) *Lygáiniai*. The settlement may have been established by people who moved from *Didieji Lygáiniai*. DMs *Didieji* and *Mažieji* were added to make the distinction between two settlement names (cf., R1872 Rus д. Лигони: Lith *Lygáiniai*) and refer to the size and importance of settlements in terms of the area of lands belonging to both, from the historical perspective, cf. G1905 331 Rus д. Лигойни-Болшие, 444 дес. [*Didieji Lygáiniai*] vs. G1905 331 Rus д. Лигойни-Малые, 103 дес. [*Mažieji Lygáiniai*].

4.1.15. *Didelis Macijonėlis*_L × *Māžas Macijonėlis*_L

Didelis Macijonėlis – Labanoras eld, Švčn D, 6.5 km southeast of Labanoras_{tn}, in Salaičiai swamp, Žeimena forest.

Māžas Macijonėlis – Labanoras eld, Švčn D, 0.04 km south of *Didelis Macijonėlis*.

The ITL *Macijonėlis* in both composite limnonyms is of unclear origin. It is Lith DIM Suf *-ėlis* derivative and conveys the meaning of the smallness and most probably amiability, as both lakes are not very big. In the VK, there is also an entry about a field (lawn) name *Macijonka*, written down by Kazys Lekavičius in 1935, which seems to be a Slavonized form with Suf Pol *-onka*, Rus *-онк-(а)*, most probably derived from the limnonym. The root *Macijon-* could be related to Lith PN *Macijonas*, *Maciejonas*, which could be later alterations of the surname **Maciejonis* or similar family names, derived using Lith Suf *-onis* from **Maciejus* ← *Motiėjus*. On the other hand, the root may be an alteration of Lith PN *Macijauskas/Macijskas* or *Maciejėvskis*, based on the territorial distribution of the surname (cf. PDB). The DM *Didelis* refers to the size of the lake in terms of its width in correlation to *Māžas Macijonėlis*, which is a slightly bigger (narrower and longer) lake. The correlation of DMs in the preposition Lith *Didelis* – *Māžas* in the limnonym opposition is of opaque motivation and semantics. The extralinguistic data shows that the surface area of both lakes is equal in size, i.e. 0.009 km²; the shoreline length of *Didelis Macijonėlis* is 0.39 km, and the lake is somewhat rounder and wider (the width is approx. 80 m), while that of *Māžas Macijonėlis* is 0.46 km and the lake is somewhat longer and narrower (the width is approx. 70 m). The only possibility to explain the motivation and semantics

of DMs is the interpretation of the concept of shape, esp. the width of both water bodies, which, due to the proximity of the lakes⁶⁶, could be evaluated visually by the onlooker. Thus, the correlation of DMs could be explained as Lith *didelis* ‘notable for its size (length, width, etc.)’ (LKŽe); Lith *māžas* could mean *siaūras* ‘which is small in diameter, width’ (LKŽe). The limnonyms (as well as the name of the field/lawn) may be a metonymic transposition of the PN, expressing the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] coupled with [SIZE: WIDTH]: 1) *Didelis Macijonėlis* ← Lith *didelis* ‘wide’ + *Macijon-* + *-elis* ← a not very big, but wide lake (in the land) belonging to *Macijonas*, *Maciejonas*, **Maciejonis* (?*Macijáuskas*/*Macijaūskas*, *Maciejėvskis*); 2) *Māžas Macijonėlis* ← Lith *māžas*=*siaūras* ‘small in width’ + *Macijon-* + *-elis* ← a not very big, but narrower lake (in the land) belonging to *Macijonas*, *Maciejonas*, **Maciejonis* (?*Macijáuskas*/*Macijaūskas*, *Maciejėvskis*).

4.1.16. *Mėdininkai*_v × *Didieji Mėdininkai*_v

Mėdininkai – Medininkai eld., V D; SV1974 743 Medininkai_v, G1905 82 Rus д. Мѣдни-ки, 510 дес., R1872 Rus м. Мѣдники 30 [y], K1861 719 Rus м. Мѣдники 27 [y].

Didieji Mėdininkai – Kalveliai eld., V D; SV1974 756 Didieji Medininkai_v, G1905 82 Rus им. Мѣдники Комаровские, 616 дес., R1872 Rus Госп. д. Мѣдники.

*Mėdininkai*⁶⁷, the historical settlement known since the 13th c.; in the 14th–17th cc. the settlement had a status of a town that faced decline before the end of the 18th c. (VLEe). The village forms the opposition with *Didieji Mėdininkai*. Both oikonyms are *pl* derivatives from Lith *mėdininkas* (dial. *mėdinykas*) ‘forest dweller, forester’ (LKŽe), as, according to Zinkevičius (2007: 43), the obsolescent Lith *mėdis* (*mėdžias*) was used to refer not to a single tree, but rather to a forest. As Lithuania has always been a forested land, there have been plenty of inhabitants related to forests. Therefore, the motivation of the oikonyms *Mėdininkai* and *Didieji Mėdininkai* may be interpreted as the transposition of the concept [PROFESSION], i.e. of a forest dweller or forester (Lith *miško sargas*, *eigulys*) into a settlement as if perpetuating crafts and professions in its name: Lith *mėdininkas*/ *mėdinykas* → a forest dweller, forester → (*Didieji*) *Mėdininkai*. DMs are motivated by the historical size of lands belonging to each settlement.

⁶⁶ Both *Didelis Macijonėlis* and *Māžas Macijonėlis* are located in the south-eastern part of Salaičiai swamp, belong to the Luknelė river basin, and are surrounded by Žeimena forest. Both lakes are very close from one another, *Māžas Macijonėlis* is 40 meters to the South from *Didelis Macijonėlis*.

⁶⁷ Dial. *Miedniki*, Мѣдники, Мѣдnykai. Note: although *Mėdininkai*_v historically was a bigger settlement, the status of which could be equalled to that of a small town, the present-day *Didieji Mėdininkai*_v historically was bigger in terms of lands that belonged to it, to be more precise, the owner of the lands at the end of 19th – the beginning of the 20th cc. – *Komarovskij (Rus *Комаровский or *Комаровский), who owned 5 separate land parcels of various size with country seats (Lith *dvaras*, *sodyba*) in the vicinity of the present-day *Didieji Mėdininkai* (cf. G1905 82).

4.1.17. ¹*Riešė*_v × ²*Riešė*_{stead} × *Didžioji Riešė*_v × *Mažoji Riešė*_{stead}

¹*Riešė* – Avižieniai eld, V D, 1,3 km northwest of *Didžioji Riešė*; SV1974 754 *Riešė*_v, G1905 72 Rus д. Рѣша, 52 дес., R1872 Госп. д. Ржеша.

²*Riešė* – Avižieniai eld, V D, 5,7 km west of *Didžioji Riešė*; SV1974 754 *Riešė* II_{stead}, G1905 72 Rus з. Рѣша, 33 дес.

Didžioji Riešė – Riešės eld, V D; SV1974 750 *Didžioji Riešė*_v, G1905 72 Rus д. Рѣша Великая, 357 дес., R1872 Rus м. Рѣша.

Mažoji Riešė – Avižieniai eld, V D, 3,5 km west of *Didžioji Riešė*; SV1974 726 *Mažoji Riešė*_{stead}, G1905 72 Rus з. Рѣша Малая, 11 дес., R1872 Rus Мал.[ая] Ржеша 2 [y].

All of the settlements in this opposition are located by the *Riešė* (29 km, the Neris trib.). Therefore, the ITL *Riešė* is motivated by each settlement's location on the river and is a metonymic transposition of the potamonym: *Riešė* ← the settlement by/on the *Riešė*. *Didžioji Riešė* is historically the biggest settlement, which had the status of a small town, cf. R1872 Rus м. Рѣша, G1905 72 Rus д. Рѣша Великая and the current oikonym *Didžioji Riešė* may be considered the primary name. *Mažoji Riešė* is a secondary name and is made by the principle of analogy to *Didžioji Riešė*. *Mažoji Riešė* historically marked a smaller settlement, which was established in the vicinity of the bigger one, cf.: G1905 72 Rus з. Рѣша Малая, 11 дес., R1872 Rus Мал.[ая] Ржеша [*Mažoji Riešė*] vs. G1905 72 Rus д. Рѣша Великая, 357 дес., R1872 Rus м. Рѣша [*Didžioji Riešė*]. DMs *Didžioji* and *Mažoji* convey the following meanings: 'big, great, important, old' vs. 'small, less important, new'. The two non-modified ITL *Riešė* mark two settlements that differed from each other as well as the marked names in the opposition in size and type from the historical perspective, cf.: G1905 72 Rus д. Рѣша, 52 дес. [¹*Riešė*] vs. G1905 72 Rus з. Рѣша, 33 дес. [²*Riešė*].

4.1.18. *Didžiosios Sėlos*_v × *Māžosios Sėlos*_v

Didžiosios Sėlos – Gerviškės eld, Šlčn D; SV1974 515 *Didžiosios Sėlos*_v, G1905 76 Rus д. Салки Большие, 210 дес., R1872 Rus д. Бол.[ьшие] Салки 10 [y].

Māžosios Sėlos – Gerviškės eld, Šlčn D, 2 km northeast of *Didžiosios Sėlos*; SV1974 516 *Mažosios Sėlos*_v, G1905 76 Rus д. Салки Малые, 5 дес., R1872 Rus д. Мал.[ые] Салки 7 [y].

The ITL *Sėlos* is of unclear origin. It is less likely that the oikonym component *Sėlos* is related to the ethnonym Lith *sėlis*, -ė 'person of the Selonians tribe' (LKŽe). Most likely, the component is related to Lith *salà* 'village' (LKŽe) ← Lith **sėla* 'village' and/or 'island; elevation, a hill in the swamp; forest land etc.' (cf. Būga 1959: 554, Karaliūnas 2005: 308–310). Both *Didžiosios Sėlos* and *Māžosios Sėlos* villages are located nearby forested areas (Rakliškių, Ilgasalio, Gudelių, and Sėlų forests), *Didžiosios Sėlos* also being located between the multiple nameless, meliorated tributaries (now melioration ditches) of the Šalčia river, which also suggests that the vicinities of the

villages were once marshy, swampy. Therefore, the version of the origin of the oikonym from Lith *salà*, **sēla* is plausible (*Sēlos* being *pl* of *salà*, **sēla*) and it may relate to the settlement in the areas of land in the swamp (also in the forest), being the metonymic transposition of such concept: Lith *salà*, **sēla* → the settlement on the island in the swamp, in the forest → (*Didžiosios*) *Sēlos*. *Māžosios Sēlos* is motivated by the same concept, but more likely is a name made by the principle of analogy by people, who moved from the bigger settlement and settled in its vicinity. *Māžosios Sēlos* probably is a metonymic transposition of the oikonym, based on the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Māžosios Sēlos* ← a smaller settlement in the vicinity of *Didžiosios Sēlos*. DMs *Didžiosios* and *Māžosios* are motivated by the size of both settlements (G1905 76 Rus д. Салки Большие, 210 дес. vs. G1905 76 Rus д. Салки Малые, 5 дес.), and may convey the meaning of ‘big’ and eventually ‘old/more important’ settlement vs. ‘small’ and eventually ‘less important’ settlement, respectively.

4.1.19. *Didysai Siaurỹs*_L × *Mažasai Siaurỹs*_L

Didysai Siaurỹs – Labanoras eld, Švčn D; R1872 Rus оз. Бол.[ышой] Севрысь.

Mažasai Siaurỹs – Labanoras eld, Švčn D, 0,4 km south of *Didysai Siaurỹs*; R1872

Rus оз. Мал.[ый] Севрысь.

The ITL *Siaurỹs* is related to and derived from Lith *siaũras* ‘small in diameter, width’ (LKŽe) (also, cf. Vanagas 1981: 297) using Lith *m* sg inflexion -ys, used to form names of nominal property holders (DLKG 124). The ITL is most probably motivated by the narrow places (straits) in both lakes. The shape of *Didysai Siaurỹs* is irregular with several deeply interspersed peninsulas forming several narrow channels (straits) and the lake as if branches into two parts in the south. This makes the shoreline very winding. The shape of *Mažasai Siaurỹs* is also irregular: the shoreline is long and winding; in the central part, a peninsula deeply penetrates the lake from the west, forming a strait. Therefore, ITLs of both limnonyms may be considered the transposition of the concept [SIZE: WIDTH]: Lith *siaũr-as* + -ys → the lake with narrow straits/channels → *Siaurỹs*. This makes it possible to classify *Didysai Siaurỹs* and *Mažasai Siaurỹs* as hydronyms of physiographic meaning, based on their shape. DMs *Didysai* and *Mažasai* differentiate the lakes by their size, cf. *Didysai Siaurỹs* (0,876 km², 7,88 km) vs. *Mažasai Siaurỹs* (0,583 km², 5,4 km).

4.1.20. *Upėšė*_R × *Mažoji Upėšė*_{st}

The Upėšė – 7 km, the Merkys trib., Šlčn D.

The Mažoji Upėšė – 2,5 km, the Merkys trib., Šlčn D.

Both drain their waters into the Merkys just a couple of kilometres away from each other. The potamonym *Upėšė* is the Lith Suf -ėšė (Vanagas 1970: 138) derivative from Lith *ùpė* ‘natural flow, current’ (Vanagas 1981: 355), i.e. it may be motivated by and convey the meaning of the concept [FLOW] (large, natural water flow, the current flow-

ing on the land surface in its grooved bed): *ùpė* (river) → a flow/current → (*Mažóji Upė*). The DM *Mažóji* in *Mažóji Upė* could be motivated by the length of the river, which is only 2,5 km, but also due to its position in relation to the mouth of the Merkys, i.e. the *Mažóji Upė* is further from the mouth of the Merkys than the *Upė*. The choice of the adjective, therefore, is in line with Stachowski's (2018) hypothesis that the further the tributary is from the river's mouth, the less important it is, which is reflected in the river's name. The DM in *Upė* is ellipsized but retrievable from the context of the opposition. The length of the *Upė* is 7 km., thus, the DM could be *Didžioji*.

4.1.21. *Didieji Vagiškai*_L × *Mažieji Vagiškai*_L

Didieji Vagiškai – El; R1872 Rus оз. Важье.

Mažieji Vagiškai – El; 0,05 km south of *Didieji Vagiškai*; R1872 Rus оз. Важьика.

The motivation of these two limnonyms may be explained by the location of both lakes. An unnamed stream drains into *Didieji Vagiškai*. The southern part of the lake is also the source of yet another nameless stream, which joins *Didieji Vagiškai* with *Mažieji Vagiškai*, which in its turn is the source of yet one more nameless stream that joins it with lake Luknia. Both *Didieji Vagiškai* and *Mažieji Vagiškai* lie in the bed or watercourse of the nameless stream. Thus, the name *Vagiškai* may be derived using Lith Suf *-iek-* (cf. Vanagas 1970: 144) with *pl* inflexion *-ai* from Lith *vagà* (riverbed, channel) 'place where the river flows' (LKŽe). The motivation of the name may be interpreted as a transposition of the concept [RIVER BED]: Lith *vag-à* + *-iek-ai* → the lakes that lie in the riverbed/course → (*Didieji/Mažieji*) *Vagiškai*. DMs are motivated by the actual sizes of both lakes, cf. *Didieji Vagiškai* (0,047 km², 0,89 km) vs. *Mažieji Vagiškai* (0,023 km², 0,57 km).

4.2. GRAMMATICAL OPPOSITIONS: LIMNONYMS, POTAMONYMS, OIKONYMS

Grammatical oppositions based on the augmentative-diminutive relationship convey the meaning of the named objects' *relative size*, i.e. *big* vs. *small*, are formed by correlations of DIM suffixes derived toponyms as opposed to those with the zero-Suf morpheme (DM). The meaning of size in the unmarked member is restored from the context of the opposition. This correlation is observed in 88 potamonym, limnonym, and oikonym oppositions. All these Suf-derived diminutive toponyms not only refer to the actual smallness of the named objects but are also semantically coloured and present peoples' attitudes towards the object they named. In the majority of cases, Lith Suf *-el-* (*-is*, *-ė*), *-ėl-* (*-ė*)⁶⁸, *-ait-* (*-is*, *-ė*), *-(i)uk-* (*-as*, *-ai*), *-ut-* (*-is*) derivatives convey the pure meaning of smallness and endearment (cf. DLKG 87–91).

⁶⁸ Lith Suf *-ėl-* (*-ė*) derivatives are essentially no different in their meaning from the derivatives of Lith Suf *-el-* (*-is*, *-ė*), since both suffixes could be regarded as the variants of the same derivational formant of diminutives (DLKG 88–90).

4.2.1. *Akìs_L* × *Akēlē_L*

Akìs – Aukštādvaris eld, Trak D; R1872 Rus озеро Очко.

Akēlē – Aukštādvaris eld, Trak D; 6,7 km southeast of *Akìs*.

Two limnonyms in direct opposition are related by Vanagas (1981: 37) to Lith *akìs* (hole; eye) ‘hole in a swamp; small area of water in wetlands or lakes that are almost overgrown by vegetation’ (LKŽe). The linguistic-cognitive motivation of these limnonyms may be interpreted as a transfer of the concept of a small area of open water in the swamp [OPEN AREA]: Lith *akìs* → a hole in a swamp/a small area of open water → *Akìs* (and its DIM *Akēlē*). DMs are motivated and point to the actual size of both lakes, cf. *Akìs* (0,014 km²; 0,43 km) vs. *Akēlē* (0,006 km²; 0,3 km).

4.2.2. ¹*Akmenà_v* / ²*Akmenà_v* × *Akmenēlē_v*

¹*Akmenà* – Paberžė eld, V D; 4,8 km northeast of Glitiškės_v, on the *Akmenà* stream (11,4 km the Širvinta trib.); SV1974 736 Akmena_v, G1905 62 Rus з. Окмяна, R1872 Rus Окмяно.

²*Akmenà* – Paberžė eld, V D; 1,1 km east of Visalaukė I, on the Baronėlė stream (the *Akmenà* trib.); SV1974 757 Akmena_v, G1905 36 Rus им. Окмяна, 81 дес., R1872 Rus Окмяна 2 [y].

Akmenēlē – Paberžė eld, V D; 10 km south of *Akmenà* (Glitiškės), 4 km southeast of *Akmenà* (Visalaukė I); SV1974 757 Akmenėlė_v, G1905 36 Rus з. Окмяна, 32 дес., R1872 Rus з. Окмяны 2 [y].

The oikonym *Akmenà* (Glitiškės) is motivated by the settlement's location on the *Akmenà* stream. The oikonym is a metonymic transposition of the limnonym: *Akmenà* ← the settlement on the *Akmenà*. The oikonym *Akmenà* (Visalaukė) is also motivated by the village's location on one of the two bigger branches of the *Akmenà* stream: the current tributary, the Baronėlė stream, which is written in the historical source R1872 Rus р.[ека] Окмяна. Therefore, it may be claimed that the oikonym is also motivated by the potamonym and is a metonymic transposition: *Akmenà* ← the settlement on the *Akmenà*. *Akmenēlē* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėlė* derivative. The Suf is the result of renaming, or rather standardization of the old name form, but points to the smallness of the settlement from the historical perspective, cf. G1905 36 Rus з. Окмяна, 32 дес. The historical form of the settlement R1872 Rus з. Окмяны (Gen case inflexion Rus *-ы*) indicates that the oikonym is a derivative. The name is motivated by the hydronym resp. limnonym, as the settlement is nearby (approx. 0,4 km) from lake R1872 Rus Оз.[еро] Окмяна (currently lake Nemenčėlis). Thus, this oikonym is a metonymic transposition of the limnonym: *Akmenēlē* (historically, Окмяны) ← *Akmen-* + *-ėlė* (Окмян-а + *-ы*) ← the settlement on/near lake Rus Окмяна (Lith *Akmena).

4.2.3. *Alsakiaĩ*_v × *Alsakēliai*_v

Alsakiaĩ – Trakai eld, Trak D, on the northeastern bank of lake *Alsakỹs*; SV1974 644

*Alsakiai*_v, G1905 340 Rus д. Олсоки 1-е, 35 дес., R1872 Rus ф. Олса.

Alsakēliai – Trakai eld, Trak D, 1,3 km southeast of *Alsakiaĩ*, on the bank of lake

Alsakỹs; SV1974 644 *Alsakēliai*_v, G1905 341 Rus з. Олсоки 2-е, 32 дес.

Alsakiaĩ is Lith *pl* inflexion *-iai* derivative from and is motivated by the settlement's location on lake *Alsakỹs*. Most probably the oikonym can be interpreted as 1) the metonymic transposition of the limnonym: *Alsakiaĩ* ← *Alsak-ys* + *-iai* ← the settlement in the vicinity of lake *Alsakỹs*; or 2) the metonymic transposition of the concept referring to people living in the vicinity of this lake: *Alsak-ys* + *-iai* → *alsakiai* (people living by lake *Alsakỹs*) → *Alsakiaĩ*. *Alsakēliai* is Lith DIM Suf derivative most probably from the oikonym *Alsakiaĩ*. The Suf points to the size of the village, which historically was a smaller (newer) settlement, cf. the historical settlement G1905 340 Rus д. Олсоки 1-е, 35 дес. vs. G1905 341 Rus з. Олсоки 2-е, 32 дес. *Alsakēliai* is motivated by both its position near *Alsakiaĩ* village and lake *Alsakỹs*. The oikonym may be interpreted as 1) the metonymic transposition of the oikonym: *Alsakēliai* ← *Alsak-iaĩ* + *-ēliai* ← the settlement in the vicinity of village *Alsakiaĩ*; or 2) the metonymic transposition of the limnonym: *Alsakēliai* ← *Alsak-ỹs* + *-ēliai* ← the settlement in the vicinity of lake *Alsakỹs*.

4.2.4. *Bakà*_L × *Bakùtis*_L

Bakà – El; R1872 Rus Оз. Бака.

Bakùtis – El, 0,64 km northeast of *Bakà*.

Bakà is of unclear origin. According to Savukynas (1961: 219), it may be of anthroponymic origin and is derived from Lith PN *Bākas*, cf. Bel *Бака*, *Бака*, *Бакаў*, Rus *Бакин*, De *Bock*, *Backe*, *Bach* (cf. PDB). But this version is less likely. On the other hand, according to Vanagas (1981: 56), this may be an archaic hydronym related to Bel *бакаў* 'river flow, deep place in the river; pit in the swamp, puddle' (Skarnik.by), or Ukr *бакаў* 'deep pit in the river, pond' (SUMe)⁶⁹. The lake's shores are low and swampy; the water body lies in the course of the Bražuolė (the Neris trib.); the Pylimas stream drains its waters into the lake in the north. Thus, the limnonym could have been motivated by the concept of the pit in the river course [DEPTH]: Bel /Ukr *бакаў* → a deep place in the river; pit in the swamp → *Bakà*. *Bakùtis* is Lith Suf *-utis* derivative from lake *Bakà*. The DIM Suf indicates directly the actual size of the water body, cf. *Bakà* (0,117 km²; 1,57 km) vs. *Bakùtis* (0,008 km²; 0,35 km). The limnonym is motivated not only by its

⁶⁹ Ukr. *бакаў* is the word borrowed from one of the Turkic languages – in Turkish, Crimean Tatar, Uighur, Kazakh and Uzbek, *bok* 'feces, manure, dirt', which are compared with the Mongolian *bog* 'dirt, garbage' and is synonymous to Ukr. *баюра* 'a large, deep puddle' (cf. SUMe).

location in the swampy area but also by its proximity to lake *Bakà* and the Bražuolė (the lake's closest point to the river is approx. 0,12 km across the swampy lowland). Therefore, it may be claimed that *Bakūtis* is either 1) the expression of the same concept as *Bakà* is: Bel/Ukr *бাকাў* → a deep place in the river; pit in the swamp → *Bakūtis*, or 2) is a metonymic transposition of the limnonym *Bakà* and is derived by the principle of analogy: *Bakūtis* ← *Bakà* + *-utis* ← a smaller lake in the vicinity of *Bakà*.

4.2.5. *Báltas*_L × *Baltēlis*_L

Báltas – Labanoras eld, Švčn D; R1872 Rus Оз. Поболчись.

Baltēlis – Labanoras eld, Švčn D, 0,11 km north of lake *Báltas*.

*Báltas*⁷⁰ and *Baltēlis*, according to Vanagas (1981a: 97–98), belong to one of the most universal semantic categories of hydronyms – of water colour meaning. The limnonym *Báltas* is obviously related to Lith *báltas*, *-à*, which has a range of meanings and connotations in the Lith language, cf. ‘white; of the colour that is formed by repelling all visible rays’, ‘bright, almost snowy, milky in colour’, ‘clean’, ‘bright, shining, glossy’, (figurative) ‘good, clean, harmless’ (LKŽe), or Lith *báltis* ‘white/whiteness’ (LKŽe) (also, cf. LVŽ I 338–340). Therefore, the limnonym may convey several meanings from those relating to the colour of the water⁷¹ to purely metaphorical ones relating to the water quality⁷²: Lith *báltas*, *báltis* → white, bright, almost snowy water colour → *Báltas*; Lith *báltas* → good, clean, harmless (of water quality) → *Báltas*. *Baltēlis* is Lith Suf *-elis* derivative from the superior limnonym *Báltas* it is near to and indicates the size of the named water body (0,015 km²; 0,53 km), thus, connotes the meaning of smallness and amiability. The DIM form of *Baltēlis* was likely motivated by the lake's size, whereas, the root of the limnonym was motivated by the same concepts the superior limnonym was motivated by, i.e. the concept of either the colour of water: Lith *báltas*, *báltis* + *-elis* → white, bright, almost snowy water colour → *Baltēlis*; or the concept of cleanliness, the harmlessness of the water: Lith *báltas* + *-elis* → good, clean, harmless (of water quality) → *Baltēlis*. On the other hand, the limnonym may be a metonymic transposition of the superior limnonym into the smaller lake's name, esp. taking into consideration the lake's size and its location in relation to lake *Báltas*: *Baltēlis* ← *Báltas* + *-elis* ← a small lake near lake *Báltas*. As maintained and pointed out by many onomasticians (cf. Section 1.4.1.), colour hydronyms may encompass a plethora of motivating factors, be symbolic and metaphorical, pointing to different characteristics of the named water bodies or water in them: clear, lucid, transparent, or even drinkable, clean.

⁷⁰ The surface area – 0,664 km², shore line length – 7,59 km.

⁷¹ At the moment of naming, this could be motivated by the visual perception, i.e. the water may have seemed to be white, shiny when the denominator saw a “white”, “shiny” surface of the lake reflecting light (sunlight).

⁷² The name could mean or be a sign that the water in this lake is harmless, safe to drink.

4.2.6. *Baṛdiškiai*_v × *Bardiškėliai*_v

Baṛdiškiai – Deltuva eld, Ukm D; SV1974 661 *Bardiškiai*_v, KG1903 151 Rus им. Сарайсце, R1872 Rus Госп. д. Сарайсце, 38 [y].

Bardiškėliai – Deltuva eld, Ukm D, 0,4 km southeast of *Baṛdiškiai*; SV1974 661 *Bardiškėliai*_v, KG1903 151 Rus ф. Сарайсце, R1872 Rus ф. Сарайсце, 28 [y].

The current oikonym *Baṛdiškiai* is of unclear origin and probably is related to and is Lith Suf *-iškiai* derivative from Lith PN *Baṛdžius*, **Barda*, **Bardys*, *Bardáuskas*, *Bardišius*, *Bardińskas*, or Pol PN *Bard*, *Barda*, *Bardo*, Rus, Bel PN *Барда* (cf. PDB, LVŽ I 371–372, Birylo 1969: 42, Razmukaitė 1998: 99, Zinkevičius 2011: 112). The oikonym is the result of renaming, most probably motivated by the change of ownership. Therefore, it may convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Baṛdiškiai* ← *Bard*- + *-iškiai* ← the settlement belonging to *Baṛdžius*, **Barda*, **Bardys*, *Bardáuskas*, *Bardišius*, or *Bardińskas*, or the respective families the *Baṛdžiai*, **Bardai*, **Bardžiai*, *Bardáuskai*, *Bardišiai*, or *Bardińskiai*. The historical name Rus Госп. д. [the estate] *Сарайсце* and the folwark of the same name, though, were motivated by their location in the vicinity of Sarosčių swamp (in Juodupės raistas forest), which is just a kilometre northeast of both settlements. *Bardiškėliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from *Baṛdiškiai*. The DIM oikonym form is motivated by the historical settlement size, cf. R1872 Rus ф. Сарайсце, 28 [y.] [*Bardiškėliai*] vs. R1872 Rus Госп. д. Сарайсце, 38 [y.] [*Baṛdiškiai*]. The ITL is motivated by the settlement's position near the settlement from the name of which the DIM oikonym is derived. Moreover, another motivating factor of the ITLs is that both settlements belonged to one owner. Therefore, *Bardiškėliai* may be considered a metonymic transposition of one oikonym to another: *Bardiškėliai* ← *Baṛdišk*-*iai* + *-ėliai* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Baṛdiškiai* village.

4.2.7. *Barōnai*_v × ¹*Baronėliai*_{stead} × ²*Baronėliai*_{stead}

Barōnai – Sužionys eld, V D, on the Jusinė (22, 6 km the Žeimena trib.); SV1974 754 *Baronai*_v, G1905 58 Rus д. Бараны, 113 дес., R1872 Rus Бараны 5 [y].

¹*Baronėliai* – Paberžė eld, V D, 14 km northwest of *Barōnai*, on the Daulia stream (7,8 km Musia_L trib.); SV1974 757 *Baronėliai*_{stead}, G1905 58 Rus д. Барунели, 107 дес., R1872 Rus Борунели 3 [y].

²*Baronėliai* – Paberžė eld, V D, 13,4 km northwest of *Barōnai*, on the Baronėlė stream (6,5 km Širvys_L trib.); SV1974 747 *Baronėliai*_{stead}, G1905 58 Rus д. Баронцы, 50 дес., R1872 Rus Баоранцы 4 [y].

Barōnai is most probably related to Lith PN *Barōnas* and is its *pl* form (LVŽ I 379), cf. Pol PN *Baran*, *Baron*, Bel PN *Баран*, Rus PN *Баранъ* (PDB, Birylo 1969: 41). The oikonym may convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Barōnai* ← *pl* from *Barōnas* ← the settlement belonging to/established by the *Barōnai* family/*Barōnas*. Two steadings *Baronėliai* are just a kilometre away from

each other. These oikonyms are Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivatives from Lith PN *Barōnas*. The Suf is motivated by and points to the size of the settlements at least from the historical perspective, as compared to the size of *Barōnai* village, cf. G1905 58 Rus д. Бараны, 113 дес. [*Barōnai*] vs. G1905 58 Rus д. Барунели, 107 дес. [¹*Baronėliai*] vs. G1905 58 Rus д. Баронцы, 50 дес. [²*Baronėliai*]. It may be precluded that all three settlements belonged to one owner, or members of one family, at least based on the ITLs. Therefore, both DIM oikonyms may convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: ¹*Baronėliai*, ²*Baronėliai* ← *Barōn-as* + *-ėliai* ← the (small) settlement belonging to/established by the *Barōnai* family/ *Barōnas*. On the other hand, one of the *Baronėliai* settlements may be a simple metonymic transposition of the oikonym *Baronėliai* and could be made by the principle of analogy due to both settlements' proximity to each other: *Baronėliai* ← *Baronėliai* ← a settlement in the vicinity of *Baronėliai*. To derive the oikonym *Baronėliai* from the potamonym *Baronėlė* would be illogical, as the stream is too small to be of any significance. Most probably it is the potamonym that is derived from the oikonym and is motivated by the stream's location in the vicinity of the settlement(s).

4.2.8. *Bedūgnis*_L × *Bedugniūkas*_L

Bedūgnis – (known as Luknelis) Paluknys eld, Trak D; R1872 Rus Оз. Долинецы.

Bedugniūkas – Senieji Trakai eld, Trak D, 9,1 km northeast of *Bedūgnis*.

Bedūgnis is most probably related to Lith *bedūgnis*, *bedūgnė* 'great depth' (LKŽe) and belongs to the group of hydronyms derived from physiographic terms (also, cf. Vanagas 1981: 60–61, Vanagas 1981a: 33–34, LVŽ I 414). The limnonym was most probably motivated by the lake's depth and conveys the concept of the abyss, i.e. at the moment of naming, the lake could have been considered bottomless: Lith *bedūgnis*, *bedūgnė* → abyss, great depth (a deep, bottomless lake) → *Bedūgnis*. Lake *Bedugniūkas* lies in the swampy area in the vicinity of Guopstos village, surrounded by the Ropėjos forest, and is the source of the *Bedugniūkas* stream. The DIM limnonym most probably is motivated by the same concept of the abyss, motivated by the lake's depth: Lith *bedūgnis*, *bedūgnė* + *-iukas* → abyss, great depth (a small, deep/bottomless lake) → *Bedugniūkas*. The Lith DIM Suf *-iukas*, is motivated by the lake's size, cf. *Bedūgnis* (0,021 km²; 0,57 km) vs. *Bedugniūkas* (0,004 km²; 0,27 km).

4.2.9. *Beržuōlis*_L × *Beržuoliūkas*_L

Beržuōlis – Semeliškės eld, El; R1872 Rus Оз. Бержоля.

Beržuoliūkas – Semeliškės eld, El, 0,3 km south of *Beržuōlis*; R1872 Rus Оз. Бержолюкась.

Beržuōlis lake's shores are low, swampy, and overgrown with trees (the biggest mass of which is birch trees) and bushes; on the higher, eastern shore lies the Dergioniai forest. The lake is surrounded by bushy meadows. In the northwest, the *Beržuolė* stream

flows towards the Strėva river. According to Vanagas (1970: 204, 1981: 62), this limnonym has a base Lith *berž-* and, therefore, may be related to and derived from Lith *béržas* (birch) ‘the slender hardy tree which has thin peeling bark and bears catkins (Betula)’ (LKŽe) using Lith *-uolis*, which indicates the external quality of the object (DLKG 117, SRR I 189ff.). The limnonym may be motivated by the flora around it and convey the concept [TREE SPECIES], esp. high concentration of birch trees around it, not the Dargoniai forest (as it is mostly coniferous) and may indicate the place, which is “birchen”, i.e. resembling or characteristic of birch, or resembling the wood (big concentration) of birch trees: Lith *berž-* + *-uolis* → the lake the shores of which are overgrown with birch trees → *Beržuōlis*. Lake *Beržuoliūkas* is related to lake *Beržuōlis*, which it is close to. Based on both lakes’ sizes, cf. *Beržuōlis* (0,12 km²; 1,75 km) vs. *Beržuoliūkas* (0,017 km²; 0,47 km), it may be suggested that *Beržuoliūkas* is Lith DIM Suf *-iukas* derivative from and is motivated by its position in relation to the superior limnonym. Therefore, the lake name likely expresses the metonymic transposition of the name *Beržuōlis* regarding size: *Beržuoliūkas* ← *Beržuōl-is* + *-iukas* ← a small(er) lake in the vicinity of lake *Beržuōlis*.

4.2.10. *Bělŷs_L* × *Běláitis_L*

Bělŷs – Švenčionys eld, Švčn D, in the Bělŷs forest.

Běláitis – Švenčionys eld, Švčn D, 0,07 km south of *Bělŷs*; R1872 Rus Оз. Бѣлайтисъ.

Bělŷs, according to Vanagas (1981: 61), is a limnonym of unclear origin and most probably could be classified as a name that conveys the meaning of “pond – whiteness” (Lith „bala – baltumas“) and most probably could be related to Lith *belà* ‘swamp, marsh, bog’ (LKŽe), Latv *bēlite* ‘puddle, water pit’, or east Slav *белъ* ‘puddle, swamp’. Vanagas (1981a: 73–74) believes that semantically this potamonym is related to nomenclature names of waters or natural objects close to them (ponds, swamps, bogs, etc.). The name may be considered Lith inflexion *-ys* derivative from the mentioned appellatives and may be the name highlighting certain properties/characteristics (DLKG 124). Could it be related to Lith *bielà* (← Pol *biel*, Bel *бел*) ‘white mass with which the huts are bleached’ (LKŽe) and, thus, relating to the white colour of water, based on the visual onlooker’s perception, esp. when the water surface reflects light or is somehow related to the whiteness of soils around the lake, is not clear. The name *Bělŷs* may be considered a transposition of the concept [MARSH/COLOUR], a pond/puddle: Lith *bel-à*, Latv *bēl-ite*, Slav *белъ* + Lith *-ys* → the lake that resembles a puddle, water pit → *Bělŷs*. *Běláitis* is Lith DIM Suf *-aitis* derivative from lake *Bělŷs* and conveys the meaning of the smallness of the named water body (cf. Vanagas 1970: 75–76). This is also proved by the comparison of the extralinguistic data, cf. *Bělŷs* (0,231 km²; 3,7 km) vs. *Běláitis* (0,086 km²; 1,24 km). The limnonym is motivated by its proximity to the superior lake and may be a metonymic transposition of the primary hydronym into the name of the neighbouring lake: *Běláitis* ← *Běl-(-ys)* + *-aitis* ← a smaller lake in the vicinity of lake *Bělŷs*.

4.2.11. *Briaūnis*_L × *Briauniukas*_L

Briaūnis – (VK *Briaūnius*); Kietaviškės eld, El.

Briauniukas – Kietaviškės eld, El, 0,9 km southeast of *Briaūnis*.

Lake *Briaūnis* is located in damp meadows overgrown with bushes. Some scholars (Savukynas 1961: 224, Vanagas 1981: 70) relate the limnonym to Lith *briaunà* ‘edge of any object, sharpness; corner; peak’ (LKŽe), Simas Karaliūnas (1994: 125 – 126) relates it to Balt **briáun-* and further to Indo-Eur **bhrēu-n-* ‘source/spring’ (also cf. LVŽ I 561). The derivation of the lake name from Lith *briaunà* using Lith inflexion *-is* that conveys the meaning of the property/characteristic holder (cf. DLKG 124) is plausible, as the lake’s shoreline is rather winding. The derivation of the limnonym from Balt **briáun-* and Indo-Eur **bhrēu-n-* is less likely, as the lake is not the source of any stream, but rather a water body to which many now nameless streams drain their waters into or flow through (the biggest being the S-2 that joins the lake with lakes Švenčius and Aujėdas). Hence, it is highly likely the name *Briaūnis* conveys the concept [SHAPE], or [TORTUOSITY/SINUOSITY], taking into consideration the configuration of the lake’s winding shoreline, and belongs to the group of hydronyms with physiographic meaning (cf. Vanagas 1981a: 54): Lith *briaun-à* + *-is* → the lake with winding shoreline → *Briaūnis*. *Briauniukas* is Lith DIM Suf *-iukas* derivative from the primary limnonym it is close to. The Suf is motivated by the actual size of the lake in comparison to the superior water body, cf. *Briaūnis* (0,032 km²; 0,73 km) vs. *Briauniukas* (0,01 km²; 0,37 km). The name is motivated not only by the same concept (the shoreline of this lake is not too even), but also by its position in relation to *Briaūnis* and, therefore, may be considered the metonymic transposition of limnonym and convey the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Briauniukas* ← *Briaūn-is* + *-iukas* ← the smaller lake in the vicinity of lake *Briaūnis*.

4.2.12. *Bugėniai*_v × *Bugenėliai*_{stead}

Bugėniai – Pabaiskas eld, Ukm D, 4 km southwest of Ukmergė_m; SV1974 666 Bugeniai_v, KG1903 75 Rus д. Бугянцы, R1872 Rus Буганцѣ, 6 [y].

Bugenėliai – Pabaiskas eld, Ukm D, 0,8 km south of *Bugėniai*; SV1974 666 Bugenėliai_{stead}, KG1903 75 Rus д. Бугянцы, R1872 Rus Буканцы 5 [y].

The oikonym *Bugėniai* most probably originated from and is *pl* of Lith PN *Bugėnis* (PDB, Zinkevičius 2011: 62; LVŽ I 599–600). The Suf *-enis* (*pl -eniai*) is often used to form certain property (characteristic) holders’ names, derived from verbs (cf. DLKG 111, SRR I 234ff.). Therefore, it may be claimed that the oikonym may be motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Bugėniai* ← *Bugėn-is* + *-iai* ← the settlement established by/belonging to *Bugėnis*/the *Bugėniai* family. On the other hand, the oikonym could have originated from and be motivated by the nickname used to refer to people who seemed to be “scary, terrifying” for certain reasons, and therefore, may be interpreted as a metonymic transposition of

the concept referring to people living in the settlement (kind of a nickname): *Bugėn-is*/**bugėn-is* + *-iai* (← Lith *baugùs* ‘scary, cowardly, fearful, terrible’, *būgùs*, *bugùs* ‘the one who is afraid; timid, cowardly; scary’) → *Bugėniai*/**bugėniai* (scary people/cowardly people) → *Bugėniai*. The oikonym *Bugėnėliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from the oikonym *Bugėniai*, judging from both settlements’ proximity (also cf. LVŽ I 599). The settlement with the DIM name was most probably established by people who have separated/moved from *Bugėniai* village. From the historical names of both settlements, it is obvious that both are the result of renaming and the DIM Suf in *Bugėnėliai* is motivated by the settlement’s size (reflected in its current status). Therefore, the oikonym may be considered a metonymic transposition of the bigger settlement’s name with the concept of [SIZE] coded in the DIM form of the neighbouring settlement: *Bugėnėliai* ← *Bugėn-iai* + *-ėliai* ← a smaller settlement in the vicinity of village *Bugėniai*.

4.2.13. *Butkūnai*_v × *Butkūnėliai*_v

Butkūnai – Šešuoliai eld, Ukm D; SV1974 669 Butkūnai_v, KG1903 76 д. Буткуны, R1872 Rus Боткуны 10 [y].

Butkūnėliai – Želva eld, Ukm D, 8 km southeast of *Butkūnai*; SV1974 664 Butkūnėliai_v, KG1903 76 д. Буткуны-новые, R1872 Rus Буткуны 5 [y].

The oikonym *Butkūnai* most probably originated from and is *pl* of Lith PN *Butkūnas* ‘son of Butkus or Butka’ (cf. Zinkevičius 2011: 65, LVŽ I 642). Therefore, it may be claimed that the oikonym may convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP], is motivated by and is a metonymic transposition of PN *Butkūnas*: *Butkūnai* ← *Butkūn-as* + *-ai* ← the settlement established by/belonging to *Butkūnas*/the *Butkūnai* family. The oikonym *Butkūnėliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from the oikonym *Butkūnai*, judging from both settlements’ proximity (also, cf. LVŽ I 642). The settlement with the DIM name was most probably established by people who have separated/moved from *Butkūnai* village. From both settlements’ historical names, it is obvious that both oikonyms are the result of renaming and the DIM Suf in *Butkūnėliai* is motivated by the settlement’s size, cf. R1872 Rus Боткуны 10 [y.] [*Butkūnai*] vs. R1872 Rus Буткуны 5 [y.] [*Butkūnėliai*]. Therefore, the oikonym may be considered a metonymic transposition of the bigger settlement’s name with the concept of size coded in the DIM form: *Butkūnėliai* ← *Butkūn-ai* + *-ėliai* ← a small(er) settlement in the vicinity of the village *Butkūnai*.

4.2.14. *Dainavà*_v × *Dainavėlė*_v

Dainavà – Jašiūnai eld, Šlčn D, 4 km southwest of Jašiūnai_m; SV1974 515 Dainava_v, G1905 74 д. Дейново, 350 дес., R1872 Rus Дайнова 17 [y].

Dainavėlė – Poškonys eld, Šlčn D, 6 km north of Poškonys_v, 22 km southeast of *Dainavà*; SV1974 523 Dainavėlė_v, G1905 74 д. Дейновка, 167 дес., R1872 Rus Дайновка 9 [y].

On the one hand, the oikonym *Dainavà* may be related to and derived from Lith **dainiaiĩ* (sg **dainỹs*) ‘people of *Dainavà* region’, and *Dainavà* “derivatives with the suffixes *-ava*, *-uva*, might have been collective names for the ethnic group as an indivisible whole” (Karaliūnas 2006: 115). This version seems to be plausible, as the oikonym is territorially bound to *Dainavà* (Yotvingia), i.e. the region of Yotvingians (one of the Baltic tribes). Therefore, the oikonym may be a metonymic transposition of the ethnonym Lith **dainiaiĩ* (the concept [PEOPLE] referring to people living in the region) to the oikonym: Lith **dain-iaĩ* + *-ava* → *dainavà* (people living in the *Dainavà*) → *Dainavà*. On the other hand, the oikonym(s) may be considered a transposition of the region’s name (LVŽ II 104–105, IVDB). Thus, it may be a metonymic transposition motivated by the concept [PLACE] (belonging to the region): *Dainavà* ← the settlement in *Dainavà* region. *Dainavēlē* is Lith DIM Suf *-ēlē* derivative from the region’s name, is motivated by its location in *Dainavà* region and conveys the concept [PLACE], but more likely is motivated by the superior oikonym and conveys the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] coupled with the concepts [SMALLNESS] and [AMEABILITY], esp. taking into consideration the village’s proximity to *Dainavà* village and comparing the size of the settlement in opposition, cf. G1905 74 д. Дейново, 350 дес. vs. G1905 74 д. Дейновка, 167 дес.: *Dainavēlē* ← *Dainav-à* + *-ēlē* ← the small settlement in the vicinity of *Dainavà* village.

4.2.15. *Daučiónys*_v × *Daučioniūkai*_v

Daučiónys – Maišiagala eld, V D; SV1974 741 *Daučiónys*_v, G1905 50 Rus д. Довцяны, 185 дес., R1872 Rus Довцяны.

Daučioniūkai – Maišiagala eld, V D, 0,5 km south of *Daučiónys*; SV1974 741 *Daučioniūkai*_v, G1905 50 Rus з. Довцянки, 15 дес., R1872 Rus з. Довцянки.

The oikonym *Daučiónys* most probably originated and is *pl* Lith Suf *-onys* derivative from PN **Daučiónis*, related to Lith PN *Daučiónas*, *Daučỹs* (cf. LVŽ II 150). Therefore, it may be claimed that the oikonym may be motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Daučiónys* ← *Dauč-iónis* + *-onys* ← the settlement established by/belonging to *Daučiónis*/the *Daučiónys* family. The oikonym *Daučioniūkai* is Lith DIM Suf *-iūkai* derivative from the oikonym *Daučiónys*, judging from both settlements’ proximity (also, cf. LVŽ II 150, Razmukaitė 1998: 40). The settlement with the DIM name was most probably established by people who have separated/moved from *Daučiónys* village. From the historical types of both settlements, it is obvious that DIM Suf in *Daučioniūkai* is motivated by the settlement’s size, cf. G1905 50 Rus д. Довцяны, 185 дес. vs. G1905 50 Rus з. Довцянки, 15 дес. Therefore, the oikonym may be considered a metonymic transposition of the bigger settlement’s name with the concept of size coded in the DIM form: *Daučioniūkai* ← *Dauč-iónis* + *-iūkai* ← a smaller settlement in the vicinity of the village *Daučiónys*.

4.2.16. *Déltuva*_{tn} × *Deltuvėlė*_v

Déltuva – Deltuva eld, Ukm D; SV1974 662 Deltuva_{tn}, GKS1903 65 Rus м. Дзевялтовъ, R1872 Rus м. Дзѣвялтовъ.

Deltuvėlė – Pabaiskas eld, Ukm D, 8 km southeast of *Déltuva*; SV1974 666 Deltuvėlė_v, KG1903 92 Rus ф. Дзевалтувка, R1872 Rus ф. Дзевелтовка.

Déltuva is a very old oikonym of unclear origin, first mentioned in the 13th c. (cf. IVDB). Historically, the lands of *Déltuva* played an important role in the formation of the State of Lithuania (cf. Vanagas 1996: 47–66, Zinkevičius 2011: 21–26). It is believed that the older form was *Dėviltuva (← *Dėviltava) or *Deviltava, Lith oikonym derivational Suf -ava, -uva derivative possibly from Lith PN *Dėviltas/*Deviltas (cf. IVDB, LVŽ II 200, Vanagas ibid., Zinkevičius ibid.). If these versions of the oikonym origin are right, then the oikonym could convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and may be interpreted as a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Déltuva* (*Dėviltuva/*Deviltava) ← the settlement established by and belonging to *Dėviltas/*Deviltas. On the other hand, it is also believed that older forms of the oikonym, i.e. *Davilt-/*Davelt-/*Daval-, originated not from the PN, but rather are related to Velts (Lith *veltai*)⁷³ and convey the meaning of ‘two platoons (of soldiers)’ (Karaliūnas 2005: 251ff., 262ff., 275, 315). This suggestion leads to at least two interpretations of the oikonym’s motivation: 1) the oikonym may refer to the place, where two platoons of soldiers met, most probably on the battlefield, or 2) the oikonym could mark the place, where soldiers of a certain tribe had a temporary settlement, probably a campsite, etc. Therefore, the oikonym could be a metaphoric transposition of the concept related to warfare (i.e. warriors): *Davilt-/*Davelt-/*Daval- → two platoons of soldiers/warriors → *Déltuva* (*Dėviltuva/*Deviltava). The oikonym *Deltuvėlė* is of clear origin and is Lith DIM Suf -ėlė derivative from the oikonym *Déltuva* (cf. LVŽ II 200, Razmukaitė 1998: 34). The Suf conveys the meaning of smallness of the named settlement, as compared to that of the one the name is derived from, which is also reflected in both current and historical types of two settlements, cf. GKS1903 65 Rus м. Дзевялтовъ vs. KG1903 92 Rus ф. Дзевалтувка. The oikonym *Deltuvėlė* is motivated by its location in the vicinity of *Déltuva* and may be considered a metonymic transposition of the oikonym: *Deltuvėlė* ← *Déltuv-a* + -ėlė ← a small (and most probably less important) settlement in the vicinity of *Déltuva* town.

4.2.17. *Drabūžis*_L × *Drabužaitis*_L

Drabūžis – Aukštadvaris eld, Trak D; R1872 Rus Оз. Драбужись.

Drabužaitis – Aukštadvaris eld, Trak D, 0,29 km east of *Drabūžis*; R1872 Rus Оз. Пиктабернсь.

⁷³ One of the Baltic tribes that populated the Lithuanian and Latvian coasts, south of the Minijs estuary to the Šventoji and beyond (cf. Jovaiša 2014).

There are several versions of lake *Drabūžis* origin: Savukynas (1962: 195) relates it to Latv place names *Drabas*, *Drab-enas*, Prus *Drab-inow*, Lith *drab-na* ‘bog, slough’, *drabà* ‘falling of wet snow, tremors, trembling’ (LKŽe); according to Vanagas (1981: 89–90), the root *drab-* may be an apophone root *drob-* variant, which may be related to Lith *drabūžis* ‘clothing, dress, garment’, or *dróbė* ‘knitted or crocheted linen or cotton cloth’ (LKŽe), developed from the older lexemes that may have had the meaning of ‘breaking, scratching’. There is also a possibility to relate the limnonym to Lith *drabūs* ‘shivering, trembling’, or *drebėti* ‘to tremble due to cold, fear, etc.’ (LKŽe) (cf. LVŽ II 315). The lake is of an irregular shape and rather deep, with a narrow shallow; several streams (the D-1 and a nameless stream from lake *Drabužaitis*) drain their waters into it. Moreover, the lake lies in the course of the Strėva river. Considering the above, the motivation of the limnonym may be explained by the transposition of several concepts, i.e. either 1) the concept [BOG/SLOUGH]: Lith *drab-na* → the boggy, swampy lake → *Drabūžis*; or 2) [COLD-NESS] of water which makes one tremble: Lith *drabà*, *drabūs*, *drebėti* → the lake, the water of which causes tremor, shivers (due to cold, fear) → *Drabūžis*; or 3) [FEAR] (due to the lake’s depth/treacherous waters): Lith *drabà*, *drabūs*, *drebėti* → the lake, the water of which causes tremor, shivers (due to fear) → *Drabūžis*. *Drabužaitis* lies relatively close to lake *Drabūžis* and is Lith DIM Suf *-aitis* derivative from the former limnonym, motivated by the size of the inferior lake, cf. *Drabūžis* (0,549 km²; 4,22 km) vs. *Drabužaitis* (0,303 km²; 3,07 km), and most probably is of the same etymology. The limnonym is a metonymic transposition of the superior limnonym: *Drabužaitis* ← *Drabūž-is* + *-aitis* ← the lake in the vicinity of lake *Drabūžis*. The shape of the lake is irregular, somewhat of a distorted “T”, which makes the hypothesis of the limnonym’s origin from the older lexeme with the meaning of ‘brokenness’ plausible (which also applies to the superior lake). Also, the possibility that the limnonym is associated with the concept [FEAR/evil] cannot be ruled out, esp. taking into consideration the first component in the older form R1872 Rus Оз. Пиктабернсь (Lith *Piktabernis*) ← Lith *piktas* ‘harsh, unfavourable, unpleasant; evil, wicked’ + *bėrnas* ‘guy, groom, unmarried man’ (LKŽe).

4.2.18. *Dubiaĩ* × *Dubėliai*_v

Dubiaĩ – Širvintos eld, Šr D.; SV1974 585 *Dubiai*_v, G1905 56 д. Дубе, 32 дес., R1872 Rus Дубъ 3 [y].

Dubėliai – Širvintos eld, Šr D, 13 km northeast of *Dubiaĩ*; SV1974 584 *Dubeliai*_v, G1905 80 Rus з. Подубели, 1 дес., R1872 Rus з. Подубиля 1 [y].

Dubiaĩ is Lith *pl* inflexion *-iai* derivative of unclear origin and motivation. On the one hand, this could be the oikonym of anthroponymic origin from Lith PN *Dùbas* ← cf. Pol *Dubas*, *Dubasz*, Bel *Дубасов*, Rus *Дубасъ*, *Дубасенко*, *Дубасовъ* (PDB) (cf. LVŽ II 346–353). Thus, the name could be motivated by and convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Dubiaĩ* ← *Dùb-as* + *-iai* ← the settlement established by/belonging to *Dùbas*/the *Dubiaĩ* family. On the other hand, the oikonym may be of appellative origin

and could be related either 1) to Lith *dùbti* ‘to bend; to subside; to clog, sink’, *du-bùs*, *-ì* ‘sunken, saggy, depressed’ (LKŽe), or 2) to Rus, Bel *дуб* ‘oak, a large tree which bears acorns and typically has lobed deciduous leaves’ (SRYe, Skarnik.by). The village is located low, in the valley on the bank of the Širvinta, more precisely, in a place where the river makes a great bend, which seems to surround the village. Taking into consideration the village’s location in the low place, the name may be interpreted as a metonymic transposition of the concept [LOW/SUNKEN/DEPRESSED PLACE]: Lith *dùb-ti*, *dub-ùs* + *-iai* → the settlement in the low/depressed place → *Dubiaĩ*. Considering the older forms of the oikonym (cf. above), it may be motivated by Rus, Bel *дуб* ‘oak’, as a place where these trees may be found and the name, thus could be interpreted as a metonymic transposition of [TREE SPECIES] (although less likely): Rus, Bel *дуб* ‘oak’ → the settlement with oak trees → *Dubiaĩ* (← G1905 56 д. Дубе, R1872 Rus Дубъ). *Dubėliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-eliai* derivative, motivated by the settlement’s size and type (from the historical perspective), as well as in comparison to the oikonym in opposition, cf. G1905 56 д. Дубе, 32 дес. vs. G1905 80 Rus з. Подубели, 1 дес. Moreover, both are the result of renaming (cf. the older forms). The oikonym *Dubėliai* may either be motivated by its proximity to *Dubiaĩ* or by considering the historical oikonym forms Rus Подубели, Подубиля (most probably Lith *Padubeliai, *Padubiliai ← Pref *pa-* + *dubeliai, *dubiliai ‘the place near ? Dubeliai’), the name may be interpreted as a metonymic transposition: *Dubėliai* ← *Dub-iaĩ* + *-eliai* ← the small settlement in the vicinity of *Dubiaĩ* village.

4.2.19. *Dūkštos*_v × *Dūkštėliai*_v

Dūkštos – *Dūkštos* eld, V D; on the right bank of the Neris, at the confluence of the stream Ringys and the *Dūkštà* (the Neris trib.); SV1974 733 *Dūkštos*_v, G1905 50 Rus сел.[о] Дукшты, 189 дес., R1872 Rus м. Дукшты.

Dūkštėliai – *Maišiagala* eld, V D; 13 km east of *Dūkštos*; on lake *Dūkštėlis*, in the vicinity of the *Dūkštà* (the Neris trib.) source; SV1974 725 *Dūkštėliai*_v, G1905 70 Rus з. Дукштели, 165 дес., R1872 Rus з. Дукштеллы 1 [y].

Dūkštos is motivated by its location on the river *Dūkštà* (the Neris trib.) and is Lith *pl* inflexion *-os* derivative from the potamonym. The oikonym is thus a transposition of the potamonym to oikonym: *Dūkštos* ← the settlement on the *Dūkštà*. *Dūkštėliai* is probably the oikonym motivated by its position on the banks of lake *Dūkštėlis*, which is the source of the *Dūkštà*. The village is in proximity to *Dūkštos* village. *Dūkštėliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-eliai* or *pl* inflexion *-iai* derivative (that also indicates the smallness of the settlement in comparison to the village it is in opposition with) most probably from the lake’s name in the vicinity of which the village is located. The DM also marks the size of the settlement in comparison to the bigger settlement and differentiates them by the settlement type. Therefore, it may be suggested that *Dūkštėliai* is a metonymic transposition of the limnonym: *Dūkštėliai* ← *Dūkšt-ėliai*/*Dūkštėl-iai* ← a small settlement in the vicinity of lake *Dūkštėlis*.

4.2.20. *Dùsmenys*_v × *Dusmenėliai*_v

Dùsmenys – (Dusmėniai) Onuškis eld, Trak D, on the *Dusmenà* river (17 km, the Varenė trib.); SV1974 647 Dusmenys_v, G1905 316 Rus сел. Дусямяны, 530 дес., R1872 Rus м. Душмяны 12 [y].

Dusmenėliai – Onuškis eld, Trak D, approx. 3,5 km west of *Dùsmenys*; SV1974 647 Dusmenėliai_v, G1905 316 Rus д. Дусямянки, 450 дес., R1872 Rus Душмянки 11 [y].

Dùsmenys is most probably Lith *pl* inflexion *-ys* (official form) or *-iai* (the living language form) derivative from the *Dusmenà* river (cf. LVŽ II 416). The oikonym is motivated by the settlement's position on the river and most probably relates to people living by the river (metonymic transposition of a catoiconym)⁷⁴: Lith *dusmėniai* → people living by the *Dusmenà* river → *Dùsmenys* (*Dusmėniai*). On the other hand, the oikonym may be a simple metonymic transposition of the potamonym: *Dùsmenys* (*Dusmėniai*) ← Dusmen-a + *-ys/-iai* ← the settlement by the *Dusmenà* river. *Dusmenėliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from the oikonym *Dùsmenys*. The Suf conveys the meaning of the smallness of the named settlement, cf. the historical settlement types G1905 316 Rus сел. Дусямяны, 530 дес., R1872 Rus м. Душмяны vs. G1905 316 Rus д. Дусямянки, 450 дес., R1872 Rus Душмянки. The name *Dusmenėliai* is motivated by the village's location near the bigger settlement. The village with the DIM name most probably was established by people who moved from *Dùsmenys* at a certain point in time. Therefore, the DIM name may be considered a metonymic transposition of the bigger settlement's name: *Dusmenėliai* ← *Dùsmenys* + *-ėliai* ← a small(er) settlement in the vicinity of *Dùsmenys*.

4.2.21. *Gaigālis*_L × *Gaigaliùkas*_L

Gaigālis – Pabradė eld, V D.

Gaigaliùkas – Pabradė eld, V D; 0,8 km northwest of *Gaigālis*.

Gaigālis is probably Lith inflexion *-is*, used to derive nouns denoting a bearer of a quality or an attribute of a subject (cf. DLKG 113ff.), derivative from and may be related to Lith *gaĩgalas* 'drake; male of all the duck (Anatidae) family birds' (LKŽe) (cf. Vanagas 1981: 103, LVŽ III 17–18), and semantically belongs to the group of hydronyms that convey the meaning of fauna, i.e. names derived from fauna related words (Vanagas 1981a: 76ff.). The name was possibly motivated by various species of birds from the Anatidae family, esp. a big number of male ducks. The limnonym may be considered a metonymic transposition of concept [BIRD SPECIES], or rather the lake that is habitat to many (male)-ducks: Lith *gaĩgal-* + *-is* → a male-duck/the lake that is home for ducks → *Gaigālis*. The limnonym *Gaigaliùkas* is Lith DIM Suf *-iukas* derivative from *Gaigālis* and probably shares the same etymology and motivation. The Suf is motivated by the actual size of the lake, which is approx. five times smaller than *Gaigālis*, cf. *Gaigālis*

⁷⁴ Cf. catoiconym *dusmėniai* (sg *dusmėnis*) (Norkaitienė 2011: 64).

(0,011 km²; 0,45 km) vs. *Gaigaliùkas* (0,002 km²; 0,15 km). Due to both lakes' locations close to each other, *Gaigaliùkas* may be considered the metonymic transposition of *Gaigālis*: *Gaigaliùkas* ← *Gaigal-* + *-iùkas* ← a smaller lake near lake *Gaigālis*.

4.2.22. *Gélvis*_L × *Gelváitis*_L

Gélvis – Semeliškės eld, El; R1872 Rus Оз. Галойсь.

Gelváitis – Semeliškės eld, El, 0,5 km north of *Gélvis*; R1872 Rus Оз. Гольватись.

The shores of lake *Gélvis* are mostly low and swampy; there are meadows all around and bushes and trees on the west shore; the slopes of the southwestern shore are steep and springy. In the eastern part of the lake, a stream flows toward the Strėva river. The limnonym is most probably related to Latv *dzeļve* 'water pit in the swamp' and could be further related to Lith *gal̃vis*, *gálvis* 'pond spontaneously formed in the site of an old riverbed or estuary; excavated pond's steep bank' (LKŽe), and further to Lith *gelmė* 'depth, deepest place' (LKŽe) (Vanagas 1981: 105–106), and might be the hydronym derived from water nomenclature terms (Vanagas 1981a: 37). Thus, the name may be considered the metonymic transposition of the term: Latv *dzeļve*, Lith *gal̃vis*, *gálvis*, *gelmė* → a deep pond in the swamp → *Gélvis*. *Gelváitis* is a smaller lake of an irregular triangular shape. The western and southern shores are high, and the other shores are low and swampy. A stream flows through the lake towards the Vuolasta (the Elekrėnai Reservoir trib.). The limnonym is Lith DIM Suf *-aitis* derivative from *Gélvis* and shares the same etymology with the former. The Suf conveys the meaning of smallness and amiability (cf. DLKG 91, SRR I 358ff.), motivated by the lake's size, cf. *Gélvis* (0,079 km²; 1,22 km) vs. *Gelváitis* (0,037 km²; 0,75 km). The limnonym is a metonymic transposition of the superior limnonym: *Gelváitis* ← *Gelv-aitis* ← a smaller lake in the vicinity of *Gélvis*.

4.2.23. ¹*Gélvonai*_{tn} × ²*Gélvonai*_v × *Gelvonėliai*_v

¹*Gélvonai* – Gelvonai eld, Šrv D, by the *Gel̃vė* stream (7 km Žirnajai_L trib.); SV1974 579 Gelvonai_{tn}, G1905 38 Rus м. Гелваны, 186 дес., R1872 Rus м. Гелвани 32 [y.], K1861 721 Rus м. Гелвани 30 [y.].

²*Gélvonai* – Gelvonai eld, Šrv D, 1 km north of *Gélvonai*_{tn}; SV1974 579 Gelvonai_v, G1905 38 Rus им. Гелваны, 123 дес., R1872 Rus Гелвани.

Gelvonėliai – Širvintos eld, Šrv D, 8,6 km east of *Gélvonai*_{tn}; SV1974 587 Gelvonėliai_v, G1905 38 Rus им. Гелванки, 168 дес., R1872 Rus Гелванки.

Gélvonai is Lith Suf *-onai* derivative from the potamonym *Gel̃vė* (cf. Razmukaite 1998: 32, LVŽ III 136). The settlement is located just approx. 4,5 km southwest of the stream's source and 4,7 km southwest of *Gel̃vė* lake. Therefore, the oikonym is motivated by the settlement's location by the *Gel̃vė* stream and may be considered a metonymic transposition: *Gélvonai* ← *Gel̃v-ė* + *-onai* ← the settlement by the *Gel̃vė*

stream. The village name *Gélvonai* is the secondary name that originated from the town's name and is motivated by the village's location in the vicinity of the bigger settlement. Therefore, it should be considered a metonymic transposition of the polisonym into oikonym: *Gélvonai* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Gélvonai* town. *Gelvonėliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from the polisonym *Gélvonai* (cf. LVŽ III 136). The DIM form is motivated by the size of the village, as compared to that of the town and the village in opposition from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives (cf. G1905 38). The oikonym is motivated by its location in relation to the town and may be considered a metonymic transposition: *Gelvonėliai* ← *Gélvon-ai* + *-ėliai* ← the small settlement in the vicinity of *Gélvonai* town.

4.2.24. *Gėjus_L* × *Gėjùkas_L*

Gėjus – Onuškis eld, Trak D, Gėjus swamp; R1872 Rus Оз. Гея.

Gėjùkas – Onuškis eld, Trak D, 0,28 km southwest of *Gėjus*, in Gėjus swamp; R1872 Rus Оз. Геюкь.

Lake *Gėjus* lies in Jurgionys forest; the lake's shores are mostly low and swampy – in the southeast of the lake there is Gėjus swamp; the bottom is rather muddy. The limnonym is Lith inflection *-us* derivative from the root *gei-* that is related to Lith *gainỹs* → *geinỹs* 'curved stick, beater' (LKŽe), which (Vanagas 1981: 110, 1981a: 55) further relates to Old Indian *jihmáh* 'crooked, diagonally turned, bent', Norwegian *keika* 'bend, turn'. The limnonym is most probably motivated by the lake's curved shape. Therefore, the limnonym may belong to a group of hydronyms of physiographic-configuration meaning and conveys the concept [SHAPE]: *gei-* (Lith *gainỹs* → *geinỹs*) + *-us* → the lake of curved shape → *Gėjus*. *Gėjùkas* is a smaller lake, with low and swampy shores, that lies in Gėjus swamp (Jurgionys forest). The limnonym is Lith Suf *-ukas* derivative from the superior lake's name and is motivated by its location near *Gėjus*. The DIM Suf is motivated by the size of the lake, cf. *Gėjus* (0,245 km²; 2,88 km) vs. *Gėjùkas* (0,045 km²; 0,87 km). Being the derivative and taking into consideration its location, *Gėjùkas* may be considered the secondary limnonym (metonymic name), i.e. derived from other hydronyms, shares the same etymology with the name it is derived from, and expresses the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Gėjùkas* ← *Gėj-* + *-ùkas* ← a small lake in the vicinity of *Gėjus*.

4.2.25. *Gėlà_L* × *Gėláitis_L*

Gėlà – Nemenčinė eld, V D; R1872 Rus Оз. Гелизъ.

Gėláitis – Nemenčinė eld, V D, 0,07 km north of *Gėlà*; R1872 Rus Оз. Оз. Липнище Большое.

Gėlà is obviously related to Lith *gėlas*, *-à*, *gėlas*, *-a* 'without salt, without acid, bran, sweet' (LKŽe) or Lith *gėlūs* 'without salt, without acid, bran' (LKŽe) (cf. Vanagas 1981: 110–111) and may be motivated by the quality of water, esp. its taste (also cf. Vana-

gas 1981a: 117). On the other hand, Savukynas (1966: 188) relates the limnonym to Lith *pagėla*, *pagelà* ‘humid, cold, harsh weather (e.g. in autumn or spring); frost, freezing’ (LKŽe), Latv *dzēltrs* ‘cool, cold’, Lat *gelu* ‘cold’, etc. and, thus, the name may be motivated by the coldness of the water. The limnonym may be interpreted as either 1) the transposition of the concept [FRESH WATER]: Lith *gėlas*, -à, *gėlas*, -a, *gėlus* → the lake with fresh water → *Gėlà*, or 2) the transposition of the concept [COLDNESS]: Lith *pa-gėla*, *pa-gelà* → the lake with cold water → *Gėlà*. Lake *Gėlaitis* lies in a deep pit near lake *Gėlà*. The limnonym is Lith Suf -aitis derivative, which conveys the meaning of smallness and most probably amiability (cf. DLKG 91, SRR I 358ff.), cf. both lakes’ size *Gėla* (0,21 km²; 2,18 km) vs. *Gėlaitis* (0,053 km²; 1,1 km). It may also convey the concept of kinship and share the same etymology and motivation with the lake name *Gėlà*. Being the derivative, *Gėlaitis* may be considered a metonymic transposition of a limnonym: *Gėlaitis* ← *Gėl-* + -aitis ← a small lake nearby lake *Gėlà*.

4.2.26. *Gruožys*_L × *Gruožaitis*_L

Gruožys – Onuškis eld, Trak D.

Gruožaitis – Onuškis eld, Trak D, 0,05 km northwest of *Gruožys*.

Lake *Gruožys* is curved in shape; the shores are mostly shallow, in places swampy. To the east, the Spengla stream flows towards lake Spengla. According to Vanagas (1981: 124), the origin of the limnonym is not very clear as the root *gruož-* may be an apophonic variant of the root *grauž-*. However, the suggestion is that the name is of a configurational meaning and could be related to Latv *grozs* ‘strongly, tightly twisted’ and *groži*, *grozs* ‘rope’ (LLVVe) (also Vanagas 1981a: 56). This version seems to be plausible, taking into consideration the winding shoreline of the lake. Thus, the name may be considered the transposition of the concept [CURVATURE/TWISTING] or metaphorically [ROPE]: Latv *grozs*, *groži*, *grozs* → the lake with winding (as a rope), curved shoreline → *Gruožys*. Lake *Gruožaitis* is also of a rather curved shape; its shores are low, swampy, and overgrown with trees and shrubs. The name is Lith Suf -aitis derivative, which conveys the meaning of smallness and most probably amiability (cf. DLKG 91, SRR I 358ff.), esp. taking into consideration the fact that the lake is smaller than its counterpart, cf. *Gruožys* (0,291 km²; 2,77 km) vs. *Gruožaitis* (0,036 km²; 0,92 km). Being the derivative, *Gruožaitis* may be considered a metonymic transposition of a limnonym: *Gruožaitis* ← *Gruož-* + -aitis ← a small lake near lake *Gruožys*.

4.2.27. *Grúožninkai*_v × *Gruožninkėliai*_v

Grúožninkai – Onuškis eld, Trak D, north of lakes *Gruožys* and *Gruožaitis*; SV1974 651

*Gruožninkai*_v, G1905 316 Rus д. Грожни́ки, 567 дес., R1872 Rus Грозники 15 [y].

Gruožninkėliai – Onuškis eld, Trak D, south of lakes *Gruožys* and *Gruožaitis*; SV1974

651 *Gruožninkėliai*_v, G1905 316 Rus д. Грожникели, 233 дес., R1872 Rus Грозникеле 9 [y].

Grúožninkai is probably of hydronymic origin and is Lith Suf *-ninkai* (cf. Razmukaitė 1998: 30). The oikonym is motivated by the village's position in the vicinity of lakes *Gruožys* and *Gruožaitis*. The Suf may also refer to people living in the village, as in the Lith language it is often used to derive names of persons according to their profession or words, denoting a person's property (cf. DLKG 137–138, SRR I 178ff.). Therefore, the oikonym *Grúožninkai* may be explained as either 1) the conceptualization of place: *Grúožninkai* ← *Grúož-* + *-ninkai* ← the settlement in the vicinity of lakes *Gruožys* and *Gruožaitis*, or 2) *grúožninkai* → people living in the vicinity of lakes *Gruožys* and *Gruožaitis* → *Grúožninkai*. *Gruožninkėliai* is Lith Suf *-ėliai* derivative from *Grúožninkai*. The oikonym is motivated by its location in the vicinity of the village *Grúožninkai*, as well as lakes *Gruožys* and *Gruožaitis*. The DIM Suf points to the size of *Gruožninkėliai*, at least from the historical perspective, cf. G1905 316 Rus д. Грожники, 567 дес. vs. G1905 316 Rus д. Грожникели, 233 дес. The name is based on the metonymy and most probably is the transposition of the oikonym: *Gruožninkėliai* ← *Gruožnink-* + *-ėliai* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Grúožninkai*.

