

ONOMASTICA  
Uralica 15

Edited by  
VALÉRIA TÓTH

Debrecen–Helsinki  
2019

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The volume was published under the auspices of the Research Group on Hungarian Language History and Toponomastics (University of Debrecen–Hungarian Academy of Sciences) as well as the project International Scientific Cooperation for Exploring the Toponymic Systems in the Carpathian Basin (ID: NRDI 128270, supported by National Research, Development and Innovation Fund, Hungary).

The papers of the volume were peer-reviewed by Terhi Ainiala, István Hoffmann, Katalin Reszegi, Valéria Tóth.

The studies are to be found on the following website:  
<http://mnytud.arts.unideb.hu/onomural/>

ISSN 1586-3719 (Print), ISSN 2061-0661 (Online)

Published by Debrecen University Press, a member of the Hungarian Publishers' and Booksellers' Association established in 1975.

Managing Publisher: Gyöngyi Karácsony, Director General

Printed by Kapitális Nyomdaipari és Kereskedelmi Bt.

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*István Hoffmann (Debrecen, Hungary)*

***Linguistic Reconstruction — Ethnic Reconstruction\****

1. Both the modern and early history of the Carpathian Basin is characterized by a diversity of peoples and languages. Since this variety has influenced the life of both individuals and societies, it is understandable that the historical sciences have also focused on studying this issue. Direct sources referring to the ethnic composition of the Carpathian Basin describe only the past few centuries, but the interpretation and use of such data present numerous problems and challenges. Naturally, this is even more so with respect to earlier periods. A clear understanding of the past is hindered as much by the multiplicity of sources in one period as the lack of sources in others. An excellent researcher of the Middle Ages, GYULA KRISTÓ, emphasizes the almost infinite richness of source material with respect to the late Middle Ages (2003: 11). However, the main obstacle to a comprehensive study of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, when Hungarians arrived in the Carpathian Basin, is represented by a lack of source materials. Consequently, methodological questions concerning the use of secondary sources in scientific research are given priority.

It is not an easy task to decide which scientific discipline is most competent in discussing ethnic issues. KRISTÓ, in another work considering the opportunities for scientific research, calls attention to the fact that “the majority of criteria for distinguishing ethnic groups do not have a source and thus fall outside the scope of scientific study” (2000: 11). In examining the ethnic background of the early ages, he considers settlement history to be the most determinative, i.e., he analyses which people inhabited which region in specific periods of time in the Carpathian Basin (2000: 14). He considers history and linguistics the most important in this type of research. In the study cited, in which he maps the ethnic composition of the first third of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, i.e., the first decade of the Kingdom of Hungary, he relies solely on linguistic methodologies since “there is material only for one component, language” (2000: 11). In another, more comprehensive work, he completes a survey of non-Hungarian peoples in medieval Hungary by applying historical methods, “where written documents have priority over linguistic facts” (2003: 15). In his book KRISTÓ examines which ethnic groups are mentioned in the different sources, even

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\* This work was carried out as part of the Research Group on Hungarian Language History and Toponomastics (University of Debrecen–Hungarian Academy of Sciences) as well as the project *International Scientific Cooperation for Exploring the Toponymic Systems in the Carpathian Basin* (ID: NRDI 128270, supported by National Research, Development and Innovation Fund, Hungary).



though (due to those noted above) they can obviously be linked with the languages used in the given era only indirectly. Namely, there were cases when certain groups of people called themselves *besenyő* or *kun*,<sup>1</sup> and even the surrounding groups of people referred to them as such, even though members of the community had long been speaking Hungarian. However, I do not wish to deny the correlation between linguistic situations and the names of different ethnic groups; I merely call attention to the methodological traps involved in equating or possibly even combining the two points, which could distort the plausibility of our conclusions on both levels.

A scientific analysis of multidisciplinary issues (including the subject examined here) poses other dangers as well concerning research methods. People working in different scientific fields sometimes rely on each other's findings to the extent that this reliance turns into a vicious circle, even though they might actually have the impression of moving forward in spiral progression. For example, a historian could, on the basis of linguistic research, claim that a certain area had a significant Slavic population only because there are many Slavic names in that area. The linguist, relying on the historian's findings of Slavic dominance, analyses the names accordingly and will prefer explanations leading to a Slavic origin even when other possibilities are equally plausible. The historians will consider this a confirmation of their findings and the vicious circle continues. Of course, this may apply to Turkic or Hungarian or any other language as well.

This erroneous methodological procedure is present in numerous aspects of folk etymology, casting doubt on the reliability of certain results as well. This risk, however, goes hand in hand with the complexity involved in researching eras characterized by a lack of sources. In what follows I would like to outline linguistic research methods which aim at the ethnic identification of earlier populations of the Carpathian Basin. Above all, I would like to do this by enforcing a critical approach through which I will not focus on specific details of a particular age, but rather on general issues related to key principles and methodology. Among the procedures used in this field there are certainly some that stand up to the expectations towards modern science; however, there are others that need to be modified. Even in some recent studies, one can regularly find theses that have long been refuted. Moreover, some new, so far unknown linguistic arguments can also be identified which have not been proven by historical linguistics or that may even be in sharp contrast with some of its basic tenets. I have limited my survey to toponyms, although certain linguists have studied personal names and even common nouns with similar objectives (e.g., KRISTÓ 2000: 27–41).



<sup>1</sup> Hungarian terms for Pecheneg and Kuman people (Turkic tribes).

2. We may find examples for the use of linguistic data as sources in folk etymology in Hungarian scholarship as early as the 19<sup>th</sup>-century. These included both some naive explanations and progressive findings. But it was only in the 1920s and 1930s that two people transformed linguistic tools into real scientific methodology. One of these people was JÁNOS MELICH, who analysed the ethnic composition of the Carpathian Basin in the 10<sup>th</sup> century (1925–1929), when Hungarians settled there. The other was ISTVÁN KNIEZSA, who set out to map the linguistic-ethnic composition of Hungary in the 11<sup>th</sup> century (1938 and 1943–1944). The toponym corpus recorded in chronicles and documents served as their main source, however, since these appeared only later, they could not directly contribute to the analysis of this early period. For this reason, they reconstructed certain names they could not date back. In the course of this procedure they wished to determine the circumstances of name creation and also the morphological changes involved. In their work they relied on the methods and results of etymology, historical phonology and toponym typology. The former discipline was necessary for creating a connection with a particular language, the latter two for clarifying the questions concerning chronology, and the toponyms themselves were necessary for identifying the area itself.

In the recent past, GYULA KRISTÓ, taking up a similar task to KNIEZSA and criticising his approach, emphasized that KNIEZSA's work had been applied extensively but it was never developed further or criticized (2000: 3–4). There is some truth in this, since we see that KNIEZSA's methods and results—especially among non-linguists—have been accepted without reservation and used dogmatically even in recent research. At the same time, when we look at the relevant results of Hungarian historical linguistics and research into the etymology of names from the past half century, we may also identify various innovations. However, the fact that there has been no similarly comprehensive survey since KNIEZSA's work poses an obstacle to the wider distribution of recent findings.

3. The most important means of linguistic reconstruction with an objective of ethnic identification involves toponym etymology itself, which is inherently interested in the context the name was created in, as well as in the lexical and morphological elements used. JÁNOS MELICH developed such methods into an internationally acknowledged system. His etymologies were elaborated in detail, their main virtue being the extraordinarily precise implementation of historical phonology. He always analysed the names in their overall context and examined the entire Hungarian territory. However, since he was mainly interested in names of Slavic origin, he cited examples from these languages even from outside the Carpathian Basin.

Etymology has remained the leading approach within toponymy ever since and the generations of scholars after MELICH have improved on the methodology he had developed: DEZSŐ PAIS did so in the analysis of toponyms and personal



names together and ATTILA SZABÓ T. in the case of microtoponyms. LAJOS KISS has broadened this framework by asserting analogy, i.e. the onomato-systematical aspect, but he has also applied a novel principle by allowing multiple interpretations in his explanations. LORÁND BENKŐ has reinvented the richly detailed Melich-type etymologies elaborated within their diverse systems, but he did so with reference to a higher standard of historical linguistics applied today. One by one, he (re)considers all those etymologies which are considered crucial from a historical perspective but which are actually flawed and that display linguistic superstitions.

4. The methodology of etymological toponymy reveals which tasks are to be completed when we deal with toponym reconstruction for the purpose of ethnic identification. It also clarifies which requirements are to be met when compiling a survey similar to that of MELICH or KNEZSA.

Etymology traditionally focuses on the creator of the name and attempts to deduce the form in which the toponym has surfaced. This can often be assumed as a form similar or identical to already known occurrences, however, in certain cases it might be necessary to create a hypothetical reconstruction. Besides determining the time of name-creation, it is also important to pay greater attention to surviving data, since these refer to actual language use—even if not always directly. These forms show us the linguistic context the name was created in and this is of crucial importance from the perspective of the chronology of toponym-borrowing.

The etymologies should not be derived from individual pieces of data taken out of their context, a tradition often present in older etymological toponymy. This statement is valid for two reasons. First of all, the occurrence of a name—especially its first occurrence—must be analysed both within its own context and in comparison with the more recent historical records of the same name. The connection between these pieces of data is to be revealed as part of language reconstruction and light must be shed on the differences between data—differences which are due to language change as much as to orthographic or other discrepancies. Secondly, especially in the case of early data, it is vital to interpret them as parts of the source they occur in. For example, Hungarian elements (fragments) in a Latin document or narrative may mutually reflect upon one another from an orthographic perspective or by revealing the relationship between Latin and Hungarian elements, or possibly even concerning their name structural relations. It is of utmost importance that we use the most contemporary edition of sources and that we take into account the document's accurate and precise circumstances.



The interpretation of an individual piece of data, a linguistic reconstruction of a name therefore resembles a two-dimensional coordinate system. On one of

the axes, the name is interpreted within the internal system of relations of the source material itself, while on the other axis we indicate other data referring to the place in question. In a dual reference system like this we have to take into account every single factor related to the name, among which linguistic reconstruction mainly focuses on the morphological and semantic component. Morphological reconstruction primarily represents a phonological and morphological interpretation, or, depending on the circumstances, it may aim to reveal the functional-semantic structure of a name. What we mean by the interpretation of the meaning is the presentation of the denotative meaning of the toponym, and in an optimal situation a precise localization, but at the very least a discovery of the type of place denoted by the toponym. In the past, localization was not considered an organic part of etymological reconstruction, however, without it we cannot interpret certain data as part of a data sequence that may even lead up to the modern age, which would in turn add credibility to etymologies. Furthermore, the knowledge of the types of places signified by the toponyms in question is a key factor in analysing the creation and evolution of a name, and as such an indispensable piece of information in etymological analysis.

I believe that asserting onomatosystematic embeddedness is of crucial importance in etymological onomastics. An etymology that stands alone among name formulations and does not have analogous examples is less likely to be accepted than those supported by a whole range of similar name formations. This requirement of onomastics is a consequence of the fact that toponyms form a system where both the creation and the change of names can be described by well-defined regularities, or in other words, where the majority of names can be categorized.<sup>2</sup> We should, of course, enforce the typological aspect not only when analysing Hungarian-language toponyms, but also those of Slavic, Turkic and German origin incorporated into Hungarian. Here we may encounter certain serious flaws in etymologizing: Turkic studies, for example, when analysing early Turkic toponyms, barely give internal evidence for name systems and analogous ways of name formation.

We may also mention numerous false toponym etymologies, especially concerning ethnic reconstruction involving the early period of the 10–11<sup>th</sup> centuries, some of which are in sharp contrast with each other. In these cases, since they can provide additional information on an era otherwise poor in data, it is vital to weigh the new possibilities in light of our knowledge today, even if we cannot offer an unambiguous explanation. In cases like these, we are already making progress if we can exclude proposals that can obviously be

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<sup>2</sup> This, of course, does not rule out the possibility of unique name formations in any name system, although certain details of the creation and change of these names show typical characteristics.



refuted and show other possibilities together with their advantages and disadvantages.<sup>3</sup>

However, even in the case of an ethnic definition that is based on linguistic reconstruction we do not necessarily have to put equal emphasis on proven etymologies. Onomastics can thus be represented on a probability scale. At one end of the scale those well-identified toponyms are located that occur in numerous parts of a language territory, which are rich in data and which can easily be categorized into a name type. At the other end of the scale are the toponyms that can only be localized with uncertainty, or not at all. These derive from a lack of sources and cannot be linked with appellatives, thus their linguistic-ethnic identification potential is much weaker than the others'. The certainty of etymology is increased if a name can be explained within the framework of its own system, for which we can provide illustrative examples—and counter-examples—from the group of toponyms derived from personal names. The origin of a personal name can be proven without a doubt if there is a document attesting to it, but there are very few examples of this. Another probability-increasing factor concerning personal names is if the personal name corresponding to the toponym is present in the early personal name sources of the Carpathian Basin. If, however, the name analogy is present only in a later personal name source of, for example, a Slavic language, the etymology obviously has less credibility, not to mention cases when the etymologist gives only the reconstructed form as evidence, a frequent practice in Turkic onomastics.

Since in the reconstruction of toponyms with the aim of ethnic identification—especially in clarifying chronological relations—certain phenomena of historical phonology have gained special status, we should briefly mention them as well. It is obvious that we need to rely on the most recent findings of historical phonology when analysing toponyms, but often not only can we not meet this requirement, but we also encounter other, more serious problems in this respect. To illustrate this, I would like to present a generally known phenomenon, the denasalization of Slavic nasal vowels, which has an important role as a criterion for determining the period of toponym-borrowing in KNEZSA's work. According to him, Hungarian names with alternation (vowel-nasal relationship) indicate a borrowing that took place before the 11<sup>th</sup> century and a Slavic-Hungarian mixed population. KNEZSA himself implied the territorial inequality of this sound

<sup>3</sup> LORÁND BENKŐ recently published several etymologies which weigh and refute already existing ones, admittedly without offering an alternative solution (for example 2003: 133–139, 168–180). With this he has, of course increased the number of unknown etymologies, but by excluding certain names from the list of words of Turkic, Slavic and other origin, he is giving way to a new and proper assessment of these names.



change, and recent Slavic studies have proven the same in Slovenian, which was at the time an important language in the Transdanubian region; change began to take place only in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and was completed late, especially in the northern dialects. This circumstance has to be taken into account in the linguistic reconstruction of toponyms, similarly to the way KRISTÓ (2000: 9) modified the chronology used by KNIEZSA. At the same time, he did not remedy a mistake of KNIEZSA that has even more serious consequences: namely, KNIEZSA incorporated even Hungarian toponyms that can be traced back to Slavic personal names. However, the phonological form of names that belong to the *Berente*, *Döbrönte* type can at most point to an early borrowing of personal names, which could have been transformed into a Hungarian toponym at any time in later centuries. To consider such toponyms as borrowings from the 10–11<sup>th</sup> centuries solely based on the presence of the nasal vowel in Hungarian personal names would be misleading.

It may modify our understanding of historical phonology related to the linguistic reconstruction of toponyms even more than the above-mentioned details is if in the future we not only look for the already known phonological changes, but also pay more attention to the characteristic forms of phonological adaptation, simultaneously with shedding light on the unique phonotactic features of names.

A survey of the linguistic-sociological context forms an organic part of the linguistic reconstruction of early toponyms. Steps in this direction have hardly been taken in Hungarian toponymy even though determining the pragmatic value of source data could be considered a prerequisite to its use with the objective of ethnic identification. From the point of view of interpreting data, this aspect appears as a third axis in the above-mentioned coordinate system: here we try to account for such questions as the extent to which toponyms used in documents reflect the language relations of the given area, and to what extent they can be connected to the writer of the text, etc. The position of names may also be analysed from the perspective of the circumstances of name creation and in this respect we may discover significant differences between the name-sociological value of the names of different types of referents (e.g., natural places and human settlements). This means that we should observe the role of a person and that of a community in a different manner. Within this topic an analysis of prestige relations of the languages spoken in Hungary in the Árpád Era is necessary, including among others issues of bilingualism. Unfortunately, our knowledge is still incomplete not only with respect to the general onomastic background of early Hungarian name-borrowing, but also concerning the modern age relations in the Carpathian Basin; this is true even if we can now see the events from the past more clearly in light of current research. I believe the sociology of historical toponomastics as a research field can add new perspectives to linguistic reconstruction with special attention to the reconstruction of ethnicity.





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### Abstract

It has been a central question in Hungarian scholarly research for a long time which peoples the Hungarians encountered at the time of the conquest of the Carpathian Basin in the 10<sup>th</sup> century and which peoples, languages they were in contact with later on. The most extensive findings in this respect were presented by researchers with the help of the analysis of old toponyms, with the works of János Melich and István Kniezsa in the 1920s and 1930s considered to be outstanding in this respect. Their results, however, need to be reviewed in light of recent theories and methods in language and toponym history. In this process we need to be aware that language and ethnicity interact with each other in a complex manner (just as in the past) and linguistic analysis may only strive to explore linguistic relations. The traditional etymological studies are replaced by toponym reconstruction, which pays more attention to context of name data within the source, while it also interprets particular data as elements of series of data referring to the same place. Analyses in historical phonology with a modern approach play a key role in this but aspects of toponym typology and historical socioonomastics cannot be missed either during such studies.

**Keywords:** old Hungarian toponyms, relationship of language and ethnicity, languages and ethnicities of the Carpathian Basin in the middle ages, toponym etymology, toponym reconstruction





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***Methodological Problems in Etymological Research  
on Old Toponyms of the Carpathian Basin\****

Etymology plays a decisive role in research in historical toponomastics. Without the etymological investigation of names, their linguistic structure and their system cannot be described and they cannot be used in studies focusing on general linguistic and historical issues (e.g., ethnic history). Therefore, it is not surprising that Hungarian research on name history has been dominated by etymology from the beginning. This scholarly field has already achieved a lot in mapping the stock of toponyms in the Carpathian Basin (cf. MELICH 1925–1929, KNIEZSA 1938, 1943–1944, FNESz.) but opportunities in etymological research have expanded greatly in recent decades, opening up new directions and methodological opportunities. This is because those typological descriptive models have been born that can be used well for the description of the structure, creation, change of names or the relationship between name systems (cf. e.g., HOFFMANN 1993, TÓTH 2008, PÓCZOS 2010, HOFFMANN–RÁCZ–TÓTH 2017, 2018); at the same time, such a methodological process is also being formed that is called historical toponym reconstruction and which represents a new milestone in the exploration of the linguistic-etymological attributes of names (cf. HOFFMANN 2007, HOFFMANN–RÁCZ–TÓTH 2017: 162–165, 2018: 459–470). It also greatly contributes to this process that with the spreading of digital technology and digital databases so abundant data collections could be presented for research that onomasticians could previously only dream about. Therefore, there is hope that etymological research will gain a new momentum also in terms of the toponym corpus of the Carpathian Basin.

In this paper I would like to touch upon various methodological questions that represent a challenge in toponym-etymological studies and which, if disregarded, may influence or even distort our ideas expressed in relation to etymological issues. Therefore, I discuss the advantages of using the complex method of historical toponym reconstruction as opposed to the traditional etymological approach when trying to explore the linguistic history of various toponyms. At the same time, I will also touch upon the question of the source value of toponymic data in certain types of sources (more specifically the charters of an

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\* This work was carried out as part of the Research Group on Hungarian Language History and Toponomastics (University of Debrecen–Hungarian Academy of Sciences) as well as the project *International Scientific Cooperation for Exploring the Toponymic Systems in the Carpathian Basin* (ID: NRDI 128270, supported by National Research, Development and Innovation Fund, Hungary).



uncertain chronological status: forged, copied or interpolated charters) from the perspective of etymology. Moreover, the question of etymological authenticity also has to be in the focus in etymological studies. This means that the etymology of certain toponyms cannot be established with the same degree of certainty and the possible options cannot be verified to the same extent.

1. Using one early toponym (and its diverse network of relations) I would like to illustrate the difference between the etymological approach concentrating on the etymon of names and the **methodology of historical toponym reconstruction** as well as the additional insights we can gain with the use of the latter. *Taszár* settlement located in Bars County, in the northern part of the Carpathian Basin, is first mentioned in an 11<sup>th</sup>-century charter: 1075/+1124/+1217: villa *Tazzar* (DHA 1: 214). The traditional etymological approach argues that the *Taszár* toponym is of Slavic origin, its source is a Slavic *\*Tesari* toponym in plural form, the linguistic meaning of which in Slavic is ‘carpenters’ (cf. FNEsz. *Ácsteszér*, *Teszér*; TÓTH 2001: 242, SZŐKE 2015: 200). The etymological publications also indicate the historical background information that the denomination could refer to the settlement of such servants of the court who were obliged to perform carpenter’s work. Besides these, the scholars have also highlighted the changes in the phonological form: the Slavic mixed vowel form, after entering the Hungarian language, adapted to the phonotactic rules of Hungarian and it took the form of the velar *Taszár* or palatal *Teszér*. Thus this is what we might learn about the *Taszár* toponym with the help of etymon-based etymology (or at least what it usually tells us).

Of course, toponym reconstruction also starts out from the name etymon but it looks at the name within a very extensive network of relationships that includes the following factors: the attributes of the source containing the name and the context of the name within the source; the totality of data referring to the referent of the name; all occurrences of the name in the Carpathian Basin (i.e., its onomatogeography); the name cluster (name field) it fits into typologically; the reality and local relations of the referent (i.e., its natural-social environment and name environment). If we examine the name in this extensive, multi-dimensional system of relationships, our etymological findings will become more robust and accurate. In the following, I would like to provide more details about these “dimensions” through the example of the *Taszár* toponym in Bars County.

**1.1.** In the Founding Charter of Garamszentbenedek, which mentions *Taszár* settlement in Bars County for the first time, the toponym appears in the following **context**: “Dedi eciam villam Bissenorum ad arandum nomine *Tazzar* super *Sitoua* cum terra XX aratorum, et magnam silvam versus orientalem et meridionalem plagam cum pratis et pascuis, et decem domus carpentariorum, terminatam propriis terminis.” (DHA 1: 214, SZŐKE 2015: 45). The translation



of this section is the following: “I also gave the village of the Pechenegs called *Tazzar* above *Sitoua* with 20 aratrum of land for cultivation and one large forest to the southeast with meadows and pastures, limited by its own boundaries, as well as ten housefuls of carpenters.”

It is especially important for us from this context that in the 1075 Founding Charter of Garamszentbenedek Géza I. (together with the natural and agricultural assets) also donated ten housefuls of carpenters or cart makers (10 domus carpentariorum) to the Abbey, together with *Taszár* village (DHA 1: 214, Gy. 1: 422, 480, SZŐKE 2015: 51–52). Therefore, the first important lesson learned that we may use later is that there were certainly carpenters living in the village of *Taszár*.

**1.2.** For the exploration of the etymological and linguistic form of a toponym, it is absolutely necessary to see the name as **part of its complete dataset**. Thus that condition also has to be fulfilled that the place denoted by the name should be identifiable precisely with its location. This does not cause any problems in our case: in the 11<sup>th</sup> century *Taszár* settlement mentioned in the Founding Charter of Garamszentbenedek is located in the central part of Bars County, on the right shore of the Zsitva River.

Its dataset indicates from the first mention to this date that it has continuously been an inhabited settlement, with its earliest data (from the early Old Hungarian Era) being the following: 1075/+1124/+1217: dedi eciam villam Bissenorum ad arandum nomine *Tazzar* super *Sitoua*, 1209 P.: *Tessar*, pr. (Gy. 1: 480, DHA 1: 214), +1209/XVII.: *Thaszar*, v., 1275: *Thescer*, t. (Gy. 1: 447, 480). After the early Old Hungarian Era (895–1301), the records of the settlement name multiplied thanks to favorable circumstances related to sources: 1353: *Thezer*, p. (A. 6: 5), 1453, 1493, 1496, 1506: *Thazar*, p. (ComBars. 103), 1366: *Thezer*, v., p. (ComBars. 103), 1378, 1382: *Thezar*, p. (ComBars. 103), 1382: *Thazar*, *Thazaar*, *Thezer*, p., 1424: *Thezer*, 1435: *Thesser*, 1436: *Tazar*, 1476: *Thazad*, p., 1570: [*Taszár*], 1603: *Thaszar*, 1780: *Taszar*, *Teszare*, pag., 1806–1808: *Taszár*, *Tesáre*, *Tesáry*, *Tiřar*, pag., 1828: *Thaszár*, *Tesare*, pag., 1893: *Taszár*, 1905: *Taszár*, 1906: *Barstaszár* (MEZŐ 1999: 383), 1907–1913: *Barstaszár* (ComBars. 104). *Barstaszár* now belongs to Slovakia, its Slovakian linguistic form is: *Tesáre nad Žitavou* (LELKES 2011: 121).

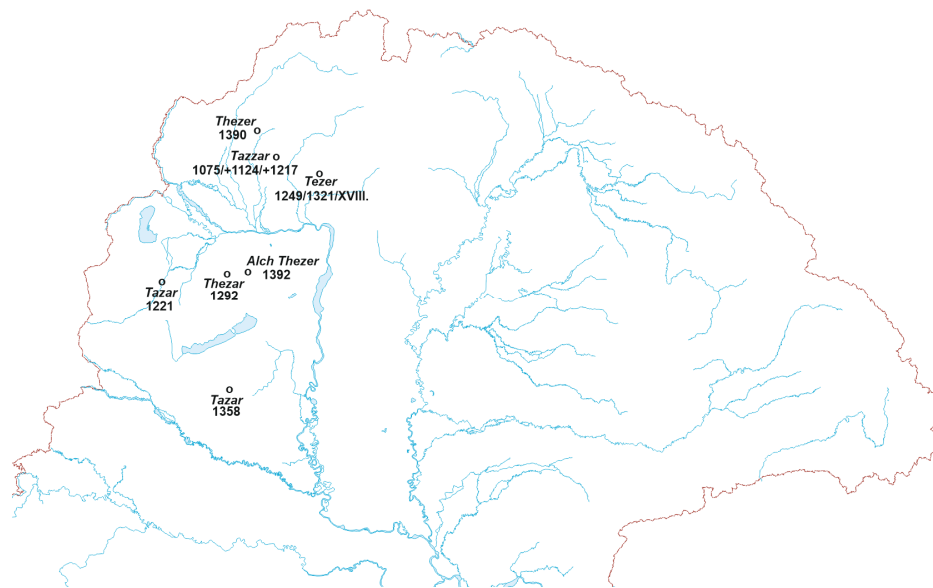
Among the earliest records we can also find the original Slavic *Teszár* form with mixed vowels (but also might be used in Hungarian) but later the forms in line with vowel harmony are dominant (both in the palatal *Teszér* and velar *Taszár* forms). The phonologically balanced name forms certainly reflect Hungarian name usage and Hungarian name users irrespective of the fact that according to the etymological opinion introduced above the name givers of the settlement name were Slavs. This differentiation between the name givers and name users has to be considered in all cases in the process of toponym



reconstruction. This is because the written sources shed light only on current name usage, the act of name giving, name genesis could take place even centuries before. This is especially significant from one perspective: that of the chronology of ethnic conclusions based on the linguistic form and etymology of toponyms.

The records with mixed vowels occasionally appearing later in the dataset of the name, besides the forms with vowel harmony, may indicate dual Slavic–Hungarian name usage: after the fluctuation of velar and palatal forms throughout the centuries, from the 15<sup>th</sup> century the *Taszár* form is in general use in Hungarian, the *Teszáré* ~ *Teszárý* forms certainly indicate Slavic (more specifically Slovak) name users, just as it is also typical of today's name usage: Hung. (Bars)*taszár* ~ Slovak *Tesáré nad Žitavou*. The *Tissar* data from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (besides the Hungarian *Taszár* and the Slovak *Tesáré*, *Tesárý*) could be the German name form of the settlement (LELKES 2011: 121).

**1.3. In the medieval Carpathian Basin**, besides the one in Bars County, we are also aware of additional *Teszér* or *Taszár* settlement names. The regional location of these is indicated on Map 1 (also showing the first record of the name).



**Map 1.** *Taszár ~ Teszér settlements in the medieval Carpathian Basin*

Settlements named *Taszár* and *Teszér* are located in the Middle Ages only in the western and northwestern parts of the Carpathian Basin, and with the exception of the place in Bars County mentioned in the Founding Charter of Garamszentbenedek, all appear in the documents during the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries. Most of them still exist as settlement names. Among the toponymic data, we



can find the primary Slavic form (but not necessarily indicating Slavic name users) with mixed vowels as well as the *Taszár* and *Teszér* forms with vowel harmony (certainly indicating Hungarian name users). What kind of a conclusions we may draw from the regional attributes of the *Taszár* ~ *Teszér*-type settlement names will be addressed again later.

**1.4.** During toponym reconstruction the analyzed toponyms are examined not in an isolated manner, individually but as elements of the **name cluster, name field (semantic category)** that they belong to most directly. In the case of the *Taszár* place name, this name field means the type of settlement names with an occupational name origin the final source of which is a Slavic occupational name. The problematics of the Hungarian *Taszár*-type of settlement names lies in the fact that these names could be created, on the one hand, in the Slavic languages from a Slavic occupational name base word by Slavic name givers, then the Slavic toponym could be borrowed by the Hungarian speakers who adapted it to the phonotactic-phonological system of their own language. But it cannot be excluded either that the Slavic occupational name itself entered the Hungarian language in a common noun status and the toponym was formed from this common noun (now as an element of the Hungarian language) with Hungarian name giving, fitting into the type of Hungarian settlement names formed metonymically from occupational names.

The name field has such elements as *Konyár* (1213/1550: *Kanar*, Gy. 1: 635, Bihar county) and *Kanyár* (1214/1334: *Kanar*, NÉMETH 1997: 103, Szabolcs county; cf. Sl. *konjar* ‘horse herder’); *Taszár* (1075/+1124/+1217: *Tazzar*, DHA 1: 214, Bars county) and *Teszér* (1249/1321/XVIII.: *Tezer*, Gy. 3: 259, Hont county; cf. old Sl. *\*Tesari* toponym in plural ‘carpenters’); *Csitár* (1113: *Scitar*, DHA 1: 395–396, Nyitra county) and *Csatár* (1295/1423: *Chatar*, Gy. 1: 504, Békés county; cf., e.g., Czech *Štítary* pl. toponym ‘shield makers’); *Dejtár* (1255: *Dehter*, Gy. 4: 235, Nógrád county) and *Détér* (1246/1383: *Deltar* [ɔ: *Dehtar*], Gy. 2: 493, Gömör county; cf. Czech *Dehtáry* pl. toponym ‘wood tar burners’); *Gerencsér* (1251: *Geruncher*, Gy. 4: 390, Nyitra county; cf. Sl. *\*G̃ričare* pl. toponym ‘potters’); *Lóc* (1232>1347: *Louch*, Gy. 2: 523, Gömör county; cf. Sl. *Lovci* pl. toponym ‘hunters’); *Ócsár* (1247/1412: *Olchar*, Gy. 1: 351, Baranya county; cf. proto-Sl. *\*ovbčari* pl. toponym ‘shepherds’); *Vinár* (1221: *Winar*, PRT 1: 651, Veszprém county; cf. Czech *Vinary* pl. toponym ‘wine producers, winemakers’), etc.

