

Proper Names as Signs of Lithuanianness in Canada

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Lithuania

Abstract

In various periods, quite a few Lithuanians settled in Canada (their migration started in ca. 1900). Certain centres appeared; later, communities were established and they arranged events, issued publications and carried out other activities. Wishing to retain identity and enshrine cultural memory, persons who arrived from Lithuania tended to name organisations, publications etc. with the Lithuanian realia. Having analyzed both the manual *Kanados lietuvių organizacijų žinynas* ('A Catalogue of Organisations of Lithuanian Canadians') and some names of public places in Toronto and its surroundings, it can be concluded that usually Lithuanian or Lithuania-related names are given to objects which are significant to residents inside a foreign linguistic environment. In public places, signboards of established Lithuanian organisations are hung; they manifest the allusion to the homeland, e.g. *Lithuanian House* in Toronto. Moreover, single signboards in Lithuanian with one of the components being Lithuanian are noticed (*Vilnius Manor*). Usually, the analogue in English is presented, too (*Labdara. Lithuanian Nursing Home*). Such signs of Lithuanianness encompass the symbolic meaning for the community members and inhabitants of these places. The aim of linguistic research of landscape is to state the perpetuated cultural memory and estimate subjective signs of identity as well as to assess their linguistic diversity.

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Introductory Remarks

The emigration of Lithuanians to Canada began in ca. 1900 and became especially active right after the World War II. Lithuanians, who mostly resided in cities, such as Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton, Winnipeg etc., formed communities, parishes, established societies and other gatherings, just as other nationalities who settled there densely. On emigration, various activities, events, church services would be performed, commemorations would be arranged, radio programs would be broadcasted (if possible, even TV programs would be broadcasted), publications, such as newspapers, magazines, books, would be issued. In encyclopedic manuals, books, articles prepared and published by Lithuanian Canadians we can find information on how Lithuanians created their lives in a foreign multi-cultural Canada (Gaida *et al.* 1967, Danys 1986). Willing to retain their national identity and perpetuate cultural memory, Lithuanians who arrived in Canada tried to name organizations, publications, celebrations etc. with names of locations, objects, phenomena or national realia that were dear to them. Symbolical names of organizations, also other designations including proper names which are the focus of onomastics research have been recorded in The Lithuanian Canadian Community's encyclopedic edition *Kanados lietuvių organizacijų žinynas* ('A Catalogue of Organisations of Lithuanian Canadians') (KLOŽ 2002), which is the major source for this study. The aim of this study is to find out what proper names are used in

names of organizations of Lithuanian Canadians,¹ and how these signs of Lithuanianness function in public areas. Even though the mother tongue was the newcomers' language of communication, participation in community activities conditioned the need and possibility to use the Lithuanian language not only in the family and among relatives, but also for public purposes. Therefore, certain signs of Lithuanianness are observed in areas of residence, for instance, such signs of enshrining Lithuanian identity have been found in public names in Toronto and its surroundings. This study has been carried out employing analytical descriptive and interpretational methods.

Usage of Proper and Common Names in Designations

Toponyms

Dealing with names of organizations of Lithuanian Canadians, first of all, we focus attention on selection and usage of toponyms. Most often these are place names of the country of origin, i.e. Lithuania, also place names of populated localities or neighbor lands. Several symbolical designations including the name of the country have been found, for example, a newspaper *Nepriklausoma Lietuva* (129)² ('Independent Lithuania'); also, the name of the Lithuanian capital city *Vilnius* has been found in the name of a boarding home for the retired residents in Toronto (*Vilnius Manor*; 210; more on this name can be found in section 'Proper Names in the Linguistic Landscape'); moreover, various settlement names (OT) or object names Names of Lithuania are used: city names *Kretinga* (Youth Camp of the Resurrection Parish; 95), *Šiluva* (*Šiluva St Mary's Parish* in London (173-174) (on the giving of sense to religious symbolism in names see subsection 'Anthroponyms'). Names of major resorts in the motherland are highly popular: folk dance group *Palanga* in Delhi-Tillsonburg (136), a club of hunters and anglers *Nida* in Montreal (130) (also see *Neringa* in subsection 'Anthroponyms'). Names of major Lithuanian rivers³ are included in names of folk dance and song groups (*Nemunas* in Niagara (128) and *Neris* in Windsor (130)), and an oronym *Rambynas* is given to a boarding home of retired Lithuanian residents in Hamilton (147). A name of one of Lithuanian ethnographic regions, *Mažoji Lietuva*⁴ ('Lithuania Minor'), is used in the names of *Mažosios Lietuvos bičiulių draugija* ('Association of Friends of Lithuania Minor') in Montreal (120) and *Mažosios Lietuvos moterų draugija* ('Association of Women of Lithuania Minor') in Toronto (121). In symbolical names, toponyms are usually used in Lithuanian; however, several of them including names in English or Latin have been found: Toronto city park *Park Lithuania* (138) (also see section 'Proper Names in the

