

Personal nicknames from the Jadar region

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Abstract: Jadar is a region in Serbia lying around the eponymous river. It is divided into two areas: Upper Jadar and Lower Jadar. The administrative centre of the region is the town of Loznica. In linguistic terms, the targeted area has not been sufficiently studied and a detailed monographic description of the local speech is still a pending task.

The personal nicknames analysed in this article belong to the onomastic stock of the Jadar region. The article is based on a corpus of 173 personal nicknames collected by means of field research from several villages in Jadar (Badanja, Sipulja, Pomijača, Tekeriš, Tršić, Ribarica, Stupnica and Trbosilje). When registering the material, the author sought to record all the nicknames encountered in the field, whether the bearers were young or old, male or female. All the nicknames remembered and provided by the local informants were collected. The aim of this article is to examine the possibilities of semantic classification of personal nicknames in the available material and to illustrate the most common reasons behind these

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nicknames. The registration of personal nicknames is important in many respects because it also prevents certain names based on appellatives, which are not used nowadays outside this onomastic category, from being forgotten.

Keywords: Onomastics, anthroponyms, personal nicknames, Jadar.

Surnoms personnels de la région du Jadar

Résumé : La région du Jadar est une région en Serbie qui s'étend autour de la rivière du même nom. Elle est divisée en deux parties : Gornji Jadar (en français : la région du Haut Jadar) et Donji Jadar (en français : la région du Bas Jadar). Le centre administratif de cette région est la ville de Loznica. Ce terrain, dans son ensemble, est presque intact dans le domaine de la linguistique.

Les surnoms personnels qui seront analysés dans cet article font partie du fonds onomastique de la région du Jadar. L'article est basé sur un corpus de 173 surnoms personnels collectés sur le terrain de plusieurs villages de Jadar (Tekeriš, Pomijaca, Badanja, Sipulja, Ribarica et Trbosilje). Lors de l'enregistrement du matériel, nous avons essayé d'écrire tous les surnoms que nous avons rencontrés sur le terrain, que leur porteur soit une personne plus jeune ou plus âgée, homme ou femme. Tous les surnoms dont les habitants se souvenaient et voulaient dire ont été recueillis. Le but de cet article est d'examiner les possibilités de classification sémantique des surnoms personnels sur le matériel disponible et de montrer les motifs les plus courants de ces surnoms. L'enregistrement des surnoms dans ce domaine est important à bien des égards, car il évite également que certains noms appellatifs, qui ne sont pas utilisés aujourd'hui hors de cette catégorie onomastique, ne soient oubliés.

Mots-clés : Onomastique, anthroponymes, surnoms personnels, Jadar.

Persönliche Spitznamen in Jadar

Zusammenfassung: Jadar ist ein Gebiet in Serbien, das sich um den Fluss mit dem gleichen Namen ausbreitet. Es ist in zwei Teilen geteilt: Oberjadar und Unterjadar. Verwaltungszentrum des Gebiets ist die Stadt Loznica. Dieses Gelände, als Einheit, ist linguistisch kaum angerührt.

Die persönlichen Spitznamen, die in dieser Arbeit analysiert werden wollen, sind ein Teil der onomastischen Wortschatz von Jadar. Die Arbeit basiert sich auf dem Korpus von 173 persönlichen Spitznamen, die in mehreren Jaders Dörfer gesammelt wurden (Tekeriš, Pomijaca, Badanja, Sipulja, Ribarica und Trbosilje). Während der Materialaufnahme versuchten wir alle Spitznamen, zu denen wir auf diesem Feld kamen, aufzuschreiben, unangeachtet, ob ihr Träger jüngere oder ältere, männliche oder weibliche Person ist. Alle Spitznamen, an die sich die Einwohner erinnerten oder sagen wollten, wurden gesammelt. Das Ziel dieser Arbeit ist es, alle Möglichkeiten der semantischen Klassifikation der persönlichen Spitznamen zu berücksichtigen, und auch die häufigsten Motive für eine Benennung zu zeigen. Aufzeichnung von den Spitznamen in diesem Gebiet ist mehrfach bedeutend, weil auf diese Weise auch einige Appellative, die man außerhalb dieser onomastischen Kategorien nicht mehr benutzt, von der Vergessenheit geschützt werden.

Schlüsselbegriffe: Onomastik, Anthroponym, persönliche Spitznamen, Jadar.

