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István Hoffmann–Valéria Tóth

*Theoretical Issues in Toponym Typology**

1. Genesis and Changes of Toponyms

When discussing the genesis of and changes in the toponyms of any language, researchers can fundamentally rely on two types of source materials. The toponymic data themselves are available as direct sources. This source material is represented by the entire modern toponymicon and the toponymic data that have survived in a variety of documents (including medieval charters, maps, and other written linguistic records). Besides this, however, one can also rely on the general findings of name theory as an indirect source regarding place-naming and name usage when looking for information on the genesis and changes of toponyms in a particular era. In our paper we introduce findings on place-naming, name usage, and name changes from toponymic data recorded in both modern language and medieval sources, building on the general principles of name theory. The data studied and used as illustrations are Hungarian toponyms, yet the conclusions drawn also have implications for onomastics in general.

As the statement of the problem, we start our overview with data from medieval charters as through their explanation we can highlight various disputed issues related to the field (often reaching well beyond the scope of onomastic research). Then, we will introduce those general (in our opinion: universal) name theory tenets on the basis of which we can successfully complete the linguistic analysis of specific name data with regard to name-giving and name changes for any era (and in any languages) in the history of the toponymic system. Meanwhile, we also attempt to use the modern toponymic corpus as it enables us to study the various processes while eliminating the temporal distance.

We present the general questions related to name-giving, name usage, and name changes through problems presented by toponymic data taken from four early, 11th-century charters representing the earliest age of Hungarian written records. Such name data are not informative primarily as individual names

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from the perspective of the subject matter at hand, but may become instructive because they also bear the general features of name types. The selected four toponyms represent different categories from the perspective of their genesis and typology, and this circumstance fundamentally defines not only the course of their linguistic life, but also the conclusions that may be drawn from them.

In order to specify what kind of general problems these specific cases represent for name theory, first of all, we have to see how their position as well as their value as linguistic and possibly ethnic sources are regarded in the fields of onomastics and history, the latter also building on the findings of the former.

Balaton is the largest lake in Eastern Europe. Its name has been used in the same structural form during its entire history, and only its sound structure has changed to a degree. The *bolatin ~ balatin* data from the Founding Charter of the Benedictine Abbey of Tihany (1055) (SZENTGYÖRGYI 2010: 23–24), are the earliest occurrences of the name of the Lake *Balaton* (which probably sounded like [bɔlatin] at the time). The hydronym is of Slavic origin in terms of its ultimate etymon (cf. Sl. **Blatьnъ* 'muddy'). Hungarians borrowed this name from the Slavs. An important constraint that we can also ascertain in connection with settlement names of Slavic origin in early sources (e.g. *Visegrád:* < Slavic **Vyšegradъ* 'castle on a high ground', *Csongrád:* < Slavic **Čьrnъgradъ* 'black castle') applies to this name-form also, i.e. that it cannot be known when these places got their name as we have no access to relevant historical evidence. And this is certainly not a minor issue from the perspective of deciding on the chronological limits of the era when we can assume the presence of particular ethnic groups in the region (cf. KRISTÓ 2000: 20).

The Founding Charter of Tihany also includes the *uluues megaia* toponym (SZENTGYÖRGYI 2010: 25), which at the time would probably have sounded like [yjβɛʃ meɟa:ja]. In contemporary Hungarian this would be *Ölyves megyéje* and it indicates the boundary of the village of Ölyves through the use of Hungarian grammar: *ölyv* 'buzzard' + *-s* 'adjective-forming suffix' / *megye* 'boundary' + *-je* 'Sg3 possessive suffix'. In this case it might emerge as a problem that the two lexemes in the name are loanwords in Hungarian. The word *ölyv* 'buzzard' was borrowed from Turkic languages, while *megye* 'boundary line' from one of the Slavic languages. Thus one of the central questions could be whether all this can influence our conclusions about linguistic affiliation of this name and also whether any conclusions can be drawn from it about the language (and ethnicity) of the name-givers.

The *βεσπρὲμ* data in the Donation Charter of the Nunnery of Veszprémvölgy (prior to 1001/1109, DHA 1: 85), which was probably pronounced [bɛspre:m] at the time, represents the typical example of settlement names that were created from a personal name of foreign (in this case Slavic) origin without a

formant.[1] The name has survived to this day in an unchanged name structure, with only a phonetic change in the form of *Veszprém*. Although in this case it is obvious that the basic word of the settlement name is a personal name of Slavic origin, the manner of name-giving and the personal name > settlement name metonymy clearly indicates Hungarian name-givers as in old Slavic languages settlement names were not formed from personal names without any formant. This means that settlement names from Slavic personal names without formants give evidence of Hungarian name-givers. Whether from the Slavic origin of the personal name we can also deduce the presence of a Slavic population remains an open question.

Finally, the settlement name *Kér* in the Charter of Veszprém preserves the name of an ethnic group, namely one of the conquering Hungarian tribes (1009/+1257: *Cari villa,* DHA 1: 52). There were 46 settlements named *Kér* in the Carpathian Basin during the Middle Ages (cf. Adatok 1: 36–37), to which modifiers have been added subsequently to end the homonymous relationship between them. This settlement is called *Hajmáskér* today. (There are only 9 of these old *Kér* settlement names in today's Hungarian settlement name system; cf. FNESz.) There are lessons we can learn from this name beyond its own meaning: the settlement names containing the lexeme of a tribe's name mostly refer to the internal relations of the settlement even if such names were given by those living close to the given settlement. In this approach, the *Kér* settlement name can only be interpreted in a way that people from the Kér tribe lived in the settlement but not in its surroundings as this is the only way the name could fulfil its differentiating function (Kristó 2000: 18). In such cases the question can mostly be whether there can be any ways of deciding who the givers of the settlement names could really be: those living in the given settlement or those living in its environment?

The problems detailed above in connection with these data in early charters raise several questions related to name theory both regarding place-naming and usage. These include questions on the reasons for name-giving and the basic circumstances of name genesis, as well as questions focusing on the status and function of toponyms. These will be addressed in what follows.

1.1. The Universal Motives of Place-Naming

The introduction to the key issues of name theory begins with an overview of the possible reasons behind place-naming, i.e. the usual motivations behind the aspirations of people to name a certain place. Earlier, the key reason for naming

[1] The term *formant* in Hungarian historical toponomastics refers to those affix morphemes (primarily derivational suffixes) and lexical elements (geographical common nouns) that are used in Hungarian to express the role of toponyms.

was explained as a way for people to orientate themselves in space and thus the important places are named. More recently, however, it is argued that the ultimate reason for name-giving is related to the communicative need of people, and the actual demand for a name is provided by the communicative needs emerging in a particular situation (HOFFMANN 2005: 120). Moreover, when talking about the causes of place-naming, we have to emphasize that cultural motivations also play a crucial role, as the name has been a fundamental part and universal component of human culture for thousands of years (HOFFMANN 2010b: 52). Thus naming itself is influenced by general conventions, so we give names also because it is customary to signify certain types of places with a proper name (HOFFMANN–TÓTH 2016: 262–263).

1.2. Name Competence and Name Patterns

It is the underlying nature of name-giving that all naming acts are semantically conscious and follow existing name patterns, name models in a functional-semantic and lexical-morphological perspective. Semantic consciousness means that at the time of name-giving, one of the characteristics of the referent to be named appears in the name created, or there is some other semantic content connected to it; thus there is no absolutely unmotivated name.[2]

The individual becomes familiar with toponyms as part of culture and language, in the process of social and linguistic socialization. Simultaneously, they develop the ability to recognize and properly use particular names and also create new ones. Thus a kind of name competence develops in the process of socialization, which also includes linguistic components besides cultural traditions and knowledge. Name competence is based on name patterns and name models, which includes the most basic cultural, pragmatic, semantic, and morphological knowledge about names. For name-givers, the name system that is known and used by them serves as the basis for new names in all cases, which prevails not only directly, by means of using the already existing names, but also indirectly, by means of the transmission of name patterns (cf. HOFFMANN 1993: 26, 2010b: 53, HOFFMANN–TÓTH 2016: 264, AINIALA–SAARELMA–SJÖBLOM 2013: 75, 87; see also VAN LANGENDONCK 2007).

At the same time, modern socio-onomastic studies on toponyms have also revealed that semantic motivation and transparency are manifested in a contradictory manner from the perspective of name usage. These studies indicate that users of names consider the identifying function of names to be dominant,

[2] However, there are very occasional documented names with no connection to any characteristic of the referent, not even a metonymic or other allusive connection, e.g. *Truth*, North Carolina, USA. George Stewart says concerning the name: "by local story, suggested in jest by a member of the selecting committee, and then adopted seriously" (CDAPN 495).

and the structure and semantic relationship of names with reality appear to be less significant for them. During socio-onomastic field work researchers have experienced that interviewees do not think about the motivational background of names even in the case of such words that can be identified with an obvious common word, just as they do not analyze the semantic and lexical structure of the name either: thus the name appears as a kind of a referential unit in their mind. Based on all this evidence, it seems that the users of names do not expect the names to reflect a semantic connection with reality, i.e. that they should be motivated in the actual sense of the word. This is probably also related to the fact that speakers are aware of and use several such toponyms, the original semantic content of which has become obsolete with time (cf. GYŐRFFY 2017: 164–166). This would be consistent with RICHARD COATES' contention in various publications that the sense of any formants of a name is by definition extinguished at the moment at which a name is bestowed (e.g. 2006a, 2006b, 2012).

1.3. The Socio-onomastic Aspects of Place-Naming

For a long time, it was thought that in the sociological background of place-naming the creation of names in olden times could only be imagined as being of folk nature and as a collective activity (for this approach cf. e.g. BENKŐ 1998: 112). Although some of the details of this approach may be accepted, it should be emphasized that this opinion is based on the idea that toponyms are selected randomly from the numerous unique common word designations related to a given place and that they slowly become proper names.

As opposed to this approach, however, in terms of the name-giving and name sociological situation, a differentiation should be made in terms of the emergence of the individual entities of particular toponym types. Name-giving is a complex and diverse process and the name-giving act should not be seen as a homogeneous phenomenon either, as it can be very varied due to the diversity of the communicative situation and that of the named places. This means that from the perspective of socio-onomastics, first of all, we have to differentiate between the naming acts of places and objects created by people (the so-called civilizational names, including settlement names mostly) and the name-giving acts occurring in the case of places existing independently of human presence (natural names, including the names of rivers, mountains, etc.) (HOFFMANN 2005: 120–121, HOFFMANN–TÓTH 2016: 264–265).

1.3.1. Naming Acts and Civilizational Names

With settlement names, the cognitive-pragmatic approach focuses on the role of the individual, instead of the community, in the act of name-giving. Thus

it places consciousness ahead of instinctiveness. Settlements are the creations of people and at the same time they also express that people took possession of a territory. The existence of the settlement is thus the result of human activity and name-giving can be perceived as part of this creative process. As a result, deliberateness and consciousness are present much more markedly in settlement name-giving and individual interests are expressed more clearly than in the case of other toponym types; thus possibly more aspects of the naming act (e.g. the name-giver) may be seen (Hoffmann 2005: 122, Hoffmann–Tóth 2016: 262). Conscious name-giving means that the new name-forms are created mostly as a result of intentional and conscious mental processes and thus the act of settlement naming itself can be seen as the cognitive activity of the speakers. Therefore, in many cases names are given by the individual and not the community, but in a way that the new name fits into the naming system of the given name community and as a result the new language element can be accepted and used as a name by others as well. This onomastic interpretation thus perceives name-giving as an act and the former approach which focused on the gradual transformation of common word expressions into proper names is only considered a peripheral type of name-forming at most (Hajdú 2003: 56–58, Hoffmann 2014, Hoffmann–Tóth 2016: 265).

The conscious naming activity could be present at a much higher degree in the case of medieval settlement names than we have supposed earlier. We know more than one such charter passage, for example, in which the role of the owner in name-giving and changing is clearly present in the text as well (cf. e.g. Kristó 1976: 11–14). The data found in charters regarding the village of *Marcelfalva* [Marcel's/village] in Szatmár County demonstrate that originally it bore the name of *Nógrád,* certainly coming from Slavic name-givers. The settlement was, however, ravaged by a certain Marcel Radalfi (i.e. coming from settlement Radalf) who named it *Marcelfalva* after his own name. 1279: "villa Neugrad […] quam quondam *Marcellus* nomine suo *Marcelfoluua* nuncupavit" (Németh 2008: 176), meaning "the village of Neugrad [...] which was named *Marcelfoluua* by a certain *Marcellus* in his own name".

As charters were the most important documents of land ownership during the Middle Ages, they contain such references that shed light on name-giving either directly or indirectly. The largest amount of information about the name-giving process of the age is available in the sources in connection with the settlements named after people (it is not by accident that our examples so far also belong to this category). This indicates the prevalence of individual interests and this is where consciousness is most openly manifested in the name-giving process. Of course, there is a clear explanation for this in Hungarian language and culture, especially regarding the early centuries after the Conquest. Following the Conquest, the development and solidification of ownership lasted for centuries

and it occurred at the borderline of the traditional oral and newly emerging written culture, where the latter was becoming increasingly important. Within the context of the oral tradition, the naming of the property could be an important means of expression of ownership itself, which could maintain an awareness of the association between the person and the place for a long time verbally (with the power of the word) in the life of the name-using community (due to its use in daily communication) (Hoffmann 2005: 122, Hoffmann–Tóth 2016: 265–266, Tóth 2017: 111–113).

1.3.2. Naming Acts and Natural Names

In the case of natural names, conscious name-giving does not have such a significant role as in the case of settlement names. The weaker presence of the consciousness and deliberateness of name-givers can also be seen if we consider that sources rarely refer to acts of naming rivers, mountains or other natural objects. Having synonymous names is also rarer because the extra-linguistic circumstances influencing name-giving (e.g. social and psychological causes) do not really require the appearance of newer name variants. Nor is it irrelevant that natural names (especially microtoponyms) mostly function in a smaller circle of name-users than, for example, settlement names and as a result of this they have a stronger local connection, which also determines the opportunities for their scholarly use. They are perfectly suitable for dialectological studies, especially because of these features, and they can also be considered in the case of studies of ethnic questions to a certain extent (Hoffmann 2005: 121–122, Hoffmann–Tóth 2016: 266).

1.3.3. External or Internal Name-Givers?

This distinction regarding the sociological status of certain types of toponyms also questions the tenet that used to be provided as the only explanation and which considers the residents in the environment of the named settlement to be the main name-givers of the settlements: in terms of linguistic-ethnic consequences, this also means that the linguistic nature of the given settlement name primarily reveals information about the ethnic relations of the people nearby. Besides this approach, for a while now the idea that the exclusivity of the name-giving role of the neighbouring population cannot be viewed rigidly continues to attract attention.

However, we do not have to entirely dismiss the name-giving role of the neighboring population. For example, we can assume with great certainty in the case of settlement names deriving from ethnonyms – as in the case of a village inhabited by Besenyő people (Pechenegs) in a Hungarian environment – that it was certainly not the Pecheneg inhabitants themselves who gave the village the

name *Besenyő* ‘Pecheneg’. In the case of other settlement names, however, we need to emphasize the role of the population of the settlement itself or one of its influential residents, its lord, etc. in name-giving which confirms the notion of conscious name-giving by an individual as seen in changes in the name that reflect a change of ownership or property rights. This is most likely the case in connection with toponyms deriving from anthroponyms but it is also highly possible that it was not the neighboring population that played a key role in the creation of settlement names embodying the name of the place’s patron saint like *Szentistván* ‘St. Stephen’ or *Szentlászló* ‘St. Ladislaus’ either, but rather the Church as an institution.

As an indicator of conscious name-giving starting from an individual, for example, may be found in the changing processes which accompany a change of ownership or property rights on the level of language.

These changes obviously cannot be explained by communicative reasons as the identifying function related to the basic function of proper names had already been fully performed by the former name also. From the perspective of communication, the name change was mostly non-desirable as it resulted in uncertainty in communication. Thus with the creation of the new name, the name-giver even tolerated temporary difficulties in communication, which is obviously possible only if the name-giver had a clear interest in creating and using the new name.

Overall, this means that from the perspective of socio-onomastics, not only the natural and civilizational names, as types of toponyms, show great variance but within the latter group, the different settlement name types can be distinguished on the basis of linguistic principles; therefore, we cannot approach their genesis, changes, and linguistic features in an undifferentiated way either (for more details see Hoffmann–Tóth 2016: 267–268).

1.4. Name-givers and Name-users

The differentiation of place-name givers and name-users, the individual and the community is of crucial significance from the perspective of name theory. This should be emphasized especially because all of the language data that can be considered as the basis of the early linguistic (and also ethnic) study of the Carpathian Basin come from written sources and these sources (with rare exceptions) can shed some light not on name-giving but the circumstances of actual name usage. The act of naming itself might be separated by centuries from the time and linguistic status recorded by the charter and this has serious consequences on the linguistic and ethnic context. The *bolatin ~ balatin* toponym of the Founding Charter of Tihany – which we have already mentioned – clearly indicates Slavic name-giving. We can state with certainty, however,

that this denomination could not refer to a Slavic ethnic group in this part of Transdanubia in the middle of the 11th century, when it was recorded in the form, as the users of the name were clearly Hungarians (due to the syllabic structure of the name). The original word-initial *bl*-consonant pair was extended into the form *bal-* with the addition of a vowel, as there was no such word-initial consonant cluster in Hungarian. When this name entered the Hungarian language, however, cannot be confirmed with the help of the tools of toponym and language history (Hoffmann 2010a: 49–50, Hoffmann–Tóth 2016: 269).

1.5. Toponyms and Culture

Also part of the linguistic evaluation of toponyms is the attempt to describe the exact usage value of these language elements in their complexity. Most people consider identification to be the most important role of proper names and within that category that of toponyms. As a result, toponyms may assume an identifying role even without any special knowledge of the context (which is not possible in the case of other identifying language tools), although in certain cases the clarifying role of the context might also be necessary. Toponyms, as linguistic signs, may express several functions and meanings. The toponyms, in our view, are among those language elements that have the richest meaning structure. Of the many meaning components, we will highlight those which have an important role in settlement name-giving. Cultural meaning can be considered a crucial component of the meaning structure of toponyms as proper names are characterized by their strong connection to culture, and much more so than any other language elements. Thus we might be able to fully grasp the role of names in communication only if we take the circumstance into consideration that name usage is just as much a cultural as a linguistic question. As a result, the name system has a fundamental connection not only with the language system but even more with culture, and the basic fault-lines of name systems are not along linguistic lines but mostly along cultural ones (Hoffmann–Tóth 2016: 269–270). This aspect may be an important principle for the contrastive analysis of different toponymic systems. We would like to highlight the nature of cultural determination through the example of the Hungarian toponymic system.

Due to the fact that after their settlement in the Carpathian Basin the Hungarians integrated into European culture fully and took up the Christian faith, with the result that a new name type appeared not only in the system of personal names but also in the toponymic system which had the most intimate link with Christian culture and, therefore, its emergence may only be understood in this context. In the system of personal names this cultural name type is represented by the

category of religious personal names of Greek and Latin origin (e.g. *Péter, Mihály, Márton, Mária,* etc.), while in the case of the toponymic system by the settlement names referring to the patron saint of the church of the settlement (e.g. *Szentpéter* 'Saint Peter', *Szentmihály* 'Saint Michael', *Szentmárton* 'Saint Martin', *Boldogasszony* 'Our Lady, i.e. the Virgin Mary', etc.). The frequency of these settlement names was around 7% in medieval Hungary (every fourteenth or fifteenth settlement bore such a name, cf. MEZŐ 1996), while in the system of personal names Christian culture brought about an even more significant transformation: the Greek-Latin personal names have practically dominated Hungarian personal names given at the time of birth until the present day (cf. TÓTH 2016: 158–181).

The proper names that exhibit linguistic and cultural constraints and have an identifying function also play an important role in the development of the sense of identity of the individuals. The identity signifying function of names is most obviously manifested in the relationship of individuals and personal names but is also reflected in place-name use. Through giving, using, and modifying names the individuals continuously specify their role in the world: when, for example, they give a name to a place that has been unnamed before, practically speaking they create its identity but at the same time they build their own identity also by expressing their relationship to it (HOFFMANN–TÓTH 2016: 270).

In the history of Hungarian names, a very strong identity-marking role has been associated with certain toponym types. This function is most prevalent in the case of the use of personal names in toponyms. The key function of name-giving of the *Veszprém* and *Tihany* settlement name type that have an identical form to personal names, was probably not to identify a place but more importantly to express the right to ownership and use of an area (HOFFMANN 2010b, TÓTH 2017: 111–113). However, the previously mentioned settlement names embodying the name of the place's patron saint were also spread in the Hungarian name system by the Church, as the most important basis for the transformation to Christian culture, in order to popularize the ideology represented by it and to form and reinforce a new type of individual and communal identity.

The functioning of toponyms as sources of various rights has been discussed several times in Hungarian scholarship: the question was mostly asked in the form of whether the name of an estate in itself could prove the legal title of ownership. Even though there has been criticism related to this view, claiming that a name cannot verify ownership rights, the legal role of toponyms still seems to be well founded in several respects. We should not disregard the fact that Hungarian society and culture in the age of Conquest were characterized by oral tradition and in certain areas of life (state administration, etc.) the use

of written records pushed orality into the background only very slowly and gradually, over the centuries (SOLYMOSI 2006: 203). Under such circumstances the association between anthroponyms and toponyms could serve as an expression of the relationship between the person and the place in the form of customary law. The idea of toponyms serving as sources of law is also supported by the circumstance that in the oldest charters a large number of settlement names survived that are identical with personal names, serving as a good of to the high productivity of this type of name-giving approach (TÓTH 2017: 111–113).

The dominance of settlement names with an identical form to personal names is well indicated by the following numbers: in the oldest Hungarian charter that has survived in its original form, the 1055 Founding Charter of Tihany Abbey, out of the 22 settlements and estates listed, 15 are name-forms identical to a personal name (68%). In another comparison, we can see the great frequency of this name type among the settlement names of two medieval counties: in Abaúj and Bars counties, among the 616 settlement names from the early Old Hungarian period (895–1350), there are 172 such names that were formed from personal names without a formant (28%).

1.6. Conclusion

In this part we provided a brief overview of the general questions of name theory that are connected to place-naming, usage, and changes and which are to be considered during the linguistic investigation of toponyms. We conclude by returning to the data from the 11th-century charters used as the starting point as well as to the key questions connected to them and identify those findings we can formulate in consideration of the issues in name theory.

Although the 1055: *bolatin* ~ *balatin* data indicate Slavic name-givers (due to the name etymon), the sound structure of the name (the addition of an extra vowel to the original word-initial *bl-* sound) clearly indicates Hungarian name-users in the area at the time of the writing of the Founding Charter of Tihany. Based on written sources, we have no information on the date of borrowing of the toponymic elements of foreign origin and their inclusion in the Hungarian name system. At most we can only gain insights into the name-using context of the age of the source. For this purpose, we rely on the principles of linguistic reconstruction methodology, the result of which can then serve as a basis for conclusions in terms of language and ethnicity (cf. HOFFMANN 2007: 14, HOFFMANN–TÓTH 2016). The main tool of toponym reconstruction is toponym etymology itself, this, however, cannot be simplified to the specification of the ultimate etymon of the given name-form. Besides grasping the moment of name genesis, the etymologist also has to pay attention to the sources that

have survived: as these data (being mostly elements referring to actual, living language use) also reveal the linguistic environment in which the given name appears, which is a crucial circumstance in terms of the chronology of toponym borrowings.

The two lexemes of the 1055: *uluues megaia (Ölyves megyéje)* toponym clearly make up a Hungarian possessive construction, expressed with Hungarian grammatical tools, and the first constituent also has a Hungarian derivational suffix. The linguistic origin of the lexemes making up the structure (one is of Turkish, the other of Slavic origin) cannot be associated with their appearance in the name, as the local name-givers undoubtedly used these words as the elements of Hungarian language in the process of name-giving. Thus based on the inclusion of these words in the names, we cannot conclude that there were other people (Turks, Slavs) living in the given area (Hoffmann 2010a: 105).

In connection with the name of *Veszprém,* in the process of the linguistic and ethnic evaluation of the settlement names that emerged without a formant from personal names of foreign (e.g. Slavic) origin we have to take into consideration that a conscious name-giving act was present more emphatically in the case of settlement names, which places the role of the individual into the foreground. This also means that the language features of the denomination also stand as witness mostly to the linguistic (and possibly ethnic) position of the person, and refer less to the linguistic-ethnic belonging of the neighboring population. At the same time, it should also be emphasized that when pondering the linguistic and ethnic features of place-naming, the etymology of the personal name cannot be taken into consideration in connection with the early centuries. This proper name category (due to its characteristically strong cultural and social determination) cannot serve as the basis of linguistic and ethnic reconstruction in similar cases (Hoffmann–Tóth 2016: 272, Tóth 2016: 27–30).

With settlement names created from a tribe's name without a formant (we quoted the *Cari* [today's *Kér*]) data of the Charter of Veszprém from the 11th century as an example) the name-giving role of the neighboring population is usually emphasized. But, when detailing the functional features of toponyms, we pointed out that one of the important functions of this type of name is its identity-signifying and identity-forming role. We, therefore, believe it to be a justified possibility that the naming of the villages referring to the names of tribes like *Kér, Megyer,* etc. indicates the naming activity of the inhabitants with at least the same likelihood as those names being given by the people living nearby. Awareness of tribal affiliation could certainly be such a factor in the centuries following the Conquest that had a strong impact on the sense of identity of contemporary people (we might claim that for a while it could have the strongest influence of all) (Hoffmann–Tóth 2016: 272–273).

2. The Applied Toponym-Description Model

2.1. Functional Linguistics Background

In the second part of our paper, we introduce the approach and theoretical framework used in our work on the system and history of Hungarian toponyms. First, we need to introduce those principles which we wish to follow in the analysis of toponyms (for more details see LADÁNYI–TOLCSVAI 2008, HOFFMANN 2012). In the description of toponyms the functional approach is applied as we believe that functional linguistics may serve as the most suitable theoretical framework for toponomastics (and onomastics in general).

2.1.1. The Primacy of Meaning

This approach emphasizes the unity of content and form, i.e. that of the meaning and phonetic form of toponyms, but meaning is considered to be primary in the operation of the name system. In the process of describing the name system we start out from the semantic component of the toponyms. The toponyms (and more broadly proper names) are language elements of rich and diverse meanings and their genesis is characterized by a high degree of semantic consciousness (or motivation in other words). In the meaning structure of toponyms the quality concepts which mostly appear are those which apply to the referent and are recognized in it. However, only one or two of these quality features are expressed in the linguistic form of the toponym (to be discussed in more detail later). As the same name may be constructed in different ways from the perspective of the name-giver both conceptually and semantically, the same place may be identified by several names. This is the basis for the cognitive explanation of toponymic synonymy.

A large forest in the northern part of the Hungarian language area in the Old Hungarian Era was named *Nagy-erdő* ‘great/forest’ based on its size and *Bükk-erdő* ‘beech/forest’ based on the typical tree type growing in it. At the same place, the name of the brook *Egres pataka* ‘brook/with alders’ indicates that there could be alder trees growing along it but as it ran through Bocsárd settlement it was also called *Bocsárd pataka* ‘Bocsárd village’s/brook’. This kind of alternation revealed by historical sources, however, might only be apparent as the different denominations might be connected to different name-using communities.

Therefore, the semantic content expressed in the toponyms does not map the world directly but rather our knowledge of the world. Thus the motivation for names is not found in the world (in this case the places) but in the mind, the cognitive system of the name-using person.

2.1.2. Empirical Bases

It is another important principle of toponomastics that it reaches valid typological findings through generalization from empirical data, in an inductive way. Moreover, it searches not only for linguistic but also extra-linguistic explanations for the examined phenomena. Such data serve as the basis of abstraction and generalization that always comes from actual and real language use. This requirement characterizes both descriptive and historical toponomastics. From the very beginning Hungarian onomastic research has considered as its key task the collection of toponyms used in the language today and in earlier eras and to arrange them in databases. At the same time, it aims to develop those methodological processes which can help determine the actual contemporary linguistic usage value of names that have survived in various sources.

2.2. The Principles of Toponym Analysis

The framework of toponymic analysis used in our work distinguishes between two approaches of inquiry: descriptive and historical analysis. Descriptive analysis primarily studies the structure of the toponym but within this the functional-semantic and lexical-morphological approaches provide an opportunity for further differentiation (for more details see HOFFMANN 1993, 1999, TÓTH 2001, RÁCZ 2005; see also ŠRÁMEK 1972–1973, KIVINIEMI 1975). The emphatic role of these aspects is due to the fact that names are linguistic signs and traditionally in their interpretation descriptive, constructional (containing both formal and functional components) and diachronic analyses have all played a crucial role.

This toponym descriptive framework is characterized by a high degree of differentiation: there are clearly-defined categories on each level of analysis, which possibly cover the full scope of name-formation methods; thus the category system developed this way may be suitable for the description of all types of toponyms and the name-formation processes and characteristics of all eras. We believe that ultimately name analysis is nothing else but the exploration of the regularities in place-names (their creation and functioning). And if we evaluate each name (as members of the toponym system) in the light of the rules, the totality of the names may also be presented in a systematic way. Therefore, in our opinion this toponym description framework can be used universally, i.e. for the description of the name systems of other languages. And as such it may also serve as a basis for comparative synchronic and diachronic studies.

2.2.1. Types of Toponyms

The denotative meaning has a key role in the rich meaning structure of toponyms presented above, as this in itself already mirrors a kind of categorization. This means that in case the name-users are aware of the denotative meaning of the place-name, then they are also familiar with the type of the given place (whether the name refers to a settlement, a river, a mountain, etc.) Very often, this type of categorization is expressed in the toponyms linguistically as well: in name structures this role might be played by geographical common words (e.g. the *patak* 'brook', *falu* 'village', *halom* 'hillock' lexemes of the toponyms *Rákos-patak* 'a brook/rich in crayfish', *Németfalu* 'village/inhabited by Germans', *Hegyes-halom* 'pointed/hillock', etc. serve this function). The identification of toponym types is a primary task in the linguistic analysis of toponyms also, as this provides the basis for the further structural analysis of names. Thus a *Sárospatak* 'muddy brook' denomination can be described with a very different name structure if it names a brook than if it serves as the name of a settlement.

2.2.2. The Functional-Semantic Basis of Name-Giving

All toponym-giving acts are semantically conscious. It means that at the time of their creation all toponyms are motivated. The name-giving and name-using individual or community creates new place-names by highlighting a feature or characteristic of the referent and adapting it to already existing name models. This presumption provides justification for the analysis of the functions expressed by toponyms. At the time of their creation, all names are semantically transparent and descriptive: the motifs and semantic categories serving as the basis of name-giving are present either directly or indirectly.

The basic concept of functional-semantic analysis is the name constituent. 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. We also need to stress, however, that a name constituent function is not associated with each lexeme in the name. The name *Mély-patak* 'deep/brook' (as a hydronym), refers to such a type of water that is deep, while the name structure of *Mély-patak-fő* 'Mély-patak's/spring' expresses only two name constituent functions, i.e. 'the spring (1) of the brook named Mély-patak (2)'. Similarly, in the spring name *Kék-kút* 'blue/spring', two name constituents can be distinguished: its functional structure can be described as 'such a spring (1) where the color of the water is blue (2)'. The *Kékkút* settlement name that was created from it, however, includes only one name constituent as only one semantic feature is expressed in it, i.e. that the settlement 'lies next to a spring called Kék-kút". The above-mentioned *Sáros-patak,* as a river name, is a two-constituent name-form, semantically it

means ‘muddy/brook’; as a settlement name, however, *Sárospatak* has only one constituent and refers to ‘(a settlement) lying next to the brook named *Sárospatak*’.

Toponyms may have a maximum of one or two constituents and the semantic features expressed in them can be categorized into three large semantic groups. (We use the / sign for the separation of the name constituents when it plays a role in the description of the semantic structure.)

The name constituents, on the one hand, can refer to the type of the place (e.g. *Patak* ‘brook’, *Lak* ‘village’, Kis/*hegy* ‘small/mountain’, Új/*falu* ‘new/village’) and on the other hand, the features of the given place can also be reflected in them. This latter group may include a lot of semantic features: it may express one of the characteristics of the place (its size, shape, color, etc.; e.g. *Hosszú* ‘long’, *Nagy*/erdő ‘*great*/forest’; *Teknő* ‘shell’, *Görbe*/ér ‘*curved*/brook’; *Kékes* ‘[a mountain] of blue color’, *Fekete/*erdő ‘*black*/forest’); the relationship of the place to a certain external feature or circumstance (plant, animal, building, owner, etc.; e.g. *Bükk* ‘(a mountain) with beech trees’, *Nádas/*patak ‘*reed*/brook’; *Csókás* ‘(a place) with jackdaws’, *Sólyom/*kő ‘*falcon*/rock’; *Szentistván* ‘(a village) with a church consecrated in honor of St. Stephen’, *Malom*/út ‘a road/leading to a *mill*’; *Petri* ‘(a village which) belongs to Peter’, *Mihály/*falva ‘*Michael’s/*village’, etc.); or the relationship of the place to another place (e.g. a settlement, river, hill, etc.; as in *Bocsárd*/pataka ‘the brook of/*Bocsárd* settlement’, *Tó/*rét ‘a field/lying next to a *lake*’, *Sólyom-kő/*völgye ‘the valley/next to a mountain called *Sólyom-kő*’, etc.)

Besides these examples, there are also such name constituents whose only function is to name the place itself. These include such place-names, which were borrowed by one language from another *(Duna, Balaton),* and those where the place-names were used in another place-name (Berettyó/*újfalu* ‘the place called *Újfalu,* which lies next to the river Berettyó’).

Finally, we also need to consider the conventional function. Although it plays a peripheral role in place-naming as a whole, due to the great demand for place-names in modern times it is still a frequent name constituent function: it is customary in Hungary to name streets, for example, after famous people (*Petőfi/*utca ‘*Petőfi*/street’), flowers (*Ibolya/*utca ‘*violet*/street’), etc., but other types of toponyms might also get such names (e.g. *Margit*/híd ‘*Margaret*/bridge’, *Lenin/*város ‘*Lenin*/city’).

The Hungarian toponymic system is characterized by the fact that single-component toponyms may be used in three types of semantic structures: in a toponym-type indicating (Type_i; e.g. the name of a hill *Hegy* ‘hill’), designating (Design.; e.g. the settlement name *Nógrád* borrowed from Slavic languages), and descriptive (Descr.; e.g. the settlement name *Péteri* ‘Peter’s)

function. In two-component names these semantic contents join each other, typically creating a Descr. + Type_i (e.g. the name of a brook *Kis-patak* 'small brook') or Descr. + Design. structure (e.g. river name *Kis-Duna* 'small Duna'). The Design. + Type_i structure is in a peripheral position in the name system. Figure 1 illustrates this relationship and it also shows that in Hungarian the core of the toponymic system is made up by two-component names with a Descr. + Type_i semantic structure.

The semantic basis of name-giving, i.e. the functional-semantic categories are not linguistic, language-specific categories but refer to extra-linguistic relations. The place-name created is influenced by reality in all cases: the referents motivate the created toponyms in a sense that their inherent characteristic features (reflected by people) are included as the basis of name-giving. Thus in comparing them we expect to see larger variance in the case of name cultures exhibiting major cultural differences (for more details see HOFFMANN 1993: 43–54, TÓTH 2001: 131–163).

2.2.3. The Lexical-Morphological Basis of Name-Giving

Of course, the toponymic system also has purely linguistic features: the lexical-morphological models are naturally language specific. All those linguistic means of expression may be included here (the set of linguistic elements and the rules for their connections), which can be used to create place-names in the language of a given time. The lexical-morphological models form a part of all languages, yet, in the use of the system of rules and the connected set of elements there are also differences. For example, in the majority of languages the use of personal names as lexical categories is a frequent phenomenon in name-giving (mostly to express possession), but there can be major differences between languages in terms of the morphological structures and name-formation rules used to create place-names from personal names.

The lexical basis of name-giving (corresponding to a certain extent with the semantic base) also includes three categories. There can only be geographical common nouns indicating a type of place on the lexical level and there can only be toponyms in a designating role. However, the function of indicating characteristic features can be performed by several language elements (and several parts of speech): besides the categories called "feature words" in the summary (which can include even word structures besides the various categories of nouns, adjectives, and numerals), geographical common nouns and toponyms can also play such a role as seen in the examples already mentioned.

Besides name constituents (or more precisely within them), we need to distinguish an additional unit for the lexical-morphological study of names: the name elements. By name elements we mean the lexemes included in the

name and the formative elements performing a function in it. Thus in the above-mentioned *Mély-patak-fő* place-name, we can distinguish two name constituents and three name elements (*mély* 'deep' + *patak* 'brook' / *fő* 'spring'), and in the *Kék-kút* spring name there are two name constituents and two name elements (*kék* 'blue' / *kút* 'spring'), while in the *Kékkút* settlement name the two name elements are featured only as a unit of a single name constituent *(kék+kút)*. The separation of name elements within name constituents provides an opportunity for the fine-tuning of structural analysis (for more details see HOFFMANN 1993: 55–58).

2.2.4. Rules of Place-name Creation

These two components of name-giving, the semantic and lexical bases have to be complemented with the name-formation rules in line with the description of the history of name-formation. As part of historical toponym analysis we study those linguistic rules with which the new toponyms are created and the forces that shape the integration of the language elements into the names. Among the rules of name-formation, the syntactic, morphological, and semantic rules represent the basic categories of name-giving.

Due to the syntactic rules, in Hungarian mostly such toponyms are created that have an attribute or, more rarely, an adverbial structure (e.g. *Kis-hegy* 'small/hill', *Három-halom* 'three/hills', *Pap rétje* 'priest's/meadow'). Morphological name-formation is primarily manifested as the formation of toponyms with derivational suffixes (e.g. *Bükkö-s: bükk* 'beech' tree name + *-s* derivational suffix, *Német-i: német* 'German' ethnonym + *-i* derivational suffix). As for the semantic rules, the three most frequent name-giving forms are metaphoric name-formation (e.g. *Gatyaszár* 'trouser-leg shaped [street]'), metonymic name-formation (e.g. *Kér* tribal name > *Kér* settlement name, *Veszprém* personal name > *Veszprém* settlement name, *bükk* 'beech' tree name > *Bükk* name of hill, *horvát* 'Croatian' ethnonym > *Horvát* settlement name, *Sáros-patak* hydronym > *Sárospatak* settlement name, etc.), and semantic split (e.g. from the geographical common nouns *patak* 'brook', *eresztvény* 'young forest', *bérc* 'mountain', *liget* 'grove', etc. the place-names *Patak, Eresztvény, Bérc, Liget,* etc.).

The relevant links between the semantic and lexical bases of name-giving and the rules of name-formation can be illustrated as follows. The arrows pointing to the particular types of name-formation rules indicate that the elements of all the categories of the lexical base may, in theory, participate in any name-formation process (for more details see HOFFMANN 1993: 67–143, 1999, TÓTH 2001: 165–230, 2008).

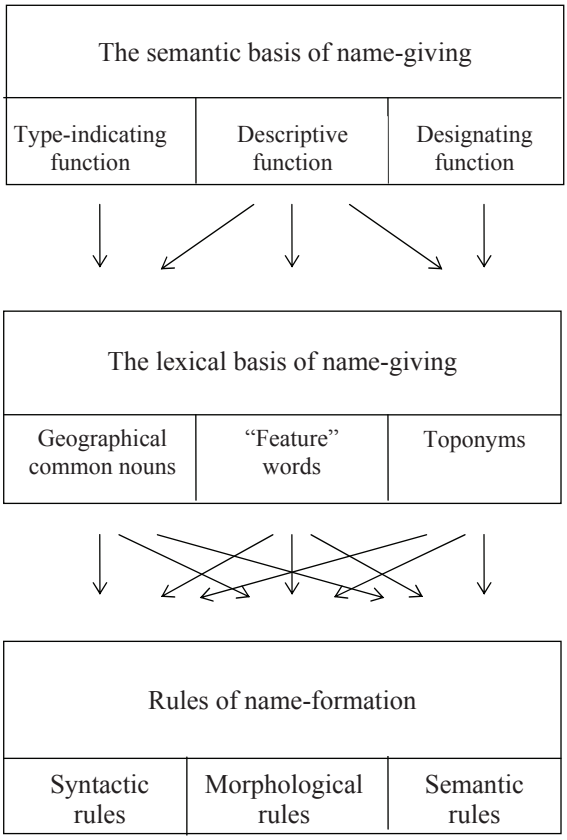


Figure 1: Correlations within the typological description of toponyms

2.3. Conclusions

At the end of our study, we would like to highlight those areas that we believe to be the most adequate for international cooperation. Thus, we would like to introduce three opportunities for cooperation.

Already existing programs stand as witnesses to the effectiveness of international cooperation in the case of particular toponym types, especially settlement names: as a result of our project initiated with the purpose of exploring the European features of settlement names originated from the name of the place's patron saint, we published the book *Patrociny Settlement Names in Europe* in 2011 (edited by VALÉRIA TÓTH). From the semantic categories, the study of settlement names formed from anthroponyms is also such an area that could reveal numerous universal and language-specific factors if investigated in a wider context (and in a wide range of languages).

Within civilizational names, the majority of settlement names may be categorized into three large semantic groups: first, there are some semantic types that are closely related to the human environment (including settlement names formed from personal names and names of social groups like ethnonyms, tribal names, and occupational names); secondly, there are those whose names denote the built environment (settlement names referring to castles, bridges, religious buildings, etc.), and thirdly, there are names designating the natural environment (settlement names referring to a location next to a body of water or a mountain, to the flora and fauna, etc.). Of these, the third settlement name type is the one most closely associated with natural names. It is also a key principle in our paper that we have to make a clear distinction between civilizational and natural names in our linguistic and taxonomic analysis as different cognitive-pragmatic factors influenced both their genesis and changes. Within the group of natural names, names of watercourses provide the best opportunity for comparative studies. We believe that these categories should be considered in the comparative investigations of toponym types and categories as well and thus we will plan our international research programs in line with these. We do hope that onomasticians from different countries and language areas will also participate in these projects.

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Abstract

Our paper focuses on two key issues: it addresses the theoretical questions related to the genesis and changes of toponyms and discusses issues concerning the typological description of place-names. In both cases, we also touch upon areas that we believe to provide opportunities for international cooperation and thus for the comparative analysis of the toponymic system of different languages.

As for the toponym genesis and toponym changes, we primarily focus on the universal motives of name-giving, the role of name competence and name patterns, the socio-onomastic aspects of name-giving as well as the relations between toponyms and culture.

In the second part of our paper, we introduce the approach and theoretical framework used in our work on the system and history of Hungarian toponyms. First, we need to introduce those principles which we wish to follow in the analysis of toponyms. In the description of toponyms the functional approach is applied as we believe that functional linguistics may serve as the most suitable theoretical framework for toponomastics (and onomastics in general).

Keywords: name theory, toponym typology, Hungarian toponyms, functional linguistics

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*The Textual Positioning of Toponyms in Latin Language Medieval Hungarian Charters**

1. Linguistic records and remnants (mostly Latin language charters) are the most important source for the early history of the Hungarian language. In the case of the Hungarian language, the phase of linguistic records spans one millennium. Research on our linguistic records from the earliest times can rely on Latin language charters with Hungarian language elements (chiefly toponyms and anthroponyms) because these charters are the first relics of our records written in the Latin script. They include founding charters, donation charters, surveys of estates and possessions, land surveyor's maps, etc.

Individual charters as linguistic records were processed with monographic methods mainly during the 20th century (Mikos 1935, Szabó 1936, 1937, 1954, Pais 1939, Kniezsa 1939, 1947–1949, Terestyéni 1941, Gácser 1941, Galambos 1942, Bárczi 1951) but, the first work analysing the Hungarian language elements of a charter was published as early as the end of the 19th century (Szamota 1895). In the second half of the 20th century, research on Hungarian language elements occurring in Latin language charters lost ground to the study of old Hungarian texts, with only a handful works dealing with the former (K. Fábián 1997, Mollay 1982: 93–119). During the last 10 to 15 years, however, researchers have again been paying closer attention to relics with Hungarian words. Several linguists have chosen as a research subject the linguistic evaluation, or even re-evaluation of charters and groups of charters, together with the toponyms and anthroponyms they include (Slíz 2008, 2014, Hoffmann 2010a, 2010b, Szentgyörgyi 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, Tóth 2013a, 2013b, Mozga 2014, 2015, 2016, Kovács 2015, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c, Pelczéder 2015, Póczos 2015, Szőke 2015, 2016).

2. In many respects, researchers stick to traditional methods of analysing linguistic records, but they have also introduced some new methods. One of these new methods instead of taking Hungarian language elements (mostly proper names) out of their Latin contexts, treat the former as parts of the latter, and attribute significance to the ways the elements are fitted into the texts.

The Latin language contexts of toponymic remnants were first systematically scrutinized by István Hoffmann (2004), who distinguished between the

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following ways of insertion. 1. Toponyms used by the recorders of the charters in Latin, or in a latinized form: for example, the Hungarian name of the settlement *Újvár* 'new castle' appearing as 1075/+1124/+1217: *Nove Civitas* (DHA 1: 215), the Hungarian name of the comitat *Csongrád* appearing as 1138/1329: *Cerungradiensis* (Gy. 1: 893, KMHsz. 1: 77). 2. Hungarian name forms next to Latin verbs with meanings such as "say" and "call" (e.g. *dico, voco*): 1075/+1124/+1217: *piscine, que Woioser vocatur* (DHA 1: 215). 3. Insertions into the text together with the Latin geographical common word: 1055: *ab eodem lacu Bolatin* (DHA 1: 150). 4. Hungarian names linked into the Latin text using Latin prepositions: 1075/+1124/+1217: *in Sari* (DHA 1: 214). 5. Some Hungarian toponym forms, however, appear by themselves, without any Latin language elements: 1055: *Aruk tue* (DHA 1: 150). 6. And finally, toponyms can appear in the Latin text together with the Hungarian language elements (e.g. a Hungarian adverbial noun-suffix): +1232/1384/1393: ad *Scertora* 'Szer-lake' + *-ra* the Hungarian adverbial noun-suffix answering the question "Where to?" (KMHsz. 1. *Szer-tó?*) (Hoffmann 2004: 15–50, 2010a: 215–218).

I apply this set of categories in discussing the system of links between toponyms appearing in the charters of Hungary and their Latin language context. For this purpose, I used as my sources the founding charter of the Abbey of Garamszentbenedek (1075/+1124/+1217) and the first volume of the *Korai magyar helynévszótár* (A Dictionary of early Hungarian toponyms, KMHsz.) (cf. Szőke 2008, 2015: 120–148). The dictionary includes the toponyms of 15 former comitats found in charters and narrative historical sources up to 1350. I also compare my results against the remarks made by István Hoffmann in every instance (2004). The result is an overall picture of the toponym insertion practices typical of not just one but Hungarian medieval charters in general.

3. Only a rather insignificant proportion (in the case of toponyms appearing in the vulgar language form, less than 1%) bears the traits of Latin language name usage (Györffy 1970: 200, cf. Pais 1955: 6). The native language background is, however, irrefutably present even in the case of these names, and as such, they must not be excluded from the scope of linguistic historical studies (Hoffmann 2004: 15, cf. Benkő 1996: 224). The most striking feature of names used in the charters of Hungary in this manner is that names of certain types (e.g. hydronyms, settlement names and names of hills) are latinized far more frequently than others. This allows for the assumption of deliberate behaviour, adherence to a certain kind of norms on the part of the recorders of the charters, while, of course, intuition must also have had some role in the preference for Latin name forms (Hoffmann 2004: 37–38).

With respect to text editing, the usage of Latin name forms has an advantage over that of Hungarian forms: to the former, regular declension can be applied, therefore, they easily fit into Latin sentences. It is, however, conspicuous that those who recorded the charters did not latinize all of the Hungarian names although their endings made doing so possible. This is an obvious indication of other factors influencing the recording of the Latin forms. The most important of these factors is how well known and important the named places were at the time. The names of places with national importance (such as, centres of the Church, more significant cities) for example, appear in Latin far more often than the names of smaller settlements (cf. HOFFMANN 2004: 24).

The vast majority of Latin forms found in charters are characteristic of the written Latin language of the era. Therefore, it is at times difficult to determine the Hungarian forms behind them. The forms 1274>1340: *Tembes inferior* and 1274>1340: *Tembes superior* (Gy. 1: 875, KMHsz. 1: 32, 101) for example – due to the fact that the adjectives in question had double forms in early Old Hungarian (i.e. *al ~ alsó* 'lower', *fel ~ felső* 'upper') – can lead to the conclusion that the original Hungarian name forms were *Alsótömpös* 'settlement named Alsó/Tömpös' and *Felsőtömpös* 'settlement named Felső/Tömpös' but they can also lead to the valid conclusion that the name forms were *Altömpös* and *Feltömpös* (HOFFMANN 2004: 27, SZŐKE 2008: 270, KMHsz. 1: 32, 101). Moreover, Latin forms in the charters may also include denotations of paraphrasing, descriptive nature, which make it difficult to determine the contemporary spoken language form behind them. The Hungarian equivalent of the occurrence 1075/+1124/+1217: *villa Martini* (DHA 1: 216) for example – due to the lack of parallel Hungarian data – can be defined either as the two-part names *Mártonháza* 'Martin's/village' or *Mártonfalva* 'Martin's/village', or as the one-part, formantless name *Márton* 'Martin', or even as the derived name *Márton-i* 'Martin + *-i* toponymic derivative'. In addition to the above, another possibility that cannot be excluded is that there is actually no element with the status of a proper name behind the Latin form, but it simply includes appellatives as a means of describing the estate belonging to the person mentioned, i.e. *Márton földje*: 'a village in the possession of a person named Martin' (HOFFMANN 2004: 31, SZŐKE 2008: 270–271, 2015: 143).

The Latin and latinized name usage of the charters has various types: a; forms created by the phonological or morphological changes to the original structures; b; the interpretation of Hungarian word endings as Latin word endings; c; partially translated names; d; Latin names created by translating complete Hungarian names; e; the usage of the Latin equivalents of the names (cf. HOFFMANN 2004: 15–38, SZŐKE 2015: 125–148).

a; A dictionary of early Hungarian toponyms has 2000 latinized instances of more than 400 toponyms. 44 % of the 2000 instances are such settlement names which were created by morphological modification. Most of the examples of this method are settlement names. Morphological modification of the names has two types: 1. the adjectival forms with the *-iensis* ending (e.g. the settlement name *Szeged* transformed into 1263: *Sceguediensi,* KMHsz.1. *Szeged*), and 2. the noun forms with the *-inum* ending (e.g. the settlement name *Szeged* transformed into 1282: *Zegedinum,* KMHsz. 1. *Szeged*) (Szőke 2008: 271, cf. Hoffmann 2004: 24–25). This method was typical mainly in the case of semantically non-transparent names (Szentgyörgyi 2010: 39, 2014: 88).

b; Hungarian word endings identified as Latin word endings, on the other hand, represent the smallest segment within this data corpus. The method is most frequently found in hydronyms. Within this latter category, it is primarily hydronyms ending with an *a,* and as such, perfectly conforms to the first Latin declension that has the suffix of one of the dependent cases such as, for example, the instance 1229: *Sythuam* (Gy. 1: 476, KMHsz. 1: 307), a form identifying the *Zsitva* river (Szőke 2008: 271, 2015: 129).

c; A Latin geographical common word positioned before the name of a place can be used to identify its type. In some cases, however, such lexemes do not have an explanatory function in the Latin text, but should instead be considered parts of the names themselves. Most of the times, Latin geographical common word + Hungarian proper name structures can be evaluated by applying name taxonomy knowledge. The name 1075/+1124/+1217: *montem nomine Sorul* (DHA 1: 217), for example, is most likely to be the partially translated form of the two-part name *Saruly-hegy* ‘a hill named Saruly’, as formantless anthroponym name giving (i.e. a name form such as *Saruly*) is not characteristic of oronyms (Szőke 2015: 138). In some rare cases, the Latin geographical common word follows the Hungarian proper name. With such instances being sporadic, an apparently handy explanation is the presumption that such structures of the charters have two-part Hungarian name structures behind them, the second part of which was translated into Latin (1075/+1124/+1217: *Scilu piscina,* ‘Szil fishpond’, where fishpond appears in the Latin form; DHA 1: 217). It is important to emphasise, however, that denotations such as *Tisza folyó* ‘Tisza river’ instead of *Tisza,* are not uncommon in present day name usage either (in special contexts and only in formal style: for example, on hand-posts, geographical texts), and even the charters themselves have evidence of such hydronyms – that is, hydronyms which are not proper names in their entirety: *Hejő vize* ‘the water of the (river) Hejő’, *Hernád vize* ‘the water of the (river) Hernád’ etc. (KMHsz. 1. *víz,* cf. Szőke 2015: 139).

Besides these cases, which cannot be evaluated with certainty, mixed language occurrences of secondary names formed of a primary hydronym or oikonym plus an adjective are easier to recognize in the charters (*Nagy-Okor* 'Big/Okor': 1257: *Magnum Okur,* Gy. 1: 375, KMHsz. 1: 197; *Felkassa* 'Upper/Kassa': 1261: *Superior Cassa,* Gy. 1: 102, KMHsz. 1: 100). In the case of these name types, the translation into Latin concerned the adjectives, which, however, are mostly *kis* 'little', *nagy* 'big' or *holt* 'backwater' for hydronyms, and *kis* 'little', *nagy* 'big' or *al(só)* 'lower', *fel(ső)* 'upper' for oikonyms (HOFFMANN 2004: 18–19, 26–27, SZŐKE 2008: 270).

d; Hungarian names translated into Latin in their entirety can be most frequently found among oikonyms. Within this group, translation into Latin is most characteristic of the subgroup of oikonyms with Church-related elements and names with the structure "adjective + geographical common word denoting a settlement" (*Kápolna* 'chapel': 1332–35: *Capella,* Gy. 1: 101, KMHsz. 1: 144; *Nagyfalu* 'big village': 1245: *Magna villa,* KÁZMÉR 1970: 139). Besides this kind of toponyms, however, names of hills, like *Nagy-szikla* 'big cliff': 1327: *magnum lapidem* (FNESz. *Ördög-szikla*), names of forests, like *Fekete-erdő* 'black forest': 1255: iuxta *nigram silvam* (Gy. 1: 98, KMHsz. 1: 98), names of roads, like *Nagy út* 'big road': 1235: *magnam viam* (Gy. 2: 618) and names of islands, like *Tamás-sziget(e)* 'Thomas's/island': 1211: *insulam Thomae* (Gy. 2: 360) can also provide a few examples of occurrences in the charter's language (cf. HOFFMANN 2004: 15–38, SZŐKE 2008: 268–270, SZENTGYÖRGYI 2013: 159–163).

e; A distinction is to be made between names appearing in their entirety in Latin, based on whether the Latin form is translated from Latin to Hungarian, or is a Latin language variant. The Latin forms of names known throughout Europe (mostly names of rivers) belong to the latter group, as the forms in which these appear in Latin language medieval European documents is identical to their forms found in Hungarian charters. Such an example is the main river of the Carpathian Basin, *Duna* 'the river Danube', mentioned as *Danubius* (HOFFMANN 2004: 16–17, SZŐKE 2008: 272, 2015: 148).

4. Moving on from names occurring in Latin to the textual positioning of Hungarian toponyms, the first item to be discussed are the place names occurring next to Latin verbs with meanings such as "say" and "call". There are thousands, more likely even tens of thousands of occurrences of such structures (HOFFMANN 2004: 39). The main element of the structure is always a Latin geographical common word (*villa* 'village', *fluvius* 'river', *mons* 'hill', etc.) indicating the type of place which is denoted by the name within the structure. Occasionally, however, the main element position is filled by the word *locus* 'place', which only gives a general indication of the type of place. The verb

with the meaning "say" and the subordinate clause containing the Hungarian language element are linked to the main element by the relative pronoun *qui, que, quod* 'which, that'. Amongst the verbs, *dico* 'say, denote something by some name' and *voco* 'say, call, denote something by some name' are the ones used most often, but, in addition, *nomino*, *nuncupo*, *appello* and *cognomino* also can be found. The structures mostly include the verbs in their third person singular passive forms: 1086: predium, quod *dicitur Ketel loca* (DHA 1: 251), but there are some rare third person plural active forms as well: +1092/[1325 k.]/1399: villa in *Aureo Loco,* quam vulgo *Aranÿan vocant* (DHA 1: 284). Besides these two forms, the subordinate clause can also be substituted with a passive infinitive verb structure: 1055: Adhuc autem est locus *Mortis dictus* (DHA 1: 150) or with *nomine* the Latin ablative form of the noun *nomen* 'name': 1055: alius locus *Kert hel nomine* (DHA 1: 150). The inclusion of different versions within the same charter was probably caused by attempts to be eloquent. The structure may also include an adverbial complement: in the charters of Hungary, the most frequent one of these is *vulgo* 'usually, often, regularly', while *vulgariter* 'commonly' appears less often: +1092/[1325 k.]/1399: villa in *Aureo Loco,* quam vulgo *Aranÿan* vocant, DHA 1: 284; 1086: *gemine fructice,* quod vulgariter vocatur *ikirbucur,* DHA 1: 255 (cf. Hoffmann 2004: 38–42).

It is highly unlikely that the usage of these structures was governed by strict rules; then again, there are a few factors which may have influenced their occurrences. István Hoffmann found four such possible explanations: 1. It is mostly names whose contents are to be emphasized featuring such structures. In the founding charter of the Abbey of Garamszentbenedek, for example, the name of the river *Garam*, which ran near the abbey, appears next to verb with the meaning "say": 1075/+1124/+1217: *flumen, quod vocatur Gran,* i.e. 'the water said to be Gran', DHA 1: 213. 2. Names not well known in wider circles appear in this form in the charters, such as the names of smaller streams: 1075/+1124/+1217: *piscina, que Woioser vocatur*, i.e. 'the lake said to be Vajasér', DHA 1: 215. 3. Where a name is mentioned several times within the same charter, and occurs next to a denotational word the first time, it is normally mentioned without one later on: 1075/+1124/+1217: *terram, que vocatur Alpar,* i.e. 'the land said to be Alpár'; *terre Alpar,* DHA 1: 216, 218. 4. Finally, these structures can also be interpreted as a means to resolve the contradiction between the geographical common word part of a name and its actual kind: 1075/+1124/+1217: *terram, que dicitur Melinhalmu,* i.e. 'the land said to be Melinhalom', where the meaning of the word *halom* is 'mound', DHA 1: 217 (Hoffmann 2004: 40–42, Szőke 2006: 267–269, 2015: 147).

Toponyms without a denotational word are preceded by a Latin preposition and/or a Latin geographical common word indicating their type, but it is not uncommon for Hungarian names to occur in the text without these lexemes. The

usage of prepositions is determined by the rules governing sentence structures, therefore, when discussing these four types together, the issue to tackle is what determined the inclusion/omission of the Latin geographical common words. One of the determining factors could be the language of the toponym, since in the case of names translated into Latin or latinized, the recorders of the charters usually do not see it necessary to indicate the kind of place in question. The use of the Latin language geographical common word may also have been influenced by the frequency with which each name occurs; names mentioned several times in the same charter often appear with the Latin geographical common word the first mention only: 1257: vadit ad *Magnum Okur* … in medio *fluminis Okur* … per medium *Okur* (Gy. 1: 375). On the other hand, toponyms with multiple meanings (in most cases, a stream and a settlement by its side with the same name), nearly always occur next to geographical common words in the charters, as it is important to be unequivocal about which (the stream or the settlement) is meant in the text: 1075/+1124/+1217: *terram nomine Sikua* 'the land called Zsikva' and *rivulum Sikua* 'the Zsikva river', DHA 1: 214 (cf. Hoffmann 2004: 44–50, Szőke 2006: 271).

Toponyms are inserted using Hungarian grammatical means (adverbial noun-suffixes, postpositions) in exceptional cases only. In spite of the low number of occurrences, different subtypes within this category can be distinguished. One type occurs when the Hungarian case suffix of the Hungarian language elements is affected by the Latin preposition: +1232/1384/1393: ad *Scertora* (KMHsz. 1. *Szer-tó?*), while the other type includes occurrences where the toponym is preceded by a Hungarian geographical common word instead of the usual Latin geographical common word: 1327/1378: *in aliud patak Fywzerpatak nominatum,* i.e. 'brook, called the Füzér-brook' (Gy. 1: 146, KMHsz. 1: 107). Beyond these two types, the earliest Hungarian authentic charter to have been preserved in its original copy has 11 examples of a third type (the *rea* postposition used to answer the question 'Where to?'): 1055: *ohut cutarea,* i.e. *Ó út kútjára* 'onto the water well of the old road' (DHA 1: 150). However, this solution does not occur in any other charter (Hoffmann 2010: 217).

5. The written culture of Hungary did not exist in isolation, but was a part of the written Latin culture of Europe (Szentpétery 1930: 36, 259, Solymosi 2006: 214). The Hungarian recording of charters, for example, was established based on German imperial charters as models because when King St. Stephan (1001–1038) organized his kingdom, he followed Western examples, consequently, he had the documents on the foundation of churches issued as imitations of German imperial charters (Szentpétery 1930: 34–35, 37–38, Solymosi: 2006: 195). German imperial charters of the time were the end products of a long process of evolution, which, due to the lack of antecedents, could not become widespread in Hungary in the long run. From the end of the 11th century onwards,

however, the Hungarian recording of charters was able to develop together with the European practice. Intense interactions with foreign countries were ensured by the international composition of the clerical society in Hungary, the presence of various monastic orders, papal and other Church relationships, and the foreign (mostly in France) school visits of priests dealing with recording charters (Szentpétery 1930: 259, Solymosi 2006: 214).

Considering the status of the written culture of Hungary, it might be worthwhile to investigate this subject matter within a wider context. A monograph focused on the European practices of inserting proper names into written texts would help define the principles guiding the application of the various methods more accurately. Besides, a comparison would also make it possible to define the sets of solutions which are specific to the practices of each charter issuing organization. One proposal is to produce such a monograph in the form of a multi-author English language volume, with one essay from each author willing to make a contribution presenting the medieval charter-recording practices within a given linguistic territory.

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Abstract

The linguistic analysis of Hungarian linguistic records became popular again in the 21st century. In many respects, researchers stick to he traditional methods of analysing linguistic records, but they have introduced some new methods as well. For example, they do not extract the Hungarian language elements (mostly proper names) from their Latin context, but treat the former as parts of the latter, and attribute significance to the ways the elements are fitted into the texts. There are six insertion ways: 1. The Latin or latinized form of toponyms: for example the Hungarian name of the settlement *Újvár* 'new castle' appearing as *Nove Civitas* in the charters. 2. Hungarian name forms next to Latin verbs with meanings such as 'say', 'call' (e.g. *dico, voco*): piscina, que *Woioser* vocatur. 3. Insertion into the text of a Latin language geographical common word: ab eodem *lacu Bolatin*. 4. Hungarian names linked into the Latin text using Latin prepositions: *in Sari*. 5. Some Hungarian toponym forms, however, appear by themselves, without any Latin language elements: *Aruk tue.* 6. And finally, toponyms included in the Latin text together with their Hungarian language elements (e.g. a Hungarian adverbial noun-suffix): ad *Scertora* 'Szer-tó' + *-ra* the Hungarian adverbial noun-suffix answering the question

'Where to?'. Applying this set of categories the essay outlines the system of links between toponyms appearing in the charters of Hungary and their Latin language context.

Keywords: medieval charters, non-authentic charters, toponyms, source value of toponyms

Éva Kovács

*Settlement names referring to the natural environment**

1. The systemic study of Hungarian toponyms started in the 1930s and 1940s with the description of settlement names with a historical-typological purpose. This typology-based traditional toponym chronology (for its bases, see: KNIEZSA 1938, 1943–1944 and BÁRCZI 1958), which has long been the basis for the perception of the change of the Hungarian toponymic system, primarily as regards its rigidity in terms of chronology, is hardly tenable today (KRISTÓ 2000, HOFFMANN–TÓTH 2015, 2016). Together with this realization, the development of a relative chronology based on the real occurrence and data extraction of toponyms has come to the fore (for that, see: RÁCZ 2015).

The typological descriptions distinguish primarily linguistic-structural types. The three main types comprise 1. one-constituent names, 2. names formed with topoformants and 3. two-constituent toponyms formed by word compound. These types can be associated with functions denoting characteristic features, functions denoting types and functions having a denominative role (cf. HOFFMANN 1993: 55). It is always an existing toponym that has the denominative function, and for the denomination of the type of the place we can use a geographical common noun. The functions of the name constituents expressing the characteristic features of the place may be very diverse semantically (cf. HOFFMANN 1993: 58–61).

In the case of settlement names the names expressing the characteristic features can be devided into three groups: 1. settlement names referring to the human environment (cf. names created out of personal names, tribe's names, ethnonyms, names of professions and words denoting status), 2. settlement names referring to the built environment, to a human activity (in that case name-giving has been motivated by a building, e.g. a church, a fortress, a bridge, etc.; by an activity, e.g. keeping of fairs, customs law, etc.; or by an inherent characteristic feature of the settlement, e.g. its size, form, etc.), 3. settlement names referring to the natural environment (names referring to a local relationship or a general geographical relationship, e.g. flora, fauna, geological nature). The genesis of names belonging to the first two large groups was influenced to a great extent by the shaping hand of individuals, and accordingly, such names can be categorized under the traditionally distinguished name type, civilizational

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names (see Lőrincze 1947: 5). The names belonging to the third group received their denomination from places existing even without human activity, and on that basis, they show a relationship with the other traditionally distinguished name type, the category of natural names.

2. The distinction among settlement names referring to the natural environment and the assessment of their internal differentiatedness has not been determined exactly in the specialized literature because of the similar semantic content of the names belonging to this group. This category of settlement names studied here appeared already in the early typological works, from the 1940s onwards (Kniezsa 1943–1944, Bárczi 1958, Kiss 1988, Hoffmann 1993), emphasising that distinguishing of the different types from each other is a very difficult task because of the similar semantic content. For instance, in the case of settlement names originating from hydronyms (e.g. *Almás* alma 'apple' + formant *-s*), where the separation of the categories of the plant name and of the hydronym is not always clear. Most of the researchers believed that the majority of settlement names formed out of plant names (e.g. *Nádas* nád 'reed' + *-s, Füzes* fűz 'willow' + *-s,* etc.) had originally been hydronyms, so they expected the following change pattern: plant name > hydronym > settlement name (Kniezsa 1943–1944/2001: 15). It is important to note, however, that the justification for this assumption would require data extraction related to the hydronym that has the same form, but such comparisons are often impossible since hardly any toponymic parallelisms have subsisted from the early period.

2.1. Two semantic features present in the case of settlement names refer to the natural environment. They can express a local relationship or a general geographical relationship (e.g. flora, fauna, geological nature). In terms of their lexical structure they can include both common noun and proper name (here toponym) lexemes. A common noun without any formant was used, for example, in the one-constituent settlement names referring to a local relationship of *Ér* (< *ér* 'brook', 1219/1550: *Er,* Gy. 1: 615) and *Patak* (< *patak* 'brook', 1255: *potok,* FNESz. *Patak*). A common noun with a topoformant was used, for example, in the settlement names of *Erdőd* (< *erdő* 'forest' + *-d,* 1215/1550: *Herdeud,* FNESz. *Erdőd*) and *Halmaj* (< *halom* 'hillock'+ *-j,* 1234/1243: *Holmoy,* Gy. 1: 91). Toponym appears in the name of *Tapolca* (1182–84/1418: *Topulza,* vö. FNESz. *Tapolca*) which comes from a hydronym without the addition of a name formant, metonymically.

In the case of settlement names referring to general geographical features a common noun lexeme (without any formant or a topoformant) always serves as the base word. The *Kő* (< *kő* 'stone', 1289/1291: *Keu,* Gy. 1: 330), *Füzes and Füzegy* (*fűz* 'willow' + *-s, -gy* topoformants, 1315: *Fyzess,* Gy. 1: 304; 1192/1374/1425: *Fizeg,* Gy. 1: 220) settlement names belong to this category.

We also need to emphasize, however, that these two types of settlement names (referring to a local relationship or a general geographical relationship) are often hard to distinguish and in the case of some names we cannot decide on their precise categorization due to the lack of relevant information. In the case of *Füzes, Füzegy* settlement names we rarely have enough information to decide whether a settlement got its name from a watercourse named *Füzes* (referring to a local relationship) or the settlement name was simply motivated by an environment rich in willow trees (referring to the general geographical feature). In the case of *Füzegy* village (1211: villa *Fuzegy*) in Somogy County, for example, with records in the 1211 Land Survey of Tihany Abbey, it is the founding charter of the Abbey dated 1055 that may provide clues for a better understanding of the name-giving process itself. This charter confirms that the *Füzegy* hydronym is primary because the name is recorded three times as a hydronym in this, our oldest authentic charter that has survived in its original form (1055: *iuxta fizeg, ultra fyzeg, ad fizeg azaa,* cf. Kovács É. 2015: 169–170).

Settlement names may also be created out of two-constituent toponyms denoting the natural environment (e.g. *Hegyeshalom* from the constituents *hegyes* 'sharp' + *halom* 'hillock; mound', *Körösfő* from the hydronym *Körös* + *fő* 'its source', etc.). However, in these settlement names comprising two constituents from a lexical perspective, one single semantic feature is expressed, i.e. the fact that the settlement 'lies beside a certain watercourse, relief, etc.', therefore, these settlement names may be considered as having one constituent. In contrast, among the two-constituent settlement names we can find names with the structure's first constituent referring to a characteristic feature, and a second constituent which is a geographical common noun (e.g. *Dombegyház: domb* 'hill' + *egyház* 'church', *Erdőfalva: erdő* 'forest' + *falva* 'village', etc.), in which the first constituent expresses a natural characteristic feature of the settlement. Among the settlement names there are names, which are formed with a first constituent expressing a characteristic feature, having a differentiating role in general, there are settlement names whose main constituent had initially been a one-constituent toponym belonging to the toponym type presented above (e.g. *Felsőegres: felső* 'upper' + toponym *Egres, Kisfüzes: kis* 'small' + *Füzes,* etc.).

This ancient mode of name-giving is specific to each language, when nature, the rich flora and fauna, the topographic, the hydrographic configurations, etc. offer multiple opportunities for name-giving. In the case of settlement names of foreign origin it is also possible to expect names referring to a local relationship or a general geographical relationship in each structural type. For instance, the Lithuanian city name *Vilna, Vilnius* (from a hydronym with the meaning 'curly') or the Russian city name *Voronezh* (from a hydronym with the meaning 'black') originate from primary hydronyms (cf. Kálmán 1969: 160, FNESz.

Vilnius, Voronyezs). At the beginning, toponyms of British Celtic origin also typically denoted natural features (rivers, mountains, forests, larger areas) and several such names later came to signify nearby settlements also: for example, the settlement names with the base components of *Deverill* ('fertile highland area by the river' or 'river of a fertile highland area') and *Avon* ('river') were also formed from names of rivers (Bölcskei 2012: 156, 163). The German city name *Nürnberg* (from the oronym with the meaning 'rocky mountain') might have been baptised following relief form names (cf. Kálmán 1969: 158, FNESz. *Nürnberg*) and in the settlement names of the Spanish *Toledo* ('mountain, hill') or the French *Pointe-Noire* ('black promontory') we can find an orographic common noun (FNESz. *Pointe-Noire, Toledo*). The basis of name-giving has been inspired by fauna for instance in the case of the following names: the German *Stuttgart* ('stallion ranch'), the English *Oxford* ('ford for oxen', cf. Kálmán 1969: 163, FNESz. *Stuttgart, Oxford*), the Mordvinian *Ćipizläj* ('peewit', cf. Maticsák 1995: 47) and the Turkish *Karuna* ('goose', Jarring 1997: 357). For example, the Mordvinian settlement names *Leplej* ('alder'), *Tumola* ('oak', cf. Maticsák 1995: 47), the Estonian *Kaasiku* ('birch tree forest', Kallasmaa 2005: 20) or the Slovak settlement name *Trstená* ('reed', FNESz. *Trsztena*) all refer to the flora.