Thus what is common in the elements of the name field is that these settlement names can be originated ultimately from Slavic occupational name lexemes according to the generally-accepted etymological analysis. From the perspective of the dual direction of toponym formation mentioned above, we need to discuss primarily those for which no common noun parallels can be identified in Hungarian during the early Old Hungarian Era, i.e., there are no such mentions



based on which the common noun ‘shield maker’, ‘carpenter’, ‘winemaker’ meanings of the *csatár* ~ *csitár*, *taszár* ~ *teszér*, *vinár*, etc. lexemes could be supposed with high probability in Hungarian. This obviously does not necessarily mean that these words could not enter the Hungarian language as occupational names, it only means that this possible option cannot be verified with parallel common noun data, which makes this supposition weaker, even though it does not exclude it.

In connection with the name field (based on the above), we may formulate the hypothesis differing from the traditional analysis that the elements belonging here cannot be judged the same way from the perspective of name giving (and thus etymology): in some cases it is more likely that they have become the elements of the Hungarian toponym system as Slavic loan toponyms, while in other cases it is more likely (even despite the lack of common noun records) that after the borrowing of the Slavic occupational name the given lexeme became a settlement name in Hungarian (as a result of Hungarian name giving).

What kind of factors may be considered to verify this hypothesis? And what could be those denominations in the case of which the latter option should be considered? I cannot discuss all possible lexemes here, therefore, I highlight only two of the elements from the semantic field and refer to some possible guidelines through these examples. The bases of the following overview are the *Taszár* ~ *Teszér* settlement names and the *Csatár* ~ *Csitár* denominations, together with their supposed base words.

**1.4.1.** It could be informative for us to know whether the mentioned lexemes appear in a **personal name status** in the earliest documented period (or possibly later). This is an important factor because in Hungarian around one third of occupational names can be found in the Old Hungarian Era as personal names; cf., e.g., *ardó* ‘forester’ (1248: *Ardo*, Cs. 1: 289, Sáros county; cf. +1214/1334: *Ardew* personal name, ÁSz. 72), *csősz* ‘crier, announcer, prison guard’ (1192/1375/1425: *Cheuzy*, Gy. 1: 217, Bács county; cf. 1307: *Cheuz* personal name, FNESz.), *dusnok* ‘person performing religious service related to the wake’ (1215/1550: *Dusunic*, Gy. 1: 614, Bihar county; cf. 1211: *Dosnuch* personal name, ÁSz. 258), *kovács* ‘smith’ (+1015/+1158//PR.: *Chovas*, Gy. 1: 330, Baranya county; cf. 1253/1322: *Cuach* personal name, ÁSz. 227), *lovász* ‘stableman’ (1198 P./PR.: *Luascu*, Gy. 1: 723, Bodrog county; cf. 1138/1329: *Luas* personal name, ÁSz. 498), *szakács* ‘cook’ (1286: *Zakach*, ÁÚO 9: 449, Veszprém county; cf. 1138/1329: *Sacas* personal name, ÁSz. 686), *szántó* ‘farmer’ (1001 e./1109: *Σάπταγ*, DHA 1: 85, Veszprém county; cf. 1373: *Zantho* personal name, OklSz.), *szekeres* ‘transporter using wagons’ ([+1077–1095]> +1158//PR.: *Zekeres*, Gy. 1: 728, Bodrog county; cf. +1086: *Scekeres* personal name, ÁSz. 696), *szőlős* ‘viticulturist’ (1075/+1124/+1217: *Sceulleus*, Gy. 1: 478, Bars county; cf. 1211: *Zeuleus* personal name, ÁSz. 849), *takács* ‘weaver’





(1304/1464: *Takach*, Gy. 2: 635, Győr county; cf. 1266>1348: *Takach* personal name, *ÁSz.* 739), etc. (These include words both of Hungarian and foreign origin.) Other occupational names appear as family names in sources from the late Old Hungarian Era (1350–1526) and their use in this function can be tracked to this day (for more information, see: HOFFMANN–RÁCZ–TÓTH 2017: 188, 2018: 285–286).

We can also see it from the data that the occupational names appear without a formant as personal names in Hungarian (e.g., *csősz*, *kovács*, *takács*, etc. occupational name > *Csősz*, *Kovács*, *Takács*, etc. anthroponym). Thus in case the base words resembling occupational names among the settlement names belonging to the name field of *Taszár* can also be found in an anthroponym status in Hungarian (thus as personal names of the *Taszár* ~ *Teszér*, *Csatár* ~ *Csitár* form), there is a good chance that the given lexeme really existed in Hungarian as an occupational name.<sup>1</sup> If, however, there are no such occurrences and only the forms with the *-i* formant (family name formant) deriving from toponyms are known in a personal name function (i.e., the *Taszári* ~ *Teszéri*, *Csatári* ~ *Csitári* personal names), this circumstance rather confirms the toponym status of Slavic origin, and goes against the (Slavic occupational name >) Hungarian occupational name > Hungarian settlement name formation.

The main lesson learned from the analyses is that the *Taszár* ~ *Teszér* and the *Csitár* ~ *Csatár* names do not behave the same way in this respect. While we cannot find records of the *Taszár* ~ *Teszér* personal names in the contemporary sources (and neither later), we can encounter the *Csitár* ~ *Csatár* anthroponyms from the earliest charters to this day; cf., e.g., 1138/1329: *nomina servorum qui debent servire preposito cum suis curribus [...]* in villa Kalsar: Vleu, Biqua, *Citar*, Dubos, Gatadi; 1274>1411: *Chythar* iobagio castri Posoniensis (*ÁSz.* 199); 1211: Et est in villa illa [Fotud]: *Chatar*, filius Emrici (Heymrici), Held vinitor ecclesie (*ÁSz.* 179). Or later: 1458: *Andrea Chatar* (RMCsSz. 221). *Csitár* ~ *Csatár* are also part of the current Hungarian family name system.

The *Taszári* ~ *Teszéri* and *Csitári* ~ *Csatári* family names deriving from a settlement name antecedent also appear in the charters of the late Old Hungarian Era: these name forms refer to the place of origin or residence of the given person (see RMCsSz. 1052 and 1063, as well as 221 and 250), thus it is not surprising that they appear primarily in those areas where the given settlement

<sup>1</sup> We should also add that personal names could also be formed from occupational names in Slavic languages. If these Slavic personal names were also created without a formant from the relevant occupational name (cf. SVOBODA 1964: 172, BENEŠ 1962: 210), this means that the *Taszár* ~ *Teszér*, *Csatár* ~ *Csitár* personal names possibly found in Hungarian could even be of Slavic origin, thus we do not have to presuppose the *taszár* ~ *teszér*, *csatár* ~ *csitár* common nouns for them in Hungarian.



names can also be found. Although anthroponyms could also be formed from settlement names metonymically (especially in the early period when such a role of the *-i* morpheme could still be peripheral; cf. e.g., 1211: *Neugrad* personal name from the *Nógrád* settlement name, *ÁSz.* 581), this name-giving method was much more rare than the formation of personal names from settlement names using the *-i* formant (for more details, see TÓTH 2016: 148–157). This means that the *Csatár* ~ *Csitár* personal names can be considered as names formed from the relevant occupational names with high probability (and not from the *Csatár* ~ *Csitár* settlement name), which in turn supports the use of the *csatár* ~ *csitár* ‘shield maker’ lexeme in Hungarian during the Middle Ages. We cannot mention the same argument supporting the existence of *taszár* ~ *teszér* ‘carpenter’ in Hungarian of the time based on anthroponym data.

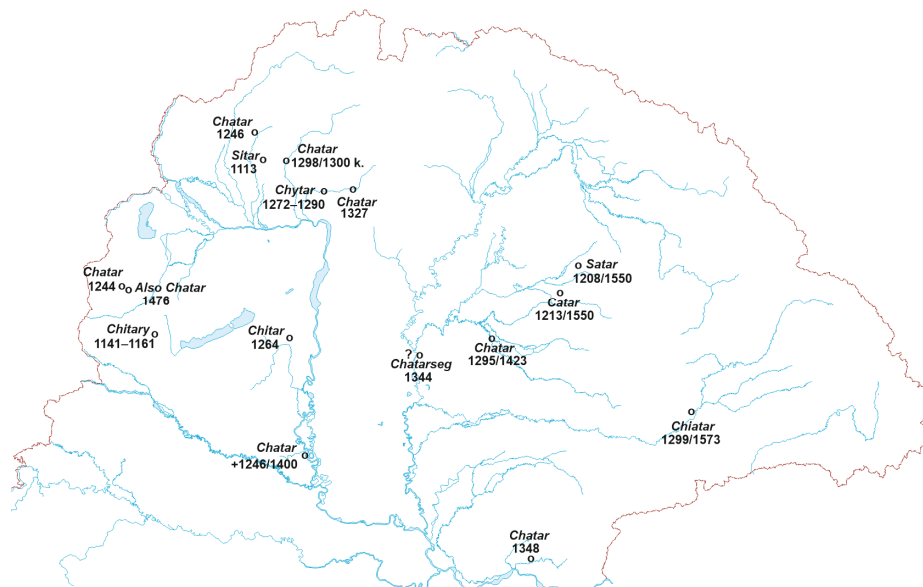
**4.1.2.** Toponyms are linguistic elements bound to a location: this is their basic feature due to their function and denotative meaning. As opposed to this, the common nouns spread easier: their spreading may be limited only by confronting another lexeme of the same function, meaning. Thus when deciding if *taszár* ~ *teszér*, *csatár* ~ *csitár* existed in Hungarian as common nouns (occupational names) the **toponym geographical features** of the relevant settlement name data may offer some assistance. While the category of settlement names of a Slavic origin may appear in areas where people of Slavic origin used to live (at the time of name giving), the settlement names from Slavic loan words have no such regional limitations: these may appear anywhere as the common noun may spread more extensively in Hungarian.

There is no opportunity here for detailed analysis but we can make one important note about the onomatogeographic features of the settlement name records of the two chosen lexemes. We may encounter the *Taszár* ~ *Teszér* settlement names in a lower number and in a well definable area (Map 1) and what is more, in a region (the west and northwest) where based on other sources we are aware of a Slavic population and Slavic-Hungarian relations in the early Old Hungarian Era.

The onomatogeography of the *Csatár* ~ *Csitár* settlement names is more diverse and extensive: besides the north(western) and western regions, we may find these names in the middle regions of the Carpathian Basin also, what is more, there are some settlement names of this kind in the south and east as well (Map 2).







**Map 2.** Csatár ~ Csitár settlements in the medieval Carpathian Basin

A part of the names certainly appears in areas where we are less aware of Slavic–Hungarian contacts. Therefore, in these areas it is more likely that it was not name borrowing that played a role in the formation of the *Csatár* ~ *Csitár* settlement names (as in the case of *Taszár* ~ *Teszér*) but the relevant (Slavic) loan word became a settlement name in Hungarian by means of metonymic name giving. Thus the onomatogeography of the *Csatár* ~ *Csitár* settlement names also supports the same idea as the anthroponym records, that in Hungarian there could be a *csatár* ~ *csitár* occupational name (possibly with a broader ‘weapon maker’ semantic content; see Gy. 1: 293) but there is no trace of this lexeme today either in colloquial language or in dialects. At the same time, we cannot exclude it either that there is Slavic name giving behind some of the *Csatár* ~ *Csitár* settlement names, we only claim that this form of name genesis cannot be deemed exclusive in the case of these names.

**1.5.** There is one more circumstance that underlines this finding: the **name environment, local conditions** of certain settlements. This analysis is also an important stage of toponym reconstruction.

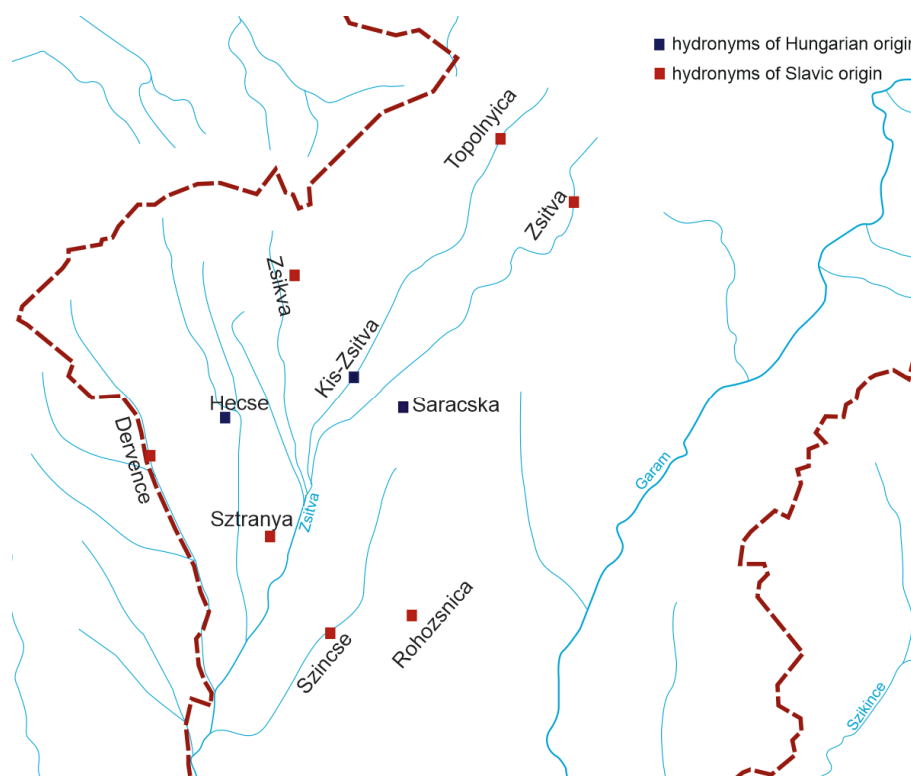
The name corpus of the early Old Hungarian Era in the given region (due to its relative abundance) represents a good basis for this analysis. The direct toponym environment of *Taszár* is made up by the names of the region between the rivers Zsitva and Dervence and the valley of the two rivers until they merge. We have records of 69 toponyms in this region from the examined period (besides *Taszár*). The distribution of the names according to language origin in the different toponym types shows major differences (see Table 1).



|  | Slavic | Hungarian | Slavic or Hungarian | unknown | total     |
|--|--------|-----------|---------------------|---------|-----------|
| early Old Hungarian Era – hydronyms        | 7      | 3         |                     |         | 10        |
| early Old Hungarian Era – settlement names | 14     | 24        | 3                   | 6       | 47        |
| early Old Hungarian Era – microtoponyms    | 1      | 10        |                     | 1       | 12        |
| <b>total</b>                               | 26     | 32        | 5                   | 6       | <b>69</b> |

**Table 1.** Indicators of the name environment of Taszár in Bars County

The most ancient toponym layer of the region is clearly represented by the names of the (larger) rivers: we can find almost only Slavic names among these (*Zsitva*, *Zsikva*, *Topolnyica*, *Dervence*, *Rohozsnica*, *Szincse*; the name of the smaller watercourse *Sztranya* may also be a Slavic name, which is mentioned exactly nearby Taszár), there are only *Hecse* and *Saracska* as well as a distributary of the *Zsitva*, the *Kis-Zsitva* (‘small *Zsitva*’), that have Hungarian names (see Map 3).



**Map 3.** Name environment of the settlement Taszár I. Hydronyms



Map of the Zala region showing settlement names categorized by origin:

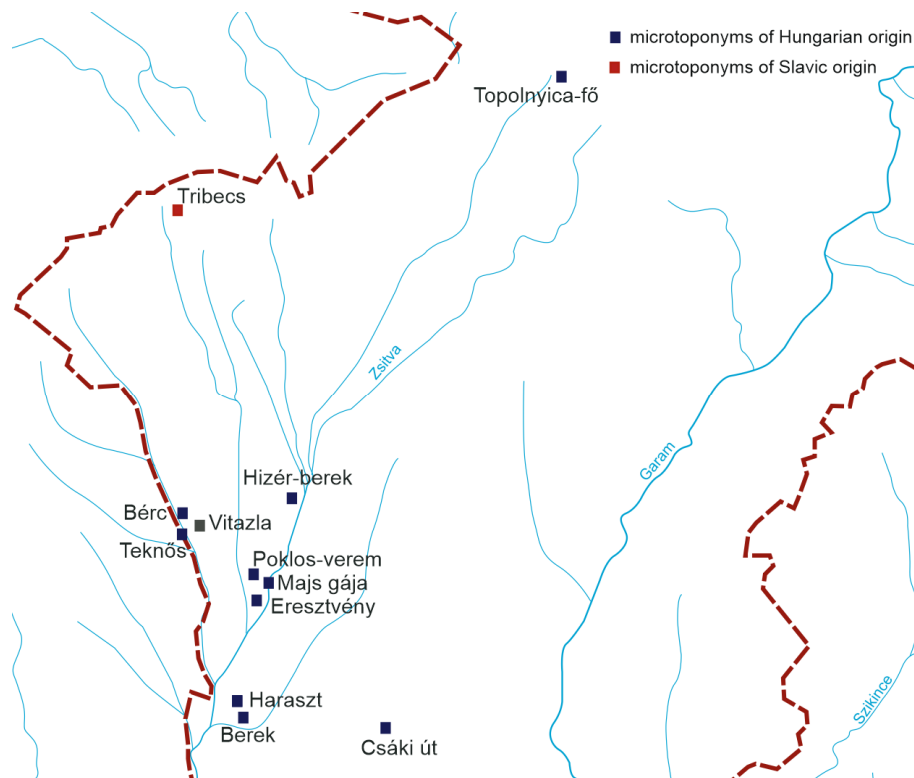
- settlement names of Hungarian origin (blue dots)
- settlement names of Slavic origin (red dots)
- settlement names of uncertain origin (grey dots)

Settlements shown on the map include: Hrussó, Keresztúr, Zsikva, Bori, Ebedec, Kündi, Gesztógy, Kistapolcsány, Velcsic, Kosztolány, Szentmárton, Lédec, Patkánytelke, Marót, Knyezsic, Szelecsény, Hényc, Néver, Kolbasz, Hízér, Goloh, Hecse, Taszár, Kelecsény, Szovaj, Valkóc, Bélád, Herestény, Szalc, Vezekény, Nemcsény, Kisszelepcsény, Szelepcsény, Jóka, Nyevegy, Rohozsnica, Dusnok, Aha, Tajna, Sári, Munkád, Verebely, and Székely.

**Map 4.** *Name environment of the settlement Taszár 2. Settlement names*



The microtoponyms around *Taszár* appear as Hungarian names in the sources: *Bérc*, *Teknős*, *Poklos-verem*, *Mojs gaja*, *Eresztvény*, *Haraszt*, *Berek*, *Hizér-berek*, *Topolnyica-fő*. The name of the *Vitazla* valley cannot be explained. Somewhat further away, a woody mountain range in the northwestern part of the county bears a Slavic name: *Tribecs* (see Map 5).



**Map 5.** Name environment of the settlement *Taszár* 3. Microtoponyms

This outline also confirms that the *Taszár* settlement name first mentioned in the Founding Charter of Garamszentbenedek could be a denomination of Slavic origin. There is no palpable evidence that would indicate that the *taszár* ~ *teszér* ‘carpenter’ occupational name would have been used in Hungarian also in a common noun status, and toponym reconstruction has not uncovered such circumstances either based on which this idea could be substantiated with adequate foundations. Overall, the fact that the king also donated with the settlement ten housefuls of carpenters among others obviously cannot be a conclusive argument in this respect. It is certain, however, that the mentioned name form already clearly indicates Hungarian name usage in the 11<sup>th</sup> century: its vowel harmony indicates adaptation to the phonotactic attributes of the Hungarian language.



2. The *Tazzar* record chosen as an example to outline the methodological problems of etymology comes from a charter with an uncertain **chronological status**. This circumstance cannot be disregarded in the etymological study of the names either. The biggest difficulty in connection with these sources is the determination of the actual chronological layers of the charter and the association of the toponymic data to these subsequently. The Founding Charter of Garamszentbenedek is an interpolated charter and two chronological layers have been distinguished in it by scholars in diplomatics and historical linguistics: the issuing of the original charter, the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and the date of interpolation, copying, the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Scholars have clarified which parts of the charter could be created in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and which ones belong to the 13<sup>th</sup> century based on several factors (see DHA 1: 212, SZŐKE 2015: 39–43). Taking this first step is of key significance for the further utilization of the given charter in subsequent studies in the fields of historical linguistics, onomastics or history. This also means that the source value of charters of an uncertain chronological status may be assessed differently than that of the original, authentic charters, and thus their processing also necessitates a different methodology. This methodology was developed for interpolated charters with impressive thoroughness by MELINDA SZŐKE (2015). The basic principles of the method may be applicable not only to interpolated charters but also to forged ones and those that have survived in the form of copies, although these types of sources partly bring up other problems than the interpolated charters. I do not discuss it here how the toponymic data recorded in different types of sources may be used in etymological research (I only wished to indicate the problem) as the study of MELINDA SZŐKE in this volume touches upon the issue (2019).

3. From the perspective of toponym reconstruction (and especially in the ethnic conclusions relying on this) we do not necessarily consider the **etymologies** told to be certain with the same weight. This is because there is a **probability scale** of name explanation that may be created. At one end of this scale, there are the explanations of those names that can be identified (localized) well, appearing at many parts of the language area, with abundant records, and fitting well into a name typological group. At the other end of the scale, there are the explanations of those names the localization of which are uncertain or non-existent, represented by single records, and which cannot be associated with common noun parallels; the linguistic-ethnic identification power of these have to be considered much weaker than that of the others.

The enforcement of the perspective of onomatosystematical embeddedness is an important principle in the process of name reconstruction (as seen before). This is because the etymology that stands alone among name explanations, and which does not have analogous examples, may be accepted with lower probability than those that are supported by a myriad of similar name forms. This



consequence of etymology is due to the fact that toponyms make up a system and the genesis and changes of names may be described with clearly-graspable regularities in a large part of the cases, meaning that the majority of names can be categorized within a type. This, of course, does not exclude the presence of uniquely formed names in the toponymic system of any language, but in most cases typical characteristics can also be identified in the details of their creation and changes. The correct interpretation of these names is especially difficult for toponym etymologists. Of course, the typological perspective has to be enforced not only when explaining toponyms of a Hungarian origin but also in the case of names created in Slavic, Turkish, German, etc. languages and then borrowed by Hungarian.

4. Finally, I would like to summarize those principles which may be followed the most successfully during historical toponym reconstruction. I discussed some of these in detail before, while I would like to reflect briefly on others here.

Etymological research has to rely on data deriving from actual language use. We can only draw conclusions about actual language use in the early centuries of toponym formation from data found in charters and other historical sources. Toponym reconstruction looks at the analyzed toponym in its complete historical depth and considers its embeddedness in name typology. This is needed because the processes of name giving and name change are fundamentally determined by the name models, name patterns (or schemes in other words): during name giving and name changes such names are created for which there is a model in the toponymic system of the given language. These models are of a semantic and morphological nature and there may be shifts in their frequency of use and productivity with time. The changes occurring in the productivity of the models can then be identified also in the changes of the name system of toponyms: some toponym types are pushed into the background with time, while others become dominant; but all this does not result in significant modifications in the character of the toponymic system itself within a shorter time.

As there are extra-linguistic reasons in the background of the genesis of names and their changes, when explaining these we should also consider the extra-linguistic sphere, thus we should also map the socio-cultural medium of the name's existence. Without this, we could not accurately understand the genesis of specific toponyms or certain name types.

Toponym reconstruction, the etymological survey of names also demands an interdisciplinary approach, while using the methodology and tools of linguistics, and within that primarily that of historical linguistics and onomastics. Of the historical disciplines, this mostly involves the different branches of history (settlement history, ethnic history) but results in diplomatics, historical ethnography, historical geography, as well as cultural history may also be helpful for name reconstruction.



The principles outlined here also include the most important tenets of the **functional-linguistic approach**. With this brief overview, I also wished to indicate that functional linguistics (both as a theoretical framework and an approach) can also greatly contribute to research in toponym reconstruction as well as onomastics in general.

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### Abstract

The area of the Carpathian Basin that belonged to the former Kingdom of Hungary was a truly diverse region both in a linguistic and ethnic sense. As ethnic relationships are also reflected in the toponymic system of the area and as toponyms are also featured in the earliest written sources, scholars in historical linguistics and history often rely on the information provided by the etymology of names. Thus historical linguistics has an especially important role in the etymological study of names.

In my paper I highlight those methodological principles that should be considered when providing a linguistic explanation for the old toponyms of the Carpathian Basin. First, I address the advantages of using the historical toponym reconstruction process instead of the traditional method of toponym etymology in studies of toponyms. Toponym reconstruction also starts out from the name etymon but it looks at the name within a very extensive network of relationships that includes the following factors: the attributes of the source containing the name and the context of the name within the source; the totality of data referring to the referent of the name (in an adequate historical depth); all occurrences of the name in the Carpathian Basin (i.e., its onomato-geography); the name cluster (name field) it fits into typologically; the reality and local relations of the referent (i.e., its natural-social environment and name environment). If we examine the name in this extensive, multi-dimensional system of relationships, our etymological findings will become more robust and accurate also. I introduce these dimensions through the example of a single toponym, the name of *Taszár* settlement in the northern part of the Carpathian Basin, in Bars County, in the valley of the Zsitva (Žitava).

At the same time, as part of the study of toponyms, it is also important methodologically to consider the status of the source preserving the name in diplomatics; i.e., if we know the record from the original charter or from one that has survived in the form of a copy, or maybe from a forged or interpolated charter. The Charter of Garamszentbenedek preserving the *Taszár* settlement name is an interpolated charter, which means that additional parts were inserted into the original charter dated in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The *Taszár* settlement name is part of the original, 11<sup>th</sup>-century chronological layer of the charter. I also address the role of this feature in my paper.

The question of etymological authenticity also has to be in the focus in etymological studies. This means that the etymology of certain toponyms cannot be established with the same degree of certainty and the possibility cannot be



verified to the same degree. I provide an overview of this issue as well in my paper.

Finally, I also confirm that the historical analysis of toponyms can be carried out most successfully within a functional linguistic framework.

**Keywords:** etymology, methodology, historical toponym reconstruction, Carpathian Basin, Middle Ages



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***Settlement Names in an Onomatosystematical Context:  
Name Typology, Etymology, and Chronology\****

**1. Objectives and Framework of the Analysis**

For centuries, toponyms have played a key role in research on the history of the Hungarian language (what is more, on the history of the Hungarian people) due to unique features of the sources. There are practically no direct, written sources on the early centuries of Hungarian medieval history: Hungarians arrived in the Carpathian Basin at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (i.e., the Conquest) but information recorded in charters about local circumstances is available only from the early 11<sup>th</sup> century. Toponyms remain the key to understanding the historical circumstances of the missing two centuries, since the peoples living and encountered here can best be studied with the help of hydronyms and settlement names (oikonyms) deriving from their languages. The etymological analysis of toponyms serves, therefore, as the starting point for such endeavors.

Researchers attempted to reconstruct how and at what pace Hungarians populated the Carpathian Basin and the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary in the centuries following their arrival into the region mostly based on the analysis of settlement names of Hungarian origin. For this purpose, they primarily used the characteristic typological groups of oikonyms.

It is due to such an outstanding source value of toponyms that the study of settlement names has had an especially important role not only in onomastics but also in language history and historical studies in general. In this process, certain toponym types have already been processed by researchers. The analysis from the perspective of linguistic elements was completed by MIKLÓS KÁZMÉR in his *A »falu« a magyar helynevekben, XIII–XIX. század*. [*»falu«* ‘village’ in Hungarian toponyms, 13–19<sup>th</sup> century] (Budapest, 1970), while studies from the perspective of functions expressed in names were conducted by ANDRÁS MEZŐ in *A templomcím a magyar helységnevekben, 11–15. század*. [Patrocinies in Hungarian settlement names, 11<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries] (Budapest, 1996). More recent research also approaches settlement names from the perspective of semantic content: ANITA RÁ CZ studies denominations containing ethnonyms in

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\* This work was carried out as part of the Research Group on Hungarian Language History and Toponomastics (University of Debrecen–Hungarian Academy of Sciences) as well as the project *International Scientific Cooperation for Exploring the Toponymic Systems in the Carpathian Basin* (ID: NRDI 128270, supported by National Research, Development and Innovation Fund, Hungary).



her work *Ethonimák a régi magyar településnevekben* [Ethnonyms in the old Hungarian settlement names] (Debrecen, 2016), while VALÉRIA TÓTH analyzed settlement names containing anthroponyms in her monograph *Személynévi helynévadás az ómagyar korban* [Toponyms based on anthroponyms in the Old Hungarian Era] (Debrecen, 2017). These studies are considered important, seminal works in Hungarian toponomastics. At the same time, we still have no comprehensive monographic study on all the typical Hungarian types of settlement names from the medieval centuries.

Important onomatosystematical and name typological studies have also been conducted in Hungarian toponomastics not only according to name types but also based on a regional approach. Such works are mostly characterized by an etymological and historical linguistic approach. The following works are relevant here: ÁGNES BÉNYEI–GERGELY PETHŐ *Az Árpád-kori Győr vármegye településneveinek nyelvészeti elemzése* [The linguistic analysis of the settlement names of Győr County in the Árpád Era] (Debrecen, 1998), VALÉRIA TÓTH *Az Árpád-kori Abaúj és Bars vármegye helyneveinek történeti-etimológiai szótára* [The historical-etymological dictionary of the toponyms of Abaúj and Bars counties in the Árpád Era] (Debrecen, 2001), *Névrendszertani vizsgálatok a korai ómagyar korban (Abaúj és Bars vármegye)* [Onomatosystematical analyses in the early Old Hungarian Era (The toponyms of Abaúj and Bars counties)] (Debrecen, 2001), RITA PÓCZOS *Az Árpád-kori Borsod és Bodrog vármegye településneveinek nyelvészeti elemzése* [The linguistic analysis of the settlement names of Borsod and Bodrog counties in the Árpád Era] (Debrecen, 2001), ANITA RÁ CZ *A régi Bihar vármegye településneveinek nyelvészeti vizsgálata* [The linguistic study of the settlement names of historical Bihar County] (Debrecen, 2005), *A régi Bihar vármegye településneveinek történeti-etimológiai szótára* [The historical-etymological dictionary of the settlement names of historical Bihar County] (Debrecen, 2007), and BÉLA KOCÁN *Helynévtörténeti vizsgálatok a régi Ugocsa megyében* [Studies in historical toponomastics in Ugocsa County] (Debrecen, 2017). The typological relationships between settlement names and especially their chronological relations, however, have been studied to a lesser extent so far; these topics were only addressed in passing. Thus, in the following I will focus on this aspect and introduce the settlement name corpus of Bihar County, the largest county in medieval Hungary.