Personal nicknames in the Jadar region¹

MIRJANA PETROVIĆ-SAVIĆ

1. Introduction

Jadar is a region in Serbia lying around the eponymous river. It is divided into two areas: Upper Jadar and Lower Jadar. The administrative centre of the region is the town of Loznica. In linguistic terms, the targeted area has not been sufficiently studied and a detailed monographic description of the local speech is still a pending task.²

For the purpose of this study, we will analyse linguistic materials from a part of Upper Jadar, namely the villages: Badanja, Sipulja, Pomijača, Tekeriš, Tršić, Ribarica, Stupnica and Trbosilje. The studied area is steeper and less accessible than Lower Jadar, which is much flatter. We have decided to examine this area because it is adjacent to Rađevina, where we have systematically collected onomastic materials and performed an analysis of toponyms (cf. Petrović-Savić 2013). Apart from the collected and analysed toponymy, personal nicknames from one part of Rađevina have also been subject to analysis (cf. Petrović-Savić 2016). Keeping in mind that these two areas border one another, one of the aims of this paper is to make a brief comparison of nicknames from Jadar and those from Rađevina.

Our research deals with personal nicknames recorded during field research in 2016 and 2017. The research data were collected through conversations with informants,³ using the open-ended interview method. Most commonly, the informants were selected among the elderly persons born and raised in the village where research materials were collected. Exceptionally, young people with whom we established good cooperation and whose trust we managed to gain could also act as informants. As it turned out, those informants

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² This region has so far been covered in the studies by Berislav Nikolić *Prilog proučavanju jadarskih toponima* [Contribution to the study of toponyms in Jadar] and *Tršićki govor* [The Tršić local speech] (cf. Nikolić 1967, 1968) and two studies by the author of the present paper: *Iz geografske terminologije Jadra* [Geographic terminology of Jadar] and *Život toponima u Tršiću* [The life of toponyms] (cf. Petrović-Savić 2017a, 2017b).

³ All informants have provided an informed consent to use the information provided by them in philological, namely linguistic research.

helped us enrich the registered body of nicknames, especially by adding those borne by younger persons. Guided by the need to preserve the local character, in the process of collecting the materials, we tried to record all the nicknames identified in the studied area, regardless of whether they belonged to a young or an elderly person. At a time when old nicknames are gradually disappearing, while the new ones are short-lived (Vrcić-Mataija & Grahovac-Pražić 2006: 242), we recorded all the nicknames that the locals remembered and were ready to reveal. The *readiness* to reveal is particularly highlighted because nicknames are, according to Superanskaya (2003: 485–498), the only anthroponymic category that is used in a community more often than it is mentioned before the bearers. We have collected the nicknames that confirm the traditional way of life in the studied area and reveal distinctly patriarchal family relations. At the same time, the registered nicknames provide information about interpersonal relations, characters, habits and imperfections of their bearers, as well as the environment's attitude towards the bearers. It is also possible to reveal personal attitudes towards nicknames, ranging from pride and acceptance to total rejection (in this case, the nickname is not mentioned in the presence of its bearer). In some cases, informants spontaneously explained the circumstances under which an individual got the nickname; sometimes they also elucidated the motivation behind it, but most frequently, they just mentioned the nickname, not revealing to whom it belonged. Very often, nicknames have a pejorative character and refer to some negative traits of the bearer. This is, as we believe, the main reason why informants are reluctant to reveal the identity of the bearers. In some cases, the meaning of some nicknames has been obliterated, though the names are still in use.

Nicknames are a very old onomastic category. Some of them are passed from one generation to another, while others are lost: they disappear with their bearers. Unlike names and surnames, which are official in character, nicknames are not official, but they highlight distinctive differences among individuals bearing the same name.⁴ For this reason, the nickname is often referred to as a second name.⁵ In the nominal pattern (name, surname, nickname), the nickname is optional and, accordingly, the most unstable. The personal name is given upon birth, the surname is inherited, whereas the nickname is acquired during one's lifetime (Šimunović 2009: 191). As opposed to the name and surname, which are used officially, nicknames are used in unofficial communication, in closed groups, and small communities, but they can also be used independently, without the bearers' name and surname

⁴ It is noteworthy that in the past, nicknames were registered in birth registries, along with family names (Milevoj 1997: 11).

⁵ "That a person has along with their name" (Simeon 1969: 869). It should be pointed out that the *second name* does not imply the secondary personal name that some individuals may have (e.g. in a village in Rađevina, a person whose official name is *Radomir* is called *Dušan* by everybody).