2.2. Thus, we can distinguish several semantic and lexical-morphological groups of settlement names referring to a local relationship or a general geographical relationship; that being said, we can distinguish, for example, settlement names with hydronyms, oronyms, forest names; or plant names and animal names. These groups have been addressed by Hungarian toponomastics in a quite disproportionate way.

The relationship between hydronyms and settlement names has received the most attention in Hungarian specialized literature with the most in-depth study having been carried out by Loránd Benkő who discussing the genesis of settlement names considered the larger aquatic features the primary eponyms (2003: 136). He also considered it very probable that even those settlement names were original hydronyms, that had been formed out of the names of aquatic animals and the names of characteristic features related to water. He considered as original hydronyms even those settlement names in which the name form of the settlement and of the watercourse alongside were perfectly similar (e.g. the hydronym *Gagy* ~ the toponym *Gagy*). However, this finding (water > settlement) should be treated very carefully, since it might also occur that certain settlement names have become hydronyms metonymically without the addition of a name formant. During the study of the hydronyms of the Bihar County in the Old Hungarian period I have found (2007) such data: 1332–37/Pp. Reg, 1333: *Barakun,* villa > 1344: *Barakun,* alveus, 1344: *Barrakun,* palus; 1281: *Chaslo,* terra > 1416: *Chazlo,* palus, 1526: *Chazlo,* fluvius (cf.

Jakó 1940: 222, 337). Thus, while in the case of the larger bodies of water the change pattern hydronym > settlement name is dominant, in the case of the denomination of medium-sized and smaller bodies of water the reverse transformation may also be expected: settlement name > hydronym (see also: Győrffy E. 2011: 158–159), therefore each case must be assessed individually. Besides Benkő's investigations, the issue of settlement names originating from hydronyms has been addressed in a multitude of works. For instance, in the study of metonymic settlement names originating from hydronyms (7,55% of the names), taken from the database related to the ambitious work of Lajos Kiss, the *Etymological Dictionary of Geographical Names* (FNESz., 1988) that explores the settlement names from their earliest data up until the 20th century, Ferenc Bíró (2005) concluded that in the Eastern regions of historical Hungary these settlement names seemed to be more frequent, and that more than half (55,62%) of the analysed names had emerged in the early Old Hungarian period (896–1350). Most recently, Erzsébet Győrffy has summarised the settlement name types originating from watercourse names (2011: 153–164).

The relationship between oronyms and settlement names has also received considerable scholarly attention. Research by Katalin Reszegi has confirmed that the oronym > settlement name (e.g. *Hegy* 'mountain', *Farkashalom: farkas* 'wolf' + *halom* 'hillock', etc.) and the reverse settlement name > oronym patterns (e.g. the Slavic *Bucsony,* etc.) seem to be especially typical in the Old Hungarian period although Reszegi also emphasizes that in the great majority of the cases the settlement names became oronyms when attached to orographic common nouns (e.g. *Báré* > *Báré-bérc:* toponym *Báré* + *bérc* 'crag', *Bátor* > *Bátor-hegy:* toponym *Bátor* + *hegy* 'mountain', etc.). At the same time, in these two change patterns of name-formation processes we can also identify a specific feature showing that while only those one-constituent settlement names were incorporated into oronyms that were semantically non-transparent, in settlement names generally semantically-transparent two-constituent oronyms also often appear (2011: 65).

The other large category of settlement names denoting the natural environment (names reflecting general geographical features) and its various types have also received some attention by scholars. Zsuzsanna J. Papp (1969, 1982) studied the presence of animal names in medieval geographical names (e.g. *Solymos* 'falcon' + *-s, Ölyves* 'buzzard' + *-s, Baromlak: barom* 'cattle' + *lak* 'barn', etc.), while Magdolna I. Gallasy (1989) did research on old settlement names formed from names of vegetation (e.g. *Füzegy* 'willow' + *-s, Meggyes* 'sour cherry' + *-s,* etc.). They both emphasized that settlement names could not only derive directly from the flora and fauna characteristic of an area, but could also be formed indirectly, from personal names or microtoponyms. It was Péter Püspöki Nagy (1975) who studied settlement names formed from

animal names, focusing especially on their morphological categories. At the same time, JÁNOS PÉNTEK (1997) and EDINA ZÁNTHÓ (1998) examined the relationship between names of vegetation and geographical names, as well as the regional features of particular plant species.

Most recently, ISTVÁN HOFFMANN, ANITA RÁCZ, and VALÉRIA TÓTH (2017) investigated the toponymic corpus of fifteen historic Hungarian counties from the early Old Hungarian period using the database of Vol. 1 of *Korai magyar helynévszótár* (KMHsz.) focusing especially on the name-structural types of the settlement names referring to the natural environment and their chronological features. Among the close to 3,400 settlement names studied, they identified 550 names (16%) which refer to the natural environment (HOFFMANN–RÁCZ–TÓTH 2017: 226, 233). On the one hand, their analysis confirmed the findings of traditional toponym-typology which claims that metonymic (without any formants) and morphemic (with toponymic formants) name-formation represent an earlier process than name-formation by compounding. On the other hand, their study has also revealed that the different types of one-constituent settlement names (both with and without formants) multiplied almost entirely simultaneously (HOFFMANN–RÁCZ–TÓTH 2017: 233–234). At the same time, they have also emphasized that the in-depth analysis of the underlying reasons and the better understanding of the internal system of settlement name categories in general requires further research.

As it is obvious from the above, settlement names referring to the natural environment show the closest relationship with the other name types, thus their study might provide additional information about microtoponyms as well. During the study of these settlement names we must seek to answer the very difficult closed question as to whether we might expect to find as antecedent a primary land part name (e.g. hydronym, ridge name, oronym, etc.) referring to the natural environment, or a personal name; or the basis of the settlement name-giving might have been constituted directly by natural conditions. Of course, this is also related to the development of the documentation of names, i.e. to the fact that quite a long time might have passed between the genesis of the names and their notation.

3. During the study of settlement names referring to the natural environment, I have investigated those settlement names that have been created out of two-constituent topographical names having the geographical common noun *halom* as their second constituent, as well as the settlement names whose creation has followed that pattern. In the genesis of these settlement names, we might expect a certain kind of duality. The first *halom*-type settlement names must have been created metonymically out of a microtoponym having the same structure. However, the microtoponym as presumed antecedent cannot be

evidenced in each case with data. The antecedent of the Romanian settlement name *Feketehalom* (1267: *Feketeholm,* Gy. 1: 828) is the topographical name *Fekete-halom* (*fekete* 'black' + *halom* 'hillock; mound') that lies nearby, and the name might have referred to the colour of the relief. The Western Hungarian settlement name *Hegyeshalom* (1197/1337: *Hegesholm,* FNESz. *Hegyeshalom*) may also be classified here; it has been created out of the microtoponym denoting the shape of the relief (*Hegyes-halom: hegyes* 'sharp' + *halom* 'hillock; mound'). Data about *Hegyes-halom*-type microtoponym may already be extracted from the Árpád age, mainly from the territory of Transylvania: 1. 1177/202–3/337: *Hegesholmir [ɔ: -holmu],* Erdélyi Fehér County (Gy. 2: 131); 2. 1313: *Hygysholm,* mo., Erdélyi Fehér County (Gy. 2: 102, 191); 3. 1324/407: *Hegysholm,* montic., Erdélyi Fehér County (Gy. 2: 167); 4. 1326: *Hegesholm,* mo., Kolozs County (Gy. 3: 380); 5. 1329: *Hegesholm,* coll., loc., Kolozs County (Gy. 3: 345); 6. 1348: magnus mons *Hegesholm* alias Babaholm, Küküllő County (Cs. 5: 867), but in the 19th and 20th centuries their occurrence may also be observed in land part names at multiple places in the territory of Hungary.

The functional content of the first constituents of topographical names constituting the basis of settlement names may refer to the specific shape of the hill (e.g. *Hegyeshalom* 'sharp + hillock', *Félhalom* 'half + hillock'), the substance of the hill (e.g. *Kőhalom* 'stone + hillock', *Szihalom: szén* 'coal + hillock'), the colour of the hill (e.g. *Feketehalom* 'black + hillock'), its temperature conditions (e.g. *Héhalom: hév, hő* ' heat + hillock'), its position or location (e.g. *Szeghalom: kiszögellés, szeglet* 'salient, corner + hillock'), and may express the relationship of several hills to each other (e.g. *Hathalom* 'numeral six + hillock', *Százhalom* 'numeral hundred + hillock'), or the relationship of the hill with a particular person (e.g. *Bábahalom* 'midwife + hillock') as well.

After the genesis of the first metonymic names having such a structure, the subsequent name formations might have been created according to the model of the existing ones: this means that the settlements lying beside a small hill have received a name with the structure's first constituent denoting a characteristic feature + the geographical common noun *halom* as second constituent. Among these names there is a very significant proportion of newer settlement names whose genesis dates back to the period of official settlement name-giving,[1] such as the settlement formerly known as *Luka* in the Bodrogköz region was named *Bodroghalom* (toponym *Bodrog* + 'hillock') referring to the hilly

[1] The period of regular settlement name-giving can be counted from the end of the 19th century, from 1898, when the Act on the Registration of Settlements was adopted, and the National Communal Register Committee was established. The development of the official Hungarian settlement name system is posterior to that; it realised the principle of „one locality, one name" in the entire territory of the country (cf. Mező 1982: 47).

region of the Bodrogköz without such protrusions being present around the settlement itself. Also the name *Herceghalom* (‘duke + hillock’) created in 1880, the former name of the village being *Csonkatebe;* but the actual settlement name *Szigethalom* (created out of the former name *Szilágyitelep*) has also been created as a result of an official name-giving (for further examples see FNESz.). During the conscious name-Hungarianisation procedures, name structures with the geographical common noun *halom* as second constituent were also frequently used: for instance, the settlement *Őrhalom* in Nógrád County received its name in 1898 in such a way. In the case of these settlement names microtoponym antecedents may hardly be presumed, we might rather presume that the name *halom* meaning a ‘settlement lying in the neighbourhood of a smaller hill’ has become a kind of settlement name formant. In VALÉRIA TÓTH’s interpretation, a similar phenomenon can be observed in the case of a certain part of the settlement names with *fő* ‘source’ as second constituent, in which the constituent *fő,* as a secondary settlement name formant, takes the meaning ‘a settlement lying at the source of a particular watercourse’ (e.g. the toponyms *Szuhafő, Pinkafő,* where the first constituent being a hydronym + the second constituent being a geographical common noun *fő* have been joined, cf. TÓTH 2008: 182–187). Although it is not typical of settlement names, it is also possible to mention those tree names which also mean ‘forest’, which can also have the function of a topoformant, diverging from their primary semantic content: for instance, in the forest name *Szurkos-cser* (so in a microtoponym, and not in a settlement name) *cser* does not mean ‘Turkey oak tree’, but has the meaning content of ‘Turkey oak forest’ (cf. BÁBA 2016: 40–41).

An excellent piece of evidence for the settlement name formant *halom* is the name of a settlement in Eastern Hungary, *Szántóhalomtanya,* created in 1913: this name was created out of the original *Szántótelek* (‘arable land/plowman + land, property’) by exchanging the second constituent *(Szántótelek > Szántóhalom),* then by the addition of the geographical common noun *tanya* ‘farm’ *(Szántóhalom > Szántóhalomtanya)*. The exchange of the second constituent of the settlement name formant *-telek* ‘land, property’ > *-halom* can reinforce the role of *halom* as a name formant, since among the settlement name formants the exchange of name constituents is very frequent (see for instance, *Herbártfölde* ‘personal name *Herbárt* + land’ > *Herbártfalva* ’personal name *Herbárt* + village’ and changes like *Szentmihálytelke* > *Szentmihályfalva,* etc., TÓTH 2008: 191–192).

4. Therefore, the study of this restricted onomastic corpus reveals that in certain cases the geographical common noun *halom* has diverged from its primary meaning as ‘a small relief from the land surface’, and through a certain change in meaning it has become a secondary settlement name formant in its meaning

as ‘a settlement with a specific characteristic feature’, more precisely as ’a settlement lying in the neighbourhood of a smaller hill’.

It would also be important to conduct such kind of studies for other similar names (e.g. names with *-hegy* ‘mountain’, *-patak* ‘brook’, etc. as second constituent) so as to have a more obvious overview of the issue. Moreover, it would be useful to conduct empiric studies not only in Hungarian, but also in very diverse languages, based on specific name data, since this would contribute to the gradual exploration of the similarities and the differences between the toponymic systems of these languages (for that, see JAROSLAV 2008).

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Abstract

The systemic study of Hungarian toponyms began in the 1930s and 1940s with the description of settlement names with a historical-typological purpose. The typological descriptions distinguish primarily linguistic-structural types. The three main types comprise 1. one-constituent names, 2. names formed with topoformants and 3. two-constituent toponyms formed by composition. These types can be associated with functions denoting characteristic features, functions denoting types and functions having a denominative role. The functions of the name constituents expressing the characteristic features of the place may be very diverse semantically: 1. settlement names referring to the human environment, 2. settlement names referring to the built environment, to a human activity, 3. settlement names referring to the natural environment. This essay investigates more thoroughly that latter group, that is, settlement names referring to the natural environment. This ancient mode of name-giving is specific of each language, when the natural, the rich flora and fauna, the topographic, the hydrographic configurations, etc. offer multiple opportunities for name-giving. After determining the position of that group of settlement names within the system, the essay discusses settlement names which contain the geographical common noun *halom* ‘hillock’, as well as their possible antecedents in microtoponyms.

Keywords: settlement names, natural environment, old name-giving, settlement name formants

Harald Bichlmeier

Archaische Fluss- und Ortsnamen in Mitteleuropa aus Sicht der modernen Indogermanistik

1. Fluss- und Ortsnamen haben, besonders was die ältesten Schichten der Namengebung angeht, in der Regel einen recht direkten Bezug zum benannten Objekt bzw. zu dessen natrurräumlicher Umgebung. So wurden Flüsse einerseits oft einfach als ‚Fluss', ‚Strom' etc. benannt (s.u. 5., 6.) oder, etwas konkreter, nach ihrem Aussehen bzw. allgemein nach den sinnlichen Eindrücken, die von ihnen oder ihrer unmittelbaren Umgebung ausgehen. Flüsse werden bekanntlich gern als ‚strahlend, hell' charakterisiert, oder als ‚schnell' oder ‚laut' (s.u. 2., 3., 4.). ‚Normal' sind in diesen Fällen Benennungen, die eine besondere Eigenschaft bezeichnen, die den jeweiligen Namensträger eben aus der umgebenden Masse vergleichbarer Namensträger heraushebt.

In vielen Fällen ist man bei der Etymologisierung dieser ältesten bzw. ältest überlieferten Namen längst zu auf den ersten Blick überzeugenden Ergebnissen gekommen, die gut zum Gesamtbild des Namensträgers und/oder seiner natürlichen Umgebung passen und die oft auch die umgebende Namenlandschaft gut ergänzen. Freilich ist dabei darauf zu achten, dass man v.a. die Relevanz der umgebenden Namenlandschaft nicht überbewertet: Dass fünf Flüsse in einem Gebiet eine eindeutig keltische Etymologie haben, bedeutet nicht, dass der Name eines sechsten Flusses mit weniger eindeutiger Etymologie ebenfalls keltisch sein *muss* – eine solche umgebende Namenlandschaft ist allenfalls ein Indiz, das auf mögliche Keltizität weist.[1]

Hinterfragt man nun diese traditionellen Ergebnisse freilich und analysiert solche Namen der ältesten Sprachschichten erneut mit den Mitteln, die die moderne historisch-vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft, namentlich die Indogermanistik, zur Verfügung stellt,[2] sind die althergebrachten Analysen oft nicht mehr so eindeutig.

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[1] Vgl. Repanšek 2016 hinsichtlich einer sauberen Methodologie und allgemein zur Frage entscheidender Merkmale für Keltizität (in diesem Falle für das Gebiet Sloweniens im weiteren Sinne).

[2] Die Nichtberücksichtigung der teils bereits vor einem Jahrhundert gewonnenen und völlig selbstverständlich seit Jahrzehnten in den Universitätsunterricht einfließenden Erkenntnisse der Indogermanistik und der damit einhergehenden üblichen Notationsweisen durch einige Namenforscher bleiben unverständlich: Diese Forscher verweigern sich damit bewusst dem wissenschaftlichen Mehrwert, der sich aus dem Erkenntniszugewinn der Indogermanistik ergibt. Ein abschreckendes Beispiel für solche Rückwärtsgewandtheit ist Udolph 2017 (und die meisten der dort zitierten Werke desselben Autors), worin der Verfasser seine teils bereits 40 Jahre alten Ergebnisse in der letztlich damals (Ende der 1970er Jahre) schon veraltenden,

Dies soll im Folgenden anhand einiger Beispiele demonstriert werden. Bei diesen Beispielen ändert sich aber bisweilen noch mehr als nur die Semantik des ursprünglichen Benennungsmotivs; so kommt es in mehreren Fällen zur Änderung der Zuschreibung zu einer bestimmten sprachlichen Schicht bzw. Sprache, in der die Prägung des Namens erfolgte. Ebenso möglich ist freilich auch immer wieder, dass die traditionelle, mutmaßlich eindeutige Zuschreibung zu einer Sprachschicht bzw. Sprache aufgegeben werden muss, da die alten Argumente für die Zuschreibung keine Gültigkeit mehr beanspruchen können. Somit ist theoretisch die Möglichkeit der Zuschreibung eines Namens zu verschiedenen Sprachen bzw. Sprachschichten gegeben, aber zwischen den verschiedenen Möglichkeiten kann keine sichere Entscheidung getroffen werden (s.u. 6.).[3]

2. Die Zuschreibung zu einer bestimmten Sprachschicht muss etwa im Falle des Namens der Isar und ihrer Verwandten wie der *Isel* und und *Isen* in Österreich neu erfolgen:

bisherige Analyse	neue Analyse
alteuropäisch Wz. uridg. *$e_{\underline{i}}s$- ‚sich rasch bewegen‘ + Suffix *-*ró*- > *is-*ró*- > alteurop. **isaro*-?? > thrak. *Istros* ‚Donau‘	keltisch **Isarā*-: Wz. uridg. *$h_1e_{\underline{i}}\hat{s}h_2$- ‚kräftigen, antreiben‘ (Rix 2001: 234f.) + Suffix *-*ró*- > *h_1ish_2-*ró*- > urkelt. **isaro*- (**isaron*- > air. *íaru* ‚Eichhörnchen‘ < ‚das flinke (Tier)‘[4] > (alteurop. **isaro*- oder) **isro*- > thrak. *Istros* ‚Donau‘ **Isalā*-: Wz. uridg. *$h_1e_{\underline{i}}\hat{s}h_2$- ‚kräftigen, antreiben‘ (Rix 2001: 234f.) + Suffix *-*ló*- > *h_1ish_2-*ló*- > urkelt. **isalo*- > FlN *Isala* > *Isel*

wenn nicht bereits veralteten Notationsweise der Vorkriegsindogermanistik zum wiederholten Male ausbreitet und damit beweist, dass ihm entweder an wissenschaftlichem Fortschritt nicht gelegen ist oder ihn die Rezeption moderner indogermanistischer Arbeiten schlicht überfordert. Jener Beitrag wimmelt jedenfalls aus indogermanistischer Sicht derart von Ungenauigkeiten und Fehlern, dass die gezogenen Schlüsse nach dem aktuellen Stand der Wissenschaft allenfalls zufällig das Richtige treffen.

[3] Vgl. zum ganzen Komplex auch Bichlmeier 2016e, 2016g, 2017a (jeweils mit älterer Literatur).

[4] Vgl. dazu Ziegler 2001.

bisherige Analyse	neue Analyse
	**Isanā-*: Wz. uridg. **$h_1$ei̯sh$_2$-* ‚kräftigen, antreiben' (Rix 2001: 234f.) + Suffix **-nó-* > **$h_1$ish$_2$-nó-* > urkelt. **isano-* > FlN *Isana* > *Isen* oder alteuropäisch oder keltisch (mit anderem Suffix!): Wz. uridg. **$h_1$ei̯sh$_2$-* ‚sich rasch bewegen' + Suffix **-eró-* > **$h_1$ish$_2$-eró-* > urkelt. **isaro-* > alteurop. **isaro-* etc.

Tab. 1: *Isar* und Verwandte

Wie aus Tabelle 1 hervorgeht, wird der Name der Isar und seiner Sippe (*Isel, Isen, Isère, Eisack/Isarco* etc.) traditionell als alteuropäisch eingestuft.[5]

Man wird nun zumindest für die zur Sippe gehörigen Namen in Mitteleuropa, die einen mittleren Vokal **-a-* aufweisen, eher keltischen Ursprung annehmen müssen. Ausgehend vom traditionellen Ansatz ist das mittlere **-a-* überhaupt nicht zu erklären und wurde in älteren Erklärungen oft geflissentlich übergangen. Das Keltische ist nun aber die einzige bekannte Sprache, in der ein urindogermanischer Laryngal in mittleren Silben zu **a* vokalisiert wird und erhalten bleibt.[6] Im Gegensatz dazu muss man etwa für das Urgermanische zwar auch eine Vokalisierung zu Schwa annehmen,[7] das dann aber geschwunden ist. Interessanterweise scheinen alle bislang angeführten Beispiele mit sicherer Etymologie von als alteuropäisch eingestuften Gewässernamen, die ein so entstandenes **a,* das also auf zwischenkonsonantischen Laryngal zurückgeht, zeigen, auf nachgewiesenermaßen keltischem Sprachgebiet zu finden zu sein. Es liegt also nahe, alle derartigen Namen aufgrund dieses so charakteristischen Lautwandels als keltisch und nicht mehr alteuropäisch einzustufen.[8] Diese Erkenntnis hat mutmaßlich merkliche Auswirkungen auf die Gesamtheit der bislang als alteuropäisch klassifizierten Gewässernamen, deren Zahl sich mithin deutlich reduzieren dürfte!

[5] Vgl. zu dieser Namensippe Bichlmeier 2011, 2016c (jeweils mit älterer Literatur).

[6] Vgl. dazu Zair 2012 *passim.*

[7] Vgl. Ringe 2006: 79f., 137–139.

[8] Vgl. Bichlmeier 2016c.

3. Einen anderen Fall stellt der Name der Elbe dar (älteste Belege *Albis* etc.).[9] Dieser wurde immer als ‚die Weiße' etymologisiert, könnte im Prinzip aber auch ‚die Mäandrierende' sein oder noch anderes bedeuten, theoretisch etwa auch ‚die Braune'. Die ursprüngliche Etymologie bleibt zwar weiterhin eine Möglichkeit, kann aber nicht mehr den Anspruch erheben, die einzige zu sein:

bisherige Analyse	neue Analyse
alteuropäisch	alteuropäisch (oder germanisch?)
Wz. uridg. **alb^h-* ‚weiß' + Suffix **-i-/-ī-* o.ä. > **alb^{h}i/ī-*	Wz. uridg. **h$_{1/3}$alb^h-/*h$_2$elb^h-* ‚weiß' bzw. uridg. **h$_{1/3}$al-b^h-/*h$_2$el-b^h-* (‚Suffix' **-b^{h}o-* oder **-b^{h}h$_2$-ó-*) + Suffix **-ih$_2$-/-i̯éh$_2$-* oder **-ih$_1$-* bzw. **-ih$_2$-* > **h$_{1/3}$alb^h-ih$_{1/2}$-/*h$_2$elb^h-ih$_{1/2}$-* ‚die Weiße'
> alteurop. **alb^{h}i/ī-* → urgerm. **alƀiz*, *-i̯az* / **alƀī(z)*, *-i̯ōz*	> alteurop. **alb^{h}i/ī-* → urgerm. **alƀiz*, *-i̯az* / **alƀī(z)*, *-i̯ōz*
	oder: Wz. uridg. **h$_2$elh$_2$-* ‚ziellos gehen'(Rix 2001: 264): *e*-Stufe oder *o*-Stufe **h$_2$olh$_2$-*
	oder: Wz. uridg. **h$_1$elh$_2$-* ‚wohin treiben'(Rix 2001: 402): *o*-Stufe **h$_1$olh$_2$-*
	oder: Wz. uridg. **h$_1$el-* ‚rot(braun)': *o*-Stufe **h$_1$ol-*
	oder: Wz. uridg. **h$_1$el(H)-* 'modrig, feucht sein': *o*-Stufe **h$_1$ol(H)-*
	bei germanischer Entstehung: Kompositionshinterglied **-h$_2$p-ó-* zu **h$_2$ep-* ‚Wasser': uridg. **h$_{2/3}$el(H)-h$_2$p-ó-* > urgerm. **alƀa-* uridg. **Hol(H)-h$_2$p-ó-* > urgerm. **alƀa-*

Tab. 2: *Elbe*

Wie aus Tabelle 2 hervorgeht, muss sich bei einer neuen Analyse die sprachliche Zuordnung nicht ändern. Allerdings wird auch klar, dass die Eindeutigkeit der althergebrachten Etymologie nicht aufrecht erhalten werden kann.

[9] Vgl. zu dieser Namensippe Bichlmeier 2012, 2015b, Bichlmeier/Blažek 2014, 2015 mit älterer Literatur.

Ausgehend von den oben in der Tabelle angeführten neuen alternativen Etymologien ist auch darauf hinzuweisen, dass damit natürlich auch die früher (und in wissenschaftlich auf veraltetem früherem Stand stehengebliebener aktueller Literatur, wie etwa UDOLPH 2017) erfolgende Etymologisierung Dutzender Gewässernamen in Europa ausgehend von einer Wurzel (ur)idg. „**el-/*ol-* ‚fließen'" in mehrerlei Hinsicht problematisch ist: Es sind für das Urindogermanische – je nachdem, ob man alle diese Wurzeln als eigenständig ansieht oder vielleicht doch die eine oder andere von diesen durch eine semantische Verschiebung als Sonderentwicklung aus einer anderen erklärt – bis zu zehn Wurzeln der Struktur uridg. **HVl(H)-*[10] anzusetzen. Diese bedeuten u.a. ‚weiß', rot-braun', ‚sich nähern', ‚sich ziellos bewegen', ‚ernähren', ‚bitter', ‚modrig, feucht' usw. (fünf dieser Wurzeln sind in Tabelle 2 angeführt). Von diesen kann aufgrund ihrer Bedeutung jede (mit Ausnahme vielleicht der, die ‚ernähren' bedeutet) ohne Probleme zur Bildung eines Gewässernamens verwendet worden sein. Aber keine einzige dieser Wurzeln bildet appellativische Formen aus, die ‚fließen' bedeuten würden! Am nächsten kommen dem noch die beiden Wurzeln der Bedeutung ‚sich nähern', ‚sich ziellos bewegen', die *vielleicht sekundär* zu einer Bedeutung ‚fließen' geführt haben *könnten*. Nachweisen lässt sich das aber eben m.W. nirgends. Folglich beruht der Ansatz einer Wurzel (ur) idg. „**el-/*ol-* ‚fließen'" weder hinsichtlich der Phonologie noch hinsichtlich der Semantik auf irgendeinem stichhaltigen Argument (auch den bisweilen in diesem Zusammenhang genannten litauischen Wörtern kommt letztlich keine Beweiskraft zu),[11] sondern lediglich auf der Annahme, dass, da Flussnamen der ältesten Schichten gewöhnlich auf sehr elementaren appellativischen Bildungen beruhen, die ganzen Bildungen mit einem belegten einzelsprachlichen Anlaut *Vl-* (also v.a. *al-, el-, ol-*) folglich ‚Fluss' bedeuten und zu einer Wurzel (ur)idg. „**el-/*ol-* ‚fließen'" gebildet sein müssen. Diese Argumentation ist mithin ein klassischer Zirkelschluss und wird nicht dadurch weniger zirkulär, dass er seit Jahrzehnten unreflektiert fortgeschrieben wird.

Grundsätzlich ist zudem zumindest aus rein sprachwissenschaftlichen Erwägungen heraus nicht auszuschließen, dass es sich beim Flussnamen um eine frühurgermanische Bildung handelt. Dafür könnte auch sprechen, dass mndd. *elve* ‚Flussbett' und aisl. *elfa, elfr* f. ‚Fluss' (nisl. *elfur,* fär. *elvur,* norw. *elv,*

[10] Bereits seit den Forschungen Benvenistes in den 1930er Jahren ist eigentlich klar, dass urindogermanische Wurzeln (mit Ausnahme vielleicht von Wurzeln, von denen Partikeln und Pronomina u.ä. gebildet sind; vgl. dazu DUNKEL 2014), die Minimalstruktur **KVK-* hatten. Wenn also noch 2017 in Beiträgen eine Wurzel „**el-/*ol-*" postuliert wird, arbeitet deren Autor mit dem Wissensstand von vor über 80 Jahren. Da bei solchem Vorgehen allenfalls zufällig richtige Ergebnisse erlangt werden können (wie schon in Anm. 1 angemerkt), müssen solche Beiträge letztlich als wertlos eingestuft werden.

[11] Vgl. dazu schon BICHLMEIER 2012, 2013b.

schwed. *älv,* dän. *elv*)[12] als appellativische Formen vorhanden sind. Die klassische Erklärung, dass in Island Flüsse so benannt werden, weil sie aus den ‚weißen' Gletschern herausfließen, oder dass es sich um eine Nachbennung nach der als *der* prototypische Fluss schlechthin betrachteten Elbe handelt,[13] dürften doch wohl eher unwahrscheinlich sein, wenn sich daneben eine ‚ordentliche' appellativische Erklärung finden lässt. Mit dem Namen der Elbe vergleichbare Bildungen in anderen Regionen Europas wären dann freilich entweder etymologisch ganz von diesem Namen zu trennen oder aber als unabhängige parallele Bildungen einzustufen. Für den germanischen Raum ergibt sich damit aber auch noch eine andere Möglichkeit: Hier könnten rein zufällig der vorgermanische Flussname **alb^{h}i-* ‚die weiße, glänzende' und das germanische Appellativum **alƀi-* ‚Fluss' homonym geworden sein. Dies hätte als Konsequenz, dass der Name der Elbe durchaus mit den anderen *alb*-Namen einer voreinzelsprachlichen Schicht angehören könnte, dann aber eben die germanischen Appellativa davon zu trennen sind.

4. Wieder etwas anders gelagert ist der Fall des Namens der *La(a)ber* (insgesamt gibt es drei Flüsschen dieses Namens in Bayern im Raum Regensburg; älteste Belege: ahd. *Lapara, Labara*).[14]

bisherige Analyse	neue Analyse
keltisch	keltisch
Wz. uridg. **plab-* ‚schwatzen' (‚Schallwz.'?) + Suffix **-ró/ā́-* > **plab-ro/ā-* > frühurkelt. **φlabro/ā-* > urkelt. **labaro/ā-*	Wz. uridg. **leh$_2$p-* ‚aufleuchten' (Rix 2001: 402) + Suffix **-ró/éh$_2$-* > **lh$_2$p-ró/éh$_2$-* > frühurkelt. **labro/ā-* > urkelt. **labaro/ā-*

Tab. 3: *La(a)ber*

Dieser Name wurde seit jeher als ‚die Plappernde' zu einer onomatopoetischen Wurzel uridg. **plab-* gehörig interpretiert. Er dürfte dagegen aber wohl vielmehr ‚die Glänzende' bedeutet haben. Dafür spricht zudem, dass das dem Namen zugrundeliegende Adjektiv dann zu einer gut bezeugten und weit verbreiteten Klasse von Adjektiven gehören würde, den schwundstufigen *ro*-Adjektiven: Uridg. **lh$_2$p-ró-* ‚glänzend' kann mit einem griechischen Adjektiv, λαμπρός ‚glänzend, strahlend', gleichgesetzt werden, das seinen Nasal nach allgemeiner Ansicht sekundär aus dem Verbum λάμπω ‚glänze, leuchte, erhelle'

[12] Vgl. de Vries 1962: 100; Magnússon 1995: 151.

[13] Vgl. dazu auch Kitson 1996: 75.

[14] Vgl. zu dieser Namensippe Bichlmeier 2016d, 2016i (jeweils mit älterer Literatur).

eingeschleppt hat.[15] Der Name erhält so eine für einen Flussnamen wesentlich typischere Motivation, eben ‚der glänzende' und findet Anschluss an eine sonst sowohl im Keltischen wie auch andernorts in der Indogermania gut bezeugte Wurzel. Im Falle dieses Namens bleibt immerhin die sprachliche Zuordnung in jedem Fall erhalten: der Name ist keltischen Ursprungs.

5. Die Lohr (ebenfalls ein Fluss in Bayern) galt, falls sie nicht, was ebenfalls immer wieder geschah, ohnehin als sekundär aus einem Toponym entstanden erklärt wurde, als ‚die Flache/Seichte' oder ‚die Plätschernde'.[16]

bisherige Analyse	neue Analyse
alteuropäisch oder germanisch oder keltisch	keltisch
Wz. uridg. **leh$_2$-* ‚bellen' (bzw. ‚Schallwz.') + Suffix **-ró/á-* > **lh$_2$-ro/ā-* > urkelt. **laro/ā-*, urgerm. **lara/ō-*	Wz. uridg. **pleh$_3$-* ‚fließen, schwimmen'(Rix 2001: 485) + Suffix **-ro/eh$_2$-* > **pl̥h$_3$-ró/éh$_2$-* > frühurkelt. **φlāro/ā-* > urkelt. **lāro/ā-*
Wz. uridg. **leh$_2$-* ‚gießen' + Suffix **-ró/á-* > **lh$_2$-ro/ā-* > urkelt. **laro/ā-*, urgerm. **lara/ō-*	moderne Mundartform [lōər] erfordert ahd. /-ā-/

Tab. 4: *Lohr*

Sie ist aber wohl vielmehr ‚die Fließende', also schlicht ‚der Fluss' und steht damit in einer Reihe mit weiteren derartigen Elementarbenennungen, zu denen etwa auch der Name des Rheins (vgl. lat. *Rhēnus,* gr. Ρῆνος < urkelt. **rēno-* < uridg. **h$_3$reu̯H-no-* [wahrscheinlich **h$_3$réu̯H-no-*]; daneben auch urkelt. **rēno-* > air. *rían* ‚Meer' [mit vorurkelt. **eu̯* > urkelt. **ē*]; Ableitung zur Wurzel uridg. **h$_3$reu̯H-* ‚wallen, wirbeln' [Rix 2001: 305f.], sekundär ‚aufgewühlt fließen') oder der der Sinn (s. dazu unten 7.) gehören.

Geht man von der Richtigkeit dieser Etymologie aus, so lässt sich weiter sicher sagen, dass der Name keltischen Ursprungs gewesen sein *muss* – alteuropäisch oder germanisch war er dann in keinem Fall. Die Herleitung aus diesen beiden Sprachen bzw. Sprachschichten scheidet aus morpho-phonologischen Gründen aus: Da *ro*-Adjektive, wie oben auch schon am Beispiel *Laaber* gesehen, eben normalerweise eine schwundstufige Wurzel aufweisen, kann der Name aus

[15] Vgl. Beekes 2010: 829f.

[16] Vgl. zu dieser Namensippe Bichlmeier/Vorwerk 2015a, 2015b, 2017 sowie Bichlmeier 2016f (jeweils mit älterer Literatur).

dem bekannten Wortmaterial des Urindogermanischen eigentlich nur über das Keltische sinnvoll und ohne die Morphologie oder die lautliche Entwicklung betreffende Zusatzannahmen erklärt werden.

6. Die gerade erwähnte Sippe um den Flussnamen *Sinn,* zu der auch ukrain. bzw. poln. *San*/*Sjan* gehören dürfte, ist ein weiteres Beispiel dafür, dass die sprachliche Zuordnung zum Alteuropäischen einfach nicht mehr haltbar ist. Es sind durchaus jeweils einzelsprachliche Erklärungen möglich, wobei in diesem Fall die schwächste jedenfalls die slawische ist, da sich die fragliche Wurzel uridg. **sent-* im Slawischen allenfalls marginal nachweisen lässt.[17]

bisherige Analyse	neue Analyse
alteuropäisch	alteuropäisch oder keltisch oder germanisch
Wz. uridg. **sind^h-* ‚Fluss, fließen‘ + Suffix **-no/ā-* o.ä. > **sind^h-no/ā-* Wz. uridg. **sei-*, **sī-* ‚fließen, tröpfeln‘	Wz. uridg. **sent-* ‚gehen‘ (Rix 2001: 533) + Suffix **-no/eh$_2$-* > alteurop. **sent-no/ā-* > urgerm. **senþ-na/ō-* > urslaw. **se(nt)-na/ā-* > gemein slaw. **sęnъ*

Tab. 5: *Sinn, San/Sjan*

Nach Schaffner 2015: 237–240 ist der Name des Shannon in Irland nun freilich von dieser Sippe getrennt zu halten: Er geht, wie die vorbildliche philologische Analyse der Belegreihe des Flussnamens durch Schaffner a.a.O. zeigt, vielmehr auf eine Form vorurir. **Sinonā-* f. zurück, die letztlich über den Akk. Sg. eines individualisierenden *n*-Stamms vorurir. **sin-on-am* < urkelt. **sin-on-m̥* zu einem Adjektiv urkelt. **sino-* ‚bauchig, gekrümmt‘ entstanden ist. Der Flussname *Shannon* < vorurir. **Sinonā-* bedeutete ursprünglich ‚der (Fluss) mit den Krümmungen, die durch Krümmungen gekennzeichnete‘. Die bei Bichlmeier 2015a, 2015b noch erwogene, lautlich an sich völlig einwandfreie Herleitung des Namens aus urkelt. **sent-no/ā-* (was den Namen in eine Reihe mit den Bildungen in Tab. 6 gestellt hätte) muss somit aufgegeben werden. Sie beruhte auf der in der älteren Literatur üblichen, nun durch Schaffner a.a.O. aber als falsch erwiesenen Annahme, der Name des Shannon beruhe auf einer Vorform urkelt. **Sinnonā-*.

[17] Vgl. zu dieser Namensippe Bichlmeier 2015a, 2015b (jeweils mit älterer Literatur).

7. Derartiger Beispiele mit recht allgemeinen Bezeichnungen gibt es noch eine ganze Reihe. Hierher gehört dann auch letztlich der Name der Naab, eines Flusses nördlich von Regensburg, der wohl einfach ‚der Feuchte' bedeutete.[18]

bisherige Analyse	neue Analyse
germanisch oder keltisch	germanisch
Wz. uridg. **neb^h-* ‚neblig, feucht sein' + Suffix **-o/ā-* > **nob^h-o/ā-* > urgerm. **naƀa/ō-*	Wz. uridg. **neb^h-* ‚neblig, feucht sein' + Suffix **-o/ā-* > **nob^h-o/ā-* > urgerm. **naƀa/ō-*
Wz. uridg. **neb^h-* ‚neblig, feucht sein' + Suffix **-o/ā-* > **nōb^h-o/ā-* > urkelt. **nāƀo/ā-*	moderne Mundartform [nō] erfordert ahd. /-a-/
Wz. uridg. **neb^h-* ‚neblig, feucht sein' + Suffix **-o/ā-* > **nēb^h-o/ā-* > urgerm. **nēƀa/ō-* > westgerm. **nāba/ō-*	

Tab. 6: *Naab*

Hier liegt wieder eine etwas andere Situation vor: Neben einer älteren Herleitung über das Germanische aus einer *o*-stufigen Form existierte eine andere Herleitung über das Keltische aus einer *ō*-stufigen Form sowie eine jüngst in die Diskussion eingebrachte über das Germanische aus einer *ē*-stufigen Form. Hier gibt die moderne Mundartform den Ausschlag, diese erfordert für das Althochdeutsche einen kurzen Vokal, so dass nur mehr die erste der drei einmal vorgeschlagenen Etymologien in Frage kommt.

8. In all diesen vorgenannten Fällen kann nur die Etymologie eine klare Aussage darüber liefern, welcher Sprache oder Sprachstufe ein Gewässername zuzuordnen ist. Eine Frage stellt sich nun freilich: Kann man irgendwelche anderen sauberen Kriterien finden, die eine sichere Zuordnung solcher Namen zum einen oder anderen Benennungsmotiv und damit vielleicht auch zur einen oder anderen Sprache erlauben, wenn es mehrere theoretisch gangbare Etymologien gibt?

Die Antwort muss hier leider lauten: wohl eher nicht! Hier bleibt vieles doch sehr im Ungefähren und die Abwägungen verschiedener Forscher können hier durchaus zur Bevorzugung unterschiedlicher Lösungen führen.

Bei den vorgenannten Namen hat man jedenfalls erheblich Schwierigkeiten – alle Flüsse fließen irgendwie, und ob ein Fluss nun seicht oder schnell oder

[18] Vgl. zu dieser Namensippe Bichlmeier 2013a (mit älterer Literatur).

glänzend ist, ist oft genug eher relativ – es mögen uns darüber vielleicht archäologische bzw. geologische Erkenntnisse über die tatsächliche Situation zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt vorliegen, aber meistens eben keine historischen bzw. psychologischen darüber, wie ein tatsächlich gegebener Zustand damals von den namengebenden Sprachträgern eingeschätzt wurde. Das heißt, in diesem Fall fehlen objektive Kriterien einer Zuordnung. Das bekannteste Beispiel für solche unklaren Zuordnungen sind sicher Farbbezeichnungen: In deren Fall ist bekanntlich die Einteilung der Skala des sichtbaren Lichts je nach Einzelsprache verschieden und folglich benennen auch Farbbezeichnungen in verschiedenen Sprachen allenfalls zufällig dieselben Abschnitte des Spektrums.

9. Eine klare Zuordnung kann jedoch möglich sein, wenn die geografischen und/oder geologischen bzw. allgemein naturräumlichen Gegebenheiten eine klare Sprache sprechen, wenn also die ‚Realprobe' wirklich eindeutig ausfällt, wenn eine Benennung eben konkret auf eine heute noch erkennbare geologische Gegebenheit bezogen werden kann.

Dies dürfte etwa beim Ortsnamen *Merseburg* (Sachsen-Anhalt) der Fall sein.[19]

bisherige Analyse	neue Analyse
germanisch oder keltisch (oder slawisch?) - (ur)tschech. *mezi* + **burga-* (slaw.-dt. Mischname) - (ur)tschech. *mezi* + **borъ-*,Kiefernwald' - *Marsii* (VN) - **Moresā-* - **Marisō* - **Mērisan-* etc.	germanisch urgerm. **mersō-* ‚Schotter, Kiesel'

Tab. 7: *Merseburg*

Von dem gut halben Dutzend bisher vorgebrachten etymologischen Vorschlägen erweist sich der jüngste schließlich als der beste: In *Merse-* steckt am ehesten ein selten bezeugtes germanisches Wort für ‚Kiesel, Schotter', urgerm. **mersō-*. Dieses Wort selbst ist zwar noch nicht bis ins Letzte in seiner Entstehung klar: Es kann sich entweder um eine wurzelerweiterte Variante von uridg. **merh$_2$-* ‚zermalmen' bzw. deren gemeinsamer Vorform **mer-* oder um eine Ableitung von einem *s*-Stamm dazu handeln. Alle anderen Etymologien, v.a. solche, die mit einer Synkope eines Vokals in der Folge *-rVs-* rechnen müssen, scheitern daran,

[19] Vgl. zu dieser Namensippe Hartig 2012, Greule 2014: 347, Bichlmeier 2016a, 2016b, 2016h, 2017c, Hengst 2016, Zschieschang 2016 (jeweils mit älterer Literatur).

dass in den frühesten Belegen noch unsynkopierte Formen zu erwarten wären. Das Wort selbst, urgerm. **mersō-,* hat jedenfalls Verwandte in Fluss-, See- und Inselnamen in Skandinavien, in Namen von solchen Inseln etc. die sich gerade durch ein steiniges Ufer, Flussbett oder ähnliches auszeichnen.[20] Nun ist eine solche auffällige Gesteinsformation heute in der Umgebung von Merseburg nicht mehr zu sehen, doch lässt sich solches Gestein nördlich der Stadt entlang des Flusslaufs der Saale geologisch nachweisen. Diese Gesteinsformation zieht sich über etwa 3 km bei einer Breite von bis zu 500 m links der Saale hin, liegt aber heute unter Ablagerungen von Auelehm.[21] Diese wurden erst ab dem Hochmittelalter an den Ufern der Saale angespült, als es durch den mittalterlichen inneren Landesausbau zu großflächigen Abholzungen in der Region und damit zur Erosion des frei liegenden Mutterbodens kam. Vergleichbare Schlammablagerungen erreichen stellenweise an der Elbe und Saale eine Dicke von bis zu 4 m. Zur Zeit der Namengebung vor über einem Jahrtausend (die ältesten Belege des Ortsnamens stammen aus dem 10. Jahrhundert) dürfte diese Gesteinsformation hingegen noch sichtbar gewesen sein. *Merseburg* bedeutete also am ehesten ‚Schotter-Burg' o.ä. Und der Name ist ein schönes Beispiel dafür, dass die unmittelbare Umgebung bzw. deren Gestalt für die Namengebung maßgeblich war.

10. Aber nicht nur die naturräumliche Umgebung als solche, wie in den gerade angeführten Beispielen, konnte bei der Benennung eine Rolle spielen, sondern auch die Natur in ihrer Funktion für den Menschen bzw. aufgrund ihrer Umformung durch den Menschen. Ein solcher Fall liegt im letzten Beispiel vor, dem Ortsnamen *Jena* (Thüringen). Dieser Name, zuerst belegt 896/899 als *Iani,* wurde früher oft als alteuropäischer Flussabschnittsname gedeutet. Es sei damit ein Abschnitt der Saale bezeichnet worden und es gebe Verwandte dieses Namens v.a. unter polnischen Flussnamen. Diese Auffassung ist jedoch schwerlich zutreffend. Es handelt sich nach jetziger Ansicht wohl vielmehr um einen Flur- oder Gegendnamen der Bedeutung ‚Gesamtheit/Gegend/Ort der (Fluss-)Übergänge'.[22]

Dieser hat eine recht komplexe Entstehungs- bzw. Derivationsgeschichte, die sich tabellarisch so darstellen lässt:

uridg. **i̯eh$_2$-* ‚dahinziehen, fahren' (Rix 2001: 309f.)

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[20] Vgl. die ältesten Belege zu 830/850 um 1150 *Mersiburc civitas,* zu 881/899 um 1150 *Merseburg urbs,* zu 932 um 1150 in *Merseburc,* 949 *Mersapurac,* 952 *Merseburg,* 968 *Merseburgo* (Lok.), 973 *Mersiburg,* 974 *Mersabu[r]g,* 974 *Merseburgensis aecclesia,* 975 *Merseburch,* 980 *in loco qui dicitur Merseburg.*

[21] Vgl. Gk 4637.

[22] Vgl. zu dieser Namensippe Hengst 2015a, 2015b, 2015c, Hengst–Wiesinger 2016, Bichlmeier 2016j, 2017b (jeweils mit älterer Literatur).

→ uridg. *$i̯éh_2$-no- ‚Gang, Durchgang‘ (> lat. *iānus* ‚Durchgang‘)
→ uridg. *$i̯éh_2$-no- (oder *$i̯ēh_2$-nó-) ‚Durchgang habend, mit Gang/Durchgang versehen‘
→ uridg. *$i̯éh_2$-ni- ‚Gesamtheit des mit Gang/Durchgang Versehenen‘
> ‚Gebiet/Gegend am (Fluss-)Durchgang‘ > urgerm. *$i̯ǣni$- f. > westgerm. *jāni-
> ahd. *jân*, ON *Iani*, mhd. *jân* m. ‚Reihe‘

Von der Wurzel uridg. *$i̯eh_2$- ‚dahinziehen, fahren‘ wurde eine *no*-Ableitung uridg. *$i̯éh_2$-no- ‚Gang, Durchgang‘ gebildet, die auch in lat. *iānus* ‚Durchgang‘ weiterlebt. Von dieser vollstufigen Bildung wurde nun eine dehnstufige Ableitung, eine sogenannte Vr̥ddhibildung, deriviert, eben uridg. *$i̯ēh_2$-no- (oder *$i̯ēh_2$-nó-) ‚Durchgang habend, mit Gang/Durchgang versehen‘. Durch Suffixersatz von *o* durch *i* konnte davon dann durch einen im Urindogermanischen ebenfalls gängigen Ableitungsprozess ein Abstraktum bzw. Kollektivum uridg. *$i̯ēh_2$-ni- ‚Gesamtheit des mit Gang/Durchgang Versehenen‘ abgeleitet werden, das dann die Bedeutung ‚Gebiet/Gegend am (Fluss-)Durchgang‘ annahm. Dieses uridg. *$i̯ēh_2$-ni- ergab lautgesetzlich urgerm. *$i̯ǣni$- f. > westgerm. *jāni-, das dann in ahd. *jân,* in dem ON *Iani* fortlebt.

Nun fragt man sich natürlich, was es mit dieser Bedeutung ‚Gesamtheit des mit Gang/Durchgang Versehenen‘ oder daraus entstandenem ‚Gebiet/Gegend am (Fluss-)Durchgang‘ auf sich hat. Das ist recht einfach zu beantworten: In Jena gab es nachweislich mindestens zwei abhängig vom Wasserstand genutzte Furten bzw. Felsbänke in der Saale nördlich der Camsdorfer Brücke.[23] Zu diesen Furten führten beiderseits Wege auf mehreren Trassen, es gab also jeweils mehrere Zugänge zur jeweiligen Furt. Man hat es also mit mehreren Zugängen zu mindestens zwei Durchgängen zu tun, eine Benennung der Flur als ‚Gesamtheit des mit Gang/Durchgang Versehenen‘ oder daraus entstandenem ‚Gebiet/Gegend am (Fluss-)Durchgang‘ und anschließende Übertragung dieses Flurnamens auf die an den Flussdurchgängen entstehende Siedlung erscheint da nicht mehr allzu schwer vorstellbar.

11. Zusammenfassend lassen sich folgende Punkte herausstellen:

11.1. Zunächst etwas Triviales: Es lohnt sich grundsätzlich – selbst bei mutmaßlich eindeutig liegenden Fällen – auch etablierte Etymologien immer wieder einmal zu hinterfragen. Dies gilt nicht zuletzt auch für die Etymologien der ältesten Schichten der Onyme. Gerade auch in der historischen Sprachwissenschaft gibt es immer wieder Fortschritte, die auch für Namen entweder zu völlig neuen Lösungen führen oder bestehende Etymologien präzisieren oder ausschließen können. Hier haben gerade auch die letzten Jahre deutliche

[23] Vgl. Schmigalla 2016, bes. 177–190.

Erkenntniszugewinne bei den Etymologien gebracht. Es ist bei Weitem nicht so, dass schon alle Probleme oder gar Rätsel gelöst wären. Dies zu behaupten ist ebenso unlauter, wie weiter darauf zu beharren, dass *eine* Lösung die einzig richtige sei – obwohl gangbare Alternativen vorliegen.

11.2. Immer wieder erstaunlich ist die Beharrungskraft und ‚Haltbarkeit' solcher Namen. Die vorgestellten Flussnamen sind vorkeltischen und keltischen, die erläuterten Ortsnamen germanischen Ursprungs. Ihre ursprüngliche Bedeutung ist seit Jahrhunderten verblasst bzw. den jeweils die entsprechenden Gebiete besiedelnden Sprechergemeinschaften nicht mehr zugänglich, sie haben durchweg bereits vor Jahrhunderten ihre Durchsichtigkeit für alle Sprecher verloren. Aber wenn man sie richtig anpackt, können sie Auskunft über das frühere Aussehen des sie umgebenden Raums geben bzw. über die Vorstellungen, die die namengebenden Sprachträger mit ihnen verbanden. Den sie umgebenden Raum prägen sie für die Sprecher und deren Kommunikation untereinander bis heute.

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Abstract

Seit etwa zehn Jahren werden verstärkte Versuche unternommen, die Etymologisierung der ältesten Orts- und Gewässernamen in Mitteleuropa mit den Methoden der modernen Indgermanistik und damit endlich zuverlässig zu analysieren. Der Mehrwert dieser Analysen gegenüber den mit veralteter Methodik vorgenommenen Analysen ist beträchtlich und führt immer wieder zu neuen Erkenntnissen sowohl hinsichtlich der Etymologien selbst (also bezüglich der morphologischen Struktur der Wörter) als auch hinsichtlich der Zuordnungen einzelner dieser Namen zu bestimmten Sprach(schicht)en. Eine methodisch saubere und ergebnisoffene Untersuchung kann aber auch als Resultat haben, dass vormals als sicher eingestufte Erklärungen oder Sprachzuordnungen aufgegeben werden müssen. Der Beitrag bietet für sechs mitteleuropäische Gewässernamen(sippen) und zwei Ortsnamen eine kurzgefasste Gegenüberstellung der traditionellen und der neuen Ergebnisse. Die veraltete Methodik, die letztlich den Stand der Indogermanistik der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jh.s widerspiegelt, sollte als nicht zielführend endlich aufgegeben werden.

Schlüsselwörter: alteuropäische Hydronyme, altkeltische Hydronyme, altgermanische Hydronyme, altgermanische Toponyme, historische Morphologie

Rita Póczos

*Parallele Erklärungsmöglichkeiten für alte Gewässernamen**

1. Alteuropäische Gewässernamen und das Karpatenbecken

Seit der Veröffentlichung der Theorie von Hans Krahe in den 50er Jahren werden die Namen der größten Wasserläufe zumindest von einem Teil der Namenforscher aus dem System der alteuropäischen Wurzeln abgeleitet. Die Tatsache, dass Krahes Theorie in der etymologischen Untersuchung des Gewässernamenschatzes des Karpatenbeckens bis vor kurzem kaum eine Rolle gespielt hat, ist vor allem auf wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Gründe zurückzuführen: Obwohl die Namenforschung seit jeher eine wichtige Disziplin der ungarischen Sprachwissenschaft darstellt, hat sie sich jahrzehntelang von den europäischen Forschungsergebnissen isoliert entwickelt. Über die Theorie der alteuropäischen Gewässernamen und die Kritiken daran bzw. über die daraus erwachsenen Diskussionen konnten sich ungarische Namenforscher nur aus einigen Schriften von Lajos Kiss (1969, 1970) informieren, die Theorie selbst fand in der ungarischen Namenforschung auch später keine Resonanz. Die internationalen Namenforscher sammeln dabei Untersuchungsmaterial auch vom Gebiet des Karpatenbeckens, insbesondere vom Rande dieses Gebietes, über dessen Namenschatz unter anderem auch slavische Literatur verfügbar ist.

In Krahes Untersuchungen stellte es einen wichtigen Meilenstein dar, als er zwischen dem Namenschatz des Baltikums und der Nord-Adria-Region (zu der er auch das Gebiet des Karpatenbeckens zählte) eine Parallele gezogen hatte (1957). Jürgen Udolph interpretierte diese Region von dem Aspekt der alteuropäischen Hydronymie aus als eine typische Zwischenstation, die eine Brücke zwischen dem Balkan und Italien einerseits und Polen bzw. dem Baltikum andererseits bildet (1990: 337).

In der internationalen Fachliteratur werden vor allem folgende Namen vom ungarischen Gewässernamenschatz als Namen alteuropäischen Ursprungs bezeichnet: *Duna, Dráva, Száva* und *Zala* (Krahe 1964: 44–45, 49–50, 103; Udolph 1990: 103–107, 272–274; 2007; Anreiter 2001: 229–242, 251–257; Bichlmeier 2016; vgl. FNESz.) In der ungarischen Fachliteratur werden diese Namen fast ausschließlich in einigen Schriften von Lajos Kiss als alteuropäisch bezeichnet, in seinem etymologischen Wörterbuch und in mehreren anderen

* This work was carried out as part of the Research Group on Hungarian Language History and Toponomastics (University of Debrecen–Hungarian Academy of Sciences).

Studien werden sie eher als Namen vorslavischen Ursprungs oder Namen mit indoeuropäischen Wurzeln erwähnt. Neben den Etymologien von LAJOS KISS haben ZOLTÁN MÁDY (1962) und ich (PÓCZOS 2003, 2004) Gewässernamen präsentiert, die möglicherweise auch mit dem System der alteuropäischen Gewässernamen in Verbindung gebracht werden könnten.

In der ungarischen Fachliteratur werden folgende bedeutende Flussnamen (d. h. Namen der längsten und wasserreichsten Flüsse) des Karpatenbeckens meistens als Namen vorslavischen Ursprungs angesehen: *Duna, Tisza, Száva, Dráva, Maros, Körös, Mura, Vág, Szamos, Rába, Garam, Ipoly*. Von den Namen großer Gewässer werden nur der Gewässername *Kraszna* vom Slavischen und die Gewässernamen *Bodrog, Sajó* und *Berettyó* vom Ungarischen abgeleitet.

Bei den Namen kleinerer Gewässer der Region wurde (zumindest in der ungarischen Namenforschung) nicht einmal die Frage aufgeworfen, ob einige dieser Namen auch vorslavischen Ursprungs sein oder mit dem alteuropäischen Gewässernamenschatz in Verbindung stehen könnten. Der Grund dafür ist in den früher breit akzeptierten Theorien außerhalb der Namenforschung zu suchen.

2. Die Problematik der Kontinuität

Die Frage der epochenübergreifenden Kontinuität von Siedlungen und insbesondere von der Bevölkerung kann als ein besonders umstrittenes Thema der Geschichtsforschung des 20. Jahrhunderts angesehen werden. Ein erheblicher Teil der Historiker teilte nicht die Theorie der so genannten totalen Kontinuität, d. h. die Vorstellung über das Weiterleben der Bevölkerung der Römerzeit in Pannonien, das Überleben von kleineren ethnischen Gruppen wurde jedoch mit geographischen Beschränkungen von mehreren Forschern für möglich gehalten (vgl. KISS, A. 1966: 86–91).

Der Mangel an historischen Quellen (zumindest an Sachquellen) in der Untersuchung der späteren Bevölkerung der Awarenzeit nahm seit den 80er Jahren allmählich ab, als in mehreren Regionen des Karpatenbeckens erhebliche Fortschritte in der Forschung des 9. Jahrhunderts gemacht wurden und die Unmöglichkeit der früher als Axiom behandelten Theorie über das Aussterben immer überzeugender nachgewiesen werden konnte (SZŐKE, B. 1994).

In der Methodik der Auswertung von archäologischen Funden aus der Zeit der ungarischen Landnahme (895–896) und des Aufbaus des Staates (um 1000 herum) sind in den vergangenen Jahren grundlegende Änderungen eingetreten, die auch unsere Vorstellungen über die siedlungsgeschichtlichen Verhältnisse des 9–11 Jahrhunderts im Karpatenbecken wesentlich verändert haben. Neulich hat LÁSZLÓ RÉVÉSZ in Bezug auf mehrere Fragen archäologische Fakten als

Beweise vorgestellt, in denen bisher nur Lösungsansätze – vorwiegend aufgrund von sprachgeschichtlichen oder dialektologischen Argumenten – möglich waren, die sich meist als falsch erwiesen (z. B. die Problematik der Székler bzw. die bulgarisch-slavische Frage; RÉVÉSZ 2014: 92–97; 2015).

Die Frage der Kontinuität der Bevölkerung ist eng mit der Problematik der Kontinuität der Namen verbunden. In der Geschichte der ungarischen Ortsnamenforschung kann man hier eine ausgeglichene Entwicklungslinie bestimmen (es ist erwähnenswert, dass auch zu dieser Frage vor allem Historiker Beiträge geliefert haben): Bis zum Anfang der 80er Jahre wurde der Standpunkt, dass die Ungarn nach ihrer Ankunft im Karpatenbecken keine Bevölkerungsgruppen fanden, von denen sie hätten lebendiges Ortsnamenmaterial übernehmen können, allgemein akzeptiert. GYÖRGY GYÖRFFY behauptet zum Beispiel, dass die ungarische Landnahme eine „tabula rasa" geschaffen habe: Die Kontinuität der Ortsnamen sei unterbrochen, diese könne erst vom Zeitpunkt der ungarischen Landnahme an angenommen werden. Eine Ausnahme von dieser als allgemein angesehenen Tendenz bildeten nur die Namen von größeren Flüssen bzw. die Namen einiger allgemein bekannten Städte, die in der lateinischen Kirchensprache überliefert wurden (1972: 270, 295).

GYULA KRISTÓ, der zuerst die Theorie der „tabula rasa" teilte (1976, 1983), befürwortet ab den 80-er Jahren immer ausgeprägter das Überleben des Ortsnamenschatzes aus der Zeit vor der ungarischen Landnahme: Anfangs beschränkt er seine diesbezüglichen Annahmen auf die westliche Region des Karpatenbeckens, wobei er auch einige Burgnamen slavischen Ursprungs aus der Region östlich der Donau als solche Namen annimmt (z. B. *Csongrád, Nógrád, Zemplén*). Später erstreckt KRISTÓ die Möglichkeit der Kontinuität auf einen immer größeren Kreis von Namen: In seiner Darstellung der mittelalterlichen Verhältnisse von nichtungarischen Völkern im Karpatenbecken zählt er mehr als 250 Gewässernamen fremden Ursprungs auf, von denen er annimmt, dass „nicht wenige von ihnen wahrscheinlich nach dem 10. Jahrhundert entstanden, aber man kann mit Recht vermuten, dass […] viele Gewässernamen bereits im 9. Jahrhundert (oder noch früher) existierten" (2003: 28–30).

Natürlich ist dies vorerst nur eine Vermutung, bei drei kleineren ungarischen Gewässern haben wir jedoch sogar konkrete Hinweise auf das Weiterleben ihrer Namen: Die Namen *Ablánc, Torna* und *Vulka* vom westlichen Rand des Karpatenbeckens werden in der Quelle „Conversio" noch vor der ungarischen Landnahme, gegen 871 erwähnt (KRISTÓ 1995: 264, vgl. GYÖRFFY 1972: 295; KISS, L. 1997: 192–193).

Es stellt sich also die Frage, wie diejenigen (kleineren) Flussnamen zu bewerten sind, die uns erst aus der Zeit nach der Gründung des ungarischen

Staates bekannt sind und eine formale Ähnlichkeit mit einigen in den alteuropäischen Gewässernamenschatz eingestuften Gewässernamen außerhalb des Karpatenbeckens aufweisen. Im Folgenden werden drei Beispiele dargestellt, die aus der Sicht der Namenetymologie drei verschiedene Problemtypen darstellen. Der erste Gewässername, den ich anführen möchte, ist ein Name eines ca. 90 Km langen Flusses mit vielen verfügbaren Daten, der in der Fachliteratur seit langem von zweierlei Richtungen, auf Grund eines slavischen und eines vorslavischen Etymons interpretiert wird *(Sztrigy)*. Das zweite Beispiel bezieht sich auf einen Bachnamen *(Lupa)* mit insgesamt nur drei Daten und einer bisher ungeklärten Etymologie und im dritten Beispiel wird ein(e) Gewässername(ngruppe) dargestellt *(Alma, Almás),* der (die) im ungarischen Sprachraum sowohl in der Vergangenheit als auch heute oft vorkommt und eindeutig als Name ungarischen Ursprungs interpretiert wird. Die beiden letzteren Namen kommen zuerst in einer unserer ältesten Urkunden, im Stiftungsbrief des Bistums Pécs vor. Die Tatsache ist deshalb von großer Bedeutung, weil die erwähnte Urkunde eine von unseren vier ältesten Urkunden ist, die noch aus der Zeit des Königs Stephan I. (des Heiligen), d. h. von Anfang des 11. Jahrhunderts stammt – (auch wenn uns nur eine Abschrift erhalten geblieben ist). Wichtig ist diese Tatsache darüber hinaus auch deshalb, weil uns aus dem Zeitraum zwischen der ungarischen Landnahme und der Entstehung dieser Urkunde, mehr als hundert Jahre lang keine schriftlichen Quellen über den mit aller Wahrscheinlichkeit gerade im Wandel begriffenen Namensbestand des Karpatenbeckens verfügbar sind.

3. Beispiele

Sztrigy

Der erwähnte Wasserlauf im östlichen Gebiet des ungarischen Sprachraums ist ein Nebenfluss des Maros (dt.: Marosch), über den uns seit Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts Daten zur Verfügung stehen (1276: *Strig;* HA. 3: 45). Zum Ursprung des Gewässernamens stehen uns zwei verschiedene Theorien zur Verfügung und zu keiner sind bisher überzeugende Widerlegungen oder entscheidende Argumente erschienen. Ausgehend von den parallelen rumänischen und deutschen Formen *(Strei, Strell) lässt sich der Name* − unter Annahme, dass an der Stelle der heutigen *gy* ein *l* stand − auf ein slavisches Etymon zurückführen, und zwar auf den in den slavischen Sprachen auch heute existierenden Gattungsnamen *strèla* 'Geschoss, Schuss, Pfeil, Flussarm', dessen Ortsnamenderivate z. B. die folgenden sind: ukr. *Стрілка,* serb. *Strelec,* poln. *Strzelno,* aso. *Strehla* (MELICH 1925–1929: 160–163; FNESz.; vgl. ŠMILAUER 1970: 171). MELICH war der Meinung, dass der Name kaum aus der Zeit vor der ungarischen Landnahme stammen könnte und hielt es für unwahrschein-

lich, dass er mit dem früheren Namen des Wasserslaufs, d. h. mit den aus dem 2–3. Jahrhundert bekannten Formen *Sargatius ~ Sargatia* in Verbindung stehen könnte (a. a. O.).

Nach der zweiten Erklärung sei der Name jedoch von alten, vorslavischen Ursprungs, und auf Grund der zugrundeliegenden Wurzel **sreu̯ ~ *srou̯* 'fließt, strömt' ist dementsprechend eine Verwandtschaft mit dem Gewässernamen *Стрый* 'ein Nebenfluss des Dnisters' anzunehmen (FNESz.). Die Schwierigkeiten der Namenetymologie ergeben sich bei diesem Gewässernamen einerseits aus dem lautlichen Unterschied zwischen den Varianten in verschiedenen Sprachen *(l : gy),* andererseits aus den fehlenden Analogien aus dem Karpatenbecken bzw. möglicherweise außerhalb des Karpatenbeckens, mit denen diese Namensform erklärt werden könnte.

Lupa

Der Gewässername *Lupa* tritt sowohl zeitlich als auch räumlich sehr konzentriert auf: Er erscheint zum ersten Mal im Jahr 1009, dann 1061 im Stiftungsbrief von Zselicszentjakab (vielleicht in Verbindung mit demselben Denotat), ferner im Jahre 1055 im Stiftungsbrief der Tihanyer Abtei (*lupa,* hier jedoch mit einem anderen Denotat, DHA 1: 172, 495) – in Dokumenten also, die sich auf südtransdanubische Gebiete beziehen. Ein Gewässername dieser Form kann allerdings weder später noch in anderen Gebieten nachgewiesen werden. Diese Gewässernamen konnten bis vor kurzem nicht genau lokalisiert werden, alles, was wir über sie wissen, sind Hinweise auf Güter, denen sie angehörten bzw. deren Grenzen sie bildeten.

Es fehlt auch an einer akzeptablen Erklärung des Ursprungs dieser Namensform: Da die Erwähnung des Namens *Lupa* aus dem Jahr 1009 von Rudolf Szentgyörgyi (2012) in der Nähe der Ortschaft Lápafő lokalisiert wurde, wobei er das Weiterleben des Gewässernamens im Präfix dieses Namens vermutet hat, könnte dieser Name mit dem ungarischen Gattungsnamen *lápa (~ vápa)* 'Tal, Vertiefung, Grube, Tobel, sumpfige Stelle' (vgl. Bárth 2011: 187) in Verbindung gebracht werden. Diese Identifizierung ist jedoch aus der Sicht der historischen Phonetik ziemlich schwierig.

Bei der Namenetymologie bietet sich neben dem ungarischen auch ein slavisches Etymon (oder vielleicht eine entsprechende ungarische Lehnwortvariante in Form eines Gattungsnamens) an (vgl. Kristó 2000: 23; Hoffmann 2010: 93–94; Szentgyörgyi 2012): Der Name könnte eventuell als Derivat des slavischen Verbs *lupati* 'schlagen; schälen, spalten' interpretiert werden, wenn auch nicht in überzeugender Weise. Zwar gibt es im Namenbestand des fast gesamten slawischen Sprachgebietes Ortsnamen, die aus diesem Verb gebildet sind, handelt es sich bei ihnen meist um Siedlungsnamen, die im Zusammenhang mit

Abholzungen stehen (z.B. die srbkr. *Lupoglav,* slk. *Brezolupy,* elbsl. *Lupava, Lupow,* poln. *Łupiny* ON; SCHMILAUER 1970: 116); eine Verknüpfung mit den Gewässernamen von ähnlicher Formist zweifelhaft. ERNST EICHLER verbindet zum Beispiel den in der Umgebung von Oberlausitz erwähnten Ortsnamen *Luppa* mit dem aus dem obigen Verb abgeleiteten alten sorbischen bzw. polnischen Gattungsnamen *łupa* 'Schale, Rinde', er bringt jedoch den Namen des nahe gelegenen Flusses *Luppe* (1216: *Morluppa*) etymologisch nicht mit dem Ortsnamen in Zusammenhang, sondern vermutet hinter diesem Namen (in Anlehnung an Hans Walther) eine indogermanische Wurzel (EICHLER 1987: 57).

Eine ähnliche Meinung vertritt auch JÜRGEN UDOLPH: Er lehnt den allgemein akzeptierten slavischen Ursprung von polnischen Gewässernamen mit dem Anfang *Łup-* (über semantische Erwägungen hinaus) deshalb ab, weil nach seinen Daten in ganz Europa Gewässernamen mit ähnlichem Anfang auftauchen, die aufgrund der Theorie der alteuropäischen Hydronymie (KRAHE 1964) auf eine gemeinsame Wurzel zurückführbar sind: In unserem Fall könnte diese Wurzel die idg. **leup-, leub-, leubh-* 'abschälen, entrinden, abbrechen, beschädigen' sein (UDOLPH 1990: 156). Zur Untermauerung dieser Annahme sammelt UDOLPH zahlreiche Beispiele aus ganz Europa, einschließlich der Erwähnung des Namens *Lupa* aus dem Jahre 1009.

Der/die Gewässername(n) *Lupa* wurden folglich aus drei verschiedenen Richtungen interpretiert. Die Erklärung wird durch die spärlichen Daten bzw. infolge der fehlenden späteren Belege sowie der einfachen phonologischen Struktur CVCV, zu der sich Parallelen nicht nur im slawischen, sondern auch in anderen Gebieten des europäischen Sprachraums sehr leicht finden lassen.

Alma ~ Almás

Im Gegensatz zu dem nur unsicher interpretierbaren Namen *Lupa* ist die Ableitung der Gewässernamen *Alma ~ Almás ~ Almádi ~ Almás-patak* in der ungarischen Namenforschung recht eindeutig: Sie sind auf den Pflanzennamen *alma* 'Apfel' zurückzuführen.