## 2. Settlement History

At the time of the Conquest, Hungarians arriving in the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin settled down in a diverse natural environment in the area of the future Bihar County where the territory was divided more or less in the same proportion between the mountains in the eastern and southern areas of the county and the plains located in the western and northern parts. The area of the



county was subdivided further by smaller and larger watercourses (e.g., the Berettyó, the Ér, the two northern sections of the Körös: the Sebes-Körös called Váradi-Körös and the Fekete-Körös, the Gyepes, etc., cf. HA 1: 75–80). When the rivers flooded, large swampy areas emerged in the lowlands area, which are permanently present. Partly as a result of this, extensive marshlands appeared in the western part of the county, which at the time was referred to as Sárrettje.

The 11<sup>th</sup>-century conditions of the population of the Carpathian Basin were studied by ISTVÁN KNIEZSA (1938) who argued that a Hungarian-speaking population inhabited a large part of the county at this time. More specifically, traces of the Székely ethnic group<sup>1</sup> could also be found. Larger groups of Székelys performing a border defense function were relocated here from the western fringes from the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (as defensive battles subsided in the west the invasion by pagan peoples intensified in the east). Later they would move from here to the east, the Transylvanian areas, site of their later residence. A significant block of Székelys can be found in Bihar county at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (KRISTÓ 2003: 54–59). Pechenegs joined Hungarians arriving in the Carpathian Basin several times after the conquest (some already during the 11<sup>th</sup> century, a larger part in the second half of the century) as they were forced to move due to internal conflicts and the movement of nomadic peoples from east to west. Similarly to the Székelys, this group also functioned as border guards. Their settlements seem to cluster around Várad (later Nagyvárad/Oradea). They probably inhabited the peripheral wetland areas, as this was more suitable for their lifestyle centered on large livestock breeding. Their number was probably not significant and this ethnic group was completely assimilated by Hungarians by the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries (cf. KNIEZSA 1938: 436–439, KRISTÓ 2003: 79). We shall also consider the presence of a Slavic population in the Carpathian Basin, and thus also in Bihar, at this time. According to historian GYULA KRISTÓ, prior to the conquest, the Slavic population had made up the larger proportion of the population and this was characteristic of the early 11<sup>th</sup> century population as well (2003: 81, 85). They typically settled at the border of the plains area and the mountains, close to rivers. This Slavic group and the Slavic population that was moved here or which settled down later probably assimilated into the Hungarian populace relatively early (Gy. 1: 571, KRISTÓ 2003: 90, JAKÓ 1940: 22–31). The population of Bihar County suffered great losses due to the destruction caused by the Tatar invasion in the mid-13<sup>th</sup> century. Hungarians could escape into the

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<sup>1</sup> The origin of the Székelys (Seklars) is disputed, it is not known if their language was Hungarian originally or if they switched to it only when living together with the Hungarians. Today, there are two theories: according to one, the ethnic group was originally Hungarian, while the other approach considers them to be of Turkic origin but who joined the Hungarians before the Conquest.



wetland and mountain areas and based on the calculations of historian GYÖRGY GYÖRFFY approximately 18% of the county's settlements was destroyed permanently (Gy. 1: 578). The settlement of the Romanian population began at this time. In line with their lifestyle, they appeared in mountain valleys, the valley of the Fekete-Körös, and by the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century near the Fenes Castle (SZABÓ 1941/1990: 47–48). Based on research by GYULA KRISTÓ, from the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century they were present in a smaller number in the eastern, mountainous parts of the county, then from the second half of the century, intensive Romanian settlement started. As a result, by the 16<sup>th</sup> century the population of the Belényes mountain area located in the southeastern part of the county became completely Romanian (2003: 207–209).

Medieval Bihar County was the largest county of the country with an area of 11,000 km<sup>2</sup>. From the Conquest until the 1332–37 papal tithe registers, GYÖRGY GYÖRFFY mentions 455 settlements in his historical geography of the Árpád Era. He argues that if we also consider settlements possibly not included in the sources (there could obviously be such settlements) the number of settlements actually existing in this era could be around 500 (1: 589–692). ZSIGMOND JAKÓ, who wrote his monograph on the medieval history of the county, mentions 754 inhabited places up to 1600 (1940: 5).

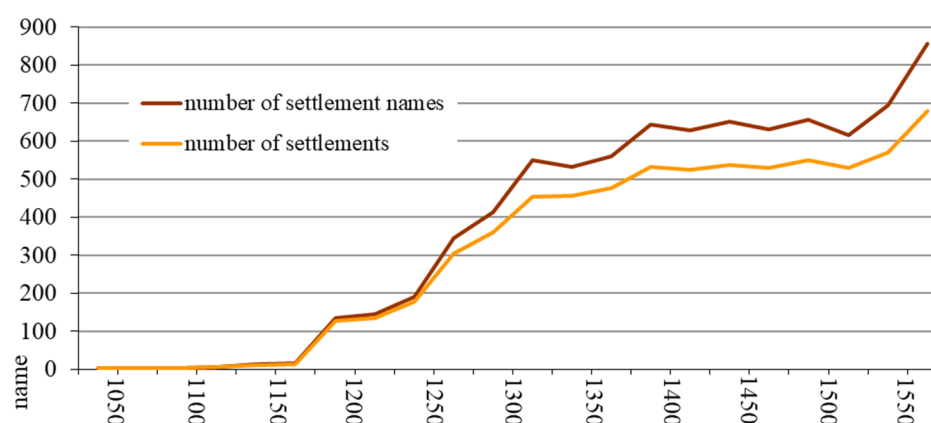
### 3. Settlements and Settlement Names

Historical studies understandably focused more on settlements than settlement names but the naming of settlements may also provide important information for this discipline. Studies in historical linguistics and toponomastics turn to settlement names and this research activity may largely be facilitated by knowledge of settlement history as well. This interdisciplinary connection is based on the organic interconnectedness of the settlements and their denominations. From the perspective of linguistics, this relationship is introduced by toponym etymology and more recently toponym reconstruction<sup>2</sup> in terms of particular names and the settlements signified by them. When looking at the entire system as a whole, however, it becomes clear that the number of settlement names exceeds the number of settlements. This phenomenon is studied below, searching for the underlying linguistic and extra-linguistic reasons and tracking the temporal development of the linguistic process.

<sup>2</sup> Name reconstruction means the complex historical-etymological study of a toponym. It explores contemporary forms behind particular historical linguistic data, the denotative meaning of the name, its morphological and semantic structure. At the same time, it also aims to introduce the real linguistic sociological value of the toponyms. In the case of borrowings between languages it pays particular attention to the circumstances under which the linguistic adaptation took place (HOFFMANN 2010, HOFFMANN–TÓTH 2016, HOFFMANN–RÁCZ–TÓTH 2017: 26–28, 2018: 135–148).



The changes in the number of settlements and their names are presented in Figure 1, divided into periods of 25 years. In calculating, I used the first appearance of names in sources and I considered every name form to be existing as long as it appears probable according to other sources. This happens irrespective of whether a name appears in an interim period in sources or not: if it appears later, I consider it existing also in the period without being mentioned in sources.



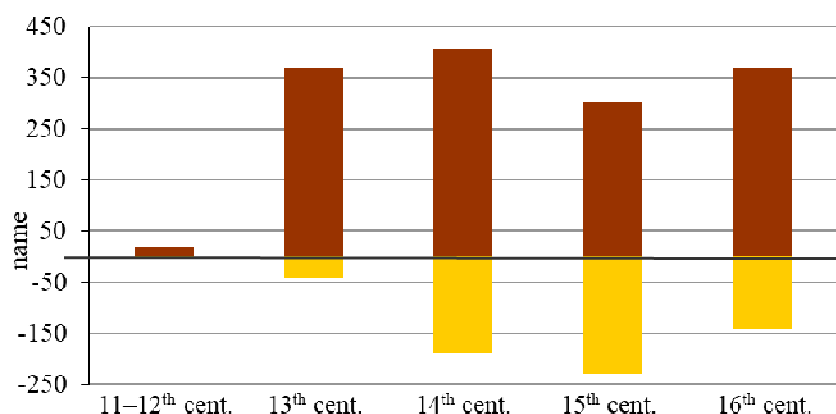
**Figure 1.** *The number of settlements and settlement names in Bihar County*

The figure shows that settlement names were recorded relatively infrequently until the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and thus obviously we have little knowledge of the settlements themselves. As for the 11<sup>th</sup> century, we are aware of only two inhabited places but even at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century charters indicate only 14 settlements. From this period on, however, we witness a rising trend: both the number of settlements and the number of settlement names denoting them begin to increase, and increase continuously until the early 15<sup>th</sup> century. For approximately a century from this point on, the number of settlements and their names stagnates, and we witness another intensive increase from the first third of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It is also clear, however, that the difference between the number of settlement names and the referents denoted by them increases continuously from the mid-13<sup>th</sup> until the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century: from this point forward, the number of settlement names grows faster than that of the referents. The sources that have survived since the 14<sup>th</sup> century preserved 550 names of 450 settlements, while by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century documents feature 850 name data for approximately 700 settlements.

The difference seen here indicates polynymy, i.e., the appearance of synonyms. Sources record multiple names of a settlement used at the same time. The polynymy of settlements appears at the turn of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. The number of settlements with multiple names is around 40 at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, while by the end of the 14<sup>th</sup>, there are close to 90 such settlements. The



number of synonymous names per settlement during the entire Old Hungarian Era (895–1526) was between 1.1–1.2 throughout, thus every ninth-tenth settlement had two denominations. At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century this ratio was already 1.26; as this time we are aware of 857 names of 680 settlements. The growth in the number of settlement names is due to the interaction of two factors. Besides the already existing names of settlements, there were not only new denominations created, but also some of the early names stopped being used. These two processes of change shaped the name system simultaneously and resulted in the increase in the number of names presented above. Figure 2 presents this two-directional change depicted in different centuries.



**Figure 2.** *The birth and disappearance of settlement names*

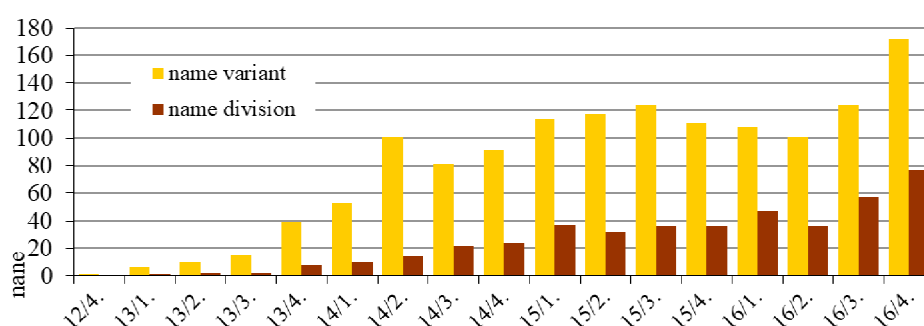
The disappearance of settlement names may partly be due to the destruction of the settlements. In such cases, however, their name only stops being used as a settlement name but it may live on in the given area, for example, as a micro-toponym. The settlement name may, however, also disappear in a way that its place is taken over by another name, which (after simultaneous use for a certain time) completely replaces the previous denomination.

The expansion of the number of denominations may be approached from two directions from a pragmatic perspective. The creation of new names may be induced by a process referred to as settlement division. In this process the previously unified settlement is divided into two or more parts due to various reasons (most frequently as a result of the division of estates). These newly created parts are then differentiated from one another by a differentiating element attached to the previous base name. This results in name division. A newer name of a settlement may, however, be created without the phenomenon of name division. In this case there may be many reasons for the creation of the new name. One of the most typical motivations includes a change in the landlord of the settlement and the resulting expression of this fact in the name of the place, but the need for changing, replacing the name may also appear due





to many other circumstances. Linguistic reasons may play a role in the changes of the previous name, for example, it is typical that a frequent, fashionable name model of the time affects such processes. Figure 3 shows the changes resulting from these two processes in the number of names created by means of division and synonymy. It should be highlighted that the expansion of the number of names this way is practically independent of the growth of the actual number of settlements. Due to village divisions, the only change was in the legal status of the affected settlements.



**Figure 3.** *Changes in the number of names created by division and synonymy*

The diagram shows that the increase in the number of names in these two ways beginning at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. It is clear that the number of names created as synonyms is well above the denominations created by division throughout the Old Hungarian Era. The increase in the number of synonyms noticeably shoots up in the second quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, which is clearly due to the rich toponymic corpus of the papal tithe register (1332–1337) compiled at this time. However, in what follows there is a natural, gradual increase visible meanwhile with some decline. From the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the number of synonyms is always above 100, while at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century they are present in the sources in an outstanding number. As we have already indicated, there are numerous reasons for polynymy (both intra- and extra-linguistic). The settlement history factors cannot always be identified in each and every case with targeted studies either.

However, the analysis of changes with a purely linguistic motivation may be informative. Names created by means of division are much rarer; until the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century their number barely reaches 50, although as time passes the number of specimens in this name type clearly increases also. We may witness a more intensive growth in the first quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when they make up one third of names created as synonyms. Later (with the exception of a smaller drop in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century) this name type is characterized by gradual growth. By the middle and end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, its proportion reaches almost half of the division names. The number of names



created by division is indicative of the fact of village divisions, thus they primarily have significance in settlement history. The applied linguistic tools may also be studied in connection with this phenomenon.

The types of settlement names created through division may be identified based on the semantic content of the first constituent that was attached to the original settlement name. The largest group is made up by those denominations in which the attributive first constituent is an adjective referring to the size of the settlement. The earliest name pair of this type includes *Kiskágya* ('small/settlement named Kágya') and *Nagykágya* ('large/settlement named Kágya'): 1399: *Kyskagya*, 1400: *Naghkagia* (JAKÓ 1940: 269–270) created due to the division of the village *Kágya* (settlement name of an uncertain origin): 127[8]: *Kaga* (Gy. 1: 629). As well as the division of the settlement of *Bagos* (*Bagos* personal name > *Bagos* settlement name): [1291–94]: *Bogus* (Gy. 1: 597) into *Kisbagos* ('small/settlement named Bagos') and *Nagybagos* ('large/settlement named Bagos'): 1347: *Kysbogus*, *Nogbogus* (Cs. 1: 603).

The number of those denominations that refer to the relative position of the settlement or settlement section is also significant. This differentiating feature first appears in the case of the division of *Kér* (*Kér* tribe's name > *Kér* settlement name) located to the south-east of Várad (later Nagyvárad, today Oradea in Romania): 1249: *Keer* (Gy. 1: 631) in the names of *Alkér* ('lower/settlement named Kér') and *Felkér* ('upper/settlement named Kér'): 1214/1550: *inferioris Quer* (Gy. 1: 631), 1318>1390>1406: *Alsó Ker* (AOkl. 5: 61/129); [1272–90]>1374/1500 k.: *Keer superiore*, 1332–37/PR.: *Felkeer* (Gy. 1: 631). It is not uncommon that the attribute of such name pairs is replaced by another lexeme pair with an antonymous meaning. This phenomenon is visible also when in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the *Kiskér* ('small/settlement named Kér') name variant of *Alkér* 1552: *Kys Keer*, and the *Nagykér* ('large/settlement named Kér'): 1552: *Nagy Keer* (JAKÓ 1940: 277) variant of *Felkér* appeared.

The first constituent of some of the names created by means of division refers to an individual or a group of residents. Settlement names received a personal name attribute when they indicated its owner. The earliest example of this type includes the parts created with the division of the settlement *Pályi* (*Paul* anthroponym + *-i* topoforant): 1220/1550: *Pauli* (Gy. 1: 650) into *Majspályija* ('Pályi settlement/owned by a person called Majs') and *Ernefiaistvánpályija* ('Pályi settlement/owned by a person called István the son of Erne'): 1322: *Moyspaulia*, *Ernefyastephanpaulia* (Gy. 1: 650). The denomination could also refer to the social status of the residents of the settlement as in the case of *Gyán* (*Gyán* anthroponym > *Gyán* settlement name): 1214: *Gyan* (JAKÓ 1940: 251) and the first member of the name pair created from it, called *Szabadgyán* ('free/settlement named Gyán'): 1229/1550: *Zobodian* (Gy. 1: 620) and *Kötegyán* ('settlement named Gyán/of a person named Köte'): 1485: *Kethegyan*



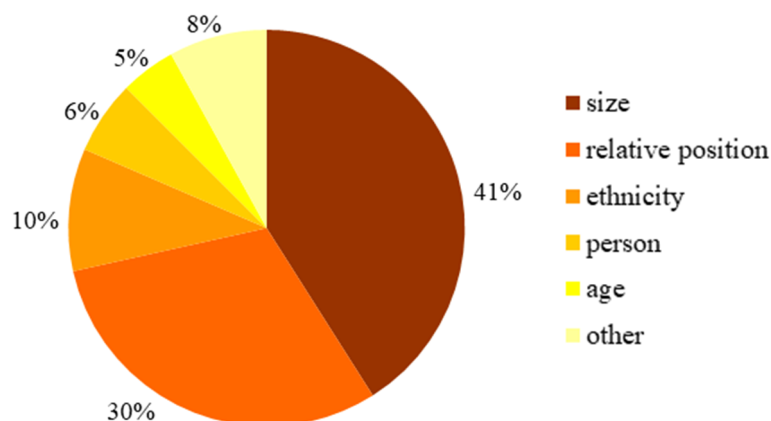
(JAKÓ 1940: 251). The first example in Bihar in which the attribute refers to the ethnicity of the population is the name pair of *Magyarderna* ('Hungarian/settlement named Derna'): 1406: *Magyardarna, Oláhderna* ('Romanian/settlement named Derna'): 1406: *Olahdarna* (JAKÓ 1940: 232). Subsequently, there was a change in attributes in the case of these settlements as well: *Magyarderna* was recorded in charters later on as *Alsóderna* ('lower/settlement named Derna'): 1472: *Alsodarna*, while *Oláhderna* as *Felsőderna* ('upper/settlement named Derna'): 1472: *Felsewdarna* (JAKÓ 1940: 232).

In the differentiated name forms created as a result of estate division we may also find first constituents referring to the age of the settlement: the earliest attribute with such a semantic content is the name of *Újmarja* ('new/settlement named Marja') and *Ómarja* ('old/settlement named Marja'): [1291–94]: *Maria noua*, 1332–37/PR.: *Vymaria*; 1322: *Omaria* (Gy. 1: 641) from the settlement *Marja* (*Mária* ~ *Marja* anthroponym > *Mária* ~ *Marja* settlement name): 1277/1282: inter *Mariam* et *Wodosa* (Gy. 1: 641).

Besides these, the semantic content of the first constituent may also indicate, for example, the existence or absence of a church in the settlement: *Pércs*: [1270]/1282: *Peerch* > *Egyházaspércs* ('settlement named Pércs/with a church'): 1347: *Eghazas Perch*, later *Nagypércs* ('large/settlement named Pércs'): 1435: *Naghperch*; and *Egyházatlanpércs* ('settlement named Pércs/without a church'): 1347: *Eghaziatlan Perch*, later *Kispércs* ('small/settlement named Pércs'): 1435: *Kysperch* (RÁCZ 2007: 90, 91, 155, 200, 221). It may also feature the name of a nearby settlement referring to geographical location: *Ósi*: 1359: *Ewsy* > *Sarkadősi* ('settlement named Ósi/located nearby Sarkad settlement'): 1552: *Sarkadewssy* and *Prépostősi* ('settlement named Ósi/owned by the provost'): 1552: *Preposthewssy* (RÁCZ 2007: 214, 228, 240); occupational name: *Peterd*: [1291–94]: *Peturd* > *Fegyvernekpeterd* ('settlement named Peterd/inhabited by squires'): 1382: *Feghuernekpeturd* and *Mezőpeterd* ('settlement named Peterd/situated in a plain area'): 1382: *Mezewpetherd* (RÁCZ 2007: 96, 187, 222), etc.

It is clear from these examples as well that the settlement names created by means of division are all of secondary form; that is, the creators of the name attached a differentiating attributive first constituent to the already existing settlement name for the purposes of clearer designation. As a summary, Figure 4 shows the semantic content of the first constituents of settlement names formed by means of division.





**Figure 4.** *Semantic types of names created by means of division*

The number of settlement names was also increased by the synonymous names related to the settlement. In this case the old and the newly created denomination signified the same referent. From a lexical perspective, the newly created names could be related to the old one, but it also often happened that they expressed a completely new semantic feature. The typical types of synonymous names may also be described as syntactic changes: the formerly single-component settlement name becomes a two-component name with a settlement name formant and continues to designate the given settlement in the future also. Such name formations are exemplified in Bihar County by the *Ábrány* (*Ábrahám* anthroponym > *Ábrahám* settlement name): 1234/XV.: *Abraham* (Gy. 1: 590) > *Ábrányfalva* ('Abraham's/village'): 1436: *Abránfalva* (JAKÓ 1940: 199) and *Mikola* (*Mikola* anthroponym > *Mikola* settlement name): 1329: *Mykola* (Gy. 1: 645) > *Mikolatelke* ('Mikola's/village'): 1417: *Mykolatheleke* (Cs. 1: 616) settlement names. Synonyms may also be created in the opposite direction, i.e., by means of ellipsis. The geographical common noun disappeared in the following names: *Szitányfalva* ('village of/person called Szitány'): 1508: *Zythaanfálwa* (JAKÓ 1940: 357) > *Szitány*: 1598: *Zytany* (DÁVID 2001: 135). However, very rarely the ellipsis of the main constituent with a settlement name origin may also create a name form, as in the case of *Berekböszörmény* ('settlement named Böszörmény/located on a wooded, wetland area'): 1396: *Berekbezermen* existed temporarily *Berek*: 1552: *Berek* (JAKÓ 1940: 210). The switching of name formants used as name constituents is illustrated by *Illyefalva* ('a person called Illye's/village'): 1411: *Elyefalwa* > *Illyeháza* ('a person called Illye's/village'): 1533: *Ilyehaza* (JAKÓ 1940: 263).

We may also register complementation with an attributive name constituent in the name system of Bihar, including, for example, *Bátor* (*Bátor* anthroponym > *Bátor* settlement name): [1177]/1202–1203/XV.: *Batur* (Gy. 1: 598) *Feketebátor* ('black/settlement named Bátor'): 1470: *Fekyetebetor* (EH 81), and



*Nagybátor* ('large/settlement named Bátor'): 1473: *Naghbator* (JAKÓ 1940: 207). There are also examples for switching the attributive first constituent: *Atyás*: 1283/1311: *Athas* (Gy. 1: 596) settlement was later known as *Kisatyás* ('small/settlement named Atyás'): 1410: *Kysataz*, *Mezőatyás* ('settlement named Atyás/situated in a plain area'): 1488: *Mezewatyas* (JAKÓ 1940: 197), and then as *Puszystaatyás* ('barren, destroyed/settlement named Atyás'): 1530: *PwzthaAthyas* (EH 66).

An existing settlement name might have also been extended with a name element: *Kávás* ('having a brim, probably a well with a brim'): 1355: *Kawas* > *Kávásd* (*Kávás* settlement name + *-d* topoformant): 1425: *Kavasd* (JAKÓ 1940: 270); *Harang* ('bellflower'): 1342: *Harang* (A. 4: 229) > *Harangmező* ('bellflower + field'): 1552: *Haranghmezeo* (JAKÓ 1940: 254); or by means of a name element reduction, it might as well have disappeared from the name: *Béli* (*Béli* anthroponym > *Béli* settlement name): 1332–35/PR.: *Bely* (Cs. 1: 604) > *Bél* (disappearance of *-i* interpreted as a topoformant): 1389: *Beel* (Zs. 1: 1060); *Örvényesligete* ('turbulent + smaller forest'): 1336: *Wrwenusligethe* > *Örvényes* ('turbulent'): 1360: *Ewrwenes* (JAKÓ 1940: 312).

Those denominations represent one type of settlement name synonyms that are typically attached in Latin sources by the Latin expressions *alias*, *vel*, *aliter*. The creators of such names established these denominations based on different semantic features, thus their lexical structure also differs. *Szentmárton* ('Saint Martin'): 1332: *Sanctus Martinus* (JAKÓ 1940: 245) in the north-eastern part of Bihar County also appears under the name of *Genyéte* (*Gonjata* anthroponym > *Genyéte* settlement name) one and a half centuries later: 1489: *Zenthmarton* aliter *Genyete* (Cs. 1: 608) ~ *Zenthmarton* vel *Genyethe* (JAKÓ 1940: 245), 1569: *Zentmarton* alias *Ghenete* (EH 451).

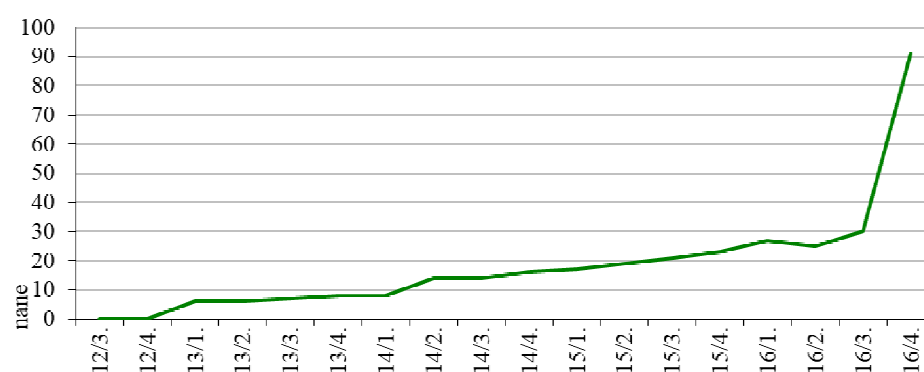
#### 4. Loan Toponyms

The growth in the number of settlement names is related not only to the Hungarian-speaking population. Ethnic groups of another language moving into the area also give new oikonyms, mostly for the new settlements established for or by them. The newly arrived foreign populace names the settlement using their own language and thus the denomination is created from the elements of the foreign language. These are added to the Hungarian language and toponymic system as loan toponyms and enrich the Hungarian toponymicon.

The first loan names appeared in the county at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The earliest such names dating from the first third of the century have Slavic origins (for their etymology see RÁCZ 2007) *Bertény*: 1213/1550: *Berceu* [ɔ: *Berten*] (Gy. 1: 599, < Slavic \**bьrtьnъ* (*lěsъ*) '[forest] abundant in tree holes suitable for bees'); *Guszár*: 1213/1550: *Guizar* (Gy. 1: 620, < maybe the proto



Slavic \**goserь* ‘gander’); *Kenese*: 1219/1550: villani *Kenesy* (Gy. 1: 634, < southern Slavic \**Kneža* place name ‘that of the prince, king’); *Terebes*: 1219: *Terebus* (JAKÓ 1940: 366, < \**trěběsь* ‘clearings’); *Valkó*: [1291–94]: *Wolkou* (Gy. 1: 681, < Slavic \**vьlkь* ‘wolf’) and maybe *Rikács*: 1209: *Richaz* (Gy. 1: 595, < proto Slavic \**rěka* ‘river’). From the 13<sup>th</sup> century the number of loan names shows a gradual increase all the way to the final third of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. During these 350 years 30 such settlement names appear in sources but their number triples in the next quarter of a century. Figure 5 shows the appearance of loan oikonyms in sources in Bihar County.



**Figure 5.** The appearance of loan toponyms in Bihar County

The reason for such a large increase is the spreading of Romanian loan names. The first settlement names of Romanian origin appeared in the 14<sup>th</sup> century: *Rogoz*: 1332: *Rogos* (JAKÓ 1940: 331, < Romanian *rogoz* ‘sedge, bulrush’); *Kornice(l)*: 1392: *Chormel* (JAKÓ 1940: 282, < Romanian *cornățel* ~ *cornițel* ‘cleavers’, ‘clubmoss’, ‘thistles’), and from this point on their number increases continuously. The major part of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century layer of settlement names that entered the Hungarian toponymic system by means of borrowing is already made up by names of Romanian origin in Bihar: *Bucson*: 1508: *Bwchon* (JAKÓ 1940: 221, < Romanian *bucium*, folk *bucin* ‘(tree) stump’); *Grós*: 1580: *Grooss* (JAKÓ 1940: 246, < Romanian *gros* ‘tree stump’); *Kalugyer*: 1588: *Kaluger* (JAKÓ 1940: 267, < Romanian *călugăr* ‘monk, friar’), etc.

## 5. Structural Categories

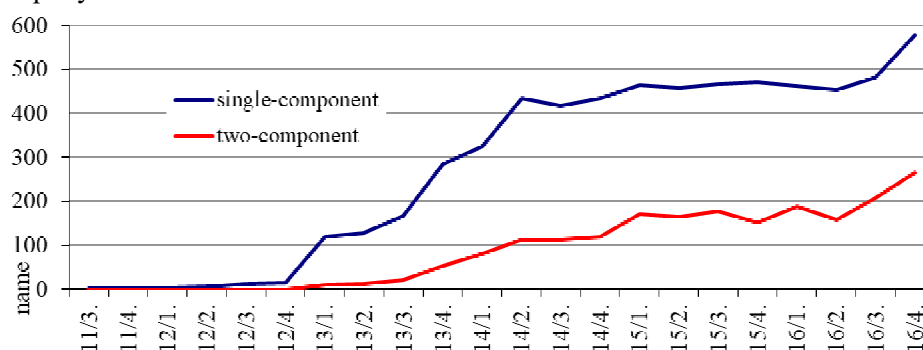
Toponyms as parts of the vocabulary may best be grasped in a structural sense from a functional perspective, similarly to common nouns. The most important relations of the toponymic system can also be introduced most illustratively based on this. Name constituents represent a basic concept in the functional-semantic analysis of toponyms. Those units of a toponym are considered to be name constituents that express any semantic feature related to the referent at the time of the name genesis or during the functioning of the name. Just as the toponymic systems in general, the settlement name system also has two clearly



separate structural types: single- and two-component names. The study of these name types represents a key aspect in the process of toponym analysis. In what follows, I will introduce the main features of these subsystems, their relations and key connections in the onomastic corpus of Bihar County.

