The Same Name, Different Things

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In memoriam Prof. Dr. Ernst Eichler

1. Introduction

The year 2012 saw the passing of Prof. Dr. Ernst Eichler, a giant in onomastic scholarship both in Germany and abroad. Czech and Sorbian scholars mourned his death as a severe loss "for Czech, Slavic and international onomastic science" and characterized his standard works on the Slavic legacy in German names as being of "permanent merit" and as having a "pioneering effect" (Hengst 2012–13, 496). The present tribute, which leans heavily on Hengst's aforementioned tribute, is two years late simply because there was no opportunity or onomastic outlet to have it published in Canada.[1]

Ernst Eichler (born May 15, 1930, in Niemes, Mimoň; died June 29, 2012, in Lipsk [Leipzig], Upper Saxony) enrolled at the University of Leipzig in the year 1950 and never left this university. He enrolled in courses in Slavic and Germanic Studies and received his doctorate at the age of 25, just a few months after passing his diploma examination. As an assistant he made good use of his knowledge of Czech that he had learnt in his North Bohemian hometown (now in the Czech Republic). In spite of very sad experiences, personal losses and suffering in the post-war years he did not harbour any resentment against his Czech countrymen but, on the contrary, did everything possible to maintain a network of connections and contacts with Prague and Brno and utilize them for scientific work. His habilitation work in 1961 turned out to become the foundation for numerous subsequent specialized regional onomastic volumes comprising the entire bilingual area between the Saale and Neiße

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[1] The present study is a considerably revised version of a paper submitted for presentation at the XXth Annual Conference of the Canadian Society for the Study of Names (CSSN) at Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario, May 24, 2014.

Rivers. It is worth noting that his pioneering work, published in 1963, did not even contain the term „name“: „Studien zur Frühgeschichte slawischer Mundarten zwischen Saale und Neiße“ (Studies in the Early History of the Slavic Dialects Between Saale and Neiße), indicating the importance of an adequate linguistic reconstruction of the German PN of Slavic origin. Ernst Eichler became a Full Professor in the year 1975, became a Full Professor of Slavic Linguistics after the collapse of the German Democratic Republic and, in 1978, a full member of the Saxonian Academy of Sciences in Leipzig. His four-volume compendium „Slawische Ortsnamen zwischen Saale und Neiße“ (1985–2009) [„Slavic Place-Names Between Saale und Neiße”] comprises the crowning of his research activity. His international status in onomastics is reflected in his co-editorship of the three-volume International Handbook of Onomastic Studies (Namenforschung 1995/1996). University of Colorado professor William Bright, author of a dictionary of Native American Place-names (Bright 2004; see also the review by Embleton 2008), writes about the significance of this publication that while in US and international linguistics, there is an „increasing emphasis on abstract patterns in linguistics … the magical power assigned to names by ‚primitive‘ peoples may still be recognized in modern industrial society“ (Bright 1997: 692). This recognition is happening in the "renaming" of Canada (see below, Section 3). Eichler's work paved the way to the placement of onomastic science on a level with historical linguistics and dialectology and led, in my case, to publishing the first systematic absolute chronology of Sorbian sound changes using, in addition to comparative linguistic evidence and internal reconstruction, evidence from names (Schaarschmidt 1998a). By the 1990s onomastic science had become an integral part of linguistics at the University of Leipzig.

In the following, we shall investigate some specific consequences of 1) naming places and waterways in the original habitats of the Slavs (Sorbs, Polabians, and Pomoranians) on the basis of their natural surroundings, leading to identical derivations (ignoring the various suffixes) (Section 2); and 2) the opposite tendency in an ongoing renaming process in Canada from mainly British dignitaries' names to names in the First Peoples' languages leading in effect to a reduction of identical names for different places (Section 3).