4.2.28. *Grūžos*_v × *Gružėlės*_v

Grūžos – Siesikai eld, Ukm D; SV1974 668 *Grūžos*_v, KG1903 90 Rus им., ф. Грузи, R1872 Rus ф. Грузе.

Gružėlės – Siesikai eld, Ukm D, 1,4 km southwest of *Grūžos*; SV1974 668 *Gružėlės*_v, KG1903 90 Rus з. Грузи, R1872 Rus з. Грузе.

Grūžos is probably related to Lith PN *Gružà*, *Grūžas* (LVŽ III 327), or *Gružėlė* (cf. Zinkevičius 2011: 98). The oikonym is obviously a *pl* derivative from the PN, is motivated by and conveys the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] being a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Grūžos* ← *Gruž-à*, *Gruž-as* + *-os* ← the settlement established by/ belonging to *Gružà*, *Grūžas*/the *Grūžos* family. *Gružėlės* is Lith DIM Suf derivative from oikonym *Grūžos* (cf. LVŽ III 328, Razmukaitė 1998: 35). The DIM Suf points to the size of the settlement from the historical perspective, cf. the historical settlement types KG1903 90 Rus им., ф. Грузи vs. KG1903 90 Rus з. Грузи. The settlement *Gružėlės* most probably was established by people, who moved/separated from the bigger settlement. The oikonym is, therefore, motivated by the village's location near *Grūžos* and is a metonymic transposition of the former, coupled with the meaning of [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Gružėlės* ← *Grūž-os* + *-elės* ← a smaller settlement in the vicinity of *Grūžos*.

4.2.29. *Jagūdis*_L × *Jagudėlis*_L

Jagūdis – El; R1872 Rus Оз. Ягуды.

Jagudėlis – El, 0,49km southwest of *Jagūdis*; R1872 Rus Оз. Ягудели.

Jagūdis, as suggested by Vanagas (1981: 133–134), is most probably of anthroponymic origin and may be related to **Jagudis* or *Jagūtis*, *Jogūtis* (← Lith PN *Jāgas* ← De *Jag*, *Jaag*,

Jogg: *Jacobus*, Pol *Jag*, *Jaga*, Old. Rus *Eza*: *Ezopuŭ* (cf. PDB)). The motivation of the limnonym is unclear though: it could be motivated by the person's surname in whose lands the lake was located or could have another kind of relation to the person. It expresses the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Jagùdis* ← a lake in the lands belonging to **Jagudis* or *Jagùtis*, *Jogùtis*. *Jagudēlis* is Lith DIM Suf *-ēlis* derivative from the limnonym *Jagùdis*. The Suf points to the size of the lake, cf. *Jagùdis* (0,025 km²; 0,73 km) vs. *Jagudēlis* (0,008 km²; 0,32 km). The name shares the same motivation as the name of the superior lake and expresses concepts [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP/PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Jagudēlis* ← *Jagud-* + *-ēlis* ← a smaller lake in the vicinity of *Jagùdis*/or a smaller lake in the lands belonging to **Jagudis* or *Jagùtis*, *Jogùtis*.

4.2.30. *Jauniūnai*_v × *Jauniūnėliai*_v

Jauniūnai – *Jauniūnai* eld, Šr D; SV1974 581 *Jauniūnai*_v, G1905 57 Rus д. Явнюны, 231 дес., R1872 Rus Явнюны 10 [y].

Jauniūnėliai – *Jauniūnai* eld, Šr D, 1 km northwest of *Jauniūnai*; SV1974 581 *Jauniūnėliai*_v, G1905 57 Rus д. Явнюны, 110 дес., R1872 Rus з. Явнюны 3 [y].

Jauniūnai is Lith Suf *-(i)ūnai* (sg *-ūnas*) derivative most probably from Lith PN **Jauniūnas* (cf. LVGDB) ← *Jaūnius*, related to Lith *Jaunas*, *Jauneikà*, *Jaūniškis* (PDB). The oikonym is may convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Jauniūnai* ← **Jaun-iūnas* + *-iūnai* ← the settlement belonging to/founded by **Jauniūnas*/the **Jauniūnai* family. The current oikonym *Jauniūnėliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from the oikonym *Jauniūnai* and is the result of renaming. The Suf is motivated by the historical size of the village, cf. historical forms above. The oikonym is motivated by the village's position in relation to *Jauniūnai* and is a metonymic transposition of the bigger settlement's name into the name of the smaller one, which highly likely was established by people, who moved from *Jauniūnai*: *Jauniūnėliai* ← *Jauniūn-ai* + *-ėliai* ← the smaller settlement in the vicinity of *Jauniūnai* village.

4.2.31. *Juodakiai*_ĩ × *Juodakėliai*_v

Juodakiai – *Želva* eld, Ukm D; SV1974 677 *Juodakiai*_ĩ, G1905 35 Rus ф. Иодаки, 821 дес., R1872 Rus з. Едаки 3 [y].

Juodakėliai – *Želva* eld, Ukm D, 1,2 km southeast of *Juodakiai*; SV1974 664 *Juodakėliai*_v.

Juodakiai is *pl* from Lith PN *Juodākis*, *Juodakis*, *Juodakys* (cf. PDB, Zinkevičius 2011: 98). On the other hand, the oikonym may have originated from a nickname, related to Lith *juodākis*, *júodakis*, *juodakys* 'the one with black eyes' (LKŽe) and might have marked a settlement, where a person/people with black (dark) eyes lived, thus, can be considered a metaphoric name: Lith *juodāk-is*, *júodak-is*, *juodak-ys* + *-iai* → the settlement where a person/people with black eyes lives → *Juodakiai*. Also, the oikonym could have conveyed the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] being a metonymic transposition of the PN:

Juodakiai ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Juodākis/Juodakis/Juodakys*/the *Juodakiai* family. *Juodakėliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from the oikonym *Juodakiai* (cf. Zinkevičius *ibid.*). From the historical records, it is obvious that the settlement is newer, and was highly likely smaller at the time of its establishment. Due to its proximity to *Juodakiai*, *Juodakėliai* is motivated by its location in relation to and is a metonymic transposition of the former village's name: *Juodakėliai* ← *Juodak-iai* + *-ėliai* ← the smaller (and newer) settlement in the vicinity of *Juodakiai*.

4.2.32. *Juodis*_L × *Juodžiukas*_L

Juodis – Semeliškės eld, Trak D; R1872 Rus Оз. Иодзикъ.

Juodžiukas – Aukštadvaris eld, Trak D, 10 km southeast of *Juodis*; R1872 Rus Оз. Подзикъ.

Juodis is the limnonym related to and derived from Lith *júodas*, *juodà*, also, *júodasai*, etc. 'black; carbon coloured, dark' (LKŽe), belongs to the group of colour hydronyms (cf. Vanagas 1981a: 97–99), and is motivated either by the colour of water, which is dark, unclear, untransparent or by the colour of dark soil around the lake: the shores esp. in the southern part of the lake, which is more accessible, are low and swampy, the shallow is wide and muddy. The derivational inflexion Lith *-is* expresses the meaning of the holder of the property expressed by the appellative (cf. DLKG 124). Therefore, the limnonym may be a conceptualization of dark, unclear water: Lith *júod-as*, *judo-à*, *júod-asai*, etc. → the lake with dark, black, unclear water → *Juodis*. *Juodžiukas* may be considered Lith DIM Suf *-iukas* derivative from *Juodis*, as both lakes form an opposition and are relatively close to each other. The DIM Suf also points to the size of the lake, cf. *Juodis* (0,478 km²; 7,12 km) *vs.* *Juodžiukas* (0,076 km²; 1,03 km). The name also belongs to the group of colour hydronyms and may share the same etymology, being the expression of either: 1) the same concept [COLOUR:BLACK]: Lith *júod-as*, *judo-à*, *júod-asai*, etc. → the lake with dark, black, unclear water → *Juodžiukas*, or 2) a transposition of the diminutivized form of the superior lake's name, expressing the concept [PLACE:LOCATION NEAR]: *Juodžiukas* ← *Juodž-* + *-iukas* ← a small lake located close to lake *Juodis*. On the other hand, the lake is surrounded by the coniferous Spindžius forest, therefore, the limnonym may be motivated by the dark colour of the trees: Lith *júod-* + *-iukas* → a small lake surrounded by dark, coniferous forest → *Juodžiukas*.

4.2.33. *Juodýnas*_L × *Juodynėlis*_L

Juodýnas – Švenčionėliai eld, Švčn D; R1872 Rus Оз. Ядзишки.

Juodynėlis – Švenčionėliai eld, Švčn D, 12 km west of *Juodýnas*; R1872 Rus Оз. Иодзе-нялисъ.

Juodýnas is related to and derived from Lith *júodas*, *juodà*, also, *júodasai*, etc. 'black; carbon coloured, dark' (LKŽe) (cf. Vanagas 1981: 137–138) using Lith Suf *-ynas*, used to derive place names (DLKG 133–134), and belongs to the group of colour hydronyms. The name is most probably motivated by the colour of the water, which is dark,

unclear, and untransparent, due to the lake's depth – the lake is very deep, approx. 42 m (TLE 2 146), or may be motivated by the colour of the swampy banks. Therefore, the limnonym may be a conceptualization of dark, unclear water: Lith *júod-* + *-ynas* → a deep lake with dark, black, unclear water → *Juodýnas*. Also, as the lake is surrounded by forests, the name may be motivated by the dark colour of the trees and is the conceptualization of the dark place: Lith *júod-* + *-ynas* → a dark place (lake) → *Juodýnas*. *Juodynėlis* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėlis* derivative, which points to the size of the lake, which is relatively small, cf. *Juodýnas* (0,254 km²; 2,29 km) vs. *Juodynėlis* (0,029 km²; 0,66 km). The lake is located in the Baranava forest, in a swampy area east of Beržalotas swamp. The limnonym most probably shares the same etymology with lake *Juodýnas* and is motivated by either 1) its location in a swampy area and a transposition of the soil colour into the colour of water: Lith *júod-* + *-ėlis* → a small lake with dark, black, unclear water → *Juodynėlis*; 2) its location in the forest and is a transposition of the dark colour of wood into the colour of water: Lith *júod-* + *-ėlis* → a small lake surrounded by the dark forest → *Juodynėlis*; or 3) its location in correlation with lake *Juodýnas*, expressing the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Juodynėlis* ← *Juodyn-* + *-ėlis* ← a small lake located close to lake *Juodýnas*.

4.2.34. *Júodiškis*_v × *Juodiškėlis*_v

Júodiškis – Švenčionėliai eld, Švčn D; SV1974 607 *Júodiškis*_v, G1905 299 Rus д. Иодишклянцы, 127 дес., R1872 Rus Иодзишканцы.

Juodiškėlis – Švenčionėliai eld, Švčn D, 3 km southwest of *Júodiškis*; SV1974 607 *Juodiškėlis*_v, G1905 299 Rus з. Иодзишки, 69 дес.

Júodiškis is most probably of anthroponymic origin and is formed using Lith Suf *-iškis*, oikonym derivational Suf from PNs (Razmukaitė 1998: 2–4) from Lith PN *Júodis* that belongs to the category of old single-stem PNs derived from appellatives (ibid. 65; also, cf. PDB). The oikonym is obviously motivated by and is a metonymic transposition of the PN, conveying the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Júodiškis* ← Lith PN *Júod-is* + *-iškis* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Júodis*. *Juodiškėlis* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėlis* derivative from *Júodiškis*. The oikonym is motivated by both the historical size of the settlement and its proximity to *Júodiškis*, cf. G1905 299 Rus д. Иодишклянцы, 127 дес., R1872 Rus Иодзишканцы vs. G1905 299 Rus з. Иодзишки, 69 дес., and is a metonymic transposition of the former name: *Juodiškėlis* ← *Júodišk-is* + *-ėlis* ← a smaller settlement in the vicinity of *Júodiškis*.

4.2.35. *Kaimýnai*_v × *Kaimynėliai*_v

Kaimýnai – Musninkai eld, Šr D; SV1974 585 *Kaimynai*_v, G1905 56 Rus д. Кеймены, 239 дес., R1872 Rus Кейминце 13 [y].

Kaimynėliai – Musninkai eld, Šr D, 6 km northwest of *Kaimýnai*; SV1974 585 *Kaimynėliai*_v, G1905 56 Rus д. Кейминцы, 169 дес., R1872 Rus Кайенины 10 [y].

Kaimýnai is Lith Suf *-ynai* (sg *-ynas*) derivative from Lith *kaimýnas*, *-ė* ‘person living next door to or very near to the speaker or person referred to’ (LKŽe) and could refer to people living close to the nominator and could be motivated by and convey the concept [NEIGHBOURHOOD]. On the other hand, the oikonym may be related to Lith PN *Káiminis*, cf. Latv PN *Kaimiņš* (PDB), but this is less likely, due to the anthroponym’s dispersion. Therefore, the oikonym is most probably the metonymic transposition of the concept associated with the close relationship of property and proximity expressed by the appellative: Lith *kaimýn-as* + *-ai* → people living in the neighbourhood (from the perspective of the nominator) → *Kaimýnai*. *Kaimynėliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from the oikonym *Kaimýnai* and relates to (is motivated by) the small size of the settlement from the historical perspective, cf. G1905 56 Rus д. Кеймены, 239 дес. vs. G1905 56 Rus д. Кейминцы, 169 дес. The oikonym *Kaimynėliai* is a metonymic transposition of the oikonym in correlation coupled with the concept [SIZE]: *Kaimynėliai* ← *Kaimýn-ai* + *-ėliai* ← the smaller settlement in the vicinity of *Kaimýnai*.

4.2.36. *Kálviai*_v × ¹*Kalvēliai*_v × ²*Kalvēliai*_v

Kálviai – Medininkai eld, V D; SV1974 743 *Kalviai*_v, G1905 43 Rus д. Ковали, 186 дес., R1872 Rus Ковали 10 [y].

¹*Kalvēliai* – Marijampolis eld, V D, 18 km west of *Kálviai*; SV1974 749 *Kalveliai*_v, G1905 82 Rus д. Ковальчуки, 143 дес., R1872 Rus Ковальчуки 4 [y].

²*Kalvēliai* – *Kalveliai* eld, V D, 15 km northeast of *Kálviai*; SV1974 739 *Kalveliai*_v, G1905 82 Rus пос. Ковальчуки 2 дес., R1872 Rus Ковале 3 [y].

The ITL *Kálviai* in the above oppositions is probably related to and is *pl* from Lith PN *Kálvis*, cf. Lat *Kalvis*, and originated from Lith *kálvis* ‘smith, blacksmith’ (LKŽe), Lat *kalvis* ‘smith, blacksmith’ (LLVVe) (cf. LVGDB). Thus, the oikonym may be motivated by the PN name and is its metonymic transposition, based on the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Kálviai* ← *pl* of *Kálvis* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Kálvis*. On the other hand, (black)smithery is one of the most ancient crafts, the essence of which is forging objects from metals but also often included the search for ore and the melting of metal. Therefore, the oikonym may be related to Lith *kálvis* ‘smith, blacksmith’ (cf. LVGDB) and could have been motivated by the professional concept of smithery into the oikonym, which could have been an indication and perpetuation of craft and profession, i.e. served as a sign of where one should search for such a craftsman, [PROFESSION]: Lith *kálvis* (*pl kálviai*) → the settlement where the (black)smith lives/works → *Kálviai*. The ITL *Kalv-ėliai* in opposition is also of a not very clear origin. On the one hand, it may also be either derived from Lith PN *Kalvēlis* (cf. PN *Kálvis*) or Lith *kalvēlis* (DIM of Lith *kálvis*) (cf. LVGDB, PDB, Blažienė 2019: 169). Hence, it may be motivated by the PN name and its metonymic transposition, based on the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Kalvēliai* ← *pl* of *Kalvēlis* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Kalvēlis*; or could have been motivated by the professional concept of smithery: Lith *kalvēlis* (*pl kalvēliai*) → the settlement where the (black)smith

lives/works → *Kalvēliai*. The Suf DIM *-eliai* in *Kalvēliai* (Marijampolis eld.) and *Kalvēliai* (Kalveliai eld.) is motivated by the relatively small size of both settlements from the historical perspective, cf. G1905 43 Rus д. Ковали, 186 дес., R1872 Rus Ковали 10 [y.] vs. G1905 82 Rus д. Ковальчуки, 143 дес., R1872 Rus Ковальчуки 4 [y.] vs. G1905 82 Rus пос. Ковальчуки 2 дес., R1872 Rus Ковале 3 [y.].

4.2.37. *Kāris*_L × *Karāitis*_L

Kāris – Maigūnai eld, Švčn D; R1872 Rus Оз. Карья.

Karāitis – Maigūnai eld, Švčn D, 0,10 km north of lake *Kāris*.

Kāris is of unclear origin, and, according to Vanagas (1981: 147), may be very archaic, having equivalents in other Indo-Eur languages, cf. Swedish *har* ‘stone floor’, Old Irish *carrag* ‘rock’ from Indo-Eur **kar-* ‘hard; stone, stony’. The name most probably is Lith inflection *-is* derivative, expressing the holder of the named property/characteristics (DLKG 124). The name probably belongs to hydronyms of physiographic meaning and is motivated by the qualities of the water body’s bottom (cf. Vanagas 1981a: 65–66). It is not clear though whether the limnonym may be considered a transposition of the concept [STONY] bottom: Swedish *har* ‘stone floor’, Old Irish *carrag* ‘rock’ (← Indo-Eur **kar-*) → the lake with pebbly, stony bottom → *Kāris*. *Karāitis* is Lith DIM Suf *-aitis* derivative from the lake’s name it is in close to. The Suf conveys the meaning of smallness and most probably amiability (cf. DLKG 91), motivated by the actual size of the lake, as well as its location in relation to the superior lake, cf. *Kāris* (0,052 km²; 0,9 km) vs. *Karāitis* (0,039 km²; 0,81 km). The name *Karāitis* probably expresses the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Karāitis* ← *Kar-* + *-aitis* ← a small lake located close to lake *Kāris*.

4.2.38. *Kenà*_R × *Kenėlė* (*Kinėlė*)_{st}

The Kenà – 23,9 km, the Vilnia trib., V D; R1872 P. Кѣна.

The Kenėlė (*Kinėlė*) – 8 km, *the Kenà* trib., V D.

Kenėlė (*Kinėlė*) is Lith DIM Suf *-ėlė* derivative from the superior potamonym *Kenà*. The DMs of these potamonyms are motivated by the size of the named rivers. For the etymological analysis and motivation of ITLs, cf. Section 4.1.9.

4.2.39. *Krākinis*_L × *Krakinùkas*_L

Krākinis – Pabradė eld, Švčn D; R1872 Rus Оз. Кракини.

Krakinùkas – Pabradė eld, Švčn D, 0,08 km northwest of *Krākinis*; R1872 Rus Оз. Малини.

Krākinis is most probably related to Lith *krākė* ‘crucian (*Carassius carassius*)’ (LKŽe) (cf. Vanagas 1981: 163). The limnonym is derived employing Lith Suf *-inis* that is

used to derive distinctive adjectives, the meaning of which among others is “the one having a distinctive feature consisting of an object indicated by a reference word” (DLKG 212, SRR I 245ff.). It may be claimed that the limnonym is motivated by the zoolexeme and belongs to the group of hydronyms relating to fauna (cf. Vanagas 1981a: 79). Therefore, the limnonym may be the conceptualization of a place (lake) in which the dominant species of fish is *Carassius* *Carassius*, the concept [FISH SPECIES]: Lith *krāk-ė* + *-inis* → the lake in which one may catch crucians → *Krākinis*. *Krakinùkas* is obviously the result of renaming (cf. the historical form, which is of unclear origin) regarding the lake’s size, which is indicated by Lith Suf *-(i)ukas*, used to form the DIM names of babies, cubs, and fledglings (such derivatives can be considered as having the meaning of origin and belonging) (DLKG 90, cf. SRR I 137ff.). The current name is derived from *Krākinis* and is of the same etymology and motivation as the superior limnonym’s name. Additionally, the DIM form is motivated by the size of the lake, cf. *Krākinis* (0,041 km²; 0,94 km) vs. *Krakinùkas* (0,012 km²; 0,39 km). The limnonym may be considered the conceptualization of a place (lake) in which the fish species *Carassius* *Carassius* dominates: Lith *Krakin-* + *-ùkas* → a small lake in which one may catch crucians → *Krakinùkas*, but is also a metonymic transposition of the superior lake’s name: *Krakinùkas* ← a small lake in the vicinity of lake *Krākinis*.

4.2.40. *Kretúonas*_L × *Kretuonỹkštis*_L

Kretúonas (Kretuonis) – Švčn D; R1872 Rus Оз. Кретоны.

Kretuonỹkštis – Švčn D, 2 km east of lake Kretuonas; R1872 Rus Оз. Кретенаникчись.

Lake *Kretúonas* is surrounded by Pakretuonės, Pajaurės, Pašaminės, and Kalinauka forests and there are swampy meadows in its southwest and northeastern parts. The shallow is wide, sandy, and pebbly in the west. A strip of reeds surrounding the lake is 30–40 m wide, at places wider than 150 m (VLEe). According to Vanagas (1981: 165), the limnonym may be related to Lith *kretėti* ‘tremble, shake, vibrate’ (LKŽe) and suggests that the root *kret-* could have had the meaning of a quagmire, swampy place, related to Lith *kritūs* ‘viscous, swampy’ (LKŽe) and attributes the limnonym to the group of physiographic hydronyms describing the quality of the water body’s bottom (cf. Vanagas 1981a: 65–66). The name is Lith Suf *-uonas* (probably related to Suf *-(u)onis*) derivative, which marks the holder of the named characteristic (DLKG 122, cf. SRR I 274ff.). Given the fact that the lake’s shoreline is overgrown with a wide strip of reeds and is swampy, the limnonym may be motivated by a swampy, quagmire shallow and bottom and convey the concept [MOVEMENT/SWAMP]: Lith *kret-* + *-uonas* → the lake with viscous, swampy bottom → *Kretúonas*. Considering the same fact of lush vegetation around the lake and in its shallow, the limnonym may be related to another sense of Lith *kretėti* ‘to be lush, thriving’ (LKŽe). Hence, the name may be a transposition of the concept [LUSH VEGETATION]: Lith *kret-* + *-uonas* → lush, over-

grown lake → *Kretúonas*. Lake *Kretuonỹkštis* has a wide shallow, low and swampy banks, surrounded by Barškėčiai swamp; Aklažeris forest is accessible from the north (VLEe). The limnonym is Lith Suf *-ykšt-is* derivative from *Kretúonas*. The Suf is used to form distinguishing (specifying) adjectives and may convey the meaning of a place (DLKG 217–218); it may also convey the meaning of smallness coupled with the pejorative sense⁷⁵. The sizes of both lakes differ significantly, cf. *Kretúonas* (8,643 km²; 20,1 km) vs. *Kretuonỹkštis* (0,669 km²; 4,48 km). The name *Kretuonỹkštis*, therefore, shares the same etymology as the limnonym it is derived from, is motivated by the same concepts, and may additionally contain the meaning of smallness with pejorative sense: 1) Lith *kret-* + *-uon-as* + *-ykšt-is* → a small(er) lake with viscous, swampy bottom → *Kretuonỹkštis*; 2) Lith *kret-* + *-uon-as* + *-ykšt-is* → a small(er) lake with lush vegetation → *Kretuonỹkštis*. In addition, the lake name may be considered an expression of the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR], due to its location in the vicinity of *Kretúonas*: *Kretuonỹkštis* ← *Kretuon-* + *-ỹkšt-is* ← a smaller lake in the vicinity of *Kretúonas*.

4.2.41. *Lātvė*_{st} × *Latvėlė*_{st}

The Lātvė – 1,5 km, the Vaigalė trib., V D.

The Latvėlė – 0,7 km, the Vaigalė trib., V D.

Lātvė is most probably Lith *f sg* inflection *-ė* derivative from the root *Latv-*. As other hydronyms and place names found in the territory of Lithuania, this potamonym may be derived from the ethnonym Lith *lātvīs*, *-ė*, or *latvīs*, *-ė* ‘man of the Latvian nation’ (LKŽe), cf. Vanagas (1981: 182): the *Lātvīškis* stream (Zarasai), lake *Lātvīškis* (Dusetos, Zarasai D), *Latvīškis* field (Jūžintai, Rokiškis D), *Lātvīškis* field, valley (Degučiai, Zarasai D; Ramygala, Panevėžys_{sn}, Panevėžys D). The river name may be motivated by its location in the lands (once) inhabited by people of Latvian nationality and is a metonymic transposition of the ethnonym into the potamonym: *Lātvė* ← Lith *f sg lātvė* ← the river in the area inhabited by Latvians. On the other hand, it may be related to Lith PN *Latvīs*, *Lātvīs* (ibid., also cf. PDB) and may also be motivated by its location in the lands belonging to the holder of the surname, also expressing the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Lātvė* ← Lith *f sg lātv-* + *-ė* ← the river in the area belonging to *Latvīs*, *Lātvīs*. *Latvėlė* is Lith Suf *-elė* derivative from *Lātvė* and is of the same etymology and motivation, as both potamonims are the tributaries of the Vaigalė, i.e. are located in the same territory, and may be motivated by the stream’s relative position to *Lātvė*: *Latvėlė* ← *Lātvė* + *-elė* ← the smaller stream in the vicinity of the *Lātvė*. The Suf points to the size of the stream, cf. the *Lātvė* (1,5 km) vs. the *Latvėlė* (0,7 km).

⁷⁵ The DIM Suf refers to the physical size of the lake, which is almost 2,5 times smaller than the lake’s in correlation.

4.2.42. *Laukėnai*_v × *Laukėnėliai*_v

Laukėnai – Šešuoliai eld, Ukm D; SV1974 677 Laukėnai_v, G1905 80 Rus з. Подлукяны, 121 дес., R1872 Rus Луквяны 4 [y].

Laukėnėliai – Šešuoliai eld, Ukm D; across the unnamed lake from village *Laukėnai*, west of Laukėnų swamp; SV1974 677 Laukėnėliai_v, G1905 80 Rus з. Подлукяны, 32 дес., R1872 Rus з. Лукяны 2 [y].

Laukėnai is most probably an oikonym of anthroponymic origin and is Lith Suf *-ėnai* derivative from Lith PN *Laukėnas* ‘person from the Laukas or Laukis family’, or Lith PN *Laukėlis* ← *Laūkas*, *Laūkis*, *Laukỹs* (Zinkevičius 2011: 101). Therefore, the oikonym is a metonymic transposition of the PN into the oikonym and expresses the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Laukėnai* ← a settlement belonging to/founded by a member of the *Laukėnas/Laukėlis* family ← *Laukėnas/Laukėlis*. *Laukėnėliai* is most probably the oikonym derived using Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* from the oikonym *Laukėnai*. The Suf conveys the meaning of the smallness of the settlement that was most probably established by people, who separated from/left the main settlement, cf. the historical settlement type G1905 80 Rus з. Подлукяны, 121 дес. vs. G1905 80 Rus з. Подлукяны, 32 дес. Therefore, the oikonym is a metonymic transposition of the settlement name and expresses the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR]: *Laukėnėliai* ← a small settlement in the vicinity of *Laukėnai* village.

4.2.43. *Laumėnai*_v × *Laumėnėliai*_v

Laumėnai – Želva eld, Ukm D; SV1974 665 Laumėnai_v, G1905 36 Rus д. Ловмяны, 364 дес., R1872 Rus Ловмяны 14 [y].

Laumėnėliai – Želva eld, Ukm D, 3,4 km west of *Laumėnai*; SV1974 665 Laumėnėliai_v, G1905 46 Rus д. Ловмянцы, 117 дес., R1872 Rus Ловмянки 3 [y].

Laumėnai may be related to Lith PN *Laumėnas* (Zinkevičius 2011: 95–96), cf. Lith PN *Laumelis* ← *Laumė* (PDB). But most probably the oikonym could also be related to Lith PN *Laumėnskas*, *Laumiąnskas*, which may be a Slavicized version of Lith PN *Laužikas* (PDB). The oikonym conveys the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Laumėnai* ← *pl* of *Laumėnas* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Laumėnas*/the *Laumėnai* family. *Laumėnėliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from and is motivated by the settlement name *Laumėnai*. The DIM oikonym is also motivated by the actual size of the settlement it names in terms of the area of land, from the historical perspective, cf. G1905 36 Rus д. Ловмяны, 364 дес. [*Laumėnai*] vs. G1905 46 Rus д. Ловмянцы, 117 дес. [*Laumėnėliai*]. The settlement with the DIM name most probably was established by people who separated from the older, bigger village. Thus, the oikonym is a metonymic transposition of a settlement’s name, based on the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR] coupled with the concept [SIZE]: *Laumėnėliai* ← *Laumėn-ai* + *-ėliai* ← the small(er) settlement in the vicinity of *Laumėnai*.

4.2.44. *Lazdīniai*_v × *Lazdinėliai*_v

Lazdīniai – Adutiškis eld, Švnc D; SV1974 592 *Lazdīniai*_v, G1905 267 Rus д. Лоздеи, 371 дес., R1872 Rus Лоздзее 20 [y].

Lazdinėliai – Adutiškis eld, Švnc D, 1,7 km south of *Lazdīniai*, across lake *Lazdinių ežeras*; SV1974 592 *Lazdinėliai*_v, G1905 267 Rus д. Лоздинели, 147 дес., R1872 Rus Лоздинеле 8 [y].

Lazdīniai is probably the *pl* form of Lith PN *Lāzdis*, *Lāzdis*, which is related to Latv PN *Lazdiņš* and is a cognate of Lith PN *Lazda*, cf. Latv PN *Lazda* (PDB). The oikonym probably is related to and motivated by the PN and is its metonymic transposition, conveying the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Lazdīniai* ← *pl* of *Lāzdis*, *Lāzdis* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Lāzdis*, *Lāzdis*/the *Lazdīniai* family. To derive the oikonym from the limnonym *Lazdinių ežeras* would be erroneous, as the limnonym is a Gen case derivative from the oikonym. *Lazdinėliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from and is motivated by the settlement name *Lazdīniai*. The DIM oikonym is also motivated by the actual size of the settlement it names in terms of the area of land, from the historical perspective, cf. G1905 267 Rus д. Лоздеи, 371 дес. [*Lazdīniai*] vs. G1905 267 Rus д. Лоздинели, 147 дес. [*Lazdinėliai*]. The settlement with the DIM name most probably was established by people who separated from the older, bigger village. Thus, the oikonym is a metonymic transposition of a settlement's name, based on the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR] coupled with the concept [SIZE]: *Lazdinėliai* ← *Lazdīn-iai* + *-ėliai* ← the smaller settlement in the vicinity of *Lazdīniai*.

4.2.45. *Liedis*_L × *Liedaitis*_L

Liedis – Kaltanėnai eld, Švnc D; R1872 Ледисъ.

Liedaitis – Kaltanėnai eld, Švnc D; approx. 0,5 km southwest of lake *Liedis*, surrounded by *Liedaitis* marsh (*Liedaičio raistas*); R1872 Ледайтисъ.

The shores of *Liedis* are low and swampy; the shallow is peaty (sandy in places); the aquatic vegetation is stingy. The *Liedėlė* stream flows through lake *Liedis* and drains its waters into lake *Gilūtas*. The name *Liedis* is of unclear origin and could be related to and derived using Lith *m sg* inflexion *-is*, which is used to derive names of agents and verbal quality holders (DLKG 113) from Lith (dial.) *liedýti*, *liēdo*, *liēdē* ‘to water’ (LKŽe), and then further could be related to Lith *láistyti* ‘to pour, moisten, sprinkle, soak’, *líeti* ‘to pour liquid; to water, moisten; to flow abundantly’ (LKŽe) (cf. Vanagas 1981: 189). Given the geographical facts, it seems the limnonym is motivated by the concepts [WATER: MOISTURE/FLOW] and belongs to the group of hydronyms describing the state of water (cf. Vanagas 1981a: 83–86). As the lake lies in the course of the *Liedėlė* stream, therefore, it most probably was seen as a waterbody that “waters, moistens” the surrounding lands: Lith (dial.) *lied-ýti* + *-is* → the one (lake) that waters,

moistens, flows → *Líedis*. *Liedáitis* is the Lith DIM Suf *-aitis* derivative from *Líedis*. It is a smaller lake that lies south of *Líedis* and is surrounded by *Liedaitis* raistas (swamp), cf. *Líedis* (0,672 km²; 3,56 km) vs. *Liedáitis* (0,276 km²; 2,17 km). The limnonym shares the same etymology with the superior limnonym and additionally expresses the concept [SIZE: EXTENT]⁷⁶ and conveys the meaning of amiability, as well as the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR], due to its location: *Liedáitis* ← *Lied-* + *-aitis* ← a smaller lake in the vicinity of lake *Líedis*.

4.2.46. *Liúnai_v* × *Liūnėliai_v*

Liúnai – Pivonijos eld, Ukm D, by numerous branches of the Mergos upelis (the Parija trib.); SV1974 673 *Liúnai_v*.

Liūnėliai – Vidiškiai eld, Ukm D, 20 km north of *Liúnai*, by the Sakiena stream (the Šventoji trib.); SV1974 676 *Liūnėliai_v*.

Villages *Liúnai* and *Liūnėliai* are located on the banks of the Mergos upelis [stream] and the Sakiena stream, respectively. The settlements are surrounded by cultivated fields, which in the past, before the melioration works, most probably had been swampy/viscous valleys that had motivated the oikonyms. The oikonyms may be related to Lith *liūnas* ‘viscous place; moss crust in a swamp, near swampy lakes or rivers’ (LKŽe). The DIM Suf *-eliai* in *Liūnėliai* most probably conveys the meaning of the smallness of the settlement *Liūnėliai* once had been and may connote the concept [AMEABILITY]. It is hard to tell though whether *Liūnėliai* is the derivative from *Liúnai*. For the etymology of settlements in Ukm D, cf. Zinkevičius (2011: 124). Therefore, the above oikonyms may be a metonymic transposition of the concept [SWAMP] in the river valley: Lith *liūnas* → the settlement in the viscous place (by the river/stream) → *Liúnai* and *Liūnėliai*. On the other hand, the oikonyms may be related to Lith PN *Liūnas* (cf. PDB, Zinkevičius ibid.), and may be a metonymic transposition of the PN, based on the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP].

4.2.47. *Makùčiai_v* × *Makučiukai_v*

Makùčiai – Paberžė eld, V D; SV1974 747 *Makučiai_v*, G1905 62 Rus д. Макуцы, 95 дес., R1872 Rus Микуцы 4 [у].

Makučiukai – Paberžė eld, V D, 0,8 km southeast of *Makùčiai*; SV1974 747 *Makučiukai_v*.

Makùčiai marks the older settlement in the opposition and is *pl* of Lith PN *Makùtis*, but more likely Lith PN *Makutà* (that is registered in Vilnius County), related to Bel *Макым*, *Макыма*, Rus *Макыма* (PDB). The oikonym conveys the concept [POSSESSIVITY:

⁷⁶ The DIM Suf refers to the physical size of the lake, which is almost 2,5 times smaller than the lake’s in correlation.

OWNERSHIP], is motivated by and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Makùčiai* ← *Makut-à* [*t* → *č*] + *-iai* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Makutà*/the *Makùčiai* family. *Makučiukai* is a newer settlement, established close to *Makùčiai*, most probably by the member(s) of the same family, or people who moved from the older village. The oikonym *Makučiukai* is Lith DIM Suf *-iukai* derivative from *Makùčiai* (Razmukaitė 1998: 40) and is motivated by the settlements' location in relation to each other, conveying the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Makučiukai* ← a smaller, newer settlement in the vicinity of *Makùčiai* village.

4.2.48. *Mėžionys_v* × *Mėžionėliai_v*

Mėžionys_v – Cirkliškis eld, Švčn D, 8 km southeast of Švenčionėliai_{tn}, on the *Mėžis* (the *Mėžià*, *Mėžė*, *Miežys*, 12 km, the Žeimena trib.); SV1974 598 *Mėžionys_v*, G1905 297 Rus д. Межаны, 450 дес., R1872 Rus Бол.[ьшие] Межаны 18 [y].
Mėžionėliai_v – Švenčionėliai eld, Švčn D, 5,5 km northwest of *Mėžionys*; SV1974 607 *Mėžionėliai_v*, G1905 300 Rus д. Межаны, 350 дес., R1872 Rus Мал.[ые] Межаны 14 [y].

Mėžionys is Lith Suf *-onys* derivative from the potamonym *Mėžis* (*Mėžià*, *Mėžė*, *Miežys*, 12 km, the Žeimena trib.) (cf. Razmukaitė 1998: 32). The oikonym is motivated by the settlement's location by the stream and is a metonymic transposition of the potamonym: *Mėžionys* ← the *Mėž-is* (the *Mėž-ià*, *Mėž-ė*, *Miež-ys*) + *-onys* ← the settlement by the *Mėžis* (the *Mėžià*, *Mėžė*, *Miežys*) stream. *Mėžionėliai* is likely Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from the oikonym *Mėžionys* and is motivated by the villages' close location in relation to each other. The settlement with the DIM name most probably was established by people, who separated from the bigger settlement. The DIM Suf-derived form of the oikonym is also motivated by the settlements' size, in terms of lands that historically belonged to both, cf. G1905 297 Rus д. Межаны, 450 дес. [*Mėžionys*] vs. G1905 300 Rus д. Межаны, 350 дес. [*Mėžionėliai*]. The size of both settlements was also reflected by the first components of the historical name forms, cf. R1872 Rus Бол.[ьшие] Межаны vs. R1872 Rus Мал.[ые] Межаны.

4.2.49. *Miškiniai_v* × *Miškinėliai_v*

Miškiniai – Nemenčinė eld, V D; SV1974 745 *Miškiniai_v*, G1905 36 Rus д. Мишкинце, 75 дес., R1872 Rus Мѣшкинцы 4 [y].
Miškinėliai – Nemenčinė eld, V D, 0,6 km north of *Miškiniai*; SV1974 745 *Miškinėliai_v*, G1905 36 Rus з. Мишкели, 67 дес.

Miškiniai is probably *pl* of Lith *miškìnis* 'forest dweller, forester' (LKŽe). Both settlements are in the fields surrounded by Stripunų, Skališkių, Martišiūnų, Verusavo-

Beviršės, and Nemenčinės forests. Thus, the oikonym is motivated by the settlement's location in the vicinity of the forest(s) (probably in older times, the forests bordered the settlement) and is a metonymic transposition of the imagery of people living in the forested area, or even conveying the possible craft through the concept [PEOPLE]: Lith *miškìn-is* + *iai* → forest dwellers, foresters → *Miškìniai*. On the other hand, the oikonym may be *pl* of Lith PN *Miškìnis* (PDB) and its metonymic transposition, conveying the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Miškìniai* ← *pl* of *Miškìnis* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Miškìnis*/the *Miškìniai* family. The oikonym *Miškinėliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from the oikonym *Miškìniai*, in the vicinity of which the settlement is located. The name, thus, is based on the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] and is the metonymic transposition of the oikonym: *Miškinėliai* ← *Miškìn-iai* + *-ėliai* ← the smaller, newer settlement in the vicinity of *Miškìniai*. The DIM Suf that served the DM of the opposition is motivated by the size of the settlement based on the settlements' type and lands belonging to both, as well as the age, as *Miškinėliai* is recorded only at the beginning of the 20th c., cf. G1905 36 Rus д. Мишкинце, 75 дес., R1872 Rus Мѣшкинцы [*Miškìniai*] vs. G1905 36 Rus з. Мишкели, 67 дес. [*Miškinėliai*].

4.2.50. *Mónis*_L × *Monáitis*_L

Mónis – Semeliškės eld, El; R1872 Rus Оз. Моніс.

Monáitis – Semeliškės eld, El; R1872 Rus Оз. Монайцы.

Mónis is of unclear origin and could be related to Lith *mōnas* 'ghost, the spirit that deceives a person; spells, magic; trick, deception' (LKŽe) and, according to Vanagas (1981a: 111), may be of demonological nature. According to the scholar, the stress shift may be not generic, but rather recent (*Mónis* < **Mōnis*). Additionally, the limnonym may be associated with the phytolexeme Lith *mōnai* 'floating sweet-grass, water manna grass (*Glyceria fluitans*)' (LKŽe). Also, it should be noted, that the limnonym may be archaic (*mon-* < **mān-*) and could be related to Lat *manō*, *-āre* 'to flow', Bret. *mān* 'moss, lichen', etc.: InE. **mā-nō-*, **mā-ni-* 'wet, damp' (Vanagas 1981: 219–220). The lake collects water from various streams (one joins it with lake *Monáitis*) and is the source of one of the Luknia tributaries (the Strėva basin). The name is of unclear origin and motivation, but most probably is a transposition of several concepts [SPIRIT/DECEPTION/PLANT SPECIES]: 1) Lith *mōnas* → 'a ghostly/deceptive lake → *Mónis*; 2) Lith *mōnai* → the lake where floating sweet-grass, water mannagrass may be found → *Mónis*; or could be a conceptualization of a different nature, and, therefore, needs further analysis. *Monáitis* is Lith DIM Suf *-aitis* derivative with a positive connotation of amiability and smallness from lake *Mónis* (Vanagas: 1970: 75–76). The Suf points to the actual size of the lake, which is smaller than lake *Mónis*, cf. *Mónis* (1,011 km²; 7,8 km) vs. *Monáitis* (0,517 km²; 4,09 km). The derivative shares the same etymology,

however, the Suf may also express the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] that relates the name to the superior lake's name.

4.2.51. *Mùsninkai_{tn}* × *Musninkėliai_v*

Mùsninkai – Musninkai eld, Šr D, 13 km southwest of Širvintos_{tn}, by *the Mùsė* (61 km, the Neris trib.); SV1974 585 Musninkai_{tn}, G1905 322 Rus д. Мусники, 22 дес., K1861 721 Rus м. Мусники 32 [y.], R1872 Rus м. Мусники.

Musninkėliai – Musninkai eld, Šr D, 1,3 km northwest of *Mùsninkai*; SV1974 585 Musninkėliai_v.

The polisonym *Mùsninkai* is Lith Suf *-ninkai* derivative from the potamonym *Mùsė* (*Musė*, *Musià*) (Razmukaitė 1998: 30, LVGDB), is motivated by the town's location on the river and is a metonymic transposition of the potamonym: *Mùsninkai* ← *Mùs-ė* (*Musė*-, *Mus-ia*) + *-ninkai* ← the settlement on the *Mùsė* (*Musė*, *Musià*). *Musninkėliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from the polisonym and is motivated by the village's location in the vicinity of the town. Most probably the village was founded by people who moved from the town, or by newcomers who moved into the vicinity. In either case, the oikonym is based on the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] and is a metonymic transposition: *Musninkėliai* ← *Mùsnink-ai* + *ėliai* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Mùsninkai*. The DIM Suf serves the DM and is motivated by the status of both settlements, creating the semantic opposition based on size, i.e. 'big' ('more important') vs. 'small' ('less important').

4.2.52. *Mūšià_R* × *Mūšėlė_{st}*

The Mūšià – 29 km, the Šventoji trib., Ukm D; R1872 Rus Р. Мыша.

The Mūšėlė – 8 km, *the Mūšià* trib., Ukm D; R1872 Rus Р. Мукша.

Mūšià, according to Vanagas (1981: 222), is probably related to Lith *mūšà* 'soaking, beating; strong wave beating (in water)' (LKŽe), cf. *mušėjas*, *mušėjys* 'the one that beats' (LKŽe). Vanagas (1981a: 83 ff.) attributes this potamonym to hydronyms conveying the physical state of water. But most probably the potamonym is Lith inflexion *-a* (*-ia*) derivative, used to form names of verbal characteristic holders (DLKG 112), from Lith *mūšti* 'to push (typically from the inside up, to the outside), to flow, to gush' (LKŽe) and could be motivated by the characteristics of the water flow, and express the concepts [WATER FLOW/MOVEMENT]: Lith *mūš-ti* + *-ia* → the river with a gushing flow → *Mūšià*. *Mūšėlė* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėlė* from the potamonym *Mūšià* and points to the size of the stream, cf. the geo-data: *the Mūšià* (29 km) vs. *the Mūšėlė* (8 km). The potamonym is territorially bound and is motivated by the stream's location in relation to the superior river. Therefore, *Mūšėlė* shares the same etymology and additionally conveys the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR]: *Mūšėlė* ← *Mūš-* + *-ėlė* ← the stream in the vicinity of (the tributary of) *the Mūšià*.

4.2.53. *Naidaĩ_v × Naidēliai_v*

Naidaĩ – Zibalai eld, Šr D, 11 km northeast of Širvintos_{tn}, by Naidžių lake; SV1974 590 *Naidai_v*, G1905 79 Rus д. Найды, 55 дес., R1872 Rus *Найды* 4 [y].

Naidēliai – Zibalai eld, Šr D, 0,8 km west of *Naidaĩ*; SV1974 590 *Naideliai_v*, G1905 79 д. Найды 44 дес., R1872 Rus з. Найды.

Naidaĩ is obviously *pl* of Lith PN *Naida*, cf. to Bel *Найда*, *Найдовіч*, *Найдзіч*, *Найдзенка*, *Найдзёнак*, *Найдзюк*, Rus *Найда*, *Найденев*, *Найдин*, *Найдис*, *Найдич*, *Найдыш*, Ukr *Найда*, *Найдзюшка* (PDB, Biryła 1969: 296). The oikonym, thus, may convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP], is motivated by and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Naidaĩ* ← *pl* of Lith PN *Naida*, Bel/Rus/Ukr PN *Найда* ← the settlement belonging to, established by *Naida*, *Найда*/the *Naidai*, *Найды* family. *Naidēliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-eliai* derivative from the oikonym and is motivated by the settlement's close location to *Naidaĩ* village. The DIM Suf is motivated by and conveys the meaning of the smallness of the settlement. The settlement most probably was established by people who moved from or newcomers who settled in the vicinity of *Naidaĩ*. The oikonym is thus the metonymic transposition of the primary oikonym: *Naidēliai* ← *Naid-aĩ* + *-eliai* ← the smaller, newer settlement in the vicinity of *Naidaĩ*. This is obvious from the historical type of both settlements and the lands belonging to both, cf.: G1905 79 Rus д. Найды, 55 дес., R1872 Rus д. Найды [*Naidaĩ*] vs. G1905 79 д. Найды, 44 дес., R1872 Rus з. Найды [*Naidēliai*].

4.2.54. *Nemenčinė_{tn} × Nemenčinėlė_v*

Nemenčinė_{tn} – Nemenčinė eld, V D, at the mouth of the Nemenčią (the Neris trib.); SV1974 745 *Nemenčinė_{tn}*, G1905 57 Rus м. Нѣменчинь, 52 дес., R1872 Rus м. Нѣменчинь 38 [y].

Nemenčinėlė_v – Riešė eld, V D, 10 km west of *Nemenčinė_{tn}*; SV1974 727 *Nemenčinė-lė_v*, G1905 57 Rus з. Нѣменчинокъ, 22 дес., R1872 Rus з. Нѣменчинокъ 5 [y].

Nemenčinė_{tn} is the settlement known as early as 1338 (Vanagas 1996: 150). The oikonym is Lith Suf *-inė⁷⁷* and is motivated by the location on the *Nemenčią*, and is a metonymic transposition of the potamonym: *Nemenčinė* ← *Nemenč-* + *-inė* ← the settlement on the *Nemenčią*. The oikonym *Nemenčinėlė* is Lith DIM Suf *-inėlė* derivative probably from and motivated by its relatively close location to *Nemenčinė_{tn}*. The Suf is motivated by and points to the size of the settlement, cf. G1905 57 Rus м. Нѣменчинь, 52 дес. vs. G1905 57 Rus з. Нѣменчинокъ, 22 дес. The oikonym *Nemenčinėlė* may be considered a metonymic transposition of the polisonym into koronym: *Nemenčinėlė* ← *Nemenčin-* + *-ėlė* ← a small settlement in the vicinity of *Nemenčinė* (town).

⁷⁷ This is an adjective derivational Suf for actions, their results, or places of action (cf. Ambrazas 1993: 63, 95–96, 214ff.).

4.2.55. *Nērupis*_{st} × *Nerupēlis*_{st}

The Nērupis – 3,6 km, Zizdra trib., An D, Ukm D; R1872 Rus P. Норупъ.

The Nerupēlis – 3,1 km, the Kirnē trib., Ukm D.

Nērupis is a compound potamonym, the first component of which is most probably related to Lith *nér̃ti* ‘abruptly descend, descend into the water, to dive; to put in water, to sink; to swim underwater; to flow quickly’ (LKŽe). On the other hand, the root *ner-* could be related to the zoolexeme Lith *ner̃is* ‘beaver (Castor fiber)’ (LKŽe). According to Vanagas (1981: 228), it is believed that in hidronymy the root *ner-* could have had a broader sense of flow. The second component of the potamonym is related to the nomenclature term Lith *up̃is* ‘river’ (LKŽe) and names the natural object distinguished by the first component. As the stream is relatively small, the first component of the potamonym may either 1) refer to and be motivated by the winding riverbed, esp. in the lower part close to the mouth of the stream: Lith *nér̃-ti* + *up̃is* → the stream with twining, winding riverbed → *Nērupis*; or 2) refer to and be motivated by the animal species, i.e. the beaver, the habitat of which is the named stream: Lith *ner̃-is* + *up̃is* → the stream, where beavers may be found (hunted) → *Nērupis*. *Nerupēlis* is the potamonym of the same type. It is Lith DIM Suf *-elis* derivative from *Nērupis* and shares the same etymology (this is also highly likely, as the sources of both streams are approx. 1 km away from each other, just across Žemaitkiemis forest. The Suf conveys the meaning of the size, cf. geo-data: the *Nērupis* (3,6 km) vs. the *Nerupēlis* (3,1 km). The second component of the name may also be a nomenclature water term Lith *up̃elis* ‘small river, stream’ (LKŽe), which, similarly to the DIM Suf, encodes the meaning of smallness. Therefore, the potamonym *Nerupēlis* may also be motivated by the same concepts: 1) Lith *nér̃-ti* + *up̃-ēlis* → the stream with twining, winding riverbed → *Nerupēlis*, or 2) Lith *ner̃-is* + *up̃-ēlis* → the stream, where beavers may be found (hunted) → *Nerupēlis*. On the other hand, if considered the DIM derivative of *Nērupis*, the potamonym may convey the concept of possessivity and a metonymic transfer of the bigger stream’s name: *Nerupēlis* ← *Nērup-is* + *-elis* ← the smaller stream in the vicinity of *Nērupis*.

4.2.56. *Noškūnai*_v × *Noškūnēliai*_v

Noškūnai – Semeliškės eld, El, on lake Vaisietis; SV1974 658 *Noškūnai*_v, G1905 338

Rus д. Нашкуны, 144 дес., R1872 Rus Нашкуны 11 [y].

Noškūnēliai – Semeliškės eld, El, 1 km northwest of *Noškūnai*, across lake Vaisietis;

SV1974 658 *Noškūnēliai*_v, G1905 338 Rus з. Нашкунели, 22 дес., R1872 Rus з.

Нашкунели.

Noškūnai is probably Lith Suf *-ūnai* derivative from Lith PN **Noškus*, cf. Lith *Nōškus*, *Noskas*, probably with a consonant change [s → š], related to Pol *Nosko*,

Nosek, Lith PN *Naskáuskas* (PDB, Zinkevičius 2008: 315). On the other hand, the oikonym may be of Slav origin and may be related to Bel PN **Хауко*, cf. *Хауко*, *Хаукѣвич* (Biryla 1969: 298), with a possible vowel change [Slav *a* → Lith *o*], cf. the older forms G1905 338 Rus д. Нашкуны, R1872 Rus д. Нашкуны, SGKР VI 930 Naszkuny, Naszkunele. The oikonym most probably conveys the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Noškúnai* ← the settlement established by/belonging to **Noškus* (*Nōškus*, *Noskas*)/**Хауко* (*Хауко*). *Noškūnėliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from the oikonym *Noškúnai*. The DIM Suf is motivated by both the type of settlement and the area of lands that belonged to it from the historical perspective, cf. G1905 338 Rus д. Нашкуны, 144 дес., R1872 Rus д. Нашкуны [*Noškúnai*] vs. G1905 338 Rus з. Нашкунели, 22 дес., R1872 Rus з. Нашкунели [*Noškūnėliai*]. The DIM oikonym is motivated by the settlement's location in relation to *Noškúnai* and the village most probably was established either by people who separated from the main settlement or by newcomers who moved into the vicinity. The oikonym may be considered the metonymic transposition of the primary oikonym: *Noškūnėliai* ← *Noškún-ai* + *-ėliai* ← *Noškúnai*.

4.2.57. *Pakìrniai*_v × *Pakirniùkai*_v

Pakìrniai – Sužionys eld, V D, on the *Kìrnė* stream (13 km, Asveja_L trib.); SV1974 754

*Pakirniai*_v, G1905 60 Rus д. Покирня, 140 дес., R1872 Rus Покирны 8 [y].

Pakirniùkai – Sužionys eld, V D, 0,8 km east of *Pakìrniai*, on the *Kìrnė* stream; SV1974 754 *Pakirniukai*_v.

Pakìrniai is Lith Pref *pa-* and *pl* inflection *-iai* derivative from and is related to the potamonym *Kìrnė*. The village is located in a swampy area, just 1 km away from the place the *Kìrnė* drains its waters into lake Asveja (Dubingiai). Therefore, the oikonym is motivated by the settlement's location on the *Kìrnė* stream and is a metonymic transposition of the concept [PLACE: LOCATION ON/NEAR]: *Pakìrniai* ← Lith *pa-* + *Kìrn-ė* + *-iai* ← the settlement by the *Kìrnė* stream. *Pakirniùkai* is Lith DIM Suf *-(i)ukai* derivative from the oikonym *Pakìrniai*, but may also be derived by the same principle from the *Kìrnė* stream. The oikonym *Pakirniùkai* is motivated by the settlement's location on the stream and in the vicinity of *Pakìrniai*. The oikonym probably marks a smaller, newer settlement, which was established in the vicinity of the larger, older one, cf. G1905 60 Rus д. Покирня, 140 дес., R1872 Rus Покирны [*Pakìrniai*] vs. SV1974 754 *Pakirniukai*_v (the older forms are unknown). *Pakirniùkai* is obviously a metonymic transposition of either the primary oikonym or the potamonym: 1) *Pakirniùkai* ← *Pakìrn-iai* + *-(i)ukai* ← a small, new settlement in the vicinity of *Pakìrniai*; 2) *Pakirniùkai* ← Lith *pa-* + *Kìrn-ė* + *-(i)ukai* ← a small, new settlement by the *Kìrnė* stream.

4.2.58. *Palėpieiai*_v × *Paliepiūkai*_v

Palėpieiai – Nemėžis eld, V D, 2,6 km southeast of Nemėžis_v; SV1974 747 *Paliepieiai*_v, G1905 66 Rus з. Подлипки, 40 дес., R1872 Rus ф. Полепе.

Paliepiūkai – Nemėžis eld, V D, 4,6 km northeast of *Palėpieiai*; SV1974 747 *Paliepiūkai*_v, G1905 66 Rus з. Подлипки, 18 дес., R1872 Rus з. Полепены 2 [у].

Palėpieiai is probably Lith Pref *pa-* and *pl* inflection *-iai* derivative from the phytolexeme Lith *líepa* ‘pruned tree with honeyed flowers and a broad crown (Tilia)’ (LKŽe) and could mark the place (settlement) under/by linden trees, also cf. Lith *pāliepis* ‘place under the lime-tree’ (LKŽe): Lith *pa-* + *líep-a* + *-iai* → the settlement under/by linden trees → *Palėpieiai*. This is also reflected in the translated older form, cf. G1905 66 Rus з. Подлипки: *под* ‘under’ + *лпки* ‘small linden trees’. *Paliepiūkai* is obviously Lith DIM Suf *-iukai* derivative from the oikonym *Palėpieiai*. The settlement name is motivated by the village’s proximity to *Palėpieiai* and could be made by the principle of analogy by people who moved from the bigger settlement. The DIM Suf refers to the size of the settlement in terms of land area and historical settlement types, cf. G1905 66 Rus з. Подлипки, 40 дес., R1872 Rus ф. Полепе [*Palėpieiai*] vs. G1905 66 Rus з. Подлипки, 18 дес., R1872 Rus з. Полепены [*Paliepiūkai*]. The oikonym may be a metonymic transposition: *Paliepiūkai* ← *Palėpie-iai* + *-iukai* ← a small settlement in the vicinity of *Palėpieiai*.

4.2.59. *Pažemỹs*_L × *Pažemėlis*_L

Pažemỹs – Labanoras eld, Švčn D; R1872 Rus Оз. Пожемишь.

Pažemėlis – Labanoras eld, Švčn D, 0,17 km east of *Pažemỹs*.

Pažemỹs is probably related to Lith *pažemỹs* ‘place right on the ground, the surface of the earth; foot of the mountain, hill’ (LKŽe) (cf. Vanagas 1981: 252) and is motivated by the topography of the lake’s location. The banks of the lake are forested, high in the north and southeast, and swampy in the west and east. The lake is separated from lake *Pažemėlis* by a natural elevation. This most probably has led to the conceptualization of the lake that lies at the hill foot, just on the ground: Lith *pažemỹs* → the lake at the hill foot → *Pažemỹs*. *Pažemėlis* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėlis* derivative from limnonym in opposition. The lake lies very close to lake *Pažemỹs* and is characterized by banks that are completely overgrown with trees and shrubs, the western and southern banks being high, the northern and eastern banks – being low and swampy. *Pažemėlis* is of the same origin, etymology, and motivation, coupled with the meaning of smallness: Lith *pažem-ỹs* + *-ėlis* → the small lake at the hill foot → *Pažemėlis*. Additionally, being the derivative, the name is motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR]: *Pažemėlis* ← *Pažem-* + *-ėlis* ← a smaller lake in the vicinity of lake *Pažemỹs*. The DM conveys the meaning of smallness, cf. *Pažemỹs* (0,193 km²; 2,29 km) vs. *Pažemėlis* (0,016 km²; 0,56 km).

4.2.60. *Praniaĩ* × *Praniūkai*_v

Praniaĩ – Pabaiskas eld, Ukm D; SV1974 667 Praniai_v, G1905 41 Rus з. Прены, 140 дес., R1872 Rus Прены 7 [y].

Praniūkai – Pabaiskas eld, Ukm D, 4,8 km south of *Praniaĩ*; SV1974 667 Praniukai_v, G1905 41 Rus д. Прянюки, 119 дес., R1872 Rus Прянюки 2 [y].

Both oikonyms are related to Lith Christian name *Pranciškus* shortened form *Prānas* (Zinkevičius 2011: 87). The oikonym *Praniaĩ* may also be related to *pl* of Lith PN *Pranỹs* which is of the same origin. Therefore, the oikonym conveys the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Praniaĩ* ← *Prān-as*, *Pran-ỹs* + *-iai* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Prānas*/the *Praniaĩ* family. The oikonym *Praniūkai* is Lith DIM Suf *-iukai* derivative from *Praniaĩ* (cf. Razmukaitė 1998: 40). The name is motivated by the settlements' close location to each other. The Suf relates to the historical size of the settlement in terms of the owned lands, cf. G1905 41 Rus з. Прены, 140 дес., R1872 Rus Прены [*Praniaĩ*] vs. G1905 41 Rus д. Прянюки, 119 дес., R1872 Rus Прянюки [*Praniūkai*]. The settlement most probably was established by people either of the same family or those who moved into the vicinity. Thus, the koronym is a metonymic transposition of the primary one: *Praniūkai* ← *Pran-iaĩ* + *-iukai* ← the small settlement in the vicinity of *Praniaĩ*.

4.2.61. *Prūdiškė*_v × *Prūdiškėlė*_v

Prūdiškė – Labanoras eld, Švčn D; SV1974 596 Prūdiškė_v, G1905 262 Rus з. Прудиче, 48 дес., R1872 Rus з. Прудзишки.

Prūdiškėlė – Labanoras eld, Švčn D, 1,4 km south of *Prūdiškė*; SV1974 596 Prūdiškėlė_v, G1905 264 Rus з. Прудиче, 1 дес.

Prūdiškė is Lith Suf *-iškė* derivative from Lith *prūdas* 'pond' (Razmukaitė 1998: 20, LVGDB). The settlement is located by lakes Vienavalkšnys and Peršokšnai, on both sides of the Peršokšna-Dumblė (26,4 km, the Lakaja trib.). There are also many small ponds in the settlement. The oikonym, therefore, is motivated by ponds that are located in the settlement and its vicinity and is a metonymic transposition of [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] by ponds: Lith *prūd-as* + *-iškė* → the settlement by ponds → *Prūdiškė*. The koronym *Prūdiškėlė* marks the smaller settlement in the vicinity of and is Lith DIM Suf *-ėlė* derivative from *Prūdiškė* (Razmukaitė 1998: 35, LVGDB) and is motivated by the same concept of the settlement by ponds, as there also are several ponds in the settlement, as well as by the concept of size – the DIM Suf refers to the size of the settlement at least from the historical perspective, cf. G1905 262 Rus з. Прудиче, 48 дес. [*Prūdiškė*] vs. SV1974 596 Prūdiškėlė_v, G1905 264 Rus з. Прудиче, 1 дес. [*Prūdiškėlė*]. Therefore, the oikonym is the metonymic transposition with size reference: *Prūdiškėlė* ← *Prūdišk-ė* + *-ėlė* ← a small settlement in the vicinity of *Prūdiškė*.

4.2.62. *Purnùškės*_v × *Purnuškėliai*_v

Purnùškės – Nemenčinė eld, V D, 10 km northwest of Nemenčinė_{tn}; SV1974 735
*Purnuškės*_v, G1905 72 Rus д. Пурнушки, 169 дес., R1872 Rus з. Пурнушки 2 [y].
Purnuškėliai – Nemenčinė eld, V D, 1,8 km southeast of *Purnùškės*; SV1974 735 *Purnuškėliai*_v, G1905 60 Rus д. Пурнушки, 105 дес.

Purnùškės is Lith Suf *-uškės* derivative from Lith PN **Purnys* ← Lith *purnùs*, *-i* ‘puffy, tumid, bloated’ (Razmukaitė 1998: 78), cf. Lith PNs *Púras*, *Puris*, *Purỹs*, *Pūrỹs*, also, cf. *Pùrinis*, *Purinas* (PDB). The oikonym, therefore, conveys the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Purnùškės* ← **Purn-ys* + *-uškės* ← the settlement established by/belonging to **Purnys*. *Purnuškėliai* is obviously Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from and is motivated by the settlement’s proximity to *Purnùškės*. The DIM Suf conveys the meaning of the smallness of the settlement, cf. the historical size in terms of lands belonging to both: G1905 72 Rus д. Пурнушки, 169 дес., R1872 Rus з. Пурнушки [*Purnùškės*] vs. G1905 60 Rus д. Пурнушки, 105 дес., R1872- [*Purnuškėliai*]. Therefore, the DIM oikonym is a metonymic transposition of the primary oikonym: *Purnuškėliai* ← *Purnùšk-ės* + *-ėliai* ← a small settlement in the vicinity of *Purnùškės*.

4.2.63. ¹*Raguvà*_v × *Raguvėlė*_v

4.2.64. ²*Raguvà*_v × *Raguvėlė*_{stead}

¹*Raguvà* – Pivonija eld, Ukm D; SV1974 673 *Raguvà*_v, G1905 80 Rus д. Роговщина, 94 дес., R1872 Rus Роговка 5 [y].

¹*Raguvėlė* – Pivonija eld, Ukm D, 0,6 km southeast of *Raguvà*; SV1974 673 *Raguvėlė*_v, G1905 80 Rus з. Роговка, 60 дес.

²*Raguvà* – Paberžė eld, V D; SV1974 751 *Raguvà*_v, G1905 37 Rus з. Роговка, 8 дес., R1872 Rus з. Роговка.

²*Raguvėlė* – Nemenčinė eld, V D, 16 km southeast of *Raguvà*; GSD 746 *Raguvėlė*_{stead}, G1905 60 Rus з. Роговка, 3 дес.

The oikonyms are all related to Lith *raguvà* ‘ravine, valley, a ridge with steep slopes; scarp, slope, talus’ (LKŽe) (also, cf. LVGDB; Zinkevičius 2011: 126) and are motivated by the settlements’ locations: *Raguvà* and *Raguvėlė* (Ukm D) are located by lake Žirnajai, in the fields surrounded by many streams and ditches; *Raguvà* (V D) is located in the plain surrounded by swampy lowlands; *Raguvėlė* (V D) is located by Road 102, across which lies the lowland and a quarry. 1) The oikonym *Raguvėlė* (Ukm D) is Lith DIM Suf *-ėlė* derivative from the oikonym *Raguvà* (cf. *ibid.*; Razmukaitė 1998: 35) and is motivated not only by the settlement’s location in the vicinity of many ditches but also by its vicinity with *Raguvà*. The DIM Suf is motivated by the size of the settlement in terms of lands belonging to it and settlement

types from the historical perspective, cf. G1905 80 Rus д. Роговщина, 94 дес. [*Raguvà*] vs. G1905 80 Rus з. Роговка, 60 дес. [*Raguvėlė*]. The oikonym *Raguvà* may be considered the metonymic transposition of the concept [RAVIN/HOLLOW]: Lith *raguvà* → the settlement by the ravine/slope → *Raguvà*. Based on the settlement type and size from the historical perspective, the oikonym *Raguvėlė* is the metonymic transposition of the primary oikonym: *Raguvėlė* ← *Raguv-à* + *-ėlė* ← the small settlement in the vicinity of *Raguvà*. The DIM oikonym marks the settlement that was established by people who separated/moved from the main village. 2) Oikonyms *Raguvà* and *Raguvėlė* (V D) are motivated by the settlements' location in the vicinity of lowlands. The DIM Suf in *Raguvėlė* is also motivated by the size of the settlement, as its current and historical type – steading, as well as the area of lands that historically belonged to both, cf. G1905 37 Rus з. Роговка, 8 дес. [*Raguvà*] vs. G1905 60 Rus з. Рогувка, 3 дес. [*Raguvėlė*]. It's unlikely that *Raguvėlė* was established by people who somehow had been related to the settlement *Raguvà* due to the distance between both. Therefore, both oikonyms are obviously the metonymic transposition of the concept [RAVIN/HOLLOW]: 1) Lith *raguvà* → the settlement by the ravine/slope → *Raguvà*, 2) Lith *raguv-à* + *-ėlė* → the small settlement by the ravine/slope → *Raguvėlė*.

4.2.65. *Samānis*_L × *Samanỹkštis*_L

Samānis – Labanoras eld, Švčn D.

Samanỹkštis – Labanoras eld, Švčn D, 8 km northeast of *Samānis*.

Samānis is probably related to and derived from Lith *sāmana*, *samanà* 'moss; wet spot spore plant with root hairs instead of roots (Bryophyta)' (LKŽe) employing Lith inflexion *-is*, used to form nouns denoting the nominal property holder (DLKG 124). The limnonym is probably motivated by the vegetation of the Samanis swamp in which the lake is located – mosses are typical ground-covering plants of the swampy areas⁷⁸. Therefore, the limnonym may be considered a metonymic transposition of the concept [PLANT SPECIES]: Lith *sāman-a* + *-is* → the lake in the location overgrown with mosses → *Samānis*. *Samanỹkštis* is derived with Lith Suf *-ykšt-is* used to form distinguishing (specifying) adjectives and may convey the meaning of a place (DLKG 217–218); the Suf may convey the meaning of smallness coupled with the pejorative sense. The Suf is also motivated by the size of the lake, cf. *Samānis* (0,028 km²; 0,71 km) vs. *Samanỹkštis* (0,004 km²; 0,26 km). The lake is located at a distance from lake *Samānis*, in a swampy area (a rather big swamp lies to the north of it). The limnonym is motivated by the vegetation of its location and is the metonymic transposition of the same concept [PLANT SPECIES]: Lith *sāman-a* + *-ykštis* → a relatively small lake in the location overgrown

⁷⁸ For the origin and semantics of the limnonym, also cf. Vanagas (1981: 289, 1981a: 93).

with mosses → *Samanỹkštis*. Also, it may be derived from the limnonym *Samānis* by the principle of analogy⁷⁹: *Samanỹkštis* ← *Samān-is* + *-ykštis* ← a smaller lake in a swampy area, relatively not far away from the lake *Samānis*.

4.2.66. *Sámninkai*_v × *Samninkėliai*_v

Sámninkai – Grendavė eld, Trak D, on the west bank of *Samis*_L, at the source of the *Sāmė* (12 km, the Verknė trib.); SV1974 647 *Samninkai*_v, G1905 317 Rus д. Самники, 510 дес., R1872 Rus Сомники 11 [y].

Samninkėliai – Grendavė eld, Trak D, 0,8 km south of *Sámninkai*, on the west bank of *Samis*_L; SV1974 647 *Samninkėliai*_v, G1905 317 Rus д. Самникели, 39 дес., R1872 Rus Сомникеле 2 [y].

Sámninkai is Lith Suf *-ninkai* derivative from the limnonym *Sāmis* and/or the potamonym *Sāmė* (cf. Razmukaitė 1998: 30). The village is located just at the place the *Sāmė* starts from lake *Sāmis*. Therefore, the oikonym may be considered the metonymic transposition of the hydronym: *Sámninkai* ← *Sām-is/the Sām-ė* + *-ninkai* ← the settlement by lake *Sāmis/the Sāmė* river. *Samninkėliai* is obviously a secondary oikonym and is Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from the oikonym *Sámninkai*, motivated by the settlements' close location to one another: *Samninkėliai* ← *Sámnink-ai* + *-ėliai* ← a smaller settlement in the vicinity of *Sámninkai*. Thus, *Samninkėliai* is a metonymic transposition of the oikonym *Sámninkai*. The village with the DIM name most probably was established by people who moved from or settled in the vicinity of *Sámninkai*. The Suf relates to the size of the settlement in terms of lands belonging to both as seen from the historical perspective and serves a DM, cf.: G1905 317 Rus д. Самники, 510 дес. [*Sámninkai*] vs. G1905 317 Rus д. Самникели, 39 дес. [*Samninkėliai*].

4.2.67. *Skominaĩ*_v × *Skominėliai*_v

Skominaĩ – Pivonija eld, Ukm D; SV1974 667 *Skominai*_v, KG1903 153 Rus д. Скемяны, R1872 Rus Скомины 10 [y].

Skominėliai – Lyduokai eld, Ukm D, 5 km northeast of *Skominaĩ*; SV1974 670 *Skominėliai*_v, KG1903 153 Rus д. Скоминели, R1872 Rus Скаумине 6 [y].

Skominaĩ is probably of anthroponymic origin and is related to Lith PN *Skó-minas*, cf. *Skó-mantas*, *Skó-vydas*, *Skó-vilas*, etc. (Zinkevičius 2011: 41–42). The surname *Skominas* was also registered in the area of Pabaiskas_m (Ukm D) (PDB). Therefore, it

⁷⁹ The lakes are in two separate, but similar locations. Although both places are at a certain distance from each other, they are similar in sense that they are swampy and overgrown with mosses. Therefore, it is highly likely that at the time of nomination of a smaller lake, the same motivating factors played a crucial role, as during the nomination of lake *Samānis*.

may be claimed that the oikonym is motivated by the PN and conveys the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Skominaĩ* ← *Skomĩnas* (→ *pl Skominaĩ*) ← the settlement established by/belonging to *Skomĩnas*/the *Skominaĩ* family. *Skominėliai* is obviously Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from the oikonym *Skominaĩ*. The Suf conveys the meaning of the smallness of the settlement, which was established relatively close to the village *Skominaĩ*, most likely by people who moved from the older settlement. *Skominėliai* may be motivated by the villages' proximity to each other and is a transposition of the older/bigger settlement's name: *Skominėliai* ← *Skomin-aĩ* + *-ėliai* ← the smaller, newer settlement in the vicinity of *Skominaĩ*. The DM is motivated by the historical size and forms of both oikonyms, cf. KG1903 153 Rus д. Скемяны, R1872 Rus Скомины 10 [y.] [*Skominaĩ*] vs. KG1903 153 Rus д. Скоминели, R1872 Rus Скаумине 6 [y.] [*Skominėliai*].