I have already introduced one of the subtypes of single-component settlement names in Bihar County. The above-discussed loan settlement names may be considered single-component names, they entered the Hungarian system of toponyms as settlement names from a foreign language. This phenomenon is called external name formation. As opposed to this, there is also internal name formation when the creators of the name establish new settlement names using the elements of the Hungarian language based on existing patterns. The loan names established by means of external name formation and entering the Hungarian language function the same way in language use as names created by means of internal name formation. The only function of loan names is the denomination of the place. They can, however, ensure the place signifying, identifying basic function the same way as denominations created with internal name formation, as the speakers in the process of name usage do not consider the historical genesis of the name.

Figure 6 introduces changes in the number of single- and two-component settlement names in Bihar County during the Old Hungarian Era. In line with those already mentioned, the single-component names also include loan toponyms.



**Figure 6.** Changes in the number of single-component and two-component names in the Old Hungarian Era

It is clear from the diagram that single-component names are dominant, practically from the beginning, while by the end of the era these settlement names make up 70% of the total number of names. At the beginning, however, single-component denominations are present in an even higher proportion (although in lower number). The earliest two-component names appear in the sources at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century but often these appear in a form translated into Latin: *Asszonyvására* ('lady's (i.e., queen's)/settlement with





market rights’): 1203/1342//1477: *de Foro Regine*, later: 1268/1270: *Ahzunwasara* (Gy. 1: 595), *Túrsámsona* (‘settlement named Sámson/owned by a person called Túr’): 1213/1550: *Tumsansuna* [ɔ: *Tursamsuna*] (Gy. 1: 658), *Alsóker* (‘lower/settlement named Kér’): 1214/1550: *inferioris Quer* (Gy. 1: 631), *Ugramonostora* (‘settlement named Monostor/owned by a person called Ugra’): 1214/1550: *mon. de Vgra* (Gy. 1: 679), later: 1325: *Wgramonustra* (Gy. 1: 679), *Nyírpályi* (‘settlement named Pályi/located [nearby] a birch forest’): 1219/1550: *Pauli de Nyr*, later: 1332–37/PR.: *Nirpali* (Gy. 1: 650), etc. The two-component names make up approximately 10% of the total number of denominations until the final quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, then, however, their number increases more intensively: in the period between the last quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> and the final quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century their proportion is around 20%, which by the third quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century slowly reaches 30%. The number of single-component names increases continuously, with a more intensive growth at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (this only indicates, however, an increase in the number of sources), the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and from the second quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In the second quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century the names of both name structural types indicate outstanding values, which are mostly related to the large number of settlement name data appearing in the documents of the papal tithe registers of the time (1332–1337/PR.).

### 5.1. Single-Component Names

Besides the already mentioned loan names, we may distinguish between two larger groups within single-component settlement names. The first one includes those names that appear as settlement names without any settlement name formants, while the second type includes names created using topoformants (e.g., *-i*, *-d*, *-s*, etc.) These also include names of unknown origin, the creation of which can be explained based on our current knowledge only with uncertainty or not at all. Figure 7 shows the internal proportion of single-component settlement names.

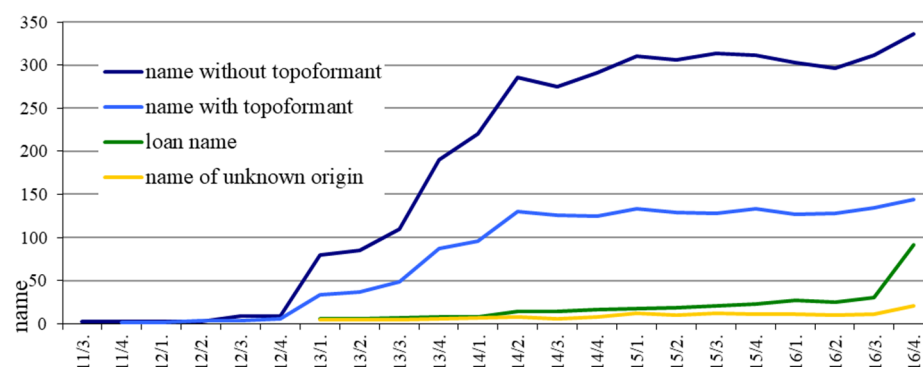


Figure 7. Types of single-component names

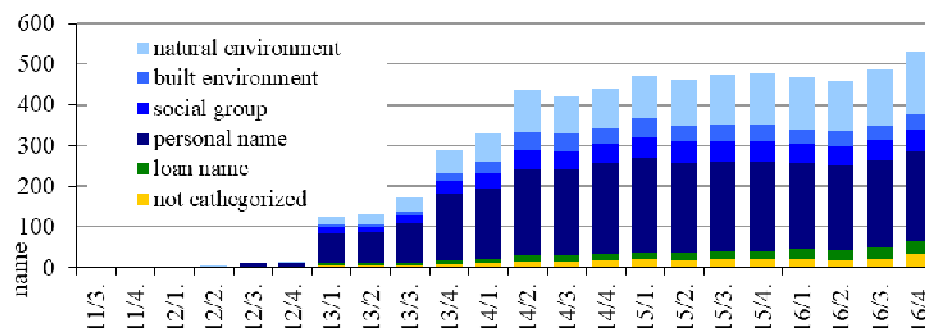


The largest group of single-component names is made up of those name forms that were created without a settlement name formant, but a significant number of names can be included also in the group of names formed with topoformants. The two earliest settlement names fall into the first category: *Szalacs* (*Szalacs* anthroponym > *Szalacs* settlement name): 1067/1267: *Zoloch* (Gy. 1: 663) and *Bihar* (*Bihar* anthroponym > *Bihar* settlement name): 1067/1267: *Byhoriensis* (Gy. 1: 601). The first settlement name found in sources that was created with a topoformant was *Várad* ('small fortress, small castle' + *-d* topoformant): 1103>XVIII.: *Varadinus* (Gy. 1: 682).

The number of specimens of the name type used in base form was already higher in the 11–12<sup>th</sup> centuries that had scarce sources and thus also scarce data. This is typical of the entire Old Hungarian Era. The growth in the number of names in both name clusters begins from the 13<sup>th</sup> century and already at this early time the names in their base form outnumber others two and a half times in the charters. The increase in the number of elements in the two types of name structures (maintaining the initial difference in frequency) practically goes parallel until the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. There we can witness a rapid increase in the names with a base form, along with the stagnation of formed names. The surge in the second quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (as indicated before) shows the abundance of data due to the papal tithe registers. From this point on (after a temporary drop lasting for a quarter of a century), the number of names in their base form shows a moderate but continuous increase, what is more, it surges at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century while the number of names with a settlement name topoformant stagnates. During the Old Hungarian Era, among the single-component settlement names the settlement names without a formant represent a definitive majority. The constancy of the proportions between the two main types indicates that in this structural category the internal relations of the name system practically remain unchanged after the first third of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. This may also be projected back to earlier periods, but it cannot be stated with certainty due to the low number of early toponymic data.

Thus far, I have used linguistic tools to analyze the categories of single-component names, in what follows, I will analyze the semantic content expressed by single component names using a functional approach. Figure 8 shows the division of the semantic types of single-component settlement names.





**Figure 8.** *The semantic types of single-component settlement names*

The largest group of single-component names is made up by settlement names rooted in personal names, which mostly refer to the owner, residents, etc. of the settlement. The presence of these names was dominant throughout the Old Hungarian Era, while at the end of the era, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, their proportion was still over 40%, and earlier it had been even higher. Among the single-component names this semantic group may be considered the oldest layer and until the second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century basically only such names are recorded in sources, but their proportion is at least 60% until the final quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. From this point on, the name type is characterized mostly by stagnation but this still means a proportion of 50% or higher. Around the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the corpus of single-component names expands again but this growth is still not followed by the settlement names formed from personal names. Both sets of the oldest name data of single-component names without a settlement name formant (*Szalacs* and *Bihar*) are of an anthroponym origin.

The other larger subgroup of single-component names is represented by settlement names formed from names referring to the natural environment. Their number increases continuously and steadily from the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century until the final quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, then in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it surges again especially at the end of the century. The corpus of such names stagnates only at the time when this is characteristic of the other types as well, i.e., the number of single-component settlement names does not change significantly overall. This semantic layer is second not only in terms of its proportion among single-component names but is also the second earliest group in terms of chronology. The earliest dated settlement names included here are the name of *Sarkad* referring to a location nearby a protrusion (*sarok* ‘corner, protrusion’) + *-di* topoformant): 1138/1329: *Surcudi* (Gy. 1: 659) and *Berettyó* village (*Berettyó* hydronym > *Berettyó* settlement name): [1162–1172]/[1326–1729–1741]: *Berekis* [ɔ: *Berekio*] (DHA 1: 303) next to the *Berettyó* river (then *Berek-jó* ‘grove by the river/river’).



Those denominations represent a typical part of the old Hungarian toponymicon that were created from names of social groups. Those name-forming lexemes that designate ethnic groups, tribes, and occupations are referred to as names of social groups as it is a shared feature of these words that they denote groups of people and human communities even in a nominative form. The settlement name layer which refers to the built environment of people with its name formation elements is also noteworthy. The settlement names formed from names of social groups and those referring to the built environment do not show significant changes in terms of proportions in the Old Hungarian Era, their number falls well behind the names in the previous group. The appearance of names of social groups in sources begins more intensively: the number of such names is double that of denominations referring to the built environment in the third quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but later these proportions gradually balance. One of the earliest names rooted in names of social groups includes the name of the settlement of *Olaszi* (*olasz* ‘speaking a western neo-Latin language’ + *-i* topoformant): 1184: *Olasz* (EH 700; later *Váradolasz*, FNESz.) located north of *Várad*. *Dusnok* (*dusnok* ‘performing punitive services for the church’): 1215/1550: *Dusunic* (Gy. 1: 614) was created from a name of an occupation with records as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The *Megyer* settlement name (*Megyer* tribe’s name > *Megyer* settlement name): 1220/1550: *Megyer* (Gy. 1: 642) located in the western part of the county derives from the name of a tribe. The chronology of settlement names referring to the built environment shows a similar trend. For example, *Egyházaskereki* (‘settlement named Kereki/with a church’): 1333: *Eghazaskereki* (Gy. 1: 632) on the shore of the *Ér* brook, and *Biharvár* (‘Bihar personal name/castle’): +1209/+1251//1322: *Byhoruariensi* (Gy. 1: 602) also providing the name for the county itself, and *Baromlak* (*baromlak* ‘a building for cattle, barn’): 1327/1469: *Boromlak* (Gy. 1: 598) on the left shore of the *Berettyó* are such settlement names.

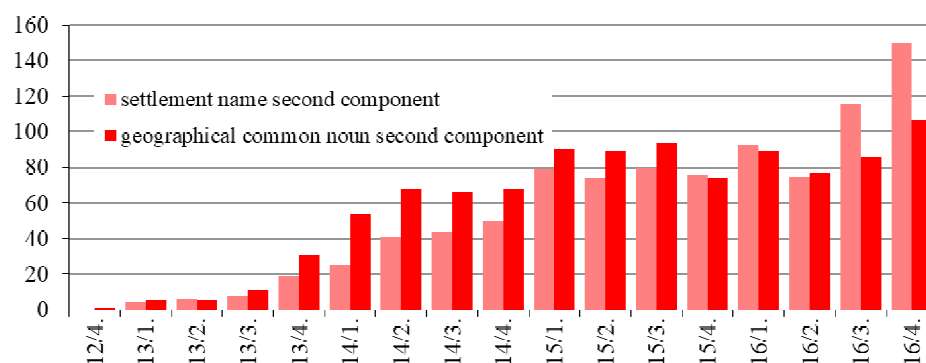
## 5.2. Two-Component Names

As already noted (especially in Fig. 6) the number of two-component settlement names in Bihar County during the Old Hungarian Era was much lower than that of single-component ones. Figure 9 shows the semantic groups of this structural category.

We differentiate between two large groups of two-component names from a structural perspective: those with a settlement name and a geographical common noun second constituent meaning a settlement (*falu*, *telek*, *lak*, *ház*, *föld*, *vár*, *város*, etc.). These appeared in sources more or less at the same time. Their proportion is balanced within the category of two-component names until the final quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, although we have only scarce data from the earlier era. At this time, however, the number of names with a geographical common noun second constituent suddenly jumps and is double that of names



with a settlement name second constituent, then during the century a 30%:70% proportion develops. Centuries were needed to develop a balance in the proportion of these two name types: in the last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the division is half-and-half. By the end of the examined period, the denominations with a settlement name second constituent become dominant and their proportion reaches 60%. This means that by the end of the Old Hungarian Era (in the first third of the 16<sup>th</sup> century) the creators of names began to use already existing settlement names when creating new names. This is well-indicated by the fact that the type of two-component settlement names (although much lower numerically than that of single-component ones) is itself old, but within this category denominations with a geographical common noun second constituent had become frequent earlier and compared to this there is a delay in the case of names with a settlement name second constituent.



**Figure 9.** *Semantic types of two-component settlement names*

When studying the internal distribution of the two main types, we may see that in the denominations with a geographical common noun second constituent anthroponyms play a key role. From the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century the proportion of names in this category increases and this does not change until the end of the era. In the subcategory of names with a settlement name second constituent there is no dominant semantic group, while at the end of the era the group of names with a first constituent referring to local circumstances makes up one third of the names in this subgroup.

Changes between the different name types can be traced better in the name corpus overall, if we examine the status of certain types of the name system in different chronological moments. For this purpose, I will compare the final 25 years of the five centuries analyzed. The series of diagrams in Figure 10 illustrate the internal division of the single-component and two-component names.



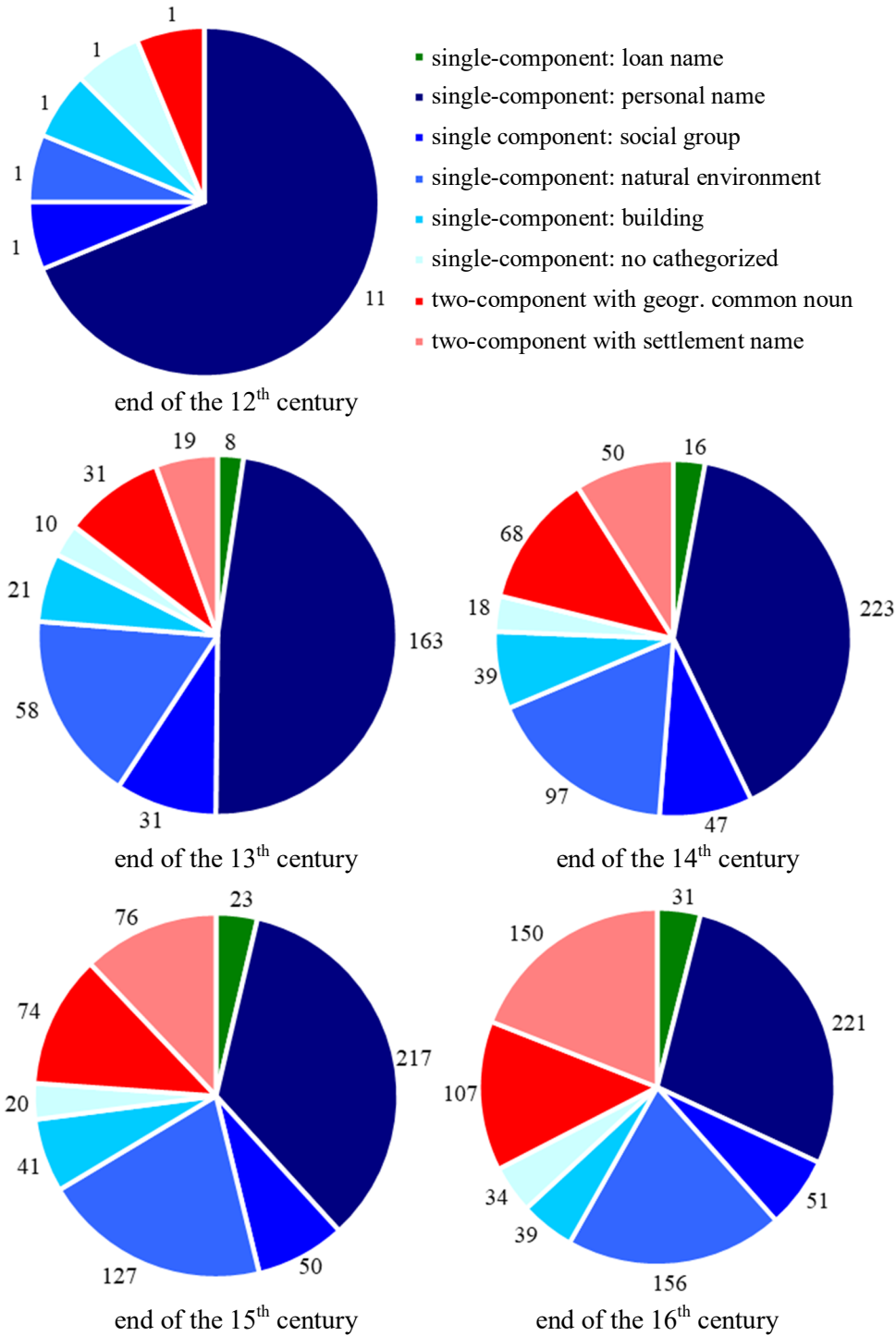


Figure 10. Changes in the frequency of name types



The diagrams shed a somewhat different light on the trends that I have mostly analyzed separately so far concerning the particular name types. Of these, I would like to highlight one issue: the critical role of personal names in settlement names. If we consider only the groups of names distinguished here, both the number and proportion of the single-component names formed from personal names and that of two-component names formed from personal names and lexical settlement name formants appear to be significant in the oikonym system of Bihar County. The two categories together make up three-quarters of all the names at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century but (in the case of a much higher number of name elements) they represent one third of these even at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. If we also consider that the anthroponym name constituents, name elements appear abundantly in other settlement name types as well (for example, those with a settlement name second constituent are frequent among those referring to the built environment, while patrociny are featured in settlement names practically as personal names), then this name group appears to be even more significant. It is also clear, however, that proportionately personal names were used less and less extensively in naming settlements, which indicates that the representation of ownership in the name became less significant with time.

## 6. Etymological Analysis

The relationships, internal links between members of the toponymic system may be explored not only by means of the structural analysis of the toponymic corpus, but also valuable information may be gained by examining the etymology of names, paying attention to how the names in the different structural categories are created, including primary and secondary name forms. The latter may be explained based on the already existing members of the name system as a result of some kind of linguistic change. Thus the etymological analysis practically means the tracking of changes between particular names and name types. Figure 11 introduces the etymological types of settlement names in Bihar County during the Old Hungarian Era.

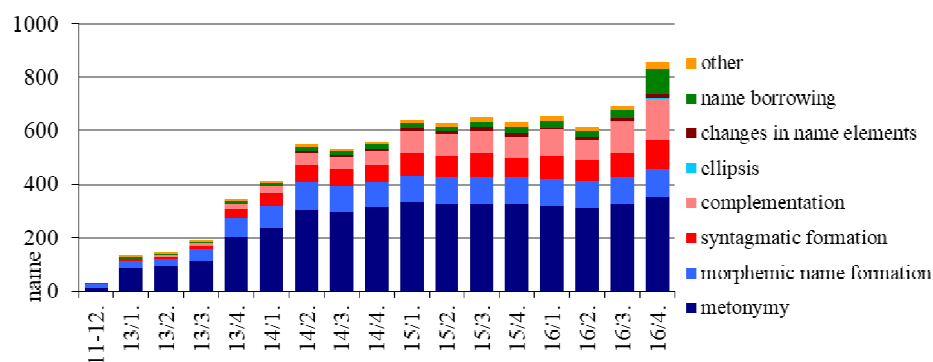


Figure 11. *Distribution of etymological types*

The diagram shows clearly (and this is not surprising after becoming familiar with the name structural types; see Fig. 6) that during the Old Hungarian Era those forms of name genesis were significant that created single-component settlement names: metonymy (name formation without the addition of any formants) and morphemic name formation (with topoformants). Due to their low number of data, we cannot evaluate the earliest time as the number of settlement names that survived in sources begins to rise only from the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

Metonymy represents the most important name formation method of the time, the proportion of names created this way exceeds 60% at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Their ratio drops to around 50% only by the 15<sup>th</sup> century and decreases to under 40% after the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. The reason for such a drop is represented by the increase in loan names and two-component names, especially the rise in the number of name forms expanded with an attributive first constituent.

The group of names formed with topoformants also shows a somewhat decreasing trend, representing 15–20% of the Bihar County settlement name corpus.

Names created with syntagmatic formation (in the period with abundant data about the name system, i.e., after the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century) make up around 10% of the overall onomastic corpus.

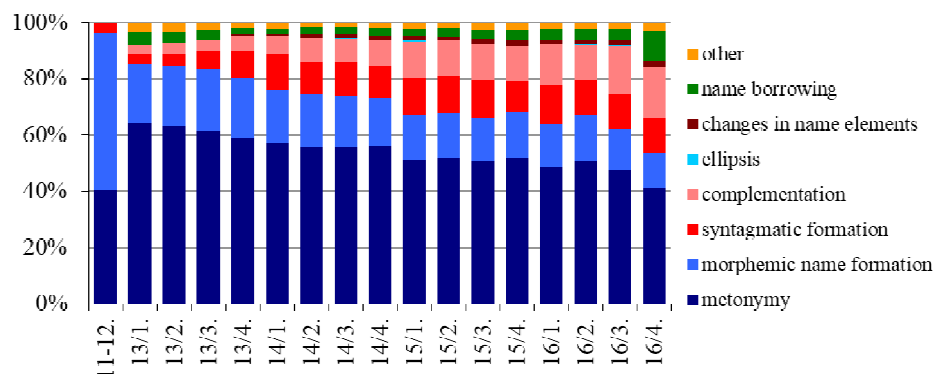
All this means that the primary names (i.e., those created by means of metonymy, morphemic name formation, and syntagmatic name formation) make up the majority of the onomastic corpus. Their share was over 80% in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but the continuous expansion of secondary names (i.e., those created with the use of already existing toponyms) pushes the layer of primary names back to the two-thirds proportion only.

The majority of secondary names were created with complementation with a name constituent, mostly the complementation of an already existing settlement name with an attribute. This change contributed to the creation of 5% of settlement names in Bihar County at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, its proportion doubles by the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century it already exceeds 15%.

Other processes of change affecting the name structure scarcely participated in the modification of the settlement names of contemporary Bihar County.

In Figure 12, I represented this data so that the name corpus of particular eras is indicated as a percentage.





**Figure 12.** *Percentage distribution of etymological types*

The diagram clearly illustrates the developments in the popularity of name formation methods, the trends that become visible from the chronological modification of the frequency of name-formation models. The most typical change in the name system can thus be identified in the form of syntagmatic formation and the expansion of names created by means of complementation with attributes, which together resulted in the spreading of two-component names. The temporal difference between the two types also becomes clear: complementation with attributes became the most important factor affecting the name system during the last two centuries of the era.

In this paper I analyzed and introduced the system of settlement names in Bihar County, focusing on its internal connections. Such links and relations may be interpreted even more precisely if they are compared with the results of similar analysis from other regions. The revealed similarities and (especially) differences provide us with an opportunity to gain insights into the entire Hungarian language area in all its complexity.

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**Abstract**

Hungarians arrived in the Carpathian Basin at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, but information recorded in charters about the local circumstances is available only from the early 11<sup>th</sup> century. Toponyms have played a major role in understanding the historical circumstances of the missing two centuries. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the study of the typological groups of Hungarian settlement names began from an onomastic perspective. Since then, as part of such research activities some toponym types have been processed and onomatosystematical as well as name typological research have been conducted on a regional basis. The typological relationships between settlement names and especially their chronological relations have, however, been studied to a lesser extent so far; these topics were only addressed in passing. Therefore, this paper focuses on this aspect and introduces the oikonym corpus of Bihar County, the largest county in medieval Hungary.

After an outline of the settlement history of the county, the relationships are examined between the number of settlements and settlement names (e.g., the impact of settlement division, the establishment and destruction of settlements, and name trends on denominations). The most important relations of the toponymic system can be introduced clearly based on structural features. While analyzing the name structural types of the onomastic corpus of Bihar County, these issues are discussed in detail. In terms of the internal relations between the members of toponymic systems, valuable information is gained by examining the etymology of names, and also by paying attention to how the names in the different structural categories are created. The final part of the paper includes an etymological analysis of the early toponymicon of Bihar County, which also highlights the changes of the particular names and name types, as well as their interconnectedness.

**Keywords:** name typology, chronology, etymology, toponym reconstruction





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## ***Problems of Etymological and Motivational Interpretation of Czech Compound Toponyms***

Unlike in many other languages (e.g. Germanic, Romance or Finno-Ugric), compound formations constitute only a small minority of toponyms in Czech (as well as in other Slavic languages). However, they require a special approach to their interpretation. While their etymology in a narrower sense, i.e. identification of the individual components, may be often clear and unproblematic, questions may arise when revealing the motivation of these toponyms as well as identifying the syntactic relationships between the components. In many settlement names it is not entirely clear, for example, whether they referred primarily to the inhabitants or they include a topographical description of the given locality. The aim of the paper is to identify these problems and relations between etymology and motivation of the individual toponyms, both in the case of settlement and non-settlement names. Besides this, also the issues of etymological interpretation of compound toponyms and the identification of a certain form as a compound are to be paid adequate attention.

### **1. Etymology of the components is clear, motivation of the name is uncertain**

According to COATES, “one of the central tasks of historical onomastics is to recover the original form and sense of the name as a linguistic object, and another is, where possible, to establish the motivation for its application in individual cases. [...] Place-name studies tend towards an ideal of explaining both the etymology and motivation of a name.” (2016: 536). The following examples are to illustrate some difficulties connected with the revelation of motivation of certain toponyms, though their etymology seems to be clear.

**a)** A significant part of Czech compound oikonyms includes a component departing from a noun denoting an animal. The other component is usually formed by a verb. For example, the oikonyms *Kozohlody*, *Konotopy* or *Žabovřesky* have clear etymology. They consist of nouns *koza* ‘goat’, *kůň* ‘horse’ and *žába* ‘frog’ and verbs *hlodat* ‘bite, chew, gnaw’, *topit* ‘drown’ and *vřískat* ‘screech, squawk’, respectively. Their traditional interpretations are based on derisive original nicknames of their inhabitants. The name *Kozohlody* would be therefore interpreted as a village of people who “gnawed goats” (PROFOUS 1949: 351), *Konětopy* as a village of people who “drowned horses” (PROFOUS 1949: 298) and *Žabovřesky* as a village of people who “screeched or squawked like frogs” (HOSÁK–ŠRÁMEK 1980: 806). Though some compound oikonyms have been indeed based on such derisive, pejorative nicknames, this interpretation has been abandoned in Czech onomastics in case of the mentioned settlement names.



Already in 1964, a prominent Czech onomastician IVAN LUTTERER considers the statement concerning the pejorative, derisive character of a substantial part of Czech compound settlement names to be at least exaggerated. He assesses that many of the preceding interpretations of the toponyms of the given type go absolutely against the principles of the psychology of naming, they are often based on an ahistorical evaluation of the emotional contents of the individual words, they do not adequately take into account the contemporary linguistic usage in the individual centuries and they ignore the requirement of the modern onomastics to interpret the given form always as a semantic whole and in the same time as a part of the whole toponymic type, instead of identifying merely the isolated meanings of the the individual components of the compound name (LUTTERER 1964: 81).

A more probable interpretation of the above mentioned toponyms is based on a different syntactic relationship of the given components. The motivation of these oikonyms would be as follows: *Kozohlody*: a place where “goats gnaw or chew”, i.e. a goat pasture (cf. SVOBODA–ŠMILAUER 1960: 208); *Konětopy*: a place where “even a horse could drown” (SPAL 1971; ŠTĚPÁN 2016: 155–156); *Žabovřesky*: a place where “frogs screech or squawk” (PROFOUS–SVOBODA 1957: 800), i.e. probably a marsh or swamp.

The research of non-settlement names has shed light on the interpretation of the mentioned oikonyms (cf. ŠTĚPÁN 2016: 269–270). If analogous formations occur among non-settlement names, it can be hardly supposed that their origin could be different. As non-settlement names, i.e. names of fields, meadows, forests, marshes, etc., cannot originate from nicknames of inhabitants, it seems to be clear that also the oikonyms of the same or very similar form have developed from former non-settlement names referring to a character of the given places.

A pasture name *V Kozohlodech*, as well as field names *Kozohlad* and *Kozohledí* (in which the second element has been assimilated to the words *hlad* ‘hunger’ and *hledět* ‘look, watch’ on the basis of folk etymology) are attested among non-settlement names in Bohemia. All of these names probably referred to goat pastures, places gnawed from goats. This fact supports the interpretation of the oikonym *Kozohlody* as a name originating from a pasture name as well.

The toponym *Konotop* refers to a pond in South Bohemia. According to ŠMILAUER, a hydrographic term *konotopa* was a frequent designation of marshes and streams the crossing of which on a horse was dangerous (1932: 463–464). The pond *Konotop* was probably built in a place of a former dangerous marsh. Also the three villages called *Konětopy* have been probably named according to dangerous marshes in which even horses could drown, rather than due to some ridiculous action of their inhabitants.



Nearly twenty non-settlement names reflecting frogs' screeches or squawks are recorded in Bohemia, e.g., *Žaboklik*, *Žabokřik*, *Žabokvik*, *Žabokrky*, *Žaboškrt*, *Žabovřesk*. They refer mostly to marshes, ponds and muddy fields or meadows. Also the above mentioned oikonyms probably reflect the original marshy terrain of the given places abundant in frogs.