¹ When it not necessary to identify the character of an organization, the article uses such a word in its most common meaning.

² The article indicates only pages from the manual, KLOŽ 2002, because all examples are provided from this source.

³ In Lithuanian, such proper names are called by two terms: *upėvardis* ('river name') and *potamonimas* (KTŽ 1990: 221).

⁴ Besides *Mažoji Lietuva* ('Lithuania Minor'), such ethnographic regions as *Aukštaitija*, *Dzūkija*, *Suvalkija* and *Žemaitija* are singled out.

Linguistic Landscape’), a club of hunters and anglers in Welland *Lituanica* (112)⁵. A music and folk dance group in London as well as a camp in Montreal are called by a name *Baltija* (27) which is covering a region broader than Lithuania, the Baltic Sea region. Of course this proper name is used in names formed in English as well, for instance, the *Baltic Business Council* and the *Baltic Veterans League in Canada* (26)⁶ established in Toronto.

Even though the article’s major focus lies on discussion of the signs of Lithuanianness, it should be noted that names of organizations, societies etc. (especially in their direct names) include Canadian place names. Both a name of the country and names of various settlements are used, first of all, as indices of location, for instance, *Kanados lietuvii fondas* (‘The Lithuanian Canadians Foundation’; 79-80), *Kvebeko lietuvių gydytojų sąjunga* (‘Society of Lithuanian Physicians in Quebec’; 95-96), *Londono lietuvių pensininkų klubas* (‘Club of Lithuanian Seniors in London’; 114), *Monrealio lietuvių dramos teatras* (‘Montreal Lithuanian Drama Theatre’; 125), *Vindzoro apylinkės choras* (‘Windsor Neighborhood Choir’; 213) and others. Names of residence locations in Canada are found in symbolical names more rarely, for instance, a newspaper *Kanados lietuvis* (‘A Lithuanian Canadian’; 60) published in 1929-1930 in Toronto.

Anthroponyms

Various proper names – anthroponyms – frequently found in names of organizations of Lithuanian Canadians have been divided into the following three groups: 1) names of saints, 2) names and surnames of real individuals, 3) appellative names.

Names of the first group, i.e. names of saints, are popular with parishes, religious societies and associations. KLOŽ provides six names in total – three of men and three of women; however, some of them have been used several times. The most popular name is the name of the patron saint of Lithuania, *Kazimieras* (Church Lat. *Casimirus* from Slav. *Kazimir* (Pol. *Kazimierz*) – ‘great speaker, famous for speeches’: Old Slav. *kaz-* (Pol. *kazač*) ‘say’ + *meru* ‘famous’ (cf. Goth. *mērs* ‘great’) LVKŽ 1994: 223). The name of this saint was used seven times (associations and parishes of St Casimir in Delhi, Montreal, Windsor, Winnipeg, also, choirs of some parishes bear such name; 180–186). A name of the saint *Jonas* (‘John’) (from Latinized Hebr. *Joannes*, *Johannes* from Hebrew *Jōhānān* – ‘God (Yahweh) has heard’, ‘Yahweh the graceful’ LKVŽ 1994: 208) has been found in three names (*Šv. Jono kapinės* (‘St John’s Cemetery’) in Mississauga, *Šv. Jono Krikštytojo parapija* (‘St John Baptist’s Parish’) and *Šv. Jono Krikštytojo šalpos draugija* (‘St John the Baptist’s Association of Charity’) in Toronto; 176-180; for more on this see section ‘Proper Names in the Linguistic Landscape’). Two times names of associations include the name of a saint woman, *Ona* (‘Ann’) (from Latinized Hebr. *Anna* from Hebr. *Hannā* – ‘attractive, charming’, LVKŽ 1994: 295); saint