(Šimunović 2009: 191). According to the definition, a nickname is “an appellation, a name (often derogatory or hypocoristic) for an individual or a family, used along with a personal name, or surname” (RMS). There are many reasons for giving nicknames: they are meant to protect, but they may also express ridicule or derision. In any case, one of the main roles of nicknames is to make it easy to identify a person outside the family home (Grković 2002: 522). An important feature of nicknames is that their fate is different in different environments. Namely, in cities, they last shorter than in rural areas (Grković 2002: 522). In small settlements, where residents know each other better, where contacts among them are more intensive and more frequent, the practice of adopting a personal nickname as a family name is not uncommon.

In recent years, the process of collecting onomastic materials in the Jadar region has been undertaken under the auspices of the Committee on Onomastics of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA). This study is one of the results of this undertaking. In the following passages, we will present a semantic classification of the recorded nicknames.

Relying on a sample of 173 recorded personal nicknames, we will present one of the possible models for their semantic analysis. The collected nicknames are classified into several groups. Keeping in mind that reliable information regarding the motivation behind nicknames is missing and that their bearers are almost entirely unknown to us, preference is given to the semantic classification of data and the nicknames are classified into twelve semantic groups (*Nicknames derived from object names, Nicknames derived from animal names, Nicknames expressing the physical appearance of individuals, Nicknames derived from anthroponyms, Nicknames derived from acts and activities, Nicknames expressing the character traits of the bearers, Nicknames derived from plant names, Nicknames referring to the economic/social status of their bearers, Nicknames derived from professional occupations, Nicknames derived from the names of cities and countries, Nicknames derived from ethnic names, and Nicknames associated with speech problems and catch phrases*). The semantic groups are presented starting from the most productive ones.

2. Semantic classification of personal nicknames

2.1. Nicknames derived from object names

Barjak (‘standard’) Splj, *Bekuta*⁶ Splj, *Burgija* (‘drill’)⁷ Tkš, *Glavčina* ‘the central, reinforced part of a wheel into which the axle is inserted, spokes’ (RMS) Trš, *Jandžik* ‘peasant’s leather shoulder bag’ (RMS) Splj, *Kamera*

⁶ In Rađevina, this noun designates a blunt knife and there is a saying “Tup ko bekuta”, meaning ‘as blunt as a knife’.

⁷ The bearer of this nickname has a habit of asking many questions, “drilling down”.

(‘camera’) Splj, *Kapija* (‘gate’) Bdnj, *Kaurma* ‘a meat product made of animal entrails and spices’ (RMS) Trš, *Kijura* ‘Kijak: ‘a thick club that is thicker on one end, cudgel’ (RMS) Bdnj, *Kožura* (‘rind’) Trš, *Končić* (‘small thread, filament’) Rbrc, *Krajcara* (‘penny’) Tkš, *Krbanj* ‘water container’ (RMS) Stp Trš, *Krbulja* ‘old, ragged object’ (RMS) Tkš Trš, *Krdžo* ‘low-quality, bitter, inferior tobacco in general’ (RMS) Tkš, *Kuka* (‘hook’) Tkš, *Kusur* (‘change, petty cash’) Splj, *Kutlača* (‘ladle’) Splj Trš, *Lepinja* (‘flatbread’) Bdnj, *Lira* (‘lyre’) Trb, *Margarin* (‘margarine’) Trb, *Meze* (‘snack’) Stp, *Natega* ‘a breed of pumpkin’ (RMS) Stp, *Pajser* (‘crowbar’; ‘a part of vulcanization tools’) Splj, *Pištoltj* (‘pistol, gun’)⁸ Trb, *Rešetan*⁹ Tkš, *Torba* (‘bag’) Splj, *Torbica* (‘pouch’) Splj, *Tuljak* (‘a hollow object, usually in the shape of a tube’, RMS) Splj, *Ćalija* ‘a type of baker’s bread made of white flour’ (Škaljic) Trb, *Ćasa* ‘a vessel type (without a handle, usually made of copper)’ (RMS) Stp, *Ćup* (‘jar’)¹⁰ Splj, *Ćumur* (‘charcoal’) Tkš, *Fap*¹¹ Tkš, *Čabronja*¹² Pmč, *Čamac* (‘boat’) Splj, *Čokanj* (‘small stalk-like liquor cup’) Pmč Tkš, *Čorapa* (‘sock’) Bdnj, *Čutura* (‘wooden flask’) Trb, *Džaka* (‘sack’) Trb, *Džomba* ‘a rough area, a protrusion on the road usually made of crusty, dried mud’ (RMS) Splj, *Džuboks*¹³ Tkš.

