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# Dynamics of first names in the Bulgarian anthroponymic system (according to official first names in the city of Sofia, in the years 2007 and 2014)

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### **Dynamics of first names in the Bulgarian anthroponymic system (according to official first names in the city of Sofia, in the years 2007 and 2014)**

**Abstract:** This research traces the dynamics of personal names with a single reference, representing the periphery of the Bulgarian anthroponymicon, in the period from 2007–2014 and in the capital of Sofia. Approximately half of all names have only one reference. Singular cases reveal the dynamics in the personal name system in two directions: they show the names that are leaving the Bulgarian anthroponymicon (primarily traditional personal names), and the names, mainly foreign, entering the Bulgarian anthroponymic system.

Three main groups of forenames are subjected to etymological and structural analysis, and their dynamics are tracked over the period researched.

The number of rare traditional personal names remains constant, including also some ancient Bulgarian forenames registered as early as the Middle Ages. The movement in foreign anthroponyms with a single reference is two-directional – names are flooding in, mainly from Western cultures, and at the same time, the share of typically Russian names preferred until recently is decreasing. Our hypothesis that neoanthroponyms in the modern Bulgarian anthroponymicon are names of foreign origin is proven in part, insofar as no small portion of them are the fruits of name creation, at the basis of which are traditional Bulgarian names.

**Keywords:** Anthroponyms, first names dynamics, naming fashion, unique names.

### **Dynamique des prénoms dans le système anthroponymique bulgare (d'après les prénoms officiels de la ville de Sofia, dans les années 2007 et 2014)**

**Résumé :** L'étude porte sur la dynamique des prénoms d'occurrence unique constituant la périphérie de l'anthroponymicon bulgare relatif à Sofia, capitale de Bulgarie. A peu près la moitié de l'ensemble occurrenceiel est représenté par des prénoms uniques. Ces cas mettent en évidence deux aspects de la dynamique du système anthroponymique : d'un côté, ce sont des noms provenant de l'anthroponymicon bulgare (pour la plupart traditionnels), et de l'autre ceux d'origine étrangère pénétrant dans le système.

Trois groupes ont été identifiés et analysés. Le nombre des prénoms rares y apparaît constant, y compris celui de certains prénoms bulgares médiévaux. La dynamique des occurrences d'origine étrangère est marquée par l'entrée de noms par voie prioritairement occidentale, au détriment de la part des noms russes qui s'amincit. Notre hypothèse, selon laquelle les néoanthroponymes contemporains seraient d'origine étrangère, est en partie confirmée puisqu'un nombre non négligeable de ceux-là résultent d'une dénomination fondée sur des noms bulgares traditionnels.

**Mots-clés :** Prénoms, anthroponymes, système anthroponymique, prénoms à la mode.

### **Die Dynamik der Vornamen im bulgarischen anthroponymischen System (nach Vornamen aus der Stadt Sofia aus den Jahren 2007 bis 2014)**

**Zusammenfassung:** Die Studie untersucht die Entwicklungsdynamik der Vornamen mit einer Referenz, die die Peripherie des bulgarischen Anthroponymikons im Zeitraum 2007–2014 in der Hauptstadt Sofia darstellen. Ungefähr die Hälfte aller Vornamen besitzt nur eine Referenz. Die Einzelfälle dokumentieren die wechselseitige

Entwicklungsdynamik des bulgarischen Vornamenssystems, das sowie aus dem bulgarischen Anthroponymikon stammende Vornamen (meistens traditionelle Vornamen), als auch Vornamen meist fremden Herkunfts, die ihren Platz in das bulgarische anthroponymische System einnehmen, umfasst.

Drei Hauptgruppen von Pränomen werden einer etymologischen und strukturellen Analyse unterzogen und ihre Dynamik wird im untersuchten Zeitraum dargestellt.

Die Anzahl seltener traditioneller Vornamen bleibt unverändert, einschließlich einiger alter bulgarisches Pränomen, die bereits im Mittelalter registriert wurden. Die Entwicklung ausländischer Anthroponyme mit einer Referenz ist wechselseitig. Die Vornamen stammen hauptsächlich aus westlichen Kulturen und gleichzeitig nimmt der Anteil der bis vor kurzem bevorzugten typisch russischen Vornamen ab. Unsere Annahme, dass die Neoanthroponyme in dem modernen bulgarischen Anthroponymikon ausländischer Herkunft sind, ist teilweise bewiesen, da viele von diesen Vornamen als Ergebnis einer Namenerfindung auf der Grundlage traditioneller bulgarischer Vornamen betrachtet werden können.

**Schlüsselbegriffe:** Anthroponyme, Dynamik des Vornamenssystems, Modetrends bei Vornamen, Einzelnamen.

## **Dynamics of first names in the Bulgarian anthroponymic system (according to official first names in the city of Sofia, in the years 2007 and 2014)<sup>1</sup>**

ANNA CHOLEVA-DIMITROVA, MAYA VLAHOVA-ANGELOVA,  
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### **1. Introduction**

At the beginning of the 21st century, the picture of the Bulgarian anthroponymicon is quite colorful, and we can characterize the changes implemented in it as extremely dynamic. After the democratic changes in Bulgaria at the end of the last century, extremely liberal laws were passed in this direction. And even today, parents have full freedom to give a name to their children according to their understanding of a traditional, beautiful, or modern name (Law for Civil Registration, *State Gazette*, no. 96, 2004). As a result of this, numerous forenames have entered the system of personal names from various languages, and with increasing frequency, without being adapted to the norms of the Bulgarian language. Simultaneously, a number of anthroponyms decreasing in popularity are encountered with increasing rarity among the names of newborns and are threatened with obscurity. This fact piqued our interest in the dynamic processes unfolding at the bottom of the frequency table. From observations made in large Bulgarian cities, we have established that half of all female and male personal names have single uses; they are noted only one time each. The present research aims to examine in detail names with a single use, which represent the periphery of the anthroponymicon and rarely wind up in the field of observation of researchers.

### **2. Theoretical background**

Cultural change in modern societies has strongly influenced name choice and naming practices on a global scale. Secularization processes, the decreasing importance of family relationships, individualization, and globalization are reflected in naming practices (Gerhards & Hackenbroch 2020). This has resulted in a “greater variety of first names in most of the anthroponymic systems today than in previous historical periods” (Lawson

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2016: 195) and in the flourishing of unique names in many societies (Twenge & Abebe & Campbell 2010; Leibring 2016; Gerhards & Hackenbroch 2020; Ogihara 2020). It is argued that the need for distinction determines name fashion (Gerhards 2005). However, name popularity and name fashion are thought to be different things, since “less popular names, typically not included in studies of fashion, may be driven by fashion, as well” (Coulmont & Supervie & Breban 2016: 362). That is why we consider less frequent names as representing name fashion in the early stages of its development (in embryo). The number of names with a single token is significant in Bulgaria at the beginning of 21st century (Choleva-Dimitrova & Yanev 2016; Choleva-Dimitrova 2017; Choleva-Dimitrova & Dancheva 2018). According to N. Kovachev, first names with a single token make up 50.01% of Bulgarian forenames in the period 1890–1980. Moreover, he regards them as being the periphery of the Bulgarian anthroponymicon, since they are either newly emerging or disappearing ones, therefore not sufficiently relevant<sup>2</sup> (Kovachev 1995: 20). However, we hypothesize that forenames with a single reference are indicative of name fashion within the contemporary Bulgarian personal name system and are therefore worthy of attention. We assume single cases reveal the dynamics of the Bulgarian system of personal names in two directions: they show both names that are disappearing from the Bulgarian anthroponymic system and names entering and enriching the native system of anthroponyms. These rare names seem to differ substantially, varying from traditional Bulgarian personal forenames to transferred and unique ones. For this reason, we will analyze the names in question in order to reveal which archaic and modern praenomina are to be found. Based on the premise that “distinction can be won, among other things, through recourse to old names” (Gerhards 2005: 123), we assume that archaic names, inherited from the distant past, occur alongside unique names coined by the present-day parents.

It has long been asserted that personal names introduced via foreign languages are considered highly prestigious by Bulgarians, as opposed to names related to the folk tradition (Konstantinov 1987; Kalkanova 2004; Choleva-Dimitrova & Yanev 2015). The latter have dominated Bulgarian anthroponymy for centuries, but they gradually lost their importance in the 20th century (Kovachev 1995). The historical development of the Bulgarian anthroponymic system has followed trends common to all the European name systems (Ilchev 2012 [1969]; Kovachev 1982). Since the age of the Bulgarian Enlightenment in the 19th century, the borrowing of personal names from different European languages into Bulgarian anthroponymy has been in progress. Among these languages, German, French and Russian deserve mentioning. Over the last decades, Anglo-American names have rapidly

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<sup>2</sup> This is the reason he excluded single usage names from his *Frequency and etymological dictionary of personal names in contemporary Bulgarian anthroponymy* (Kovachev 1995).

flooded the Bulgarian name system, especially after the social and political changes of 1989. Notwithstanding, this influence is not limited to mere changes in the name repertoire (by direct name transfer), but has also led to innovations in the structure of names (the emergence of new name variants, e.g. female names with *ø*-ending: *Elen*, *Kristin*, etc.), and even to modifications of naming patterns (the emergence of unisex names like *Alex*, *Eliya*, *Rozalin* etc.).

On the other hand, another group of first names deserves attention as well – the newly appearing unique names or neoanthroponyms observed every year. These are personal names that are registered for the first time in the anthroponymicon and are the fruits of the parents' name formation creativity. What are the factors that influence this choice? With the decreased birthrate (the demographic crisis), families more and more rarely choose to have two or more children. Therefore, in naming their only child, they focus all their desires: on the one hand, to continue the family and lineal tradition and, on the other, their desire to demonstrate some uniqueness and exclusivity. Thus, a specific kind of forename appeared, the so-called hybrid – usually a combination of the names of two grandparents (Kovachev 1982; Konstantinov 1987). The wishes of the older generation (the grandparents) are no longer decisive in the choice of names for newborn children (Yanev 2009: 59). The internationalization of names is another important factor affecting the choice of a personal name. After 2007, when the country became a member of the European Union, cultural contacts also quite naturally deepened, and many mixed marriages took place, which resulted not only in the appearance of more foreign names, but also in foreign naming practices: the naming of children with double names, and now even with triples names, began, a practice not typical for the Bulgarian anthroponymic system.