⁵ Such choice could have been determined by the flight of outstanding Lithuanian pilots Steponas Darius and Stasys Girėnas across the Atlantic Ocean. In 1933, they flew from the USA to Lithuania on a plane called *Lituanica*.

⁶ These organizations brought together immigrants from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, i.e. all three Baltic States, occupied for the period from 1940 to 1990. Sometimes, ethnonyms *baltai* (‘the Balts’) or *baltiečiai* (‘the Baltic’) are used synonymously: *Baltų federacija Kanadoje* (‘Baltic / Balts’ Federation in Canada’) (28), *Baltiečių moterų taryba* (‘Baltic Women’s Council’) (26). However, it is usual to render linguistic commonality of Lithuanians and Latvians by calling them the Balts, whereas the Baltic States include Estonians, too.

names *Juozapas* ('Joseph') (from Latinized Hebr. *Josephus*, *Joseph* from Hebr. *Jehoasēph*, *Jōsēph* – 'let (God) Jehovah adds (one more son to the recently born one)'; 'Jehovah will add', LVKŽ 1994: 214), *Teresė* ('Theresa') (from Latinized Gr. *Theresia* – 'a Theran woman', 'a female resident of *Thera* (presently Santorini) island', LVKŽ 1994: 347) and *Elžbieta* (variant *Elzbieta* ('Elizabeth')); from Latinized *Elisabeth* which means in Hebr. *Elīšeba* – 'swear by God', LVKŽ 1994: 148) are found as single cases: *Šv. Onos draugija* ('Association of St Ann') in Montreal in two parishes: *Šv. Kazimiero* ('St Casimir's') and *Aušros vartų* ('Gates of Dawn') (188-189), *Šv. Juozapo draugija* ('Association of St Joseph') in Toronto (180), *Šv. Teresės draugija* ('Association of St Theresa') in Montreal (189), *Šv. Elžbietos draugija* ('Association of St Elizabeth') in Montreal (176). It is obvious that Lithuanian Canadians use exclusively Lithuanian forms of saints' names, even though these anthroponyms derive from Hebrew, Greek, or Slavonic languages (usually, forms of Latinized names), and these individuals are famous saints throughout the world. Nevertheless, we should not forget that one of the layers of Lithuanian onomastics deals with Christian names (LVKŽ 1994: 35-41, Zinkevičius 2008: 341-486); therefore, these anthroponyms are widely spread in the Lithuanian language and have many variants, both dialectal and shortened, mostly used in spoken language.

Within the second group, names of historical Lithuanian personalities are to be mentioned in the first place; these two-stem ancient names (LVKŽ 1994: 25-27, Zinkevičius 2008: 67-140) are of Lithuanian origin. As KLOŽ suggests, Lithuanians in emigration select the name *Vytautas* to emphasize their Lithuanianness. He was a grand duke, called *Vytautas Didysis* ('Vytautas the Great'⁷ or, 'Vytautas Magnus'); this personal name is used in the names of two organizations: *Vytauto Didžiojo lietuvių mokykla* ('Vytautas the Great Lithuanian School') in Calgary and *Didžiojo Lietuvos kunigaikščio Vytauto klubas* ('Lithuanian Grand Duke Vytautas Club', the KLOŽ (the Manual of Organizations of Lithuanian Canadians) lists the latter organization under the name 'The Lithuanian Witold Independent Club', indicating that it existed from 1907 to 1969) in Montreal (223). Names of other dukes are used once each: *Gediminas* (*Didžiojo Lietuvos kunigaikščio Gedimino šaulių kuopa* ('Lithuanian Grand Duke Gediminas Rifle Company' in Delhi; 171) and *Algirdas* (*Didžiojo Lietuvos kunigaikščio Algirdo šaulių kuopa* ('Lithuanian Grand Duke Algirdas Rifle Company' in Hamilton; 172). One name of a rifle company contained the personal name of a Lithuanian Grand Duke *Mindaugas*⁸; the origin of this two-stem name is Lithuanian as well (LVKŽ 1994: 275). In 1997 this company merged with another under a double name whose second component shows a link with a place in Lithuania – a resort *Neringa*⁹ (*Lietuvos karaliaus Mindaugo-Neringos šaulių kuopa* ('Lithuanian King Mindaugas-Neringa Rifle Company' in Montreal; 172). It is likely that such a choice was determined by the pride in their history; however, it should be noted that all names of dukes are popular in contemporary Lithuanian onomastics, too.