2. Same name, different things

Concentrating on PN in the Saale-Neiße bilingual area in this section, we shall examine some aspects of the Slavic heritage in names knowing well that a systematic comparison of names in this area with the Polabian and Pomoranian areas can lead to a better understanding of the Slavic heritage in all of North West Slavic (extinct Polabian, Pomoranian [with Kashubian as its sole surviving member], Upper Sorbian, and Lower Sorbian).
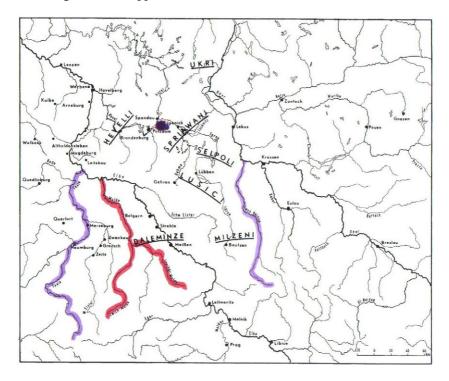

Figure 1: The Saale – Neiße Area (from Ludat 1971). Purple marking mine with the black spot between the Hevelli and Spriawani identifying the city of Berlin (GS).

When the Americans were marching eastward into Germany at the end of World War II, and the Russians were marching westward, they had apparently agreed that the River Mulde was to be the place where they would stop. There

are, however, two rivers Mulde, the "Zwickauer Mulde" to the east, and the "Freiberger Mulde" to the west (see Figure 1, red marking mine – GS). Americans and Russians stopped at their respective Muldes and the result was that an area near Schwarzenberg of 20,000 people found themselves unoccupied by the victors for 42 days (this, at least, is the story according to BEHLING 2014: 20; see also the novel by Stefan HEYM 1998). HENGST (p.c.), an eyewitness to the advance of the allied forces, doubts the truthfulness of the name confusion.

In the Slavic scholarly world it is well-known that the ethnonym Serb does not only refer to the Southern Slavs by that name but also to a group of Western Slavs known as the Sorbs in English. The story has it that when the Russian forces approached the Sorbian area, a Sorb hoping to distance himself from the fascist past in Germany introduced himself to one of the commanders saying: "Ja sym Serb" (I am a Serb [= Sorb]). The commander promptly gave him a pass to Yugoslavia.

Here are a few cases of names in different places but with identical derivations:

(1) *Schwarzwasser*

The river name *Schwarzwasser* is reported to occur at least three times in the Saale – Neiße area (WENZEL, p.c.1). We actually found four rivers bearing that name. There is first and foremost a river that runs from the Fichtelgebirge winding its way through the Ore Mountains part of the Czech Republic as *Černá voda* ("black water") near *Boží Dar*, passes through a reservoir and flows northeastward past *Potůčky* and Johanngeorgenstadt through Schwarzenberg (see above) and then westward into the Zwickauer Mulde near the city of Aue (Wikipedia Schwarzwasser-Mulde). There is furthermore another *Černá voda* for which my map-reading seems to indicate that its origin is in the Czech Republic just east of *Loučná* and that this river flows in a northeast direction past *Kovarská* and *Černý Potok*, then crosses the border into Saxony, flows past Steinbach and Wiesenbad, and ultimately into the Zschopau river (Euro-Reiseatlas 1994/1995: 70–71; and JÜBERMANN Gewässerindex). Farther east there is the *Ruhlander Schwarzwasser* originating near Wiednitz (USo ˚*Wětnica*), incorporated in 2012 into Bernsdorf (USo *Njedźichow*), Distr Bautzen (USo *Budyšin*), (Euro-Reiseatlas 1994/1995: 48), and flowing into the Schwarze Elster as a left-tributary near the town of Ruhland (Euro-Reiseatlas 1994/1995: 48, and Wikipedia Schwarzwasser-Ruhland). Yet farther east is the *Hoyerswerdaer Schwarzwasser* (USo *Čornica*) that flows into the Schwarze Elster as a right-tributary. It originates in the Lusatian mountains (USo *Łužiske hory*),

specifically on the Hoher Hahn Mountain (USo *Honak*), and passes through the Distr Hoyerswerda (USo *Wojerecy*) to the west of Knappenrode (USo *Hórni-kecy*) (Wikipedia Schwarzwasser-Hoyerswerda, and Tourist Reisehandbuch 1985: 253). As pointed out in a recent review, hydronyms in Upper and Lower Lusatia are still awaiting a systematic description in the framework of onomastics and historical linguistics (WENZEL 2006, 132–34). As a result, we can in the mean-time only rely here on a combination of tourist books and web references.

