Area-linguistic aspects of the language situation in the South-Bohemian borderland after the forced transfer of the German population

Alena Jaklová
Faculty of Philosophy, University of South Bohemia in České Budějovice,
Czech Republic

Abstract
This study deals with the changes in the language situation in the South-Bohemian borderland after WW II from the point of view of area linguistics, exploring the causes of linguistic changes from the perspective of social science, particularly historiography and political geography. South Bohemia is represented in the study by the regions of Prachatice and Vimperk: areas where, until the 1940s, the Germans outnumbered the Czech population. The changes in the linguistic situation are studied on the basis of the occurrence and frequency of German surnames, which are subsequently classified according to their original motivation. This approach makes it possible to speculate about the qualities of the original bearer of the name, the historical, social, national and linguistic aspects of the time of its origin, as well as about the origins of the German population that once inhabited the South-Bohemian borderland.

Key words
Area linguistics; South-Bohemian borderland, Czechs and Germans, German surnames, linguistic analysis of the underlying motivation of surnames

1. Introduction
For a long time, the language situation in the South-Bohemian borderland was determined by two national languages – Czech and German. The Germans started to settle in the country very early, with first records dating back to the times of the Czech King Vratislav II (1061 – 1092). The German influx grew in intensity under the House of Přemysl, particularly under Kings Přemysl Otakar I (1197 – 1230) and Přemysl Otakar II (1253 – 1278) (BENEŠ, 1998: 29).
Germans continued to settle in Bohemia in the centuries to come, in particular in the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th}, and the national structure of the population of Czech Lands remained mixed in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century.

The first census conducted in Czechoslovakia in 1921 revealed that the nationality of nearly a third of the population was not Czechoslovak. Although some Germans left the country for Germany following WW I (civil servants, military officers) and other Germans declared themselves as Czechoslovaks, the proportion of the German population in Bohemia and Moravia dropped only from 35.0 \% in 1910 to 30.6 \% in 1921. A particularly strong concentration of ethnic Germans remained in the border areas, where they commonly constituted over 90 \% of the overall population (FIALOVÁ et al., 1996: 316).

Following the Munich Agreement in 1938, the Czech Lands lost 37 \% of their territory. The territory occupied by Germany, the Sudetenland, with a majority of German population, was included into Greater Germany. However, of the 3.9 million inhabitants of the Sudetenland, 855,000 were Czechs, 12 \% of the population. About half of them moved into the interior of the country in the course of autumn 1938.

After WW II, on the basis of a decision made by the Allies at the Potsdam Conference in the summer of 1945, a forced transfer of the German population from Czechoslovakia took place between 1945 and 1947. As many as 2,256,000 Germans had to leave Bohemia and Moravia in an organised manner (with 80,000 relocated in 1947, and 176,000 Germans leaving for Slovak\textacute{a}). An additional 660,000 Germans had left the country spontaneously before the transfer or were forced out in the initial post-war chaos. As a result, in 1950, roughly three years after the transfer, official statistics recorded the proportion of German inhabitants in the Czech Lands at 1.8 \% (SOUMAR, 2001-2002: 7, 39).

2. The regions of Prachatice and Vimperk

The regions around Prachatice and Vimperk have been chosen to represent the borderland of South Bohemia, a territory where a substantial proportion of Germans used to live, since the two towns have been always been the largest and the most influential in this part of the broader Šumava region.

Prachatice and Vimperk, like many other Šumavian towns and villages, had been inhabited by both Czechs and Germans since ancient times.