Die Gewässernamen *Alma, Almás* usw. existieren seit Beginn der ungarischen Schriftlichkeit im Wesentlichen im gesamten Sprachraum, die frühesten Daten stammen aus dem Komitat Baranya: 1009/+1205–35//1404: *Almas,* +1093/+1205–35//1404: *Almady,* +?1183/1326/1363: *Alma* (HA. 1: 43); in den Komitaten Bihar, Kolozs, Doboka: 1200 k. *Almas* (HA. 1: 75, 2: 23, 3: 51); im Komitat Nógrád: 1295: *Almaspotaka* (HA. 4: 43); im Komitat Hunyad: 1302/1325: *Almas* (HA. 3: 45); im Komitat Bács: 1317: *Almasweug* (HA. 1: 39); und im Komitat Kraszna: 1341: *Almas* (HA. 3: 73).

Namen mit ähnlichen Formen kommen dabei in ganz Europa vor. KRAHE und die Vertreter seiner Theorie über die alteuropäische Hydronymie interpretieren diese Namen als eine Erweiterung der idg. Wurzel **el-/*ol-* 'fliessen, strömen' durch Hinzufügung des Suffixes *-m.* Der bekannteste dieser Namen ist der alte Name des bulgarischen Donaunebenflusses Lom *(Almos, Alma),* aber auch an vielen anderen Orten von Norwegen (1285: *Alme* > *Alm*) über Deutschland (1075: *Almana* > *Alme*) und Italien *(Almo)* bis nach Spanien *(Almar)* wurden Derivate vermutet (KRAHE 1964: 35–40).

Mangels an Quellen will ich natürlich die Namen *Alma, Almás,* die über eine zuverlässige ungarische Etymologie und mehrere ungarische morphologische Varianten verfügen, auf keinen Fall mit der vorslavischen Namenschicht verbinden. Aber bei Bestehen einer solchen Vorform eines der Gewässernamen *Almás* und einer Bevölkerung in deren Umgebung, die diese Form an die Ungarn eventuell weitergeben konnte, wäre die Kontinuität dieses Namens durch die einfache Eingliederung in das System der ungarischen Gewässernamen − im Wesentlichen durch eine volksetymologische Änderung, d. h. eine sekundäre Semantisierung − wesentlich leichter zu begründen.

Ebenso kann ich mir eine Entwicklungslinie des Namens *Lupa* vorstellen, wo im ungarischen Namengebrauch ein früherer Gewässername dem ungarischen Wort *lápa* angeglichen wird; in diesem Fall braucht nicht einmal die Lautveränderung *u* > *á* unbedingt mit lautgeschichtlichen Prozessen erklärt zu werden. Ein ähnlicher Prozess ist auch im Falle von *Sztrigy* denkbar, bei dem das Überleben eines möglicherweise vorslavschen Gewässernamens durch einen Gewässernamen ähnlicher Form aus dem Gewässernamenschatz der daneben angesiedelten Slaven ermöglicht wurde.

Beweise gibt es natürlich für keine dieser Theorien, ich möchte auf eine solche Interpretation der Namen nur als auf eine theoretische Möglichkeit hinweisen. Es ist auch denkbar, dass es in allen Fällen um rein zufällige formale Übereinstimmungen handelt (die ungarischen Namen *Almás* können beispielsweise kaum alle auf altertümliche Namensformen zurückgeführt werden) und die Erbringung von wissenschaftlichen Nachweisen zur Untermauerung der Kontinuität dieser Namen, d. h. eine Entdeckung von früheren schriftlichen Quellen sind kaum zu erwarten.

4. Methodologische Aspekte und Ausblick

Es stellt sich die Frage, ob es uns methodologische Anhaltspunkte zur Verfügung stehen, mit denen wir bestimmen könnten, welche Namen tatsächlich auf alte Wurzeln zurückführbar sind. Ich meine, aufgrund unserer gegenwärtigen Kenntnisse fehlen uns noch solche Anhaltspunkte. Was wir momentan tun können, ist bei den Namenetymologien (bzw. Neubewertungen von Namen) anzu-

merken, wenn nachgewiesen werden kann, dass ein Gewässername, der seiner Form nach mit anderen Gewässernamen etymologisch verwandt sein mag, auch in anderen Teilen Europas auftaucht.

Unsere Möglichkeiten können sich jedoch in Zukunft – gerade wegen der anfangs erwähnten vielversprechenden Ergebnisse der historischen Wissenschaften – erweitern: der frühzeitliche Ursprung eines Gewässernamens kann teilweise auch durch externe, d. h. außersprachliche und interne, d. h. sprachliche Fakten untermauert werden. Im ersteren Bereich sind die Fortschritte spektakulär: die Forschungen der letzten Jahrzehnte haben hinsichtlich des gesamten Karpatenbeckens gezeigt, dass wir im Gegensatz zu früheren Meinungen an einigen Orten wohl mit überlebenden Bevölkerungen rechnen können. Für je mehr konkrete Gebiete sich diese Annahme bestätigen lässt, bei desto mehr Gewässernamen stellt sich die Frage nach der Möglichkeit der Kontinuität.

Ich bin der Meinung, dass sich die größten Schwierigkeiten im Bereich der Namenetymologien auf der sprachlichen Seite ergeben: Um die einzelnen Namensformen mit alteuropäischen bzw. indoeuropäischen Wurzeln miteinander überzeugend in Verbindung bringen zu können, bedarf es der Forschungen von Indogermanisten. Doch an den zeitgenössischen ungarischen namensgeschichtlichen Untersuchungen nehmen keine Indogermanisten teil. Alles was wir über die als altertümlich angesehenen Gewässernamen schreiben können, ist zum Teil eine Wiederholung von Zusammenfassungen von Lajos Kiss. Außerdem beruhen solche Studien zum Teil auf Ergebnissen von ausländischen – unter anderem auch in der Indogermanistik gewandten – Namenforschern, die ihre Aufmerksamkeit unter anderem auch auf das ungarische Namenmaterial (vor allem auf manche Gewässernamen) lenken. Da ich in der ungarischen Linguistenausbildung derzeit keine Möglichkeit sehe, eine neue Generation von Indogermanisten für solche Forschungen zu gewinnen, können Fortschritte in diesem Bereich nur von gemeinsamen internationalen Projekten erwartet werden.

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Abstract

In der Etymologie von Gewässernamen zeigt sich immer wieder das Problem, dass Namen von Flüssen aus mehreren Sprachen erklärbar sind. Das betrifft die Namen von größeren, bedeutenderen Flüssen weniger, da sie sich aus Einzelsprachen meistens gar nicht erklären lassen (in Ungarn ist die Theorie von Krahe weniger üblich; die ältesten Gewässernamen werden zu einer allgemeineren vorslavischen, indoeuropäischen Schicht gerechnet). Bei den Namen von mittelgroßen und kleineren Gewässern des Karpatenbeckens ist es hingegen oft der Fall, dass sie aus dem Ungarischen, Slavischen und aus dem Alteuropäischen – wenigstens aufgrund ihrer Lautgestalt – genauso gut zu erklären sind. Die Analyse von einzelnen konkreten Gewässernamen führt manchmal zu anderen Ergebnissen als die Folgerungen, die man aus einer Gruppe von lautlich ähnlichen Namen ziehen kann. In dem Beitrag werden in erster Linie Gewässernamen aus dem altungarischen Namenschatz vorgestellt.

Schlüsselwörter: Gewässernamen, Etymologie, Alteuropäisch, Namenschichten

Eila Williamson

Names of Salmon Pools in Berwickshire

1. Introduction

The River Tweed at around 98 miles in length is the second longest river in Scotland. From its source, the first 75 miles lie in Scotland, the next 19 miles forming the border between Scotland and England, while the final 4 miles to the North Sea are completely in England. It is divided into four main sections: Upper Tweed, Middle Tweed, Lower Tweed and Bottom Tweed.[1]

The focus of this paper is on the names of salmon pools in those parts of the river (in Lower Tweed and Bottom Tweed) which fall into the historical county of Berwickshire in Scotland, the place-names of which are being surveyed for the *Recovering the Earliest English Language in Scotland: Evidence from Place-Names* project, based at the University of Glasgow and funded for three years (2016–2018) by the Leverhulme Trust.[2] While the project is surveying the major names for all 32 parishes in Berwickshire, more detailed survey is being undertaken for the four Tweedside parishes of Eccles, Coldstream, Ladykirk and Hutton which lie along the Anglo-Scottish border where the Tweed forms the boundary, plus the two neighbouring parishes of Foulden and Mordington. The names under discussion in this paper are from the first three of these parishes – Eccles, Coldstream and Ladykirk – plus the more westerly parish of Mertoun, which is bounded on its south by the River Tweed.

2. The River Tweed and fishing

The River Tweed is famous as a salmon river, and fishing has taken place for hundreds of years along its waters (see e.g. SCOTT 1888: 425–432, WEDDELL 1855, DODDS 1938). Nowadays, the fishing is by rod and line, apart from two netting stations, one of which operates as a social enterprise at Gardo in England. The other is at Paxton in Berwickshire, where visitors can watch the fishermen catch and release fish for scientific purposes. The fishermen demonstrate the practice of net and coble fishing, which involves a boat being rowed round in a semi-circle and the net being drawn through the water. A rope, attached to one end of the net, is held and drawn by a fisherman on the bank. Once the boat has completed its circular movement, the net is pulled in from both ends,

[1] A map showing the course of the river and its four main divisions can be found at http://www.fishpal.com/Scotland/Tweed/Map.asp?dom=Tweed (last accessed 28 November 2017).

[2] For more information about the project, see www.gla.ac.uk/reels. I am grateful to Prof. Carole Hough and Dr Simon Taylor for their advice and for commenting on a draft of this paper.

catching any fish within (see Fig. 1).[3] The Tweed Acts of 1857 (amended in 1859) abolished other forms of fishing – by bag, stake and fixed nets – and established a close time from 15 September to 14 February when no fishing was to be allowed, as well as banning fishing from 6pm on a Saturday until 6am on a Monday (DOUGLAS 1863–1868, DODDS 1938: 316). Currently the open season is from 1 February until 30 November and a system of catch and release operates between 1 February and 30 June, to help preserve salmon stocks.[4]



Figure 1: Net and coble fishing at Paxton (Photo: Eila Williamson)

As with other salmon rivers in Scotland, specific flies are used in the River Tweed for catching fish by rod and line fishing. Their colours and sizes vary to accommodate different water conditions. They each have their own names. The Tweed flies include the *Garry Dog,* also known as *Yellow Dog,* the *Garry, Minister's Dog,* and *Golden Dog,* which was first used in the 1920s. It takes its name from Garry, a dog belonging to its inventor, a minister. Garry's hair was used for the wing (ASHLEY-COOPER 1987: 205, STEWART 1962: 22). Another

[3] This system of fishing (also known as wear shot netting) is described in more detail in DODDS 1938: 316.

[4] For information about the management of the River Tweed, past and present, see SHEAIL (1998) and the websites of the *River Tweed Commission* and *The Tweed Foundation*.

renowned Tweed fly is *Jock Scott,* invented in the mid-19th century and named after its inventor (Ashley-Cooper 1987: 205–206, Stewart 1962: 104).[5]

In addition to the four main sections of the River Tweed mentioned above, further division is into beats and pools.[6] Beats can be single or double bank. Each of these contains a number of named pools, some of which are signposted on the bank; for example, the Cauld Hole pool at Walkerburn, further upstream from the study area reviewed here.

3. Sources

The main sources used for this study are the *Ordnance Survey* 6 inch and 25 inch 1st edition maps for the parishes of Mertoun, Eccles, Coldstream and Ladykirk, which were compiled in the late 1850s and early 1860s, and the corresponding *Ordnance Survey Name Books* which record the surveyors' notes in advance of the maps being published. These give information about the orthography of names according to local informants and can at times provide comments on the meanings of names (Williamson 2015). In addition, two other main sources have been consulted: another contemporary source, a *Descriptive List of all the Salmon Rod-Casts in the Tweed, including the Names of Proprietors,* compiled by John Younger in 1864 (Younger 1864: 188–213), and a modern illustrated *Fisherman's Map of Salmon Pools on the River Tweed,* drawn by Nigel Houldsworth in 2001, which contains some notes about particular pools. While the 2001 map lists salmon 'pools', the corresponding term in the mid-19th-century sources is salmon 'casts'.

In his mid-19th-century book *The Border Angler,* James Bertram makes reference to an earlier work by Thomas Stoddart, a famous angler, and defines a salmon cast as "every separate spot where salmon usually lie having a separate and often quaint name, derived either from rock, stone, or other feature in it, or from some angling event which has occurred at it" (Bertram 1858: 80). He goes on to say that, "These names, however, would only occupy space without being of any benefit to the reader; for, as we have fully explained, salmon-fishing is not open to the public, and those who have the right have always a local keeper to point out the casts and tell their names" (Bertram 1858: 80). Although such a statement is quite frustrating for the purposes of onomastic analysis, it emphasises the local knowledge of the river that those working on it had and still have, and serves as a reminder that the names have a functional use.

[5] The names of fishing flies is a subject in its own right.

[6] Lists of beats and some modern-day pool names can be found online on the *Tweedbeats* and *FishPal* websites.

4. Data

Table 1 below lists the names in the corpus in alphabetical order. There are 83 names altogether, of which 33 are for Mertoun (MER) parish, 22 for Eccles (ECC) parish, 24 for Coldstream (CSM) parish, and 4 for Ladykirk (LKK) parish. This is the order of the parishes from west to east.

Salmon pool name	Parish	Name Book reference
Back of the Wall	CSM	OS1/5/12/79
Backbrae Stream	MER	OS1/5/33/53
Battery Stream	MER	OS1/5/33/33
Bell Stones	ECC	OS1/5/17/108
Birch-haugh Pool	MER	OS1/5/33/51
Birgham Dub	ECC	OS1/5/17/109
Birkhaugh Stream	MER	OS1/5/33/35
Black Hole	LKK	OS1/5/26/17
Black Horse	CSM	OS1/5/12/19
Black Mark	CSM	OS1/5/12/89
Bloody Breeks	ECC	OS1/5/17/112
Bridge Stream	MER	OS1/5/33/31
Broomend Stream	MER	OS1/5/33/53
Burnfoot Pool	MER	OS1/5/33/51
Caldron Pool	ECC	OS1/5/17/112
Carseheugh Stream	MER	OS1/5/33/63
Caul Pool	MER	OS1/5/33/54
Cauld Pool	MER	OS1/5/33/50
Cauld Slap	CSM	OS1/5/12/80
Cauld Stream	MER	OS1/5/33/50
Chapel Stream	CSM	OS1/5/12/36
Cockburns Pool	MER	OS1/5/33/23
Collarhaugh Stream	MER	OS1/5/33/57
Colour Heugh	CSM	OS1/5/12/35
Cornhill Stream	CSM	OS1/5/12/79
Craig Pool	MER	OS1/5/33/69
Cromwell Pool	MER	OS1/5/33/15
Crooksbul	CSM	OS1/5/12/53
Crow	CSM	OS1/5/12/53
Cuddies Hole	ECC	OS1/5/17/110
Cuddie's Hole	CSM	OS1/5/12/60
Deddo Mouth	CSM	OS1/5/12/79
Dreeping Heugh	CSM	OS1/5/12/35
Flumey	ECC	OS1/5/17/111
Frockham	LKK	OS1/5/26/18
Gateheugh Stream	MER	OS1/5/33/22
Grot Heugh	CSM	OS1/5/12/20
Gullet Stream	MER	OS1/5/33/52
Harecraig Stream	MER	OS1/5/33/51

Salmon pool name	Parish	Name Book reference
Haugh Pool	MER	OS1/5/33/35
Holy Wiel	MER	OS1/5/33/23
Holywell	LKK	OS1/5/26/17
Island Side	CSM	OS1/5/12/59
Kirk End	ECC	OS1/5/17/111
Kirkback Pool	MER	OS1/5/33/70
Kitchen Craigs	ECC	OS1/5/17/111
Ladys Hole	CSM	OS1/5/12/89
Little Stream	ECC	OS1/5/17/108
Long Craig	ECC	OS1/5/17/108
Long Stream	CSM	OS1/5/12/80
Long Stream	MER	OS1/5/33/35
Mungy Pool	MER	OS1/5/33/34
Nether Stream	ECC	OS1/5/17/107
Piky	ECC	OS1/5/17/107
Ramp Heugh	MER	OS1/5/33/23
Rough Stones	CSM	OS1/5/12/54
Round Knowe	ECC	OS1/5/17/105
Sands Shiel	LKK	OS1/5/26/17
Scart Heugh	CSM	OS1/5/12/37
Shaw's Mere	ECC	OS1/5/17/105
Ship End	ECC	OS1/5/17/110
Snipe	ECC	OS1/5/17/105
Stilefoot Pool	MER	OS1/5/33/56
The Bulwark	CSM	OS1/5/12/90
The Dub	MER	OS1/5/33/63
The Long Stream	MER	OS1/5/33/65
The Pot	CSM	OS1/5/12/36
The Pot Pool	MER	OS1/5/33/70
The Pot Stream	MER	OS1/5/33/53
The Temple	CSM	OS1/5/12/89
The Webs	MER	OS1/5/33/70
Three Brethren	ECC	OS1/5/17/107
Three Stones	ECC	OS1/5/17/112
Throat Stream	MER	OS1/5/33/34
Toad Hole	MER	OS1/5/33/34
Toll Stream	ECC	OS1/5/17/109
Under Ship End	ECC	OS1/5/17/110
Wark Dub	CSM	OS1/5/12/59
Wellington	CSM	OS1/5/12/36
Wheel	ECC	OS1/5/17/109
White Addy	ECC	OS1/5/17/105
White Cat	CSM	OS1/5/12/19
Willowbush Stream	MER	OS1/5/33/57

Table 1: Names of salmon pools in the corpus

5. Analysis of names by elements

How can these names be analysed? In this paper an attempt has been made to group them according to their elements in several ways. A name can be classified in more than one category, of course. First, there are elements referring to the river or a feature in it – for instance, a *stream,* a term applied to a current of water, and a *pool,* denoting a pool in a river. For a number of the *pool* names, the Ordnance Survey Name Books specify that it is 'a deep pool'. Examples include *Haugh Pool* (OS1/5/33/35) and *Burnfoot Pool* (OS1/5/33/51), both in Mertoun parish. However, according to the Ordnance Survey Name Book for the same parish, the *pool* element can also be applied to fishing streams, as in the cases of *Cromwell Pool* (OS1/5/33/15) and *Cockburns Pool* (OS1/5/33/23). *Hole, weil* and *dub* are also terms for pools, particularly deep pools. *Holy Wiel* was a fishing stream, which in the mid-19th century was "believed to be the place where the monks belonging to St Cuthbert's chapel used to bathe" (OS1/5/33/23). *Weil* can mean 'a whirlpool' too, while *eddy* is a word meaning 'a small whirlpool'. The pool names *Wheel* and *White Addy* contain variants of these elements respectively.

Caul or *cauld* can signify that the pool is beside a caul; that is a weir or dam on a river used to divert water for a mill. *Caul Pool* is above the weir at Mertoun Mill, for example. In the case of *Cauld Slap,* the *slap* refers to a gap in the weir.[7] *Cromwell* probably contains the Old English (OE) element *crumb* 'crooked' (SMITH 1956: I, 116, MAXWELL 1909: 117–118), signifying a bend in the river. With reference to Bertram's quotation cited above, it is unsurprising to find names referring to stones or rocks in the river. *Rough Stones* is described as, "A Salmon Cast on the south side of Tweed, deriving th<e> Name from a few boulders t<hat> are visiable [*sic*] when the water is low" (OS1/5/12/54). The name *Kitchen Craigs* is clearly positioned beside rocks in the Ordnance Survey 25 inch 1st edition map for Eccles, which was published in 1862.[8]

A second set of elements are those which refer to the river-bank area, including topographical features such as *haugh,* 'level ground on the bank of a river, river-meadow land' and *heugh,* 'precipice, crag or cliff', which is quite a common element in place-names more generally in Berwickshire. *Gateheugh Stream* takes its name from a cliff on its left bank which has a road along its brow;

[7] Cf. the name *The Slap* in Kelso parish, Roxburghshire. In the Ordnance Survey Name Book for Kelso parish, this is described as, "This term is usually applied to an opening in a Caul admitting the fish to pass up the river and refers here to a narrow Course in the Centre of the Tweed, formed by two breakwaters or Stone piers which project from both sides of the river, opposite the shiel, near the Eastern Extremity of Tweedbank plantation" (OS1/29/22/55).

[8] This can be found at NT795386 on Berwickshire sheet XXVIII.15 (Eccles), available online at maps.nls.uk.

gate being a Scots word for 'road' (MAXWELL 1909: 118). Flora and fauna are represented. In the name *Ramp Heugh, ramp* is a type of grass. *Birkhaugh Stream,* as well as referring to a haugh, also refers to vegetation, in the form of birch trees. Likewise, *Willowbush Stream* indicates the presence of the willow plant. In Coldstream parish, *Scartheugh* contains the element *scart,* which is likely to refer to the bird, the cormorant. Indeed, citing examples of cormorants being found along the Tweed in Hutton and Ladykirk parishes, GEORGE MUIRHEAD states that, "It has apparently given its name to Scart Heugh on the Tweed, near the Old Camp at Milne Graden" (1895: 32). The name can be compared with *Scart Rock,* a favourite resort of the common cormorant near Siccar Point, off the Berwickshire coast (MUIRHEAD 1895: 30).

In Eccles parish, one of the cast names is *Snipe.* This may refer to the bird of that name. The snipe is a wetland bird and is found in Berwickshire, but in the 19th century was recorded more in the higher moorland lands (MUIRHEAD 1895: 240–243). An alternative suggestion for the name may be that its origin lies in OE **snæp* 'a boggy piece of land' (SMITH 1956: II, 132). Based on evidence from Field and Smith, SCOTT states that "it is clear that the majority of English names from OE **snæp* have developed modern forms in which the element is represented as either *snap* or *snape,* although *snipe* is also found" (SCOTT 2003: 344).

Moving further from the river and river-bank, pool names refer to man-made structures in the vicinity. A portion of the Tweed named *Bridge Stream* in Mertoun parish takes its name from its proximity to Dryburgh Suspension Bridge. Originally designed in 1817, this was the first chain bridge in Britain. It underwent several reconstructions after being blown down in storms (STRANG 1994: 171, CRUFT et al. 2006: 223); at the time of the Ordnance Survey Name Books it was described as being in ruins after being blown down in 1840, but was reconstructed in 1872 (OS1/5/33/32, OS1/29/28/252; CRUFT et al. 2006: 223). The 1864 list of salmon casts has the name *Wire-bridge Pool,* more descriptive of the bridge (YOUNGER 1864: 201). Another example is that of *The Temple,* a celebrated fishing pool on the Tweed. It takes its name from an octagonal Doric Temple on the Lees estate in Coldstream parish. This was built in the late 18th century (CRUFT et al. 2006: 490).

The next set of categories relates to appearance, including the use of metaphors. This set of categories includes size, colour, shape, texture and body parts. Size is particularly connected with the element *stream* and in the corpus there are three examples of the name *Long Stream* (one of which is prefixed with the definite article), plus one *Little Stream.* Colour terms feature in six of the names and these are restricted to three colours; grey, black and white. In the name *Harecraig Stream, Harecraig* is composed of Scots *hare* 'grey' and Scots *craig*

'rock'. *Hare Craig* is the name of the craig or rock on the west bank of the river beside this pool. Half of the colour names are black – *Black Horse, Black Mark, Black Hole* – and either indicate deepness of the water or refer to rocks in the pools. As for the white names: *White Cat* has the name *White Cat Rock* in the 1864 list (YOUNGER 1864: 211) and on the modern map appears as *The Cat* (HOULDSWORTH 2001). This suggests that the colour term refers to a rock. In the case of *White Addy,* white is more likely to relate to the colour of the water produced by its movement in this whirlpool.

Words for containers associated with holding liquid give some impression of the shape of a pool, or in the case of *cauldron* can also refer to the 'agitation of a body of water' (HAMILTON et al. 2016: 39). *Cuddies Hole* may contain the Scots word *cuddie,* which can mean 'a tub'. According to the Ordnance Survey Name Book for Eccles parish, the name *Ship End* is "derived from a breakwater faced with wood, and said to resemble the stern of a ship" (OS1/5/17/110). Texture is represented by the name *Rough Stones.* Elements referring to body parts are a common feature in place-names and the salmon pool names are no exception. One example of this is *Deddo Mouth* (a pool at the mouth of Duddo Burn where it joins the Tweed).

Deddo Mouth is also an example of an existing name used as an element in salmon pool names on the Tweed. Further categories include elements denoting distance, boundaries and religion and those commemorating people or events, as well as a miscellaneous category. Distance is represented by *Nether Stream* while examples of boundaries include *Shaw's Mere* and *Black Mark.* Names associated with religion include *Holy Weil, Holywell* and *Kirkback Pool,* the last of these pools being situated adjacent to Maxton Church. *Wellington,* the name of a pool in Coldstream parish, is likely to commemorate the Duke of Wellington. The regiment the Coldstream Guards, which originated in Coldstream, took part at the battle of Waterloo and earlier, in 1809, served in a campaign under Wellington in Portugal (C&DLHS 2010: 58).

In this corpus, the name *Dreeping Heugh* is an example of another characteristic or miscellaneous category. The description in the Ordnance Survey Name Book for *Dreeping Heugh* is "A rocky precipice, and Salmon Cast, situated on the west side of Tweed. The rocks are perpendicular from which water is oozing, hence the Name" (OS1/5/12/35).

The range of categories and the numbers of elements belonging to each are shown in Fig. 2.[9] As can be seen, these categories are more wide-ranging than what was suggested by Bertram in the mid-19th century (see above).

[9] Note that some of the individual categories described above (such as size and distance) have been combined for the purposes of the graph in Figure 2, which is to be considered indicative rather than absolute.

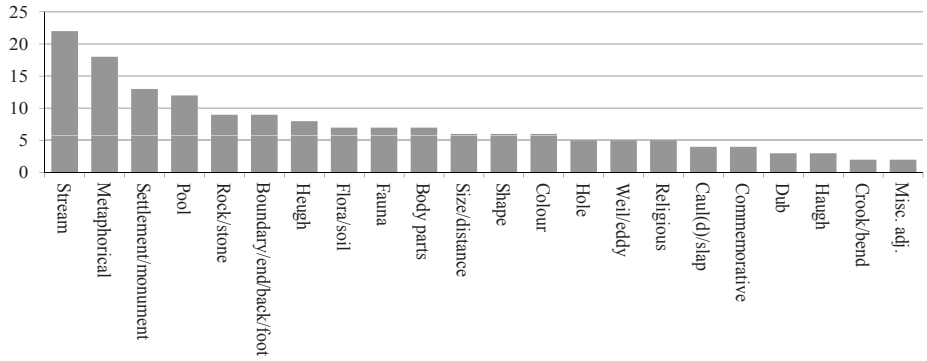


Figure 2: Categories of elements in salmon pool names

But what about evidence for angling events? This particular corpus contains little evidence for this. One name *Bloody Breeks* in Eccles parish, though, may be an example of an event name. *Breeks* is a Scots word for trousers. The modern salmon pools map of 2001 shows a pool at Mertoun called *Bleedies* and notes that, "The Bleedies at Mertoun is so named because the men netted such large quantities of fish they were always covered in blood" (HOULDSWORTH 2001). Perhaps a similar story lies behind the *Bloody Breeks* name.

6. Longevity of salmon pool names and accuracy of the corpus

In cases where names refer to built structures like *Bridge Pool* and *Temple Pool,* a *terminus post quem* for the coining of the name can be advanced – the *Bridge Pool* name must date to after 1817 while the *Temple Pool* name can be no older than the late 18th century. *Hotel Pool* and *Hotel Steps* are named on the modern fishing map from 2001, but not in the 19th-century sources. This is because both pool names refer to the Dryburgh Abbey Hotel, a former mansion house which was converted into a hotel in c. 1931 (CRUFT et al. 2006: 223–224).

Just as in the case of the name *White Cat* noted above, the names of other salmon pools vary over time and between the main sources used for this study. For example, while the *Craig Pool* name has continued to 2001 (HOULDSWORTH 2001), in the 1864 list it was known as *Crago'er* (YOUNGER 1864: 203), referring to the nearby house *Craigover* rather than the *craig* after which the house was named (OS1/29/27/10). The anglicised *Crow* of the Ordnance Survey 1st edition sources takes the Scots form *craw* in the 1864 and 2001 sources, in which the name appears as *Craw Hole* and *The Craw* respectively (YOUNGER 1864: 2010, HOULDSWORTH 2001). *Dreeping Heugh* is not named on the 1864 list, but is shown on HOULDSWORTH's 2001 map. The *Under Ship End* name

has disappeared in modern times, but there is a *Long Ship End* on the 1864 list, for which an alternative name is also given; that is, the *Prison* (YOUNGER 1864: 208).

From the Ordnance Survey Name Books, it is evident that alternative names could be used for the same salmon casts. Casts could be shared between two parishes and are therefore listed in two different Name Books. The *Haugh Pool* in Mertoun parish is also recorded in the Name Book for St Boswells parish in the neighbouring county of Roxburghshire. While three of the informants give the name as *Haugh Pool,* it is noteworthy that another three – Robert Slater, 'Fisherman St Boswells', John Purdie, 'Fisherman Melrose', and David Johnstone, 'Fisherman Dryburgh' (therefore all fishermen in the locality, who would be using such names on a regular basis) – give the name as *Haugh Side* (OS1/29/38/12).

There is also an issue about missing names. One example, again from the St Boswells parish Name Book, is *Kipperhall.* This is described as, 'This name applies to a fishing Cast in the "River Tweed" It is Situated between "Backbrae Stream" and "The Pot Stream"' (OS1/29/38/11). On the Ordnance Survey 6 inch 1st edition map for Mertoun parish, which was surveyed in 1858 and published in 1862, there is no name *Kipperhall.* The Ordnance Survey map for St Boswells was published in 1863, having been surveyed in 1859 and therefore a later survey than that of Mertoun. Beneath the entry for *Kipperhall* in the Name Book there is a note which states, "Not inserted on Plan, to agree with the Published Plan of Merton". There are a few other similar examples from the parishes of St Boswell and Maxton in relation to the published plan of Mertoun parish.[10]

This study has concentrated on mid-19th-century names and has traced a number of them forward in time to the 21st century. How far back can the names from the corpus be taken? VICTOR WATTS' work on medieval fisheries on the Tweed and in rivers in northern England shows similarities with some of the names mentioned above, such as usage of the elements OE *strēam,* OE *pōl* and OE *wǣl, wēl,* plus early modern English *hole* (WATTS 1983, 1986, 1988, 1997). Interestingly, he cites a 19th-century fishery name *Cromwell* on the River Tyne, which has an earlier twelfth-century form *Crumwell'*, 'well (i.e. a deep place) in the river bend', and this hints at *Cromwell* in the Berwickshire corpus being an older name (WATTS 1983: 37). Not mentioned by WATTS is *Monksford Pool* below Bemersyde in Mertoun parish, which appears as a pool name on the 2001 fishing map (HOULDSWORTH). *Monk's Ford* is the name of a ford across the river in the Ordnance Survey sources and hence has not been included in

[10] These include *Bridge Stream* (OS1/29/38/12) and *Island Stream* (OS1/29/38/30) in St Boswells parish, Roxburghshire, and *Tower Stream* (OS1/29/27/19) in Maxton parish, Roxburghshire.

the corpus (see Table 1). The phrase *usque ad Munkeford de Twede* ('as far as Monk's Ford on Tweed') can be found in the boundary clause of a Dryburgh Abbey charter dating to around 1240 (DRYBURGH LIBER no. 134).

Many of the examples of Tweed names WATTS cites are from Bottom Tweed and fall into what is now the English county of Northumberland, rather than Berwickshire or other Scottish counties. Berwick itself lay in the Scottish kingdom for much of the middle ages, though, until 1482 when it finally became an English town (having changed hands between the two kingdoms numerous times as a result of periods of warfare). Scottish monasteries held property within it and fishing rights in what is now Northumberland.[11] It should not be surprising therefore to find similarities of terminology in medieval records relating to fishing on both sides of the Tweed where it forms the national border today. This is a subject that deserves further exploration.

When examining the topic of longevity of names and the accuracy of the corpus, though, one important point that should be made is that because the river is constantly changing, it is not a straightforward process to compare lists of salmon pool names and maps from different periods. Pools disappear and new ones form. Over time the course of rivers can change quite considerably. When JOHN YOUNGER compiled his list of salmon casts in 1864, he consulted their proprietors and at the start of his list he states, "With very few exceptions, these casts have been corrected by the proprietors themselves; and, barring the changes that floods may have caused since the corrections were made, they will be found correct" (1864: 188). The *Tillmouth Fishing* website currently describes one of its pools *Dripping Rock* as, "a pool which changes each year as a result of gravel shifting from the stretch of river above", and *Monk's Stand* as, "A new pool is now forming on the main channel opposite the Border Maid in which salmon and sea trout are lying and taking the fly.".[12]

7. Conclusion

Hydronyms are often regarded as being amongst the oldest toponyms. While that may be true for large rivers such as the Tweed and its tributaries, including the Leader and Teviot, the same cannot be said for all water features. By concentrating on salmon pool names along specific sections of Scotland's second longest river, this study of microtoponyms[13] has raised questions not

[11] An outline history of medieval and early modern Tweed fisheries can be found in SCOTT 1888: 425–432. See also HOFFMANN 2015 for further detail on salmon fishing in late medieval Scotland.

[12] Website last accessed 28 November 2017.

[13] Names referring to small objects, such as pools or fields, often applied locally.

only about the place-name elements that they contain, but also about their longevity and often transient nature.

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OS1/5/17 = Ordnance Survey Name Book for Eccles Parish, Berwickshire.

OS1/5/26 = Ordnance Survey Name Book for Ladykirk Parish, Berwickshire.

OS1/5/33 = Ordnance Survey Name Book for Mertoun Parish, Berwickshire.

OS1/29/22 = Ordnance Survey Name Book for Kelso parish, Roxburghshire.

OS1/29/27 = Ordnance Survey Name Book for Maxton Parish, Roxburghshire.

OS1/29/38 = Ordnance Survey Name Book for St Boswells Parish, Roxburghshire.

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Tillmouth Fishing http://www.tillmouthfishing.co.uk/
Tweedbeats https://www.tweedbeats.com/

Abstract

In the study of Scottish and English hydronyms, attention has tended to focus on the names of rivers, lochs, lakes and smaller watercourses, like streams and burns. This paper concentrates on the names of salmon pools, water features which have been understudied in comparison, with a few notable exceptions (e.g. a series of articles on medieval fisheries by Victor Watts published between 1982 and 1997). Drawing on data from mid-19th-century Ordnance Survey sources, with reference to an 1864 list of salmon casts and a modern fisherman's map, the corpus of salmon pool names under review here is located in four parishes (Mertoun, Eccles, Coldstream and Ladykirk) in the historical county of Berwickshire in Scotland. The southern boundaries of all four parishes are delineated by the River Tweed, a renowned salmon-fishing river. After presenting the salmon pool names, the paper suggests ways in which these microtoponyms and their elements may be categorised. It finishes by raising issues that need to be considered when determining the longevity of this type of name and the accuracy of such a corpus.

Keywords: Berwickshire, hydronyms, microtoponyms, River Tweed, salmon fishing, salmon pools, Scotland

Valéria Tóth

*Systemic Relations between Anthroponyms and Toponyms in Old Hungarian**

1. The relationships between anthroponyms and toponyms can be discussed from either the point of view of anthroponyms, or from that of toponyms. Keeping this duality in mind, while also considering the importance of picking issues related to the peculiarities of the Hungarian anthroponym and toponym system that presumably either have general (universal) onomatosystematical tendencies behind them, or to the very contrary; appear to be language-specific phenomena, provides a good opportunity to compare languages and perform contrastive analyses. Such an approach emphasizes the importance of international cooperation in scholarship and research down to the very selection of which topic to discuss.

Medieval toponyms (mostly settlement names) formed from anthroponyms and the frequency of a particular anthroponym could influence the selection of a specific toponym structure from the morphological structures regularly applied when forming settlement names. Underlying this phenomenon there are name-giving tendencies which may characterize the onomastic systems of a wider set of languages.

Of the varied issues surrounding anthroponyms originating from toponyms (mostly settlement names), the question this essay focuses on is whether or not the lexical-morphological structure of a given toponym determines if it can be used as an anthroponym at all. Underlying this phenomenon are language-specific factors rather than universal principles.

2. Based on their morphological structures and name-giving methods, Hungarian settlement names (and, more generally, Hungarian toponyms) based on anthroponyms can be grouped into the following characteristic types. 1. Names can be formed from anthroponyms without the addition of any formant, in a metonymic name-giving process (e.g. *Péter* anthroponym > *Péter* settlement name). 2. Some morphological means, in most cases, a toponym formant (a derivational suffix) can also have a role in the formation of such a name (e.g. *Péter* anthroponym > *Péter-i, Peter-d* settlement name, where *-i* and

* 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).

-d are typical derivational suffixes). 3. Finally, compound settlement names can also be formed from anthroponyms – there are two subtypes within this type: 3.1. primary denominations include geographical common words as their second constituents (*Péter* anthroponym > *Péter/falva, Péter/laka* 'Péter's/village' settlement name); 3.2. while in the case of secondary settlement names, the second constituent is an already existing settlement name (e.g. *Bocsárd* settlement name > *Péter/bocsárd* settlement name 'Péter's/settlement named Bocsárd').

2.1. The issue whether there is a connection between the frequency of a given anthroponym and the selected toponym structure can be evaluated by examining the structural characteristics of settlement names based on frequently used anthroponyms. (The source of the data for this analysis was Lajos Kiss's *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára* [Etymological Dictionary of Toponyms], Budapest, 1988, hereafter: FNESz.)

The structural types of toponyms, including the personal names *Péter, Mihály,* and *Pál,* indicate that these anthroponyms are less well suited to become settlement names in themselves, i.e. without the addition of any formant, due to the very fact of their frequent usage as anthroponyms. The only aspect in which there may be (even significant) differences between them is whether, for any one of them, name formation with derivational suffixes or by compounding is more dominant. (For further details see Tóth 2017: 53–54.)

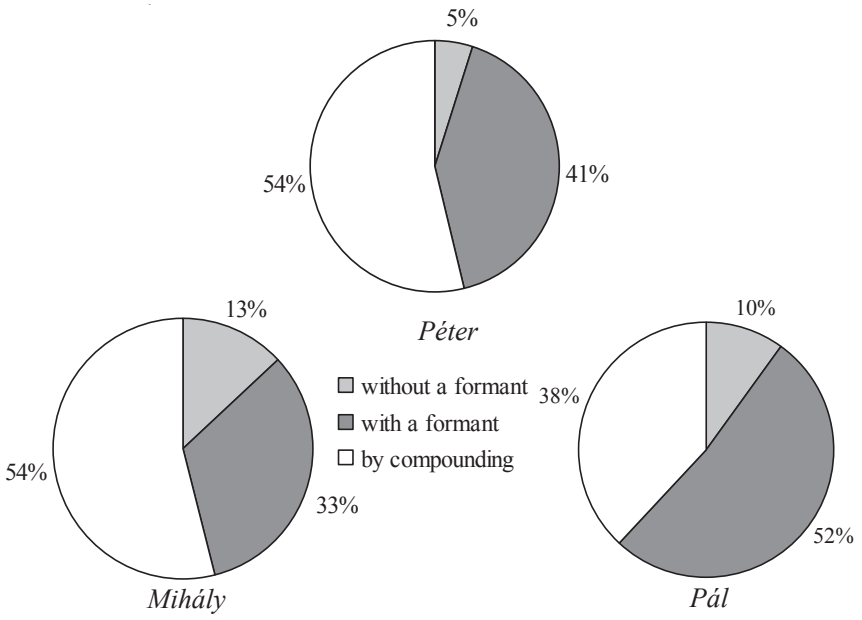


Figure 1: Structural Types of Settlement Names Formed from the Anthroponyms *Péter, Mihály, and Pál*

Since this assumption has general onomastic consequences, further studies aimed in this direction need to be carried out.

2.2. Another analysis reveals that the relationship just examined will manifest itself not only from the aspect of anthroponyms, but also from the aspect of toponyms; as, for example, within the corpus of settlement names with anthroponymic origins of a particular county. From the county of Abaúj, located in the Northern part of the Carpathian Basin, from the era lasting from the 11th to the 13th century, we have data on 145 settlement names formed from anthroponyms. Amongst them, the dominance of settlement names without any formants is striking: 86% of the toponyms with anthroponymic origins have been created in this manner. The proportion of toponyms formed from anthroponyms by compounding is 12%. The proportion of names formed with a derivational suffix as a topoformant is rather insignificant (2%) and, therefore, I will not evaluate them in the following discussion. In other words, I will try to demonstrate the linguistic relationship between the frequency of individual anthroponyms and their usage to form toponyms by comparing to one another the settlement names of anthroponymic origins without a formant and the compounded settlement names of anthroponymic origins from the region.

Figure 2 shows the proportion of settlement names formed without formants from anthroponyms of various frequencies is. I determined the frequencies of the given anthroponyms based on KATALIN FEHÉRTÓI's *Árpád-kori személynévtár (1000–1301)* (Dictionary of Anthroponyms of the Árpád Era, Budapest, 2004, hereafter: ÁSz.). (The diagram is meant to be interpreted with the category of settlement names of anthroponymic origin without a formant considered to correspond to 100%.)

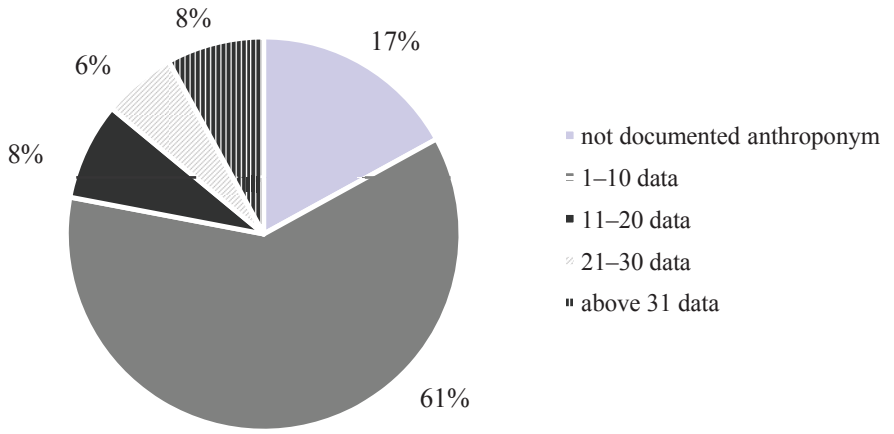


Figure 2: The Relationship between the Frequency of Individual anthroponyms and the Number of Settlement Names of Anthroponymic Origin without a Formant in the Abaúj County in the 11th to 13th Centuries

The 61% of settlement names formed from anthroponyms without any formant is based on anthroponyms with the number of data between 1 and 10. A mere 6% to 8% of the settlement names of the county was formed using more frequent anthroponyms. For 17% of the names, the anthroponymic base word is uncertain, as no data can be found for the presumed anthroponym in any charter from Hungary, but can only be found in the anthroponymic corpora of other languages (e.g. German, Slavic). Such names could obviously also be treated as anthroponyms rarely used at the time. On the whole, this means that 78% of all the toponyms without a formant were formed from relatively rare anthroponyms.

On the other hand, the distribution of anthroponyms occurring as first constituents of compounded settlement names – as shown in Figure 3 – is completely different. (In this case, the category of compounded settlement names of anthroponymic origins is the one that corresponds to 100%.)

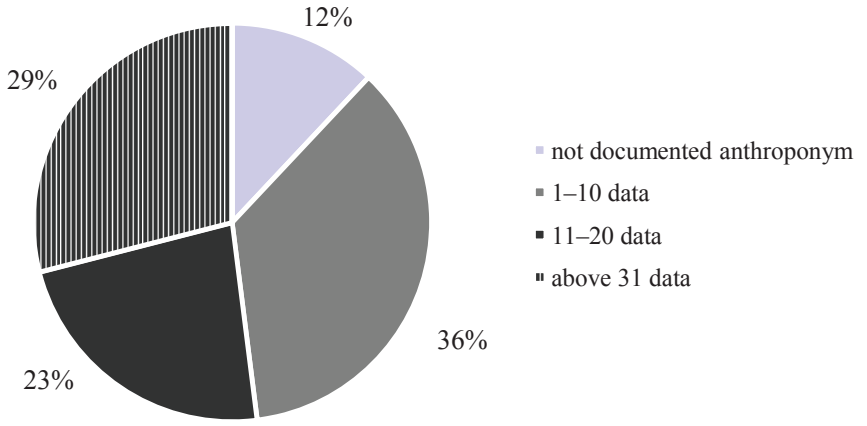


Figure 3: The Relationship between the Frequency of Individual Anthroponyms and the Number of Compounded Settlement Names of Anthroponymic Origins in the Abaúj County in the 11th to 13th Centuries

While within the previous category of name structures, only 8% belongs to the category of settlement names formed from anthroponyms which are documented by more than 31 data, yet, in the latter structural type, such names add up to 29%; furthermore, names formed from anthroponyms with a data frequency between 11 and 20 add up to 8% of names formed from anthroponyms without any formant, but 23% in this category of structures. In contrast, the proportion of settlement names originating from rare anthroponymic base words (i.e. those with 1 to 10 data) is far smaller (36%) amongst compound name structures than the proportion seen in the case of names formed from anthroponyms without any formants (61%). (For further details see TÓTH 2017: 55–57.)

These comparisons unequivocally show the frequency (popularity) of each anthroponym determining to some extent the structure of the settlement name created with it. It would be worthwhile to examine this relationship in other languages, so that an estimate could be formed of its universality.

3. Looking at the typological relationships between anthroponyms and toponyms from the other aspect, one of the main questions becomes what kind of typological characteristics those anthroponyms which are based on toponyms (mostly settlement names) have in the Hungarian language. Within the functionality-based typology of anthroponyms, these names belong to the category of descriptive names, and express a relationship of a local nature, i.e. the fact that the name-bearer 'belongs to, is from the given place (settlement)', or perhaps 'is a land owner there'. From a morphological aspect, a toponymic lexeme can appear in an anthroponymic role in two ways: firstly, a toponym can be an anthroponym in itself, i.e. without a name formant (e.g. *Nógrád* settlement name > *Nógrád* anthroponym), and secondly, to a toponym can be added the *-i* anthroponymic formant (e.g. *Nógrád* settlement name > *Nógrád-i* anthroponym). The two forms of anthroponyms are also different with respect to their name-giving methods: the former type was created by metonymy, while the latter by morphemic construction. Within the system of Hungarian anthroponyms, there are significant differences between the frequencies of the two types.

When discussing anthroponyms based on toponyms – as already mentioned in the introduction – one of the important questions is whether or not the structure of a given toponym determines if it can become an anthroponym at all. To answer this question, I carried out an empirical analysis starting with the data of a county with a large area, i.e. the settlement name data of the Old Bihar county. My source on settlement name data was ANITA RÁCZ's *A régi Bihar vármegye településneveinek történeti-etimológiai szótára* (A Historical-Etymological Dictionary of the Settlement Names of the Old Bihar County, Debrecen, 2007), while for anthroponymic data, I used as reference MIKLÓS KÁZMÉR's *Régi magyar családnevek szótára (14–17th c.)* (A Dictionary of Old Hungarian Family Names, Budapest, 1993).

3.1. From a total of 711 settlement names of county Bihar of the Old Hungarian period (896–1526), 65% were used in the formation of anthroponyms with a descriptive function (i.e. anthroponyms referring to the place of residence, the place of origin or to estates). More than one third of the settlement names (35%), however, never served as bases for anthroponyms (or at least, there are no such documented occurrences). Obviously, historical and social developments are also amongst the factors determining which settlement names become anthroponyms and which ones do not. Besides the population of the settlement

in question, factors such as its category (a nobleman's village or a village of serfs), and with that, the legal status of the inhabitants may be important. Therefore, non-linguistic circumstances, and in particular, social circumstances cannot be disregarded when looking for answers to the questions discussed here, yet, for this essay, I will focus only on the study of linguistic conditions.

From the linguistic aspect, the relevant question – as anticipated by the above discussion – is probably whether or not the structure of a given toponym determines if anthroponyms are formed based on it or not. Approaching the problem from a different point of view, the question could also be phrased thus: Are there toponym structures which one way or another hinder the usage of the given settlement name in the formation of anthroponyms? As a working hypothesis, the structural characteristics of a given settlement name may be presumed to have a significant effect on the possibilities of it being used in an anthroponym. In addition, the morphological structure can be presumed to play the primary role in such a hindering factor, while the lexical characteristics of toponyms have only a secondary, limited effect on whether or not they can be used in anthroponyms. I intend to confirm, discard or perhaps modify this initial presumption by applying empirical examinations.

As mentioned earlier, typically there are three morphological structures in the Hungarian language playing important roles in the formation of settlement names: metonymic name-giving, i.e. name-formation without a formant (e.g. *Péter, Alma* < *alma* 'apple'); morphematic name-giving, i.e. name-giving with a topoformant, a derivational suffix (e.g. *Péter-i, Almá-d*); and syntagmatic formation of names by compounding (within which category two subcategories can be distinguished, the first being that of primary names with geographical common words added as second constituents: e.g. *Péter/falva* 'Péter's village', *Alma/patak* 'apple brook' and the second being that of secondary names with a toponym as a second constituent: e.g. *Hernád/petri* 'settlement named Petri on the bank of the river Hernád', *Kis/almás* 'little brook named Almás'.

Figure 4 illustrates the proportions in which denominations belonging to each morphological category appear in the settlement names of the Bihar county in the Old Hungarian period. (In this case, the 100% value is considered to correspond to the total number of all settlement names from which anthroponyms were formed.)

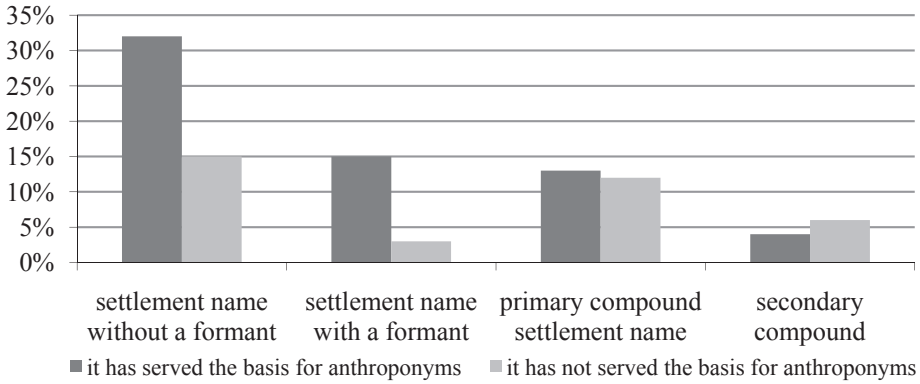


Figure 4: The Morphological Types of Settlement Names of Bihar County, Based on Their Usage in Anthroponyms

Of the conclusions which can be drawn from the diagram, I will raise but one: it is quite conspicuous that, single-constituent settlement name structures were the bases of anthroponyms on far more frequent occasions, since 47% of them have been used to form anthroponyms, while only 18% of them have not; yet, amongst two-constituent name-structures the proportion of settlement names which have not been used to form anthroponyms is very high: the numbers corresponding to the previous two figures in this case are 17% and 18%. In other words, while in the case of two-constituent names, the proportion of settlement names used to form anthroponyms vs. those which have not been used for such a purpose is nearly 50 : 50, in the case of single-constituent names, the relative proportion of the two categories compared to each other is nearly one to three. This indicates that due to the structural characteristics single constituent toponyms to be more suitable for anthroponymic roles.

It would be useful to supplement this observation with the lexical characteristics of toponyms, although this latter aspect seems to have less relevance to the issue. Therefore, the pattern shown in Figure 4 will be further refined by reviewing the lexical-structural characteristics of those single constituent toponyms which are used in great proportions to form anthroponyms, in order to answer the question whether they include lexical toponym-structures which, for whatever reason, are preferred in the formation of anthroponyms.

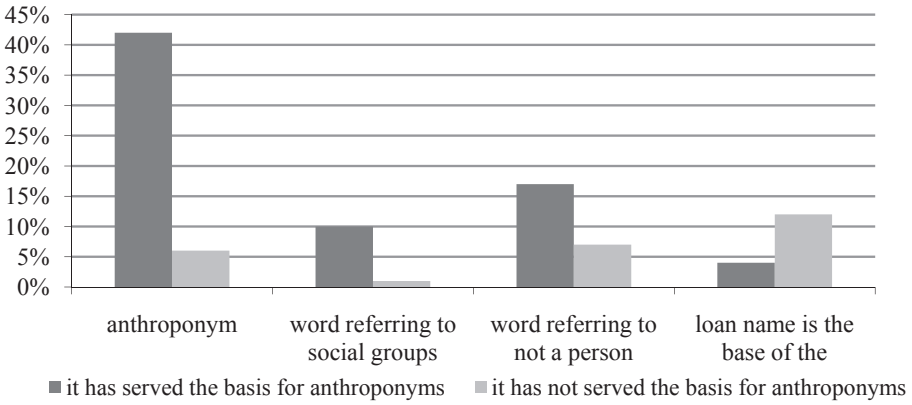


Figure 5: The Lexical Types of the Single Constituent Settlement Names of Bihar County, Based on Their Usage in Anthroponyms

Based on the linguistic elements contained in them and relevant to their toponymic nature, I grouped the single-constituent settlement names of county Bihar into four lexical categories: besides the category of names containing anthroponymic lexemes, I have also set up categories for toponyms formed from words denoting persons or social groups (i.e. from ethnonyms, tribes' names, names of occupations and positions of dignitaries), and for names formed from other lexemes not denoting persons. I also considered loan toponyms, that is, lexically non-transparent denominations, as a separate category, independent from the previous categories (within the territory of the county, loan toponyms are names of Slavic and Romanian origins).

The most important conclusion to be drawn from Figure 5 is that within the category of toponyms containing anthroponyms, those containing lexemes denoting persons or social groups, and those containing lexemes denoting entities other than persons have been formed into anthroponyms in a higher proportion (with this proportion being particularly high in the first two categories). In this respect, the category of loan toponyms is an exception; within this category, there is only a small proportion of names used to form anthroponyms.

To summarize, there are two important observations that can be made on the usage of settlement names in the formation of anthroponyms: firstly, single constituent settlement names are structurally more suitable for fulfilling the role of anthroponyms; secondly, within single constituent settlement names, those formed internally appear in the formation of anthroponyms proportionally more often than loan toponyms – internally formed toponyms are involved in a proportion of 5 : 1, while for loan toponyms, the same proportion is 1 : 3.

4. Toponym systems – as indicated at the beginning of this paper – have both universal and language-specific characteristics. While at the functional-semantic level of name formation, universal principles appear to be more prominent (as this aspect of name-giving is closely tied to extralinguistic factors and circumstances), at the level of lexical-morphological structures, the observable features are primarily language-specific. Contrastive onomastic analysis aimed at comparing the toponym systems of different languages, however, could further refine this general idea in both respects, and such studies might also lead to general conclusions on onomastic theory. Such research programs could be particularly fruitful if the languages whose onomastic systems are put in focus include languages related to each other (e.g. Hungarian and Finnish), and languages genetically not related to each other, but having close territorial-ethnic ties (e.g. Hungarian and the Slavic languages). These proposed studies aimed at such languages might very well uncover both the universal and the language-specific characteristics of onomastic systems.

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Abstract

Systematic relations between anthroponyms and toponyms in Old Hungarian can be described from two different aspects: first by putting anthroponyms containing toponyms into the focus of the study presentation and second by displaying toponyms deriving from anthroponyms. In Old Hungarian, anthroponym forms containing toponyms can be found among descriptive

names and nexus names. Therefore, these anthroponym types are presented in detail. In the anthroponym > toponym model three toponym structures have to be taken into account: toponyms without any formants (e.g. *Péter*), those with a derivational suffix *(Péter-i),* and compounded types *(Péter/falva)*. Types of toponyms containing anthroponyms show significant differences with regard to their productivity, chronological features as well as the nature of anthroponym types in them. These differences can be pointed out in the most effective way if they are jointly analysed. The systematic relations between anthroponyms and toponyms are discussed within a theoratical framework determined by functional linguistics.

Keywords: toponyms, anthroponyms, old Hungarian, functional linguistics

Pavel Štěpán

Systematic Relationships Between Toponyms and Anthroponyms in Czech

1. Theoretical background and aims of the paper

Due to the general onomastic theory, proper names form so-called second layer of the lexicon. Its specificity is given especially by the type of meaning of proper names, which is not bound with a certain concept (as in common nouns), but with "individuality". The proper name sphere of the lexicon draws linguistic material from the appellative sphere; it adopts not only the individual lexemes, but also name-formative means used for their formation. The special functions of proper names and the character of the naming act require a specification of the linguistic means occurring in the proper-name sphere of the language (cf. ŠRÁMEK 1999: 12).

Czech onomastics is characterised by a distinct systemic approach, emphasis on the research of the naming system (cf. PLESKALOVÁ 2017). It has been often stressed that proper names should not be analysed as separate entities, but as parts of the onymic system of the given language. Proper names should be captured as a systematically ordered and structured whole (cf. ŠRÁMEK 1972: 304).

Also the systematic relationships among the individual categories of proper names constitute an important issue of both theoretical and practical onomastics. In Czech – as in other Slavic languages – a majority of proper names are formed by derivation (affixation); composition is less frequent.

The term "onymic derivation" is sometimes used especially in Czech onomastics. According to HARVALÍK (2004: 100), the onymic derivation is characterised by a number of typical traits, especially by variable and relatively free possibilities of connecting affixes to the individual bases and the use of peripheral word-formative means and processes without a necessary co-existence of formally identical appellatives.

In Czech onomastics, the approach to the formation of proper names has been strongly influenced also by the "parasystem" theory since the 1990's. "Parasystem" has been introduced by D. ŠLOSAR as a term for a secondary word-formation system, by which special spheres of designations having specific functions in communication, namely proper names, technical terms and expressive denominations, are formed, using means and modes not typical of the core of the appellative lexicon.

The aim of the paper is to provide an overview of the basic systematic relationships between toponyms and anthroponyms in Czech. It will concentrate especially on the derivation and transfer potential of the individual categories of both geographical and personal names, namely on toponyms based on anthroponyms and anthroponyms based on toponyms.

The following basic categories of both anthroponyms and toponyms will be analysed: anthroponyms: given names and surnames; settlement names, hydronyms, oronyms, field names, and street names.

On the Figure 1, the potential of formation of the individual categories of toponyms from anthroponyms is represented. The full line represents a regular, productive, and frequent type of formation, while the dashed line depicts less typical, rather rare or even unique formations.

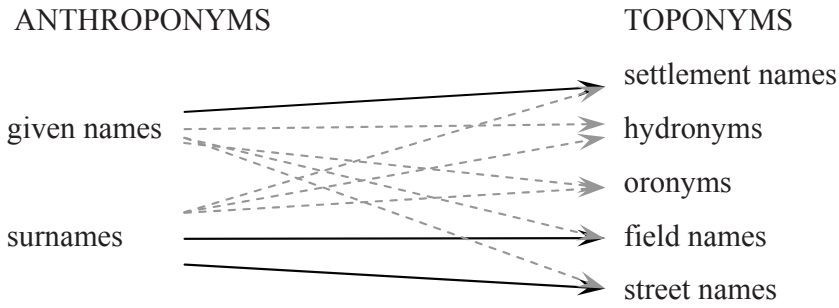


Figure 1

The category of given names includes also personal names in the one-name system in the historical era (cf. PLESKALOVÁ 2013: 36–37). In this era, personal names frequently became a basis for settlement names (oikonyms), less often hydronyms, oronyms, or field names. In the modern era, an individual is usually referred to by a surname in the official context, therefore the formation of toponyms from given names becomes less usual. Surnames became a basis especially for field names and street names, which form the most productive categories of toponyms in the modern period.

Though only these three types of motivation are typical and productive, in fact all these categories of toponyms can be potentially formed from both given names and surnames.

If we focus on the formation of anthroponyms from toponyms (Figure 2), it becomes evident that the potential of formation is more limited here: given names are generally not formed from toponyms in Czech (including the Old Czech). Surnames are typically formed from settlement names, and only exceptionally from hydronyms. Formation of surnames from the other

categories of toponyms is theoretically possible, but it would be unusual, and it is not reliably attested.

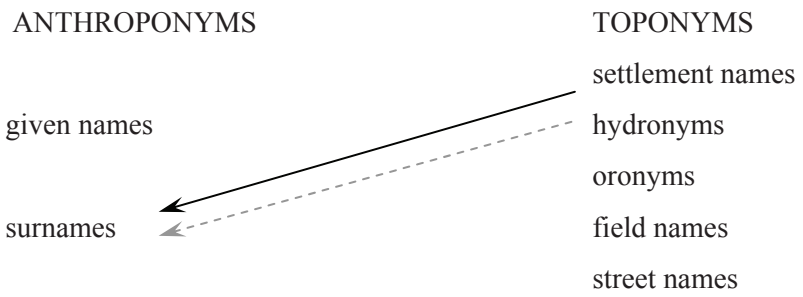


Figure 2

Comparing the both directions of foundation, it becomes obvious that the formation of toponyms from anthroponyms involves more types of foundation than the formation of anthroponyms from toponyms. The following parts of the paper are to provide an analysis of the individual types of foundation of both toponyms from anthroponyms, as presented on the Figure 1 and 2, from the point of view of their formation.

2. Formation of toponyms from anthroponyms

2.1. Settlement names from given names

The naming motive of the settlement names formed from given names was either individual possesivity (settlement names are derived from a personal name of the owner or founder of the settlement), or collective possessivity (settlement names refer to the property of the whole family).

2.1.1. Individual possessivity

Settlement names[1] are formed by the following suffixes from the name of the owner or founder of the settlement (cf. ŠMILAUER 1960: 555):

-jь: This old Slavic possessive suffix, which is extinct in the Old Czech, causes palatalization (softening) of the final consonant or group of consonants of the personal name, for example: personal name *Radomysl* > place name *Radomyšl,* meaning 'Radomyšl's (estate, castle, yard, etc.)'.[2]

[1] The instances of oikonyms are based on the toponymic lexicon by A. PROFOUS (1949–1954).

[2] The suffix *-jь* is a masculine form; toponyms formed by this suffix, originally possessive adjectives, were thus complemented by masculine nouns, such as *dvůr* 'yard' or *hrad* 'castle'. Less frequently, feminine names were formed by the feminine form of this suffix

-ov: The suffix had developed from the Old Czech possessive suffix *-óv* (modern Czech *-ův*) used for derivation of possessive adjectives, for example: personal name *Petr* > place name *Petrov,* meaning 'Petr's' (estate, castle, yard, etc.)', personal name *Diviš* > place name *Divišov.*

-ová: This suffix is closely connected with the preceding one. While the suffix *-ov* is a masculine form, the suffix *-ová* is feminine (the regular feminine form of the adjectival possessive suffix is *-ova*). The gender of the suffix depends on the gender of the noun which could be added to the name itself, the original form of which was a possessive adjective. In case of the feminine suffix *-ová,* the noun *ves* 'village' was usually thought. Examples: personal name *Bohusa* > place name *Bohusová* (later changed to *Bohousová*), personal name *Radech* > place name *Radechová*.

-ín: While the adjectival possessive suffix *-óv* (from which the toponymical suffix *-ov* departs) was used added to *o*-stem nouns, possessive adjectives from *a*-stem nouns were formed by the suffix *-in* (its feminine form is *–ina,* see below). In toponyms this suffix was modified to *-ín,* which was added to both feminine and masculine *a*-stem anthroponyms: feminine personal name *Veleslava* > place name *Veleslavín;* masculine personal name *Radota* > place name *Radotín.*

-ka: This suffix is mostly used for creation of names of residences, yards or farms, including vineyards, located mostly at the present-day territory of Prague. For example, the name *Kesnerka,* derived from the personal name *Kesner,* referred to Kesner's farmstead. However, names of this type occasionally belong also to villages, though originally these names probably also referred to farmsteads or inns, cf. the village name *Felbabka* derived from the personal name *Felbáb.*

Sometimes a personal name is transformed to a settlement name without the use of a suffix, for example, the personal name *Myslík* gave rise to the settlement name *Myslík* of the identical form, which refers to 'Myslík's estate'.

2.1.2. Collective possessivity

Another group of settlement names refers to the property of a family. These toponyms are based on patronymic names derived from personal names by the suffix *-(ov)ici:* the patronymic name *Petrovici* refers to 'Petr's people'. As the name was transferred to the settlement of the named people, the original

-ja, cf. personal name *Hostivít* + *-ja* > *Hostivica,* later changed to *Hostivice;* the name was complemented by the feminine noun *ves* 'village' in this case. In some cases, the generic nouns *ves* and *hrad* became a regular part of the name, which got a compound form, i.e. personal name *Radík* + *-ja* + *ves* > *Radíčěves* > *Radíčeves.*

animate plural ending *-i* was replaced by the inanimate ending *-e,* e.g. *Petrovici* 'Petr's people' > *Petrovice* 'settlement of Petr's people'.

Some toponyms motivated by the name of the whole family are formed by a simple grammatical plural ending *-y:* personal name *Všemil* > place name *Všemily.*

2.2. Settlement names from surnames

A surname is understood as "a hereditary name of a family or a member of a family with such a name" (List of Key Onomastic Terms, online); such hereditary names were officially codified by an act issued by the emperor Josef II. in 1786 in the territory of the present-day Czech Republic. Oikonyms created after this year are less numerous. The motivation of these place names is usually commemorative; either possessive adjectives are used (as in *Havlíčkův Brod* from the surname of Czech writer *Havlíček*), or the productive suffix *-ov* appears (cf. commemorative place name *Gottwaldov,* derived from the surname of the first communist president of Czechoslovakia *Klement Gottwald;* this place name belonged to the city of Zlín in the years 1948–1980 (for more details concerning Czech commemorative toponyms see DAVID 2011).

Even some modern formation from surnames can occasionally express possessivity, as in the place name *Klánovice,* derived in 19th centrury from the surname of a businessman Klán, on whose estate new settlement was founded; the use of the suffix *-ovice,* which is originally patronymic, is only analogical in this case.

2.3. Hydronyms from anthroponyms

The formation of hydronyms, especially names of running waters, from anthroponyms (both given names and surnames) is rather rare; however, names of ponds or pools are sometimes derived from names of their founders or owners, namely without the use of a suffix (personal name *Vítek* > pond name *Vítek*), or using a suffix (for example *-ovec:* personal name *Marek* > pond name *Markovec*). Possessive adjectives derived from personal names (personal name *Fiala* > pond name *Fialův rybník* 'Fiala's pond') or name forms referring to the whole family (personal name *Zbudil* > *Zbudilů rybník* 'Zbudils' pond') also occur in pond names (see the alphabetical catalogue of non-settlement names in Bohemia, *Abecední generální katalog pomístních jmen*).

2.4. Oronyms from anthroponyms

Oronyms were occassionally formed by the ancient possesive suffix *-jь,* for example the mountain name *Radhošť* is derived from the anthroponym

Radhost. A number of other suffixes are used for creation of names of hills or valleys, their repertory is similar to the suffixes occurring in field names (see below). Oronyms derived from personal names usually express possessivity, but occasionally their naming motive may be commemorative. For example, the hill *Goethův vrch* 'Goethe's Hill' was named in tribute to the German writer Johann Wolfgang Goethe. The possesive adjective gains another function in this case.

2.5. Field names from anthroponyms

Field names derived from personal names, especially surnames, are very frequent. They are usually based on a possesive naming motive, though possessivity should be understood rather broadly in some cases. Not always is the given object named according to its owner; its name may refer also to a person that had some other relationship to it, for example was a tenant of the given field, lived nearby, planted the named forest, etc.

Field names are formed by a number of suffixes, both nominal and adjectival. These suffixes are analysed by ŠTĚPÁN 2016 in some detail. In this paper, a brief overview of suffixes deriving field names from anthroponyms, complemented by individual examples, is to be given below.[3]

2.5.1. Field names from anthroponyms – nominal suffixes

***-da**:* personal name *Rataj* > *Ratajda* 'Rataj's field'
-anda: personal name *Polák* > *Polanda* 'field belonging to Polák's house'
-inda: personal name *Mikulík* > *Mikulinda* 'Mikulík's field'
-(ov)ka: personal name *Haštaba* > *Haštabka* 'Haštaba's meadow'
-(ov)ačka: personal name *Hynek* > *Hynkovačka* 'Hynek's field'
-ička: personal name *Foitl* > *Foitlička* 'Foitl's meadow'
-anka: personal name *Suchý* > *Suchanka* 'Suchý's meadow'
-inka: personal name *Toman* > *Tomaninka* 'Toman's meadow'
-(ov)na: personal name *Čamach* > *Čamachna* 'Čamach's meadow'
-(ov)ina: personal name *Dvořák* > *Dvořákovina* 'Dvořák's field'
-árna: personal name *Kabeš* > *Kabešárna* 'Kabeš's meadow'
-ava: personal name *Váca* > *Vacava* 'Váca's field'
-(ov)ec: personal name *Prošek* > *Proškovec* 'Prošek's field'
-inec: personal name *Havlice* > *Havličinec* 'Havlice's field'
-áč: personal name *Rybka* > *Rybkáč* 'Rybka's forest'
-(ov)ice (singular): personal name *Linhart* > *Linhartice* 'Linhart's meadow'

[3] The suffixes printed in boldface have not been discovered in the earlier researches oriented on the word formation of non-settlement names.

-ovice (plural): personal name *Hynek* > *Hynkovice* 'Hynek's field'
-oviště: personal name *Šimek* > *Šimkoviště* 'Šimek's field'
-í: personal name *Tomandl* > *Tomandlí* 'Tomandl's grove'
-ovčí: personal name *Ježek* > *Ježkovčí* 'Ježek's forest'
-(ov)ství: personal name *Kapoun* > *Kapounství* 'Kapoun's forest'
-(ov)ák: personal name *Štěrba* > *Štěrbák* 'Štěrba's field'
-ek: personal name *Faltýn* > *Faltýnek* 'Faltýn's field'
-áček: personal name *Komberec* > *Komberáček* 'Komberec's grove'
-aň/áň: personal name *Melich* > *Melicháň* 'Melich's field'
-eň: personal name *Radoch* > *Radocheň* 'Radoch's field'
-(ov)sko: personal name *Bůva* > *Bůvovsko* 'Bůva's field'
-isko: personal name *Rejman* > *Rejmanisko* 'Rejman's field'
-ov: personal name *Machač* > *Machačov* 'Machač's field'

2.5.2. Field names from anthroponyms – adjectival suffixes

-ův: a regular possessive suffix deriving from masculines
-in: a regular possesive suffix deriving from feminines
-í: personal name (hypocoristic form) *Ančička* > *Ančiččí stráň* 'Ančička's slope'
-ní*:* personal name *Stejskal* > *Stejskalní vobec* 'Stejskal's parish land'
-(ov)ský: personal name *Jeřábek* > *Jeřábkovský* 'Jeřábek's field'
-ný: personal name *Jezbera* > *Jezberná* 'Jezbera's forest'

2.6. Street names from anthroponyms

Street names derived from personal names are usually based on a commemorative motive. They are usually formed from surnames (*Masarykova* 'Masaryk Street', *Hlávkův most* 'Hlávka Bridge'), except for the street names derived from the names of historical, or even pre-historical characters *(Libušina, Kosmova).* Street-names can also be based on the whole pattern of a given name and surname or by-name *(Václava Havla; Jiřího z Poděbrad).*

In a minority of cases, street names express possessivity; this is the case of some old streets named according to a person who owned an estate or house in or near the given street. For example, the street *Kaprova* is derived from the name of Pavel *Kapr,* who owned a house in this street in 16th century.