⁷ One of the most famous European politicians and general soldiers (ca. 1350-1430) (VLE XXV, 2014: 310-311).

⁸ Grand Duke of Lithuania, the first and only King of Lithuania (1253-1263) (VLE XV, 2009: 156-157).

⁹ This may also be a name originating from a Lithuanian fairy story (LVKŽ 1994: 285); nevertheless, as it was the name of a marine rifle company, it is more likely that it derives from a toponym (Vanagas 1996: 153-156) (also see subsection 'Toponyms').

To ensure Lithuanianness, personalities familiar to the community, famous names, surnames and pennames of Lithuanians have been chosen in forming names of organizations. For instance, a poet and priest Maironis¹⁰ (*Toronto Maironio lietuviška mokykla* ‘Toronto Maironis Lithuanian School’; 114; *Maironio šaulių kuopa* ‘Maironis’ Rifle Company’ in Sudbury 172), a bishop Motiejus Valančius¹¹ (*Vyskupo Motiejaus Valančiaus lietuviška mokykla* ‘Bishop Motiejus Valančius’ Lithuanian School’ in Hamilton; 220-223), a public activist and writer Vincas Kudirka¹² (*Dr. Vinco Kudirkos šeštadieninė mokykla* ‘Dr Vincas Kudirka’s Saturday School’ in Ottawa; 211).

The third group encompasses appellative names used in names of organizations. It is likely that the motivation for some symbolical names may be linked not to names, but rather to common words of the Lithuanian language that suggest the origin of anthroponyms. Lithuanian onomastics includes a significant number of appellative names because ‘in ancient times the Balts, like other Indo-European nations, may have had a multitude of them: they could be based on common words of various origins, directly or indirectly naming individual features of particular people’ (LVKŽ 1994: 29). For instance, organizations are named with a word *gintaras* four times (a youth ensemble in Montreal, folk dance and music ensembles and a drama club in St Catharines, an ensemble of folk dance and music in Toronto and a folk dance group in Welland; 50-52). The above-mentioned common word means ‘amber’ and it gives origin to a man’s name *Gintaras* (see LVKŽ 1994: 180). Also, four times a common word *aušra* meaning ‘dawn’ was used; it is also a popular woman’s name *Aušra* (LVKŽ 1994: 87). Lithuanian Canadians use this word to name a sports club and a choir in Toronto (18-20), a women’s choir in Montreal (19) and a girls’ choir in Windsor (21). This is also the name of some objects in Lithuania which are significant to Lithuanians, for instance, the first Lithuanian periodical, another famous object in Lithuania – a church *Aušros vartai* (‘Gates of Dawn’) in Vilnius. By the way, the name of this church was given to parishes in Hamilton and Montreal (23-24). Such popularity and semantics of the word (or the name) could have made an impact on the choice of Lithuanian Canadians. Two symbolical names have been found: *Aidas* (a common word means ‘echo’; cf. also man’s name, LVKŽ 1994: 62), is also a name of a girls’ choir and an orchestra in Hamilton (4-5). Some names of the appellative origin for Lithuanians bear an exceptional symbolical meaning. For example, a name that comes from a fairy-tale *Eglė žalčių karalienė* (‘Eglė, the Queen of Grass-Snakes’) (LVKŽ 1994: 88), *Ažuolas* (‘oak tree’) is a name of a club of retired residents in Hamilton (57), and a tree symbolizes strength to Lithuanians. A female name originating from a common word meaning ‘dew’, *Rasa* (LVKŽ 1994: 310) is the name of a quartet of Lithuanian female students in London (149). It should be noted that vocabulary of origin of Lithuanian names reflects a double point of view to some anthroponyms. For example, a club of retired residents in Montreal and a parish choir in Montreal (152) are named *Rūta*, and a woman’s name may originate both from a name of a plant which is common and widely spread in Lithuania, also bearing a symbolical meaning