At the turn of the 19\textsuperscript{th} and 20\textsuperscript{th} centuries, Germans made up three quarters of the population of Prachatice, compared to a single quarter of Czechs. Consequently, the
languages spoken were both German and Czech. In 1900, the population of Prachatice was over 4,000, with the Germans in control of most municipal institutions and the municipal council. After the rise of Czechoslovakia in 1918 more Czechs started to move into the town, until the proportion of the Czech and German inhabitants became almost equal. In 1930, 2,368 Germans and 2,283 Czechs were registered, respectively.\footnote{I}

Vimperk also had German inhabitants. In 1900 Vimperk there were 314 dwellings housing 4,225 Germans and 464 Czechs. Both nationalities, Czechs and Germans, lived together peacefully in the towns in the region until the 1930s. They were connected in their needs and interests and participated in all major events. However, most of the public activities of the two groups were run in parallel: in every field of public life there were separate Czech and German associations, and similar duality could be observed in education.

In the autumn of 1938, as a consequence of the Munich Agreement, almost 70\% of the political district of Prachatice, which included the town of Vimperk, was handed over to Germany. The towns of Prachatice and Vimperk were occupied by the German army in early October 1938 and made part of the Ostmark of the Third Reich, forcing most of the Czech inhabitants to leave the town. According to a census in 1939, the newly established administrative unit of Landkries Prachatitz had 38,214 inhabitants, only 823 of whom were Czech.

In May 1945, Prachatice and Vimperk surrendered to American troops without resistance. In the course of 1946, most of the German inhabitants were relocated to Germany, substantially changing the national structure of the region. A total of 26,000 Germans were transported from assembly centres in Vimperk, Prachatice and Volary, mostly into Bavaria. Vast areas along the border became virtually depopulated, and even intensive resettlement programmes bringing in immigrants from Slovakia, Romania, Hungary and Ukraine were unable to restore the pre-war population levels.\footnote{II}

3. The language situation in the regions of Prachatice and Vimperk after the forced transfer of German population into Germany

Language contact is a communicative aspect of close contact between different cultures (NEWERKLA, 2004). This applies in general, as well as to the use of German and the occurrence of German surnames in Czech territory. Methods grounded in area linguistics may identify the causes of changes in the use and occurrence of these linguistic phenomena.
The approach applied in area studies is based on a combination of philological methods, in this case particularly linguistic, with non-linguistic aspects, namely those relating to the social sciences. Philology is used as a tool for identification of social reality by means of language and literature analysis, and, conversely, the social sciences provide a necessary social background for the study of language and literature, creating a pragmatic context and preventing the danger of systemic isolation.

However, social reality is not merely a background, but rather a component and often even the cause of language mechanisms and changes (POSPÍŠIL, 2013: 63). This fully applies to the use of German and the occurrence of German names in the regions of Prachatice and Vimperk after WW II. The social-scientific component of this study therefore primarily includes territorial and historical aspects, with social-political aspects present implicitly.

In the regions of Prachatice and Vimperk, WW II triggered a profound and dramatic change in the national and demographic situation. The expulsion of Germans from Czechoslovakia resulted in a change of the language situation. Two languages in common use until the end of WW II were reduced to one, Czech, and German surnames virtually fell out of use.

As late as the end of WW II the population of Prachatice included 2,625 Germans, 211 Reich Germans, 160 Austrians, and 1,392 Czechs.iii At the beginning of 1947, after the transfer of Germans into Germany, archive recordsiv only listed 205 German surnames. As most of them were used with Czech first names, they probably represented Czech inhabitants. Only 17 inhabitants of Prachatice bore both German first names and surnames, most probably people living in mixed marriages.

The situation was similar in Vimperk, where archive documents recorded 1,736 Germansv transferred from the town. However, as the assembly centre in Vimperk, in operation from late May 1946, was used to bring together Germans from the whole region, as many as 7,114 German nationalsvi are recorded to have lived there temporarily.

4. German surnames in the regions of Prachatice and Vimperk

Linguistically, surnames can be explored from various points of view, namely etymology, motivation, word formation, grammar, spelling, and frequency. The results of the separate analyses combined may provide a comprehensive description of the system of surnames employed in the territory of one national language.

This study focuses only on the motivational aspect of German surnames in the regions of Prachatice and Vimperk. Identification of the motivation of surnames naturally includes
considerations of the qualities of the original bearer of the name, as well as historical, social, national and language parameters of the time of its origin.