4.2.68. *Slabadà*_v × *Slabadkà*_v

*Slabadà*_v – Medininkai eld, V D; SV1974 743 Slabada_v, G1905 63 Rus ф. Слободка, 180 дес., R1872 Rus ф. Слободка 8 [y.].

*Slabadkà*_v – Medininkai eld, V D; 10 km away from *Slabadà*_v; SV1974 743 Slabadka_v, G1905 83 Rus ф. Слободка, 90 дес., R1872 Rus ф. Слободка 3 [y.].

Slabadà and *Slabadkà* are 10 km away from each other and make an opposition based on Slav Suf *-k-* with the DIM, affectionate meaning. The Suf is motivated by the size of the settlement in terms of the area of land from the historical perspective, cf. G1905 63 Rus ф. Слободка, 180 дес. [*Slabadà*] vs. G1905 83 Rus ф. Слободка, 90 дес. [*Slabadkà*]. Most probably these oikonyms are of Slav origin and may be related to and derived from Bel *слабада́*, Rus *слобода́*, or Ukr *слобода́*, i.e. 'village with a free population (until the abolition of serfdom in Russia)' or 'village near the city, suburb (outdated)' (SRY 649). In the history of Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine the word *слобода́* was used to refer to a type of settlement or part of a town the people of which had freedom from local feudal lords and served the state as peasants, artisans, or merchants (Chaikina, Monzikova, Varnikova 2004: 8). Until the 19th c., settlements inhabited by non-serf peasants and representatives of other classes⁸⁰ were called Rus *свобода́* 'freedom'. After the abolition of serfdom, all the peasants became non-serfs, whereas the names of the settlements were changed to Rus *слобода́* (the stress shifted from the second to the third syllable) (cf. Rut 2007). Therefore, the oikonyms *Slabadà*, *Slabadkà* (and other related place names) are motivated by the metaphoric transposition of the concept [FREEDOM]: Rus *слобода́*/*свобода́* 'freedom' → a (small) settlement with a free population → *Slabadà* (*Slabadkà*).

⁸⁰ The inhabitants of *слобода́* were called Rus *слобожа́не* (*pl* from Rus *слобожа́нин/слобожа́нка* 'a *m/f* dweller of *слобода́*' (SRY 649).

4.2.69. *Spindžiùs_L* × *Spindžiùkas_L*

Spindžiùs – Rūdiškės eld, Trak D, in Spindžius forest; R1872 Rus оз. Шпиндзе.

Spindžiùkas – Rūdiškės eld, Trak D, 014 km west of *Spindžiùs*, in Spindžius forest.

Lake *Spindžiùs* lies in the forest; Road No.4740 (Drabužninkai – Karaliūnai – Bičiūnai) runs along the west bank. According to Vanagas (1981: 311–312), the limnonym is related to Lith *spiñdžius* (*spiñdis*) ‘stretch of light; narrow, straight line in the woods’ (LKŽe). The name may be motivated by the lake’s position in the woods, next to the road, and is the conceptualization of [STRETCH] of light (in the forest): Lith *spiñdžius* → the stretch of light → *Spindžiùs*. *Spindžiùkas* is a smaller lake in the vicinity of lake *Spindžiùs* in the Spindžius forest. Both lakes are joined by the short section of the Strėva river (the Nemunas trib.) that flows through both lakes. The limnonym *Spindžiùkas* is Lith DIM Suf *-iukas* derivative from *Spindžiùs*. The Suf points to the small size of the lake in comparison with the superior one, cf. *Spindžiùs* (1,129 km²; 7,12 km) vs. *Spindžiùkas* (0,115 km²; 1,41 km). *Spindžiùkas* is of the same etymology and is motivated by the same concept: Lith *spiñdž-* + *-ius* → the small stretch of light → *Spindžiùkas*. Being the derivative, the name also conveys the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR]: *Spindžiùkas* ← *Spindž-iùs* + *-ukas* ← the smaller lake in the vicinity of lake *Spindžiùs*.

4.2.70. *Strūnà_R* × *Strūnėlė_{st}*

The Strūnà – 31 km, the Strėčia (Stračia) trib., Švčn D, BY (Bel Струна); R1872 Rus Р. Струна.

The Strūnėlė – 3,6 km, *the Strūnà* trib., Švčn D.

Strūnà, according to Vanagas (1981: 317), is most probably the derivative from the root *str(i)ūn-* that is from **sr(i)ūn-* and is related to Lith *sriúti*, *srúti* (*srūvù* and *srūnù*) ‘to flow’ (LKŽe) and further related to Lith *sraunùs* ‘fast-flowing’ (LKŽe). The potamonym may be motivated by the state of water, i.e. the water flow (also cf. Vanagas 1981a: 88). Therefore, the river name is a transposition of the concept [WATER FLOW]: Lith *str(i)ūn-* (*sriúti*, *srúti*) + *-a* → the flowing water → *the Strūnà*. The *Strūnėlė* is one of many small tributaries of the *Strūnà*. The potamonym is Lith DIM Suf *-elė* derivative from the superior river’s name and points to the size of the named stream, cf. the *Strūnà* (31 km) vs. the *Strūnėlė* (3,6 km). Both potamonyms share the same origin, motivation, and semantics but the DIM name also conveys the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR], as belongs to the toponymic continuum of *Strūnà*: *Strūnėlė* ← *Strūn-* + *-ėlė* ← a small stream with fast-flowing water, the tributary of the *Strūnà*.

4.2.71. *Sudotà*_L × *Sudotėlis*_L

Sudotà – Sariai eld, Švčn D; R1872 Rus Оз. Судата.

Sudotėlis – Sariai eld, Švčn D, 0,12 km north of *Sudotà*; R1872 Rus Оз. Судаты.

Lake *Sudotà* lies in the woody area, surrounded by Dotenėnai and Rinkūnai forests, and fields. The banks are low and swamped, esp. in the southeastern part of the lake, which lies in the Dotenėnai swamp. The lake lies in the course of the Mėžis stream, which crosses it and flows in the direction of the Žeimenai. The origin of the potamonym is not very clear and, according to Vanagas (1981: 318–319), may be related to Latv *sudīt* ‘to go deftly, fast; look carefully in a hurry’, or to Lith *sūduvą* ‘vicous place in the swamp, bog’ and further be related to Mittel-Nieder Deutsch *sudde* ‘wallow, puddle, swamp’, Icelandic *suddi* ‘moisture’, etc. (cf. Savukynas 1963: 324). Thus, the limnonym may be considered Lith Suf *-(i)ot-* derivative (cf. Vanagas 1970: 190). The Suf *-(i)otas* is used to form inner quality adjectives (DLKG 199, cf. SRR I 345ff.). Taking into consideration the lake’s topography, the limnonym’s motivation by the swampy place is to a certain extent plausible and the limnonym could convey the meaning of a swampy place in terms of the characteristics of its banks, including the quality of the lake’s bottom: Lith *sūd-uvà*, (← Mittel-Nieder Deutsch *sudde*, Icelandic *suddi*) + *-(i)otas* → swampy, viscous, sloughy lake → *Sudotà*. *Sudotėlis* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėlis* derivative from *Sudotà*. The DIM form of the limnonym is motivated by both lakes’ sizes, cf. *Sudotà* (0,171 km²; 2,4 km) vs. *Sudotėlis* (0,105 km²; 2km). *Sudotėlis* is motivated by its location in relation to lake *Sudotà*, thus, shares the same etymology and is a metonymic transposition of the limnonym based on the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR] coupled with the concept [SIZE]: *Sudotėlis* ← *Sudot-à* + *-ėlis* ← a small(er) lake close to lake *Sudotà*.

4.2.72. *Šalčià*_R × *Šalčýkščia*_R

The Šalčià – 73,8 km, the Merkys trib., Šlčn D, Vrn D, BY (Bel Солча); R1872 Rus Р.[ека] Сольча.

The Šalčýkščia – 19,1 km, the *Šalčià* trib., Šlčn D, BY (Bel Солчуца); R1872 Rus Р.[ека] Сольчице.

Šalčià may be derived from and related to Lith *šáltas* (cold) ‘of low temperature’, *šálti* ‘to become cold, cool; to freeze’, *šáltis* ‘coldness, frost’ (LKŽe), similarly to the Šaltója, the Šaltupė and other names (Vanagas 1970: 151; 1981: 325). Therefore, the potamonym was motivated by the coldness of its waters (the water of this river is freezingly cold) and, thus, may be considered a transposition of the concept [COLDNESS]: Lith *šáltis*, *šáltas* → the river with (freezing) cold water → *Šalčià*. The river forms the direct opposition with its tributary the *Šalčýkščia*, which is a Lith Suf *-ykšč-* derivative from *Šalčià* (Vanagas 1970: 151). Being the derivative from the superior potamonym, *Šalčýkščia* shares the same etymology with *Šalčià* and is motivated by the transposition of the

concept [COLDNESS] into its name and the evaluation aspect of smallness indicated by the DIM Suf, which most probably is coupled with pejorative sense: Lith *šált-is*, *šált-as* + *-ykšč-ia* → a smaller river with (freezing) cold water → *Šalčýkščia*. The DIM Suf is motivated by the length of the river, cf. the *Šalčià* (73,8 km) vs. the *Šalčýkščia* (19,1 km).

4.2.73. *Šalčininkai_{tn}* × *Šalčininkai_v* × *Šalčininkėliai_v*

Šalčininkai – Šalčininkai eld, Šlčn D, 45 km south of Vilnius_c; SV1974 525 Šalčininkai_{tn}, G1905 76 Rus м. Бол.[ьшие] Солечники, 35 [y.], 431 дес., R1872 Rus м. Бол.[ьшие] Солечники, K1861 720 Rus м. Бол.[ьшие] Солечники.

Šalčininkai – Šalčininkai eld, Šlčn D, on the outskirts of *Šalčininkai*, near the road Šalčininkai-Dieveniškės; SV1974 525 Šalčininkai_v.

Šalčininkėliai – Šalčininkai eld, Šlčn D, between Šalčininkai (8 km) and Jašiūnai (8 km), by the Visinčia river; SV1974 525 Šalčininkėliai_v, G1905 76 Rus сел. Солечники Малыя, 191 дес., R1872 Rus м. Малыя Солечники.

The town of *Šalčininkai* is an old Lithuanian settlement, first mentioned in the Chronicle of Duisburg (1311) when a large army ravaged the area of Šalčininkai (Vanagas 1996: 227; Zinkevičius 2007: 44). The oikonym is of hydronymic origin and is Lith Suf *-ininkai* derivative from the potamonym *Šalčià* (ibid.; also, cf. Section 4.2.72.). Thus, the name *Šalčininkai* is motivated by the transposition of the river name into the oikonym: *Šalčininkai* ← the settlement (*Šalčininkai*) on the *Šalčià*. The village *Šalčininkai* is a much younger settlement. The oikonym is a metonymic transposition of the town's name: *Šalčininkai_v* ← the settlement (*Šalčininkai*) in the vicinity of *Šalčininkai_{tn}*. Both *Šalčininkai_{tn}* and *Šalčininkai_v* form an opposition with *Šalčininkėliai*, a village on the road to Vilnius approx. 8 km away from *Šalčininkai*. *Šalčininkėliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from the town's name, which it is motivated by and whose name could be interpreted as a small settlement in the vicinity of *Šalčininkai*: *Šalčininkėliai* ← a village in the vicinity of *Šalčininkai*. The DM is motivated by the size of the settlement, cf. the historical sizes and settlement types G1905 76 Rus м. Бол.[ьшие] Солечники, 35 [y.], 431 дес., R1872 Rus м. Бол.[ьшие] Солечники, K1861 720 Rus м. Бол.[ьшие] Солечники vs. SV1974 525 Šalčininkai_v vs. G1905 76 Rus сел. Солечники Малыя, 191 дес., R1872 Rus м. Малыя Солечники.

4.2.74. *Šamìnis_L* × *Šaminėlis_L*

Šamìnis – Švenčionėliai eld, Švčn D; R1872 Rus Оз. Бол.[ьшая] Шамина.

Šaminėlis – Švenčionėliai eld, Švčn D, 0,22 km south of lake *Šamìnis*; R1872 Rus Оз. Мал.[ая] Шамина.

Šamìnis is probably related to Lith *šāmas* 'large freshwater fish with barbels (Silurus glanis)' (LKŽe) (cf. Vanagas 1981: 325). The limnonym is derived using Lith Suf *-inis*

which is used to derive distinctive adjectives, the meaning of which among others is “the one having a distinctive feature consisting of an object indicated by a reference word” (DLKG 212, cf. SRR I 245ff.). It may be claimed that the name is motivated by the zoolexeme and belongs to the group of hydronyms relating to fauna (cf. Vanagas 1981a: 81). Also, cf. Lith *šamìnis* ‘intended for catching catfish’ (LKŽe). Therefore, the limnonym is the conceptualization of a place (lake) that is a habitat of catfish/sheatfish [FISH SPECIES]: Lith *šām-as* + *-inis* → the lake in which one may catch catfish/sheatfish → *Šamìnis*. *Šaminėlis* is obviously the result of renaming by dropping off the DM Rus Мал.[ая] ‘small’ (cf. the historical form) with reference to the lake’s size, which is indicated by Lith Suf *-ėlis*, used to form the DIM names of babies, cubs, and fledglings (such derivatives can be considered as having the meaning of origin and belonging) (DLKG 90). The current name is derived from *Šamìnis* and is of the same etymology and motivation as the superior limnonym’s name. Additionally, the DIM form is motivated by the size of the lake, cf. *Šamìnis* (0,121 km²; 20,7 km) vs. *Šaminėlis* (0,078 km²; 1,42 km). The limnonym may be considered the conceptualization of a place (lake) that is a habitat of catfish/sheatfish: Lith *Šamin-* + *-ėlis* → the lake in which one may catch catfish/sheatfish → *Šaminėlis*, but is also a metonymic transposition of the superior lake’s name: *Šaminėlis* ← a small lake in the vicinity of lake *Šamìnis*.

4.2.75. *Šėrmis_L* × *Šermùkas_L*

Šėrmis – Onuškis eld, Trak D; R1872 Rus Оз. Бол.[ьшой] Ширмежъ.

Šermùkas – Onuškis eld, Trak D, 0,33 km east of *Šėrmis*; R1872 Rus Оз. Мал.[ый] Ширмежъ.

Šėrmis is surrounded by Dusmenys and Koplyčkalnis forests; its banks are low and swampy, overgrown with trees and shrubs. *Šėrmis*, according to Vanagas (1981: 329), most probably may be related to Lith *šařmas*, *šarmà*, *šeřkšnas*, ‘white or grey, greyish; light brown, hazel’ (LKŽe) and further to Lith *šiřmas*, *šiřmas* ‘white or grey with mixed dark hair; greyish’, *šeřkšnas* ‘greyish, whitish’ (LKŽe). The root *Šerm-* may be the result of vowel change, cf. *šarm-*: *šerm-* → *šarmuō*: *šermuō* as in zoolexeme Lith *šarmuonėlis* : *šermuonėlis* ‘ermine, stoat (*Mustela erminea*)’ (LKŽe) (Vanagas, ibid.). The name is probably derived using Lith inflexion *-is*, used to form names of nominal property holders (cf. DLKG 124). The limnonym may be classified as one of many colour hydronyms (also, cf. Vanagas 1981a: 100). Being surrounded by forests, the surface of the lake may appear grey/greyish due to the light reflected from the surface of the water. Therefore, the limnonym may be considered the transposition of [COLOUR]: Lith *šařm-as*, *šarm-à* + *-is* → the lake of greyish/grey water colour (colour of the surface) → *Šėrmis*. *Šermùkas* is Lith DIM Suf *-ukas* derivative from *Šėrmis*. Due to the lake’s proximity to lake *Šėrmis*, the DIM limnonym shares the same etymology and is motivated by the colour of the water (surface), but also conveys the meaning of the smallness of the named water body as it is almost twice smaller than lake *Šėrmis*,

cf. *Šeřmis* (0,014 km²; 0,61 km) vs. *Šermùkas* (0,006 km²; 0,4 km). *Šermùkas* may be considered either 1) the transposition of colour into the limnonym, coupled with the meaning of smallness: Lith *šařm-as*, *šarm-à* + *-ukas* → the small lake of greyish/grey water colour (colour of the surface) → *Šermùkas*, or 2) the metonymic transposition of the limnonym *Šeřmis*, and be considered the name formed on the principle of analogy, i.e. highlighting the same distinguishing feature, but also coupled with the meaning of smallness: *Šermùkas* ← *Šerm-* + *-ukas* ← the small lake of greyish/grey water colour (colour of the surface) in the vicinity of lake *Šeřmis*.

4.2.76. *Šíemetis*_L × *Šiemetùkas*_L

Šíemetis – El; R1872 Rus Оз. Семють.

Šiemetùkas – El, 0,11 km northwest of *Šíemetis*.

Šíemetis, also known as *Šíemtétas*, and the smaller lake in its opposition *Šiemetùkas*, known as *Šiemedùkas*, are of unclear origin. According to Vanagas (1981: 330), the root *šiemed-* is a much more recent variant of the root *šiemet-*. The root *siemnét-* is also questionable, as the name is written as *Szemiet* in the 1784 source and, therefore, the primary form might have been **šém-et-* or *šém-ét-*; the root **šém-* (ibid.). We believe, the latter form R1872 Rus Семють (Lith *Sėmiut*) might have been an erroneous record with the initial consonant change Rus *c* (*s*) < *š*. The root *šém-* is found in many Lith toponyms, as in the *Šémė*, the *Šėmis* (in Batakiai, Trg D), lake *Šemùkas* (most probably from **Šemukas*) (in Aukštadvaris, Trak D), the *Šém-ó-raistis* stream (in Birštonas, Prn D), also cf. the lawn *Šémà* (Vanagas 1981: 328). If the root **šém-* was primary in limnonym *Šíemetis*, then it may be related to Lith *šėmas*, *-à* ‘light, bluish grey’ or ‘dark grey, dark’ (LKŽe), related to Lith *šėméti* ‘to become grey, dark grey’ (LKŽe), and is derived using Lith Suf *-etis*, used to form nomina agentis or verbal nouns that mark the agent and state experiencer (cf. Ambrazas 1993: 112, 130–131). The limnonym form most probably had/has to be **Šemetis*. Therefore, the limnonym may be classified as one of many colour hydronyms (also, cf. Vanagas 1981a: 100). The surface of the lake may appear grey/greyish/dark grey due to the light reflected from the surface of the water. Therefore, the limnonym may be considered the transposition of [COLOUR]: Lith *šém-as*, *šém-ėti* + *-etis* → the lake of greyish/grey/dark (gray) water colour (colour of the surface) → *Šíemetis* (**Šemetis*). *Šiemetùkas* is Lith DIM Suf *-ukas* derivative from *Šíemetis*. Due to the lake’s proximity to lake *Šeřmis*, the DIM limnonym shares the same etymology and is motivated by the colour of water (surface), but also conveys the meaning of smallness, cf. *Šíemetis* (0,528 km²; 4,04 km) vs. *Šiemetùkas* (0,017 km²; 0,55 km). *Šiemetùkas* may be considered either 1) the transposition of colour into the limnonym, coupled with the meaning of smallness: Lith *šém-as* < *šém-ėti* + *-et-is* + *-ukas* → the small lake (that becomes) of grayish/gray/dark (gray) water colour (colour of the surface) → *Šiemetùkas*, or 2) the metonymic transposition of the limnonym *Šíemetis*, and be considered the name formed on the principle of analogy, i.e. highlighting the same

distinguishing feature, but also coupled with the meaning of smallness: *Šiemetùkas* ← *Šiemet-* + *-ukas* ← the small lake of grayish/gray/dark (gray) water colour (of the surface) in the vicinity of lake *Šiemetis*.

4.2.77. ¹*Širvintos*_{tn} × ²*Širvintos*_v × *Širvintėlės*_v

¹*Širvintos* – Širvintos eld, Šr D, on the *Širvintà* (128,6 km, the Šventoji trib.); SV1974 588 *Širvintos*_{tn}, G1905 81 Rus м. Ширвинты, R1872 Rus м. Ширвинты, K1861 721 Rus м. Ширвинты 51 [y].

²*Širvintos* – Širvintos eld, Šr D, at the northwestern outskirts of *Širvintos*_{tn}; SV1974 588 *Širvintos*_v, G1905 81 Rus д. Ширвинты, 403 дес., R1872 Rus Ширвинты.

Širvintėlės – Širvintos eld, Šr D, at the southern outskirts of *Širvintos*_{tn}; SV1974 585 *Širvintėlės*_v, G1905 81 Rus им. Ширвинтели, 141 дес., R1872 Rus з. Шервинтели 6 [y].

Širvintos is Lith inflexion *-os* derivative from and is motivated by the potamonym *Širvintà*, on which the town is located. Therefore, the polisonym is a metonymic transposition of the potamonym: *Širvintos* ← *Širvint-à* + *-os* ← the settlement on the *Širvintà*. The koronym *Širvintos* is most probably formed by the principle of analogy, as the settlement is located close to both the town and the river. The village was established by people who moved from or settled in the vicinity of the town. The koronym, therefore, may be considered the metonymic transposition of the polisonym: *Širvintos* ← a settlement in the vicinity of *Širvintos* town. On the other hand, this koronym could also be considered the metonymic transposition of the potamonym: *Širvintos* ← *Širvint-à* + *-os* ← the settlement on the *Širvintà*. *Širvintėlės* is obviously Lith DIM Suf *-ėlės* derivative from the polisonym *Širvintos* and is motivated by the settlement's close location to the town. The DIM Suf conveys the meaning of the smallness of the named settlement, cf. the historical types and sizes G1905 81 Rus м. Ширвинты, R1872 Rus м. Ширвинты, K1861 721 Rus м. Ширвинты 51 [y] vs. G1905 81 Rus д. Ширвинты, 403 дес., R1872 Rus Ширвинты vs. G1905 81 Rus им. Ширвинтели, 141 дес., R1872 Rus з. Шервинтели 6 [y]. Thus, *Širvintėlės* is a metonymic transposition of the polisonym and is based on the concept of [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR]: *Širvintėlės* ← *Širvint-os* + *-ėlės* ← a small settlement in the vicinity of *Širvintos* town.

4.2.78. *Šiūkščiškiai*_v × *Šiūkščiškėliai*_v

*Šiūkščiškiai*_v – Taujėnai eld, Ukm D; SV1974 671 *Šiūkščiškiai*_v, KG1903 168 Rus д. Шукштишки, R1872 Rus Шукштишки 4 [y].

*Šiūkščiškėliai*_v – Taujėnai eld, Ukm D, 0,9 km south of *Šiūkščiškiai*; SV1974 671 *Šiūkščiškėliai*_v, KG1903 168 Rus д. Шукштышкели.

Šiūkščiškiai is probably of anthroponymic origin and is Lith Suf *-iškiai* derivative from Lith PN *Šiūkštis*, *Šiūkščius*, *Šiukštà* (cf. Razmukaitė 1998: 76; Zinkevičius 2011:

104; PDB). The oikonym may thus convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP], is motivated by and is a transposition of the PN: *Šiūkštiškiai* ← *Šiūkst-is*, *Šiūkšč-ius* [č → t], *Šiukšt-à* + *-iškiai* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Šiūkštis*, *Šiūkščius*, *Šiukštà*. *Šiukštiškėliai* is obviously Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from and is motivated by the settlement's location in relation to *Šiūkštiškiai*. The DIM Suf marks the newer, smaller settlement, cf. the historical forms KG1903 168 Rus д. Шукштишки, R1872 Rus Шукштишки 4 [y.] [*Šiūkštiškiai*] vs. KG1903 168 Rus д. Шукштышкели [*Šiukštiškėliai*], which was probably established by people who moved from *Šiūkštiškiai*, and is a metonymic transposition: *Šiukštiškėliai* ← *Šiūkštišk-iai* + *-ėliai* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Šiūkštiškiai* village.

4.2.79. *Švenčionys_{tn}* × *Švenčionėliai_{tn}*

Švenčionys – *Švenčionys* eld, Švčn D; SV1974 608 *Švenčionys_{tn}*, G1905 259 Rus г.

Свенцяны, R1872 Rus м. Свенцяны 424 [y.], K1861 739 Rus г. Свенцяны.

Švenčionėliai – *Švenčionėliai* eld, Švčn D, 10 km northwest of *Švenčionys_{tn}*; SV1974 606 *Švenčionėliai_{tn}*, G1905 301 Rus ст. ж. д. Свенцяны, сел. Ново-Свенцяны, 21 дес., R1872 Rus ст. Свенцяны.

The polisonym *Švenčionys* is of unclear origin. There are two versions of its origin proposed by Vanagas (1996: 244–246), which have so far been neither approved nor rejected: on the one hand, the polisonym is of hydronymic origin and is Lith Suf *-onys* derivative from the lake name *Šveñtas* and/or stream name *Šventė*, which Vanagas claims to be currently non-existent; on the other hand, the polisonym may be of anthroponymic origin and is *pl* of Lith PN *Švenčionis*, which is rare in Lithuania, but nowadays not recorded in the vicinity of *Švenčionys* (also, cf. PDB). The surname, according to Vanagas (ibid.) is probably of hydronymic origin. It is also believed that the polisonym may be derived from the name coined by the inhabitants of the town – *Šventėnai*, cf., Rus Свенцяны (Švnc D mun. web site⁸¹). Currently, there exist two lakes *Šveñtas*, and two streams with the root *Švent-* at approx. same distance from *Švenčionys*: lake *Šveñtas* (6 km north of *Švenčionėliai_{tn}*) and the *Šventelė-Dėmė* stream, which drains its waters into the *Žeimenà* 4 km north of *Švenčionėliai*; both the lake and the stream are approx. 11,3 km northwest of *Švenčionys*; one more lake *Šveñtas* and the *Šventė* stream (the *Juodynė* trib.) are approx. 11,5 km northeast of *Švenčionys*. The toponymic context suggests that the polisonym *Švenčionys* should be of hydronymic origin and most probably is a derivative either from the potamonym or limnonym, being motivated by the settlement's relatively close location in relation to all of the mentioned hydronyms, and is a metonymic transposition of the hydronym: *Švenčionys* ← *Šveñt-as/the Švent-ė/the Švent-elė(-Dėmė)* [t → č]+ *-onys* ← the settlement in the vicinity of the lake(s) *Šveñtas*, or the stream(s) *Šventė/ Šventelė(-Dėmė)*.

⁸¹ <http://www.svencionys.lt/index.php?3723074234>

The polisonym *Švenčionėliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from polisonym *Švenčionys*. The settlement started to develop in 1861 around the RS by the railroad Warsaw–Petersburg (Vanagas 1996: 244, PDB), also, cf. the historical forms of the name and the statuses of the settlements G1905 259 Rus г. Свенцяны, R1872 Rus м. Свенцяны 424 [y.], K1861 739 Rus г. Свенцяны [*Švenčionys*] vs. G1905 301 Rus ст.[анция] ж.[елезно] д.[оружная] Свенцяны, сел. Ново-Свенцяны, 21 дес., R1872 Rus ст.[анция] Свенцяны [*Švenčionėliai*]. Thus, the polisonym *Švenčionėliai*, due to its proximity to *Švenčionys*, is motivated by the older, bigger settlement's name and is a metonymic transposition: *Švenčionėliai* ← *Švenčionys* + *-ėliai* ← the RS and the smaller settlement in the vicinity of *Švenčionys*.

4.2.80. *Šveñčius*_L × *Švenčiùkas*_L

Šveñčius – El; R1872 Rus Оз. Свенце.

Švenčiùkas – El, 0,4 km northeast of *Šveñčius*.

Šveñčius is Lith inflection *-(i)us*, used to form names of nominal property holders (DLKG 124), derivative from Lith *šveñtas* ‘arising from God, divine; one in the grace of God, consecrated, sanctified’ (LKŽe) (cf. Vanagas 1970: 68, 69, 1981: 337) and may be attributed to the group of hydronyms of demonological meaning, i.e. names of water bodies that are associated with superstitions and beliefs (cf. Vanagas 1981a: 110–111). In ancient times, the lake most probably was considered sacred and untouchable, and posing no threat to humans; rituals of faith may have been performed in its vicinity. Therefore, the limnonym could convey the concept [SACREDNESS]: Lith *šveñt-as* [*t > č*] + *-ius* → the sacred lake → *Šveñčius*. *Švenčiùkas* is Lith DIM Suf *-(i)ukas* derivative from limnonym *Šveñčius*. Due to the lake's proximity to lake *Šveñčius*, the DIM limnonym shares the same etymology and conveys the same concept coupled with the meaning of the smallness, cf. *Šveñčius* (0,17 km²; 3,82 km) vs. *Švenčiùkas* (0,005 km²; 0,29 km). *Švenčiùkas* may be considered either 1) the transposition of [SACREDNESS] into the limnonym coupled with the meaning of smallness: Lith *šveñt-as* [*t > č*] + *-(i)ukas* → the small sacred lake → *Švenčiùkas*, or 2) the metonymic transposition of the limnonym *Šveñčius*, and be considered the name formed on the principle of analogy, i.e. highlighting the same distinguishing feature, coupled with the meaning of smallness: *Švenčiùkas* ← *Švenč-* + *-(i)ukas* ← the small sacred lake in the vicinity of lake *Šveñčius*.

4.2.81. ¹*Taujėnai*_{tn} × ²*Taujėnai*_v × *Taujėnėliai*_v

¹*Taujėnai* – *Taujėnai* eld, Ukm D; SV1974 671 *Taujėnai*_{tn}, GKS1903 65 Rus м. Товяны, R1872 Rus м. Товяны.

²*Taujėnai* – *Taujėnai* eld, Ukm D; east of *Taujėnai*_{tn}; SV1974 671 *Taujėnai*_v, KG1903 159 Rus окол. Товяны, R1872 Rus Товяны 6 [y.].

Taujėnėliai_v – Taujėnai eld, Ukm D; 4 km west of *Taujėnai_{tn}*; SV1974 671 *Taujėnėliai_v*, KG1903 159 Rus д. Товянка, R1872 Rus д. Товяны, 2 [y].

Taujėnai is most probably of anthroponymic origin and may be related to Lith PN *Taujėnas*, which may be related to Lith PN *Taujėnis*, *Taujūnas* (cf. Būga 1958: 236, Zinkevičius 2011: 30–31, PDB). Therefore, the oikonym may be considered a metonymic transposition of the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Taujėnai* ← *Taujėnas* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Taujėnas*/the *Taujėnai*. The name of the village *Taujėnai*, which is located just across the Mūšia river, is motivated by the settlement's location in proximity to the town. Therefore, it may be claimed to be derived by the principle of analogy and is the metonymic transposition of the town's name: *Taujėnai* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Taujėnai* town. The oikonym *Taujėnėliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from the name of the larger settlement it is located close to. The DM is motivated by the historical size and type of the settlement, cf. GKS1903 65 Rus м. Товяны, R1872 Rus м. Товяны [*Taujėnai_{tn}*] vs. KG1903 159 Rus окол. Товяны, R1872 Rus Товяны 6 [y.] [*Taujėnai_v*] vs. KG1903 159 Rus д. Товянка, R1872 Rus д. Товяны, 2 [y.] [*Taujėnėliai_v*]. This oikonym is also motivated by its position in relation to the town, but the Suf additionally indicates the settlement's size: *Taujėnėliai* ← *Taujėn-ai* + *-ėliai* ← a small settlement in the vicinity of *Taujėnai* town.

4.2.82. *Trakai_v* × *Trakėliai_v*

Trakai – Švenčionys eld, Švčn D, in Trakų forest; SV1974 603 *Trakai_v*, G1905 298 Rus ф. Троки, 43 дес., R1872 Rus ф. Троки 4 [y].

Trakėliai – Svirkos eld, Švčn D, 17 km northwest of *Trakai* (Švenčionys eld); SV1974 604 *Trakeliai_{stead}*, G1905 251 Rus д. Трокели-Малые, 15 дес., R1872 Rus Трокели 2 [y].

The oikonym *Trakai* in the second opposition is *pl* of Lith *trākas* 'glade, clearing' and is motivated by the village's location in the forest (cf. Section 6.17.), conveying the concept [CLEARING: PICKING]. The village obviously developed in a glade/picking. The oikonym *Trakėliai* is Lith DIM Suf *-eliai* derivative more likely from the oikonym in its vicinity rather than from the appellative, as the village of *Trakėliai* is located far from forests. The DIM Suf is motivated by the settlement's size (from the historical perspective, in terms of the area of lands), cf., G1905 298 Rus ф. Троки, 43 дес. [*Trakai*] vs. G1905 251 Rus д. Трокели-Малые, 15 дес. [*Trakėliai*]. Therefore, *Trakėliai* is a metonymic transposition of the oikonym: *Trakėliai* ← *Trak-ai* + *-eliai* ← the smaller settlement close to *Trakai*.

4.2.83. *Ungurys_L* × *Unguraitis_L*

Ungurys – Trakai eld, Trak D; R1872 Rus Оз. Унгоръ.

Unguraitis – Trakai eld, Trak D, 0,44 km southwest of lake *Ungurys*; R1872 Rus Оз. Унгорайчисъ.

Ungurỹs is related to the zoolexeme Lith *ungurỹs* (eel) ‘snake-like, catadromous valuable fish (*Anguilla Anguilla*)’ (LKŽe). In Lithuania, eels live mainly in the Curonian Lagoon, less often in rivers and lakes, and prefer muddy, overgrown places (TLE 4 378). It may be claimed that the name is motivated by the zoolexeme and belongs to the group of hydronyms relating to fauna (cf. Vanagas 1981a: 82). Most probably the limnonym marked one of the not many waterbodies, which are the habitat of the eel (where eels could be caught) and is a metonymic transposition of the zoolexeme conveying the concept [FISH SPECIES]: Lith *ungurỹs* → the lake in which one may catch eels (the habitat of eels) → *Ungurỹs*. *Unguráitis* is the derivative of Lith Suf *-aitis*, used to form the DIM coupled with the sense of amiability. The derivatives of this Suf can also be considered as having the meaning of origin and belonging, esp. the meaning of kinship (cf. DLKG 91–92, 141, SRR I 359ff.). *Unguráitis* is of the same etymology and motivation as *Ungurỹs*. Both lakes are joined by the Margis stream (the Strėva trib.) that flows through them. Additionally, the DIM form is motivated by the size of the lake, cf. *Ungurỹs* (0,184 km²; 2,35 km) vs. *Unguráitis* (0,168 km²; 1,9 km). The limnonym may be considered the conceptualization of a place (lake) that is a habitat of eels: Lith *Ungur-* + *-aitis* → the small lake in which one may catch eels → *Unguráitis*, but is also a metonymic transposition of the superior lake’s name: *Unguráitis* ← *Ungur-* + *-aitis* ← the small lake in the vicinity of lake *Ungurỹs*.

4.2.84. *Varnākis*_L × *Varnakēlis*_L

Varnākis – Pabradė eld, Švčn D; R1872 Rus Оз. Варнаки.

Varnakēlis – Pabradė eld, Švčn D, 0,11 km southeast of lake *Varnākis*.

According to Vanagas (1981: 365), limonyms *Varnākis* and *Varnakēlis* with formant *varn-* may be related to zoolexeme Lith *vārna* ‘bird of the crow family with grey and black feathers (*Corvus corone*)’, or *vařnas* ‘crow, raven (*Corvus corax*)’ (LKŽe), and, thus, may be classified as hydronyms motivated by the concept of fauna [BIRD SPECIES] (cf. Vanagas 1981a: 82). Vanagas (1981: 365) also suggests that such hydronyms may relate to the concept [COLOUR], cf. Bel *вараны*, Pol *wrony*, Rus *вороной* ‘black (about the horse colour)’ (PWN, WSJPe, SRYe, Skarnik.by). Both *Varnākis* and *Varnakēlis* are in the Labanoras-Pabradė forest, 83 % of which are pine forests (VLEe). Therefore, it may be suggested that limnonyms were motivated by the colour of the coniferous forest in which the lakes lie, or the colour of the water that might have been viewed as black as the raven: Lith *vārna*, (Bel *вараны*, Pol *wrony*, Rus *вороной*) → the black lake/ the lake with black (dark) water → *Varnākis*. On the other hand, the limnonym *Varnākis* seems to be a compound, made of two components: Lith *varn-* and *akis*. In this case, the second component Lith *akis* may either relate to the ‘organ of the visual system, eye’ (LKŽe) or ‘hole in a swamp; a small area of water in wetlands or lakes that are almost overgrown by vegetation’ (ibid.). In such a case, one of the interpretations of the limnonym *Varnākis* may be a metaphoric transposition of the (raven’s,

crow's) sensory organ: Lith *varn-o* and *akis* → *Varnākis*. Another possibility is to relate the component *varn-* to phytalexeme Lith *varnāgė* (kulkšnė) 'liquorice milkvetch, wild liquorice (*Astragalus glycyphyllus*)' (LKŽe), which is a relatively rare plant that grows in forests, fellings, bushes, slopes, and is sometimes used for tea and medicine (VLEe). Therefore, the limnonym may be motivated by the plant species that may be found in the vicinity of the lake and is a metonymic transposition of the plant name: Lith *varnāgė* (kulkšnė) → the lake in the vicinity of which liquorice milkvetch/wild liquorice may be found → *Varnākis*. Lake *Varnakėlis* is a much smaller lake and its name is Lith DIM Suf *-ėlis* derivative from *Varnākis* and shares the same etymology and motivation with the primary limnonym in the opposition. The DM is motivated by the opposition of size, cf. *Varnākis* (0,16 km²; 1,81 km) vs. *Varnakėlis* (0,023 km²; 0,76 km). Being the secondary, derived name, *Varnakėlis* is a metonymic transposition of *Varnākis*, coupled with the meaning of smallness, indicated by the Suf that points to the actual size of the lake: *Varnakėlis* ← *Varnak-* + *-ėlis* ← a small lake in the vicinity of lake *Varnākis*.

4.2.85. *Vytinė_v* × *Vytinė_{stead}*

Vytinė – Pabaiskas eld., Ukm D; in the plains north of Vytinė forest; SV1974 668 *Vytinė_v*, KG1903 81 Rus з., ф. Витиня.

Vytinė_{stead} – Pabaiskas eld., Ukm D, 8 km north of Pabaiskas_{tm}, 5 km south of *Vytinė*, in Vytinė forest; SV1974 668 *Vytinė_{stead}*, KG1903 81 Rus стор.[ожка] Витиня.

Vytinė is of not very clear origin. On the one hand, this may be Lith Suf *-inė* derivative from old one-stem Lith PN *Výtas* (Razmukaitė 1998: 50), Lith surname *Výtas*, related to Lith *Vità*, *Vítas*, *Vitis*, *Výtis*, *Vytys* (PDB). Consequently, the oikonym may convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP], is motivated by and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Vytinė* ← *Výt-as*, *Výt-as* + *-inė* ← the settlement established by/belonging to *Výtas/Výtas*. On the other hand, *Vytinė* may be of appellative origin and is derived from Lith *vytinė* 'rod, sprout: thin, flexible tree branch, usually used for braiding or tying' (LKŽe) (Zinkevičius 2011: 122). If the version is true, *Vytinė* may be motivated by the place, overgrown with bushes or trees with flexible branches, such as hazelnut bushes/trees, willows (or any trees from the genus *Salix*), or other, the branches of which traditionally were/are used for basket weaving or fencing, etc. Settlements in the opposition are located close to or in between forests. Therefore, the oikonym *Vytinė* may be a metaphoric transposition of the flexible tree branch and refers to the place where such may be found: Lith *vytinė* → the settlement in the area overgrown with trees and shrubs with flexible branches → *Vytinė*. *Vytinė_{stead}* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėlė* derivative probably from the oikonym *Vytinė*. The present-day settlement *Vytinė_{stead}* has obviously developed from what historically was a forester's lodge, cf. the historical type KG1903 81 Rus стор.[ожка] Витиня ← Rus *сторожка* 'small house, quarters for the watchman; forest gatehouse/lodge' (SRYe). The lodge was located in the forest in the vicinity of the steading and folwark that now are the vil-

lage of *Vytinė* ← KG1903 81 Rus з.[астенок], ф.[ольварк] Вициня. Therefore, *Vytinė* is motivated by its location in proximity to *Vytinė* and is a metonymic transposition: *Vytinė* ← *Vytin-ė* + *-ėlė* ← the settlement (lodge) in the vicinity of *Vytinė*.

4.2.86. *Zizdrà_R* × *Zizdrėlė_{st}*

The Zizdrà – 14 km, the Šventoji trib., An D, Ukm D.

The Zizdrėlė – 2,5 km, *the Zizdrà* trib., An D.

Zizdrà, according to Vanagas (1981: 395), has to be related to the *Žyzdrė* river in Šiluva (Rs D) and similar place names, as a river name derived from the Baltic (Selonian) dialectism, which is related to Lith *žizdras/žiezdrà* (*ziezdras, ziezdrà*) ‘sand, earth; sand, gravel’ (LKŽe) (ibid. 405). Hence, the name may be considered a transposition of the concept [SAND], as the river, its bottom (bed) is sandy, pebbly: Lith *žizdras/žiezdrà* (*ziezdras, ziezdrà*) → sandy/pebbly/shingly river → *Zizdrà*. The potamonym *Zizdrėlė* is Lith DIM Suf *-ėlė* derivative from the superior potamonym *Zizdrà*, thus, creates a toponymic (hidronymic) continuum with it and shares the same etymology that can be either 1) interpreted as the transposition of the same concept, taking into consideration the stream’s size: Lith *žizdras/žiezdrà* (*ziezdras, ziezdrà*) → a small sandy/pebbly/shingly river → *the Zizdrėlė*, or 2) be considered a metonymic transposition of the superior river’s name: *the Zizdrėlė* ← *Zizdr(à)* + *-ėlė* ← a small tributary of the *Zizdrà*. The DIM name is also motivated by the actual size of both rivers, cf. the *Zizdrà* (14 km) vs. the *Zizdrėlė* (2,5 km).

4.2.87. *Žālesas_L* × *Žālesėlis_L*

Žālesas – Avižieniai eld, V D; also known as *Pikeliškių ežeras* after *Pikeliškės*,; R1872

Жалоса Пикилишки.

Žālesėlis – Avižieniai eld, V D.

*Žālesas*⁸² and *Žālesėlis*⁸³ form the opposition based on Lith DIM Suf *-ėlis* and may be related to Lith *žālias, žālìà, žaliàsis, žalióji, žāliasiai* (green) ‘verdant, verdurous (about plants)’, or ‘one of the main colours of the spectrum, between yellow and blue; the colour of grass’, or *žālesà* ‘young grass in the spring’ (LKŽe) (cf. Vanagas 1981: 397) and may belong to the group of hydronyms that are characterized by the colour of water (Vanagas 1981a: 100). Being near to each other, these limnonyms create a toponymic microsystem. The motivation of limnonym *Žālesas* may be explained by the transposition of the concept [COLOUR]: Lith *žālias, žaliàsis* → the lake, the water of

⁸² *Žālesas* is Lith Suf *-esas* derivative from Lith *žālias* (cf. Vanagas 1970: 137).

⁸³ *Žālesėlis* is a limnonym derived from other limnonyms, i.e. from *Žālesas*, by means of the Lith Suf *-ėlis* (cf. Vanagas 1970: 126).

which is green → *Žālesas*. Limnonym *Žalesėlis* is a secondary hydronym and may be motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR], belonging to the superior hydronym. Therefore, it may be considered the metonymic transposition of the superior limnonym: *Žalesėlis* ← *Žāles-as* + *-ėlis* ← a small lake in the vicinity of *Žālesas*. The DIM name is motivated by the size of the lake, cf. *Žālesas* (0,692 km²; 7,14 km) vs. *Žalesėlis* (0,078 km²; 1,39 km).

4.2.88. *Žeimenà_R* × *Žeimenėlė_{st}*

The Žeimenà – 79,6 km, the Neris trib.; V D, Švčn D; R1872 Rus Р. Жеймяны / Жеймяна / Жеймянка.

The Žeimenėlė – 6 km, Sirvėtas_L; Švčn D.

Žeimenà and *Žeimenėlė* make an opposition based on Lith DIM Suf *-ėlė*. The inferior potamonym is derived from *Žeimenà*. The potamonym *Žeimenà*, which, according to Vanagas (1981: 399), should be analyzed similarly to lake *Žeimenys*, *Žeimenės* (Kaltanėnai, Švčn. D., R1872 Rus Оз.[еро] Жеймяна), the *Žeimikė* (Luokė, Telšiai D.), and should be also compared to Lith *Žeimė* waterhole/pool (Nemunėlio Radviliškis, Biržai D.), a swash/cay in lake Plateliai (Plungė D.), *Žeimės* swamp (Raseiniai), *Žeimis* puddle/bog (Panevėžys), is most likely Lith Suf *-ena* derivative (Vanagas 1970: 183) from Lith *žiemà* (winter) ‘the coldest time of year between autumn and spring’ (LKŽe). All of the above toponyms are related by Jan Otrębski (1961: 43) and Joseph Prinz (1970: 380) to Lith *žiemà* in the primary sense of coldness (of water), as maintained in Oleg Trubachiov⁸⁴ (1957: 29). Therefore, both potamonyms are motivated by the coldness of the water and the etymology of both names could be explained by the transposition of the concept [COLDNESS]: Lith *žiemà* → (the river with) cold water → *the Žeimenà/the Žeimenėlė*. The DIM name is also motivated by the river’s size, cf. the *Žeimenà* (79,6 km) vs. the *Žeimenėlė* (6 km).

* * *

The antonymic semantic correlation conveying the named objects’ *relative size* is observed in the classes of hydronyms and oikonyms that form both lexical and grammatical toponym oppositions.

Semantics and motivation of DMs. The linguistic and extralinguistic analyses have shown that the augmentative-diminutive relationship of the objects in opposition is expressed by:

1. The correlation of adjectives Lith *didelis* – *māžas* with the meaning ‘big’ vs. ‘small’ and their pronominal forms Lith *didysis* (*-ieji, -oji, -osios*) – *mažasis* (*-ieji, -oji, -osios*), and the dialectal forms Lith *didysai* – *mažasai* with the meaning ‘the big, great; greater’ vs. ‘the small, minor; lesser’ in pre- or post-position to ITLs in 21

⁸⁴ Trubachiov (1957: 29) reconstructs the archetype of Lith *žiemà* to **ghei-m-*.

complete and incomplete oppositions refer to the *relative size* of named objects. DMs in this group of oppositions are based on the concept [SIZE: EXTENT].

In the case of potamonyms, adjectives differentiate rivers and are motivated by their length, conveying the concept [SIZE: LENGTH]. In the case of limnonyms, such correlations differentiate lakes in terms of the size of their surface areas and shoreline lengths, conveying the concept of [SIZE: EXTENT]. However, in the opposition *Didelis Macijonėlis* × *Māžas Macijonėlis*, DMs could be motivated by and convey the concept [SIZE: WIDTH].

In the class of oikonyms both simple and pronominal adjectives are used in pre- or post-position in their literal meaning to make a distinction between the ITLs and are motivated by the named settlements' size in terms of the area of land that belonged to them, the number of yards, as well as type of the settlement viewed both synchronically and diachronically. DMs in oikonym oppositions convey the concept [SIZE: EXTENT]. As seen from the historical data, many of the oikonyms in lexical oppositions are the result of renaming or reconstruction (and standardization) of the old settlement names, and the differentiating adjectives were added most probably in the first or second quarter of the 20th c.

2. The correlation of DIM suffixes marked names to names with zero-suffix morpheme expresses the antonymic augmentative-diminutive relationship of the objects in opposition and is motivated by their *relative size*, conveying the concept [SIZE: EXTENT]. All the diminutive toponyms not only refer to the actual smallness of named objects but are also semantically coloured and present peoples' attitudes towards the object they named.

In the class of hydronyms, the correlation of the suffix-derived name to the unmarked one is used to make the distinction between ITLs. In the case of potamonyms, this correlation is motivated by the length (km) of the rivers in opposition and conveys the meaning of the concept [SIZE: LENGTH]. In the case of limnonyms, such correlations differentiate lakes in terms of their surface areas and shoreline lengths, conveying the concept [SIZE: EXTENT] the augmentative-diminutive relation is based on and can be partly explained by the size of the surface area (km²) and lengths of shorelines (km) of the lakes in opposition. The extralinguistic data shows that all the rivers and lakes denominated by the DIM Suf marked names are smaller than the waterbodies from the name of which these diminutive names were derived. In several examples, the meaning of smallness is coupled with the pejorative sense, conveyed by Lith Suf *-ykšt-* (*-is*). Here, we believe, also belongs Lith Suf *-ykšč-* (*-ia*) derivative in the potamonym opposition *Šalčia* × *Šalčykščia*.

In the class of oikonyms the meaning of smallness and most probably that of endearment is conveyed by the Lith DIM Suf *-ait-* (*-is*, *-ė*), *-ėl-* (*-is*, *-ė*, *-iai*), *-el-* (*-ės*, *-iai*), *-(i)uk-* (*-ai*) and the only Slav Suf *-k-*(*-a*)⁸⁵ derivatives. The augmentative-

⁸⁵ In Russian, this Suf is used to derive diminutive forms that mostly convey evaluative meanings (Dabašinskienė, Voeikova 2015: 207; Rezanova *et al.* 2019: 57ff.).

diminutive relationship in oikonym correlations is partly coded in the definition of the settlement type (often from the historical perspective, i.e. from which the current settlement types have developed) and conveys the concept [SIZE: EXTENT]. Both the linguistic analysis and the interpretation of the historical data have shown that:

- 1) suffix-derived oikonyms show the size of the settlement based on its type and name form from the historical perspective, cf. *Daučiónys* × *Daučioniūkai*, *Deltuva* × *Deltuvėlė*, *Dūkštos* × *Dūkštėliai*, *Dūsmenys* × *Dusmenėliai*, *Gélvonai* × *Gélvonai* × *Gelvonėliai*, *Grúožninkai* × *Gruožninkėliai*, *Laumėnai* × *Laumėnėliai*, *Lazdiniai* × *Lazdinėliai*, *Mūsninkai* × *Musninkėliai*, *Nemenčinė* × *Nemenčinėlė*, *Noškūnai* × *Noškūnėliai*, *Sámninkai* × *Samninkėliai*, *Slabadà* × *Slabadkà*, *Šalčininkai* × *Šalčininkai* × *Šalčininkėliai*, *Širvintos* × *Širvintos* × *Širvintėlės*, *Šiūkštiškiai* × *Šiukštiškėliai*, *Švenčiónys* × *Švenčionėliai*, *Taujėnai* × *Taujėnai* × *Taujėnėliai*, *Trakai* × *Trakėliai*;
- 2) suffix-derived oikonyms are the result of reconstruction or renaming of old oikonyms, but indicate to the size of the settlement, cf. *Akmenà* × *Akmenėlė*, *Alsakiai* × *Alsakėliai*, *Baždiškiai* × *Bardiškėliai*, *Baronai* × *Baronėliai* × *Baronėliai*, *Bugėniai* × *Bugenėliai*, *Butkūnai* × *Butkūnėliai*, *Dainavà* × *Dainavėlė*, *Dubiai* × *Dubėliai*, *Grūžos* × *Gružėlės*, *Jauniūnai* × *Jauniūnėliai*, *Juodiškis* × *Juodiškėlis*, *Kaimynai* × *Kaimynėliai*, *Kálviai* × *Kalvėliai* × *Kalvėliai*, *Laukėnai* × *Laukėnėliai*, *Mėžiónys* × *Mėžionėliai*, *Miškiniai* × *Miškinėliai*, *Naidai* × *Naidėliai*, *Paliepiei* × *Paliepiūkai*, *Praniai* × *Praniūkai*, *Prūdiškė* × *Prūdiškėlė*, *Purnūškės* × *Purnuškėliai*, ¹*Raguvà* × *Raguvėlė*, ²*Raguvà* × *Raguvėlė*, *Skominaĩ* × *Skominėliai*, *Vytinė* × *Vytinėėlė*;
- 3) suffix-derived oikonyms name smaller, newer settlements, established in the vicinity of the larger, older ones, cf. *Juodakiai* × *Juodakėliai*, *Liūnai* × *Liūnėliai*, *Makūčiai* × *Makučiūkai*, *Pakirniai* × *Pakirniūkai*.

Based on the above, it may be claimed that DIM suffixes serve as the means of contrasting ITLs and perform both the relative function and/or indicate the smallness of the named objects. Many of the present-day oikonym oppositions are the result of either reconstruction, renaming, or standardization of the settlement names. Also, in almost an equal number of cases, the DIM Suf points to the size of the settlement based on the settlement type as seen from the historical perspective, or names smaller, newer settlements.

Semantics and motivation of ITLs. The linguistic analysis has shown that ITLs fall into two categories: toponym lexemes of transparent and opaque motivation and semantics. These ITLs are based on impressions/associations the nominator has about the named object and facilitate the categorization of the surrounding reality through concepts. Concepts reflecting the most prominent features of named locations are given meaning in toponyms.

1. ITLs of transparent motivation and semantics

- 1.1. Toponyms **motivated by potamonym** convey the concept [PLACE: LOCATION ON/NEAR] mainly in oikonyms ¹*Akmenà*, ²*Akmenà*, *Dūkštos*, *Gélvonai*, *Mėžiónys*, *Mùsninkai*, *Nemenčinė*, *Pakėrniai*, ¹*Riešė*, ²*Riešė*, (*Didžioji*) *Riešė*, (*Mažoji*) *Riešė*, *Šalčininkai*, *Širvintos*; and potamonyms *Latvėlė*, *Strūnėlė*.
- 1.2. Toponyms **motivated by limnonym** express the concept [PLACE: LOCATION ON/NEAR], cf. limnonyms *Beržuoliukas*, *Bėlaitis*, *Briauniukas*, *Drabužaitis*, *Gai galiukas*, *Gelvaitis*, *Gėjūkas*, *Gėlaitis*, *Gruožaitis*, *Mažasis Gulbinas*, *Įlma Mažoji*, *Karaitis*, *Liedaitis*, *Monaitis*, *Sudotėlis*, *Varnakėlis*, *Žalesėlis*; and oikonyms *Akmenėlė*, *Dūkštėliai*, *Sámninkai*.
- 1.3. Oikonyms **motivated by oikonym** are based on the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] and make the biggest group, cf. *Bardiškėliai*, (*Didieji*) *Baušiai*, *Bugenėliai*, *Butkūnėliai*, *Dainavėlė*, *Daučioniukai*, *Deltuvėlė*, *Dubėliai*, *Dusmenėliai*, *Gélvonai*, *Gelvonėliai*, *Gruožninkėliai*, *Gružėlės*, *Jauniūnėliai*, *Juodakėliai*, *Juodiškėlis*, *Kaimynėliai*, (*Mažieji*) *Kudžiónys*, *Laibiškės*, *Laukėnėliai*, *Laumėnėliai*, *Lazdinėliai*, (*Mažieji*) *Liepónys*, (*Mažieji*) *Lygáiniai*, *Makučiukai*, *Mėžionėliai*, *Miškinėliai*, *Musninkėliai*, *Naidėliai*, *Nemenčinėlė*, *Noškūnėliai*, *Paliepiukai*, *Praniukai*, *Prūdiškėlė*, *Purnušėliai*, ¹*Raguvėlė*, *Samninkėliai*, *Skominėliai*, *Šalčininkai*, *Šalčininkėliai*, (*Māžosios*) *Sėlos*, *Širvintėlės*, *Šiukštiškėliai*, *Švenčionėliai*, *Taujėnai*, *Taujėnėliai*, *Trakėliai*, *Vytinė*;
- 1.4. Toponyms **motivated by PN** convey the concept of [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and comprise oikonyms *Bardiškiai*, *Barėnai*, ¹*Baronėliai*, ²*Baronėliai*, (*Mažieji*) *Baušiai*, *Bugėniai*, *Butkūnai*, *Daučiónys*, (*Didieji*) *Gedūnai*, *Gedūnai*, *Grūžos*, *Jauniūnai*, *Juodiškis*, (*Didžiosios*, *Māžosios*) *Kabiškės*, (*Māžosios*) *Katutiškės*, *Katutiškės*, *Kudžiónys*, (*Didžiōsios*) *Laibiškės*, *Laukėnai*, *Laumėnai*, *Lazdiniai*, *Liepónys*, *Makūčiai*, *Naidai*, *Noškūnai*, *Praniai*, *Purnušės*, *Skomina*, *Šiukštiškiai*, *Taujėnai*, *Vytinė*; and limnonyms *Jagūdis*, (*Didelis*) *Macijonėlis*, (*Māžas*) *Macijonėlis*.
- 1.5. Toponyms **motivated by appellative** convey a variety of concepts that reflect the worldview of people in the territory under investigation. They describe the surroundings or landscape of the named object (both oikonyms and hydronyms), or the object itself, and convey the concepts [OPEN AREA] as in limnonyms *Akė*, *Akėlė*; [HILL FOOT] in limnonym *Pažemys*; [SWAMP] in limnonym *Sudotė*; [WATER BODY] in limnonym *Gėlvis* and oikonym *Prūdiškė*; [RIVER BED] in limnonyms (*Didieji*, *Mažieji*) *Vagiėkai*; [MOSSY PLACE] in limnonym *Samānis*; [FLOW] in potamonyms (*Mažoji*) *Upėsė*; *Strūnė*; [CLEARING] in oikonym *Trakai*; or [SAND] in potamonym *Zizdrė*. They also conceptualize the physis of the area through the imagery of [TREE SPECIES] in limnonym *Beržuolis* and oikonym *Paliepiei*, [BIRD SPECIES] in limnonym *Gaigālis*, or [FISH SPECIES] in limnonyms *Krākinis*, *Šamīnis*, *Ungurys*. Toponyms point to the nominator's perception of named objects (mainly hydronyms) through the concepts of [COLOUR] in lim-

nonyms *Júodis*, *Juodýnas*, *Šėrmis*, *Šíemetis*, *Žālesas*; [SIZE: WIDTH] in limnonyms (*Didysai*, *Mažasai*) *Siaurýs*; [DEPTH] in limnonyms *Bedùgnis*, *Bedugniùkas*; [SHAPE] in limnonyms *Briaūnis*, *Gėjus*; or [COLDNESS] in potamonyms *Šalčia*, *Šalčýkščia*, *Žeimenà*, *Žeimenėlė*. Several toponyms, esp. in the class of oikonyms, convey the imagery of economic activities through the concept of [PROFESSION], cf. *Mėdininkai*, *Didieji Mėdininkai*. Some toponyms reflect the nominator's spiritual world through concepts of [FREEDOM], cf. oikonyms *Slabadà*, *Slabadkà*, and [SACREDNESS] in limnonym *Švenčius*.

2. ITLs of opaque motivation and semantics

- 2.1. Some toponyms are **motivated by appellative** and embed a variety of combinations of concepts, relating to locations, indicating certain activities, and describing the surroundings, landscape, or objects reflecting the nominator's perception of the physical or spiritual reality. Toponyms embed the concepts of [COLOUR/CLEANLINESS/HARMLESSNESS] in limnonym *Báltas*; [MARSH/COLOUR] in limnonym *Bělýs*; [MARSH/COLDNESS/FEAR] in limnonym *Drabùžis*; [FRESH WATER/COLDNESS] in limnonym *Gėlà*; [SHAPE/ROPE] in limnonym *Gruožýs*; [BIRD SPECIES/BEAUTY] in limnonym *Guľbinas*; [MOVEMENT/PLACE OF WORSHIP/PLANT SPECIES] in limnonym *Įlma (Didžioji)*; [STONE/STONY PLACE] in limnonym *Kāris*; [OVERGROWN PLACE/MARSH] in potamonyms *Kenà*, *Kenėlė (Kinėlė)*, (*Mažoji*) *Kenà*; [MOVEMENT/SWAMP] in limnonym *Kretúonas*; [WATER: MOISTURE/FLOW] in limnonym *Líedis*; [SPIRIT/DECEPTION/PLANT SPECIES] in limnonym *Mónis*; [WATER FLOW/MOVEMENT] in potamonym *Mūšià*; [WATER FLOW/MOVEMENT/ANIMAL SPECIES] in potamonym *Nėrupis*; [RAVINE/VALLEY] in oikonyms ¹*Raguvà*, ²*Raguvà*, ²*Raguvėlė*; [PEOPLE/SETTLEMENT/LAND PLOT] in oikonym (*Didžiosios*) *Sėlos*; [LIGHT/SHAPE] in limnonym *Spindžiùs*; [COLOUR/BIRD SPECIES/ORGAN/WATER BODY] in limnonyms *Varnākis*, *Varnakėlis*.
- 2.2. Toponyms **motivated by appellative or PN** also present a variety of combinations of concepts, the primary being [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] coupled with [DEPTH] in limnonym *Bakà*; [MARVEL] in potamonyms *Cùdykas (Dìdelis/Māžas)*; [FLAT AREA] in oikonym (*Didieji*) *Lygāiniai*; [SUNKEN PLACE/TREE SPECIES] in oikonym *Dubiai*; [PEOPLE] in oikonyms *Juodakiai*, *Miškiniai* and potamonym *Lātovė*; [NEIGHBOURHOOD] in oikonym *Kaimýnai*; [PROFESSION] in oikonyms *Kálviai*, ¹*Kalvėliai*, ²*Kalvėliai*; [SWAMP] in oikonyms *Liūnai*, *Liūnėliai*.
- 2.3. Oikonyms **motivated by appellative, PN, or hydronym** are scarce and embed a combination of concepts [BIRD SPECIES/POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP/LOCATION NEAR], cf. (*Didžioji*, *Mažoji*) *Kúosinė*.
- 2.4. Toponyms **motivated by appellative or hydronym** present the imagery describing the physical and spiritual reality through several combinations of concepts with the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR], cf. [DEPTH] in limnonym *Bakùtis*; [COLOUR/CLEANLINESS/HARMLESSNESS] in limnonym *Baltėlis*;

- [DEPTH/COLOUR] in limnonyms *Juodžiùkas*, *Juodynėlis*; [FISH SPECIES] in limnonym *Krakinùkas*; [MOVEMENT/SWAMP] in limnonym *Kretuonỹkštis*; [WATER FLOW/MOVEMENT] in potamonym *Mušėlė*; [WATER FLOW/MOVEMENT/ANIMAL SPECIES] in potamonym *Nerupėlis*; [HILL FOOT] in limnonym *Pažemėlis*; [MOSSY PLACE] in limnonym *Samanỹkštis*; [STRETCH/SHAPE] in limnonym *Spindžiùkas*; [FISH SPECIES] in limnonyms *Šaminėlis*, *Unguraitis*; [COLOUR] in limnonym *Šermùkas*, *Šimetùkas*; [SACREDNESS] in limnonym *Švenčiùkas*; [SAND] in limnonym *Zizdrėlė*.
- 2.5. Limnonyms **motivated by oikonym or hydronym** convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR] in *Antāvilio ėžeras*, *Mažasis Antāvilio ėžeras*.
- 2.6. Toponyms **motivated by PN or hydronym** express the concepts [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP/LOCATION NEAR] in oikonyms *Alsakiai*, *Dūsmenys* (*Dusmėniai*), *Grúožninkai*, *Švenčiónys* and limnonym *Jagudėlis*.
- 2.7. Oikonyms **motivated by oikonym or hydronym** convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR] in *Alsakėliai*, *Pakirniùkai*, *Širvintos*.
- 2.8. Oikonyms **motivated by PN or endonym**⁸⁶ convey concepts [PEOPLE/LAND] in *Dainavà*, or [LAND/POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] in *Dėltuva* (*Dėviltuva/*Deviltava).

The etymological analysis has shown that all of the DMs in the category of lexical oppositions (20 cases) are of Lithuanian origin. ITLs in two lexical oppositions are possibly of non-Lithuanian origin: the ITL *Įlma* in *Įlma Didžioji* × *Įlma Mažoji* may be derived from either Lithuanian, Proto-Finnic, Russian, or Belarussian appellatives; or the ITL *Cùdykas* in *Cùdykas Didelis* × *Cùdykas Māžas*) may be related to either Lithuanian or Polish appellatives or PNs. In these two cases, one may speak about the unclear origin and semantics of the name due to similar lexemes with different meanings in different languages. In the category of grammatical oppositions, there is only one opposition in which both the DM and ITLs are clearly of Slavic origin, cf. *Slabadà* × *Slabadkà*. ITLs in 1 opposition may be of Latvian origin, cf. *Gruožys* × *Gruožaitis*. ITLs in 1 opposition may be either of Latvian or Lithuanian origin, cf. *Gėlvis* × *Gelvaitis*. The opposition *Kāris* × *Karaitis* may be of either Swedish or Old Irish origin. In 6 cases, the ITLs may be related either to Lithuanian or Slavic PNs or appellatives, cf. *Bardiškiai* × *Bardiškėliai*, *Naidai* × *Naidėliai*, *Noškūnai* × *Noškūnėliai*, *Varnākis* × *Varnakėlis*, *Bakà* × *Bakūtis*, *Dubiai* × *Dubėliai*.

⁸⁶ Endonym – the locally used name, esp. for a place (cf. ICOS OT).

TOPONYM OPPOSITIONS: CONCEPT OF *POSITION IN SPACE*

The chapter presents the detailed semantic analysis and classification of toponyms (limnonyms and oikonoms), their DMs and ITLs, according to the concept of *position in space*. The description of each opposition comprises an extralinguistic outline, data from historical sources, and semantic analysis. The outline of the main semantic groups of DMs and ITLs, highlighting the concepts, and names of (in)tangible world, that motivated the toponyms is presented at the end of the chapter.

The named objects' *relative position in space* is characteristic of merely any class of toponyms: settlement, river, stream, and other place names. At the grammatical level, this is indicated by the correlation of the prefix-derived toponym with the unmarked toponym root (cf. Section 3.2.2. Prefixes). In both complete and incomplete lexical toponym oppositions of Vilnius County, the *upper* or *lower* position of the objects in space is expressed by the antonymic correlation of pronominal adjectives Lith *m s aukštàsis* – *žemàsis*, *m pl aukštieji* – *žemieji*, *f pl áukštosios* 'the high; higher' – *žemosios* 'the low; lower', as well as the correlation of adjectives Lith *m s áukštas* 'high' – *žemas* 'low'. Sometimes, the object's position in space is indicated by the correlation of adjectives Lith *m pl kalniniai* 'of the mountain/hill' – *klōniniai* 'of the valley'.

5.1. LEXICAL OPPOSITIONS: LIMNONYMS, OIKONYMS

It is observed in toponymy studies that differentiating adjectives in place names, esp. in oikonymy, usually indicate either 1) the position of the named object in relation to the river flow with the meaning either "located in the lower part of the river", i.e. downstream – close to the mouth of the river, or "located in the upper part of the river", i.e. upstream – close to the source of the river, or 2) the location of the object on the hill/mountain, or at the foot of the hill/mountain (cf. Kondrashina 1980, Tkachenko 2013, Ilchenko, Isachuk 2016). In either case, such oppositions are typical to mountainous areas neighbouring lowlands and convey certain information about the topographic relief. To check the meaning and motivation of the DMs the extralinguistic data resp. geographical information, esp. the named object's relation to the neighbouring object (hills, valleys, rivers) and its position above the sea level (MSL) was considered.

5.1.1. ¹*Bezdonys*_{tm} × ²*Bezdonys*_v × *Aukštieji Bezdonys*_v

¹*Bezdonys* – Bezdonys eld, V D; 138 MSL, at the hill foot on the right bank valley of the Bezdonė (the Neris trib.); SV1974 728 Bezdonys_{tm}, G1905 58 Rus ст.[аниця] Безданы, д. Безданы, R1872 Rus Безданы.

²*Bezdonys* – Bezdonys eld, V D; 137 MSL, at the hill foot on the left bank valley of the Bezdonė, 1 km from *Bezdonys_m*; SV1974 728 Bezdonys_v, G1905 58 Rus с.[еление] Безданы, им. Безданы, R1872 Rus Госп. д. Безданы.

Aukštėji Bezdonys – Bezdonys eld, V D; 143 MSL, in the hills in Rokantiškės forest, 6 km east of *Bezdonys_m*; SV1974 728 Aukštėji Bezdonys_v, G1905 58 Rus з. Безданољсье, Безданољсь, R1872 Rus з. Безданайцы.

The ITL *Bezdonys* is Lith Suf *-onys* derivative from the *Bezdonė* stream. This derivation model of the above oikonyms from the potamonym is plausible, as, according to Razmukaitė (1998: 28), the association of a settlement name with a hydronym when the settlement is located near a river or lake of that name is possible. All the current oikonyms, as well as the non-existent today, cf. G1905 58 д. Безданейцы, з. Безданцы, з. Безданцы, з. Безданы Новые, з. Безданы, were all motivated by their position in the vicinity of the mentioned stream, therefore, expressing the concept [PLACE: LOCATION ON/NEAR]: *Bezdonys* ← the settlement on the *Bezdonė*. According to Jonas Jurkštas (1985: 19), the form *Bezdonys* is not authentic and in the past must have been **Bedugniai*, derived from the similar hydronym (cf. LVŽ I 466). The DM *Aukštėji* in *Aukštėji Bezdonys*⁸⁷ is motivated by the village's location in the hills in the vicinity of *Bezdonys* and the *Bezdonė*. The analysis of geo-data shows that *Bezdonys* town is at 138 MSL, at the hill foot on the right bank valley of the *Bezdonė*; *Bezdonys* village is 137 MSL, at the hill foot on the left bank valley of the *Bezdonė*; *Aukštėji Bezdonys* is at 143 MSL, in the hills in Rokantiškės forest. *Aukštėji Bezdonys* may be considered a metonymic transposition of the concept [PLACE: LOCATION ON/NEAR]: *Aukštėji* + *Bezdonys* ← the settlement in the hills near *Bezdonys*/the *Bezdonė*.

5.1.2. *Jagėlonys_v* × *Klėniniai Jagėlonys_v*

Jagėlonys – Kietėviškės eld, El; by the lake Švenčius, 135 MSL, in the hills above the Spenglė valley; SV1974 202 Kalniniai Jagėlonys_v, G1905 339 Rus з. Ягеляны-Горные, R1872 Rus Ягеляны Гурные.

Klėniniai Jagėlonys – Kietėviškės eld, El; 121 MSL, at the hill foot in the Spenglė valley, 0,6 km northwest of *Jagėlonys*; SV1974 202 Kloniniai Jagėlonys_v, G1905 339 Rus д. Ягеляны-Дальние, R1872 Rus Ягеляны.

⁸⁷ As it can be observed from the historical forms, the current official name *Aukštėji Bezdonys* is rather recent, is known since around the middle of the 20th c., and is the result of the renaming of the settlement. The oldest form R1872 Rus з. Безданайцы most probably has been the transliteration of Lith **Bezdonaičiai* (Lith DIM Suf *-aitis pl* derivative (cf. DLKG 91) that referred to a settlement of a smaller size than *Bezdonys* from the name of which it was derived, most likely by people, who separated from the main settlement *Bezdonys*. The DIM form was also motivated by the type of the settlement – Rus *застенок* ‘a steading’ (Lith *viėnsėdis (užusienis)*). Later, the name Безданайцы was changed and most probably reflected the settlement's most striking feature, i.e. its location in the forest G1905 58 Rus з. Безданољсье, Безданољсь (Rus *лсь* : лес ‘forest’).

The ITLs in both oikonyms are most probably of anthroponymic origin, derived using Lith Suf *-onys* from Lith *Jagėla* (→ Lith *Jógėlas* (*Jāgėlas*, *Jagėlas*), *Jagėlónis*) (cf. Zinkevičius 2008: 208, 347; PDB). Thus, the oikonym may convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: (*Klòniniai*) *Jagėlónys* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Jagėlónis*/the *Jagėlónys*. Hence, the *pl* inflexion *-ys* may refer to the members of the family collectively. The DM *Klòniniai* ← Lith *klòninis* ‘of the valley’ (LKŽe) in *Klòniniai Jagėlónys* is motivated by the village’s location in the valley. *Klòniniai Jagėlónys* is located at 121 MSL, at the hill foot in the Spenglā valley, 0,6 km northwest of *Jagėlónys*, which is at 135 MSL, in the hills above the valley. The zero DM in *Jagėlónys* may convey the meaning that this was the major settlement.

5.1.3. *Aukštieji Karklėnai*_v × *Žemieji Karklėnai*_v

Aukštieji Karklėnai – Šātrininkai eld, V D; 163 MSL, in the hills on the right bank upstream of the Šeterninkų upėlis, approx. 0,8 km from the place the stream drains its waters into the Vīlnia (the Neris trib.); SV1974 737 *Aukštieji Karklėnai*_v, G1905 53 Rus д. Лознишки, R1872 Rus Гаравья Лозники.