This semantic group is the most numerous among the collected nicknames in this part of Jadar. Nicknames from this group metaphorically depict the physical appearance of an individual (*Krbanj*, *Krbulja*, *Tuljak*, etc.), but they also express the character traits of their bearers (*Burgija*, *Ćup*, etc.). It may be assumed that this group also includes nicknames motivated by the occupation of the bearers, or some act. Due to insufficient information about the motivation behind nicknames that could be collected through field research, we have decided to present the classification of materials according to semantic criteria.

⁸ Keeping in mind that the saying “Naked as a pistol” is rather frequent, this nickname could, perhaps, be included in the category *Nicknames referring to the economic/social status of their bearers*. Nevertheless, we have decided to keep it in this group so as to conform to a semantic classification, which is used in this study as a framework due to the missing information about the motivation behind the nicknames.

⁹ Milica Grković has recorded the personal name *Rešeto* and explains that it is “a prophylactic name derived from sieve, a utensil separating grains from impurities, also used in prophecy, conjuration and divination” (Grković 1986: 166).

¹⁰ According to the informants, the bearer of this nickname could not be described as a very intelligent person.

¹¹ The brand of the truck driven by the bearer of this nickname was FAP (manufactured by the Priboj Automotive Factory).

¹² The bearer of the nickname is associated with *čabar* (‘bucket’). The nickname has a negative connotation.

¹³ This example shows that it is not always easy and simple to perform a semantic analysis, especially if the information about the motivation behind nicknames is lacking, as it is the case here. The nickname may refer to the occupation of its bearer. Due to the lack of information, it is included in the category *Nicknames derived from object names*.

2.2. Nicknames derived from animal names

Bumbar ('bumblebee') Trš, *Vrabac* ('sparrow') Pmč Splj, Tek *Guja* ('adder') Stp, *Gusak* ('gander') Bdnj Pmč Rbrc Tkš, *Žunja* ('green woodpecker') Splj, *Zelembać* ('green lizard') Trš, *Zec* ('rabbit') Trš Stp, *Jazavac* ('badger') Splj, *Jarac* ('buck') Stp, *Jež* ('hedgehog') Trš, *Konj* ('horse') Splj, *Kokica* ('pullet') Pmč, *Kurjak* ('wolf') Pmč, *Lijać* 'a male fox, fig. a cunning person, a scheming person, a sly fox, a trickster' (RMS) Stp, *Lisac* ('dog-fox') Splj, *Maguda* ('a butterfly species') Rbrc, *Majmun* ('monkey') Trš, *Macan* ('tomcat') Bdnj, *Mačak* ('tomcat') Splj Tkš Rbrc, *Medved* ('bear') Stp, *Medonja* Tkš, *Meded* ('bear') Trš, *Patak* ('duck') Pmč Rbrc, *Pevac* ('rooster') Stp, *Peto* ('rooster') Splj, *Popak* ('coot') Tkš, *Pužara* ('snail') Splj, *Pus* 'a rodent species similar to a mouse' Splj, *Sova* ('owl') Rbrc, *Spuž* ('snail') Trš, *Tica* ('bird') Stp, *Ćiro* 'a male guinea hen, a small chicken breed, a small rooster breed' Trb Trš, *Ćurak* ('turkeycock') Pmč Tkš Trš, *Cvrčak* ('cricket') Tkš, *Čvorak* ('starling') Bdnj.

This is the second largest semantic group of nicknames in the studied area. What all these nicknames have in common is that they were derived through the metaphorical or metonymic transfer of traits from animals to humans. In most cases, the nicknames refer to the physical appearance of individuals (*Bumbar*, *Meded*, *Patak*, etc.), but it is also possible to find those that express the character traits of their bearers (*Lisac*, etc.).

2.3. Nicknames expressing the physical appearance of individuals

Badžo 'a small, stunted man' (RMS) Splj, *Bidžo* '1. minikin, dwarf, midget; 2. small horse' (Škaljić 1989) Bdnj, *Beka*¹⁴ Pmč, *Beli*¹⁵ ('white') Pmč, *Bečo* Trš, *Brka* ('moustached') Splj, *Belac* ('white') P Splj, *Gušara*¹⁶ Trš, *Žujo*¹⁷ Bdnj, *Krivac*¹⁸ Bdnj, *Krnjo* 'one with a missing part, defective' (RMS) Splj, *Malikan* 'a smallish person' Pmč, *Mrakonja* 'a frowned, scowled person' Trb, *Murga* 'a person with undefined hair colour – a shade of brown' Bdnj, *Pušo*¹⁹ Trš, *Reso* 'the one who has a lump on the ear' Splj, *Reponja* ('tailed') Splj, *Sičo* 'a person of a delicate stature' Tkš, *Suro* 'sur (grey): ash-coloured' Bdnj, *Ćoso* 'one with small ears' (RMS) Pmč, *Ćulo* 'one with small ears' (RMS) Trb, *Crni* ('blackie') Pmč, *Čakara* (< *čakar* 'skew-eyed') (Škaljić)

¹⁴ A fair-haired person, similarly to *Beli*, *Bečo*, and *Belac*.