No single, generally accepted classification of surnames according to their origin can be found in the professional literature, with different approaches applied by Czech and German linguists. The author of the most authoritative Czech study dealing with domestic and foreign names in contemporary Czech is M. Knappová (2008). Another significant Czech anthroponomastic work devoted to surnames is the two-volume monograph Německá příjmení u Čechů (German surnames in Czechs) by Josef Beneš, published in 1998.

This study employs the classification of surname types suggested by J. Beneš (1998), because it takes into account specific linguistic features of the German language.

The linguistic motivation of German surnames used by the inhabitants of Prachatice and Vimperk was identified by means of an analysis of a corpus of data obtained from the State District Archives in Prachatice in 2014 and 2015. The data included a list of all German inhabitants of Prachatice and Vimperk who had been transferred, including their names and surnames, date of birth, occupation, the exact date of their arrival at the assembly centre in Prachatice or Vimperk (usually April and May 1946), and the date of their forced transport into Germany (mostly between April and June, occasionally as late as August 1946). In some cases, the domicile was missing in the data, and sometimes their marital status given instead of their occupation.

A random sample of 100 surnames was taken from the extensive archive data, applying to a total of 803 persons. The analysis of these names revealed that the primary motivation of the names of the German inhabitants of the town of Prachatice was the ancient word stock of their mother tongue, German. Only a small percentage of Czech surnames occurred, with the principles of German spelling consistently applied to them, and their form adapted to the sound system of German, hence e.g. Allesch, Benesch, Blaschko, Broutschek, Cech, Hanusch, Hawelka, Hromatka, Jaksch, Irouschek, Koscheny, Kral, Kucharsch, Ledwinka, Nemetz, Pawelka, Pawlitschko, Schimek, Sowa, Staniek, Wessely, Zdiarski, etc.

Some German surnames formed from first names and surnames show elements of Czech word-formation processes, as in: Andraschko (a surname originating from Ondráček, the diminutive form of Czech first name Ondřej); Haberta (the Czech suffix -a attached to a surname created from the full first-name form Eberhart, Habart); Hankowetz, Hanusch, Hansalik, Hansl, Hanus (surnames based on Czech modifications of German equivalents of the Czech first name Jan).
Though used on Czech territory, the surnames of German inhabitants of the towns of Prachatice and Vimperk retained their original German form, probably due to the bilingual environment of both towns. Consequently, the names did not undergo adaptation in their sounds (such as elimination of German umlaut), spelling, and, with the exception of the examples above, they were not adapted on the level of word formation.

According to their motivation, German surnames in the region of Prachatice and Vimperk may be divided into the five categories below. The examples only include the most frequent names, arranged according to their frequency.

I. The most common surnames recorded in our data were formed from place names. Significantly, the vast majority of these place names relate to Bavaria, less frequently also Austria, i.e. territories from which the ancestors of Germans living in Prachatice once arrived. These names include, for example:

- **Bernkopf** (a surname derived from place names occurring on Austrian territory: from Bärnkopf, Lower Austria); **Eppinger** (a surname derived from place names occurring on different territories inhabited by Germans: from the place name Epping, Upper Bavaria, Upper Austria); **Zaunmüller** (a surname derived from place names occurring on different territories inhabited by Germans: from Zaunmühle near Chvalšiny, Český Krumlov, Horní Planá, Volary, Lower Bavaria and Lower Austria); **Kreiner** (a surname derived from place names occurring in Saxonia: from the place names Kreina, Krein, in Saxonia, Bavaria, Upper Austria); **Joachimsthaler** (a surname derived from German place names in Czech Lands: Joachimsthal = Jáchymov; aslo in Lower Austria; **Brandl** (a surname derived from a place name occurring on other territories inhabited by Germans: from the place name Brandl, Upper Bavaria, Lower Bavaria); **Grünberg** (a surname derived from place names occurring in other territories inhabited by Germans: from the place name Grün, Bavaria, Austria, Saxonia) and others.