**b)** In some cases the syntactic and motivational interpretation of the compound is difficult because of the uncommonness of the given pattern in toponyms. In several different localities in Bohemia the toponym *Čekalvoda* or *Čekalvody* is found. The origin of the individual components is clear: the first part is formed by the past participle of the verb *čekat* 'wait', the second part by the noun *voda* 'water' (sometimes in plural *vody* 'waters'). According to historical sources, the pond *Čekalvody* in South Bohemia was used as a retention reservoir located beneath another larger pond, in which fish harvests caused frequent floods (BÖHNEL 1937). This reservoir therefore "awaited water". It seems therefore obvious that the name *Čekalvoda*, *Čekalvody* has been based on a syntagma *čekat (na) vodu* 'await water'. Such formations are rare in the system of Czech toponyms. They could have developed from former sentence names such as *\*Kde se čeká na vodu* 'where water is awaited'. Such toponyms consisting of the whole sentence are not recorded in Czech, but they are attested in Slovak (cf. MAZÚR 1973).

## 2. Unclear etymology

In contrast to the above-mentioned examples, the identification and etymological interpretation of the individual units of some toponyms that are clearly identified as compounds may be extremely difficult. These problematic cases may be illustrated by the case of the toponym *Čertoryje*, belonging to a deep rocky valley and a field in northeast Bohemia. However, this toponym is more frequent in Moravia and it has many parallels in other Slavic territories (Slovakia, Poland, Ukraine, Russia). According to a traditional folk etymology, the name is associated with the common noun *čert* 'devil' and the verb *ryt* 'to dig; spade'. According to folk legends, the name refers to a valley dug by a devil. This interpretation is found also in TRUBACHYOV, who considers it probable (1977: 164).

A similar explanation has been given by SPAL (1971), who associates the first element with the noun *čert* 'devil'. SPAL's interpretation of the second element is based on a supposed deverbal noun *\*ryja* 'something dug out, a trench'. The toponym *Čertoryje* as a whole would thus refer to a 'devil's trench'.

VALENTOVÁ (2009) provides a different interpretation of Slovak toponyms recorded mostly as *Čertorie* or *Čertolie*. She supposes that the original form of these names could have been *\*Čertovie*, which is interpreted as an adjective form derived from the common noun *črta* 'border line; border'. This name is



therefore not interpreted as a compound in Slovak; its second part is not evaluated as a lexical stem, but as an adjectival suffix. Though this interpretation seems to be probable for Slovak, it cannot be applied to Czech (as well as other Slavic languages), where similar adjective forms do not exist. However, the interpretation of the first part as a ‘border line’ seems to be the best solution for Czech as well. This explanation of the first part can be combined with the above-mentioned interpretation of the second component by SPAL (‘something dug out, a trench’). The original meaning of the whole compound unit would thus be ‘a trench (or, metaphorically understood, even a natural valley) used as a borderline’ (cf. *Slovník pomístních jmen v Čechách*, online). This interpretation can be considered the most probable one.

### 3. Problem of identification of a certain form as a compound

It has been already hinted that a status of a certain lexical unit as a compound may not be always clear; though the name *Čertoryje* and its equivalents in other Slavic languages are generally considered to be compound forms consisting of two lexical roots, VALENTOVÁ (2009) interprets it as a name departing from an adjective derived from one lexical root, that is, not as a compound. When interpreting toponyms, we must sometime face and try to solve this problem. Especially the opposite examples, when a name is seemingly derived by an affix, but its detailed analysis finally discovers that it is a compound consisting of two lexical roots, occur in some cases. The identification of compounds is problematic especially if a certain name underwent changes that make the identification of the individual components extremely difficult. Their identification is usually possible only thanks to historical records of the name or at least based on a comparison with analogous examples.

A field in Šestajovice near Prague and another field in Sobkovice in northeast Bohemia are called *Rozkabát*. This name could be perhaps interpreted as derived from a common noun *kabát* ‘coat’. The initial part *Roz-* may remind us of the prefix *roz-*, used in Czech usually for formation of verbs from verbs, whose meaning is modified. One of the meanings of this prefix is ‘elimination of the relationship or contact’. For example, the prefixal verb *rozepnout* means ‘undo, unbutton, unfasten, etc.’. According to a folk etymology, the name *Rozkabát* could be possibly associated with the word combination *rozepnout kabát* ‘to unbutton a coat’. However, the current form of the initial part of the name is just a result of this folk etymology. The name is recorded also as *Raskabát*; this form seems to be older and closer to the original form. It is most probable that the name *Raskabát* (later changed to *Rozkabát* by the influence of the Czech prefix *roz-*) came into existence from the original form *Dáškabát*, similarly as the name of the Moravian village of *Daskabát* (ŠRÁMEK 1999). The name belongs to the group of so-called ‘robber/highwayman’ toponyms, which should warn travellers against robberies. The exclamation *dáš kabát*





means 'you will have to hand over your coat'. The locality called *Rozkabát* is indeed found in the place of former dangerous forests that used to be full of robbers or highwaymen according to historical sources from Middle Ages until 18<sup>th</sup> century (cf. also BEZDĚKA 1973: 298).

Another example is represented by the toponym *Kněžatí* belonging to a solitary house in Central Bohemia. A similar name *Kněžát'* refers to a field and a forest in the same region. A variant *Knížatí* belongs to a meadow in this region. The interpretation of these names exclusively from the current form of the name would cause us problems. KOTYŠKA mentions a solitary house in the same locality as *Kněžaty* or *Kněžhatí* (1895: 579). In the connection with the form *Kněžhatí* it is interesting that a similar form *Kněžihat'* or *Kněžihát'* belongs to another minor settlement in the area of the village of Žebrákov near Ledec nad Sázavou. The form *Kněžhat'* or *Knežhatí* is definitely a compound; its first part departs from the noun *kněz*, which could have two different meanings: 'prince' or 'priest', the second part is based on the noun *hat'*, denoting a crossing or a bridge over marshes made of timber or some other material, but sometimes also the marshy area itself. This noun occurs quite frequently in Czech toponyms. The name *Kněžhat'* referred probably to a marshland belonging to a prince or a priest.

#### 4. Conclusion

The aim of the paper was to show that compound toponyms form a specific group of Czech toponyms that requires a special approach. Not only etymological interpretation of the individual components, but also identification of the syntactic relationship between them is necessary. Without this identification, it would be impossible to discover the particular naming motive. This is also one of the specificities of proper names, namely toponyms, in contrast to common nouns. Unlike in common nouns, the interpretation of toponyms cannot consist exclusively of the etymological approach, discovering the origin of the individual lexical components. Also the interpretation of the naming motive is necessary, namely what exactly did the name express in the given situation, why and on what basis the given object obtained just this name, etc. As ŠRÁMEK emphasizes, not only purely etymological, but holistic, onymically systemic approach to proper names is necessary (1999: 78). As the first part of the paper has tried to show, the identification of the motivation of the name may be often more problematic than its etymology in compound toponyms.

However, even the etymology of the individual components of the toponym may be often immensely complicated, as the example of the name *Čertoryje* indicates. This toponym enables several possible interpretations, none of which is completely satisfactory.



Another methodological problem we must sometimes face is the very identification of a compound form. If a name undergoes some phonological changes, its original structure is obscured and it is impossible to interpret the name without relevant historical records that can help us identify that the name consists of two lexical roots.

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### Abstract

The aim of the paper is to emphasize the specificities of the interpretation of compound toponyms that form a distinctive part of Czech toponyms. Not only etymological interpretation of the individual components, but also identification of the syntactic relationship between them is necessary. Without this identification, which is often more difficult than the etymology in the narrow sense, it would be impossible to discover the particular naming motive. However, even the etymology of the individual components of the toponym may be sometimes immensely complicated, as it is illustrated on the example of the name *Čertoryje*. This toponym enables several possible interpretations, none of which is completely satisfactory. The last part of the paper focuses on the problem of the very identification of a toponym as a compound. If a name undergoes some phonological changes, its original structure is obscured and it is impossible to interpret the name without relevant historical records that can help us identify that the name consists of two lexical roots.

**Keywords:** toponyms, compound toponyms, etymology, motivation





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## ***The Relationship between Early Hydronyms and Settlement Names\****

1. Being one of the most significant sources on the early history of the Hungarian language, 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup>-century charters have long been in the focus of scholarly attention. This is primarily due to the fact that linguistic records (toponyms and anthroponyms) written in these charters provide fundamental information on numerous aspects of language history: besides the history of words, they can provide guidance for scholars working mainly in the fields of historical phonology and orthography, historical morphology, historical toponomastics as well as anthroponym history. At the same time, the earliest linguistic records also provide essential information for other disciplines with a historical focus, primarily the field of history, as their investigation offers insights into the life and civilization of language users, thus also extending our knowledge on the history of Hungarians (cf. TÓTH 2001: 11, HOFFMANN 2014: 216).

Of the two types of proper names, I study toponyms from several approaches and by focusing on the following factors (for that, see for example, KOVÁCS 2015, 2018). Etymologization is traditionally considered to be the most important part of place name analysis in historical linguistics; therefore, the historical-etymological study of the data is very emphatic in my works as well. In connection with the description of the linguistic elements, I have referred to general historical phonetic and orthographic factors, and also to more recent historical linguistic findings. Not only the etymology, the linguistic origin of the words, was examined, but other points of interest of name analysis as well, in accordance with the method called place name reconstruction by ISTVÁN HOFFMANN (2010: 14, 220). The central aim of this method is localization, because it helps in the identification of linguistic elements from a spatial aspect, and it connects them to earlier (and sometimes subsequent) occurrences of the given place. The association of the Hungarian place name data with the corresponding physical space is of high importance both in the course of name reconstruction (i.e. historical-etymological analysis) and ethnic reconstruction because of the territorial relations; as toponyms of the Carpathian Basin come from different languages. Furthermore, the relationship of the Hungarian place names and the

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\* This work was carried out as part of the Research Group on Hungarian Language History and Toponomastics (University of Debrecen–Hungarian Academy of Sciences) as well as the project *International Scientific Cooperation for Exploring the Toponymic Systems in the Carpathian Basin* (ID: NRD1 128270, supported by National Research, Development and Innovation Fund, Hungary).



Latin text is also studied. The traditional methods of analysis hardly ever considered the texts in this respect: the Hungarian elements were usually just mechanically taken out of context. The consideration of this angle, however, enables us to gain more information about the morphological structure of the Hungarian elements in the text, and also about the spoken variants underlying the written forms. In the process of analyzing toponymic remnants, I consider both typological and structural features of names.

In this paper I discuss the relationship between settlement names and hydronyms recorded in an identical form in 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup>-century sources. After an overview of the most important research results, in the second part of the paper I scrutinize the relationship between some hydronyms and settlement names from early sources with the help of the toponym reconstruction method. This is because in this analysis the identification of the object denoted by the name is a significant factor. The main question in these cases is whether the settlement is named after the body of water or vice versa, i.e. whether the body of water received its name from the settlement.

**2.** The relationship between hydronyms and settlement names has received considerable attention in Hungarian onomastics. This relationship was examined in the most detail by LORÁND BENKŐ (1947a, 1947b, 1948, later cf. 1998, 2003), who provided several guidelines in his early work for the determination of the direction of name-giving processes.

**2.1.** In the case of settlement names and hydronyms of an identical form it is primarily the semantic content of the name that may help us in identifying the direction of change. BENKŐ considered it very likely that settlement names that were formed from the names of aquatic plants, aquatic animals and attributes of water were also originally hydronyms, but the settlement names derived from names of flora in general cannot be included among them as these could obviously be created independently of hydronyms as well (1947a: 260). The *Hodos* settlement name of Bihar County (1326: *Hudus*, possessio, cf. KMHsz. 1.) could be mentioned in this respect, which could have been formed from a hydronym of identical form (1326: *Hudus*, fluvius, cf. KMHsz. 1.), from the animal name *hód* ‘beaver’ with an *-s* formant (cf. GYÖRFFY 2011: 156–157). The name of the settlement of *Keskeny* in Csongrád County (1327: *Kesekun*, possessio, cf. KMHsz. 1.) was also created from a hydronym, the name of the *Keskeny* watercourse of identical form (1075/+1124/+1217: *Kesekun*, aqua, cf. KMHsz. 1.), which originally referred to the size of the riverbed (*keskeny* ‘not wide, narrow’). This idea is further confirmed by the earlier date of the hydronym. When considering chronology, however, we also need to keep in mind the eventuality of documenting names, i.e., the fact that the survival of toponyms used in the given era is to a certain extent accidental.



**2.2.** LORÁND BENKŐ also highlighted that settlement in which the *patak* ‘brook,’ *ér* ‘natural watercourse with little water,’ *víz* ‘water,’ and *tő* ‘estuary,’ *fő* ‘source’ hydrographic common names appear were also formed from hydronyms (1947a: 259–260, 1948: 98). For example, the settlement of *Sós-patak* (‘salty + brook’) in today’s Romania (1332–6/PR.: *Sospotek*, Gy. 2: 184) received its name from a salty brook flowing nearby (cf. BENKŐ 1947a: 259, FNESz. *Sóspatak*). The settlement names containing hydrographic common names can usually be considered to be the result of secondary name formation (cf. GYÖRFFY 2011: 158). Settlement names with *Ér* (1214/1550: *Her*, cf. *ér* ‘natural watercourse with little water’), *Sár* (1313>1350: *Saar*, cf. *sár* ‘marsh’) or *Hájó* (1249: *Hewyo*, the latter of an obscure structure cf. *hő* ~ *hév* ‘heat’ + *jó* ‘river’) can all be rooted in hydronyms. A great part of settlements including the *fő* ‘source’ and *tő* ‘estuary’ second constituents in their names were established at the source or estuary of a watercourse or nearby it, thus the settlement could receive its name referring to the area around the source or estuary based on a spatial relationship, as for example, in the case of *Tapolca-fő* ‘the source of the Tapolca brook’ > *Tapolcafő* ‘settlement established at the source of the Tapolca’ metonymy. Besides the metonymic source/estuary name > settlement name shift, however, this type of settlement name could also be created analogically, i.e., without the actual use of the source name or estuary name (GYÖRFFY 2011: 158–159). VALÉRIA TÓTH, in her analysis of settlement names with the *fő* ‘source’ second constituent, found that this lexeme moved away from its primary ‘source, beginning’ meaning, and with a certain degree of semantic change it became a secondary settlement name formant meaning ‘a settlement with a special attribute’, or more precisely ‘a settlement located next to a body of water, mostly nearby the source’ (2008: 182–183). The *Szuhafő* settlement with a river name + *fő* ‘source’ structure, for example, is a bit further away, about 4–5 kilometers from the source of the *Szuha* brook (cf. TÓTH 2008: 183, GYÖRFFY 2011: 159).

**2.3.** If there are several settlements along the river with an identical name to the hydronym, scholarly publications also suppose a hydronym > settlement name direction of change (cf. BENKŐ 1947a: 261, GYÖRFFY 2011: 159–160). In the valley of the *Ida* River in Abaúj County two villages were established under the name of *Ida*. The settlements were probably named after the *Ida* watercourse of an uncertain origin (cf. TÓTH 2001: 75). To end the settlement name homonymy, the settlement names received the distinguishing elements of *nagy* ‘large’ and *kis* ‘small’ (1324: *Kwsyda*, [1330 k.]: *Noghyda*, TÓTH 2001: 90, 108).

**2.4.** When defining the etymological direction of hydronyms and settlement names of an identical form, the size of the body of water is also considered an important factor in scholarly studies. According to LORÁND BENKŐ, in the case



of larger bodies of water these could be the primary name givers, as their names were created much earlier than those of the settlements next to them (2003: 136, cf. GYÖRFFY 2011: 160). *Arrabona*, the Roman name for settlement which today is called *Győr*, has its roots in the *Arrabo* ‘Rába’ hydronym of Indo-European origin (cf. *\*ēreb(h)-*, *\*ōrob(h)* ‘dark red, brownish,’ cf. FNESz., GYÖRFFY 2011: 160). We have to be very careful with the hydronym > settlement name metonymy, however, because the other direction is also possible (as there is no taxonomical obstacle to this); thus it is not rare at all that certain settlement names became hydronyms metonymically, without adding any formants. Thus while in the case of larger bodies of water we can primarily suppose the hydronym > settlement name shift with higher probability, in connection with the names of bodies of water of medium and smaller size, there is the same probability for the settlement name > hydronym shift (1332–7/PR., 1333: *Barakun*, villa > 1344: *Barakun*, alveus, 1344: *Barrakun*, palus; 1281: *Chaslo*, terra > 1416: *Chazlo*, palus, 1526: *Chazlo*, fluvius, cf. JAKÓ 1940: 222, 337). BENKŐ’s studies have also highlighted the complicated structure of section names, i.e., that the smaller brooks passing through multiple settlements could be named differently in each settlement. “At the source of the brook, in most cases it bears the name of the boundary section it originates from. After merging with several other smaller watercourses the name changes and names of plants, anthroponyms, etc. are attached to it. At the lower section of the brook, at the estuary, the name changes again. Here it receives its name from the village in the direction of which it flows.” (1947b: 17, 1998: 155, for that cf. GYÖRFFY 2011: 158–159). This also means that we cannot generalize this phenomenon and each case has to be examined separately in terms of the direction of change and the name formation process.

3. In the following, I analyze the etymological relationship between some hydronyms and settlement names recorded in 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup>-century sources.

3.1. In the Land Survey of the Tihany Abbey from 1211, the name *Kolon* appears five times, twice as an estate name (“in predio *Colon*”, “terra predicti predii *Colon*”) and three times as a hydronym (“ad stagnum *Colun*”, “ultra *Colon*”, “ad stagnum *Colon*”, cf. KOVÁCS 2015: 25–26, 106). In the Founding Charter of the Tihany Abbey from 1055 this estate is included as a pasture for horses and without a name (“est locus ad pascua equorum”, SZENTGYÖRGYI 2014: 60), but in the detailed boundary description the body of water called *culun* is also mentioned (“aque que uocatur *culun*”, SZENTGYÖRGYI 2014: 60).

In terms of the relationship between the *Kolon* body of water and the *Kolon* settlement in the former Fejér County there have been two ideas expressed in scholarly publications. According to one of these (and obviously based on chronological arguments) the name of the water was primary (1055: “aque que uocatur *culun*”) and the settlement name was created from this with metonymy





(cf. for example, GYÖRFFY 1956: 409). According to the other approach, however, the exact opposite direction is specified based on name typological arguments: as the *Kolon* settlement name is usually seen as deriving from an anthroponym (cf. Old Turkic *qulun* ‘foal’ which also appears in Turkish as a personal name) and in the case of settlement names a personal name origin without a formant is much more frequent than among hydronyms; in this case also it was the settlement that was used to name the water (cf. FNESz. *Kolon-tó*, ZELLIGER 2005: 35). The text of the 1055 charter, however, supports the idea of the primacy of the hydronym, as the estate donated in the area of Lake Kolon appears in the charter without a name. If the estate and the settlement in it had been called *Kolon* at that time already, nothing would justify mentioning it without a name (cf. HOFFMANN 2010: 174, KOVÁCS 2015: 107–108). Among hydronyms, however, anthroponym structures without a formant that denote the place in question as a fishing place after the owner of the area are not rare (cf. HOFFMANN 2010: 174–175, for that, see *Kápas*, *Kara*, *Gény* etc. hydronyms, GYÖRFFY 2011: 61). It is very likely that in the case of the Kolon body of water recorded in the Tihany charter it was also this motive (cf. the ownership of the fishing place) that served as the basis of name giving. The homonymy of the settlement name and the name of the lake was terminated by the temporary depopulation of the inhabited place and the establishment of the new village with a new name (*Izsák*: 1421: *Isak*, Cs. 3: 333).

**3.2.** When attempting to establish the etymological relationship between the *Morotva* water (“super stagnum, quod vocatur *Mortua*”, “de predicta *Mortua* trahuntur naves in Ticiam”, “idem *Mortua*”) and the *Morotva* settlement of the same name (“in predio *Mortua*”, “terra predicti predii, scilicet *Mortua*”, KOVÁCS 2015: 27, 123) in Csanád County recorded in the 1211 Tihany Land Survey, we can rely primarily on semantic arguments: the semantic content of the Slavic geographical common noun (cf. Serbian-Croatian *mrtav*, *mrtva*, *mrtvo* ‘dead’) *morotva* ‘the cut part of the river due to changes in the riverbed, dead river, backwater’ supports the primacy of the hydronym (cf. KOVÁCS 2015: 124).

**3.3.** The name *Zamárdi* in Somogy County appears in the 1211 charter both as a settlement name (“terram *Somard* ~ *Zamad*”) and a hydronym (“ad stagnum *Somardy* ~ *Somardi*”, “et per mediam piscinam *Somardy* ~ *Somard*”, KOVÁCS 2015: 36, 182). The latter structures, however, can certainly not be interpreted as ‘the lake named Szamárdi’ but as ‘the lake of Szamárd (settlement)’, as this name is not recorded later as a hydronym but only as a settlement name. Similar examples occur several times in the Tihany charters: for example, in the 1055 Founding Charter we can find the names *lacus turku* and *lacum segisti* names, the first of which refers to the lake of the *turku* ~ *Turk* settlement next to *Zamárdi*, and the other to that of the *segisti* settlement (cf. HOFFMANN 2010:



70, 211–212). The lake of the settlement of Zamárdi (1171: *Zamard*, FNESz. *Zamárdi*) could most probably be the lake extending from the south of the village in a north-south direction, which can be seen also in 19<sup>th</sup>-century maps (MKFT). The microtoponyms mentioned in the settlement of Zamárdi in contemporary collections indicate this also: *Töközi folyó eleje*, *Tóköz* (“surrounded on both sides by a lake”, SMFN 142, 146).

The (S)*zamárdi* toponym can be considered the derived form of the *szamár* ‘donkey’ animal name. The *szamár* lexeme was also used as an anthroponym during the Árpád Era (cf. 1138/1329: *Samar*, *Zamar*, ÁSz. 839), thus we cannot disregard such an origin either. The charter also includes versions of settlement names with a *-d* formant (*Szamárd*). The later mentions record it as a name with the *-d* formant for a long time; the first form with a clearly *-di* ending appears only at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (1806: *Szamárdi*, cf. LIPSZKY, Mappa). This indicates the extension of the name with the *-i* topoformant. Based on the above, there is justification for the idea that the *Szamárdi* forms appearing in 1211 when the lakes are mentioned in the descriptive text do not contain this *-i* topoformant, but they rather mark the Szamárdi lake with the *-i* adjectival suffix, a mixed Latin–Hungarian marker (for that, see 1211: *de Batay*, cf. KOVÁCS 2015: 183).

**3.4.** Next to the *Garadna* brook (1234/1243: fluvius *Grathna*) in the former Abaúj County, two settlements called *Garadna* (1. 1234/1243: villa *Gradna*; 2. 1259: terra *Granna*, KMHsz. 1.) were established with the identical name. As already noted before, in such cases (thus when there are several settlements with an identical name to the hydronym along the watercourse) scholarly publications usually argue for the primacy of the hydronym. In the case of *Garadna*, however, based on the etymological antecedent, the settlement names could rather be considered to be primary. The toponym is of Slavic origin; cf. Serbian-Croatian *Gradna* and Czech *Hradná* toponyms, the basis of which is the word *gradъ* ‘castle’ (cf. FNESz., TÓTH 2001: 61). A similar settlement name > hydronym shift may be supposed in the case of other toponyms of a Slavic origin as well, as for example, in the Polish *Istebna* and Slovakian *Istebné* toponyms (cf. Slovakian *istebna* ‘small chamber’) > Hungarian *Isztebne* settlement name (1316: possessio *Iztebna*) > *Isztebne* hydronym (1316: fluvius *Iztebna*, KMHsz. 1., cf. GYÖRFFY 2011: 66); or Slovakian *Okoličné* settlement name (cf. Polish *okolica* ‘pen, noble village’) > *Okolicsna* settlement name (+1248/+1276: villa *Okolychna*) > *Okolicsna* hydronym (1295: rivulus *Ocolisna*, Gy. 4: 81–82, cf. GYÖRFFY 2011: 66). ERZSÉBET GYÖRFFY calls attention to the fact that this type of transformation can clearly only refer to the process taking place in the transferring language; the settlement name and hydronym of an identical form could enter the Hungarian toponymic system simultaneously as well (2011: 66). The homonymy of the *Garadna* settlement



name and hydronym was terminated with the complementation of the hydronym with the secondary geographical common name (1326/1375: patak *Garadna-patak*: hydronym *Garadna* + *patak* ‘brook’, fluvius *Garadnapataka*, Gy. 1: 150).

4. In my paper I have attempted to collect the points of orientation and criteria which may be used successfully for the determination of the etymological direction of hydronyms and settlement names. I have also tried to highlight that the hydronym > settlement name metonymy cannot be generalized and that each case has to be examined separately in terms of the direction of change and the name formation process, while in many cases we do not get clear answers even after these steps. In terms of the assessment of unique cases, different factors (e.g., etymological, name typological arguments) may provide us additional assistance.

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### **Abstract**

The Hungarian elements (toponyms and anthroponyms) in Latin-language medieval documents are the most important source for the early history of the Hungarian language. At the same time, the earliest linguistic records also provide essential information for other disciplines with a historical focus. In this paper I discuss the relationship between settlement names and hydronyms recorded in an identical form in 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup>-century sources. After an overview of the most important research results, in the second part of the paper I scrutinize the relationship between some hydronyms and settlement names from early sources with the help of the toponym reconstruction method. This is because in this analysis the identification of the object denoted by the name is a significant factor. The main question in these cases is whether the settlement is named after the body of water or vice versa, i.e. whether the body of water received its name from the settlement. We have to be very careful with the hydronym > settlement name metonymy, however, because the other direction is also possible (as there is no taxonomical obstacle to this). Each case has to be examined separately in terms of the direction of change and the name formation process, while in many cases we do not get clear answers even after these steps. In terms of the assessment of unique cases, different factors (e.g., etymological, name typological arguments) may provide us additional assistance.

**Keywords:** medieval charters, toponym reconstruction, settlement names, hydronyms, metonymy





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## ***Sighetu Marmăției: An Etymological and Sociolinguistic View of Urban Toponymy\****

### **1. Introductory remarks**

In urban toponymy, etymological stratification is inseparable from the “patterns of urbanonymic formation, which are different from those in toponymy in general” (REZEANU 2009: 9, orig. Romanian, our translation). The aforementioned patterns are frequently discussed in terms of the semantic and formal extension of a name to other objects, a situation which may lead to the alteration of the semantic sphere. As a matter of fact, in the case of urban toponymy motivation differs from that in general toponymy: it depends on the development of the urban settlement which determines a constant “reconfiguration” of the naming process, as well as on the political regime, the administration in office at a certain time, the ethnicity of the ruling entities, etc. Thus, an interdisciplinary approach to urban names is required, to facilitate the efficient description of language contact, on the one hand, and toponymic transfer and change, on the other. I. HOFFMANN, A. RÁCZ, and V. TÓTH confirm this idea: “onomastic research has been interdisciplinary from the outset and researchers also look for extra-linguistic reasons when trying to explain language phenomena including toponyms” (2017: 30).

This study proposes an etymological and sociolinguistic analysis<sup>1</sup> of urban toponymy in Sighetu Marmăției. The aim is to analyse hodonyms and other place names which are illustrative of the multi-ethnic town situated on the border between Romania and Ukraine. The corpus investigated comprises the name of the town, along with street names, names of squares, residential areas, and bridges in Sighetu Marmăției. The onomastic materials were collected by means of consulting maps (during the summer of 2019), official name registers, monographs, and by means of field research, which concretely consisted of direct conversations with the locals. An advantage to this end was that Adelina Emilia Mihali, one of the authors of this article, has lived in Sighetu Marmăției for a long time.

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\* This work was carried out as part of the project *International Scientific Cooperation for Exploring the Toponymic Systems in the Carpathian Basin* (ID: NRDI 128270, supported by National Research, Development and Innovation Fund, Hungary).

<sup>1</sup> We took into consideration the definition of sociolinguistics offered by R.A. HUDSON: “the study of language in relation to society” (2001: 4).





Our study focuses on presenting the etymological hypotheses regarding the oikonym *Sighetu Marmăției* and adducing arguments to support a specific viewpoint, establishing the correct etymology of the names of residential areas of the town and illustrating the relationship between language, language contact, political power, and urban toponymy. When studied diachronically, the hodonymy of *Sighetu Marmăției* illustrates the demographic evolution and administrative changes which have influenced the names of thoroughfares, residential areas, and so on. Multi-ethnicity is equally mirrored by the name of the settlement and by its urban toponyms.



Map 1. *Sighetu Marmăției* on the map of Maramureș



Figure 1. Road sign at the entrance to Sighet

Situated on the border with Ukraine, on the left bank of the Tisa river, Sighetu Marmăției (Hungarian (*Máramaros*)*sziget*, German *Marmaroschsiget*, Ukrainian *Cuzim*(-*Мармароський*), *Cizemy-Marmațieiu*, Slovak (*Marmarošská*) *Sihot*) is the main town of historical Maramureș. The first official record of Sighet dates





from the year 1326, when the settlement *Zygeth* is mentioned in an official document issued by Charles I of Hungary, at the request of the priests or rectors of the churches in the district/province of Maramureş (ARDELEAN 2016: 45). According to SUCIU, the settlement was recorded in 1334 as *plebanus de Dygnet* < = *Zyguet* > *Zyket* (1968: 119). Other names by which the town was mentioned include *Ziget* (1335), *Zyghet* (1346), *Zigeth* (1349), *oppidum Zygeth* (1392, 1397), *civitas Zigeht* (1429, 1459), *oppidum Zigett* (1614), *Szigeth* (1720), *Szigethum*, *Sibot* (1838), *Szigeth*, *Szigit*, *Szihota* (1851) (SUCIU 1968: 119), and *Sighetul-Maramurăşului*, *Máramarosziget* (1919) (MOLDOVAN–TOGAN 1919).<sup>2</sup>

Demographically, Sighetu Marmăţiei has always been a multi-ethnic town, as one can see in the data presented below.<sup>3</sup>

| Year | Total | Romanians | Hungarians | Germans | Jews  | Gypsies | Ukrainians | Serbs | Slovaks |
|------|-------|-----------|------------|---------|-------|---------|------------|-------|---------|
| 1880 | 12324 | 2085      | 7000       | 2439    | –     | –       | 650        | –     | 35      |
| 1910 | 21370 | 2001      | 9561       | 1257    | 7981  |         | 532        |       |         |
| 1920 | 25795 | 6489      | 6570       | 149     | 11561 | –       | –          | –     | –       |
| 1930 | 27270 | 9658      | 5424       | 161     | 10526 | –       | 1221       | 10    | 44      |
| 1941 | 28139 | 6202      | 15415      | 78      | 5907  | 80      | 346        | 7     | 13      |
| 1977 | 38146 | 28202     | 8465       | 93      | 116   | 111     | 1090       | 5     | 2       |
| 2002 | 41220 | 32867     | 6513       | 105     | 20    | 448     | 1226       | 3     | –       |
| 2011 | 37640 | 28634     | 4417       | 57      | 11    | 490     | 750        | –     | –       |

<sup>2</sup> The maps are taken from <http://sighet.ro> and the pictures are from the authors' personal gallery.