¹⁵ The diffusion boundaries of the ancient vowel *yat* in this part of Serbia have not been precisely defined. For this reason, in this paper, we will neglect the phonological value of the vowel *e*, which appears at the position of *yat*.

¹⁶ This nickname usually refers to a person with a distinct neck.

¹⁷ A red-haired person.

¹⁸ According to the informant, the bearer of this nickname has a crooked spine.

¹⁹ In RMS, this term is defined as 'little man, little boy'. Keeping in mind that the appellative, which, in our materials, has the function of a nickname, refers to the age of a young male, we have assumed that it also, in a way, implies a particular physical appearance. That is the reason why it is included in this category of nicknames.

Splj, *Džudža* ‘minikin, dwarf’ (Škaljić 1989) Pmč, *Šarga*²⁰ Splj, *Šiljo* ‘tall and slim young person’ (RMS) Bdnj, *Šukan* (< *šukat* ‘a hornless ram’) Tkš, *Šukonja* Splj, *Šuša* ‘hornless head of small or large cattle’ (RMS) Pmč.

Nicknames that most directly refer to the physical appearance of individuals are included in this group (*Brka*, *Crni*, etc.).

A characteristic feature of personal nicknames, as well as of toponymy, is that the process of naming highlights the traits that are, in one way or another, already naturally conspicuous (*Badžo*, *Krnjo*, etc.). The traits that highlight the unusual or uncommon characteristics of their bearers can also be a motive for giving nicknames. This is confirmed by some examples recorded in the studied area and included in this semantic group (the nickname *Ćoso* is given to a man who has a weak beard, whereas the nickname *Suro* is given to a person whose hair turned grey at an early age).

2.4. Nicknames derived from anthroponyms

This group includes two groups: nicknames derived from surnames and those derived from first names. Each group has two subgroups.

2.4.1. Nicknames derived from surnames

2.4.1.1. Nicknames derived from the surnames of famous people

- *Kardelj* (Yugoslav politician Edvard Kardelj) Trš, *Travolta* (American actor John Travolta) Tkš.

2.4.1.2. Nicknames derived from the abbreviated forms of surnames

- *Kedžo* (< *Kedžić*) Splj, *Krdža* (< *Krdžić*) Splj, *Pujo* (< *Pujić*) Splj, *Pureš* (*Purešević*) Trb, *Puro* (< *Purić*) Bdnj, *Tuso*, *Tujso* (< *Tusić*) Splj, *Šujara*, *Šujarić* (< *Šujić*) Tkš.

2.4.2. Nicknames derived from first names

This group, just like the previous one, has two subgroups: the first includes nicknames of famous people, whereas the other includes nicknames derived from the first names of their bearers.

2.4.2.1. Nicknames from Jadar derived from the nicknames of famous people

- *Pižon* (Serbian football player Vladimir Petrović Pižon) Tkš, *Doda* (a character from a Serbian TV series) Pmč.

2.4.2.2. Nicknames derived from the personal names or nicknames of the bearers or their ancestors

- *Bobe* (< *Slobodan*) Tkš, *Veljkovac* (< *Veljko*) Tkš, *Dakinovac* (< *Dako*) Trš, *Dojinovac* (< *Dojo*) Bdnj, *Điđin* (< *Điđo*) Pmč, *Mal'novac* Trb, *Jabinovac* Rbrc, *Gudurin* Trš, *Krmačin* Trš, *Micin*²¹ Trš.

²⁰ In Rađevina, this form is registered as a name for a bull or ox.

²¹ This nickname, as well as two previous examples, is derived from mother's names.

Two Muslim names used as nicknames in the studied area have also been included into this subgroup: *Mujo* Tkš and *Musa* Tkš.

The field research has not provided information about the origin of the nicknames *Jabinovac* and *Mal'novac*. However, based on the derivation structure, they have been included in this subgroup of personal nicknames.

The shared distinctive feature of this group of personal nicknames is that their bearers are, in most cases, young people. It is noteworthy that some changes can be observed in the lexical corpus of nicknames for young people, as opposed to those belonging to elderly ones. In the younger generation, nicknames are, in most cases, derived from the personal names or surnames of the bearers or their ancestors, whereas in the older generations, appellative terms prevail among nicknames.