(2) *"Thorn-bush"*

When we examine the totality of German-Slavic PN, there are many instances where the same Slavic root crops up in PN in distinct areas. A case in point is the Old Sorbian root **turn-/*tirn-* "thorn; thorn-bush". There are at least eleven PN based on this root in the Sorbian/German contact area alone; only one of them, viz. *Torno* in (2k), is located in the present-day Sorbian/German bilingual area and thus also bears a Sorbian name (EICHLER 1987/2009: 4, 24–25):

(a)   *Torna,* SW Bitterfeld – 1435 Tornaw

(b)   *Torna*, SE Dresden – 1347 Turno

(c)   *Torna*, NE Zeitz – 1403 Tornow

(d)   *Tornau*, S Dessau – 1257 (Esius de) Durnowe

(e)   *Tornau*, N Bad Düben – 1394 Tornow

(f)   *Tornau*, NE Halle/Saale – 1182 Turnowe

(g)   *Tornau*, NE Hohenmölsen – 1012 Turnuua

(h)   *Tornau*, NW Rosslau – 1215 (Balduinus de) Thornowe

(i)   *Tornau*, DS W Torgau – 1378 Tornow

(j)   *Tornitz,* NE Calbe – 1382 Tornicz

(k)   *Torno,* W Hoyerswerda, USo Tornow – 1568 Torne/Tornaw

In addition, the same Slavic root is reflected in blends, such as *Dorna, Dornitz, Dornewitz* (EICHLER 1987/2009, vol. 1, 96–97), cf. G *Dorn* 'thorn' < Old High German *thorn*, a cognate of Proto-Slavic *trьnъ*, cf. USo/LSo *ćerń/śerń* but also LSo *tarnka, tarnik, terna* "creep plum" (*prunus insititia*) showing a NW Slavic area umlaut *tirn > *turn in OSo (see also SCHUSTER-ŠEWC 1978: 1, 3, 135, who assumes a development *tŕn- > *trn- before the dental *n*. For Sorbian, there are no grounds for postulating syllabic sonants, see also SHEVELOV 1965: 470; and EICHLER 1965: 86). In addition, the umlaut occurred as a rule only before nonpalatalized dentals (for the lack of *i > u*, see SCHAARSCHMIDT 1993: 20; 1998a: 74).

The German scribes' rendering of Sorbian PN with initial *t-* presented no difficulties but problems arose with the frequent PN with initial Slavic *č* because German (or Latin, for that matter) had no *č* except possibly in onomatopoeic formations, such as *klatschen* "to clap" or *lutschen* "to suck". German *tsch* only became available in the 12th/13th century as the result of the contraction *tiutesch > tiutsch* "German" (HENGST 1967: 123). In such cases, a contemporary Sorbian equivalent to a PN is the only way of knowing what the original root was. This is the case in the many PN that start with initial *Z-* and are for the most part based on the Old Sorbian word for "black": **čirn-*. For example:

(3) *Zernitz*

(a) (a) *Zernitz*, DS near Gröna, SW Bernburg – 1206 Csiernnec

(b) (b) *Zernitz,* near Aderstedt, SW Bernburg – 1170/80 Zernekuze

(c) (c) *Zernitz,* near Zerbst – 1423/37 Czernitz

(d) (d) *Zernikal*, DS near Grimme, NE Zerbst – 1356 Czernickol

As opposed to the above four, the grapheme *Z* in (4) does not reflect Old Sorbian *č* but *s*, as the contemporary Upper Sorbian PN testifies:

(4) *Zerna*

Zerna, E Kamenz, Upper Sorbian *Sernjany*, cf. Upper Sorbian/Lower Sorbian *serna/saran* "deer". This means that a spelling like 1419 *Czschjerna* is by analogy to PN with *Zschern-* for **čirn-* "black" (EICHLER 1987/2009: 4, 111).

(5) "*Behind the bushes*"

As in the above, where the immediate environment ("thorn-bush", CS *kъrъ*) provided a name for a settlement, in the following a more exact description of the environment provided a prepositional-phrase PN in three Sorbian locations (5a–5c). There are also two examples of the same name-formation found outside the Saale – Neiße area, viz., in the Polabian and Pomoranian areas, respectively (d–e):

(e) (a) *Sacro,* N Forst – 1300 Sacrowe, LSo *Zakrjow*

(f) (b) *Sacrow,* E Lübben – 1347 Sackrow, LSo *Zakrjow*

(g) (c) Sacro, near Spremberg – 1375 Sacro, LSo *Zakŕow*

(h) (d) *Sacrow,* as in Potsdam-Sacrow (formerly an independent village), – 1375 Sacro (Eichler 1987/2009: 3, 179; Mucke 1928, 3, 187), Pb/LSo *Zakŕow*.