Considering the above-mentioned, we identify for the purpose of our study three separate groups of names with a single use: names connected with the Bulgarian folk tradition, foreign names, and, last but not least, unique names/neoanthroponyms.

### 3. Methods

The present research traces the dynamics of the Bulgarian anthroponymic system based on officially registered personal names with one token in two separate years (2007 and 2014) in Bulgaria's largest city, Sofia (which is also the capital). In researching the personal names of newborns, we naturally focus on the towns where the highest birth rates are recorded (Dancheva 2019). Moreover, fashions undoubtedly spread from cities into smaller towns and villages. This is true for the largest cities, and especially for the capital (Kalkanova 2004: 7), since "it takes on additional metacultural functions [...]. Thus, [...] the capital is a center of a much larger cultural space,

and the center of the capital has the status of a highly prestigious standard of culture” (Vlahova-Angelova 2013: 11). Sofia is a center attracting many mainly young people looking for successful realization in a city that is developing at a quick pace. After the changes in Bulgaria in 1989, the population of the capital has been constantly increasing; according to the last population census, in 2011 more than 1,300,000 Bulgarian citizens lived there.

In the present study, data on the names of newborns, supplied by the National Statistical Institute specifically for the needs of this study, are analyzed. Quantitative methods are used, and on the basis of the analysis of the frequency of use of names of newborns in both years, two separate corpora have been compiled of names with a single token. A total of 1,739 personal names (PNs) were registered in Sofia in 2007, of which 943, or 54.22%, have a single reference. In 2014, a total of 1,636 names were registered. Of these, there are 747 PNs, or 45.6%, with two or more than two instances, and there are 889, or 54.3%, names with a single token (see Figure 1). Although the data is limited as to time span and territory, we consider it representative for the current trends in the contemporary Bulgarian anthroponymicon with respect to name transfer and loss, as well as with respect to the creation of unique names.

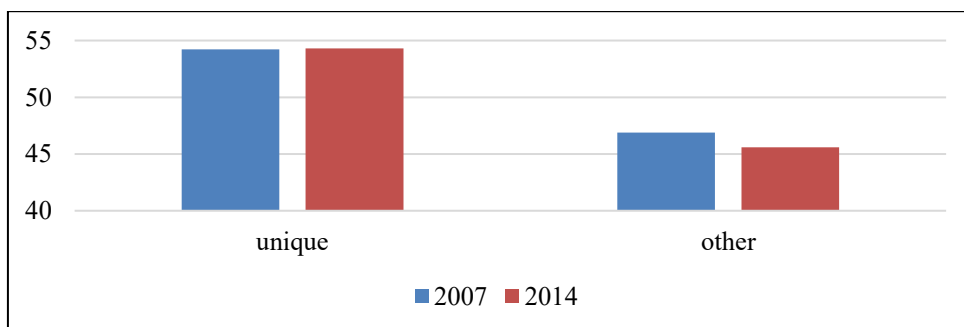


Figure 1: Percentage ratio of unique names to all other names, Sofia, in 2007 and 2014

Etymological analysis of the names is essential to the research, since the names studied will be classified into three groups based on their origins: 1) traditional names<sup>3</sup>, 2) foreign names (borrowed from other languages) and foreign variations of traditional names, and 3) neonyms. Their diversity and dynamics over the period of research will be tracked. Finally, the excerpted anthroponyms will be subjected to structural analysis, on the basis of which the main name models will be identified: suffixal names, dythematic names, shortened forms, and double names. Female and male names will be studied separately and then compared.

<sup>3</sup> In Bulgarian anthroponymic literature, traditional names are all praenomina related to the Bulgarian folk tradition, Christianity, and Bulgarian history, regardless of their origins (Ilchev 2012 [1969]).

#### 4. Traditional personal names with one token

Among the anthroponyms researched, there are a certain number of names with a single token that are traditional for the Bulgarian system of personal names. As mentioned above, socio-onomastic research shows that from the second half of the 20th century, certain names connected with the folk tradition have been designated as old-fashioned and unprestigious (Konstantinov 1987; Kalkanova 2004). This especially applies to the numerous and diverse hypocoristics derived from domestic and Christian names, for example, *Atsa*, *Brayko*, *Mato*, *Tsona*, etc. In recent years, praenomina containing the diminutive suffixes *-k(a)*, *-k(o)*, *-ch(o)* are also considered old-fashioned and unprestigious, and their usage is decreasing (Choleva-Dimitrova & Yanev 2015).

On the other hand, there is a trend of stable growth in preferences for some traditional names, such as *Raya*, *Kalina*, *Boris*, *Asen*, and other similar names, which at the beginning of the 21st century were already taking positions at the forefront, moving upward from the bottom of the rankings (Choleva-Dimitrova 2017: 62).

Traditional names with a single token can be divided into three basic groups: names connected with the folk tradition, Christian names, and names of Bulgarian rulers.

##### 4.1. Names connected with the folk tradition

At the beginning of the 21st century, among the first names with a single reference, there are a certain number that in the old folklore tradition were used to wish the child good fortune (*Wunschnamen*). The parents have probably kept the tradition of renewing the name of their own parents through the name of the grandchild. Among these anthroponyms some very archaic forenames are found, attested as early as the Middle Ages, for example.

###### Sofia, 2007

**Female personal names:** *Bozhanka*, *Venka* (< *Nevenka*), *Videlina*, *Vladina* (15th century)<sup>4</sup>, *Zdravka*, *Lalka* (< *Lalo*), *Lila* (shortened from *Lilyana* or from *Lilo*, 17th century), *Neva* (< *Nevena*), *Troyanka* (< *Troyan*), *Tinka* (*Tina* < *Tino*, 18th century), *Snezhanka*, *Srebrena*, *Stoya* (< *Stoyo* < *Stoi-mir/Stoi-slav*), etc.

**Male personal names:** *Bano* (< *Ban* < *bano*, *batko* ‘older brother’, 15th century), *Bene* (17th century), *Vene* (shortened from *Venets*, *Ventse-slav*), *Velyan* (15th century), *Zoro* (< *Zora*, 11th century), *Troyan* (< *Troyo* ‘third’, 16th century), etc.

###### Sofia, 2014

**Female personal names:** *Belka*, *Bogoya* (feminine form of *Bogoy* < *Bogo-oy*, 14th century), *Vida*, *Videna*, *Vitanka*, *Deva* (16th century), *Zora*, *Kita* (16th century), etc.

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<sup>4</sup> The century is given in parentheses according to Zaimov (1988).



**Male personal names:** *Ancha* (feminine form of *Ancho* < *Ano* < *Angel* or *Andon*, 16th century), *Bayan* (< *Bayo* < *bayo* ‘older brother’ or Old Bulg. баѣти (*baēti*) ‘to cast a spell’, 7th century), *Bilyan* (16th century), *Boil* (< *Boyo* and *-il*, 10th century), *Vito* (shortened from *Vito-mir*, *Vito-slav*, 13th century), *Galen*, *Golyo* (vocative of *Golo* with a soft stem, 14th century), *Linko* (< *Lino*, feminine form *Linka*), etc.

Structurally, these names are very diverse. There are hypocoristics, diminutive names formed with suffixes, and also suffixal names. For the most part, these anthroponyms carry a clear message of prosperity and health, as well as of certain bodily and spiritual qualities. With both female and male names, the motivating roots are often:

- names of flowers and plants:

Table 1: Personal names from the folk tradition, Sofia, 2007 and 2014, consisting of names of flowers and plants

	2007	2014
<b>Female personal names</b>	<i>Гергина/Gergina</i> , <i>Дафина/Dafina</i> , <i>Малина/Malina</i> , <i>Ружа/Ruzha</i> , <i>Смина/Smina</i> , <i>Цветана/Tsvetana</i> , <i>Цветелинка/Tsvetelinka</i> , <i>Ягода/Yagoda</i>	<i>Явора/Yavora</i> , <i>Звезделина/Zvezdelina</i>
<b>Male personal names</b>	<i>Върбан/Varban</i> , <i>Дафин/Dafin</i> , <i>Детелин/Detelin</i> , <i>Малин/Malin</i> , <i>Фидан/Fidan</i>	<i>Билян/Bilyan</i> , <i>Детелин/Detelin</i> , <i>Фидан/Fidan</i> , <i>Цвятко/Tsvyatko</i>

- concepts associated with light, fire: *Zarina*, *Zhara*, *Zoro*, *Zvezda* (2007); *Zora* (2014);
- spiritual qualities or concepts that are high up in the hierarchy of Bulgarian values (there are many such names): *Galabinka*, *Kitana*, *Militsa*, *Dushan*, *Miran*, *Mircho*, *Radan*, *Silyan* (2007); *Rumena*, *Ruska*, *Svetla*, *Veselka*, *Zhivka*, *Raycho*, *Rumen*, *Rusi*, *Stamen*, *Stan* (10th century), *Stancho* (2014), etc.

Dythematic names with a single usage are worthy of particular attention, as they are one of the most archaic strata of anthroponyms. All registered names are present in **Yordan Zaimov**'s book of names; that is, they are already attested in the late Middle Ages and in the 16th–18th century, and they are, albeit rarely, still in use today. A small number of these first names recur in the two years researched (marked with bold in [Table 2](#)).