Street names are most often formed using possessive adjectives or possessive genitive of the personal name (e.g. *Naskové, Jana Želivského*). Other suffixes are rare:

-ská: personal name *Anežka* > *Anežská;* personal name *Hermelín* > *Hermelínská*
-ovská: personal name *Šítka* > *Šítkovská*
-ov: personal name *Albert* > *Albertov*

3. Formation of anthroponyms from toponyms

The formation of anthroponyms from toponyms is not rare, but it involves only a few formal groups, therefore they are devoted less attention here. Their motivation is obvious: like in other languages, these surnames are motivated by the origin or place of residence of the given person.

Surnames can be derived by a transformation of toponym without a suffix *(Bechyně),* or from the genitive form without a suffix (*Chaloupek;* a genitive form of the place name *Chaloupky*). Most frequently the suffix *-ský* (or some of its variants) is used (oikonym *Pacov* > surname *Pacovský*). Other suffixes, e.g. *-ka* (oikonym *Bechyně* > surname *Bechyňka*) are rather rare. Many surnames are based on inhabitant names, which are formed by the following suffixes (Beneš 1962: 134–171):

-an: Lipovec > Lipovčan
-ec: Větrov > Větrovec, Palivo > Palivec
-ák: Chlum > Chlumák, Praha > Pražák
-ík: Švábenice > Švábeník

Derivation of surnames from hydronyms is very rare in Czech; it is limited on formations from names of the biggest rivers like *Labe* or *Vltava:* surnames *Labský, Vltavský* referring to people who lived near the rivers of Vltava/Labe.

4. Anthroponym–toponym chains

The productivity of formations of toponyms from anthroponyms, as well as anthroponyms from toponyms, may sometimes lead to creation of anthroponym–toponym chains. For example, the place name *Bechyně* gave rise to the surname *Bechyně;* and this surname was again used as a basis of the field name *Bechyně.* This is the case of a transformation without a suffix. Another case: the personal name *Lobek* was used as a basis of the place name *Lobkovice;* from this toponym a nobility by-name (later used also as a surname) *Lobkovic* was derived and later it was used as a basis of a garden name *Lobkovická zahrada* 'Lobkovic Garden'.

5. Ambiguity

The transformation of toponyms to anthroponyms and vice versa without any formal change naturally results in ambiguity of many forms. In a text, this ambiguity is usually removed by the context, which indicates whether the given form is an anthroponym or a toponym. In some cases, we cannot rely on such a context; for example, if an ambiguous form becomes a part of a commercial company name, we can hardly guess what this form refers to without the factual knowledge of the company. For instance, we can assume that the name of a farm *Farma Křenek* includes a rather frequent surname *Křenek,* because farms

are quite often named according to their owners in Czech and this structure of a farm name is quite usual. However, it is not the case, the farm is named according to the village of *Křenek* in which it is located. If someone is acknowledged with the frequent surname, but does not know the village of *Křenek,* s/he is not aware of the ambiguity and can evaluate the farm name incorrectly.

6. Conclusion

The aim of the paper was to summarise the basic relationships between the individual categories of anthroponyms and toponyms. Not all details could be dealt with and some more aspects of relationships between anthroponyms and toponyms, for example a quantitative approach or a chronological analysis, would deserve autonomous studies. This article is intended as a starting point for comparative studies of systematic relationships between anthroponyms and toponyms. It focuses especially on the formal aspects of derivation of toponyms from anthroponyms, and vice versa, analysing the individual suffixes, and on the individual subcategories of toponyms and anthroponyms involved in the mutual relationships.

Especially the formation of toponyms from anthroponyms is variegated and includes a high number of types and categories, as well as a rich repertory of derivative suffixes. These suffixes can often be characterised as parasystemic (for the definition of parasystem, see the introductory part of this paper). Some of these suffixes do not occur in appellatives at all *(-sko, -ovsko),* others are completely peripheral in common nouns (e.g. the suffix *-ov*), often their use is restricted to expressive formations *(-nda, -anda)* or technical terms *(-inka)* (see also Štěpán 2012).

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Abstract

The paper provides an overview of the basic systematic relationships between toponyms and anthroponyms in Czech. It concentrates especially on the derivation and transfer potential of the individual categories of both geographical and personal names, namely on toponyms based on anthroponyms and anthroponyms based on toponyms. Especially the formation of toponyms from anthroponyms is variegated and includes a high number of types and categories, as well as a rich repertory of derivative suffixes. These suffixes can often be characterised as parasystemic (parasystem is understood as a secondary word-formation system, by which special spheres of designations having specific functions in communication, namely proper names, technical terms and expressive denominations, are formed).

Keywords: proper names, anthroponyms, toponyms, systematic relationships, parasystem

Jaakko Raunamaa

Pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms in Finnish village names

1.1. Introduction

This article gives an overview of Finnish village names based on pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms (personal names).[1] Old sources including pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms are very scarce in Finland. However, pre-Christian anthroponyms can also be studied through village names. This is the major reason why the connection between pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms and Finnish village names is the focus of this article.

My aim is to present which village names are based on pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms (from now on the expression *Finnic village names* is used as a synonym).[2] First, I give background information about the pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms and Finnish village name system.[3] Second, I explain what kind of research material and methods are used in the study. Next, the Finnic village names are analysed. I address the subject from different perspectives. I explain how the Finnic village names have been morphologically constructed and which pre-Christian Finnic name elements have been used most.[4] In addition to this, the geographical distribution of village names is also presented. This is used to visualize where chosen village names are located and how different pre-Christian anthroponyms are distributed in Finland.

This topic does not only concern onomastics, but it is connected to the cultural history of Finland, as well. Anthroponyms are not only identifying, but they are also closely connected to culture around them (cf. LEIBRING 2016: 211–212).[5]

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[1] Expression *Finnish* is used for the current area of Finland and ceded area of Karelia. The latter one was one of the old regions of Finland and located in the south-eastern corner of Finland.

[2] The definition of pre-Christian name is not clear. In this study, names which were not influenced by Christian religion and were used before Catholic Church incorporated Finland as part of ecclesial system (in the beginning of 13th century) are regarded as pre-Christian names. This includes both names that can be considered original (e.g. *Kaukolempi*) and possibly borrowed names (e.g. *Miemo*).

[3] The expression *Finnic* denotes to a group of Finno-Ugric languages spoken in the vicinity of the Baltic Sea.

[4] The expression *name element* stands for all the morphological elements that can be found in a name, e.g. words, suffixes derivational affixes an so on (cf. AINIALA et al. 2012: 36).

[5] An example of this is the influence of Western anthroponymic systems and cultures to Finnish ones. The major influence on Finnish language comes from Scandinavian languages (LEHTINEN 2007: 234). In addition, in the 16th century, six out of the seven most popular first names were the same in Finland and Sweden (KIVINIEMI 1982: 70).

This means that village names based on pre-Christian anthroponyms can reveal new things about the past.

Most of the research results of history in Finland during the centuries around the beginning of the second millennium are based on fragmentary written sources and scarce archaeological findings. Nevertheless, we may assume that Finland was remote, scarcely populated and less developed than its southern and western neighbours (Estonia and Sweden). During the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries, Western Finland became part of the Realm of Sweden and eastern parts of Finland became part of Novgorod (RANINEN–WESSMAN 2015: 338, 359). By the end of 16th century, the Realm of Sweden had expanded to the east so extensively that basically no parts of present Finland were controlled by Novgorod (HAGGRÉN 2011: 153).

Similarly, the lack of written sources is a problem for the study of pre-Christian Finnish (and Finnic) anthroponyms. There are too few of them to make reliable conclusions. A major collection of Finnish medieval documents called in Swedish "Finlands medeltidsurkunder" has slightly over ten thousand anthroponyms in the name index, whereas Swedish collections of medieval personal names "Sveriges medeltida personnamn" has close to one million name cards.[6], [7] Additionally, circa 90 percent of the FMU documents are from the 15th and 16th centuries. Thus, documents from the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries are very sporadic.

Additionally, most of the names mentioned in old documents have not been used as main names.[8] Persons mentioned in the documents have usually Christian main names, like *Olof, Anders* and *Mats*. However, their epithets (e.g. *Susi*), patronyms *(Rengonpoika),* surnames *(Kurki),* names of villages *(Kauko-la)* or names of homesteads *(Lempiä-lä)* could be influenced by pre-Christian names[9] (KIVINIEMI 1982: 36, RINTALA 2008: 21–22).

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[6] *Finlands medeltidsurkunder* (Medieval sources of Finland, published 1910–1935) includes different kinds of editions of medieval documents (from 9th century to 1530), which are concerning Finland. Translations are done by the author unless noted otherwise.

[7] Archive of *Sveriges medeltida personnamn* (Medieval personal names of Sweden) contains name cards, which have personal names found in different medieval documents. More information in http://www.sprakochfolkminnen.se/sprak/namn/personnamn/sveriges-medeltida-personnamn.html. Retrieved 1 November 2017.

[8] The definition of *main name* is not clear. For example, PÄIVI RINTALA has dealt with this (2008: 51–52). In international research, terms *individual name* and *given name* are used in the same meaning as *main name* (cf. BRYLLA 2016: 238, LEIBRING 2016: 199–200).

[9] Translations of the names: *Susi* ('wolf'), *Rengonpoika* ('son of Renko'), *Kurki* ('crane'; medieval noble family in Finland), *Kaukola* (personal name element *Kauko* 'long, tall' + settlement name element *-lA*) and *Lempiälä* (personal name element *Lempi* 'love, favorite' + settlement name element *-lA*)

Out of the above-mentioned ways of studying pre-Christian Finnish anthroponyms, village names are one the most useful. I justify my claim in the following chapter. After that, I explain in more detail what is known about pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms.

1.2. Finnish villages

The concept of a village (in Swedish *by*) in medieval Sweden meant a tax unit, which included one or more homesteads.[10] In addition, different areas of medieval Finland had various concepts of a village and its purpose in taxation system (cf. SEPPÄLÄ 2009). For example, in Karelia, the taxation unit called village could have meant a combination of many separate settlements, which in everyday speech were called villages (in Finnish *kylä*).[11]

A Finnish village was originally a homestead (KEPSU 2015a: 128). It became a village when it grew and more homesteads were established. Singular homesteads could be counted as villages as well if their locations were remote from other villages or if it was practical for tax authorities to consider them as separate units.[12] In other words, Finnish villages did not form a homogenous group but the concept of village changed according to location and time.

There is no exact information on how many villages there are now in the *Finnish Place Name Register* because National Land Survey of Finland does not make any more distinction between villages, city districts and neighbourhoods. The best figure available is the number of villages in book series *Suomenmaa,* which shows the situation as it was in the beginning of 20th century.[13] There are altogether 9 985 villages mentioned.

1.3. Finnish village names

A village name is another concept that needs clarification. Finnish village names are usually divided into two groups: names based on natural places, and names

[10] Swedish taxation system did not make distinction between villages and hamlets like there was in medieval England. Thus, only the expression *village* is used in this article.

[11] For example, there was a village called *Kolmikylä* ('three' + 'village') in the municipality of Kivennapa which consisted of settlements Kaukolempiälä, Liikola and Voipiala (TOIVONEN 1988: 14).

[12] For example, a homestead called *Kolkko* in former Kyrö municipality (present Ikaalinen municipality) was considered as a village in ecclesiastical taxation but in secular one it was a homestead which was part of neighboring village called *Sikuri* (Suomen Asutus 1560-luvulla 103).

[13] *Suomenmaa* is series of books, which presents basic information of every province and municipality of Finland (as it was in the beginning of 20th century).

based on anthroponyms (cf. book *Suomen asutus 1560-luvulla*), which includes all the village names collected from the end of 16th century Finland). Names of central, visible or important places of nature have been used to name villages (e.g. village *Kaukjärvi* in the Tammela municipality is named after the lake *Kaukjärvi*). These places have been significant for the people living there (cf. KEPSU 2015a: 128). Village names based on nature names are regarded older than those based on anthroponyms (cf. AINIALA et al. 2012: 92–93, ALANEN 2004: 135).[14] Naming villages after nature names is common in Finland.[15]

Village names based on anthroponyms have, in turn, usually been derived from homestead names, which again were named after their establishers. For this reason, some village names can be posited as representing pre-Christian anthroponyms. (KEPSU 2015a: 128.)

It must be emphasized that there is variation between different areas of Finland: in western and southern areas, village names based on nature names are less popular than in the east and north. This is natural because the population density has been higher in southern Finland. The landscape in the south of Finland was more suitable for early cultivation techniques, which allowed people to establish villages close to each other (RANINEN–WESSMAN 2015: 264). Thus, land ownership became important in everyday life, and anthroponyms were used to name different possessions (e.g. *Vihattula,* a homestead owned by *Vihattu*) (cf. KORPELA 2004: 233). The so-called slash-and-burn technique, which was used mainly in eastern Finland, required larger areas because one piece of burned land gave only a couple of harvests (RANINEN–WESSMAN 2015: 227). The possession of land was not that important or well defined in this kind of life style (KORPELA 2004: 233).

The most common structural type found in Finnish place names is a two-part compound name (e.g. *Ikoinniemi,* in English personal name element *Ikoi* + *n* [gen.] + *cape*) (AINIALA et al. 2012: 74).[16] A large number of Finnish village names are also two-part compound names (cf. Suomen asutus 1560-luvulla). In addition, many of the village names are single part place names (e.g. *Kaukola*)

[14] SAULO KEPSU (2015b) has analysed naming patterns in the northern Savo which was area of heavy migration during the 15th and 16th centuries. His conclusion is that nature names are the oldest name strata in the area. Names based on anthroponyms are younger ones.

[15] Out of the 100 most common names of villages, city districts and neighbourhoods only six (*Heikkilä, Mäkelä, Kaukola, Marttila, Paavola* and *Kurkela* [uncertain]) are based on an anthroponym (Place Name Register).

[16] A two-part compound name consists of *specific part* (identifying name part) and *generic part* (signifies the class or type of a place) (e.g. *Ikoin-niemi*) (AINIALA et al. 2012: 71, 74).

(ibid.).[17] It has been stated that village names including old anthroponyms are mostly single part names (RINTALA 2008: 22).

Single part village names have usually different kind of suffixes which can be also called as *name formation suffixes*.[18] The most common name-forming suffix among homestead names is the locative suffix *-lA* (e.g. *Kauko-la*) (KIVINIEMI 1990: 166–167). The same results can be applied to village names. Among village names based on old anthroponyms the locative suffix *-lA* seems to be the most popular as well (cf. RINTALA 2008: 22).

There are no certainties that the name written in old documents was the name actually used by local people. Names may also have changed but village names have usually been preserved well (cf. HAUSEN 1924). As often stated in onomastics, the more central and important the place is, the more likely the name of it has survived for a long time (AINIALA et al. 2012: 21). This can be applied to village names as well. Central and big villages have kept their names.

The establishment of written taxation documents has affected the survival of names, as well. The Church had incorporated southern parts of Finland as a part of the ecclesiastical taxation system in the 13th century (RANINEN–WESSMAN 2015: 346). After that, settlement names were likely used in their stabilized forms because they were recorded and used continuously for taxation purposes.

1.4. Pre-Christian anthroponyms in Finland

DETLEF-ECKHARD STOEBKE's dissertation (1964) about Finnic pre-Christian anthroponyms is still the most comprehensive study made to this day.[19] For this reason, the following information is based on his work. According to STOEBKE, Finnic names were constructed in three different ways: they were simplex names (e.g. *Lempo, Mieli, Iha*), simplex names with a suffix *(Lemmi-tty, Miela-kka, Iha-ttu)* or complex names *(Hyvä-lempi, Mieli-valta, Iha-lempi)* (1964: 109–135).

[17] Single part names have only one name part. AINIALA et al. (2012: 74) explain that single part names are often formed from a generic part which either "signifies a type *(Niemi),* designate *(Porvoo)* or signify a special feature (*Katinhäntä, Saarela* 'the object on the shore of the lake Saarijärvi')."

[18] *Name formation suffixes* are those suffixes that are used instead of generic part in the end of a name (e.g. *-lA, -nen* or *-sto*) (cf. AINIALA et al. 2012: 77).

[19] It must be noted that even STOEBKE speaks of "ostseefinnischen Personennamen" (Finnic personal names), he has included names from Sami areas as well. Nowadays, Sami is not considered to be a Finnic language (LEHTINEN 2007: 82).

Semantically, Finnic names were originally descriptive with a comprehensible meaning (ibid. 148).[20] However, it is problematic to claim that all Finnic names were like this. Children were often named after their grandparents (or other ancestors), as well. In that kind of scenario, the name lost its descriptiveness.[21]

In previous studies, many name elements have been considered pre-Christian. It is impossible to say how many anthroponyms there have been. In this study, I follow Stoebke's idea of pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms. These 22 name elements are: *Auva, Heimo, Hyvä, Iha, Ikä, Ilma, Jou(t)si, Kaikki, Kauk(k)a, Kirja, Kyllä, Lempi, Meeli, Neuvo, Päivä, Toivo, Un(n)i, Unta, Valta, Viha, Vihta* and *Vilja* (STOEBKE 1964: 83–108).[22]

It is very likely, that this is not a complete list. However, most of the name elements presented by Stoebke are names which have probably been used during the late Iron Age and early Middle Ages (cf. KEPSU 2015a: 130). In addition, one of the aims of this research is to study if above-mentioned name elements were pre-Christian anthroponyms. If this is the case, names should be found in old village names as well (cf. RINTALA 2008: 45–50).

2. Research material and methodology

My main source is the book series *Suomenmaa* where all the villages of Finland from the beginning of 20th century (9 985 villages) are presented. From this material, I have chosen those village names, which are based on the personal name elements Stoebke presented (see chapter 1.3. for these). One must remember, however, that there are no certain etymologies when speaking hundreds of years old names. For example, many names in the Swedish speaking areas of Finland are problematic, because Swedish usage superseded Finnish-language forms.[23] In addition, there are dialect differences in Finland and one name element may have various forms, e.g. *Kyllelä* (Paimio municipality) and *Kyllölä* (Puumala municipality). Additionally, many names have been

[20] E.g. *Hyvä* 'gut' (in English 'good') + *mieli* 'Sinn, Gemütsart, -stimmung, -zustand; Gedanke, Verstand; Ansicht, Meinung, Geschmack; Wille, Absicht, Vorsatz' (in English 'sense, temper, mood, state of mind; thought, mind; point of view, opinion, taste; will, intention, purpose' (STOEBKE 1964: 136, 139).

[21] For example, the old tax accounts show that it was common to name a son after the grandfather. This phenomenon is seen in the old Tyrvis municipality (village *Vataja* and homestead *Knuutti*): householder *Lars Jönsson* (1540), *Jöns Larsson* (1565) and *Lars Jönsson* (1569) (SAYL). The Sami people had similar habits in the 18th century: the first son was named after the father's father and the second one after mother's father (VALTONEN 2017: 306–307).

[22] It would be a difficult task to translate all the name elements as they have multiple meanings. STOEBKE (1964: 136–144) has comprehensive descriptions of them (in German).

[23] For example, the oldest forms (1540: *Kowckala,* 1545: *Kauckala*) of the (Swedish) village name *Koikulla* (Parainen municipality) show that the name was originally Finnish *Kaukola.*

standardized many according to existing standardization praxis. There has been a lot more variation in the spelling of a name than the official name forms show. For example, *Hyvelä* (Lohja municipality) has the following pronunciations: *hyvälä, hyvelä, hyvölä* (NA).[24]

I have used etymological place name and personal name handbooks (e.g. FSBN, SPNK and USNK) when examining whether a name is chosen for the study. In addition, I have used old documents and name forms mentioned in them in order to solve some more difficult cases (e.g. SAYL and The National Archives of Finland). Unclear cases have not been included.[25] Altogether, there are 158 names, which are, with high probability, based on STOEBKE's list of pre-Christian name elements. Out of these, 123 are from the current area of Finland and 31 from the ceded area of Karelia.

Since *Suomenmaa* material does not contain coordinates, the *Place Name Register of the National Land Survey of Finland* has been used as a reference material for the names found from the current area of Finland. A handful of villages (10) do not exist anymore (as villages or homesteads), and are not found from the register. The same applies to Karelian villages. The locations of lost and Karelian villages were defined by using old maps (especially an atlas called *Taloudellinen kartta* from the beginning of 20th century). Chosen names are presented as they are written in *Suomenmaa.* The orthography of the village names has changed during the centuries, and thus some of the name forms differ from the ones used currently in *Place Name Register.* For example, village *Ihalainen* in Rautalampi is nowadays known as *Ihalaiskylä.*

In the following, I analyse the results and answer my research questions. In addition, the geographical distribution of Finnic village names is presented on a map. I summarize the results and conclusions in the end.

3. Results

3.1. Village names based on pre-Christian anthroponyms compared to Finnish settlement names

Finnic village names cover only a minimal part of Finnish village names. In the beginning of 20th century, there were 9 985 villages in Finland (Suomenmaa). This number can be compared to the amount of Finnic village names, 158. The result shows that the number of Finnic village names is very low, only 1.6%.

[24] NA is a collection of names, which was established in the beginning of 20th century. It has currently circa 2.7 million names collected.

[25] For example, village names based on name element *Mietti/u-* are not chosen even it is completely possible that they originally derive from *Mielit(ty)-* (cf. USNK s.v. Miettinen).

This small number seems natural considering that village names based on pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms present the oldest stratum of village names. Furthermore, some names must have changed during the centuries (cf. AINIALA et al. 2012: 57). The major reason for the small number is the establishment of new villages after the 13th century. There were around 50 000 inhabitants in Finland in the beginning of Middle Ages (c. 1150) (HAGGRÉN 2015: 423). This number started to grow rapidly. New settlements spread around the remote and sparsely inhabited areas in Finland. In the beginning of the 16th century, the number of inhabitants was already circa 300 000 (ibid.). Thus, most of the Finnish villages were established after the so-called pre-Christian era (after 1150). Accordingly, it comes as no surprise that only a few villages are named using pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms.

3.2. Structure of village names based on pre-Christian anthroponyms

Most of the pre-Christian name elements appeared in specific parts of the village names as simplex names *(**Kauko**-la)* or as simplex names with suffixes *(**Lemme**-**tty**-lä)*.[26] Complex names are only a few: *Hyvä-neula (*Hyvä-neuvo-la), Iha-lempiä-lä, Ikä-valko-la, Ilma-toivo-la* and *Kauko-lempiä-lä.*[27] This is not surprising since many complex names would be unpractically long as mere anthroponyms and even longer when the locational suffix (e.g. *-lA*) was added. In addition, losses of sounds, *apocope* and *syncope* have affected the name forms. These phenomena have been productive especially in Southwestern Finland (LEHTINEN 2007: 249–252).[28]

Finnic village names are, in turn, structurally either single part names (e.g. *Kaukola*) or compound names (e.g. *Ikoin-niemi*). The latter type is rare. Only *Ikoin-niemi, Kaukon-pieli, Lemmin-kylä, Mielis-holm, Yliselänauvila* and *Ytter-Ölmos* are names that are or can be considered compound place names. The rest of the names (152) are single part place names. Most of them include locational suffixes*:* like *-lA* (e.g. *Kauko-la*)*, -nen (Lempoi-nen), -s (Kirjai-s)* or *-sti (Ilma-sti)*. Some of the single part village names can be considered ones

[26] Expression spesific part is used for the part of a name that seperates it from other names (e.g. ***Lemmin**-kylä*) (to find more of the subject, see AINIALA et al. 2012: 71).

[27] Part *-valko* 'white' in the name *Ikävalkola* is not any of the pre-Christian name elements I chose for this study but still it can be considered as a name element that was also used in the naming during the pre-Christian times (cf. AINIALA et al. 2012: 158–159).

[28] E.g. *Vaistenkylä* (Turku municipality) has gone through apocope and syncope. The name was originally **Vaivaistenkylä* 'village of crippled ones' (1540: *Vaijvaisten kylä*) (SAYL).

without any locational suffix: *Auvi, Hyvinkää, Ihalempi, Ihatsu, Ihode, Ilmari, Kaukka, Toivakka, Unaja, Untamo, Valto* and *Vihattu*.[29]

Altogether, 87 percent of the names have one of the above-mentioned locational suffixes. Out of them, *-lA* is the most commonly used one (113 names). This backs up the fact which was presented in the introduction: among village names based on old anthroponyms the locative suffix *-lA* is the most popular (cf. RINTALA 2008: 22). The second most common are names ending with *-nen* (24). It is a common thought that surnames ending with *-nen* are from Eastern Finland and names ending with *-la* from Western Finland even the current research has proven that it is not so straightforward (cf. USNK 241). There is not that kind of phenomenon among the village names based on pre-Christian anthroponyms. Almost all the names with the ending *-nen* are located in western Finland. No Finnic village names with the ending *-nen* are found in Karelia.

3.3. Popularity of pre-Christian name elements in village names

The following list shows name elements used in descending order: *Kauk(k)a* (in 32 village names), *Lempi* (19), *Iha* (17), *Toivo* (14), *Auvo* (10), *Valta* (10), *Ilma* (8), *Hyvä* (7), *Vilja* (7), *Ikä* (6), *Unta* (6), *Kirja* (6), *Viha* (4), *Heimo* (3), *Kyllä* (3), *Vihta* (3), *Neuvo* (2), *Un(n)i* (2), *Meeli* (1), and *Päivä* (1).[30] Name elements not found were *Joutsi* and *Kaikki.*

It would be interesting to study if some names have been more popular in one area than in another, but that is a topic of another study. In an overall picture, it looks as if most of the names are evenly distributed around the southern Finland. The geographical distribution of village names is presented in the next chapter.

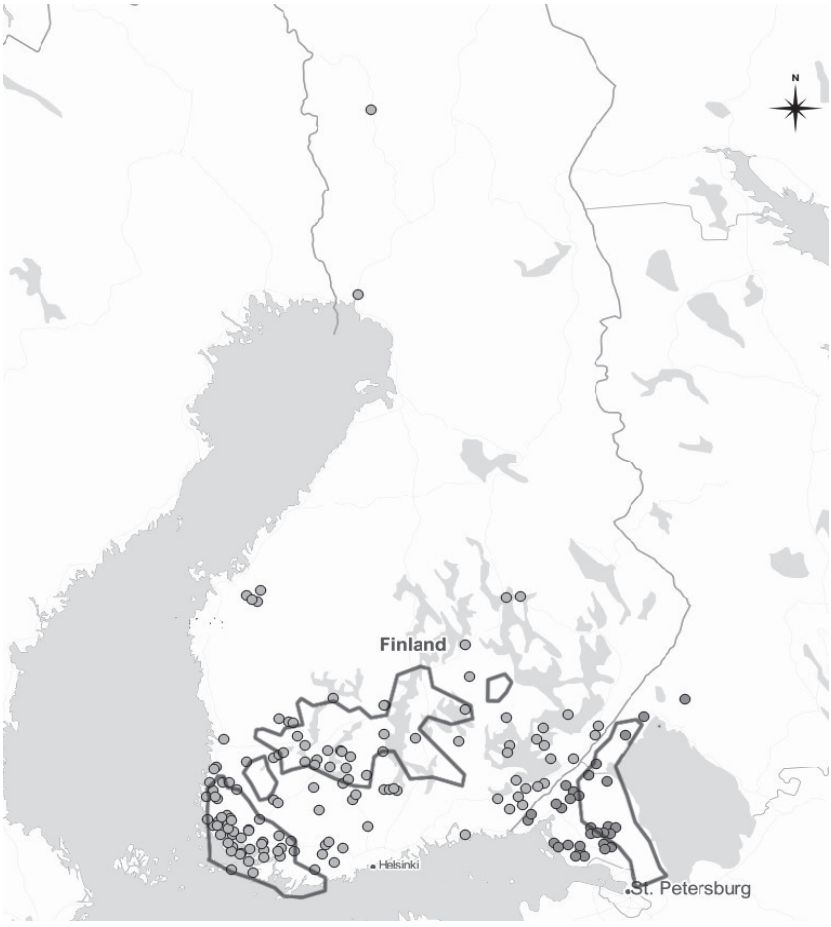
3.4. The geographical distribution of village names based on pre-Christian anthroponyms

The Map 1 shows where Finnic village names are located. Round dots show Finnish village names based on pre-Christian name elements. Most of the names are found in southern Finland. There are four areas of name concentration.

[29] It must be taken into account that in ancient name usage, people did not necessary make difference between personal name and settlement name. Possible example of this is the name form *Ihala.* Its structure hints that is a settlement name. However, it has been clearly used as a main name as well (cf. RINTALA 2008: 86–87). Another example is the name *Ihari* which could be understood as a single part village namebecause *-ri* is an old personal name suffix (RINTALA 2008: 192). On the other hand, *-ri* is also used as locational suffix (but mostly among the lake names) (RAUNAMAA 2015: 33–34).

[30] A village name can have two pre-Christian name elements (e.g. *Iha-lempi*).

Starting from the west, the first area is Finland Proper (also known as Southwest Finland). Especially the coastal area is full of names. Second, many names are found in the old province of Häme (in Swedish *Tavastland*) and more precisely the vicinity of the lake Vanajavesi.[31] The third concentration point is Eastern Finland. There are many names on both sides of the Finnish-Russian border south from Lake Saimaa. The fourth area could be seen as a continuum to the third one because they are close to each other. This concentration is located on the shores of the river Vuoksi and to the south of it, on the shores of the Karelian Isthmus.



Map 1: The geographical distribution of village names based on pre-Christian name elements and the core areas of the Iron Age settlements in Finland

[31] Haggrén (2011: 152–155) is good source to find out more information on how Finnish provinces evolved during the Middle Ages.

The grey lines on the Map 1 represent the archaeologists' classical point of view of which areas of Finland were permanently inhabited at the end of the Iron Age (drawn by the author on the basis of LAHELMA 2009 and VAHTOLA 2003: 56). Nowadays, archaeologists think there were more places inhabited than was previously posited (cf. RANINEN–WESSMAN 2015: 354–355). Nevertheless, it cannot be neglected that areas inside the grey-lined area were the most populated and culturally developed ones (cf. ibid.).

It is reasonably obvious that the Iron Age settlements and concentrations of Finnic village names correlate with each other. It would be tempting to claim that this proves Finnic village names actually derived from the pre-Christian era. However, the truth might not that simple. For example, so-called *transferred names* (see BRINK 2016) must have affected the spread of the pre-Christian nomenclature in village names. The southeast corner of Finland and the Karelian Isthmus are interesting areas as well. There are quite a lot of Finnic village names but as well rather far away from the core areas of Iron Age Finland. Archaeologists think that both areas were probably inhabited during the late Iron Age (RANINEN–WESSMAN 2015: 353, 358).

4. Conclusions

The main purpose of this article was to study what kind of village names are based on pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms. This was done by analysing the research material from different aspects. New information was gathered on both name systems, Finnish village names and Finnish pre-Christian anthroponyms.

Firstly, the amount of village names based on pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms is small (158 names). This is only one or two percentages of the village names' overall amount. The most common ending for a village name is *-lA,* as was to be expected. Out of varied pre-Christian Finnic name elements the most commonly used ones were *Kauk(k)a* (in 32 village names), *Lempi* (19), *Iha* (17), *Toivo* (14), *Auvo* (10) and *Valta* (10).

The geographical distribution of Finnic village names shows that names are located in southwestern and southeastern parts of Finland. This corresponds with the results of recently published JANNE SAARIKIVI's (2017) article where the focus is on slightly different Finnic pre-Christian personal name elements and their use in toponyms around the North-Eastern Europe. In addition, this study shows that most of the names are close to central areas of Iron Age Finland. This gives an impression that the pre-Christian anthroponyms were used especially by those people, who were permanently living in villages and whose most important livelihood was agriculture. Notably, the village names based on pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms are located in rather small area.

It is impossible to define an exact period when the Finnic village names were created. One must also remember that there must have been time specific and regional differences in the use of pre-Christian anthroponyms. SAARIKIVI claims that the names he studied would have "emerged before the 15th–16th centuries" (2017: 29). It is safe to assume that the name elements used in this study would be approximately from the same period. Areas that were inhabited mostly in 15th and 16th centuries, like northern parts of Central Finland and Northern Savonia (cf. an atlas *Suomen asutus 1560-luvulla: Kartasto*), have very little Finnic village names which hints that use of pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms had already been superseded when the settlement wave started. Thus, it is safe to suggest that studied pre-Christian name elements were in use from the late Iron Age to 14th–15th centuries.

This article answers many questions on the use of pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms in Finnish village names. Many things, however, are still uncertain and need further studies. For example, the area of study should be widened to include the area of other Finnic languages (e.g. Estonia and Ingria). This would give a better picture on how the name elements have developed and spread to new places.

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Abstract

The article analyses Finnish village names based on pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms (personal names). Thus, it brings new information on the pre-Christian anthroponyms used in Finland and the old Finnish village name system. Altogether, 158 village names attributed to pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms were found in Finland and the ceded area of Karelia.

Village names based on pre-Christian Finnic anthroponyms are examined from different perspectives. The analysis shows, for example, that the most popular locative suffix used in the studied village names, is *-lA* (e.g. *Lempiä-lä*). The most frequent pre-Christian name element is *Kauko* (32 names). In addition, the names studied are placed on a map. The geographical distribution of names shows that they are mostly located in southern Finland. Most of the names are also close to areas where Iron Age settlements of Finland were located.

Keywords: toponyms, anthroponyms, village names, pre-Christian

Unni Leino

Overlap in present-day Finnish place names, given names, and surnames

1. Names and patterns

One of the fundamental questions – if not *the* question – in onomastics is the nature and origins of proprical expressions. Until the mid-20th century, the prevailing consensus was that names were descriptive in origin. While this was especially relevant in the case of toponyms, the origins of anthroponyms was viewed similarly. As a general onomastic principle this traces back to GOTTFRIED WILHELM VON LEIBNIZ (1710): "Illud enim pro axiomate habeo, *omnia nomina quæ vocamus propria, aliquando appellativa fuisse,* alioqui ratione nulla constarent."

Especially in the past few decades, scholars have increasingly started to disagree with this view, to the extent of suggesting that proper names are in fact primary and appellative nouns a secondary development (e.g. VAN LANGENDONCK 2007: 116–118), or that properhood itself is not a categorical property but rather a matter of pragmatics (e.g. COATES 2005, 2006). In any case, however, it is clear that there are interactions between appellative nouns and proper names, and between proper names in different categories.

The transition from seeing names as a development of descriptive appellations started in the latter half of the 20th century, when several onomasticians (notably VINCENT BLANÁR and RUDOLF ŠRÁMEK in Czechoslovakia, and KURT ZILLIACUS and EERO KIVINIEMI in Finland) began formulating a theoretical framework that saw naming as a pattern-based process. Most of this pioneer work was done in the context of toponyms (e.g. ZILLIACUS 1966, ŠRÁMEK 1972, KIVINIEMI 1977), but the model-based approach applies equally well to anthroponyms (BLANÁR 1990, PAIKKALA 2004: 44–51) and is compatible with a cognitive view on linguistics (SJÖBLOM 2006, LEINO 2007).

In toponomastics, model-based naming has typically been described as having separate models for structure and content. In ŠRÁMEK's (1972) view, the overall model can be described as a formula

$$ON = S\,\frac{AM + WM}{Z + L}$$

where the place name (ON, Ortsname) is derived from a complex interaction between the language (S, Sprache), the patterns that govern the motivations for the name (AM, Ausgangsstellungsmodell) and its structure (WM, Wortbildende

Modell); moreover, these patterns are specific to time (Z, Zeit) and place (L, geographische Lage).

Having separate patterns for the structure and content of the name can be used to describe different aspects of such pairs of names as *Myllyjärvi* 'Mill Lake' – *Kirkkojärvi* 'Church Lake', *Mäntyjärvi* 'Pine Lake' – *Mäntylampi* 'Pine Pond', *Iso Haukilampi* 'Great Pike Pond' – *Pieni Haukilampi* 'Small Pike Pond' or *Valkeinen* 'The White' – *Mustalampi* 'Black Pond' (LEINO 2005). In anthroponyms, the meaning of name elements is typically less relevant, and it is more useful to see names as forming a series, such as the female given names ending in *-nja* (SARTJÄRVI 2011): *Anja, Banja, Benja, Binja, Brenja, Brynja, Cenja, Cinja, Danja, Denja, Donja, Dunja, Enja, Fanja, Fenja, Finja, Fonja, Frinja, Genja, Granja, Henja, Inja, Janja, Jinja, Jonja, Kenja, Kinja, Kranja, Ksenja, Lenja, Lonja, Manja, Menja, Minja, Monja, Nanja, Nenja, Ninja, Onja, Panja, Penja, Pinja, Ranja, Renja, Rinja, Ronja, Sanja, Senja, Sinja, Sonja, Stanja, Svenja, Taanja, Tanja, Tenja, Tinja, Tonja, Tunja, Unja, Vanja, Venja, Vinja, Wanja, Xenja, Ynja, Zenja.*

In studying the use of names, the difference of the two viewpoints is not all that relevant: whether names have developed from appellative descriptions or appellatives from proper names, the difference between an appellative noun and a proper name is that the primary pragmasemantic content of the latter is a reference to an individual while the former has a more general meaning. However, in studying the various relationships between proper names and appellatives, and between different types of proper names, it would be misleading to start from the assumption that names are by nature appellative and descriptive in origin.

It's important to understand that pattern-based naming does not require that all patterns are already established, just as not all new sentences are completely based on established grammatical structures. Naming is innovation, and the 'patterns' that are used can be just single prior examples (see e.g. LEINO 2007). On the other hand, the more thoroughly a pattern has been entrenched as a part of the onomastic system the more likely it is to be used in coining new names.

2. Overlapping categories

A proper name can appear in several different categories. For instance, looking at Finnish toponyms and anthroponyms, *Kanerva* appears as a male given name, a female given name, a surname, and a name for a farm, a village, a field, and a small hill. There are several relatively common reasons for this kind of overlap in the Finnish toponomastic and anthroponomastic systems.

Toponyms are often taken from anthroponyms, typically by a farm being named for its owner (e.g. KEPSU 1981: 283). Earlier, the farmer's personal name was used for this, so that there are toponyms that look like given names; in the past century or so, though, it has become increasingly common to use a surname. These farm names can occasionally be transferred further, so that eventually the anthroponym ends up as being the name of an entire village, or in rare cases a natural feature such as a bay or a hill.

Similarly, toponyms can become anthroponyms. The most common way for this to happen is for a farm name to be adopted as a surname; this has happened regularly enough that the connection is used also to name farms after the owner families. In addition to this, since the 19th century some names of natural features – like the fell *Saana* or the lake *Inari* – have become given names.

There are also connections between surnames and given names. Sometimes given names have become surnames; historically, this isn't a case of an unmarked patronymic byname becoming hereditary, but rather a more complex development where often the surname has been taken from a farm name that can be further traced to a given name.

There are also cases where the names have been taken separately but from a common origin. For instance, *Kanerva* 'heather' has been adopted as both a given name and a surname, and also – likely through ellipsis – as the name of a couple of small hills. In some cases, the names have a similar-appearing form but different etymologies, so that for instance *Kaija* as a given name is a contraction of *Catharina* but as a surname derived from an appellative meaning 'gull'.

3. Material

To look at how common these different types of overlap are in present-day Finnish names, I have used two different data sources, both kept up to date by government offices.

For anthroponyms, I've used the Population Information System, kept by the Population Registration Centre; a snapshot with a selection of onomastically relevant fields was acquired by the Institute for the Languages of Finland in February 2002 and is available for research purposes. A summary of the names is shown as Table 1. This study uses the given names and surname given at birth to those people whose native language is listed as Finnish. The number of all given names is smaller than the sum of names given to girls and boys, as there is a number of names that are gender-neutral to some degree (see e.g. LEINO 2014: 806–807).

	Given names			Surnames	People
	All	Female	Male		
Finnish	63 564	38 565	27 360	93 706	6 822 100
All languages	100 488	58 556	47 414	153 893	7 539 588

Table 1: Anthroponyms in the Population Information System

For toponyms, I've used the Place Name Register kept by the National Land Survey for the purposes of compiling maps that cover Finland. Several snapshots of the register were acquired by the Institute for the Languages of Finland for onomastic research; I've used one taken in 2001 as the one that most closely matches the anthroponym data. The toponym data is summarised as Table 2.

	Names	Places
Finnish	303 626	717 747
All languages	359 394	800 924

Table 2: Toponyms in the Place Name Register

4. Overlapping names

While an in-depth research of the relationships between toponyms and anthroponyms would be a massive task, these data sets make it easy to compare the names and look for simple overlap between the categories. In this study, I look at identical forms – for instance, *Pentti* as a given name, surname, and place name, but not the related place name *Penttilä.* This is, of course, not an ideal solution but a necessary one, as finding etymological connections between names is difficult even for a well-trained onomastician. Nevertheless, there is a lot of overlap: as seen in Table 3, there are even a few names that have 50 instances in each of the three categories.

	All	≥ 2	≥ 5	≥ 10	≥ 20	≥ 50
Place / surnames	23 486	14 502	7 148	4 030	2 258	925
Given / surnames	4 762	2 555	1 215	759	467	261
Place / given names	1 855	742	201	79	23	4
All three	1 397	625	195	79	23	4

Table 3: Overlapping names

4.1. Surnames as place names

Surnames and place names are the pair of categories where overlap occurs most frequently, and 53 most common Finnish surnames all appear as place names as well. One can divide these into three or five distinct categories.

First, there are surnames that started out as farm names. This follows the traditional Western Finnish practice of a farmer using his farm name as a customary byname; this practice was common enough that in 1903–06 recommendations for adopting farm names as surnames were published in newspapers (MIKKONEN 2013: 71–77).

For the purposes of this study, the farm names that are used as surnames can be further divided into ones that contain an old personal name, like *Heikkilä* < *Heikki* (with 18 391 instances as a surname and 1 133 as a place name) or *Mattila* < *Matti* (16 094 and 1 028) and ones that are not anthroponymic in origin, such as *Mäkelä* < *mäki* 'hill' (26 759 and 2 199) or *Niemi* 'cape' (20 732 and 558). Both these categories contain names that are relatively common as toponyms, which is not surprising considering the toponymic origin of the names.

Second, there are old surnames. While surnames have been mandatory in Finland only since 1921, they have been used in Eastern Finland at least since the first Savonian tax records in the 16th century. These names can be further divided into ones that are patronymic in origin, such as *Heikkinen* (24 022 and 20) or *Manninen* (13 506 and 40), and those that are not, like *Korhonen* (32 632 and 18) or *Hämäläinen* (27 368 and 24). These are markedly less common as toponyms, as here the toponymic use is secondary.

Third, there are new surnames that originate from the mid-19th century or later. PAIKKALA (2004: esp. 400–415) has tracked the origins of these names and found two main types; both of her prototype names, *Virtanen* (36 493 and 53) and *Laine* (26 235 and 48), appear as place names as well. The frequency of these new surnames as toponyms is on par with that of the old surnames, which indicates that the toponymic use of surnames is mostly a young phenomenon. In addition to these, MIKKONEN (2013: 153–156) also lists surnames taken in late 19th and early 20th century that were based on toponyms other than farm names.

The most common toponyms that appear as surnames are either farm names like *Koivula* < *koivu* 'birch' (5 319 and 2 221, rank 1) or *Keskitalo* 'Middle House' (2 890 and 547, rank 51), or other old locatives like *Myllykoski* 'Mill Rapids' (1 110 and 373, rank 101) or *Lahti* 'Bay' (10 876 and 248, rank 201). These cover roughly the 250 most common toponyms in the surname set; after a a transitional zone of ranks 250–350 or so, other toponyms become the norm.

These include agrarian toponyms like *Isoniitty* 'Big Meadow' (6 and 159, rank 358), natural places such as *Kalliojärvi* 'Rocky Lake' (234 and 130, rank 452), names with pleasant connotations that make them appe alingas surnames, like *Mansikkamäki* 'Strawberry Hill' (861 and 186, rank 289), and modern surnames of the types discussed by PAIKKALA (2004: 212–222) such as *Aaltonen* (15 069 and 21, rank 2 645). Finally, there are occasional surnames of recent foreign origin, like *Andrejev* (80 and 1).

4.2. Surnames as given names

The overlap between surnames and given names is not nearly as large as that between surnames and place names. Nevertheless, most of the top male given names appear as surnames as well, like *Juhani* (31 880 instances as a given name and 1 as a surname) or *Tapio* (130 391 and 2 317). As seen here, some of these names are very rare as surnames, though. Moreover, only some of the common female given names do so, like *Helena* (152 377 and 1) but not *Maria* (301 211).

Likewise, many of the most common surnames occur in the data as given names. In many cases, this does not indicate real use as given names; rather, these can be explained as marital double surnames mistyped without a hyphen, so that one of the surname elements is incorrectly interpreted as a given name, or Scandinavian mellannamn (ENTZENBERG 2005, HARDING KÆLLERØD 2017) of people who have married in Sweden or Denmark and later moved back to Finland. Some, however, are genuinely used in both categories; these include both 19th century new-style surnames (MIKKONEN 2013: 248–254) such as *Laine* (199 and 26 235, rank 5) and old personal names like *Heino* (3 596 and 8 984, rank 37).

There are 26 names that occur at least 500 times in both categories. Some of these are medieval given names, like *Heino,* a Finnish form of *Heinrich.* While the historical Finnish name system did not include unmarked patronymic bynames that would have led directly to surnames, given names did occasionally become farm names (KEPSU 1981: 287–289).

Some of the names common in both categories date clearly from the 19th century. In that period, there was a major push towards Finnish names, and the new ones did not always establish themselves clearly in a single category. As a result, names like *Ahti* < 'pagan god of water / fishing' (9 511 and 731) or *Kanerva* < 'heather' (1 218 and 4 241) ended up common as both given and place names.

Finally, there are some names where the overlap is by chance: in some cases, a surname and a given name can look similar but have different etymologies.

Thus *Kaija* (18 447 and 641) is on the one hand a Finnish variant of the given name *Catharina* but on the other hand a surname ultimately derived from a dialectal word for 'gull'.

4.3. Given names as place names

The overlap between given names and place names is again less common than that between the two anthroponymic categories, as seen in Table 4. Moreover, the overlap of given names with, on the one hand, place names and, on the other hand, with surnames is clearly correlated, so that all given names which appear at least 9 times as place names also appear as surnames.

	Gender	Given name	Surname	Place name
Juhani	m	318 880	1	2
Maria	f	301 211	–	–
Johannes	m	212 790	11	–
Olavi	m	210 153	1	–
Antero	m	175 428	21	1
Helena	f	152 377	1	–
Tapani	m	148 040	463	28
Anneli	f	140 370	–	–
Kalevi	m	139 084	42	–
Tapio	m	130 391	2 317	35
Johanna	f	128 752	–	–
Kaarina	f	127 283	–	1

Table 4: Most common given names as both surnames and place names

There are 458 given names that occur as place names but not surnames. The oldest ones of these – those that were already used as given name before 1880 – are traditional given names. Many of these, such as *Eerikki* (3 724 and 3, two farms and an island, first occurrence as given name in 1859), are cases where a farm name was based on a personal name but didn't develop into a surname, while others, like *Saara* (17 185 and 1, brook, given name since 1862) or *Kaarlo* (25 678 and 1, island, given name since 1867) have various other origins. These names are all very rare as place names, regardless of their frequency as a given name.

Starting in the 1880's, new given names such as *Ainikki* (591 amd 1, woods, given name since 1881) or *Ihana* 'lovely' (63 and 4, all houses, given name

since 1882) appear. Many of these seem to be villa names that were motivated by the wishes of the villa owner.

Since the 1960's, the motivation for choosing either the given name or the place name have been less and less clear. In some cases, like *Manteli* 'almond' (10 and 1, farm, given name since 1972), the name appears semantically transparent; in others, like *Muska* (7 and 1, farm, given name since 1965), names is opaque. In yet others, the given name is clearly a pet form of an established given name, like *Hessu* (4 and 2, cape and lake, given name since 1989), usually a from of *Henrik* but listed by VILKUNA et al. (1984) also as used for *Hedvig, Helena, Helge* and *Hesekiel,* or *Jamppa* (5 and 1, village, given name since 1962), given by VILKUNA et al. as a form of *Jalmari* < *Hjalmar* and PAUNONEN–PAUNONEN (2000) for *Jarmo* < *Jeremias* and *Janne* < *Johannes*.

4.4. All three at once

As already seen in Table 3, a vast majority of the given names that appear as place names appear also as surnames. There are in total 1 397 of them; 10 names have at least 30 occurrences in all of the categories. These can be divided into four distinct groups.

First, there are the medieval given names *Pentti* < *Benedict* (58 572 given names, 1 097 surnames and 35 place names) and *Soini* < *Sven* (1 511 and 2 915 and 36). Here, the given name has first become a farm name, and the farm name subsequently adopted as a surname.

Second, there are names with associations to nature: *Alho* 'small marsh' (156 and 2 523 and 226), *Kanerva* 'heather' (1 218 and 4 241 and 91), *Laine* 'wave' (199 and 26 235 and 48) and *Siimes* 'calm shadowy place' (33 and 465 and 81). The vast majority of the toponymic occurrences are house names, although *Alho* appears often as a field name as well.

Third, there is one name that has its origins in Finnish mythology. *Tapio* (130 391 and 2 317 and 35) is mentioned as the name of a god of forests and hunting already by AGRICOLA (1551) in his list of pagan deities. As a given name it started gaining popularity in the early 20th century, with a peak just after the middle of the century; the toponymic occurrences are again mostly houses.

Fourth, there are three cases where the given name is etymologically different from the surname and place name. *Kari* (55 995 and 3 033 and 54) as a given name is a contraction of *Makarios,* but its toponymic use comes from the appellative *kari* 'underwater rock'. Similarly, *Maja* (64 and 552 and 47) is a Swedish variant of *Maria,* occasionally seen in Finnish as well, while the

toponym is based on *maja* 'hut'. These places, too, are mostly houses. Finally, *Roni* (2 140 and 119 and 53) as a given name is a contraction of *Hieronymus;* the origins of the similar-sounding toponym – in this case, evenly divided between small woods, hills, and houses – is less clear. There is a dialectal appellative meaning 'spring' (from Swedish *brunn* 'well'), but its georaphic distribution does not match that of the toponym.

5. Conclusion

There is a lot of overlap between surnames and place names. The overlap is mostly between surnames and farm names, and there are three historical developments that had led to this. In Western Finland, there was a long-standing tradition, since medieval times, to use the farm name as a byname in various documents, often in addition to a patronymic. Continuing this use, in the late 19th and early 20th century it was common – and even recommended – to adopt the farm name as a surname.

In Eastern Finland, hereditary surnames were in use already at the time of the earliest comprehensive records in the 16th century. In some cases, the surname became also the name of the farm. In a similar manner, farm names were given after surnames in the 20th century; this, however, can be seen as a distinct phenomenon, motivated after a more general awareness of the connection between surnames and place names. This connection has also led to new surnames being coined from existing toponyms, in modern times mostly other than farm names.

Given names have less in common with the other two categories. Many of the cases are due to farms, especially the oldest ones, being named after individuals, and for various reasons given names as such appear also as the names of other types of places. Most of the given names that appear as place names exist also as surnames, and there are no significant given names that are clearly toponymic in origin.

The rise of national awareness in 19th century led to new Finnish anthroponyms, both given and surnames. This trend continued several decades into the 20th century, and as new names were coined they were not always established in one category before being used in the other. As a result, despite a clearly stated prohibition in the Given Names Act of 1945, there is significant overlap between the two categories. In some cases, the given name and surname have different etymological origins.

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Abstract

Since the last third of the 20th century, naming has been seen as pattern-based. These patterns are specific to language, culture and time, and also to the name category so that anthroponyms and toponyms are typically different both in structure and content. The categories have overlapping names and elements, however.

In Finland, the National Land Survey has a database of every toponym on the 1:20 000 map, and similarly the Population Information System includes the names of every Finn was alive c. 1970 or was born thereafter. A snapshot of both of these registers from the start of the current century is available for onomastic research. Comparing these data sets confirms that there is a lot of overlap between surnames and place names; the overlap between given names and either of the first two categories is much smaller but nevertheless interesting. There are multiple reasons for the overlap, dating from the middle ages to modern times.

Keywords: toponyms, anthroponyms, cross-category names, data mining

Halszka Górny

Polish Name-Based Toponyms from Historical and Cultural Perspective

1. Transonymizing relations between two classes of onyms: toponyms and anthroponyms have two sides to their character. Personal names are at the basis of many geographical names, and toponym derivatives can be among antroponyms (mainly names and nicknames). In this article I am going to discuss the settlement names of Poland within its current territory, derived from names. The findings presented will be based on the results of research done to date, as well as my own exploration and observations; however, in many of the cases they are not intended as decisive conclusions. These will become possible as soon as the project *Imiona jako podstawy nazw geograficznych Polski* (Names as Basis of Polish Geographical Names), initiated at the Institute of the Polish Language at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow, is finished.

2. I am going to present a general outlook of these generally accepted concepts, leading to an, as full as possible, description of the name-derived group of Polish toponyms. Until the present, no study encompassing all name-based toponyms has been published. However, many regional monographies and studies of particular semantic and suffixal types of settlement names, which also make note of anthroponym-derived oikonyms (see e.g. ROSPOND 1983, RYMUT 1973) should be mentioned, as well as drafts concerning toponyms motivated by a specific group of names or particular names (e.g. BIJAK 2001: 125–135, CZOPEK-KOPCIUCH 2011: 227–245, 2017: 43–51, GÓRNY 2007: 101–117, 2011: 65–76, 2017b: 129–141, KARPLUK 1955: 111–160, KOPERTOWSKA 1993: 44–48, WÓJCIK 2017: 303–322).[1]

The concept, worked out as a preliminary stage, takes as its premise two levels of analysis of Polish names: the anthroponymic and the toponymic. It means that attention is focused on personal names, which constitute the linguistic base for geographical names, as well as on toponyms based on names. However, it is oikonyms that are the starting point (the older stratum, until the beginning of the 16th century, as well as a newer one, from the 17th to the 20th century),[2] and the

[1] Interest in the anthropocentric model of name formation within the scope of toponymy has also been shown in other Slavic countries (see e.g. TORKAR 2013a: 111–128, 2013b: 64–65, 2016: 143–157).

[2] The more recent stratum of names may contain information of the culture-conditioned popularity of names used in the naming process (e.g. turn to native names and naming tradition).

essence of the study is going to be constituted by those aspects of the toponyms' function which can shed light on the shaping of the naming system during the history of the Polish language, the geography of names, and the participation of different name groups in particular semantic types of toponyms.

The toponymic material is available thanks to the onomasticon *Nazwy miejscowe Polski. Historia. Pochodzenie. Zmiany* (Place Names of Poland. History. Origins. Changes, 1996–2016, v. I–XIII), which has been edited by the Institute of the Polish Language at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow for several years, as well as the files created for that dictionary (NMPol). The two-way aspect of the research, used as its basis, will allow the exposition of both the scope and degree of dissemination and productivity of particular group names in the toponymic name-forming process and in particular semantic types of oikonyms, the name basis' chronology and geography, and the frequency, spread, and chronology of anthroponym-based toponyms, taking into account the number of morphological structures and semantic types, and their variance from a diachronic perspective. The name formation base of Polish toponyms are: Slavic compound names of Indo-European origin, Christian names (including East Slavic forms), short forms of two-component compound names, derivatives of Christian names and other names, brought in for e.g. by German colonists, which are not Christian ones. The interpretation of place names with personal names (e.g. two-component compound names or a short form) or appellative phrases as their base may be confusing. The determination of the exact base of an oikonym (name- or appelative-derived) in such cases necessitates an in-depth analysis, and in many cases can only remain within the area of hypothesis.

The scope of issues taken up within the project is wide, and its realization is supposed to bring us answers to a number of questions related to the emergence of the anthropocentric model of name formation in toponymy, and the functioning of name-derived oikonyms. Basic issues related to names as the linguistic basis of toponyms are, as was indicated above, related to the number and productivity of names in various toponymic structures, and the chronological continuity of name basis (their documentation in historical sources or toponym-based reconstructions). Approximately 100 compound names were reconstructed on the basis of place names, and surely the list is not exhausted. What is more, there is a potential possibility of expanding the base of names preserved in toponyms, defining the collection of components in compound names and the syntactic relations between them, and demonstrating the collection of derivatives of two-component compound names and Christian

names preserved in toponyms[3]. Another goal of this project is to demonstrate the cultural, religious, and socio-economic causes favouring the presence of particular name groups and their particular realizations in the toponymic stratum. The spellings of place names can, in turn, contribute to the (re) interpretation of phonetic and morphological phenomena occurring in names. Within the research conducted, chronology and frequency of toponyms will also be indicated, taking into account the relation: name-related oikonyms – geographical object (here: the constancy of onyms related to the existence of an object, disappearance of a name related to the disappearance of an object, changes related to the emergence of a new object: reduplication of a toponym by the addition of a differentiating component). One of the more important task is the cartographical study of name-derived toponyms, showing their geographical distribution, as well as the spread of particular semantic and structural types of place names (possessive, patronymic, and ancestral). Name-related oikonyms are found in all districts of old Poland, however their dissipation is varied. It has already been shown in studies, e.g. of toponyms motivated by compound names with an initial *B-* in the first component (Górny 2007: 101–117), ones based on names with the components *mir, miro, bor, woj* (Górny 2011: 65–76), or Mazovian oikonyms derived from two-component names (Wójcik 2017: 303–322). According to the last article, research methodologically situated within the scope of genetic analysis, which allows the description of relations between form, original meaning, and function in proper names, is the most valuable type of study related to toponyms formed from compound names. The method makes a "reconstruction" of the information preserved in place names, both of a linguistic and extralinguistic nature (e.g. from the area of settlement history or the existence of names of small tribes) possible.

Therefore, the issues taken up within the project are closely connected to the history, culture, and civilizational development of Poland. The scope of onomastic and linguistic inquiry must broaden the perspectives of cultural studies, history (e.g. toponyms formed from compound names and their relation to the extent of Slavic settlement or the area of research related to the emergence of the Piast monarchy), anthropology (e.g. explanation of the semantics of name compounds preserved in place names).

3. Name-derived toponyms, described within the project, belong to three groups of names identified in W. Taszycki's categorization used in the research of Slavic toponyms (Taszycki 1946 [1958]: 228–268). These are possessive, patronymic, and ancestral names. Possessive oikonyms were motivated by

[3] The group of short forms of Slavic compound names in the antroponymic plane is not clearly defined, either. According to M. Malec (1982) there are 2800 of them, while A. Bańkowski (1984: 267–284) indicates almost 6000 can be identified.

anthroponyms related to particular people, while the basis of patronymic and ancestral names preserve group anthroponyms (referring to dynastic or family groups).

Among the possessive names created by the use of the suffixes **-jь, -ja, -je, -ow- ~ -ew-, -in, -ina, -ino, -sk(o), -ka, -ówka,* pointing to the owner of the object identified, names with the **-jь* element of the type *Dobiesław, Jaćmierz, Radsuł, Czędomierz, Tęgobórz* (see ROSPOND 1983) are chronologically the oldest and most studied. They are identified with local fortified settlements, since they occur in former settlement centres. Their basis are mostly compound names and short or diminutive forms of two-component names, with the almost complete absence of Christian names. These are, in turn, dominant in names with the suffixes *-ow- ~ -ew-* (e.g. *Jadamowo, Andrzejów*), which were created mainly in the 15th century. It is the period of the most significant change in the history of onomastics, that is, the overtaking of compound names by Christian names, identified with the cult of saints and Christian symbolism (the number of toponyms derived from the names of saints also grew in this period). Possessive names with other suffixes belong to the younger onomastic strata (with exceptions), and were mostly derived from appellative-related personal names (RZETELSKA-FELESZKO 1998: 203–209).

Patronymic names with the suffix **-(ow)itjo,* pointing to members of a community (perhaps a small tribe), identified by a name originally derived from the name of the founder of a dynasty, are most frequent in the area of the oldest Slavic settlement (Lesser Poland, Silesia, eastern Greater Poland). They were created since the earliest period until the 13th–14th centuries, among others from two-component names (e.g. *Ściborzyce, Bogusławice, Przybysławice*), Christian names (already present since the 10th century), e.g. *Abramowice, Jędrzejowice, Grzegorzewice, Michałowice,* from derived name forms: *Boguszyce, Zbyszyce, Zdzieszyce,* as well as from genetically German personal names, e.g. *Ulrychowice, Zygartowice.*[4] During a later period, the toponymic suffix *-(ow)ice* fulfils only a structural function, and the same applies to suffixes of primarily possessive function (see e.g. RYMUT 1973, RZETELSKA-FELESZKO 1998: 199–201).

The greatest increase in the number of ancestral names in plural forms (without a name-forming suffix) occurred in the 15th–16th centuries.[5] Such names occur in all regions of Poland, however they are identified mainly with Mazovia, and their emergence in that region is to be linked with settlement events (13th century: defence against Baltic tribes and the 14th–15th centuries: second wave of colonization under German law). Names of small settlements, usually

[4] However, appellative-derived patronyms are the most frequent basis of patronymic names.

[5] Since the 12th–14th centuries they occurred mainly in the Sieradz-Łęczyca region.

founded by minor nobility, are original collective anthroponyms, which have been toponymized into place names. Names such as *Cibory, Dobrogosty, Mściwuje, Klimki* can be mentioned here, as they usually preserve in their basis the names or nicknames of family patriarchs. They were chosen by the family themselves or given by their closest neighbours (see RZETELSKA-FELESZKO 1998: 201–203, WÓJCIK 2017: 309–310).

4. After a short description of the project's objectives and presentation of the semantic-structural types of place names of anthroponymic origins, it is now time to present selected issues in detail.

One of the pioneering studies of toponyms based on names is M. KARPLUK's (1955) paper, which presents the frequency, chronology, geography, and structure of more than 800 names motivated by female names. Gyneconymic names appeared much later than analogous toponyms based on male names, which has to be associated with the social situation of women in Poland in the past: their lack of rights to property or legal autonomy. The oldest of such names is *Jagnin* in the Opatowski district (in the current Świętokrzyskie Province), which had been noted for the first time in 1440. Others appear in the 16th century (e.g. *Alżbiecino, Hanczyno, Helszczyna Wola, Orszulewo*), their number increased in the 18th century (e.g. *Annopole, Jadwisin, Katarzynowo, Zofibór, Zofiowo*), while they become common only in the 19th century. The acquisition of right to property by women, as well as the ameliorating social position of noblewomen since the 16th century have been favourable to the gradual appearance of possessive and memorial oikonyms. Toponyms based on female names were frequently created by men, who commemorated their wives or daughters in that way. Among these, the most productive are ones with the suffixes *-in (Sabinin, Urszulin, Wandzin), -ow(o) ~ -ew(o) (Elżbietów, Agnieszkowo, Elizewo),* and toponyms with forms identical to female names *(Aniela, Brygidka, Delfina)*.

Oikonyms based on the Christian female name *Maria* and its derivatives (such as *Maryna, Marynka, Marynia, Maryla, Maryśka,* etc.) have been preserved in ca. 100 currently occurring place names, and are described in BARBARA CZOPEK-KOPCIUCH's article (2017: 43–51). The oldest in this group is the name *Marymont* (see *Marie Mont* 'Mary's mountain'), formerly a small palace and suburban farm founded in the 17th century by Maria Kazimiera Sobieska, currently a district of Warsaw. Gyneconymic place names are relatively recent. The earliest mentions of toponyms motivated by the name *Maria* (and its derivatives) as baptismal name occured in the 16th and 17th centuries. They are found mainly in central and northern Poland, with an almost complete absence in the southern regions and Pomerania. They mostly preserve name forms referring to wives and daughters of the localities' founders, or commemorate

women distinguished in the field of culture. Older toponyms based on the name *Maria* (genetically German, later on polonized or replaced after 1945 with new official names), noted in the 13th and 14th centuries, are names of objects in the territory occupied by the Teutonic Order (Elbląskie, Olsztyńskie Province), and their motivation comes from the Holy Virgin Mary, the Order's patron, as well as from numerous churches. These names are, among others: 1276: *Malbork,* 1407: *Marwałd,* 1303: *Mariendale* (currently *Baniewice*), 1834: *Marienhagen* (currently Oświno), (1304–12) 1333: *Marienfelde* (currently *Marianka*).

Onomastic literature has definitely paid more attention to toponyms formed from male names, especially names motivated by the chronologically oldest stratum of names, that is Slavic compound names. The studies of this group of toponyms have not been synthesised till now; however, they seem to be reaching that stage. Recently, a comprehensive article was written by U. Wójcik on Mazovian oikonyms motivated by compound names (2017: 303–322). It demonstrates to which point a proper interpretation of settlement names and the methodology of research applied (genetic interpretation of toponyms) allow a study to reach the extralinguistic issues related to e.g. names of small tribes, or names of people historically related to the Mazovian region and its localities. The author assumes that, despite a lack of mentions in source material, most settlements with names based on compound personal names were created in the early medieval period, and she connects the earliest ones with the beginning of Slavic settlement in Mazovia. Possessive, patronymic, and ancestral names were motivated by particular or collective anthroponyms (names of family or clan communities). Toponyms with **-jь,* considered the oldest ones (see Rospond 1983) are the names of local fortified settlements. Other, chronologically later, possessive names with the sufixes *-ow-, -in-,* two-component names occur much less frequently, since they were gradually being replaced by Christian names (15th century). In patronymic names with the element **-itjo,* situated in the region of the oldest Slavic settlements, the compound names have to be related to clan progenitors. This group of names contains most frequently formed toponyms from appellative-based names or short forms of two-component names. However, the personal names preserved in those toponyms may be the names of so-called small tribes (ancestral communities). Chronologically the most recent ancestral toponyms originate from the names of groups of people, who were founders of a given settlement (usually the name of the family patriarch), and are connected to organized settlement events (13th and 14th–15th centuries: the first and second settlement).[6] In names of this type, compound names occur as parts of larger compounds (especially in northern Mazovia),

[6] U. Wójcik (2017: 309–310) links Mazovian ancestral names with 13th century settlement, when a defensive perimeter was created against the Baltic tribes. The hypothesis is corroborated by the geography of those oikonyms.

usually indicating a specific clan (family), and less frequently the direction of colonization. In total, the author has demonstrated 111 oikonyms motivated by 77 Slavic names in Mazovia[7] (26 are reconstructions based on toponyms, e.g. **Będrog, *Lutostan, *Męciżyr, *Żeligost*), among which the largest percentage is constituted by names with the element *-j-* (49), which might indicate the defensive purpose of places named according to this pattern, especially that such names mostly occur in old settlement centres in areas adjacent to territories held by Baltic tribes (e.g. 1411: *Będzisław,* (1346) XVI: *Borzysław,* 1432: *Dobiesław,* 1386: *Lubowidza,* 1580: *Mysłogoszcz,* 1373: *Niedroż*). The material quoted here also suggests that the most frequent basis of oikonyms are compound names with the elements *-sław, -bor, -mir,* whose semantic meaning points to values important in the Middle Ages, such as peace, war, and fame.

Therefore, settlement names motivated by compound names allow for a reconstruction of the scope of occurrence of Slavic settlement (oikonyms with the element *-j-* indicate the spread of defensive settlement, and patronymic names the extent of clan communities), and on the other hand they can, for example, provide an idea of the Slavs' social existence, their culture, beliefs, and the sphere of their ideas and values: that is, elements important to social or family relations. It is another aspect of research, which has been covered as far as the anthroponymic stratum is concerned (Kaleta 1996: 7–13, Malec 2000: 313–322, Nalepa 1991: 87–97, 1992: 9–15). Similar research, taking into account the toponyms formed from compound names containing the lexemes **mir, *bor, *woj, *gost* (e.g. 1416: *Kupimierz,* (1234): *Ludźmierz,* 1356: *Tęgobórz,* 1238: *Bydgoszcz,* 1508: *Radgoszcz*) (Górny 2011: 65–76) have shown a large presence of names with the elements *mir* (**mirъ* 'peace' 'good') and *bor* (**borti (sę), *boriti (sę)* 'to fight,' **borъ* 'fight'), in oikonymy, which indirectly suggests that the idea of peace and the inclination to war are two opposite, but at the same time intermingled, spheres of human existence, which were also closely related to the lives of Slavs in distant historical epochs. For the oldest toponyms created from compound names with the element *bor* (such as *Cibor, Ścibor, Przybor, Myślibor, Racibor*) it is most frequent in northern Mazovia (former Łomżyńskie, Ciechanowskie Province) and in Greater Poland, and lower in Lesser Poland and Silesia. Toponyms motivated by names of the type: *Chwalimir, Dobromir, Lubomir, Niedamir, Nieznamir, Radomir, Skarbimir, *Bromir, *Warcimir,* reflecting the value of maintaning peace, central to Slavs of the period, occur mostly in central Poland and Greater Poland. The oldest oikonyms, originating from names which can be placed on the antonymic scale *peace – war,* identify objects in former settlement centres.

[7] Preliminary research has shown approximately 1000 such toponyms in Polish territory. They are based on a few hundred compound names. In the area of place names, approximately 100 two-component names have been reconstructed, but the list is still open.

It is worth adding that one of the most common names in the Piast dynasty, later on taken up by the Jagiellonians and the House of Vasa, was *Kazimir* (later reinterpretation: *Kazimierz* 'he who destroys peace'), which belongs to the group of Slavic compound names, and since the 16th century functions as a Christian name. The name, as well as its derivatives, are identified as the basis of more than 60 separate settlement units (Bijak 2001: 125–135). The chronologically older stratum of toponyms, mainly of a commemorative character (here, among others, we find references to kings Casimir I the Restorer and Casimir III the Great) is formed by names with the suffixes **-jь, *-ja* (e.g. 1212: *Kazimierz,* 1298: *Kaźmierz,* (1063): *Kazimierza Mała*) occurring in Lesser Poland, Greater Poland, and Silesia. Much more numerous are the oikonyms noted only as late as the 19th and 20th centuries (when the names were popularised, as opposed to the Middle Ages when it was used mainly in royal and noble families) of the type: *Kazimierz*, *Kaźmierz* (with no toponymic suffix), *Kazimierzów, Kazimierzewo* (with the suffixes *-ów, -ew, -ewo*), *Kaźmierek, Kaźmierki* (formed from surnames or derivatives of the name *Kazimierz*), *Kazimierów, Kazin* (from the female name Kazimiera?). Their localization within the borders of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is, according to the author, related in the 19th century to planned colonization, development of industry, as well as to the enfranchisement of peasants (Bijak 2001: 133).

Thinking of the cultural reasons for the productivity of certain two-component names in the creation of place names, it is feasible to mention oikonyms motivated by the name *Bolesław* ('he who will attain fame', 'one destined for greater fame'), known in many Slavic languages. In medieval Poland the name was given to princes of the Piast dynasty, and outside of its borders, to members of the Czech Přemyslid dynasty. It is possible that Dąbrówka, the daughter of Czech prince Boleslaus I the Cruel, mother of Bolesław I the Brave contributed to the dissemination of the name. It is the basis of seven toponyms noted until the 16th century with the element **-jь* (1. (1279)1445: *Bolesław,* 2. 1377: *Bolesław,* 3. 1327–1342: *Bolesław*), with *-ec* (1. 1201: *Bolesławiec,* 2. (1266): *Bolesławiec*), and with the suffix *-ice* (1. 1253: *Bolesławice,* 2. 1308: *Bolesławice*) (as well as many later ones). These oldest (possessive and patronymic) refer mainly to objects in southern Poland, especially Silesia, and some of them commemorate particular people, such as representative of the Lesser Poland line of the Piast dynasty, Bolesław V the Chaste (*Bolesław* (1), former Katowice Province) or Greater Poland prince Bolesław the Pious, the founder of *Bolesławiec* (2) in the former Kalisz Province (see Górny 2017a: 259).