¹⁰ The real name and surname are Jonas Mačiulis (1862-1932) (VLE XIV, 2008: 50).

¹¹ Also a public activist, writer, enlightener of the nation (1801-1875) (VLE XXIV, 2013: 569).

¹² Also a journalist, critic, musician, physician (1858-1899). One of the most famous activists and ideologists of the national renaissance in the second half of the 19th century, the author of Lithuanian national anthem *Tautiška giesmė* (‘National Hymn’) (VLE XI, 2007: 191-193).

(more extensively on this see Gliwa and Šeškauskaitė 2002), and a borrowing which came via Latin from Hebrew (cf. Lith. *rūta* ‘flower of a garden’; Church Lat. *Ruth* from Hebr. *Rūth* – ‘female friend’, LVKŽ 1994: 318). However, it is likely that Lithuanian Canadians selected this word to form a name referring to its Lithuanian origin because a general tendency of retaining Lithuanianness is maintained.

Names of National Realia

Common words naming national, both cultural and historical, realia were chosen as symbolical names of some organizations; these words raise associations with motherland, reflect its national identity. In linguistic literature, lexis without equivalents (lacunas, according to other researchers¹³) is quite popular with the community of Lithuanian Canadians: *Sutartinė* (‘Lithuanian polyphonic song’ – a song ensemble in Toronto; 169), *Birbynė* (music instrument ‘reed-pipe’ – a youth folk music ensemble in Toronto; 29), *Gyvataras* (a Lithuanian folk dance – a folk dance group in Hamilton; 53-54), *Litas* (a former currency of Lithuania – a credit union in Montreal; 111-112), state coat of arms of Lithuania *Vytis* (sports club in Toronto; 224-226) etc. Lexis naming national phenomena, such as dances, songs, music instruments, was chosen to name organizations enshrining cultural life; whereas organizations related to economic and social life bear names referring to historical realia (more extensively on naming of national realia and their usage see Kvašytė 2012: 109-197).

Proper Names in the Linguistic Landscape

A diverse linguistic landscape is one of the reflections of multi-culturality of a state (Landry and Bourhis 1997; Barni and Guus 2008 etc.) and this also includes proper names. Signboards in foreign languages, including Lithuanian, appearing in the streets, on façades of buildings or near entrances to them, and stands in certain locations of the city all contribute to the enrichment of the linguistic landscape of Canada. It is likely that some of the names discussed earlier, including toponyms or anthroponyms, appear in public spaces where Lithuanian organizations operate. For example, an obvious allusion to motherland is seen in Toronto where one of the city parks is named *Lithuania Park* (Fig. 1).

¹³ It is stated that ‘the term *lacuna* is characteristic to the tradition of Francophone culture (Иванов 2006, 79), and the first to apply this term in linguistics were Canadian scientists Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet (Дунь 2007, 135)’ (Kvašytė 2012: 115).



Fig. 1. City Park in Toronto

Such use of proper names has a symbolical and nostalgic meaning in internal communication of communities; however, in the public discourse they obtain a different connotation. No doubt, this is a sign of national identity enabling commemoration of cultural memory; nevertheless, it is informative and recognizable to countrymen only, not the alien foreign-born, as it bears no functional load or it requires certain explanations. It is stated that ‘everywhere there were efforts to remind of the name of Lithuania, which was almost unfamiliar to Canadians. Nevertheless, this is the reason why some protests of representatives of other nationalities who lived at the surroundings of the park occurred; and many officers were visited and persuaded to give this name to the park ... on July 18, 1973 the city council agreed to name a park located near Toronto Lithuanian House, at the intersection of Keele and Glenlake streets, ‘Park Lithuania’ ... on October 27, 1973, witnessed by several hundreds of participating Lithuanians, a new name of the park was officially placed ...’ (KLOŽ 2002: 138-139).