Table 2: Traditional dythematic personal names, Sofia, 2007 and 2014

	2007	2014
<b>Female names</b>	<i>Благослава/Blagoslava,</i> <b><i>Венислава/Venislava,</i></b> <i>Добромира/Dobromira,</i> <i>Звездомира/Zvezdomira,</i> <i>Златомира/Zlatomira,</i> <i>Миролюба/Mirolyuba,</i> <i>Радмила/Radmila,</i> <b><i>Радосвета/Radosveta,</i></b> <i>Светломира/Svetlomira,</i> <i>Светослава/Svetoslava,</i> <b><i>Цветозара/Tsvetozara,</i></b> <i>Ярослава/Yaroslava</i>	<i>Благомира/Blagomira,</i> <i>Боримира/Borimira,</i> <b><i>Венислава/Venislava,</i></b> <i>Владислава/Vladislava,</i> <i>Живодара/Zhivodara,</i> <i>Златозара/Zlatozara,</i> <i>Златослава/Zlatoslava,</i> <i>Радомира/Radomira,</i> <b><i>Радосвета/Radosveta,</i></b> <i>Цветислава/Tsvetislava,</i> <b><i>Цветозара/Tsvetozara,</i></b> <i>Цветослава/Tsvetoslava,</i> <i>Чудомира/Chudomira</i>
<b>Male names</b>	<i>Бранислав/Branislav,</i> <i>Велимир/Velimir,</i> <i>Венислав/Venislav,</i> <i>Витомир/Vitomir,</i> <i>Десислав/Desislav,</i> <i>Живодар/Zhivodar,</i> <b><i>Златомир/Zlatomir,</i></b> <i>Златослав/Zlatoslav,</i> <b><i>Милослав/Miroslav,</i></b> <i>Миролюб/Mirolyub,</i> <i>Петрослав/Petroslav,</i> <b><i>Радимир/Radimir,</i></b> <i>Светислав/Svetislav,</i> <i>Светломир/Svetlomir,</i> <b><i>Спасимир/Spasimir,</i></b> <i>Цветослав/Tsvetoslav</i>	<i>Богослав/Bogoslav,</i> <i>Венцеслав/Ventseslav,</i> <i>Добрислав/Dobrislav,</i> <i>Златозар/Zlatozar,</i> <b><i>Златомир/Zlatomir,</i></b> <i>Любомил/Lyubomir,</i> <i>Любослав/Lyuboslav,</i> <b><i>Милослав/Miloslav,</i></b> <b><i>Радимир/Radimir,</i></b> <i>Радосвет/Radosvet,</i> <b><i>Спасимир/Spasimir,</i></b> <i>Томислав/Tomislav,</i> <i>Цветозар/Tsvetozar,</i> <i>Чудомир/Chudomir</i>

#### 4.2. Christian names

Some rare Christian names also end up among the forenames with single tokens. Among the female personal names, only two forenames are found both in 2007, and in 2014 (marked with bold in Table 3): *Varvara* and *Pavela*. In the list of men's names, 5 names are repeated: *Anastas*, *Apostol*, *Moysey*, *Naum*, *Teodosi(y)*.

Table 3: Christian female and male personal names with single use, Sofia, 2007 and 2014

	2007	2014
<b>Female names</b>	<i>Антонина/Antonina,</i> <b><i>Варвара/Varvara,</i></b> <i>Геновева/Genoveva,</i> <i>Иванна/Ivanna (Ивана/Ivana),</i> <i>Лазара/Lazara,</i> <b><i>Павела/Pavela,</i></b> <i>Параскева/Paraskeva,</i> <i>Петра/Petra,</i> <i>Стилиана/Stiliana</i>	<b><i>Варвара/Varvara,</i></b> <i>Дамяна/Damyana,</i> <i>Евангелина/Evangelina,</i> <i>Захария/Zahariya,</i> <i>Игната/Ignata,</i> <i>Ирена/Irena,</i> <i>Михаила/Mihaila,</i> <b><i>Павела/Pavela,</i></b> <i>Теодосия/Teodosiya</i>

<b>Male names</b>	<i>Анастас/Anastas,</i> <i>Апостол/Apostol,</i> <i>Дамиян/Damiyan</i> <i>(Дамян/Damyan),</i> <i>Евгений/Evgeniy,</i> <i>Мойсей/Moysey,</i> <i>Наум/Naum,</i> <i>Неофит/Neofit,</i> <i>Нестор/Nestor,</i> <i>Никифор/Nikofor,</i> <i>Параскев/Paraskev,</i> <i>Серафим/Serafim,</i> <i>Теодосий/Teodosiy,</i> <i>Христос/Hristos</i> (if pronounced <i>Христòс/Hristòs</i> ), <i>Христофор/Hristofor</i>	<i>Анастас/Anastas,</i> <i>Апостол/Apostol,</i> <i>Гавраил/Gavrail,</i> <i>Евтим/Evtim,</i> <i>Игнат/Ignat,</i> <i>Йоан/Yoan,</i> <i>Йонатан/Yonatan,</i> <i>Йосив/Yosiv</i> ( <i>Йосиф/Yosif</i> ), <i>Климент/Kliment,</i> <i>Методиј/Methodiy,</i> <i>Мойсей/Moysey,</i> <i>Натанаил/Natanail,</i> <i>Наум/Naum,</i> <i>Теодосу/Teodosi</i>
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Here, too, there is a large variety of forms, and many are found as hypocoristic or diminutive forms, which is especially characteristic of the Bulgarian system of personal names (Weigand 1926; Ilchev 2012 [1969]). Some more unusual folk variations of the names of Christian saints should be noted: *Pavleta*, *Spasia*, *Yanina*, *Manol*, *Andrea* (male PN).

#### 4.3. Names from Bulgarian history

The third group of forenames with single tokens are actually names connected with Bulgarian history, most of them being names of rulers or aristocrats. These anthroponyms are often linked with the proto-Bulgarian naming tradition, and according to some authors, were secondarily restored hardly at the beginning of the 20th century via literature (Ilchev 2012 [1969]; Weigand 1926). After the changes in 1989, a revival of more names of this sort was recorded, which is part of a general tendency to mythologize the historical past and, more specifically, the role of the proto-Bulgarian element in the history of Bulgaria.<sup>5</sup> In the corpora researched, the following first names may be observed in 2007 and 2014: *Asparuh*, *Petar-Delyan*, *Omurtag*, *Persian*, *Spartak*.<sup>6</sup> The corpora also contain a certain number of female names derived from the corresponding male names: *Asenka*, *Asenna* (< *Asen*), *Persiana*, *Presiyana* (< *Persian*, *Presiyan*), *Yasena* (< *Yasen* < *Asen*).

<sup>5</sup> In recent years, one foundation even announced a financial incentive for parents who proved they had given their child one of the following names connected with proto-Bulgarian history: *Altsek*, *Kubrat*, *Asparuh*, *Tervel*, or *Valchan*.

<sup>6</sup> It is believed that the Thracian known by the name of *Spartak*, who led the uprising against Rome, was born in what is present-day Bulgaria.

## 5. Foreign personal names with a single token

As already mentioned, since the end of the 20th century, the substitution of onyms accepted by Bulgarians as traditional with their Western European (primarily Anglo-American) variants has been observed. This trend accelerated in the first decades of the 21st century (Choleva-Dimitrova & Yanev 2015: 21). Among the studied foreign names with a single reference, several groups can be established: 1) calendar names (of saints and martyrs), biblical names, and anthroponyms connected with religion (with Christian symbols, ideals, and moral values); 2) mythological names, names of characters from world literature, and names of historical figures used as personal names; 3) the so-called idol names (names of popular personalities from sports, art, etc.) (Choleva-Dimitrova & Yanev 2015: 20–21), 4) names formed from appellatives of foreign origin, whose semantics are not always known by the parents, and so on.

Table 4: Foreign female personal names with a single token, Sofia, 2007 and 2014

Foreign female personal names 2007	Foreign female personal names 2014
<i>Ава/Ava</i>	<i>Авелия/Aveliya</i>
<i>Авва/Avva</i>	<i>Ави/Avi</i>
<i>Августина/Avgustina</i>	<i>Авиана/Aviana</i>
<i>Авентия/Aventiya</i>	<i>Айви/Auvi</i>
<i>Агнес/Agnes</i>	<i>Айрин/Ayrin</i>
<i>Айа/Aya</i>	<i>Алара/Alara</i>
<i>Айлин/Aylin</i>	<i>Алба/Alba</i>
<i>Алегра/Alegra</i>	<i>Алисе/Alise</i>
<i>Алисандра/Alisandra</i>	<i>Алисън/Alisan</i>
<i>Ангела/Angela</i>	<i>Аря/Arva</i>
<i>Анджи/Andzi</i>	<i>Беата/Beata</i>
<i>Анриета/Anrieta</i>	<i>Берна/Berna</i>
<i>Анхела/Anhela</i>	<i>Бриана/Briana</i>
<i>Ариадни/Ariadni</i>	<i>Вайа/Vaya</i>
<i>Барбара/Barbara</i>	<i>Вайлет/Vaylet</i>
<i>Беатриче/Beatriche</i>	<i>Валенсия/Valensiya</i>
<i>Белинда/Belinda</i>	<i>Виттория/Vittoriya</i>
<i>Блесинг/Blesing</i>	<i>Габриеле/Gabriele</i>
<i>Валари/Valara</i>	<i>Дейзи/Deyzi</i>
<i>Валъри/Valari</i>	<i>Деметра/Demetra</i>
<i>Вивиан/Vivian</i>	<i>Джорджина/Dzordzina</i>
<i>Вивиян/Viviyuan</i>	<i>Енджи/Endzi</i>
<i>Виола/Viola</i>	<i>Илейн/Илеун</i>
<i>Грейси/Greysi</i>	<i>Иман/Иман</i>
<i>Далила/Dalila</i>	<i>Имани/Имани</i>
<i>Деметра/Demetra</i>	<i>Кейлин/Keylin</i>
<i>Джейлин/Dzeylin</i>	<i>Кейтлин/Keytlin</i>
<i>Дженифър/Dzenifar</i>	<i>Кийра/Kiyra</i>
<i>Джералдин/Dzeraldin</i>	<i>Лиор/Lior</i>
<i>Джоан/Dzoan</i>	<i>Лорейн/Loreun</i>
<i>Дианджела/Diandzela</i>	