<sup>3</sup> For the years 1880, 1920, 1941, and 1977 the data were taken from the study by ÁRPÁD VARGA E., whereas for the years 1910, 1930, 2002, and 2011 the authors used <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/bf/Maramures1930pop1.jpg> and <http://www.recensamant-romania.ro>. According to ÁRPÁD VARGA E., until the year 1920 Jews were recorded as “other nationalities”, although their presence in Maramureş was noted in a 1728 document (FILIPAŞCU 1997: 137). We believe that, in the census of 1880, the Jewish people were included among the Hungarian and the German population, as there is no record of any massive afflux of an ethnic group at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. This hypothesis is confirmed when one compares the results of the 1920 census, carried out by the Romanian authorities, and the 1941 census, made by Horthyst officials, before the mass deportation of the Jews. It becomes clear that, sociolinguistically, the Jewish people declared their ethnic belonging depending on their interests in relation to the expectations of the administrative authorities, namely the political power in office in a certain age.



The ethnic variety has led to different premises in establishing the etymology of the oikonym *Sighetu Marmăției* and in analysing the hodonymy of the settlement.



**Figure 2.** Hungarian inscription on the monument in front of the Reformed Church



**Figure 3.** Trilingual plaque on the Roman Catholic parish house

## 2. Sighetu Marmăției – etymological hypotheses

The etymology of the toponym *Sighet*, also found in other areas of Romania and in Hungary (*Szigetvár*, see HOFFMANN-RÁCZ-TÓTH 2017: 207), has been the topic of ardent debate which referred to its Hungarian, Dacian, or Ukrainian



origin.<sup>4</sup> Most linguists, historians, and geographers (BOGREA 1921: 219, in the footnote section, 555, PAPAHAĞI 1925: LXXVIII, DRĂGANU 1927: 1077, DERMER–MARIN 1935: 28, FILIPAŞCU 1997: 87–88, IORDAN 1963: 38, SEBES-TYÉN 2012: 130) claim that the toponym *Sighet* derives from the Hungarian etymon *sziget* ‘island’, an explanation to which the authors of this paper adhere as well. The idea is underpinned by the geography of the area, as the settlement is located at the confluence of the rivers Iza and Tisa, and its eastern border is the Ronişoara, an affluent of the Iza. Moreover, one should also take into consideration the potential existence of arms of the Tisa and the Iza, which have since been drained but can still be seen on mediaeval maps and which may have delineated the image of an island.

At the same time, there are opinions (MARINA 1976: 30–31, ROŞCA 2004: 111–123) according to which the toponym *Sighet* derives from a Dacian etymon (*zeget* ‘citadel’, ‘fortification’) also a part of the toponym *Sarmizegetusa*. The supporters of the Dacian origin of the toponym under investigation adduce as an argument the settlement on Dealul Cetăţii (lit. ‘Citadel Hill’), dating from the Late Bronze Age.

The hypothesis of the Slavic origin of the toponym *Sighet* from *sihot* ‘town’ (IVANCIUC 2012: 7–8) is based on a decree dating from the year 1404, issued by the Romanians and written in Slavonic, in which the town is called *Sihota* (see also IVANCIUC 2016a, 2016b). The idea does not rest on scientific grounds, as the toponym *Sihota* might be a mere translation of the generic term *town* used by the inhabitants of nearby villages to refer to Sighet in the past and even nowadays.

The second element of the name of the town is similarly disputed. *Marmaţia* is linked to *Marmadzău*, a name used to refer to Sighet in old dialectal texts (see PAPAHAĞI 1925: 105, 106, 225). PAPAHAĞI considers that the form *Marmadzău* is an “erroneous interpretation of *Marmaţia* or, perhaps, an alteration of the latter” (1925: LXXIX, orig. Romanian, our translation). At the same time, he states that “it is difficult to establish the meaning of the name *Marmaţia*” (orig. Romanian, our translation). In the review to PAPAHAĞI’S study, DRĂGANU claims that *Marmaţia* is the Latinised form of *Marmadzău*, which corresponds to Hungarian *Mára-mező* ‘Mara plain’ (1927: 1077). In a note to the diploma issued in the year 1300, MIHALYI DE APŞA indicates that, according to BONFINI, Maramureş was called *Marmaţia* in ancient times, and this name appeared in official documents beginning with the sixteenth century

<sup>4</sup> See the oikonym *Sighetu Silvaniei* (Hungarian *Szilágysziget*), in Sălaj county, or the toponym *Sighet*, “flat arable land between the meanders of the river Aranca, in the settlement Sânnicolau Mare, Timiş county” (FRĂŢILĂ–CREŢAN 2007: 75, orig. Romanian, our translation), nowadays a neighbourhood of the aforementioned town.



(2002: 2–3). In *Dicționarul universal al limbii române* [Universal dictionary of the Romanian language], ȘĂINEANU records the toponym *Maramația* as “another name given to Maramureș” (<https://dexonline.ro/intrare/Marma%C8%9Bia/185910>).

Most etymological hypotheses for the toponym *Maramureș*<sup>5</sup> are centred on hydronyms. XENOPOL identifies in the name *Maramureș* two hydronyms, *Mara* and *Maris*, the latter being the old name of the Tisa river, which XENOPOL considers is “a Scythian derivative of the Indo-European root *mar-* ‘water’” (1925: 29–30, orig. Romanian, our translation). D. ONCIUL (1884: 304–305; 1885: 185–186) and N. ROȘCA (2004: 44–62) start from the hydronym *Mare Maris* or *Marēmorăș*, given to the Upper Tisa to distinguish it from the Mureș river. MIHALYI DE APȘA considers that *Maramureș* is derived from the name of the river *Mara*, recorded in 14<sup>th</sup>-century documents as *Maramoris*: “we inherited this name from the ancient peoples of the Celts and Dacians, just like the names Tisa, Isa, Taras, Someș, and Mureș” (2002: 2–3, orig. Romanian, our translation). DENSUSIANU states that the name *Maramureș* is based on *Marimorusa*, which in the language of the Cimbri means ‘dead sea’ (1913: 15). N. DRĂGANU believes the name derives from Hungarian *Máramaros*, possibly of Slavic origin. In the structure of the Hungarian etymon, DRĂGANU identifies an anthroponym, *Mara* (= *Maria*), and *Maros*, a derivative formed with the suffix *-eș* from the Slavic root *mor-*, the personal name *Mara* or the word *mure* “usually meaning ‘black’ dog” (orig. Romanian, our translation). Nevertheless, DRĂGANU supports the anthroponymic origin of *Maros* as the name of the son of a certain land owner Mara or an ancestor of Mara, whose name was passed on to the river, so that the “name of *Maros* could be influenced by the name of *Mara* (*Mara-Maros* = ‘Mara’s Mureș’)” (orig. Romanian, our translation), with the mention that “*Maros* initially designated only the land whose name was subsequently determined by that of the body of water” (1933: 389–392, orig. Romanian, our translation).

At the same time, one comes across several more or less hazardous etymological explanations. According to FILIPAȘCU, Hungarians consider that the toponym *Maramureș* is derived from Hungarian *már ma rossz* ‘today it is bad’. Similarly, Jews associate the name with the Hebrew word *marmarais*, the superlative form of the adjective *mar* ‘bitter’ (1997: 17). MIHALYI DE APȘA proposes another etymological explanation in relation to the word *marmure* ‘marble’, with an “*a* interposed as in the words *aramă* [copper] and *armă* [weapon]”, an idea which is also supported by FILIPAȘCU (1997: 17, orig. Romanian, our translation).



<sup>5</sup> Recorded ever since the year 1299, cf. <https://www.historia.ro/sectiune/actualitate/articol/de-unde-provin-numele-regiunilor-romaniei-povestile-botezatorilor>.

As in Romania the names of almost all the regions are based on names of rivers (Crişana, Moldova, Oltenia), we consider that the toponym *Maramureş* is also derived from a hydronym. Nevertheless, we do not rule out N. DRĂGANU's hypothesis, given the fact that, in addition to the common vocabulary, anthroponymy is the most exploited source for toponyms.

### 3. Etymological accounts regarding neighbourhoods/areas in Sighetu Marmăţiei

The development of the town, in general, triggered thorough processes of agglomeration and annexation of administrative-territorial units situated in the immediate vicinity. Thus, “toponymically, the town which emerged from this progress took the place names of the old core settlement and the embedded areas, it adapted them to the new reality historically and administratively” (REZEANU 2009: 1, orig. Romanian, our translation). This has led to the gradual disappearance of rural place names, which became toponymic enclaves, and to the appearance of new, arbitrary names. However, there are situations in which rural and urban elements coexist in balance as a result of preserving toponyms from the stock of primary rural names or names of peripheral areas. An example in this respect is Sighetu Marmăţiei: the areas situated in the vicinity of the town, former hamlets or villages annexed to Sighetu Marmăţiei, preserve the original toponyms. These areas usually have a rural character. New neighbourhoods bear the names of the important streets that traverse them. Most of these neighbourhoods were built during communism, but some of them infiltrated the old part of the town.

#### 3.1. Neighbourhoods bearing the names of the former settlements or hamlets

**Câmpu Negru**, Hungarian *Feketemező*, recorded in 1913 as a hamlet of Sighet (SUCIU 1967: 156) and in 1742 as *Fekete Mezőn* (SZABÓ 2010: 54), is found at the foot of Solovan Hill, in the north-west of the town, on the left bank of the Iza (see also SEBESTYÉN 2012: 47). | From *câmp* ‘arable land’ + adjective *negru* ‘black’, indicative of the colour of the soil.

**Cămară**, Hungarian *Szigetkamara*, first recorded in 1913 (SUCIU 1967: 178), is located in the east part of the town. A salt mill and the Royal Treasury of Salt Mines used to exist in this area, but they were destroyed in the past decades. | From *cămară* ‘treasury of the nobility’ (see also SEBESTYÉN 2012: 130–131).

**Dealu Cetăţii**, Hungarian *Várhegy*, recorded in 1956 as a hamlet pertaining to Sighet, is located on the left bank of the Iza. | From *deal* ‘hill’ + *\*Cetate* (lit. ‘citadel’, place name).

**Dobăieş**, Hungarian *Dobonyos*, an area in the south-east of Sighet, was recorded as a hamlet of Sighet in 1913 (SUCIU 1967: 203); in the register of place names of the years 1940–1944 there is a record in Hungarian of the street name



*Dobonyos*. | From *Dobăieș*, a hill < *Dobăieș* (family name, also spelled *Dobaes*, *Dobaies*) (see also SEBESTYÉN 2012: 41).

**Iápa** (lit. ‘the mare’), *Ciarda Iapa*, Hungarian *Kabalapatak*, a peri-urban area to the west of Sighet, recorded in 1406 as a distinct settlement, is also mentioned in official documents with the names *Kabolapatak* (1424), *Lopatak*, *Lopathaka* (1455), *Lwpathaka* (1543), *Kabala Patak*, *Japa*, *Kobilec* (1828), and *Kabala-patak* (1851) (SUCIU 1967: 301). | From *Valea Iepi* (lit. ‘Mare Valley’, hydronym), the name of a left-bank tributary of the Tisa (see also SEBESTYÉN 2012: 64–65, 2017: 131, *Kabola-patak*).

**Lázu Báciului**, Hungarian *Bacsiláz*, a peri-urban area in the south part of Sighet, towards Vadu Izei, was recorded in 1956 as a hamlet pertaining to the village Vad (SUCIU 1968: 353). | From *laz* ‘deforested land’ + *Báciu* (family name) (see also SEBESTYÉN 2012: 20).

**Șugău**, Hungarian *Sugó*, recorded since 1913 (SUCIU 1968: 178), is a neighbourhood under the joint management of the settlements Sighetu Marmăției and Vadu Izei. | From *Șugău* (hydronym), the name of a left-bank tributary of the Iza < *Súgó* (Hungarian toponym) < Hungarian *súgó* ‘whispering’ (DMR 2011). Cf. Romanian *șugău* ‘stream, spring’. VIȘOVAN (2005: 338) compares it to Hungarian *sug* ‘salt’, although Hungarian specialised bibliography notes the fact that “several onomatopoeic stems can express the sound of the water-course, mostly with continuous participle forms”: *Súgó-patak* ‘swishing brook’ (HOFFMANN–RÁCZ–TÓTH 2017: 106, see also SEBESTYÉN 2012: 126, 2017: 295).

**Vălea Cufundoasă**, Hungarian *Mélypatak*, found at the foot of Solovan Hill, south of the Iza. HOFFMANN–RÁCZ–TÓTH state that “the name *Mély-patak* ‘deep/brook’ (as a hydronym) refers to such a type of water that is deep” (2017: 32). | From *Vălea Cufundoasă* (hydronym) (see SEBESTYÉN 2012: 94, 2017: 208) < *văle* ‘valley’ + adjective *cufundós* (masculine form), *cufundoasă* (feminine form) ‘deep’.

**Vălea Hotărului**, residential area in the west of Sighet, which connects the town to Iapa (see also SEBESTYÉN 2012: 54). | From *Valea Hotarului* (hydronym), the name of a left-side tributary of the Tisa, recorded in 1739 as *Határ patak* (SZABÓ 2010: 54; see SEBESTYÉN 2012: 55, 2017: 94–95, *Határ-patak*).

**Vălea Ungurească** (lit. ‘the Hungarian valley’) ~ **Vălea Ungurului** (lit. ‘the Hungarian’s valley’), a residential area adjacent to Valea Hotărului. | From *Vălea Ungurului*, Hungarian *Magyarpatak*, a hamlet embedded by Sighet, recorded in 1913 (SUCIU 1968: 234) < *Vălea Ungurului* (hydronym) (see also SEBESTYÉN 2012: 92, 2017: 187).





### 3.2. Neighbourhoods whose names preserve old micro-toponyms

**Ceárda**, a residential area situated between Valea Hotarului and Iapa. Its name is tightly linked to the village Iapa, also known as *Ciarda Iapa* (see SUCIU 1967: 301). | From Hungarian *csárda* ‘inn’.

**Făgét**, a peri-urban area to the south of Sighet, towards Vadu Izei; in 1940–1944, there existed the street *Kerekbük*. | From *Făgét*, a forest < *făgét* ‘beech forest’ (see also SEBESTYÉN 2012: 70).

**Lázu Șesului**, a neighbourhood in the east of the town, situated between the neighbourhoods Cămara and Dobăieș on a field which offers a charming view. | From *Lázu Șesului* (toponym) < *laz* ‘deforested land’ + *șes* ‘field, straight land’.

**Móciar**, an area in the south-east of Sighet, in the vicinity of Valea Mare, was recorded in 1742 as *Mocsarban* (SZABÓ 2010: 54). | From *Mocsar* (Hungarian toponym) ‘marshland’ (SEBESTYÉN 2012: 96).

**Téplița**, a neighbourhood in the east of the town, is recorded with the Hungarian name *Teplice* in the register of street names of 1940–1944. | From *Téplița*, a stream which feeds the homonymous lake on the left bank of the Tisa, created by means of excavation at the end of the 1960s; cf. *tóplița* ‘hot spring’, ‘hot waterhole which does not freeze in winter’, ‘dead arm of a river’, ‘wet land’ (MDA).

**Vălea Máre** is located along the river Ronișoara. | From the oikonym *Vălea Máre*, a lost village < \**Vălea Máre* (hydronym) < *văle* ‘valley’ + adjective *máre* ‘big’ (see also SEBESTYÉN 2017: 223, *Nagy-patak*).

### 3.3. Neighbourhoods built during communism

Neighbourhoods built during communism bear the names of important streets in the respective areas, which were named after historical events (*1 Decembrie 1918* ‘1 December 1918’, *Unirii* ‘(of the Great) Union’, *Independenței* ‘(of the Independence)’), historical and cultural figures in Maramureș (*Alexandru Ivasiuc*, *Bogdan-Vodă*, *Popa Lupu*), and figures in Romanian history (*Cuza-Vodă*, *Traian*), as well as after the workers’ colony established when the new neighbourhoods were developed (*Constructorului/Constructorilor* ‘(of the builder(s))’). One also comes across ideological names bestowed by the communist regime and preserved until nowadays (*1 Mai* ‘1 May’).

### 3.4. Bridges

The bridges which ensure the connection between the peripheral neighbourhoods of Sighet and the town centre are just as tightly linked to the history and geography of the town. The names of the bridges are given as follows:

– after the bodies of water over which they are built: *Podul Ronișorii* (lit. ‘the bridge of the Ronișoara’), *Podul peste Tisa* (lit. ‘the bridge over the Tisa’),



officially called *Podul Acad. Mihai Pop* ‘Acad. Mihai Pop Bridge’, in relation to the famous ethnologist from Maramureş);

– after the settlement with which it ensures the connection: *Podul Vaduhui* [Izei];

– after minor toponyms: *Podul Cetății* (lit. ‘Citadel Bridge’), which facilitates the communication between the town centre and the neighbourhood Dealul Cetății;

– after buildings located in the immediate vicinity: *Podul Abatorului* (lit. ‘Abattoir Bridge’) used to ensure the connection with the abattoir on Câmpu Negru (lit. ‘black field’), nowadays shut down; *Podul Pușcopor* was named after the tower *Puskapor* (< Hungarian *puskapor* ‘gunpowder’), demolished in 1930, which was used as gunpowder storehouse during World War I.

#### 4. Street names in Sighetu Marmăției in the twentieth century

Urban toponymy offers an image of the interaction between linguistic, cultural, social, political, ethnic, and historical factors. It should be subject to thorough analysis which begins from the language of the community under investigation and focuses on the sociolinguistic changes occurring over time. Hodonyms are based on proper names or appellatives “which can be interpreted as socio-, psycho- and ethnolinguistic indices of a society at a given point in time” (FELECAN 2013: 319, orig. Romanian, our translation).

Street names are significantly connected with changes in political-administrative regimes. Language is in an interdependent relation with power (MAY 2012: 135; BLOMMAERT 2006: 240; ROSE-REDWOOD, ALDERMAN, AZARYAHU 2018), and this aspect influences the administrative decisions regarding the names of the streets in a certain historical period. The speakers have, in connection to the language used, a high status when the language they speak is also employed in national communication, government, etc. Thus, in Sighetu Marmăției, as in most of Transylvania, street names were exclusively in Hungarian before 1918. Hodonyms referred to institutions/buildings (*Iskola Utca* ‘School Street’, *Malomkerti utca* ‘Mill Garden Street’, *Színház Utca* ‘Theatre Street’), various places in town (*Temető utca* ‘Cemetery Street’), and local micro-toponymy (*Füresz*, *Szalaván*, *Tisza*). It is interesting that there are no Jewish and/or Ukrainian names, although in Sighet there existed a large Jewish community and many Ukrainians.

After the Unification of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania on December 1, 1918, the Hungarian administration was replaced with Romanian officialities, and this led to the modification of street names. Some of the names were translated (*Feketemező* – *Câmpu Negru* ‘black field’, *Földműves* – *Plugarilor* ‘(of the) ploughmen’, *Malom* – *Morii* ‘(of the) mill’, *Vágóhíd* – *Abatorului* ‘(of the) abattoir’, *Vásártér* – *Locul Târgului* ‘market’s place’),





while others were substituted with names of Romanian historical and cultural figures (*Avram Iancu*, *Dr. Ioan Mihályi de Apșa*, *General Davilla*, *Gheorghe Barițiu*, *Mihai Eminescu*, *Petru Grădișteanu*, *Vasile Alecsandri*), Greek-Catholic priests (*Mihai Pavel*, *Vicar Bud*), and local personalities (*Dr. I. Rednic*, *Nicolae Filipașcu*). At the same time, there are names related to the royal family (*Regele Carol I* 'King Charles I', *Regele Ferdinand* 'King Ferdinand', *Regina Maria* 'Queen Marie') or World War I, which were given as a sign of gratitude for the contribution to the Great Union. Worth noting here are the names of certain political or military figures (*Gheorghe Bilașcu*, *I. C. Brătianu*, *Iosif Stoica*, *Mareșal Antonescu* 'Marshal Antonescu' *Tache Ionescu*), and the names of heroes of World War I who died in Sighet (*Iosif Gábor*).

After 1940, when north-west Transylvania was annexed by Hungary and the Horthyst regime was installed, Hungarian names were re-established. On the one hand, the town returned to street names used before 1918; on the other, as a result of the town's development, new names were given in relation to Hungarian ethnics who were local personalities or important figures in Maramureș (*Várady Gábor utca*, *Gróf Teleki Pál* – politicians, *Hollosy Simon* – painter, *Lator Sándor* – member of parliament and president of Maramureș Rural Council), historical figures in Transylvania (*Báthory István*, *Hunyady János*, *Rákóczi*) or Hungary (*Bocskay István*, *Csokonai Vitéz Mihály*, *Deák Ferenc*, *Gombos Gyula*, *Kossuth Lajos*), as well as Hungarian writers and teachers (*Arany János*, *Jókai Mór*, *Madách Imre*, *Mikszáth Kálmán*, *Petőfi, Szilágyi István*). Some streets bore the names of key figures of the fascist ideology (*Hitler Adolf*, *Horthy Miklós*, *Mussolini*), which was a common situation in 1941–1944. At the same time, there were names which referred to certain guilds, a phenomenon specific to mediaeval towns (*Földműves utca* 'Ploughmen's Street', *Fuvaros* '(of the) wagoners', *Munkás utca* 'Workers' Street', *Téglás utca* 'Brickmakers' Street', *Tímár utca* 'Tanners' Street', *Tutajos* '(of the) rafters'), or to the economic and cultural development of the town (*Alsókertalja utca/Felsőkertalja utca*, *Líceum utca*, *Kisgyár utca* 'Factory Street', *Kisköz* 'Small Market', *Kórház utca* 'Hospital Street', *Nagygyár utca* 'Big Factory Street', *Színház kert* 'Theatre Garden', *Törvényszék utca* 'Court-house Street', *Vasútköz* 'Train Station Square', *Vásártér* 'Market Square'). In this age one could also find honyms consisting of the names of the former settlements and hamlets adjacent to Sighet.

The end of World War II and the beginning of communism brought about a new series of alterations in street naming. In general, the Romanian names used in the interwar period were re-established, but names related to the royal family or to interwar historical, cultural, and political figures were eliminated. In 1955–1965, in Sighet these street names were replaced with names referring to the new political regime and historical events with which it agreed. All new



street names were ideologically charged: *Regele Carol I* ‘King Charles I’ → *30 Decembrie* ‘30 December’, *Regele Ferdinand* ‘King Ferdinand’ → *Republicii* ‘Republic (Street)’, *Regina Maria* ‘Queen Marie’ → *1 Mai* ‘1 May’; *I. C. Brătianu* → *9 Mai* ‘9 May’, *Mareșal Averescu* ‘Marshal Averescu’ → *V. I. Lenin*; *Dr. I. Mihalyi* → *I. V. Stalin*, *Mihai Pavel* → *23 August*, *Octavian Goga* → *Karl Marx*, *P. Grădișteanu* → *Maxim Gorki*, *Piața Unirii* ‘Union Square’ → *Piața Libertății* ‘Liberty Square’. Names of Hungarian writers (*Ady Endre*, *József Attila*, *Petőfi*) occur in the hodonymy of Sighet, even more so given the fact that the life of some of these writers was connected with the Ardeal.

The effects of the 1964 “declaration of independence” from Moscow are also visible in the change of street names in Sighetu Marmăției. Names of Russian origin (considered detrimental) and names of communist leaders were substituted with geographical names, politically and ethnically unbiased: *Gen. Cambrea* → *Izei*, *Gh. Dimitrov* → *Pintea Viteazu*, *I. V. Stalin* → *Mara*, *Pavel Tcacenco* → *Arieșului*, *Telman Ernest* → *Căprioarei*, *Vasile Roaită* → *Ignișului*. This phenomenon appeared throughout Romania (see also FELECAN 2013: 321).

At present, street names in Sighetu Marmăției are mainly in Romanian. Of the 103 names of streets and squares which we have recorded in Sighet, 51 are based on anthroponyms. Of these, 47 are Romanian (names of writers and historical, political figures), two are Hungarian (*Szilágyi István* and *Tompa Mihai*, the latter written in Romanian), one is Ukrainian (*Alexandru Ivasiuc*, a writer from Sighetu Marmăției) and one is Polish (*Gen. Mociulski*, Romanian general of Polish origin, a hero in World War II).



**Figure 4.** Road signs: *Szilágyi István* and *Mihai Tompa*

Secondary sources of street names in Sighet are toponyms:

- local minor toponyms (70%): of Hungarian origin (17%), with Romanian etymons (72%) or pertaining to the autochthonous stock (17%): e.g., *Arieșului* < toponym *Arieș* < Hungarian toponym *Aranyas* < Hungarian *aranyos* ‘golden’



[DRĂGANU 1933: 484; see also SEBESTYÉN 2017: 19, *Aranyas-pataka*]);  
*Cămara, Câmpu Negru; Izei, Tisei*);

– toponyms reminiscent of historical events (15%): *Basarabiei, Mărășești*;

– names of mountains from Maramureș (15%): *Gutinului, Ignișului, Rodnei*.

Other street names refer to historical events (22 *Decembrie 1989* ‘22 December 1989’, *P-ța 1 Decembrie 1918* ‘1 December 1918 Square’<sup>6</sup>, *P-ța Libertății* ‘Liberty Square’). Some names given during communism have been preserved—*Muncitorilor* ‘(of the) workers’, *Progresului* ‘(of the) progress’, *Unirii* ‘(of the) Union’—as they were not considered outdated. Other names were employed in Hungarian in 1940–1944 (*Földműves utca* – *Plugarilor* ‘Ploughmen’s Street’, *Malom utca* – *Morii* ‘Mill Street’, *Tavaszi utca* – *Primăverii* ‘Spring Street’, *Töltés* – *Gării* ‘Train Station Street’, *Vásártér* – *Locul Târgului* ‘Market Place’, *Virág* – *Florilor* ‘Flowers’ Street’) or in the interwar period (after 1918 *Corbului* ‘Raven Street’– 1940–1944 *Holló* – after 1990 *Corbului*).



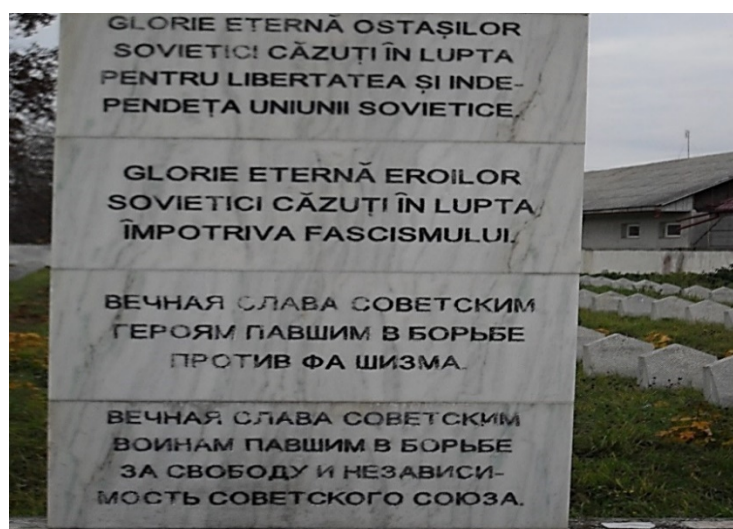
Figure 5. Bilingual inscription on the Sighet Memorial

It is worth noting that after 1990 certain street names known in the 1940s were re-established, but they were given to other thoroughfares as a result of infrastructure reconfiguration. For instance, *Hajnal utca* became *Popa Lupu*, but the name *Strada Zorilor* ‘Dawn Street’ did not disappear from the current inventory of street names in Sighet. This is a means of refreshing social memory in public

<sup>6</sup> As the unification of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania, which took place on 1 December 1918, is the greatest accomplishment of the Romanian political elite, it became the perfect candidate for the position of the most frequent commemorative name in Romanian public space in the wake of the major political transformations of the twentieth century (see FELECAN 2019: 105–116).

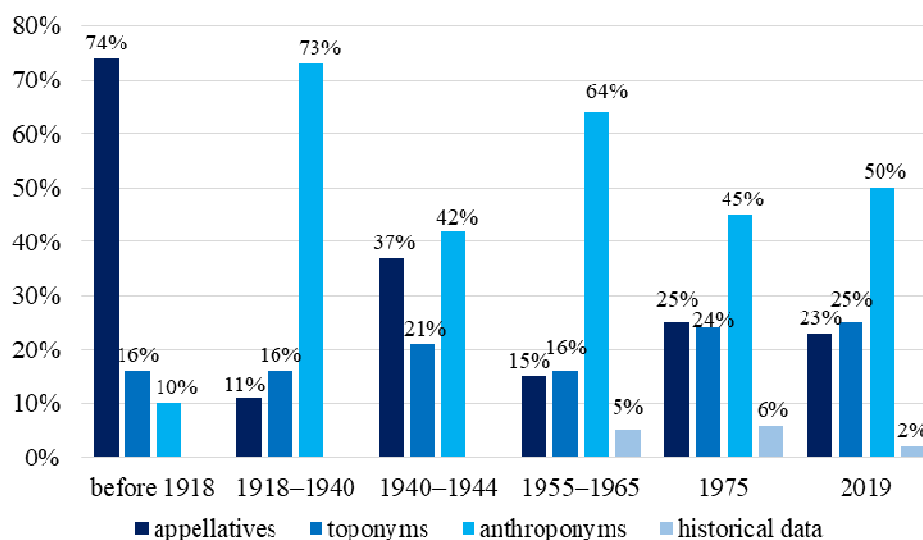


space: “Power would be consolidated itself through the link between memory and space [...], memory establishes interconnections between past and present” (NOVAS FERRADÁS 2018: 117).