Single signboards in Lithuanian or other signs including a Lithuanian component were noticed in public spaces of Toronto city. Names in Lithuanian or including certain Lithuanian elements occur more frequently in places where Lithuanians settled earlier and more densely. Since there were no opportunities to get acquainted in detail with the life of Lithuanians in Canada,¹⁴ the sample of units of Lithuanian proper names functioning in public areas is not of a larger volume. Nevertheless, the diversity of cases allows us to see how signs of language and culture of the national minority are being constructed and exist in the linguistic landscape of another country.

¹⁴ Fragmentary acquaintance with the life of Lithuanian residents and the role of the Lithuanian language in the linguistic landscape in Toronto proceeded in 2008 thanks to the ICOS congress held at York University.

Names of public places in Lithuanian found in Toronto and its surroundings may be divided into direct names of organizations, symbolical names or combinations of both types. Symbolical names are usually coined using proper names or their compounds, for instance, *Lokys* ('Bear'), *Labdara* ('Charity'), *Parama* ('Support') (also see KLOŽ 2002: 137), *Tėviškės žiburiai* ('The Lights of Homeland') (also see KLOŽ 2002: 196).

When assessing from a linguistic point of view, it is obvious that if a name includes no specific diacritical signs characteristic of the Lithuanian language, visually it is easy for a person who does not know Lithuanian to perceive it. Nevertheless, it is likely that an English-speaking or a French-speaking person would read it in a different way than a Lithuanian individual would do. The meaning of a word will not be clear either. Such symbolical names are not informative; therefore, they require additional clarifications. It was observed that it is not the translations of symbolical names into English, but rather descriptions of the purpose of an organisation located in a particular building that dominate in clarifications of public names: *Parama – Credit Union*. English equivalents of names and their clarifications may be supplemented with new components, for instance, toponyms: *Labdara – Lithuania Nursing Home* (Fig. 2). It is obvious that the use of two languages in parallel helps compensate for information which is not conveyed by the symbolical name.



Fig. 2. Lithuanian nursing home *Labdara* ('Charity')

In one case a name on the signboard has no detailed information either in Lithuanian, or English. This is a Lithuanian homestead *Anapolis* (Fig. 3; see KLOŽ 2002: 6-8).



Fig. 3. Lithuanian homestead *Anapilis* in Mississauga

It would be more exact to deal with the entire complex of institutions dedicated to the needs of Lithuanians residing in Canada: a church, a credit union, an editing office of a newspaper, a museum-archive and a school. There is a cemetery nearby; it is named after St John (see subsection ‘Anthroponyms’). The name *Anapilis* is symbolical to Lithuanians. Even though the word *Anapilis* derives from Scandinavian folklore where it means the place of life after death (a very high, steep hill climbed up by the souls), in the Lithuanian language it spread via T. Narbutas’s book *Lietuvių tautos istorija* (‘History of the Lithuanian Nation’) and creative works of J. Kraševskis. Also, a borrowed idiomatic saying *išeiti (iškeliauti) anapilin* (‘to travel to *anapilis* / to the beyond’) in Lithuanian means is used (Savukynas 2000: 18). It is used as a symbolical name in Lithuania, too. For instance, there are several music clubs which have such a name; however, more often, companies providing mortuary services are entitled with this word. In the case of Lithuanian Canadians,

Anapilis’s roots can be traced back to 1920, when a group of Lithuanian Catholic immigrants, who had formed the St John the Baptist Lithuanian Benefit Society, decided they needed their own parish and community centre. In 1928, a small