<i>Донатела/Donatela</i>	<i>Маїра/Mayra</i>
<i>Евита/Evita</i>	<i>Маура/Maura</i>
<i>Елиа/Elia</i>	<i>Мегън/Megan</i>
<i>Енджу/Endzi</i>	<i>Никея/Nikeya</i>
<i>Ериети/Erieti</i>	<i>Орнела/Ornela</i>
<i>Есмералда/Esmeralda</i>	<i>Паная/Panaya</i>
<i>Естелл/Estell</i>	<i>Прея/Preya</i>
<i>Жанин/Zhanin</i>	<i>Росали/Rosali</i>
<i>Зоуи/Zoui</i>	<i>Росалия/Rosaliya</i>
<i>Плаида/Paida</i>	<i>Сандрина/Sandrina</i>
<i>Инджи/Indzi</i>	<i>Сетара/Setara</i>
<i>Инесса/Inessa</i>	<i>Синтия/Sintiya</i>
<i>Кара/Kara</i>	<i>Тамира/Tamira</i>
<i>Касия/Kasiya</i>	<i>Тиам/Тиам</i>
<i>Кейти/Keyti</i>	<i>Флора/Flora</i>
<i>Ливиа/Liviya</i>	<i>Фредерика/Frederika</i>
<i>Лиора/Liora</i>	
<i>Лукреция/Lukretsiya</i>	
<i>Мариам/Mariam</i>	
<i>Марион/Marion</i>	
<i>Мариса/Marisa</i>	
<i>Мариям/Mariyam</i>	
<i>Марлен/Marlen</i>	
<i>Мерлин/Merlin</i>	
<i>Микеланджела/Mikelandzela</i>	
<i>Никеа/Nikea</i>	
<i>Орнела/Ornela</i>	
<i>Палома/Paloma</i>	
<i>Рея/Reya</i>	
<i>Риана/Riana</i>	
<i>Рим/Rim</i>	
<i>Селена/Selena</i>	
<i>Синди/Sindi</i>	
<i>Стелла/Stella</i>	
<i>Съни/Sani</i>	
<i>Феврония/Fevroniya</i>	
<i>Фелисия/Felisiya</i>	

In 2007, a preference was observed for some new foreign variants of female personal names, for example: *Alisandra* instead of *Aleksandra*; *Barbara* instead of *Varvara*; *Mariam*, *Marion*, *Marisa*, *Mariyam*, *Marlen*, *Marlin* instead of *Mariya* (canonical), *Evita* instead of *Eva* (biblical), *Andzi*, *Anhela*, *Angela*, *Endzi* instead of *Angelina*. We see that the canonical *Avgustina*, *Fevroniya*, *Kasiya*, *Lukretsiya*, the biblical *Ava*, *Avva*, as well as names related to the Christian *Aya* < Gr. ‘holy’ (Ilchev 2012 [1969]) and *Paloma* take their places.

Among the single-token names, although not as often, there are still some mythological names observed (*Demetra*, *Reya*, *Selena*), names of characters from works of literature (*Beatriche*, *Belinda*, *Esmeralda*), and names of historical personalities (*Liviya*).

Here, too, there are certain new foreign-language variants of names that have already been reflected in official anthroponymic dictionaries: *Ariadni* instead of *Ariadna* (included in [Ilchev 2012 \[1969\]](#) and [Kovachev 1995](#)). There are personal names whose semantics contain wishes for health, long life, and so on (*Alegra, Felisiya, Ornela, Vivian, Viviyan, Zoui*). In this case, the parents' choice is rather owing to the sound of the names or to their strong popularity abroad.

The choice of some female names from the above-indicated groups may be due to their use as idol names – *Riana* (after a famous singer), *Ornela* (Ornella Muti, an Italian actress), and *Evita* (Evita Perón, a historical figure). Idol names were unpopular in 2007 and were primarily single occurrences, such as *Donatela* (Donatella Versace, designer).

The forms adopted from French, German, Italian, and Spanish are losing ground to Anglo-American names. The strong influence of the English language has led to the emergence of names like *Blesing* and *Sani* (< English *Sunny*). With some anthroponyms, it cannot be determined with precision from which source name they have been derived (*Viola* < the name of the flower 'violet' or the name of the musical instrument) ([Kovachev 1995](#)).

Full forms of foreign names are preferred over their hypocoristic variations.

The data from 2014 show a noticeably smaller share of canonical names, biblical names, and names connected with Christianity in comparison with their number in 2007. Attested are only new foreign variants of names established as traditional (*Ayrin* instead of *Irina* or *Irena*, *Ileyn* instead of *Elena*, *Endzhi* instead of *Angelina*). The appearance of a part of the onyms is probably due to an attempt by the parents not only to replace a traditional name with its foreign variant, but also to show creativity in its formation: *Aveliya* < *Avel* (biblical), *Avi*, *Aviana* < *Ava* (biblical), *Setara* < *Set* (biblical).

Single cases of mythological names are also observed: *Demetra*, *Flora* and of characters from literary works (*Mayra*) used as personal names. Generally accepted forms are also replaced by foreign ones: *Alise* instead of *Alisa*.

In 2007, personal names formed from plants were also present (*Ayvi*, *Deyzi*, *Ornela*, *Vaylet*). *Rosali* and *Rosaliya* replace the traditional *Rozaliya*. Again, the strong influence of idol names is observed: *Alba* (from the family name of Jessica Alba, actress), *Dzhordzhina* (Georgina Rodriguez, model and girlfriend of Cristiano Ronaldo), *Kiyra* (Keira Knightley, actress), *Megan* (Meghan Markle, actress and wife of Prince Harry), *Imani*, *Iman* (popular singer), *Preya* (Bulgarian pop singer).

The origin or source name of some anthroponyms cannot be precisely determined: *Berna* < *Bernadeta*, *Bernardina* ([Kovachev 1995](#)) or from the Turkish name; *Maura* < *Mavra* < Gr. 'black' ([Kovachev 1995](#)) or an Irish form of the Catholic name *Mariya* ([Wood 2002](#)).

The number of abbreviated forms increased in comparison with the 2007 data, but full forms still dominate.

A certain number of double names coined from foreign names (or foreign language name variants) are also observed (3 in 2007 and 3 in 2014). Nonstandard combinations are sought: *Dzhuliya-Dzheyms*, *Stefani Greys*, *Dzhesika Ella*. Obviously, diverse combinations varying from two canonical names (though in nonstandard forms) to compounds derived from uncommon names can be seen: *Dzhuliya-Dzheyms*, *Kamiy-Savo*.

Table 5: Foreign male names with a single token, Sofia, 2007 and 2014

Foreign male personal names 2007	Foreign male personal names 2014
<i>Айвѐн/Ayvan</i>	<i>Авел/Avel</i>
<i>Алан/Alan</i>	<i>Александѐр/Alegzandar</i>
<i>Александѐр/Alekzandar</i>	<i>Алисѐн/Alisan</i>
<i>Александрo/Aleksandro</i>	<i>Анджелo/Andzelo</i>
<i>Алексанис/Aleksanis</i>	<i>Андрю/Andryu</i>
<i>Андрю/Andryu</i>	<i>Анри/Anri</i>
<i>Антани/Antani</i>	<i>Арет/Aret</i>
<i>Антонио/Antonio</i>	<i>Аттила/Attila</i>
<i>Антѐни/Antani</i>	<i>Ахил/Ahil</i>
<i>Арис/Aris</i>	<i>Брайан/Brayan</i>
<i>Артемиос/Artemios</i>	<i>Браян/Brayan</i>
<i>Артур/Artur</i>	<i>Венсан/Vensan</i>
<i>Валдемир/Valdemir</i>	<i>Венямин/Venyamin</i>
<i>Виан/Vian</i>	<i>Вергилий/Vergiliy</i>
<i>Гордѐн/Gordan</i>	<i>Вигор/Vigor</i>
<i>Грег/Greg</i>	<i>Винченцо/Vincenzo</i>
<i>Дейви/Deuvi</i>	<i>Демис/Demis</i>
<i>Джорди/Dzordi</i>	<i>Джордѐж/Dzordz</i>
<i>Джулиано/Dzuliano</i>	<i>Джулиан/Dzulian</i>
<i>Джѐстин/Dzastin</i>	<i>Джѐстин/Dzastin</i>
<i>Дѐстин/Dastin</i>	<i>Дионис/Dionis</i>
<i>Евѐн/Evan</i>	<i>Доменик/Domenik</i>
<i>Едгар/Edgar</i>	<i>Екторас/Ektoras</i>
<i>Едоард/Edoard</i>	<i>Ейдриан/Eydrian</i>
<i>Елисей/Elisey</i>	<i>Елвис/Elvis</i>
<i>Енрико/Enriko</i>	<i>Елиас/Elias</i>
<i>Жан/Zhan</i>	<i>Енцо/Entso</i>
<i>Игнасио/Ignasio</i>	<i>Жак/Zhak</i>
<i>Карел/Karel</i>	<i>Жулиен/Zhulien</i>
<i>Касиан/Kasian</i>	<i>Ивѐн/Ivan</i>
<i>Колин/Kolin</i>	<i>Кай/Kay</i>
<i>Кристофѐр/Kristofar</i>	<i>Кевин/Kevin</i>
<i>Лукас/Lukas</i>	<i>Кристиано/Kristiano</i>
<i>Майк/Mayk</i>	<i>Ламброс/Lambros</i>
<i>Майкал/Maykal</i>	<i>Марсело/Marselo</i>
<i>Манoел/Manoel</i>	<i>Матиас/Matias</i>
<i>Мануел/Manuel</i>	<i>Мелетиос/Meletios</i>
<i>Марлин/Marlin</i>	<i>Нейтѐн/Neutan</i>
<i>Марсело/Marselo</i>	<i>Никалас/Nikalas</i>
<i>Мартинес/Martines</i>	<i>Райан/Rayan</i>