(i) (e) *Sacrowe/Sacrsevo,* 1280 Sacrowe, cf. Kashubian *Zakřevo* (Lorentz 1933: 41; Trautmann 1949: 2, 97), Polish *Zakrzewken*, now part of *Gołębiewo* (formerly Groß Golmkau, see www.tageo.com/index-e-pl-v-31-d-m715322.htm; last accessed June 26, 2014).

All of the above are derived from the combination *za-*, a prefix denoting "behind", and the Old Sorbian root **keŕ* "bush", thus denoting places behind bushes (Eichler 1987/2009: 3, 179). Another prefix used with this root in place names is **u-* (Sorbian *wu-*) "next to", as found in (5f) and possibly (g):

(j) (f) *Uckro* W Luckau (LSo *Łukow*), LSo (Mucke 1928: 3, 144) *Hukŕow* = modern LSo *Wukrjow*), see also Wenzel 2006a: 117; but see Eichler 1987/2009: 4, 44.

(k) (g) *Wuker,* areal name in Teltow (< OSo **wuker'*), see also Schlimpert 1972: 259; Wenzel (p.c.2), but see Eichler 1987/2009: 4, 44.

This root **keŕ* is apparently a truncated version of **korjeń* "root" (Fasmer [Vasmer] 1967: 2, 344; and more recently Trubačev 1987: 13, 242) and also occurs without a prefix in the names (h)–(j) in the Saale/Neiße area and in the names (k)–(n) beyond that area:

(l) (h) *Kehrig*, S of Storkow, LSo ˚*Keŕki* (Mucke : 3, 150) – 1729 Kehrigcke, 1925 Kehrigk (Eichler 1987/2009: 2, 22). The base form is from the diminutive OSo **keŕk*, cf. OP *kierzek* < CS **kъrьkъ* (Trautmann 1949: 2, 97; Trubačev 1987: 13, 242–243).

(m) (i) *Kerkwitz*, SW Guben, LSo ˚*Keŕkojce* – 1457 Kirkewitcz, although the derivation from OSo **Keŕkovica* is not unambiguous (Eichler 1987/2009: 2, 23); rather than from a place name, there is the suggestion that the name might be derived from a family name, i. e., **Kerkowici* (Wenzel, p.c.3, with a reference to Wenzel 2013). The base form is the same as in (5h).

(n) (j) *Kahren*, SE Cottbus, LSo *Korjeń*; 1346/1495 Caran, Caron; this derivation, however, requires an auxiliary hypothesis of a change *o > a* in the East Central German dialect of Lower Lusatia; this name is based on the extended form **korjeń* "root" (see Fasmer [Vasmer] 1967: 2, 344; and Trubačev 1987: 13, 242).

(o) (k) *Karin* near Demmin – 1303 Corin based on Polabian *tʿörin* „root" (Polański/ Sehnert 1967: 155) < CS **korenь*; see also Trautmann 1949: 2, 97.

(p) (l) *Carvin*, Distr. Greifswald – 1308 Korin (Trautmann 1949: 2, 96), based on the same Polabian root as (k).

(q) (m) *Kerschkow*, Distr. Lauenburg – 1402 Kyrskowo (with *rs* rendering *ř < *rʾ*), Kashubian *Kʾeŕkᴜowᴜo* (Lorentz 1933: 19); see also Trautmann 1949: 2, 97 for the derivation from the Po diminutive base **keŕk* as well as additional Po place names.

(r) (n) *Kerkow*, near Angermünde (Uckermark) < Pb *Kerʾkov* (1354); see Mühlner 2002:69.

3. The Renaming of Canada

No doubt the most numerous source for naming geographical areas in Canada were the British, French, and Spanish explorers. But immigrants have also left their traces in areas where large numbers of them settled. Thus, in the Canadian prairie provinces there is an abundance of names of Scandinavian origin, e. g., from Norwegian: *Viking*, Alberta, a town SE Edmonton; *Valhalla* Centre,