**Figure 6.** Bilingual inscription dedicated to the Soviet army  
(in the war cemetery)

The variability of the sources of hodononyms in Sighetu Marmăției can be illustrated as follows:



**Figure 7.** The sources of street names



As one can see, anthroponyms make up the most productive source of street names. The figures in whose honour streets are named are chosen depending

on historical age, politics, and power. The aim underlying such a selection consists of promoting the national/local identity of the name givers (in this case, of the administration), or the political ideology they embrace. “If a commemorative street name is to be understood as a signifier, its referent is not only the street to which it refers but also the historical figure or event which is thereby brought into sphere of public memory as part of political regime of spatial inscription” (ROSE-REDWOOD–ALDERMAN–AZARYAHU 2018: 8).

| Year               | Hungarian personalities | Romanian personalities | Fascist figures | Communist figures | Kings of Romania | Ukrainian cultural figures | Polish military figures | Names of saints |
|--------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| <b>Before 1918</b> | 67%                     | –                      | –               | –                 | –                | –                          | –                       | 33%             |
| <b>1918–1940</b>   | 5%                      | 89%                    | –               | –                 | 5%               | –                          | –                       | 1%              |
| <b>1940–1944</b>   | 75%                     | 10%                    | 10%             | –                 | –                | –                          | –                       | 5%              |
| <b>1955–1965</b>   | 17%                     | 53%                    | –               | 29%               | –                | 1%                         | –                       | –               |
| <b>2019</b>        | 4%                      | 94%                    | –               | –                 | –                | –                          | 2%                      | –               |

**Figure 8.** *The ethnic origin of the personalities the streets were named after*

It should be noted that there are no hodyonyms reminiscent of the significant Jewish community that existed in Sighet in the interwar period. This proves that the Jews did not integrate in the community, but remained isolated despite the majority they held in the ethnic configuration of Sighet. (The lack of integration can be seen on the tombstones in the Jewish cemetery, some of which are centuries old: there are no inscriptions in Romanian. In addition to Yiddish, the language in which most inscriptions are written, there are some in Hungarian.)







**Figure 9.** *Holocaust Monument*



**Figure 10.** *Bilingual inscription on the Elie Wiesel memorial house*

At the same time, although the town is situated on the border with Ukraine and home to a Ruthenian minority, Ukrainian street names are absent. This fact can be accounted for by the history and geography of the area. After the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Maramureş neighboured Czechoslovakia and Poland, and on the left bank of the Tisa the majority of the population consisted of Romanians. Ukrainians in Maramureş began arriving in the area in the Middle Ages and settled there (see DĂRĂBUŞ 2007: 744–745, PETROVAI 2011: 277–280) because the milieu favoured the coexistence of several ethnic groups.<sup>7</sup>



<sup>7</sup> In 1910, the County of Maramureş, with the seat in Sighet, included 73,506 Romanians, 33,634 Hungarians, 32,201 Jews, 28,288 Germans, and 21,271 Ukrainians (DERMER–MARIN 1933: 129).

Even if they did not make up the majority and did not hold any privilege, Ukrainians left their mark on toponymy (considered diachronically), but not on hodonymy, which was influenced by the Hungarian or Romanian administration in office at a certain point in time.



**Figure 11.** Bilingual inscription on the monument dedicated to Taras Şevcenko (Ukrainian writer, artist)

## 5. Concluding remarks

Urban toponymy in Sighet displays all the features of multiculturalism, due to the centuries-long coexistence of several ethnicities. This fact leads to the consideration of several etymological hypotheses regarding the name of the town (Thraco-Dacian, Hungarian, Slavic) and minor urban toponyms (names of neighbourhoods, squares, bridges, and streets) which can be identified in the historical-geographical configuration of the area.

Twentieth-century street names in Sighet are the result of the interaction between political, social, and ethnic factors. Diachronically, urban toponymy reflects the naming principles of every historical age and the role played by language in relation to official power in multi-ethnic societies. Translations from Romanian to Hungarian or vice versa can be construed as approving the continuity of elements that are known and accepted by all the members of the community, a compromise between social integration and the promotion of language as a factor of ethnic identity and political, social, and cultural power. Similarly, names of neighbourhoods and certain hodonyms (*Strada Morii* 'Mill Street', *Locul Târgului* 'Market Place') are indicative of the connection between urban and rural aspects, perpetuating the history and geography of the area.



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### Abstract

The municipality of Sighetu Marmăției is situated on the bank of the Tisa river and has been recorded in official documents since 1326. The town has always been defined by multi-ethnicity as it is also apparent in its name: Hungarian (*Máramaros*)*sziget*, German *Marmaroschsigt*, Ukrainian *Cuzim* (*-Мармароськуї*), and Slovak (*Marmarošská*) *Sihot'*. This study proposes an etymological and sociolinguistic analysis of urban toponymy, starting from the explanations provided for the name of the town (in Thraco-Dacian, Hungarian, and Ruthenian), the old names of certain villages which have become neighbourhoods (*Iapa*, *Lazu Baciului*, *Șugău*, *Valea Cufundoasă*, *Valea Hotarului*), and the street names employed in the twentieth century. The diachronic and synchronic perspective allows for the understanding of the etymological complexity of old and recent names related to the languages used in the area throughout the centuries.

**Keywords:** Sighetu Marmăției, etymological hypotheses, sociolinguistics, urban toponymy, street names





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***A Historical Linguistic Analysis of Hungarian Toponyms in Non-Authentic Charters\****

1. Historical linguistic records represent the most valuable sources for studies aimed at the early history of the Hungarian language. The era with written records spans a millennium in the case of Hungarian. Various remnants have survived from the early period, a significant part of which are legal documents, i.e., charters. These documents written in Latin contain a large number of vulgar toponyms and personal names and these Hungarian words form the basis of studies in historical linguistics concerning the early Old Hungarian Era (895–1350).

We have only a few charters from the beginning of the history of Hungarian charter writing, the 11<sup>th</sup> century, especially in comparison with later eras. Moreover, a significant part of these were not written in the 11<sup>th</sup> century but a) this century was indicated in the forged text, or b) the original 11<sup>th</sup>-century text of the charter was expanded, interpolated in later centuries, and c) there are also some among these that have not survived in their original form but only in later copies (cf. HOFFMANN–RÁCZ–TÓTH 2017: 71–76). It was a long-held view that studies in historical linguistics may rely only on authentic charters that have survived in their original form or possibly on the onomastic corpus of copies. Therefore the interpolated charters and the completely forged documents were left out of linguistic analysis. In the last 1 or 2 decades, however, one can see a change of approach in historical linguistics: the researchers are including the onomastic corpus of non-authentic charters and that of those that have not survived in the original more and more (HOFFMANN 2010, SZŐKE 2015, 2016, KOVÁCS 2018, PÓCZOS 2018, PELCZÉDER 2018). This is enabled by the development of a methodology that has made the study of the linguistic corpus of sources of an uncertain chronology possible also (SZŐKE 2015, 2018).

I will discuss two examples from 11<sup>th</sup>-century charters to illustrate how the unique philological situation of interpolated and forged charters may help us make etymological knowledge more accurate, using the Founding Charter of Garamszentbenedek and the Charter of Pécsvárad. I have chosen the *Susolgi* name of the Charter of Garamszentbenedek and the *Sorlogys* name of the Charter

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\* This work was carried out as part of the Research Group on Hungarian Language History and Toponomastics (University of Debrecen–Hungarian Academy of Sciences) as well as the project *International Scientific Cooperation for Exploring the Toponymic Systems in the Carpathian Basin* (ID: NRDI 128270, supported by National Research, Development and Innovation Fund, Hungary).



of Pécsvárad because despite the fact that several people have studied them, their origin has still not been established with certainty. At the same time, scholars studying these names were either not considering the remnants of the charters or used them in a way that did not take the uncertain linguistic status of the documents into account. Although the detailed analysis of these names cannot fully remove the associated uncertainties, it can provide guidelines for additional studies.

2. Usually three dates are mentioned in connection with the Charter of Garamszentbenedek (1075, 1124, 1217). The first one (1075) indicates the time of writing of the original charter, the other two (1124 and 1217) that of the transcription of the 1075 document. The original charter has not survived but its copy dated 1217 has. We also know, however, that the charter was interpolated twice (around 1237 and 1270) with such (forged) parts that had not been included in the Latin text in 1075 and the two copies (1124, 1217) were recorded only after the interpolation made around 1270. The charter from 1075 is known from the document made in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century but dated 1217, thus only this document can serve as the basis of our studies in historical linguistics and onomastics (DHA 1: 204–205). The founding charter of the Benedictine Abbey of Garamszentbenedek includes approximately 250 records of altogether 152 places, from which around two thirds can be linked to the original, 11<sup>th</sup>-century layer of the charter.

2.1. The forest area and royal estate in Bars County, in the northern part of the Carpathian Basin (Gy. 1: 474, 425), is mentioned in the charter under the name of *Susolgi*: “dedi autem et terram in *Susolgi*” (DHA 1: 214). The etymology of the *Susolgi* name is uncertain (cf. JUHÁSZ 1988: 98, TÓTH 2001: 234). Earlier, several scholars thought that the name might be associated with the name of the Saskő castle located nearby and it may be interpreted as *Sasal* (i.e., *Sasalj*), the foot of Saskő, the area around Saskő (JUHÁSZ 1988: 98, FÉNYES 1851: 4, 17, KNAUZ 1890: 183, CSÁNKI 1925: 292). The basis of this interpretation is the presupposition that the castle and its name preceded the naming of the region. To be able to consider this theory, we need to briefly examine the history of the region and the castle, as well as the circumstances of name giving. The name of the region, according to the critical edition of the charter, belongs to the part of the charter written in the 11<sup>th</sup> century (DHA 1: 214). The royal forest estate to which the area named *Susolgi* in the founding charter also belonged was created at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and disintegrated in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. During the donation of 13<sup>th</sup>-century royal estates this area came under the ownership of a noble family, and the castle named *Saskő* was built here between 1242 and 1253 (BOROVSKY 1903: 303, Gy. 1: 417–420, KRISTÓ 2003: 79, TRINGLI 2009: 494).



Thus also considering the philological attributes of the Charter of Garamszentbenedek, the above-mentioned interpretation of the name has to be disregarded. The almost two centuries that passed between the first mention of the region in the charter and the building of the castle excludes the idea that the origin of the name of the region is the castle name built much later.

**2.2.** Besides the temporal difference between the mentions of the name of the region and the castle name, the structure of the name also contradicts the option of origination from the castle name. Oronyms played a major role in the creation of names of regions. When naming regions at the foot of mountains, hills, typically names with an oronym + *alj(a)* ‘foot’ structure were created (JUHÁSZ 1988: 26, 61, 90, RESZEGI 2011: 57). One of the characteristics of names of regions including the *alj(a)* lexeme is that these geographical common noun second constituents always create relative names of regions attached to the names of mountains, and at the same time, the mountain names used for the creation of the new name are mostly of a single-component.

The projection of these characteristics onto the *Susolgi* – *Saskő* name pair, however, is not without problems. On the one hand, it is a hindering factor that we are not aware whether the name of the *Saskő* castle was also used as the name of the mountain.<sup>1</sup> Talking about a mountain castle, it is possible, however that the mountain on which the castle was built also bore this name (cf. RESZEGI 2011: 98–100), the name structure strongly supports this idea. On the other hand, in the case of *Saskő*, we have a two-component and not a single-component name. Besides these (and beyond the phonological problems not discussed here) yet another factor makes the interpretation of the *Sasal* (i.e., ‘foot of Eagle[rock]’) name uncertain. The first mention<sup>2</sup> of the name in the charter records the version of the name with a *-gy* formant as [*Sosolgy*], which form is not really compatible with the supposed meaning of the name as ‘the foot of *Saskő* castle’. Although among the additional data there are also those without a formant, the *Sasal(j)* ‘foot of/Sas’ structure of the name clearly excludes the possibility of attaching a formant to it from a name typological perspective: the *alj* geographical common noun second constituent never takes the *-gy* toponymic formant.

**2.3.** In the next part, I would like to discuss the possible origin of the *Susolgi* name if it does not derive from the name of the castle. Besides the remnant in the founding charter, we may also encounter the *Susold* name form as the name

<sup>1</sup> Although the *alj* lexeme was also often attached to castle names, as a result of this not names of regions but settlement names were created. This way of name giving was typical in the case of settlements established at the foot of castles (KMHsz. 1. *alj*, TÓTH 2008: 105).

<sup>2</sup> Due to the circumstances under which the Founding Charter of Garamszentbenedek survived, the form of the name recorded in the charter does not necessarily reflect the characteristics of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.



of a mountain (1237: sub monte *Susold*, ZalaOkl. 1: 14). The only difference between the two forms is the *-gy* ~ *-d* formants but this difference does not exclude the possibility of considering the name of the region and the name of the mountain to go back to the same etymon, as at the time both formants were typical topoformants and what is more, the name of region also has a *-d* (*-di*) form (1407: *Sosoldi*, DF 8). Besides these two toponymic records, we may also encounter this name form as an anthroponym (1086: *Susol*, DHA 1: 254, ÁSz. 737), thus we also have to discuss the possible association with the personal name when looking for explanations of the name.

Based on available data, the origin from an anthroponym may come up, however, this explanation appears to be problematic both in the case of the oronym and the name of the region. In the names of protrusions the perception of name giving using personal names and the possessive relationship serving as its basis is rather uncertain, even though there are oronyms including an anthroponym base word in Hungarian. In her monograph on Hungarian oronyms, KATALIN RESZEGI also mentions name forms possibly created from anthroponyms among both single- and two-component oronyms (2011: 138–139). She argues about oronyms with formants, however, that in the rich toponym corpus examined by her the topoformant only rarely attaches to proper names, i.e., toponyms and anthroponyms, and she is not aware of any oronyms formed from a personal name with a *-d* formant (2011: 152, 154). The explanation of names of regions with personal names is also problematic, as we are not aware of any names of regions formed from personal names. At the same time, among the names of regions the name forms created with the *-gy* and *-d* formants are also very rare (cf. JUHÁSZ 1988: 30–32).

In the case of the creation of names denoting natural phenomena with an identical form to a personal name, however, we may consider the possibility for multiple metonymy, i.e., the anthroponym > settlement name > name denoting natural phenomena change (GYÖRFFY 2004: 131, RESZEGI 2006: 165, 2011: 18). However, we may only take this option seriously if we can identify the settlement name which could serve as an “intermediary” name form between the personal name and the name of region. The *Susolul* data of a forged 1209 charter that has survived in a 17<sup>th</sup>-century copy (ÁÚO 6: 339) might provide this missing (settlement name) link; before the Hungarian toponym in this charter the *villa* Latin lexeme meaning ‘village’ appears as the type of place. This section thus preserves the name of the settlement and not the region.

Thus in conclusion about the explanation of the *Susolgi* name, we might claim that besides the temporal issues related to the establishment of the castle and the estate, the structural features of the name of the region do not support the former idea either that took the philological features of the Charter of Garamszentbenedek into consideration to a less extent and according to which the





name of the region could be formed from that of the castle. The possibility of the anthroponym > settlement name > name of region change seems to be more likely in connection with the name. As the name of the region appears not only in the version with a -gy formant analyzed here but also in a form identical to the personal name (1283: *Susol*, Gy. 1: 474, cf. SZŐKE 2015: 195).

**3.** The Benedictine Abbey of Pécsvárad was founded by Saint Stephen, however, the supposed 11<sup>th</sup>-century charter did not survive in its original form. The text of the charter of Pécsvárad dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century was recorded in the 13<sup>th</sup> century (around 1220). This 13<sup>th</sup>-century forged document, however, did not survive to this day either only in the form of a multiple copy from the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (DHA 1: 63). This charter mentions 41 estates given to the abbey at the time of foundation. According to the critical edition, besides the 11<sup>th</sup>-century charter of St. Stephen there was also an 11<sup>th</sup>-century census of the abbey and these charters were used as sources at the time of the 13<sup>th</sup>-century forgery. These documents, however, did not survive independently, only as part of the forged charter. Based on the census from the 11<sup>th</sup>-century, we still have a good chance of assessing the estate stock of the abbey at the time of foundation. It supports the truthfulness of the estates named as 11<sup>th</sup>-century donations in the forged founding charter that the donations of rulers following the founder are also included in the forged charter, clearly distinguished from each other. A significant part of villages donated by the founder are included together with boundary descriptions, thus altogether there are around 130 toponyms in the text which from the perspective of historical toponomastics may be considered to be from the 11<sup>th</sup> century (GYÖRFFY 1969: 203, DHA 1: 70).<sup>3</sup>

**3.1.** The *Sorlogys* toponym appears in the charter in the boundary description of a settlement in Baranya County (“tricesimasecunda *Hirig* nominator, que ab oriente terminatur *Sorlogys*, ab austro *Sedfev*, ab occidente *Nogvt* et *Curtuelfa*, a septemtrione *Hudus*”, DHA 1: 75). For a long time, this name of the charter could not be identified. GYÖRGY GYÖRFFY proposed that the name could preserve the proto-Hungarian and/or Bulgarian-Turkish *sorlogh* form of our *sarló* ‘sickle’ word and it may be identical to the older form of the *Sarlós* settlement name (today Magyarsarlós) located here (1977: 236, 1988: 21).

If from a linguistic perspective we could support it with additional evidence that the name form in the Founding Charter of Pécsvárad really is the oldest

<sup>3</sup> In the case of charters with an uncertain linguistic status, I consider it important that we should examine their source value in historical toponomastics and historical linguistics separately although I also consider the problematics in historical toponomastics to be a part of analysis in historical linguistics. The source value of charters in historical toponomastics may be established based on the date of creation of the toponyms, while their source value in historical linguistics in consideration of their characteristics in terms of historical phonology and orthography.



known written form of the *Sarlós* toponym in Baranya County, as claimed by GYÖRFFY, then this would also confirm the existence of the authentic charter from the 11<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time, it would also confirm that we may look for 11<sup>th</sup>-century traces in the recording of names also, i.e., forged founding charters may be considered not only as sources of historical toponomastics but also that of historical linguistics for the linguistic characterization of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. At the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (1109) the settlement name already appears in a *Serlous* form (DHA 1: 366).

The *Sarlós* toponyms were formed from the *sarló* common noun (for the etymology of the common noun see WOT 2: 697–698, cf. also TESz., EWUng. *sarló*). The *sarló* common noun is one of our Turkish loan words of the Chuvash type from prior to the Hungarian Conquest (cf. e.g., BÁRCZI 1958: 73, 77, BENKŐ 1967: 280–282, ZSILINSZKY 2005: 202, GERSTNER 2018: 252). The most likely version is that the *sarló* word was either the borrowing of the Old Turkic \**šarliγ* ~ \**šarlay* or \**čarlay* (cf. TESz., WOT) and it was adapted to the Hungarian language in *sorloy* form.

**3.2.** Considering the *Sorlogys* remnant to be an earlier version of the *Sarlós* name, in the early Old Hungarian Era it could sound like [*sorloyus*]. In case it is really *Sorlogys* in the charter, it may be supposed that the *y* marking of the vowel before the formant could be the result of a spelling mistake, which could enter the text either instead of *u* or *v*, as with regular sound changes we cannot deduce the *Sarlós* form from [*sorlogis*].<sup>4</sup> The settlement name that sounded like [*sorloyus*] could be created when the common noun serving as its basis still had a *sorloy* form. Later, when as a result of the vocalization of the voiced velar spirant (*γ*) a diphthong (*sarlou*) or a long vowel formed from it (*sarló*) was pronounced, the resulting settlement name formed also sounded like [*Sarlous*] or [*Sarlós*]. The *Serlous* (1109, DHA 1: 366) and *Sarlous* (1224/1399, KMHsz. 1: 237) data of Magyarsarlós from a 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup>-century source may also confirm such a change, as when recording the name forms, the *ou* sign may mark a diphthong (or a long vowel formed from it).

Looking at this issue from a linguistic perspective, we may claim that the *Sorlogys* name form (although presupposing a spelling mistake) may be an earlier version of the *Sarlós* name. Had we disregarded the Founding Charter of Pécsvárad as an early source of historical linguistics with reference to its 13<sup>th</sup>-century origin, this early version of the toponym would not be known. After the founding charter, the first known data of the settlement is from the early 12<sup>th</sup> century (1109, DHA 1: 366). The analysis of the *Sorlogys* toponym proves it excellently

<sup>4</sup> I have not yet had access to the photocopy of the charter, as the copy of the 1403 Bull of Pope Boniface IX, from which the oldest text of the founding charter is known, may be found in the Vatican Secret Archives (cf. DHA 1: 63).



that at the time of recording the forged charter in the 13<sup>th</sup> century authentic sources were used from the 11<sup>th</sup> century and a part of the names were copied to the new document without any changes.

**3.3.** The analysis of the toponym in the Charter of Pécsvárad that has been neglected due to its forged nature has also revealed additional new information. The Deed of Gift of Veszprémvölgy was written in Greek at the time of Saint Stephen or his father, Géza (dated prior to 1001 or 997) but its text has survived only from 1109, when at the time of King Coloman under the copy of the original Greek text the Latin version of the charter was also recorded on the same membrane. The Greek and Latin versions of the charter are both about the donation of nine villages but while in the Greek charter one of the nine villages donated is *Ζαλέση* (DHA 1: 85), in the Latin version we find the *Serlous* name instead: 1109: septima villa est *Serlous* (DHA 1: 366), +1109 [1280–95]: item dedit villam *Sorlous* (DHA 1: 380). This *Sarlós* is the same settlement from Baranya County (today's Magyarsarlós) that is included in the Charter of Pécsvárad as a boundary point (DHA 1: 75).

Scholarly publications almost unanimously identify the place mentioned in the Greek charter with *Sarlós* in Baranya County based on the *Serlous* remnant of the Latin renovation, i.e., with today's Magyarsarlós (cf. e.g. KARÁCSONYI 1891: 37, PAIS 1939: 37–40, Gy. 1: 376, KRISTÓ 1976: 71, GYÖRFFY 1977: 321).

There have been several opinions concerning the explanation of the *Ζαλέση* name of the Greek charter (cf. HÓMAN 1911: 132, MIKOS 1935: 118), but the most likely is the origin from a Slavic toponym, i.e., the name form was created from the Slavic *za* 'behind, beyond' and *lěsъ* 'forest' words (MIKLOSICH 1886: 399, 167, PAIS 1939: 38). Such a toponym formed from a prepositional structure perfectly matches the Slavic settlement name system: cf. Czech *Záměl* '[place] behind the reef', Serb-Cro. *Zaslop* 'place behind waterfall, rapids', etc. (HOFFMANN-RÁCZ-TÓTH 2018: 201–202). Toponym derivatives have been formed from the *lěsъ* lexeme also in several Slavic languages: cf. Czech *Zálesi*, Polish *Zalesie* (VASMER 1941: 34, ŠMILAUER 1970: 112). Based on the work of DEZSŐ PAIS, the Slavic origin of the name has been accepted by many (cf. GYÖRFFY 1977: 321, 1994: 20, KRISTÓ 2000: 19–20, 2005: 121, GÁBOR 2008: 9).

The toponym appearing in the Greek founding charter is most likely a settlement name of Slavic origin that has not become a permanent element of the Hungarian toponymic system. The name usage in the Latin renovation of the Deed of Gift of Veszprémvölgy indicates that in the 12<sup>th</sup> century the place had already been referred to with the *Sarlós* name. The *Sorlogys* name of the Charter of Pécsvárad, at the same time, indicates that in the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century the settlement could have a Slavic and a Hungarian name simultaneously, later, however, there is no trace of the Slavic form in sources.



4. I wanted to show with the analysis of names in the interpolated Founding Charter of Garamszentbenedek and the forged Charter of Pécsvárad that the analysis of charters with an uncertain linguistic status may bring such information to the surface also in the case of etymology that we have not possessed before and which may shed new light on ideas considered to be likely before. I think that these two examples prove it well how important it is to consider the toponyms of as many charters that have been neglected so far in linguistic analysis as possible when conducting historical linguistic analysis in general and etymological studies in particular.

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**Abstract**

Foreign texts containing Hungarian words are indisputably important sources of data for the study of early periods of Old Hungarian. Only a few charters have survived from the 11<sup>th</sup> century, an era marking the beginning of Hungarian literacy. Medieval charters contain several place names that still have not been explained in detail. Moreover, linguists have studied primarily those early charters that were also authenticated. I believe that besides the low number of authentic sources from this early period, those of uncertain authenticity (e.g., transcripts and false charters) should also be studied. My paper focuses on two examples from 11<sup>th</sup>-century charters to illustrate how the unique philological situation of interpolated and forged charters may help us make etymological knowledge more accurate, using the Founding Charter of Garamszentbenedek (*Susolgi*) and the Charter of Pécsvárad (*Sorlogys*).

**Keywords:** Hungarian medieval charters, non-authentic charters, toponyms, historical linguistic analysis, etymological studies





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### ***Etymological Problems Related to Toponym Clusters\****

1. The phonological oppositions develop as a result of changes in phonological history. These oppositions in certain cases appear in lexeme pairs that may originate from the same etymon and that are distinct from one another both in terms of semantics and possibly even their form. Several examples serve to illustrate this phenomenon in the history of the Hungarian language (some early examples include *szipog* ‘sniffing’ : *szivárog* ‘leaking’, *mell* ‘breast’ : *mál* ‘mountainside’, *kajla* ‘curved’ : *hajlik* ‘bending’, etc.) (cf. GRÉTSY 1962, BENKŐ 1967/2002: 344–347, ZSILINSZKY 2003: 186–187, 199, 380, 624, 731, 807, PUSZTAI 2003: 882–883, 2018: 281). Name pairs as the result of divergent changes are also known among toponyms: e.g., *Csitár* : *Csatár*, *Komló* : *Kömlő*, *Kékcse* : *TiszaKécske*, *Piski* : *Püski*, etc. (cf. KISS 1994, 1995). This phenomenon is referred to as name splitting in scholarly publications. We should also note, however, that the association between such names may sometimes be questionable, thus their etymological review is certainly justified.

Several sound changes may be identified in the background of name splitting. I will not discuss these in detail in my paper but will rather focus only on one phenomenon and its categories, thereby illustrating the etymological difficulties we may encounter when studying these names.

2. For this analysis, I chose toponyms representing the labial-illabial opposition because this category provides the most abundant set of examples for name splitting. This is an important circumstance because we need to involve the largest possible toponymic corpus for the exploration of etymological issues related to name clusters. When introducing the typical examples, I highlight the etymological issues of particular toponym clusters from a given category and, through this, I illustrate the problems characteristic of the entire set.

2.1. In the majority of toponymic examples discussed here, the labial-illabial nature of the opposition is straightforward but the processes behind the development of the name pairs and their direction is not clear in all cases. The labial-illabial difference between members of the name clusters is most often the result of **labialization**: this is an important change in the history of Hungarian that affected the entire vowel system and during which the illabial vowels were

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\* The research and writing of this essay has been supported by the University of Debrecen and the MTA Premium Postdoctoral Research Program. This work was carried out as part of the project *International Scientific Cooperation for Exploring the Toponymic Systems in the Carpathian Basin* (ID: NRDI 128270, supported by National Research, Development and Innovation Fund, Hungary).



replaced by labial ones. We may draw conclusions about the direction of change partly from the early data of toponyms and partly from the illabial nature of the anthroponym, toponym or common noun base word.

a) For example, it is made probable by several circumstances that, from the *Berve* and *Börvely* settlement names in Romania, the illabial *Berve* was the primary one. On the one hand, the settlement names derive from anthroponyms and the anthroponym base word has an illabial *Bervej* form (cf. 1138/1329: *Beruei*, 1235: *Beruey*, 1270: *Bervej* szn., ÁSz., FNESz.). On the other hand, the early records of the names are also illabial: although *Berve* in the former Fehér County in Transylvania has only one early record (1348/1352: *Bervej*, Gy. 2: 134), *Börvely* in Szatmár County has a rich dataset (1216/1550: *Beruei*, 1280: *Beruey*, *Tóth Beruey*, [1320]: *Beruey*, [1322]/1466: *Berwey*, 1324: *Berue*, [1324]: *Berue*, 1326: *Berwe*, *Beruey*, *Berwey*, 1331/1331: *Berue* ~ *Berwe*, 1332–34/PR.: *Berney* [ɔ: *Beruey*], [c. 1320–35]>1423: p. *Berwey*, 1341/1469: *Berwe*, 1342>1423: *Berwey*, 1342/1433/1810: *Berwey*, 1345: *Berwe*, 1348: *Berwey*, *Beruey*, 1366/1496: *Berwey*, 1411: *Berwe*, NÉMETH 2008: 36, 1435: *Berwe*, *Berwely*, *Berwey*, Cs. 1: 472). Data indicate that the vowel in the first syllable could originally be illabial in the case of both names. The first labial data of *Börvely* are from the sixteenth century: 1598: *Beorwey* (DÁVID 2001: 405); 1648: *Börvej*, *Beörwey* (MAKKAI 1954: 392).

b) Using the same methods, we may suppose, in the case of toponym clusters of certain loan names, that their labial member originally included an illabial sound. (*Nagy*)*peleske* in Szatmár County and *Pölöske* in Zala County serve as good examples for this. The basis of the names could be a Slavic hydronym (cf. Slk. *Plieška* place name, Ukr. *Плѣука* place name, FNESz.). The name of the brook in Hungarian took the *Piliske* form (with the disappearance of the consonant cluster at the beginning of the word and the palatalisation of the name) (cf. 1234/1303/1332/1399: *Piliske*, FNESz.). The early records of the name of *Pölöske* settlement also indicate that the name of the settlement established next to the brook could also be the illabial *Piliske*, similarly to the name of the brook (1234: *Pyliske*, 1318: *Pilyske*, 1335: *Pyleske*, 1430: *Peliske*, *Pyliske*, 1513: *Peleske*, Cs. 3: 23, 24).

c) We also need to examine in the case of toponyms with a common noun the origin of whether the given common noun could include a labial or illabial sound originally. Both members of the toponym pair including the Romanian *Piski* and *Püski* in Győr-Moson-Sopron County could originally be illabial. The early illabial records of *Püski* could indicate this (cf. 1397/1629: *Piski*, 1489: *Pyskj*, FNESz.), but this is also made likely by the etymology of the *püspök* lexeme ‘bishop’. This loanword has spread to many languages because this is a Wanderwort, and it probably entered Hungarian from German and the primary



Hungarian form could be *piskup* ~ *piskop*, i.e. there was an illabial *i* vowel in the first syllable (EWUng., TESz., ZAICZ 2006).