Žemieji Karklėnai – Šātrininkai eld, V D; 148 MSL, 0,7 km to the east on the opposite bank valley downstream the Šeterninkų upėlis; SV1974 737 *Žemieji Karklėnai*_v, G1905 53 Rus з. Лознишки, R1872 Rus Лозовня.

The ITL *Karklėnai* is Lith Suf *-ėnai pl* derivative often used to derive oikonyms from appellatives and hydronyms (cf. Razmukaitė 1998: 12ff., 27ff.). Most likely the oikonym was related to the phytalexeme Lith *kaĩklas* ‘willow family tree or shrub (*Salix cinerea*, *S. aurita*, *S. nigricans*, or *S. pantandra*)’ (LKŽe), and was motivated by the settlement’s location in a place overgrown by trees or shrubs of the mentioned species, and, thus, may be derived from Lith *karklỹnė* ‘place overgrown with willows, willow bushes’ (LKŽe)⁸⁸. The Suf *-ėnai* (← *-ėnas*, *-ė*) is rather frequent and conveys the meaning of a common name of the place of residence or might refer to people living in such place (DLKG 140, SRR I 238). Alternatively, the ITL may be related to Lith PN *Kaĩklas* (cf. PDB). The oikonym can be a metonymic transposition of the concept [PLACE: LOCATION] (nomenclature tern): 1) Lith *karklỹnė* + *-ėnai* → the place overgrown with willow trees, shrubs → *Karklėnai*; or the metonymic transposition of the concept [PEOPLE], referring to people living in such place (kind of a nickname): *karklỹnė* + *-ėnai* → *karklėnai* (people living in *karklỹnė*) → *Karklėnai*; or 2) may be a metonymic transposition of the PN and express the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]:

⁸⁸ The meaning of such place is also reflected in the older, translated (?) forms of the oikonyms, cf. G1905, R1872 Rus Лознишки, Лозники, Лозовня (← Rus лозняк ‘willow bush; thickets of this bush’ (SRY 291; SRYAe)) all related to Rus лоз- (← лоза) ‘name of the different types of willows’ (SRY 291; SRYAe).

Karklėnai ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Kařklas* ← *Kařklas*. Another version of motivation and semantics of the ITL *Karklėnai* may be related to the settlement *Didieji Karklėnai* in the vicinity of both oikonyms in opposition. *Didieji Karklėnai* may mark the older, primary settlement, thus, the second component in *Aukštieji Karklėnai* and *Žemieji Karklėnai* may be a metonymic transposition of the primary oikonym and may be motivated by the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: (*Aukštieji, Žemieji*) *Karklėnai* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Didieji Karklėnai*. DMs *Aukštieji* and *Žemieji* in are motivated not only by the settlements' vertical position in space but also by their position in relation to the river flow. *Aukštieji Karklėnai* is located at 163 MSL, in the hills on the right bank upstream of the Šeterninkų upėlis, approx. 0,8 km from the place the stream drains its waters into the Vėlnia (the Neris trib.); *Žemieji Karklėnai* is located at 148 MSL, 0,7 km to the east on the opposite bank valley downstream the Šeterninkų upėlis.

5.1.4. *Kalnėniai Mijėugonys*_v × *Klėniniai Mijėugonys*_v

Kalnėniai Mijėugonys – Gilučiai eld, El; 92 MSL, in the valley downstream the Prakusa, not far away from lake ĩlgis; SV1974 210 Kalniniai Mijėugonys_v, G1905 324 Rus д. Милейганы-Горные, R1872 Rus Милейганы гурные.

Klėniniai Mijėugonys – Kietėviškės eld, El; 121 MSL, up the Prakusa stream, 2 km northeast on the elevation of *Klėniniai Mijėugonys*; SV1974 202 Kloniniai Mijėugonys_v, G1905 324 Rus д. Милейганы-Дольные, R1872 Rus Дальн.[ие] Милейганы.

The *pl* ITLs of both oikonyms are probably of anthroponymic origin, derived using Lith Suf *-onys* from, we believe, the blending of two anthroponyms Lith *Migėnis* (cf. Zinkevičius 2008: 584), or Lith *Migis*, *Migys* (PDB), and Lith *Jėuga* (*Jaugà*), *Jėugas* (cf. Zinkevičius 2008: 310) → **Mijėugonis*, **Mijėugas*. Thus, the oikonyms may convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: (*Kalnėniai*, *Klėniniai*) *Mijėugonys* ← the settlement belonging to/established by **Mijėugonis/the *Mijėugonys*, **Mijėugas/the *Mijėugai*. The *pl* inflexion *-ys* may refer to the family members collectively. The historical form Rus Милейганы may relate the oikonym to old Lith PN *Milagėinis* / *Mil-a-gėinas* (cf. Zinkevičius 2008: 88, 115, 221). The position of villages in space (terrain) serves as the motivation and explains the semantics of DMs (*Klėniniai* and *Kalnėniai*)⁸⁹: *Kalnėniai Mijėugonys* is located at 92 MSL, in the valley downstream the Prakusa, not far away from lake ĩlgis; *Klėniniai Mijėugonys* is located at 121 MSL, up the Prakusa stream, 2 km northeast on the elevation of *Klėniniai Mijėugonys*.

⁸⁹ The respective position of the settlements in the hills or in the valley is also reflected in the historical name forms by the DMs Rus -Горные, гурные (← Rus горный, Pol. gėrny 'located in the mountains; upper' (SRYAe; PSPR 145)) and -Дольные (← Rus дольный, Pol. dolny, Bel дольны 'lower' (SRYAe; PSPR 95; Skarnik.by)).

5.1.5. *Nėvardas Ąukštas*_L × *Nėvardas Žėmas*_L

Nėvardas Ąukštas – Pabėrėžė eld, V D; 164 MSL, on the natural elevation (plato).

Nėvardas Žėmas – Pabėrėžė eld, V D; 157 MSL, in the Viškiškių Swamp, at the hill foot 0,08 km to the south from *Nėvardas Ąukštas*.

Nėvardas is a negative Lith Pref *ne-* derivative probably from the base *vard-*, which according to Vanagas (1981: 362), has to be related to hydronyms with bases *verd-* and *vird-*. Vanagas (ibid.) believes that all of them comprise three variants of etymologically single root – *vard-*, *verd-*, and *vird-*. Such hydronyms may be derived from Lith *verdėnė*, *verdėnis* ‘a spring, source’ (LKŽe), *virdùklis* ‘a spring, whirlpool’ (LKŽe) ← Lith *virti* (*vėrda*, *vėrė*) or *verštis* ‘to popple or bounce from dungeons (about a source)’ (LKŽe). Thus, the linguistic-cognitive motivation of the names *Nėvardas Ąukštas* and *Nėvardas Žėmas* may be interpreted as a metonymic transposition of the concept [SPRING: SOURCE]: Lith *ne* + *vařdas* (*verdėnis*, *verdùklis*) → the body of water that is not a spring, source → *Nėvardas* (*Ąukštas* and *Žėmas*). These are the only hydronyms in Vilnius County DMs of which indicate their actual vertical position in space. *Nėvardas Ąukštas* is positioned somewhat higher in space at 164 MSL, on the natural elevation, plato; *Nėvardas Žėmas* is located at 157 MSL, in the Viškiškių Swamp, at the hill foot 0,08 km to the south from *Nėvardas Ąukštas*.

5.1.6. *Pamerkỹs*_v × *Aukštasis Pamerkỹs*_v

Pamerkỹs – Turgėliai eld, Šlėn D; 186 MSL, on the left bank downstream the Merkỹs; SV1974 527 Pamerkỹs_v, G1905 43 Rus з. Подмеречь, им. Меречь-Юльяново или Бѣлый-Дворъ, R1872 Rus Подмеречь.

Aukštasis Pamerkỹs – Turgėliai eld, Šlėn D; 194 MSL, on the right bank upstream the Merkỹs; SV1974 525 Aukštasis Pamerkỹs_v, G1905 43 Rus ф. Подмеречь, им. Меречь-Михновскій.

Pamerkỹs and *Aukštasis Pamerkỹs* are located 2 km away from each other and are motivated by their location close to the Merkỹs (the Nėmumas trib.), which is indicated by Lith Pref *pa-*. Therefore, ITLs *Pamerkỹs* convey the meaning of a settlement near the Merkỹs that expresses the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR/ON]: (*Aukštasis Pamerkỹs* ← *pa-* + *Merkỹs* ← the settlement on/near the Merkỹs ← the Merkỹs. The DM in *Aukštasis Pamerkỹs* may also indicate the settlement’s location in correlation with *Pamerkỹs*, which is located at 186 MSL, on the left bank downstream the Merkỹs. *Aukštasis Pamerkỹs* is located at 194 MSL, on the right bank upstream the Merkỹs (up the river from *Pamerkỹs*). Hence, the correlation of DMs may also refer to the position of both settlements in relation to the river flow they are based upon (up and down the stream).

5.1.7. *Aukštėji Rusōkai*_{stead} × *Žemėji Rusōkai*_{stead}

Aukštėji Rusōkai – Avižiėniai eld, V D; 163 MSL, on the right bank upstream the Riešė (the Neris trib.); SV1974 725 *Aukštėji Rusokai*_{stead}, G1905 72 Rus д. Русаки Горные, R1872 Rus Гурне-русаки.

Žemėji Rusōkai – Avižiėniai eld, V D; 152 MSL, on the left bank downstream the Riešė, 2 km to the east of *Aukštėji Rusokai*; SV1974 726 *Žemieji Rusokai*_{stead}, G1905 72 Rus д. Русаки Дольные, R1872 Rus Дольна-русаки.

The ITL *Rusōkai* is of a not very clear origin and is probably related to and derived from the anthroponym **Rusokas* with the stem *Rus-* (*Rusas*, *Rusakas*, etc.), which is rather frequent in surnames of Vilnius region and adjacent territories, both in Lithuania and neighbouring countries (cf. Zinkevičius 2012: 165), but most likely is related to and is *pl* Lith inflexion *-ai* derivative from Rus/Bel dial. *русак* ‘Russian man; a person with traits of Russian folk, good simple Russian person.’ (Skarnik.by, Slovar.cc, SRYAe)⁹⁰. Thus, oikonyms may be a metonymic transposition of the PN and are motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: (*Aukštėji/Žemėji*) *Rusōkai* ← the settlement belonging to/established by **Rusokas/the *Rusokai* (← *Rusakas /the Rusakai* with the vowel change: *a* → *o*). On the other hand, the oikonym *Rusokai* might have been used to refer to the settlement, where people of Russian descent lived (from Rus *русаки* ← *русак*). Thus, the oikonym may be a metonymic transposition of the concept [PEOPLE], referring to people living in the settlement (kind of a nickname): Rus *русаки* → people of Russian descent/Russians → (*Aukštėji/Žemėji*) *Rusōkai*. The DMs of both oikonyms are motivated not only by the settlements’ vertical position in space but also by their position in relation to the Riešė flow, cf. *Aukštėji Rusōkai* is located at 163 MSL, on the right bank upstream the Riešė (the Neris trib.); *Žemėji Rusōkai* is located at 152 MSL, on the left bank downstream the Riešė, 2 km to the east of *Aukštėji Rusōkai*.

5.1.8. *Aukštėji Semeniūkai*_v × *Žemėji Semeniūkai*_v

Aukštėji Semeniūkai – Leñtvaris eld, Trak D; 130 MSL in the hills above the Vilsa and the Neris valleys; SV1974 648 *Aukštėji Semeniukai*_v, G1905 341 Rus д. Семенюки-Горные, R1872 Rus Сойзе Мал.[ые].

Žemėji Semeniūkai – Leñtvaris eld, Trak D; 110 MSL, at the hillfoot, on the left bank of the Neris, in the valley of the Vilsa stream, 0,5 km away from *Aukštėji Semeniukai*; SV1974 649 *Žemieji Semeniukai*_v, G1905 341 Rus д. Семенюки-Дольние, R1872 Rus Сойзе Бол.[ышие].

ITLs of both oikonyms are most probably of anthroponymic origin, derived using Lith Suf *-iuk-* from either Lith *Sē-menas*, *Sē-me-nas*, *Sēmēnis* (cf. Zinkevičius 2008: 114, 132,

⁹⁰ This etymology is highly likely with reference to the inscription of the old oikonym forms, in which ITLs are spelled in lower case (Rus *русаки* ← *русак*).

239), or Slav *Sem-en-iuk/Sem-en-iukas* (cf. Zinkevičius 2012: 269), *Semėnas*, *Semėnas*, *Semėnas*, *Sėmenis* (← Bel *Сямён : Сумеон*, Rus *Семён : Сумеон*) (cf. PDB). Thus, the oikonym, may be metonymical, conveying the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: (*Aukštėji*, *Žemėji*) *Semeniūkai* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Sė-menas*, *Sė-me-nas*, *Semėnis*, *Sem-en-iuk/Sem-en-iukas*. The DMs are motivated by the settlements' vertical position in space, i.e. in the hills and at the hill foot, cf. *Aukštėji Semiūkai* is located at 130 MSL in the hills above the Vilsa and the Neris valleys; *Žemėji Semiūkai* is located at 110 MSL, at the hill foot, on the left bank of the Neris, in the valley of the Vilsa stream, 0,5 km away from *Aukštėji Semiūkai*.

5.1.9. *Aukštėji Svirnai*_{stead} × *Žemėji Svirnai*_{stead}

Aukštėji Svirnai – Vidiškiai eld, Ukm D; 93 MSL, on the left bank upstream the Sykė (the Šventoji trib.); SV1974 675 *Aukštėji Svirnai*_{stead}, KG1903 152 Rus ф. Свирны, R1872 Rus Госп. д. Свирны Верх.[ние].

Žemėji Svirnai – Vidiškiai eld, Ukm D; 87 MSL, on the left bank downstream the Sykė, 0,5 km east of *Aukštėji Svirnai*; SV1974 677 *Žemėji Svirnai*_{stead}, KG1903 151 Rus им. Свирны, R1872 Rus Госп. д. Свирны Нижние.

Svirnai is related to and derived with Lith *pl* inflexion *-ai* from Lith *sviřnas* 'hut where grain is poured; larger barn' (LKŽe). Thus, the name is motivated by outhouse buildings and, most probably, marks the settlement (in both cases), which has developed from the place where the (major) barns were located. Judging from historical settlement types, these might have been barns belonging to the landlord, and, thus, have served as the most prominent feature of the location from which the settlements developed. Therefore, the oikonym(s) *Svirnai* may be considered a metonymic transposition of the concept [PLACE: BUILDING]: *sviřnas*, *-ai* → the place near the barn(s) or where the barn(s) are/were located → (*Aukštėji/Žemėji*) *Svirnai*. The DMs are motivated not only by the settlements' vertical position in space but also by their position in relation to the river flow⁹¹, cf. *Aukštėji Svirnai* is at 93 MSL, on the left bank upstream the Sykė (the Šventoji trib.); *Žemėji Svirnai* is at 87 MSL, on the left bank downstream the Sykė, 0,5 km east of *Aukštėji Svirnai*.

5.1.10. *Áukštosios Viėsos*_v × *Žėmosios Viėsos*_v

Áukštosios Viėsos – Širvintos eld, Šr D; 111 MSL, on the left bank upstream the Širvintà (the Šventoji trib.) at its confluence with the Viesà; SV1974 587 *Áukštosios Viėsos*_v, G1905 78 Rus д. Вѣсы-Горные, R1872 Rus з. Весы.

⁹¹ Rather interesting is the change of DMs from post-position to ITLs, cf. R1872 Rus Госп. д. Свирны Верх.[ние], Госп. д. Свирны Нижние: Верхние and Нижние ← Rus *верхний* 'upper', *нижний* 'lower', to pre-position in both oikonyms. However, the reasons for such change are not clear.

Žėmosios Viėšos – Širvintos eld, Šr D; 108 MSL, downstream the Širvintà, in the right bank valley 0,8 km away from *Áukštosios Viėšos*; SV1974 589 *Žėmosios Viesos*, G1905 78 Rus з. Вѣсы-Дольные, R1872 Rus з. Новые Весы.

ITLs *Viėšos* are the *pl* Lith inflection *-os* derivative from and are motivated by the *Viesà* – the stream, on the banks of which the settlements are located. Therefore, the oikonyms may be considered a metonymic transposition of the potamonym (transonymization) and convey the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR/ON]: *Viėšos* ← *Vies-* + *-os* ← the settlement on the *Viesà*. DMs are motivated not only by the settlements' vertical position in space but also by their position in relation to the river flow, cf. *Áukštosios Viėšos* is at 111 MSL, on the left bank upstream the Širvintà (the Šventóji trib.) at its confluence with the *Viesà*; *Žėmosios Viėšos* is at 108 MSL, downstream the Širvintà, in the right bank valley 0,8 km away from *Áukštosios Viėšos*.

5.2. GRAMMATICAL OPPOSITIONS: LIMNONYMS, OIKONYMS

As demonstrated in Section 3.2.2., at the grammatical level, the concept of the named object's *relative position in space* is indicated by the correlation of the prefix-derived toponym with the unmarked ITL in opposition. In the analyzed corpus, such oppositions are formed with Lith Pref *pa-*, Lith Pref *už(u)-*, and Slav Pref *pod-*.

5.2.1. *Alabùrdiškės*_{stead} × *Pāalaburdiškės*_{stead}

Alabùrdiškės – Medininkai eld, V D; on the right bank of the stream Bienė; SV1974 743 *Alaburdiškės*, G1905 42 Rus им. Гарабурдишки, R1872 Rus Госп. д. Галабурдишки.

Pāalaburdiškės – Medininkai eld, V D; approx. 1,1 km northwest of *Alabùrdiškės* upstream the Bienė; SV1974 743 *Paalaburdiškės*_{stead}.

Alabùrdiškės is Lith Suf *-iškės*⁹² derivative from the anthroponym of non-Lith origin *Alabùrda* → Lith *Gālaburda*, *Galabùrda* ← Bel Галабурда⁹³ (cf. Razmukaitė 1998: 96; PDB), which is also reflected and partially proved by the older oikonym form (cf. above). Thus, the oikonym may be considered a metonymic transposition of the PN and express the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Alabùrdiškės* ← a settlement founded by/belonging to *Alabùrda*, the *Alabùrdos*/**Gālaburda*, **Galabùrda* (the **Gālaburdos*, **Galabùrdos* family). *Pāalaburdiškės* is Lith Pref *pa-* derivative from the

⁹² The Suf is typical to Lithuanian oikonym derivation model from anthroponyms of both Lithuanian and non-Lithuanian origin (cf. Razmukaitė 1998: 43–44; 47ff., 93–98).

⁹³ The Bel surname is most probably related to Ukr. dial. *галабурда* 'brawler, rioter, noisemaker' (cf. Biryła 1969: 96) and might have been derived from a nickname with a derogatory meaning that referred to a person who engages in rough or noisy fights, or quarrels, esp. habitually.

settlement name it is close to and expresses the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Pāalaburdiškės* ← *pa-* + *Alabūrdiškės* ← the settlement below or near *Alabūrdiškės*. Most likely, based on the historical sources above, *Pāalaburdiškės* was founded by people who separated from the main settlement.

5.2.2. *Daciūnai*_v × *Pādaciūnai*_v

Daciūnai – Širvintos eld, Šr D; SV1974 584 *Daciūnai*_v, G1905 78 Rus д. Дацюны.

Pādaciūnai – Širvintos eld, Šr D; approx. 1,5 km southwest of *Daciūnai*; SV1974 584 *Padaciūnai*_v, G1905 78 Rus з. Дацюны.

Daciūnai is probably Lith Suf *-(i)ūnai* derivative of anthroponimic origin, related to Lith *Docys*, *Dōcis*, *Dōcius*, *Dockà*, *Dōckus*, *Dācas*, *Dacys*, *Dācius*, *Dackys* (cf. Latv *Dacis*, *Dacko*; Ukr *Дайб*, *Дайбко*; De *Dotz*) (PDB), that are close to Lith *Dacys*, *Daciukas* and Slav *Dac-iuk* (← *-iukas*), *Dac-evič*, which Zinkevičius (2012: 197) relates to Lith *Dočys*, *Dōčius*. The oikonym may also be derived from another Lith PN *Daučiūnas*, *Daučys* (cf. Latv *Daucis*) (PDB) ← Lith *Dau-čiūnas*, *Daučionis*, *Daučiūlis* (cf. Zinkevičius 2008: 308). The oikonym may be considered a metonymic transposition of the surname into the settlement name and express the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Daciūnai* ← a settlement founded by/belonging to *Dacis*, *Dacys*/*the Daciai*/ (?)**Daučiūnas*, *Daučys*/**the Daučiūnai*, *Daučiai*. *Pādaciūnai* is Lith Pref *pa-* derivative from the oikonym it is nearby and expresses the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] (horizontal position, location near) to the place: *Pādaciūnai* ← *pa-* + *Daciūnai* ← the settlement below or near *Daciūnai*. Most likely, this settlement was founded by people who left/separated from the main village.

5.2.3. *Dūkštos*_v × *Padūkštai*_{stead}

Dūkštos – Dūkštos eld, V D; at the confluence of the stream Ringys and the Dūkštà (the Neris trib.); SV1974 733 *Dūkštos*_v, G1905 50 Rus сел.[о] Дукшты, R1872 Rus м. Дукшты.

Padūkštai – Vievis eld, El; approx. 2,5 km southwest of *Dūkštos*, on the opposite bank of the Neris and the Dūkštà confluence; SV1974 643 *Padūkštai*_{stead}, G1905 320 Rus ф. Подукшты, R1872 Rus з. Дукшта.

Padūkštai is Lith Pref *pa-* and the *pl* inflexion *-ai* derivative from either the oikonym *Dūkštos* or the *Dūkštà* and is motivated by its position in relation either to the river (the stead is located opposite the place the *Dūkštà* drains its waters into the Neris) or the village: 1): *Padūkštai* ← *Pa-* + *dūkšt-* + *-ai* ← the settlement near *the Dūkštà* ← *the Dūkštà*; 2) *Padūkštai* ← *Pa-* + *dūkšt-* + *-ai* ← the settlement near *Dūkštos* ← *Dūkštos*. For motivation and semantics of *Dūkštos*, cf. Section 4.2.19.

5.2.4. *Haliampòlis*_v × *Podhaliampòlis*_v

Haliampòlis – Beižionys eld; SV1974 657 *Haliampolis*_v, G1905 337 ф., ок. Голямполь, R1872 Rus Еленполь.

Podhaliampòlis – Beižionys eld, El; approx. 1 km to the southeast of *Haliampòlis*; SV1974 658 *Podhaliampolis*_v, G1905 339 з. Подголямполь.

Haliampòlis is of not very clear origin and semantics⁹⁴. The current form, as well as the historical ones (cf. above), is probably a compound from *Hal-* ((-i)-*am-* serves as conjunction) and *pol-is*. On the one hand, the first component *Hal-*, based on the older form Rus *Елен-* may be related to the PN Rus *Елена*, Bel *Гелена* (*Хелена*), Pol *Helena* → *Halina* (*Alina*), and other Slav variants ← Old Gre *Ἑλένη*. On the other hand, based on the form Rus *Гол-ям-*, the question arises whether it could have originated from Rus *гол* ← *голый* ‘(about the area) devoid of vegetation; empty’ (SRY 123; SRYAe). The second component Lith *pòlis* (*pólis*, Rus *поль*) ← Old Gre *πόλις*, *πολιτεία* ‘a city’ is often used to derive oikonym in Greek manner (cf. TS). However, this version is less likely due to the size of the settlement. Most probably the component *-pòlis* is Lith form of Rus *-поль* ← *поле* ‘field’. Hence, the oikonym may convey the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR/IN] and either 1) is a result of transonymization, i.e. a metonymic transposition of the personal name to the first component of the oikonym and a nomenclature term to the second component: *Hal-* ((-i)-*am-* *-pol-is* (*Halina*’s field) → the settlement by the field belonging to *Halina* (*Helena/Gelena/Elena*) → *Haliampòlis*; or 2) the metonymic transposition of the concept [WASTELAND/WILDERNESS]: [FIELD]: Rus *голое* + *поле* → the settlement by/near/in the empty (devoid of vegetation) field/in the wilderness → *Haliampòlis*. Whereas, *Podhaliampòlis*, which is Slav Pref *pod-*⁹⁵ derivative from *Haliampòlis* it is close to, expresses the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] (horizontal position, location near): 1) *Podhaliampòlis* ← *pod-* + *Haliampòlis* ← the settlement near *Haliampòlis*; 2) Rus *под(ле)-* + *голое* + *поле* → the settlement by/near the empty (devoid of vegetation) field → *Podhaliampòlis*.

5.2.5. *Ìlgis*_L × *Pailgis*_L

Ìlgis – Pabradė eld, Švnč D (*Asveja*_L); R1872 Rus оз. Илгисъ.

Pailgis (*Pailgių* ežeras, *Ìlgis*) – Pabradė eld, Švnč D; 5 km away from *Ìlgis*; R1872 Rus оз. Пойма⁹⁶.

⁹⁴ According to Jonas Jurkštas (1985: 10), a small part of the currently functioning place names in Vilnius region are of obscure, non-Lithuanian origin, which are the result of nomination popular in the 18th–19th cc., when landlords gave their estates new, unusual names.

⁹⁵ Cf. Slav. Pref *под(ле)/pod*, used to designate a person, object, place, next to which, near which the action is performed or something is located; located, in close proximity to something (PSPR 401; SRY 469; SRYAe). This Pref is equivalent in meaning to Lith Pref *pa-*.

⁹⁶ The name form recorded in the historical map most probably could be related to Rus/Bel *пойма* ‘low place swamped during floods; part of the bottom of a river valley swamped during floods’ (Slovar.cc;

Īlgis is horseshoe-shaped with its ends facing west (its length is approx. 1,25 km). Similarly to other names of the same root, may be related to Lith *īlgis* ‘length (spatial)’ (LKŽe) and may be motivated by a somewhat extended, elongated shape of the lake ← Lith *īlgas*, -à ‘extending to longitude, distance (in space)’ (LKŽe), (also, cf. Vanagas 1970: 64; 1981: 129; 1981a: 108–109; LVŽ IV 13ff.). The name reflects the conceptualization of the lake’s shape [SIZE: LENGTH]: Lith *īlgis*, *īlgas* → length/extended, elongated → *Īlgis*. Lake *Pailgis* is elongated in shape (approx. 1,77 km in length, widened at the ends). Due to the lake’s relatively close to the lake in opposition, its name may be considered Lith Pref *pa-* derivative from *Īlgis*. Nevertheless, the possibility is that the name *Pailgis* may have originated from Lith *pailgas*, -à ‘longer in length than latitude, extendable’ (LKŽe), esp. taking into consideration the lake’s shape, cannot be ruled out. Thus, the limnonym may reflect the conceptualization of both the lake’s shape and its position in relation to lake *Īlgis*: 1) Lith *pailgas*, -à → long/longer, extendable → *Pailgis*; 2) *pa-* + *Īlgis* → the lake near lake *Īlgis* → *Pailgis*.

5.2.6. *Jurgelióny*_v × *Pājurgelionys*_v

Jurgelióny – Dieveniškės eld, Šlčn D; SV1974 519 *Jurgelionys*_v, G1905 232 Rus д., им. Юргеляны, R1872 Rus Юргияны.

Pājurgelionys – Dieveniškės eld, Šlčn D; 1,2 km southeast of *Jurgelióny* on the right bank downstream the Utėlinė; SV1974 519 *Pajurgelionys*_v, G1905 232 Rus д. Юргелянишки, R1872 Rus д. ПодъЮргиянишки.

Jurgelióny is probably Lith *pl* Suf -(i)onys derivative from Lith PN *Jurgeliónis* (cf. PDB; Zinkevičius 2012: 293). According to Marija Razmukaitė (2009: 34), oikonyms with the Suf -onys (-oniai) are *pl* derivatives from PNs with patronymic Sufs -aitis, -ėnas, -onis, -ūnas. Therefore, *Jurgelióny* is of Lith origin and is a metonymic transposition of the PN and expresses the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Jurgelióny* ← a settlement founded by/belonging to *Jurgeliónis/the Jurgeliónis*. *Pājurgelionys* is Lith Pref *pa-* derivative from the settlement name it is close to and expresses the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] (horizontal position): *Pājurgelionys* ← *pa-* + *Jurgelióny* ← the settlement below/near *Jurgelióny*. Most likely, this settlement was founded by people who left/separated from the main village.

5.2.7. *Laukėnėliai*_v × *Palaukėnėliai*_v

Laukėnėliai – Šešuoliai eld, Ukm D; across the unnamed lake from village *Laukėnai*, west of *Laukėnų* swamp; SV1974 677 *Laukėnėliai*_v, G1905 80 Rus з. Подлукьяны, R1872 Rus з. Лукьяны.

Skarnik.by), which most probably could be a conceptualization of a low, inwardly fallen place, or the place lying in the river course: Rus *пойма* → a low place/part of the bottom of a river valley → Поима.

Palaukėnėliai – Šešuoliai eld, Ukm D; 0,4 km southwest of *Laukėnai*; SV1974 678
Palaukėnėliai.

For the motivation and semantics of *Laukėnėliai*, cf. Section 4.2.42. The oikonym *Palaukėnėliai* is most probably of the same etymology as it is Lith Pref *pa-*, anthroponymic Suf *-ėn-* and DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative. On the other hand, it may be motivated by the settlement's position by Lith *palaūkė* 'place by/near the field' (LKŽe), or even the derivative from Lith PN *Palaūkis* (Zinkevičius 2011: 123). Therefore, as the oikonym has the elements of physiographic and anthroponymic origin, the motivation may be interpreted as 1) *Pa-laukėnėliai* ← a small settlement in the vicinity of *Laukėnėliai* (most probably founded by people who left/separated from the village *Laukėnai* and/or *Laukėnėliai*, or founded by *Palaūkis*; thus, expressing the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]); 2) Lith *palaūkė* + *-ėn-* + *-ėliai* → the settlement (belonging to the *Laukėnas/Laukėlis*) by/near the field → *Palaukėnėliai*; hence, the metonymic transposition of both the nomenclature term *palaūkė* and anthroponym into the oikonym, or the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR/IN].

5.2.8. ¹*Kenà*_v (*Kinė*) × ³*Pakenė*_v × ⁴*Pakenė*_{RS}

5.2.9. ²*Kenà*_v × *Užūkenė*_v

5.2.10. ³*Pakenė*_v × ⁴*Pakenė*_{RS} × *Užūkenė*_v

¹*Kenà* (*Kinė*) – Kalveliai eld, V D; SV1974 739 739 *Kenà*_v, G1905 67 Rus д., Кѣна, R1872 Rus м. Кѣна.

²*Kenà* – Rukainiai eld, V D; SV1974 752 *Kenà*_v, G1905 62 Rus з. Кѣна.

³*Pakenė* (*Pakinė*) – Kalveliai eld, V D; SV1974 739 *Pakenė*_v, G1905 82 Rus селение при ст.[анции] Кѣна.

⁴*Pakenė* (*Pakinė*) – Kalveliai eld, V D; SV1974 739 *Pakenė*_v, G1905 82 Rus ст. Кѣна.

Užūkenė (*Užūkinė*) – Rukainiai eld, V D; SV1974 752 *Užūkenė*_v, G1905 67 Rus д. Закѣнцы, R1872 Rus д. Закѣнцы.

The village *Kenà* (*Kinė*) is located on the road Vilnius–Šumskas, near the railroad from Vilnius to Minsk, on both banks of the *Kenà* (approx. 1 km upstream the *Kenà* from its confluence with the *Vilnia*). The oikonym is motivated by the location of the village on the river and is a transposition of the potamonym: *Kenà* (*Kinė*) ← the settlement on the *Kenà*. *Pakenė*_v and *Pakenė*_{RS} are located on the right bank of the *Kenà* approx. 1,5 km to the west of *Kenà* (*Kinė*) on opposite sides of the railroad from Vilnius to Minsk. It may be claimed that both oikonyms are motivated by both the river and village *Kenà* (*Kinė*) they are located close to, which is indicated by Lith Pref *pa-* that expresses the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]; *Pakenė*_v/*Pakenė*_{RS} ← the settlement near *Kenà* ← *pa-* + *Kenà* (*Kinė*). Alternatively, *Pakenė*_v/*Pakenė*_{RS} could indicate

the place on/near the river *Kenà*, but still express the concept of horizontal position in space: *Pakenė_v*/*Pakenė_{RS}* ← the settlement on/near the river *Kenà*. *Kenà* and *Užūkenė* (Rukainiai eld.), are located approx. 11 km from the village *Kenà* (*Kinė*), on the opposite banks upstream the *Kenà*, 3 km away from each other. As seen from the historical sources, the village *Kenà* is a younger settlement than the village analyzed above. Most probably it was established by people who have moved from *Kenà* (*Kinė*), hence its name was created by analogy, but still is motivated by its location near the river and a relatively close distance to the village *Kenà* (*Kinė*). *Užūkenė* is Lith Pref *už(u)-* derivative from the oikonym *Kenà*. Considering the distance (approx. 10 km) between the settlements *Pakenė*, *Pakenė*, and *Užūkenė*, they make a complete grammatical opposition based on Lith Pref *pa-* and *už(u)-* that serve DMs to the ITLs. Lith Pref *už(u)-* derived toponyms indicate the place behind, beyond, or outside the place/object indicated by the base of the toponym. Thus, the oikonym *Užūkenė* is most likely the conceptualization of 1) the place (settlement) beyond the *Kenà* river or 2) the place (settlement) outside the settlement *Kenà*.⁹⁷

5.2.11. *Pìkeliškės_v* × *Pāpikeliškės_v*

Pìkeliškės – Riešė eld, V D; by lake Žalesas (*Pìkeliškių ėžeras*), east of *Pìkeliškės* forest; SV1974 727 *Pìkeliškės_v*, G1905 72 Rus з. Пекелишки, R1872 Rus Пикилишки.

Pāpikeliškės – Riešė eld, V D; 2 km southeast of *Pìkeliškės*, south of lakes Žalesas and Žalesėlis; SV1974 750 *Pāpikeliškės_v*, G1905 62 Rus х.[утор] Пекелишки, R1872 Rus Заозерны Пикилишки.

Pìkeliškės is most likely Lith Suf *-iškės* derivative from Lith PN *Pìkelis* (LVGDB; PDB). The oikonym may also be related to Lith PN *Pìkelas*, *Pìkelis*, cf. Prus *Pikulas*, the deity of the underworld, darkness (cf. Zinkevičius 2012: 65, 132). The oikonym therefore may be motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Pìkeliškės* ← *Pìkel-is* + *-iškės* ← the settlement established by/belonging to *Pìkelis*/*the Pìkeliai* family. *Pāpikeliškės* is Lith Pref *pa-* derivative from the oikonym *Pìkeliškės*. The oikonym is motivated by the settlement's location in the vicinity of *Pìkeliškės* and is a metonymic transposition of the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Pāpikeliškės* ← *pa-* + *Pìkeliškės* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Pìkeliškės*.

⁹⁷ Judging from the composition of the historical form Rus *Закънцы*, which has the Rus Suf morpheme *-(e)y-* (most probably a plural from the colloquial Rus **закънеу* that could refer to a person living beyond the *Kenà*). When added to a noun root, Rus Suf *-(e)y-* forms a colloquial version of the noun with the diminutive meaning, or the meaning of indifference, dismissiveness, or unimportance. Thus, at least from the historical perspective, the oikonym Rus *Закънцы* (→ *Užūkenė*) additionally could have been emotionally coloured.

5.2.12. *Šilinis_L* × *Pāšilinis_L*

Šilinis – Sariai eld, Švnč D; in Melagėnų forest.

Pāšilinis – Sariai eld, Švnč D; 0,42 km to the west of *Šilinis*.

Šilinis may be related to Lith *šilas* ‘coniferous wood’ (LKŽe) and is derived using Lith Suf *-inis* (also, cf. Vanagas 1970: 161; 1981: 331) (→ Lith *šilinis*, *-ė* ‘the one in the coniferous forest’ (LKŽe)⁹⁸), and, thus, the name was motivated by the water body’s location and expresses the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]; Lith *šilinis* → the lake in the forest → *Šilinis*, which also may be a metonymic transposition of the nomenclature term Lith *šilas* into the name. Due to *Pāšilinis*’ being relatively close to lake *Šilinis*, the limnonym may be considered Lith Pref *pa-* derivative from *Šilinis*. However, *Pāšilinis* may have originated from Lith *pašilė* ‘place by the forest’ (LKŽe) ← Lith *šilas* (also, cf. Vanagas 1970: 164). Thus, the limnonym may reflect the conceptualization of the lake’s position either in relation to lake *Šilinis*, or the forest it is located in/ close to⁹⁹ 1) *pa-* + *Šilinis* → the lake near lake *Šilinis* → *Pāšilinis*; 2) Lith *pašilinis*, *-ė* → located near the forest → *Pāšilinis*.

5.2.13. *Ūdrónys_v* × *Paūdrónys_v*

Ūdrónys – Turgeliai eld, Šlčn D; SV1974 527 *Ūdrónys_v*, R1872 Rus Кл. [колония].

Paūdrónys – Turgeliai eld, Šlčn D; 0,26 km from *Ūdrónys*; SV1974 527 *Paūdrónys_v*.

Ūdrónys is most probably Lith Suf *-onys* (*-iai*) derivative and consequently is motivated by Lith PN *Ūdrỹs*: *Ūdrónys* ← a settlement established by/belonging to *Ūdrỹs*/*the Ūdriai*, and, most probably is a metonymic transposition of the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]. *Paūdrónys* is derived from the settlement name it is close to, using Lith Pref *pa-* and also expresses the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] (horizontal position): *Paūdrónys* ← *pa-* + *Ūdrónys* ← the settlement near *Ūdrónys*.

5.2.14. *Vytinė_v* × *Pāvytinė_v*

Vytinė – Pabaiskas eld, Ukm D; north of Vytinė forest; SV1974 668 *Vytinė_v*, KG1903 81 Rus з., ф. Вицина.

Pāvytinė – Pabaiskas eld, Ukm D; 10 km southwest of *Vytinė*; SV1974 667 *Pāvytinė_v*, KG1903 81 Rus з. Вицина, R1872 Rus ф. Повицине.

⁹⁸ Lith Suf *-inis*, *-ė* derived adjectives, among other meanings, refer to objects that exist in the place/location, indicated by the base lexeme (cf. DLKG 211; SRR I 250).

⁹⁹ Vanagas (1970: 218–221) also asserts that Lith Pref *pa-* derivatives from other prefix derivatives are all used metaphorically, as they are derived to denote a place along/by another place. Later, the name of that place was transferred to a hydronym (or other toponym class). This applies to hydronyms (and, we believe, to other toponyms) of both clear and obscure derivation. Also, it is often difficult to decide whether the name is a primary or secondary name.

For the analysis of *Vytinė*, cf. Section 4.2.85. *Pāvytinė*, which historically was a folwark, cf. KG1903 81 Rus з. Вициня, R1872 Rus ф. Повицине, is Lith Pref *pa-* derivative from *Vytinė*. Hence, *Pāvytinė* is motivated by its location in relation to *Vytinė* and is a metonymic transposition of the oikonym: *Pāvytinė* ← *pa-* + *Vytinė* ← the settlement (historically, a folwark) in the vicinity of *Vytinė*.

5.2.15. *Voverė* × *Pavoverė*

Voverė – Pabradė eld, Švčn D; at the confluence of the Žeimenà and the Voveraitė; SV1974 600 *Voverė*, G1905 295 Rus з. Бевиорка.

Pavoverė – Pabradė eld, Švčn D; 4 km southeast of *Voverė*, on the Voveraitė; SV1974 600 *Pavoverė*, G1905 297 Rus им. Повевіорка, R1872 Rus м. Повѣвюрка.

Both *Voverė* and *Pavoverė* are surrounded by forests (Katelninkų, Kulniškės, Pavoverės, Voverės). It is highly likely that both oikonyms were motivated by their location on the Voveraitė (the Žeimenà trib.) and were derived from the potamonym. *Voverė* is a metonymic transposition of the zoolexeme Lith *voverė* ‘squirrel’ (LKŽe) into the oikonym. On the other hand, the oikonym may have been derived from the older Rus transliteration of the potamonym Rus *Бевиорка/*Бѣвюрка/Pol *Wiewiórka ← Pol *wiewiórka* ‘squirrel’ (PSPR 654), and, thus, expresses the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Voverė* ← the settlement below or near the *Voverė*/the *Voveraitė*. *Pavoverė* is an older settlement than *Voverė* and is derived from the potamonym using Lith Pref *pa-* and conveys the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Pavoverė* ← the settlement below or near *Voverė*/the *Voveraitė*. The Pref also serves the DM between two settlement names and indicates the relationships of possessivity and origin.

* * *

The antonymic semantic correlation conveying the named objects’ *relative position in space* is observed in the classes of hydronyms and oikonyms that form both lexical and grammatical toponym oppositions.

Semantics and motivation of DMs. The linguistic analysis has shown that the named objects’ *relative position in space* of the objects in opposition is expressed by:

1. The correlation of adjectives *áukštas* ‘high’ – *žėmas* ‘low’ and *kalninis* ‘of the mountain/hill’ – *klòninis* ‘of the valley’ and their pronominal forms (*aukštàsis* – *žėmàsis*, *aukštíjėi* – *žėmíjėi*, *áukštosios* – *žėmosios*) express the named objects’ *relative position in space* and convey the meaning of the concept [UPPER/LOWER POSITION]. Both the linguistic and extralinguistic analysis of the DMs has shown that the choice of adjectives and their pronominal forms in the process of nomination was based on the named object’s relative position (either horizontal or vertical) in space (the terrain), cf. 1) the correlation Lith *áukštas* – *žėmas* is based on the object’s horizontal position in space (in relation to the neighbouring river) in oikonyms *Aukštíjėi Karklénai* × *Žėmíjėi Karklénai*, *Pamerkỹs* × *Aukštàsis Pamerkỹs*, *Aukštíjėi Rusòkai* × *Žėmíjėi Rusòkai*, *Áukštosios Viėsos* ×

Žėmosios Viėsos, Aukštėji Svirnai × *Žėmieji Svirnai*; 2) the correlation Lith *áukštas* ‘high’ – *žėmas* ‘low’ is based on the object’s vertical position in space (on the hill/mountain as opposed to the other object’s position at the foot of the hill/mountain) in oikonyms *Aukštėji Bezdónys* × *Bezdónys* × *Bezdónys*, *Aukštėji Semeniùkai* × *Žėmieji Semeniùkai* and limnonyms *Nėvardas Áukštas* × *Nėvardas Žėmas*; 3) the correlation Lith *kalnìnis*– *klōnìnis* is based on the object’s vertical position in space (on the hills as opposed to the other object’s position in the valley of the neighbouring river) in oikonyms *Jagėlónys* × *Klōniniai Jagėlónys*, *Kalnìniai Mijáugonys* × *Klōniniai Mijáugonys*.

Considering the above, it may be concluded that the correlation of simple and pronominal adjectives in Vilnius County toponymy is rather clear, as these DMs carry the following semantic load: 1) Lith *áukštas*, –à (*aukštàsis/aukštėji/áukštosios*) – ‘located on the hill/mountain’ and embeds the concept [VERTICAL UPPER POSITION], Lith *žėmas*, –à (*žemàsis, žėmieji, žėmosios*) – ‘located at the foot of the hill/mountain’ and embeds the concept [VERTICAL LOWER POSITION]; 2) Lith *áukštas*, –à (*aukštàsis/aukštėji/áukštosios*) – ‘located in the upper part of the river (upstream)’ and embeds the concept [HORIZONTAL POSITION UP/BACK], Lith *žėmas*, –à (*žemàsis, žėmieji, žėmosios*) – ‘located in the lower part of the river (downstream)’ and embeds the concept [HORIZONTAL POSITION DOWN]; 3) Lith *kalnìnis* (*kalnìniai*) – ‘located on the hill/mountain’ and embeds the concept [VERTICAL UPPER POSITION], Lith *klōnìnis* (*klōniniai*) – ‘located in the valley’ and embeds the concept [VERTICAL LOWER POSITION].

2. The correlation of prefixes in toponym oppositions expresses the named objects’ relative *position in space* and conveys the meaning of the concept [PLACE: LOCATION BY/NEAR]. Both the linguistic and extralinguistic analysis of the DMs has shown that: 1) Lith Pref *pa-* derivative is based on the named object’s horizontal position in space in relation to the name in opposition and conveys the concept [PLACE: LOCATION BY/NEAR], as in oikonyms *Pāalaburdiškės, Pādaciūnai, Pailgis, Pājurgelionys, Pāpikeliškės, Paūdrónys, Pāvytinė*; 2) Lith Pref *pa-* derivative is based on the named object’s horizontal position in space in relation to the name in opposition or another object and conveys the concept [PLACE: LOCATION BY/NEAR] in oikonyms *Padūkštai, Podhaliampòlis, Palaukėnėliai, Pakenė, Pakenė_{RS}, Pavoverė* and in limnonym *Pāšilinis*; 3) Lith Pref *už(u)-* derivative is based on the named object’s horizontal position in space in relation to the name in opposition or another object and conveys the concept [PLACE: LOCATION BEYOND/OUTSIDE] in oikonym *Užùkenė*.

Semantics and motivation of ITLs. The linguistic analysis has shown that ITLs fall into two categories and are based on the nominator’s impressions/associations about the named object. ITLs facilitate the categorization of the surrounding reality through concepts that reflect the most prominent features of named locations and give meaning to toponyms.

1. ITLs of transparent motivation and semantics

1.1. Oikonyms **motivated by potamonym** convey the concept [PLACE: LOCATION ON/NEAR] in (*Aukštėji*) *Bezdónys, Dūkštos, Kenà* (*Kinė*), (*Aukštàsis*) *Pamerkỹs, (Áukštosios, Žėmosios) Viėsos, Voverė*.

- 1.2. Oikonyms **motivated by oikonym** are based on the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] in *Pāalaburdiškės, Pādaciūnai, Pājurgelionys, Laukėnėliai, Pāpikeliškės, Paūdrónys, Pāvytinė*.
- 1.3. Oikonyms **motivated by PN** convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] in *Alaburdiškės, Daciūnai, (Klōniniai) Jagėlónys, Jurgelióńys, (Kalniniai, Klōniniai) Mijáugonys, Pìkeliškės, (Aukštėji, Žemėji) Semeniūkai, Ūdrónys*.
- 1.4. Toponyms **motivated by appellative** convey a variety of concepts that reflect the worldview of people in the territory under investigation. They describe the named object and convey the concepts [SOURCE: SPRING] in limnonyms *Nėvardas (Áukštas, Žėmas)*, or describe the surroundings or landscape of the named object through the concept [WOOD] in limnonym *Šilinis*, or convey the imagery of accommodation or economic activity through concept [PLACE: BUILDING] in oikonyms *(Aukštėji, Žemėji) Svirnai*, or point to the nominator's perception of named objects through the concepts [SIZE: LENGTH] in limnonym *Īlgis*.

2. ITLs of opaque motivation and semantics

- 2.1. Oikonyms **motivated by appellative, PN, or oikonym** embed a combination of concepts [PEOPLE/POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR/OWNERSHIP] in *(Aukštėji, Žemėji) Karklėnai*.
- 2.2. Oikonyms **motivated by PN** present a combination of concepts [PEOPLE/POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] in *(Aukštėji, Žemėji) Rusōkai*.
- 2.3. Oikonyms **motivated by appellative or PN** also present a variety of combinations of concepts. The primary being the concept [POSSESSIVITY OR OWNERSHIP] coupled with concepts [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR] in *Haliampòlis* and [OVERGROWN PLACE] in *Vytinė*.
- 2.4. Oikonyms **motivated by appellative or oikonym** embed the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR] in *Podhaliampòlis, Palaukėnėliai*;
- 2.5. Toponyms **motivated by appellative or hydronym** present the description and imagery of the physical and spiritual reality through several combinations of concepts [SIZE: LENGTH/POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR] in limnonym *Pailgis* or [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR] in limnonym *Pāšilinis*.
- 2.6. Oikonyms **motivated by oikonym or hydronym** convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR] in *Padūkštaĩ, Pakenė, Pakenė_{RS}, Užukėnė, Pavoverė*.

The etymological analysis has shown that in the majority of cases (16 out of 17 grammatical and 10 lexical oppositions), both DMs and ITLs are of Lithuanian origin. There is only one grammatical opposition both the DM and ITLs of which are clearly of Slavic origin, cf. *Haliampòlis* × *Podhaliampòlis*. In two lexical oppositions, ITLs are possibly of non-Lithuanian origin and may be derived from either Lithuanian PNs or Slavonic PNs or appellatives, cf. *Aukštėji Rusōkai* × *Žemėji Rusōkai* and *Aukštėji Semeniūkai* × *Žemėji Semeniūkai*.

TOPONYM OPPOSITIONS: CONCEPT OF AGE

In this chapter, the detailed semantic analysis and classification of toponyms (oikonyms), their DMs and ITLs, according to the concept of *age* is presented. The description of each opposition comprises extralinguistic outline, data from historical sources as well as the semantic analysis. At the end of the chapter, the outline of the main semantic groups of DMs and ITLs is given, highlighting the concepts, the names of (in)tangible world, that motivated the toponyms.

The meaning of the named objects' *relative age* in toponymy is typically conveyed by the correlation of *old* – *new*. As maintained in Irina Hontsa (2014: 87-88), during the naming process, these toponym markers perform a differentiating function. Also, as was mentioned in Section 1.5.1., such oppositions in toponymy are influenced by extralinguistic factors and are determined by the needs of the society to express the relationship of new names to existing ones by linguistic means.

6.1. ¹*Senóji Būdà* × *Naujóji Būdà*,

6.2. ²*Būdà* × *Senóji Būdà*,

¹*Senóji Būdà* – Semeliškės eld, El; SV1974 646 Senoji Būda, G1905 339 Rus д. Буда-Старая, R1872 Rus Буда.

¹*Naujóji Būdà* – Semeliškės eld, El, 0,9 km southeast of *Senóji Būdà*; SV1974 654 Naujoji Būda, G1905 313 Rus з. Буда-Новополю.

²*Būdà* – Trakai eld., Trak D; SV1974 648 Būda, G1905 339 д. Буда 2-ая, R1872 Rus з. Буда.

²*Senóji Būdà* – Trakai eld, Trak D, 2,7 km north of *Būdà*; SV1974 646 Snoji Būda, G1905 339 д. Буда-Старая, R1872 Rus д. Старая Буда.

The ITL *Būdà* is probably related to Lith *būdà*, *būdė* 'tent, shelter, (guard's, shepherd's, etc.) cottage' (LKŽe) (cf. LVŽ I 589–590) ← Bel *буда*, Pol *buda* 'simple structure made of perishable materials, used as a makeshift shelter for people' (Skarnik.by; PWN; WSJPe). Oikonyms with NHL *Būdà* are historically, culturally, and economically motivated, as in the past (in Poland and neighbouring countries) this was a nomenclature term that referred to temporary settlements and accommodations in forests or deforested areas, but initially referred to temporary accommodations of settlers in the forest, who were engaged in hunting, beekeeping, etc., and later engaged in agriculture, the temporary accommodations were eventually replaced by permanent dwellings (cf. SGKP I 439). Thus, the NHL *Būdà* is a metonymic transposition of a nomenclature term and conveys the concept [TEMPORARY SHELTER]: *Būdà* ← the settlement

(dwelling) in the forest or deforested area ← Lith *būdà* (Bel *буда*, Pol *buda*). The correlation of DMs forms semantic oppositions. 1) The villages *Senóji Būdà* and *Naujoji Būdà* (El) are rather young settlements. The current oikonyms are the result of the renaming and/or standardization of names, cf. G1905 339 Rus д. Буда-Старая, G1905 313 Rus з. Буда-Новополю. The current names are known since around the second half of the 20th c., cf. SV1974 646 Senoji Būda, SV1974 654 Naujoji Būda. The correlation of DMs *Senóji* ‘old’ and *Naujoji* ‘new’ in *Senóji Būdà* and *Naujoji Būdà*, which are the result of renaming, refers to the age of the settlements. The historical DM form of *Naujoji Būdà*, cf. G1905 313 Rus з. Буда-Новополю, is more exact, as it additionally points to and is motivated by the purpose of the settlement, i.e. the new settlement by/on newly allocated land – Rus Новополю ← *новое* ‘new’ + *поле* ‘field’. 2) The correlation of the zero DM to *Senóji* ‘old’ in *Būdà* × *Senóji Būdà* carries the semantic load ‘old, big(ger) vs. new, small(er) settlement’, motivated by the historical forms of oikonyms and settlement types, cf. ²*Būdà* – G1905 339 д. Буда 2-ая, R1872 Rus з. Буда. and ²*Senóji Būdà* – G1905 339 д. Буда-Старая, R1872 Rus д. Старая Буда. The DMs convey the concepts [OLD/NEW: YOUNG] coupled with [SIZE].

6.3. *Naūjas Janāvas*_v × *Sėnas Janāvas*_{stead}

Naūjas Janāvas – Strūnaitis eld, Švčn D; SV1974 602 Naujas Janavas, G1905 293 Rus з. Яново, R1872 Rus д. Яново.

Sėnas Janāvas – Strūnaitis eld, Švčn D, 1 km north of *Naūjas Janāvas*; SV1974 602 Senas Janavas_{stead}, G1905 293 Rus з. Яново, R1872 Rus з. Яново.

Janāvas is Slav Suf *-avas* derivative from Lith PN *Jānas* (LVGDB), cf. Pol *Jan*, Bel *Ян* (Biryła 1966: 84, 1982: 165). The Slav Sufs *-avas* and *-ava*¹⁰⁰ are typical formants, used to derive toponyms with Slav roots, esp. in the border areas of Lithuania (Razmukaitė 1998: 14). Both *Naūjas Janāvas* and *Sėnas Janāvas* are located less than 0,5 km from the Lithuania-Belarus border. The oikonym is motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]¹⁰¹ and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Janāvas* ← Pol *Jan*, Bel. *Ян* + *-avas* ← the settlement belonging to/founded by Pol *Jan*, Bel *Ян* (=Lith *Jonas*). DMs *Naūjas* ‘new’ and *Sėnas* ‘old’ were added to ITLs rather recently, cf. *Sėnas Janāvas*: SV1974 602 Senas Janavas ← G1905 293 Rus з. Яново and *Naūjas Janāvas*: SV1974 602 Naujas Janavas ← G1905 293 Rus з. Яново. Most probably DMs were added regarding the settlements’ size and type from the historical perspective during the re-naming/standardization process. The ITL *Janāvas* in *Naūjas Janāvas*

¹⁰⁰ cf. Rus Suf *-ов-о*, *-ов-а*, Bel Suf *-ав-ы*, *-ав-а*, used to form words that indicate belonging to something or someone, indicated by the root.

¹⁰¹ Historically, *Sėnas Janāvas* belonged to a certain Довгялло (G1905 293) ← Bel PN Довгяло: Миколай Довгялло 1567 Вас. хар., П. 779, Стась Довгялло, Ян Довгялло 1567 Ашм. п., П. 588 (Biryła 1966: 210).

is obviously a metonymic transposition of the oikonym and is motivated by the village's location in the vicinity of *Sėnas Janāvas*. Most probably *Naūjas Janāvas* was established by people, who moved from the smaller, older settlement: *Naūjas Janāvas* ← the new(er) settlement in the vicinity of *Sėnas Janāvas*.

6.4. *Kálviai*_v × *Naujėji Kálviai*_{stead}

Kálviai – Dieveniškės eld, Šlčn D; SV1974 516 *Kalviai*_v, G1905 231 Rus д. Ковали, R1872 Rus Ковали.

Naujėji Kálviai – Dieveniškės eld, Šlčn D, 1,9 km east of *Kálviai*; SV1974 522 *Naujėji Kalviai*_{stead}, G1905 231 Rus д. Ковали-Новые.

For the motivation and semantics of the ITL *Kálviai*, cf. Section 4.2.36. The DM *Naujėji* ‘new’ in the opposition *Kálviai* × *Naujėji Kálviai* is motivated by *Naujėji Kálviai* settlement's age. *Kálviai* is a relatively old village in Šlčn D, which already existed before the end of the 19th c., cf. R1872 Rus д. Ковали → SV1974 516 *Kalviai*_v. The name of the present-day *Naujėji Kálviai* was first recorded at the beginning of the 20th c., cf. G1905 231 Rus д. Ковали-Новые, which indicates that at that time the settlement was rather recent. The ITL *Kálviai* in *Naujėji Kálviai* is obviously a metonymic transposition from *Kálviai* in the vicinity of which the newer settlement was established: *Naujėji Kálviai* ← newer settlement in the vicinity of *Kálviai* ← *Kálviai*.

6.5. (*Naūjosios*) *Kietāviškės*_v × *Sėnosios Kietāviškės*_v

(*Naūjosios*) *Kietāviškės* – Kietaviškės eld, El; SV1974 202 *Naujosios Kietaviškės*_v, G1905 338 Rus м. Кейтовишки, R1872 Rus м. Кейтовишки.

Sėnosios Kietāviškės – Kietaviškės eld, El, 1 km east of (*Naūjosios*) *Kietāviškės*; SV1974 647 *Kietaviškės*_v, G1905 338 Rus д. Кетовишки Старые, R1872 Rus д. Ст.[арые] Кейтовишки.

(*Naūjosios*) *Kietāviškės* is a rather old settlement in the vicinity of *Sėnosios Kietāviškės*, which is known since its first mention in 1504 A.D. (VLEe), but most probably is even older, and, therefore, is the primary oikonym. *Kietāviškės* is Lith Suf *-iškės* derivative. Most probably the oikonym and its older form *Ketaviškės* is related to Prus PN *Ketawe* 1360/4 (Būga 1961: 611). According to Razmukaitė (1998: 59), the oikonym is related to old Lith PN **Kietava*, cf. *Kietāvičius*, related to Lith PN *Kietis* (cf. PDB). As it is maintained in LVGDB, the ITL in both oikonyms is Lith Suf *-iškės* derivatives from Lith PN *Kietāvičius*. Therefore, the oikonym could be motivated by and is a metonymic transposition of the PN conveying the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: (*Sėnosios*) *Kietāviškės* ← *Ketaw-e*/**Kietav-a*, cf. *Kietāv-ičius* + *-iškis* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Ketaw-e*/**Kietav-a* (*Kietāv-ičius*). (*Naūjosios*) *Kietāviškės* settlement developed in the vicinity of *Sėnosios Kietāviškės* and its name is motivated by its location in relation to the older settlement. The name is formed

by the principle of analogy: (*Naūjosios*) *Kietāviškės* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Sėnosios Kietāviškės*. DMs *Naūjosios* ‘new’ and *Sėnosios* ‘old’ are motivated by the chronological development of both settlements, *Sėnosios Kietāviškės* being older and most probably the more important settlement.

6.6. ¹*Leñtvaris*_{tn} × ²*Leñtvaris*_v × *Naujasis Leñtvaris*_v

¹*Leñtvaris* – Lentvaris eld, Trak D; SV1974 650 Lentvaris_{tn}, G1905 331 Ландварово, им. гр.[афа] Тышкевича, R1872 Rus Лантварова.

²*Leñtvaris* – Lentvaris eld, Trak D, on the northern outskirts of *Leñtvaris*_{tn}; SV1974 648 Lentvaris_v.

Naujasis Leñtvaris – Lentvaris eld, Trak D, 2 km north of *Leñtvaris*_{tn}; SV1974 650 Naujasis Lentvaris_v, G1905 331 д. Ландварово-Новое, R1872 Rus Нов.[ое] Ландворово.

*Leñtvaris*_{tn} is mentioned as early as 1596 as *Lentvario* (*Lentvoriškių*) *dvaras* [*Lentvaris* manor/estate], which started developing into a settlement in 1861–1862, when the railroad St. Petersburg–Warsaw was built (Vanagas 1996: 135–137). In the later sources, the name is written as R1872 Rus Лантварова, G1905 331 Rus Ландварово, им. гр.[афа] Тышкевича, SV1974 650 Lentvaris. Vanagas believes that the current name has resulted from the form Pol *Landwarów*, whereas the primary oikonym form must have been **Litovariškės*, i.e. Lith Suf *-išk-*, *-iškės* derivative from the PN **Litovaras*¹⁰², which is attested by historical sources (ibid., also cf. Jurkštas 1985: 29–30). If the reconstructed primary oikonym is true, then it may be claimed that the settlement name is motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Leñtvaris* (**Litovariškės*) ← the settlement belonging to/established by **Litovaras*. *Naujasis Leñtvaris* is most probably a newer settlement that was established at the end of the 16th c. and is also a historical name, cf. R1872 Rus Нов.[ое] Ландворово, G1905 331 Rus д. Ландварово-Новое, SV1974 650 Naujasis Lentvaris. The oikonym’s second component is motivated by the settlement’s location, whereas the first component is motivated by and points to the settlement’s relative age in comparison to the town’s age. Therefore, the oikonym expresses the concept [AGE] and is the metonymic transposition of one oikonym into the other: *Naujasis Leñtvaris* ← a (historically/then-) new settlement in the vicinity of *Leñtvaris* town. *Leñtvaris*_v is the youngest settlement, established in the first half of the 20th c., cf. SV1974 648 Lentvaris_v. The oikonym is motivated by its location in the vicinity of *Leñtvaris*_{tn} and is a metonymic transposition of the town’s name into the village’s name: *Leñtvaris* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Leñtvaris* town.

¹⁰² This reconstructed personal name, according to Vanagas (1996: 136) may be related to the Chreptavičiai family of nobles of the Great Duchy of Lithuania. The family is also known as Chreptavičiai-Liutaurai (Bel Літавор-Храптовічы, Pol. Litawor-Chreptowiczowie, Rus Литавор-Хрептовичи). Thus, the form **Litovaras* most probably may be further reconstructed to Lith *Liūtauras*.

6.7. *Macėliai*_v × *Senėji Macėliai*_v

Macėliai – Valkininkai eld, Vrn D; SV1974 708 *Maceliai*_v, G1905 335 Rus д. Мацели, R1872 Rus д. Новые Мацели.

Senėji Macėliai – Baltoji Vokė eld, Šlčn D, 5 km east of *Macėliai*; SV1974 524 *Senėji Macėliai*_v, G1905 331 Rus з. Мацели, R1872 Rus з. Мацкли.

At the beginning of the 20th c., the present-day *Senėji Macėliai* was recorded as G1905 331 Rus з. Мацели. The current *Senėji Macėliai* is recorded in the 1959 and 1970 censuses (SV1974 524). The name is in opposition to *Maceliai* village at the Šalčininkai-Varėna Ds border, cf. R1872 Rus д. Новые Мацели, G1905 335 Rus д. Мацели, SV1974 708 *Maceliai*_v. *Macėliai* in *Senėji Macėliai* is related to and is *pl* of Lith PN *Macėlis* ← Lith *Macys*, cf. *Mācas*, *Macis*, *Mācius*, Bel *Мау*: *Мамфеў*, *Мауеў*, Pol *Мас*: *Matyjasz* (PDB). The oikonym is highly likely motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: (*Senėji*) *Macėliai* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Macėlis*/the *Macėliai* family. *Macėliai* is the secondary name, made by the principle of analogy from *Senėji Macėliai*. Most probably the settlement was established by people, who moved from *Macėliai* (possibly even the member(s) of the *Macėliai* family), and the oikonym is motivated by the new settlement's location in relation to the old settlement, conveys the concept of [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP/LOCATION NEAR] (relation to another object, person), and is a metonymic transposition of the old oikonym: *Macėliai* ← *Macėl-is* + *-iai* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Senėji Macėliai*, probably established by people who moved from the former.

6.8. *Naujieji Miežionys*_v × *Senėji Miežionys*_v

Naujieji Miežionys – Dieveniškės eld, Šlčn D; SV1974 516 *Naujieji Miežionys*_v, G1905 231 Rus ф. Мѣжаны, R1872 Rus ф. Межаны.

Senėji Miežionys – Dieveniškės eld, Šlčn D, 1,1 km northwest of *Naujieji Miežionys*; SV1974 516 *Senieji Miežionys*_v, G1905 231 Rus д. Мѣжаны, R1872 Rus д. Межаны.

Miežionys is Lith Suf *-onys* derivative probably from Lith PN *Miežys*, *Miėžis*, *Miežionis* (cf. PDB, Zinkevičius 2008: 519, 2012: 137). The oikonym may thus be motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP], being the metonymic transposition of the PN: *Miežionys* ← *Miež-ys*, *Miėž-is* + *-(i)onys* / *pl* of *Miežionis* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Miežys*, *Miėžis*, *Miežionis*. On the other hand, considering that the settlements are at the Lithuanian-Belarusian border, the oikonym may be related to and derived from Bel *мяжа*, Rus *межа* 'border between land parcels', cf. Bel *межаваць*, Rus *межевать* 'to set the border between land parcels' (Skarnik.by, SRYe). Thus, the oikonym could be motivated by the concept [BORDER] between lands: Bel *мяжа*, Rus *межа* → the settlement at the border → *Miežionys* (R1872 Rus д. Межаны). *Naujieji Miežionys* is probably the metonymic transposition of the older/

bigger settlement's name: (*Naujėji*) *Miežionys* ← the settlement (smaller/newer) in the vicinity of *Senėji Miežionys* ← (*Senėji*) *Miežionys*. Both oikonyms are the result of the renaming, based on the development of settlement names and types from the historical perspective, the village could be considered the older settlement than the folwark, cf. SV1974 516 *Senėji Miežionys*_v, G1905 231 Rus д. Мѣжаны, R1872 Rus д. Межаны and SV1974 516 *Naujėji Miežionys*_v, G1905 231 Rus ф. Мѣжаны, R1872 Rus ф. Межаны. The DMs *Senėji* and *Naujėji* relate to the relative age of both. The older settlement was also historically bigger, with more lands belonging to it, cf. G1905 231 Rus д. Мѣжаны, 370 дес. [*Senėji Miežionys*] vs. G1905 231 Rus ф. Мѣжаны, 224 дес. [*Naujėji Miežionys*].

6.9. *Migūčionys*_v × *Naujėji Migūčionys*_v × *Senėji Migūčionys*_v

Migūčionys – Elektrėnai eld, El; SV1974 211 *Migūčionys*_v, G1905 326 Rus д. Мигуцяны, R1872 Rus з. Мигуцяны.

Naujėji Migūčionys – Gilučiai eld, El, 1,4 km northwest of *Migūčionys*; SV1974 211 *Naujėji Migūčionys*_v.

Senėji Migūčionys – Gilučiai eld, El, 1 km north of *Migūčionys*; SV1974 211 *Senėji Migūčionys*_v, G1905 316 Rus д. Мигуцяны, R1872 Rus д. Мигуцяны.

Migūčionys is Lith Suf *-onys* derivative probably from Lith PN *Mikūtis*, or *Mikutà*, *Mikūtà*, cf. *Mikutas*, though it is not clear if these PNs are Lith Suf *-ūt-*, *-ut-* derivatives from *Mikas* or similar names, or are borrowings, cf. Bel *Мікута: Николай*, Pol *Mikuta* (PDB). The oikonym may have undergone some orthographic and phonetic changes: *k* → *g*, *t* → *c* (č). If this version is right, the oikonym may be the transposition of the PN and is motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Migūčionys* ← *Mikūt-is* (**Migut-is*, **Migūt-is*) [*k* → *g*, *t* → *c* (č)] + *-onys* ← the settlement established by/belonging to *Mikūtis* (**Migutis*, **Migūtis*)/the *Mikūčiai* (**Migučiai*, **Migūčiai*) family. *Senėji Migūčionys* existed as a village already by the end of the 19th c., cf. G1905 316 Rus д. Мигуцяны, R1872 Rus д. Мигуцяны. The current name of the settlement is recorded in the 1959 and 1970 censuses: SV1974 211 *Senėji Migūčionys*. This is historically the biggest and probably the oldest settlement in the opposition, based both on settlement type and belonging lands. It has motivated the name *Migūčionys* of a smaller settlement that probably was established in the vicinity by people, who moved from *Senėji Migūčionys*, cf. the settlement type and size of lands: G1905 326 Rus д. Мигуцяны, 233 дес., R1872 Rus з. Мигуцяны, where Rus *застенок* 'steading' refers to a small(er), new(er) settlement, established by people, who separated from the main settlement. *Naujėji Migūčionys* is also motivated by its location close to *Senėji Migūčionys* and is the newest settlement, founded in the first decades of the 20th c., cf. SV1974 211 *Naujėji Migūčionys*. Both *Migūčionys* and *Naujėji Migūčionys* are the metonymic transposition of the older oikonym: *Migūčionys*/*Naujėji Migūčionys* ← the newer, smaller settlement in the vicinity of *Senėji Migūčionys*.

6.10. *Naujādvāris*_v × *Senādvāris*_{stead}

Naujādvāris – Dainava eld, Šlčn D, 6 km northeast of Kalesninkai_v; GSD 517 Naujādvāris_v, G1905 214 Rus ок. Новый-Дворъ, R1872 Rus ф. Дворъ (Бортовты).

Senādvāris – Butrimonys eld, Šlčn D, 11 km east of *Naujādvāris*; GSD 515 Senādvāris_{stead}, G1905 214 Rus Стародворцы, R1872 Rus з. Синодворье.

Naujādvāris is a compound oikonym: the first component is related to Lith *naūjas* ‘new’, the second – to Lith *dvāras* ‘estate, property’ (LKŽe); analogically, components of the oikonym *Senādvāris* are related to Lith *sēnas* ‘old’ and *dvāras* ‘estate, property’ (LKŽe). The first components in two reconstructed oikonyms (cf. old forms above) refer to the relative age of the settlements. Both oikonyms are the result of the renaming, which happened around the beginning of the 20th c., cf. *Senādvāris* ← SV1974 515 *Senādvāris* ← G1905 214 Rus Стародворцы ← R1872 Rus з. Синодворье; *Naujādvāris* ← SV1974 517 *Naujādvāris* ← G1905 214 Rus окол. Новый-Дворъ ← R1872 Rus ф. Дворъ (Бортовты). Nevertheless, the opposition is based on the concept [AGE], as the current *Senādvāris* is an older settlement, which existed in the neighbourhood of R1872 Rus Новодворье (the present-day Butrimonys eld., Šlčn D) that in later sources has no records of. Thus, *Senādvāris* and *Naujādvāris* may be considered a metonymic transposition of the settlement’s type based on age: 1) Lith *sēnas* + *dvāras* → an old settlement/estate → *Senādvāris*; 2) Lith *naūjas* + *dvāras* → a new settlement/estate → *Naujādvāris*.

6.11. *Naujā Pašaminē*_{stead} × *Senā Pašaminē*_v

Senā Pašaminē (*Pašaminē*) – Švenčionėliai eld, Švčn D, at the confluence of the *Šaminē* and the *Šventelė-Dėmė* streams; SV1974 601 Sena Pašaminė_v, G1905 300 д. Пошумень 1-ая, R1872 Rus м. Пошемени.

Naujā Pašaminē – Švenčionėliai eld, Švčn D, 1,8 km northeast of *Senā Pašaminē*_v, on the left bank of the *Šaminē* stream (7 km, the *Šventelė-Dėmė* trib.); SV1974 601 Nauja Pašaminė_{stead} G1905 300 д. Пошумень 2-ая, R1872 Rus Пошемени.

The DMs *Senā* ‘old’ and *Naujā* ‘new’ are the result of renaming most probably related to the change of the status in the course of the development of the two settlements, cf. historical names and types. The relevant age of both settlements is partly indicated in historical forms, where the oikonym marked with number 1 could refer to the older and/or more important settlement and the one marked with number 2 – the newer settlement. The ITL *Pašaminē* in the composite oikonym *Senā Pašaminē* is Lith Pref *pa-* derivative from and is motivated by the settlement’s location on the *Šaminē* stream¹⁰³ at its confluence with the *Šventelė-Dėmė*. Therefore, *Senā Pašaminē* is a metonymic transposition of the potamonym into the oikonym, conveying the

¹⁰³ The stream flows through lakes *Šaminis* and *Šaminėlis*.

concept [PLACE: LOCATION ON/NEAR]: *Senà Pašaminė* ← *Senà* + *pa-* + *Šaminė* ← the old settlement on *the Šaminė* stream. *Naujà Pašaminė* is a relatively younger settlement and is motivated by its location in the vicinity of the older village. Its second component follows the same derivational model and is a metonymic transposition of the older settlement's name: *Naujà Pašaminė* ← a newer settlement in the vicinity of *Senà Pašaminė*. Both oikonyms are the result of renaming and are also related to the change of the settlements' status during their development: cf. *Senà Pašaminė* ← SV1974 601 Sena Pašaminė ← G1905 300 д. Пошумень 1-ая ← R1872 Rus м. Пошемени; *Naujà Pašaminė* ← SV1974 601 Nauja Pašaminė ← G1905 300 д. Пошумень 2-ая ← R1872 Rus д. Пошемени. The relevant age of both settlements is partly indicated in the historical names Rus Пошумень 1-ая and Пошумень 2-ая, the oikonym with DM 1-ая could refer to the older and/or more important settlement.