a hamlet NW Grande Prairie; *Valhalla* Lake, ibid.; or from Icelandic: *Gimli,* Manitoba, a town N Winnipeg. In Western Canada, there are a few names of Doukhobor Russian origin, e. g., in British Columbia: *Ootischenia*, a locality in the City of Castlegar (Standard Russian *utešenie* "consolation", the Doukhobor form showing the neutralization of unstressed *e* and *a*; see also Schaarschmidt 2013: 87); *Krestova* (Russian *krest* "cross"; see Rak and Woodcock 2013); in Saskatchewan: *Veregin*, a former village NE Yorkton now part of the municipality of Sliding Hills (with *i > e* in the second syllable in spoken Doukhobor Russian; see also Schaarschmidt 2012: 241), named after Peter *Verigin* (later called the "Lordly"), the Doukhobor leader who was instrumental in aiding the Doukhobors' migration to Canada and who was in exile in Siberia at the time of the move in 1899.

For political reasons, some renaming of PN occurred at various times following the times of the two world wars involving either the Soviet Union or Germany or both. Until the mid-1980s there were two PN in Canada honouring Josef Stalin as a World War II ally. There was first the township of *Stalin* in the municipality of Killarney, SW Sudbury, Ontario. It was renamed in 1986 to *Hansen* (after Rick Hansen, a well-known Canadian athlete) when an Ontario member of the provincial parliament by the name of Yuri Shymko managed to have a private member's bill passed through the Legislative Assembly of Ontario (see also Rayburn 1994: 66). Then there was Mount *Stalin* in the Muskva Ranges of the Rocky Mountains in NE British Columbia. The Province of British Columbia followed the action of the Province of Ontario and a year later (1987) renamed this mountain to Mount *Peck*, in honour of Don Peck, a trapper, guide and outfitter from the area (Rayburn 1994: 66).

Anti-German sentiment reached back even farther in time and affected the City of *Berlin* (W Toronto, Ontario) that had carried this name since 1854. Due to the public's opposition to German involvement in World War I, the city was renamed in 1916 to *Kitchener* in honour of Lord Kitchener, British secretary of war, who had gone down with his ship in the war (Hayes 1999). Neither World War I nor World War II affected the names of other cities in Canada, such as *Dresden*, Ontario; *Humboldt,* Saskatchewan; and *Leipzig*, Saskatchewan. Not all efforts to rename towns with German names or suspected of any connection with Germany, especially fascism, were successful. Thus the town of *Swastika*, Ontario, refused any name change, arguing that they adopted that name in 1906, i. e., long before Hitler came to power, and furthermore, that the name was of Sanskrit origin (see Mallett 2012; Rayburn 1994: 65).

In the following discussion of First Peoples' place names, our emphasis will be on the coastal names (mainly of British Columbia) and place names in two of the prairie provinces (Alberta and Saskatchewan). The entire eastern area of Canada as well as the Northwest Territories and Nunavut will be ignored here, even though renaming has begun there too. For example, the capital of Nunavut was renamed in 1987 from *Frobisher Bay* to *Iqaluit*, a word meaning "place of many fish" in the Inuktitut language, Martin Frobisher having been an English explorer who lived in the 16th century (Newbery 2012). Actually, however, there is not so much a problem of renaming places in Nunavut as there is the mapping of place names some of which exist only in the memory of the elders. Furthermore, the "Inuit don't name geographical features for people, the way European explorers did… Inuit names are descriptive as a matter of course: landforms and other features are named for the currents that occur there, the animals that inhabit the area, the odd shape of an island or a lake. Any place of any significance, like a landmark, will have a descriptive name" (Walker 2013).

The PN of the first peoples of Canada were usually only retained in areas sparsely inhabited by non-natives, such as the Salish names on Vancouver Island (the italicized forms are the anglicized versions; the bold forms the original name): *Saanich* N Victoria < Sencoten w̱sáneć "emerging land" or "emerging people"[2]; *Malahat* NW Victoria < Halkomelem (a Salish language) *Málexeł* (the meaning is not known, perhaps the word is another form of Malchosen, the dialect once spoken by the Malahat nation) ; *Cowichan* N Victoria < Kw'amutsun "land warmed by the sun"; or in Alberta the Cree name *Wetaskiwin* S Edmonton < wītaskīwin-ispatinaw "the hills where peace was made"; and in Saskatchewan the Cree name *Kitsakie* near the Town of La Ronge < kihci-sákiy "great inlet" and the Ojibwa/Chippewa name *Witchekan* Lake near theTown of Spiritwood < wihcékan-sákahinan "stinky lake" (the last two from www.bigorrin.org/archive19.htm; last accessed July 28, 2014).