2.5. Nicknames derived from acts and activities

This group contains nicknames associated with activities performed by their bearers: *Zukan* (< *zuku* 'produce a sound') Tkš, *Jecan* (< *jecati* 'sob') Trš, *Keljo* (< *keljiti se* 'laugh with twisted mouth') Splj, *Kljuco* (< *ključati* 'persistently making the same comments, suggestions, to nag') Stp, *Krko* (< *krkati* 'eat a lot, abundantly, devour') Tkš, *Lapa* (< *laparati* 'to speak, talk profusely and pointlessly') Trš, *Lokara* (< *lokati* 'to drink abundantly', usually alcoholic drinks) Trb, *Presmakalo* (< *prismočiti* 'to eat with bread, or dipped in bread') Trš, *Prco* (< *prcati se* 'to mate', usually refers to goats or sheep) Trš, *Cinco* (< *cincakati* 'to produce the "cin, cin" sound, ring, jingle (bells or similar objects)') Trš, *Cokić* (< *cokiti* 'to kiss') Splj, *Čimalo* (< *čimkati* 'pluck') Tkš, *Džonjo* (< *džonjati* 'to take a nap, sleep') Splj.

The nicknames from this semantic group have in their root verbs indicating activities that motivated the nicknames. In this semantic group, the nickname *Gazibara* has also been registered.

2.6. Nicknames expressing the character traits of the bearers

The negative traits of the bearers are expressed by the nicknames *Alčak* 'a rascal, scoundrel, rogue, devil' (Škaljić 1989) Trš, *Dandara* 'a dishonest, evil man' Trš, *Mulać* 'an insidious and reticent person' Bdnj, *Mulo* 'an insidious and reticent person' Bdnj, *Rogonja* 'a deceived husband' Tkš, *Šupak* 'a stupid man' Splj.

We have also included the nickname *Cakan*²² Splj in this group. It could also be listed under *Nicknames expressing the physical appearance of individuals*, but we decided to include in this group.²³

We may observe a significant difference in the number of nicknames that

²² According to the data collected during the field research, the nickname refers to persons who like to embellish themselves.

²³ This situation confirms that some nicknames could be included in other semantic groups and not only those where we have classified them.

refer to the intrinsic character traits of individuals and those related to physical appearance. The reason for this should be sought for in the fact that nicknames that express character traits require a certain degree of knowledge and closeness between the bearer and the one who invents the nickname. This is not the case with nicknames highlighting physical appearance. A nickname based on physical appearance may be invented even when we see someone for the first time.

2.7. Nicknames derived from plant names

Gljiva ('mushroom') Tkš, *Jagoda* ('strawberry') Bdnj, *Mauna* ('legume') Trb, *Paprika* ('pepper') Trš, *Paradajz* ('tomato') Bdnj, *Tikva* ('pumpkin') Tkš.

As far as *Jagoda*, *Mauna* and *Paradajz* are concerned, we could say that physical appearance played a key role in assigning.

2.8. Nicknames referring to the economic/social status of their bearers

The relevance of social or economic status in the studied area is confirmed by the presence of nicknames referring to these features: *Goljić* 'a poor man' Trb, *Goljo* 'a poor man' Trb, *Dronjo* 'a poor man' Trb, *Koka* (< *kokuz* 'a penniless man') (Škaljić 1989) Trb, *Rep* 'a person with a poor social reputation' Tkš, *Repić* 'a person with a poor social reputation' Tkš. Interestingly, not a single nickname referring to a good material status has been recorded.

2.9. Nicknames derived from professional occupations

Dirigent ('conductor') Bdnj, *Drndo* 'an artisan who cards wool using a card' Trš, *Kalaja*²⁴ Tkš, *Tobdžija* ('cannoneer') Bdnj, *Šnajder* ('tailor') Tkš.

In this group of nicknames, we will highlight and provide additional comments about the nickname *Drndo*. The reason for this is the fact that we have associated it with the lexeme *drndar* 'a craftsman who cards wool'. Both the craft and the lexeme used in this meaning have long fell into disuse in the studied area. The mentioned nickname confirms that this onomastic group preserves obliterated appellatives.

2.10. Nicknames derived from the names of cities and countries

This group includes three nicknames: *Kuvajt* (*Kuwait*) Bdnj, *Mali Kuvajt* (*Little Kuwait*) Bdnj and *Pariz* (*Paris*) Splj. In the former two examples, the motivation behind the nicknames was a temporary place of residence, i.e. the place where the persons worked. According to the informant, the name of the city of Paris was a motive for assigning the nickname to a person who pretended to be too well-mannered.