6.12. *Piktakónys*_v × *Naujėji Piktakónys*_v

Piktakónys – Marijampolis eld, V D; SV1974 751 Piktakonys_v, G1905 65 Rus д. Пиктокомцы, R1872 Rus Петакенцы.

Naujėji Piktakónys – Marijampolis eld, V D, 1,7 km west of *Piktakónys*, across the Peteša stream (14 km, the Rudamina trib.); SV1974 751 Naujieji Piktakonys_v, G1905 65 Rus д. Пиктокомцы Новыя, R1872 Rus Пентеканцы.

The oikonyms are obviously the result of renaming (cf. old forms). *Piktakónys* (SV1974 751 Piktakonys) is recorded as R1872 Rus д. Петакенцы and by the beginning of the 20th c. it was most probably renamed into G1905 65 Rus д. Пиктокомцы. *Naujėji Piktakónys* was R1872 Rus д. Пентеканцы with the letter -н- in the base; also, the suffixes of both names differ -енуы and -ануы (it is unclear whether it was a cartographer's mistake or not). In the later sources, the name form is G1905 65 Rus д. Пиктокомцы Новыя and SV1974 751 *Naujėji Piktakónys*. From the records in R1872, it may be concluded that two settlements were renamed. The ITL *Piktakónys* is most probably Lith Suf -onys derivative from Slav PN *Piktak, cf. Slav surnames in Vilnius region *Pikt*, *Pikta*, *Pikto* (cf. Zinkevičius 2012: 184) related to Lith *Pyktỹs*, *Piktėlis* (PDB). As older forms have been modified, it is not clear whether the oikonym may be related to Bel PN *Пенталь*, *Пентля*, cf. *Пенталь*, *Пентлін* (Biryla 1969: 320). Old forms may also be translations and may be related to Pol PN *Piętak*. Most likely this oikonym is a certain adaptation of Lith *piktas*, -à 'who quickly gets angry; angry, annoyed' (LKŽe). If the anthroponymic origin of the oikonym is correct, the current oikonym is based on the transposition of the PN and is motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Piktakónys* ← *Piktak, *Pikt-*, *Pikta-*, *Pikt-o*, *Pyktỹ-s*, *Pikt-ėlis*, *Piętak* + -k- + -onys ← the settlement established by/belonging to *Piktak, *Pikt-*, *Pikta-*, *Pikt-o*, *Pyktỹ-s*, *Pikt-ėlis*, *Piętak*. *Naujėji Piktakónys* is made by the principle of analogy with the DM *Naujėji* 'new', is motivated by the settlement's loca-

tion in the vicinity of *Piktakónys*, and is the metonymic transposition of the oikonym: *Naujėji Piktakónys* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Piktakónys*. DMs differentiate between the older and newer settlements.

6.13. *Naūjosios Rakliškės*_v × *Sėnosios Rakliškės*_v

Naūjosios Rakliškės – Butrimonys eld, Šlčn D; SV1974 515 Naujosios Rakliškės_v, G1905 185 Rus им. Раклишки-Новые, R1872 Rus Госп. д. Нов.[ые] Раклишки.
Sėnosios Rakliškės – Butrimonys eld, Šlčn D, 4 km north of *Naūjosios Rakliškės*; SV1974 515 Senosios Rakliškės_v, G1905 185 Rus им. Раклишки-Старые, R1872 Rus Госп. д. Раклишки.

The ITL *Rakliškės* is Lith Suf *-iškės* derivative from Lith PN **Raklys*, cf. *Raklėvičius* (Razmukaitė 1998: 87), cf. Lith *Rachlėvičius*, *Rėklỹs*, Bel *Рахлей*, Rus *Рахлевский*, *Рахлеев*, *Рахлин* (PDB). Thus, the ITL is obviously a metonymic transposition of the PN and is motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: (*Sėnosios*, *Naūjosios*) *Rakliškės* ← **Rakl-ys* + *-iškės* ← the settlement belonging to **Raklys*. Both settlements developed in the vicinity of manors and lands most probably belonging to one person, *Sėnosios Rakliškės* is the primary oikonym, which is indicated by the component Lith *Sėnosios* ‘old’ (‘primary, important’). *Naūjosios Rakliškės* is made by the principle of analogy, the component Lith *Naūjosios* ‘new’ marking the new settlement (historical estate). *Naūjosios Rakliškės*, thus, may be considered a metonymic transposition of the primary oikonym, also coding the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Naūjosios Rakliškės* ← the settlement (estate) in the vicinity of *Sėnosios Rakliškės*. Although the current oikonyms are the result of standardization, they refer to the historical names and point to the settlements’ age, cf. *Sėnosios Rakliškės* ← SV1974 515 *Sėnosios Rakliškės* ← G1905 185 Rus им. Раклишки-Старые ← R1872 Rus Госп. д. Раклишки; *Naūjosios Rakliškės* ← SV1974 515 *Naūjosios Rakliškės* ← G1905 185 Rus им. Раклишки-Новые ← R1872 Rus Госп. д. Нов.[ые] Раклишки.

6.14. *Naūjas Strūnaitis*_v × *Sėnas Strūnaitis*_v

Naūjas Strūnaitis – Strūnaitis eld, Švn D; SV1974 602 Naujas Strūnaitis_v, G1905 298 им. Шукевича Струнойци, R1872 Rus м. Струнойцы.
Sėnas Strūnaitis – Strūnaitis eld, Švn D, 1,5 km northeast of *Naūjas Strūnaitis*; SV1974 602 Senas Strūnaitis_v, G1905 298 д. Струнойци, R1872 Rus д. Струнойцы.

DMs *Naūjas* and *Sėnas* were added to the oikonyms most probably by the middle of the 20th c. to differentiate historically older and newer settlements. *Naūjas Strūnaitis* is known since the end of the 18th c. (VLEe), *Sėnas Strūnaitis* is believed to be an even older settlement, cf. old forms above. Both oikonyms are the result of stan-

dardization and alteration of old name forms. The ITL *Strūnaitis*, which can be reconstructed to **Strūnaičiai* (cf. Rus Струнойцы, Струнойци), in *Sėnas Strūnaitis* is most probably Lith Suf *-aitis* (*pl -aičiai*) derivative¹⁰⁴ from the potamonym *Strūnà* (although both settlements are located 0,9 km west of the river source) and may be motivated by the settlement's location in the vicinity of the river, thus, being a metonymic transposition of the potamonym, conveying the concept [PLACE: LOCATION ON/NEAR]: (*Sėnas*) *Strūnaitis* ← *Strūn-* + *-aitis* ← the settlement on/in the vicinity of the *Strūnà*. Based on the historical form *Strūnaitis* (**Strūnaičiai*), the oikonym could have originated from a nickname that referred to people living in the vicinity of *the Strūnà*. The question arises, though, whether the oikonym is of anthroponymic origin and is somehow related to Lith PN *Strūna*, *Striūna* or Pol *Struna*, Rus *Струна*, *Струнин* (cf. PDB). The name *Naūjas Strūnaitis* is made by the principle of analogy from *Sėnas Strūnaitis* and is motivated by both its location in correlation to the settlement and the river. The settlement is 1,5 km southwest of *Sėnas Strūnaitis* and almost 2,5 km off the *Strūnà* source. Therefore, *Naūjas Strūnaitis* may be considered the metonymic transposition of the older settlement's name (less likely the river name), in the vicinity of which it was established and conveys the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Naūjas Strūnaitis* ← a newer settlement, established in the vicinity of *Sėnas Strūnaitis* (on the *Strūnà*).

6.15. *Nauji Šamīniai*_v × *Seni Šamīniai*_v

Seni Šamīniai – Švenčionėliai eld, Švčn D, on lake *Šamīnis*; SV1974 601 Senieji Šamīniai_v, G1905 301 Rus з. Шеминисъ, R1872 Rus ф., Госп. д. Пошемены.

Nauji Šamīniai – Švenčionėliai eld, Švčn D, 1,3 km northwest of *Seni Šamīniai*; SV1974 601 Nauji Šamīniai_v.

The DMs *Nauji* 'new' and *Seni* 'old' are motivated by the respective settlements' age. The village *Seni Šamīniai* is rather, whereas *Nauji Šamīniai* has been known since around the first half of the 20th c. with no earlier mentions, cf. SV1974 601 Senieji Šamīniai, G1905 301 Rus з. Шеминисъ, R1872 Rus ф. Пошемены, Госп. д. Пошемены and SV1974 601 Nauji Šamīniai with no earlier mentions. DMs were added to make the distinction between two settlements with ITLs. The second component of *Seni Šamīniai* is Lith *pl* inflection *-iai* derivative from the limnonym *Šamīnis*. The oikonym is motivated by the village's location on lake *Šamīnis*, not far away from lake *Šaminėlis*. Therefore, the oikonym may be considered a metonymic transposition of both limnonyms (hence the *pl* inflexion): (*Seni*) *Šamīniai* ← *Šamīn-* + *-iai* ← the settlement on

¹⁰⁴ Here, the Suf may convey the meaning of smallness and ameability (DLKG 91–92), but, on the other hand, this Suf may be used to derive names according to origin and belonging (ibid. 141), esp. to mark kinship and relationship between persons.

lake *Šamìnis* in the vicinity of lake *Šaminėlis*. *Naujì Šamìniai* is motivated by its location in the vicinity of village *Senì Šamìniai* and may be considered the name formed by the principle of analogy. The second component of *Naujì Šamìniai* is a metonymic transposition of the older settlement's name: *Naujì Šamìniai* ← the new settlement in the vicinity of village *Senì Šamìniai*.

6.16. *Naujàsìs Taŗpupis*, × *Senàsìs Taŗpupis*,

Naujàsìs Taŗpupis – Senieji Trakai eld, Trak D, on the Lukna river (the Aluona trib.); SV1974 655 Naujasis Tarpupis,, G1905 330 Rus им. Гуделка, R1872 Rus Госп. д. Гуделки.

Senàsìs Taŗpupis – Senieji Trakai eld, Trak D, 1,8 km south of *Naujàsìs Taŗpupis*, on the Lukna river and lake Meduvys; SV1974 655 Senasis Tarpupis,, G1905 330 д. Гуделки, R1872 Rus д. Гуделки.

The current names are the result of renaming, which is obvious from the historical records, cf. *Senàsìs Taŗpupis* ← SV1974 655 Senasis Tarpupis, G1905 330 д. Гуделки, R1872 Rus д. Гуделки; *Naujàsìs Taŗpupis* ← SV1974 655 Naujasis Tarpupis, G1905 330 Rus им. Гуделка, R1872 Rus Госп. д. Гуделки¹⁰⁵. From the historical perspective, *Senàsìs Taŗpupis* was most probably the older settlement, having the status of the village, whereas *Naujàsìs Taŗpupis* was most probably a settlement (the estate) that was founded on the outskirts of the village. The ITL *Taŗpupis* in current oikonyms is related to Lith *taŗpupis* 'a place between rivers' (LKŽe) and is motivated by both villages' position between rivers/streams – the Lukna and many now nameless, meliorated streams. The DMs *Naujàsìs* and *Senàsìs* relate to the settlements' age and probably additionally differentiate between their importance and status. *Senàsìs Taŗpupis* is the primary oikonym, motivated by the settlement's position in relation to other objects (streams/rivers) and is a metonymic transposition of the concept [PLACE BETWEEN]: Lith *taŗpupis* → the settlement between rivers/streams → (*Senàsìs*) *Taŗpupis*. The settlement *Naujàsìs Taŗpupis*, which historically was an estate, most probably was motivated by both its location in between rivers (streams) and in relation to *Senàsìs Taŗpupis* and, thus, can be either 1) a metonymic transposition of [PLACE BETWEEN]: Lith *taŗpupis* → the settlement between rivers/streams → (*Naujàsìs*) *Taŗpupis*, or 2) a metonymic transposition of the older oikonym: *Naujàsìs Taŗpupis* ← the settlement (estate) in the vicinity of *Senàsìs Taŗpupis*.

¹⁰⁵ The historical forms of both oikonyms Rus Гуделка, Гуделки are probably related to Lith PN *Gudelka, related to Lith PN *Gudelis*, cf. Lith PN *Gùdas* ← Lith *gùdas* 'Belarusian (sometimes Polish or Russian); a person of another dialect (Samogitians use this word to refer to Aukštaitians, people of Panevėžys use this word to refer to those who live in Kupiškės, etc.)', or *gùdas* 'experienced, skilled; simple, routine; real' (LKŽe) (PDB).

6.17. (*Naujėji*) *Trākai*_{tn} × *Senėji Trākai*_v

Trākai (*Naujėji Trākai*) – Trakai eld, Trak D; G1905 309 Rus г. Троки, R1872 Rus Нов.[ые] Троки.

Senėji Trākai – Senėji Trakai eld, Trak D, 4 km south of *Trākai*_{tn}; SV1974 656 Senėji Trakai_v, G1905 341 Rus д. Старые-Троки, R1872 Rus м. Старые Троки.

ITLs *Trākai* are derived from Lith *trākas* (glade, clearing) ‘dry, grassy meadow overgrown with rare shrubs and trees in the forest’ or ‘cut or scorched forest, picking’ (LKŽe). According to Zinkevičius (2007: 40–41), oikonyms derived from Lith *trākas* were used to refer to the early settlements that were established in the pickings (cleared from trees) areas in forests. Thus, linguistic-cognitive motivation may be interpreted as a transfer of the concept of [CLEARING: PICKING]: Lith *trākas* (*pl trākai*) → cut forest, picking (glade, clearing) → *Trākai*. Nevertheless, there is a slightly different derivation and motivation pattern in each case. According to legends, *Senėji Trākai* was founded in 1316 by Grand Duke Gediminas, who transferred the capital of Lithuania from Kernavė to *Senėji Trākai* and erected the brick castle. *Trākai* and the Duchy of Trakai were first mentioned in 1337 in the Vygand Marburgian Chronicle. Historians associate this mention of *Trākai* with *Senėji Trākai*. When GD Gediminas settled in Vilnius, his son Kęstutis inherited the Duchy of Trakai and moved the town from *Senėji Trākai* to its current location, known as (*Naujėji*) *Trākai*. The castle of *Senėji Trākai* was destroyed by the Teutonic Order in 1391 (cf. ML-I; Kerbelytė 1983; Vanagas 1996; Maculevičius, Baltrušienė 1999; Mišeikis 2001; Malinauskas, Kriaučiūnas 2005; Zinkevičius 2007; Lisauskas 2009; Vercinkevičius 2010; VLEe). Therefore, the oikonym *Trākai* (*Naujėji Trākai*) is motivated by its location in the vicinity of *Senėji Trākai* and was made by the principle of analogy, i.e. when moving the capital to the new town, the name was also transferred to the new settlement. Eventually, DMs were added to the old capital to differentiate between it and the new one. The name of the new capital was the metonymic transposition of the oikonym: *Trākai* (*Naujėji Trākai*) ← the new town in the vicinity of (*Senėji*) *Trākai*.

6.18. *Zadvárninkai*_v × *Naujėji Zadvárninkai*_v

Zadvárninkai – Švenčionys eld, Švčn D; SV1974 611 Zadvárninkai_v, G1905 299 Rus д. Задворишки, R1872 Rus к.[олония] Задворники, IVDB 1742 Zadworniki.

Naujėji Zadvárninkai – Švenčionys eld, Švčn D, 1 km south of *Zadvárninkai*.

Zadvárninkai and *Naujėji Zadvárninkai* are two villages close to one another and both oikonyms are Sl. Pref *za-* (over/behind/outside) and Lith Suf *-(i)ninkai*¹⁰⁶ (←

¹⁰⁶ The Lith Suf *-ininkas* (*-ė*) is used to derive names of persons according to the profession, work performed, and the object that they regularly process, handle, research, supervise, store, trade in or otherwise care for (the object of the work may also be its result, product). In addition, it is possible to include here the names of persons by profession, derived from words denoting a person's property, as well as the source of livelihood and profit (DLKG 137–138; SRR I 141ff.).

Lith Suf *-(i)ninkas, -ė* derivatives from the Slavism¹⁰⁷ *dvāras* ‘landlord’s farm, homestead; feudal farm; palace/manor’ (LKŽe)¹⁰⁸. It can also be related to Rus *дворник* (janitor/yardman) ‘worker keeping clean and tidy in the yard and on the street near the house’ (SRY 137), or Rus *задворки* (backyard) ‘place behind yards, huts’ (SRY 181). Thus, the oikonym could be motivated by the following concepts [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP/LOCATION OUTSIDE]: 1) Rus *за двором/на задворках*, Lith *už dvaro* (outside the estate) → a settlement of people, who lived outside a landlord’s farm, homestead, or manor → *Zadvárninkai*; or 2) the oikonyms could refer to a settlement of janitors/yardmen, who lived outside a landlord’s farm, or manor, but whose responsibility was to keep the landlord’s property clean and tidy: *за + дворники* → a settlement of janitors/yardmen, who lived outside a landlord’s farm → *Zadvárninkai*. As indicated in the cited historical documents, *Zadvárninkai* is a rather old settlement, cf. R1872 Rus д. Задворники. In the later sources, the name is recorded as G1905 299 Rus д. Задворишки and SV1974 611 *Zadvarninkai* (the current name). There is no record of *Naujėji Zadvárninkai* in the mentioned sources, thus, it may be precluded that the settlement is quite “young” and was founded in the second half of the 20th c. or later, therefore, the motivation of the DM *Naujėji* refers to its age. The younger settlement got its name by the principle of analogy, or metonymic transposition of the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] from the older oikonym: *Naujėji Zadvárninkai* ← a new settlement in the vicinity of *Zadvárninkai*.

* * *

In the selected Vilnius County toponym oppositions, the antonymic relationship based on the named objects’ *relative age* is observed only in the class of oikonyms and comprises 18 complete and incomplete lexical oppositions.

Semantics and motivation of DMs. The linguistic and extralinguistic data analysis show that correlations of DMs, i.e. adjectives *sėnas – naujas* (*senė – naujė*; *senà – naujà*) and their pronominal forms (*senàsis – naujàsis*, *senėji – naujėji*; *senóji – naujóji*; *sėnosios – naujosios*) with visible grammatical categories of both gender and number in agreement with the inflections of ITLs, expresses the named objects’ *relative age* and conveys the meaning of the concepts [OLD/NEW: YOUNG], and are motivated by: 1) the actual age of the settlement in oikonyms *Kálviai × Naujėji Kálviai*, *Sėnosios Kietāviškės × Naujosios Kietāviškės*, *Leñtvaris_{tn} × Leñtvaris_v × Naujāsīs Leñtvaris*, *Senėji Macėliai × Macėliai*, *Senėji Migūčionys × Migūčionys × Naujėji Migūčionys*, *Sėnosios Rakliškės × Naujosios Rakliškės*, *Senė Šamīniai × Naujė Šamīniai*, *Trākai_{tn} × Senėji Trākai*, *Zadvárninkai × Naujėji Zadvárninkai*; 2) the re-naming (or reconstruction)

¹⁰⁷ Also, cf. Būga 1959 RRII 170.

¹⁰⁸ Most probably from Pol. *dwór* (manor/mansion/courtyard), a synonym of *folwark* (grange, farm) ‘large farm with buildings’, or Rus *двор* (*поместье*) (courtyard/yard/outdoors/manor/property (land ownership)) ‘plot of land between buildings of the same property, one urban plot’ or ‘peasant house with all outbuildings; separate peasant farm’ (SRY 137).

and standardization of older names in oikonyms *Senóji Būdà* × *Naujóji Būdà*, *Sėnas Janāvas* × *Naūjas Janāvas*, *Senėjei Miežiōnys* × *Naujėjei Miežiōnys*, *Senādvaris* × *Naujādvaris*, *Senà Pašaminė* × *Naujà Pašaminė*, *Piktakōnys* × *Naujėjei Piktakōnys*, *Sėnas Strūnāitis* × *Naūjas Strūnāitis*, *Senāsīs Taŗpupis* × *Naujāsīs Taŗpupis*. Considering the above, it may be suggested that DMs in the first group convey information about the historical development of settlements and directly refer to their age. DMs in the second group are the result of either re-naming and/or standardization of the toponyms process and most likely convey the meaning of the settlements' relative age and were added to make the distinction of the renamed settlements with regard to their age.

Semantics and motivation of ITLs. The linguistic analysis has shown that ITLs fall into two categories and are based on the nominator's impressions/associations about the named object. ITLs convey a variety of concepts.

1. ITLs of transparent motivation and semantics

- 1.1. Oikonyms **motivated by potamonym** convey the concept [PLACE: LOCATION ON/NEAR], in (*Senà*) *Pašaminė*, (*Sėnas*) *Strūnāitis*.
- 1.2. Oikonym **motivated by limnonym** expresses the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] in (*Senì*) *Šamīniai*.
- 1.3. Oikonyms **motivated by oikonym** are based on the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] in (*Naūjas*) *Janāvas*, (*Naujėjei*) *Kálviai*, (*Naūjosios*) *Kietāviškės*, (*Naujāsīs*) *Leñtvaris*, *Leñtvaris*, *Macėliai*, (*Naujėjei*) *Miežiōnys*, *Migūčionys*, (*Naujėjei*) *Migūčionys*, (*Naujà*) *Pašaminė*, (*Naujėjei*) *Piktakōnys*, (*Naūjosios*) *Rakliškės*, (*Naūjas*) *Strūnāitis*, (*Nauji*) *Šamīniai*, *Trākai* (*Naujėjei Trākai*), (*Naujėjei*) *Zadvárninkai*.
- 1.4. Oikonyms **motivated by PN** convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] in (*Sėnas*) *Janāvas*, (*Sėnosios*) *Kietāviškės*, *Leñtvaris* (**Litovariškės*), (*Senėjei*) *Macėliai*, (*Senėjei*) *Migūčionys*, *Piktakōnys*, (*Sėnosios*) *Rakliškės*.
- 1.5. Oikonyms **motivated by appellative** convey a variety of concepts that reflect the worldview of people in the territory under investigation. They convey the imagery of accommodation or economic activity through the concept [TEMPORARY SHELTER] in (*Senóji*, *Naujóji*) *Būdà*, (*Senóji*) *Būdà*, *Būdà*, or the concept [ESTATE] *Senādvaris*, *Naujādvaris*; point to certain locations of the named object through the imagery [PLACE: LOCATION BETWEEN] in (*Senāsīs*) *Taŗpupis*; describe the surroundings through the concept [CLEARING] in *Senėjei Trākai*.

2. ITLs of opaque motivation and semantics

- 2.1. Oikonym **motivated by appellative** embeds a combination of concepts, relating to locations or directions [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP/LOCATION OUTSIDE] in *Zadvárninkai*.
- 2.2. Oikonym **motivated by appellative or PN** presents a combination of concepts [PROFESSION/POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] in *Kálviai* and relates either to the owner of the settlement or their occupation.

2.3. Oikonyms **motivated by appellative or oikonym** embed the combination of concepts [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP/LOCATION NEAR] in (*Senieji*) *Miežionys*, or [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR/BETWEEN] in (*Naujasis*) *Tařpupis*.

Based on the etymological analysis of the oppositions in this category, it may be claimed that in all 18 cases the DMs are of Lithuanian origin. ITLs in *Zadvárninkai* × *Naujieji Zadvárninkai* are obviously of Slavic origin and are related to Rus appellative, or are language contacts affected and may be Slav Pref derivative from Lith appellative (cf. above). The origin of ITLs in 5 oppositions is rather opaque, as these may be related either to 1) Lith or Slav PNs (3 cases), 2) Lith or Prus PNs (1 case), or 3) Lith PNs or Slav appellatives (1 case), cf. *Sėnas Janāvas* × *Naijas Janāvas*, *Migūčionys* × *Naujieji Migūčionys* × *Senieji Migūčionys*, *Piktakónys* × *Naujieji Piktakónys*, *Naūjosios Kietāviškės* × *Sėnosios Kietāviškės*, and *Naujieji Miežionys* × *Senieji Miežionys* respectively.

TOPONYM OPPOSITIONS: *CORRELATION OF NUMBERS*

The chapter presents the detailed semantic analysis and classification of toponym oppositions (limnonyms and oikonoms) based on the correlation of numbers. The description of each opposition comprises extralinguistic outline, data from historical sources as well as the semantic analysis of both DMs and ITLs. At the end of the chapter, the outline of the main semantic groups of DMs and ITLs is given, highlighting the concepts, the names of (in)tangible world, that motivated the toponyms.

In Vilnius County toponymy, numbers as DMs are observed in classes of oikonoms and limnonyms resp. pond names and make 53 and 12 oppositions, respectively. It is sometimes observed in onomastic literature, cf. Hontsa (2014: 88–89), that numbers (including their lexicalized forms¹⁰⁹) point to the chronological order of the derivation of toponyms, esp. oikonoms, as most of them are the result of the artificial division of settlements. Thus, it may be possible, though not in all cases, to suggest that an oikonym marked with the number “I” / “1” (or the lexicalized form “First”) refers to the oldest settlement, while the subsequent numbers could refer to newer, “younger” ones. However, this is rather difficult to justify linguistically and requires additional extralinguistic research. Still, the question persists whether such toponymic constructions express the opposite semantics.

7.1. *Airėnai I* × *Airėnai II*,

Airėnai I – Dūkštos eld, V D; SV1974 733 *Airėnai I*_v, G1905 48 Rus им. Айраны (Искрицкаго), R1872 Rus Ойраны, Госп. д. Ойраны.

Airėnai II – Dūkštos eld, V D, 1,5 km southwest of *Airėnai I*; SV1974 733 *Airėnai II*_v, G1905-, R1872 Rus з. Ойранский.

Airėnai I is of unclear origin. On the one hand, the oikonym may be related to and derived from Lith PN **Airėnas* (LVŽ I 27), or could be related to and derived from phytolexeme Lith *ai̯ris*, *ai̯ras*, *ai̯ras* ‘wetland plant with long, strong-smelling leaves (*Acorus calamus*)’ (LKŽe). On the other hand, the oikonym may be related to the potamonym *Airùpė* and might be the disintegration of the root (cf. LVŽ I *ibid.*). Given the settlement’s location in the vicinity of the upper part of the *Airùpė* stream (the Neris trib.), the last version seems to be more plausible, and the oikonym may be Lith Suf -*ėnai* derivative from the potamonym and considered the conceptualization of a place (settlement) on the *Airùpė*: *Airėnai (I)* ← *Air*-[*ùpė*] + -*ėnai* ← the settlement

¹⁰⁹ No lexicalized forms of numbers were, however, identified in the analyzed corpus.

on/in the vicinity of the *Airùpė* stream. The Suf *-ėnai* is typically used to derive names of people according to their place of origin or place of residence (cf. DLKG 140; SRR I 238ff.). Therefore, the oikonym may have originated from a nickname for people living in the vicinity of the named stream: ?*airėnai* (*Air*-[*ùpė*] + *-ėnai*) → people living by the *Airùpė* → *Airėnai*. The oikonym seems to be the transposition of several concepts, cf. [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP/LOCATION NEAR]. *Airėnai II* is made by the principle of analogy by dividing the settlements that historically formed in the lands belonging to Rus Искрицки(й) (*Iskricki(j)) (cf. G1905 48, R1872 above). Therefore, the oikonym may be considered a metonymic transposition of the primary oikonym and expresses the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] (esp. in the older form that is the Gen case Rus з. Ойранский): *Airėnai II* ← the new settlement in the vicinity of *Airėnai I*. The DMs *I* and *II* were added by the mid-20th c. to distinguish between ITLs.

7.2. *Alėšiškės I_v* × *Alėšiškės II_v*

Alėšiškės I – Onuškis eld, Trak D; GSD 1974 639 Alešiškės,, G1905 314 з. Олешишки, R1872 Rus з. Алегишка.

Alėšiškės II – Onuškis eld, Trak D, 4,2 km southeast of *Alėšiškės I*.

The first component of *Alėšiškės I* is Lith Suf *-iškės* derivative from Lith PN *Aleša* (cf. Razmukaitė 1998: 85), cf. Bel PN *Олеша* : *Алексей*, Pol PN *Olesza* (cf. Biryła 1966: 24–25, PDB). Therefore, it may be claimed that the oikonym is a metonymic transposition of PN: *Alėšiškės* ← *Aleš-a* + *-iškės* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Aleša*, and conveys the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]. DMs *I* and *II* are a recent addition: in G1905 314, 24 homesteads with the name *Олешишки* are listed. Most probably by the end of the 20th c., the majority of these settlements have been either eliminated or reformed into settlements now known as *Alėšiškės I_v* and *Alėšiškės II_v*. The DMs were added to differentiate two (re)formed settlements with ITLs.

7.3. *Aliónys_v* (*Aliónys I_v*) × *Aliónys II_v*

Aliónys (*Aliónys I*) – Alionys eld, Šrv D, approx. 3 km west of lake *Alys*; SV1974 576 Alionys I_v, G1905 79–80 Rus им., д. Оляны, R1872 Rus Госп. д. Оляны.

Aliónys II – Alionys eld., Šrv D, 2 km northeast of *Aliónys I*; SV1974 576 Alionys II_v, G1905 80 Rus ус. Оляны, R1872 Rus Оляны.

Aliónys (*Aliónys I*) is Lith Suf *-ionys* derivative from limnonym *Alys*. This Suf is a typical derivational morpheme to form oikonyms from hydronyms (cf. Razmukaitė 1998: 32). The oikonym is motivated by the village's location and might relate to people living in the vicinity of the lake. The Suf *-(i)onys* is used in Lith to form names of agents (DLKG 112). The oikonym can be either 1) the metonymic trans-

position of the limnonym: *Aliónys* ← *Al-ys* + *-(i)onys* ← the settlement in the vicinity of lake *Alys*; or 2) the metonymic transposition of the concept referring to people living in the vicinity of lake *Alys*: *Al-ys* + *-(i)onys* → *?aliónys* (people living by lake *Alys*) → *Aliónys*. On the other hand, there is a possibility that the oikonym is *pl* from Lith PN *Aliónis* or *Alionis*, which is a patronymic Suf *-onis* derivative from PN *Ālis*, *Ālius*: *Aleksándras*, *Āleksas* (cf. PDB). The oikonym *Aliónys II* is made by the principle of analogy. The settlement was established by people who lived in the settlement *Aliónys*, or rather to whom the settlement belonged. This is obvious from the historical types of both settlements, cf. *Aliónys I* ← Оляны, д.[еревня] [village], им. [ение] [estate, property] Ясинского [of *Jasinski(s)] and *Aliónys II* ← G1905 80 Rus Оляны, ус.[адьба] [estate, farmstead] Ясинского [of *Jasinski(s)]. Therefore, the oikonym may be considered a metonymic transposition of the primary oikonym: *Aliónys* ← the new settlement in the vicinity of *Aliónys*. DMs *I* and *II* were added by the middle of the 20th c. to distinguish between ITLs.

7.4. *Antākalnis*_v × *Antākalnis I*_v × *Antākalnis II*_v × *Antākalnis III*_v

Antākalnis – Pabaiskas eld, Ukm D; SV1974 666 *Antakalnis*_v, KG1903 68 Rus з., д. Антокольцы, R1872 Rus Антокольце.

Antākalnis I – Lyduokiai eld., Ukm D, 16 km northeast of *Antākalnis*; SV1974 672 *Antakalnis I*_v, KG1903 68 Rus стоп. Антоколь 1, R1872 Rus Госп. д. Антоколь.

Antākalnis II – Lyduokiai eld, Ukm D, 2,5 km southeast of *Antākalnis I*; SV1974 672 *Antakalnis II*_v, KG1903 68 Rus з. Антоколь 2, R1872 Rus ф. Антоколь.

Antākalnis III – Pivonija eld, Ukm D, 2,6 km southeast of *Antākalnis II*; SV1974 672 *Antakalnis III*_v, KG1903–, R1872 Rus ф. Антоколь Тавьяны.

The ITL *Antākalnis* is Lith Pref *ant-* ‘on/atop’ derivatives from Lith *kálnas* (mountain/hill) ‘high ground elevation’ (LKŽė). Pref *ant-* derivatives denote a place in itself on (above) an object designated by a reference noun (DLKG 146). In this case, the designating noun is Lith nomenclature term *kálnas*. Lith inflexion *-is* is used to derive *m* nouns (cf. DLKG 113 ff.). Therefore, the above oikonyms express the concept [PLACE: LOCATION ON], i.e. of a settlement on/atop the hill: *ant(a)-* + *kaln-* + *-is* (on/atop + hill) → the settlement on the hill/mountain → *Antākalnis* (*Antākalnis I*, *Antākalnis II*, *Antākalnis III*). DMs *I*, *II*, and *III* are used to differentiate among ITLs.

7.5. *Antāliedė I*_v × *Antāliedė II*_v

Antāliedė I – Kaltanėnai eld, Švčn D, on lake *Líedis*; SV1974 594 *Antaliedė I*_v, G1905 287 Rus Антоледзе, д., R1872 Rus Анталедзе.

Antāliedė II – Kaltanėnai eld, Švčn D, 0,5 km south of *Antāliedė I*, on lake *Liedaitis*; SV1974 594 *Antaliedė II*_v, G1905 287 Rus Антоледзе, выс.

Antāliedē I and *Antāliedē II* are two villages between lakes *Līedis* and *Liedāitis*¹¹⁰. The oikonyms are Lith Pref *ant(a)-*, which denotes a place on/above (DLKG 146), and Lith inflexion *-ē*, used to derive *f* nouns (DLKG 88 ff.). *Antāliedē I* is derived from the limnonym *Līedis* it is located near and expresses the concept [PLACE: LOCATION ON/NEAR]: *Antāliedē I* ← *ant(a)-* + *Līed-* + *-ē* ← the settlement upon lake *Līedis*. *Antāliedē II* is a younger settlement and is motivated by *Antāliedē I*, being the metonymic transposition of the primary oikonym: *Antāliedē II* ← the new settlement in the vicinity of *Antāliedē I*/*Līedis*. DMs *I* and *II* were added to differentiate among ITLs and mark older and newer settlements, *Antāliedē I* being an older settlement, cf. R1872 Rus Анталедзе [*Antāliedē I*] and R1872- [*Antāliedē II*]. This is also proved by the historical settlement type of *Antāliedē II* which was a *vyselok*, cf. G1905 287 Rus Антоледзе, выс., which means that the village was established by people who moved from *Antāliedē I*.

7.6. *Ažūmiškė I*_{stead} × *Ažūmiškė II*_{stead}

Ažūmiškė I – Pabradė eld, Švčn D, in Baluoša forest; SV1974 598 *Ažūmiškė*_{stead}, G1905 262

Rus ф. Залѣсье.

Ažūmiškė II – Pabradė eld, Švčn D, 7,8 km northeast of *Ažūmiškė I*, in Labanoras-Pabradė forest.

Ažūmiškė I is related to Lith (dial. East-Aukštaitian) *ažūmiškis* (*užūmiškis*) ‘place behind the forest’ (LKŽe), *f* sg (dial.?) **ažūmiškė* (also, cf. LVŽ I 265). The oikonym is motivated by the settlement’s location in, or rather beyond/across/behind the forest from the nominator’s perspective and conveys the concept [PLACE: LOCATION BEHIND/BEYOND]: Lith **ažūmiškė* → the place beyond/behind the forest → *Ažūmiškė*. *Ažūmiškė II* is the name made by the principle of analogy from the primary oikonym: *Ažūmiškė II* ← the (new) settlement in the vicinity of *Ažūmiškė I*. DMs *I* and *II* were added quite recently to distinguish between the older and newer settlements that are relatively close to each other, cf. SV1974 598 *Ažūmiškė*_{stead}, G1905 262 Rus ф. Залѣсье [*Ažūmiškė I*], whereas *Ažūmiškė II* is a much younger settlement which there was no record of in SV1974.

7.7. *Bastūnai I*_v × *Bastūnai II*_v

Bastūnai I – Želva eld, Ukm D; SV1974 664 *Bastūnai I*_v, G1905 34 Rus им. Бастуны, R1872 Rus ф. Бастуны.

Bastūnai II – Želva eld, Ukm D, 1 km north of *Bastūnai I*; SV1974 664 *Bastūnai II*_v.

Bastūnai I probably originated from and is *pl* of Lith patronym *Bastūnas* ‘Bastas’ or Bastaus’ son’ (Zinkevičius 2011: 79, cf. LVŽ I 397), or may be related to Lith PNs *Bāstis*, *Bastys* ← Christian name *Sebastijōnas*: Gre *Sebastianus* (cf. Zinkevičius ibid.,

¹¹⁰ For the origin, motivation and semantics of limnonyms, cf. Section 4.2.45.

PDB); also, Bel PN *Бастун* (Biryla 1969: 44). Therefore, it may be claimed that the oikonym may be motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of PN: *Bastúnai* ← *Bastún-as* + *-ai*, (*Bāst-is*, *Bast-ŷs* + *-ūnai*) ← the settlement established by/belonging to *Bastūnas*, (*Bāstis*, *Bastŷs*)/the *Bastúnai* family. The settlement *Bastúnai I* is rather old (cf. above). It may be suggested that *Bastúnai II* probably was a newer settlement, which, at a certain point in history, was established in the vicinity of *Bastúnai I*. Thus, *Bastúnai II* may be considered a metonymic transposition of one oikonym into another: *Bastúnai II* ← a newer settlement in the vicinity of *Bastúnai I*. DMs most probably mark the chronology of settlements' establishment, i.e. the DM *I* marks the older settlement, the DM *II* marks a newer settlement, as *Bastúnai II* is known since only the middle of the 20th c., cf. SV1974 664.

7.8. *Bražuolės tvenkinys* × *Bražuolės I tvenkinys* × *Bražuolės II tvenkinys*

Bražuolės tvenkinys, *Bražuolės I tvenkinys*, *Bražuolės II tvenkinys* – ponds; *Bražuolė*, Trakai eld, Trak D; the *Bražuolė* stream.

Bražuolės pond is located in the northern part of *Bražuolė* village and was formed after damming the B-2 stream (the *Bražuolė* trib.) 0,43 km from its inflow into *Bražuolės I* pond, which was formed by damming the *Bražuolė* (22,7 km, the Neris trib.) in the northern part of *Bražuolė* settlement. *Bražuolės II* was formed by damming an unnamed stream (the *Bražuolė* trib.), 0,24 km south of *Bražuolės I* pond. All three pond names are Gen case derivatives and are motivated by their location on or in the vicinity of the *Bražuolė* stream or *Bražuolė* village, thus, expressing the concept of [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR]: *Bražuolės tvenkinys*, *Bražuolės I tvenkinys*, *Bražuolės II tvenkinys* ← *Bražuol-ės* ← the pond on the *Bražuolė*/in the vicinity of *Bražuolė* village.

7.9. *Buivydiškių I tvenkinys* × *Buivydiškių II tvenkinys* × *Buivydiškių III tvenkinys* × *Buivydiškių IV tvenkinys* × *Buivydiškių V tvenkinys* × *Buivydiškių VI tvenkinys*

Buivydiškių I tvenkinys, *Buivydiškių II tvenkinys*, *Buivydiškių III tvenkinys*, *Buivydiškių IV tvenkinys*, *Buivydiškių V tvenkinys*, and *Buivydiškių VI tvenkinys* – ponds; *Buivydiškės*, V C, west of Justiniškės D.

The ponds are located in the basin of the Sudervė stream (the Neris trib.). They were formed by damming the 6–8 km of the Sudervė from its mouth and several of its branches. All pond names are Gen case derivatives and are motivated by their location in the vicinity of *Buivydiškės* village, thus, expressing the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Buivydiškių I tvenkinys*, *Buivydiškių II tvenkinys*, *Buivydiškių III tvenkinys*, *Buivydiškių IV tvenkinys*, *Buivydiškių V tvenkinys*, *Buivydiškių VI tvenkinys* ← *Buivydišk-ių* ← the pond in the vicinity of *Buivydiškės* village.

7.10. *Buivỹdžiai I_v × Buivỹdžiai II_v*

Buivỹdžiai I (Buivydžiai) – Buivydžiai eld, V D; SV1974 730 Buivydžiai_v, G1905 49 Rus д. Буйвиды, R1872 Rus м. Буйвидзы.

Buivỹdžiai II – Buivydžiai eld, V D, 4 km southeast of *Buivỹdžiai I*; SV1974 730 Buivydžiai_v, G1905 49 Rus д. Буйвиды, R1872 Rus д. Буйвидзы.

Buivỹdžiai I most probably originated from and is *pl* of Lith PNs *Buivỹdis*, *Bùivydas*, *Buĩvydis* (cf. IVDB, LVŽ I 603). Therefore, it may be claimed that the oikonym may be motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of PN: *Buivỹdžiai I* ← *Buivỹd-is*, *Bùivyd-as*, *Buĩvyd-is* + *-(ž)iai* ← the settlement established by/belonging to *Buivỹdis*, *Bùivydas*, *Buĩvydis*/the *Buivỹdžiai* family. The settlement *Buivỹdžiai I* is rather old, first mentioned in 1688 (IVDB). It may be suggested that *Buivỹdžiai II* most probably was a smaller settlement (R1872 Rus д. Буйвидзы), which, at a certain point in history, was established in the vicinity of *Buivỹdžiai I* that historically was a small town (R1872 Rus м. Буйвидзы). Thus, *Buivỹdžiai II* may be considered a metonymic transposition of one oikonym into another: *Buivỹdžiai II* ← a smaller settlement in the vicinity of *Buivỹdžiai I*. DMs probably mark the chronology of settlements' establishment, i.e. the DM *I* most marks the older, more important settlement, the DM *II* marks a newer, smaller one.

7.11. *Burbliškė I_v × Burbliškė II_v*

Burbliškė I – Pabradė eld, Švčn D; SV1974 598 Burbliškės I_v, G1905 277 Rus з. Бурблишки.

Burbliškė II – Pabradė eld, Švčn D, 7,6 km northeast of *Burbliškė I*; SV1974 598 Burbliškės II_v.

Burbliškė I is most probably related to and derived from Lith PN *Burblys* using Suf *-iškė*¹¹¹ (cf. IVDB, LVŽ I 624). According to Razmukaitė (1998: 47 ff.), the oikonym belongs to the category of settlement names derived from old one-stem personal names and names derived from appellatives. Therefore, it may be claimed that the oikonym may be motivated by the concept of [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of PN *Burblys*: *Burbliškė I* ← *Burblyš* + *-iškė* ← the settlement established by/belonging to *Burblys*. *Burbliškė* is first mentioned in 1816, in Sarokpolis Parish Baptism Registration Book 1814–1827 (cf. IVDB) as well as in later sources without any greater changes, cf. SV1974 598 Burbliškės I_v, G1905 277 Rus з. Бурблишки. *Burbliškė II* is a “younger” settlement, established just a few kilometres from the former. Thus, *Burbliškė II* may be considered a metonymic

¹¹¹ The Suf *-iškė* is typically used to derive oikonyms in eastern part of Dzūkija, southern Lithuania and parts of Samogitia (Razmukaitė 1998: 103).

transposition of one oikonym into another: *Būrbliškė II* ← a newer settlement in the vicinity of *Būrbliškė I*. DMs most probably mark the chronology of settlements' establishment, i.e. the DM *I* marks the older, more important settlement, the DM *II* marks a newer settlement, which is known only since the middle of the 20th c., cf. SV1974 598.

7.12. *Būdà I_v × Būdà III_v*

Būdà I – Trakai eld, Trak D; SV1974 646 Būda I_v, G1905 339 д. Буда 1-ая, R1872 Rus з. Буда.

Būdà III – Trakai eld, Trak D, 0,9 km south of *Būdà I*; SV1974 646 Būda III_v, G1905 339 д. Буда 3-ая, R1872 Rus з. Буда.

For the analysis of the ITL *Būdà*, cf. Sections 6.1. and 6.2. DMs *I* and *III* in *Būdà I* and *Būdà III* differentiate two currently functioning oikonyms with ITLs but carry no semantic load, cf. historical forms *Būdà I* – SV1974 646 Būda I_v, G1905 339 д. Буда 1-ая, R1872 Rus з. Буда, and *Būdà III* – SV1974 646 Būda III_v, G1905 339 д. Буда 3-ая, R1872 Rus з. Буда.

7.13. *Dailydūkas I_v × Dailydūkas II_v*

Dailydūkas I – Aukštadvaris eld, Trak D; SV1974 657 Dailydukas I_v, G1905 313 Rus ф. Далидукъ.

Dailydūkas II – Aukštadvaris eld, Trak D, 5,6 km northeast of *Dailydūkas I*; SV1974 657 Dailydukas II_v.

Dailydūkas I probably is related to and derived from the limnonym *Dailydūkas* (cf. Razmukaitė 2008: 61). The oikonym is motivated by the lake's name, however, not the present lake that now is part of Gudžionių ežerai [lakes] group and is located at a rather big distance from both *Dailydūkas I* and *Dailydūkas II*, 6 and 12 km respectively. The settlement's name is motivated though by its location in the vicinity of lake R1872 Rus Оз. Дайлидукъ (Lith *Dailydukas), which currently is one of the several nameless lakes (cf. UETK) in the vicinity of *Dailydūkas I*. Thus, it may be claimed that *Dailydūkas I* is a metonymic transposition of the limnonym: *Dailydūkas (I)* ← the settlement on lake *Dailydukas. It is obvious from the historical sources that *Dailydūkas II* is a newer settlement, established by the middle of the 20th c.: cf. SV1974 657. Due to both villages' proximity, it may be claimed that *Dailydūkas II* is motivated by and derived by the principle of analogy from *Dailydūkas I*, and probably was established by people who moved from the older village. Therefore, the oikonym is a metonymic transposition of the existing oikonym: *Dailydūkas II* ← a newer settlement in the vicinity of *Dailydūkas I*. DMs mark the chro-

nology of settlements' establishment, i.e. DM *I* marks the older, more important settlement, DM *II* marks a newer one.

7.14. *Gemeliškis I_v × Gemeliškis II_v*

Gemeliškis I – Šešuoliai eld, Ukm D; SV1974 669 Gemeliškis I_v, G1905 78 Rus з.

Гемелишки, R1872 Rus з. Дымелишки.

Gemeliškis II – Šešuoliai eld, Ukm D, 0,47 km southeast of *Gemeliškis I*; SV1974 669

Gemeliškis II_v.

Gemeliškis I is probably Lith Suf *-iškis* derivative from Lith PN **Gemēlis* (cf. LVŽ III 139, Zinkevičius 2011: 84). The oikonym may be motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Gemeliškis (I)* ← **Gemēl-is* + *-iškis* ← the settlement belonging to/established by **Gemēlis*. *Gemeliškis II* is the newer settlement, known by the middle of the 20th c.: SV1974 669 Gemeliškis II_v. The oikonym is motivated by its location in relation to *Gemeliškis I*. It is unclear though whether it was established by people who moved from the older settlement, or by newcomers. Nevertheless, *Gemeliškis II* is a metonymic transposition of the older oikonym and is motivated by the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Gemeliškis II* ← a newer settlement in the vicinity of *Gemeliškis I*. DMs mark the chronology of settlements' establishment, i.e. the DM *I* marks the older, more important settlement, and the DM *II* marks a newer settlement.

7.15. *Gimžiai I_v × Gimžiai II_v*

Gimžiai I – Turgeliai eld, Šlčn D; SV1974 526 Gimžiai I_v, G1905 42 Rus д. Гемзы,

R1872 Rus д. Гембы.

Gimžiai II – Turgeliai eld, Šlčn D, 6,6 km southwest of *Gimžiai I*; SV1974 526 Gim-

žiai II_v, G1905 42 Rus ф. Гемзы, R1872 Rus з. Темзи.

The ITL *Gimžiai* is most probably a *pl* inflexion derivative from Lith PN **Gimža*, **Gimžas*, **Gimžys* (LVŽ III 182). From the historical name forms of both settlements, it is obvious that both settlements were renamed by the beginning of the 20th c. probably due to the change in ownership¹¹², cf. *Gimžiai I* ← SV1974 526 Gimžiai I_v, G1905 42 Rus д. Гемзы, and *Gimžiai II* ← SV1974 526 Gimžiai II_v, G1905 42 Rus ф. Гемзы. The current oikonyms are obviously motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and are a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Gimžiai (I, II)* ← **Gimž-a*, **Gimž-as*, **Gimž-ys* + *-iai* ← the settlement belonging to **Gimža*, **Gimžas*, **Gimžys* /the *Gimžiai* family. DMs obviously were added after the renaming and standardization of

¹¹² For the historical form G1905 42 Rus Гемзы, cf. Bel PN *Гемза* (Biryła 1969: 107).

the older settlements' names and carry no semantic load, but rather perform a differentiating function between ITLs.

7.16. *Juodės I tvenkinys* × *Juodės II tvenkinys* × *Juodės III tvenkinys* × *Juodės IV tvenkinys*

Juodės I tvenkinys, *Juodės II tvenkinys*, *Juodės III tvenkinys*, *Juodės IV tvenkinys* – ponds;
Jauniūnai eld, Šr D; *Juodė*_v; on the *Juodė* (II) stream.

The ponds are located 5.5 km northeast of Maišiagala_m, on the *Juodė* (II) (the Tola trib.), to the southeast of *Juodė*_v. They were formed by damming the 2nd–7th kilometres of the *Juodė* (II) stream. All three pond names are Gen case derivatives from and are motivated by their location on the *Juodė* (II) stream or in the vicinity of Juodė village, thus, expressing the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR]: *Juodės I tvenkinys*, *Juodės II tvenkinys*, *Juodės III tvenkinys*, *Juodės IV tvenkinys* ← *Juod-ės* ← the pond on the *Juodė* (II)/in the vicinity of *Juodė* village.

7.17. *Jūsiškis I*_v × *Jūsiškis II*_v

Jūsiškis I – Taujėnai eld, Ukm D; SV1974 671 *Jūsiškis I*_v, KG1903 170 Rus з. Юскишки.
Jūsiškis II – Taujėnai eld, Ukm D, 4,3 km northwest of *Jūsiškis I*; SV1974–, KG1903 170
Rus выс. Юскишки.

Jūsiškis I is most probably of anthroponymic origin and formed using Lith Suf *-iškis*, oikonym derivational Suf from personal names, from Lith PN *Jūsius* that belongs to the category of PNs derived from Christian names (Razmukaitė 1998: 88), or *Jūsas/Jūsis* (Zinkevičius 2011: 84). All three are most probably the dial. forms of the Christian name *Justinas* (Zinkevičius, ibid.) that developed into Lith PN *Justinas*, cf. Rus *Юса: Иусм, Юс* (PDB). The oikonym is obviously a metonymic transposition of the PN, motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP], expressed by the Suf: *Jūsiškis* ← Lith PN *Jūs-ius/ Jūs-as/Jūs-is* + *-iškis* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Jūsius/ Jūsas/Jūsis*. *Jūsiškis II* is a metonymic transposition of the oikonym in correlation, motivated by its proximity to the village in opposition and expresses the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR]: *Jūsiškis II* ← the newer settlement in the vicinity of *Jūsiškis I*. Both names are the result of renaming and standardization of the historical oikonyms, cf. *Jūsiškis I* ← SV1974 671 *Jūsiškis I*_v, KG1903 170 Rus з. Юскишки, and *Jūsiškis II* ← SV1974–, KG1903 170 Rus выс.[селок] Юскишки). DMs mark the chronology of both settlements' development, based on the approximate dates of their establishment and the historical types of both settlements. The historical settlement type Rus *выселок* (KG1903 170 Rus выс. Юскишки) typically referred to a new settlement that was established by people, who separated/moved from the older one.

7.18. *Kalnuôtė I_v* × *Kalnuôtė II_v* × *Kalnuôtė IV_v* × *Kalnuôtė V_v* × *Kalnuôtė VII_v*

Kalnuôtė I_v – Nemenčinė eld, V D; SV1974 735 Kalnuotė I_v, R1872 Колнота.

Kalnuôtė II_v – Nemenčinė eld, V D, 0,4 km southwest of *Kalnuôtė I*, across the Legotė stream (10,5 km, the Girija trib.); SV1974 735 Kalnuotė II_v, R1872 Колнота.

Kalnuôtė IV_v – Nemenčinė eld, V D, 0,45 km south of *Kalnuôtė II*; SV1974 735 Kalnuotė III_v, Kalnuotė IV_v, R1872 Колнота.

Kalnuôtė V_v – Nemenčinė eld, V D, 0,8 km east of *Kalnuôtė IV*, across the Legotė stream; SV1974 735 Kalnuotė V_v, Kalnuotė VI_v, R1872 Колнота.

Kalnuôtė VII_v – Nemenčinė eld, V D, 1,79 km northeast of *Kalnuôtė V* and *Kalnuôtė I*; R1872 Колнота.

The ITL *Kalnuôtė* in all four oikonyms is related to Lith *kalnuôtis*, -ė ‘with hills’ (LKŽe), or ‘mountain or soft-leaved sedge (*Carex montana*) that grows in forests and shrubs’ (ibid.). This makes the motivation of the oikonym not very clear. On the one hand, the name may be related to and motivated by the hilly terrain the settlements are located in, being the metonymic transposition of the concept [MOUNTAINOUS AREA]: Lith *kalnuôtė* → the settlement in/among/at the hills → *Kalnuôtė*. On the other hand, the oikonym may be motivated by the phytolexeme Lith (dial.) *kalnuôtė* for plant species, which grows in the vicinity of the settlement(s) and again is a metonymic transposition of the concept [PLANT SPECIES], i.e. a species of grass native to Europe and Central Russia – soft-leaved sedge (*Carex montana*): Lith *kalnuôtė* → the settlement in the vicinity of which soft-leaved sedge (*Carex montana*) grows → *Kalnuôtė*. The settlements are located on elevations around marshy fields and lowlands between the Legotė (the Girija trib.) and the Nemenčia (the Neris trib.). Therefore, both explanations of the oikonym motivation seem to be plausible. DMs were added most probably in the first half of the 20th c. to differentiate ITLs and carry no semantic load.

7.19. *Kiaukliškis I_v* × *Kiaukliškis II_v*

Kiaukliškis I – Želva eld, Ukm D; SV1974 664 Kiaukliškis I_v, R1872 Rus ф. Кяуклишки.

Kiaukliškis II – Želva eld, Ukm D, 3 km west of *Kiaukliškis I*; SV1974 665 Kiaukliškis II_v, R1872 Rus д. Кауклишки.

Kiaukliškis I is of unclear origin and motivation. According to Zinkevičius (2011: 129), the oikonym may be related to the place name *Kiaukliai* and most probably was brought to Ukm D by people, who moved from Širvintos and/or Šiauliai (there are two and one villages of the same form respectively in both districts). Most probably the oikonym could originate from and be related to Lith PN **Kiauklas*, **Kiauklys* and, therefore, could be a metonymic transposition of the PN and convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Kiaukliškis I* ← **Kiaukl-as/ Kiaukl-ys* + *-iškis* ← the settlement belonging to/established by **Kiauklas*, *Kiauklys*. The older record, cf. R1872,

suggests that the original oikonym form might have been *Kaukliškės, which again could have been related to Lith PNs **Kaukla*, **Kauklas*, **Kauklys*. In such a case, the oikonym again could be a metonymic transposition of the PN, based on the same concept: *Kiaukliškis I* ← **Kiaukl-as/ Kiaukl-ys* + *-iškis* ← the settlement belonging to/established by **Kiauklas*, **Kiauklys*. In either case, the oikonym most probably has developed from the corresponding PNs. Both older forms were either erroneously written, or the current forms are the result of renaming. The current *Kiaukliškis I* is most probably the primary oikonym, which motivated *Kiaukliškis II* name, due to the settlements' close location to one another. DMs *I* and *II* were probably added during the process of standardization and renaming. Therefore, *Kiaukliškis II* probably is the secondary oikonym, formed by the principle of analogy and is a metonymic transposition of *Kiaukliškis I*: *Kiaukliškis II* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Kiaukliškis I*.

7.20. *Kochanovkà I_v × Kochanovkà II_v × Kochanovkà III_v*

Kochanovkà I – Švenčionys eld, Švčn D; SV1974 609 Kochanovka I_v, G1905 300 Rus з. Кохановка I, R1872 Rus ф. Кохановка.

Kochanovkà II – known as Meilūnai, Švenčionys eld, Švčn D, 0,6 km northeast of *Kochanovkà I*; SV1974 609 Kochanovka II_v, G1905 300 Rus з. Кохановка II, R1872 Rus ф. Кохановка.

Kochanovkà III – Švenčionys eld, Švčn D, 0,3 km south of *Kochanovkà I*; SV1974 609 Kochanovka III_v, G1905 300 Rus з. Кохановка III, R1872 Rus ф. Кохановка.

Kochanovkà, its form from the living language *Kachanaukà*, is of anthroponymic origin and is Slav origin Suf *-auka* derivative from Rus PN *Кахан*, *Кахана* (cf. LVGDB). To be more precise, the oikonym is Pol Suf *-ówka* or Rus Suf *-овка* derivative and is related to either Pol PN *Kochan*, *Kochanowski* (cf. Rymut 1999: 420), or Bel / Rus PN *Кохан* (cf. Biryła 1969: 216). Therefore, the oikonym could be motivated by and is a metonymic transposition of the PN, based on the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Kochanovkà* ← *Кахан*, *Кахан-а*, *Kochan* + *-ówka* or *-овка* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Кахан*, *Kochan*, *Kochanowski*. DMs *I*, *II*, and *III* carry out no semantic load and perform only the differentiating function.

7.21. *Kryžiáuka I_v × Kryžiáuka II_v*

Kryžiáuka I – Kernavė eld, Šr D; SV1974 583 Kryžiauka I_v, G1905 56 Rus д. Крыжовка, R1872 Rus Крыжовка.

Kryžiáuka II – Kernavė eld, Šr D, 0,9 km northwest of *Kryžiáuka I*; SV1974 583 Kryžiauka II_v.

Kryžiáuka I is Slav origin Suf *-auka* (cf. Bel Suf *-aŭka*, Pol Suf *-ówka*, Rus Suf *-овка*) derivative from Lith *kr̃ž̃ius* 'cross – the main symbol of Christianity' (LKŽe), cf. Bel *крыж* 'cross' (Skarnik.by). There are several crossroads in the village, the biggest is in

its centre. In almost all older settlements in Lithuania, crosses are erected at crossroads, as in the old days, when there were far fewer roads and crossroads, many superstitions and symbolic images were associated with this mysterious place; the crossroads were often separated by great distances and aroused fearful respect for the superstitious in much more sedentary people of those times (Michailovski 2013: 10). The oikonym may be motivated by concepts [CROSSROAD/CROSS] and symbolism of the cross at the crossroad, cf. Lith *sán-kryž-a* ‘crossroad’ (LKŽe), Bel *с-крыж-аванне* ‘crossroad’ (Skarnik.by) and is a metaphoric transposition of the symbol(s): Lith *krýž-ius*, *sán-kryž-a* (Bel *крыж, с-крыж-аванне*) + *-auka* (*-aўka, -ówka, -owka*) → the settlement at the crossroad (with a cross) → *Kryžiáuuka*. *Kryžiáuuka II* most probably is the oikonym formed by the principle of analogy from *Kryžiáuuka I*, is motivated by its location in relation to the former (the settlement is located just 1 km away, by one of the roads that lead from *Kryžiáuuka I*) and is a metonymic transposition: *Kryžiáuuka II* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Kryžiáuuka I*. Moreover, *Kryžiáuuka II* seems to be a „younger“ settlement, as it is recorded only by the middle of the 20th c., cf. SV1974 583. DMs probably were added to oikonyms by the mid-20th c. to make the distinction between ITLs and may mark the chronology of the settlements’ development, i.e. could indicate the administrative division of the settlements from one, big settlement.

7.22. *Kunigiškiai I* × *Kunigiškiai II*,

Kunigiškiai I – Kernavė eld, Šr D; SV1974 583 *Kunigiškiai I*_, G1905 56 Rus д. Кунигишки, R1872 Rus д. Кунигишки.

Kunigiškiai II – Kernavė eld, Šr D, 0,9 km west of *Kunigiškiai I*; SV1974 583 *Kunigiškiai II*_, G1905 56 Rus з. Кунигишки.

Kunigiškiai is most probably Lith Suf *-iškiai* derivative from Lith *kùnigas* ‘priest; clergyman (typically, Catholic)’ (LKŽe), a common word denoting the class of society (cf. Razmukaitė 1998: 6), and thus could denote the settlement, in which a priest lived (served). Therefore, the oikonym may be considered a metonymic transposition of the “professional” term, a concept [PROFESSION]: Lith *kùnig-as* + *-iškiai* → the settlement where the priest (clergyman) lives/serves → *Kunigiškiai*. On the other hand, the oikonym may be derived from Lith PN *Kùnigas*, related to the person’s craft (cf. Zinkevičius 2008: 539). Thus, the settlement name may be based on the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition: *Kunigiškiai I* ← *Kùnig-as* + *-iškiai* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Kùnigas*/the *Kunigai* family. *Kunigiškiai II* is a smaller settlement established in the vicinity of *Kunigiškiai I*, is motivated by the primary oikonym and is its metonymic transposition: *Kunigiškiai II* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Kunigiškiai I*. DMs were added to differentiate ITLs but may also convey the meaning ‘older and eventually bigger settlement’ (G1905 56 Rus д. Кунигишки, R1872 Rus Кунигишки) *vs.* ‘smaller and eventually newer settlement’ (G1905 56 Rus з. Кунигишки). *Kunigiškiai II* was first mentioned at the beginning of the 20th c.

7.23. *Kúosinė I_v × Kúosinė II_v × Kúosinė III_v*

Kúosinė I – Medininkai eld, V D, 2 km southwest of *Didžioji Kúosinė*, in the vicinity of the upper reaches of *the Kúosinė*; SV1974 743 Kuosinė I_v, G1905 82 Rus з. Касинка 1-ая, R1872 Rus ф. Касинка.

Kúosinė II – Medininkai eld, V D, 0,6 km east of *Kúosinė I*; SV1974 743 Kuosinė II_v, G1905 82 Rus з. Касинка 2-ая.

Kúosinė III – Medininkai eld, V D, 2,5 km southeast of *Kúosinė I* and *Kúosinė II*, across the *Kúosinė*; SV1974 743 Kuosinė III_v, G1905 82 Rus з. Касинка 3-ая.

Most probably *Kúosinė I*, *Kúosinė II*, and *Kúosinė III* (based on their historical settlement types – Rus *застенок* ‘steading’, *фольварк* ‘folwark’) were established by people who have separated/moved from the bigger, older settlement, most likely the one that is now known as *Didžioji Kúosinė* (or *Mažoji Kúosinė*). Thus, oikonyms *Mažoji Kúosinė*, *Kúosinė I*, *Kúosinė II*, and *Kúosinė III* may have been motivated by their location not only in relation to the river but also to the bigger, older settlement and had been formed by the principle of analogy: (*Mažoji Kúosinė*, *Kúosinė (I)*, *Kúosinė (II)*, *Kúosinė (III)*) ← the settlement in the vicinity of (*Didžioji Kúosinė*/the *Kúosinė* river (also, cf. Section 4.1.11.). DMs were added to the oikonyms most probably at a certain point after the settlements’ establishment: DMs *I*, *II*, and *III* probably could refer to the chronology of the marked settlements’ development (establishment) and may refer to the ‘old’ vs. ‘new’ vs. ‘newer/newest’ settlement, cf. *Kúosinė I* ← SV1974 743 Kuosinė I_v, G1905 82 Rus з. Касинка 1-ая, R1872 Rus ф. Касинка vs. *Kúosinė II* ← SV1974 743 Kuosinė II_v, G1905 82 Rus з. Касинка 2-ая vs. *Kúosinė III* ← SV1974 743 Kuosinė III_v, G1905 82 Rus з. Касинка 3-ая.

7.24. *Lāpiškiai I_v × Lāpiškiai II_v*

Lāpiškiai I – Gelvonai eld, Šr D; SV1974 759 Lapiškiai I_v, G1905 39 Rus д. Лапишки 1-е, 223 дес., R1872 Rus д. Лапенишки.

Lāpiškiai II – Gelvonai eld, Šr D, 8 km northwest of *Lāpiškiai I*, across the Širvinta river; SV1974 759 Lapiškiai II_v, G1905 39 Rus д. Лапишки 2-е, 42 дес., R1872 Rus ф. Лапишки.

The ITL *Lāpiškiai* is most probably derived using Lith Suf *-iškiai* from Lith PN *Lāpas*. The oikonym may be motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Lāpiškiai* ← *Lāp-as* + *-iškiai* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Lāpas/the Lāpai*. Both oikonyms are the result of renaming at the beginning of the 20th c. DMs *I* and *II* were added to differentiate between ITLs and mark the historical development, *Lāpiškiai I* (R1872 Rus д. Лапенишки, G1905 39 Rus д. Лапишки 1-е, 223 дес.) was a bigger/main settlement, whereas *Lāpiškiai II* (R1872 Rus ф. Лапишки, G1905 39 Rus д. Лапишки 2-е, 42 дес.) was a smaller settlement.

7.25. *Levāniškis I_v × Levāniškis II_v*

Levāniškis I – Zibalai eld, Šr D; SV1974 589 Levāniškis I_v, G1905 79 Rus им. Леонишки, R1872 Rus Госп. д. Леонишки.

Levāniškis II – Zibalai eld, Šr D, 1 km south of *Levāniškis I*; SV1974 589 Levāniškis II_v, R1872 Rus Леонишки.

Levāniškis I is probably Lith Suf *-iškis* derivative from Lith PN **Levānas, Lēvanas* (Razmukaitė 1998: 88–89). The oikonym thus is motivated by the PN and is a metonymic transposition of the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Levāniškis I* ← **Levānas, Lēvan-as* + *-iškis* ← the settlement belonging to/established by **Levānas, Lēvanas*. The question though arises, which of the two current oikonyms is primary and had motivated the other? DMs *I* and *II* were obviously added to differentiate between ITLs. It may be suggested, though, that *Levāniškis I* was the primary settlement, the manor, estate, cf. R1872 Rus Госп. д. Леонишки, in the vicinity of which the village has formed, cf. R1872 Rus Леонишки. Therefore, *Levāniškis II* may be a metonymic transposition of the primary settlement's name and is motivated by it: *Levāniškis II* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Levāniškis I*.

7.26. *Liūnai I_v × Liūnai II_v*

Liūnai I – Širvintos eld, Šr D, by the Širvinta river (128 km, the Šventoji trib.); SV1974 588 Liūnai I_v, G1905 79 Rus д. Люны, R1872 Rus д. Люны.

Liūnai II – Širvintos eld, Šr D, by the Širvinta river, 6,7 km north of *Liūnai I*; SV1974 588 Liūnai II_v.

Liūnai I could be related to Lith *liūnas* 'viscous place; moss crust in a swamp, near swampy lakes or rivers' (LKŽe). Settlements *Liūnai I* and *Liūnai II* are located on the banks of the Širvinta and are surrounded by cultivated fields, which in the past, before the melioration works, probably had been swampy/viscous valleys that had motivated the oikonyms. Therefore, oikonyms are most likely motivated by and may be a metonymic transposition of the concept [VISCOUS PLACE] in the river valley: Lith *liūnas* → the settlement in the viscous place (by the river/stream) → *Liūnai I*. On the other hand, the oikonyms may be related to Lith PN *Liūnas* (cf. PDB, Zinkevičius 2011: 124), and may be a metonymic transposition of the PN, based on the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Liūnai I* ← the settlement belonging to/established by ← *Liūnas*. DMs *I* and *II* were added to ITLs to differentiate between the two. It may be suggested that DMs also are used to differentiate between the older and newer settlements, cf. *Liūnai I* ← SV1974 588 Liūnai I_v, G1905 79 Rus д. Люны, R1872 Rus д. Люны, and *Liūnai II* ← SV1974 588 Liūnai II_v, which is a relatively new settlement, known since the middle of the 20th c. Therefore, *Liūnai II* is a metonymic transposition of *Liūnai I* and is motivated by its location: *Liūnai II* ← a newer settlement in the vicinity of *Liūnai I*.

7.27. *Lygùmai I_v × Lygùmai II_v*

Lygùmai I – Švenčionys eld, Švčn D; SV1974 609 Lygumai_v, G1905 300 Rus з. Лигумы I, R1872 Rus з. Лигумы.

Lygùmai II – Švenčionys eld, Švčn D, 0,77 km north of *Lygùmai I*; SV1974 610 Lygumai II_v, G1905 300 Rus з. Лигумы II, R1872 Rus з. Лигумы.

The ITL *Lygùmai* is related to and is *pl* of Lith *lygùmas*: *lygumà* ‘flat place, a plain; flatland’ (LKŽe). Villages lie in flatlands, which most probably have motivated the oikonyms that are a metonymic transposition of the physiographic term Lith *lygùmas*, *lygumà*, reflecting the plain, flat (Lith *lygus*) relief of the area, conveying the concept [PLAIN]: Lith *lygùmai* (sg *lygùmas*) → the settlement in the plain (flat area) → *Lygùmai*. DMs *I* and *II* were added to differentiate between ITLs and carry no semantic load.

7.28. *Maigiaĩ I_v × Maigiaĩ II_v*

Maigiaĩ I – Pabaiskas eld, Ukm D, 1,4 km west of Pabaiskas_{in}; SV1974 667 Maigiaĩ I_v, KG1903 124 Rus ф. Мойгишки, R1872 Rus ф. Мойгишки (Эйвалда).

Maigiaĩ II – Pabaiskas eld, Ukm D, 1,5 km northeast of *Maigiaĩ I*; SV1974 667 Maigiaĩ II_v, KG1903 124 Rus ф. Мойгишки, R1872 Rus ф. Мойгишки Кх.

Maigiaĩ I is the primary name related to and derived using *pl* inflexion from Lith PN *Maigỹs*, related to PNs *Máiga*, *Máigis* (PDB, Zinkevičius 2011: 107). The oikonym is obviously motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Maigiaĩ I* ← *Maig-ỹs* + *-iai* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Maigỹs*. The lands around what is now the settlement of *Maigiaĩ II* most probably belonged to the same person. The oikonym is formed by the principle of analogy and is motivated by the same concept and, obviously, is the metonymic transposition of the primary oikonym: *Maigiaĩ II* ← the settlement established in the vicinity of *Maigiaĩ I*. DMs were added in the 20th c. to differentiate between two homogeneous names.

7.29. *Malináuka I_v × Malináuka II_v*

Malináuka I – Beižionys eld; SV1974 643 Malinauka_{stead}, G1905 313 Rus з. Малиновка, R1872 Rus з. Малинникъ.

Malináuka II – Beižionys eld, El, 0,5 km west of *Malináuka I*.

Malináuka I is obviously of Slav origin and is Rus Suf *-ov -ka* (cf. Pol Suf *-ówka*, Lith Suf of Slav origin *-auka*) derivative from Slav phytolexeme, cf. Rus *малина* / Bel *маліна* / Pol *malina* ‘the raspberry’ (SRY 297; Skarnik.by; PSPR 250), and is a metaphoric conceptualisation of a place (settlement) in the vicinity of which raspberry

may be found, cf. the older form R1872 Rus з. Малинникъ ← Bel, Pol, Rus маліннік, *malinnik*, малинник ‘raspberry thickets’ (Skarnik.by; PWN, WSJPe; SRYe): Rus малин-/Bel малін-/Pol *malin-* + -ов -ка (Pol Suf -ówka, Lith Suf -auka) → a place where/ the settlement in the vicinity of which raspberry may be found → *Malináuuka*. On the other hand, the oikonym may be a transposition of the zoolexeme Rus/Bel малиновка/малінаўка ‘the European robin (Erithacus rubecula)’, phytolexeme ‘the apple species’ (SRY 297; Skarnik.by) into the settlement name, but less likely. *Malináuuka II* marks the newer settlement, which is known since the middle of the 20th c. (no record is found in SV1974) and is motivated by its proximity to *Malináuuka I*, being the name formed by the principle of analogy and metonymic transposition of the older oikonym: *Malináuuka II* ← the newer settlement in the vicinity of *Malináuuka I*. The new settlement was obviously established by people who moved from *Malináuuka I*, or newcomers, who settled in the vicinity. DMs were added to differentiate between ITLs and additionally relate to the chronological development: *Malináuuka I* is the older settlement, *Malináuuka II* – is the newer.