<i>Меликсади/Meliksadi</i>	<i>Райън/Rayan</i>
<i>Микаеле/Mikaele</i>	<i>Рикардо/Rikardo</i>
<i>Микеле/Mikele</i>	<i>Роже/Rozhe</i>
<i>Нерон/Neron</i>	<i>Рой/Roy</i>
<i>Никълас/Nikalas</i>	<i>Стейсън/Steysan</i>
<i>Ноел/Noel</i>	<i>Терапонт/Terapont</i>
<i>Октавиан/Oktavian</i>	<i>Феликс/Feliks</i>
<i>Парис/Paris</i>	<i>Фернандо/Fernando</i>
<i>Пейтън/Peytan</i>	
<i>Райън/Rayan</i>	
<i>Рикардо/Rikardo</i>	
<i>Ричард/Richard</i>	
<i>Севастиян/Sevastiyan</i>	
<i>Стенли/Stenli</i>	
<i>Стив/Stiv</i>	
<i>Тицияно/Titsiyano</i>	
<i>Фабиан/Fabian</i>	
<i>Харис/Haris</i>	
<i>Шон/Shon</i>	

It could be stated that the choice in male personal names is more conservative in comparison to that in female names. The 2007 data shows the large number of canonical names (*Elisey, Kasian*) and names connected with Christianity (*Noel*). Some of the attested canonical names are atypical for the Bulgarian anthroponymicon (*Artemios, Karel*), while others probably represent a combination of two names, such as *Aleksanis* (*Aleks + Yanis*, the Greek form of *Yoan*).

Western European (mainly Italian, Spanish, and Anglo-American) variants of names predominate (*Ayvan, Eva, Shon, Zhan* instead of *Ivan; Antonio, Antani* instead of *Anton; Mayk, Maykal, Mikaele, Mikele* instead of *Mihail; Nikalاس, Kolin* instead of *Nikola/Nikolay*). Among these, one also finds hypocoristic variations (*Greg, Mayk, Stiv*).

Although with only a single usage each, mythological names are also present (*Aris, Artur, Marlin, Paris*), as well as names of historical personalities (*Neron, Oktavian*) used as personal names.

As regards male personal names from 2007, the strong influence of idol names is obvious: *Dzhastin* (Justin Bieber or Justin Timberlake, singers), *Rayan* (Ryan Gosling, actor), *Stenli* (the pseudonym of a popular Bulgarian singer).

In 2014, the largest share consists of canonical names: *Domenik, Elvis, Feliks, Kevin, Meletios*. Biblical names (*Avel, Neytan*) and those connected with Christianity have a very changed composition in comparison with 2007. Names have emerged that are typical of the Anglican church, which may be due to their popularity as idol names (*Elvis Presley*, singer; *Kevin Costner*, actor). The tendency for traditional forms to be replaced by new foreign variants is accelerating (*Alegzandar* instead of *Aleksandar; Dzhordzh* instead of *Georgi; Elias* instead of *Iliya; Kristiano* instead of *Hristo*). There is also an



increasing presence of French, Italian, and Spanish variants of names. These are gaining in popularity like the Anglo-American variants. The use of some has probably been influenced by idol names: *Alegzandar* (Alexander McQueen, designer), *Kristiyano* (Cristiano Ronaldo, footballer).

There are again attested single uses of mythological names (*Ahil, Dionis*), as well as names of historical personalities (*Attila, Vergiliy*) and literary characters (*Roy*) as personal names. Here, too, there is a preference for new forms (*Attila* instead of *Atila*, *Ektoras* instead of *Hektor*, *Kay* instead of *Gay*). A strong preference is observed for idol names: *Brayan* (Bryan Adams, singer), *Vensan* (Vincent Cassel, actor), *Rozhe* (Roger Federer, tennis player). The etymology of some onyms cannot be determined with precision: *Aret* < the Greek goddess of Phaeacia *Areta* or from the female canonical name *Areta* < Gr. ‘virtue, valor’ (Kovachev 1995).

The presence of the male name *Alisan*, which in Anglo-American culture is now perceived as feminine, *Allison*, is interesting. Single shortened forms of names are attested (*Entso* < *Vinchentso*), but there is a noted preference for short names (*Anri, Kay, Roy, Rozhe, Zhak*).

Double male names, similar to double female names, comprise diverse combinations: *Kay Sebastian, Lukas Dzhonatan*, but there is an observed demand for nonstandard combinations, such as *Mark Ismael*. The two names are predominately written separately, but also recorded are one hyphenated variant (*Mark-Antoniy*) and one example in which the names are merged (*Krisbrayan*). With *Mark-Antoniy* and *Viktor Emanuel*, we have the case of a name of a historical personality adopted as a personal name.

Generalizing the trends in foreign names with single references, the following tendencies stand out:

- With female names, a tendency is observed for the replacement of traditional forms with new foreign variants, but it is developing rectilinearly and without sharp jumps.
- With male names, the opposite process is observed. The changes taking place are rather caused by a desire to return to tradition, and the parents’ choices remain more conservative.
- In both female and male personal names, there is an observed preference for foreign names. Decades ago, the preference was for Russian variants of canonical names, but at the beginning of the 21st century, Anglo-American names (in all of the variants – Scottish, Irish, Welsh, etc.) became popular in Sofia, along with Italian, Spanish, and in more rare cases, French and German names.
- In the period researched, some names that were encountered quite frequently several decades ago are recorded with a single usage: *Avrora, Marushka, Marusya, Natasha, Raisa*. At the same time, we have come across typically Russian male names that have only a single token: *Alyosha, Arkadiy, Artyom, Fyodor, Nikita, Yuriy*.

- Surprisingly, the popularity of double names is greater among male names, with the data showing that interest in them is even growing. Despite this, they remain untraditional for our anthroponymicon, and their instances are more often with a single usage.

## 6. Neoanthroponyms

Neoanthroponyms are usually created from existing female personal names, with a more nonstandard or an until now less recorded word formation. The personal names examined below are not found in the larger Bulgarian anthroponymicon (Ilchev 2012 [1969]; Zaimov 1988; Kovachev 1995). There are 285 neoanthroponyms studied here altogether.

### 6.1. Female neoanthroponyms

These personal names have most often arisen from the usage of a familiar base and a less traditional word formation. The effect sought is that of a name that is uncommon, unique, and unusual sounding. In some cases, it is assumed that the neoanthroponym is a combination of two names.

Table 8: Female neoanthroponyms, Sofia, 2007 and 2014

2007	2014
<i>Александреа/Aleksandrea</i>	<i>Адиел/Adiel</i>
<i>Алексиана/Aleksiana</i>	<i>Алина/Allina</i>
<i>Василя/Vasileya</i>	<i>Алгара/Algara</i>
<i>Десита/Desita</i>	<i>Амела/Amela</i>
<i>Дия/Diya</i>	<i>Анаел/Anael</i>
<i>Идол/Idol</i>	<i>Анора/Anora</i>
<i>Иноя/Ipoya</i>	<i>Арая/Araya</i>
<i>Константинели/Konstantineli</i>	<i>Веда/Veda</i>
<i>Озарена/Ozarena</i>	<i>Весиана/Vesiana</i>
<i>Самия/Samiya</i>	<i>Даринна/Darinna</i>
<i>Таная/Tanaya</i>	<i>Дая/Daya</i>
<i>Теони/Teoni</i>	<i>Девайла/Devayla</i>
<i>Тилия/Taliya</i>	<i>Деянира/Deyanira</i>
<i>Тияна/Tiyana</i>	<i>Дива/Diva</i>
<i>Шаная/Shanaya</i>	<i>Елора/Elora</i>
	<i>Емима/Emima</i>
	<i>Зоринела/Zorinela</i>
	<i>Иванела/Ivanela</i>
	<i>Ивелия/Iveliya</i>
	<i>Ивина/Ivina</i>
	<i>Кристиандра/Kristiandra</i>
	<i>Кристия/Kristiya</i>
	<i>Ода/Oda</i>
	<i>Танита/Tanita</i>
	<i>Теана / Teana</i>
	<i>Тияна / Tiyana</i>
	<i>Толита/Tolita</i>

2007: *Aleksandrea* < *Aleksandra* (for formation cf. PN *Andrea*; here a combination of two names is also possible); *Aleksiana* (female form of the male personal name *Aleksi* and a suffix, as with female personal names *Gergana*, *Mariana*); *Vasileya* < *Vasila* and *-eya*; *Desita* < *Desi*, shortened from *Desislava* and *-ita* (cf. *Margarita*); *Inoya* < probably shortened from PN *Inokentiy* (Ilchev 2012 [1969]: 295) with *(-o)ya*, feminine form of *Inoy*; *Kanstantineli* (possibly a combination of the names *Konstantin* and *Neli* or *Konstantin* and *Eli*); *Samiya* < *Samuel*, but it may also be interpreted as coming from the Old Bulg. root *sam* ‘self’ (Kovachev 1995: 450; Zaimov 1988: 195); *Tanaya* < *Tana* with *-aya*, cf. PN *Danaya* (Kovachev 1995: 501); *Teoni*, *Tiliya*, *Tiyana*/ *Tiyanna* (for bases, see Kovachev 1995: 508, 509, 512); *Shanaya* < *Shana* with *-aya* (recorded in the Bulgarian anthroponymicon is a male personal name *Shano*, 16th century, a hypocoristic of *Dushan*, *Tishan*; Zaimov 1988: 247). It is very probable that in the last example we have a phonetic coincidence of the old Bulgarian names with the very popular name of the Canadian singer widely known by her artistic pseudonym *Shania Twain*.