One of the most interesting branches of Polish toponymy is the one of names motivated by protective names, including anthroponyms containing negation by the element *nie* 'no'. Such names are known in Slavic anthroponymy (e.g.

southern Slavic, Czech), and have been described in detail in the studies of M. MALEC (e.g. 1975b: 259–307, 1978: 183–213, 1999: 124–130). They are linked with the belief in the existence of evil forces, which can cause an illness or death of a child, and the resulting practice of using substitute names instead of real ones. Such names have been preserved in place names of many of the districts of historical Poland. Their high frequency in a way provides a glimpse into the world of old beliefs and shows the importance of such perception of the world and the related type of interpersonal relations to people of that age. However, it should be born in mind that each of the toponym basis contains an anthroponym relating to a particular person or tribal community. Toponyms originating from the names *Niedamir* (1401: *Niedamirowice*!), *Niemoj* (1298: *Niemojew,* 1419: *Niemojewice,* 1470–80: *Niemojowice,* 1418: *Niemojewo*), *Niesuł* (1281: *Niesułków,* 1446: *Niesułowice*) can be quoted as examples. As early as the 1970s M. MALEC had determined that names with negative elements preserved in Polish settlement names extend the collection of names of that type known from other sources by at least 50 examples (MALEC 1975a: 280–291). The material available today may supplement this group with further reconstructions based on toponyms. Names containing negation elements already reconstructed by researchers include ones like **Niemysł* ((1262) 1646: *Niemysłów,* ca. 1300: *Niemysłowice*), **Niewiad* (1403–71: *Niewiadowie,* (1283): *Niewiadów*), **Nielub* (ca. 1300: *Nielubia*), **Niedrog* (1373: *Niedróż*), and many more.

The oldest mentions of place names can be used to determine the geography of names and their phonetic variants. According to L. BEDNARCZUK (2001a: 13–21, 2001b: 189–217), the mentions of geographical names such as: *Sieradza* (village, Lesser Poland Province), *Sieradzka* (former village, currently a hamlet), *Sieradzice* (village, Świętokrzyskie Province), *Sieradz* (city, Łódź Province), *Sieradowice* (settlement and lake, Świętokrzyskie Province), *Szaradowo* (village, Kuyavian-Pomeranian Province), situated throughout Polands territory, however most frequent in Lesser Poland, in the valleys of the middle Vistula and Dunajec, may help in the determination and linguistic form of the name *Świerad* (from compound name *Wszerad*). Mentions what has been previously stated and analogous toponyms in historic sources present a certain range of phonetic variants because of the varying realization of the beginning of the words: *vš-* (e.g. *Wszeradowo*), *šv-* (e.g. *Swssaradza*), *š-* (e.g. *Szeradowo*), *ś-* (e.g. *Swiradzicze*). Toponyms can be the basis of an indication of the area of occurrence of the name *Wszerad* during the pre-Polish era as the tribal territory of the Vistulans between the valley of Dunajec, Świętokrzyskie Mountains, and Warta (BEDNARCZUK 2001b: 199). The origin of those toponyms cannot be linked to the character of St. Świerad, an anchorite living in the 10th century. However, the phonetic variations of the Slavic name *Wszerad* with the alternation

vš- > śv- > ś (strongest in Lesser Poland) and the greatest concentration of toponyms with the *śv-* at the beginning in Lesser Poland (5 names) do point to the southern Polish origin of St. Świerad's name.

Observations of toponyms motivated by the two-component name *Cz(ś)cibor* (Górny 2017b: 129–141) lead to certain findings concerning the geographical spread (within Polish territory) of the phonetic variants of the compound name with a verbal topic as its first component (*cz(ś)ci-, ści-, tci-, ci-,* see **čьstiti* 'praise, show praise or respect' and *čьstь* 'praise; honour, reputation, virtue, privilege') and the post-verbal noun *-bor* (see OCS. *borją, brati* 'to fight', *boriti* 'to fight', also Proto-Slavic *borъ* 'fight', Malec 1971: 59, 69) as the second component. In this instance, I am thinking of the phonetic variants *Ścibor* and *Cibor,* originating from the simplification of the consonant group *cz(ś)ci-*. The toponymic material, encompassing almost 40 names: older ones created between the 13th and 18th centuries, and newer ones from the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as ones officially created after 1945), clearly indicates the Mazovian origin of the variation *Cibor*.[8] The oldest, medieval oikonyms mainly identify localities in northern and north-eastern parts of the historical Mazovia (former Łomża and Ciechanów Province) and in Silesia. In Mazovia, ancestral names dominate (including more than a dozen compound names), preserving the phonetic variant *Cibor,* while in the southern regions patronymic names formed from the name *Ścibor* are chronologically the earliest. Among the name-forming structures, patronymic names noted in the 13th century *(Ciborowice,* formerly *Ściborowice, Ściborowice, Ściborzyce)* are the oldest ones. Ancestral names of the type: *Cibory, Cibory-Chrzony, Cibory-Krupy,* are somewhat later (15th century), and related to organized settlement events in Mazovia. Among the collection of a dozen or so 19th or 20th-century names, there are two toponyms created by official bestowing of names after 1945: *Cibórz* (1934: *Tiborlager*), *Ściborki* (1796–1802: *Stobrigkehlen,* 1938: *Stillheide*).

5. The content presented in the article shows the scale of topics and problems which need to be covered in a monograph study of toponymy based on personal names. The topic has already been described in many positions within the scope of Polish onomastics. Toponyms based on Slavic compound names are most researched, however the material is fragmentary. There are approximately 1000 such names in the country (in Mazovia itself more than 100), and their name-forming basis allow us to distinguish a few hundred compound names (including ones reconstructed from place names). A study of all the anthroponym-originated oikonyms could illuminate many of the issues related to culture, history, and development of the old Polish territory: oikonyms with **-jь* and

[8] It is also confirmed by anthroponyms, especially by the high frequency of names originated from the variant *Cibor* in Mazovia.

the defensive character of objects thus named; patronymic names and extents of a small ancestral community, Slavic wish-bestowing names in toponyms as a trace of old beliefs and values. One of the objectives is also to pay attention to: name changes, onymic variation, polyreference of toponyms (names used for many designates).

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Abstract

The article shows, with selected examples, transonymic relations between the two classes of onyms: toponyms and names, and presents the semantic-structural types of Polish place names of anthroponymic origins. The paper also draws attention to a broader research project which aims to present an overall perspective of the anthroponymic motivation of geographical names from onomastic-linguistic, historical, demographic, geographical and frequency-based aspects. This study will focus upon a variety of topics, such as: chronology, frequency, geography of name-based toponyms, their onomastic variants and morphological structure. Moreover, the following issues will be indicated: the spread of these naming structures, the survivability and productivity of certain name groups in the toponymic nomination process. Cultural, religious and social causes which favour the production of certain types of names will be indicated. All of the toponyms are taken into consideration: from the earliest times to nowadays.

Keywords: anthroponyms and toponyms, historic relations, chronological-territorial and socio-cultural relations

Sofia Evemalm

Murders, Drownings, and other Deaths: The Cultural Norms of Explaining Anthropo-Toponyms

1. Introduction

Place-names can have a captivating and sometimes horrifying history. Some of the most gruesome instances can be found in place-names which have been coined as a result of murders, drownings, or other untimely deaths. Such coinings are particularly prominent when the place-name contains a personal name, referring to the deceased individual in question. Based on this, the aim here is to present some of the material from my recently completed thesis (EVEMALM 2017). At its core, the thesis makes a case for the importance of place-names containing personal names as its own area of study. Part of this has been the proposal for a formally accepted term for these names: the term I have adopted is anthropo-toponym, which I use to mean a place-name that contains a personal name as one of its elements. One of the most fascinating aspects of my research has included looking at various accounts of anthropo-toponyms derived often from quite grim events such as murders and drownings. Based on this, the aim here is to make a number of proposals for various characteristics and contexts of such place-names. The material presented here is drawn from three main data sets: firstly, the Isle of Lewis off the north-western coast of Scotland has been the starting point for all my investigations and this is where the bulk of my data has been collected. This importantly includes accounts from the Ordnance Survey Name Books, the Scotland wide survey which collected the names and information about all place-names in the mid-nineteenth century for use as the basis for the 1st edition 6-inch Ordnance Survey maps, now available digitally through the National Library of Scotland. In Lewis, the anthropo-toponyms were coined in two distinct linguistic layers: the first certainly surviving material was coined in Old Norse during the Norse period of settlement of Britain and Ireland, beginning in the late eighth century (JESCH 2015: 8). The second layer of Scottish Gaelic is more straightforward and visibly starts appearing in the surviving name-material from around the sixteenth century, lasting until modern times. The second area investigated is Fife in east central Scotland where the data is compiled from SIMON TAYLOR with GILBERT MÁRKUS' monumental work on *The Place-Names of Fife* (2006–2012). Chronologically, both the source material and place-names span the medieval to the modern period and there is considerable linguistic diversity here, seen by the presence of Pictish, Gaelic, Scots, Scottish Standard English,

and some Norse material (Taylor 2002: 13). Finally, to provide a comparative dimension to the Norse Lewis material I have also looked at *Landnámabók,* the *Book of Settlements,* describing the settlement and land-taking of Iceland in the ninth and tenth centuries (Pálsson–Edwards 2012 [1972]: 1). It is worth emphasising that this source has a long and complex historiography. Of course, the earliest written copies of *Landnámabók* were created considerably later than the events it describes took place, the first surviving copies dating from the thirteenth century (Pálsson 2012 [1972]: 3-4). Based on these points, this discussion will begin by introducing some of the methodological aspects of my research then move on to the name-material in question. This will include an overview of murders and deaths in the place-names of Lewis, Fife and *Landnámabók.* Finally, an introduction to hydronyms and accounts of drownings will demonstrate the importance of further research into this type of data.

2. Approaching a new methodology for the study of anthropo-toponyms

Considering the emphasis here on stories relating to drownings and murders, it is hardly surprising that when investigating name-material, I am not only interested in the etymology of individual elements, but also in the context of coining and transmission of names. As a result, I have adopted an approach similar to that used by Peder Gammeltoft (2001), based on earlier work by Kurt Zilliacus (1966), in his name-semantic method where 'the individual name is classified according to the semantic categories that correspond to the motives of the naming person(s) when coining a given place-name' (Gammeltoft 2001: 215). Therefore, rather than emphasizing the etymology of individual elements, the motivation for coining the place-name is primarily studied. One of the key issues when investigating the motivations for naming is that we are largely dependent on direct accounts of the circumstances surrounding the coining of a name in order to establish a motivation. Such contextual evidence may be entirely lacking, or of a considerably later date than the original coining. Although it is not an anthropo-toponym, an example which demonstrates one of the problems in determining a motivation for coining is *The English Burn* in Strathvaich, a hunting estate in the Scottish Highlands (former county of Ross & Cromarty). Without additional information one might easily assume that this was named after some English person or possibly someone with the surname English. However, Kenneth MacLennan (1992: 76) records that this name is in fact derived from an English park stag, which had been brought in to improve the stock, being found dead in the stream on 17th September, 1889. Such instances show that the coining of place-names can be highly circumstantial and that without direct contextual evidence, it is often

difficult to be certain of an original motivation. Additionally, even in cases where the motivation for naming may seem obvious or where we have direct accounts describing the context of coining, it is crucial to remain cautious of re-interpretations. *Landnámabók* especially provides a rich source for particular events giving rise to the naming of places, but out of the material investigated here, it is perhaps also the source which is most prone to reflect later inventions. Therefore we cannot use *Landnámabók* as a historical source and it might be tempting to dismiss these stories as invention altogether. I would disagree with this – although these stories are not necessarily a straightforward reflection of the naming-patterns at the time of settlement, they are a valuable piece of the puzzle as we attempt to understand how the Norse viewed the naming of their landscape in subsequent centuries as the stories evolved and were eventually written down. A similar situation can sometimes be found when we look at the Ordnance Survey Name Book entries for the Gaelic Lewis material. For example, in the case of *Carn a' Mharc,* the Name Books record that: "It is supposed to be the tomb of a Norwegian Prince" (OS1/27/35/31). This supposedly refers to "a son of the King of Lochlinn, who was killed on that spot while on a hunting expedition, and was buried there, hence called Carn Bharce Mhic Righ Lochlinn" (THOMAS 1890: 377). As argued by THOMAS, it is in fact more likely that the name refers to Scottish Gaelic *barpa,* recorded by DWELLY (1901–1911) as 'a cairn, supposed to be a memorial of the dead, a barrow', showing that it is necessary to apply caution when studying stories relating to the origin of place-names as related by the Name Books. Nevertheless, I would argue that investigating place-name motivations that are possibly, or even likely, re-interpretations also provides an important step towards understanding how we perceive the namescape around us. Whether or not individual stories have their basis in reality, they are indicative of the thought-process behind the naming of places.

3. Murders and Deaths

In all the areas introduced above, there are stories of murders and deaths giving rise to place-names, but they are often of a quite different nature from each other depending on geography and chronology. Therefore I wish to introduce examples from each of the areas and then discuss some of their characteristics. In Lewis, the most notable tradition to be found with a place-name coined as a result of a murder is perhaps *Creag Sgàire,* which has a long history in local folklore. The Uig Historical Society archives (CEBL, 28030) record that: "According to one account, the Macaulays stole cattle from the Morrisons of Ness whilst the latter were on Rona gathering eggs and sea-fowl. The Morrisons returned before the Macaulays had got far and gave chase. They overtook them at Shader and killed some of the rustlers and attacked them a second time near

Barvas at Druim nan Carnan. Only three escaped: Zachary and his two foster-brothers who did not stop until they had crossed the Grimersta river. By this time night had fallen and they decided to rest for the night under the shelter of a rock. But unfortunately for them it was a bright moonlit night and the Morrisons, who had not given up the chase, saw one of their swords glinting in the moonlight. They stole up on them and killed them. To this day the rock is known as Creag Sgaire and the loch beside it Loch Sgaire."

Here we can provide a rough date for the event since the Sgàire (Zachary) in question is recorded as having died around 1654 (CEBL, 28030). The place-name still survives and the tradition has largely been transmitted orally until recorded by the local historical society, as related by Rev Donald MacAulay (in Gaelic) and made available digitally in 2005 (CEBL, 87512). In Fife, the name of *Mortimer's Deep* provides another very particular circumstance of coining. Into this stretch of water, tradition has it that, Alan de Mortimer, probably a mistake for William de Mortimer, lord of Aberdour in Fife in the later part of the twelfth century (Taylor 1992: 440), was thrown overboard in his coffin on his way to be buried in the island monastery of Inchcolm. The earliest reference of this tradition is Robert Sibbald (1803 [1710]: 92) who states that: "It is reported, that Alain [sic!] the founder being dead, the monks carrying his corps in a coffin of lead, by barge, in the night time, to be interred within their church, some wicked monks did throw the samen [same] in a great deep, betwixt the land and the monastery, which to this day by the neighbouring fishing-men and salters is called Mortimers Deep."

Here, it is worth noting the gap between when the events took place (late twelfth century) and the first recorded written form of the story (early eighteenth century). Its basis in reality may be questioned, but the historicity of the person in question might make it more likely that there is some truth to the story. Turning to Iceland, in a source focusing on the process of settlement in a new, unfamiliar, and often harsh environment, it is not surprising that there are a number of events relating to deaths. This might include burial sites, as in the case of *Ásmundarleið* where: "Ásmundr var heygðr í Ásmundarleiði ok lagðr í skip ok þræll hans hjá honum [Ásmundr was placed in Ásmundarleið (*leið* 'a tomb') and placed in a ship and his thrall beside him]" (Landnámabók 102). However, the motivations are often of a more violent nature and murders are relatively common, as in the case of *Dufþaksskor,* where Ingólfr hunts down the slaves of his foster brother Hjǫrleifr after they had killed him: "Váru þeir þá at mat, er þeir Ingólfr kómu at þeim. Þeir urðu felmtsfullir, ok hljóp sinn veg hverr. Ingólfr drap þá alla. Þar heitir Dufþaksskor, er hann lézk." [They were eating, when Ingólfr and his men came upon them. They were full of fright, and

each ran their own way. Ingólfr killed them all. That place is called Dufþakskor, where he [Dufþak] died.][1] (Landnámabók 44).

There is even an instance of a supposed suicide in the case of *Arnarfjall* where Qrn loses a bet and he takes the loss of his money so badly that he does not want to live anymore: "Qrn unði svá illa við félát sitt, at hann vildi eigi lifa ok fór upp undir fjallit, er nú heitir Arnarfell, ok týndi sér sjálfr." [Qrn took the loss of his money so badly, that he did not want to live and travelled up under the mountain, which is now called Arnarfjall, and killed himself.] (Landnámabók 235).

It is interesting to note that, although we are told that this place-name has the meaning of '*Qrn*'s mountain', the interpretation 'eagle mountain', with Old Norse *ǫrn* 'an eagle' (Cleasby–Vigfusson 1874), would be semantically appropriate. Might we suspect that the story of Qrn's suicide is a later invention? As I have stated, whether real or invented, these stories show some of the ways in which medieval people might have perceived of how the landscape around them was named. They indicate a close relationship between humans and the naming of their surroundings and, in many instances, reveal that the identity of the Icelandic settlers could become intrinsically linked to the places they named. Finally, Landnámabók provides a very particular context for death and place-names. There are several instances of place-names such as *Þórisbjǫrg* where we are told that: "Þeir Sel-Þórir frændr enir heiðnu dó í Þórisbjǫrg [The heathen kindred of Sel-Þórir died into Þórisbjǫrg]" (Landnámabók 98). The concept of dying into mountains is likely to have had a religious dimension which may have been especially significant in the Scandinavian diaspora and could have been used as a way to legitimise ancestry, genealogy, and land-holding. Triin Laidoner (2015: 150–151) has further demonstrated that such accounts can be linked to aspects of Sámi religion where ancestor spirits were believed to have been located in mountains. This could be the result of cultural contacts, but it can also reflect a universality in such beliefs.

4. Hydronyms and drownings

Here, it seems appropriate to turn to a particular type of death, namely that of drowning. As with other types of deaths, this appears to be a universal concept in place-names, as testified by its occurrence in various parts of Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia (Evemalm 2017: 239). However, as yet, there are no large-scale studies focusing exclusively on this phenomenon. The traditions surrounding drownings and place-names, as they appear in the areas investigated here, can be roughly divided into two main groups: the first group includes those thought

[1] Translations are my own.

to be associated with real historical individuals who were often largely unknown outside the immediate locality. In Lewis, a relatively straight-forward example of this is the place-name *Geodha Bean Mhurchaidh* for which the Ordnance Survey Name Books (OS1/27/55/5) record that: "The name is derived from a woman having been drowned in the creek, hence the name 'Murdoch's Wife's Creek'." Turning to Iceland, we find perhaps one of the most intriguing entries in *Landnámabók* when we are told that Flóki travelled to Shetland and that his daughter Geirhildr drowned in a lake there: "Hann [Flóki Vilgerðarson] fór fyrst til Hjaltlands ok lá þar í Flókavági; þar týndisk Geirhildr dóttir hans í Geirhildarvatni." [First he [Flóki Vilgerðarson] travelled to Shetland, and landed there in Flókavágr. There Geirhildr, his daughter drowned in Geirhildarvatn.] (Landnámabók 36).

What makes this entry particularly intriguing is that the loch in question can be identified as modern day *Loch of Girlsta,* Shetland (Landnámabók 36). Here, the specific element of the original toponym was used to create the settlement-name *Girlsta,* which subsequently was incorporated into the new name for the loch. The story of Geirhildr appears to have become firmly embedded in local Shetland folklore and there are various accounts, often of questionable credibility, describing the event. Although lacking rigorous historical backing, several stories can be found, some stating that Geirhildr went to meet her lover in secret when she drowned or that she drowned while skating on the loch.[2] Of particular interest here is the imagination such place-names seem to evoke, giving support to the idea of a universal fascination with events of this type. I strongly believe that the psychosocial dimension is worth investigating further and that more systematic studies of this type of data would yield important results.

The second group of drowning-related stories is represented by accounts that can be considered to be largely mythological. Here, it should not necessarily be argued that these people never existed, but there is a clear distinction which can be made between the types of individuals described in mythological accounts and other individuals commemorated in place-names related to drownings. In stories of a mythological provenance, the individuals often have little historical basis, and have their origins in ancient times, often centuries before any mention of the events supposedly giving rise to the place-name took place. A good Scottish example can be found in the *River Leven,* Dunbartonshire, for which a twelfth-century Old Gaelic poem tells us that:

[2] These types of accounts can be found in various modern sources such as tourist guides and online blogs. The accounts mentioned here are derived from: Promote Shetland (2009-17) <http://www.shetland.org/60n/blogs/posts/abby-enjoys-a-day-out-with-island-trails>; Northlink Ferries < http://www.northlinkferries.co.uk/your-holiday/guide-to-shetland/shetland-area-guide/shetland-weisdale-whiteness/>.

> One day when Leven, mother
> of slender-fingered Maine
> was with fifty white-soled girls
> swimming in the river's mouth,
>
> she is drowned within the harbour,
> Leven, Fearadhach's daughter:
> Thence you are christened Leven,
> A memory not bad to tell. (trans. CLANCY 1998: 259).[3]

Such mythical accounts appear to be particularly prone to showing an association between women and watercourses. We need only to look at the strong association between Celtic female deities and river names such as *The Marne* from Matrona (KING 2008: 166) for further evidence of associations between women, or at least female beings, and water. Such patterns should be further investigated in order to determine their prominence and frequency and, as a result, their significance.

Having established that there is significant evidence for the association between individuals and drowning, the crucial question is: why are these names coined? The material presented here shows that there is an obvious fascination with such events and it is not difficult to see why they would capture people's imagination, regardless of whether the stories were real or invented. Because of this, an argument can also be made for such stories being more likely to have been coined and transmitted in the first place, sometimes with later elaborate stories attached to them. Additionally, we should not underestimate the significance such an event may have had to the local community, particularly in tight-knit communities such as those in Lewis or Iceland, making the coining and preservation of a place-name and story to commemorate the drowned person more likely. One explanation for the universality of place-names motivated by drownings specifically may be that they served a real function to warn people of the dangers of the site in question. This seems likely for areas such as Lewis where the steep, rocky shores must have formed a real and persistent danger. Mythological names, although this is unlikely to be the full picture, could also fulfil such a function and there is nothing to suggest that the event, or even original coining, necessarily has to be genuine to efficiently warn people of the dangers of a site. A relevant line of investigation here would be to further study the physical characteristics of such watercourses. Additionally, considering the mythological dimension raised here, is it at all possible that there is an early, deep-rooted, Indo-European dimension which can partly explain a tendency to associate individuals, especially women, with watercourses? These are all lines

[3] Translated from Old Gaelic.

of investigation which would require further rigorous and systematic research in order to draw any firm conclusions, both in a Scottish context, but ideally on a wider European scale.

5. Conclusion

Various accounts describing the motivation for naming places where deaths and drownings are involved have been outlined here, some of which are quite dramatic. It is probable and indeed likely that several of these do not reflect an original coining or real event, but they give important clues of what, and how, the people using these names and transmitting such stories thought of the landscape around them. It is noteworthy that stories of drownings in place-names can be found throughout northern Europe, but that no systematic studies investigating such names have been undertaken in any of the areas covered here, or on a more extensive European scale. Therefore a serious gap in the scholarship can be identified. Further research into traditions associated with the coining of place-names which contain references to drownings in their wider context would be beneficial. An investigation into such traditions, covering various geographical regions, time-periods, and linguistic groupings should be the next step and I firmly believe that such a study could reveal valuable insights into the psychosocial dimension of naming places.

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Abstract

This paper aims to investigate new approaches to the study of anthropotoponyms by focusing on place-names coined as a result of one, or several, individuals. By doing this, it will contribute to the bridging of the gaps between the study of personal names and that of place-names, but also shed light on a relatively neglected group of place-names. Material from Scotland and Scandinavia will primarily be used as a reference point in this paper. However, it is of an inherently comparative nature, using data of various languages and time-periods; including Scottish Gaelic, Norse, Scots, and English, with

source material ranging from the medieval period to the twentieth century. The context in which these place-names were coined and the psychological and cultural factors involved in incorporating personal names into place-names will be investigated here. This paper especially seeks to address the question of why stories of women drowning are found with a surprising frequency as an explanation for the presence of a personal name as a place-name element. By doing this, it will also provide a starting point for future studies in this area.

Keywords: Anthropo-toponyms, Methodology, Scotland and Scandinavia

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Aspiration in baskischen Orts- und Personennamen: ihre Bedeutung für Sprachwandel und -typologie[1]

1. Aspiration im Baskischen: Rekonstruktion, Geschichte, Gegenwart

1.1. Aspiration im Urbaskischen

Seit Ende des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts ist bekannt, dass einige aus Aquitanien – im heutigen südwestlichen Frankreich gelegen – stammenden Steininschriften im Baskischen geschrieben sind (LUCHAIRE 1877: 5–18, MITXELENA 1954: 413–452, GORROTXATEGI 1984). Infolge dieser Entdeckung ist eine Diskussion entbrannt, sowohl um die Existenz der Aspiration im Baskischen des Altertums, dessen einzigen Beleg besagte Steininschriften bilden, als auch um die Plausibilität, Aspiration für die Ursprache zu rekonstruieren. Hierzu gibt es in der Literatur zwei auseinandergehende Standpunkte: Es gibt einerseits diejenigen Autoren, die davon ausgehen, dass Aspiration keine historische Erscheinung, sondern vielmehr ein modernes Phänomen ist, das entweder zur Hiatustilgung dient (SCHUCHARDT 1906: 22, 1908: 6, GAVEL 1920: 266) oder als Begleiterscheinung des Akzents bezeichnet werden kann (TRASK 1997: 158–159). Andererseits gehen andere Linguisten davon aus, nicht nur, dass Aspiration als urbaskisches Merkmal rekonstruiert werden soll, sondern auch, dass die Entstehung dieses Lautes auf verschiedene phonetische Prozesse zurückgeführt werden kann, die in der Geschichte der Sprache erfolgt sind (MEYER-LÜBKE 1924: 209, BÄHR 1948: 172, MITXELENA 1950: 3–20, 1977: 208, 215, HUALDE 1997: 422–423, IGARTUA 2001: 194, 2002: 385, 2011: 895, LAKARRA 1997b: 588, 2009a: 588–590, 2009b: 221, 2015: 349–351 u. A.). Mittlerweile steht es ziemlich außer Zweifel, dass die Ursprache über einen solchen Laut verfügt haben muss, nicht zuletzt, weil viele der aquitanischen und auch späteren Namen wie zum Beispiel *Harsi-* ‘Bär’, *Bihoscinn-* ‘Herz’, oder *Lohi-* ‘Schlamm’[2] schwerlich etwas anderes wiedergeben als Behauchung, ent-

[1] Hiermit möchte ich mich bei der Prüferin bzw. beim Prüfer für ihre/seine nützlichen Kommentare und Bemerkungen bedanken. Bei diesem Beitrag handelt es sich um eine überarbeitete und erweiterte Fassung des Artikels SALABERRI–SALABERRI (2016), indem hierbei den Leser/Innen mehr und weitreichendere Daten, zusätzliche Überlegungen und eine umfangreichere typologische Sicht gewährt werden.

[2] Hier muss erwähnt werden, dass die Bedeutung der in diesem Beitrag angegebenen aquitanischen Namen keinesfalls feststeht. Bei den angebotenen Übersetzungen handelt es sich eher um vermeintlich verwandte Wörter, die in der Form heutigen Vokabeln recht ähnlich aussehen, also *Harsi- ~ hartz* ‘Bär’, *Bihoscinn ~ bihotz* ‘Herz’, *Lohi ~ lohi* ‘Schlamm’ usw., die aber einen ganz anderen Sinn gehabt haben dürften.

weder als eigenständiges Phonem, also <h>, oder als artikulatorisches Merkmal stimmloser Verschlusslaute, also <C^{h}> (Luchaire 1877: 6–7, Mitxelena 1954: 420).

1.2. Aspiration in der Geschichte des Baskischen

Auch wenn die Bedeutsamkeit der aquitanischen Inschriften sowohl wegen ihres frühen Verfassungsdatums als auch wegen ihrer Zahl für die Untersuchung der Sprache sehr groß ist, so ist das keinesfalls die einzige Namensliste, die aus der frühhistorischen Zeit stammt. Namen, die Aspiration zu enthalten scheinen, sind nämlich unter anderem auch auf der sogenannten *Galikanischen Kalbsleder* aus San Millán de la Cogolla (Spanien, c. 1025 n. C.), in einer Urkunde aus demselben Ort (c. 952 n. C.) oder in einem Heft aus Murillo el Fruto (Spanien, c. 1400 n. C.) zu finden (Mitxelena 1954: 420, 1964: 24, Salaberri 2015b: 409–410). Man trifft in diesen Texten auf Ortsnamen wie *Hagurahin, Bahaheztu, Lehete, Goiahen* oder *Uharte,* die heute noch bestehenden Dorfsnamen enstprechen: *Agurain, Arraia-Maeztu, Lete, Goiain, Uharte* (Salaberri 2015a: 55, 205, 267, 430).

Solche Namen sind dann auch in späteren Texten belegt, die eine Zeit zwischen dem späten Mittelalter und der Gegenwart umfassen. Das bedeutet also, dass die diachrone Entwicklung des jeweiligen Lautes – in diesem Fall, der Aspiration – verfolgt werden kann. Als Beispiele solcher Fälle gelten *Munniahin* (1025 n. C.) > *Munyahin* (1268 n. C.) > *Munnahin* (1326 n. C.) > *Munahin* (1332, 1351 n. C.) > *Munain* (gegenwärtig) oder *Oçaheta, Ozaheta* (1321 n. C.) > *Ocaheta* (1331 n. C.) > *Oçaheeta* (1429 n. C.) > *Hoçaheta* (1470 n. C.) > *Ozeta* (gegenwärtig) (Salaberri–Salaberri 2016: 381). Wie in diesen Beispielen zu beobachten ist, verschwindet Aspiration in vielen Dialekten des Baskischen allmählich, was die heutige Lage mit Bezug auf dieses Phonem erklärt.

Bevor aber der Stand der Aspiration in den heutigen Dialekten dargelegt wird, muss betont werden, dass es sehr stark mangelt an einer systematischen Analyse der nichtaquitanischen Namensbelege aus dem Mittelalter, vor allem in Vergleich zu anderen Gebieten der Sprache (Lakarra 2008: 287). Dieser Beitrag ist deshalb als Ausgleich für das Fehlen einer umfassenden Literatur gedacht und einigermaßen auch als Vorreiter, der einen neuen Forschungsweg bahnen soll.

1.3. Aspiration heutzutage

Aspiration befindet sich inzwischen auf dem Rückzug, der schon mehrere Jahrhunderte währt (Mitxelena 1977: 209). Hierzu soll jedoch eine wichtige Unterscheidung gemacht werden zwischen den südlich der Pyrenäen bzw. auf der Iberischen Halbinsel gesprochenen und den nördlich der Pyrenäen bzw. auf

dem Kontinent gesprochenen Dialekten (Bähr 1948: 172). Nach Schätzungen von Experten fing der Aspirationsschwund wohl um das dreizehnte oder vierzehnte Jahrhundert n. C. auf nordnavarrischem Gebiet, ungefähr in der geografischen Mitte des südlichen Sprachraums, und verbreitete sich von dort aus Richtung Norden und Westen nach Gipuzkoa, Bizkaia und Araba, wo die letzten aspirierten Belege aus dem sechzehnten Jahrhundert stammen (Mitxelena 1977: 205, Igartua 2002: 379). In relativ starkem Gegensatz dazu stehen die nördlichen Dialekte, wo bis auf die Atlantikküste, an der Aspiration als modernes – etwa gegen Ende des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts eintretendes – Phänomen ebenfalls verschwunden ist, dieser Laut sehr präsent ist, besonders in Zuberoa, also an der nordöstlichen Ecke des baskischsprachigen Raums (Mitxelena 1977: 204, Bonaparte 1991: 175–442). Es kann folglich behauptet werden, dass der Dialekt aus Zuberoa die einzige heute noch gesprochene baskische Mundart ist, die keine Anzeichen vom Rückzug der Aspiration aufweist, sowie noch immer eine Unterscheidung macht zwischen oraler (/h/) und nasalisierter (/h̃/) Aspiration (Mitxelena 1977: 204–205, Hualde 1993: 289, Lafon 1999: 124, Igartua 2008a: 175, Egurtzegi 2014: 77). Aus diesem Grunde bildet der Dialekt aus Zuberoa bei der historischen Analyse gegenüber den anderen Mundarten eine geeignete Vergleichsgrundlage. Mehr dazu unter Punkt 3.

2. Aspiration im Rahmen der natürlichen Phonologie

Eine systematische Untersuchung der Entwicklung der Aspiration in der baskischen Sprache, aus diachroner wie aus typologischer Sicht, bedarf zunächst einer Grundlage für die Analyse. Hier bildet die natürliche Phonologie (ab Stampe 1973) diese Grundlage. Genauer gesagt beruht die hiesige Untersuchung auf einer Zahl von Grundprinzipien der natürlichen Phonologie, die schon mal als Ansatz zum Aspirationsschwund im Baskischen verwendet worden sind (Stampe 1973: 7, Hurch 1987: 33–34, 1988: 42):

(a) Es bestehen in allen sprachen phonologische Prozesse, die phonetischen Bedingungen unterliegen;

(b) Ein Phonem der Behauchung (/h/) und Konsonantenaspiration (/C^{h}/) sind als ein und dasselbe Phänomen zu verstehen;

(c) Es existiert ein weitverbreiteter natürlicher Prozess, der Aspirationstilgung bzw. Deaspiration verursacht.

Zur Begründung des Punkts (c) soll in Betracht gezogen werden, dass "zur Produktion von /h/ und Aspiration ein hoher artikulatorischer Aufwand notwendig ist, der ein perzeptuell nicht sehr verlässliches Segment erzeugt" (Hurch 1988: 45). Da Aspiration angesichts einer perzeptuell wenig lohnenden Lage eine derart hohe Leistung erforderlich macht und Aspirationstilgung

ein weitverbreitetes Phänomen ist, soll es kaum als Überraschung kommen, dass auch im Baskischen ein Deaspirationsprozess zu beobachten ist, der nicht nur das Phonem der Aspiration (/h/), sondern auch Konsonantenaspiration (/C^h/) betrifft. In Anbetracht dieses Hintergrunds sind die Änderungen, die in der Geschichte dieser Sprache stattfinden und aus Sicht der Onomastik beobachtet werden können, leichter zu verstehen.

3. Diachroner Überblick

3.1. Aspiration in einfachen Wörtern

Gemäß der oben dargelegten Begründung bildet der Dialekt aus Zuberoa die beste Grundlage für eine diachrone Untersuchung der Aspiration. Dementsprechend stammen die meisten der folgenden Beispiele aus dieser Mundart. Aspiration tritt heutzutage an folgenden Stellen auf (MITXELENA 1977: 203–224):

(a) Im Anlaut der ersten Silbe: *haize* 'Wind', *hamar* 'zehn', *hodei* 'Wolke', *hurtatu* 'gießen'.

(b) Im Anlaut der zweiten Silbe: *ahalge* 'Scham', *lehertü* 'Lawine', *mehe* 'dünn', *xehatü* 'zerstören, zunichtemachen'. Aspiration kann entweder zwischen Vokalen erscheinen, wie in den vorhin genannten Beispielen, oder zwischen Diphthong und Vokal: *auhaldu* 'speisen', *eihera* 'Mühle', *mahai* 'Tisch', *oihan* 'Wald'.

(c) Zwischen Sonorant und Vokal, indem heterogene Konsonantengruppen entstehen: *elhe* 'Wort', *erhi* 'krank', *senhar* 'Ehemann'. Ausnahmsweise ist Aspiration auch in einigen Unterdialekten des nördlichen Sprachraums jeweils bei palatalen Nasallauten und bei alveolaren Schwinglauten zu finden: So werden beispielsweise in Amiküze *añharba* 'Spinne' (CAMINO 2015: 52, F. 48, 2016: 515) und in Arrüeta *ürrhitz* 'Eiche' (SALABERRI–SALABERRI 2016: 369) gesprochen.

(d) Als koartikulatorisches Merkmal stimmloser Verschlusslaute: *atherbe* 'Unterschlupf, Zuflucht', *bethi* 'immer', *ikhusi* 'sehen', *lepho* 'Nacken'. Sollen beim selben Wort zwei stimmlose Verschlusslaute vorkommen, so gewinnt bei der Behauchung immer der Erste die Oberhand:[3] *phika* 'Elster', *khorte* '(Königs)Hof', *thiti* 'Brüste', **pikha, *korthe, *tithi* (MITXELENA 1977: 212–213). Diese Tatsache habe angeblich mit dem Umstand zu tun, dass sowohl die Ursprache als auch die historischen Stufen kennzeichnenderweise einen fallenden Akzent gehabt und deshalb die erste Silbe besonders stark betont haben, was letzten Endes mit der verbletzten Wortstellung des Baskischen in

[3] Allerdings findet man gelegentlich Ausnahmen, zum Beispiel *pikhatzeko* 'zum Hacken' und *kokha* 'liegen' (HUALDE 1995: 172, IGARTUA 2001: 195).

Beziehung steht (MARTINET 1981: 68, IGARTUA 2001: 195–196, 2002: 375–376). Andererseits kann der Grund, warum Aspiration, die neben stimmlosen Verschlusslauten erscheint, als koartikulatorisches Merkmal angesehen wird, während Aspiration, die neben Sonoranten auftritt, als eigenständiges Phonem gilt, dadurch erklärt werden, dass Behauchung von Verschlusslauten natürlicher ist als Behauchung von Sonoranten (HURCH 1987: 44–45). Daher bilden Aspiration und Sonoranten heterosyllabische Konsonantengruppen, während Aspiration und Verschlusslaute tautosyllabische Gruppen bilden (ibid.).

Allgemein betrachtet stimmen alle Stellen, an denen Aspiration im heutigen Zuberoa-Dialekt zu erscheinen bevorzugt, mit dem paroxytonischen Akzentmuster dieser Mundart überein. Dementsprechend soll in Fällen, in denen beim selben Wort zwei stimmlose Explosivlaute vorkommen und Behauchung auf den ersten fällt, so beispielsweise die oben genannten *phika, khorte* und *thiti,* die Bedeutung des Akzents nicht unterschätzt werden. Unterstützung für diese Ansicht beruht darauf, dass Wörter in diesem Dialekt fast nur infolge von Akzentverschiebung von dem Prinzip abweichen, dass Aspiration auf die betonte Silbe fällt. Beispiele hierfür ergeben sich, wenn Substantiven der bestimmte Artikel *-a* hinzugefügt wird: *hárri* ‘Stein’ ~ *harría* ‘der Stein’, *thíti* ‘Brüste’ ~ *thitía* ‘die Brüste’ usw.

Nicht nur eine Analyse der Stellen, an denen behauchte Laute vorkommen, gewährt Einblicke in die Entwicklung von Aspiration entlang der Geschichte des Baskischen. Aufschlussreich darf ebenfalls sein, zu schauen, wo Aspiration gerade nicht erscheint. Dazu kann Folgendes behauptet werden:

(a) Aspiration tritt nie in einer Silbe auf, dessen Anlaut aus stimmhaftem Verschlusslaut, Reibelaut, Affrikat, Nasal, palatalisiertem Laut oder einer Gruppe aus stimmlosem Verschlusslaut und Zischlaut besteht (MITXELENA 1977: 214–229). Eine mögliche Ausnahme bildet *otthé* ‘Grille’, das in der Mundart aus Amiküze belegt ist (CAMINO 2015: 55, 2016: 518).

(b) Aspiration erscheint nur in der ersten oder zweiten Silbe eines Wortes. Später im Wort kommt sie nur bei Zusammensetzungen oder bei mehrsilbigen Entlehnungen vor: Latein *parentalia* > Baskisch *ba(r)anthalla* ‘Februar’, Latein *voluntate(m)* > *bo(r)onthate* ‘Wille’ (MITXELENA 1977: 216).

(c) Ein einzelnes Wort weist nie zwei Behauchungen auf. Diese Begrenzung kann hinsichtlich des Graßmannschen Gesetzes erklärt werden (LAFON 1948: 56, IGARTUA 2001: 188–193), die eine typologisch weitverbreitete Tendenz zeigt zur Vermeidung dicht beieinanderstehender, ähnlicher Laute.

3.2. Aspiration in der Onomastik

Eine Untersuchung der historisch belegten Orts- und Personennamen zeigt, dass die Regeln, die für das Erscheinen der Aspiration in der gegenwärtigen Sprache gelten, in der Geschichte des Baskischen nicht bei allen Fällen zutreffen. Aspiration erscheint hier nämlich an folgenden Stellen:

(a) Im Anlaut der ersten Silbe: *Hagurahin, Harhahia* (1025 n. C.), *Haraya* (1232 n. C.) (SALABERRI 2015a: 82).

(b) Im Anlaut der zweiten Silbe: *Bihoscinnis, Bihotarris, Hahanten,* aus Aquitanien (MITXELENA 1954: 423, 1961: 70), auch *Ehari* (1025, 1066, 1135 n. C.).

(c) Im Anlaut der dritten oder späteren Silbe: *Dvnohoxsis, Herauscorritsehe, Osaherr[vs], Vmmesahar,* alle aus den aquitanischen Inschriften (MITXELENA 1954: 419, 421, 423, 1961: 70, GORROTXATEGI 1984: 199). Später findet man auch Namen wie *Zalduzaharra* (um 1250 n. C.) (SALABERRI 2015b: 427–428).

(d) Zwischen Sonorant und Vokal, indem heterogene Konsonantengruppen entstehen: *Abisvnhar, Berhaxis, Erhexoni, Narhvnges.* Solche Namen sind schon in aquitanischen Inschriften belegt, sowohl als auch in anderen Inschriften aus der römischen Periode (MITXELENA 1961: 73, GORROTXATEGI 1984: 163, 205). Hierbei handelt es sich daher um Belege aus dem Baskischen des Altertums (LAKARRA 1997a: 516).

Soweit sind kaum Unterschiede zu melden zwischen dem Auftreten der Aspiration in gegenwärtigen Wörtern und in der historischen Onomastik. Die Unterschiede zwischen verschiedenen Sprachstufen, was die *Begrenzungen* der Aspiration angeht, sind dagegen erheblich. Die historische Aspiration unterscheidet sich von der Gegenwärtigen durch folgende mangelnde Beschränkungen ab:

(a) Im einzelnen Wort sind mehrmals zwei, gelegentlich sogar drei Behauchungen zu finden: *Hahani, Hahanten* (aquitanische In.), *Çulahabehetia* (1413 n. C.), *Elhorzahea, Hamaezaha, Harhahia* (1025 n. C.), *Hurabahin* (1321 n. C.) (MITXELENA 1954: 419, SALABERRI–SALABERRI 2016: 379–380). Dies deutet darauf hin, dass das Graßmannsche Gesetz in der historischen Sprachstufe (noch) keine Wirkung hat.

(b) Aspiration darf weiter rechts als in der zweiten Silbe erscheinen, nämlich in der dritten, vierten oder sogar fünften Silbe des Wortes: *Dunohorigis, Vlohoxis* (aquitanische In.), *Vmmesahar* (aus römischer Zeit, nicht aquitanisch), *Olajahunliçardia*[4] (1479 n. C.), *Zalduzaharra* (um 1370 n. C.) (MITXELENA

[4] In diesem Fall könnte es sich jedoch um eine rein graphische Erscheinung der Aspiration handeln, die dazu dient, den Hiatus zu betonen (SALABERRI–SALABERRI 2016: 380).

1954: 419, 1961: 70, GORROTXATEGI 1984: 198–199, SALABERRI 2015b: 427–428), wobei es sich bei einigen Belegen um Zusammensetzungen handeln könnte. Diese Belege geben zu verstehen, dass die gegenwärtige Begrenzung, nach der Aspiration nur in den ersten zwei Silben erscheinen darf, in der historischen Sprache noch nicht in Kraft getreten war.

Durch diese Angaben lassen sich einige Behauptungen, die mit Bezug auf die Entwicklung der Sprache gemacht worden sind, bestätigen: einerseits gewährt die Onomastik zusätzliche Daten für die Feststellung, dass irgendwann in der Geschichte des Baskischen das Graßmannsche Gesetz eingetreten ist, wobei mehrmals aspirierte Wörter – sei es allmählich, sei es auf einmal – inakzeptabel geworden sind[5] (MITXELENA 1977: 212, IGARTUA 2001: 188–191, 2002: 369–371). Außerdem lässt sich durch die Untersuchung der Onomastik jenes Eintreten genauer in der Zeit feststellen, denn noch Ende des fünfzehnten bzw. Anfang des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts sind Namen belegt, die diesem Gesetz widersprechen: *Urcaherria* (1421 n. C.), *Laraçahea* (1519 n. C.), *Goyahen* (1456 n. C.) (SALABERRI–SALABERRI 2016: 381). Das Graßmannsche Gesetz soll also frühestens erst ab Anfang des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts gewirkt haben[6]. Andererseits scheint die onomastische Untersuchung die Behauptung zu unterstützen, dass in der relativ späten Geschichte der Sprache zahlreiche Fälle von Behauchung Richtung links an die erste oder zweite Silbe herangerückt sind, was in der Literatur schematisch mit den Zeichen *h3 > h1, h2 > h1* dargestellt wird (LAKARRA 2009b: 216–219, 2014: 188–193). Dieser Prozess des Heranrückens ist angeblich bei Entlehnungen zu beobachten: man sehe Latein *arena(m)* > **areha* > Baskisch *harea* ‘Sand’, Latein *leone(m)* > **leohe* > Baskisch *lehoi* ‘Löwe’ (MITXELENA 1977: 208–209), sowie nun auch bei Namen: *Arzanhegi* (1025 n. C.) > *Harçanegui* (1257 n. C.), *Elhorriaga* (1025 n. C.) > *Helorriaga* (1331 n. C.) (SALABERRI 2015a: 429).

Anhand dieser Entwicklungen lässt sich die Geschichte der Aspiration im Baskischen in etwa folgendermaßen rekonstruieren:

– Phase 1: Das Urbaskische (ca. vor dem 1. Jhr. v. C.) muss sowohl über einen aspirierten Laut (/h/) als auch über behauchte stimmlose Verschlusslaute (/C^h/) verfügt haben. Dabei könnte man spekulieren, dass stimmlose Verschlusslaute in betonten Silben eine stärkere Behauchung aufgewiesen haben müssen als in

[5] Die Onomastik zeigt jedoch, dass es auch in der heutigen Sprache Ausnahmen geben kann: *hurhandi* ‘Fluss’, *hurmehe* ‘Furt’, usw. (SALABERRI–SALABERRI 2016: 378). Wenn man erwägt, dass es sich hierbei um durchsichtige Komposita handelt (*hur* ‘Wasser’ + *handi* ‘groß’, *hur* ‘Wasser’ + *mehe* ‘dünn’), so könnte die wahrscheinlichste Erklärung für diese Ausnahmen lauten, die zusammengesetzten Wörter hätten ihre Unabhängigkeit behalten (ibid.).

[6] Für einen Versuch der Datierung des Graßmannschen Gesetzes und anderer phonologischer Prozesse sowie für eine Diskussion um ihre Bedeutung für die Dialektverteilung sehe man LAKARRA (2014: 155–242).

unbetonten Silben. Das hätte aber immerhin keine weitere Konsequenz für die spätere Abfolge von Ereignissen.

– Phase 2.a: Aspiration wird zu einem segmentübergreifenden Phänomen, indem sie allmählich mit Akzentuierung in Verbindung gebracht wird. Weil Betonung auf die linksseitig zweite Silbe fällt, wird auch Aspiration auf diese Stelle hin ausgebaut. Solche Prozesse haben möglicherweise schon im Aquitanischen (ca. 1. Jhr. v. C. bis zum 3. Jhr. n. C.) eingesetzt.

– Phase 2.b: Durch das Graßmannsche Gesetz wird Aspiration von unbetonten Silben entfernt. Als Folge kommt man höchstens auf eine Behauchung pro (phonologisches) Wort. Wie Onyme aus dem *Galikanischen Kalbsleder* aus San Millán de la Cogolla und anderen Texten zeigen, hatte sich dieser Prozess bis zum 11. Jhr. n. C. im Südwesten des baskischspachigen Gebiets noch nicht vervollständigt. Die ältesten längeren belegten Texte aus dem 16. Jhr. n. C. bezeugen dagegen, dass diese Entwicklung im Kontinentalbaskischen schon abgeschlossen war.

– Phase 3: Aspiration wird weiter verdrängt, bis sie vollständig von der Sprache verschwindet. Dieser Prozess ist in den südlichen Mundarten schon zu Ende, im Norden des Sprachgebiets geht er weiter. Wie schon oben vermerkt wurde, einzig und allein ist der östlichste Zuberoa-Dialekt nicht von Rückständigkeit oder Verlust der Behauchung betroffen.

4. Typologischer Überblick

Das Eintreten des Graßmannschen Gesetzes und das Heranrücken der Aspiration an die ersten zwei Silben des Wortes sind nicht die einzigen Schlussfolgerungen, die mit Hinsicht auf Aspiration aus einer diachronen Analyse der Sprache und ihrer Onomastik hervorgehen. Es wurde in der Einführung darauf hingewiesen, dass eine große Anzahl Linguisten meint, Aspiration nicht nur für die Ursprache rekonstruieren zu können, sondern auch auf unterschiedliche, in der Geschichte der Sprache stattfindende phonetische Prozesse zurückführen zu können. Eine Untersuchung der baskischen Onomastik, unterstützt durch typologische Parallelen, sollte also zusätzliche Beweise bzw. Gegenbeweise für diese Annahme liefern. Traditionell werden von Mitxelena (1977: 208) vier historische Aspirationssquellen anerkannt:

(1) *Urbaskisches *h* > Baskisch des Altertums *h*. Die größte Unterstützung für diese Quelle liefern, abgesehen von der inneren Rekonstruktion, die aquitanischen Inschriften und andere Belege aus der römischen Periode, die wie schon mehrmals erwähnt Aspiration aufweisen: Man sehe *Aherbelste, Baisothar, Hannabi, Harspi* usw. (Mitxelena 1954: 415–417). Bei all diesen Namen bzw. bei den darin enthaltenen Wurzeln besteht kein Grund für die Annahme,

dass sie Entlehnungen oder Neuerungen sind, sondern sollen als Erbwörter angesehen werden (ibid.).

(2) Aquitanisches /C^{h}/ > Baskisches *h* im Anlaut. Diese Quelle verfügt nur über eine karge Beweislage, scheint aber angesichts der Entwicklung und Variation einiger aquitanischen Namen tatsächlich stattgefunden zu haben: *Talsconis-Halsconis*, vielleicht auch *Hotarris-Hontharris* (Mitxelena 1954: 451, 1957: 129, Gorrotxategi 1984: 214). Jedenfalls legt der Wandel /C^{h}/ > /h/ eine typologisch ziemlich weit verbreitete Änderung dar: Sie ist unter anderem im Auslaut in der Liverpooler Mundart des Englischen zu finden, also *what* > *wüh, climate* > *klaɻmih* (Watson 2002: 199, 203), ebenfalls in der florentinischen Mundart des Italienischen, also *corna* > *horna* 'Hörner', *cieca* > *ʃɛha* 'Blinde' (Kirchner 2013: 197–198, Igartua 2008a: 173), im Japanischen *pito* > *hito* 'Menschen', in den polynesischen Sprachen *api* > *ahi* 'Feuer' (Shibatani 1990: 104, 167), im Tamilischen *poku* > *hogu* 'gehen' (Bakró-Nagy 2010: 36) usw. Behauchung ist auch das Ergebnis des Grimmschen Gesetzes, also *k* > *x* > *h* (Grimm 2009: 399–401).

(3) Latein *f* > Baskisches *h* im Anlaut. Hierzu gibt es reichlich Beispiele[7], sowohl in einfachen Entlehnungen als auch in der Onomastik: Latein *forma* > Baskisch *horma* 'Eis', *Formijana* (1204 n. C.) > *Hormijana* (1551 n. C.), *Lafoz* (1175 n. C.) > *Lahoz* (1847 n. C.) (Salaberri 2015a: 239, 318). Eine leichte Wechselseitigkeit zwischen Behauchung und labiodentalem Reibelaut ist außerdem noch in einigen Dialekten zu sehen: In der Mundart aus Luzaide hat *h* in einem einzelnen Wort den Laut *f* ergeben, während das in der Standardsprache nicht geschehen ist; das heißt also, dass Standardbaskisch *ohe* 'Bett' in Luzaide *ofe* ausgesprochen wird (Kamino–Salaberri 2007: 146). Typologisch betrachtet ist *f* > *h* auch ein verbreiteter Prozess. Dieser Prozess findet in der Geschichte des Spanischen statt, also Latein *facere* > Spanisch *hacer* 'machen', auch im Sardinischen *fenu* > *henu* 'Heu' (Molinu 2017: 135), im Nganasan *fa:* > *huaa* 'Holz' (Bakró-Nagy 2010: 36, 40), im Etruskischen *θefarie* > *θihearie* 'Tiberius' (Stuart-Smith 2004: 130) usw.

(4) *Urbaskisches intervokalisches *n* > Baskisches *h.* Dieser Wandel, der zunächst von Mitxelena (1950: 193–194, 1977: 208, 302) als historisch stattfindenden Prozess erkannt und dann von Igartua (2008a: 171–190, 2008b: 353–357, 2015: 635–663) unter den von Matisoff (1975: 265) eingeführ-

[7] Allerdings sollen die meisten romanischen Entlehnungen, die im Baskischen Aspiration ergeben, aus dem Gaskonischen stammen und bereits in der Quellsprache Aspiration enthalten haben, denn direkte lateinische Lehnwörter mit anlautendem /f/ ergeben im Baskischen /b/ bzw. /p/, zum Beispiel Lat. *fagus* > Bask. *bago, pago* 'Buche', Lat. *ferme* > Bask. *berme* 'Stütze', und spätromanische Entlehnungen mit anlautendem /f/ ergeben im Baskischen /f/, beispielsweise Spätrom. *falsu* > Bask. *faltsu* 'falsch' (LAKARRA 2015: 362-364). Daher wäre hier eher hauptsächlich von Gaskonisch *h* > Baskisch *h* die Rede.

ten breiteren typologischen Begriff *Rhinoglottophilia* gesetzt wurde, weist in Erbwörtern, Entlehnungen wie in der Onomastik zahlreiche Belege auf. Hierzu zählen beispielsweise Urb. **bini* > B. *mihi* 'Zunge', Urb. **seni* > B. *sehi* 'Sippe', Lat. *honore*(*m*) > B. *ohore* 'Ehre', Lat. *linu* > B. *liho* 'Leinen' (Mitxelena 1977: 146, Igartua 2008a: 174), auch die Ortsnamen **(uilla) Elani* 'Elanus' Eigentum' > **Enali* > *Ehari, *(uilla) Hurabani* 'Hurabanus' Eigentum' > *Hurabahin* (1025 n. C.) > *Urabain* (Salaberri 2015: 164–165, 414). Im Sprachvergleich ist dieser Wandel gut belegt, so zum Beispiel *ŋũũ* > *hũũ* 'Schlange' im Thailändischen, $p^{m}u$ > *hũ* 'Bohne' im Cèmuhî oder **Npa* > *mha* 'gib es her' im Kinyarwanda (Matisoff 1975: 267, Blevins–Garrett 1993: 223, Igartua 2015: 643).

Die letzten drei Aspirationsquellen haben gemeinsam, dass ein mündlich artikuliertes Segment seine mündliche Artikulation verliert, der Laut dabei aber nicht verschwindet, sondern es bleibt eine leichte glottale Reibung, sozusagen eine 'Spur' des ursprünglichen Lautes. Das Ersetzen mündlicher durch glottale Artikulation mit dem Ziel, das Fortbestehen eines Segments zu bewahren, ist in der Literatur als *debuccalization* bekannt (O'Brien 2010: 1–29). Die oben Genannten sind aber freilich nicht die einzigen Aspirationssquellen im Baskischen, sondern nur diejenigen, deren Entstehung als sekundär bezeichnet werden kann und die zunächst als solche erkannt wurden. Zu den zusätzlichen Quellen zählen folgende: (1) Im Anlaut von Entlehnungen, die ursprünglich über einen vokalischen Anlaut verfügt haben, erscheint Behauchung: Lat. *arma* > B. *harma* 'Waffe', Lat. *scabies* > B. *hezkabia* 'Grind', Spätromanisch *arrapar* > B. *harrapatu* 'fangen, erhaschen' (Mitxelena 1977: 209). Auch wenn diese Entwicklung willkürlich vorkommen mag, so scheint es entweder mit der vorgezogenen Silbenstruktur (Lakarra 2009a: 569, 2009b: 221–223, 2015: 356–357) oder der Position des Akzents (Trask 1997: 158–159, Igartua 2002: 383, 2006: 519, 2008a: 173) zusammenzuhängen; (2) einige Aspirationen dienen ziemlich offensichtlich der Bewahrung von Hiaten bzw. der Vermeidung von Diphthongen, vor allem, wenn man erwägt, dass die frühere Form keine Behauchung enthalten hat: *doa~doha* 'er/sie/es geht'[8] (1545 n. C.), *Ioannes* (1571 n. C.) > *Johane*, *Johañe* (heutzutage) (Lafon 1948: 58, Mitxelena 1977: 210); (3) Aspiration scheint in einigen Fällen vom Wegfall bzw. Deletion eines Vibranten profitiert zu haben: **hur* + **(h)alde* > *uhalde* 'Flut', **hur* + **(h)arte* > *uharte* 'Insel' (Lakarra 2015: 357).[9]

[8] Lakarra (2012: 668) geht aber für diese Form von einem etymologischen Ursprung aus.

[9] Für eine umfassende Übersicht der letzteren Aspirationsquellen sehe man Mitxelena (1977: 209–210).

5. Schlussfolgerungen

Eine Untersuchung der Aspiration in historischen Orts- und Personennamen hat zwei wichtige Schlussfolgerungen ergeben: Einerseits gewährt die Onomastikforschung zusätzliche und wertvolle Einblicke in die Entwicklung der baskischen Aspiration, was den Wert der Onomastik für die historische Sprachwissenschaft hervorhebt. Andererseits stehen im Falle der baskischen Sprache Namenforschung und Sprachvergleich in einer Beziehung, in der diese beiden Gebiete zueinander beitragen: Die Namenforschung ergänzt schon bekannte und weit beobachtete Prozesse der Sprachentwicklung mit weiteren belegten Fällen, so zum Beispiel beim Wandel *f* > *h* im Anlaut, während Sprachtypologie eine Erklärung bietet für Änderungen, die für sich allein genommen merkwürdig bzw. grundlos erscheinen könnten, beispielsweise beim Wandel der intervokalischen Nasalität zu Aspiration *(Rhinoglottophilia)*. Ein Ansatz, wie er hier aufgenommen wurde, der Sprachtypologie, Diachronie und Namenforschung kombiniert kann also zu wertvollen Ergebnissen führen.

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Abstract

Es gibt zahlreiche Beiträge, die sich mit dem Ursprung und der Entwicklung der Aspiration in der Geschichte des Baskischen befassen, dagegen ist bis auf wenige Ausnahmen bisher kein onomastischer Ansatz zum Thema unternommen worden. Indem diese Studie historische Orts- und Personennamen aus untererforschten Texten analysiert, wird der Versuch aufgenommen, Aspiration im Rahmen der Namenforschung und aus Sicht der historisch-typologischen Linguistik zu untersuchen. Die Ergebnisse bestätigen bisherige Behauptungen mit Blick auf Phonetik und Sprachwandel.

Schlüsselwörter: Aspiration, Baskisch, Orts- und Personennamen, Sprachtypologie, Sprachwandel

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Anthroponymic constituents of colonial toponyms: a comparison of Netherlands New Guinea and Portuguese Timor (as of 1955)

1. Introduction

In this study, we discuss a special brand of colonial toponyms (= (COL) TOP), namely those macro-TOPs which involve a European anthroponymic (= ANTH) constituent and which, at least temporarily, used to refer to geo-objects in erstwhile overseas possessions of European colonizer nations in the age of colonialism.[1] According to our taxonomy (STOLZ–WARNKE 2018a), these COLTOPs are either exonyms (i.e. they consist exclusively of elements which belong to the linguistic sphere of the colonizers[2]) or hybrids (i.e. they represent the combination of indigenous and European language material). More specifically, we focus on two territories located in the same geographical macro-area of the Indonesian Archipelago (and neighboring areas) which were still under foreign rule in 1955. These territories were:

(a) the Dutch colony *Nederlands Nieuw-Guinea* (= NNG) – nowadays the province Irian Jaya of Indonesia – and

(b) the Portuguese colony *Colónia de Timor* (= CT), the predecessor of the independent state of Timor-Leste of today.

The toponomasticons of NNG and CT are documented fully in Gazetteer No. 13 (NNG = pp. 1237–1355, CT = pp. 1357–1376), published in 1955, which

[1] As shown by SCHULZ–EBERT (2016, 2017), it is also worthwhile looking at micro-TOPs such as dromonyms and hodonyms not only in the toponomasticon of the European territory of the colonizers but also on the maps of their overseas possessions. Recently, we have begun to widen the scope of our project by way of extending the research also over non-European colonialism such as those of Japan, the United States and – as sub-colonialisms of the United Kingdom – Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Moreover, there have also been several cases of colonization within the bounds of the European continent. The United Kingdom, for instance, possessed the crown colonies of Cyprus and Malta – and still keeps that of Gibraltar. The linguistic effects of the British rule on the toponomasticons of these three territories will have to be studied in future research.

[2] The concept of linguistic sphere is to be understood as a relatively extended domain in which there is space also for elements which do not directly stem from the language of the present colonizer but may come from that of a previous colonizer or they may belong to the general cultural history of Europeans.

functions as our sole data-base. The principal goal of this investigation is to determine in what way the two colonizers – the Netherlands and Portugal – display similarities and differences as to the employment of European ANTHs as a resource for the coining of exonymic and hybrid COLTOPs in the above two colonies.

To this end, in Section 2., we provide technical information about how COLTOPs are analyzed structurally and functionally in our approach. In the same section, we also review prior linguistic work dedicated to the issue of COLTOPs. The necessary background knowledge as to the history, demography, and geography of the two territories under scrutiny is given in Section 3. The data from NNG are in the focus of Section 4.1. whereas those from CT are discussed subsequently in Section 4.2. The conclusions are drawn in Section 5. As to toponomastics in general, we rely mainly on the categorizations exposed in NÜBLING–FAHLBUSCH–HEUSER (2015: 206–265).

2. Aspects of *Comparative Colonial Toponomastics (= CoCoTop)*

Our joint project *CoCoTop* to which this study belongs makes an inquiry into the systematic (structural, functional, and discourse-related) aspects of the COLTOPs as coined by European colonizers in the Americas, Africa, Asia, and Oceania before the advent of decolonization and independence (GAMMELTOFT 2016: 130).[3] In previous studies dedicated to our topic, it has been shown that ANTHs are of utmost importance for the coining of COLTOPs. According to STOLZ–WARNKE–LEVKOVYCH (2016: 288–293), COLTOPs which are based on ANTHs may come in two shapes, namely either with or without a second constituent in the construction which functions as COLTOP. These construction types are represented as formulas in (1).[4] Both constituents may be either simple or complex, i.e. they may consist of one or more sub-constituents.

(1) COLTOPs with ANTH-constituent – construction types

(a) binary construction: $[(X_{EUROPEAN})ANTH_{EUROPEAN}]_{TOP} \sim [ANTH_{EUROPEAN}(X_{EUROPEAN})]_{TOP}$

(b) bare ANTH: $[ANTH_{EUROPEAN}]_{TOP}$

[3] *CoCoTop,* in turn, situates itself within the wider framework of *Colonial Linguistics* and *Postcolonial Language Studies* respectively as defined by WARNKE (2009), STOLZ–VOSSMANN–DEWEIN (2011), DEWEIN et al. (2012), and WARNKE–STOLZ–SCHMIDT-BRÜCKEN (2016). In a nutshell, *Colonial Linguistics* is the research program which aims at investigating all aspects of the interrelation of language and colonialism without being ideology-driven. Its spin-off *CoCoTop* focuses upon the appropriation of space via place-identification, place-naming, and place-making in the context of European colonialism – with place-making crucially involving the creation of names for geo-objects (STOLZ–WARNKE 2016: 29–35).

[4] The formulas are representative only of exonyms. However, type (1a) is also possible with one of the constituents being of non-European origin (cf. below).

The binary construction type (1a) corresponds to the COLTOP-prototype postulated by STOLZ–WARNKE (2015: 135–140) first for the German colonial toponomasticon and subsequently identified in all of the fourteen historically relevant European colonialisms[5] – independent of the time-span and region in which a given colonizer nation was actively involved in colonizing the extra-European world (STOLZ–WARNKE–LEVKOVYCH 2016: 296–323). Construction type (1b), however, represents a marked option in the sense that it is not as common as (1a) in the European colonial toponomasticons. In the case of German COLTOPs, for instance, it is attested exclusively in Deutsch-Südwestafrika (today's Namibia) which was Germany's only settlers' colony (STOLZ–WARNKE 2018b).

As the formulas in (1) suggest, the ANTH-component is the only obligatory constituent of the ANTH-based COLTOPs. The bracketed X occupies the slot of an optional constituent which may be of different kinds – most often however, it is a classifier (= CLASS) which assigns the geo-object to a given ontological category. The position of X relative to ANTH is largely dependent upon the linearization preferences of the language of the European colonizer. What is important for the prototype is that the constituent X is also of European origin. In (2), we illustrate the above construction types with examples of COLTOPs from four different colonized territories.

(2) Exemplification

(a) binary construction

$$\textit{Finschhafen} = [\{\textit{Finsch}\}_{\text{ANTH}}\text{-}\{\textit{hafen}\}_{\text{CLASS}}]_{\text{TOP}}$$

(STOLZ–WARNKE 2015: 144)[6]

$$\textit{Fort Christina} = [\{\textit{Fort}\}_{\text{CLASS}}\ \{\textit{Christina}\}_{\text{ANTH}}]_{\text{TOP}}$$

(STOLZ–WARNKE 2017: 210)[7]

[5] The historically relevant European colonizer nations are in alphabetical order: Austria, Belgium, Brandenburg-Prussia, Courland, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. In the future, Norway will be included in the research program since its dependencies in the North Atlantic and Antarctica – though uninhabited – have also been subject to the massive coinage of COLTOPs.

[6] This COLTOP refers to a major settlement in Kaiser-Wilhelmsland – the mainland part of Deutsch-Neuguinea (the northern half of today's Papua-New Guinea). The settlement was named auto-referentially for the German geographer and biologist Otto Finsch (1839–1917). The CLASS *Hafen* 'harbor' is indicative of the location of the settlement on the coast and its utility for transport, trade, and communication.

[7] Fort Christina was located in the ephemeral Swedish colony Nya Sverige on what is now the US-American east coast. It was named for the then queen of Sweden Christina Vasa (1626–1696). The CLASS *Fort* is indicative of the military character of the foundation which was intended as a bulwark against the competing Dutch colony in the immediate neighborhood.

(b) bare ANTH

Victoria = [{*Victoria*}$_{\text{ANTH}}$]$_{\text{TOP}}$ (WEBER 2012: 118[8]

D'Annunzio = [{*D'Annunzio*}$_{\text{ANTH}}$]$_{\text{TOP}}$ (MICCOLI 2017: 198[9]

The four cases have in common that the COLTOPs are settlement names – a property which is also strongly associated with the above prototype of COLTOPs. HOUGH (2016: 92) states that "[n]on-descriptive names identify a settlement by means of an association, often with a historical or legendary event, or with a person. The latter are known as 'commemorative' names, and are particularly common among the settlements founded or renamed by European settlers in the African, American, and Australian continents during the Age of Exploration that began in the fifteenth century."

The personalities for which the above settlements are named are highly valued representatives of the colonizer nation. The function of the employment of their ANTHs in COLTOPs is to emphasize the exclusive right of possession the colonizer claims as to the territory involved. In a way, COLTOPs of this kind address potential competitors who might challenge the colonizer's claim. Previous studies have revealed that it may make a difference how important a given geo-object is for the colonizers – (easy to reach) settlements (preferably on or near the coastline) tend to rank particularly high on the scale of importance whereas unpopulated areas in the remote interior are treated differently when it comes to baptizing them (STOLZ–WARNKE 2016: 47–50, 2017: 213–224).

On this basis, it can be assumed that COLTOPs which reflect the construction types in (1) can be found typically with important settlements in the close vicinity of major traffic routes. To check the tenability of this hypothesis, we compare the data from NNG and CT as to the distribution of ANTH-based COLTOPs over the classes of geo-objects. The question arises whether the distribution is random or predictably systematic – and, in the latter case, whether the two colonies give evidence of parallel behavior or idiosyncracies.

[8] D'Annunzio refers to a settlement (founded in 1938) in the Italian colony Libya. The COLTOP commemorates the Italian nationalistic poet Gabriele D'Annunzio (1863–1938) whose personality and oeuvre was much appreciated by the Fascist regime of Mussolini's.

[9] D'Annunzio refers to a settlement (founded in 1938) in the Italian colony Libya. The COLTOP commemorates the Italian nationalistic poet Gabriele D'Annunzio (1863–1938) whose personality and oeuvre was much appreciated by the Fascist regime of Mussolini's.

3. Two colonies – history, demography, and geography[10]

In 1955, both CT and NNG can be considered the relics of formerly much bigger and more important colonies of Portugal and the Netherlands, respectively. With some 323,000 km^2 NNG was more than twenty times as big as CT whose territory measured 15,000 km^2. The population estimates for the two colonies are relatively imprecise since the statistics for NNG oscillates between 320,000 and 420,000 inhabitants. As for CT, a similar number of inhabitants must be assumed. In both cases, the vast majority (i.e. about 90%) of the population can be considered non-European. None of the colonies was originally intended as a genuine settlers' colony.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to establish themselves as colonial power in the Indonesian Archipelago already in the early 16th century. Until the 1640s, they built up a sizable colonial empire in this part of the world when the rivalry with the Dutch East-India Company turned to the disadvantage of the Portuguese. They had to cede the bulk of their Indonesian possessions to the Dutch so that in the 18th century, only the easternmost segment of their erstwhile *Império Oriental* remained at least nominally under Portuguese control. The island of Timor came to be of interest for the Portuguese imperialistic ambitions only relatively late when in 1642 the first attempts were made to set foot there culminating in the official foundation of the colony some sixty years later. Until the late 19th century however, the presence of the colonizer was largely limited to the coastal regions and the surroundings of the capital Dili. After a long succession of colonial wars, the Portuguese seized control also of the interior in the first half of the 20th century. The geo-objects which the Portuguese identified in the remote hinterland thus, received COLTOPs only in the final phase of colonialism before Portugal withdrew from CT in 1975.