I. The first group of German surnames further includes:

**Surnames originating from ethnyonyms, names of territories, countries and states:** **Baier, Bayer** (from the name for the inhabitants of Bavaria, or from names of workers in textile manufacturing – *pay* = hairy, coarse cloth).
A separate subgroup includes surnames motivated by local place names and general geographic names, such as:

**Surnames originating from the names of pastures: Kieweg** (from the common noun Kühweg = cow way) and Blumentritt (trit = among other things, a way, Blum = pasture).

**Surnames originating from the names of farmhouses and solitary houses: Pachlhofer, Pachelhofer** (a surname from compound names of farmhouses ending in -hof: Pachelhof); **Eder** (a surname from the name of solitary houses derived by the -er suffix: from the place name Oed – Upper Bavaria, Lower Bavaria, Austria, also the common name solitary house); **Faschingbauer** (a surname from compound names of farmhouses ending in -bauer or from words denoting farmers with the –bauer component attached to them, or a surname from abstract nouns, collective nouns, and noun denoting religious concepts: a name referring to a time of the year - Faschan, in Middle High German (MHG) vaschang = Shrovetide).

II. The second major group of German surnames sharing the same underlying motivation consists of surnames originating from personal and Christian names. The motivating expressions for names in our corpus of data include various German personal names, Germanic compound personal names, and, in particular, hypocorisms:

**German surnames from personal and Christian names: Albrecht** (a surname from personal names containing the base -bert).

**Surnames from the separate types of Germanic personal compound names: Eller** (a surname from personal names containing the base –her: adal- = noble family, or from words denoting workers in grocery production: MHG öler = oil maker, or a common noun in Hesse: denoting a mother-in-law, or, in Upper Hesse, a midwife); **Eckert** (a surname created by alteration -hart > -ert).

**Surnames from personal compound names: Wilhelm** (a surname from a personal name ending in -helm: wille = will); **Harant** (a surname ending in -ant from heri-rant = an army, a shield); **Hartmann** (a surname from personal names ending in -mann: hart- = strong brave).

**Surnames from the German forms of biblical names and the names of saints: Peter** (a surname from the essential German forms of these names: Peter).

**Surnames created from personal names by sound reduction: Arndt** (a surname from originally two-syllable personal names: from Arnold).

**Surnames from parts of personal names and hypocorisms: e.g. Matheisl** (diminutive surnames derived from full forms of the name by the -(e)l suffix: from Matthäus); **Finze** (a surname from the hypocoristic forms of personal names: from Vincenz); **Heinzl** (a diminutive
surname derived by the -tz suffix: from *Heinrich*; *Hois* (a surname created from the final parts of hypocoristic forms of personal names: from *Mothuis* = *Mathäus*, i.e. *Mathew*); *Haas* (a surname from hypocoristic forms of personal names: from *Hartmann*, or a surname from animal names, in particular, MHG *hase*, *has* = hare).

**Surnames containing the –el suffix:** *Fiedler* (from hypocoristic forms of personal names containing the –el suffix; these occur in Bavarian-Austrian dialects, in the East-Franconian dialect, overlapping into Silesian dialects, or surnames originating from nouns denoting artistic professions: MGH *videlaere* = originally a fidula player, later a fiddler, a violin player).

**Compound surnames containing personal and Christian names in their basic or hypocoristic form:** *Schumertl* (= little Martin related to shoes, possibly a shoemaker; a false compound including an expression denoting a thing).

**III.** An extensive group of surnames of Germans living in and around Prachatice and Vimperk consists of **surnames motivated by names of professions, crafts and craftsmen.** These often involve woodwork, an activity typical of the inhabitants of both the Bavarian and the Czech side of the Šumava Mountains. They include, e.g.:

**Surnames originating from names of professions:** *Schüssl* (a shortened form of the common noun *Schüsselmacher* = a dish maker); *Steinbrenner* (a surname from a compound name of a profession involving burning; the base -brenner); *Zimmer* (from *Zimmerer* – a reduced form of a base ending in -er: MHG *zimmer* = timber, a house, or from nouns denoting craftsmen processing wood *Zimmerer* = a carpenter, or surnames from nouns denoting buildings or their parts, rooms: MHG *zimmer, zimber* = a house, a flat); *Sager* (from *Säge* = a saw, in Bavarian-Austrian dialects the surnames are used without umlaut – a sawyer, or from the MHG *sager* = a prattler).