The first peoples are now slowly, but surely regaining many of the original names which, to be sure, will initially only be used only along with the later denotations.

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[2]   Senćoŧen, a Salish language, has only recently been given a writing system, all in capital letters, by John Elliott, a non-linguist who has managed to incorporate four of his new graphemes into UNICODE (see First Voices 2000/2013). Salish is also spelled *Seliš* in IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet); the self-identification term is *Sqelixw* (meaning "the People"), see Malinowski 1998: 427.

One of the earliest renaming processes occurred in the case of the river name *Clearwater*, of which there are five of them alone in Canada, a parallel to the river name *Schwarzwasser* in the NW Slavic area as discussed above in Section 2 (2):

(6) *Clearwater*

(s)   (a) *Clearwater River* in the Province of Alberta

(t)   (b) *Clearwater River*, a tributary of the Thompson River in the Province of British Columbia

(u)   (c) *Clearwater River* in the Province of Saskatchewan

(v)   (d) *Clearwater River* in northern Quebec, known also as *Rivière à l'Eau Claire* in French

(w)   (e) *Clearwater River* was the original name of this river in NW British Columbia; it was renamed in 1935 to *Chutine River,* a major right tributary of the Stikine River in northwestern British Columbia (British Columbia Government 2013a – Chutine River). The name means "half-people" in the Tahltan language, i. e. half-Tahltan, half-Tlingit. Neither of these two is a Salish language: Tahltan is a member of the Athapaskan group, while Tlingit, like Haida, is an isolate (see below).

In recent years, the renaming process has gained paramount importance in the First Nations communities. A strong beginning was made in the renaming of the Queen Charlotte Islands to the Haida name *Xaadala Gwayee* "islands at the boundary of the world". In 1787 the islands had been surveyed and named "Queen Charlotte Islands" after the ship Queen Charlotte in honour of Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, wife of King George of the United Kingdom. On December 11, 2009, the BC government announced that legislation would be introduced in mid-2010 to officially rename the Queen Charlotte Islands as *Haida Gwaii.* The legislation received Royal assent on June 3, 2010. This name change is officially recognized by all levels of Canadian governments including international name databases (Foster 2012).

Figure 2: Map of First Nations of Canada
(©National Film Board of Canada. Reproduced with permission of the NFB from www.nfb.ca).

The coastal waterway containing the *Strait of Georgia, Puget Sound*, and the *Juan de Fuca Strait* was named *Salish Sea* (but the name was not rendered into Salish, resulting in a hybrid toponym). This was done in honour of the Coast Salish nations of which there are quite a number (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, B.C. 2010). The above three names were not replaced by this new generic term: it is a symbolic hierarchical rendering of the fact that the Salish nations were there long before the European explorers, fur traders, or hydrographers.

In fact, the Province of British Columbia is home to a majority of Canada's First Nations languages: the major groups being *Athapaskan*, *Salish, Tlingit, Tsimshian* (see also SCHAARSCHMIDT 1998b: 462; in the classification of the first nations languages of the Northwest we generally follow THOMPSON/ KINKADE 1990: 34–35).

Closer to my home on Vancouver Island there is a movement afoot to rename a mountain, *Mount Douglas* in Saanich, back to Salish (Sencoten) *Pkols* [pk'als] "white rock" as it was named in precolonial times. The name of Sir James *Douglas,* a fur trader and the governor of Vancouver Island from 1851–1864, occurs in more than a dozen PN in British Columbia (AKRIGG/AKRIGG

1986[1997]; and Wikipedia s.v. Sir James Douglas). This name change has the support of the well-known American linguist Noam Chomsky (see Huffington Post 2013, also with a photo of the mountain; and Victoria News 2013).

The next place to be renamed is *Mount Newton* on the Saanich Peninsula, not very far from the author's home town, Sidney (Times Colonist 2013). The mountain was originally named after W.E. Newton, a farmer who arrived in Victoria in 1851, and occurs at least eight times in PN in British Columbia (British Columbia Government 2013b: Newton, and Akrigg / Akrigg 1986 [1997]). The original name of this mountain in Sencoten is Łáu‚welṈew meaning "place of refuge" (according to the legend, a flood swept onto Vancouver Island from the Fraser River on the mainland, and the Salish people had to find refuge on the mountain (see http://wsanecschoolboard.ca/about-us/the-legend-of-lauwelnew; last accessed July 30, 2014). A tribal high school already carries that name (Wsáneć School Board 2014).