7.30. *Meriónys I_v × Meriónys II_v*

Meriónys I – Pabradė eld, Švčn D, on the *Merà-Kūnà* (60 km, the Žeimena trib.); SV1974 599 Merionys I_v, G1905 297 Rus д. Мера́нцы, R1872 Rus Мира́нце.

Meriónys II – Pabradė eld, Švčn D, 20 km northwest of *Meriónys I*, by Dubingiai_L; SV1974 599 Merionys II_v, G1905 297 Rus з. Мера́нцы, R1872 Rus Майра́нцы.

The first component of *Meriónys I* is Lith Suf -onys derivative from the potamonym *Merà* (*Merià*) (Razmukaitė 1998: 32, LVGDB), now known as the *Merà-Kūnà*, and is motivated by the settlement’s location on the river, being a metonymic transposition of the potamonym: *Meriónys I* ← *Mer-à*, *Mer-ià* + -(i)onys ← the settlement on/by the *Merà* (*Merià*, *Merà-Kūnà*). *Meriónys II* is the oikonym formed by the principle of analogy, as the settlement most probably was established by people who separated/moved from *Meriónys I* and have taken the settlement’s name to the new location. *Meriónys II* may thus be considered a metonymic transposition of the older oikonym: *Meriónys II* ← the settlement established by people, who moved from *Meriónys I*. The relation between the new and old settlements is partly traced from the historical settlement types, cf. G1905 297 Rus д. Мера́нцы, 79 дес. [*Meriónys I*] vs. G1905 297 Rus з. Мера́нцы, ¾ дес. [*Meriónys II*], where Rus *застенок* ‘steading’ refers to a small(er), new(er) settlement, established by people, who separated from the main one. The size of both settlements is also reflected in the area of land that belonged to both. DMs *I* and *II* probably convey the chronology of both settlements’ establishment and correlate the older, bigger settlement vs. the newer, smaller one.

7.31. *Myliaĩ I_v × Myliaĩ II_v*

Myliaĩ I – Cirkliškis eld, Švčn D; SV1974 598 *Myliai I_v*, G1905 300 Rus д. Мили, R1872 Rus Госп. д. Мили.

Myliaĩ II – Cirkliškis eld, Švčn D, 1,8 km north of *Myliaĩ I*; SV1974 598 *Myliai II_v*.

Myliaĩ I is most probably the *pl* of Lith PN *Mylis*, cf. *Milius*, *Milis*, *Milỹs* (PDB). Therefore, the oikonym could be motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Myliaĩ I* ← *pl* of *Mylis* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Mylis*/the *Myliaĩ* family. *Myliaĩ II* is the newer settlement known only by the middle of the 20th c. (cf. SV1974 598) and is motivated by the settlement's location in proximity to *Myliaĩ I*. The new settlement was likely established by people who moved from the main one, or by newcomers who moved into the vicinity. The oikonym is made by the principle of analogy and is a metonymic transposition of the older oikonym: *Myliaĩ II* ← the newer settlement in the vicinity of *Myliaĩ I*. The DMs were added to both oikonyms to differentiate between the two and may also reflect the chronology of both settlements' development.

7.32. *Mōstiškių I tvenkinỹs × Mōstiškių II tvenkinỹs*

Mōstiškių I tvenkinỹs, *Mōstiškių II tvenkinỹs* – ponds; *Mōstiškės*, Lavoriškės eld, V D.

Mōstiškių I tvenkinỹs is in the southern part of *Mōstiškės* village and was formed by damming an unnamed stream (the T-1 trib.) 2,9 km from its mouth. Downstream, 0,47 km away is *Mōstiškių II tvenkinỹs*. Both pond names are Gen case derivatives from the village and are motivated by their location in the vicinity of it. Thus, both express the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Mōstiškių I tvenkinỹs*, *Mōstiškių II tvenkinỹs* ← the pond in/in the vicinity of *Mōstiškės* village.

7.33. *Nacėliškiai I_v × Nacėliškiai II_v*

Nacėliškiai I – Pabaiskas eld, Ukm D; SV1974 667 *Naceliškiai I_v*, KG1903 126 Rus ф. Нацелишки.

Nacėliškiai II – Pabaiskas eld, Ukm D, 0,9 km northeast of *Nacėliškiai I*; SV1974 667 *Naceliškiai I_v*, KG1903 126 Rus з. Нацелишки.

Nacėliškiai I is Lith Suf *-iškiai* derivative and is related to Lith PN **Nacelis*, cf. *Nācas* (Razmukaitė 1998: 91). According to Zinkevičius (2011: 85), the oikonym is related to the DIM dial. form of PN *Nacēlis* ← *Ignācijus*. In either case, the oikonym is motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Nacėliškiai (I)* ← *Nacēl-is* + *-iškiai* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Nacēlis*. Being historically a smaller settlement, cf. stading KG1903 126 Rus з.[астенок] Нацелишки, the current *Nacėliškiai II* probably is a secondary name,

as it obviously was established in the vicinity of *Nacēlišķiai I*, which historically was a folwark, and thus is motivated by its proximity to the folwark. The secondary oikonym is the metonymic transposition of [PLAVE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Nacēlišķiai II* ← the settlement near *Nacēlišķiai I*. It may be suggested that *Nacēlišķiai II* was established by people, who somehow were related to the primary settlement, i.e. either worked in, owned, or moved from the folwark. DMs were added to differentiate the current ITLs but additionally may convey the meaning of the primary (older, bigger, more important) and secondary (newer, smaller, less important) settlements.

7.34. ¹*Naujālaukis*_v (*Naujālaukis I*) × ¹*Naujālaukis II*_v

7.35. ²*Naujālaukis*_v × ²*Naujālaukis II*_v

¹*Naujālaukis (I)* – Beižionys eld, El; SV1974 558 Naujālaukis I_v, G1905 322 Rus ф. Новополь, R1872 Rus Новополе.

¹*Naujālaukis II* – Aukštadvaris eld, Trak D, 1,8 km southeast of *Naujālaukis (I)*; SV1974–, G1905 314 Rus д. Новополь, R1872 Rus Новополе.

²*Naujālaukis* – Beižionys eld, El; SV1974 558 Naujālaukis II_v, G1905 322 Rus з. Новополь, R1872 Rus Новополе.

²*Naujālaukis II* – Aukštadvaris eld, Trak D, 7 km north of ²*Naujālaukis*; SV1974–, G1905 314 Rus ф. Новополь, R1872 Rus Новополе.

The ITL *Naujālaukis* is a compound oikonym related to Lith *naūjas* ‘new; one that appeared recently’ (LKŽe) and *laūkas* ‘flat, tree-free location; field’ (LKŽe), cf. Lith *naujālaukis* ‘newly ploughed soil’ (LKŽe), and is most likely the transposition of the concept of the new location (field) to the oikonym: Lith *naūjas laūkas* → a new settlement in/by the field → *Naujālaukis*. Or may also be a metonymic transposition of the nomenclature term into the oikonym: *Naujālaukis* ← a new, flat, tree-free location ← Lith *naūjas laūkas*. This is also reflected in the older oikonym forms. All the above settlements are rather old and started to form in the time when Lithuania was a part of the Russian Empire. Oikonyms most probably were motivated by the allocation of new land parcels to people, esp. farmers, who moved into new locations to cultivate the wildlands. Therefore, oikonyms may be historically and economically coloured. DMs obviously perform no other than a differentiating function and carry no semantic meaning.

7.36. *Naujāsodis I*_v × *Naujāsodis II*_v

Naujāsodis I – Trakai eld, Trak D; SV1974 645 Naujasodis I_v, G1905 340 Rus д. Новоселки-Затрочские, R1872 Rus д. Новоселки.

Naujāsodis II – Trakai eld, Trak D, 9,7 km northeast of *Naujāsodis I*; SV1974 645 Naujasodis II_v, G1905 338 Rus д. Новоселки-Бражольские, R1872 Rus з. Новоселки.

Naujāsodis I is related to Lith *naūjas*, -à ‘new; one that appeared recently’ and *sodà* ‘undispersed village; village’, *sōdžius* ‘peasant residence, village’, cf. Lith *naujāsodis* ‘newly planted garden’ ← *naūjas*, -à ‘new’ and *sōdas* ‘garden’ (cf. LVGDB; Zinkevičius 2011: 130). The oikonym, therefore, was motivated by the concepts [NEW SETTLEMENT/ NEW GARDEN] (a typical attribute of rural settlements are gardens) or is a metonymic transposition of a nomenclature term: *Naujāsodis* ← a new settlement in the rural location ← Lith *naūjas sōdžius*, *naujà sodà*, *naujāsodis*. The oikonym may be historically and economically coloured. *Naujāsodis II* is obviously formed by the principle of analogy and marks (historically) smaller settlement, cf. R1872 Rus з. Новоселки, which was established by either people who moved from or newcomers who settled in the vicinity of the village, cf. R1872 Rus д. Новоселки. The oikonym, thus, is a metonymic transposition of the older oikonym and is motivated by both settlements’ locations: *Naujāsodis II* ← a new(er)?, smaller settlement in the vicinity of *Naujāsodis I*. DMs were added by the mid-20th c. to differentiate between ITLs and may partly be used to differentiate between historically older (bigger, more important) and newer (smaller, less important) settlements, which is coded in their types from the historical perspective: village and stading.

7.37. *Navakoniū I tvenkinys* × *Navakoniū II tvenkinys*

Navakoniū I tvenkinys, *Navakoniū II tvenkinys* – ponds; *Navakónys*, Pabarė eld, Šlčn D.

Navakoniū I and *II* ponds are located on the northwest outskirts of *Navakónys* village, on the unnamed stream (the Šalčia trib.) and were formed by damming it. Both pond names are Gen case derivatives and are motivated by their location in the vicinity of the village. Thus, both express the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Navakoniū I tvenkinys*, *Navakoniū II tvenkinys* ← the pond in the vicinity of *Navakónys* village.

7.38. *Navasiòlkai I_v* × *Navasiòlkai II_v* × *Navasiòlkai III_v*

Navasiòlkai I – Zibalai eld, Šr D; SV1974 590 *Navasiòlkai I_v*, G1905 79 Rus д. Новоселки, R1872 Rus д. Новоселки.

Navasiòlkai II – Zibalai eld, Šr D, 2,3 km south of *Navasiòlkai I*; SV1974 590 *Navasiòlkai II_v*, G1905 79 Rus з. Новоселки, R1872 Rus з. Новоселки.

Navasiòlkai III – Zibalai eld, Šr D, 4,3 km northwest of *Navasiòlkai I*; SV1974 590 *Navasiòlkai III_v*, G1905 79 Rus з. Новоселки, R1872 Rus з. Новоселки.

Navasiòlkai is obviously of Slav origin and is Lith *pl* inflexions -ai derivatives from Bel *навасёлка*, -кі ← *навасёл*, *наваселеу*, Rus *новосёлка*, *новосёл*, or Ukr *новосел*, *новоселець* ‘someone who recently settled somewhere’ (Skarnik.by; SRYe; Slovar.cc; SUMe) (also, cf. LVGDB). The oikonym, therefore, is motivated by the recency of settlement, established by newcomers to the area and is a metaphoric transposition of

the concept [NEW DWELLERS/SETTLEMENT]: Bel *f pl* нава́сёлкі (*m pl* нава́сёлы ← *m sg* нава́сёл, нава́селеу), Rus *f pl* новосёлки (новосёлка, новосёл), Ukr новосел, новоселеу́ (*pl* новосел’уи) → people who recently settled in/ a new settlement established by newcomers → *Navasiòlkai*. On the other hand, the oikonym may convey the concept [NEW SETTLEMENT], cf. Rus новое ‘new’+ *сельцо*, Pol *nowe* ‘new’+ *siółko* ‘small village, settlement in the rural area’ (SRYe, Slovar.cc, PWN, WSJPe) and is a metonymic transposition of the nomenclature term: *Navasiòlkai* ← a small, new rural settlement ← Rus ново-е + *сел-ьцо*, Pol *nowe/nowo-* + *siół-ko* +Lith *-(k)ai*. Alternatively, the oikonym may be motivated by the concept [NEW DWELLERS]: Bel нава́сёлка, *-ki* → нава́сёл, нава́селеу, Rus новосёлка, новосёл, Ukr новосел, новоселеу́ → the settlement of newcomers → *Navasiòlkai*. *Navasiòlkai I* was a bigger settlement in the vicinity of which *Navasiòlkai II* and *Navasiòlkai III* formed. This may be implied from the type of the historical settlement names, as well as the area of lands that belonged to each, cf. G1905 79 Rus д. Новоселки, 78 дес., R1872 Rus д. Новоселки [*Navasiòlkai I*] *vs.* G1905 79 Rus з. Новоселки, 46 дес., R1872 Rus з. Новоселки [*Navasiòlkai II*] *vs.* G1905 79 Rus з. Новоселки, 36 дес., R1872 Rus з. Новоселки. Given the fact that settlements of the type Rus за́стенок ‘steading’ were typically established by people who separated from the main settlement, *Navasiòlkai II* and *Navasiòlkai III* obviously were motivated by their location in the vicinity of the bigger (?older) settlement and are the metonymic transposition of the oikonym: *Navasiòlkai II* (and *Navasiòlkai III*) ← a small(er) (?newer) settlement in the vicinity of *Navasiòlkai I*. DMs could be added to differentiate the settlements with ITLs and may also convey the meaning: big (more important, ?old) *vs.* small (less important, ?new).

7.39. *Nemenčinė_{tn}* × *Nemenčinė II_v*

Nemenčinė_{tn} – Nemenčinė eld, V D, at the mouth of the Nemenčią (the Neris trib.); SV1974 745 Nemenčinė_{tn}, G1905 57 Rus м. Нѣменчинъ, R1872 Rus м. Нѣменчинъ.
Nemenčinė II_v – Nemenčinė eld, V D, 1 km southeast of Nemenčinė.

For the analysis of *Nemenčinė_{tn}*, cf. Section 4.2.54. *Nemenčinė II* is motivated by its location in the vicinity of *Nemenčinė* town and is a metonymic transposition of the town’s name into the name of the village: *Nemenčinė II* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Nemenčinė* (town). *Nemenčinė II* is a relatively “young” settlement known only since the end of the 20th c. (no record is found in SV1974).

7.40. *Nenórtai I_v* × *Nenórtai II_v*

Nenórtai I – Pabaiskas eld, Ukm D; SV1974 667 Nenortai I_v, R1872 Rus з. Ненарты.
Nenórtai II – Pabaiskas eld, Ukm D, 0,8 km north of *Nenórtai I*; SV1974 667 Nenortai II_v, R1872 Rus з. Ненарты.

The ITL *Nenórtai* is obviously related to Lith PN *Nenórtas*, which is made of *Ne-* (the negative particle) and *Nórtas* (Zinkevičius 2011: 67–68), may also be related to Lith PN *Nēnartas*, cf. *Nēnorta*, *Nēnortas* (PDB). The oikonym is *pl* of the PN and may be motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Nenórtai* (*I*, *II*) ← the settlement established by/belonging to *Nenórtas*/*Nēnorta*/*Nēnortas*/the *Nenórtai*/*Nēnortai*/*Nēnortai* family. DMs were obviously added by the mid-20th c. to differentiate between ITLs. It is not clear though whether the DMs mark primary and secondary settlements, thus, they may carry no semantic load.

7.41. *Pāgaigalē I_v* × *Pāgaigalē II_v*

Pāgaigalē I – Labanoras eld, Švčn D, by *Gaiḡalē* swamp; SV1974 595 *Pagaigalē I_v*, G1905 290 Rus з. Погайгались 1-й, R1872 з. Парайгались.

Pāgaigalē II – Labanoras eld, Švčn D, 1,2 km south of *Pāgaigalē I*, by *Gaiḡalē* swamp; SV1974 595 *Pagaigalē II_v*, G1905 209 Rus з. Погайгались 2-й.

The ITL *Pāgaigalē* is Lith Pref *pa-*, which denotes a place either a) along (by) the object indicated by the reference word, or b) below the object indicated by the reference word (DLKG 145), from the helonym *Gaiḡalē*. The oikonyms are motivated by the swamp's name, which lies between both villages. In the middle of the swamp, there is a small nameless lake. Both the swamp and the lake lie in the course of the L-2 stream. Therefore, the oikonym *Pāgaigalē I* may be considered a metonymic transposition of the place (settlement) by *Gaiḡalē* swamp, expressing the toponymic continuum, i.e. the settlement is considered the part of the swampy area: *Pāgaigalē I* ← the settlement by *Gaiḡalē* swamp ← Lith *pa-* + *Gaiḡalē*. DMs were added by the beginning of the 20th c. to differentiate ITLs. Moreover, DMs probably mark the chronology of the settlements' development: the DM *I* marks the older settlement, the DM *II* marks the newer one, cf. *Pāgaigalē I*: R1872 з. Парайгались, *Pāgaigalē II* : R1872-. Therefore, *Pāgaigalē II* is obviously the transposition of the older oikonym or the helonym: 1) *Pāgaigalē II* ← the newer settlement in the vicinity of *Pāgaigalē I*, or 2) *Pāgaigalē I* ← the newer settlement in the vicinity of *Gaiḡalē*.

7.42. *Parijā_v* × *Parijā I_{stead}* × *Parijā II_{stead}*

Parijā – Pabaiskas eld, Ukm D, on the *Parijā* stream (7,9 km, the Kertuša trib.); SV1974 673 *Parija I_{stead}*, KG1903 131 Rus з., ф. Парія, R1872 Парія.

Parijā I – Pivonija eld, Ukm D, 1,8 km southeast of *Parijā_v*, on the *Parijā* stream; SV1974 673 *Parija II_{stead}*, KG1903 131 Rus выс. Парія, R1872 Rus з. Парія.

Parijā II – Pivonija eld, Ukm D, 0,4 km south of *Parijā I*, across the *Parijā* stream; SV1974 673 *Parija III_{stead}*, KG1903 131 Rus з. Парія, R1872 з. Парія.

The ITL *Parijā* is related to and motivated by the settlements' location on *the Parijā* stream (cf. Zinkevičius 2011: 115). The oikonyms are the metonymic transposition of

the potamonym: *Parijā* ← the settlement by the *Parijā* stream. The oikonym *Parijā* is primary and has motivated the other names in opposition, cf. the historical types of settlements: *Parijā I* – KG1903 131 Rus выс. Парія and *Parijā II* – KG1903 131 Rus з. Парія. Both Rus *выселок* and *застенок* refer to a small settlement outside, in the vicinity of the main one. It may be inferred that *Parijā I* and *Parijā II* are secondary oikonoms that named the settlements, which were established in the vicinity of *Parijā* village and stream, and could be considered the metonymic transposition of the oikonym as well as the potamonym: *Parijā I* and *Parijā II* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Parijā* (village and stream). The settlements were obviously established by people somehow related to the primary settlement KG1903 131 Rus з., ф. Парія, R1872 Парія. DMs were obviously added to distinguish the homogeneous oikonoms and possibly to differentiate between the main, older and secondary, newer settlements.

7.43. *Pāšilē I*_{stead} × *Pāšilē II*_{stead} × *Pāšilē III*_{stead}

Pāšilē I – Želva eld, Ukm D; SV1974 678 *Pāšilē*_{stead}, KG1903 Rus з. Пошили.

Pāšilē II – Želva eld, Ukm D, 0,9 km northwest of *Pāšilē I*.

Pāšilē III – Želva eld, Ukm D, 9,5 km northeast of *Pāšilē I*.

The settlements in the opposition are all located by the forests, cf. *Pāšilē I* and *Pāšilē II* are near *Pašilių* and *Tamošiškių* forests, and *Pāšilē III* is near *Bliūdašilis* and *Jerenimavos* forests. Therefore, the ITL *Pāšilē* may be considered the Lith Pref *pa-* and *f* sg inflexion *-ė* derivative from Lith *šilas* ‘forest of tall, straight coniferous (usu. pines) growing in the dunes’, or ‘village in the woods’ (LKŽe), cf. Lith *pašilė* ‘place by the forest’ (LKŽe) (cf. Zinkevičius 2011: 20, 121, LVGDB). The oikonym may be a transposition of and mark the place or settlement near the forest and convey concepts [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR/SETTLEMENT IN/BY THE FOREST]: Lith *pa-* + *šil-as* + *-ė*/Lith *pašilė* → the settlement by the forest → *Pāšilē*. *Pāšilē II* and *Pāšilē III* are obviously very young settlements (there is no record of them in SV1974). Most probably the names were formed by the same principle, to mark the settlement near the forest. Although, due to its proximity to *Pāšilē I*, *Pāšilē II* may be a metonymic transposition of the oikonym: *Pāšilē II*, *Pāšilē III* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Pāšilē I*. DMs were added to differentiate among ITLs, but, additionally, may convey the meaning of ‘old’ vs. ‘new’ settlement, based on the chronology of settlements’ development.

7.44. *Pīliakalnis I*_v × *Pīliakalnis II*_v

Pīliakalnis I – Aukštadvaris eld, Trak D; SV1974 658 *Pīliakalnis I*_v, G1905 314 Rus з. Пиляколья I, R1872 Rus Пилекольяни.

Pīliakalnis II – Aukštadvaris eld, Trak D, 0,6 km east of *Pīliakalnis*, 1 km east of *Pamiškės piliakalnis* (mound); SV1974 658 *Pīliakalnis II*_v, G1905 314 Rus з. Пиляколья II.

Pìliakalnis I is related to Lith *pìliakalnis* (mound) ‘mountain where the castle stands/ stood, a mountain of the castle’ (LKŽe). The oikonym is motivated by the settlement’s location in the vicinity of Pamiškės *pìliakalnis* [mound], which is just 1 km west of the settlement. Therefore, the oikonym is a metonymic transposition of the concept [MOUND]: Lith *pìliakalnis* → the settlement in the vicinity of the mound → *Pìliakalnis*. *Pìliakalnis II* is a secondary oikonym, made by the principle of analogy to the older one. The settlement probably was established by people who moved from the older settlement or the newcomers who moved into the vicinity at/by the beginning of the 20th c., cf. G1905 314 Rus з. Пиляколья I, R1872 Rus Пилекольни [*Pìliakalnis I*] and G1905 314 Rus з. Пиляколья II [*Pìliakalnis II*]. The oikonym is motivated by its location in the vicinity of the older settlement and is a metonymic transposition of the older oikonym: *Pìliakalnis II* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Pìliakalnis I*. DMs were obviously added to differentiate between ITLs but additionally may convey the meaning of ‘old’ (primary) and ‘new’ (secondary) settlement.

7.45. *Pirk̀tìnė I_v* × *Pirk̀tìnė II_v*

Pirk̀tìnė I – Sariai eld, Švčn D; SV1974 608 *Pirk̀tinė I_v*, G1905 297 Rus з. Перкцини I, R1872 Rus з. Перястинись.

Pirk̀tìnė II – Cirkliškis eld, Švčn D, 0,9 km southeast of *Pirk̀tìnė I*; SV1974 608 *Pirk̀tinė II_v*, G1905 297 Rus з. Перкцини II.

Pirk̀tìnė I is of unclear origin, but may be Lith Suf *-inė*, or rather Lith *f* sg inflexion *-ė*, derivative from Lith PN *Pirk̀tinas*, cf. Latv PN *Pirk̀tiņš* (cf. PDB). Therefore, the oikonym may be motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Pirk̀tìnė I* ← *Pirk̀tin-as* + *-ė* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Pirk̀tinas*. On the other hand, the oikonym may be related to Lith *pirk̀tinė*, cf. *pirk̀klas* ‘purchase’ (LKŽe) and may be motivated by the concept of [PURCHASING], being the metaphorical name. It is possible that either the settlement and/or lands in the vicinity have been purchased, and this may have been reflected in the oikonym: Lith *pirk̀tinė* → the purchased settlement (lands) → *Pirk̀tìnė I*. *Pirk̀tìnė II* is a secondary oikonym, as the settlement is ‘younger’ than *Pirk̀tìnė I* and is known only since the beginning of the 20th c., cf. G1905 297 Rus з. Перкцини II. It most probably was established by people that somehow were related to *Pirk̀tìnė I*. The oikonym *Pirk̀tìnė II* is made by the principle of analogy, is motivated by the settlement’s location in the vicinity of *Pirk̀tìnė I*, and is a metonymic transposition of the older oikonym: *Pirk̀tìnė II* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Pirk̀tìnė I*. DMs were added to differentiate between ITLs and obviously mark the chronology of the settlements’ development, *Pirk̀tìnė I* being the older (first) settlement, *Pirk̀tìnė II* – being the newer settlement.

7.46. *Pliáuškės I_v × Pliáuškės II_v × Pliáuškės III_v*

Pliáuškės I – Švenčionėliai eld, Švčn D; SV1974 608 Pliauškės I_v, G1905 300 Rus з. Пляушки 1-е, R1872 Rus з. Пляушки.

Pliáuškės II – Švenčionėliai eld, Švčn D, 1 km southwest of *Pliáuškės I*; SV1974 608 Pliauškės I_v, G1905 300 Rus з. Пляушки 2-е, R1872 Rus з. [no name].

Pliáuškės III – Sariai eld, Švčn D, 9 km southwest of *Pliáuškės I*; SV1974 608 Pliauškės III_v, G1905 300 Rus з. Пляушки 3-е, R1872 Rus з. Пляушки.

Oikonyms are obviously the result of renaming/naming of the older settlements, cf. R1872 forms, and all are made by the principle of analogy. The ITL *Pliáuškės* is of a not very clear origin, but most probably is *pl* of Lith PN *Pliauškę*, cf. *Plauškà*, *Pliauskỹs* (PDB), may be a metonymic transposition of the PN into the oikonym and motivated by the change of ownership of the settlements: *Pliáuškės* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Pliauškę*. On the other hand, the oikonym may be metaphorical in nature and could be related to Lith *pliaũškė*, *pliauškā* ‘short cord tied to the end of the whip to make it flutter and break less quickly’ (LKŽe) and mark the settlement where the whips were made, though less likely: Lith *pliaũškė*, *pliauškā* → the settlement where the whips are made → Pliauškė. Therefore, it could be culturally and economically coloured, perpetuating the profession of the whip maker. DMs most probably carry no semantic load but perform the differentiating function.

7.47. *Poguliánka I_v × Poguliánka II_v*

Poguliánka I – Aukštadvaris eld, Trak D; SV1974 640 Pogulianka I_v, G1905 314 Rus з. Погулянка, R1872 Rus Погулянка.

Poguliánka II – Aukštadvaris eld, Trak D, 9 km west of *Poguliánka I*; SV1974 640 Pogulianka II_v, G1905 314 Rus з. Погулянка, R1872 Rus Новосады.

Oikonyms are obviously the result of renaming, esp. *Poguliánka II*, which historically was R1872 Rus Новосады. The current name *Poguliánka* is obviously related to Bel *пагулянка*, Pol *pohulanka*, or Ukr *погулянка* ‘country dance party, party, free time, a place for walking; drinking, flattery, feast’ (Skarnik.by; PWN; WSJPe; SRYe; SUM) and may be motivated by a place for walks, fun and leisure time, being the metonymic transposition of the concept [PLACE OF/FOR ACTIVITY]: Bel *пагулянка*, Pol *pohulanka*, Ukr *погулянка* → a place for walks, fun and leisure time → *Poguliánka*. *Poguliánka II* is the name made by the principle of analogy, considering that this is the result of renaming. The current oikonym is motivated by both settlements’ relative proximity to each other. Therefore, *Poguliánka II* is a metonymic transposition of the older oikonym: *Poguliánka II* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Poguliánka I*. DMs were obviously added during the renaming and oikonym standardization process to differentiate between ITLs. DM *I* marks the original settlement.

7.48. *Ramōniškiai I_v* × *Ramōniškiai II_v*

Ramōniškiai I – Kernavė eld, Šr D; SV1974 583 Ramoniškiai I_v, G1905 57 Rus з. Романишки 1-е, R1872 Rus Романишки.

Ramōniškiai II – Kernavė eld, Šr D, 0,8 km northeast of *Ramōniškiai I*; SV1974 583 Ramoniškiai II_v, G1905 57 Rus з. Романишки 2-е.

Ramōniškiai I is Lith Suf *-iškiai* derivative from Lith PN *Ramōnas* (Razmukaite 1998: 91, LVGDB), cf. Lat origin Christian name *Rōmanas*, *Ramōnas* (PDB). The oikonym is the metonymic transposition of the PN and is motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Ramōniškiai I* ← *Ramōn-as* + *-iškiai* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Ramōnas*. *Ramōniškiai II* is obviously made by the principle of analogy and marks a historically newer, smaller settlement that was established in the vicinity of *Ramōniškiai I* probably by people who either moved into the area or separated from the old settlement, cf. G1905 57 Rus з. Романишки 1-е, 42 дес., R1872 Rus Романишки vs. G1905 57 Rus з. Романишки 2-е, 20 дес., R1872 -. Therefore, *Ramōniškiai II* is a metonymic transposition of the older settlement, motivated by the newer settlement's proximity to the older one: *Ramōniškiai II* ← the new, smaller settlement in the vicinity of *Ramōniškiai I*. DMs were added by the beginning of the 20th c. to differentiate between ITLs.

7.49. *Raudōnė I_v* × *Raudōnė II_v*

Raudōnė I – Trakai eld, Trak D; SV1974 648 Raudonė I_v, G1905 340 Rus д. Красно 1, R1872 Rus д. Красное.

Raudōnė II – Trakai eld, Trak D, 2 km southeast of *Raudōnė I*; SV1974 648 Raudonė II_v, G1905 340 Rus д. Красно 2, R1872 Rus з. Красный.

The oikonyms are the result of renaming and standardization, cf. the historical forms. The current *Raudōnė I* is Lith inflection *-ė* derivative from Lith *raudōnas*, *-a*, *-à* 'of colour at the end of the spectrum next to orange and opposite violet, [as of blood, fire, or rubies]' (LKŽe) (LVGDB). The motivation of this colour oikonym is not very clear. On the one hand, it may be motivated by the brownish, reddish colour of the soil in the surrounding fields. On the other hand, the oikonym may be motivated by the colour of buildings that could be atypical compared to the majority of structures in the vicinity or the region, e.g. the buildings could have been built of red bricks or covered with red, fired clay tiles. Additionally, taking into consideration the forms from the sources, cf. G1905 340 Rus д. Красно 1, Красно 2, R1872 Rus Красное R1872 Rus з. Красный, these could be related to Rus *красный*, *красная* 'red; (traditional-poetic) beautiful, lovely' (SRYe). Therefore, the oikonym may be either 1) the metaphoric transposition of the colour of the soil in the surrounding lands: Lith *raudōn-as* + *-ė* → the settlement in the vicinity of lands that are of brown-

ish, reddish colour → *Raudōnė*; 2) the metaphoric transposition of the colour of buildings: Lith *raudón-as* + *-ė* → the settlement with buildings of brownish, reddish colour → *Raudōnė*; 3) the metaphoric transposition of the concept [BEAUTY]: Rus *красный, красная* (→ Lith *raudōnė*) → the settlement that is beautiful, lovely (located in the lovely place) → *Raudōnė*. *Raudōnė II* is obviously made by the principle of analogy and probably is motivated by the same concepts. Moreover, the oikonym may be motivated by its location in relation to *Raudōnė I* and is a metonymic transposition of the oikonym: *Raudōnė II* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Raudōnė I*. DMs were added by the beginning of the 20th c. to differentiate between two homogeneous names, but could also differentiate between the older/bigger/more important settlement and newer/smaller/less important one, esp. with reference to the historical sizes of both, cf. G1905 340 Rus д. Красно 1, 200 дес. [*Raudōnė I*] vs. G1905 340 Rus д. Красно 2, 37 дес. [*Raudōnė II*].

7.50. *Sakališkė I_v* × *Sakališkė II_v*

Sakališkė I – Svirkos eld, Švčn D; SV1974 604 *Sakališkė I_v*, G1905 275 Rus з. Стефанишки или Соколишки (Буковской).

Sakališkė II – Svirkos eld, Švčn D, 1 km northwest of *Sakališkė I*; SV1974 604 *Sakališkė II_v*, G1905 275 Rus з. Стефанишки или Соколишки (Буковской).

The ITL *Sakališkė* is most probably Lith Suf *-iškė* derivative from Lith PN *Sakālis* (← **Sakalius*, cf. PDB), or similar surnames, or *Sākalas* (Razmukaitė 1998: 55). The oikonym may also be of Slav origin, cf. Bel PN *Сокал, Сакол*, Pol PN *Sokoł*, Rus, Ukr PN *Сокол* → Lith *Sākalas* (PDB). In either case, the oikonym conveys the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Sakališkė* ← *Sakālis* (← **Sakalius*), *Sākalas* + *-iškė* (but likely *Sokoł, Сокол*) ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Sakālis* (← **Sakalius*), *Sākalas*. Historically, both settlements belonged to one owner, therefore, it is hard to tell which oikonym was primary, cf. G1905 275 Rus з. Стефанишки или Соколишки (Буковской), 44 дес. [*Sakališkė I*] vs. G1905 275 Rus з. Стефанишки или Соколишки (Буковской) [*Sakališkė II*], 26 дес. DMs *I* and *II* were obviously added at the time of renaming/standardization of both oikonyms to differentiate between them, and most probably to mark historically bigger vs. smaller settlements.

7.51. *Saveikiškis I_v* × *Saveikiškis II_v*

Saveikiškis I – Širvintos eld, Šr D; SV1974 588 *Saveikiškis I_v*, G1905 80 Rus з. Савейкишки, R1872 Rus Савейкишки.

Saveikiškis II – Širvintos eld, Šr D, 3,8 km southwest of *Saveikiškis I*; SV1974 588 *Saveikiškis II_v*, G1905 80 Rus ф. Савейкишки, R1872 Rus дер. безъ названия [nameless].

The ITL *Saveikiškis* is obviously related to and derived using Lith Suf *-iškis* from Lith PN *Saveikis*, *Saveikà* (cf. Razmukaitė 1998: 89, PDB), cf. Bel PN *Савејка : Савва* (Biryła 1966: 142). The oikonym probably is motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Saveikiškis* ← *Saveik-is*, *Saveik-à* + *-iškis* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Saveikis*, *Saveikà*. *Saveikiškis II* is obviously a transposition of the identical oikonym and got its name only at the end of the 19th c., cf. G1905 80 Rus ф. Савејкишки, R1872 Rus Дер. Безъ названия [nameless]. Therefore, *Saveikiškis II* is motivated by the settlement's location close to the primary settlement: *Saveikiškis II* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Saveikiškis I*. DMs were added in the 20th c. to differentiate between ITLs, but probably also relate to the chronology of both oikonoms' formation, cf. R1872 Rus Савејкишки [*Saveikiškis I*] vs. R1872 Rus дер. безъ названия [nameless] [*Saveikiškis II*].

7.52. *Šalčininkų I tvenkinys* × *Šalčininkų II tvenkinys*

Šalčininkų I tvenkinys, *Šalčininkų II tvenkinys* – ponds, the *Šalčia*, *Šalčininkai*_{tm}, *Šalčininkai* eld, Šlčn D.

Two ponds in the centre of *Šalčininkai* (Šlčn D) form an opposition based on numbers as post-modifiers. The two water bodies are artificial and were formed by damming the *Šalčia*¹¹³. Limnonyms are the Gen case derivatives, expressed by the Lith inflection *-ų*, from the oikonym *Šalčininkai*¹¹⁴. Therefore, both express the concept [PLACE: LOCATION IN]: *Šalčininkų I tvenkinys*, *Šalčininkų II tvenkinys* ← the pond in *Šalčininkai*.

7.53. *Šeškuškė I_v* × *Šeškuškė II_v*

Šeškuškė I – Švenčionėliai eld, Švčn D; SV1974 608 *Šeškuškė I_v*, R1872 Rus з. Шалишки.

Šeškuškė II – Švenčionėliai eld, Švčn D, 1,2 km northwest of *Šeškuškė I*; SV1974 608 *Šeškuškė II_v*, R1872 Rus Аушлагелись.

The ITL *Šeškuškė* is Lith Suf *-ušė* derivative from Lith PN *Šeškas*, *Šeškus* (cf. Razmukaitė 1998: 78). Therefore, the oikonym most probably is based on the transposition of the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP], being motivated by the PN: *Šeškuškė I*, *Šeškuškė II* ← *Šešk-as*, *Šešk-us* + *-ušė* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Šeškas*, *Šeškus*. Most probably the current oikonoms resulted from the change of ownership of both settlements, as, historically, they had different names, cf. R1872 Rus з. Шалишки [*Šeškuškė I*] and R1872 Rus Аушлагелись [Lith **Aušlagėlis*, *Šeškuškė II*]. DMs were added in the 20th c. during the renaming of settlements.

¹¹³ For origin, motivation and semantics of the potamonym, cf. Section 4.2.72.

¹¹⁴ For origin, motivation and semantics of the oikonym, cf. Section 4.2.73.

7.54. *Šešuolėliai I_v × Šešuolėliai II_v*

Šešuolėliai I – Zibalai eld, Šr D; SV1974 590 *Šešuolėliai I_v*, G1905 81 Rus им. Шешольки (Кончи), R1872 Rus Госп. д. Шешоль Кончеге.

Šešuolėliai II – Zibalai eld, Šr D, 2,5 km southeast of *Šešuolėliai I*; SV1974 590 *Šešuolėliai II_v*, G1905 81 Rus им. Шешольки (Кончи), R1872 Rus Госп. д. Шешольки Яцинского.

Both *Šešuolėliai I* and *Šešuolėliai II* are related to and are Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivatives from the polisonym *Šešuoliai_{tn}* (*Šešuoliai* eld, Ukm D; G1905 81 Rus м. Шешоли, R1872 Rus м. Шешоли), which is just 13 km to the northwest by lake *Šešuolių ežeras*, the source of the *Šešuola* river (13,6 km the Siesartis trib.). Both *Šešuolėliai I* and *Šešuolėliai II* were estates outside *Šešuoliai* town or *Šešuoliai_v* village nearby it (*Šešuoliai* eld, Ukm D; G1905 81 Rus д. Шешоли, R1872 Rus д. Шешоли), belonging to two landowners Jatsinsky and Kontschega, cf. the older forms R1872 Rus Госп. д. Шешоль Кончеге [*Šešuolėliai I*] and R1872 Rus Госп. д. Шешольки Яцинского [*Šešuolėliai II*]. Most probably the landlords also resided in *Šešuoliai* town or/and village, or the vicinity of both, and used the town/village, or even the river name for their estates. Later, by the beginning of the 20th c., the ownership of two estates changed, cf. G1905 81 Rus им. Шешольки (Кончи) [*Šešuolėliai I*] and G1905 81 Rus им. Шешольки (Кончи) [*Šešuolėliai II*], most probably both belonged to Kontschega. Therefore, it may be suggested that *Šešuolėliai I* and *Šešuolėliai II* are motivated by the town's name, outside which both historical estates were established, based on the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]. Both current oikonyms are metonymic transpositions of the polisonym: *Šešuolėliai I* (and *Šešuolėliai II*) ← *Šešuol-iai* + *-ėliai* ← the settlement (historically the estate) in the vicinity of *Šešuoliai* town. DMs *I* and *II* perform the differentiating function.

7.55. *Taujėnų tvenkinys × Taujėnų II tvenkinys*

Taujėnų tvenkinys, *Taujėnų II tvenkinys* – ponds; Taujėnai eld, Ukm D.

Taujėnų tvenkinys lies on the northern outskirts of *Taujėnai_{tn}* and was formed by damming the *Mūšia*¹¹⁵ (the Šventoji trib.) 15,3 km from its mouth. *Taujėnų II tvenkinys* is located 0,49 km southeast of *Taujėnų* pond, in the course of the unnamed stream (the *Mūšia* trib.), approx. 0,4 km from its mouth, east of *Taujėnai_{tn}* and north of *Taujėnai_v*¹¹⁶. Both pond names are Gen case derivatives from the oikonym and are motivated by their location in the vicinity of *Taujėnai* town and village, thus, expressing the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR]: *Taujėnų tvenkinys*, *Taujėnų II tvenkinys* ← *Taujėn-ų* ← the pond in the vicinity of *Taujėnai* town and/or village.

¹¹⁵ For the origin, motivation and semantics of the potamonym, cf. Section 4.2.52.

¹¹⁶ For the origin, motivation and semantics of the ITL *Taujėn-ai*, cf. Section 4.2.81.

7.56. *Tetėnų I tvenkinys* × *Tetėnų II tvenkinys*

Tetėnų I tvenkinys, *Tetėnų II tvenkinys* – ponds; *Tetėnai*, Pabarė eld, Šlėn D.

Tetėnų I tvenkinys is in the western part of *Tetėnai* village and was formed by damming the Ciras stream (the *Šalčià* trib.) in its upper reaches, 3,7 km from the mouth. *Tetėnų II tvenkinys* is in the southern part of the village and was formed after damming an unnamed stream 0,26 km from its inflow into *Tetėnų I* pond. Both limnonyms are Gen case derivatives from the oikonym and are motivated by their location in *Tetėnai*, thus, expressing the concept [PLACE: LOCATION IN]: *Tetėnų I tvenkinys*, *Tetėnų II tvenkinys* ← *Tetėn-ų* ← the pond in *Tetėnai* village.

7.57. *Tolkiškių I tvenkinys* × *Tolkiškių II tvenkinys*

Tolkiškių I tvenkinys, *Tolkiškių II tvenkinys* – ponds; *Tolkiškės*, Onuškis eld, Trak D.

Both ponds are in *Tolkiškės* village, on both sides of the Verknė, on the north-western bank of lake Vilkokšnis. Limnonyms are Gen case derivatives from the oikonym and are motivated by their location in *Tolkiškės*. Hence, both names express the concept [PLACE: LOCATION IN]: *Tolkiškių I tvenkinys*, *Tolkiškių II tvenkinys* ← *Tolkišk-ių* ← the pond in *Tolkiškės* village.

7.58. *Turniškių I tvenkinys* × *Turniškių II tvenkinys*

Turniškių I tvenkinys, *Turniškių II tvenkinys* – ponds; *Turniškės*, Verkiai eld, V C.

Both ponds are located in the northern part of Vilnius, in *Turniškės* settlement, and were formed by damming the *Turniškė* stream (the Neris trib.). Limnonyms are Gen case derivatives from and are motivated by their location on the stream in the vicinity of the settlement *Turniškės*, thus, expressing the concept [PLACE: LOCATION IN]: *Turniškių I tvenkinys*, *Turniškių II tvenkinys* ← *Turnišk-ių* ← the pond in settlement *Turniškės*.

7.59. *Uosininkai I_v* × *Uosininkai II_v* × *Uosininkai III_v*

Uosininkai I – Mickūnai eld, V D; SV1974 744 *Uosininkai I_v*, G1905 54 Rus d.

Осинники 1-е, R1872 Rus д. Осинники.

Uosininkai II – Mickūnai eld, V D, 1 km east of *Uosininkai I*; SV1974 744 *Uosininkai II_v*,

G1905 54 Rus з. Осинники 2-е, R1872 Rus з. Осинники.

Uosininkai III – Mickūnai eld, V D, 0,86 km east of *Uosininkai II*; SV1974 744 *Uosininkai III_v*, G1905 54 Rus з. Осинники 3-е.

The ITL *Uosininkai* is Lith Suf *-(i)ninkai*, which is used to form names of persons according to their profession (DLKG 137–138), from Lith *úosis* ‘olive family tree with pruned feathered leaves and hardwood (Fraxinus): ash excelsior (F. excelsior)’ (LKŽe).

The oikonym may be motivated by the professional term and refer to people working with ash wood: Lith **ùosininkas* (Lith *úos-is* + *-ininkas*) → people (a person) working with ash wood → *Ùosininkai*. On the other hand, the current oikonym may be a translation of *pl* Rus осинники ← Rus осинник ‘aspen/ash tree forest or woodland’ ← Rus осина ‘aspen/ash tree’ (SRYe), or Bel асіннікі ← Bel асіннік ‘aspen/ash tree forest or woodland; aspen firewood, building material from aspen, etc.’ (Skarnik.by), cf. the old oikonym form R1872 Rus Осинники. The oikonym, thus, may be motivated by the settlements’ location in the vicinity of the ash tree forest and be a metonymic transposition of this (all three villages are located in the vicinity of the Uosinkų forest): Rus осинники ← Rus осинник (Lith **ùosininkai*) → the settlement in/by the ash tree forest → *Ùosininkai*. *Ùosininkai II* and *Ùosininkai III* are made by the principle of analogy and are motivated by their proximity to *Ùosininkai I* as well as the forest. Therefore, *Ùosininkai II* and *Ùosininkai III* may be considered a metonymic transposition of the primary oikonym: *Ùosininkai II* and *Ùosininkai III* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Ùosininkai I*. DMs were added to differentiate among the primary and secondary oikonyms, and probably convey the meaning of ‘older, bigger’ vs. ‘newer, smaller’ settlement(s), cf. G1905 54 Rus д. Осинники 1-е, R1872 Rus д. Осинники vs. G1905 54 Rus з. Осинники 2-е, R1872 Rus з. Осинники vs. G1905 54 Rus з. Осинники 3-е.

7.60. *Urnėžiai I_v × Urnėžiai II_v*

Urnėžiai I – Pivonija eld, Ukm D; SV1974 674 *Urnėžiai I_v*, KG1903 162 Rus им. Урняжи, R1872 Rus д. Урняжи.

Urnėžiai II – Pivonija eld, Ukm D, 1,7 km northeast of *Urnėžiai I*, across the Mergos upelis (the Parija trib.); SV1974 674 *Urnėžiai II_v*, KG1903 162 Rus фольв. Урняжи, R1872 Rus ок. Урняжи.

Urnėžiai I is most probably *pl* of Lith PN *Urnėžius*, extended by the relatively rare PN Lith Suf *-ėžius* (Zinkevičius 2011: 109), cf. Lith PNs *Urnėža*, *Urnežas*, *Urnėžas*, *Urnežis*, *Urnėžis*, *Urnežius*, *Urnėža*, *Ūrniežas*, *Urniėžis*, *Urniėžius*, *Urniažas*, *Urniažis*, *Urniažius*, which are believed to be the phonetic and graphic variants of the same PN. The root *urn-* may also be related to Lith PN *Ūrna*, cf. Rus PN *Урнев*, *Урнов*, De PN *Urnau* (PDB). The oikonym, thus, may be a metonymic transposition of the PN and is motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: *Urnėžiai I* ← *pl* of *Urnėžius* ← the settlement established by/belonging to *Urnėžius*/the *Urnėžiai* family. The oikonym *Urnėžiai II* is motivated by the settlement’s location in proximity to the main settlement, cf. the historical status R1872 Rus ок.[лица] Урняжи, where Rus *околица* refers to the outskirts or edge of the village, places around the village, and its surroundings (cf. Section 2.3.2.). The settlement *Urnėžiai II* developed on the outskirts of the main village R1872 Rus д.[еревня] Урняжи. Therefore, the first component of *Urnėžiai II* is a metonymic transposition of the oikonym’s *Urnėžiai I* first component:

Urnėžiai II ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Urnėžiai I*. DMs were added to make the distinction between two identical names, but additionally, mark the primary and secondary settlements and may convey the meanings: *I* ‘primary, (?)older, main settlement’ and *II* ‘secondary, new(er) settlement’.

7.61. *Vaičiūkiškė I_v × Vaičiūkiškė II_v*

Vaičiūkiškė I – Švenčionėliai eld, Švčn D; SV1974 601 Vaičiūkiškė I_v, G1905 272 Rus д. Войцюкишки 1-ая, R1872 Rus з. Ваюцишки.

Vaičiūkiškė II – Švenčionėliai eld, Švčn D; SV1974 601 Vaičiūkiškė II_v, G1905 272 Rus д. Войцюкишки 2-ая.

Vaičiūkiškė I is Lith Suf *-iškė* derivative from Lith PN *Vaičiūkas* (Razmukaitė 1998: 84), related to Lith PN *Vaičius* (PDB). The oikonym is motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] and is a metonymic transposition of the PN: *Vaičiūkiškė I* ← *Vaičiūk-as* + *-iškė* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Vaičiūkas*. *Vaičiūkiškė II* is the name of the newer settlement, which was established in the vicinity of the older one (cf. R1872 no record) and is a metonymic transposition of the older oikonym, being formed by the principle of analogy and motivated by the location: *Vaičiūkiškė II* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Vaičiūkiškė I*. DMs differentiate between two homogeneous oikonyms and mark the older and newer settlements resp. the chronology of both settlements’ establishment: *Vaičiūkiškė I* being older and bigger settlement, cf. G1905 272 Rus д. Войцюкишки 1-ая, 183 дес. vs. G1905 272 Rus д. Войцюкишки 2-ая, 27 дес. *Vaičiūkiškė II* is known since around the beginning of the 20th c.

7.62. ¹*Varnikāi_v × ²Varnikāi_v × Varnikėliai I_v × Varnikėliai II_v*

¹*Varnikāi* – Trakai eld, Trak D; SV1974 649 Varnikāi_v, G1905 340 Rus д. Вороники, R1872 Rus Ворники.

²*Varnikāi* – Trakai eld, Trak D, 2 km northeast of ¹*Varnikāi*, across Varnikų forest; SV1974 656 Varnikāi_v.

Varnikėliai I – Senieji Trakai eld, Trak D, 1,6 km southeast of ¹*Varnikāi*; SV1974 656 Varnikėliai I_v, G1905 340 Rus д. Вороникели 1-е, R1872 Rus Верникеле.

Varnikėliai II – Senieji Trakai eld, Trak D, 0,4 km east of *Varnikėliai I*; SV1974 656 Varnikėliai II_v, G1905 340 Rus д. Вороникели 2-е.

The oikonym *Varnikāi* is of unclear origin and may be related to Pol PN *Warnik*, *Warniczek* ← Pol *warnik* ‘beer boiler’ (Bułat 2002: 33), which most probably developed from the professional term ‘brewer’. The oikonym may also be related to Bel/Rus PN *Ворник* (Biryla 1969: 90), esp. taking into consideration the historical *pl* form R1872 Rus Ворники. Or could be related to Lith PN **Varnikas*, cf. *Várna*, *Vařnas* (cf. PDB).

Thus, the oikonym may be a metonymic transposition of the PN and is motivated by the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP]: ¹*Varnik̃ikai* ← *Warnik*, *Ворнік*, *Várna*, *Vařnas* + Lith *pl* inflexion *-ai* ← the settlement belonging to/established by *Warnik*, *Ворнік*, *Várna*, *Vařnas*. On the other hand, the oikonym may be Lith Suf *-ikai* derivative from Lith *varnėlė* ‘jackdaw (*Coloeus monedula*)’ (LKŽe), taking into consideration the older form G1905 340 Rus д. Вороники with the base *Ворон-* (Eng. raven, Lith *várna*, *vařnas*), and may be motivated by the place where jackdaws nest and/or live and may be a metonymic transposition of the concept [BIRD SPECIES]: Lith *varn-ėlė* + *-ikai* → the place where there is plenty of daws → ¹*Varnik̃ikai*. ²*Varnik̃ikai* is the newer settlement known only from approx. the mid-20th c., cf. SV1974 656 Varnikai_v. Most probably the name of the new settlement was motivated by its location in relation to the older settlement and the oikonym is made by the principle of analogy and is the metonymic transposition of the older oikonym: ²*Varnik̃ikai* ← the settlement in the vicinity of ¹*Varnik̃ikai*. *Varnik̃ėliai I* is the Lith DIM Suf *-ėliai* derivative from ¹*Varnik̃ikai*. The oikonym is motivated by the settlements’ location close to each other; the oikonym *Varnik̃ėliai II* is made by the principle of analogy: 1) *Varnik̃ėliai I* ← ¹*Varnik̃-ai* + *-ėliai* ← the settlement in the vicinity of ¹*Varnik̃ikai*; 2) *Varnik̃ėliai II* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Varnik̃ėliai I*. The DIM Suf in the DIM oikonyms conveys the meaning of the size of the villages from the historical perspective in terms of the area of land, cf. G1905 340 Rus д. Вороники [¹*Varnik̃ikai*], 105 дес. vs. G1905 340 Rus д. Вороникели 1-е [*Varnik̃ėliai I*], 51 дес. vs. G1905 340 Rus д. Вороникели 2-е [*Varnik̃ėliai II*], 34 дес. DMs *I* and *II* in *Varnik̃ėliai I* and *Varnik̃ėliai II* not only differentiate the two settlement names but also mark the chronology of the settlements’ establishment, *Varnik̃ėliai I* being an older settlement in the opposition.

7.63. *Versekà I_v* × *Versekà II_v*

Versekà I – Kalesninkai eld, Šlčn D; SV1974 520 Versekà_v, G1905 213 Rus д.

Версока 1-ая, R1872 Rus ф. Версока.

Versekà II – Kalesninkai eld, Šlčn D, 3 km southeast of *Versekà I*; SV1974 517 Versekà_v, G1905 213 Rus д. Версока 2-ая, R1872 ф. Версока.

Both settlements are situated on *the Versekà*¹¹⁷ (the Merkys trib.). Oikonyms are related to and motivated by the *Versekà* they are located on. Thus, they are based on the principle of metonymic transposition and refer to the place, i.e. settlements on the *Versekà*: *Versekà I* and/or *Versekà II* ← the settlement on the *Versekà* river ← the *Versekà*. DMs were added by the beginning of the 20th c. to differentiate between two homogeneous names and settlement types and carry no semantic load.

¹¹⁷ *The Versekà* (the Merkys trib.) is also known under its second name – the Gornostajus. The second name is often indicated in parentheses in the official Vilnius County sources.

7.64. *Viesų I tvenkinys* × *Viesų II tvenkinys* × *Viesų III tvenkinys*

Viesų I tvenkinys, *Viesų II tvenkinys*, *Viesų III tvenkinys* – ponds, *Senosios Višos*_v, the *Viesà*, Širvintos eld, Šr D.

Viesų I tvenkinys and *Viesų II tvenkinys* are located 8 km northwest of Širvintos_{tn}, in *Senosios Višos*_v; *Viesų III tvenkinys* is located outside the village. All the ponds were formed by damming the *Viesà* river (the Širvinta trib.). Limnonyms are Gen case derivatives from the oikonym *Višos*¹¹⁸ and are motivated by their location in the named village, thus, expressing the concept [PLACE: LOCATION IN]: *Viesų I tvenkinys*, *Viesų II tvenkinys*, *Viesų III tvenkinys* ← (*Senųju*) *Vies-ų* ← the pond in *Senosios Višos* village.

7.65. *Viškščių I tvenkinys* × *Viškščių II tvenkinys*

Viškščių I tvenkinys, *Viškščių II tvenkinys* – ponds, *Viškščiai*_v, Lyduokai eld, Ukm D.

Viškščių I tvenkinys is located 8 km northwest of Želva_{tn}, in *Viškščiai*_v, and was formed by damming the river Šešuola (the Siesartis trib.) 3 km from its mouth. *Viškščių II tvenkinys* lies 0,29 km northeast of *Viškščių I tvenkinys*, in *Viškščiai*. This pond was formed by damming an unnamed stream (the Šešuola trib.) 0,45 km from its mouth. Both limnonyms are Gen case derivatives from the oikonym *Viškščiai* and are motivated by their location in the named village, thus, expressing the concept [PLACE: LOCATION IN]: *Viškščių I tvenkinys*, *Viškščių II tvenkinys* ← *Viškščiai* ← the pond in *Viškščiai*.

* * *

Semantics and motivation of DMs. We tend to generalize that DMs in limnonym oppositions carry no semantic load and are used only in official sources to make the distinction between/among identical name bases. At least no data was available at the moment of writing to draw any other conclusion. The analyzed limnonyms are either two or three-componential. Limnonyms resp. pond names in complete oppositions are three-componential, i.e. the first component presents the name base, the second component is the number or DM, and the third component is the nomenclature term Lith *tvenkinys* ‘pond’ that points to the object that is named. Sometimes the DM is ellipsized, esp. in incomplete oppositions, in which one of the correlates is a two-componential name, the second, final component being the nomenclature term. The first component of all limnonyms in this group are Gen case derivatives from names of objects the named ponds are located in the vicinity of.

Based on the analysis of extralinguistic data, DMs in oikonym oppositions perform the following differentiating functions: 1) mark the chronological development (and possibly express the correlation *old–new*, and eventually *big–small*) in *Antāliedė I* × *Antāliedė II*, *Ažūmiškė I* × *Ažūmiškė II*, *Bastūnai I* × *Bastūnai II*, *Buiųdžiai I* × *Buiųdžiai II*.

¹¹⁸ For the motivation and origin of the oikonym, cf. Section 5.1.10.

*džiai II, Bùrbliškė I × Bùrbliškė II, Dailydùkas I × Dailydùkas II, Gemeliškis I × Gemeliškis II, Jùsiškis I × Jùsiškis II, Kiaukliškis I × Kiaukliškis II, Kunigiškiai I × Kunigiškiai II, Kúosinė I × Kúosinė II × Kúosinė III, Levāniškis I × Levāniškis II, Liūnai I × Liūnai II, Malináuka I × Malináuka II, Meriónys I × Meriónys II, Myliaĩ I × Myliaĩ II, Nacėlišķiai I × Nacėlišķiai II, Naujāsodis I × Naujāsodis II, Navasiòlkai I × Navasiòlkai II × Navasiòlkai III, Nemenčinė × Nemenčinė II, Pāgaigalė I × Pāgaigalė II, Parijā, × Parijā I × Parijā II, Pāšilė I × Pāšilė II × Pāšilė III, Piliakalnis I × Piliakalnis II, Pirktinė I × Pirktinė II, Raudonė I × Raudonė II, Saveikiškis I × Saveikiškis II, Ūosininkai I × Ūosininkai II × Ūosininkai III, Urnėžiai I × Urnėžiai II, Vaičiūkiškė I × Vaičiūkiškė II, ¹Varnikāi × ²Varnikāi × Varnikėliai I × Varnikėliai II; 2) differentiate the identical oikonyms and are not semantically loaded, as in *Airėnai I × Airėnai II, Aliónys (Aliónys I) × Aliónys II, Antākālnis × Antākālnis I × Antākālnis II × Antākālnis III; Būdā I × Būdā III, Gimžiaĩ I × Gimžiaĩ II, Kalnuotė I × Kalnuotė II × Kalnuotė IV × Kalnuotė V × Kalnuotė VII, Kochanovkā I × Kochanovkā II × Kochanovkā III, Lygūmai I × Lygūmai II, Maigiaĩ I × Maigiaĩ II, Naujālaukis (Naujālaukis I) × Naujālaukis II, Naujālaukis × Naujālaukis II, Nenórtai I × Nenórtai II, Pliáuškės I × Pliáuškės II × Pliáuškės III, Ramōniškiai I × Ramōniškiai II, Šešuolėliai I × Šešuolėliai II, Versekā I × Versekā II; 3) indicate the administrative division of the settlements from one, big settlement, and are not semantically charged, as in *Kryžiáuka I × Kryžiáuka II; 4) mark standardized names of renamed settlements and carry no semantic load in *Alėšiškės I × Alėšiškės II, Lāpiškiai I × Lāpiškiai II, Poguliánka I × Poguliánka II, Sakališkė I × Sakališkė II, Šeškuškė I × Šeškuškė II. Considering the extralinguistic data, it may be suggested that the DMs in the first group of oikonym oppositions convey the information about the historical development of the settlements and directly refer to older/bigger settlements as opposed to newer/smaller settlements founded in the vicinity of the primary ones. The second group of DMs differentiate among/between homogeneous oikonyms in opposition and carry no semantic load. Five oppositions of DMs differentiate the homogeneous oikonyms after renaming and standardization of names and carry no semantic load. Only one correlation of DMs in oikonyms marks the divided settlements and carries no semantic load.****

Semantics and motivation of ITLs. The linguistic analysis has shown that ITLs fall into two categories: name lexemes of transparent and opaque motivation and semantics. These names are based on impressions/associations the nominator has about a named object.

1. ITLs of transparent motivation and semantics

- 1.1. Oikonyms **motivated by potamonym** convey the concept [PLACE: LOCATION ON/NEAR] in *Meriónys I, Nemenčinė, Parijā, Versekā I, Versekā II.*
- 1.2. Oikonyms **motivated by limnonym** express the concept [PLACE: LOCATION ON/NEAR] in *Antāliedė I, Dailydùkas I.*
- 1.3. Toponyms **motivated by oikonym** are based on the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] in *Airėnai II, Antāliedė II, Ažūmiškė II, Bastūnai II, Buivėdžiai II, Bùrbliškė II, Dailydùkas II, Gemeliškis II, Jùsiškis II, Kiaukliškis II, Kryžiáuka II,*

*Kunigiškiai I, Levāniškis II, Liūnai II, Maigiaĩ II, Malináuka II, Meriónys II, Myliaĩ II, Nacėliškiai II, Naujāsodis II, Navasiòlkai II, Navasiòlkai III, Nemenčinė II, Pāšilė II, Pāšilė III, Piliakalnis II, Pirktinė II, Poguliánka II, Ramōniškiai II, Raudonė II, Saveikiškis II, Šešuolėliai I, Šešuolėliai II, Ūosininkai II, Ūosininkai III, Urnėžiai II, Vaičiūkiškė II, ²Varnikai, Varnikėliai I, Varnikėliai II; or in limnonyms *Buivydīškių I tvenkinys, Buivydīškių II tvenkinys, Buivydīškių III tvenkinys, Buivydīškių IV tvenkinys, Buivydīškių V tvenkinys, Buivydīškių VI tvenkinys, Mōstiškių I tvenkinys, Mōstiškių II tvenkinys, Navakonių I tvenkinys, Navakonių II tvenkinys, Taujėnų tvenkinys, Taujėnų II tvenkinys, Viesų I tvenkinys, Viesų II tvenkinys, Viesų III tvenkinys. A number of limnonyms convey the concept [PLACE: LOCATION IN] in *Šalčininkų I tvenkinys, Šalčininkų II tvenkinys, Tetėnų I tvenkinys, Tetėnų II tvenkinys, Tōlkiškių I tvenkinys, Tōlkiškių II tvenkinys, Turniškių I tvenkinys, Turniškių II tvenkinys, Viřkščių I tvenkinys, Viřkščių II tvenkinys.***

- 1.4. The only oikonym **motivated by helonym** expresses the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] in *Pāgaigalė I*.
- 1.5. Oikonyms **motivated by PN** convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] in *Alėšiškės, Bastūnai I, Buivėdziai I, Būrbliškė I, Gemeliškis I, Gimžiai I, Gimžiai II, Jūsiškis I, Kiaukliškis, Kochanovkà I, Kochanovkà II, Kochanovkà III, Lāpiškiai I, Lāpiškiai II, Levāniškis I, Maigiaĩ I, Myliaĩ I, Nacėliškiai I, Nenórtai I, Nenórtai II, Pirktinė I, Ramōniškiai I, Sakališkė I, Sakališkė II, Saveikiškis I, Šėškuškė I, Šėškuškė II, Urnėžiai I, Vaičiūkiškė I*.
- 1.6. Oikonyms **motivated by appellative** convey a variety of concepts that reflect the worldview of people in the territory under investigation. Toponyms point to locations through the concept [PLACE: LOCATION ON] in *Antākalnis, Antākalnis I, Antākalnis II, Antākalnis III*, or through the concept [PLACE: LOCATION BEHIND/BEYOND] in *Ažūmiškė I*, or the concept [PLACE OF/FOR ACTIVITY] in *Poguliánka I*. They point to and convey the imagery of accommodation through concept [TEMPORARY SHELTER] in *Būdà I, Būdà III*, or describe the surroundings or landscape of the named object and convey the concept [PLAIN] in *Lygūmai I, Lygūmai II*, or the concept [MOUND] in *Piliakalnis I*.

2. ITLs of opaque motivation and semantics

- 2.1. Several oikonyms are **motivated by appellative** and embed a variety of combinations of concepts, relating to locations or directions, indicating certain activities, and describing the surroundings, landscape, or objects reflecting the nominator's perception of the physical or spiritual reality. These include concepts: [MOUNTAINOUS AREA/PLANT SPECIES] in *Kalnuotė I, Kalnuotė II, Kalnuotė IV, Kalnuotė V, Kalnuotė VII*; [CROSSROAD/CROSS] in *Kryžiaúka I*; [BIRD/PLANT SPECIES/THICKETS] in *Malináuka I*; [NEW LAND PARCEL/NEWLY PLOWED FIELD] in *Naujālaukis (Naujālaukis I), Naujālaukis II, Naujālaukis, Naujālaukis II*; [NEW

- SETTLEMENT/NEW GARDEN] in *Naujāsodis I*; [NEW SETTLEMENT/DWELLERS] in *Navasiòlkai I*; [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR/SETTLEMENT IN/BY THE FOREST] in *Pāšilē I*, *Pāšilē II*, *Pāšilē III*; [COLOUR/BEAUTY] in *Raudōnē I*; [PROFESSION/FOREST] in *Ūsininkai I*.
- 2.2. Oikonyms **motivated by appellative or PN** also present a variety of combinations of concepts, such as [PROFESSION/POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] in *Kuniğiškiai*; *Pliauškės I*, *Pliauškės II*, *Pliauškės III*; [VISCOUS PLACE/POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] in *Liūnai I*; [BIRD SPECIES/POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP] in ¹*Varnikai*.
- 2.3. Oikonyms **motivated by PN or hydronym** express the concept [POSSESSIVITY: OWNERSHIP/LOCATION NEAR] in *Airėnai (I)*, *Aliónys (Aliónys I)*.
- 2.4. Toponyms **motivated by oikonym or hydronym** convey the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR] in oikonyms *Antāliedė II*, *Kúosinė I*, *Kúosinė II*, *Kúosinė III*, *Parijà I*, *Parijà II*; and in limnonyms *Bražuolės tvenkinys*, *Bražuolės I tvenkinys*, *Bražuolės II tvenkinys*, *Juodės I tvenkinys*, *Juodės II tvenkinys*, *Juodės III tvenkinys*, *Juodės IV tvenkinys*.
- 2.5. Oikonym **motivated by oikonym or helonym** conveys the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION NEAR] in *Pāgaigalė II*.

The analysis has shown that the limnonyms resp. pond names with numbers as DMs make a very small cluster of toponym oppositions in Vilnius County. All of the oppositions analyzed in the sections above are Gen case derivatives from names of objects the named ponds are located in/vicinity of. Therefore, these limnonyms may be deemed “continuum” of the primary toponyms, in Vanagas’ (1970: 75) terms. All the ITLs in the discussed oppositions are of Lithuanian origin.

The etymological analysis of oikonym oppositions in this category has shown that only in 4 out of 53 cases, ITLs are clearly of Slavic origin and are related to either Bel, Pol, Rus, or Ukr PNs, cf. *Kochanovkà I* × *Kochanovkà II* × *Kochanovkà III*, or appellatives, cf. *Malináuka I* × *Malináuka II*, *Navasiòlkai I* × *Navasiòlkai II* × *Navasiòlkai III*, and *Poguliánka I* × *Poguliánka II*. The origin of ITLs in 5 oppositions is rather opaque, as they may be related either to 1) Lith or Slav PNs in *Bastúnai I* × *Bastúnai II*, 2) Lith appellative or Slav PNs in ¹*Varnikai* × ²*Varnikai* × *Varnikėliai I* × *Varnikėliai II*, or 3) Lith or Slav appellatives in *Kryžiáuka I* × *Kryžiáuka II*, *Raudōnė I* × *Raudōnė II*, and *Ūsininkai I* × *Ūsininkai II* × *Ūsininkai III*.

MISCELLANEOUS CORRELATIONS IN OPPOSITIONS

Both linguistic and extralinguistic analysis shows that almost all DMs in toponym opposition discussed in the previous chapters express antonymic relationships and are motivated by the named objects' either *relative size*, *age*, or *position in space*. However, there is also a small number of limnonym, potamonym, and oikonym oppositions DMs of which express miscellaneous correlations formed by simple or pronominal adjectives forms, other appellatives, and/or proper names. Hence, the focus of this chapter is on the detailed semantic analysis and classification of toponym oppositions (limnonyms, potamonyms, and oikonoms) the DMs of which do not express any of the concepts singled out in the chapters above. In the sections below, oppositions are analyzed with reference to the origin and motivation of their constituent parts. Also, the analysis comprises the extralinguistic outline, data from historical sources as well as the semantic analysis. The outline of the main semantic groups of DMs and ITLs, highlighting the concepts, the names of (in)tangible world, that motivated the toponyms is presented at the end of the chapter. The analysis is carried out in adherence to the theories outlined in Chapter 1 and the definition of opposition proposed by I. Saeed (cf. Section 1.5.).

8.1. *Antākalniai*_v × *Gelėžių Antākalniai*_v

Antākalniai – Dūkštos eld, V D; SV1974 733 Antakalniai_v, G1905 48 Rus д. Антоколыцы, R1872 Rus Антоколыцы.

Gelėžių Antākalniai – Sudervė eld, V D, 1 km northwest of *Gelėžiai*_v, 8 km south of *Antākalniai*; SV1974 753 Antakalniai_v, G1905 48 Rus д. Антоколыцы, R1872 Rus Антоколыце.

Antākalniai and *Gelėžių Antākalniai* are *pl* of *Antākalnis* and are related to and derived from Lith *kálnas* (mountain/hill) 'high ground elevation' (LKŽe) using Lith Pref *ant-* 'on/atop' (cf. Section 7.4.). In *Gelėžių Antākalniai*, the DM *Gelėžių* is the Gen case derivative from oikonym *Gelėžiai* that is approx. 1 km southeast of *Gelėžių Antākalniai*. ITLs *Antākalniai* in both oikonoms express the concept [SETTLEMENT/ PLACE ON/ATOP HILLS]: *ant(a)- + kaln- + -iai* (on/atop+hills) → the settlement on the hills/in the mountains → *Antākalniai*. The oikonym *Gelėžių Antākalniai* expresses the following concept: *Gelėžių + ant(a)- + kaln- + -iai* (on/atop+hills) → the settlement in the hills/ mountains not far away from the village *Gelėžiai* → *Gelėžių Antākalniai*.

8.2. *Būdà*_v × *Semeliškių Būdà*_v

Būdà – Aukštadvaris eld, Trak D; SV1974 642 *Būda*_v, G1905 313 ф. Буда, R1872 Rus д. Буда.

Semeliškių Būdà – Aukštadvaris eld, Trak D, 4 km northwest of *Būdà*; SV1974 658 *Semeliškių Būda*_v, G1905 337 д. Буда-Сумелишская (2 villages), R1872 Rus д. Буда Сумилишки.

For the analysis of the ITL *Būdà*, cf. Sections 6.1. and 6.2. The correlation of the zero DM to DM *Semeliškių* in *Būdà* and *Semeliškių Būdà* create an opposition, however, not a semantic one. The DM *Semeliškių* is the Gen case derivative from *Semeliškės*_{tm} (*Sėmeliškės* eld., El D). Therefore, *Semeliškių Būdà* expresses the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] and a metonymic transposition of the nomenclature term: *Semeliškių Būdà* ← *Semelišk-* + *-ių* + Lith *būdà* (Bel *бyдa*, Pol *buda*) ← the settlement (dwelling) in the forest or deforested area in the vicinity of *Semeliškės*.

8.3. *Karklėnai*_v × *Ūžupio Karklėnai*_v × *Didieji Karklėnai*_v

Karklėnai – Šātrininkai eld, V D; SV1974 737 *Karklėnai I*_v, *Karklėnai II*_v, *Karklėnai III*_v, G1905 53 Rus ф. Лознишки, 40 дес., R1872 Rus ф. Лозники.

Ūžupio Karklėnai – Šātrininkai eld, V D; SV1974 737 *Užupio Karklėnai*_v, G1905 53 Rus д. Заречные, 651 дес., R1872 Rus Зарѣцки.

Didieji Karklėnai – Šātrininkai eld, V D; SV1974 737 *Didieji Karklėnai*_v, G1905 53 Rus им. Лознишки, 105 дес., R1872 Rus ф. Лозники.