**2.2.** In certain cases, the labial-illabial dualism between the name pairs is due to the fact that **the base word of the toponyms itself had labial and illabial forms simultaneously.**

a) The *Gerény* settlement name (1332–37: *Gheren*, FNESz.) supposedly has its roots in the illabial *Gerény* personal name (cf. 1221: *Geren*, personal name, FNESz.), while the first constituent of the *Görénypuszta* name (1329: *Guryn*, 1367: *Gwren*, NÉMETH 1997: 82) in a personal name with a labial *Görény* form (cf. 1329: *Gwren*, personal name, FNESz.). The reason for the labial-illabial anthroponym versions is that the common noun serving as its basis also existed in such a dialectal dualism (the existence of today's dialectal *gërény* ~ *görény* variants also confirms this, cf. ÚMTsz. *görény*).

b) The labial-illabial differences in toponyms may also reflect these differences of the given common nouns. Thus, for example, the name of *Ipolyszög* settlement in Nógrád County (1906: *Ipolyszög*, FNESz.) (formerly named *Riba*) was formed from the combination of the name of the Ipoly river and the labial *szög* geographical common noun 'corner, area surrounded by a watercourse'. *Bakonszeg* in Bihar County, however, includes the illabial version of the same geographical common noun (1434: *Bakonzeezh*, 1438, 1470: *Bakonzegh*, 1480, 1536: *Bakonzeg*, 1598: *Bakonizegh*, RÁ CZ 2007: 37). It should be noted at this point that the labial versions did not necessarily emerge from common nouns, including labial sounds, as labialisation may have also taken place in the toponym itself.

**3.** The association between the names of the toponym clusters introduced so far is unquestionable etymologically. However, a significant part of toponyms exhibiting a labial-illabial opposition may be judged in a less straightforward way in this respect.

a) It may happen, for example, that the **connection between the names is straightforward but their etymon has not been clarified.** The *Kisberzsény* and *Nagybörzsöny* names (in Veszprém and Pest County respectively) reflect the *Berzsény* ~ *Börzsöny* parallel and are probably related etymologically (cf. FNESz.), as also confirmed by the similarity of their early data; *Nagybörzsöny*: +1258: *Bersen*, 1293: *Bersen*, 1295: *Bersen*, 1312: *Bersen*, 1312: *Berseen*, 1327: *Bersen*, 1332–37/PR.: *Bersan* (Gy. 3: 184); *Kisberzsény*: 1398: *Bersen*, 1478: *Bersen*, 1488: *Kysbersen* (Cs. 3: 223). As for the origin of the names, however, we only know that they may have been created with the borrowing of the Slavic *\*Brěžane* toponym meaning 'people living on a shore, hill'.

b) We may also find several labial-illabial toponym pairs where the etymological relationship has been established and the shared etymon has also been



identified in former etymological studies but based on the data **it cannot be decided with certainty whether the labial or the illabial form was the primary.**

The case of toponyms containing the *üreg* ‘cavern’ geographical common noun, for example, seems to be problematic in this regard at first look because of the uncertain etymology of the common name (cf. TESz.). If, however, we inspect the early records of the names, we may consider the primacy of the illabial form to be more likely: *Iregszemcse* (1387: *Irug*, FNESz., 1441: *Irek*, 1443: *Ireg*, 1444: *Ireg*, 1506: *Iregd*, Cs. 3: 430): *Magyarürög* (1252: *Yrug*, FNESz.), *Nagy-ürögd* (1552: *Nagyh Iregdh*, 1560: *Nagy Irwgd*, 1580: *Nagyregd*, 1587: *Nagyregd*, 1588: *Nagyiregd*, 1589–90: *Magy Eoregd*, 1598: *Nagiureogd*, RÁCZ 2007: 201), *Üreg* (1113: *Erig*, 1113/1249/1310: *Erig*, 1113/1249/1310: *Yrugh*, 1261 [c: 1267?]: *Irewg*, 1267/1270: *Ivrug*, 1268: *Ireg*, Gy. 4: 482).

c) There are also such name pairs, name clusters among names with a labial-illabial difference, in which due to the multiple etymological options, **the relationship of the names themselves is questionable.** The *Derecske*, *Pápadereske* : *Somogydöröcske*, *Töröcske*, *Döröske* name cluster may serve as a good example for this phenomenon. Toponym-etymological publications argue that the *Döröske*, *Pápadereske*, *Somogydöröcske* names were all formed from personal names by means of metonymic name giving (i.e., without a formant), however, in connection with the phonetically also clearly connected *Derecske*, *Töröcske* and *Vámosderecske* names other options are also present. The *Döröske*, *Pápadereske* and *Somogydöröcske* names may be rooted in a Sl. *\*Drugča* or *\*Drugša* anthroponym (although these anthroponyms are reconstructed forms) and the primary toponym forms created from it were velar (also illustrated by the following data: *Döröske*: 1244: *Druska*, *Pápadereske*: 1240/1355: *Doroska*, *Somogydöröcske*: 1138/1329: *Durugsa*, FNESz.). According to the explanation, from the velar *Durugsa*, *Doroska* toponyms, the *Dörö(c)ske*, *Dereske* name forms were created in Hungarian with the changes of the phonological form. At the same time, it has also been mentioned in connection with the etymology of the *Derecske* and *Töröcske* names that they are the derivatives of *derék* ‘long soil protrusion’ with the *-cse* affix cluster (FNESz.). In the case of *Derecske*, the only early *Derekcse* record indicates this (1291–94: *Derekce*, FNESz.), from which the *Derecske* form could be formed with metathesis (cf. RÁCZ 2007: 81–82). According to etymological research conducted so far, the *Vámosderecske* settlement name in Austria may only be associated with this name cluster due to its phonological form. The primary Hungarian base form of the *Derecske* name constituent was the *Dregza* form (1263/1367/1591: *Dregza*, FNESz.), the source of which could be the *\*Drezga* toponym of a southern Slavic origin. *Dregza* was formed from this with metathesis, then due to the analogical effect of the *-cske* diminutive affix cluster



the *Derecske* name form was created. It is obvious, however, that just like in the case of *Derecske* in Bihar County, we can also find a *Derekcse* variant among the records of *Vámosderecske* and, therefore, we might also consider it possible that the second constituent of *Vámosderecske* was also the derivative of the *derék* geographical common noun with the *-cse* affix (1235–70/1347: *Derekce*, FNEsz., 1401: *Derechke*, 1425: *Derezke*, Cs. 3: 605).

Thus, the detailed review of the etymological questions of the *Derecske* : *Döröcske* name cluster is certainly justified. This is even more so because the etymological explanations outlined here include several unresolved problems that go beyond the etymological questions of the given name cluster. Therefore, for example, it is of key importance both from the perspective of toponym etymology and historical dialectology and phonology to reconsider etymologies of an uncertain credibility that only refer to deduced anthroponym or toponym etymons.

These examples also reflect some general experience quite well. For example, it seems to be clear that the joint analysis of the members of toponym clusters may represent the best starting point concerning the etymological issues related to toponym clusters. At the same time, the examples introduced here also highlight that, without the consideration of the complete dataset of toponyms, we may only provide an uncertain opinion when specifying the adequate etymon.

d) At the end of the discussion of names with etymologically uncertain associations, we should probably also mention those name pairs that appear to belong together in terms of their phonological form, but their relationship has not yet been confirmed by etymological studies. Thus, for example, the etymological relationship between *Kecel* in Bács-Kiskun County and the second constituent of *Rábakecöl* in Győr-Moson Sopron County has been rejected by earlier research, similarly to the origin of *Izbég* in Szentendre and *Úzbég* in Slovakia from the same etymon. Therefore, the discussion of such names among name clusters is unjustified if we accept former results without criticism. If, however, we take a closer look at the etymological explanations of these names, we may sometimes confront such problems that are characteristic of the etymological literature of toponym clusters in general (for example, the deduction of the relevant base word from a single record). Such experience indicates that the association of such names should also be reconsidered.

5. Studies in historical phonology reflect the experience that, without the clarification of toponym-etymological questions, we cannot provide substantial answers in certain issues. This is because the basis for studies in historical phonology is naturally represented by early toponymic data and the reconstruction of their original phonological form cannot be carried out without the identification of the relevant etymons. My paper has also shown that the etymological questions related to certain toponyms involve highly complex problems. These



problems also greatly influence the options for describing phenomena in historical dialectology and phonology (in this case the labial-illabial opposition). Looking at certain types of problems together, however, may later lead to the clarification of the disputed issues of toponym etymology. The introduced problems have also indicated that certain toponym-etymological studies may only be successful with the joint analysis of the members of name clusters. It is not an unrealistic idea either that the regional descriptions of studies in historical dialectology may in the future also moderate the etymological uncertainties to an extent, so the more or less precise regional definition of dialectal differences may provide additional information for the etymological explanations of a given toponym. Even if the primary source materials for the description of features in historical dialectology are represented by toponymic data.

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### Abstract

Name pairs as the result of divergent changes are known among toponyms. This phenomenon is referred to as name splitting in scholarly publications. The association between such names may sometimes be questionable, thus their etymological review is certainly justified. Several sound changes may be identified in the background of name splitting. I do not discuss these in detail in my paper but rather focus only on one phenomenon (the labial-illabial opposition) and its categories, thereby illustrating the etymological difficulties we may encounter when studying these names. In the majority of toponymic





examples discussed here, the labial-illabial nature of the opposition is straightforward but the processes behind the development of the name pairs and their direction is not clear in all cases. In certain cases, the labial-illabial dualism between the name pairs is due to the fact that the base word of the toponyms itself had labial and illabial forms simultaneously. A significant part of toponyms exhibiting a labial-illabial opposition may be judged in a less straightforward way etymologically. It may happen, for example, that the connection between the names is straightforward but their etymon has not been clarified.

**Keywords:** name splitting, etymology, historical dialectology, labial-illabial opposition



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### ***Problems Involved in Defining Anthroponym Etymologies\****

1. Characteristic feature of anthroponym systems of all languages are the personal names that have been formed both from lexical elements of the given language and by means of the addition of personal names from foreign languages. These processes are also valid in the case of Hungarian, thus from the earliest documented period of Hungarian language history, besides personal names formed from Hungarian common nouns, we find a great number of anthroponyms borrowed from external sources. Name transfer may occur as a result of intensive ethnic-linguistic contact or a higher-level cultural influence. In the case of Hungarian, the former manifests itself in the appearance of Turkish, Slavic and German loan elements as a result of co-habitation with other peoples, and the latter in that of Latin-Greek elements due to the expansion of Christian culture (for more about this see TÓTH 2016: 158–159).

In my paper, I discuss the difficulties encountered when trying to define the etymological background of anthroponyms from the early Old Hungarian Era through examples of personal names included in the Census of the Abbey of Tihany, a 13<sup>th</sup>-century remnant; at the same time, I introduce some ideas that could bring us closer to the answer when attempting to explain a certain name-form.

The Census of the Abbey of Tihany was made in 1211 upon the request of Andrew II, who ordered the survey of the estates and peoples of the Abbey of Tihany. This legal document mentions close to 2,000 people who lived and served in the 37 estates belonging to the Abbey of Tihany. The charter also indicates the occupation of and the familial relationships among the majority of people, which frequently provides help when discussing the act of name giving. The Census of the Abbey of Tihany is also closely related to the oldest Hungarian charter that has survived in its original form, the Founding Charter of the Abbey of Tihany from 1055.

2. It can be stated with relative certainty about some of the personal names mentioned in the charter, which etymological layer they derive from. A relatively large part of the names were formed from Hungarian common nouns, c.f., *Aianduc* < Hung. *ajándék* ‘present’, *Bogar* < Hung. *bogár* ‘bug’, *Feketeu* <

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\* This work was carried out as part of the Research Group on Hungarian Language History and Toponomastics (University of Debrecen–Hungarian Academy of Sciences) as well as the project *International Scientific Cooperation for Exploring the Toponymic Systems in the Carpathian Basin* (ID: NRDI 128270, supported by National Research, Development and Innovation Fund, Hungary).



Hung. *fekete* ‘black’, *Hozuga* < Hung. *hazug* ‘liar’, *Karachun* < Hung. *karácsony* ‘Christmas’, *Pentec* < Hung. *péntek* ‘Friday’, *Rigou* < Hung. *rigó* ‘trush’, *Tatar* < Hung. *tatár* ‘Tartar’, *Wnoca* < Hung. *unoka* ‘grandchild’, etc. Among the loan names, besides the large number of Latin or Greek religious names (*Georgius*, *Jacobus*, *Johannes*, *Marcel*, *Salamon*, *Simon*, *Stephanus*, *Thomas*, etc.), we also find those of a Slavic (*Bodomer*, *Bolosey*, *Kazmerio*, *Lodimir*, *Priba*, *Vingislou*, *Yroslou*, etc.), German (*Corrad*, *Detric*, *Ditmar*, *Folbert*, *Lambert*, *Welprit*, *Wilmos*, *Wolter*, etc.) or Turkish (*Boyad*, *Ibrachin*, *Oboy*, *Tay*, *Tiuan*, etc.) origin (cf. ÁSz.).

**2.1.** As the great majority of our loan anthroponyms entered the Hungarian personal name system by means of different name-adaptation procedures, the recognition of name-stems and their association with a linguistic layer becomes a primary task when defining the etymology itself. Often a problem arises because name-stems consisting of only 1-2 syllables may occur in the anthroponym corpus of several languages (even in Hungarian) (cf. HOFFMANN 2009: 21, SLÍZ 2011a: 56–67, MOZGA 2013: 156–157). The origin of the *Suda* name-form, for example, is disputed, among others. Slavic origin is possible, with direct name transfer or with the attachment of the Hungarian *-a* personal name formant, cf. Polish *Szud* anthroponym (ŚŚSNO. 5: 246), Old Czech shortened first name: *Súd* (SVOBODA 1964: 108), Czech *Suda* anthroponym (cf. FNESZ. *Szúd*, MELICH 1903–1905. 1/2: 128). The Slavic personal names may derive from the Proto Slavic *\*sadъ* word meaning ‘plantation, garden’. At the same time, we may also consider a *Suda* < Hung. *csoda* ‘miracle’ common noun transformation which may also be supported by the fact that in the Census of the Abbey of Tihany the *-s* suffix appears relatively often as does the [cs] sound as well. Approximately 150 people are mentioned in the Census under the single-syllable name consisting of only 3-4 sounds. These names can usually be considered the shortened forms of a name of foreign origin. (That is, of course, only if we do not recognize any Hungarian common nouns in them.)

For example, the *Wis* name-form can be deduced from both the Slavic and German languages, cf. Serb.-Cro. *Viš* anthroponym < *Visoslav*, *Višeslav* (GRKOVIĆ 1977: 54), Czech *Vyš* anthroponym (SVOBODA 1964: 129), Polish *Wis*, *Vysch* < *Wisław* (ŚŚSNO. 6: 124) and German *Wis* anthroponym (FÖRSTMANN 1900: 1622).

The etymology of the *Guz* name is also rather uncertain. It may be associated with the Slavic *Gosmer*, *Gosmir*, *Goslav*, *Gostimer*, etc. personal names, cf. Polish *Gozlav* anthroponym (ŚŚSNO. 2: 172), Czech *Hoslav* anthroponym (SVOBODA 1964: 65), from which the Hungarian name-form was created by shortening. The first constituent of these Slavic personal names is the Proto-Slavic *\*gostiti*, *\*gostъ* word meaning ‘to be a guest’, ‘welcome someone as a guest.’ The Slavic names have the *Guzmarus*, *Guzlaus*, *Guztimarus*



(SCHLIMPERT 1978: 48–49) forms in German sources, thus borrowing from German is also possible. However, it cannot be excluded either that the personal name is from the Hungarian *gúzs* ‘loop’ common noun which is of Slavic origin (cf. TESz., OklSz.).

In the case of single-syllable names, the origin of the initial name pair can be decided with great certainty only rarely (if we find no matching with the anthroponyms of other languages); this is the case, for example, with *Pet* < *Petrus*, *Petur*, *Dom* < *Dominicus*, *Mich* < *Michael*, *Marc* < *Marcus*, *Bench* < *Benedictus*, etc.

**2.2.** When establishing the origin of anthroponym remnants, it is worth examining the personal name-forms that may in theory be attached to Hungarian name-stems etymologically in every language which had in some form come into contact with Hungarian in the era under examination. In many cases it also happens with longer names that several languages may be indicated as the source. Although in the case of the *Bodomer* personal name appearing in the charter the Slavic origin seems to be rather certain, cf. Bulg. *Бѣдумѣр* (ILČEV 1969: 91), Serb.-Cro. *Būdimīr*, *Budimira* (MARETIĆ 1886–1887: I, 115, MIKLOSICH 1927: 38), Czech *Budimír* (SVOBODA 1964: 72, MIKLOSICH 1927: 38; see also FNESz. *Kisbudmér*, *Budamér*, SLÍZ 2011b. *Budmer*, FEHÉRTÓI 1981) which were formed from the Proto-Slavic *\*buditi* ‘wake sy. up’ (SCHLIMPERT 1978: 25) > Slavic *bud-*, *budi-* ‘watching, alert, excited’ (MIKLOSICH 1927: 37, MARETIĆ 1886–1887: I, 115) and *-mir*, *-měr* ‘peace’ words (MIKLOSICH 1927: 75, SVOBODA 1964: 79), still, the possibility of German origin has also come up in connection with the name. According to HALÁSZ, our data derive from the Germanic *Bodomar* personal name, which was formed with the combination of the *bod* ~ *bôd* (cf. Gothic *biudan* ‘offer, give’, OHG. *boto* ‘messenger, courier’) and *māru* (cf. Gothic *mērs*, OHG. *māri* ‘shiny’, OHG. *-mār* ‘big, famous’) stems (1956: 91; cf. FÖRSTEMANN 1900: 319–323, 1099–1107, Duden-Tasch. IV, 48). The form found among old German personal names demonstrates that the entry of the name into Hungarian was possible from several directions. In such cases it is not necessary to take sides in terms of any of the directions of borrowing, but, those linguistic signs should be highlighted and introduced that could help us in identifying the absolutely false suppositions and in deciding which possible etymons could be considered more likely based on the various arguments.

**2.3.** The formal and structural occurrences of loan names in the charter have to be examined in great detail and based on a clear theoretical starting point. We have found examples when the loan names entered charters from the Old Hungarian Era in an unchanged form, e.g., *Paulus* < Lat. *Paulus*, *David* < Lat. *David*, *Lambert* < Ger. *Lambert*, *Salamon* < Lat. *Salamon*, etc.; still, a large part of names of a foreign origin appear in old sources already in a Hungarian form.



**2.4.** The religious personal names of Latin origin also often appear in the Census of the Abbey of Tihany without an *-us* ending, which may be considered the Hungarian equivalent of the Latin names, cf. *Paul* < Lat. *Paulus*, *Peter* < Lat. *Petrus*, *Marc* < Lat. *Marcus*, *Jacob* < *Jacobus*, etc.

During the Early Old Hungarian Era names were formed not only by dropping the *-us* ending but typically also by shortening the names to the first or first and second syllables in order to adapt them to the Hungarian language system, cf. *Johan* < *Johannes*, *Dom* < *Domuncus*, *Deme* < *Demetrius*, etc. Shortening was also often associated with derivation, cf. *Demeu*, *Demus* < *Demetrius*; *Domsa*, *Domas* < *Domuncus*; *Johanca* < *Johannes*; *Marci* < *Marcus*, *Marcellus*, etc.

The shortening of names was common practice not only in the case of Latin but also with other loan names. Frequently a compound loan name was recorded in the charter in a form shortened to its first constituent, cf. *Dersi* < Slavic *Drž(i)slav*, *Držimir*; *Rada* < Slavic *Radomer*, *Radomir*, *Radoslav*, *Radovan*; *Aman* < Ger. *Amantrudis*, *Amanfrid*, *Amanold*, *Amanulf*; *Heim* ~ *Heym* < Ger. *Heimrich*; *Hede* ~ *Hedeh* < Ger. *Hedricus* ~ *Hedericus*, etc. In most of the cases a Hungarian formant was also added to these shortened forms, cf. *Borid* > Slavic *Borislav*; *Baga* < Slavic *Bogomil*, *Bogomer*, *Bogoslav*; *Bertu* < Ger. *Berthold*, *Bertolf*, *Bertram*, *Bertrand*, *Bertfried*; *Haymus* ~ *Haimus* < Ger. *Heimrich*; *Henche* < Ger. *He(i)nrich*, etc.

**2.5.** In many cases the structural and phonological modifications of loan names can be identified in a form recorded in the charter. The *Bodomer* ~ *Bodmer* record of the Census of the Abbey of Tihany could have been formed from the Bulg. *Bydumŭp* (ILČEV 1969: 91), Serb.-Cro. *Būdimīr*, *Budimira*, Czech *Budi-mír* names (MARETIĆ 1886–1887: I, 115, MIKLOSICH 1927: 38). The Hungarian *Bodmér* name-form was created by means of the two open syllables trend, that is, by dropping the vowel of the second open syllable (ending in a vowel). The Hungarian *Bodomér*, *Bodamér* forms were created as a result of vowel harmony, as in the Hungarian language words consisting of only palatal and velar vowels are typical. The Slavic *Budivoj* > Hungarian *Budvoj* change is also the result of the two open syllables rule, during which in the case of three or more syllable words, when two or more open syllables follow each other, the vowel from the second or any later syllable is dropped (E. ABAFFY 2003: 333).

**3.** As seen from the above that linking a name to an etymological layer is not an easy task. In what follows, I would like to present some procedures that I have used during my work so far for distinguishing different etymological layers, and which in some cases may take us closer to the explanation of a given name.



**3.1.** When identifying an etymology, the peculiar features of the charters may also help. The special philological situation of the Census of the Abbey of

Tihany could be a good example in this regard, as it is not only the authenticated copy of the charter that is available but also its draft. Of the 1,936 personal names mentioned from different estates, 369 appear in the sealed charter in a form different from that of the draft, which represents close to a fifth of the anthroponyms. The differences between the two copies could help us in the case of some remnants when defining the etymon, e.g., the *Pet* name-form of the authentic copy appears in *Petur* form in the draft, or the *Symou* name of the authentic copy was recorded in *Simoun* form in the draft.

**3.2.** Several scholars have already called attention to the fact that the names should not be studied independently when removed from their context. DEZSŐ PAIS (1966) first wrote about the method called “name referencing”, the essence of which is that with the exploration of the particular name connection we may also grow closer to the identification of the name’s origin and meaning. He recognized that in the charters from the Árpád Era the members of the different groups, especially family members, often have related names and this relationship between the names often provides an opportunity to explain one name with the other.

**3.2.1.** Correlation between names may appear both in terms of semantics and morphology. As for the former, the *Farkas* ‘wolf’ and *Medve* ‘bear’ name-pair is often quoted, which also appears among the name-mentions of two families: once the names of a father and son: 1211: *Vdornici de Mortus [...] filius Forcos, Meduel (Forcas, Medueh) et filius eius Mogus* (PRT 10: 512); and later that of two siblings are recorded in this form: *In villa Supoc [...] vdornicij [...] filius Laurentii, Zemdij cum filiis suis Forcos, Medue (Medueh)* (PRT 10: 513). Such a semantic relationship may be revealed, for example, by the fact that the charter mentions a son called *Nemél* ‘not live’ of the father called *Látomás* ‘vision’: 1211: *In altera vero villa, nomine Belen (Belenh) isti sunt ioubagiones [...] Nemelh, filius Latamas* (PRT 10: 507). This method, of course, can only be used in the case of descriptive names of a transparent semantic content.

**3.2.2.** One of the most typical forms of the morphological relationship between names is when one of the members within a family is named with the base form of the name, while the others with the modified version of the same name, most often the shortened and additionally formed version of the original. This process can be found most often among loan names. This may primarily be due to the unique nature of the name type, i.e., that referential names can only fulfill the identifying function of personal names, and thus it rarely happens within the family that its members are recorded with the same name-form. The intention to express the familial relationship is often revealed by the repetition of identical name-stems. This may help us with the identification of names of the same origin and thus with the definition of the relationship between the shortened



and derived name-forms. Based on the text of the Census of the Abbey of Tihany the family relationships may be easily explored. We find several examples for this phenomenon in the charter, due to the frequency of names primarily among those of Latin origin.

The bond between siblings, however, is also often expressed on the level of names. Thus, for example, the Latin *Johannes* appears in the charter in diverse name-forms: 1211: *In predio Colon [...] servi [...] filii Stephan (Stefan), Beneduc cum filiis Matia, Elia frater eius Forcos cum filiis suis Janus, Johannes et alter frater eius Cusid cum filio suo Sorlound* (PRT 10: 508); *In villa Supoc [...] vdornicij [...] filius Zegen, Thomas cum filiis suis Johanne, Joan, frater eius Egydiud cum filio suo Erdeus* (PRT 10: 513); *In villa Thurkh (Turk) isti sunt ioubagiones ecclesie: filii Symien, Joan cum filio suo Vus, et frater eius Ibrachin cum filio suo Joachyn, et tercius Johannes* (PRT 10: 515); *In villa Zamthou [...] ioubagiones ecclesie: filii Bene, Borid [...] Prid [...] fratres sui Johannes, Joanca (Johanca)* (PRT 10: 514); *In villa Zeuleus [...] sunt servi ecclesie [...] Chetur (Cheter), Heleh, Coza cum filio suo Johanne et Johanca (Joanca), Ceke cum filiis suis* (PRT 10: 514, 516). This pattern can also be seen in the case of other Latin names: *[In Tychon] coci [...] filii Zephal: Mortun, Mortunus* (PRT 10: 503); *In villa Fured [...] vinitores: Surc cum filiis suis Alexio, Nicholao et Micu* (PRT 10: 506); *In predio Colon [...] ioubagiones [...] filius Tucus, Sephal et frater eius Zalas, cum filiis suis Michaele, Micha (Mica) et Vros* (PRT 10: 508); *In villa Thurkh [...] vinitores ecclesie: filii Vros, Quinus (Quinjs) et frater eius Quina cum filio suo Kazmerio (Cazmer)* (PRT 10: 515); *In villa Pechel [...] vdornici [...] filius Cuet, Luca, Luxa, Lucas* (PRT 10: 504); *in eadem Gomas isti sunt artifices ecclesie [...] filii Monos, Ananian (Anian) cum filio suo Anta et fratres eius Ananias et Ontus* (PRT 10: 514), etc.

This pattern can also be seen in the case of other Latin names. The same phenomenon may also be found not only in the father and son relationships but also in the case of more distant relatives. In what follows, I would like to show some examples for these from the charter itself: 1211: *In altera [...] villa [...] Belen [...] ioubagiones [...] Chekeu cum filiis Toma, Mana (Matica), Yroslou (Yroslau) et Micoudeo, frater eius Micu, cum filiis Nicolao et Kemus* (PRT 10: 507); *In villa Zeuleus [...] ioubagiones [...] filius Ociu, Micou cum filios Michaele* (PRT 10: 507); *In altera vero villa nomine Belen, isti sunt ioubagiones [...] Symon filius Jac cum filiis Jacobo et Andrea* (PRT 10: 507); *In villa Colon [...] ioubgiones [...] Paul cum filio suo Pousa* (PRT 10: 508); *in eadem Gomas [...] artifices [...] filius Micus, Michoulous (Micolous)* (PRT 10: 514), etc.

Based on the pattern introduced earlier, we can suppose the association between several names in which this appears to be much less obvious. The name relations within the family may appear not only in the repetition of identical





etymological stems but also sometimes the close bond between two or three names is revealed by the same formant of the names. This may help us to at least identify the stem of a hard-to-decipher name. In the Census of the Abbey of Tihany, for example, the following personal names borne by relatives could be formed with the same formant.

Father-son name mentions: 1211: *[In Tychon] pelliparii [...] filius Lucus, Fulcus* (PRT 10: 503); *In villa Fuzegy [...] isti sunt exequiales [...] filius Chekeu, Demeu cum filio suo Beneduc (Benehduc)* (PRT 10: 513).

Mentions of siblings: 1211: *In villa Poposca [...] sunt servi [...] filii Maogy (Mauogi), Ws, Serdeh, Zemeh* (PRT 10: 505); *In villa Ozoufeu hii sunt agricole [...] Nemuogv et filii sui Mocchi, Bunchi* (PRT 10: 505); *Vdornici de Mortus hii sunt: filii Karachun (Carachon), Pota cum filiis suis, Thomud et filii eius Guz, Beke et frater Thomud, Bene (Tomud, Beneh), cum filio Texe et fratribus eius [...] Bed, Micou, Pota, Motou* (PRT 10: 511); *In villa Fotud [...] curriperi: filii Zeud (Zeund), Micus cum filiis suis, Pasca, Thexa (Texe), frater eius Lucus* (PRT 10: 511); *In villa Thurkh [...] vdornici [...] filius Tupoz, Codou cum filiis suis Quene, Vide, Leguine, Coda (Choda) cum filio suo Tiuan (Tiwan)* (PRT 10: 515); *In villa Fuzegy [...] sunt exequiales [...] filii Zacharie, Fileh, Seleh, Onda, Paul, Sentus* (PRT 10: 513), etc.

4. The circumstances revealed by the text of the charter and also related to family relationships may help us find an explanation for given name-forms or recognize the common stem of specific names, especially in cases when there is no other option in connection with a name. The consistent use of this method can thus also successfully contribute to the more precise study of the internal relationships of the old Hungarian personal name system. However, one needs to consider the possible etymons carefully, and it is not recommended to decide based purely on the supposed association of similar names found among relatives.

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### Abstract

The Census of the Abbey of Tihany was made in 1211 mentions close to 2,000 people, so this legal document is suitable for presentation the difficulties encountered when trying to define the etymological background of anthroponyms from the early Old Hungarian Era. It often causes a problem that name-stems consisting of only 1-2 syllables may occur in the anthroponym corpus of several languages. Only a small part of the loan names had entered charters from the Old Hungarian Era in an unchanged form (*Paulus* < Lat. *Paulus*, *Lambert* < Ger. *Lambert*, etc), a large part of names of a foreign origin appear in old sources in an already Hungarian form (*Paul* < Lat. *Paulus*, *Domsa*, *Domas* < Lat. *Domuncus*, *Henche* < Ger. *He(i)nrich*, *Budvoj* < Slavic *Budivoj*, etc.).

When identifying an etymology, the peculiar features of the charters may help us. The special philological situation of the Census could be a good example in this regard, as it is not only the authenticated copy of the charter that is available but also its draft. The difference the two copies may help in the determination of etymon: e.g., the *Symou* name of the authentic copy was recorded in *Simoun* form in the draft. In the charters from the Árpád Era the members of the different groups, especially the family members, often have related names and this relationship between the names often provides the opportunity to explain one name with the other. The correlation between the names may appear both in terms of semantics and morphology.

**Keywords:** personal names, etymology, formal and structural modification of personal names, semantic and morphological relationships of personal names





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