In 2014, neoanthroponyms showed an increase: *Adiel* < *Adi*, *Ada* and *-el*; *Anael* < *Ana* and *-el*; *Amela*, shortened from *Ameliya*; *Anora*, perhaps derived from *A(hi)nora*; *Araya* < male personal name *Aray* (Zaimov 1988: 10); *Vesiana*, formed from *Vesi*, *Vesa* < *Veselina* and *-ana*; *Devayla*, formed from *Deva* with suffixes; possibly also a combination of two names, *Deva* and *Ivayla*; *Deyanira*, a nontraditional formation based on *Deyan*; *Elora*, may possibly be a hypocoristic form of *El(eon)ora* or a similar form, or a contamination of the names *Ela* and *Lora*; *Emima*, possibly a combination of the personal names *Ema* and *Mima*; *Zorinela* < *Zorina*, formed from *Zora* with *-ina* and elaborated with *-ela*; *Ivanela*, formed from PN *Ivana* with *-ela*; *Iveliya* < *Iva* with *-el/-iya*; *Ivina* < *Iva* with *-ina*; *Kristiandra*, formed from *Kristina* and *Sandra*; *Kristiya*, formed from *Kristi* with *-iya* or a combination of the names *Krista* and *Hrisiya*; *Tanita* < *Tana* with *-ita*; *Teana*/*Tiyana* < *Teya*, Gr. *théa* ‘goddess’ or shortened from *Doroteya* (Kovachev 1995: 509) or a similar form and *-ana*; the second form is with the reduction of *e*; *Tolita* < *Tola* with *-ita*.

Names for newborns chosen by parents according to their sound have become extremely frequent – to be maximally short and with more vowel sounds. Examples are these hypocoristics: *Diya* (*Diyana*, *Klavdiya*, etc.), 2007; *Daya*, 16th century (Zaimov 1988: 81). In the latter case, it is possible that this is a kind of revival of a medieval form.

Some personal names appear that were registered in the Middle Ages: *Algara* (daughter of Tsar Boris I, 9th century). Until now, one instance has been recorded from the beginning of last century (Ilchev 2012 [1969]: 53).

There are newly introduced names with common nouns or adjectives as motivating bases. 2007: *Idol* < *idol*; *Ozarena* < *ozaren* ‘radiant, shining’; 2014: *Veda* < *veda* ‘wood-nymph’ (one instance recorded in 1920, Ilchev 2012 [1969]: 134); *Diva*, with the archaic meaning of *div* ‘beautiful, wonderful,

charming’, 15th century (Zaimov 1988: 85), or the less likely meaning of *diva* ‘prima donna’; *Oda*, the name may have been taken from the German language or from the common noun *oda* ‘ode’ (Kovachev 1995: 390).

A fashion trend of doubling consonants is noticed, which is not characteristic of Bulgarian personal names. Different graphic variants are introduced: *Allina*, *Darinna*, *Emma*, *Tiyanna*.

## 6.2. Compound-complex female personal names

Compound-complex personal names have a traditionally well-expressed presence in the Bulgarian anthroponymic system. Our research over the last years registers a slightly elevated interest in this type of anthroponyms, and the manifestations of creativity in them are also strongly shown. These are female personal names that have been newly introduced into the Bulgarian anthroponymicon.

Table 9: Compound-complex female personal names – neoanthroponyms, Sofia, 2007 and 2014

2007	2014
<i>Васислава/Vasislava</i>	<i>Благодара/Blagodara</i>
<i>Женимира/Zhanimira</i>	<i>Желислава/Zhelislava</i>
<i>Жикислава/Zhikislava</i>	<i>Милозара/Milozara</i>
<i>Радоцвета/Radotsveta</i>	<i>Танимира/Tanimira</i>
<i>Цветоплама/Tsvetoplama</i>	<i>Тедислава/Tedislava</i>

There is an observed enrichment and renewal of this type of neoanthroponyms. The examples prove that two-stem (composite) names can be formed from all kinds of bases, without even taking into consideration the meaning of the source appellatives, for example: PN *Tsvetoplama*, formed from *tsvete* ‘flower’ and *plama* > *plamak* ‘flame’. *Blagodara* is equivalent in meaning, not only in sound, to *blagodarya* ‘[I] thank’. *Tedislava* is formed from the hypocoristic form *Tedi* < *Teodora* and a second part *-slava*.

## 6.3. Double female personal names

At the beginning of the 21st century, from 2007 to 2010, a boom in double names was recorded in the Bulgarian anthroponymicon (Choleva-Dimitrova & Yanev 2015: 79). These names are atypical for our anthroponymic system, although they date back to the Middle Ages. In the past, they were used only by aristocrats.

Table 10: Double female personal names – neoanthronyms, Sofia, 2007 and 2014

2007	2014
<i>Аглая- Катерина/Aglaya-Katerina</i>	<i>Алекс Мария/Aleks Mariya</i>
<i>Ана-Неда/Ana-Neda</i>	<i>Алина Мария/Alina Mariya</i>
<i>Ана-Никол/Ana-Nikol</i>	<i>Амбра-Рос/Ambra-Ros</i>
<i>Анжела-Теодора/Anzhela-Teodora</i>	<i>Амилия Виктория/Amiliya Viktoriya</i>
<i>Анмари/Анмари</i>	<i>Анабела/Anabela</i>
<i>Анна Ерин/Anna Erin</i>	<i>Андиа Елена/Andia Elena</i>
<i>Анна-Виктория/Анна-Viktoriya</i>	<i>Анеа-Теодора/Anea-Teodora</i>
<i>Анна-Галина/Анна-Galina</i>	<i>Ани Мари Роси/Ann Mari Rosi</i>
<i>Анна-Мари/Анна-Mari</i>	<i>Аннабелла/Annabella</i>
<i>Аннабел/Annabel</i>	<i>Ани-Мари/Ани-Mari</i>
<i>Бадиа-Елизабет/Badia-Elizabet</i>	<i>Арабелла Озара/Arabella Ozara</i>
<i>Ванеса-Надин/Vanesa-Nadin</i>	<i>Борислава-Вяра-Магдалена/Borislava-Vyara-Magdarena</i>
<i>Ванина-Роси/Vanina-Rosi</i>	<i>Вуара-Магдалена</i>
<i>Велика-Виктория/Velika-Viktoriya</i>	<i>Боряна Никол/Boryana Nikol</i>
<i>Виктория-Грациела/Viktoriya-Gratsiela</i>	<i>Бриджит Александра/Bridzit Aleksandra</i>
<i>Виктория-Елизабет/Viktoriya-Elizabet</i>	<i>Ванеса-Афи/Vanesa-Afi</i>
<i>Вяра-Мария/Vyara-Mariya</i>	<i>Вая-Никол/Vaya-Nikol</i>
<i>Габриела Рут/Gabriela Rut</i>	<i>Виктория-Вера/Viktoriya-Vera</i>
<i>Габриела Натали/Gabriela Natali</i>	<i>Виктория-Кая/Viktoriya-Kaya</i>
<i>Гергана-Аннабелла/Gergana-Annabella</i>	<i>Виктория-Никол/Viktoriya-Nikol</i>
<i>Далия-Елица/Daliya-Elitsa</i>	<i>Дара-Мария/Dara-Mariya</i>
<i>Дара-Мария/Dara-Mariya</i>	<i>Дева Мария/Deva Mariya</i>
<i>Ева-Никол/Ева-Nikol</i>	<i>Диана-Магдалена/Diana-Magdarena</i>
<i>Евгения-Надежда/Evgeniya-Nadezhda</i>	<i>Дарина-София/Darina-Sofiya</i>
<i>Елена-Никол/Elena-Nikol</i>	<i>Ева София Катерина/Eva Sofiya Katerina</i>
<i>Елена-Фабрициа/Elena-Fabritsiya</i>	<i>Ева-Мария/Eva-Mariya</i>
<i>Ели Мария/Eli Mariya</i>	<i>Елиа-Кристин/Elia-Kristin</i>
<i>Елизабет Никол/Elizabet Nikol</i>	<i>Елика-Мари/Elika-Mari</i>
<i>Емма Мария/Emma Mariya</i>	<i>Ива Мария/Iva Mariya</i>
<i>Емона Мария/Emona Mariya</i>	<i>Ивайла-Божидара/Ivayla-Bozhidara</i>
<i>Ерин Никол/Erin Nikol</i>	<i>Ивана-Евгения/Ivana-Evgeniya</i>
<i>Зинабел/Zinabel</i>	<i>Ивана-Мария/Ivana-Mariya</i>
<i>Зоуи-Анабел/Zoui-Anabel</i>	<i>Изабелла-Грация/Izabella-Gratsiaya</i>
<i>Ива-Фиона/Iva-Fiona</i>	<i>Ина-Дарена/Ina-Darena</i>
<i>Ивана-Мария/Ivana-Mariya</i>	<i>Йоана-Александра/Yoana-Aleksandra</i>
<i>Ирина-Тереза/Irina-Tereza</i>	<i>Йоанна-Гергана/Yoana-Gergana</i>
<i>Йоана Благовеста/Yoana Blagovesta</i>	<i>Йоанна-Мария/Yoana-Mariya</i>
<i>Йолина-Райя/Yolina-Raya</i>	<i>Карина Елина/Karina Elna</i>
<i>Катерина-Магдалена/Katerina-Magdarena</i>	<i>Катрин Виктория/Katrin Viktoriya</i>
<i>Кристиана-Мария/Kristina-Mariya</i>	<i>Лея-Кристина/Leya-Kristina</i>
<i>Кристина Грейс/Kristina Greys</i>	<i>Лиана-София/Liana-Sofiya</i>
<i>Кристина Калина/Kristina Kalina</i>	<i>Мари-Анна/Mari-Anna</i>
<i>Лили Анн/Lili Ann</i>	<i>Мария Екатерина/Mariya Ekaterina</i>
<i>Лиля-Лора/Liya-Lora</i>	<i>Мария Елена/Mariya Elena</i>
<i>Лор Никол/Lor Nikol</i>	<i>Мария-Анжелина/Mariya-Anzhelina</i>
<i>Маргарет-Мери/Margaret-Meri</i>	<i>Мария-Антоанета/Mariya-Antoaneta</i>
<i>Мари Никол/Mari Nikol</i>	
<i>Марина-Елена/Marina-Elena</i>	