The Dutch entered the Indonesian scene in the 17th century and immediately tried to drive out their Portuguese competitors from their possessions. This process of ousting was finished by the end of the 17th century. It took the Dutch almost another two hundred years before New Guinea was integrated in their sphere of interest. In the 1870s, what was to become NNG was made a Dutch colony. Were it not for the competition with Imperial Germany and the United Kingdom for dominance on the large island of New Guinea, the Dutch might have neglected their new possession completely since it was not suited for large-scale European settlement. After the independence of Indonesia from the Netherlands in 1949, the Dutch retained the colony of NNG until 1962 when

[10] For the purpose of this section, we rely on the information gathered from the extant historiography of Dutch and Portuguese colonialism such as VAN DEN DOEL (1996) and SCHLICHER (1996).

it was handed over to Indonesia. The Indonesian independence of 1949 caused many so-called Indos, i.e. so-called mixed-race inhabitants of the former Dutch colony *Nederlands Oostindië* (= NOI), to move to NNG. It seems that the Dutch were never effectively in control of the interior of NNG. Nevertheless, there is a plethora of COLTOPs which refer to geo-objects located exactly in these hardly accessible regions of the colony.

4. ANTH-based COLTOPs in NNG and CT

In the empirical part of this study, the COLTOPs are presented in the orthographic shape they have in the printed source from which we have taken them. Among other things, this means that the data from NNG reflect the Dutch spelling conventions of the times for Malay and other autochthonous languages. Since the focus is on the distribution of the ANTH-based COLTOPs over the classes of geo-object, we relegate the identification of most of the European namesakes[11] to the footnotes provided that the historical person could be identified in the first place.[12] Except a minority of cases, all namesakes must be considered possible candidates rather than uncontroversial cases. We also refrain from providing the postcolonial TOPs which have replaced their colonial predecessors.

4.1. The case of NNG

On the basis of the inventory in the Gazetteer No. 13, we have calculated a total of 4,130 COLTOPs for NNG. Among these COLTOPs there are 94 uncontroversial cases of the ANTH-based kind. This means that we are facing a tiny minority which equals only some 2% of the entire colonial toponomasticon of NNG the vast majority thereof (like in the bulk of the European colonies) being endonyms (i.e. supposedly autochthonous TOPs).[13] This small turnout is largely unsurprising since the number of settlements in NNG remained insignificant throughout the Dutch period – and we know from the above that, in European colonialism, ANTH-based COLTOPs have been assigned prototypically to settlements.

[11] We employ this term to refer to the historical bearer of the ANTH which is involved in a given COLTOP.

[12] For the search of the namesakes we have relied most often on the information provided in https://www.openarch.nl/.

[13] Beside the ANTH-based COLTOPs, there are also cases of differently-based COLTOPs such as the exonymic *Hollandia* – the Latinized name of the capital city of NNG referring to the province Holland in the Netherlands – and the hybrid *Waromge-Baai* which involves the Dutch CLASS *baai* 'bay'.

In point of fact, there is only a single case of an ANTH-based COLTOP in NNG which refers to a settlement as shown in (3).[14]

(3) Settlement name

Steenkool[15] = $[\{Steenkool\}_{ANTH}]_{TOP}$

Interestingly, this is an instance of the marked kind of COLTOP, i.e. the bare ANTH functions as fully-blown COLTOP. Of the remaining ninety-three ANTH-based COLTOPs in NNG, there are only two which instantiate the same pattern as (3). The oronym in (4) is definitely not the best example of an ANTH-based COLTOP.

(4) Oronym

Goliath = $[\{Goliath\}_{ANTH}]_{TOP}$

The geo-object of this COLTOP is a single mountain whose particularly striking size is reflected by the Biblical reference to the proverbial giant of the same name. The potential Christian association of the oronym notwithstanding, *Goliath* must be considered a border-line case since the COLTOP involves an ANTH which has an identifiable namesake within the wider range of the colonizer's culture (= Christianity) but lacks any direct link to colonialist activities (if those of missionaries are discounted).

In (5), we have another slightly problematic case.

(5) Island name

Camphuys (Eiland) = $[\{Camphuys\}_{ANTH}\ (\{Eiland\}_{CLASS})]_{TOP}$

The island was named for the 15th Governor General (= GG) of NOI, Johannes Camphuys, who was in charge of the administration of the colony from 1684 to 1691. There is thus a direct connection of the namesake to the colony itself. Structurally, however, the COLTOP is special insofar as it contains an optional CLASS. The Dutch CLASS *eiland* 'island' may be absent from the construction so that the ANTH-constituent alone could do the job of the entire construction. *Camphuys (Eiland)* is the only example of an ANTH-based COLTOP in NNG

[14] *Broemke* and *Doesner* are two cases of settlement names in NNG which we have failed to classify so far.

[15] In spite of being a relatively common Dutch last name in the 18th century, we have not tracked down the historical person who served as name-giver of the settlement *Steenkool* in NNG. A possible candidate is German-born Albert Jochom Steenkool who worked for the Dutch East India Company (= VOC) in NOI in the mid-18th century. However, it cannot be ruled out a hundred percent that we are dealing with a false friend, in a manner of speaking, and that the COLTOP has not ANTH-basis in the first place. As a common noun Dutch *steenkool* 'hard coal, glance coal' refers to a mineral resource relevant to mining. It is conceivable that the COLTOP was given to a settlement in the vicinity of coal-mines.

which involves an optional CLASS-constituent. Except the three examples in (3)–(5), all ANTH-based COLTOPs in NNG comprise obligatory CLASS-constituents. Accordingly, the vast majority (~ 97%) of the cases under scrutiny reflect the binary pattern of (1a) above.

As to island names in general, GAMMELTOFT (2016: 132) observes that "[w]ith the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, a notable change is observable in many island names coined from then on. Where the focus of naming was previously on the feature itself, naming with the namer in focus becomes normal. This applies particularly to the so-called commemorative names, where naming focuses on people, places, or items special to the namer."

It is therefore unsurprising to find ANTH-based island names in NNG, too. However, the conformity of the COLTOPs in NNG with the prototype is not absolute for all of the instances. Their binary internal structure notwithstanding, a handful of island names deviates from the prototype in the sense that their CLASS-element stems from Malay – and thus fails to meet the criterion of European origin. The examples in (6) show that in lieu of the Dutch CLASS *eiland* 'island' the synonymous Malay CLASS *poelau* 'island' is employed in combination with an $\text{ANTH}_{\text{EUROPEAN}}$.

(6) Hybrid island names

$$\textit{Poelau Budd}^{16} = [\{\textit{Poelau}\}_{\text{CLASS}}\ \{\textit{Budd}\}_{\text{ANTH}}]_{\text{TOP}}$$

$$\textit{Poelau Klaarbeek}^{17} = [\{\textit{Poelau}\}_{\text{CLASS}}\ \{\textit{Klaarbeek}\}_{\text{ANTH}}]_{\text{TOP}}$$

$$\textit{Poelau Stephanie}^{18} = [\{\textit{Poelau}\}_{\text{CLASS}}\ \{\textit{Stephanie}\}_{\text{ANTH}}]_{\text{TOP}}$$

$$\textit{Poelau Vlaming}^{19} = [\{\textit{Poelau}\}_{\text{CLASS}}\ \{\textit{Vlaming}\}_{\text{ANTH}}]_{\text{TOP}}$$

The recurrence of this construction pattern with an initial $\text{CLASS}_{\text{NON-EUROPEAN}}$ and an $\text{ANTH}_{\text{EUROPEAN}}$ is remarkable in comparative perspective since in the colonial toponomasticons of other European colonizers, this combination is largely (albeit not entirely) avoided. It was however widely common in the former Indonesian possessions of the Netherlands so that the class of colonial island

[16] Namesake: either George Budd (1808–1882), British medical scientist, or William Budd (1811–1880), British epidemologist.

[17] Namesake: either *Poelau Klaarbeek* refers to the town Klaarbeek in the Netherlands and thus is not a case of ANTH-transfer or the island is named for Johan Fredrik Klaarbeek who worked for the VOC in NOI in the mid-18th century.

[18] Namesake: either Johannes Paptista Stephanie from Luxemburg or Etienne Gadia Stephanie from Namur or Michiel Lodewijk Leonard Stephanie from Frankfurt. All three of candidates worked for the VOC in NOI in the second half of the 18th century.

[19] Namesake: one of three regents of Amsterdam, namely Cornelis de Vlaming van Oudshoorn (1613–1688), Dirck de Vlaming van Oudshoorn (1574–1643), or Pieter de Vlaming van Oudshoorn (1563–1628).

names is divided in three sizable sub-categories (STOLZ–WARNKE 2018a), namely

(a) those island names which involve the Malay CLASS-constituent in combination with a second Malay constituent,

(b) those island names which combine a $\text{CLASS}_{\text{MALAY}}$ with an $\text{ANTH}_{\text{EUROPEAN}}$, and

(c) those island names which consist of two European constituents.

The latter sub-category is represented by the island names in (7). Note that in two of the cases in (7) the CLASS is pluralized (*eilanden* 'islands').

(7) Exonymic island names

Frederik Hendrik-Eiland[20] = $[\{\textit{Frederik Hendrik}\}_{\text{ANTH}}\text{-}\{\textit{Eiland}\}_{\text{CLASS}}]_{\text{TOP}}$

Kerkhoven-Eiland[21] = $[\{\textit{Kerkhoven}\}_{\text{ANTH}}\text{-}\{\textit{Eiland}\}_{\text{CLASS}}]_{\text{TOP}}$

Mansfield-Eilanden[22] = $[\{\textit{Mansfield}\}_{\text{ANTH}}\text{-}\{\textit{Eiland-en}_{\text{PLURAL}}\}_{\text{CLASS}}]_{\text{TOP}}$

Schouten-Eilanden[23] = $[\{\textit{Schouten}\}_{\text{ANTH}}\text{-}\{\textit{Eiland-en}_{\text{PLURAL}}\}_{\text{CLASS}}]_{\text{TOP}}$

The altogether nine colonial island names which involve an $\text{ANTH}_{\text{EUROPEAN}}$ give evidence of another bipartition since four of them require the presence of the Malay CLASS *poelau* whereas five attest to the obligatory or optional use of the Dutch CLASS *eiland(en)*.

Outside the domain of island names, the employment of a $\text{CLASS}_{\text{MALAY}}$ in combination with an $\text{ANTH}_{\text{EUROPEAN}}$ is attested only once as shown in (8).

(8) Hybrid cape name

Tandjoeng Verkam[24] = $[\{\textit{Tandjoeng}\}_{\text{CLASS}}\ \{\textit{Verkam}\}_{\text{ANTH}}]_{\text{TOP}}$

Verkam is a Dutch family name – most probably from the province of Zeeland. It is preceded by the Malay CLASS *tandjoeng* 'cape'. The COLTOPs in (6) and (8) are special in the toponomasticon of NNG insofar as no other category of geo-objects allows for the employment of $\text{CLASS}_{\text{NON-EUROPEAN}}$.

[20] Namesake: Prince Frederik Hendrik van Oranje (1584–1647), *Stadhouder* of the United Provinces of the Netherlands 1625–1647.

[21] *Van Kerkhoven* is a Dutch family name. It is unclear to which historical personality the COLTOP refers.

[22] We have not been able to identify the namesake yet.

[23] Namesake: Willem Corneliszoon Schouten (1580–1625), Dutch seafarer who explored some of the islands off the coast of New Guinea.

[24] Namesake: There are several candidates with the last name Verkam who worked for the VOC in NOI in the 18th century, one of them being Jan Francois Verkam who was active in Batavia in 1770–1771.

All other ANTH-based names of capes in NNG are instantiations of the prototype (1a). The examples in (9) display different linearization patterns as well as different internal relation marking.

(9) Exonymic cape names

De Jong's-Punt[25] = [{*De Jong-s*}$_{\text{GENITIVE}}$ {*Punt*}$_{\text{CLASS}}$]$_{\text{TOP}}$

Jacobus Opdekams-Hoek[26] = [{*Jacobus Opdekam-s*}$_{\text{GENITIVE}}$ {*Hoek*}$_{\text{CLASS}}$]$_{\text{TOP}}$

Kaap Kolff[27] = [{*Kaap*}$_{\text{CLASS}}$ {*Kolff*}$_{\text{ANTH}}$]$_{\text{TOP}}$

Kaap Steenboom[28] = [{*Kaap*}$_{\text{CLASS}}$ {*Steenboom*}$_{\text{ANTH}}$]$_{\text{TOP}}$

Kaap Van den Bosch[29] = [{*Kaap*}$_{\text{CLASS}}$ {*Van den Bosch*}$_{\text{ANTH}}$]$_{\text{TOP}}$

The Dutch CLASS *punt* 'point', *hoek* 'corner', and *kaap* 'cape' refer to different kinds of geo-objects of the headland type. The CLASS *kaap* occupies the leftmost slot of the construction which thus is right-branching. In this case, the ANTH-constituent functions as apposition to the CLASS-constituent. With *punt* and *hoek,* however, the construction is left-branching with the constructional head requiring that the ANTH-constituent is inflected for the genitive. In most cases, the ANTH-constituent is a Dutch family name or a combination of Christian and family name.

On the basis of the foregoing paragraphs, one easily assumes that COLTOPs related to the coastal regions and further maritime categories form a sizable group within the NNG toponomasticon. This assumption is corroborated by the data in (10).

(10) COLTOPs with maritime associations

(a) straits

Straat Bougainville[30] = [{*Straat*}$_{\text{CLASS}}$ {*Bougainville*}$_{\text{ANTH}}$]$_{\text{TOP}}$

Straat Iris[31] = [{*Straat*}$_{\text{CLASS}}$ {*Iris*}$_{\text{ANTH}}$]$_{\text{TOP}}$

[25] Namesake: Jan Petrus Benjamin de Josselin de Jong (1886–1964), Dutch anthropologist with focus on Indonesia.

[26] We have not been able to identify the namesake yet.

[27] Namesake: there are two dozen of candidates one of them being Jan de Kolff who worked for the VOC in NOI in the 18th century.

[28] Namesake: Captain Laurens Steenboom worked for the VOC in the 1780s.

[29] Namesake: Johannes Graf Van den Bosch, 40th GG of NOI from 1830 to 1833.

[30] Namesake: French seafarer Louis Antoine de Bougainville (1729–1811) who visited NOI on his circumnavigation of the world in the 1760s.

[31] This COLTOP takes its ANTH-component probably from the ship *Iris* which formed part of the squadron that went to serve in NOI in 1815.

Prinses Marianne-Straat[32] = [{*Prinses Marianne*}$_{\text{ANTH}}$-{*Straat*}$_{\text{CLASS}}$]$_{\text{TOP}}$

Scholm-Straat[33] = [{*Scholm*}$_{\text{ANTH}}$-{*Straat*}$_{\text{CLASS}}$]$_{\text{TOP}}$

(b) banks

De Jong's-Banken = [{*De Jong-s*$_{\text{GENITIVE}}$}$_{\text{ANTH}}$-{*Bank-en* $_{\text{PLURAL}}$}$_{\text{CLASS}}$]$_{\text{TOP}}$

Kolff-Bank = [{*Kolff*}$_{\text{ANTH}}$-{*Bank*}$_{\text{CLASS}}$]$_{\text{TOP}}$

(c) bays

Cooks-Baai[34] = [{*Cook-s*$_{\text{GENITIVE}}$}$_{\text{ANTH}}$-{*Baai*}$_{\text{CLASS}}$]$_{\text{TOP}}$

Humboldt-Baai[35] = [{*Humboldt*}$_{\text{ANTH}}$-{*Baai*}$_{\text{CLASS}}$]$_{\text{TOP}}$

Iris-Baai = [{*Iris*}$_{\text{ANTH}}$-{*Baai*}$_{\text{CLASS}}$]$_{\text{TOP}}$

Rijklof van Goens-Baai[36] = [{*Rijklof van Goens*$_{\text{GENITIVE}}$}$_{\text{ANTH}}$-{*Baai*}$_{\text{CLASS}}$]$_{\text{TOP}}$

There are ANTH-based COLTOPs for straits, banks, and bays. Eight of these ten COLTOPs have the CLASS in the rightmost position. Only the two straits *Straat Bougainville* and *Straat Iris* reflect the inverse order of elements. In another two cases, the ANTH-constituent hosts the genitive suffix *-s*. A pluralized CLASS occurs only once. This means that there is indeed variation on the structural side of the constructions. However, the degree of variation is but moderate.

With a sub-total of twenty-five COLTOPs, the maritime class accounts for 26% of all NNG COLTOPs which are based on an ANTH$_{\text{EUROPEAN}}$. This percentage rises to 27% if we count in the single attestation of an ANTH-based settlement name as given in (3) above. This leaves a majority of 73% for other geo-object classes. In point of fact, the bulk of the NNG-COLTOPs of the kind under scrutiny here are formed by hydronyms and oronyms. We have identified twenty-six different hydronyms and forty-two different oronyms which involve an ANTH$_{\text{EUROPEAN}}$. The shares the different classes of TOPs have of the NNG-toponomasticon are identified in Diagram 1 (absolute numbers as well as percentages).

An almost three-to-one majority of the NNG-COLTOPs thus refers to geo-objects which are situated in the interior of the colony, i.e. more often than not they are located in the mainland part of NNG.

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[32] Namesake: Princess Marianne van Oranje-Nassau (1810–1883).

[33] Namesake: Johannes Scholm who worked for the VOC in NOI in the 18th century

[34] Namesake: British explorer James Cook (1728–1779) who visited NOI on his first journey to the Pacific.

[35] Namesake: German explorer Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859).

[36] Namesake: Rijklof van Goens, 13th GG of NOI from 1678 to 1681.

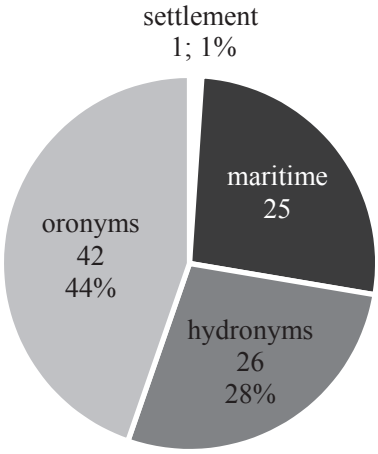


Diagram 1: Shares of TOP-classes in NNG

As to the internal structure of hydronyms and oronyms, if we discount the single instance of a bare oronymic ANTH as given in (4), it can be seen immediately that they are well-behaved in the sense that they follow the pattern of the prototype. Both hydronyms and oronyms are exclusively right-headed with a $\text{CLASS}_{\text{EUROPEAN}}$. With hydronyms, we find only two distinct CLASS-elements, namely the Dutch CLASS *rivier* 'river' and *meer* (also plural: *meren*) 'lake'. In (11), we disclose the internal structure for two of the hydronyms which are representative for the entire sub-class.

(11) Hydronyms – structural make-up

(a) rivers

$$\textit{Andreae-Rivier}^{37} = [\{\textit{Andreae}\}_{\text{ANTH}}\text{-}\{\textit{Rivier}\}_{\text{CLASS}}]_{\text{TOP}}$$

(b) lakes

$$\textit{Prins Bernhard-Meer}^{38} = [\{\textit{Prins Bernhard}\}_{\text{ANTH}}\text{-}\{\textit{Meer}\}_{\text{CLASS}}]_{\text{TOP}}$$

The prototypical binary structure is a recurrent property throughout the inventory of hydronymic COLTOPs based in $\text{ANTH}_{\text{EUROPEAN}}$ in NNG. In (12), we provide a complete list of river names and lake names of this kind without decomposing them into their constituents.

[37] Namesake: Achilles Andreae (1859–1905), German geologist and paleontologist.

[38] Namesake: Prince Bernhard zur Lippe-Biesterfeld (1911–2004), the royal spouse of queen Juliana van Oranje-Nassau.

(12) Inventory of $\text{ANTH}_{\text{EUROPEAN}}$-based hydronyms in NNG

(a) rivers

Anna-Rivier,[39] *Becking-Rivier,*[40] *Brazza-Rivier,*[41] *Cooks-Rivier, Hellwig-Rivier,*[42] *Idenburg-Rivier,*[43] *Kolff-Rivier, Legare-Rivier,*[44] *Lorentz-Rivier,*[45] *Pater Le Cocq Armandville-Rivier,*[46] *Reiger-Rivier,*[47] *Rouffaer-Rivier,*[48] *Rühl-Rivier,*[49] *Sborgonjie-Rivier,*[50] *Steenboom-Rivier, Van Daalen-Rivier,*[51] *Van der Sande-Rivier,*[52] *Van der Willigen-Rivier,*[53] *Verkam-Rivier, Weehuizen-Rivier,*[54] *Wildeman-Rivier*[55]

(b) lakes

Herbert Hoover-Meer,[56] *Prinses Juliana-Meer, Wissel-Meren*[57]

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[39] It is very likely that the ANTH-constituent of this COLTOP is taken from the ship *Anna* that was used during the explorations of 1907–1909 to cross the Flamingo-Baai in NNG.

[40] Namesakes: (a) Johannes Hendrikus Becking (1890–1972), Dutch botanist, or (b) Lourens Gerhard Marinus Baas Becking (1895–1963), Dutch botanist and micro-biologist.

[41] Namesake: Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza (1852–1905), established French colonial rule in central Africa.

[42] Namesake: either Johann Otto Hellwig (1654–1698), German explorer in the East Indies, or (more likely) R. L. H. Hellwig, assistant-resident in NNG and organizer of an expedition to the colony in 1907–1908.

[43] Namesake: Alexander Willem Frederik Idenburg, 59th GG of NOI in the years 1909–1915.

[44] We have not been able to identify the namesake yet.

[45] Namesake: Hendrikus Albertus Lorentz (1871–1944), Dutch explorer in NNG.

[46] Namesake: Dutch Jesuit missionary Kornelis J. F. Le Cocq d'Armandville (1846–1896), stationed in NNG in 1894–1896.

[47] Namesake: Sebastiaan Reiger who worked for the VOC in NOI in the 18th century.

[48] Namesake: Gerret Rouffaer (1860–1928), Dutch indologist.

[49] We have not been able to identify the namesake yet.

[50] We have not been able to identify the namesake yet. It is very likely that this COLTOP is not a case of ANTH-transfer.

[51] Namesake: Gotfried Coenrad Ernst van Daalen (1863–1930), general of the colonial military forces in NOI.

[52] Namesake: Gijsbertus Adrian Johan van der Sande (1863–1910), medical officer in NNG.

[53] Namesake: either Pieter Cornelis van der Willigen (1859–1910) or Pieter Christiaan van der Willigen (1818–1877), both of them served as high-ranking officers in the colonial military forces of NOI.

[54] Namesake: There are several officers of the Dutch naval forces with the last name Weehuizen who worked in NOI in the 18th and 19th century one of them being H.Th. Weehuizen.

[55] Namesake: either Jan Wildeman or Willem Wildeman or Nicolaas Wildeman who worked for the VOC in NOI in the 18th century.

[56] Namesake: Herbert Clark Hoover (1874–1964), 31st President of the US (1929–1933).

[57] Namesake: Frits Julius Wissel (1907–1999), pilot and explorer in NOI and NGG.

The vast majority of the hydronyms involve family names the *Anna-Rivier* being the sole example of a Christian name functioning alone as ANTH-constituent. The Christian name *Juliana* in *Prinses Juliana-Meer* is accompanied by the princely title. In the case of *Herbert Hoover-Meer* the combination of Christian and family names serves as ANTH-constituent of the COLTOP.

According to DRUMMOND (2016: 122) "[s]everal of the world's best-known high peaks carry associative European personal names, reflecting the history of European colonialism." The situation is similar in the domain of oronyms in NNG. There are four different Dutch CLASS, namely *top* (also plural: *toppen*) 'peak', *berg* 'mountain', *keten* 'mountain range', and *gebergte* 'mountains' which always occupy the rightmost slot of the COLTOP-construction. As with the hydronyms, we illustrate the structural make-up of the oronyms with two analyzed examples in (13).

(13) Oronyms – structural make-up

(a) Peaks

$Idenburg\text{-}Top = [\{Idenburg\}_{ANTH}\text{-}\{Top\}_{CLASS}]_{TOP}$

(b) mountains

$Cornelis\ Speelman\text{-}Gebergte^{58} = [\{Cornelis\ Speelman\}_{ANTH}\text{-}\{Gebergte\}_{CLASS}]_{TOP}$

The CLASS *top(pen)* is used without exception for peaks (sixteen times). In the case of mountains, both *berg* and *keten* are used only once each whereas *gebergte* is attested in twenty-three COLTOPs. In (14), we enumerate the structurally unanalyzed oronyms which have not been discussed so far.

(14) Inventory of $ANTH_{EUROPEAN}$-based oronyms in NNG

(a) peaks

Carstensz-Toppen,[59] *De Kok-Top,*[60] *Doorman-Top,*[61] *Emma-Top,*[62] *Gooszen-Top,*[63] *Helb-Top,*[64] *Heldring-Top,*[65] *Jan Pieterszoon Coen-Top,*[66] *Johan*

[58] Namesake: Cornelis Speelman, 14th GG of NOI from 1681 to 1684.

[59] Namesake: Jan Carstensz, Dutch seafarer who explored parts of New Guinea in 1623.

[60] Namesake: Jan de Kok who worked for the VOC in NOI in the 18th century. Alternatively (but unlikely because of the spelling), one could think of Hendrik Merkus de Kock (1779–1845), commander-in-chief of the military forces in NOI.

[61] Namesake: Ludolph Doorman, leader of a military expedition to NNG in 1913.

[62] We have not been able to identify the namesake yet.

[63] Namesake: Antony Jan Gooszen (1864–1922), leader of a military expedition to NNG in 1914.

[64] Namesake: Captain H. Helb, member of the expedition to southern NNG in 1911.

[65] Namesake: There are two officers of the Dutch naval forces who worked in NOI in the 18th and 19th century, viz. A.L.W. Heldring and O.G. Heldring.

[66] Namesake: Jan Pieterszoon Coen, 4th GG of NOI.

Willem Friso-Top,[67] *Julianatop,*[68] *Prins Hendrik-Top,*[69] *Van Arkeltop,*[70] *Van der Bie-Top,*[71] *Van der Ven-Top,*[72] *Wilhelmina-Top*[73]

(b) mountains

Charles-Louis-Gebergte,[74] *Frederik Hendrik-Gebergte, Gauttier-Gebergte,*[75] *Houtman-Gebergte,*[76] *Jan Pieterszoon Coen-Gebergte, Johannes Keijts-Gebergte,*[77] *Juliana-Gebergte, Junghuhn-Gebergte,*[78] *La Chapelle-Gebergte,*[79] *Legare-Gebergte, Lemaire-Gebergte,*[80] *Leonard Darwin-Berg,*[81] *Nassau-Gebergte,*[82] *Oranje-Gebergte,*[83] *Prins Maurits-Gebergte,*[84] *Prins Willem I-Gebergte,*[85] *Prins Willem V-Gebergte,*[86] *Rumphius-*

[67] Namesake: Prince Johan Willem Friso van Nassau-Dietz (1687–1711), *stadhouder* of Friesland and Groningen.

[68] Namesake: Princess Juliana van Oranje-Nassau (1909–2004), queen of the Netherlands (1948-1980).

[69] Namesake: Prince Hendrik von Mecklenburg-Schwerin (1876–1934), royal spouse of queen Wilhelmina.

[70] Namesake: Anton Eduard van Arkel (1893–1976), famous Dutch chemist.

[71] Namesake: Lieutenant J. J. van der Bie, expedition-leader in NNG in 1910.

[72] Namesake: Cornelis van der Ven who worked for the VOC in NOI in the 18th century.

[73] Namesake: Princess Wilhelmina van Oranje-Nassau (1880–1962), queen of the Netherlands (1890–1948).

[74] We have not been able to identify the namesake yet.

[75] Namesake: Pierre Joseph Gauttier who worked for the VOC in NOI at the turn of the 19th century.

[76] Namesake: Frederick Pieterszoon (de) Houtman (1571–1627), Dutch seafarer who went to the East Indies on four expeditions.

[77] Namesake: Johannes Keijts who worked for the VOC in NOI in the early 18th century.

[78] Namesake: Franz Wilhelm Junghuhn (1809–1864), Dutch-Prussian biologist and Indologist active in NOI.

[79] We have not been able to identify the namesake yet.

[80] Namesake: Jakob Le Maire (1558–1624), participant in an early expedition to New Guinea for the benefit of the VOC.

[81] Namesake: Leonard Darwin, the fourth son of Charles Darwin.

[82] This COLTOP refers to the Nassau-branch of the ruling dynasty of the Netherlands. We consider the constituent *Nassau* to function as a family name.

[83] This COLTOP refers to the Oranje-branch of the ruling dynasty of the Netherlands. We consider the constituent *Oranje* to function as a family name.

[84] Namesake: most probably Prince Maurits van Oranje (1567–1625), *stadhouder* and military leader of the Netherlands. Alternatively, Prince Willem Frederik Maurits Hendrik Karel van Oranje-Nassau (1843–1850).

[85] Namesake: Prince Willem Frederik van Oranje-Nassau (1772–1843), King of the Netherlands (1815–1840).

[86] Namesake: Prince Willem V van Oranje-Nassau (1748–1806), *stadhouder* of the Netherlands (1751–1795).

Keten,[87] *Steenkoolberg, Tasman-Gebergte,*[88] *Valentijn-Gebergte,*[89] *Van der Willigen-Gebergte, Van Rees-Gebergte,*[90] *Weijland-Gebergte*[91]

The results of our check of the NNG-data are surprising from the point of view of *CoCoTop* because the expected prominence of settlement names is not corroborated by the facts. Of the above COLTOPs in NNG, 99% refer to geo-objects other than settlements. There is a striking predominance of anoikonyms. Moreover, the geo-objects baptized by way of creating COLTOPs on the basis of ANTHs are situated for the most part in almost inaccessible areas of NNG, meaning: their importance to the colonizer is not immediately obvious. That this situation is not the rule across the European colonial toponomasticons becomes clear when we compare the NNG-data to those from CT in Section 4.2.

4.2. The case of CT

In comparison to the inventory of ANTH-based COLTOPs in NNG, the turnout for CT is meagre. Owing to the much smaller size of the Portuguese colony, there is a total of only 665 COLTOPs registered in the Gazetteer No. 13. This means that there are six times as many COLTOPs in NNG as there are in CT. The number of uncontroversial instances of ANTH-based COLTOPs in CT does not exceed eight cases. These eight cases yield a share of slightly more than 1% of the entire toponomasticon of CT.[92]

In (15), examples of the two construction types – familiar from (1)–(2) – are analyzed.

(15) Construction types in CT

(a) binary construction

Vila General Carmona[93] = $[\{Vila\}_{\text{CLASS}}\ \{General\ Carmona\}_{\text{ANTH}}]_{\text{TOP}}$

[87] Namesake: Georg Eberhard Rumpf (aka Rumphius) (1627–1702), German soldier and botanist working in NOI.

[88] Namesake: Abel Janszoon Tasman (1603–1659), Dutch explorer working for the VOC.

[89] Namesake: François Valentijn (1666–1727), Dutch priest who went to NOI twice and published reports on his travels.

[90] Namesake: Otto van Rees, 54th GG of NOI (1884–1888).

[91] Namesake: in 1705, the Dutch explorer Jacob Weyland discovered the Geelvink Bay in NNG.

[92] With the capes *Ponta Chater, Ponta Maguer* and the mountain *Monte Klus,* there are three additional COLTOPs which might fall into the category which is of interest here. However, we have not been successful yet in our search for the putative ANTHs *Chater, Maguer,* and *Klus.*

[93] Namesake: General António Óscar de Fragoso Carmona (1869–1951), president of Portugal 1926–1951.

(b) bare ANTH

Bandeira[94] = [{*Bandeira*}$_{\text{ANTH}}$]$_{\text{TOP}}$

The binary construction accounts for six out of eight cases whereas the bare ANTH is attested twice. The Portuguese CLASS *vila* 'village, (small) town' is without competitor within the group of ANTH-based COLTOPs in CT. It forms part of six COLTOPs. Seven of the eight COLTOPs fall under the rubric of settlement names. The sole example of a hydronym is the river name in (15b) above. In (16), we list the remaining six cases of ANTH-based COLTOPs in CT.

(16) Settlement names in CT

Oliveira,[95] *Vila Armindo Monteiro,*[96] *Vila Celestino da Silva,*[97] *Vila Eduardo Marques,*[98] *Vila Filomeno da Câmara,*[99] *Vila Salazar*[100]

Except the bare ANTH *Oliveira,* the vast majority of the settlement names reflect the pattern of (15a). In Diagram 2, we identify the strikingly different shares the geo-object classes have of the inventory of ANTH-based COLTOPs (absolute numbers as well as percentages).

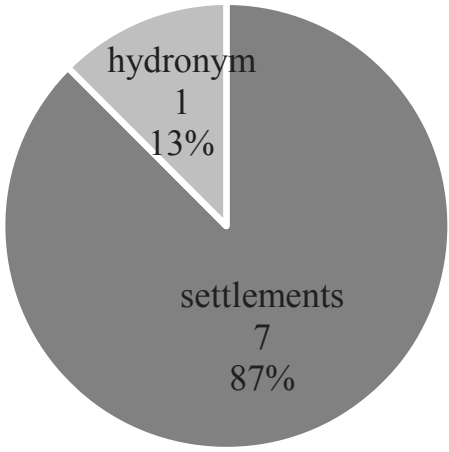


Diagram 2: Shares of TOP-classes in CT

[94] Namesake: Bernardo de Sá Nogueira de Figueiredo (1795–1876), 1st Viscount Sá da Bandeira, influential Portuguese politician and reformer.

[95] Namesake: Bento da França Pinto de Oliveira (1833–1889), governor of CT (1882–1883).

[96] Namesake: Armindo Rodrigues de Sttau Monteiro (1896–1955), politician, diplomat and university professor.

[97] Namesake: José Celestino da Silva (1849–1911), governor of CT (1894–1908).

[98] Namesake: Eduardo Augusto Marques (1867–1944), governor of CT (1908–1909).

[99] Namesake: Filomeno da Câmara de Melo Cabral (1873–1934), governor of CT (1910–1917).

[100] Namesake: António de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970), Portuguese prime minister (1932–1968) and leader of the crypto-Fascist *Estado novo.*

The dominance of settlement names is so strong that the toponomasticon of CT may be considered a kind of paradigm case in the colonial context. Not only do ANTH-based COLTOPs and settlement names constitute a relatively close relationship, but also do we find a clear preference for the prototypical binary construction type. The latter dominates also among the ANTH-based COLTOPs in NNG. In the latter case however, settlement names are widely underrepresented. The differential behavior of the two colonies under review suggests that it is not possible to predict each and every aspect of the architecture of a given colonial toponomasticon exclusively on the basis of preferences identified across the European colonialisms.

5. Conclusions

The comparison of the data from the toponomasticons of NNG and CT reveals that the similarities between the two cases are especially strong on the formal level, i.e. both of the colonies prefer the application of the prototypical construction pattern (1a). In this way, the evidence gathered from the Gazetteer No. 13 empirically supports the hypothesis that there is a common structural resource for all of the European colonial toponomasticons. The recycling of ANTHs for the purpose of TOP-formation is attested not only in the two colonies under scrutiny but also far beyond. ANDERSON (2007: 189–191) dedicates a section of his monograph to this topic without specifically addressing colonial contexts. What we have seen in Section 4 of this study is the recurrence of the process of eponymization or name transfer (BRINK 2016: 162) – in this case, the use of an existing ANTH to the benefit of the colonial toponomasticon.

The motivation patterns of the COLTOPs discussed above conform largely to what we already know from other colonial toponomasticons with a European background. The ANTHs refer frequently to royalty, colonial administrators, heads of government, or military leaders. What differences there are between the ranges of the semantic motivation of COLTOPs in NNG and CT can be explained by the strikingly different sizes of the inventories of COLTOPs in the two colonies. The more geo-objects have to be named (= tokens), the higher the probability that the number of motivation patterns (= types) increases.

At the same time, it is evident that NNG and CT do not behave homogeneously on all parameters. In stark contrast to NNG, CT clearly favors settlement names. This category is almost completely excluded from the domain of ANTH-based COLTOPs in NNG. NNG employs this pattern preferably for anoikonyms. The preference for settlement names in CT is predictable, whereas the situation in the NNG-toponomasticon is not. Furthermore, the data from NNG are indicative of the possibility that not only island names and oronyms are candidates for the employment of ANTH-based COLTOPs but also hydronyms.

In the extant literature (e.g. STRANDBERG 2016: 104), hydronyms are often (and sometimes exclusively) seen as useful indicators of older stages in the diachronic development of languages or in the settlement history of a given country. Our evidence however suggests that rivers and lakes may also be (re-) named much more recently for instance, under the conditions of colonialism – and this in more or less systematic ways.

The lesson that *CoCoTop* has learned from the comparison of the above data from NNG and CT is that the scope of the inquiry has to be widened considerably so that it covers all kinds of geo-objects. The general primacy of settlement names remains certainly unchallenged. Nevertheless, the findings in connection to the composition of the NNG-toponomasticon are telling in the sense that in colonial settings where settlements are scarce other geo-objects invite being named by the colonizers. What geo-object classes compete with settlement names for the use of ANTHs as basis is a question that needs to be answered in follow-up studies. In these future projects, we will also try to determine whether there is a hierarchy of geo-object classes which parallels the anthropocentric cline of ANDERSON's (2007: 116).

Primary source

Gazetteer No. 13 = *Indonesia, Netherlands New Guinea, and Portuguese Timor. Volume II. Indonesia O-Z, Netherlands New Guinea, and Portuguese Timor*. Official Standard Names approved by the United States Board on Geographic Names. Prepared in the Office of Geography, Department of the Interior. Washington, D.C. September 1955.

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Abstract

A particularly frequent pattern of toponym-formation in colonial contexts involves the use of already established anthroponyms. Across the European colonial toponomasticons, anthroponymically-based toponyms are attested especially in the domain of settlement names. The study investigates whether this pronounced preference of toponym-formation pattern and geo-object class holds generally. To this end, the data from two colonies – Netherlands New Guinea and Portuguese Timor as reported in 1955 – are compared. It is shown that the formal structure of the prototypical colonial toponym predominates also in these two cases whereas the Dutch colony reflects a distribution of anthroponymically-based toponyms over geo-object classes which differs not only from that of the Portuguese colony but stands out from the bulk of the European colonial toponomasticons.

Keywords: colonial toponyms, anthroponymic bases, types of geo-objects, Dutch colonialism, Portuguese colonialism, western New Guinea, East Timor

Paul Woodman

Central Europe: myth or reality?

1. Introductory remark

This paper constitutes an attempt to see whether it is possible to identify a region called *Central Europe,* and to explore where that region might be situated if it does exist. Ultimately, as we shall discover, this proves to be largely a question of history, culture and the mind, but initially it makes sense to examine this subject in terms of geography, for geography is surely the canvas on to which those other elements are painted.

2. Location and geography

The title of this paper contains two locational markers *(Central* and *Europe)* and it would be useful first of all to consider each of these terms spatially. To do so, it is obviously necessary to consider the location of *Europe* first, before any attempt to determine the location of *Central.* But this is not easy, because unlike South America or Africa, the continent of Europe is not immediately obvious. At its eastern edge in particular, there are no great distinguishing features that mark it off from neighbouring Asia. The Urals are often thought to form a neat eastern demarcation line, yet in reality there is little topographical distinction as between the immediate vicinities on either side of that mountain range. The Caucasus are also sometimes identified as a natural limit, yet Russian geographers have a different notion, with Europe 'ending' further north, at the Manych-Gudilo depression in the North Caucasian Foreland. Even towards its other extremities, the limits of Europe are questionable; should we, for example, include or omit Iceland and Novaya Zemlya in the north, the Azores in the west, or Lampedusa and Cyprus in the south?

Interpreting Europe as a continent, then, is something of "a triumph of imagination over geography" (KAMUSELLA 2012: 37). In reality, Europe is geographically little more than an Asian peninsula, which is precisely how it was regarded by the celebrated French historian FERNAND BRAUDEL, founder of the famed *Annales* school of history (1995: 304). But Europe is of course no less 'real' for being geographically suspect; it is real because we deem it to be so, primarily for reasons which are other than geographical. This theme will be explored later, with respect to Central Europe.

If the limits of Europe are uncertain, then clearly there is going to be uncertainty about the location of its centre, too. Should we be looking for the geometric

centre, the fulcrum around which a cardboard cut-out of Europe would spin, and if so how should this be determined? If the outlying islands are included, should the intervening seas be considered a full and proper part of Europe (in which case the fulcrum might be somewhere off the coast of Denmark), or should islands such as Iceland and Crete be notionally pulled towards and attached to the continent for the purposes of measuring the central point? Given all these possibilities, it is unsurprising that several different locations in Europe have laid claim to being the geometric centre of the continent. There are at least six of these, as follows (see also Figure 1): Polatsk, Belarus; Purnuškės, Lithuania; Suchowola, north-eastern Poland; Dilove, south-western Ukraine; Tállya, north-eastern Hungary; Kremenické Bane, Slovakia.



Figure 1: Locations claiming to mark the 'centre of Europe'

What is perhaps striking about these locations is just how far east some of them are. The mid-point of a polygon joining these six claimants would be located approximately on the border tri-point where Poland, Belarus and Ukraine all meet; somewhere just west of the Pripet marshes. If this is a surprise, it is perhaps down to our conventional impression of a political Europe based on the disposition of its countries, heavily weighted towards its western part. If instead the map of Europe is imagined as a *tabula rasa* with no political overlay, then

the centre-point claims for locations in Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine seem less fanciful.

But of course the centre of Europe is merely the geometric centre of a polygon, rather than the true heart of Europe. There is nothing of a special nature in any of these six locations that corresponds to whatever understanding we may have of the term *Central Europe*. And just as geometrics do not assist in identifying Central Europe, nor does physical geography prove to be of assistance either, because the physical map of Europe fails to reveal any uniform landscape, or even any distinctively significant features which might be used to outline the central core of this rather peninsular-style continent. Any map of the major physical features of Europe will clearly demonstrate the absence of substantial well-defined physical features in the centre of the continent.

Figure 2 illustrates what six eminent geographers of the early twentieth century thought about Central Europe as an entity of physical geography. There is a substantial area of common agreement in this map about what constitutes Central Europe in physical terms, but there is also evidence of the geographers' disparate views – especially regarding the south-eastward extent of the region, with the German geographer Joseph Partsch extending it into the Balkans. All in all, we can perhaps do little more than remark that the axis of the River Danube and the arc of the Carpathian Mountains must surely play a crucial role in any geographical formulation of Central Europe, and that the seas to the north and south – the Baltic and the Mediterranean – are likely to be relatively insignificant.

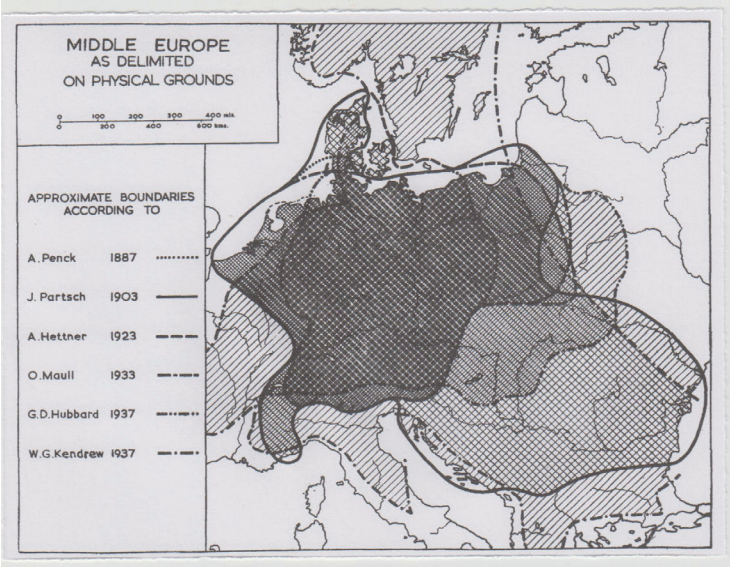


Figure 2: Central Europe as a physical region (SINNHUBER 1954)

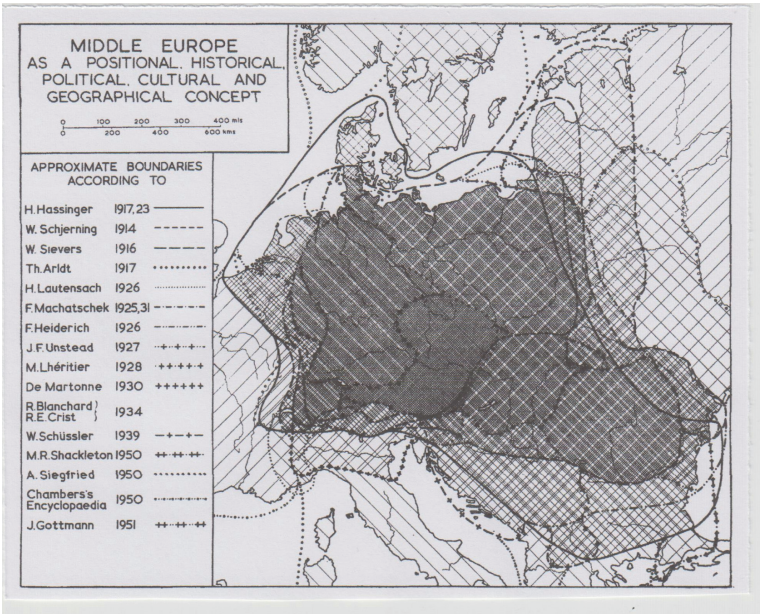


Figure 3: Central Europe as a composite region (SINNHUBER 1954)

So if both geometrics and physical geography are of little help, what do geographers actually use as a guideline when they speak of *Central Europe?* Figure 3 shows a map drawn up in the early 1950s, illustrating the views of several geographers on what they believed to constitute *Central Europe.* The contributing experts are all geographers from the first half of the twentieth century, and although they disagree markedly on the extent of Central or Middle Europe, they all agree that something of that name exists. The British geographer PERCY ROXBY, although not among the contributors to this map, was very clear about this when in 1926 he wrote that "Central Europe is a real entity, a major region with a definite personality" (1926: 378). Crucially, as the title of the map indicates, in identifying their ideas about Central Europe these geographers use not only the positional and geographical factors we have already considered ourselves, but they introduce historical, political and cultural considerations into the equation too. The map is difficult to navigate, but it is easy to identify the core area about which all these geographers agree; the area of darkest shading. This area of common agreement has two important characteristics: firstly, it is really quite small, comprising little more than Austria and the Czech lands; and secondly, it is really quite a long way west – much further west than the geometric centre possibilities considered earlier, and also perhaps at the western edge of where one might be inclined to place any idea of Central Europe today. Perceived distance may be a factor in this; these were Western geographers whose ideas were formed in the earlier

decades of the-twentieth century, an era when all distances seemed longer than they do today and in which the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain could regard Czechoslovakia as a "far-away country", even though Prague is no further away from London than are Barcelona or Milan. In those days, *eastern* seemed to begin quite close to home.

3. Central Europe as a geographical region

In the first half of the twentieth century at least, then, geographers were of the opinion that Central Europe existed as a region. But what exactly does the term 'region' mean in its geographical sense? There has been much debate about this over the years, with the very term *region* sometimes completely out of fashion, as in the later decades of the twentieth century, and sometimes rather in vogue, as it was in earlier years and is to some extent again. There is no absolute science to this, but clearly a region is an arrangement of space that must possess some sort of uniformity of form or function. As shown in Figure 4, it is in its classic form likely to be some combination of location, landscape and culture (the term *culture* used here as shorthand for the complex fusion of political, economic, social and cultural aspects of human life, built up through the course of history). Yet the nature of the landscape produced by that uniformity can vary; it can be a landscape produced by physical geography, or by human/cultural geography, or by some combination of the two.

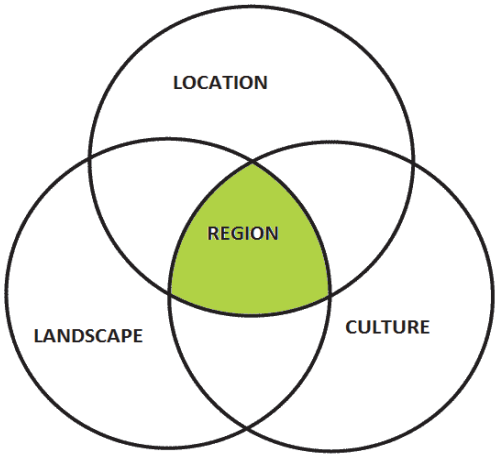


Figure 4: Composition of a classic *region,* with three constituent elements: *location, landscape and culture*

Why do we seek out such units as regions, anyway? Perhaps the answer lies in part within the realms of psychology. We strive to seek order out of our human chaos, in order to make sense of the world around us. To make sense of history,

for example, we construct time periods which we call decades and centuries. Yet we quickly become aware of the inadequacies of this approach, because life is not lived in neatly circumscribed slices of time. We realise that what we call "nineteenth century European history" actually began with the French Revolution in 1789 and continued until the outbreak of the First World War 1914 (a period of 125 years) and that our "twentieth century European history" probably lasted no more than three-quarters of a century – the 75 years from 1914 until the fall of communism in 1989.

As with history, so it is with geography, as has been recognised by the British historical geographer ALAN BAKER, who noted that "[t]he concept of the region in geography is logically related to that of the period in history" (2003: 159). Each is intended to act as a segment; one of time and the other of place. For regions, we try to identify units of the earth's surface that possess an inherently unique personality, so that we can draw boundaries around them and give them a slot in some comfortable geographical taxonomy. We are seeking internal regional uniformity and external regional differentiation, separated by convenient boundary lines. Yet more often than not this is a futile task; we are trying to attribute qualities of a particular region which are probably attributable only to the centre of that region, or to certain nodes within that region, and these qualities in reality diminish as one moves away from that centre or those nodes until there is a blurring at the edges. The regional edges are fuzzy in the same way that the historical edges to our centuries are fuzzy.

This is certainly true of Central Europe, where considerations of regional extent should ideally not involve sharp interruptions. There are no particularly dramatic changes when we move from Germany into Denmark, for example. Instead, the spatial manifestation of Central Europe is more to do with nodes, gradations and liminal space. It can perhaps best be understood by identifying nodes which unequivocally represent the qualities for which Central Europe stands, and drawing radial lines away from these nodes to illustrate the influence these nodes have on the surrounding areas; strong in the immediate neighbourhoods and waning with increasing distance. Appropriate nodes would surely include the quintessentially Central European cities of Prague, Kraków, Budapest and Vienna. More expansively, one might also identify as nodes the cities of Berlin in the north-west, Warsaw in the north-east, Braşov in the south-east, and Ljubljana in the south-west.

Nonetheless, there are occasions when expediency necessitates a straightforward definition based on current political boundaries, and in such cases it is certainly possible to come up with a well-argued political portrayal of Central Europe. One such example can be seen in the *Political region* map in Figure 5, one of a pair of maps prepared by the Austrian geographer PETER JORDAN for the

German-language translation service of the European Commission, which requested a regional subdivision structure for Europe to assist with their work within the European Union (JORDAN 2006).



Figure 5: Political and Cultural Regions of Europe
as determined by PETER JORDAN (2006)

4. Central Europe as a mental construct

The difficulties in agreeing on a single geographical or territorial definition of Central Europe stem partly from the fact that individuals usually join the debate with their own national perceptions. Each country has its own singular departure point for a definition. We might usefully speak here of 'internal' and 'external' perceptions. A British perception would obviously be external, from the periphery, whereas a Czech or a Hungarian perception is clearly internal. A typical internal perception is that the limits of the state fail to incorporate the entire extent of what is perceived to be the nation. The conviction is that *Cultural Nation A* stretches beyond the confines of *Political State A,* encompassing in neighbouring countries individuals whose ethnicity accords with the majority ethnicity of *Political State A.* Several countries have written into their constitutions the assertion that part of the state's duty is to protect the welfare of its ethnic brethren in neighbouring countries abroad. This is indeed one perception which sets Central Europe apart from the states westwards from it, and it makes it difficult for *Political State A* not to include its neighbours in its notion of Central Europe, lest it somehow jeopardise its own right to be included within that region too.

These intangible factors are at least as important as geography in understanding Central Europe. This is in fact a region where culture and mindset perhaps predominate at the expense of location and landscape, as Figure 6 attempts to illustrate.

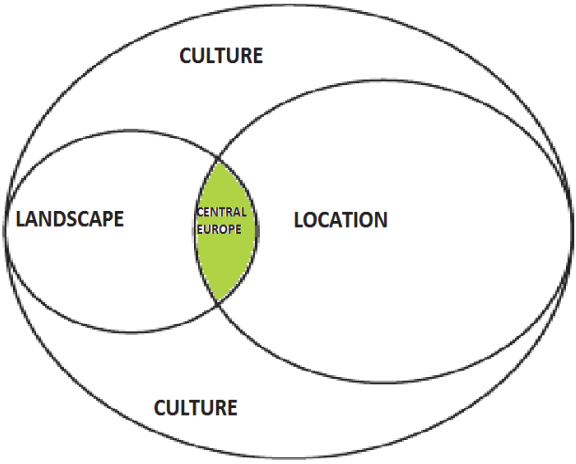


Figure 6: Composition of Central Europe as a region, with three unequal constituent elements: *culture* > *location* > *landscape*

But, as noted, there will always be more than one mindset, so it is not surprising to discover that the same term *Central Europe* may mean different things in different languages to different people – and at different junctures in time, too, for the term can be fluid and dynamic. The Czech-born political scientist JACQUES RUPNIK has famously remarked: "Tell me where Central Europe is, and I can tell who you are" (quoted by JOHNSON 2002: 6). The French historian JOSEPH AULNEAU wrote in 1926 that *Europe centrale* did not exist as a physical or political entity at all; instead, he called it a concept without frontiers, which lived only in the imagination (1926: 8). The Polish writer CZESŁAW MIŁOSZ followed this up half a century later by describing Central Europe as a "way of thinking", and the British historian TONY JUDT neatly combined both the physical and the mental worlds by speaking of Central Europe as a manifestation of "conceptual geography" (1990: 25).

Accordingly, Central Europe can be said to be "imagined" as well as overt. It therefore qualifies as a "social construct", a phenomenon invented or constructed by participants in a particular culture or society and existing because people agree to behave as if it does exist. BENEDICT ANDERSON has famously coined the term *imagined communities* for these artificially constructed but meaningful groupings (1991). Such communities were surely what Aulneau had in mind too, when he realised several decades earlier that a region can exist for reasons

other than the geographical, not least for reasons of self-perception and self-identification – for if a sufficient group of people self-identify in a certain way, in this case as *Central European,* then surely that identity exists. The multi-disciplinary Polish scholar TOMASZ KAMUSELLA writes that "when people subscribe to and act in accordance with a concept of this kind, it becomes reality, that is, part of social reality" (2012: 33). However, a community of the mind such as Central Europe only makes sense as an extension to the place from which it is perceived, and so a sense of place remains a *sine qua non* for understanding this region.

There is good and ample precedent for this "community of the mind" approach, since many scholars have recognised that the part of Europe which produced Havel, Kafka, Konrád, Kundera and Miłosz is not one into which boundaries can easily be introduced. Indeed, one of those luminaries, the Czech writer-cum-philosopher MILAN KUNDERA, is adamant about the inadequacy of using conventional political boundaries to define Central Europe (1984: 35): "It would be senseless to try to draw its borders exactly. Central Europe is not a state: it is a culture or a fate. Its borders are imaginary and must be drawn and redrawn with each new historical situation. […] Central Europe therefore cannot be defined and determined by political frontiers (which are inauthentic, always imposed by invasions, conquests and occupations), but by the great common situations that reassemble peoples, regroup them in ever new ways along the imaginary and ever-changing boundaries that mark a realm inhabited by the same memories, the same problems and conflicts, the same common tradition."

The Hungarian essayist GYÖRGY KONRÁD holds similar views, claiming that precise political demarcations are "not a particularly worthwhile exercise, because we are dealing more with common [human] phenomena and properties" (2001). And TOMASZ KAMUSELLA, who like KUNDERA and KONRÁD knows Central Europe when he sees it, has for the purposes of his *magnum opus* on the region's languages and nationalism made a decision he terms *arbitrary,* to restrict the book's scope to four countries: Czechia, Slovakia, Hungary and Poland (2009: 3). This is an acknowledgement that even the most knowledgeable scholars must make their own personal executive decisions as to the region's limits – there are no universally accepted boundaries. And in fact KAMUSELLA very shortly thereafter concedes that his real definition lies not so much with those four political states at all, but instead with the peoples – Czechs, Slovaks, Magyars and Poles – and their languages (2009: 14). KAMUSELLA is acknowledging that political boundaries are inadequate as a method of definition, not just because they are arbitrary but also because they are transient; they change, appear and disappear through time. Culture is more stable than this; as an example we have no problem speaking of Juliusz Słowacki as a *Polish poet,* or of Fryderyk Chopin as a *Polish composer,* despite

there being no polity named *Poland* at the time of their artistic creativity in the nineteenth century (in fact they both composed much of their work in France). This illustrates very well the shortcomings of basing any definitions on the political map of the day.

Central Europe has been marked throughout history by internal differences, but also displays a unifying mental cohesiveness formed in relation to the brooding presences to the west and east; the twin "Others" of Germany and Russia. In fact there is an important distinction between these two "Others": Germany has been an integral part of the equation in a way that Russia is not. Germany, or perhaps more precisely the area of the German settlement and culture, impinges into the area under discussion and is woven inextricably into its fabric. Indeed, the German-American sociologist WERNER CAHNMAN was able to write of Central Europe in the mid-twentieth century as the "area of German settlement" (1949: 605), though self-evidently that is no longer the case. Russia is on the other hand a peripheral player, but one which is always looming and occasionally active.

5. *Mitteleuropa* and associated terms

The term *Mitteleuropa* was coined in the German language in the nineteenth century but was little used until the early twentieth century, when it became particularly well-known with the publication of a book of that name, written by the German politician FRIEDRICH NAUMANN (1915). Originally intended to denote an area of common German-Jewish culture, it became, as the British geographer HARRIET STEERS has written, "that first principle of German geographical thought" (1948: 28). However, because this particular area of culture extended eastwards well beyond the political boundaries of Germany, the concept of *Mitteleuropa* became "closely related to German nation-building and identity construction" (STRÅTH 2008: 171), and as a consequence it was treated with considerable wariness by Germany's eastern neighbours, who came to regard it as a byword for German domination. Certainly, it was a term capable of manipulation; the British historical geographer MICHAEL HEFFERNAN has labelled it "a complex and ambiguous concept which was invoked by different constituencies for mutually exclusive reasons" (1998: 74).

It is important to register, however, that any political baggage that the term did carry dated from the period before the rise to power in Germany of the National Socialist (Nazi) regime in 1933. The Nazis themselves had absolutely no time for the concept – they had no interest in any German-Jewish commonalities – and instead preferred to promote their own ideas of a *Grossdeutschland* or a *Gesamtdeutschtum;* beliefs which of course did very much imply territorial expansion and aggression (MEYER 1955). So there is

no justification for associating *Mitteleuropa* with Nazi ideology. Nonetheless, to Germany's neighbours the term *Mitteleuropa* continued to carry heavily negative connotations, beyond the Nazi period and right through the decades of the Cold War. To some extent this may have been simply because it is a German-language term – it was maybe the German language as a whole which carried the baggage. Indeed, the American historian HENRY CORD MEYER rightly considered this original German-language version to possess a "unique connotation" that is absent from other, translated, forms such as *Central Europe* (English), *Europe centrale* (French), and *Střední Evropa* (Czech) (1946: 179). In this sense *Mitteleuropa* is somewhat analogous to *Geopolitik,* another German-language term which carried negative associations for a longer period in its native language than it did in translated forms. And as with *Geopolitik,* so *Mitteleuropa* is once more becoming acceptable terminology, with a definition modernised to accommodate contemporary realities; as we have seen in Figure 5, it has for example been used comfortably in PETER JORDAN's recent regional classification of Europe (2006).

It should be noted that *Mitteleuropa* was not the only name coined in the German language for the central portion of Europe. The influential early twentieth century German geographer JOSEPH PARTSCH used the term *Zentraleuropa* in 1903 to denote his idea of the area of German cultural influence, which extended in his view from Belgium to Bulgaria. Another German geographer of that era, ALBRECHT PENCK, invented the term *Zwischeneuropa* ('Europe Between') in 1916 to complement his western *Vordereuropa* (Europe facing the Atlantic) and eastern *Hintereuropa* (Europe facing Asia); PENCK's rather unrealistic *Zwischeneuropa* stretched longitudinally from the port of Ostend to the port of Odessa and latitudinally from the peninsula of Kola to that of the Peloponnese.

Meanwhile, the Czech, Slovak and Hungarian viewpoints have demonstrated a markedly different outlook towards Central Europe. When, shortly after the First World War, the Czech statesman TOMÁŠ MASARYK advocated the idea of a regionally central *Nová Evropa* ('New Europe'), he had in mind the establishment of independent democratic states which would thrive between the major powers of Germany and Russia, rather than be dominated by either or both of them. Such a region would not feature Germany at all, and indeed MASARYK's 'New Europe' concept was formed as a direct response to concern about Germany's promotion of *Mitteleuropa* (RUPNIK 1990: 257). Likewise, half a century later, MILAN KUNDERA's 'Central Europe' echoed MASARYK's 'New Europe' in not including Germany within its compass.

6. Cold War realities

The Iron Curtain, which fell across Europe from Szczecin to Trieste at the end of the Second World War, imposed a false binary *East–West* division upon Europe for almost half a century. MILAN KUNDERA, writing from exile in France during the 1980s, lamented that Central Europe had been politically "kidnapped" by the Soviet Union and drawn into an alien eastern – Russian – orbit (KUNDERA 1984: 33). Traditional lines of exchange had been severed, and new forced links to Soviet Russia forged in their place. Yet KUNDERA understood well that Central Europe continued to exist during that period in the minds of many living there, and he insisted that Central Europe remained a vitally significant component of Europe; its existence a bellwether of Europe's health.

The political subsumption of Central Europe into the Soviet orbit, and its enforced eastern orientation, was frequently misunderstood in the West. Many simply saw the Iron Curtain as a new reality displacing the old, and when they looked at the map of Europe they saw only two parts: West and East. Western "pragmatists" urged the West to embrace this new binary structure; they dismissed the idea of Central Europe as "sentimental, artsy […] an idea for those who lived in the past and could not let history go or preferred fantasies to the tough realities of the contemporary world" (JOHNSON 2002: 10). Academic and cartographic institutions in the West were prone to fall for this misconception. Thus the Bartholomew publishing house produced in 1959 its *Edinburgh Atlas,* which contained a plate showing Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and virtually all of Hungary. Instead of the obvious title – *Central Europe* – the publishers shied away from the term and gave the atlas plate the cumbersome title of *Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia.* Similarly, it was felt acceptable to give a 1975 British geography textbook of the Comecon countries the shorthand title *Eastern Europe,* even though many of the countries discussed in the book lay within what had traditionally been regarded as Central Europe (see Figure 7). In British universities, Central Europe – if studied at all – was often simply re-labelled as part of Eastern Europe and bolted on as an adjunct to Soviet studies.

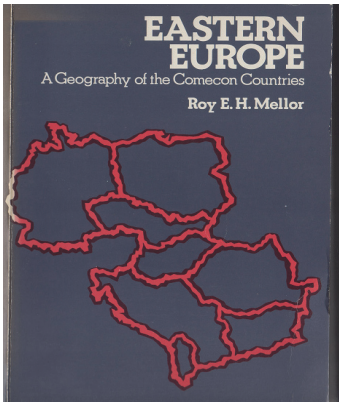


Figure 7: A typical British geography textbook of the Cold War era (MELLOR 1975)

In short, Western Europe lost sight of Central Europe altogether, blinded by the binary political imperatives of the Cold War, and Kundera was obliged to acknowledge as much: "if to live means to exist in the eyes of those we love, then Central Europe no longer exists. More precisely: in the eyes of its beloved Europe, Central Europe is just a part of the Soviet empire and nothing more, nothing more" (KUNDERA 1984: 37).

7. Post-Cold War perceptions

The Western world – with the partial exception of continental Western Europe – has by and large been reluctant to adjust to the post-Cold War resurgence of Central Europe. Cartography has managed to do so reasonably quickly, as demonstrated by the *Times Atlas,* which began to use the term on relevant map plates almost immediately. But the academic world, for example, has been slow to catch up. Even today, almost three decades since the collapse of communism, very few universities in Britain use the term *Central Europe* in their undergraduate course titles; most still use the term *Eastern Europe* for the entire area formerly lying behind the Iron Curtain. And old habits die hard in the great global institutions too. The United Nations' view of the world, as reflected in its tables and maps titled *Composition of Regions* and shown here in Figure 8, contains no Central Europe at all, with Eastern and Western Europe still anachronistically divided at the former Iron Curtain (with the unavoidable exception of a unified Germany); an unaltered worldview indicative of an institution established in the late 1940s, at the commencement of the Cold War.

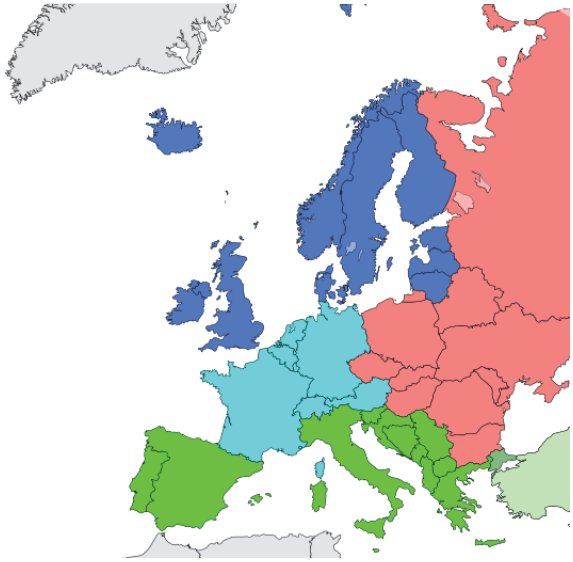


Figure 8: Regions of Europe as determined by the United Nations

This obliviousness to the presence of Central Europe in today's world is also manifest in the Western media today, as shown in Table 1 which reflects the perception of seven major online newspapers as to where Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and Czechia belong regionally within Europe.

	PL	H	SK	CZ
UK *Guardian*	1%	13%	18%	15%
UK *Daily Telegraph*	1%	27%	32%	33%
US *Washington Post*	15%	20%	24%	20%
US *New York Times*	25%	31%	43%	37%
Canada *Toronto Globe & Mail*	17%	24%	24%	26%
France *Le Monde*	34%	40%	52%	47%
Spain *El País*	34%	34%	31%	30%

Table 1: Media portrayal of Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and Czechia. Recognition as *Central Europe* rather than *Eastern Europe*

Example: the Washington Post places Hungary in Central Europe 20% of the time and in Eastern Europe 80% of the time. [statistics collected 24 April 2017]

This study involved use of the Google internet search facility to see whether the above publications placed each of four countries in either Central Europe or Eastern Europe. The study is to some extent simplistic in that it does not allow for any syndication or copying of articles. Nevertheless, the results with respect to the idea of Central Europe are interesting. In Europe, the French newspaper *Le Monde* and the Spanish newspaper *El País* are by far the most inclined to acknowledge the existence of Central Europe, though even those newspapers usually refer to these countries as being in Eastern Europe. In the United States, the *New York Times* is also reasonably sympathetic. But for some of the British press, as well as for the *Washington Post* and the *Toronto Globe & Mail,* the Cold War might as well still be at its height – these four countries are overwhelmingly considered to be in Eastern Europe. Poland is perhaps naturally the country least thought of as being Central European – especially by the British press – with Slovakia slightly outrunning Czechia as the most Central European (this apparent paradox may be because it is thought of as relatively "new" and so has not been subject to the *eastern* geographical label applied during the Cold War). Yet there is unlikely to be any great geopolitical intent here; it is almost certainly simply the product of a thoughtless continuation of well-entrenched Cold War mindsets.

In the region of Central Europe itself, the Hungarian language has seen the use of two terms, with a newer label *Köztes-Európa* ('Intermediate Europe' or 'Europe Between') appearing alongside the more traditional *Közép-Európa* ('Central Europe'). This newer term has been favoured by Péter Bencsik (1997) and others, but it possesses an inherent problem in being suggestive of a void, and not ascribing sufficient individual character or identity to the area in question. As György Konrád has pointed out, "Central Europe is not some vacuum. There are subjects here; actors" (2001).

Shortly after the fall of communism, the notion of an *East-Central Europe* gained some traction in Poland (as *Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia*) and in Hungary (as *Kelet-Közép-Európa*). This was principally because these two countries are self-evidently towards the eastern periphery of the region (the term did not take hold in Czechia, located further to the west). However, this term has become less popular since the turn of the century. The historian Nóra Berend has remarked that "[a] shift even from East Central Europe to Central Europe, however, has been noted since 2000, with the 'East' increasingly seen as pejorative" (2013: 11). Similarly, the American historian Paul Robert Magocsi changed the title of his seminal atlas of the region from *Historical Atlas of East Central Europe* in the first edition of 1993 to *Historical Atlas of Central Europe* in the second edition of 2002, yet without changing the area of coverage at all (see Figure 9). His justification for this change was that many 'articulate elements' in the region felt the former title had a "negative

connotation" (MAGOCSI 2002: xiii). Of course, implicit in what BEREND and MAGOCSI have written is that the label *East-Central Europe* gives the region, in the minds of its inhabitants, too proximate an association with Russia.



Figure 9: MAGOCSI's *Historical Atlas:* Edition 1 (1993) and Edition 2 (2002)

So far we have considered Western perceptions of Central Europe, but we might also note here that contemporary Russian sources rarely speak of a *Central Europe* at all. This denial reflects a continuation of the Soviet refusal to accept the region's existence, preferring instead a simple East-West division which enlarges the area considered to be Eastern Europe, and therefore from Moscow's point of view enlarges the area within the Soviet or Russian orbit of influence.

The final word on this might be given to the Hungarian-American scholar STEPHEN BORSODY, who in writing of a *New Central Europe* explained his choice of label as follows: "I have not availed myself of the term East-Central Europe […] mainly because the two countries on which this book is focused, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, do not come readily under that description. They belonged, according to the phraseology used before the Second World War, to Central Europe, and I prefer to keep them there" (1993: xiii).

8. Language contact through toponymy

We have seen that establishing the reality of Central Europe is a task difficult to achieve from first principles. This particular region is a slippery and elusive concept which exists as much in the mind as on the map. Yet it is possible to single out certain markers which are quintessentially Central European, and in identifying those markers we may come some way towards identifying Central Europe in its totality. One such marker involves toponymy, for surely one of the characteristics of Central Europe has been and remains a tendency to quarrel over issues where language and geographical names intersect. For the many places with names in more than one language, which of those names should be regarded as endonymic and which as exonymic? Language is well understood as a deeply controlling instrument of power; it was to deny legitimacy to languages other than German that the Nazi regime banned use of the Czech name *Vídeň* for *Vienna,* and allowed only the German endonym *Wien* to be used across all

languages (KAMUSELLA 2009: 770). A list of major language contact issues involving endonyms and exonyms which have historically proved contentious and troublesome in this region might look as follows: German/Czech, German/Hungarian, German/Polish, German/Slovak, German/Slovenian, Hungarian/Romanian, Hungarian/Slovak, Polish/Czech, Polish/Lithuanian.