**Surnames from names of crafts and craftsmen:** e.g. *Hafner* (from nouns denoting craftsmen working with stone and earth: MHG *haven* = a pot); *Koller* (from nouns denoting craftsmen working with stone and earth: MHG *koler, köler* = charcoal burner, or from nouns denoting garments: MHG *koller, goller* = a collar, a yoke, or from adjectives referring to striking appearance: from *kal, kalwes* = bald, bald-headed); *Wagner* (from nouns denoting craftsmen working with wood: *Wagner* = a wheelwright); *Draxler* (from nouns denoting craftsmen working with wood: *Drechsler* = a woodturner); *Binder* (from nouns denoting craftsmen working with wood: *Binder* = a cooper); *Zimmermann* (surnames created from nouns denoting professions by the addition of the -mann component; this is an ancient word-
formation process producing surnames from nouns denoting craftsmen working with wood: 
MHG zimmer, zimer = timber, timbering in mines, Zimmermann = a carpenter).

IV. The surnames of the inhabitants of Prachatice and Vimperk were often motivated by a variety of common nouns. These usually referred to people, animals, plants and tools:

Surnames originating from common nouns referring to a social relationship: e.g. Sellner (a surname from the noun denoting small farmers, peasants: from Seldner, MHG selde, sölde = a hut, seldener = a smallholder, a farm hand, a day labourer, or from nouns for soldiers: MHG soldenaere = a mercenary); Bauer (a surname from a noun denoting farmers); Linsmeier (a surname from nouns denoting farmers compounded with the -meier component; the other base of the compound refers to a plant or its part: Linse = lentils); Fischer (from a noun denoting fishermen: Fischer = a fisher).

Surnames containing reference to age or kinship: Fetter (from a noun denoting kinship: from the plural form Väter – fathers).

Surnames originating from nouns denoting parts of the body: Brombart (from nouns denoting hair and beard: from Bart = beard and the imperative of the verb bröuwen = curl).

Surnames originating from nouns denoting animals: Fuchs (a surname from names of beasts: Fuchs = a fox); Krebs (from the names of aquatic animals: Krebs = a crayfish); Fink (from the names of wild birds: Fink = a finch); Cais (a surname from bird names: MHG Zîse = a siskin).

Surnames from plant names, parts of plants and fruits: Appel (a surname from the names of fruit-bearing trees: from Apfel = an apple); Bredl (from nouns referring to wood and its different forms - from Brettl, a diminutive of Brett = a plank).

Surnames from nouns denoting tools, machines and their components: Vogeltanz (from the MHG tanz – among other things, singing to dance, the surname probably arose from a nickname for a person who liked bird singing); Ertl (èrtel = Örtel, Schusterahle, an awl); Hammerl (a surname from words denoting metal tools: a diminutive of Hammer = a hammer).

V. A small group consists of German surnames created from adjectives referring to the appearance of the bearers of the names:

Surnames from adjectives referring to physical appearance: Kurz (from kurz = short); Lang (from lang = long, tall).
Surnames from adjectives referring to features and skin colour: *Klein* (from *klein* = small; this surname was used to distinguish between eponymous father and son); *Blach* (from *bleich* = pale).

Generally, the largest groups of German surnames in the regions of Prachatice and Vimperk are those created from place names and those motivated by names of professions and crafts. These are therefore surnames revealing the regions from which the German settlers once arrived and names relating to activities typical of the region where the German immigrants, having left their original country, settled, lived and worked.