<i>Марисабела/Marisabela</i> <i>Мария Виктория/Mariya Viktoriya</i> <i>Мария Крус/Mariya Krus</i> <i>Мария Нелия/Mariya Neliya</i> <i>Мария-Александра/Mariya-Aleksandra</i> <i>Мария-Валентина/Mariya-Valentina</i> <i>Мария-Габриела/Mariya-Gabriela</i> <i>Мария-Десислава/Mariya-Desislava</i> <i>Мария-Зои/Mariya-Zoi</i> <i>Мария-Йоанна/Mariya-Yoanna</i> <i>Мария-Клара/Mariya-Klara</i> <i>Мария-Михаела/Mariya-Mihaela</i> <i>Мария-Светослава/Mariya-Svetoslava</i> <i>Мария-Цветана/Mariya-Tsveta</i> <i>Мартина-Андреа/Martina-Andrea</i> <i>Мелиса-Нур/Melisa-Nur</i> <i>Мери-Изабел/Meri-Izabel</i> <i>Мила-Маргарет/Mila-Margaret</i> <i>Мира Лазарина/Mira Lazarina</i> <i>Михаела-Дара/Mihaela-Dara</i> <i>Надя-Мари/Nadya-Mari</i> <i>Натали-Роуз/Natali-Rouz</i> <i>Невона-Сиана/Nevona-Siana</i> <i>Нели Анжелина/Neli Anzhelina</i> <i>Никол-Велея/Nikol-Veleya</i> <i>Радост-Тина/Radost-Tina</i> <i>Рая-Мария/Raya-Mariya</i> <i>Санта-Мария/Santa-Mariya</i> <i>Сиара Найтаниел/Siara Naytaniel</i> <i>Симона-Васи/Simona-Vasi</i> <i>Симона-Мари/Simona-Mari</i> <i>София-Валентина/Sofiya-Valentina</i> <i>Теодора-Пасхалина/Teodora-Pashalina</i> <i>Ума Елизабет/Uma Elizabet</i> <i>Христина-Елена/Hristina-Elena</i>	<i>Мария-Нур/Mariya-Nur</i> <i>Мария-Софи/Mariya-Sofi</i> <i>Мери Ан/Meri An</i> <i>Нина-Рикардо/Nina-Rikardo</i> <i>Ния-Габриела/Niya-Gabriela</i> <i>Оделия-Джейд-Тифани/Odeliya-Dzeyd-Tifani</i> <i>Рада-Мария/Rada-Mariya</i> <i>Радослава-Енико/Radoslava-Eniko</i> <i>Рос-Мари/Ros-Mari</i> <i>Соня-Никол/Sonya-Nikol</i> <i>Софи-Никол/Sofi-Nikol</i> <i>София Алегра/Sofiya Alegra</i> <i>София Анастасия/Sofiya Anastasiya</i> <i>София Берта/Sofiya Berta</i> <i>София-Мария/Sofiya-Mariya</i> <i>Стела Мари/Stela Mari</i> <i>Стефани Грейс/Stefani Greys</i> <i>Стефани Дафне/Stefani Dafne</i> <i>Тea-Евелин/Tea-Evelin</i> <i>Тea-Мария/Tea-Mariya</i> <i>Урания-Мария/Uraniya-Mariya</i> <i>Яна Леора/Yana Leora</i> <i>Яна Мария/Yana Mariya</i>
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2007 is one of the years in which there were very many double names. Nonetheless, we must note that they have a wide distribution only in the capital city. In the rest of the country, they are almost unknown.

The following groups of double neoanthronyms come up:

- Those formed from two traditional names. In this category are names from the folk tradition and Christian personal names: *Ana-Neda*, *Mariya-Tsveta*, *Mira Lazarina*.
- A large part of the double names are of foreign origin, and one of the names is newly manifested: *Kristina Greys*, *Siara Naytaniel*, *Uma Elizabet*. There is also a single instance of *Santa-Mariya*.
- There is a difference in the graphic style of the double names – one group is hyphenated: *Aglaya-Katerina*, *Anzhela-Teodora*; and the other, unhyphenated. According to Bulgarian orthographic norms,

double names are unhyphenated if they are names of aristocrats, as well as of Bulgarian historical figures. This rule is not followed here: *Emona Mariya, Gabriela Rut, Neli Anzhelina*. Some of the personal names are merged in writing: *Anmari, Annabel, Marisabela, Zinabel*.

- There are also examples of double names which have arisen by means of anthroponymic play: *Lili Ann* (there exists the one-word name *Lilian, -a*); *Rados-Tina* (the one-word name *Radostina* exists).

In 2007, unique double female names mark their highest growth. Comparing double names between the two years researched, their variety stands out clearly. There is almost no double name with a single reference in these two years which is repeated.

In 2014, the popularity of double names in the capital fell, but the naming creativity was preserved.

In this category there are names from the folk tradition and traditional Christian names: *Boryana Nikol, Dara-Mariya, Ivayla-Bozhidara, Yoanna-Gergana*. A large part of the double names have a foreign origin, and one of the names is newly manifested: *Arabella Ozara, Odeliya-Dzheyd-Tifani*. There is also a single instance of *Deva Mariya*.

There are also examples of double names that have appeared through anthroponymic play: *Mari-Anna* (the one-word name *Mariana* exists).

In 2014, triple names are also found: *Ann Mari Rosi, Borislava-Vyara Magdalena, Eva Sofiya Katerina, Odeliya-Dzheyd-Tifani*. There are certain triple names formed from a one-word personal name and a two-word name, written as one word: *Gergana-Annabella*.

#### 6.4. Male neoanthroponyms

Table 11: Male personal names – neoanthroponyms, Sofia, 2007 and 2014

2007	2014
<i>Вангелин/Vangelin</i>	<i>Борей/Borey</i>
<i>Вилиян/Viliyan</i>	<i>Даниш/Danish</i>
<i>Дариян/Dariyan</i>	<i>Кан/Kan</i>
<i>Дивизия/Diviziya</i>	<i>Радаян/Radayan</i>
<i>Елеан/Elean</i>	<i>Радостян/Radostian</i>
<i>Жаниян/Zhaniyan</i>	<i>Раймил/Raymil</i>
<i>Жарин/Zharin</i>	<i>Хан/Han</i>
<i>Жиан/Zhian</i>	
<i>Жими/Zhimi</i>	
<i>Жулиан/Zhulian</i>	
<i>Зен/Zen</i>	
<i>Зориг/Zorig</i>	
<i>Каан/Kaan</i>	
<i>Камлиян &lt; Камила/Kamiliyan &lt; Kamila</i>	
<i>Лам/Lam</i>	
<i>Ростиян/Rostiyan</i>	

A fairly large part of male names are actually variants of their well-known and widespread female counterparts, for example: *Vangelin* < *Vangelina* (of which there is only one recorded female form of the personal name, in 1926; [Kovachev 1995: 95](#)); *Dariyan* < female personal name *Dariya*; *Zhaniyan* < female personal name *Zhana*, *Zhanina*, *Zhaniya*; *Kamiliyan* < female personal name *Kamila*. In 2007, other male personal names also appeared which are traditionally feminine: *Evelin*, *Mariel*, *Siyam*, *Snezhko* (single instances are also recorded in 1920, 1948).

A revival of names rarely encountered in the past: *Viliyan*; the name was encountered in the 1930s ([Kovachev 1995: 118](#)); *Elean* < PN *Elia*, 1952, borrowed from Fr. ([Kovachev 1995: 206](#)); *Zharin*, 1959 ([Kovachev 1995: 220](#)), with a root in the Old Bulg. PN *Zharo* ([Zaimov 1988: 104](#)).

Newly appearing male personal names: *Zen*, possibly a shortening of the PN *Zenoviy* (until now, only the feminine form *Zena* has been recorded; or possibly from the Eastern philosophy of Zen); *Zorig*, with a voicing of [k] from *Zorik*; *Rostiyan* < *Rosti(slav)* and *-yan*.

Foreign names (Chinese origin): *Zhian*, *Lam* (Lam Dong – a province in Vietnam); other phonetic variations: *Zhulian* < *Dzhulian*; *Zhimi* < *Dzhimi*.

In 2014, there were relatively few neoanthroponyms registered. Some ancient Bulgarian names should be noted that have again entered the Bulgarian anthroponymic system: *Danish*, *Radayan*. Newly created names are: *Radostian*, possibly from the female variant *Radostina*, which has a high frequency of usage, with *-an*; *Raymil*, which has a recorded feminine form, *Raymila* ([Kovachev 1995: 425](#)) – the name is created from the PNs *Raya* and *Mila*.

Newly introduced names with a common noun or adjective as the motivating base are:

- 2007: *Diviziya*, military unit of several regiments ([Kovachev 1995: 175](#)); *Kaan*, from *kan* ‘Bulgarian ruler’s title from the Middle Ages’;
- 2014: *Kan*, *Han* (*kan* = *han*).