2.11. Nicknames derived from ethnic names

Turčin ('Turk') Trb, *Valjevac* ('a citizen of Valjevo') Pmč and *Japanac* ('Japanese') Bdnj. The first nickname in this series is motivated by the physical

²⁴ RMS contains the lexeme *kalajdžija*, meaning 'tinsmith'. The form *kalaja*, instead of *kalajdžija*, has also been recorded as a nickname in Rađevina (cf. Petrović-Savić 2016: 60).

appearance (the bearer has a dark complexion). The second nickname is associated with the bearer's origin, whereas the third refers to a person who works with exceptional diligence and accuracy.

2.12. Nicknames associated with speech problems and catch phrases

No more than two nicknames that can be classified in this group have been identified: *Piket Splj i Šuško* Trb. The bearer of the former nickname incorrectly pronounces the word *tiket* ('ticket') as *piket*, whereas the bearer of the latter lisps.

3. Notes on the material

In the first section of this paper, we have tried to respond to the main goal of the study: to present a semantic classification of personal nicknames based on the available materials collected in one part of the Jadar region.

We have analysed 173 personal nicknames classified into twelve semantic groups. For a better and more complete overview of the collected nicknames, we provide a breakout of the semantic groups in [Table 1](#), with a number of nicknames per group and the percentage share of each semantic group in the total corpus.

Table 1: Semantic groups of recorded nicknames

	Semantic group	Number of recorded nicknames	Percentage
1.	Nicknames derived from object names	42	24.28 %
2.	Nicknames derived from animal names	35	20.23%
3.	Nicknames expressing the physical appearance of individuals	29	16.76 %
4.	Nicknames derived from anthroponyms	23	13.29 %
5.	Nicknames derived from acts and activities	13	7.51 %
6.	Nicknames expressing the character traits of the bearers	6	3.47 %
7.	Nicknames derived from plant names	6	3.47 %
8.	Nicknames referring to the economic/social status of their bearers	6	3.47 %
9.	Nicknames derived from professional occupations	5	2.89 %
10.	Nicknames derived from the names of cities and countries	3	1.73 %
11.	Nicknames derived from ethnic names	3	1.73 %
12.	Nicknames associated with speech problems and catch phrases	2	1.16 %
	TOTAL	173	100 %

The four most numerous groups include the *Nicknames derived from object names*, *Nicknames derived from animal names*, *Nicknames expressing the physical appearance of individuals* and *Nicknames derived from anthroponyms*. In the group *Nicknames derived from animal names*, the nicknames *Pužara* and *Medonja* are particularly interesting in derivation terms. In the former example, a negative attitude of the speaker towards the bearer is expressed through the suffix *-ara*, while the derivative *Medonja* expresses a hypocoristic meaning. According to the same criterion, the nicknames *Končić*, *Torbica* and *Čabronja* stand out in the group *Nicknames derived from object names*. They are formed by adding the suffix *-čić*, *-ic*, or *-onja*. In the latter case, the suffix *-onja* does not express a hypocoristic meaning.²⁵ Although the collected linguistic material has been presented, i.e. classified according to semantics of appellatives, and not according to the motivation behind nicknames, it is apparent that in most cases physical appearance was the motive for assigning nicknames and that metaphor and metonymy are significantly present in nickname creation. It should be borne in mind that, although personal, nicknames are often inherited. Accordingly, the current bearer may not have any significant physical resemblance to the ancestor and the nickname may not describe him/her as precisely as it described the original bearer. The *Nicknames derived from anthroponyms* are one of the four most numerous semantic groups in the studied sample. Typically, the nicknames from this group inform us about the bearers' family and kin (*Pureš* < *Purešević*, *Puro* < *Purić*, *Veljkovac* < *Veljko*). Metaphor is present in the nicknames that, in semantic terms, are derived from the surnames and nicknames of famous persons (*Kardelj*, *Pižon*, etc.)

Especially noteworthy are those appellatives preserved in personal nicknames which, due to major changes in the way of life, are not used outside this onomastic group, as confirmed by the examples such as the recorded nicknames *Drndo*, *Krbanj*, *Jandžik*. The noun *drndo* refers to a person who used the device called *drndalo* ('card') to card wool. In the studied area, both the card and the carding trade are now obliterated. The *krbanj* was a type of water container, which has fallen into disuse, leading to the obliteration of the appellative in the informants' consciousness. The fate of a particular type of leather peasants' bag named *jandžik* was the same, due to which the appellative has been preserved only in nicknames. One of the typical features of nicknames is that they live even when the informants are no longer aware of the appellatives' meaning and this is confirmed by the materials collected in our research. In such situations, when asked about the meaning of the nickname, the most common answer was that the nickname was inherited.