For the analysis of the ITL *Karklėnai*, cf. Section 5.1.3. DMs in this opposition are the result of the historical development of the settlements. The DM *Didieji* ← *didysis* ‘big, great, important’ (LKŽe), cf. Lith *m pl didieji*, in *Didieji Karklėnai*, is most probably motivated by the importance of the settlement and marks the primary settlement in the vicinity. The oikonym may be a metonymic transposition of the concept [PLACE] (nomenclature term) into the oikonym, the DM indicating the importance of the settlement: 1) *Didieji* ‘big, great, important’ + Lith *karkl-ỹnė* + *-ėnai* → the place overgrown with willow trees, shrubs → *Didieji Karklėnai*; or 2) the metonymic transposition of the concept [PEOPLE] referring to those living in such place (kind of a nickname): *Didieji* ‘big, great, important’ + *karkl-ỹnė* + *-ėnai* → *karklėnai* (people living in *karklỹnė*) → *Didieji Karklėnai*; or 3) ← Lith *kařklas* ‘willow family tree or shrub’, or Lith *karklỹnė* ‘place overgrown with willows, willow bushes’, or Lith PN *Kařklas*. The present-day settlement *Karklėnai* has a zero-DM and originated after the merger of three separate settlements, which by the middle of the 20th c. were differentiated using numbers that served the DMs, cf. SV1974 737 *Karklėnai I*_v, *Karklėnai II*_v, *Karklėnai III*_v. *Karklėnai* is motivated by its location in the vicinity of *Didieji Karklėnai* and is a metonymic transposition of the primary oikonym: *Karklėnai* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Didieji Karklėnai*. *Ūžupio Karklėnai* is also the result of the renaming; the DM of this

oikonym is motivated by the historical name form – R1872 Rus Зарѣцки or Зарѣчки (the *pl* derivative of Rus Pref *за-* ‘beyond, across’ and *рѣчка* ‘(small) river’) with the meaning ‘a settlement beyond/across the river’, or most probably ‘people living beyond/across the river’. Hence, Rus Зарѣцки or Зарѣчки during the process of renaming and standardization of the oikonym turned into Lith *Ūžupio* ← Gen case of Lith *m s ūžupis* ‘place beyond/across the river’ (LKŽe) and is motivated by the settlement’s location on the opposite bank of the Šeterninkų upėlis, as viewed from the location of *Karklėnai*, *Aukštieji Karklėnai*, *Didieji Karklėnai*, and *Žemieji Karklėnai*. The second component in *Ūžupio Karklėnai* is made by the principle of analogy and is a metonymic transposition of the oikonym (*Didieji*) *Karklėnai*, the first component is the conceptualization of the place of the settlement: *Ūžupio Karklėnai* ← *ūžup-is* + *-io* + *Karklėnai* ← the settlement across the stream/river in the vicinity of (*Didieji*) *Karklėnai*.

8.4. *Leñtvario akìs_L* × *Naũjojo Leñtvario akìs_L*

Leñtvario akìs – Lentvaris eld, Trak D, western part of *Leñtvaris_{tn}*.

Naũjojo Leñtvario akìs – Lentvaris eld, Trak D, 1,8 km of *Leñtvario akìs*, in the northern outskirts of *Leñtvaris_{tn}*, in *Naujasis Leñtvaris_v*.

The first component of the composite limnonym *Leñtvario akìs* is Gen case derivative from the oikonym *Leñtvaris* and is motivated by the lake’s location in the settlement. The component Lith *akìs* (a hole; an eye) ‘hole in a swamp; small area of water in wetlands or lakes that are almost overgrown by vegetation’ (LKŽe) may be considered a nomenclature term that refers to the natural object that is named. The conceptualization of the limnonym is metonymic and may be explained by its position in relation to other objects, expressing the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION IN/NEAR]: *Leñtvario akìs* ← the lake in (the vicinity of) *Leñtvaris*. The limnonym *Naũjojo Leñtvario akìs* is of the same derivation model and type as the name in its opposition and is motivated by the lake’s location in *Naujasis Leñtvaris* village. The conceptualization of the limnonym is metonymic and may be explained by its position in relation to other objects, expressing the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION IN/NEAR]: *Naũjojo Leñtvario akìs* ← the lake in (the vicinity of) *Naujasis Leñtvaris*.

8.5. *Didỹsis Piřčiupis_{st}* × *Mažasis Piřčiupis_{st}*

The Didỹsis Piřčiupis – 6,9 km, the Merkys trib., Šlčn D, Vrn D; R1872 Rus p. Пирцюписъ.

The Mažasis Piřčiupis – 8,9 km, the Merkys trib., Šlčn D, Vrn D; R1872 Rus p. Пирцюписъ.

The *Didỹsis Piřčiupis* is a stream, which originates in the Rūdinkai forest (Rūdinkų giria), Šlčn D. The biggest part of its bed lies in the Piřčiupiai forest

(*Piřčiupių miškas*), Vrn D. The stream forms the direct opposition based on the semantic antonymic correlation with the *Mažasis Piřčiupis*, a stream the source of which is a couple of kilometres away to the north-east from the *Didysis Piřčiupis* in the Rūdninkai forest (Rūdninkų giria), Šlčn D. The biggest part of the *Mažasis Piřčiupis* riverbed is in Trak and Vrn Ds. *Piřčiupis* is a compound potamonym, the first component of which is related by Vanagas (1981: 260) to Lith *pirtis* (bathhouse) ‘certain building or place for bathing; building or room where the flax is dried’ (LKŽe), while the second component is Lith *upis* (river) ‘large, natural water flow, the current flowing on the land surface in its grooved bed’ (LKŽe). Taking into consideration the historical facts that the vicinity was a favourite hunting place of Grand Dukes of the GDL and there once has been the royal hunting estate, as well as the tragedy of 1944, the motivation of the DMs *Didysis* (big/great) and *Mažasis* (small) can be interpreted according to Stachowski’s (2018: 197–214) theory and it can be stated that the *Didysis Piřčiupis* is more important. The linguistic-cognitive motivation of *Piřčiupis* can be interpreted as a transfer of the concept [PLACE: BUILDING] into both potamonyms: Lith *pirt-īs* + *upis* → a bathing river/bathhouse river → (*Didysis/Mažasis*) *Piřčiupis*.

The correlation of the DMs in pre-position Lith *Didysis* (← *didysis* ← *didis* ‘great, big’) – *Mažasis* (← *mažasis* ← *māžas* ‘small’) in the opposition, based on the extra-linguistic data¹¹⁹, is a rather recent addition and the current potamonyms are the result of re-naming or standardization of old (or dialectal forms). Also, the choice of the DMs is confusing due to the following geographical fact: the *Mažasis Piřčiupis* is 8,88 km, while the *Didysis Piřčiupis* is 6,9 km long. This fact shows that the DMs in two composite potamonyms do not refer to the lengths of both rivers, which leads to at least several linguistic interpretations of their motivation and semantics: 1) the correlation *Didysis*–*Mažasis* could be motivated by the concept [SIGNIFICANCE/IMPOTRANCE], cf. Lith *didysis* ‘important, significant’ × *mažasis*, *māžas* ‘unimportant, insignificant’ (LKŽe)¹²⁰; 2) the significance of one river over the other may be determined by the

¹¹⁹ In the historical source R1872, both potamonyms are recorded as Rus p. *Пупуионисъ* (without any DMs), and most probably are the transliteration of the Dzūkian (Southern Aukštaitian) dialect, cf. Rus *Пупуионисъ* ← Lith(dial.) **Pirciupė*, **Pirciupis* → Lith *Piřčiupis*. The absence of DMs as pre-modifiers of the river names is also traced in many maps from the Soviet period. Moreover, it has to be noted that the pronominal adjective forms are not used in the Dzūkian dialect. This allows to conclude that DMs are the result of standardization of both oikonyms.

¹²⁰ The *Didysis Piřčiupis* could be made more ‘important, significant’ than the *Mažasis Piřčiupis* because there is the settlement *Piřčiupiai* on its banks. The settlement *Piřčiupiai* (historically, R1872 Rus *Пупуионе* ← Lith (dial.) **Pirciupė* → Lith *Piřčiupė*) has a quite long and also tragic history. The name was first mentioned as early as the 16th–17th cc. The village was located on the road to Grodno (Bel Гродна), Belarus. Dukes of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania loved to hunt in the vicinity of *Piřčiupiai*, where there was the royal hunting lodge (cf. ML-I; Maculevičius, Baltrušienė 1999: 92). The village (and the river it is located next to) is also known for the tragedy of June 1944, when after the Soviet partisans’ (members of resistance movements that fought against the Axis forces in the Soviet Union)

position of their mouths in relation to the river they drain their waters into¹²¹; 3) the correlation of the DMs in the potamonyms could be motivated by the intensity and volume of the flow, conveying the concept [VOLUMINOSITY/INTENSITY], cf. Lith *didysis* ‘voluminous, abundant; strong, intensive’ × *mažasis*, *māžas* ‘small (in quantity), unabundant; weak, light’ (LKŽe)¹²².

8.6. *Tartōkas*_v × *Šalčininkėlių Tartōkas*_v

Tartōkas – Šalčininkai eld, Šlčn D; SV1974 525 Tartokas_v, G1905 76 Rus выс. Тартакъ (или [ог] Зарѣчье).

Šalčininkėlių Tartōkas – Šalčininkai eld, Šlčn D, 8,5 km north of *Tartōkas*_v; SV1974 519 Tartokas_v, G1905 76 Rus вод.[яная] мел.[ъница] [watermill] Тартакъ, R1872 Rus Пильн.[я] [a sawmill].

Both oikonyms may be derived from Lith *tartōkas* ‘lumbermill, sawmill’ (LKŽe), which is a Polonism ← Pol *tartak* ‘lumbermill, sawmill’, i.e. a facility where logs are cut into lumber, or ‘mill’ (→ Bel *mapák* ‘lumbermill, (saw)mill’, Rus (dial.) *mapák* ‘lumbermill, (saw)mill’) (LKPŽ 647). According to the locals, there was a sawmill in *Tartōkas* until the middle of the last century, while in *Šalčininkėlių Tartōkas* there was a mill by the Visinčia river. The village has developed in the location where the mill was installed, therefore, *Tartōkas* and *Šalčininkėlių Tartōkas* are motivated by the transposition of the concept [PLACE: BUILDING]: Lith *tartōkas* (Pol *tartak*) → a settlement near the (saw)mill/lumbermill or where the mill(s) were located → *Tartōkas*, *Šalčininkėlių Tartōkas*. The village *Šalčininkėlių Tartōkas* is located in the northwestern outskirts of *Šalčininkėliai*_v¹²³. This composite oikonym is motivated by the same concept, but additionally is modified by the DM *Šalčininkėlių* (Gen case ← *Šalčininkėliai*) and should be considered the Gen case name, the first component of which names the geographic (economic) object. The oikonym is the transposition of the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] and also expresses the relationships of possessiv-

attack on the Nazi battalion, the Schutzstaffel sent a punishment squadron and burned alive almost all (119, including children under age of 16) inhabitants of Pirčiupiai (cf. Lipovec 2019). The tragedy of *Pirčiupiai* is covered in many books, articles, etc. Considering the above, the DMs *Didysis* and *Mažasis* could actually highlight the significance of one river over the other irrespective of their actual lengths.

¹²¹ Both *the Didysis Pirčiupis* and *the Mažasis Pirčiupis* are left tributaries of the Merkys (the confluence of the *Mažasis Pirčiupis* and the Merkys is 2 km further upstream from the place the *Didysis Pirčiupis* discharges its waters).

¹²² Thus, *Didysis Pirčiupis* could be motivated and characterized by the river’s intense, abundant current, while *Mažasis Pirčiupis* could be motivated and characterized by the weaker, less intense, and unabundant water flow. However, such interpretations of the DMs motivation, though possible, are arguable, as this extralinguistic data is unavailable at the moment of writing.

¹²³ For the more detailed analysis of the oikonyms *Šalčininkėliai*, cf. Chapter 4.2.73.

ity and origin: *Šalčininkėlių Tartōkas* ← the settlement with a (saw)mill/lumbermill in the vicinity of *Šalčininkėliai* village.

8.7. *Ūtā_v* × *Stākų Ūtā_{stead}*

Ūtā – Šalčininkai eld, Šlčn D, 3,8 km east of Šalčininkai_{tn}; SV1974 525 Ūtā_v, G1905 74

Rus ф. Гута, R1872 Rus Стекл. [стекольный] зав.[од] Стока.

Stākų Ūtā – Šalčininkai eld, Šlčn D, 6 km east of *Ūtā*; SV1974 525 Stākų Ūtā_{stead},

G1905 74 Rus з. Гута, R1872 Rus Домъ Лѣс.[ные] Стоки.

Ūtā is related to Lith *ūtā* (← Pol huta) ‘smelter, melting house’ (LKŽe) and is motivated by the glass factory (R1872 Rus Стекл. [стекольный] зав.[од] Стока) around which the present-day settlement has developed. The oikonym is a metonymic transposition of the economic term relating to the place of moulding of glass and production of glass products: Lith *ūtā* → a smelter, melting house → *Ūtā*. A composite oikonym *Stākų Ūtā*, the first component of which is Gen case derivative from the oikonym *Stākai* (Poškonys eld, Šlčn D), i.e. the name of the village in the vicinity of which (1,4 km south) the settlement *Stākų Ūtā* is located. The second component is most likely made by the principle of analogy and is a transposition of the oikonym *Ūtā* and was motivated by the settlement’s location in the vicinity of the glass factory. The settlement was likely established by the factory workers (or owners to accommodate the workers). The oikonym thus may be a metonymic transposition, conveying the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] to both *Stākai* village and the glass factory, and could indicate the place where the glass factory workers lived: *Stākų Ūtā* ← *Stāk-ai* + *-ų* + *Ūtā* ← the settlement in the vicinity of *Stākai* village and the glass factory (Lith *ūtā* → settlement *Ūtā*).

8.8. *Áukštosios Viėsos_v* × *Žėmosios Viėsos_v* × *Sėnosios Viėsos_v*

Áukštosios Viėsos – Širvintos eld, Šr D; 111 MSL, on the left bank upstream the

Širvintà (the Šventoji trib.) at its confluence with the Viesà; SV1974 587 Aukštosios Viėsos_v, G1905 78 Rus д. Вѣсы-Горные, R1872 Rus з. Весы.

Žėmosios Viėsos – Širvintos eld, Šr D; 108 MSL, downstream the Širvintà, in the right

bank valley 0,8 km away from *Áukštosios Viėsos*; SV1974 589 Žėmosios Viėsos_v, G1905 78 Rus з. Вѣсы-Дольные, R1872 Rus з. Новые Весы.

Sėnosios Viėsos – Širvintos eld, Šr D; SV1974 588 Senosios Viėsos_v, G1905 78 Rus

д. Вѣсы-Старые, R1872 д. Весы.

For the analysis of the ITL *Viėsos* and DMs *Áukštosios* and *Žėmosios*, cf. Section 5.1.10. The DM *Sėnosios* most probably indicates the older, bigger settlement. Its size may be inferred from the settlement type – village, cf. G1905 78 Rus д. Вѣсы-Старые, R1872 д. Весы [*Sėnosios Viėsos*].

8.9. ¹*Baltóji Vókė*_{tn} × ²*Baltóji Vókė*_v × *Juodóji Vókė*_v

8.10. *Trākų Vókė*_v × *Mūrinė Vókė*_v

¹*Baltóji Vókė* – Baltoji Vokė eld, Šlėn D.

²*Baltóji Vókė* – V C, 17 km northeast of *Baltóji Vókė*_{tn}; SV1974 738, 749 Baltoji Vokė_v, G1905 64 Rus им. Бѣлая Вака (гр. Тышкевича).

Juodóji Vókė – V C, 8,3 km northeast of *Baltóji Vókė*_{tn}, 8,8 km south of *Baltóji Vókė*_v; SV1974 749 Juodoji Vokė_{stead}.

Trākų Vókė – V C, 6,5 km northwest of *Baltóji Vókė*_v; SV1974 759 Trakų Vokė_v, G1905 330 Rus им. Вака (гр. Тышкевича).

Mūrinė Vókė – V C, 2 km north of *Trākų Vókė*; SV1974 650 Mūrinė Vokė_v, G1905 330 Rus з., ф. Вака-Мурованая (гр. Тышкевича).

Baltóji Vókė, *Juodóji Vókė*, and *Baltóji Vókė*, as well as *Trākų Vókė* and *Mūrinė Vókė* all refer to several settlements *Vókė*¹²⁴ on the *Vókė* (the Neris trib.), a stream flowing from Lake Pāpis. The oikonym *Vókė* is an obvious case of transonymization or metonymic name transfer from the potamonym to oikonym: *Vókė* ← the settlement on the *Vókė* river ← *Vókė*.

The opposition *Baltóji Vókė* × *Baltóji Vókė* × *Juodóji Vókė* is formed by the antonymic correlation of colour adjectives Lith *báltas* ‘white’ and *júodas* ‘black’ and is the only colour opposition in the corpus of Vilnius County toponyms¹²⁵. It is very difficult to explain the motivation of colour components in composite or compound toponyms for several reasons¹²⁶. There may be several versions of motivation and semantics of DMs (colour lexemes) in oikonyms *Juodóji Vókė* and two *Baltóji Vókė* based on historical sources. The earliest mention of the colour lexeme is R1872 Rus

¹²⁴ The name *Vókė* was first mentioned in 1375, when Prussian Marshal Godfrid von Linden († 25 July 1379) and his army looted the vicinity of *Trākai* for nine days. Then a big battle took place near the *Vókė* between the regiments of Lithuanian dukes Kęstutis (c. 1300 – 15 August 1382) and Algirdas (11 February 1296 – 24 May 1377) and the Teutonic Order. In 1396–1397, the Grand Duke of Lithuania Vytautas (c. 1350 – 27 October 1430) settled the Tatar prisoners by the *River Vókė*. In 1415 the village *Vókė* was written by Duke Vytautas to the Old Trakai Benedictine Monastery (cf. VLEe).

¹²⁵ Colour oppositions are surprisingly scarce in toponymy of the present-day Vilnius County. Although, according to Saeed (2016: 64) “the term antonymy is sometimes used to describe words which are at the same level in a taxonomy”, i.e. hierarchical classification system, one of which is the system of colour adjectives that being “sister-members of the same taxonomy and therefore incompatible with each other”, toponyms (potamonims, limnonims, and oikonyms, including compound and composite names) of the same syntactic composition or form modified by any colour could potentially make an opposition. However, no such toponyms were identified in the analyzed corpus. There are several toponyms, such as potamonims *Báltupis* (known as *Cedronas* or *Kedronas*), *Juodė*, *Raudonėlė*, *Rudaminà*, *Rudėlė*, *Žalesà*, limnonims *Juōdis* and *Báltis*, which were obviously in one way or another motivated by colour adjectives *báltas* (white), *júodas* (black), *raudónas* (red), *rūdas* (brown, red), *žalias* (green), but they are at a too big distance from other colour-motivated toponymic objects to form oppositions.

¹²⁶ Cf. Section 1.4.1.

Белая Бака out of three oikonyms. The colour attributes in these oikonyms may be explained with reference to their age, where the colour *white* could mean *big* and, eventually, *old*, as opposed to *black* with the meaning *small* and, eventually, *new*. The absence of the village *Juodóji Vókė* and town *Baltóji Vókė* in the 19th c. map means that both are relatively ‘young’ settlements. Thus, the reasoning ‘*white* is *old* and *black* is *young*’ could only be true for the opposition *Baltóji Vókė*_v (VC) × *Juodóji Vókė*_v, but not for the opposition *Juodóji Vókė*_v × *Baltóji Vókė*_{tn}. The town *Baltóji Vókė* was initially founded as a settlement known as Naujóji Žagarinė and got its current name as well as the status of a town in 1958¹²⁷. Therefore, it may be concluded that the polisonym *Baltóji Vókė* is made by analogy to *Baltóji Vókė* village. The statement that colour adjectives in names can be motivated by geographical and geological factors can partly be true in the case of *Juodóji Vókė*, which is situated in the middle of *Baltóji Vókė* peat bog, the biggest in Lithuania. Likely, the colour adjective *juodóji* ‘black’ in the name of this village could be motivated by the dark colour of the soil (peat), taking into consideration the village’s location. On the other hand, the presence of colour in all three oikonyms could be motivated by the colour of buildings in each settlement. The colour *black* could be related to the prevailing colour of wooden structures, as wood (a common building material) gets darker or black with age. However, the question arises as to whether the dark colour of the wood used as a building material could have motivated the colour adjective in the toponym. The absence of black colour in most settlement names (esp. villages) could be explained by the prevailing dark or black colour of wooden buildings in most villages (Štěpán 2009: 917). The presence of wooden structures does not explain the colour adjective in the name *Juodóji Vókė*, as toponyms are usually motivated by certain features exclusively characteristic of the named object, but not the common qualities, which means that if the *black* colour was or is typical in the time of name giving, i.e. the prevalent dark (black) colour of most wooden structures in the settlement could not be considered the unique quality (outstanding feature) to motivate an oikonym. However, the colour of buildings as the outstanding feature is a possible and highly likely motivational factor in the case of *Baltóji Vókė*_v, which has been famous for its centuries-old *Baltóji Vókė Mansion*¹²⁸. The mansion with its light (*white*) structures is the most prominent object in *Baltóji Vókė*_v and, thus, may be considered the settlement’s exclusive, outstanding feature. The adjective *báltas* ‘white’ in oikonyms is usually associated with the white coating of masonry buildings. The motifs of renaming Naujóji Žagarinė into *Baltóji Vókė*_{tn} (Šlčn D) are not quite clear and the new (current) name of the town could only be deemed to be motivated by *Baltóji Vókė* peat bog, as Naujóji Žagarinė was founded as a settlement for workers who have been digging peat for Vilnius heat plant. The settlement *Baltóji Vókė*_v could be motivated by the transposition of the concept (light/

¹²⁷ Baltoji Vokė eldership website at: <https://www.baltojivoke.lt/apie-seniunija/>.

¹²⁸ Lith *Baltosios Vokės dvaras*, included in the list of protected objects of the country’s Department of Cultural Heritage (cf. *Kultūros vertybių registras* at: <https://kvr.kpd.lt/#/>).

white) [COLOUR] of *Baltóji Vókė Mansion* which is considered to be the most outstanding building in the vicinity; *Juodóji Vókė* could be motivated by the transposition of the concept of (black/dark) colour of soil (peat) to the oikonym, taking into the consideration the village's location in the middle of the *Baltóji Vókė* peat bog; whereas, the name *Baltóji Vókė_{tn}* is made by analogy to *Baltóji Vókė_v*. Therefore, the DMs could carry the following semantic loads: 1) *Baltóji Vókė_v* ← the settlement on the *Vókė* with white (light) mansion; 2) *Juodóji Vókė* ← the settlement on the *Vókė* in the lands with black/dark soil; 3) *Baltóji Vókė_{tn}* ← the settlement on the *Vókė* in the vicinity of *Baltóji Vókė* peat bog.

The DM *Trākų* in the composite name *Trākų Vókė* is motivated by the oikonym *Trākai* (← *Trākų* is the Gen case of *Trākai*), as the settlement is situated near the road to *Trākai*, therefore, the name *Trākų Vókė* means no more or less than 'the settlement (*Vókė*) on the road (in the direction to *Trākai*) near the *Vókė*' and expresses the concept of belonging (possessivity) and origin, which is motivated by the concept [PLACE: LOCATION ON/NEAR]: *Trākų Vókė* ← the settlement on the *Vókė* near the road to *Trākai*.

Mūrinė Vókė describes the type of buildings prevalent in the settlement. The DM *Mūrinė* 'made of stones or bricks' is derived from Lith *mūras* 'wall or enclosure made from mortar, stones or bricks' (LKŽe), cf. Lith *mūryti* 'to lay bricks; to build from stones or bricks' (LKŽe). The DM is most likely motivated by the stone bridge the village was proud of. The villagers always emphasized that they were from *Mūrinė Vókė*, not any other *Vókė* (Čelkis 2019: 14). The oikonym is the metonymic transposition of the river name and the metonymic transposition of the concept (masonry) [STRUCTURE]: *Mūrinė Vókė* ← the settlement with structures (bridge) made of stones/bricks on the *Vókė*.

* * *

With reference to oppositions theories outlined in Chapter 1, the analysis has shown that toponyms described in this chapter create oppositions formed by either antonymic semantic correlations of DMs or non-antonymic ones. The discussed oppositions do not fall in the semantic categories singled out in the chapters above. The etymological analysis has shown that both DMs and ITLs in the above oppositions are of Lithuanian origin.

Semantics and motivation of DMs. The semantically non-antonymic correlations of DMs are obvious in 8 cases as they are derived from other proper names from the class of oikonyms and hydronyms. In some cases, DMs belong to different taxonomies. The linguistic and extralinguistic analysis has shown the following:

1. Semantically non-antonymic correlation of DMs

1.1. **The correlation of unmarked toponyms with appellative modified names** in *Karklėnai* × *Ūžupio Karklėnai* × *Didieji Karklėnai*, in which the first member of the opposition is unmarked and is the result of the renaming of several settlements, the second member is modified by the Gen case Lith *m* s

Noun *ùžupio* (← Lith *ùžupis* ‘a place behind the river’) and is motivated by the settlement’s location from the perspective of other names in opposition (the settlement is located across the river), the third member is marked with the pronominal adjective Lith *m pl didieji* ‘the big, the great; greater’ and is motivated by the concept [IMPORTANCE] and marks the oldest/primary settlement.

- 1.2. **The correlation of unmarked toponyms with DMs derived from other toponyms** in *Antākalniai × Gelėžių Antākalniai*, *Būdà × Semeliškių Būdà*, *Tartōkas × Šalčininkėlių Tartōkas*, and *Ūtā × Stākų Ūtā* in which DMs are Gen case derivatives from oikonyms *Gelėžiai*, *Semeliškės*, *Šalčininkėliai*, and *Stākai*, respectively, and are motivated by the actual settlements’ location near the settlements the names of which served the DMs.
- 1.3. **The correlation of DMs derived from other toponyms** in *Leņtvario akīs × Naūjojo Leņtvario akīs*, in which DMs are Gen case derivatives from oikonyms *Leņtvaris* and *Naujās Leņtvaris*, respectively, and are motivated by the location of the named objects in the respective settlements.
- 1.4. **The correlation of DMs that belong to different classes of appellatives** in *Áukštosios Viēsos × Žēmosios Viēsos × Sēnosios Viēsos*, in which the first two members present the semantic opposition based on correlation of pronominal adjectives *áukštosios–žēmosios* (expressing spatial relationship), the third member is modified by the pronominal adjective *sēnosios* (expresses the temporal quality). Here, the DMs of the first two members are motivated by the settlements’ position in relation to the river flow, and the DM of the third member is motivated by the age of the settlement.
- 1.5. **The correlation of DMs that belong to the classes of proper names and appellatives** in *Trākų Vókė × Mūrinė Vókė*, in which the DMs are Gen case derivatives from the oikonym *Trākai* (→ *Trākų*) and Lith *mūrinė* (← Lith *mūrinis* (-ė)).

2. Antonymic correlation of DMs of opaque motivation and semantics

- 2.1. **The correlation of pronominal adjectives Lith *didysis–mažasis*** could be motivated by either the concept [SIGNIFICANCE/IMPORTANCE], or the concept [PLACE: LOCATION ON], or the concept [VOLUMINOSITY/INTENSITY] rather than [SIZE: LENGTH] in potamonyms *Didysis Pīrčiupis × Mažasis Pīrčiupis*.
- 2.2. **The correlation of pronominal adjectives Lith *juodoji–baltoji*** in oikonyms *Baltoji Vókė × Baltoji Vókė × Juodoji Vókė* could be motivated by and convey the meaning of the geographical factors (names can be derived using the analogy from other toponyms, esp. hydronyms); geological factors (the colour of the soil in the vicinity of the named object and/or fertility of soil); the colour of buildings; symbolism of colour; concept of age, position, size (colour *white* could mean *big* and, eventually, *old*, as opposed to *black* with the meaning *small* and, eventually, *new*).

Semantics and motivation of ITLs. The linguistic analysis has shown that ITLs fall into two categories: name lexemes of transparent and opaque motivation and semantics. These names are based on impressions/associations the nominator had about a named object and facilitate the categorization of the surrounding reality through concepts.

1. ITLs of transparent motivation and semantics

- 1.1. Oikonyms **motivated by potamonym** convey the concept [PLACE: LOCATION ON/NEAR] in (*Áukštosios, Žėmosios, Sėnosios*) *Viėsos*, (*Baltóji, Juodóji, Trąky, Mūrinė*) *Vókė*.
- 1.2. Oikonyms **motivated by oikonym** are based on the concept [PLACE: LOCATION NEAR] *Karklėnai*, (*Ūžupio*) *Karklėnai*, (*Stąky*) *Ūtą*.
- 1.3. Toponyms **motivated by appellative** convey a variety of concepts that reflect the worldview of people in the territory under investigation. Toponyms point to locations through the imagery [PLACE: LOCATION ON] in oikonyms *Antąkalniai*, (*Gelėžių*) *Antąkalniai*; convey the imagery of accommodation or economic activity through the concepts [TEMPORARY SHELTER] in oikonyms *Būdą*, (*Semelėškių*) *Būdą*, or [PLACE: BUILDING] in potamonims (*Didýsis, Mažąsis*) *Pirčiupis* and oikonyms *Tartókas*, (*Šalčininkėlių*) *Tartókas, Ūtą*.
- 1.4. Limnonims are sometimes **motivated by appellative and oikonym** combining the concepts [WATER BODY/POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION] in *Leñtvario akis*, *Naūjojo Leñtvario akis*.

2. ITLs of opaque motivation and semantics

- 2.1. Oikonyms **motivated by appellative or PN** also present a combination of concepts [PLACE/PEOPLE] in (*Didėji*) *Karklėnai*.
- 2.2. Oikonym **motivated by hydronym or helonym** conveys the concept [POSSESSIVITY: LOCATION ON/NEAR] in *Baltóji Vókė_{tn}*.

CONCLUSIONS

1. A new approach to Lithuanian toponymy has been proposed. The approach is based on the integration of traditional and Cognitive Onomastics scientific-theoretical principles and methodologies developed by Lithuanian and foreign scholars. Regarding theories of Cognitive Semantics and Cognitive Onomastics as well as the traditional onomastic research models, the linguistic research and classification of Vilnius County toponym oppositions are based on the derivational, etymological, and semantic analyses of DMs and base lexemes (ITLs). Oppositions, which are one of the means of categorizing the world, are also viewed as an antonymic semantic relationship between the DMs of the name (ITLs), but as any type of relationship between DMs, including the elements of compound toponyms that have a distinct function. The combination of these theories and research principles coupled with extralinguistic data analysis expands the possibilities of linguistic analysis. It helps if not to restore the original meanings of toponyms, then to at least clarify their etymologies.
2. The analyzed corpus of the present-day Vilnius County toponyms comprises 3900 oikonyms and 1226 hydronyms (864 limnonyms (718 lake and 146 pond names) and 362 potamonyms). Using the systematic analysis method, 491 toponyms (352 oikonyms and 139 hydronyms) (9,6% of all toponyms in the corpus) that form 227 oppositions were identified: 24 potamonyms make 12 (5,29%) oppositions, 116 limnonyms make 54 (23,79%) oppositions, and 351 oikonyms make 161 (70,92%) oppositions. All the selected toponyms that exist in oppositions are within $0,04$ to 20 ± 5 km from each other. Oppositions are formed by: 2 toponyms (197 cases), 3 toponyms (24 cases), 4 toponyms (4 cases), 5 toponyms (1 case), and 6 toponyms (1 case). Oppositions are purely contextual and are limited by the hydronymic or oikonymic (micro)system toponyms create within their class: *limnonym* \times *limnonym*, *potamonym* \times *potamonym*, *oikonym* \times *oikonym*.
3. From the perspective of word formation, the identified oppositions are formed by composite and compound toponyms (225 and 2 cases, respectively), based on the correlation of DMs in pre- or post-modifier position to identical names, and fall under two categories – *lexical* and *grammatical*. *Lexical oppositions* are formed by ITLs in both compound and composite names. *Grammatical oppositions* are formed by single-root names marked with different affixes that are opposite in meaning. Antonymy, in its literal sense, can be observed only in oppositions, the composite elements of which belong to the same taxonomy. There are also toponym oppositions with non-antonymic semantic relationships, as their DMs belong to different taxonomies, or numbers are used as DMs. Two structural types of oppositions are pointed out: *complete* and *incomplete*. The formal linguistic analysis on the syntactic level has shown the following:

- 3.1. *Incomplete lexical oppositions* follow the pattern *Name* × *DMName* (26 cases: 2 potamonym, 2 limnonym, 22 oikonym oppositions). The biggest number (20 cases) of incomplete lexical oppositions is formed by the correlation of *pronominal adjective* forms: 1) Lith *didỹsis–mažasis* (2 potamonym, 2 limnonym, 7 oikonym groups); 2) Lith *aukštasis–žemasis* (2 oikonym groups); 3) Lith *senasis–naujasis* (7 oikonym groups). The correlation of *adjectives* Lith *kalñinis–kl̃oninis* is observed in 1 oikonym group. The zero-DM in each opposition can be easily retrieved from its context. In 4 oikonym oppositions, the DMs are either the Gen case of other appellatives or proper names resp. oikonyms.
- 3.2. *Complete lexical oppositions* follow two patterns: 1) *DMName* × *DMName* (28 cases: 1 potamonym, 4 limnonym, 23 oikonym oppositions) and 2) *NameDM* × *NameDM* (3 cases: 1 potamonym, 2 limnonym oppositions). The most significant part of complete lexical oppositions (19 cases) is based on the correlation of *pronominal adjective* forms: 1) Lith *didỹsis– mažasis* (1 potamonym, 3 limnonym pairs, 5 oikonym oppositions); 2) Lith *aukštasis–žemasis* (4 oikonym oppositions); 3) Lith *senasis–naujasis* (5 oikonym oppositions); 4) Lith *juodasis–baltasis* (1 oikonym opposition). The correlation of *adjectives* comprises 9 cases: 1) Lith *didelis–mãžas* (1 limnonym, 1 potamonym oppositions); 2) Lith *áuķštas–žẽmas* (1 limnonym opposition); 3) Lith *sẽnas–naũjas* (5 oikonym oppositions); 4) Lith *kalñinis–kl̃oninis* (1 oikonym opposition).
- 3.3. *DIM Suffix-based grammatical oppositions* make the biggest group of incomplete oppositions (88 cases: 8 potamonym, 32 limnonym, 49 oikonym oppositions) that follow the pattern *Name* × *NameDM*. The most productive are Lith Suf *-ėl-* (36 oikonym, 7 limnonym, and 1 potamonym derivatives), Lith Suf *-(i)uk-* (11 limnonym, 5 oikonym derivatives), and Lith Suf *-el-* (8 oikonym, 6 potamonym, 2 limnonym derivatives); less productive is Lith Suf *-ait-* (9 limnonym derivatives); least productive are Lith Suf *-ykšč-* (1 potamonym derivative), Lith Suf *-ut-* (1 limnonym derivative), and Slav Suf *-k-* (1 oikonym derivative).
- 3.4. *Prefix-based grammatical oppositions* (15 cases) follow two patterns: 1) the incomplete grammatical opposition *Name* × *DMName* (2 limnonym, 12 oikonym oppositions), and 2) the complete grammatical opposition *DMName* × *DMName* (1 oikonym opposition). The most productive is Lith Pref *pa-* (2 limnonym, 11 oikonym derivatives); the least productive are Slav Pref *pod-* (1 oikonym derivative) and Lith Pref *už(u)-* (1 oikonym derivative).
- 3.5. Numbers as DMs are observed in the classes of limnonyms resp. ponds (12 cases) and oikonyms (53 cases) and follow two patterns: 1) *Name* × *NameDM* (2 limnonym, 7 oikonym oppositions), and 2) *NameDM* × *NameDM* (10 limnonym, 46 oikonym oppositions).

4. The integration of traditional and cognitive onomastics research methods with the theoretical principles of cognitive semantics, and the analysis of extralinguistic data has shown that toponym oppositions are complex linguistic structures characterized by at least two conceptual levels, i.e. the conceptual structure of the DM and that of the TL. The opposition in toponymy is influenced by extralinguistic factors and is determined by the needs of the nominator to express the relationship of new names to existing ones by linguistic means.
 - 4.1. The semantic category based on antonymic augmentative-diminutive relationships (the named object's relative *size*) is expressed by DIM suffixes and simple/pronominal forms of Lith *didelis*–*māžas*. Both linguistic and extralinguistic data analysis has shown that all DMs in this category are motivated by a variety of factors. In the class of potamonyms, DMs are motivated by and point to the length (km) of the rivers in opposition. In the class of limnonyms, DMs are motivated by and point to the size of the surface area (km²) and lengths of shorelines (km) of the lakes in opposition. In the class of oikonyms, DMs are motivated by and point to: a) the size of the settlement based on its type and name form from the historical perspective; b) the reconstruction or renaming of old oikonyms, but indicate the size of the settlement; c) smaller, newer settlements in the vicinity of larger, older ones.
 - 4.2. The analysis has shown that the named object's relative *position in space* is indicated either by the correlation of the prefix-derived name(s) or simple/pronominal forms of Lith *aukštas*–*žėmas*, *kalnėnis*–*klėninis*.
 - 4.2.1. At the lexical level, DMs are motivated by and point to the object's a) horizontal position up/back or horizontal position down in relation to the neighbouring river, b) vertical position in space, i.e. on the hill as opposed to the other object's position at the hill foot (vertical upper position or vertical lower position), c) vertical position in space, i.e. on the hills as opposed to the other object's position in the valley of the neighbouring river (vertical upper position or vertical lower position);
 - 4.2.2. At the grammatical level, DMs are motivated by and point to a) the object's horizontal position in space in relation to the name in opposition (place by/near), b) the object's horizontal position in space in relation to the name in opposition or another object (place by/near), c) the object's horizontal position in space in relation to the name in opposition or another object (place beyond/outside).
 - 4.3. The correlation of simple/pronominal forms of Lith *sėnas*–*naūjas* in the analyzed corpus typically conveys the meaning of the named objects' *age*. DMs are motivated by and point to 1) the actual age of the settlement, and 2) the re-naming/reconstruction and standardization of older names and convey the meaning of the relative age of the settlements.

- 4.4. The analysis has shown that oppositions based on *numbers* seemingly bear no semantic load. Nevertheless, further research into extralinguistic data may prove it is different. In the class of limnonyms, DMs are not loaded semantically and are only used to differentiate ITLs. In the class of oikonyms, DMs may either a) mark the chronological development (correlation *old–new*, and eventually *big–small*), b) serve the differentiating function (no semantic load), or c) indicate the administrative division of settlements from one, big settlement (no semantic load), or d) mark standardized names of renamed settlements (no semantic load).
- 4.5. A small group of oppositions is based on DMs that are: 1) semantically non-antonymic as they present the correlation of the unmarked toponyms with appellative modified names or the correlation of the unmarked toponyms with DMs derived from other toponyms, or c) DMs are derivatives from other toponyms, d) DMs belong to different classes of appellatives or e) one DM belongs to the class of proper names, another DM belongs to the class of appellatives; 2) antonymic but of opaque motivation and semantics.
- 4.6. The linguistic analysis has shown that ITLs may fall into two categories based on the variety of motivating concepts that were meaningful to the nominator: name lexemes of transparent and opaque motivation and semantics. These toponyms embed concepts that reflect and facilitate the categorization of the nominator's perception of the physical or spiritual reality.
- 4.6.1. ITLs of transparent motivation and semantics are motivated by: 1) potonym (40 oikonyms, 2 potamonims), 2) limnonym (15 limnonims, 9 oikonyms), 3) oikonym (114 oikonyms, 25 limnonims), 4) helonym (1 oikonym), 5) PN (79 oikonyms, 2 limnonims), 6) appellative (35 oikonyms, 29 limnonims, 10 potamonims), 7) appellative and oikonym (2 limnonims). Due to transparent etymology, these ITLs pose no ambiguity in the interpretation of their motivation.
- 4.6.2. ITLs of opaque motivation and semantics are motivated by: 1) appellative (14 limnonims, 5 potamonims, 23 oikonyms), 2) appellative or PN (3 potamonims, 20 oikonyms, 1 limnonym), 3) appellative or hydronym (16 limnonims, 1 oikonym, 3 potamonims), 4) appellative or oikonym (3 oikonyms), 5) PN (3 oikonyms), 6) PN or hydronym (2 oikonyms; 1 limnonym), 7) appellative, PN or hydronym (2 oikonyms), 8) appellative or PN, or oikonym (2 oikonyms), 9) oikonym or hydronym (9 limnonims, 14 oikonyms), 10) oikonym or helonym (1 oikonym), 11) hydronym or helonym (1 oikonym), 12) PN or endonym (2 oikonyms). The interpretation of these ITLs' etymology is aggravated by the lack of additional information supporting the versions of their motivation and is, therefore, limited to the mere finding of possibility due to: a) the unclear lexical character of the base (main component)

of the ITL that may belong to the appellative or anthroponymic class, b) the polysemy of the etymon (motivation can be interpreted by several meanings of the etymon), c) different meaning of lexemes of the same expression (form), d) complex semantics of the etymon that evokes different associations in different languages.

4.6.3. The power of language is manifested in its ability to preserve and reflect in the toponym conditions of the name-creation and the nominator's relation with named objects.

- 1) Approx. 98% of analyzed TLs from both categories perpetuate the objects and phenomenon of the tangible world. Many of them (mainly oikonyms) reflect people (individuals or families who lived in the region) and are motivated by the concept of possessivity, being metonymic transpositions of PNs. As people have always lived either close to or surrounded by nature, settled close to sources of water and cherished their dwellings, many TLs (oikonyms and hydronyms) conceptualize topographical relief features, surroundings of the named object or the object itself, the nominator's perception of the named object, flora and fauna typical to the region. Also, TLs (oikonyms and hydronyms) conceptualize the nation's historical facts and circumstances and are motivated by settlement types, recency, or purpose (economic activities and industrial facilities).
- 2) Approx. 2% of the analyzed TLs from both categories reflect the nominator's spiritual world and conceptualize cultural realia, which may have had symbolic meanings that reflected people's beliefs and values.

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ILLUSTRATIONS LIST

Picture 1. Present-Day Vilnius County. Source: made by the author.

Picture 2. Research Procedure. Source: made by the author.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Agronym – a proper name of a field or meadow (ICOS OT).

Anthroponym – a person's name, esp. surname (ICOS OT).

Appellative – a common word (noun), common name, generic name; identifying word or words by which someone or something is called and classified or distinguished from others. An appellative can denote not only an entire species of things or living beings but also each individual of that species (cf. STJ 50).

Catoiconym – a name to denote residents by the name of the place of residence (Norkaitienė 2011: Xiff.).

Corpus – a gazetteer (list) of toponyms collected from various sources (MW: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/corpus>)

Drimonym – a proper name of a forest, grove, or part of a forest.

Etymology – the origin of the proper name (Podol'skaya 1978: 166–167); (the method) the study of the etymology (origin) of a name or group of related names (ibid. 85–86).

Helonym (Gelonym) – a proper name of a swamp, bog, marsh or water land (cf. Bilkis 2008: 13–14).

Hodonym (Godonym) – a proper name of a road, path, street, etc. (ICOS OT).

Horonym – a proper name of a part of a region (Podolskaya 1978: 160).

Hydronym – a proper name of a water body, such as a river, lake, stream, pond, sea, etc. (ICOS OT).

Koronym (Horionym) – a proper name of a village settlement (ICOS OT).

Limnonym – a proper name of a lake (ICOS OT).

Motivation (motif of nomination) – an extralinguistic reason for choosing or creating of a given proper name for a given entity (Podolskaya 1978: 87).

Oikonym (Oiconym) – a proper name of a settlement or a part of a settlement (ICOS OT).

Onymic concept (Onomastic concept) – a source of information, mental or psychological resources of the human consciousness, an information structure that reflects knowledge and senses, providing the basis for onymic categories, i.e. associations of common names based on a common concept (name concept) (cf. Karpenko, Golubenko 2015: 287).

(Binary) Opposition – (in toponymy) the opposition or contrast of two related objects to distinguish them using names with the same basic lexemes and antonymic differentiating markers (elements) (cf. Podol'skaja 1978: 40).

Oronym – a proper name of a mountain or hill; a proper name of a relief form (ICOS OT).

Patronym – a proper name of a human being referring to that person's father (ICOS OT).

Phytolexeme – a common name for a species of a plant.

Potamonym – a proper name of a river or stream (ICOS OT).

Polisonym (Polionym, Astionym) – a proper name of a city (cf. Podol'skaja 1978: 112).

Primary place name – a proper name that during the toponymization or transonymization process (i.e. when appellatives or proper names become toponyms) does not acquire any word-formation features (cf. Vanagas 1970: 28).

Secondary place name – a place name that is a result of any derivational process and has certain obvious word-formation features (cf. Vanagas 1970: 53).

Taxonomy – (in lexical semantics) a grouping of lexical items in a classificatory hierarchy (cf. Saeed 2016: 454).

Toponym – a proper name of a separate geographical location, such as a town, village, river, lake, land, mountain, etc. (ICOS OT).

Toponymic (micro-) system – place names that exist inside and are bound by the borders of a certain territory, correlate with each other, and reflect the relativity of the location of the objects they designate (cf. Section 2.2.).

Toponymization – a linguistic process during which an appellative becomes a toponym (appellative → toponym) (cf. Podol'skaja 1983: 5–6).

Transonymization – a linguistic process during which an onym of any class becomes a toponym (anthroponym → toponym; toponym → toponym) (cf. Podol'skaja 1983: 5–6).

Zoolexeme – a common name for a species of animal.

ABBREVIATIONS

Object Abbreviations

C – city	з. – steading (Old Rus застѣнокъ, Rus застенек)
D – district	им. – estate (Rus имение, Old Rus имѣние)
eld – eldership	кол. – colony (Rus колония)
L – lake	лес. стор. – lodge (Rus сторожка, also лесная сторожка)
mun. – municipality	м. – townlet (small town) (Rus местечко)
RS – railway station	оз. – (Rus озеро)
R – river	окол. – okolitsa (Rus околица)
st – stream	ус. – estate (Rus усадьба)
stead – steading	пос. – posyolok (Rus посёлок, also подселье, подсёлок, присёлок)
tn – town	р. – river (Rus река)
trib. – tributary	руч. – stream (Rus ручей)
v – village	сел. – village (Rus деревня)
[y.] – yard (separate household, property/farm)	ст. (ж. д.) – railway station (Rus станция (железно дорожная))
выс. – vyselok (Old Rus высѣлокъ, Rus выселок)	ф. – folwark (Rus фольварк)
г. – town (city) (Rus город)	
госп. д. – estate (Rus господский двор)	
д. – village (Rus деревня)	
дес. – dessiatin (Rus десятина)	

Localization Abbreviations

Al – Alytùs	Šr – Širvintos
An – Anykščiai	Švnč – Švenčionys
BY – Belarus	Trak – Trakai
El – Elektrėnai	Trgl – Turgėliai
Ign – Ignalinà	Ukm – Ukmergė
Jon – Jonavà	VC – Vilnius City municipality
Šlčn – Šalčininkai	Vrn – Varėnà

Other Abbreviations

Alb – Albanian	Bel – Belarussian
approx. – approximately	cf. – compare
Balt – Baltic	CMT – conceptual metaphor theory

Cz – Czech	km – kilometre
De – German	Lat – Latin
dial. – dialectal	Latv – Latvian
DIM – diminutive	Lith – Lithuanian
DM/DMS – differentiating marker(s)	<i>m</i> – masculine
DŽ (En – diferencijuojantis (-ys))	MSL – meters above sea level
DM/DMS) žymiklis (-iai)	<i>pl</i> – plural
e.g. – for example	Pol – Polish
En – English	PN – personal name
esp. – especially	Pref – prefix
Est – Estonian	Prus – Prussian
<i>et al.</i> – and others	Rus – Russian
etc. – and other	<i>sg</i> – singular
<i>f</i> – feminine	Slav – Slavic
Finn – Finnish	Sr – Serbian
Gen – Genitive	Suf – suffix
Gre – Greek	Tat – Tatar
Heb – Hebrew	Thr – Thracian
ibid. – in the same source	TL – toponym lexeme
i.e. – that is	Ukr – Ukrainian
Indo-Eur – Indo-European	vs. – versus (opposite)
ITL/ITLs – identical toponym lexeme(s)	
(Lith identiška (-os) toponimo	
(-ų) leksema (-os)	

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SANTRAUKA LIETUVIŲ KALBA

Įvadas. Regioninės toponimikos tyrimai yra svarbi Lietuvos onomastikos dalis. Toponimai atspindi tam tikram regionui būdingą kalbinę situaciją, jos leksinius ir morfologinius ypatumus bei istorinę-kultūrinę raidą. Vietovardžiai yra neatsiejama kultūros paveldo dalis¹²⁹, anot Kazimiero Būgos, jais į mus kalba pati žemė. Kaip ir kiti tikriniai žodžiai, toponimai yra kiekvienos kalbos leksikos dalis ir, kaip ir bet kuris kitas žodis, turi gramatinę struktūrą bei reikšmę, egzistuoja žmogaus sąmonėje ar mentaliniame leksikone. Todėl vietovardžių motyvacijos ir semantikos analizė padeda atskleisti tiriamos vietovės reljefo ypatumus, florą ir fauną bei istorines-kultūrines realijas. Tai leidžia suprasti vietovardžiuose užkoduotas reikšmes.

Darbo objektas, naujumas ir aktualumas. Disertacijos objektas – toponimų (oikonimų ir hidronimų) opozicijos, oficialiai funkcionuojančios dabartinės Vilniaus apskrities teritorijoje¹³⁰. Pasirinkimą tirti šios apskrities toponimiją lėmė ilga, komplikuota buvusios Lenkijos okupuotos Lietuvos dalies – Vilniaus krašto – istorija. Tai apsunkino šį tyrimą, nes regiono vietovardžiai tiek dėl kultūrinės periferijos, tiek dėl kalbų sąveikos daugiakalbiame areale yra paveikti kalbų kontaktų. Tokio darbo poreikis, naujumas ir aktualumas grindžiamas keletu argumentų.

1. Regioninės toponimikos studijų Lietuvoje nėra daug. Įvairios Lietuvos vietovardžių klasės dažniausiai tiriamos bendraisiais pagrindiniais tikrinių žodžių tyrimo aspektais – darybos, kilmės (etimologijos), santykių su kitais onimais ar apeliatyvais išaiškinimu, taikant struktūrinės-gramatinės klasifikacijos ir semantinės-darybinės analizės modelius, kurie padeda nustatyti autentiškas toponimų lytis ir galimas reikšmes (žr. Vagnas 1970 etc.; Jurkštas 1985; Mickienė 2001; Endzelytė 2005; Kiseliūnaitė, Simutytė 2005; Razmukaitė 1997; 1998; 2002; 2003; 2009; Sviderskienė 2006; 2006a; 2007; 2016; 2017 etc.; Bartkutė 2008; Bilkis 2008; Kiseliūnaitė 2020 ir kiti darbai). Šios vietovardžių studijos paremtos tradiciniu lietuvių onomastų požiūriu į vietų vardus, minėti toponimų tyrimo aspektai sudaro sąlygas tolimesnei šių onimų analizei, nes padeda išaiškinti vietovardžių reikšmę, jų kultūrinę, istorinę motyvaciją.

2. Lietuvių onomastikoje darbų, skirtų toponimų analizei įvairiais kognityvinės lingvistikos aspektais, dar mažiau, nors visame pasaulyje tikriniai žodžiai jau daugiau nei dešimtmetį yra kognityvinių tyrimų objektas. Tokių tyrimų Lietuvoje iki šiol buvo vos keli, pavyzdžiui, Rūtos Marcinkevičienės (2000), Lauros Kamandulytės (2006), Dalios Kačinė (2007; 2008) darbai.

¹²⁹ Žr. UNGENG rezoliucijas: VIII / 9, 2002; IX / 4, 2007 ir kt.

¹³⁰ Vilniaus apskritis užima nemažą tarpukario Vilniaus krašto dalį (apie trečdalį), kuri dabar priklauso Lietuvos teritorijai. Šiuo metu apskritį sudaro 8 savivaldybės: Elektrėnų, Šalčininkų, Širvintų, Švenčionių, Trakų, Ukmergės rajonų, Vilniaus miesto ir Vilniaus rajono.

Manoma, kad į lietuvių tikrinius žodžius galima pažvelgti per konceptualiosios metaforos ir metonimijos¹³¹ teorijos prizmę. Ši teorija yra viena iš labiausiai pripažintų ir nusistovėjusių kognityvinės semantikos srityje. Ja pagrįsta analizė gali padėti išaiškinti lingvistinę, kultūrinę, socialinę, istorinę ir kt. toponimų motyvą¹³².

3. Lyginant su užsienio mokslininkų atliktų tyrimų rezultatais, pavyzdžiui, Marijos Biolik (1989), Laimutės Balodės (1993; 2012), Irenos Chochlovos, Liudmilos Zamorščikovos, Viktorijos Filipovos (2018) etc., tikrinių žodžių semantikos ir motyvacijos tyrimai Lietuvoje dar gana reti. Pagrindiniai darbai – Aleksandro Vanago (1981; 1988), jo sukurta ir semantinė hidronimų klasifikacija. Pastaruoju metu regioninės toponimijos semantiką ir motyvą kompleksiskai tiria Dalia Sviderskienė.

4. Nuo pat toponimų radimosi pradžios jų pagrindinė prigimtinė funkcija – nurodyti vietą, arba vietos „adresą“. Vietovardžiai suteikia informacijos ir apie įvardijamą objektą, ir apie jo santykį su kitais objektais. Tiek tradiciniuose, tiek šiuolaikiniuose, kognityviniu požiūriu paremtuose užsienio mokslininkų regioninės toponimikos tyrimuose (žr. Superanskaja 1970; Korepanova 1973; Kondrashina 1980; Tkachenko 2003; 2013; 2014; Štěpán 2009; Ahundova 2011; Hontsa 2014; Bukharova et al. 2016; Ilchenko, Isachuk 2016; Gataullin, Fatykhova 2018; Stachowski 2018 etc.), daug dėmesio skiriama toponimams, išreiškiantiems antoniminius (opozicinius) tarpusavio ryšius, formuojamus įvairiais diferencijuojančiais žymikliais ar atributais¹³³, pvz., būdvardžiais *aukštas* – *žemas*, *artimas* – *tolimas*, *didelis* – *mažas*, *senas* – *naujas*, *šlapias* – *sausas* ir kt., taip pat minima daugybė „spalvotų“ ir / arba „juodai baltų“ toponimų¹³⁴. Lietuvių toponimikos studijose augmentatyvinės–deminutyvinės koreliacijos egzistavimas ir *šviesos* – *tamsos* priešprieša vietovardžiuose pastebėta tik Vanago pasiūlytoje semantinėje hidronimų klasifikacijoje (žr. Vanagas 1981; 1988).

¹³¹ Konceptualiosios metaforos problemą onomastikoje sprendė Nikola Dobrić'ius (2010), Mariusz Rutkowski (2011), Katalina Reszegi (2012) ir Aunga Solomon'as (2018). Pastebėta, kad metonimija yra gana dažnas reiškinys onomastikoje. Tikriniais žodžiams būdingi dviejų tipų metoniminiai ryšiai: pirmasis – geografinių pavadinimų (nomenklatūrinių terminų) vartojimas topografiniams objektams įvardinti; antrasis – esamų vietovardžių panaudojimas kitų topografinių objektų įvardijimui pagal analogiją (žr. Chaikina, Monzikova, Varnikova 2004; Bába 2011; Reszegi 2012; Tkachenko 2013; Van Langendonck, Van de Velde 2016; Van Langendonck 2017).

¹³² Sąvoka *motyvacija* (arba *įvardijimo motyvas*) šiame darbe suprantama kaip reikiamo tikrinio žodžio parinkties arba sukūrimo ekstralingvistinė priežastis tam tikram objektui pavadinti (žr. Podol'skaja 1978: 87).

¹³³ Terminus *diferencijuojantis atributas*, *diferencijuojantis elementas*, *diferencijuojantis žymiklis* (angl. *differentiating attribute*, *differentiating element*, *differentiating marker*) toponimų opozicijų tyrėjai, kurių darbais remiamasi disertacijoje, vartoja sinonimiškai. Kalbos ekonomijos sumetimais ir siekiant išvengti kelių sinoniminių terminų, toliau vartojamas terminas *diferencijuojantis žymiklis* ir jo santrumpą DŽ (angl. – DM).

¹³⁴ Mokslininkai kartais teigia, kad, pavyzdžiui, spalvos būdvardžiai toponimuose yra motyvuojami dirvožemio spalvos, jo derlingumo ar kitų fizinių savybių, vyraujančios pastatų spalvos; dydžio būdvardžiai yra motyvuojami tikrojo įvardijamo objekto dydžio ir pan.

Kaip parodė minėtų mokslinių tyrimų rezultatai, didžiajai slavų ir kitų teritorijų toponimijos daliai būdingos toponimų opozicijos. Taigi manoma, kad pastarieji nominacijų modeliai dar nėra sulaukę deramo dėmesio lietuvių onomastikoje. Jie ne tik reikšmingi žymint geografinius objektus Lietuvos teritorijoje, bet ir atlieka svarbų vaidmenį formuojant tautinį vardyną, nes pristatomos formalios ir semantinės toponimų sekos sudaromos atsižvelgiant tiek į kalbines, tiek į ekstralingvistines sąlygas tiriamoje teritorijoje. Taigi struktūrinių-semantinių toponimų opozicijų analizė gali padėti nustatyti daugelį motyvuojančių veiksnių, lėmusių toponimų kilmę, bei išaiškinti toponimų įvardijimo principus.

5. Onimai resp. toponimai priklauso kalbos leksiniam lygmeniui, todėl daugelis užsienio mokslininkų ypatingą dėmesį ir skiria tikrinių žodžių reikšmės problemai spręsti (žr. Leino 2005; 2007; Coates 2006; 2012; 2015; 2016; Van Langendonck 2007; 2013; 2016; 2017; Sjöblom 2011; Ainiala, Saarelma, Sjöblom 2016), onimų konceptualizavimui (žr. Andryuchshenko, Suyunova, Tkachuk 2015; Karpenko, Golubenko 2015), tikrinių žodžių kategorizavimui ir prototipų kūrimui (žr. Szerszunowicz 2010; Sjöblom 2011; Bölcskei 2014 etc.) bei vardų kilmės ir tapatumo problemoms, kurios yra vienos iš svarbiausių vardyno tyrimuose, spręsti (žr. Brendler 2006; 2008; 2012; 2016; Slíz 2017). Visi šie klausimai vis dar reikalauja platesnio požiūrio nagrinėjant Lietuvos vardyną.

Minėtos regioninės toponimikos ir kognityvinės onomastikos studijų patirtys rodo ankstesnių lietuvių toponimikos tyrimų neišsamumą bei tolesnio lingvistinio tyrimo poreikį ir būtinumą. Ši disertacija yra pirmasis sisteminis ir išsamus Lietuvos regioninės toponimikos tyrimas, integruojantis kognityvinės semantikos, kognityvinės onomastikos teorijas ir tradicinius onomastikos tyrimo modelius bei papildantis pavienius įvairių vietovardžių tyrimus, svarbus tolimesnėms lietuvių toponimikos kilmės (etimologijos), motyvacijos ir semantikos studijoms. Taigi disertacijos naujumas ir aktualumas yra susijęs su jos verte regioninės onomastikos teorijai ir praktikai. Darbe taikomu semantinės ir etimologinės analizės būdu atskleidžiama kultūrinės toponimų sistemos reali padėtis, suformuoti ir apibrėžti onomastiniai Vilniaus apskrities toponimų opozicijų modeliai ir tipai, identifikuoti toponimuose atspindėti konceptai. Disertacija prisideda ir prie kognityvinės onomastikos tyrimų raidos. *Teorinė ir praktinė tyrimo reikšmė* atskleidžia per daugelį disertacijoje aprašytų toponimų kilmės, semantikos, motyvacijos aiškinimo interpretacijų. Daugelis autentiškų formų publikuojamos pirmą kartą ir sudaro svarbų tikrinių vardų registrą, kuris gali būti (pa)naudotas mokslo ir taikomaisiais tikslais. Be to, šis darbas padės išsaugoti ir aktualizuoti toponimus kaip vieną iš svarbiausių kultūros paveldo dalių. Neabejotina ir *tarpdisciplininė disertacijos vertė*, ji padės istorinių toponimų tyrėjams atsekti vietų vardų paplitimą ir raidą tam tikro administracinio vieto ribose. Tyrimo rezultatai taip pat gali būti panaudoti tolesniems lietuvių toponimikos tyrimams, jie pravers ir visiems besidomintiems tikriniais žodžiais.

Darbo tikslas ir uždaviniai. Disertacijos *tikslas* – ištirti atrinktų dabartinės Vilniaus apskrities vietovardžių opozicijų darybą ir kilmę bei nustatyti jų kalbinę, kultūrinę, socialinę, istorinę ir kt. motyvaciją, taikant kognityvinės semantikos ir onomasti-

kos analizės principus, modelius bei teorines nuostatas. Tikslui pasiekti, atsižvelgiant į tyrimo objektą, buvo iškelti šie *analitiniai ir empiriniai uždaviniai*:

- 1) pateikti naują požiūrį į lietuvių toponimikos tyrimus, paremtą esamų tradicinės ir kognityvinės onomastikos mokslinių-teorinių tyrimo principų ir metodų (metodologijų) integravimu;
- 2) išnagrinėti atrinktus rankraštinius, spausdintinius ir elektroninius vietovardžių šaltinius, išrinkti iš jų šiuo metu Vilniaus apskrityje funkcionuojančius vietovardžius, sudaryti jų registrą, išaiškinti opozicijas sudarančių vietų vardų poras ar grupes;
- 3) nustatyti toponimų opozicijų kalbinę raišką:
 - a) identifikuoti opozicijų darybos modelius oikonimų ir hidronimų klasėse,
 - b) palyginti skirtingų toponimų opozicijų tipų produktyvumo santykį;
- 4) nustatyti Vilniaus apskrities toponimų opozicijose vyraujančius antropocentrinis ryšius ir vietovardžių motyvaciją (istorinę, kultūrinę ir kt.):
 - a) išsiaiškinti diferencijuojančių žymiklių ir identiškų toponimų leksemų motyvaciją,
 - b) pateikti motyvų hierarchiją (hierarchinį motyvuojančių konceptų pasiskirstymą) toponimų poklasiuose.

Darbo metodai. Disertacijos teorinis ir metodologinis pagrindas yra pagrįstas tradicinės¹³⁵ ir šiuolaikinės (kognityvinės) onomastikos mokslinių-teorinių principų, išsirutuliojusių iš Lietuvos ir užsienio onomastų darbų, integracija. Teorinį disertacijos pagrindą taip pat sudaro kognityvinės semantikos teoriniai principai. Mokslinėms problemoms spręsti ir visapusiškai toponiminės medžiagos analizei buvo taikomi šie *tyrimo metodai*:

1. *Teoriniai metodai* (aprašomasis-analitinis, dedukcijos, sintezės, modeliavimo) buvo taikomi šiuolaikinės kognityvinės lingvistikos, ypač kognityvinės onomastikos (neeliminuojančios ir tradicinės onomastikos), teorijų kritinei analizei ir apibendrinimui bei Lietuvos toponimikos resp. dabartinės Vilniaus apskrities toponimų opozicijų tyrimo modelio sudarymui.
2. *Empiriniai metodai* (duomenų rinkimo ir sisteminės analizės; lyginamosios, lyginamosios istorinės, darybos, aprašomosios, etimologinės, semantinės, kartografinės, statistinės analizės) buvo naudojami atrinktų toponimų kilmei, motyvacijai ir semantikai nagrinėti. Kalbos lygmeniu bandoma nustatyti toponimų opozicijų kalbinę raišką ir jų darybos modelius. Kognityviniu lygmeniu bandoma nustatyti semantinę motyvaciją ir antropocentrinis ryšius, užkoduotus toponimuose bei opozicijas formuojančiuose diferencijuojančiuose žymikliuose.

¹³⁵ Sąvoka *tradicinė onomastika* vadinami tikrinių žodžių etimologiniai, tipologiniai ir struktūriniai tyrimai, kurie kartais apima ir onimų semantinio aspekto analizę. Anot Terhi Ainiala'os ir Jan-Ola'os Östman'o (2017: 3), „<...> onomastika tradiciškai daugiausia dėmesio skyrė vardų etimologijai ir tipologijai“ [autoriaus vertimas].

Ginamieji teiginiai.

1. Toponimų opozicijos yra semantiškai antoniminės, kai jos formuojamos būdvardžių arba jų įvardžiuotinių formų, priklausančių tai pačiai klasei (poklasiui), koreliacijomis, žyminčiomis įvardijamų objektų santykinį dydį, santykinę padėtį erdvėje, radimosi laiką arba yra formuojamos priešdėlių ar mažybinių priesagų koreliacijomis, atitinkamai žyminčiomis įvardijamų objektų santykinę padėtį erdvėje arba santykinį dydį ir perteikiančiomis konceptų reikšmes.
2. Toponimų opozicijos yra semantiškai neantoniminės, kai jos formuojamos diferencijuojančių žymiklių, kurie yra skirtingoms klasėms priklausančios apeliatyvai, kitų toponimų vediniai arba yra formuojamos skaičiais, kurie neturi semantinės įkrovos ir yra naudojami identiškiems toponimams atskirti vieniems nuo kitų bei atlieka diferencijavimo funkciją, žymi standartizuotus pervadintų objektų vardus, nurodo administracinį įvardijamų objektų padalijimą, bet, kita vertus, gali žymėti ir chronologinę toponimų radimosi seką.
3. Aiškos ir neaiškos motyvacijos bei semantikos homogeninės toponimų lekšemos perteikia išpūdžius / asociacijas, kuriuos įvardytojas greičiausiai turėjo galvoje įvardijamo objekto atžvilgiu, įprasmino juos konceptais, atspindinčiais ryškiausius įvardijamų objektų bruožus ir padedančiais geriau suvokti supančią aplinką bei ją kategorizuoti.
4. Tradicinės ir kognityvinės onomastikos tyrimo metodų taikymas, jų derinimas su teoriniais kognityvinės semantikos principais bei ekstralingvistinių duomenų analize atskleidžia sudėtingą toponimų opozicijų kalbinę struktūrą, kuriai būdingi mažiausiai du konceptualūs lygmenys, t. y. diferencijuojančių žymiklių ir homogeninių toponimų leksemų konceptualiosios struktūros, sąlygojamos ekstralingvistinių veiksnių ir nulemtos įvardijančio asmens poreikio kalbinėmis priemonėmis išreikšti naujų toponimų santykį su esamais.
5. Toponimų opozicijas formuojantys diferencijuojantys žymikliai, tokie kaip būdvardžiai ir jų įvardžiuotinės formos, afiksai, su jais sudaromos opozicijos, perteikiančios antoniminius semantinius ryšius tarp opozicijos narių, kontekste turi reikšmę, todėl viso toponimo lygmenyje, t. y. diferencijuojančio žymiklio kombinacijoje su topoleksema, reikšmė negali neegzistuoti, o tai reiškia, kad homogeninės toponimų lekšemos negali neturėti reikšmės ir, jei paties toponimo lygmenyje reikšmė tam tikru jo gyvavimo momentu yra neaiški, susidarymo metu toponimas ją turėjo.

Darbo struktūra. Disertaciją sudaro „Įvadas“ (jame pateikiamas darbo objektas, tikslas, uždaviniai, darbo naujumas ir aktualumas, darbo metodai, ginamieji teiginiai, publikacijų ir pranešimų disertacijos tema sąrašas), aštuonios dėstymo dalys, „Išvados“.

Pirmojoje dalyje „Teoriniai kognityvinės onomastikos pagrindai“ aptariami kognityvinės onomastikos teoriniai principai, reikšmingi rengiant disertaciją, remiantis kognityvinės semantikos teorijomis, daugiausia dėmesio skiriant tikrinių vardų klausimams resp. toponimų reikšmei, tikrinių vardų kategorizavimui, metoniminiam ir metaforiniam

motyvuojančių sąvokų perkėlimui į vietovardžius, taip pat antonimijos ir opozicijos klausimams toponimijoje spręsti.

Antrojoje dalyje „Metodologija: šaltiniai ir tyrimo modelis“ pristatomas metodologinis tyrimo pagrindas, kuriuo remiantis analizuojamos atrinktos Vilniaus apskrities toponimų opozicijos; nurodomi tyrimo šaltiniai, apribojimai, aprašomi toponimų atrankos kriterijai ir tyrimo eiga.

Trečiojoje dalyje „Vilniaus apskrities toponimų opozicijų leksinės, gramatinės ir kitos ypatybės“ pateikiami Vilniaus apskrityje šiuo metu funkcionuojančių toponimų opozicijų darybiniai modeliai ir jų leksinių, gramatinių bei kitų kategorijų analizė ir klasifikacija.

Ketvirtojoje dalyje „Toponimų opozicijos: dydžio samprata“ analizuojamos opozicijos, motyvuotos įvardijamo objekto santykiniu dydžiu. Darbą sudaro toponimų diferencijuojančių žymiklių ir identiškų toponimų leksemų kilmės, motyvacijos bei semantikos analizė. Kiekvieno poskyrio pabaigoje pateikiama diferencijuojančių žymiklių (DŽ) ir identiškų toponimų leksemų (ITL), jas motyvavusių konceptų klasifikacija.

Penktojoje dalyje „Toponimų opozicijos: padėties erdvėje samprata“ analizuojamos opozicijos, motyvuotos dėl įvardijamo objekto santykinės padėties erdvėje. Analizuojama leksinių ir gramatinių opozicijų diferencijuojančių žymiklių ir identiškų toponimų leksemų kilmė, motyvacija ir semantika. Pateikiama juos motyvavusių konceptų klasifikacija.

Šeštojoje dalyje „Toponimų opozicijos: amžiaus (radimosi laiko) samprata“ analizuojamos opozicijos išreikštos būdvardžiais *sėnas* – *naūjas* ir jų įvardžiuotinėmis formomis. Nagrinėjama diferencijuojančių žymiklių ir identiškų toponimų leksemų kilmė, semantika ir motyvacija, pateikiama juos motyvavusių konceptų klasifikacija.

Septintojoje dalyje „Toponimų opozicijos: skaičių koreliacija“ analizuojamos skaičiais išreikštos opozicijos (skaičiai vartojami identiškiems vardams atskirti); sprendžiamas tokių diferencijuojančių žymiklių reikšmės klausimas.

Aštuntojoje dalyje „Įvairūs ryšiai, išreikšti opozicijose“ pateikiama nedidelės opozicijų grupės analizė oikonimų, potamonimų ir limnonimų klasėse, kurių diferencijuojantys žymikliai priklauso skirtingoms semantinėms kategorijoms ir / arba kurių semantika ir motyvacija yra neaiški ir neatitinka anksčiau išskirtų kategorijų.

Tyrimo rezultatai apibendrinami „Išvadose“, kurios atspindi darbo pradžioje suformuluotus uždavinius ir ginamuosius teiginius. Po „Išvadų“ pridedamas „Literatūros, šaltinių, iliustracijų sąrašas“ darbe vartojamų „Terminų ir sąvokų sąrašas“, „Sutrumpinimų sąrašas“ bei disertacijoje analizuotų „Vietovardžių rodyklė“.

Tiriamoji medžiaga ir šaltiniai. Pagrindinę tyrimo dalį sudaro 491 toponimo (iš jų 352 oikonimų ir 139 hidronimų) analizė. Analizuojami vietovardžiai yra atrinkti iš šiuo metu Vilniaus apskrityje oficialiai funkcionuojančių 5126 toponimų¹³⁶ ir sudaro

¹³⁶ Iš jų 3900 oikonimai (miestų, miestelių, kaimų, geležinkelio stočių su gyvenvietėmis vardai) ir 1226 hidronimai – 864 limnonimai (718 ežerų ir 146 tvenkinių vardai) ir 362 potamonimai (upių ir upelių vardai). Vietovardžius autorius rinko 2018–2020 metais.