It seems then that the first nations of Canada will slowly regain their ancestors' place names but this process will of course go against the title theme of this study as previously identical names for different places (because many places were named after the same admiral) will now have separate names for different places.

4. Conclusion

Due to the bilingual character of the domain between Saale and Neiße, onomastic studies are by definition interdisciplinary. For the tax collectors it was important to have the correct names of the towns and villages both in German and in Sorbian. For the Germanist, to find out what the name of a settlement means required knowledge of Slavic historical linguistics. For the Slavist, the possible range of spellings required knowledge of the history of the German language to avoid misreadings. This is quite different in most respects from name studies in Canada. When one reads through the first 30 pages of Walbran's compendium of British Columbia coast names, the names are derived almost completely from the names of admirals, ships, lieutenants, engineers, surgeons, governors, and, in one case, from one of Captain Vancouver's friends (*Atkinson Point*, see Walbran 1971:26).

This situation will certainly change due to the systematic renaming of British place names with the original names used in the First People's languages (see section 3 above). As stated by William C. Poser in a recent paper (2009: 18):

> Everywhere in the world immigrants are expected to learn the language of their new country. Non-native people now so outnumber native people, and the First Nations languages are in most cases in such a state of decline, that it is no longer realistic to expect large numbers of non-native people to learn them, but for non-native people to learn a few words of the First Nations languages, such as the names of the languages and their speakers, and of important places, would be a small gesture of respect for their hosts.

Poser's paper provides a good example of an etymological description of the language names in British Columbia, something that is clearly needed in the light of the growing interest in their languages by the many First Nations that have seen a strong population growth in the past decade or so. To take the northwest as an example, in 1774, before the arrival of Europeans, there were as many as 200,000 native Americans inhabiting the coastal area but within 100 years their population had declined by over 80%, reaching its nadir in 1915 (Boyd 1990: 135; Kew 1990: 164). The Canada Census of 2006 shows that there were 134,180 native North Americans living in British Columbia, out of a total of 724,785 in all of Canada (www.bcstats.gov.bc.ca/StatisticsBySubject/AboriginalPeoples/CensusProfiles/2006Census.aspx; last accessed July 14, 2014). This means that a recovery is on the way, and at present the First Nations population is growing faster than the general population, increasing by 20.1% from the 2006 Census to the 2011 Census. This is due to a higher fertility rate among First Nations women (www4.hrsdc.gc.ca/.3ndic.1t.4r@-eng.jsp?iid=36; last accessed July 14, 2014).

Thus, not only will be there more speakers but there will also arise an increasing interest in linguohistorical and etymological considerations. As a result, onomastic studies in Canada may eventually look a great deal more like the enormous project carried out in East Central Germany by Ernst Eichler's colleagues and disciples at Leipzig University and elsewhere.

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Abbreviations and Symbols

˚	older name form
BC	British Columbia
CS	Common Slavic
Distr	District of
E W N S	east, west, north, south of
LSo	Lower Sorbian
n.d.	no date
OP	Old Polish
Pb	Polabian
p.c.	private communication (e-mail)
PN	place name
Po	Pomoranian
USo	Upper Sorbian

[**Abstract:** Gleicher Name, verschiedene Dinge. – Die vorliegende Arbeit, die etwas verspätet dem Andenken von Prof. Dr. Ernst Eichler gewidmet ist, beschreibt die zwei gegensätzlichen Tendenzen in der Namengebung, einerseits in der identischen Namengebung in den ursprünglichen sorbisch/polabisch/pomoranischen Gebieten Deutschlands, andererseits in der heutigen Umbenennung hauptsächlich britischer Ortsnamen in die ursprünglichen Namen der Erstnationen in Kanada zur Zeit der europäischen Landnahme. Unsere Untersuchung stützt sich vorwiegend auf die Namen im sorbisch-deutschen Interferenzgebiet Deutschlands sowie auf die Namen in der Provinz British Columbia in Kanada. Diese Umbenennungstendenz hat damit gleichzeitig auch eine Angleichung der onomastischen Wissenschaftsmethodologie in Kanada an die Methodologie speziell der deutschen Namenforschung in Leipzig zur Folge.]