Just as Central Europe as a whole was "kidnapped" during the Cold War period, as KUNDERA noted, so too were its exonyms. German-language exonyms in particular, such as *Breslau* (for Polish *Wrocław*), were triumphantly abolished from cartographic products published behind the Iron Curtain, in an attempt to erase the past and herald a bright new communist future. And although the general public may not have followed suit in their everyday speech, the politics of the Cold War essentially rendered the subject of exonyms taboo. The past few decades, however, since the collapse of communism, have allowed a new, fresh and lively discussion on the significance of toponymic conflict in Central Europe. In March 2000, an international symposium titled *GeoNames 2000* was held in Frankfurt am Main, in part as a new post-Cold War venture to discuss the question of endonyms and exonyms. The eight papers presented at the Frankfurt symposium were from individuals representing the following countries: Austria, Canada, Czechia, Estonia, Germany, Slovakia, Slovenia.

This Frankfurt symposium triggered a wider interest in the subject and proved to be a direct forerunner of the *United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names* (UNGEGN) Working Group on Exonyms, which was established by the United Nations in 2002. The first meeting of that Working Group consisted of participants from the following countries: Austria, Bulgaria, Canada, Czechia, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Romania, Slovenia, South Korea, United Kingdom.

In recent years the active participation of this United Nations Working Group has regularly settled around those countries who presented papers at the most recent (19th) meeting, held in April 2017 in Prague (see also Figure 10 for a cartographic portrayal of these countries): Austria, Croatia, Czechia, Denmark, Hungary, Japan, Latvia, Norway, Poland, Slovenia, South Korea, Spain, United Kingdom.

It is surely not fanciful to see a consistent pattern emerging here. The Working Group is regularly attracting the bulk of its membership from countries that we would surely regard as Central European. And the reason for this is that this region understands better than most the consequences of toponymic disharmony. Central Europe recognises very well that the (unspoken) purpose of the Working Group is to provide a forum within which the nationalist ardour that is all too frequently present in this region can be dampened. It is therefore gratifying that Central European countries are showing such an interest in this

Working Group and its subject matter. Note too that the only consistently active participants outside Europe are Japan and South Korea; two countries that have their own bilateral toponymic difficulties and who attend for much the same reasons as do the countries of Central Europe.

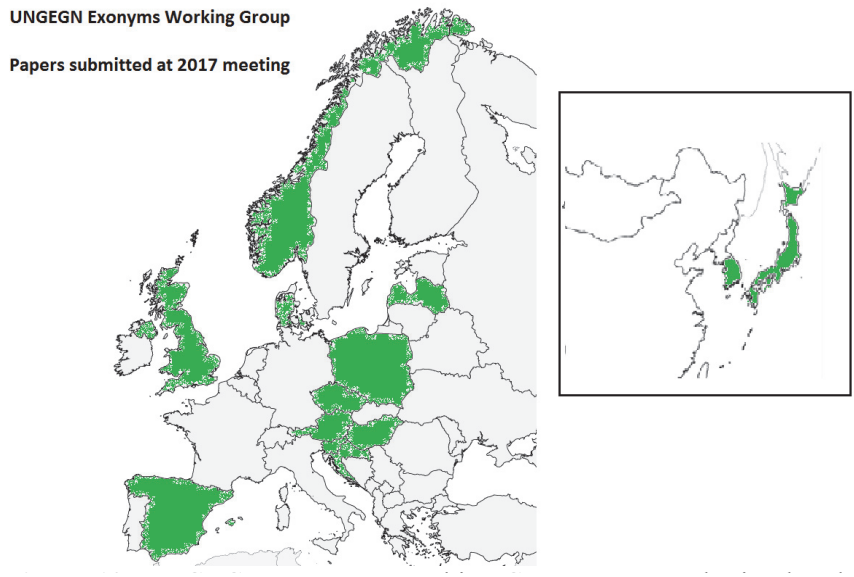


Figure 10: UNGEGN Exonyms Working Group: papers submitted at the 2017 meeting, by country

It is fitting to conclude this section with a quotation from the Italian scholar Claudio Magris, writing of his schooldays in Trieste shortly after the end of the Second World War. This short passage is a celebration of everything that is good about Central European toponymy, and shows us how we can rise above the vexed, contentious and starkly binary questions of endonyms and exonyms by looking more positively at the richness of geographical names in this region of the world. Magris is writing here of the city which today is the capital of an independent Slovakia (2001: 220): "[A]t school, my friends and I used to discuss the city's name, which ones we liked best: Bratislava, the Slovak name, Pressburg, the German one, or Pozsony, the Hungarian name derived from Posonium, the ancient Roman outpost on the Danube. The fascination of those three names bestowed a special glamour on a composite, multinational history, and someone's preference for one or the other was, in a childish way, a basic stance taken towards the *Weltgeist.* That is to say, we had to choose between the instinctive celebration of great, powerful cultures such as the German, the ones that make history, or our romantic admiration for the exploits of rebellious, chivalrous and adventurous peoples such as the Magyars, or else our fellow-

feeling for what is more subdued and hidden, for the small peoples such as the Slovaks, who remain for a long time a patient, unregarded substratum, a humble, fertile soil waiting centuries for the moment of its flowering."

9. Concluding thoughts on time and place

GYÖRGY KONRÁD has said that "Central Europe is a creaking, swaying structure, whose history is marked by discontinuity" (2001). KONRÁD's "discontinuity" refers to the lengthy history of uncertain and fluctuating boundaries within this part of Europe: Roman, Slavic, Western and Eastern Christianity, and the four great nineteenth century empires – plus of course the extraordinary and tragic upheavals of the twentieth century. The French historian FERNAND BRAUDEL emphasised how a proper understanding of the world depends a great deal on a proper appreciation of the passage of time; how we should appreciate the *longue durée* and not mistake the short-term blip for the long-term trend. BRAUDEL's thesis fits well into Central Europe, this most enduring of regions, yet that is not to say that KONRÁD's discontinuities should be discounted. Historical events – blips in the *longue durée* but sharp and painful spikes to those present at the time – have obliged Central Europe to re-invent itself on several occasions over the centuries. To take perhaps the most obvious example; many scholars have noted that one of the prime characteristics of Central Europe was a traditional German-Jewish symbiosis, as found in for example pre-Second World War Prague (RUPNIK 1990: 252, JORDAN 2006: 2). This of course no longer exists; the composition of Central Europe now lacks any sizeable Jewish presence and it largely lacks a German presence too, as a result of the Beneš decrees and other ramifications of that War.

The German émigré geographer KARL SINNHUBER wrote that because we need to take into account human factors when considering the extent of Central Europe, a definition "must, therefore, be related to a certain time so that many definitions, though different, may nevertheless be correct" (1954: 25). The Austrian geographer HUGO HASSINGER, writing in 1923, also stated that "boundaries of regions are therefore (since the landscape changes continuously through human action) not stable but changeable and mobile in the course of history, and classifications into geographical regions are thus always only of value for the present" (quoted by SINNHUBER 1954: 32).

A major thrust of this present paper has been that Central Europe is a region as much in the mind as on the map. Yet the *imagined community* is only present because those experiencing it share a given portion of the earth's surface, so we certainly cannot ignore the map altogether. Territory provides us with a sense of place, a reference point for our belonging. We feel an affinity towards our place – YI-FU TUAN described this as *topophilia* (1974) – and we cling on to this

in order to help fashion our identity. To renounce it and decide we are in fact somewhere else can amount to a denial of identity. That is why, for example, during the Cold War the communities of Central Europe refused to attach themselves to the notion that they were now somehow Eastern Europeans. Central Europe has managed to endure through all the vicissitudes of modern history – always a reality to those living there, even if sometimes a myth to those outside.

10. Brief summary

The principal points of this paper can be summarised as follows:

– *Central Europe* is not the same as the *centre of Europe,*
– It is only partly a territorial/geographical region identifiable on a map,
– It is more an enduring human construct, identifiable since at least the nineteenth century, and recognisable in part by toponymic disharmony,
– It disappeared politically (was "kidnapped") during the Cold War, causing the West to lose sight of it altogether;
– But it continued to exist in the minds of its inhabitants, and it has re-emerged politically since 1989, though the West has not adequately acknowledged this.

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Abstract

Does Central Europe exist? If so, how can it be identified? Geography shows no clearly defined boundaries, yet intellectuals and politicians have spoken of a 'Central Europe' for more than a century, so perhaps it exists as a mental construct, a state of mind. This paper explores the internal and external perceptions of the region over the past hundred years or so, including its apparent disappearance during the Cold War, and how the various geographical and linguistic versions differ from one another. The paper concludes that although it is difficult to define it from first principles, and although it differs internally in geography, ethnicity and language, Central Europe nonetheless does indeed exist, as a

singular region of great cultural wealth bound together by an intertwined history where nation states and their principal ethnic groups do not always correlate territorially. Despite fluctuating borders, it can be recognised and identified by certain constant and characteristic markers such as place names. Central Europe is that portion of the European continent where language contact in toponyms really matters – where exonyms were censored under the Communist regimes and where the question of endonyms and exonyms remains a significant and contentious issue today.

Keywords: Central Europe, regions, *Mitteleuropa,* Cold War, toponymy

Andrea Bölcskei

*Central Europe as a historical, cultural, social and geopolitical concept today**

1. Where is Central Europe?

In recent decades, *Central Europe* has undoubtedly again become a fashionable term. Politicians are eager to form geopolitical, economic or cultural alliances (e.g. Central European Initiative, Visegrad Group, Centrope, Central European Free Trade Agreement, Slavkov Agreement, Inicjatywa Trójmorza[1]) to boost the cooperation of some or several countries of the region in strategically important fields (e.g. environmental protection, energetic, military policy and business development; know-how; commercial, logistical, social, cultural, educational and sporting issues). Non-governmental organizations have been established to discuss common affairs (e.g. Middleeuropean Initiative conferences on youth employment, migration, etc.); the media broadcasts business, sports, celebrity news and features items on a regional basis (e.g. Central Europe | Euronews; Central Europe – EURACTIV; Central Europe | Economist; Central Europe News; Central European Media Enterprises; Global Tenders – Procurement News from Central Europe); higher education offers various programs on Central European Studies (e.g. the MA and PhD programs at the Central European University, Budapest; the Central European Studies Programs at Karoli and Corvinus Universities, Budapest; at Charles University and FAMU, Prague; at Palacky University, Olomouc; at Masaryk University, Brno; etc.). The image of Central Europe appears in popular culture (e.g. the 2014 movie "The Grand Budapest Hotel"). While, the deprivation of the recognition of being a Central European can trigger negative feelings in the inhabitants of the region in everyday situations. Furthermore, several recent essays, scholarly studies have been devoted to exploring and explaining the essence of the ever-changing concept of Central Europe (see below).

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[1] I would like to express my thanks to Justyna Walkowiak, who called my attention to the recent Polish endeavours to stimulate cooperation within the framework of Międzymorze (i.e. 'inter-sea'; cf. also Inicjatywa Trójmorza 'The Three Seas Initiative', involving the European Union member states in the area surrounded by the triangle of the Baltic, the Adriatic and the Black Seas) in a personal communication (cf. also MICHAŁEK 2017).

One of the major concerns of relevant literature so far has been to determine which counties were accepted as Central European states in different historical periods. Concepts of Central Europe drawn up by outstanding geographers, historians and political scientists in the 20th century included not only Austria, Germany, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania, but in some cases also most of the Balkans, the Baltic lands, Denmark, France, northern Italy, the Low Countries and Switzerland (Okey 1992: 102–106, 127). Lonnie R. Johnson (1996: 11–12) differentiated between East Central Europe (Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia) and West Central Europe (Austria, Germany).

In today's reality, Peter Jordan (2005) accepts a wide concept of Central Europe as a political region, consisting of Austria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Germany, Hungary, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Switzerland; and including also the northeast part of Italy, Vojvodina in Serbia, the Partium and Transylvania proper in Romania, Bukovina, Galicia, the Zakarpattia Oblast in Ukraine, the Kaliningrad Exclave of Russia, a small part of Belarus and, from certain aspects, the southern edge of Denmark, an eastern part of the Netherlands, parts of Belgium, Alsace and a part of Lorraine in France, when the term is used for a cultural region. In his understanding, the boundaries of Central Europe as a cultural region do not always follow the political borders of today's Central European states.

According to Paul Woodman (2018: 216), "the spatial manifestation of Central Europe is more to do with nodes, gradations and liminal space", Prague, Kraków, Budapest and Vienna being the most influential nodes, Berlin, Warsaw, Braşov and Ljubljana being secondary nodes in the region. In a recent study (Hardi ed. 2015: 132–151), university students from postsocialist countries were ready to accept Central Europe as a small, politically uninfluenced region comprising the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, occasionally also Poland and/or Slovenia; however, according to Austrian students' narrower understanding, the core countries of Central Europe are Germany and their homeland.

2. What defines Central Europe?

Experts generally share the view that Central Europe is basically a culturally-historically-socially-geopolitically motivated mental construct, whose physical boundaries are blurred and prone to change over time (Kundera 1984, Johnson 1996: 4). However, certain observations about its geography can be made. Its essential, core area is landlocked, approximately the territory of today's Austria and the Czech Republic (Jordan 2005, Hardi 2015: 99, Woodman 2018). The landscape is fragmented, scattered with mountains, basins and river

valleys, making it an ideal living space for small, distinct groups of people (Okey 1992: 105).

Historically, the origins of Central Europe are often traced to the southward spread of the Teuton tribes from their homeland in the Jutland peninsula, wedging in between the Roman Empire and the territory of the Slavic tribes (Kossmann 1950, quoted by Hardi 2015: 93–94). The geopolitical importance of the region was reinforced by the distinct political-religious-social-economic development in the West and East after the split of the Roman Empire (Johnson 1996: 3–12, Jordan 2005: 165–167, Hardi 2015: 96). In the integrating European marketplace, Central Europe became an extensive grain-producing zone supplying England and the Western coast, which functioned as economic centres (Teleki 1936, quoted by Hardi 2015: 95).

Some authors argue that unfortunate historical structures and, as a result, the long-enduring presence of social tensions are the chief commonalities in the pasts of the Central European countries. In this view, a crucial element behind the less successful modernization of the countries in the region is the "early modern mix of east European serfdom and western-derived noble constitutionalism" (Okey 1992, quotation from p. 131; Jordan 2005: 165–167, Hames–Portuges 2013: 5). Another influential factor in the shared history of the region is ideological, political, social and cultural oppression between 1945 and 1989, which is sometimes identified as an example of "secondary colonialism" (Zelenka 2013: 18). The typically Central European ideas that distant past events irrecoverably determine (and explain) the present, and that the resistance of small nations to larger neighbouring ones is doomed to fail are usually said to be based on such historical experiences (Johnson 1996: 3–12).

Geopolitically, Central Europe is an area between Germany and Russia, a potential sphere of influence for the two great powers. Attempts to exert political and economic influence are sometimes accompanied by overt or covert territorial claims from the part of the rivals. In times of crisis, multiethnic Central Europe transforms into a supranational bond, as its unity guarantees at least some degree of self-protection against the powerful neighbours. Central Europe, however, is not only a buffer zone of conflicting interests, but also a stabilizer. Incorporating elements from both German and Slavic culture, it actively plays Pan-Germanic and Pan-Slavic aspirations against each other, thus evolving into a politically neutral space (cf. T. G. Masaryk's plans of the Democratic Union of Central Europe in 1918; Zelenka 2013: 22, 24, Hardi 2015: 97, 103, 106).

For most Central Europeans, the geopolitically determined 'in-between' experience brings forward an interesting duality. It builds, on the one hand, the feeling of deviation from the admired centre (regardless of whether this

happens to be the West or Russia at a given time), and, on the other hand, the possibility to find their own ways in the world creatively. In the shadow of the great, foreign political powers, the small nations of Central Europe are forced to consciously shape and consolidate their cultural identities to survive (Numano 2007: 125–126, 128).

Culturally, Central Europe declares itself a part of Western Europe and rejects Russia's values, considering them as much (or more) Asian as (than) European. Consequently, Central Europe sometimes sees itself in a missionary position as the easternmost guard of Western civilization against the foreign, barbaric East. The West does not necessarily share this view. As the small nations of Central Europe, because of their scarce resources, were mostly observers rather than initiators in world history, they have remained on the periphery of the Western horizon. At times the powerful West explicitly abandoned them (Kundera 1984: 8, 11, Zelenka 2013: 16, Hardi 2015: 98). As emphasising Central European identity often means rejecting associations with the East, some Western thinkers have gone so far as to mock the idea of Central Europe and simply consider it a projection of dreams to be acknowledged as a fully integral part of Western Europe (Wagner 2003, quoted in Hardi 2015: 98–99).

Central Europe is undoubtedly in the intersection of the zones of influence of great cultural and religious centres, a space where Western and Eastern values can intermingle, creating a unique internal variety. In this scenario, Central Europe is a mediator between the West and East, a region where cultural-political and occasional linguistic convergence is more a result of neighbourhood than genetic relations between nations (Kundera 1984: 8, Zelenka 2013: 14, 20–22, Hardi 2015: 92, 95, 104, 108).

The cultural, religious, ethnic, linguistic diversity in Central Europe is a source of energy, dynamism and that of conflict as well (Hames–Portuges 2013: 2, Hardi 2015: 99). The division of the region into small states, where national and state boundaries do not always coincide, leads to clashes of interests that impede cooperation (Okey 1992: 105, 109, Rey–Groza 2009: 265, quoted by Hardi 2016: 133). The tripartite Polish–Danubian–Balkan division and the presence of Hungarians as cultural outsiders amidst the German and Slavic population only complicate the situation further (Okey 1992: 105, Zelenka 2013: 17). From time to time, constituent parts demand recognition for themselves, which inevitably results in disruption (Zelenka 2013: 21). Internal disintegration must have played a crucial role in the fact that external influences could always be strong in Central Europe at the expense of interior cohesive forces (Rey–Groza 2009: 265, quoted by Hardi 2016: 133).

What Numano (2007: 132–133) calls "the small-nation complex" of Central European peoples in fact brings the regional opposing forces into play:

patriotism and nationalism, on the one hand, for effective self-identification and small-scale self-protection, and the appreciation and incorporation of different cultures accumulated in the area, on the other, for creating a cross-border multicultural space, in which the ethnically different nations can co-exist (Zelenka 2013: 22). Maintaining this invigorating cultural variety and interaction in the homogenizing global world of American mass culture is a real challenge for present day Central Europe (Hames–Portuges 2013: 4). In its diversity, Central Europe is sometimes also interpreted as a miniature Europe, whose fate predicts the destiny of Europe well in advance (Kundera 1984: 8).

In mentality, scepticism, irony and mocking superiority are claimed to be typical Central European intellectual values (Kundera 1984: 8, Okey 1992: 127). A cyclic perception of time, the feeling of discontinuity and distrust in history are the results of interpreting the past of the nation as a sequence of tragic events that constantly stalled steady development (Rey–Groza 2009: 265, quoted by Hardi 2016: 133). In the arts, grotesque and satire seem to be very much adequate and popular approaches to comment on Central European reality (Zelenka 2013: 14). The era of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy after 1867 is often idealized in works of art and in people's minds because of its assumed liberalism and ethnic-religious tolerance (Zelenka 2013: 17). Places with different names in different languages, conflicts over the use of endonymic and exonymic toponym variants and ideologically motivated place-name changes are also regarded "quintessentially Central European" (Woodman 2018: 216, 226).

Central Europe is often defined as distinct groups of people gathering together in always varying combinations to deal with their common situations, problems and shared traditions (Kundera 1984: 7). Fusion and disintegration seem to be key survival strategies in the region (Okey 1992: 105). Today's Central Europe lacks some of the most essential characteristics of its traditional version: the strong Jewish influence has disappeared; Austria no longer wants to be the central leader state of the region; Germany has withdrawn from Central Europe to join the West and helps Central European countries from a distance in their attempts to adjust themselves to Western Europe. Still, Central Europe has successfully reinvented itself, as required by the current flow of events, to provide a sustainable living space for its present inhabitants (Okey 1992: 133, Jordan 2005: 165–167, Hardi 2015: 107–108, Woodman 2018).

3. What does the toponym *Central Europe* mean today?

Cognitive linguists claim that words convey conceptual meanings, which are construed by speakers in an active manner. In the case of a proper name, for instance, the salient characteristics of the indicated denotatum (the real-

world entity) are observed, then, by way of abstraction, schematization and categorisation based on prototypicality, these are assembled into cognitive domains (mental boxes) to store them in the mind. The complex matrix of these cognitive domains constitutes the meaning of the name. This meaning is conventionally represented by a sound sequence, a name form in the language. This explanation entails the idea that meaning comprises elements of encyclopaedic as well as linguistic knowledge.

Considering the ever-changing meaning of the toponym *Central Europe*, the question of which cognitive domains and in what proportion play an important role in the present day understanding of the term arises. My first assumption is that domains such as COUNTRIES, LANDSCAPE, GEOPOLITICAL POSITION, POLITICAL ORIENTATION, HUMAN DEVELOPMENT, POPULATION DENSITY, SOCIETY, NATIONALITIES, LANGUAGES, MENTALITY, TRADITIONS, VALUES, RELIGIONS, EDUCATION, AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY, ECONOMY, BUSINESS, CURRENCY, COMMERCE, TRANSPORTATION, TOURISM, HISTORICAL EVENTS, CULTURE, ARTS, ARCHITECTURE, CUISINE, SPORTS, TIME ZONE, CENTRES, PLACE NAMES will appear either at the centre or on the periphery of the term's meaning. My second assumption is that the centrality and the actual contents of these domains are largely dependent on personal experiences. Proofs for or against these assumptions were sought in an online questionnaire involving 73 volunteering respondents from different parts of the world.

3.1. The first section of the questionnaire surveyed the relevant sociological standards of the participants (age, highest level of qualification, sex, country of residence). Almost three-quarters of the respondents (74%) were under 30 and a quarter of them (26%) were between 30 and 70. 58% of the participants took or are taking part in training in higher education, 42% of them indicated secondary school as the highest level of their qualifications. The ratio of women to men among the respondents was approximately 3:1. Almost half of the participants (52%) live in Hungary, the other half of them (48%) are from five different countries (Poland, the USA, Great Britain, Bulgaria and China). Thus, respondents are somewhat uniform concerning age and sex; and more balanced with respect to qualification and the country of residence, especially if Hungarian and foreign data are compared. As participants were recruited on a voluntary basis, the survey could not produce representative data; moreover, the sample is relatively small. Despite this, the results as well as the answers as qualitative material are expressive.

3.2. The second batch of questions was meant to detect which countries were spontaneously considered Central European countries by the respondents and what personal experiences, preferences or refusals might be in the background of their judgments. To the question "Which Central European countries have you been to?", apart from the conventionally accepted Central European states

(Austria, the Czech Republic, Croatia, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia), references to Switzerland, the Netherlands, Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, the Ukraine, but also to Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia could be found in responses by non-Hungarian participants; and Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Romania, Serbia, the Ukraine, more surprisingly, Belgium, Great Britain, Italy, Spain and France appeared in replies by Hungarian informants. One Hungarian respondent, however, "would consider Austria rather a Western country" (R 18).[2] The purpose of the participants' stay in these countries was mostly leisure (69%); some also mentioned education (7%), business (4%), wedding, marriage (3%), conference (1%), multiple reasons (8%), travelling through (1%); only few people have never been to the region (3%), or were not willing to provide data (4%).

With respect to preferences of travel destinations, among non-Hungarian respondents, the Czech Republic, Hungary and Austria, in this order, were indicated most often as desired Central European destinations; then Poland, Slovenia and Switzerland shared an equal number of votes. Slovakia, Germany and some other countries seemed less attractive. Family relations, friends, previous visits, studying the country's language, nature, culture, architecture, food, safety, cities of historic value, thermal pools and the classic 'Central European' experience were mentioned among reasons for a visit. Hungarian respondents preferred visiting Poland, the Czech Republic, Croatia, Romania (especially Transylvania) and Austria; because of friends, culture, the language, historic cities, nature, coastal beaches and good beers, among others.

Rejection of visiting certain Central European countries was not a typical attitude among non-Hungarian respondents. Almost 40% of them emphasised that they had no negative connotations about any of the states in Central Europe. Some degree of refusal could be observed in connection with Slovenia, Slovakia, Serbia, Germany and the Czech Republic though; unfriendly people, poverty, poor conditions, political unrest, lack of safety, little knowledge about the country were among the main reasons expressed. Two extreme opinions are reflected in these two answers: "I would honestly love to visit all of them" (R 5), and "No desire to visit any of the countries" (R 7). Almost 30% of the Hungarian respondents claimed that they were willing to visit any Central European countries. Others were biased against the Ukraine, Slovakia, Serbia, Romania and Slovenia, because of the language, bad weather, lack of safety, poverty or previous bad experiences. One of the informants restricted the concept of Central Europe to their home country: "Hungary is the only Central European country" (R 27).

[2] Henceforth, R stands for "respondent", followed by an identification number, whenever a specific data or a direct quotation is given from the survey.

3.3. The third section of the questionnaire focused primarily on conscious categorization: respondents were required to decide about 35 countries whether they belong to a given region of Europe or not. The list of 35 countries was the same in all four questions, and the tested regions included Central Europe, Eastern Europe, Southeast Europe and East Central Europe. Once continuing to the following question respondents could not return to the previous one.

The firmest judgements were made in connection with Central European countries. Six states were considered to belong to this region by more than three-fourths of the respondents: Slovakia (97,3%), Hungary (94,5%), the Czech Republic (93,2%), Slovenia (83,6%), Austria (79,5%) and Poland (75,3%). Eastern Europe was less precisely defined. Except for a single state, countries with the most votes were held Eastern European by half to three-quarters of the respondents: the Ukraine (89,0%), Russia (76,7%), Belarus (65,8%), Romania (57,5%), Moldova and Latvia (53,4%), Lithuania (52,1%) and Bulgaria (50,7%). Southeast Europe seems to be an even slightly vaguer concept than Eastern Europe. Six countries were indicated as parts of the region by half to two-thirds of the respondents: Macedonia (64,4%), Montenegro (64,4%), Bulgaria (63,0%), Albania (56,2%), Bosnia and Herzegovina (54,8%) and Greece (52,1%). East Central Europe proved to be the least clear-cut concept. Countries with the most votes were identified as East Central European states by only a third to half of the respondents: Hungary (52,1%), Poland (46,6%), Slovakia (43,8%), Romania (41,1%), the Ukraine (39,7%) and the Czech Republic (30,1%).

3.4. In Cognitive Linguistics, as quoted above, the conceptual meaning of a name is understood as the collection of elements of knowledge about the indicated entity and about the use of the name form in the language. Section four in the questionnaire focused on the use of the toponym *Central Europe.* Many respondents, mostly the Europeans, claimed that they "sometimes" (45%) or even "frequently" (33%) met the term *Central Europe* in everyday life. Others, especially US citizens, understandably felt less exposed to it and usually chose "never" (3%) or "rarely" (19%) to describe how often the term was used in their interactions. Those who were familiar with the observed toponym usually knew it from various sources (48%), mostly from history and geography classes (24%) and from the media (24%), but the arts, politics and professional work also appeared as sources of knowledge.

3.5. Section five was intended to elicit what respondents know or believe to know about the referent of the toponym *Central Europe* and how this knowledge is stored in the presupposed cognitive domains. Informants were asked to choose or complete statements about present day Central European countries. Completing the statements gave the respondents the opportunity to

express personal views; furthermore, as replying was optional in this case, the number of the reactions to a statement may also be indicative concerning the relevance of the tested domain in the conceptualization of the toponym under discussion.

Central Europe as a region with respect to LANDSCAPE was described by the respondents as an elevated, landlocked piece of land dominated by mountains, hills and plateaus and lacking in shoreline features (61,7%). The region was pictured as moderately or highly developed when HUMAN DEVELOPMENT was concerned (90,4%), with medium or high POPULATION DENSITY (94,5%). The GEOPOLITICAL INTERESTS of Central European countries were believed to be represented mainly by the Central European Initiative and the Visegrad Group (94,5%).

In the HISTORY of Central Europe, most respondents highlighted the importance of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the experience of wars, exposure to communism, division by the Iron Curtain, the presence of nationalism, the recent reorientation towards the West; shortly, informants attributed "a chequered history that has encountered many challenges" (R 52) to the region (42 responses).

CULTURE in Central Europe was described by most respondents as diverse, traditional, rich in folk heritage, West-oriented, with strong Slavic and Germanic influences. Central Europe was depicted as a region where "[c]enturies of migration created a very eclectic cultural orientation" (R 7), the dominant trait of which today is "Western culture with remnants of communist heritage" (R 60) (39 responses).

When RELIGION is concerned, most respondents agreed that Central Europe is a Christian territory, where Western Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy meet and mingle with Protestantism; other religions, however, play a less significant role. The importance of religion in contemporary society was deemed somewhat ambivalent by Central Europeans themselves: an informant observed "[d]ecreasing popularity of all religions, but mainly Christian" faith (R 17); another participant judged the region "relatively religious compared to highly developed countries like Japan or the UK" (R 46) (50 responses).

According to most respondents, EDUCATION is conventionally of high quality in the region, although it is getting worse, partly due to its unstructured arrangement and partly because of financial struggles in the institutions. However, education in Central Europe is cheap and accessible for students. The traditional, Prussian model of education, still in use in the region, was criticised by some Hungarian informants because "it is too fact oriented" (R 49) and "[n]ot particularly useful in terms of developing one's competences" (R 28) (42 responses).

With respect to INTERNAL POLITICS, most respondents emphasised the lack of stability, the presence of corruption, opportunism and devolution, the increase of nationalism and the shortage of strongly founded democratic institutions in the region. In a wider context, Central Europe was characterised by "strong leader-oriented political systems, [in which the] legacy of Communism can still be felt, [as the territory] lies in the crossfire of Western European/USA and Easter European/Asian political goals" (R 46) (41 responses).

Affairs in FOREIGN POLITICS were not judged more positively by most informants either. The importance of relations with the EU, Russia and the USA, a tendency for European integration, but also politics of isolation, immigration debates, subordinacy, increased suspicion of other countries were mentioned among current trends. Foreign affairs seem to be dependent on a sensitive balance between "[i]solation vs. engagement with external alliances […] [r]egional vs. global engagement" (R 53) (34 responses).

MILITARY DEFENCE was not appreciated much either. Most respondents labelled it as weak, insignificant, dependent on western allies in NATO; according to a foreign informant "[a]chieving balance between defence against cross-border terrorism and defence against regional hegemony" (R 53) is a major challenge in the field (37 responses).

ECONOMY in Central Europe, as most respondents perceived it, is too much under the influence of the Western nations and Russia; it is developing, but is still unstable, obsolete, badly managed and very different across the region, from middle to high efficiency. The strongest critique came from a Hungarian informant: Central European countries are the "laggards of the EU" (R 16) (34 responses).

Most respondents saw AGRICULTURE in Central Europe in a fairly positive light. They described it significant, intensive and highly efficient, producing a lot of export goods. National resources, e.g. soil of great quality, are available, but there is a need for EU subsidies to cover the costs of farming. Praise and some criticism could equally be observed in the responses: "[a]ttention to organic sustainability and local access to locally produced goods" (R 53) was thought to be as much a characteristic feature of Central European agriculture as the "[c]oncentration of land in a few hands (feudalism)" (R 7) (35 responses).

INDUSTRY was considered by most respondents moderately developed, improving and westernizing, related mostly to food processing and raw materials, and varied in efficiency within the region. Some new trends such as reindustrialisation, de-ecologisation of industry, and the shift towards a service economy were also identified. As a result of cheap labour, "Western European countries tend to establish factories in the countries in question. These actions boost the industry" (R 17) (31 responses).

BUSINESS, according to most respondents, is trying to keep up with Western Europe, but is viewed to be characterised by flourishing corruption. There are hardly any local business groups, the influence of Germany and Russia is strong. In conformity with the previous quotation, another informant stated: "business [is] developing and investors [are] coming from Western Europe because Central Europe has cheaper locations and workers" (R 66) (27 responses).

With respect to TRADE, Central European countries were believed by most respondents to be relatively well developed, but with still more potential, "they cannot make good use of their assets" (R 16). Their most important partners are the EU member states, but they are willing to trade with other countries, too. Central Europe, as an informant summarized, is characterized by "[r]egulated but relatively free trade, with minimal tariff barriers" (R 53) (24 responses).

TRANSPORTATION, especially public transportation was found excellent by most non-European respondents, even if they did not appreciate the "collapsing infrastructure" found in some places (R 7). European informants were less satisfied with countryside services, slow and old-fashioned trains, but were pleased with the increasing role of air transport and cheap airlines. As one of the informants observed: "[d]iversified means of transport can be found there: public (tramways, buses, plains, trains) as well as private (cars, bicycles, motorbikes)" (R 58) (34 responses).

TOURISM in the region was considered by most respondents well developed, even a bit overexploited, especially in capital cities. Central European countries were thought to be relatively cheap, safe for tourists, their welcoming attitude and their historic values could easily make them attractive. An informant, however, warned against some new trends: "enterprise has taken over, & costs for access to national treasures are prohibitive (e.g. in Prague)" (R 53) (40 responses).

Most respondents claimed that SOCIETY in Central European states is depressed, lethargic and conservative, thus appreciates traditional values. It is also divided, but income and wealth inequalities are difficult to judge. A more positive view emphasizes that "family values [are] important, [as is] solidarity among people" (R 66) in the countries of the region (30 responses).

The NATIONALITIES of the inhabitants in Central European countries, according to most respondents, are diverse, with growing tensions and increasing hostility towards minorities. Ethnic minorities in each state are mostly from the neighbouring countries or are romani people. An informant also explored the reasons of this situation: "[v]ery big influence of shared history, and especially of past grievances, in shaping today's politics, and perhaps traumas not forgotten or wrongs not righted" (R 54) (30 responses).

Central European countries usually have a single official LANGUAGE, the status of the languages spoken by ethnic minorities within each state is often debated, although an informant reported on some positive changes in the field: "[i]n-creasing recognition of minority languages" (R 52). Slavic languages, related to one another, and German were believed to dominate the region. Hungarian is unique and isolated in the area. Most of these languages were considered difficult and inaccessible by the respondents. English was identified as the most widely spoken shared language in Central Europe, but its knowledge was judged as poor among the inhabitants (33 responses).

With respect to MENTALITY, Central European people were described by most respondents as slightly introverted, pessimistic, stressed, sometimes aggressive, hostile or xenophobic, conservative and politically sensitive. An informant observed in the mentality of the inhabitants of the region "[c]ertain inferiority complex, the feeling of being »better Europe«'s poorer cousins" (R 54) (30 responses).

The ARTS in Central European countries, according to most respondents' views, are of high standards, impressive, traditionally rich and versatile, but not too popular among the local inhabitants, and not too well-known elsewhere in the world. In music, Central Europe was assumed to prefer minor-key melodies. Globalization was said to result in too much respect for the culture of English-speaking nations in Central Europe, where culture is present in different layers: "[h]ighbrow culture is well-represented, but [the real culture is] mainly underground" (R 17) (29 responses).

As most respondents realised, there are overlaps in the CUISINES of the Central European countries. People living in the region are supposed to love meat, beer and spicy dishes, high in fat, and they have a strong crave for a great variety of desserts. Still, some global trends find their ways to affect Central European eating habits, as informants expressed: "[g]reat traditions, yet strong influence of Turkish and American street food" (R 24); local cuisine today is "deteriorating [because of the] invasion of processed foods" (R 7) (33 responses).

Football, ice-hockey, athletics, water sports were listed by many respondents as the most popular SPORTS in Central Europe. Running and individual workout were said to be gaining popularity these days. A critical informant added that "[t]oo much money [is] spent on representative 'elite' sport clubs" (R 24) in the region (29 responses).

Although there is no appointed "capital" for the region, the answers to the question "What is the »capital« of the Central European countries?" might show which cities were believed by the respondents to be the most influential CENTRES in the region. The list contains, in order of frequency of occurrence, Vienna, Berlin and Budapest (equal number of votes), Prague, Warsaw, Krakow,

Bratislava, Brussels. Witty responses include "foreign investment" (R 62) and "clever minds" (R 18).

Most respondents were aware that, concerning TIME ZONE, Central European Time (CET) is one hour ahead of Greenwich Mean Time (GMT), though daylight saving summer time in Central Europe (CEST = GMT+02:00) confused some of them (49 responses). With respect to local CURRENCIES in Central Europe, respondents usually knew that euro is accepted in only a few countries, others use national currencies as means of payment: koruna, forint, złoty, kuna, but, surprisingly, dinar, lei, lev, Swiss franc were also mentioned, based on one's concept of Central Europe. Former currencies, e.g. Latvian lats, Lithuanian litas (replaced by the euro in 2014 and 2015, respectively) were quoted once (43 responses).

Among the typically Central European TRADITIONS respondents listed folk songs, folk dancing, embroidery, harvest feasts, traditional foods, eating pork and beef, shepherding, slaughtering swine, drinking alcohol, painting Easter eggs, the sprinkling of girls with perfume (or water) by boys on Easter Monday, the celebration of St. Nicholas Day, gifts supposedly brought by the Baby Jesus and not by Santa Clause at Christmas, the celebration of "busójárás" in the Hungarian town of Mohács at the end of the Carnival season, celebrating name days, having huge family gatherings. On a more abstract level, "[e]xpertise in philosophy, literature and music" (R 50) was mentioned. Typical Central European VALUES, according to the informants, include hospitality, folk music, traditional clothing, fraternity, partnership, hard work, courage, and respect for family, the elderly, the history and the nation's freedom as well as for national and religious traditions.

Representative PLACE NAMES quoted from Central Europe by the participants in order of frequency were the following: *Danube, Budapest, Carpathian Mountains/the Carpathians/the Karpaty mountains/Carpathian Basin, Prague, Vienna, Warsaw, the Alps, Bratislava, Balaton, Krakow, Berlin* (several occurrences for all); *Gdańsk, the Tatras, Tisza, Visegrád, Wisła* (2 occurrences for all); *Balkan, Baltic Sea, Black Forest, Black Sea, Brno, Bukovina, Charles Bridge, Deák Ferenc tér, Dubrovnik, Elbe, Ferihegyi airport, Galicia, Great Synagogue in Budapest, Hrad castle, Keleti Palyaudvar Train Station, Krupowki Street in Zakopane in Poland, NRD (DDR), Oder, Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw, Rhine, Rhone, Riga, Schoenefeld Airport, Sopot Mountains, St. Gellért Hill, Staatsoper, Szabadka, Temesvár utca, Tempelhof Airport, the Golden Lane in Prague, the Sudetes, Vltava, Vojvodina* (single occurrence for all); based on the conceptualization of Central Europe and on personal experiences.

4. Conclusions

In conclusion, the online questionnaire survey has proven that all the presupposed cognitive domains appear in today's understanding of the toponym *Central Europe,* with individually varying degrees of elaboration with respect to their contents. Personal experiences concerning Central European countries can cast light on the origins of these differences. Since Central Europe is considered in the literature as an ever-changing mental construct, its present defining features have to reflect the content elements of the cognitive domains constituting the conceptual meaning of the term *Central Europe* in contemporary minds. The results of the present survey, thus, might contribute to drawing up the current valid definition of Central Europe as a historically, culturally, socially, geopolitically determined macro-region in relevant literature.

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Abstract

It is a generally accepted view that Central Europe is a well-established historical–cultural–social–geopolitical space concept, the actual interpretation of which has always been determined by current affairs. Central Europe is an important and flexible term used in several disciplines (e.g. physical geography, cartography, cultural history, politics, economics). The primary focus of relevant literature so far has been to localize Central Europe as a macro-region on geographic and mental maps and/or to justify its existence based on facts

from cultural history. This paper, however, examines the concept of Central Europe from a cognitive linguistic point of view and explores the contents of the contemporary semantics of the term. The author compares and contrasts the results of a questionnaire survey conducted among Hungarian and non-Hungarian respondents on their concept of Central Europe. The encyclopaedic meaning of the toponym *Central Europe* valid today is described in the paper as a vast pool of knowledge and countless associations stored in the mind in the form of a complex matrix of cognitive domains such as COUNTRIES, DOMINANT LANDSCAPE FEATURES, GEOPOLITICAL POSITION, POLITICAL ORIENTATION, HUMAN DEVELOPMENT, POPULATION DENSITY, SOCIETY, NATIONALITIES, LANGUAGES, MENTALITY, RELIGIONS, EDUCATION, ECONOMY, BUSINESS, COMMERCE, TRANSPORTATION, TOURISM, SIGNIFICANT HISTORICAL EVENTS, ARTS, ARCHITECTURE, CUISINE, SPORTS, EXPERIENCES, PREFERENCES, REFUSALS and ONOMASTIC DIVERSITY.

Keywords: Central Europe, cognitive linguistics, conceptualization, encyclopaedic meaning, interdisciplinarity

Christian Zschieschang

Language contact and geographic names in different regions of East Central Europe

1. Areal conceptions

The institute in which I am employed bears the essential term *East Central Europe* in its name, even though it had to be changed slightly for some secondary reasons.[1] The concept of one Central Europe divided into a western and an eastern half was proposed by Oskar Halecki. He is one of the most important Polish Historians, and spent most of his career in American exile (HALECKI 1952). The term has to compete with the more popular *Central and Eastern Europe,* which sounds similar, but means something different: Europe divided into three parts – the western region, the eastern region, especially with the Russian or Soviet realm, and a central region between the states, becoming a part of the European Union only in the 21st century. And, as the latter ones merged in one way, it seems they belong together and are the counterpart of Western Europe.

But, the decisive point is that many citizens of those states don´t want to be something separate from the west, but see themselves as a part of it. For that reason, and many other structural and historical reasons, the concept of East Central Europe seems more appropriate. Our institute advocates that the states and citizens of the EU extension area[2] should not be treated as second-class members, but equal partners. Looking at current political discussions, such efforts, unfortunately, remain necessary.

A less political term for one part of East Central Europe, which was developed at the Leipzig Onomastic School, is the *German-slavonic contact zone.*[3] It does not need to be defined, because it is self-explaining. This term is one of the rare examples of an onomastic concept that was taken over by historians and archaeologists. Another term, *Germania Slavica,* describing a similar area, was developed by WOLFGANG H. FRITZE in Western Berlin in the 1970s

[1] Until 2016: Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur *Ostmitteleuropas* / Leipzig Centre for the History and Culture of *East Central Europe.* From 2017: Leibniz-Institut für Geschichte und Kultur des *östlichen Mitteleuropa* / Leibniz Institute for the History and Culture of *Eastern Europe.* The abbreviation GWZO is still in use. The author thanks Amanda Treppmann for improving the English of the present article.

[2] The German equivalent *EU-Erweiterungsgebiet* is an official term for the region.

[3] In German: *Deutsch-Slavische Kontaktzone* or *Deutsch-Slavischer Kontaktraum,* sc. HENGST 1996.

(Fritze 1980: 11–13). Later, from 1997 onward, it was the basic concept of an interdisciplinary research cluster at our institute, dealing with culture and history in the Early and High Middle Ages (Lübke 1998).[4] Besides historians, archaeologists and art historians, onomasts also belonged to this group.

Germania Slavica was defined geographically as the interspace between the Frankonian Empire and the realms of the Piasts and Přemyslids, inhabited by the so called *Elbslaven* or – linguistically spoken – Old Sorbian and Old Polabian speakers (Fig. 1). Later on, in the time of High Medieval colonization, *Germania Slavica* was extended to the new provinces of the Reich, such as Silesia, Pomerania and others. Typical for this region was intensive interaction between Slavic and German people. The takeover of the *German-Slavonic contact zone* happened at the very beginning of our century, as we discussed in our research group on the term *Germania Slavica.* We were tasked with drawing a map for a presention to our guests, donors and so on, on what we were researching. It would be simple to show the area, we thought. In the end, the whole group was involved in heavy discussions for one month. In that situation, *German-slavonic contact zone* seemed ideal for describing the same phenomenon in a more neutral and non-political way. From the time of this discussions onward, it was emphasized that it is not an area with clear borders, but is defined more by structural terms. So, long before the "spatial turn" became popular, we discussed real and virtual spaces.

2. The problem

The *German-Slavonic contact zone* has always had a central position in East German onomastic research. The linguistic contact between German and Slavic speakers constituted one of its main research fields, producing an enormous amount of literature (cf. footnote 1). It is not possible to condense this research into a few sentences or footnotes. More important for this presentation is the classification of the languages concerned. Older linguistic forms have to relate to a certain language, unclear designations like *Old German* or *Wendish* are not scientific.

On the German side there is Old Saxon in Northern Germany and Old High German in Southern Germany. They developed into Middle Low German and Middle High German. On the Slavic side, we find in Old Polish and Old Czech the ancestors of the current national languages. For the inhabitants of the regions between Elbe-Saale and Oder-Neiße, constituting more or less the *Germania Slavica* (fig. 2), the languages of interest are Old Polabian and Old Sorbian. The interpolation of later national languages into earlier centuries, in general,

[4] http://research.uni-leipzig.de/gwzo/index.php?Itemid=1088; seen 2017-11-14.

is a helpful concept for geographically structuring the linguistic situation in the early Middle Ages, but only to a certain degree. Especially in border regions, this concept may lead to anachronisms, as I want to demonstrate with several examples (fig. 2).

3. The first example

Many years ago, I was confronted with this problem for the first time, as I belonged to a project group together with an archeologist and a historian. We had to investigate the border region between Bohemia and the regions north of it – today called Freistaat Sachsen, but called the Margraviate of Meißen in the Middle Ages. Our interest was focused on the development of settlements, the economy, transportation, and power in the Early and High Middle Ages. The toponomastic situation was excellent: besides many smaller articles, there were also comprehensive place-name dictionaries for Bohemia, as for current Saxony (Profous 1947–1960, Eichler SO, Eichler–Walther 2001). So, for every toponym, we are able to find a solid linguistic explanation. If we consult these lexica, we find that all Slavic toponyms south of the present national border, which belong to the Czech Republic, are declared as Old Czech, while all Slavic toponyms north of the border, in the area of Germany, are classified as Old Sorbian. Already, at the time of that project, which took place in the years 2002-2007, I wondered if that really could have been the linguistic situation in medieval times. Of course, it could not.

We know something about place names under Czech influence in the North and under Sorbian influence in Bohemia. There are, on the one side, "Sorbian" names in Bohemia, e.g. *Chlumec* (with the former German form *Kulm,* 1434 *Kulma*) and *Chlum* (*Kolmen,* 1392 *czum Kolmen*), which cannot be explained from Czech *chlm* 'hill', but only from it´s Old Sorbian equivalent **chołm* (Eichler 1965: 162, Profous 1947–1960: 2, 15 und 19f., Schwarz 1961: 258 f., Schwarz 1987: 203). Vice versa we find "Czech" place names in Germany, e.g. *Strand* (1428 *Strannischen wiesenn*) not from Sorbian strona, but but Old Czech **strana* 'slope', or *Krebs* (1288 *Crawas*) not from Sorbian *kruwa, krowa* 'cow' but it is Old Czech equivalent *krava* (Eichler–Walther 2001: 2, 471). This phenomenon has been thoroughly investigated, even by newer research (Eichler 1965, Šmilauer 1965: 21, Eichler 2008, Malenínská 2000, Vondrová–Blažek 2001: 333 and 341). Unfortunately, there is not enough space here to present further details. However, in conclusion, we must assume that in the region along the Elbe valley there was no dichotomism, but some kind of transitional dialect between Czech and Sorabian. I assume there is broad agreement on this point. But the resulting question is: How should we name this dialect, or, what should we set before the toponyms instead of OSo

and OCz? Could we simply describe the language and call it, for example, "Old Czech-Old Sorbian transitional dialect"? Would an abbreviation *OczOSoTD* be practical? Instead of answering these questions – and I have to confess I cannot answer it in a satisfying way – I would like to introduce two further examples from my work.

4. The second example

A similar situation can be found on both sides of the lower Oder river. The areas of Brandenburg and Pomerania spoke Old Polabian. However, in 1945, the eastern part of both historic countries became part of the Polish State. If we consult the German onomastic literature, we find Old Polabian-Pomeranian forms in the tradition of Reinhold Trautmann. But in polish onomastics dealing with that region we find "Slavonic" forms, which are described as reconstructions of forms from the Polish primeval times, after disentanglement of Pomeranian tribes from the Lechian collective.[5] This seems to be Old Pomeranian too, but the names are not labelled as Pomeranian.

For example, in German literature, *Wangern* (1302 *in villa Wanghere*) is reconstructed from Old Polabian **vągor* (Foster–Willich 2007: 374), but an almost similar lake name name on the Polish side of the current national border, *Węgorzyce* (before 1945: *Wangeritz See*) from "slav." **ǫgorь,* poln. *węgorz* (Belchnerowska 1991: 158) Both refer to the same word, 'eel (Anquilla anquilla)', but they are widely different, especially in regard to the jers. Consequently, the reconstruction of toponyms east and west of the current national border follows different principles. We see the same word in a different form. It does not seem as though they belong to one former Old Pomeranian language, but to different languages.

But, the Polish onomastics does not ignore the complexity of linguistic reality, as demonstrated by an illustration by Ewa Rzetelska-Feleszko (1986: 140). In my opinion it is the best visualization of the linguistic situation in historic Eastern Pomerania, currently Pomorze Zachodnie. There are (fig. 3) many overlapping circles with different languages or language concepts. Furthermore, the same author observed, the spellings of names we find in written sources can be divided into two groups: one of Polabian shape and one Polish – even for the same toponyms (Rzetelska-Feleszko 1995: 183). But this is not yet an answer to our question: How to label these language forms: Are they Old Polabian, Old Polish, something between, or just somehow Slavonic in general?

[5] Rzetelska-Feleszko–Duma 2010: 97–300, here 105; originally: "Rekonstruktionen der Formen der polnischen Urzeit, d. h. nach der Herauslösung der pomoranischen Stämme aus dem lechischen Verband".

5. The third example

The region around the river Bug, far beyond the German-slavonic contact zone to the east, belonged over the centuries alternately to the Piastic Poland and the Kievan Rus. Even today, we still find here a population partly of roman-catholic Poles and partly of orthodox Ukrainians on both sides of the national border. Especially in the 20th century, political rulers did much to homogenize the population on each side of this border, with great, but not total, success. Concerning the early Middle Ages, on one side we can speak of Old Polish names, but on the other side it is difficult and even anachronistic: To call this language *Old Russian* on Ukrainian state territory seems politically very impertinent, but an *Old Ukrainian,* in that sense, did not exist. In the Polish language, there is a special term, *Staroruski* (contrary to the present *rosyjski*), but there is no equivalent for it in English or German. However, the greater question is this: What was this region originally – Polish or Eastern Slavonic?

Some years ago there was a polemic dispute on this topic between Władysław Makarski and Jerzy Nalepa. The first had reconstructed many names as *staroruski* (Makarski 1986, later 1996), but the latter was convinced that they should be Polish, and titled one of his articles, *A primal Polish toponymic bastion* [Prapolski bastion toponimiczny] (Nalepa 1991, later 2000, 2001). Firstly, there should be discussion on whether there really was a dichotomy, or rather one common dialect divided only later – but that is not going to be decided in this presentation (cf. Zschieschang, in print). But from an archaeological viewpoint (Parczewski 2007), until the middle of the 10th century, the region was not divided, but one cultural space (Salamon–Wołoszyn et al. 2012, Florek–Wołoszyn 2016). Furthermore, we should remember that this region belongs to the area where we imagine the Slavic languages developed.[6] Secondly, here again I was very uncertain how to label the toponyms of that region *Nowosielce* (1390 *oy Новосѣльцехъ, ad villam Nowosedlcze*), from Polish *nowosiedlec* or Ukrainian *novoselec* 'new resident' (NMP 7, 528 [1], Makarski 1986: 117 [260]). Are they Old Polish, Old Russian, Staroruski, or something else?

6. Conclusion

Furthermore, we can point to the boundary regions between Sorbian and Polish in Lower Silesia (Popowska-Taborska 1965) and between Old Polabian and Old Sorbian (Bathe–Fischer et al. 1970) with comparable linguistic situations and problems. The problem I tried to describe is closely related with areal conceptions. The common division of the west Slavonic region into the

[6] Fundamental: Udolph 1979, subsequent many articles by the same author until today.

areas of the later national states is useful and necessary, but it is difficult to describe border and transition regions between them, because here the labels of these languages are not suitable. But, how could we label the toponyms in such regions? Could we invent a special language or dialect; vaguely speak simply about Slavic toponyms;[7] call them what they are, regional Slavonic dialects in a period later than Common Slavic?

In the latter case (fig. 4), we can propose a category of *Old Regional Slavonic* (ORS) for these "other" regions. This concept should not be overestimated, but it could signal that names with this label do not belong to one of the national languages, but are something between.

Because my home town is Lutherstadt Wittenberg, and in view of the close relationship between this town and the Calvinist Debrecen in the 2017 anniversary, it may be allowed for me to close with a quotation by Martin Luther: "All languages are mixed and mingled with each other, because the countries are neighbouring and one borders on the other." [8]

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[7] Such "Slavic" toponyms are reconstructed for the slavic onymic heritage in Northern Bavaria / Franconia west of Bohemia (cf. EICHLER–GREULE et al. 2001 and EICHLER–GREULE et al. 2006), a region for which a specific slavonic language is difficult to determine.

[8] WA TR 1, 1040 (p. 524); originally: "Alle Sprachen sind vermischt und unter einander gemenget, denn die Länder sind benachbart, und eins stößt an das ander" (cf. STELLMACHER 1984: 83f.).

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Abstract

The German-Slavonic contact zone is part of East Central Europe. This concept, going back to the Polish historian Oskar Halecki, divides Central Europe into a western part and an eastern part. Within this frame, language contact in geographic names was investigated at the Leipzig Centre for the History and Culture of East Central Europe for two decades. This research included several regions, spreading over the area between the river Saale, the border region to the east Slavonic sphere, the shores of the Baltic Sea, and Bohemia. These projects are part of a long tradition of onomastic research in Eastern Germany.

Language contact happened between several Slavonic languages, as well. If we look at border regions between different language areas, we have to ask if we should assume that two languages met here, or rather that there were transitional dialects. Seen from this perspective, it seems that the concepts of older predecessors of later national languages (e.g. Old Czech) are limited – the geographic names in such regions were neither Old Sorbian nor Old Czech sensu stricto, but belonged to transitional dialects. But how should we name such dialects?

Keywords: Geographic names, Language contact, German-Slavonic language contact, Eastern Central Europe, Slavic languages, Old Sorbian, border regions, transitional dialects, Old Regional Slavonic

Figures



Figure 1: Geographical Visualization of *Germania Slavica,* designed 2002



Figure 2: The linguistic situation in the High Middle Ages and the examples discussed in the text

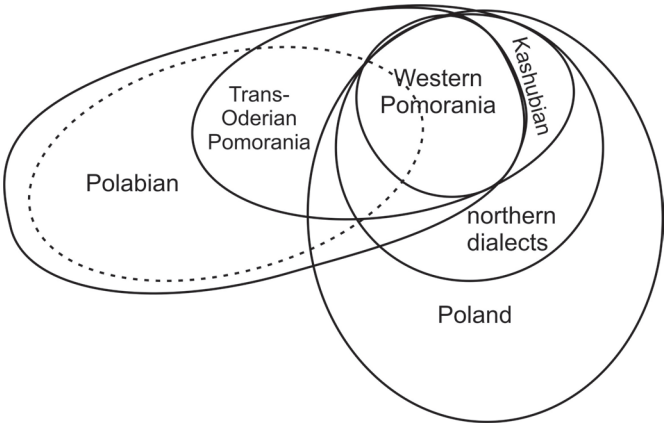


Figure 3: The linguistic situation of Pomerania and Old Polabian after RZETELSKA-FELESZKO (1986: 140)

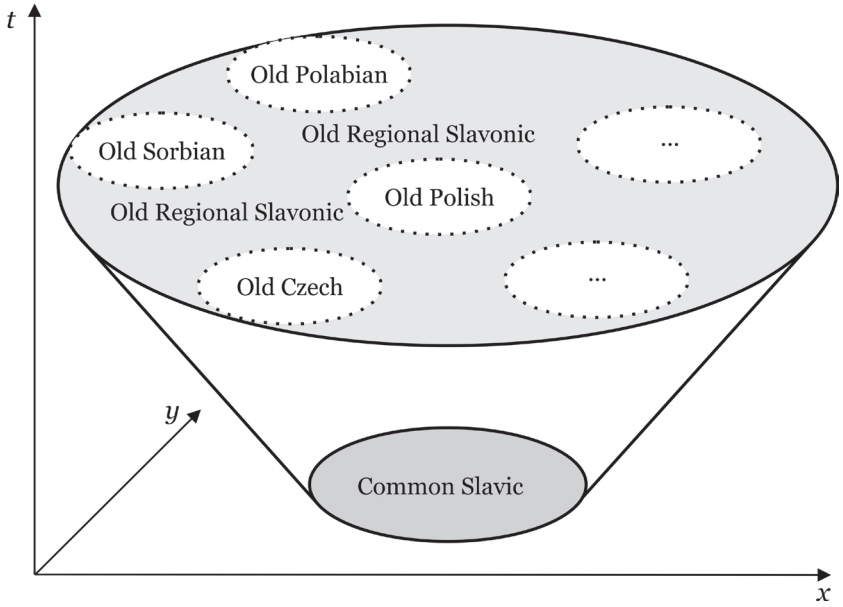


Figure 4: The proposed model of early-medieval Slavic languages with regional interspaces between them

Justyna B. Walkowiak

Lithuanian anthroponymic heritage in Poland

1. Introduction

The onomasticon is not a homogeneous whole but rather a palimpsest on which various influences have left their mark. Many surnames are borrowed, or rather they migrate with their bearers, though later it may not be so easy to trace their origin, due among others to the process called in Polish *adideacja,* that is a change of a word under the influence of another word to which it is similar and with which it is associated. Such a change, needless to say, obliterates the original shape of the name.

The above is also true of the Polish anthroponomasticon. The surnames in use in contemporary Poland are not only of native origin but also foreign loans, often assimilated, sometimes to the degree that for the layman distorts their previous shape beyond recognition. Considering that there are at least 400,000 surnames in current use in Poland, it is rather difficult to estimate the size of the foreign stock in surnames, or to quantify the proportions that particular ethnic influences account for. While the most numerous foreign surnames in Poland seem to be those of German/Yiddish and Slavic (Russian, Ukrainian/ Lemko, Belarusian, Czech, Slovak) origin, among other borrowings one can also find Lithuanian surnames. In view of the lack of any reliable statistics, my own research reveals at least 5.5 thousand such surnames in use (if we treat each surname spelling variant as a separate surname, which seems the only permissible approach today, cf. Cieślikowa 2008: 30). In this number are included also about three hundred surnames whose morphological shape suggests specifically their Lithuania Minor provenience.

Surprisingly, this field has not been comprehensively researched yet, despite a number of valuable contributions. One of the first was the milestone publication by Bystroń in the interwar years.[1] There followed more research, listed alphabetically here: Abramowicz, Citko–Dacewicz 1997–1998, Bednarczuk 1999, 2000, Biolik 2008, Citko 1998, 2001, Dacewicz 2001, Falk 1963, Kondratiuk 1990, 2000, 2004, Marcinkiewicz 2003, Naruszewicz-Duchlińska 2008, Pacenko 2000,[2] Smoczyński 1982a, 1982b, 2002, Tichoniuk 1988, 2006, Trypućko 1982. While all these vary in focus and scope, Smoczyński 1982b (incidentally, also an ICOS proceedings

[1] The 1993 edition is in fact a reprint of the work from 1927.

[2] I am indebted to J. Niewulis-Grablunas for drawing my attention to this work and for access to it.

publication) is unquestionably the most in-depth and all-encompassing; it is only to be regretted that to this day it evidently has not been given the appreciation it deserves.[3] Of foreign research, the noteworthy publications are ZINKEVIČIUS 2010 and 2012, pertaining to the topic of surnames of Lithuanian origin borne by the inhabitants of the area of Suwałki and Augustów[4] as well as by the "Polish-speaking" inhabitants of the Vilnius region. Most of these publications do not rely on the PESEL[5] data, but – out of necessity, due to their date of publication – on the surnames excerpted from telephone directories (ZINKEVIČIUS) or from the files of research institutions, which are the result of fieldwork (KONDRATIUK).

2. The historical background

The fact that today there are genetically (Major)[6]-Lithuanian surnames in Poland is due to our shared history. Until 1385 Lithuanian influence on the Polish anthroponomasticon was marginal (cf. RACHUBA 2010: 25). In 1385 a personal union of the kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania began more substantial anthroponymic contacts. There followed a succession of unions between Poland (which came to be known as the Crown) and Lithuania. By force of one of them for instance, in Horodło of 1413, selected Lithuanian nobles, 47 in total, were adopted into Polish heraldic families and were granted Polish coats of arms.

Finally, in 1569 the so-called real union (the Lublin Union) took place, leading to the emergence of the Commonwealth of Two Nations. The Commonwealth was ruled by a single elected monarch who carried out the duties of King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, It was a multinational, multicultural and multi-denominational polity that at its largest stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The southern territories of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) came under direct administration by the Polish Crown and soon the Ruthenian language was replaced by Polish as a chancellery language. The Lublin Union

[3] A possible reason might have been the fact that the language of Smoczyński's article was French. Another reason might be the fact that to explore the topic with some degree of credibility, a working knowledge of Lithuanian alongside Polish is required as a minimum prerequisite; TRYPUĆKO (1982: 16) suggests that the topic best be left to professional Lithuanists-onomasticians.

[4] Towns in north-eastern Poland.

[5] *Powszechny Elektroniczny System Ewidencji Ludności,* Universal Electronic System for Registration of the Population. It comprises all permanent residents of Poland, as well as temporary residents living in Poland for over 2 months.

[6] Lithuania Major *(Didžioji Lietuva)* is a term used to refer to the part of Lithuania that in the 19th c. belonged to the Russian Empire (earlier was within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), especially in contrast with Lithuania Minor *(Mažoji Lietuva),* i.e. Prussian Lithuania.

in general accelerated the process of Polonization, especially of Lithuanian nobility. There also followed migrations between Lithuania and the Crown. The Lithuanian city of Vilnius became at the same time also an important centre of the Polish cultural life.

The chancellery language of the Commonwealth was until 1697 Ruthenian (also called Old Byelorussian). The impact of Ruthenian, not only before 1697 but also later, contributed to the fact that borrowings from Lithuanian arrived into Polish via Ruthenian (cf. SMOCZYŃSKI 1984: 180). Polish, which at the end of the 17th c. superseded Ruthenian in the function of an official language of records, was at the time a language of high prestige, and as such it gradually gained ground at the expense of Lithuanian, which, incidentally, never obtained the status of chancellery language in the GDL. Bit by bit Lithuanian came to be identified with peasants, though it must be remembered that ethnographic Lithuania constituted only some part of the Grand Duchy at its largest. In 1528 Lithuanians (i.e. Samogitians and Aukštaitians) constituted approximately one third of the population of GDL, around the time of the Lublin Union – at least 50%, while after the Great Northern War (1700–1721) and a bout of the bubonic plague of 1709–1711 they accounted for merely 30% of the population of GDL, only to diminish to 25% shortly before the partitions (cf. RACHUBA 2010: 26–31).

One also has to note that Lithuanian was one of those languages that SUBAČIUS 2002 referred to as late-standard languages. The dialect selection took place in the 19th century (the exact timing varies, depending on the scholar). The codification of Lithuanian spelling started only in the second half of the 19th century.

The Commonwealth was to last until the last decade of the 18th century, when three consecutive partitions among Prussia, Russia and the Habsburg empire brought it to an end. Before that happened, many of the surnames of Lithuanian origin had already become morphologically, phonetically and graphically assimilated into the native name stock, and the effects of that process continued in the 19th century.

Not so with surnames from Lithuania Minor, which as a territorial concept emerged only in the 16th century. It never historically constituted part of the Commonwealth, but belonged to Prussia, and since 1872 – to unified Germany, becoming part of the independent Republic of Lithuania only in 1923. Today's existence of such surnames in Poland is probably due to population movements, e.g. within Prussia in the 19th century. Thus most of the surnames of Lithuanian origin in contemporary Poland are of Lithuanian origin in the sense of Greater Lithuania.

In the meantime, Polish surnames evolved gradually from patronyms, nicknames, bynames, toponymic descriptions and coats of arms; all these helped additionally identify an individual. The landed gentry generally started using inheritable surnames in the 15th–16th centuries, while among peasants they were not widespread until the 18th century. The last group to acquire fixed surnames was the Jews in the 19th century, and this took place on the orders of the administrations of partitioning powers (Prussia/Germany, Russia, the Habsburg Empire).

In the aftermath of WW1, Poland regained independence after 123 years of partitions. In the years 1922–1939 (de facto since 1920) the Vilnius region belonged to Poland. It was, among others, from that area that large numbers of people (approximately 6 hundred thousand people) declaring Polish nationality were resettled to Poland after WW2. This fact largely contributed to the present-day existence and geographical distribution of surnames of Lithuanian origin.

3. The division of surnames

Smoczyński 1982b[7] divides Polish surnames of Lithuanian origin into groups according to their origin (so according to semantic criteria, or to the character of the word that motivates them):

I. Surnames that come from given names
   1. genetically Lithuanian (Baltic) names
      – originating from full dithematic names: *Butrym* < *Butrimas,*[8] *Dowgird* < *Daugirdas,*
      – originating from abbreviated dithematic names: *Butejkis* < *Butas,*
   2. foreign (Christian) names (in their Lithuanian version): *Grygołojć, Grygołajtys* < *Grigalius* ‘Gregory’, *Adomajtis* < *Adomaitis* < *Adomas* ‘Adam’

II. Surnames that come from nicknames (according to Smoczyński they constitute the biggest group that comprises several hundred surnames), including
   – occupations: *Dojlido* < *Dailyda* < *dailyda, dailidė* ‘carpenter’,
   – ethnic names: *Żemajtis* < *Žemaitis* < *žemaitis* ‘Samogitian’,
   – names of animals: *Gajdzis* < *Gaidys* < *gaidys* ‘rooster’,
   – names of plants: *Smilgin* < *Smilginas* < *smilga* ‘kind of grass’,

[7] Considering the date of its publication, neither *Lietuvių pavardžių žodynas* (1985–1989) nor PESEL-based data (early 1990s) could have been used in the article, which makes it even more ground-breaking.

[8] The stress on Lithuanian names or appellatives is not indicated in this article; the interested reader is referred to LPŽ or to Lithuanian dictionaries.

– names of objects: *Szkiłądź* < *Skilandis* < *skilandis* ‘kind of sausage’,
– names of body parts: *Barzdo* < *Barzda* < *barzda* ‘beard’,
– personal traits: *Aksztel* < *Aukštelis* < *aukštas* ‘tall, high’.

It could be argued that the above division might be extended by two additional categories. One of them would be toponymic surnames derived from the Polish exonyms equivalent to Lithuanian place-names. These surnames are usually characterised by the onomastic toponymic formants *-ski, -cki/-dzki,* were originally indicative of possession of the village in question, and due to the existence of the *-ski (-cki/-dzki)* suffix are considered model, “ideal” Polish surnames: *Tendziagolski* < *Tendziagoła, Tondziagoła, Tandziagoła* (Lith. *Tendžiogala,* earlier *Tandžiogala*); *Tawrogiński, Taurogiński* < *Tawroginy* ~ *Tauroginy* ~ *Tauroginie* (Lith. *Tauragnai*); *Bujwicki* < *Bujwidze* (Lith. *Buivydžiai*) or *Bujwidy* (Lith. *Buivydai*); *Łabonarski* < *Łabonary* (Lith. *Labanoras*); *Olicki* < *Olita* (Lith. *Alytus*); *Bieniakoński* < *Bieniakonie* (Lith. *Benekainys*).

The surnames ending with -s*ki, -cki/-dzki* in later centuries enjoyed so much prestige that they came to be formed from appellatives, professions, given names, bigger towns (which cannot have been in the possession of the surname-bearer), etc., thus losing their toponymic-possessive sense. What is more, they were later assumed by lower classes too, despite the attempts of the gentry to ban such “usurpation”. This phenomenon of structural Polonisation is visible in the surnames of Lithuanian origin too: *Narudzki* < *Naruć* < *Narutis, Norutis* < *naras* ‘a kind of wading bird’; *Pilwiński* < *Pilvinskas* < *pilvas* ‘stomach, belly’; *Budelski* < *budelis* ‘executioner’ (but possibly also a toponymic motivation: *Budele* < *Budeliai*); *Powiłański* < *Pavilanis*, *Povilonis* < *Povilas*, *Povilius* ‘Paul’.

The other category would be hybrid surnames in which the stem is genetically Polish, but the inflectional ending – Lithuanian: *Makauskas (< Makowski), Kowalauskas (< Kowalewski), Kwaśniauskas (< Kwaśniewski), Kalinauskas (< Kalinowski), Swidinskas (< Swidziński?), Januszajtis ~ Januszanis ~ Januszas (< Janusz).* Granted, there are not many such surnames in official use, although many more are used informally by the Lithuanian minority in north-eastern Poland.

This brings us to the possible division of the surnames of Lithuanian origin in Polish according to structural-morphological criteria into the following: 1. Lithuanian stem, but no suffix or inflectional ending: *Kuprel (< Kuprelis), Gruzdź (< Gruzdas), Bujwid (< Buivydas);* 2. Lithuanian stem and (preserved) Lithuanian suffix or inflectional ending: *Burbulis (< Burbulis), Czepulonis (< Čepulonis, Čepulionis), Kubilius (< Kubilius), Gajdzis (< Gaidys,* dial. *Gaidžys), Raubo (< Rauba, Riauba);* 3. Lithuanian stem and Polish suffix: *Narkiewicz* (cf. the Lithuanian surnames *Narkus, Narkys, Narkis*), *Ajdyszewski*

(< ap. *aidas* ‘echo’, cf. the Lithuanian surnames *Aidas, Aidikis*), *Kiewlak* (< ap. *kiaulė* ‘pig; a shameless, impolite, dirty person’, *kiaulis, kiaulys* ‘pig, hog’, cf. the Lithuanian surnames *Kiaulis, Kiaulys*); 4. Polish stem and Lithuanian suffix: *Tomaszunas* (< Polish name *Tomasz* ‘Thomas’), *Żukauskas* (< Polish surname *Żukowski* < Polish ap. *żuk* ‘beetle’), *Slovikas* (< Polish surname *Słowik* < Polish ap. *słowik* ‘nightingale’); 5. Lithuanian stem, Polish suffix, Lithuanian suffix: *Rudzevicius* (< Lithuanian surname *Rudys* + Polish suffix *-wicz* + Lithuanian inflectional ending *-(i)us*).

Phonetic adaptations will not be discussed here, especially considering that the reader can find an in-depth discussion of them in Smoczyński 1982b. Moreover, as the said author notes, they are generally the same as those operant in the case of hydronyms and other toponyms. However, the morphological adaptations merit a mention. Smoczyński outlines two options: the disappearance of the endings *-as, -is, -us* (but the word-final *-a* is preserved, rendered in Polish as *-a* or *-o*); the replacement of the patronymic suffixes *-aitis*, *-ėnas*, *-onis* with their Polish equivalents *-owicz*, *-(i)ewicz* and *-aniec.*

As regards the spelling, certain interesting phenomena appear alongside the regular letter correspondences. For instance, secondary graphic Polonisation occasionally takes place: *Józepajtis* (cf. Lithuanian *Juozapas* vs. Polish *Józef* ‘Joseph’). Conversely, Lithuanian spelling may influence the Polish one: *Piurko*. There is also high spelling variability: Lithuanian *Ašmonaitis* > Polish *Aszmoneit, Aszmonejt, Aszmunajt;* Lithuanian *Eismantas ~ Eismuntas ~ Eismontas* > Polish *Ejsmond, Ejsmondt, Ejsmont, Ejsmontt, Ejsmund, Ejsmundt, Ejsmunt, Ejssymont, Ejsymond, Ejsymont, Ejsymontt, Eysimont, Eysimunt, Eysmont, Eysmontt, Eysymont, Eysymonth, Eysymontt.*[9]

4. The contemporary geographical distribution of Lithuanian-origin surnames

Many valuable contributions focus on the surnames of north-eastern Poland (e.g. Abramowicz et al. 1997–1998, Citko 1998, 2001, Dacewicz 2001, Kondratiuk 1990, 2000, Marcinkiewicz 2003, Pacenko 2000, Tichoniuk 1988, Zinkievičius 2010). However, due to the complicated post-war history, surnames of Lithuanian origin can also be found in abundance in the so-called “Recovered Territories”. In fact, their contemporary presence in the west or north of Poland (rather than in its south-east) may be a factor that increases the likelihood of finding them to be of Lithuanian provenance. The so-called “Recovered Territories”, as they used to be officially called by the Communist

[9] This surname was first recorded in 1450 in its derivative form *Эйсімонтовіч.* Interestingly, according to Rymut (1999: 178), its origin is German *Eismund: Eis(en)* ‘iron’ and *munt* ‘protection, defence’.

propaganda, are the former German lands that in the aftermath of WW2 were given to Poland in compensation for the eastern territories lost after the war to the Soviet Union.