It is interesting that no female personal nicknames have been recorded during field research. Although, in our estimation, we managed to establish a

²⁵ Keeping in mind that most nicknames are ordinary appellatives, we did not find it necessary to present a name formation analysis.

good and fairly close contact with informants, it turned out that, judging by the total amount of data, cooperation was not complete. In nearby Rađevina, along with male nicknames, a number of female personal nicknames were identified. We have failed to do the same in this part of Jadar. The insight into the on-site situations confirms that both environments are patriarchal. The nicknames that belonged to women, even if they had them, were not revealed. In a village in Rađevina, it was only after we had completed the process of collecting nicknames and onomastic materials that we managed to register a personal nickname of a woman named after her husband (*Vulovica*) in a spontaneous conversation, which took place a few months after our field research. This situation and the cited information, observed only afterwards, have led us to assume that in this area, too, female nicknames derived from husbands' names used to be a living category. So far, the field research evidence is insufficient to confirm this assumption. We highlight that this is so for the time being because, in our experience, and that of other researchers who studied various areas, one should "live" on site, spend many days there, listen to informants' spontaneous conversations in order to record the most subtle features of the studied speech.

Our experience related to field research shows that the process of collecting and, later, analysing personal nicknames largely depends on the degree of familiarity between researchers and informants. In the studied area, it was often possible to obtain only the information about nicknames, without details about their bearers, their appearance, physical and character traits, and the reason for assigning a particular nickname. When a similar topic was studied in a nearby area, Rađevina, which is the author's place of origin, it was much easier to collect the material, as well as to perform a semantic classification. Informants were more open for cooperation. Along with the information about nicknames, it was almost always possible to obtain details about the origin of nicknames and their bearers. Of course, there were some situations when this type of information remained restricted even in the well-known area. It was only when we started collecting linguistic materials in an area that was almost completely unknown to us that we realized the importance of knowing the studied area and the people with whom we were collaborating. For the sake of comparison, in two villages in Rađevina, where we knew all informants and locals, nearly 300 nicknames were collected. In Jadar, where we visited eight villages, no more than 173 nicknames were recorded. According to our personal experience, this type of information is the most difficult to obtain in field research. This conclusion is also confirmed by the literature data.²⁶

²⁶ As far as the difficulties related to collecting nicknames in field research are concerned, we will quote S. Stijović, who highlights that "nicknames [...] were the most difficult to collect. As it seems, they are very rare, or their character is such that they are reluctantly revealed. They were practically never provided in the bearer's home and I could often hear about them from children" (Stijović 1979: 243).

4. Instead of a conclusion

The nicknames from one part of Jadar presented in this paper are just a small part of the rich, unexplored, and still unregistered onomastic materials from this area. They reflect not only linguistic, but also semantic, lexical and even word-formation features, providing at the same time a culturological picture of the time and environment in which they are found. Generally speaking, nicknames are a form of vernacular creative production; they are a lexical treasure with an imprint of history. Accordingly, we believe that systematic on-site collecting, followed by an analysis of onomastic data is one of the priority tasks in Serbian language studies. Due to the modern lifestyle and intensified population decline in rural areas, it is high time to undertake field research focused on collecting and recording onomastic materials. The diversity of vernacular speeches and the onomasticon is rapidly and permanently declining.

The nicknames identified during the field research provide information about the traditional way of life in the studied area, as well as about family relations and interpersonal communication; they introduce us to the characters of the inhabitants, providing information about their habits, flaws, virtues, but they also reveal the community's attitude to individuals. Individuals' attitudes towards nicknames range from pride and acceptance to total rejection. In the latter case, which is much more common, the nickname is in never mentioned in the presence of the bearer and the bearers' identity is never revealed to the researcher. When nicknames are more frequently used, i.e. when the bearers allow being addressed by a nickname, such names are more commonly inherited, gaining a plural form and becoming family nicknames.

Changes in the way of life have had an impact on the onomasticon, both in toponymy and in anthroponymy. The personal names that we find today, especially among the younger generations, cannot be used as an indicator of the bearers' origin. It seems that personal nicknames, the old ones, provide a suitable material which still can, to a certain extent, reveal the traces of the past. Nicknames, much more than personal names, retain the traits of the bearers' places of origin.

Abbreviated names of the villages where the materials were collected

Badanja: Bdnj
Pomijača: Pmč
Ribarica: Rbrc
Sipulja: Splj
Stupnica Stp
Tekeriš: Tkš
Trbosilje: Trb
Tršić: Trš

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