Presbyterian church was bought and named after their charitable society, St John the Baptist. In such a way, Lithuanian community bringing together almost 500 people obtained a permanent place for their activities. A mass migration of Lithuanians fleeing Soviet Union oppression followed World War II with thousands coming to Toronto. The existing facilities of St John the Baptist parish, even with the opening of a second Catholic parish in Toronto and the establishment of a Lutheran parish, were insufficient to adequately serve the community. <...> In 1959, in the town Port Credit (presently part of Mississauga city), Father Ažubalis bought a section of an apple orchard and in 1960 developed Lithuanian St John's cemetery with its chapel-to-be. In 1970, more land was acquired which sparked the beginning for building a non-denominational community centre for all Lithuanians. In 1972, the community centre, designed by architect Walter Liacas, was constructed. The complex was given **the name Anapilis meaning 'a city beyond'; a name appropriate for a place that brigdes time and location between the living and the dead** [emphasis added]. In 1974, the original Lithuanian parish with the newspaper's institutions, having the permission of the Archdiocese of Toronto, was relocated from St John the Baptist Church in Toronto to *Anapilis* and renamed in honour of the 'Lithuanian Martyrs'. It was consecrated by this name 1978 and is the first church having such a name in the world! <...> an addition to the centre was built in 1988 to house the Lithuanian Canadian Museum Archives, administrative and cemetery maintenance offices. <...> *Anapilis* runs a book store and a branch of the credit union *Prisikėlimas* <...> (A).

The names of Lithuanian enterprises established in the Lithuanian homestead *Anapilis* (none of them is symbolical, except the newspaper *Tėviškės žiburiai* ('The Lights of Homeland')) include several proper names: names of states *Lietuva* 'Lithuania' (*Lietuvos kankinių šventovė* 'Lithuanian Martyrs' Church') and *Kanada* 'Canada' (*Kanados lietuvių muziejus-archyvas*. 'Lithuanian Museum-Archives of Canada'), and a personal name *Jonas* 'John' (*Šv. Jono lietuvių kapinės* 'St. John's Lithuanian Cemetery'; cf. subsections 'Toponyms' and 'Anthroponyms'). Also, there is *Northridge. Montessori School*, a school named in honour of a psychologist and pedagogue Maria Montessori from Italy, the founder of the eponymous teaching method.¹⁵

Another symbolical name is also Lithuanian, just including a diacritical sign characteristic to the Lithuanian language: *Lietuvių namai* literally means 'Lithuanian House' (Fig. 4). This name is also supplemented with detailed explanation on a signboard which includes an additional index of location – a toponym: *Lithuanian Community Association of Toronto*.

¹⁵ However, it has no relation to the signs of Lithuanianness, therefore this anthroponym is not included into the sample.



Fig. 4. Lietuvių namai ('Lithuanian house')

The only public symbolical name encountered in Toronto, that of a boarding house, includes a Lithuanian toponym *Vilnius* (Fig. 5; see subsection 'Toponyms').

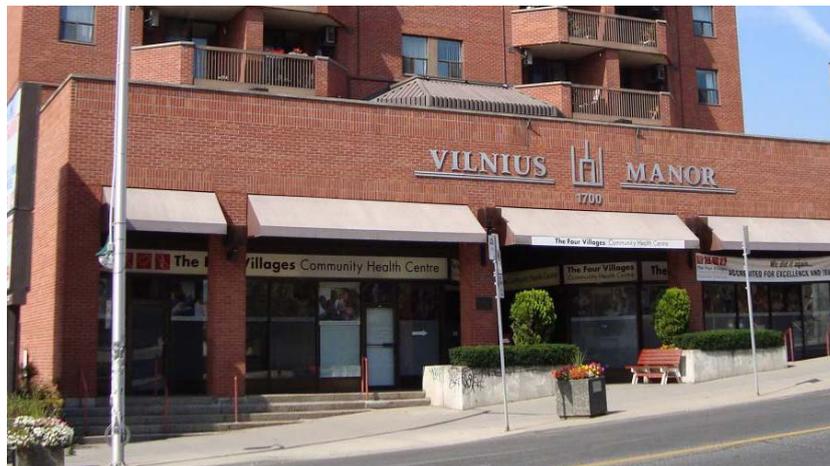


Fig. 5. Toronto Lithuanian Senior Citizens Inc.