227 opozicijas (poras ar grupes) oikonimų ir hidronimų (potamonimų, limnonimų) klasėse (poklasiuose). Toponimų opozicijų atranka buvo vykdoma dviem etapais: 1) sisteminė sudaryto toponimų registro analizė, t. y. dviejų ar daugiau susijusių toponimų nustatymas, registre identifikuojant tarpusavyje susijusius toponimus – vardus su identiškomis šaknimis (su diferencijuojančiais žymikliais arba be jų); 2) atrinktų toponimų vertinimas pagal atstumo kriterijų¹³⁷. Atstumas tarp objektų, sudarančių opozicijas (oikonimų, potamonimų, limnonimų), buvo matuojamas atstumo matavimo įrankiais (tiesia linija) GP ir UETK interneto svetainėse. Atrinkti toponimai yra $0,04\text{--}20 \pm 5$ km atstumu vienas nuo kito (didžiausias atstumas – 24 km).

Tyrimas grindžiamas vietovardžiais ir faktiniais duomenimis, surinktais iš įvairių priemonų elektroninių, spausdintų ir rankraštinų (archyvinių) šaltinių. Svarbiausi iš jų: 1) Vilniaus apskrities savivaldybių internetinės svetainės; 2) elektroniniai katalogai; 3) šiuolaikiniai ir istoriniai interaktyvūs žemėlapiai; 4) onomastikos, etimologijos, istorijos ir kiti moksliniai tyrimai; 5) leksikografiniai šaltiniai; 6) istoriniai registrai; 7) archyvinė medžiaga. Manoma, kad šie šaltiniai papildo vienas kitą, padeda išaiškinti ir pagrįsti etimologijos (taip pat ir toponimų motyvacijos) versijas bei sudaro tinkamą tyrimo pagrindą.

Lingvistinė analizė. Vilniaus apskrities toponimų opozicijų etimologinė analizė remiasi Būgos (1958; 1959; 1961), Vanago (1970; 1981; 1981a; 1988; 1996), Jurkšto (1985) ir kitais darbais; *Lietuvos vietovardžių žodyno* I, II, III ir IV tomų medžiaga (toliau – LVŽ I, LVŽ II, LVŽ III ir LVŽ IV); įvairiais leksikografiniais šaltiniais (lietuvių, lenkų, rusų ir kitais (elektroniniais) žodynais) (žr. šaltinių sąrašą), nes manoma, kad daugeliu atvejų toponimų etimologijos tyrimas yra neįmanomas be apeliatyvų kilmės nustatymo.

Toponimų opozicijų darybos analizė remiasi, bet neapsiriboja, Vanago (1970: 21–27) pasiūlyta struktūrinė–gramatinė vandenvardžių klasifikacija. Vilniaus apskrities vietovardžių motyvacijai nustatyti taip pat taikoma Vanago (1981a: 19–120; 1988: 51–65) pasiūlyta semantinė hidronimų klasifikacija. Pagal šią klasifikaciją visi hidronimai skirstomi į tris kategorijas: motyvuotus, nemotyvuotus ir neaiškios motyvacijos. Savo regioninės toponimijos tyrimuose Sviderskienė šią klasifikaciją išplėtojo nominacijos teorijos kontekste, pakoregavo ir pritaikė įvairių (po)klasių toponimų analizei.

Pagal žinomas kognityvinės onomastikos teorijas, visi onimai turi reikšmę. Todėl minėtą Vanago pasiūlytą hidronimų semantinę klasifikaciją teko taikyti iš dalies. Į

¹³⁷ Ši pasirinkimą lėmė daugelio regioninės toponimikos opozicijų tyrėjų (žr. Korepanova 1973; Tkachenko 2003; 2013; 2014; Štěpán 2009; Ahundova 2011; Ilchenko, Isachuk 2016; Gataullin, Fatykhova 2018; Stachowski 2018 ir kt.) nuomonė. Autoriai teigia, kad toponimų opozicijos yra priklausomos nuo konteksto ir galimos tik tam tikroje (mikro)sistemoje. Mikrosistema toponimijoje – tai vietovardžiai, esantys tam tikros teritorijos ribose. Minėti toponimai koreliuoja vienas su kitu ir atspindi jais įvardintų objektų vietos reliatyvumą. Todėl manoma, kad atstumas iki 20 ± 5 km yra didžiausias leistinas atstumas, kada du ar daugiau koreliuojančių toponimų galėtų būti laikomi opozicija, atkreipiant dėmesį į Stachowskio (2018: 201) pastebėjimą apie atstumą, kurį galima įveikti einant pėsčiomis iš vienos vietos į kitą ir sugrįžtant atgal per vieną dieną.

tiriamus vietų vardus žvelgiant per konceptualiosios metaforos ir metonimijos vertinimo prizmę, nemotyvuoti įvairių (po)klasių toponimai šiame darbe laikomi motyvuotais. Disertacijoje laikomasi Vanago nuomonės, kad toponimai, būdami žmogaus kalbinės veiklos rezultatas, kadaise buvo aiškios reikšmės ir galėjo būti lengvai susieti su bendriniais žodžiais, iš kurių jie ir buvo kilę (plg. Vanagas 1970; 1988). Taip pat manoma, kad kognityvinės semantikos ir kognityvinės onomastikos teorijų principai leidžia atkurti išblukusią toponimų reikšmę. Dabartinės Vilniaus apskrities įvairių (po)klasių toponimai yra analizuojami pagal jų kilmę ir opozicijų susidarymą paskatinusius konceptus, remiantis konceptualiosios metaforos modeliu – pažintinių bruožų (konceptų) perkėlimu iš vienos srities į kitą (iš apeliatyvų į onimus): šaltinio sritis (apeliatyvas) → konceptuali struktūra (pažinimo bruožas) → tikslinė sritis (onimas) (žr. Lakoff, Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2002; Dobrič 2010). Kuriant oniminius prototipus, didelę reikšmę turi semantinių ir konceptualiųjų struktūrų perkėlimas iš vienos konceptualiosios srities į kitą: apeliatyvo reikšmės perkėlimas į onimą arba vietovardžio panaudojimas asmeniui apibūdinti. Atkreiptinas dėmesys į tai, kad tikrinių vardų resp. toponimų analizė konceptualiosios metaforos rėmuose nėra jų etimologinė analizė. Greičiau tai bandymas nustatyti, kaip konceptuali žodžių struktūra motyvavo ir tebomotyvuoja jų atsiradimą (plačiau žr. Dobrič 2010: 139–141).

Ekstralingvistinė analizė. Manytina, kad norint suprasti opoziciją formuojančių elementų bei vienaarūšių toponimų leksemų (šaknų) semantiką Vilniaus apskrities toponimų porose, be lingvistinės analizės, reikia atsižvelgti ir į ekstralingvistinius (geografinius, istorinius, sociokultūrinius) duomenis. Analizuojant ir klasifikuojant potamonimus, buvo atkreiptas dėmesys į įvardijamo objekto vietą ir ryšį su kitais tose pačiose apylinkėse esančiais objektais, įvardijamų upių ir upelių ilgį. Limnonimų analizei ir klasifikavimui nurodoma įvardijamo objekto vieta ir ryšys su kitais šalia esančiais objektais, paviršiaus ploto dydis (km²) ir kranto linijų ilgis (km) (šie duomenys paimti iš GK, UETK ir GP internetinių svetainių). Oikonimų analizei ir klasifikavimui nurodoma įvardijamo objekto vieta ir jo santykis su kitais šalia esančiais objektais, gyvenvietės tipas ir dydis (dažniausiai iš istorinės perspektyvos). Remtasi nagrinėjamuose istoriniuose šaltiniuose rastais duomenimis apie gyvenviečių tipus, joms priklausančių žemės sklypų plotus, tam tikras ūkines veiklas; su neretai pateikiamais savininkų vardais, istorinėmis oikonimų formomis.

Atsižvelgiant į istorinių šaltinių kalbą, gyvenviečių tipai (ir jų santrumpos) darbe yra pateikiami rusų kalba: *колония* (кол.) – liet. *kolõnija*; *господский двор* (госп. д.), *имение* (им.), *усадыба* (ус.) – liet. *dvāras*, *dvariniñko sodýba*; *фольварк* (ф.) – liet. *palivárkas*; *сторожка* (стор.), *лесная сторожка* (лес. стор.) – liet. *būdėlė*; *околица* (окол.) – liet. *káito pakraštỹs*; *посёлок*, *подсёлье*, *подсёлок*, *присёлок* (пос.), *выселок* (выс.), *деревня* (д.), *село* (сел.) – liet. *káimas*; *застенок* (з.) – liet. *viėnsėdis* (*užsienis*); *город* (г.) – liet. *miėstas*; *мечечко* (м.) – liet. *miestėlis*. Be to, manoma, kad gyvenvietės dydį iš dalies galima atsekti iš istoriškai tam tikrai gyvenvietei priklausiusių žemių

ploto ir namų ar kiemų skaičiaus. Istoriniuose registruose žemės plotas nurodytas archajišku, carinėje Rusijoje naudotu žemės matavimo vienetu – rus. *десятина* (дес.) (liet. *dešimtinė*).

Galiausiai tyrimo metu, vertinant geografinę informaciją, daug dėmesio buvo skiriama įvardyto objekto ryšiui su šalia esančiais objektais (kalvomis, slėniais, upėmis) ir objekto padėčiai virš jūros lygio (MJL – metrai virš jūros lygio). Ši informacija buvo gauta naudojant objekto aukščio matavimo priemones, esančias GP ir UETK internetinėse svetainėse. Žinoma, mažai tikėtina, kad nominacijos metu informacija apie objekto padėtį virš jūros lygio buvo žinoma. Žmonės greičiausiai atsižvelgdavo į įvardijamo objekto padėtį kito, esančio (buvusio) šalia, objekto atžvilgiu tam tikroje vietoje ir į vietovės reljefą.

Opozicijų tipai. Formali lingvistinė sintaksės (darybos) analizė parodė, kad Vilniaus apskrityje egzistuoja trys pagrindinės toponimų opozicijų rūšys: leksinės opozicijos, gramatinės opozicijos ir opozicijos, pagrįstos skaičių koreliacija.

1. Daugumą sudėtinių toponimų opozicijų sudaro diferencijuojantys žymikliai (DŽ), t. y. atskiri pažymimieji žodžiai (dažniausiai kokybiniai būdvardžiai), einantys prieš pagrindinę sutampančią (identišką) toponimų leksemą (ITL) arba po jos. Sudurtinių toponimų atveju opoziciją sudaro koreliuojančios antoniminės leksemos, einančios prieš identiškąs toponimų leksemas. Leksinės opozicijos su diferencijuojančiais žymikliais, einančiais prieš identiškąs opozicijos toponimų leksemas ar po jų. Šios opozicijos, kaip parodė tyrimo rezultatai, yra nepilnosios arba pilnosios.

1.1. Nepilnosios leksinės opozicijos yra *Vardas* × *DŽVardas* struktūros, pvz., potamonimai *Upė* × *Mažoji Upė*, limnonimai *Gulbinas* × *Mažasis Gulbinas*, oikonimai *Karklėnai* × *Užupio Karklėnai* × *Didieji Karklėnai* ir kt. Daugeliu atvejų jos yra išreikšiamos įvardžiuotinių būdvardžių formomis *didysis* – *mažasis*, *aukštasis* – *žemasis*, *senasis* – *naujasis* arba būdvardžių koreliacija *kalniniai* – *kloniniai*. Kartais opozicijas sudaro toponimai, kurių diferenciniai žymikliai yra išreikšti apeliatyvų ar kitų oikonimų kilmininko linksniu. Nemodifikuoto toponimo nulinis žymiklis yra lengvai atkuriamas iš opozicijos konteksto.

1.2. Pilnosios sudurtinių ir sudėtinių toponimų opozicijos yra dvejopos struktūros – *DŽVardas* × *DŽVardas* arba *VardasDŽ* × *VardasDŽ*, pvz., potamonimai *Cūdykas* *Didelis* × *Cūdykas* *Māžas*, *Didysis* *Piřčiupis* × *Mažasis* *Piřčiupis*, limnonimai *Didelis* *Macijonėlis* × *Māžas* *Macijonėlis*, *Nėvardas* *Āukštas* × *Nėvardas* *Žėmas*, oikonimai *Trākų* *Vókė* × *Mūrinė* *Vókė* ir kt. Tiriamoje medžiagoje buvo rasta vienintelė sudurtinių oikonimų opozicija *Senādvaris* × *Naujādvaris*, kurios darybinis modelis yra *DŽVardas* × *DŽVardas*. Pilnosios opozicijos yra išreikšiamos įvardžiuotinių būdvardžių formomis *didysis* – *mažasis*, *aukštasis* – *žemasis*, *senasis* – *naujasis*, *juodoji* – *baltoji*; būdvardžių koreliacijomis *didelis* – *māžas*, *āukštas* – *žėmas*, *sėnas* – *naūjas*, *kalniniai* – *kloniniai*; taip pat ir kitų apeliatyvų arba toponimų vediniais.

2. Pilnąsias ir nepilnąsias gramatines opozicijas sudaro diferenciniai žymikliai – afiksai (priešdėliai ir priesagos, ypač mažybinės). Daugelį gramatinių opozicijų sudaro

toponimai, vienas iš kurių yra afikso vedinys iš toponimo su identiška leksema, t. y. iš vardo su nuliniu žymikliu. Tik tokiose koreliacijose identiškos toponimų leksemos gali būti laikomos antoniminėmis; šios toponiminio konteksto sąlygos neatitinkanti pora opozicijos nesudaro.

2.1. Priesagos, kaip gramatinę opoziciją formuojantys elementai, sudaro didžiausią toponimų opozicijų grupę, kurios antoniminius ryšius išreiškia priesaga pažymėtų ir priesaga nežymėtų toponimų leksemų koreliacija. Tokios koreliacijos sudaro nepilnas gramatinės opozicijas, kurių darybinis modelis *Vardas* × *VardasDŽ*, plg.:

- Liet. priesagos *-ait-* (*-is*) vediniai limnonimų opozicijose, pvz., *Bėlỹs* × *Bėlaitis*;
- Liet. priesagos *-el-* (*-is*, *-ė*, *-ės*, *-iai*) vediniai potamonimų opozicijose, pvz., *Lātvē* × *Latvėlē*, limnonimų opozicijose, pvz., *Bāltas* × *Baltēlis*, ir oikonimų opozicijose, pvz., *Dubiai* × *Dubēliai*;
- Liet. priesagos *-ėl-* (*-is*, *-ė*, *-iai*) vediniai potamonimų opozicijose, pvz., *Žeimenā* × *Žeimenėlē*, limnonimų opozicijose, pvz., *Jagūdis* × *Jagudēlis*, ir oikonimų opozicijose, pvz., *Alsakiai* × *Alsakēliai*;
- Liet. priesagos *-ykšč-* (*-ia*) vedinys potamonimų opozicijoje *Šalčiā* × *Šalčykščia*;
- Liet. priesagos *-ykšt-* (*-is*) vediniai limnonimų opozicijose, pvz., *Kretuonas* × *Kretuonykštis*;
- Liet. priesagos *-(i)uk-* (*-as*, *-ai*) vediniai limnonimų opozicijose, pvz., *Beržuōlis* × *Beržuoliukas*, ir oikonimų opozicijose, pvz., *Makučiai* × *Makučiukai*;
- Liet. priesagos *-ut-* (*-is*) vedinys limnonimų opozicijoje *Bakā* × *Bakūtis*;
- Slav. priesagos *-k-* (*-a*) vedinys oikonimų opozicijoje *Slabadā* × *Slabadkā*.

Produktyviausios yra liet. priesagos *-ėl-* (*-is*, *-ė*, *-iai*) – 46 vediniai oikonimų ir hidronimų klasėse, *-(i)uk-* (*-as*, *-ė*) ir *-el-* (*-is*, *-ė*, *-ės*, *-iai*) – po 16 vedinių. Mažiau produktyvi yra liet. priesaga *-ait-* (*-is*, *-ė*) – 10 vedinių. Mažiausiai produktyvios yra liet. priesagos *-ykšč-* (*-ia*), *-ut-* (*-is*) ir slav. priesaga *-k-* (*-a*) – rasta po vieną kiekvienos priesagos vedinį.

2.2. Priešdėliai, kaip toponimų opozicijų darybinis elementas, sudaro mažesnę pilnosios ir nepilnosios gramatinės koreliacijos kategoriją. Priešdėliu modifikuoto toponimo buvimas leidžia kalbėti apie antoniminę toponimų koreliaciją kiekvienoje opozicijoje. Nepilnoji diferencijuojančių žymiklių koreliacija išreiškia opozicijos modelį *Vardas* × *DŽVardas*, pvz., limnonimai *Šilinis* × *Pāšilinis*, oikonimai *Daciūnai* × *Pādacīūnai* ir kt. Pilnoji diferencijuojančių žymiklių koreliacija išreiškia modelį *DŽVardas* × *DŽVardas* oikonimų opozicijoje *Pakenē* × *Pakenē* × *Užūkenē*. Daugeliu atvejų opozicijas sudaro liet. priešdėlio *pa-* vediniai. Šis priešdėlis žymi vietą 1) šalia (prie) objekto, nurodyto pagrindiniu žodžiu, arba 2) žemiau objekto, nurodyto pagrindiniu žodžiu. Apibendrinant galima teigti, kad visi priešdėlio *pa-* toponimų vediniai nurodo vietą šalia (greta / prie) arba žemiau vietos / objekto, kurį (*-ią*) parodo toponimo (priešdėlio vedinio) šaknis. Viena oikonimų opozicija yra suformuota slaviškos kilmės priešdėlio *pod-*, kurio reikšmė atitinka lietuvių priešdėlio *pa-* reikšmę. Priešdėliniai lietuvių

toponimų vediniai su už(u)- nurodo vietą už objekto, įvardinto toponimu, kurio šaknis nurodo objekto vietą (už / anapus jo).

3. Skaičiai naudojami norint atskirti du (kartais tris ar daugiau) identiškus toponimus. Vilniaus apskrityje skaičių pamatu suformuotos opozicijos randamos limnonimų (tvenkinių) ir oikonimų klasėse (poklasiuose). Nepilnosios opozicijos išreiškia darybos modelį *Vardas* × *VardasDŽ*, pvz., limnonimai (tvenkinių vardai) *Bražuolės tvenkinys* × *Bražuolės I tvenkinys* × *Bražuolės II tvenkinys* ir oikonimai *Antakalnis* × *Antakalnis I* × *Antakalnis II* × *Antakalnis III*. Pilnosios opozicijos yra suformuotos pagal modelį *DŽVardas* × *DŽVardas*, pvz., limnonimai (tvenkinių vardai) *Buivydiškių I tvenkinys* × *Buivydiškių II tvenkinys* × *Buivydiškių III tvenkinys* × *Buivydiškių IV tvenkinys* × *Buivydiškių V tvenkinys* × *Buivydiškių VI tvenkinys* ir oikonimai *Kalnuotė I* × *Kalnuotė II* × *Kalnuotė IV* × *Kalnuotė V* × *Kalnuotė VII*. Skaičiai vietovardžiuose, ypač oikonimuose, yra būdinga nominacijos modelių ypatybė nuo XIX a., kuri peraugo į itin dažną reiškinį nuo XX a. pradžios. Atkreiptinas dėmesys į tai, kad skaičiai vartojami tik oficialiuose šaltiniuose, siekiant atskirti identiškus vietovardžius, o vietiniai gyventojai, kalbėdami apie tam tikras vietas, paprastai jų nevartoja.

Diferencijuojančių žymiklių motyvacija ir semantika. Diferencijuojančių žymiklių koreliacijos yra arba semantiškai žymėtos, arba neturi jokios reikšmės. Žymikliai yra arba aiškios motyvacijos ir semantikos, arba jų motyvacija ir reikšmė nėra aiški. Šie toponimų opozicijas formuojantys elementai išreiškia arba antoniminius, arba kitokius santykius.

1. Didžiai hidronimų ir oikonimų klasės diferencijuojančių žymiklių daliai būdingas antoniminis ryšys. Lingvistinės ir ekstralingvistinės toponimijos analizės rezultatai pateikiami toliau.

1.1. Būdvardžių *didelis* – *mažas* koreliacija, įskaitant jų įvardžiuotines formas *didysis* (-*ėji*, -*oji*, *didžioiosios*) – *mažasis* (-*ėji*, -*oji*, *mąžosios*), daugeliu atvejų išreiškia antoniminį augmentatyvinį-deminutivinį santykį tarp įvardijamų objektų opozicijoje ir yra motyvuota jų *santykiniu dydžiu*. Tokios opozicijos perteikia konceptą [DYDIS:MASTAS].

Hidronimų klasėje būdvardžiai vartojami tiesiogine reikšme, siekiant atskirti identiškas toponimų leksemas. Potamonimų klasėje (poklasyje) būdvardžiai išskiria upes ir yra motyvuoti pagal jų ilgį bei perteikia konceptą [DYDIS:ILGIS]. Tačiau opozicijoje *Didysis Pirčiupis* × *Mažasis Pirčiupis* įvardžiuotinių būdvardžių koreliacija *didysis* – *mažasis* greičiausiai buvo kitos motyvacijos: greičiau perteikė konceptus [SVARBA / REIKŠMINGUMAS] arba [TŪRIS / INTENSIVUMAS], nei [DYDIS:ILGIS]. Limnonimų atveju tokios koreliacijos atskiria ežerus pagal jų paviršiaus plotus ir kranto linijos ilgį, perteikdamos konceptą [DYDIS:MASTAS]. Opozicijoje *Didelis Macijonėlis* × *Mąžas Macijonėlis* diferencijuojantys žymikliai, kaip rodo medžiaga, buvo motyvuoti ir perteikia konceptą [DYDIS:PLOTIS].

Tiek sinchroniškai, tiek diachroniškai oikonimų klasėje būdvardžiai yra vartojami tiesiogine reikšme siekiant atskirti identiškas toponimų leksemas ir yra motyvuoti bei perteikia sąvoką [DYDIS:MASTAS], atsižvelgiant į gyvenviečių dydį pagal joms priklaus-

siusios žemės plotą, kiemų skaičių, taip pat gyvenvietės tipą. Kaip rodo istoriniai duomenys, daugelis oikonimų leksinėse opozicijose yra senųjų gyvenviečių pervardijimo, vardų rekonstrukcijos (ir norminimo) rezultatas, o skiriamieji būdvardžiai buvo pridėti greičiausiai pirmajame ar antrajame XX a. ketvirtyje.

1.2. Mažybinėmis priesagomis pažymėtų vardų koreliacija su vardais, turinčiais nulinę priesagos diferencijuojantį žymiklį, opozicijoje išreiškia antoniminį augmentatyvinį-deminutyvinį santykį tarp įvardijamų objektų ir yra motyvuota jų *santykiniu dydžiu* bei perteikia konceptą [DYDIS:MASTAS]. Šiose opozicijose mažybinės priesagos žymi toponimus, kilusius iš esamų geografinių objektų vardų (t. y. iš pirminių vardų). Diferencijuojantis žymiklis *māžas* yra formalusis mažybinės priesagos variantas. Dydzio reikšmė nepažymėtame toponime yra atkuriamą iš opozicijos konteksto. Visi mažybiniai toponimai ne tik tiesiogiai nurodo tikrąjį įvardintų objektų mažumą, bet ir yra semantiškai žymėti bei perteikia žmonių požiūrį į įvardijamąjį objektą.

Hidronimų klasėje priesagomis pažymėtų vardų koreliacija su vardais, turinčiais nulinę priesagos morfemą, atskiria identiškas toponimų leksemas. Potamonimų atveju ši koreliacija yra motyvuojama upių vardų opozicijoje pagal objekto ilgį ir perteikia koncepto [DYDIS:ILGIS] prasmę, pvz., *Mūšià × Mūšėlė*. Limnonimų atveju tokios koreliacijos išskiria ežerus pagal jų paviršių plotus ir krantų linijų ilgius, nurodo augmentatyvinį-deminutyvinį opozicijos narių santykį ir perteikia konceptą [DYDIS:MASTAS], pvz., *Krākinis × Krakinūkas*. Ekstralingvistiniai duomenys rodo, kad visos upės ir visi ežerai, kurių vardai yra mažybinių priesagų vediniai, mažesni už vandens telkinius, pavadintus pirminiais vardais. Kelių toponimų mažumo reikšmė siejama su menkinimu ir perteikiama lietuvių priesaga *-ykšt-* (*-is*).

Oikonimų klasėje augmentatyvinis-deminutyvinis opozicijos narių santykis, greičiausiai siejamas su meilumu ar pan., kuris perteikiamas mažybinėmis priesagomis ir iš dalies yra užkodotas gyvenvietės tipo apibrėžime (dažniausiai žvelgiant iš istorinės perspektyvos, t. y. dėl ko atsirado dabartiniai gyvenviečių tipai) bei išreiškia konceptą [DYDIS:MASTAS]. Kalbinė analizė ir istorinių duomenų interpretacija parodė, kad oikonimų klasėje: 1) priesagų vediniai nurodo gyvenvietės dydį pagal jos tipą ir vardo formą iš istorinės perspektyvos, pvz., *Nemenčinė × Nemenčinėlė*; 2) priesagų vediniai yra senųjų oikonimų rekonstrukcijos arba pervadinimo rezultatas, tačiau nurodo gyvenvietės dydį, pvz., *Prūdiškė × Prūdiškėlė*; 3) priesagų vediniai įvardija mažesnes, naujesnes gyvenvietes, įsikūrusias didesnių, senesnių gyvenviečių kaimynystėje, pvz., *Juodakiai × Juodakėliai*.

1.3. Būdvardžių *aukštas* – *žemas* ir *kalnišnis* – *klōninis* koreliacija, įskaitant jų įvardžiuotines formas *aukštasis* (*-ėji*), *aukštosios* – *žemasis* (*-ėji*), *žemosios*), išreiškia ir yra motyvuota įvardijamų objektų opozicijoje pagal *santykinę padėtį erdvėje* ir perteikia koncepto [VIRŠUTINĖ / APATINĖ PADĖTIS] prasmę. Analizė parodė, kad būdvardžių ir jų įvardžiuotinių formų pasirinkimas nominacijos procese buvo nulemtas įvardijamų objektų santykinės padėties (horizontalios arba vertikalios) erdvėje (reljefe), plg.: 1) koreliacija *aukštas* – *žemas* perteikia objekto horizontalią padėtį erdvėje (šalia esančios upės

atžvilgiu), pvz., oikonimai *Aukštieji Karklėnai* × *Žemieji Karklėnai*; 2) koreliacija *aukštas* – *žėmas* perteikia objekto vertikalią padėtį erdvėje (ant kalvos / kalno, priešingai nei kito objekto padėtis kalvos / kalno papėdėje), pvz., limnonimai *Nėvardas Áukštas* × *Nėvardas Žėmas*; 3) koreliacija *kalñinis* – *klóninis* perteikia objekto vertikalią padėtį erdvėje (ant kalvos / ant kalno, priešingai nei kito objekto padėtis šalia esančios upės slėnyje), pvz., *Kalñiniai Mijáugonys* × *Klóniniai Mijáugonys*.

Diferencijuojančių žymiklių motyvacija yra gana aiški, perteikianti semantinę įvairovę: 1) *aukštas*, –à (–àsis, –*íjei*, *áuksťosios*) – ‘įsikūręs ant kalno’ ir perteikia konceptą [VERTIKALI PADĖTIS Į VIRŠŲ], *žėmas*, –à (–àsis, –*íjei*, *žėmosios*) – ‘esantis kalvos / kalno papėdėje’ perteikia konceptą [VERTIKALI PADĖTIS Į APAČIĄ]; 2) *aukštas*, –à (–àsis, –*íjei*, *áuksťosios*) – ‘esantis viršutinėje upės dalyje (prieš srovę)’ perteikia konceptą [HORIZONTALI PADĖTIS, KYLANTI AUKŠTŲN / ATGAL], *žėmas*, –à (–àsis, –*íjei*, *žėmosios*) – ‘esantis žemutinėje upės dalyje (pasroviui)’ perteikia konceptą [HORIZONTALI PADĖTIS, BESILEIDŽIANTI ŽEMYN]; 3) *kalñinis* (*kalñiniai*) – ‘įsikūręs ant kalno’ perteikia konceptą [VERTIKALI PADĖTIS VIRŠUJE / VERTIKALI PADĖTIS: VIRŠUS], *klóninis* (*klóniniai*) – ‘įsikūręs slėnyje’ perteikia konceptą [VERTIKALI PADĖTIS APAČIOJE / VERTIKALI PADĖTIS: APAČIA].

1.4. Priešdėlių koreliacija toponimų opozicijose išreiškia įvardijamų objektų *santykinę padėtį erdvėje* ir perteikia koncepto [VIETA PRIE / ŠALIA] reikšmę. Lingvistinė ir ekstralingvistinė diferencijuojančių žymiklių analizė parodė, kad: 1) lietuvių priešdėlio *pa-* vediniai išreiškia įvardijamo objekto horizontalią padėtį erdvėje santykyje su kitu opoziciją sudarančiu objektu, perteikia koncepto [VIETA PRIE / ŠALIA] reikšmę, pvz., *Pāalaburdiškės* ← gyvenvietė prie kaimo *Alabūrdiškės*; *Pailgis* ← ežeras prie ežero *Įlgis*; 2) lietuvių priešdėlio *pa-* vediniai išreiškia įvardijamo objekto horizontalią padėtį erdvėje santykyje su kitu opoziciją sudarančiu objektu arba su kitu opozicijos nesudarančiu objektu ir perteikia koncepto [VIETA PRIE / ŠALIA] reikšmę, pvz., *Padūkštai* ← gyvenvietė prie upės *Dūkštà* arba prie kaimo *Dūkštos*; *Podhaliampòlis* ← gyvenvietė prie kaimo *Haliampòlis* arba prie / šalia tuščio (neapaugusio, plyno) lauko; *Pāšilinis* ← ežeras prie ežero *Šilinis* arba prie šilo esantis ežeras; 3) lietuvių priešdėlio *už(u)-* vediniai išreiškia įvardijamo objekto horizontalią padėtį erdvėje santykyje su kitu opoziciją sudarančiu objektu arba su kitu opozicijos nesudarančiu objektu ir perteikia koncepto [VIETA UŽ / ŠALIA] reikšmę, pvz., *Užūkenė* ← gyvenvietė už upės *Kenà* arba prie / šalia kaimo *Kenà*.

1.5. Būdvardžių sėnas – naujas koreliacija, įskaitant jų įvardžiuotines formas *senàsis* (–*íjei*, –*óji*, *sėnosios*) – *naujàsis* (–*íjei*, –*óji*, *naūjosios*), perteikia įvardijamųjų objektų *radimosi laiką* (*amžių*) ir išreiškia konceptą [SENAS / NAUJAS: JAUNAS] prasmę. Diferencijuojantys žymikliai šiose sudėtinių ir sudurtinių oikonimų opozicijose yra 1) motyvuoti pagal gyvenviečių radimosi laiką, pvz., *Kálviai* × *Naujėjei Kálviai*, *Seni Šam̃iniai* × *Nauji Šam̃iniai*; 2) radęsi dėl senesnių gyvenviečių pervardinimo (arba lyčių rekonstrukcijos) ir standartizavimo, pvz., *Sėnas Janāvas* × *Naūjas Janāvas*, *Senādvaris* × *Naujādvaris*. Pirmosios grupės DŽ perteikia informaciją apie istorinę gyvenviečių raidą ir tiesiogiai nurodo jų radimosi laiką ir amžių. Antrosios grupės DŽ – gyvenviečių pervardinimo ir / arba standartizavimo rezultatas ir greičiausiai perteikia santykinio

gyvenviečių amžiaus reikšmę, DŽ buvo pridėti prie oikonimų siekiant atskirti pervardintas gyvenvietes nuo anksčiau įvardintų pagal jų radimosi laiką.

1.6. Įvardžiutinių būdvardžių juodoji – baltoji koreliacija yra neaiškos motyvacijos ir semantikos. Diferencijuojantys žymikliai oikonimų opozicijoje *Baltoji Vokė* × *Baltoji Vokė* × *Juodoji Vokė* gali būti: 1) motyvuoti geografinių veiksnių ir perteikti jų reikšmę (viėtų vardai gali būti sudaryti pagal analogiją iš kitų vietovardžių, ypač hidronimų), 2) motyvuoti geologinių veiksnių ir perteikti jų reikšmių atspalvius (dirvožemio spalva šalia įvardijamo objekto ir / ar dirvožemio derlingumas), 3) motyvuoti pagal pastatų spalvą, 4) motyvuoti spalvų simbolikos; 5) amžiaus (radimosi laiko), padėties, dydžio konceptų (*baltas* galėtų reikšti *didelis* ir greičiausiai *senas*, o *juodas* – *mažas* ir greičiausiai *naujas*).

2. Neantoniminiai diferencijuojančių žymiklių santykiai būdingi mažesnei hidronimų ir oikonimų klasių toponimijos daliai. Kaip rodo analizė, šie santykiai yra nulemti skirtingų priežasčių: vienokių, kai žymikliai yra skaičiai, kitokių, kai žymikliai – tikriniai žodžiai, o kai kuriais atvejais priklauso ir skirtingoms taksonomijoms. Lingvistinės ir ekstralingvistinės šių toponimų analizės rezultatai pateikiami toliau.

2.1. Skaičių, kaip diferencijuojančių žymiklių, koreliacija pastebima oikonimų ir hidronimų resp. limnonimų (tvenkinių vardų) klasėse. Vis dėlto iki galo nėra aišku, ar tokios toponiminės konstrukcijos išreiškia priešingą semantiką.

Tyrimas parodė, kad limnonimų klasėje žymikliai nėra semantiškai žymėti ir yra naudojami tik identiškiems toponimams atskirti. Turimi duomenys nesuteikė galimybės prieiti prie kitokios tyrimo išvados. Nagrinėjami limnonimai yra dviejų arba trijų komponentų. Pirmasis komponentas yra limnonimo pagrindas, antrasis komponentas – skaičius (DŽ), trečiasis komponentas – nomenklatūrinis terminas – *tvenkinỹs*, kuris nurodo įvardijamąjį objektą. Kartais diferencijuojančio žymiklio nėra. Pirmieji šios opozicijų grupės komponentai yra kilmininko linksnio iš objektų vardų, kuriuose arba šalia kurių yra įvardijamieji tvenkiniai. Todėl šie vardai gali būti laikomi pirminių toponimų „kontinuumu“.

Oikonimų klasėje diferencijuojantys žymikliai atlieka šias funkcijas: 1) žymi chronologinę raidą (koreliacija *sėnas* – *naūjas* ir galiausiai *didelis* – *māžas*), pvz., *Ažūmiškė I* × *Ažūmiškė II*; 2) diferencijuoja vardus, bet neturi semantinės įkrovos, pvz., *Kochanovkà I* × *Kochanovkà II* × *Kochanovkà III*; 3) žymi gyvenviečių administracinį padalijimą iš vienos didelės gyvenvietės ir neturi semantinės įkrovos, pvz., *Kryžiáuka I* × *Kryžiáuka II*; 4) žymi standartizuotus pervadintų gyvenviečių vardus ir neturi semantinės įkrovos, pvz., *Lāpiškiai I* × *Lāpiškiai II*. Taigi galima teigti, kad pirmosios grupės diferencijuojantys žymikliai perteikia informaciją apie istorinę gyvenviečių raidą ir tiesiogiai nurodo pirmines, senesnes / didesnes gyvenvietes ir šalia jų įsikūrusias naujesnes / mažesnes gyvenvietes. Antroji žymiklių grupė atskiria identiškus oikonimus opozicijoje ir neturi semantinės įkrovos. Trečioji žymiklių grupė išskiria vienaarūšius oikonimus po pervadinimo ir standartizavimo, ji taip pat neturi semantinės įkrovos. Ketvirtoji žymiklių grupė žymi padalintas gyvenvietes ir neturi semantinės įkrovos.

2.2. Nežymėtųjų toponimų koreliacija su toponimais, modifikuotais apeliatyviais, pvz., opozicija *Karklėnai* × *Užupio Karklėnai* × *Didieji Karklėnai*, kuri yra keleto gyvenviečių pervadinimo rezultatas ir kurios pirmasis narys yra nežymėtasis, antrasis narys modifikuojamas apeliatyvu, išreikštu kilmininko linksniu (liet. *užupio* ← *užupis* ‘vieta už upės’) ir yra motyvuotas gyvenvietės padėties kitų gyvenviečių atžvilgiu (pvz., kai įvardijama gyvenvietė yra už upės), trečiasis narys yra modifikuotas įvardžiuotinių būdvardžių liet. *didieji* ‘didelis; didesnis’ ir yra motyvuotas, perteikia koncepto [SVARBUS] reikšmę bei žymi ankstesnę (pirminę) gyvenvietę.

2.3. Nežymėtųjų toponimų koreliacija su toponimais, modifikuotais diferencijuojančiais žymikliais iš kitų toponimų, pvz., opozicija *Ūtā* × *Stākų Ūtā*, kurios DŽ yra išreikštas gyvenamosios vietos vardo *Stākai* kilmininko linksniu ir yra motyvuotas įvardijamos gyvenvietės tikrosios padėties kitos gyvenvietės, kurios vardas tapo opozicijos nario žymikliu, atžvilgiu.

2.4. Diferencijuojančių žymiklių vedinių iš kitų toponimų koreliacija, pvz., limnonimai *Leņtvario akš* × *Naūjo Leņtvario akš*, kurios žymikliai atitinkamai išreikšti gyvenamųjų vietų vardų *Leņtvaris* ir *Naujās Leņtvaris* kilmininku ir yra motyvuoti pagal padėtį vienas kito atžvilgiu šalia esančių gyvenviečių teritorijoje.

2.5. Skirtingoms apeliatyvų grupėms priklausančių diferencijuojančių žymiklių koreliacija, pvz., oikonimai *Āukštosios Viēsos* × *Žēmosios Viēsos* × *Sēnosios Viēsos*, kurių du pirmieji nariai yra modifikuoti įvardžiuotinių būdvardžių *āukštosios* – *žēmosios* semantinė antonimine koreliacija (išreiškia erdvinį santykį), o trečiasis narys yra modifikuotas įvardžiuotinių būdvardžiu *sēnosios* (išreiškia laiko santykį). Tokios opozicijos pirmieji du nariai yra motyvuoti gyvenviečių padėties aplinkoje upės krypties atžvilgiu, o trečiasis narys yra motyvuotas ir pagal gyvenvietės radimosi laiką.

2.6. Diferencijuojančių žymiklių, priklausančių tikrinių žodžių ir apeliatyvų klasėms, koreliacija, pvz., oikonimai *Trākų Vókē* × *Mūrīnē Vókē*, kurių žymikliai yra vediniai iš oikonimo *Trākai* ir liet. *mūrīnē* (← *mūrīnis* (-ē)).

Identiškų toponimų leksemų motyvacija ir semantika. Lingvistinė analizė parodė, kad identiškų toponimų leksemos skirstomos į dvi kategorijas: aiškos ir neaiškos motyvacijos bei semantikos topoleksemas. Šie toponimai perteikia asociacijas / įspūdžius, kuriuos įvardytojas greičiausiai turėjo galvoje apie įvardijamąjį objektą, įprasmino juos toponimuose konceptais, atspindinčiais ryškiausius vietovardžių bruožus ir padedančiais geriau suvokti įvardytoją supančią aplinką bei ją suskirstyti (kategorizuoti).

1. Aiškos motyvacijos ir semantikos identiškų toponimų leksemos

1.1. Potamonimu motyvuoti toponimai išreiškia konceptą [VIETA: PRIE / ŠALIA], pvz., oikonimas *Akmenā* ← *Akmenā*, potamonimas *Strūnēlē* ← *Strūnā*.

1.2. Limnonimu motyvuoti toponimai išreiškia konceptą [VIETA: PRIE / ŠALIA], pvz., limnonimas *Bēlāitis* ← *Bēlys*, oikonimas *Sāmnikai* ← *Sāmis*.

1.3. Oikonimu motyvuoti toponimai išreiškia konceptą [VIETA: PRIE / ŠALIA], pvz., oikonimai *Pālaburdiškēs* ← *Alaburdiškēs*, *Vaičiūkiškē II* ← *Vaičiūkiškē I* ir limnonimai

Navakonių I tvenkinys, Navakonių II tvenkinys ← *Navakónys*, arba išreiškia konceptą [VIETA: KUR], pvz., limnonimai *Tetėnų I tvenkinys, Tetėnų II tvenkinys* ← *Tetėnai*.

1.4. Helonimu motyvuoti toponimai išreiškia konceptą [VIETA: PRIE / ŠALIA], pvz., oikionimas *Pāgaigalē I* ← *Gaigalē*.

1.5. Asmenvardžiu motyvuoti toponimai išreiškia konceptą [POSESYVUMAS: NUOSAVYBĖ], pvz., oikionimai *Praniaĩ* ← avd. *Pranys* ar *pan.*, *Ūdrónys* ← avd. **Ūdronis*, plg. pvd. *Ūdrys*, limnonimas *Jagūdis* ← avd. **Jagudis*, plg. pvd. *Jagūtis, Jogūtis*.

1.6. Apeliatyvu motyvuoti toponimai perteikia įvairius konceptus, atspindinčius tiriamos teritorijos žmonių pasaulėžiūrą. Vietovardžiai nurodo vietovės padėtį erdvėje arba kryptį, išreikšdami sąvokas [VIETA TARP], [VIETA ANT], [VEIKLOS VIETA], [VIETA UŽ], pvz., oikionimas *Ažūmiškė I* ← liet. **ažūmiškė* ‘vieta už miško’; arba apibūdina įvardijamo objekto aplinką, kraštovaizdį (ir oikionimai, ir hidronimai), perteikia konceptus [ATVIRAS PLOTAS], [PILIAKALNIS], [PAPĖDĖ], [LYGUMA], [PELKĖ], [VANDENS TELKINYS], [VAGA], [SAMANOTA VIETA], [ŠALTINIS], [TĖKMĖ], [SMĖLIS], [MIŠKAS], [SKYNYMAS], pvz., oikionimai *Trākai, (Senieji) Trākai* ← liet. *trākas (trākai)* ‘iškirsta vieta miške, skynimas (plynė, kirtimas)’. Toponimai atskleidžia individo įvardijamų objektų suvokimą per konceptus [SPALVA], [DYDIS: PLOTIS], [DYDIS: ILGIS], [GYLIS], [FORMA], [ŠALTIS], pvz., potamonimas *Šalčią* ← liet. *šaltas* ‘žemos temperatūros’, *šalti* ‘darytis šaltu, vesti’, *šaltis* ‘šaltumas’. Jie hidronimų ir oikionimų klasėse taip pat konceptualizuoja vietovės gyvąją gamtą per vaizdinių kategorijas [MEDŽIŲ RŪŠIS], [PAUKŠČIŲ RŪŠIS], [ŽUVŲ RŪŠIS], pvz., limnonimas *Ungurys* ← liet. *ungurys* ‘į gyvatę panaši, vertinga žuvis (*Anguilla anguilla*)’. Nemažai toponimų, pvz., oikionimų klasėje perteikia prieglobsčio ar ekonominės veiklos vaizdinius per sąvokas [DVARAS], [LAIKINAS BŪSTAS] arba [VIETA: PASTATAS], pvz., oikionimai *Tartōkas* ← liet. *tartōkas* ‘malūnas, lentpjūvė’, *Ūtā* ← liet. *ūtā* (← lenk. *huta*) ‘lydykla’, potamonimai (*Didysis, Mažasis*) *Pirčiupis* ← liet. *pirtis* ‘pastatas ar vieta maudynėms; pastatas ar patalpa, kurioje džiovinami linai’ ir liet. *upis* ‘didelis, natūralus vandens srautas’; atspindi konceptą [PROFESIJA: VEIKLOS RŪŠIS], pvz., oikionimas *Mėdininkai* ← liet. *mėdininkas / mėdinykas* ‘miško gyventojas, girininkas’. Kai kurie toponimai atspindi įvardijančiojo dvasinį pasaulį per sąvokas [LAISVĖ], pvz., oikionimas *Slabadā* ← rus. *слобода / сloboda* ‘laisvė’, ir [SAKRALUMAS], pvz., limnonimas *Švenčius* ← liet. *šveñtas* ‘kylantis iš Dievo, dieviškas; tas, kuris yra Dievo malonėje, pašventintas’.

1.7. Apeliatyvu ir oikionimu motyvuoti toponimai perteikia sąvokas [VANDENS TELKINYS] ir [POSESYVUMAS: VIETA], pvz., limnonimai *Leñtvario akis, Naūjojo Leñtvario akis* ← liet. *akis* ‘atvira vieta pelkėje; nedidelis vandens plotas pelkėse ar ežeruose, kurie beveik apaugę augalija’ ir atitinkamai iš *Leñtvaris, Naujasis Leñtvaris*.

2. Neaiškos motyvacijos ir semantikos identiškos toponimų leksemos

2.1. Motyvuoti apeliatyvu toponimai perteikia įvairius konceptų derinius, susijusius su vietovėmis ar vietų kryptimis kitų topoobjektų atžvilgiu, nurodančius tam tikrą veiklą, apibūdinančius aplinką, kraštovaizdį ar objektus, atspindinčius įvardijančiojo fizinės ar dvasinės tikrovės suvokimą, pvz., konceptai [SANKRYŽA / KRYŽIUS] oikionime *Kryžiáuka I* ← liet. *krỹžius* ‘pagrindinis krikščionybės simbolis’, plg. liet. *sán-kryž-a*

‘kelių susikirtimo vieta; vieta greta kelių susikirtimo’ (dar plg. brus. *крыж* ‘kryžius’, *с-крыж-аванне* ‘sankryža’); konceptai [NAUJA GYVENVIETĖ / NAUJAS SODAS] oikonime *Naujāsodis I* ← liet. *naūjas*, –à ‘neseniai atsiradęs, padarytas, įsigytas’ ir *sodà* ‘neišsklaidytas kaimas; kaimas’, *sōdžius* ‘valstiečių gyvenamoji vieta, kaimas’, plg. liet. *naujāsodis* ‘naujai pasodintas sodas’; arba konceptai [DVASIA / APGAULĖ / AUGALŲ RŪŠIS] limnonime *Mónis* ← liet. *mōnas* ‘vaiduoklis, dvasia, kuri apgaudinėja žmogų; burtai, magija; apgaulė’, lietuvių fitoleksema *mōnai* ‘plaukiojanti saldžioji žolė, vandens manažolė (*Glyceria fluitans*)’. Kitos kombinacijos priklauso šiems konceptams: [PAUKŠČIŲ RŪŠIS / GROŽIS], [JUDĖJIMAS / ŠVENTA VIETA / AUGALŲ RŪŠYS], [PELKĖ / ŠALTIS / BAIMĖ], [PELKĖ / SPALVA], [JUDĖJIMAS / PELKĖ], [AP AUGUSI VIETA / PELKĖ], [FORMA / VIRVĖ], [SPALVA / ŠVARA / NEKENKSMINGUMAS], [GĖLAS VANDUO / ŠALTIS], [AKMUO / AKMENINĖ VIETA], [VANDUO: DRĖGMĖ / SRAUTAS], [GRIOVA / SLĖNIS], [VANDENS SROVĖ / JUDĖJIMAS], [VANDENS SROVĖ / JUDĖJIMAS / GYVŪNŲ RŪŠYS], [SPALVA / PAUKŠČIŲ RŪŠIS / ORGANAS / VANDENS TELKINYS], [ŠVIESA / FORMA], [SPALVA / GROŽIS], [POSESYVUMAS: NUOSAVYBĖ / VIETA IŠORĖJE], [KALVOTA VIETOVĖ / AUGALŲ RŪŠIS], [NAUJAS ŽEMĖS SKLYPAS / NAUJAI ARIAMAS / IŠARTAS LAUKAS], [NAUJA GYVENVIETĖ / GYVENTOJAI], [PAUKŠČIŲ / AUGALŲ RŪŠIS / TANKUMYNAS], [VIETA: VIETA ŠALIA / GYVENVIETĖ MIŠKE / PRIE MIŠKO], [ŽMONĖS / GYVENVIETĖ / ŽEMĖS SKLYPAS], [PROFESIJA / MIŠKAS].

2.2. Asmenvardžiu motyvuoti toponimai (oikonimai ir hidronimai) taip pat perteikia įvairius sąvokų derinius, iš kurių pagrindinė yra [POSESYVUMAS: NUOSAVYBĖ], pvz., su konceptu [STEBUKLAS] potamonimuose *Cùdykas* (*Diðelis* / *Māžas*) ← lenk. avd. *Cudzik* / liet. avd. *Tidikas*, arba liet. *cudà* / *cūda*? ‘nuostabus, nepaprastas’, plg. liet. *cūdas* ‘stebuklas’ (iš lenk. *cud* ‘stebuklas’), lenk. *cudzy* ‘svetimas, svetimas, keistas’; su konceptu [LYGUS PLOTAS] oikonime (*Didieji*) *Lygáiniai* ← liet. avd. *Lýgainas* arba liet. *lýgus*, –i ‘be įdubimų ir iškilimų, plokščias’, liet. *lygumà* ‘lygi vieta’. Kitos koncepto [POSESYVUMAS: NUOSAVYBĖ] kombinacijos yra su šiais konceptais: [VIETA / ŽMONĖS], [GYLIS], [ŽMONĖS], [PROFESIJA], [PELKĖ], [ĮDUBUSI VIETA / MEDŽIO RŪŠIS], [KAIMYNYSTĖ], [VIETA ŠALIA], [PAUKŠČIŲ RŪŠIS], [AP AUGUSI VIETA], [KLAMPI VIETA].

2.3. Apeliatyvu arba hidronimu motyvuoti toponimai perteikia fizinės ir dvasinės tikrovės vaizdinius per daugybę sąvokų derinių, ypač hidronimų ir oikonimų klasėse, pvz., konceptai [VANDENS TEKĖJIMAS / JUDĖJIMAS / POSESYVUMAS: VIETA ŠALIA] potamonime *Mušėlė* ← liet. *mūšti* ‘veržtis (paprastai iš vidaus į paviršių, į išorę), tekėti, trykšti’ arba iš upėvardžio *Mušia*. Kiti toponimai perteikia koncepto [POSESYVUMAS: VIETA ŠALIA] derinius su vaizdiniais [SAKRALUMAS], [GYLIS], [ŽUVŲ RŪŠIS], [SPALVA / ŠVARUMAS / NEKENKSMINGUMAS], [DYDIS: ILGIS], [GYLIS / SPALVA], [SAMANOTA VIETA], [JUDĖJIMAS / PELKĖ], [PAPĖDĖ], [SMĖLIS], [VANDENS TEKĖJIMAS / JUDĖJIMAS / GYVŪNŲ RŪŠYS], [RUOŽAS / FORMA], [SPALVA].

2.4. Apeliatyvu arba oikonimu motyvuoti toponimai perteikia konceptų kombinacijas [POSESYVUMAS: VIETA ŠALIA], [POSESYVUMAS: NUOSAVYBĖ / VIETA ŠALIA] arba [POSESYVUMAS: VIETA ŠALIA / TARP] oikonimuose, pvz., (*Naujasis*) *Tařpupis* ← liet. *tařpupis* ‘vieta tarp upių’ arba plg. *Senasis Tařpupis*.

2.5. Asmenvardžiu motyvuoti toponimai sudaro nedidelę oikonimų grupę, kuri perteikia konceptų reikšmę [PROFESIJA / POSESYVUMAS: NUOSAVYBĖ] ir [ŽMONĖS / POSESYVUMAS: NUOSAVYBĖ] bei išreiškia įvardijančiojo santykį su išoriniu pasauliu, pvz., (*Žemėji*) *Rusōkai* ← rus. / brus. (dial.) *pycaku* (*pycak*) ‘rusų kilmės žmogus / rusas’ arba iš liet. avd. **Rusokas*, plg. avd. *Rus-* (*Rusas, Rusakas* ir kt.).

2.6. Asmenvardžiu arba hidronimu motyvuoti toponimai perteikia konceptą [POSESYVUMAS: NUOSAVYBĖ / VIETA ŠALIA], pvz., oikonimas *Grúožninkai* ← *grúožninkai* ‘žmonės gyvenantys prie ežerų *Gruožys* ir *Gruožaitis*’ arba iš ežerėvardžių *Gruožys* ir *Gruožaitis*; limnonimas *Jagudēlis* ← ežeras *Jagūdis* arba iš liet. avd. **Jagudis*, plg. avd. *Jagūtis, Jogūtis*.

2.7. Apeliatyvu, asmenvardžiu arba hidronimu motyvuoti toponimai yra negausūs ir perteikia sąvokų [PAUKŠČIŲ RŪŠIS / POSESYVUMAS: NUOSAVYBĖ / VIETA ŠALIA] kombinacijas, pvz., oikonimai (*Didžioji, Mažoji*) *Kúosinė* ← liet. *kúosa* ‘varninių šeimos paukštis, kovukas (*Coloeus monedula*)’, upė *Kúosinė* arba avd. *Kúosa*.

2.8. Apeliatyvu, asmenvardžiu arba oikonimu motyvuoti toponimai irgi yra negausūs ir perteikia sąvokų kombinacijas [ŽMONĖS / POSESYVUMAS: VIETA ŠALIA / NUOSAVYBĖ], pvz., oikonimai (*Aukštieji, Žemėji*) *Karklėnai* ← liet. avd. *Karklas* arba liet. *karklėnė* ‘vieta apaugusi karklais, karklų krūmais’.

2.9. Oikonimu arba hidronimu motyvuoti toponimai perteikia konceptą [POSESYVUMAS: VIETA ŠALIA], kuris yra užkoduotas limnonimuose ir oikonimuose, pvz., *Antāvilio ežeras* ← kaimas *Antaviliai* (*Antāvilis*) arba upelis *Antāvilis*; *Pavoverė* ← kaimas *Voverė* arba upelis *Voveraitė*.

2.10. Oikonimu arba helonimu motyvuoti toponimai išreiškia konceptą [POSESYVUMAS: VIETA ŠALIA], pvz., oikonimas *Pāgaigalė II* ← kaimas *Pāgaigalė I* arba pelkė *Gaigalė*.

2.11. Hidronimu arba helonimu motyvuoti toponimai perteikia konceptą [POSESYVUMAS: VIETA ŠALIA], pvz., oikonimas *Baltōji Vókė* ← upė *Vókė* arba durpynas *Baltōji Vókė*.

2.12. Asmenvardžiu arba endonimu motyvuoti toponimai išreiškia konceptus [ŽMONĖS / ŽEMĖ] ir [ŽEMĖ / POSESYVUMAS: NUOSAVYBĖ], pvz., oikonimas *Dainavà* ← liet. **dainiai* (**dainys*) ‘*Dainavos* regiono žmonės’ arba *Dainavà* (Jotvingių žemė); *Dēltuva* (**Dēviltuva* / **Deviltava*) ← *Dēltuva* (žemė) arba liet. avd. **Dēviltas* / **Deviltas*.

2.13. Endonimu arba oikonimu motyvuoti toponimai perteikia konceptą [POSESYVUMAS: VIETA ŠALIA / KUR], pvz., oikonimas *Dainavēlė* ← *Dainavà* (žemė) arba kaimas *Dainavà*.

Išvados

1. Disertacijoje pateikiamas naujas požiūris į lietuvių toponimiją, pagrįstas tradicinės ir kognityvinės onomastikos mokslinių-teorinių principų bei Lietuvos ir užsienio mokslininkų sukurtų metodų (metodologijų) integracija. Remiantis kognityvinės semantikos ir kognityvinės onomastikos teorijomis bei tradiciniais onomastikos tyrimo modeliais, Vilniaus apskrities toponimų opozicijų tyrimas su klasifikacija grindžiamas etimologine, darybine bei semantine diferencijuojančių žymiklių ir identiškų toponimų leksemų analize. Į opozicijas, kurios yra viena iš pasaulio kategorizavimo priemonių, žvelgiama ne tik kaip į antoniminius semantinius ryšius tarp vardų žymiklių, bet ir kaip į bet kokią kitą ryšį tarp žymiklių, įtraukiant sudėtinių toponimų elementus, kurie neturi semantinės įkrovos, bet atlieka diferencijuojančią funkciją toponimijoje. Šių teorijų ir tyrimo principų derinys kartu su ekstralingvistine duomenų analize praplečia lingvistinės toponimų analizės galimybes, padeda atkurti pirmines vietovardžių reikšmes arba patikslinti jų etimologijas.
2. Nagrinėjamų dabartinės Vilniaus apskrities vietovardžių registrą sudaro 3900 oikonimų ir 1226 hidronimai (864 limnonimai (718 ežerų ir 146 tvenkinių vardai) ir 362 potamonimai). Sisteminės analizės metodu buvo nustatyti 491 oikonimai ir hidronimai (9,6 proc. visų registre esančių toponimų), sudarantys 227 opozicijas: 24 potamonimai sudaro 12 (5,29 proc.) opozicijų, 116 limnonimai sudaro 54 (23,79 proc.) opozicijas ir 351 oikonimas sudaro 161 (70,92 proc.) opoziciją. Visi atrinkti opozicijas sudarantys toponimai yra 0,04–20 ± 5 km atstumu vienas nuo kito. Opozicijas formuoja: du toponimai (197 atvejai), trys toponimai (24 atvejai), keturi toponimai (4 atvejai), penki ir šeši toponimai (užfiksuota po 1 atvejį). Opozicijos yra absoliučiai kontekstinės ir ribojamos hidronimų arba oikonimų (mikro)sistemos, kurių vietovardžiai sukuria tik savo klasėje: *limnonimas* × *limnonimas*, *potamonimas* × *potamonimas*, *oikonimas* × *oikonimas*.
3. Žodžių darybos požiūriu identifikuotos opozicijos formuojamos iš sudėtinių ir sudurtinių vietovardžių (atitinkamai 225 ir 2 atvejai) su diferencijuojančiais žymikliais, einančiais prieš identišką toponimų leksemą arba po jų. Opozicijos sudaro dvi kategorijas – *leksinės* ir *gramatinės* opozicijos. *Leksines opozicijas* sudaro homogeninės leksemos sudėtiniuose ir sudurtiniuose toponimuose. *Gramatinės opozicijas* formuoja toponimai su skirtingais, priešingą prasmę išreiškiančiais afiksais. Antonimiją tiesiogine prasme galima pastebėti tik opozicijose, kurių sudėtiniai elementai priklauso tai pačiai taksonomijai. Taip pat užfiksuota toponimų opozicijų susijusių ne antoniminiais semantiniais ryšiais, nes jų žymikliai priklauso skirtingoms taksonomijoms arba jos yra formuojamos su skaičiais, kurie panaudojami kaip diferencijuojantys žymikliai. Išskiriami du struktūriniai opozicijų tipai: *pilnosios* ir *nepilnosios*. Ką parodė formalios lingvistinės analizės sintaksiniu lygmeniu rezultatai, išdėstoma toliau.

- 3.1. *Nepilnosios leksinės opozicijos* yra $Vardas \times D\check{Z}Vardas$ struktūros (2 potamonimų, 2 limnonimų, 22 oikonimų opozicijos). Daugiausia nepilnų leksinių opozicijų (20 atvejų) sudaro įvardžiuotinių būdvardžių formų koreliacijos: 1) *didysis – mažasis* (2 potamonimų, 2 limnonimų, 7 oikonimų opozicijos), 2) *aukštasis – žemasis* (2 oikonimų opozicijos), 3) *senasis – naujasis* (7 oikonimų opozicijos). Būdvardžių *kalninis – klóninis* formų koreliacija formuoja vieną oikonimų opoziciją. Nulinis žymiklis kiekvienoje opozicijoje gali būti lengvai atkurtas iš konteksto. Keturiuose oikonimų opozicijose žymikliai yra arba kitų apeliatyvų, arba tikrinių vardų resp. oikonimų vediniai.
- 3.2. *Pilnosios leksinės opozicijos* yra dvejopos struktūros: 1) $D\check{Z}Vardas \times D\check{Z}Vardas$ opozicija (1 potamonimų, 4 limnonimų, 23 oikonimų koreliacijos) ir 2) $VardasD\check{Z} \times VardasD\check{Z}$ opozicija (1 potamonimų, 2 limnonimų koreliacijos). Didžiausia pilnųjų leksinių opozicijų dalis (19 atvejų) formuojama įvardžiuotinių būdvardžių formų koreliacijomis: 1) *didysis – mažasis* (1 potamonimų, 3 limnonimų, 5 oikonimų opozicijos), 2) *aukštasis – žemasis* (4 oikonimų opozicijos), 3) *senasis – naujasis* (5 oikonimų opozicijos), 4) *juodasis – baltasis* (1 oikonimų opozicija). Būdvardžių koreliacija sudaro 9 opozicijas: 1) *didelis – mažas* (1 limnonimų, 1 potamonimų opozicijos), 2) *aukštas – žemas* (1 limnonimų opozicija), 3) *sėnas – naujas* (5 oikonimų opozicijos), 4) *kalninis – klóninis* (1 oikonimų opozicija).
- 3.3. *Mažybinėmis priesagomis formuojamos gramatinės opozicijos* sudaro didžiausią nepilnųjų opozicijų grupę (8 potamonimų, 32 limnonimų, 49 oikonimų opozicijos) ir priklauso $Vardas \times VardasD\check{Z}$ modeliui. Produktiviausios priesagos yra liet. *-ėl-* (36 oikonimų, 7 limnonimų vediniai, 1 potamonimo vedinys), liet. *-(i)uk-* (11 limnonimų, 5 oikonimų vediniai) ir liet. *-el-* (8 oikonimų, 6 potamonimų, 2 limnonimų vediniai); mažiau produktyvios yra priesagos liet. *-ait-* (9 limnonimų vediniai); mažiausiai produktyvios priesagos – liet. *-ykšč-* (1 potamonimo vedinys), liet. *-ut-* (1 limnonimo vedinys) ir slav. *-k-* (1 oikonimo vedinys).
- 3.4. *Priešdėliais formuojamos gramatinės opozicijos* (15 atvejų) yra dviejų tipų: 1) nepilnosios $Vardas \times D\check{Z}Vardas$ (2 limnonimų, 12 oikonimų opozicijos) ir 2) pilnosios $D\check{Z}Vardas \times D\check{Z}Vardas$ (1 oikonimo opozicija). Produktiviausias priešdėlis yra liet. *pa-* (2 limnonimų, 11 oikonimų vedinių); mažiausiai produktyvūs priešdėliai yra slav. *pod-* (1 oikonimo vedinys) ir liet. *už(u)-* (1 oikonimo vedinys).
- 3.5. *Skaiciai kaip DŽ* randami limnonimų resp. tvenkinių vardų struktūroje (12 atvejų) ir oikonimų struktūroje (53 atvejai) ir sudaro du opozicijų modelius: 1) $Vardas \times VardasD\check{Z}$ (2 limnonimų, 7 oikonimų opozicijos) ir 2) $VardasD\check{Z} \times VardasD\check{Z}$ (10 limnonimų, 46 oikonimų opozicijos).
4. Tradicinės ir kognityvinės onomastikos tyrimo metodų derinimas su teoriniais kognityvinės semantikos principais bei ekstralingvistinių duomenų analize parodė, kad toponimų opozicijos yra sudėtingos kalbinės struktūros, kurioms būdingi ne mažiau kaip du konceptualūs lygmenys, t. y. diferencijuojančių žymiklių ir identiškų topo-

nimų leksemų konceptualios struktūros. Opozicija toponimijoje yra sąlygojama ekstralingvistinių veiksnių ir nulemta įvardijančio asmens poreikių kalbinėmis priemonėmis išreikšti naujų vardų santykį su esamais.

- 4.1. Semantinė kategorija, perteikianti antoniminį augmentatyvinį-deminutyvinį santykį (įvardijamų objektų *santykinis dydis*), yra formuojama mažybinių priešagų arba būdvardžių *didelis – mažas* ir jų įvardžiutinių formų koreliacijomis. Tiek kalbinė, tiek ekstralingvistinė duomenų analizė parodė, kad visi šios kategorijos diferencijuojantys žymikliai yra motyvuoti įvairiais aspektais. Potamonimų klasėje upių opozicijų žymikliai yra motyvuoti pagal įvardijamo objekto ilgį. Limnonimų klasėje ežerų opozicijų diferencijuojantys žymikliai yra motyvuoti pagal įvardijamo objekto paviršiaus plotą ir jo kranto linijų ilgį. Oikonimų klasėje diferencijuojantys žymikliai yra motyvuoti: 1) pagal gyvenvietės dydį, remiantis jos tipu ir pavadinimo forma, žvelgiant iš istorinės perspektyvos; 2) senųjų oikonimų rekonstrukcija ar pervadinimu, atsižvelgiant į gyvenvietės dydį; 3) mažesnės, naujesnės gyvenvietės buvimo greta didesnės, senesnės.
- 4.2. Analizė parodė, kad įvardijamo objekto *santykinė padėtis erdvėje* nurodoma arba priešdėlio (-ių), arba būdvardžių *aukštas – žemas, kalninis – klóninis* ir jų įvardžiutinių formų koreliacijomis.
 - 4.2.1. Leksiniu lygmeniu diferencijuojantys žymikliai yra motyvuoti ir nurodo: 1) objekto horizontalią padėtį aukštyr / atgal arba horizontalią padėtį žemyn šalia esančios upės atžvilgiu, 2) objekto vertikalią padėtį erdvėje, t. y. ant kalvos, priešingai nei kito objekto padėtis kalvos papėdėje (vertikali viršutinė padėtis arba vertikali apatinė padėtis), 3) objekto vertikalią padėtį erdvėje, t. y. ant kalvos, priešingai nei kito objekto padėtis šalia esančios upės slėnyje (vertikali viršutinė padėtis arba vertikali apatinė padėtis).
 - 4.2.2. Gramatiniu lygmeniu diferencijuojantys žymikliai yra motyvuoti ir nurodo: 1) objekto horizontalią padėtį erdvėje, palyginus su kitu opoziciją sudarančiu objektu (vieta šalia), 2) objekto horizontalią padėtį erdvėje opozicijoje esančio objekto ar kito objekto atžvilgiu (vieta šalia), 3) objekto horizontalią padėtį erdvėje su opoziciją sudarančiu objektu ar kito objekto atžvilgiu (vieta už / išorėje).
- 4.3. Būdvardžių *sėnas – naujas* ir jų įvardžiutinių formų koreliacijos perteikia įvardijamų objektų opozicijoje *santykinį amžių*. Diferencijuojantys žymikliai yra motyvuoti ir nurodo: 1) faktinį gyvenvietės amžių ir 2) senesnių gyvenviečių pervadinimą / vardų rekonstrukciją ir standartizavimą, bei perteikia santykinio gyvenviečių amžiaus (radimosi laiko) reikšmę.
- 4.4. Analizė parodė, kad *skaičiais* formuojamos opozicijos neturi semantinės įkrovos. Nepaisant to, tolesni ekstralingvistinių duomenų tyrimai gali suteikti papildomos informacijos, įrodančios, kad yra kitaip. Limnonimų klasėje diferencijuojantys žymikliai neturi semantinės įkrovos ir naudojami tik toponimų

leksemoms diferencijuoti. Oikonimų klasėje žymikliai gali: 1) žymėti chronologinę gyvenviečių raidą ir perteikti *senumo* – *naujumą* arba *didumo* – *mažumą* santykį, 2) atlikti diferencijavimo funkciją be semantinės įkrovos arba 3) nurodyti administracinį gyvenviečių padalijimą iš vienos didelės gyvenvietės be semantinės įkrovos, arba 4) žymėti standartizuotus pervadintų gyvenviečių vardus be semantinės įkrovos.

- 4.5. Nedidelę opozicijų grupę sudaro diferencijuojančių žymiklių koreliacijos, kurios yra: 1) semantiškai neantoniminės, nes pateikia nepažymėtų toponimų koreliaciją su apeliatyvais modifikuotais vardais arba nepažymėtų toponimų koreliaciją su diferencijuojančiais žymikliais, kurie yra kitų toponimų vediniai, arba kurių žymikliai priklauso skirtingoms apeliatyvų klasėms; 2) antoniminės, bet neaiškos motyvacijos ir semantikos.
- 4.6. Lingvistinė analizė parodė, kad identiškos toponimų leksemos gali būti suskirstytos į dvi kategorijas: aiškos ir neaiškos motyvacijos ir semantikos topoleksmas. Be to, toponimai perteikia motyvuojančių konceptų, prasmingų įvardytojui, įvairovę. Juose įprasmintų konceptų, atspindinčių ryškiausius vietovių bruožus, dėka atsiskleidžia įvardytojo fizinio ir dvasinio pasaulio suvokimas ir supančios tikrovės kategorizavimas.

4.6.1. Aiškos motyvacijos ir semantikos identiškos toponimų leksemos yra motyvuotos: 1) potamonimu (40 oikonimų, 2 potamonimai), 2) limnonimu (15 limnonimų, 9 oikonimai), 3) oikonimu (114 oikonimų, 25 limnonimai), 4) helonimu (1 oikonimas), 5) asmenvardžiu (79 oikonimai, 2 limnonimai), 6) apeliatyvu (35 oikonimai, 29 limnonimai, 10 potamonimų), 7) apeliatyvu ir oikonimu (2 limnonimai). Dėl jų skaidrios etimologijos šių identiškų toponimų leksemų motyvacijos interpretacijos ir aiškinimai nėra dviprasmiški.

4.6.2. Neaiškos motyvacijos ir semantikos identiškos toponimų leksemos yra motyvuotos: 1) apeliatyvu (14 limnonimų, 5 potamonimai, 23 oikonimai), 2) apeliatyvu arba asmenvardžiu (3 potamonimai, 20 oikonimų, 1 limnonimas), 3) apeliatyvu arba hidronimu (16 limnonimų, 1 oikonimas, 3 potamonimai), 4) apeliatyvu arba oikonimu (3 oikonimai), 5) asmenvardžiu (3 oikonimai), 6) asmenvardžiu arba hidronimu (2 oikonimai, 1 limnonimas), 7) apeliatyvu, asmenvardžiu arba hidronimu (2 oikonimai), 8) apeliatyvu, asmenvardžiu arba oikonimu (2 oikonimai), 9) oikonimu arba hidronimu (9 limnonimai, 14 oikonimų), 10) oikonimu arba helonimu (1 oikonimas), 11) hidronimu arba helonimu (1 oikonimas), 12) asmenvardžiu arba endonimu (2 oikonimai). Šių toponimų leksemų etimologijos aiškinimą apsunkina papildomos informacijos, patvirtinančios motyvacijos versijas, stoka, todėl apsiribojama tik galimomis interpretacijomis: a) dėl toponimo leksemos neaiškaus pamato (pirmojo sando) leksinio statuso, kuris gali priklausyti apeliatyvų ar

onimų (antroponimų) klasei, b) dėl pamatinio žodžio (etimono) poliseimijos (motyvaciją galima aiškinti keliomis etimono reikšmėmis), c) dėl vienodos formos leksemų, turinčių skirtingas reikšmes, d) dėl sudėtingos etimono semantikos, sukeliančios skirtingas asociacijas.

4.6.3. Kalbos jėga pasireiškia jos gebėjime toponimuose išsaugoti ir atspindėti vardo sukūrimo sąlygas ir įvardytojo santykį su įvardijamais objektais.

1) Apie 98 proc. analizuotų abiejų kategorijų toponimų leksemų įamžino fizinio pasaulio objektus ir reiškinius. Dauguma iš jų (daugiausia oikonimai) atspindi regione gyvenusius žmones (asmenis, asmenų grupes, susijusias giminystės ryšiais ir pan.), yra motyvuoti posesyvumo sampratos ir perteikia metonimines asmenvardžių transpozicijas. Kadangi žmonės visada gyveno arti gamtos arba gamtos apsuptyje, arti vandens šaltinių ir vertino savo būstą, daugelis toponimų leksemų (oikonimų ir hidronimų) conceptualizuoja topografinius reljefo ypatumus, įvardijamo objekto aplinką ar patį objektą, įvardytojo suvokimą apie įvardijamą objektą, regionui būdingą florą ir fauną. Toponimų leksemos (oikonimai ir hidronimai) taip pat conceptualizuoja tautos istorinius faktus, aplinkybes ir yra motyvuoti pagal gyvenviečių tipus, pagal jų radimosi laiką, ar pagal paskirtį (ūkinę veiklą, pramoninius objektus ir pan.).

2) Apie 2 proc. analizuotų abiejų kategorijų toponimų leksemų atspindi įvardytojo dvasinį pasaulį ir conceptualizuoja kultūrines realijas, kurios galėjo turėti simbolines reikšmes, atspindinčias žmonių įsitikinimus ir vertybes.

Pavel SKORUPA

**SEMANTICS OF PRESENT-DAY
VILNIUS COUNTY TOPONYM OPPOSITIONS**

DABARTINĖS VILNIAUS APSKRITIES TOPONIMŲ OPOZICIJŲ SEMANTIKA

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