Different theories exist about the origin of the Germans who settled in the Czech borderland. According to some, the southernmost part of the Šumava region was inhabited by Waldensians from the neighbouring Bavaria and Upper Austria (MICKO, 1930). According to others (e.g. KUBITSCHEK, 1927), German settlers arrived from the territory along the Danube, since both the Bavarian and the Czech side of the frontier forest was then no more than an uninhabited virgin forestland. German dialects spoken in the Šumava region therefore were not an extension of the belt of dialects used in the neighbouring territories, but showed significant differences across groups of settlements and even separate neighbouring villages. This is taken as evidence that German settlers were coming from various regions (BENEŠ, 1998: 29).

In the southern part of the Šumava region, that is the territory in the centre of our interest, the dialect predominantly used was middle-Bavarian. It is therefore assumed that local Germans had moved in from the neighbouring territories of Upper Austria and from the Bavarian Forest.

5. Conclusion

Following the forced transfer of Germans from Czechoslovakia, the language situation changed dramatically due to the elimination of German as a language of communication and a substantial reduction in the frequency of German surnames. While the above-described situation relates to South Bohemia, in particular to the regions of Prachatice and Vimperk, similar changes occurred in all border areas of Bohemia and Moravia. These changes did not only concern communication, but affected all aspects of life: national, demographic, economic, social, and generally cultural. Academic literature describes this as socio-cultural discontinuity of the border region, loss of tradition, identity, memory, and customs that had been formed in the region, as well as lack of the feeling of solidarity and unity with the
landscape and the heritage that the evacuees lost (KREISSLOVÁ, 2010). Many of the negative consequences of these changes are still felt in the Czech border areas.

And what about the attitudes of those forcibly transferred into Germany? They are largely negative. In memorial monographs they express their yearning for their lost home and bitterness at the fact that they had been removed from territories where Germans had lived from time immemorial. With time passing, they also realise that in Germany they found better conditions for their lives and the lives of their families. These are the feelings described, for example, by Heinrich Pechmann et al. in the book of memories Heimat – einst in Pfefferschlag und Perletschlag (year of publication not given, page 152):

"Und so arbeiteten wir uns (in Deutschland, dopl. A. J.) im Schneckentempo aus dem schlimmsten Elend heraus. Im Rückblick ist auch die Vertreibung nicht nur unter negativem Aspekt zu sehen. Wir entgingen dem Terror der Kommunistenherrschaft in der CSSR, wurden in den wirtschaftlichen Aufschwung der BRD mit einbezogen und erhielten weit bessere Aufstiegsmöglichkeiten, als wir sie jemals als verhaßte Minderheit in einem tschechischen Staat erhalten hätten."

"And so, at a snail's pace, we worked our way out of the worst poverty (in Germany, comment by A. Jaklová). In hindsight, the expulsion need not be considered utterly negative. We escaped from the terror of the communist government in the CSSR, we were made part of the economic rise of West Germany and offered better conditions for our own development than those we, a detested minority, would have had in the Czech State of those days."
Notes


v Toupalík, Jan: Seznam Němců odsunutých z Vimperka (A list of Germans transferred from Vimperk). State District Archives Prachatice. Archival material still unprocessed.


vii German academic literature usually uses a system of surname classification according to their motivation that is different from Czech literature, see e.g. the monograph by Konrad Kunz dtv-Atlas Namenkunde: Vor- und Familiennamen im deutschen Sprachgebiet (1998), or the extensive work by Horst Naumann Das große Buch der Familiennamen. Alter – Herkunft - Bedeutung (1994).

viii Indexes in this monograph were compiled by Marie Nováková.


x The list of Germans transferred from Vimperk gives age instead of date of birth.

xi Pfeferschlag and Perletschlag – German names of two small villages, Libinské Sedlo and Perlovice, situated close to the town of Prachatice. Before the transfer, their population was predominantly German.

References

Sources


TOUPALÍK, Jan: Seznam Němců odsunutých z Vimperka. Státní okresní archiv Prachatice. Archival material still unprocessed.


Academic literature

Internet sources