A visual hybrid, a combination of Lithuanian and English words, the signboard *Vilnius Manor* (Toronto Lithuanian Senior Citizens Inc.) looks attractive because there are no diacritic characters. Nevertheless, this is a misleading impression because the second letter *i* is not a letter in the Lithuanian language, but actually a grapheme indicating a sign of palatalization. Exactly due to such graphic mismatches, the Lithuanian language is difficult to foreigners; therefore, it is interesting how a foreigner would read such a public name. The already mentioned Canadian toponym *Toronto* (in the Lithuanian language it obtains a flexion *-as* – *Torontas*) has also been found in a non-symbolical name in Lithuanian. Here, in a Lithuanian text, it shows a location: *Toronto Lietuvių Prisikėlimo parapijos bažnyčia* ('Toronto Lithuanians' Church of Resurrection Parish'). In an English analogue the name of the church is reflected only, neither the toponym, nor the ethnonym are left: *Church of Resurrection Parish* (the parish is called *R. C. Parish of Resurrection, Lithuanian Franciscan Fathers* (KLOŽ 2002: 143-145)). Perhaps it was caused by the coincidence of the toponym's

genitive form in Lithuanian and its nominative form in English. However, such choice could be motivated by a wish to attract believers of other nations to this church, too.

Dealing with forms of these proper names, it should be noted that their lettering in Lithuanian and English differs, even though both languages are based on the Latin alphabet. Thus, it is obvious that we approach an endonym which is '[a] proper name of a geographical feature in an official or well-established language occurring in that area where the feature is situated' (OT) and an exonym which is '[a] name used in a specific language for a geographical feature situated outside the area where that language is widely spoken, and differing in its form from the name used in the area where the geographical feature is situated' (OT) as different shapes of functioning of proper names. For instance, a toponym naming the capital city of Lithuania, *Vilnius*, is to be treated as an endonym because its form coincides in both source (original) and target languages. Other proper names are conveyed through their analogues in the English language, i.e. exonyms: *Lietuva* – *Lithuania* (also, a personal name *Jonas* – *John* is translated), and the primary form of a toponym *Kanada* (Lith.) is English (therefore it is restored to its source language – *Canada*). In such a way it is aimed at partial adjustment of a name to the dominating linguistic environment and one of official languages of the state. True, it should not be forgotten that two official state languages, English and French, function in Canada; therefore, it is obvious that such alteration reflects only one of the languages (cf. equivalents in French *Lituanie*; the state name, *Canada*, is the exception: it coincides in both English and French.).

Closing Remarks

Having analysed both the manual KLOŽ and some public names in Toronto and its surroundings, it can be concluded that usually Lithuanian or Lithuania-related names are given to objects which are significant to residents inside a foreign linguistic environment. Some of Lithuanian proper and common words are used as symbolical titles; others underline links to the motherland in direct names. The majority of them are in Lithuanian; however, several cases of English or Latin variants of the state name have been found. Diversity of proper names in designations is abundant: these are both place names and personal names. Some of them have been used several times.

Parishes, religious societies and associations are named after popular names of saints (especially the patron saint of Lithuania, *Kazimieras* 'Casimir'). These names include Lithuanian forms of names of saints, even though the personal names derive from Hebrew, Greek and Slavonic languages. Names of historical personalities of Lithuania, such as dukes, are popular, too. According to their origin, these are two-stem personal names, one of significant layers of Lithuanian onomastics. Personal names (or common names they derive from) of appellative origin are also frequent in names of organizations of Lithuanian Canadians, even though sometimes it is difficult to establish which – common or proper – name determined a particular choice. Names of national realia (dances, songs, music instruments, etc.) are usually given to organizations of Lithuanian Canadians related to cultural life, whereas names of historical realia (currency, coat of arms) are given to organizations related to economic or public milieu.

The linguistic landscape of Toronto is characteristic of some public names where symbolical names in Lithuanian are supplemented with comments in English, thus compensating the lacking information. They usually define the purpose of an organization.

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