## 6.5. Compound-complex male personal names

In the last years, compound-complex male personal names have reappeared in Bulgarian anthroponymy, and the manifestation of creativity in them is also strongly expressed. Here are male personal names which have been newly introduced into the Bulgarian anthroponymicon:

Table 12: Compound-complex male personal names – neoanthroponyms, Sofia, 2007 and 2014

2007	2014
<i>Анимир/Animir</i>	<i>Божийдар/Bozhiydar</i>
<i>Боромир/Boromir</i>	<i>Емислав/Emislav</i>
<i>Вардемир/Vardemir</i>	<i>Юлислав/Yulislav</i>
<i>Вичеслав/Vicheslav</i>	
<i>Донислав/Donislav</i>	
<i>Елмир/Elmir</i>	
<i>Любославт/Lyuboslavt</i>	
<i>Ненослав/Nenoslav</i>	
<i>Тедислав/Tedislav</i>	
<i>Теомир/Teomir</i>	



This type of neoanthroponym is more weakly included in the stock of male names in comparison with that of female names. The stock of personal names is enriched with forenames that have *-mir* or *-slav* as a second component. The examples both here and with female names are proof that a two-stem (composite) name can be made from all kinds of bases, without even taking into consideration the source appellatives, for example, PN *Nenoslav*, formed from the PN *Neno* and a second component *-slav*. This type of name may be used to renew the grandfather's name, which maybe be perceived as obsolete. Names of this sort are: *Animir*, *Boromir*, *Donislav*, *Vardemir*, *Vicheslav*. With some neoanthroponyms there is simply a combination of two one-word personal names: *Teomir* is formed from *Teo* and a second component *-mir*; *Tedislav*, *Emislav*, and *Yulislav* – from the PNs *Tedi*, *Emi(l)*, and *Yuli*, with the added second component *-slav*.

There are two peculiar cases: *Lyuboslavt* and *Bozhiydar*. Written in this manner, the name *Lyuboslavt* is difficult to explain. It might be supposed that older models have been used, ancient formants in the creation of male personal names, for example the PN *Lyubit*, 15th century, *Slavit*, 17th century ([Zaimov 1988: 200](#)). The addition of a supplemental word formation element to the compound-complex name should be accepted only as an exceptional case.

In *Bozhiydar*, the first part of the anthroponym is an ancient adjective (an adjective formed according to the old complex declension). The name is recorded in this form for the first time.

## 6.6. Double male personal names

As mentioned earlier, 2007 was a year with an exceptionally large number of double names. We noted that they were more widespread only in the capital city.

The following groups of double neoanthroponyms in the stock of male personal names stand out:

- Those formed from two traditional (domestic) names. In this category there are names from the folk tradition and Christian personal names: *Ivaylo-Konstantin*, *Nikola-Veliyan*, *Yoan-Angel*.
- A large part of the foreign names have a foreign origin; the greatest number of cases have one traditional name and one foreign name: *Kaloyan-Maksimiliyan*, *Simeon-Baltazar*, etc. There are also examples noted with traditional Greek names: *Konstandinos-Teodoros*, *Vladislav-Vasilis*.
- In those with a difference in the graphic style of the double names, most are hyphenated: *Aleks-Boyan*, *Daniel-Stafan*, *Kristian-Petar*; but there is one case that is unhyphenated: *Angel Noa*.
- The emergence of triple names: *Mateo Artyur Nikola*.

In 2007, unique double male names show a relatively high increase. Comparing double names during the two years studied, we again discover their variety. There is almost no double name with a single reference in these two years that is repeated.

In 2014, the popularity of double names in the capital fell, but they maintained their creativity.

Male neoanthroponyms formed from two traditional (domestic) names include names from the folk tradition and Christian personal names: *Atanas-Stanislav*, *Boris Ivan*, *Bozhen-Teodor*, *Spas Petar*, *Vladimir-Aleksandar*, etc.

A large part of the double names are formed from a domestic and a foreign name; combinations of two foreign names are rare: *Yoan-Yonatan*, *Roberto Yoan*, *Samyuel Gregor*.

With a difference in the graphic style of the double name, hyphenated anthroponyms predominate: *Aleksandar-Mihail*, *Martin-David*, *Valentin-Georgios*; a few are unhyphenated: *Roberto Yoan*, *Spas Petar*. According to Bulgarian orthographic norms, double names are unhyphenated if they are names of aristocrats or Bulgarian historical figures. This rule is hardly valid here. It stands out that most of the foreign names are unhyphenated.

Table 13: Double male personal names – neoanthroponyms, Sofia, 2007 and 2014

2007	2014
<i>Алекс-Александър/Aleks-Aleksandar</i>	<i>Александър-Михаил/Aleksandar-Mihail</i>
<i>Алекс-Боян/Aleks-Boyan</i>	<i>Атанас-Станислав/Atanas-Stanislav</i>
<i>Александър-Михаил/Aleksandar-Mihail</i>	<i>Божен-Теодор/Bozhen-Teodor</i>
<i>Ангел Ноа/Angel Noa</i>	<i>Борис Иван/Boris Ivan</i>
<i>Ангел-Емануил/Angel-Emanuil</i>	<i>Валентин-Георгиос/Valentin-Georgios</i>
<i>Валентин-Баръш/Valentin-Barash</i>	<i>Владимир-Александър/Vladimir-Aleksandar</i>
<i>Валери-Александър/Valeri-Aleksandar</i>	<i>Даниел-Константин/Daniel-Konstantin</i>
<i>Виктор-Александър/Viktor-Aleksandar</i>	<i>Иван-Константин/Ivan-Konstantin</i>
<i>Виктор- Никола/Viktor-Nikola</i>	<i>Йоан-Йонатан/Yoan-Yonatan</i>
<i>Владислав- Василус/Vladislav-Vasilus</i>	<i>Марк-Александър/Mark-Aleksandar</i>
<i>Даниел-Стефан/Daniel-Stefan</i>	<i>Мартин-Давид/Martin-David</i>
<i>Даниел-Филип/Daniel-Filip</i>	<i>Михаел Валентин/Mihael Valentin</i>
<i>Жан-Пиер/Zhan-Pier</i>	<i>Роберто Йоан/Roberto Yoan</i>
<i>Ивайло-Константин/Ivaylo-Konstantin</i>	<i>Самюел Грегор/Samyuel Gregor</i>
<i>Йоан-Ангел/Yoan-Angel</i>	<i>Симеон-Яков/Simeon-Yakov</i>
<i>Йоан-Васил/Yoan-Vasil</i>	<i>Спас Петър/Spas Petar</i>
<i>Йоан-Михаил/Yoan-Mihail</i>	<i>Стоимен-Лука/Stoimen-Luka</i>
<i>Калоян-Максимилиян/Kaloyan-Maksimiliyan</i>	
<i>Константин-Теодорос/Konstantinos-Teodoros</i>	
<i>Кристиан-Петър/Kristian-Petar</i>	
<i>Максим-Александър/Makisim-Aleksandar</i>	
<i>Максимилиан-Владимир/Maksimilian-Vladimir</i>	
<i>Мануел-Александър/Manuel-Aleksandar</i>	
<i>Мариус-Александър/Marius-Aleksandar</i>	
<i>Матео Артур Никола/Mateo Artyur Nikola</i>	
<i>Никола-Анис/Nikola-Anis</i>	
<i>Никола-Велиян/Nikola-Velivan</i>	
<i>Одбьорн-Валберг/Odbjorn-Valberg</i>	
<i>Пламен-Виктор/Plamen-Viktor</i>	
<i>Симеон-Балтазар/Simeon-Baltazar</i>	
<i>Юлиан-Пиер/Yulivan-Pier</i>	

## 7. Conclusions

Two groups of traditional names with a single usage stand out – those connected with the folk tradition and Christian names. Among these are forenames that are exceptionally diverse in their structure: A tendency is noted for the revival of ancient Bulgarian names that existed in the Middle Ages: *Bayan* (7th century), *Boil* (10th century), *Zoro* (11th century), *Pavla* (10th century), etc. We could presume that some of these examples of names are losing popularity, but among them there are also some that attest to the opposite trend – the revival of old forenames.

The dynamics in names borrowed from foreign languages is two-way – names are flooding in, mainly from Western cultures, and typical Russian names that were until recently preferred no longer enjoy popularity. In 2014, a decrease was observed in the number of foreign names with a single reference in comparison with 2007, especially in female anthroponyms, where a stronger expressive dynamic is usually observed. There is also a change in their composition. Canonical names have maintained their traditional presence, but they are being replaced by what is known as idol names.

In 2007, a boom was noted in the preference for double personal names, but the registered anthroponyms are new and are not encountered in the preceding years. Even triple names appear. In 2014, the popularity of double male names fell in the capital, but the creativity in naming was maintained. During this year, more double male anthroponyms emerged which have been formed from names with domestic origins: *Atanas-Stanislav*, *Boris Ivan*.

Neoanthroponyms are usually produced from existing names by using a less standard or a previously unrecorded word formation. Naming creativity is less practiced with male personal names, where traditional naming is preserved to a greater degree. A fairly considerable part of male personal names actually consist of a variant of their well-known and widespread female counterpart, for example: *Dariyan*, *Kamiliyan*.

An enrichment and renewal of compound-complex names is observed, with neoanthroponyms forged on their model. Dythematic names can be formed from all kinds of bases, without even taking into consideration the meaning of the source appellative: *Milozara*, *Radotsveta*, *Tsvetoplama*, etc. Compound-complex male neoanthroponyms in 2014 were less frequent, in comparison with those of 2007. The stock of personal names is enriched with forenames that have *-mir* or *-slav* as a second component. Peculiar cases, such as *Lyuboslavt*, are not absent.

The research confirms our hypothesis that names with a single usage are indicative of the processes that are developing in the Bulgarian name system, connected with the emergence and decline of concrete names and name patterns. It shows that the influx of foreign elements takes place at the level of name content, but also at the level of the structure of the names. On the other

hand, traditional names and traditional patterns continue to exist, quite often in a modernized variant, but also in the form of ancient names coming from the distant past. In this sense, only time will tell whether ancient names will really become modern again.

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