However, irrespectively of the post-war migrations, genetically Lithuanian surnames can also be found in the north-east of Poland – the Suwałki region, especially the Punsk municipality (Pol. gmina) – where Lithuanians constitute autochthonous population. It is the unofficial Lithuanian-language surnames of the Lithuanian minority in Poland (as well as, conversely, the Polish-language surnames of the Polish minority in Lithuania) that may serve as aid in discovering Lithuanian etymology in the Polish anthroponomasticon.

Needless to say, Lithuanian surnames may also be encountered non-characteristically in big cities (especially Warsaw), due to migrations in search of education and/or work.

5. Surnames from *Didžioji Lietuva* vs. those from *Mažoji Lietuva*

As mentioned above, in today's Poland, for historical reasons, the surnames from GDL far outnumber those from Lithuania Minor. The latter (cf. WALKOWIAK 2017b) constitute a set hardly visible in the Polish anthroponomasticon: about three hundred surnames, borne by approximately three thousand people. The former, by contrast, are decidedly more numerous – at least 5.5 thousand surnames. Poland differs in that respect from Germany, where the surnames from Lithuania Minor account for the bulk of those of Lithuanian origin in that country (cf. SCHILLER 2008). As SCHILLER notes, these surnames typically end with *-eit, -at, -is, -ies, -us, -uhn.* The most easily identifiable ones in Germany are those ending in *-eit*/*-at* (e.g. *Wowereit, Broschat*), which is the result of the reduction of the Lithuanian patronymic suffix *-aitis.* This "model" character of the *-eit*/*-ejt*/*-ait*/*-ajt*/*-at* surnames constitutes the basis for the identification of similar surnames in Poland (e.g. *Butkereit, Dawidejt, Abromait, Szakajt, Matschulat, Dirwelat*).

Nevertheless, the surnames from Lithuania Major may also, similarly to those from Lithuania Minor, be characterised by suffix reduction: *Barsul (< Barsulis), Jawtok (< Jautakas), Łukuć (< Lukutis), Balun (< Baliunas ~ Baliūnas).* This morphophonetic adaptation may result in a kind of surnominal quasi-suffix *-ojć* or *-ajć* from Lithuanian *-aitis: Andryłojć (< Andrilaitis), Masojć (< Masaitis), Giedrojć (< Giedraitis), Pawlukojć (< Pauliukaitis), Adamajć (< Adamaitis).* Some Polish surnames end with *-uć,* from Lithuanian *-utis: Kołpuć (< *Kauputis), Kukuć (< Kukutis).*[10] Another surnominal quasi-suffix is *-ądź* from Lithuanian *-andis: Bołądź (< Balandis).* The surnames ending in *-us* do

[10] For more on the *-utis/-uć* names, see TRYPUĆKO 1982.

not seem to have undergone that kind of reduction: *Balczus (< Balčius)*. On the other hand, there are surnames in use in contemporary Poland that underwent only graphic adaptation, without suffix reduction: *Macełajtis (< Macelaitis), Szałtynis (< Šaltinis)*. Finally, it must be mentioned that non-Lithuanian suffixes may have been added to stems of Lithuanian origin: *-owicz/-(i)ewicz* (cf. Smoczyński 1982b: 446): *(Dajnarowicz, Butylewicz, Lenkiewicz), -ski/ -owski/-ewski/-cki/-dzki (Kumelski, Butrymowski, Czepelewski, Dowżycki, Arabudzki), -enko (Dajlidzienko);* in the case of *-uk* it might be difficult to determine if this is of Lithuanian, Ukrainian or Polish origin *(Stepuk, Struk, Bryżuk)*.

An example of the morphological and orthographic variety of surnames traceable to a single motivation may be the set of Polish surnames ultimately motivated by the Lithuanian appellative *šiaudinis* 'made of straw; of the colour of straw; of poor quality, fake – as in *šiaudinis patriotas* – a bogus patriot' and the related plant name *šiaudenis* (Eng. and Lat. *Anthericum*), cf. the contemporary Lithuanian surname *Šiaudinis, Šiaudenis: Szaudinis* (partial graphic adaptation of *šiaudinis*); *Szawdzinis* (higher degree of graphic adaptation); *Szawdyn* (graphic adaptation with deletion of Lithuanian ending); *Szawdzin* (higher degree of graphic adaptation, deletion of Lithuanian ending); *Szawdenis* (various degrees of graphic adaptation of *šiaudenis*); *Szaudzianis* (higher degree of graphic adaptation); *Szawdzianiec* (graphic adaptation, replacement of *-anis* with Polish surname suffix *-aniec*); *Szawdyński* (graphic adaptation, Polish surname suffix *-ski*).

A disclaimer is necessary at this point. All the remarks about the graphic adaptation refer to the contemporary Lithuanian spelling, which underwent codification, as mentioned above, only in the latter half of the 19th century. Earlier the spelling was in certain ways more similar to the contemporary Polish one (e.g. including the letter *w* or the digraph *sz*), and in Lithuania Minor certain features, which made the spelling more similar to that of the Polish language, persevered until WW1.

6. Problem issues in the process of identifying surnames of Lithuanian origin in the Polish anthroponomasticon

Several areas of potential problems arise when one is trying to identify genetically Lithuanian surnames, since it is not always easy to decide whether a particular surname out of nearly half a million currently in use in Poland is of Lithuanian or non-Lithuanian origin, also considering the fact that the surname bearers are usually ignorant of their surnames' etymology (even if they can confirm that their ancestors in the male line come from the east or north-east). Several factors come into play and may be indicative of such origin, but equally well

might be misleading. For instance, many Greek surnames borne today by Polish citizens[11] are superficially similar to Lithuanian ones: *Petrupis, Arkumanis, Daniludis, Cziurakis, Bakirdzis, Tananis, Jotis, Karkanis, Rekaitis, Dudulakis* (with its possible derivative *Dudulak*), *Mucujanis, Delid(i)akis, Kamplioni(s), Kaponis, Tarsudis, Prodanis, Torpilas, Kotjamanis, Servanis, Wurazanis, Burdukis, Sarulakis, Kujumdzys.* An example of a tiny difference between a Greek name and a Lithuanian one is that between *Kalergis (Καλλέργης)* and *Kaczergis* (*Kačergis, Kačergius,* from the Lithuanian slavicism *kačérga* 'poker; stirrer, mixing piece; a tall man).

On the other hand, several personal names, present in Lithuania since time immemorial, are neither Baltic nor Slavic. A case in point might be the surname which has been recorded in Lithuania as *Blinstriūbas, Blinstrubas, Blinstrubinas, Blinstrubis, Blinstrubys, Blinstrumas, Blinstrupas, Blinstruvas,* and in Poland as *Blinstrub, Blinstrubas, Brendstrup.* According to Gloger (1900), in 1789 the surname *Blinstrub* belonged to one of the most numerous families in Samogitia. In fact it is probably not Lithuanian but Germanic in origin, most likely Danish (cf. German *Brönstrup* and Danish *Brænstrup, Blenstrup*).[12] The contacts between Baltic and Germanic ethnoses in the past were frequent, including also the so-called Northern (Baltic) Crusades in the 12th and 13th centuries, which fact may account for the emergence of such a name. Another example is *Kirkor,* the surname attested in Lithuania as early as 1549 (Konarski 1963: 6, 9). In fact, however, the name is probably of Armenian origin (cf. Konarski 1963: 7, Buczyński 1989: 72, 80, 81).

The next problem in delineating the domain of Lithuanian-origin surnames (or, wider, personal names) is the fact that it often may be difficult to separate them from those that originated in Latvian or other Baltic languages (Prussian, Yotvingian). For that very reason scholars sometimes cautiously write about surnames or personal names of Baltic origin, in order not to have to opt for a specific Baltic language. A case in point might be Kondratiuk (cf. 2004: 16, 18, 19), who writes interchangeably about surnames of Lithuanian and Baltic origin: "As the basis for isolating within the sets of all anthroponyms the surnames of *Baltic* origin, I assumed only the surnames derived from *Lithuanian* appellatives" (Kondratiuk 2004: 21, emphasis added), but the tendency is widespread. There are indeed surnames in Poland that raise doubts as to their Lithuanian or Latvian provenience: *Żardzin, Wiliwis, Baksza,* but also as to their Lithuanian vs. Prussian roots: *Bajgot, Diwan.*

[11] They owe their existence mostly to the influx of Greek war refugees who arrived in Poland in the years 1949–1951 and, similarly to migrants from eastern borderlands, were settled in the "Recovered Territories".

[12] The inflectional ending *-as* was added to the name after 1918, cf. https://www.blinstrubas.com/index/en/, where more genealogical information can be found.

Yet another issue is surname homonymy. As discussed in more detail in Walkowiak (2017a), the present shape of quite many surnames does not allow conclusions with a high degree of certainty about the language of their origin. Examples abound; they include, among others, the surnames *Balewski, Byliński, Bylicki, Czyż, Dobkiewicz, Gulba, Kruk, Pieczuła, Tarnowicz, Wojdat, Wojna, Żagiel(l)*. On the other hand, however, there are other surnames whose contemporary shape is still highly semantically transparent from the point of view of the Lithuanian language: *Czywilis, Miszkiń, Niewulis, Papakul, Parplys, Piewiszkis, Pojawis, Spurgis, Batygolski.*

There are at least two theoretically possible ways of finding surnames of Lithuanian origin in the Polish anthroponomasticon. One is the analysis of the Polish PESEL-based data and the comparison of the potentially promising surnames with their likely Lithuanian equivalents (e.g. in the Lithuanian surname dictionary). The opposite procedure consists in taking LPŽ or some other Lithuanian surname database as the point of departure, trying to identify their Polish equivalents in the onomasticon. However, the Lithuanian data are not complete (i.e. LPŽ, as is well known, does not include all the surnames in use in Lithuania), while the contemporary PESEL data do not include some surnames of Lithuanian origin which, although still in use before WW2, are extinct in today's Poland. These include *Wojstomski* (< place name *Wojstom,* Lith. *Vaistamas*), *Wiwulski* (< place name *Wiwule,* Lith. *Vivuliai*), or *Łowmiański* (Lith. *Laumiánskas, Lauménskas,* cf. the place name *Łowmiany,* Lith. *Laumenai*).[13]

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[13] Several villages or hamlets by that name.

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Abstract

No country is an isolated entity: a plethora of "alien bodies" in the surname stock of particular nation-states can be found even today, to say nothing of former times. This is also true of the contemporary Polish anthroponomasticon, where among other borrowings one can also find surnames of Lithuanian origin. In view of the lack of any statistics, own research reveals at least 5.5 thousand such surnames in use (out of the total 400 thousand), including about 300 surnames whose morphological shape suggests their Lithuania Minor provenience.

Today's existence in Poland of genetically (Major-)Lithuanian surnames is due to the shared past, i.e. the succession of unions between Poland (the Crown) and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the years 1385–1569, which resulted in the emergence of a multinational, multicultural and multi-denominational Commonwealth that ended partitioned among Russia, Prussia and the Habsburg Empire at the close of the 18th century. Many of these surnames became morphologically, phonetically and graphically assimilated into the native name stock.

Not so with surnames from Lithuania Minor, which was never historically part of Poland. Today's existence of those surnames is caused by population movements, e.g. within Prussia in the 19th century.

Keywords: Lithuanian anthroponomastic heritage, Lithuanian surnames, Lithuania, Lithuania Minor, Polish surnames

Milan Harvalík

Czech First Names of Foreign Origin as Witnesses of Multicultural Contacts in Central Europe

1. Introduction

The territory of the contemporary Czech Republic has always been one of those areas where members of various nations and ethnic groups have come into close contact and this fact is reflected in the Czech anthroponyms, among which it is possible to find many names of foreign origin.

Czech onomastics have always paid attention to research into personal names and this has led to the discovery of a number of important pieces of information in the areas of both synchrony and diachrony. Thanks to this, the development of Czech given names and surnames has been thoroughly described, as has the contribution which personal names from foreign languages have made to the formation of both of these anthroponymic systems (Beneš 1962, 1998, Harvalík 2012, Knappová 1989, 2003–2004, 2008, 2017, Knappová–Harvalík 1997, Kopečný 1991, Moldanová 2004, Pleskalová 1998, 2007, 2013, 2015, Svoboda 1964).

2. The Development of the System of Czech Given Names

2.1. The Earliest Periods

In the earliest periods, which were initially still pagan, people only had one name and Slavic names were predominantly used. However, foreign names, especially German ones which were variously adapted into Czech *(Oldřich* from the original *Uodalrích; Adalbert, Konrád, Ota* and *Jindřich* from the original *Heimerich* or *Haganrich; Bedřich* from the original *Friduríhhi),* began to enter the Czech lands at that time as a consequence of the nascent international relations and the political marriages between members of the ruling house of Přemyslid and a number of foreign princesses and with German colonisation, especially urban.

2.2. The First Wave of Christian Names

Christianity made its way to the Czech lands from the 9th century onwards and it brought with it the so-called first wave of Christian names in the 13th century. Names such as *Bohuslav* ('to God be the Glory'), *Křižan* (from the common noun *kříž* 'cross') formed in accordance with Slavic customs or the literally translated *(Theofil – Bohumil)* became a verbal expression of the

acceptance of Christianity. In addition, names of foreign origin also began to be domesticated; these included Hebrew names *(Daniel, Jan* and *Jakub),* Greek names *(Ondřej* from the original *Andrea; Mikuláš* from the original *Nikoláos; Jiří* from the original *Geòrgios; Petr;* and *Řehoř* from the original *Grégòrios)* and Latin names *(Pavel* from the original *Paulus; Silvestr; Florián)*. The use of Christian names was initially limited to monasteries and the clergy, while they also occasionally appeared in aristocratic families. As such, this mainly involved male names.

2.3. The Second Wave of Christian Names

The further significant dissemination of ecclesiastical Christian names especially occurred in the Czech lands during the Gothic period, in the 14th century. This involved the so-called second wave of Christian names. Slavic names took a back seat and the cult of the saints, which was substantially promoted by the Catholic Church, began to spread: it was only possible to use names from the Roman martyrology from the mid-16th century onwards. At that time, some names were used at all levels of society, in towns and in the countryside (for example *Petr, Jan, Mikuláš, Tomáš, Matěj, Marek, Markéta, Kateřina, Anna* and *Klára*), while others were stratified by class: for example, the nobility used names such as *Albert, Heřman, Jakub, Oldřich, Ondřej, Jaroslav, Eliška, Dorota* and *Žofie,* while names such as *Aleš, Diviš, Jitka* and *Marta* also appeared among the bourgeoisie.

2.4. Humanism and the Renaissance

No significant changes occurred until the period of humanism and the renaissance (the 16th century), when older names such as *Vojtěch* (of Slavic origin, the name of a saint) and *Jiří* gained new popularity. Old Testament names (*Ámos* etc.) began to reappear in the Czech lands under the influence of the reformation, as did several Latin and Greek names *(Veronika, Lukrécie, Helena, Maxmilián, August and Julius)*. The use of two Christian names began to be applied to a greater extent in the 16th century. The use of two names was initially limited to the aristocracy, but it later also spread among the common folk. Multiple names enabled the acquisition of more patron saints (“guardians”), the honouring of more relatives etc.

As the numbers of inhabitants increased, it became necessary to further differentiate between people due to the relatively small number of available Christian names. For this reason, various other designations of individuals began to appear from the 13th century onwards. These diverse, so-called non-hereditary names gradually transformed into hereditary surnames. This process was completed in the 18th century during the reign of Emperor Joseph II, when

the name and surname became the official designation of a person, whereby the surname has held its predominant status since that time.

2.5. The Baroque Period

The baroque period brought substantial changes in the 18th century. The third wave of Christian names was instigated by the cult of the Virgin Mary and Saint Joseph and was associated with the dissemination of the names *Marie* and *Josef*. Names such as *Terezie, Karel, František* (from the Italian *Francesco*) or *Antonín* also began to appear as a result of the canonisation of new baroque saints. The dissemination of these names was also assisted by the example of the House of Habsburg. Its members pushed aside the older names (with the exception of the names of the saints and that of the patron saint of the Czech lands, *Wenceslas (Václav),* and also the name *Jan*). The fashion wave also introduced the women's names *Karolína, Viktorie, Eleonora* and once again *Barbora* and feminised names of the baroque saints; *Josefa (Josefína), Františka, Karla* and *Antonie.* Baroque names also began to spread among the rural folk.

The preserved records show that from the 13th century to the first half of the 19th century the most common male names were *Jan, Petr, Mikuláš, Jiří* (from the 15th century), *Václav, Martin, Ondřej, Tomáš, Jakub, Matěj, Pavel, Adam* (from the 16th century), *Josef, František, Karel* and *Antonín* (from the 18th century) and that the most frequently appearing female names were *Kateřina, Anna, Dorota, Markéta, Alžběta, Klára, Ludmila, Magdaléna, Barbora* and *Marie* (from the 18th century), i.e. names of foreign origin with the exception of the names of the Czech saints, *Václav* and *Ludmila.* The popularity and frequency of the individual names were, of course, variable in individual periods and territories.

2.6. The Czech National Revival, the First Czechoslovak Republic (1918–1938), the Second Republic (1938–1939) and the Second World War (1939–1945)

The so-called national revival took place in the Czech lands from the end of the 18th century and especially during the 19th century. Interest in the language, history and culture of the Czech nation increased greatly within society and the use of Czech names (toponyms and anthroponyms) was seen as an expression of patriotism. Patriotic sentiment therefore also influenced the choice of given names. Old Czech and broadly Slavic names, which were seen as national names, were revived and new names were also created according to their example.

Even though national names (Slavic and Czech) were used substantially, they were significantly dispersed and the names *Josef, Jan, František, Václav* (a Czech name), *Antonín* and *Karel* maintained their leading positions (albeit in a changing order) and were then followed by the Slavic names *Jaroslav, Bohumil, Ladislav, Miroslav* and *Zdeněk.* In the case of female names, *Marie, Anna, Kateřina, Josefa, Antonie* and *Františka* alternated in the leading positions, later followed by *Božena, Věra, Vlasta, Růžena, Zdeňka, Jarmila, Libuše, Jiřina, Ludmila, Hana, Eva* and *Milada.* In general, the countryside was more conservative than the town, where the influence of western fashion was greater and names such as *Eleonora, Filoména* and *Eufrozína* became widespread.

2.7. The Third Czechoslovak Republic (1945–1948) and the Communist Period (1948–1989)

After 1945, the significant historical and social changes in Czechoslovakia also led to changes in the repertoire of the used given names. The occupational, social and local differences (including those between the town and the countryside) in the selection of names were wiped away and the influence of the church disappeared. However, family traditions were preserved. The selection of names was governed by the given registry regulations. Period social popularity, taste and fashion played a significant part during the selection, as did all domestic and international social, cultural, sport and other events. This led to the significant revival of names such as *Martin, Michal, Tomáš, Jakub, Ondřej, Kateřina, Markéta, Zuzana, Barbora* and *Lucie* (all of non-Slavic origins), some of which had been popular earlier and had then been displaced by baroque names. New foreign names entered the entire territory of Czechoslovakia, both from the Slavic area, for example *Igor, Galina* and *Soňa,* and from the West, such as *Monika, Renáta, Iveta, Ivona, Nikol(a), Andrea, Patrik* and *René.* Oriental names such as *Aram, Faris* and *Lejla* also began to appear in Czechoslovakia due to the influence of the expansion of international relations with countries of the so-called Third World which resulted, for example, in foreigners studying or undertaking business in the country.

2.8. The System of Czech Given Names after 1989 and the Tendencies of Its Development

After 1989, important changes occurred in the political, social and economic life of Czechoslovakia and subsequently the Czech Republic. They influenced various areas of the life of society and consequently also had an impact on the variation and enrichment of the repertoire of names chosen for newly born children. The newly open possibilities to travel to various areas in the world provided Czech citizens with unprecedented modern contacts with foreign-

speaking areas and foreign nations and cultures which influenced them during the selection of the names of their children. The repertoire of names gradually became internationalized, globalized and it expanded, both in the system of male and female names.

One of the modern motifs for selecting names is the fact that the further revival or introduction of biblical, Old Testament and Jewish names such as *Joshua, Eliáš* and *Abigail* occurred in the Czech Republic under the influence of Western European or North American fashion. Interest in the Celts and their culture, religion etc. gave rise to the selection of names such as *Brian, Kevin* and *Jenifer.* The selection of names has also been motivated by various foreign films and, in particular, television series: this involves names such as *Esmeralda, Kasandra, Pandora* and *Cedrik.* Names such as *Damon* or *Samanta,* for example, have been taken from the world of culture or sport. Names used in other Slavic languages, no matter whether originally of Slavic or other origin *(Lenek, Srdjan, Oresta* and *Oksana)* and of Greek origin *(Stavros* and *Kiriaki)* have also fluidly entered the Czech Republic, albeit that they are most frequently selected for children from families with ties to the given ethnic group.

New names which are not yet common in Czech have also appeared as a consequence of the establishment of multinational, mixed-parent couples, in which one parent is a citizen of the Czech Republic and the other comes from a different language area. Such a parent usually wants to name the child according to the family, ethnic, national, religious or cultural traditions which he or she comes from. They are usually people, with whom Czech citizens have become acquainted during a stay abroad or foreigners who are studying, looking for work, political asylum or a quieter way of life etc. in the Czech Republic and who have immigrated to the Czech Republic from various corners of the world.

This is substantiated by the selection of Islamic names. Parents who choose these names for their children come from various areas in Africa, such as Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia etc., from Saudi Arabia, Turkey and from other Asian countries, where Islam is practised, but also from Albania or the Muslim areas of the former Yugoslavia. Hence, Arabic male names such as *Hasan, Akram, Ilham* and *Ramiz* and female names such as *Manal*, *Salma* and *Amira* and Turkish male names *Jasam, Kemal* and *Tarkan* and female names *Ardita, Nihal* and *Melike* have all appeared in the Czech Republic. Albanian names include, for example, the male names *Arben, Ilir* and *Flamur* and the female names *Ardita, Emina* and *Rinore.*

Names from various eastern Asian teachings chosen by followers of Buddhism, Hinduism etc. (for example, the male names *Kumara, Madan* and *Surga* and the female names *Anahita, Sávitrí* and *Hotmida*) have entered the Czech language from Asia. A special group consists of diverse indigenous African names which

come from a variety of large and small language groups. These include, for example, the male names *Adebajo, Kofi* and *Osaze* and the female names *Akua, Oluremi* and *Mojisola.*

Vietnamese names chosen for newborns in the Czech Republic, whose both parents or one of whose parents comes from Vietnam, constitute a special language group. Armenian, Mongolian, Japanese, Chinese and American native names etc. have also entered the Czech Republic to a lesser extent.

It is necessary to add that many mixed parental couples resolve their interest in using names from the aforementioned languages and geographical areas by choosing two different names, whereby one comes, for example, from an African or Asian country and the other is common in Europe. As a result, combinations such as *Tomáš Amjad, Karel Takeo, Jana Sydney* and *Ayla Suzanne* have appeared. The interest in names written in accordance with the principles of the Czech phonetic and orthographic system is on the wane and this has enabled regular users of Czech to achieve the relatively precisely audibly reproduce the name in question in Czech, while the names are registered in their foreign-language orthographic forms. In the case of names which are not written using the Latin alphabet (for example those written in Arabic), the English or French transcriptions are frequently selected (for example, *Aíša* in Czech is *Aisha* in English, *Aissa* in French and *Aischa* in German).

It can be expected that the names which began to enter Czech in the aforementioned manner after 1989 will remain relatively limited to a specific set of users, who choose them on religious, ethnic, family or cultural grounds, because the choice is a linguistically or socially prestigious matter for them. Citizens of the Czech Republic choose them less frequently on the basis of individual impetuses arising from travels and contact with different language and cultural environments.

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Abstract

Contacts between people speaking different languages can have a wide variety of outcomes and one of them can be traced in the system of proper names. The territory of the present Czech Republic has always belonged to areas where members of various nations and ethnic groups have come to close contacts. That fact is also reflected in the Czech anthroponymy where many names of foreign origin can be found.

The penetration of foreign personal names into the Czech lands had begun already before the 13th century and has continued in several waves until present days, as a consequence of international relations along with great historical and societal upheavals connected with political, economic and cultural changes.

Apart from the names of domestic origin, the system of Czech first names include a large amount of names of biblical (Hebraic, Greek, Latin) and German origin, but, among others, also names from Romance languages, names from the Slavic area and – especially in last years – names from English, Muslim names, names from various African languages and Asian (particularly Vietnamese) names.

This paper analyses the above-mentioned development of the system of Czech first names and foreign elements in them in greater detail.

Keywords: Onomastics, Czech language, personal names, first names

Oliviu Felecan

Transylvania – A Toponymic Perspective

1. Theoretical hypothesis

To study Transylvania from the viewpoint of onomastics is a borderline, interdisciplinary scientific enterprise, a theoretical, methodological and practical endeavour that consists of linguistics, geography, history, sociology and psychology among others. For nearly a thousand years, the intra-Carpathian area has proven to be a multi-ethnic, multicultural, plurilingual and multiconfessional space, an aspect that is also salient on the level of onomastics.

2. Delineating the space investigated

Transylvanian space can be construed in two ways. In the narrow sense, it refers to the plateau enclosed by the Eastern Carpathians, the Southern Carpathians and the Apuseni Mountains. In a broad sense, Transylvania could be considered to include the border regions of Banat, Crișana and Maramureș, where the influence of neighbouring languages (Hungarian, Serbian and Ukrainian) is strongly felt, especially in relation to phonetics, regional vocabulary and proper names.

3. Transylvania – historical framework

To grasp the best picture of Transylvanian specificity in matters of toponymy, a diachronic study is needed. This is the only kind of research that can shed light on the successive language strata which contributed to the formation of contemporary onomastic landscape.

In Romania, like in other geographical areas, onomastics offers evidence for the ethnolinguistic particularity that resulted from the cohabitation or passage of several peoples through the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space. Thus, in Transylvania the first linguistic traces date from Thraco-Dacian, which is, like Greek and the Celtic languages, an Indo-European language. The Latin stratum is subsequent, ensuing from the century-long Roman influence and rule.[1] The withdrawal of Roman authorities was expedited by the successive waves of nomads, many of whom did not leave any traces on onomastics. The Slavs are an exception: the remarkable impact they had on the already formed Romanian language constituted its superstratum.

[1] Due to the fact that there are no accounts from the time before and during the formation of the Romanian language, it was impossible to establish toponyms of Latin origin with certainty.

In the second millennium AD, Transylvania was subject to various constant influences: Hungarian (as a result of vicinity), German (through the colonisation of the Saxons and Swabians in particular) and Modern Slavic (due to the Romanians' abutting several Slavic peoples: Ukrainian, Polish, (Czech-) Slovak, Serbian and Bulgarian).

4. Toponyms

From the viewpoint of methodology, toponyms will be analysed according to the type of place designated. Starting from the socio-geographical categories of toponyms, both macrotoponyms and microtoponyms will be considered. As regards formal structure, "one notices the preference in major toponyms for simple constructions, while minor toponyms mostly consist of derived and compound constructions" (ELR 1989: 309, orig. Romanian, my translation). By preserving words and forms from the languages of the peoples that were in contact with Transylvania, toponyms offer an irrefutable ethnolinguistic image of the multi-ethnic configuration in this part of Romania. To better understand place names, one can draw a comparison with geographical folk terminology found especially in microtoponymy. Thus, toponymic terms "fall into three distinct groups: a) general terms encountered in literary language and in most subdialects of the Romanian language; b) terms used in literary language and in some of the subdialects, but with different meanings; c) terms not employed in literary language, but with a strictly local use" (DELR 2009: 3, orig. Romanian, my translation).

Most of the terms in the first group pertain to scientific geographical terminology, with certain *vs.* debatable/controversial origin, or multiple etymology in

– the autochthonous stratum: *buză* 'peak' cf. Albanian *buzë; mal* 'bank, shore' cf. Albanian *mall* 'mountain'; *măgură* 'hill' cf. Albanian *magullë; strungă* 'peak' cf. Albanian *shtrungë;*

– Latin: *câmp* 'field' < *campus; coastă* '(hill/mountain) side' < *costa; munte* 'mountain' < *montem; râpă* 'ravine' < *ripa; râu* 'river' < *rivus;*

– Old Slavic: *slatină* 'salt-water mineral spring' < *slatina; vârf* 'peak' < *vrŭhŭ; zăvoi* 'grove' < *zavoj,* Slavic: *drum* 'road' < *drumŭ,* cf. Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian *drum; ponor* 'sinkhole' < *ponorŭ; sălişte* 'pasture' < *selište,* + Modern Slavic languages: *lan* 'field' < Ukrainian *lan; laz* 'clearing' < Ukrainian, Serbo-Croatian *laz; ogor* 'field' < Bulgarian *ugar,* Serbo-Croatian *ugar,* cf. Polish *ugor* 'fallow'; *stan* 'rock' < Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Serbian *stan; ştiubei* 'well' < Ukrainian *štub; ştioalnă* 'marshy pond' < *štol'na,* German *Stollen;*

– Hungarian: *glod* ‘mud’ < *gálád* ‘mud’; *holdă* ‘field’ < *hold* ‘yoke (unit of measurement)’; *hulă* ‘cavity’ < *hulla* ‘cavity’; *iosag* ‘land, estate’ < *jószág; imaș* ‘grassland’ < *nyomás; rât* ‘lowland’ < *rét; tău* ‘pond’ < *tó;*
– German: *șură* ‘barn’ < *Schur; troacă* ‘riverbed’ < *Trok;*
– modern languages: *scară* ‘terraced land’ < Latin *scala,* cf. French *échelle,* Italian *scala; terasă* ‘terrace’ < French *terrasse,* German *Terrasse,* cf. Italian *terrazza; teren* ‘land’ < French *terrain;*
– internal formations: *ariniș* ‘alder grove’ < *arin* ‘alder’ + suffix *-iș; podiș* ‘plateau’ < *pod* ‘bridge’ + suffix *-iș; tăietură* ‘gully; deforested land’ < *tăia* ‘to cut’ + suffix *-ătură; trecătoare* ‘pass’ < *trece* ‘to pass’ + suffix *-ătoare.*

As one can see, most toponymic terms are particularly of Latin origin, but there are some of Slavic origin as well. Put differently, they date from the old period of the formation of the Romanian language and the first subsequent centuries. The input of the other languages to folk geographical terminology is less significant and only refers to terms pertaining to microtoponymy. The historical stratification of toponyms is correlated with that of Romanian common words. The study of toponymic terms is essential because they occur in various categories of place names as determiners or heads of phrases. As Gh. Bolocan (DELR 2009: 8, orig. Romanian, my translation) pointed out, “the system of toponymic terminology in a language is tightly intertwined with the system of toponyms, and defining them can only be achieved by relating one system to the other”.

The sources of toponymisation comprise appellatives, especially general toponymic terms (*Apa* ‘the water’, *Calea* ‘the way/road’, *Măgura* ‘the hill’, *Valea* ‘the valley’) or regional ones[2] (*Bărcu* ‘grove’ – Hungarian *Nagyberek*, *Bobeica* ‘round-peak hill’, *Cristurile* < Hungarian toponym *Keresztúr* < *kereszt* ‘cross’ + *úr* ‘sir’; *Tinoasa* < *tină* ‘mud’ + suffix *-oasa*), anthroponyms (given names, nicknames and bynames: *Codlea, Harghita, Hațeg, Zagra*) and toponyms *(Oltișoru, Vatra Dornei)*.

As elements specific to multi-ethnic and border areas, one must mention multiple toponyms, which designate the same entity in different regions. Dual names are the most frequent instances of multiple toponyms. They “reveal significant diversity in relation to the historical circumstances that determined their occurrence and the linguistic mechanisms of their formation” (ELR 2001: 582–583, orig. Romanian, my translation). The most common situations are when

[2] Only words connected with Transylvanian space are mentioned.

– Romanian names are phonetically transposed into other languages: Romanian *Căprioara* > Hungarian *Kaprevár;* Romanian *Crăciunel* > Hungarian *Karácsonyfalva;* Romanian *Culăuți* > German *Kallowtze;* Romanian *Rogoz* > Ukrainian *Rogozna;*

– names in other languages are phonetically transposed into Romanian: Hungarian *Kápolna* > Romanian *Căpâlna;* Serbo-Croatian *Râșava* > Romanian *Râșaua;* German *Rotbach* > Romanian *Rotbav;* Hungarian *Vargyas* > Romanian *Vărghiș;* German *Weisskirch* > Romanian *Viscri;*

– correspondence exists between derivative or compounding elements in Romanian and other languages: Romanian *Albești* ~ Hungarian *Feriháza*/*Fehéregyháza* ~ German *Weisskirch;* Romanian *Bucureni* ~ Hungarian *Bokorfalva;* Romanian *Feldioara* ~ Hungarian *Földvár;* Romanian *Râșnov* ~ Saxon *Rosenau;*

– there are translated names: Slavic *Bălgrad* ~ Romanian *Alba Iulia* ~ Hungarian *Gyulafehérvár* ~ German *Weisenburg Stuhl;* Romanian *Râu Bărbat* (‘the man river’) ~ Hungarian *Borbátvíz;* Romanian *Valea Seacă* (‘the dry valley’) ~ Slavic *Sohodol* (Hungarian *Aranyosszohodol*).

As Ion Toma (ELR 2001: 583) underlined, multiple toponyms may also result from the different evolution of an initially unique name in two languages (Romanian *Dunăre* ~ Slavic *Dunav* ~ Hungarian *Duna;* Romanian *Mureș* ~ Hungarian *Maros*) or from the independent formation of names that are semantically unrelated: Romanian *Brașov* ~ German *Kronstadt;* Romanian *Pișchia* ~ Hungarian *Hidasliget* ~ German *Bruckenau;* German *Rotbach* ~ Hungarian *Szászveresmart;* Romanian *Teliu* ~ German *Kreuzburg.* One may also include in this category dialectal dual names with folk variants, such as *Petroșeni ~ Petroșani* and *Zalău ~ Zălau.* A special case consists of instances of folk etymology, in which certain toponyms were translated inaccurately: Hungarian *Apahida* ‘the father’s bridge’ ~ Romanian *Apa Hâdă* ‘the ugly water’; Hungarian *Csíkszereda* ‘the centre of Ciuc’ ~ Romanian *Miercurea Ciuc;*[3] Romanian *Sebeșel* (< *Sebeș* + suffix *-el*) ~ Hungarian *Sebeshely* (< *Sebeș* + *hely* ‘area, place’).

4.1. Oronyms

Due to their physical prominence and stability through time, mountains have been named ever since the prehistoric era, but the names passed down from Antiquity are scarce. Of these, one can include in the Thraco-Dacian stratum only the oronym *Carpați,* perhaps alongside *Bucegi* and *Parâng,* while the

[3] The meaning ‘middle, centre’, appropriate in this context, was replaced with an unsuitable meaning of the Hungarian word for ‘Wednesday’.

Latin stratum did not leave any traces[4] except for some generic toponymic terms regarding, for instance, relief and colour. The Slavic superstratum is salient in Romanian oronymy, just like the Germanic influence is in Western Romance languages. Several examples derived from appellatives are *Bregul* < Slavic *bregŭ* 'precipice, knoll', *Glava* < Slavic *glava* 'head' and *Camena* < Slavic *camenĭ* 'rock'. At the same time, the Slavic suffix *-na* indicates the geographical characteristic of a place and occurs in a long series of toponyms in Transylvania: *Crasna* (< Slavic *kras* 'beauty'), *Radna* (Hungarian variant for *Rodna*), *Rodna* (< Slavic *rud(a)* 'metal', 'red earth', with *u* > *o* in Hungarian),[5] *Zlatna* (< Slavic *zlatĭ* 'gold'). Some examples of oronyms based on Slavic anthroponyms are *Brătila, Budislavul* and *Leaota.*

Certain names travelled through several languages, a fact that has raised etymological debates. For instance, *Bihor* experienced a linguistic-historical journey through Romanian, Slavic and Hungarian, presented *in extenso* by Ion Toma (2015: 128–129): the word has been documented since the tenth century, and the most likely scientific hypothesis rests on the Old Romanian word *buăr* (< Latin *bubalus*), "heard by the Slavs as **buhăr* and transformed into *bihor.* The toponym *Bihor,* phoneticised by the Slavs, 'returned' to the Romanians. The Hungarians borrowed it from them as *Bihor*" (orig. Romanian, my translation), which turned into *Bihar,* a variant that also resulted in the derivative *Biharia.*

Names of mountains and peaks of Hungarian origin are *Ciucaș, Hășmaș* (in the Eastern Carpathians), *Meseș* (the Apuseni Mountains), *Oaș* (< Hungarian *avas* 'deforested land'),[6] although Onufrie Vinţeler underpins an Indo-European etymon with the root *oș-, aș-, uș-* (2010: 173–178).[7]

4.2. Hydronyms

Like mountains, waters have been among the first natural bodies individualised by means of names, due to their socio-geographical importance and endurance through time. The aspect and constitutive elements of hydronyms prove the existence of several levels: autochthonous, inherited, Slavic, other origins and

[4] The reason lies in the lack of sources, due to the deterioration of education and culture in Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space in the age of migrations after the fourth century AD.

[5] In Saxon the counterpart is *Rodnă.* "The Slavic name *Ruda* appears as a simple, compound or derivative form in the toponymy of neighbouring countries: Slovenian *Rudna Gora, Rudnik;* Serbian *Rudna, Rudno;* Ukrainian *Rudno, Porudno;* Slovak *Rudina, Rudna;* Croatian *Rudenice, Rudničko […];* Polish *Rudnik*" (Toma 2015: 232, orig. Romanian, my translation).

[6] For details see Felecan, N.–Felecan, D. 2010: 260.

[7] In Hungarian specialised literature, the following explanation exists: the names *Ciucaș, Hășmaș, Meseș* and *Oaș* are formed in Hungarian – *Csukás, Hagymás, Meszes* and *Avas,* respectively – with the suffix *-s,* meaning '[about a place] rich in' (*csuka* 'a pike,' *mész* 'lime,' *hagyma* 'onion,' *ó* 'old' + *-s* suffix). The Hungarian word *avas* means 'old, aged forest'.

internal formations. Studies carried out so far show that names of watercourses are closely linked to the length of the rivers. The longer the river, the likelier it is that the etymon of its name refers to an older root (see FELECAN, O.–FELECAN, N. 2015: 252–269). As regards Transylvania, rivers that are more than 500 km long have names with Indo-European or Thraco-Dacian roots, which makes it more difficult to decode their meaning: *Mureș* (< *Maris(os)* < Indo-European root **mar-* 'water'), *Olt* (< *Alutus* < Indo-European root **el-/*ol-* 'to flow'), *Tisa* (< *Tisia* < Dacian etymon **Tibisio,* from the Indo-European root **thib-* 'muddy' < **ti* 'to soak, to flow'[8]).[9] Some of the Transylvanian rivers whose length ranges between 200 and 500 km bear Thraco-Dacian names transmitted via Latin *(Buzău* < *Mouseos, Criș* < *Crisia, Someș* < *Samus),* while others have Slavic names *(Bistrița* < *bistrŭ* 'clear, fast stream', *Târnava* < **Trŭnava* < *trŭnŭ* 'thorn (bush)' + suf. *-ava).*[10] Names of watercourses that do not reach 200 km in length have various origins in the substratum – *Bârzava* < Thracian *berzava,* related to Slavic *brŭzŭ* 'fast' (see FRĂȚILĂ 2011: 29); *Mara* < radical *mar-* 'water', cf. Sanskrit *mara,* Celtic *mor,* Latin *mare,* Slavic *mare; Săsar* < Indo-European **sar, *ser-* 'water, flow' (FELECAN, N. 2011: 11–14) –, with Latin mediation. Other such names originate in borrowings from the peoples with whom the Romanians have established contacts in Transylvania, e.g. the Slavs: *Bistra* (see above), *Cerna* < *črŭnŭ* 'black'; the Hungarians: *Lăpuș* (< *lápos* 'marshy'), *Măgheruș* (< *mogyorós* 'covered with hazelnut trees'), *Șieu* (< *sajó* 'fast/salty river'); and the Germans: *Vaser* (< *Wasser* 'water'), *Fischer* (also as the Romanianised form *Fișer*). The most recent hydronyms designate smaller water courses. In this category one can also mention Romanian creations, which are numerous in the case of watercourses whose length is less than 100 km. Most names conform to the structure of Romanian hydronyms: they are based on specific appellatives (*izvor* 'spring', *pârâu* 'rivulet', *vale* 'valley'), which may or may not be accompanied by a determiner (*Izvorul Rece* 'the cold spring'). Some result from nominalised adjectives (*Repedea,* from *repede* 'fast'), whereas others are derived with the help of suffixes *(Olteț)* or based on

[8] Mentioning several etymologies advanced over the years, ION TOMA (2015: 259–260) considers that both Romanian *Tisa* and Hungarian *Tisza* have a common Slavic etymon: *tisŭ, tisa* 'yew tree'.

[9] The river Mureș is a tributary of the Tisa with a length of 756 km, of which 718.5 km flow through Transylvania. The Olt, a left-side tributary of the Danube, springs like the Mureș from the Hășmașul Mare Mountain and is 670 km long. The Tisa has a length of 960 km, of which 62 km make up the border between Romania and Ukraine in Maramureș.

[10] There are several homonymous rivers in Romania (*Bistrița Albă*, *Bistrița Aurie*, *Bistrița Neagră* etc.), but this paper refers to the longest, whose source is in the Rodna Mountains. As a hydronym, *Bistrița* appears under various forms (five in Romanian) in all the Slavic areas in Central Europe and in Greece (see TOMA 2015: 128). As regards *Târnava,* there are, in fact, two rivers: *Târnava Mare* ('the large Târnava', 230 km) and *Târnava Mică* ('the small Târnava', 183 km) (see FRĂȚILĂ 2002: 158–159).

anthroponyms (*Bâlea Lac* 'lake Bâlea'). Moreover, there are rare instances of compound structures (*Valea lui Mihai* 'Michael's valley').

As Gh. Bolocan (1975: 583, orig. Romanian, my translation) noted, "about 3000 names of bodies of water are at the same time names of settlements. To the greatest extent, this overlapping can be accounted for through the extension of the name from bodies of water to settlements", but the reverse process is also recorded.

4.3. Oikonyms

As opposed to oronyms and hydronyms, oikonyms appeared later, but received more attention in historical sources, due to their social and economic significance. Despite this aspect, no settlement name has been preserved since Antiquity, be it Dacian *(Cumidava, Germisara, Sarmizegetusa)* or Roman *(Apulum, Porolissum, Potaissa),* although contemporary oikonymy contains direct traces of the Dacian substratum *(Turda)*[11] or elements imposed by the administration in the 1970s: *Drobeta, Napoca.*[12] The disappearance of Dacian oikonyms, with the specific formants *dava* 'citadel, stronghold' and *sara* 'water', and Roman oikonyms can be explained through the decay of urban civilisation, as a result of the imperial authorities' leaving Dacia and the successive invasions of migrating peoples. The settlements that appeared instead of the former localities received new names, originating in the language of the inhabitants (Romanians, Slavs and Hungarians among others): Latin *Alburnus Maior* ~ Romanian *Roșia Montană* ~ Hungarian *Verespatak,* Latin *Apulum* ~ Slavic *Bălgrad* ~ Romanian *Alba Iulia* ~ Hungarian *Gyulafehérvár.*

As regards the origin of oikonyms in Transylvania, a linguistic hodgepodge can be noticed, referring to the peoples that crossed these lands or lived together in the area. Whether one considers names of towns or villages, the Slavic influence consists of derivatives with specific suffixes *(Bucovăț, Lipova, Ruscova)*. The Hungarian stratum is omnipresent in the Ardeal due to the century-long cohabitation and rule in this region: *Aiud ~ Nagyenyed*, *Beiuș ~ Belényes*, *Fărcașa ~ Farkasaszó*, *Ieud ~ Jód*, *Sighet ~ Máramaros-sziget*. As identifying elements of Hungarian oikonyms, one can mention the local suffix *-d (Arad, Oradea ~ Nagyvárad)* and the pseudo-suffix *vár* 'town'

[11] Ion Toma (2015: 260–261) reviews several etymological assumptions, such as the Hungarian, Slavic, Latin and autochthonous origins.

[12] For details see Felecan, O. (2017: 83): "Influenced by Thracian-Dacian ideological and historical movements, Ceaușescu encouraged and elaborated the cultural and historical discourse, claiming the superiority of autochthonous culture over any foreign influence. Under the national-communist ideology, the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party became directly involved in the shaping of national history along the lines of expressing the Romanians' pride of having Latin origins".

(Hunedoara ~ Hunyadvár, Sighișoara ~ Segesvár, Timișoara ~ Temesvár). "Germanic settlement names result from the influence of Saxon subdialects *(Agnita ~ Agnetheln, Ghimbav ~ Weidenbach, Lancrăm ~ German Langendorf,* Saxon *Lankenderf)* or Swabian ones *(Berthausen, Lenauheim, Liebling)*" (ELR 2001: 394, orig. Romanian, my translation). In the past century, due to the reconfiguration of borders and the shifts of political regimes, several changes appeared in Transylvanian oikonymy. The reasons were political, ethnic, religious, social, economic, ethical and aesthetic, and they were presented at length by FELECAN, O. (2016: 439–453).

4.4. Hodonyms

Among place names, hodonyms are the newest and the most exposed to changes brought about by the administrative authorities as a result of their political orientation and majority ethnic configuration. In what follows only the past century will be reviewed, as it is onomastically eloquent for Transylvanian space. In general, the picturesque and expressive traditional urbanonymy was preserved in medieval settlements. "For instance, the streets *Bastionului* [< *bastion* 'rampart'], *Cositorarilor* [< *cositor* 'haymaker'], *Mănăstirii* [< *mănăstire* 'monastery'], *Scării* [< *scară* 'ladder; stairway'], *Școlii* [< *școală* 'school'] and *Zidul Cetății* ['city wall'] in Sighișoara are reminiscent of the medieval past of the Saxon town, and their preservation in contemporary street nomenclature is a means of touristic promotion for the Transylvanian settlement" (FELECAN, O. 2013: 327, orig. Romanian, my translation). In most localities, street names mirrored the ethnicity of the majority that at one point held the administrative reins. Until World War I names of streets in Transylvania were entirely Hungarian. After 1918 the Romanian state imposed names that were especially given "after key figures or symbols of the Romanians' struggle for unity (*Calea Regele Ferdinand* 'King Ferdinand Road', *Piața Unirii* 'Union Square') and historical figures from the Dacian-Roman period: *Calea Traian* ('Traian Road'), *Dacia, Decebal, Romulus, Remus*" (FELECAN, O. 2015: 231). The 1940s marked the return to Hungarian names in a part of Transylvania as a result of the Second Vienna Award, whereas after World War II hodonymy was subject to extreme politicisation, a common practice of communist authorities. After freedom was regained in 1989, ideologically corrupted names were mostly eliminated and democratic criteria were adopted in the act of naming thoroughfares, which would include Romanian, Hungarian, German and international names, as well as means of indicating roads with the help of bilingual signs whenever ethnic minorities made up 20 percent of the population.[13]

[13] For an overview of hodonymy in Transylvania, see FELECAN, O. 2013: 318–328, 2015: 229–244.

5. Concluding remarks

Diachronically, although names transmitted from Antiquity are scarce, therefore a minority among toponyms, they become representative due to their socio-geographical importance (*Carpați, Dunăre,* etc.).

Research into onomastics in multi-ethnic and multicultural regions like Transylvania implies a complex endeavour, which could lead to certain errors. An example in this respect is the undifferentiated interpretation of toponymy that may be of various origins (Slavic, Hungarian, German and others), without discriminating between the toponyms created by the people speaking a certain language and those created by another people (e.g. the Romanians) with foreign elements. Another example refers to pseudo-Slavic and pseudo-Hungarian toponyms and anthroponyms, noticeable as a result of their being recorded in documents written in Slavic and Hungarian during the Middle Ages. The lack of Romanian writings due to the political administration in office at a certain point cannot be associated with the absence of Romanian onomastics.

Another feature of Transylvanian space is the phenomenon of dual and even triple names. Diachronically, depending on state power and official language, one comes across Romanian, Hungarian and German names for the same entity. Synchronically, current laws allow for the use of minority languages at all levels, including in official documents or on signposts indicating multi-ethnic settlements. Thus, the parallel employment of names according to speakers' ethnicity has become a defining characteristic of Transylvanian space.

Also noteworthy is the case of toponymic homonymy, that is, identical names designating different places. Against a limited spatial horizon, homonyms originated in toponymic transfer (e.g. from place name to oikonym). On a broad toponymic level (in Transylvania), "homonyms usually resulted from the coincidence of the structural model that brought about toponymisation and the formants included in this pattern" (Toma 2015: 43, orig. Romanian, my translation).

Specific to Transylvania and any other multi-ethnic space are toponymic polyonyms, or multiple toponyms: different names (in Romanian, Hungarian, German, etc.) are successively or simultaneously borne by the same entity according to the speakers or administration in a certain age.

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Abstract

As a part of Central European space, Transylvania displays a multi-ethnic, multicultural, multireligious and plurilingual configuration, developed across centuries through the coexistence of several ethnic groups.

This particularity is also salient in onomastics, increasing research complexity regardless of the category of proper names considered. My study approaches the general features of this onomastic *mixtum compositum* diachronically and synchronically. For every onomastic category (anthroponyms, toponyms, chrematonyms, etc.) Transylvania provides evidence for the coexistence of names of different origins, with distinctive uses throughout history, e.g. toponyms: Romanian *Chișardău* < Hungarian *Kiserdő* 'grove' < *kis* 'small' + *erdő* 'forest'; oikonyms: Slavic *Bălgrad* ~ Romanian *Alba Iulia* ~ Hungarian *Gyulafehérvár* ~ German *Weissburg Stuhl;* hodonyms: *Strada Gării ~ Állomás utca* ('Train Station Street').

Different names borne successively/simultaneously by the same place/person are due to the administration in office during a certain age, the preference of a community/person for a specific variant, the majority ethnic configuration and other reasons. The investigated material includes names phonetically transcribed into other languages (Romanian *Crăciunel* > Hungarian *Karácsonyfalva*), names with equivalents of derivational/compounding elements (Romanian *Albești* ~ Hungarian *Fehérháza* ~ German *Weisskirch*), independent names (Romanian *Pișchia* ~ Hungarian *Hidasliget* ~ German *Bruckenau*) and names that seem to be incorrect translations (Hungarian *Csíkszereda* "the centre of Ciuc" > Romanian *Miercurea Ciuc*).

Keywords: toponymy, Transylvania, oronyms, hydronyms, oikonyms, hodonyms

Adelina Emilia Mihali

The Influence of the Hungarian Language on the Toponymy of the north of Maramureș, Romania

1. Introduction

Maramureș, the county in the north of Romania, on the border with Ukraine, is characterised by the coexistence of three ethnic communities, which are Romanian, Hungarian, and Ukrainian. The results of the 2011 census showed that in Maramureș, there were circa 46,300 Hungarians, comprising approximately 9.06% of the county's population. In the north part of the county, called the historical Maramureș, there are several localities where the Hungarian population predominates: Câmpulung la Tisa (1,694 Hungarians out of 2,485 inhabitants), Piatra and Teceu Mic (the 225 Hungarians from the commune of Remeți are grouped in these two villages), Coștiui, Bocicoiu Mare, to which other settlements could be added that have a significant number of Hungarians, but those numbers are today decreasing: Sighetu Marmației (4,417), Vișeu de Sus (387), Borșa (357), and Ocna Șugatag (300).[1]



Figure 1: Romania

[1] The data were taken from the following website: http://www.recensamantromania.ro/ rezultate-2/. The images were taken from the Internet and the sources are listed in the References section.

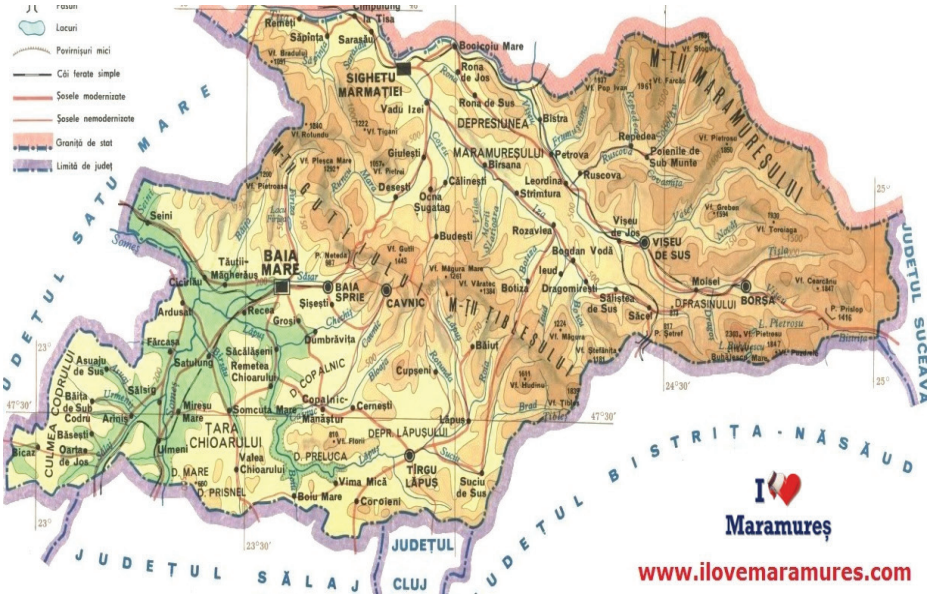


Figure 2: Maramureş county

The present research aims to identify the influence of the Hungarian language on the toponymy of the north of Maramureş, especially as regards the localities on the left bank of the Tisa River. The corpus of this study is comprised of Hungarian toponyms found in three villages in Maramureş, namely Câmpulung la Tisa, Piatra and Teceu, and of place names of Hungarian origin from other localities in the north of the county. While Hungarian toponyms in historical Maramureş have been discussed in various toponymic studies or monographs (see VIŞOVAN 2001, 2005, MIHALI 2015, 2017), the place names in the area investigated on the present occasion were less explored, although Hungarian toponyms are numerous. Their analysis can help establish clear conclusions regarding Hungarian toponymy in Maramureş and even throughout Romania.

The corpus of the paper consists of toponyms collected from the three aforementioned settlements in Maramureş by means of fieldwork; Romanians, Hungarians and Ukrainians participated in the survey. The toponymic material was verified and completed with toponyms from farm records and, as regards Remeţi, from the unpublished monograph of the commune, written under the aegis of the mayor's office. The analysis of place names implies determining their etymology and, to the same extent, describing the geographical objects designated, pointing out the other names by which the places in question are known and mentioning toponymic doublets and triplets.

The linguistic contact is emphasised by the linguistic analysis of the place names of Hungarian origin, as well as the illustration of the manner in which these toponyms entered the everyday language of the Romanians, and other ethnicities living in that space, respectively.

2. The Hungarian influence on the toponymy of the Historical Maramureș

The Romanians from Transylvania have come into contact with Hungarians since the 10th century, when they settled in the Pannonian Basin (see CERNOVODEANU–EDROIU 2002: 255). According to FILIPAȘCU (1997: 31–37), the Hungarians entered Maramureș due to the Teutons; this happened in the 13th century, through the lower course of the Tisa river. They preserved their political independence until the end of the 14th century. In this area, language contact was underpinned, on the one hand, by the seven centuries of coexistence and, on the other, by the presence of the Hungarian administration during the aforementioned time.

As a result of the Hungarian–Romanian coexistence, the issue of linguistic identity arises, because the language used in everyday communication is essential to one's individuality to the extent to which one defines oneself through it (MAY 2012: 141). The relationship between language and identity is influenced by culture and politics (MAY 2012: 137). On the one hand, social and individual identities – as well as their inter-relational system – are mediated by language. On the other, speakers' social status in connection to the language used varies: they have a high status when the language they speak is also being used in national and international communication, government, commerce or education (SPOLSKY 1998: 57).

In minority communities, individuals are fixed on a certain language, they speak in time and space (BLOMMAERT 2010: 4), they use their mother tongue within their families, but they resort to their adoptive country's language at the workplace and in society, in different stages of the literary language. Subsequently, the individuals are given the choice between a high variety and low variety of the mother tongue or the adoptive country's language, according to their education and expectations (TRUDGILL 2000: 128). Thus, the members of Romanian–Hungarian communities are defined by bilingualism, as the Hungarian influence is equally salient in the vocabulary and in onomastics.[2]

In this context, the most important aspect in the study of toponymy is the ascertainment of linguistic stratification, because this creates the basis for

[2] To illustrate the Romanian–Hungarian contact in onomastics see also FELECAN 2009: 116–131, JANITSEK 1969: 75–80.

conclusions to be reached in regard to the continuity within a certain territory of a people, the migrations that took place in the past, and the interethnic relationships that were established over time (LAANSALU–ALAS 2013: 340). Each name has a history of its own, which offers data concerning the circumstances of the naming act, the name giver, and the social relationships within the community (HELLELAND 2009: 502).

The effects of the direct contact with the Hungarian populationare reflected in the toponymy, both in names of places taken directly from a Hungarian-speaking population, phonetically adapted[3] by the Romanians, and in Romanian appellatives with Hungarian etymons, which form the basis for certain toponyms. Therefore, it is necessary in the analysis of the toponymy of the historical Maramureş to differentiate the Hungarian toponyms from those pseudo-Hungarian, which were created by Romanians starting from appellatives present then in everyday speech, borrowed from Hungarians (*dâmb* 'mound', *mociră* 'swamp', *tău* 'puddle').

As regards the oikonyms from the north of Maramureş, it must be said that those of Hungarian origin are few. The following must be mentioned:

Sighet, since 1964 Sighetu Marmaţiei, a city situated on the bank of the Tisa River, on the border with Ukraine < Hungarian *sziget* 'island' (IORDAN 1963: 38).

Sarasău, a village on the left bank of the Tisa River, located between Sighetu Marmaţiei and Câmpulung la Tisa, Hungarian *Szarvaszó* < the hydronym *Sarasău* < Hungarian *szarv* 'horn' + *aszó* 'dry valley'.

Şugatag, the name of the commune Ocna Şugatag, with the village belonging to itíthe village of *Şugatag* < derived from the verb *súg* 'to whisper' with the suf. *-atag* (KISS 1988: 64, *Aknasugatag*). DORIN ŞTEF believes that the place name comes from Hungarian *sóvago* 'salt cutter' + Germ. *Tage* 'day worker' (2016: 159).[4]

Şieu, a village in the Iza Valley < Hungarian *só* 'salt' + Hungarian *jó* 'valley, brook, river'. According to VIŞOVAN (2005: 336), the name of this locality comes from the hydronym *Râul Sărat, Sărata* or *Apa Sărată,* translated by the Hungarian administration and phonetically adapted by Romanians.

Likewise, a series of Hungarian microtoponyms are recorded in the localities from the north of Maramureş, regardless of whether there is a Hungarian

[3] For Romanian phonetic adaptations of Hungarian elements, see also KIRÁLY 1990.

[4] The first documented mention of Ocna Şugatag was in 1355, the place being known for salt mining. The village was founded by Hungarian and German prisoners and colonists brought here for salt extraction.

community or not at present. A detailed analysis of the microtoponymy of the village of Tisa, located in the Tisa Valley, on the border with Ukraine, east of Sighetu Marmației, a multi-ethnic place (with Romanians, Ukrainians, Hungarians), is given by ȘTEFAN VIȘOVAN (2001: 163–179). Here are some Hungarian toponyms recorded in the localities where the Hungarian ethnic group is missing or decreasing:[5]

Anieș (B), mountain, forest, brook < Hungarian *aranyos* 'with gold, which contains gold'.

Berț (B), peak < Hungarian *bérc* 'mountaintop, peak'.

Bechigi (B), inhabited hill < Hungarian *bükk* 'beech' + Hungarian *hegy* 'hill', with the aphaeresis of h and transformation of *ü* > *i* > *e* (KIRÁLY 1990: 153).

Bikokert (O), pasture and residential area < Hungarian *Bikakert* 'the garden of the bulls'.

Chirileu (VI), furrow < Hungarian *kerülő* 'detour, roundabout'.

Gabori (O), freshwater lake, formed as a result of the caving-in of the salt mine < Hungarian *Gábori* < anthroponym *Gabor*. The lake preserves the last name of the salt mine.

Handal (O), residential area situated on a hill, in the southern part of the salt mine < Hungarian *handal* 'place where salt is cut'.

Kerekhegy, pasture (R) < Hungarian *kerek hegy* 'round hill'.

Kert, arable land and residential area (R) < Hungarian *kert* 'garden'.

Kișkiu, pasture (R) < Hungarian *kis kő* 'pebble'.

Miraj (VS), brook < Hungarian *nyíres* 'birchwood'. The place name *Mireș,* a hill and a brook in Botiza, and *Nireș,* a forest in Remeți, have the same Hungarian etymon. *Miraj* is a hypercorrect form for *Nireș,* dialectally pronounced *Mńireș*.

Oreghi (O), saltwater lake, formed as a result of the caving-in of the salt mine < Hungarian family name Oreg, mentioned in documents since 1554 < Hungarian *öreg* 'old' (KÁZMÉR 1993 *Öreg*) or from Hungarian *öreg* 'old'. It is also recorded with the Romanian name *Lacul Bătrân* 'The Old Lake', thus named because it is the oldest lake used for swimming in that village.

Puzdra (B) mountain < Hungarian *puzdra* < Slavonic *puzdro* 'quiver (for arrows)'.

Saros (R), brook < Hungarian *sáros* 'full of mud; muddy'.

[5] For the toponymic monograph of the Iza Valley, see VIȘOVAN 2005, and for the Superior Valley of the Vișeu River, see MIHALI 2015, for Tisa Valley, see SEBESTYÉN 2017.

3. A few notes regarding the Hungarian microtoponymy of the localities with mixed population: Câmpulung la Tisa, Piatra and Teceu Mic

The village of Câmpulung la Tisa first appeared in documents in 1329 (SUCIU 1967: 156) under the name *Hozyumezeu.* This village was also documented with other names: 1334: *plebanus de Longo Prato,* 1335: *Zózymezew, Hozymezew,* 1373: *Hozyumezeu,* 1383: *de Longopratho,* 1425: *civitas Hwzymezew,* 1456: *Hozywmezew,* 1457: *oppidum Hozzwmezew,* 1808: *oppidum Hoszúmező, Kimpullung,* 1828: *Hosszú Mező, Dolho Pole, Kimpulung,* 1851: *Hosszúmező* (SUCIU 1967: 156). The current name of this locality, *Câmpulung la Tisa,* is derived from on the noun *câmp* (with the definite article) 'meadow' + adj. *lung* 'long'. The extension *la Tisa,* in itself recent, is used to differentiate between this village and others that bear the same name.

The village of *Piatra,* Hungarian *Kövesláz,* part of the commune of Remeți, has a relatively short history, being only first mentioned in 1956. *Teceu Mic,* also known by the name of *Huta,* first appeared in documents in 1389 (SUCIU 1968: 185), with the name of *Kis-Techu*. The village is also mentioned with the following names: 1828, 1851: *Tétső,* 1913: *Kistécső* (SUCIU 1968: 185). Although the oikonym *Teceu* (on the right bank of the Tisa River, there is Teceu Mare) was considered connected with the Teutonic Knights, there is not enough historical and linguistic evidence to confirm this hypothesis. This study, therefore, supports the anthroponymic origin of this toponym, namely the Ukrainian anthroponym *Teačev* > Hungarian *Técső,* put forward by V. FRĂȚILĂ (see ȘTEF 2016: 230).

In the village of Piatra, 40% of the toponyms recorded for the present paper are of Hungarian origin, and another 7% are in circulation with both Romanian and Hungarian forms. In Teceu Mic, 53% of the toponyms are Hungarian, and 30% are recorded as Romanian–Hungarian toponymic doublets. Câmpulung la Tisa is a particular case, where place names are used in Hungarian. In fact, the inhabitants of the three villages are bilingual or even trilingual, and this makes the use of Hungarian names easier for them.

By analysing the toponyms of Hungarian origin, it becomes clear that some names have exclusively Hungarian forms, in some situations adapted to Romanian or Ukrainian (*Belmezău* (CT), brook and pasture < Hungarian *bél* ~ *bel mező* 'the middle field'; *Fizeș,* farm land on the bank of the River Tisa (R, TM) < Hungarian *füzes* 'small willow wood'; in Maramureș the dialectal form *fizeș* is used with the same meaning as in Hungarian; *Halaștu,* inhabited area (R) < Ukrainian translation of the Hungarian *Halastó* 'pond'; *Silvas,* lane (P) < Hungarian *szilvás* 'plum orchard') or there are toponymic doublets and triplets.

a) Hungarian toponyms

Alsókert, orchard (P) < Hungarian *alsó* 'inferior, from below' + Hungarian *kert* 'garden'.

Barbikert (TM), farmland < family name *Barbu,* recorded in Maramureş (DFNFM 27) + Hungarian *kert* 'garden'.

Belsőség (CT), village centre < Hungarian *belsőség* 'household'.

Benefüzeş (CT), furrow, first documented in 1891 *Bene füzesben* (SZABÓ 2010: 51) < family name *Bene,* recorded in Maramureş (DFNFM 33) + Hungarian *füzeş.* Three other toponyms from Câmpulung la Tisa, designating furrows on the bank of the Tisa River, are formed following the same pattern: *Jurafüzes* < family name *Iura; Kántorfüzes,* first documented in 1891 *Kántor füzesben* (SZABÓ 2010: 51) < family name *Kántor; Kismolnárfüzes,* first documented in 1891 as *Kismolnár füzesben* (SZABÓ 2010: 51) < family name *Molnár;* the family names mentioned have been documented in Maramureş.

Bikk, written on maps as *Bic* (CT), brook, a left-bank tributary of the Tisa River < Hungarian regionalism *bikk* < *bükk* 'beech'.

Borsos forrás (CT), spring and pasture < *borsos* 'salty' + *forrás* 'spring'.

Boszorád (CT), orchard, first documented in 1891 *Boszorádon* 'At Boszorád' (SZABÓ 2010: 51) < anthroponym *Boszorád.*

Büdösviz (P), fountain < Hungarian *büdös* 'bad smelling' + Hungarian *víz* 'water'.

Burján Patak (P), brook < Hungarian *burján* 'weed' + Hungarian *patak* 'brook'.

Dabóci Sandor (P), meadow < anthroponym *Dabóci Sándor* < family name *Doboş,* recorded in Maramureş with the variations: *Dobos, Doboşi* (DFNFM 107) + Hungarian anthroponym *Sándor* 'Alexandru [Alexander]'.

Dávidláz (CT), pasture < anthroponym *David,* recorded as a family name in Maramureş (DFNFM 103) + *láz* 'recently deforested land, turned into farmland'. In Câmpulung la Tisa, three toponyms following the same pattern have been recorded: *Dobosláz* < family name *Dobos; Hosszúláz,* documented in 1891 as *Hosszúlázban* (SZABÓ 2010: 51) < family name *Hosu; Stepánláz* < family name *Stepan,* recorded in Maramureş (DFNFM 332).

Felsőköz (CT), furrow < Hungarian *felső* 'superior, from above' + *köz* 'field between two rivers'. Cf. *Alsóköz* (CT), furrow. Both fields are located on the bank of the Tisa River.

Felsőmocsár (CT), field < Hungarian *felső mocsár* 'upper swamp'.

Géci kert (P), orchard < family name *Géci* + Hungarian *kert* 'garden'.

Gödör (CT), meadow < Hungarian *gödör* ‘pit’.

Gyertyános (CT), pasture < Hungarian *gyertyános* ‘little hornbeam forest’.

Hágó (CT), furrow < Hungarian *hágó* ‘pass’.

Haraszt (CT), furrow < Hungarian *haraszt* ‘thicket’.

Határ, Határszél (CT), pasture < Hungarian *határ* ‘boundary’ + Hungarian *szél* ‘edge’.

Hosszúbérc (CT), pasture < family name *Hosu:* 284 name bearers in Maramureș, with the variation *Hoszu* 13 name bearers (DFNFM 165) + Hungarian *bérc* ‘peak’.

Hosszúnyil (CT), furrow < Hungarian *hosszú* ‘long’ (cf. anthroponym *Hosszu*) + Hungarian *nyíl* ‘long and narrow stretch of land located in a meadow or hill’.

Huszármező (P), clearing < family name *Huszár* + Hungarian *mező* ‘field, lot’. The family name *Huszar* is recorded in Maramureș for 54 name bearers, together with the spelling variations of *Husar:* 138, *Husari:* 3, *Husaru:* 1, *Husariu:* 4 (DFNFM 168).

Jegenyés (CT), furrow < Hungarian *jegenyés* ‘poplar forest’.

Kádároldal (CT), orchard on a hill < anthroponym *Kadar,* recorded in Maramureș for 334 name bearers, alongside these variants: *Kadăr, Kádár, Cădar, Cadar* (DFNFM 183, 63) + Hungarian *oldal* ‘coast’.

Kecskésrét (CT), furrow < Hungarian *kecske* ‘goat’ + Hungarian *rét* ‘pasture, meadow’.

Kertalya (CT), furrow, first documented in 1891 as *Kertalján* (Szabó 2010: 51) < Hungarian *kertalja* ‘end of the garden’.

Kőbánya (P), quarry < Hungarian *kő* ‘rock’ + Hungarian *bánya* ‘mine’.

Magaspart, Magaspart alya (CT), furrow < Hungarian *magas* ‘tall, high’ + Hungarian *part* ‘bank, shore’ + *alja* ‘inferior part’.

Malomfüzes (CT), furrow < Hungarian *malom* ‘mill’ + *füzes* ‘willow forest’.

Mocsárfű (CT), furrow < Hungarian *mocsár* ‘swamp’ + Hungarian *fű* ‘grass’.

Muszka út (P), road that leads to Ukraine < Hungarian dialectal word *muszka* ‘Ruthenian, Muscovite’ + Hungarian *út* ‘road’.

Nagyláz (CT), furrow, first documented in 1891 as *Nagylázban* (Szabó 2010: 51) < Hungarian *nagy* ‘big’ + *láz* ‘recently deforested land, turned into farmland’.

Nagyláz füzes (CT), furrow, first documented in 1891 as *Nagylázi füzesben* (Szabó 2010: 51) < Hungarian *füzes* ‘willow forest’ + place name *Nagyláz.*

Nyíres, Nyíresalya (CT), furrow < Hungarian *nyíres* 'birch forest' + Hungarian *alja* 'inferior part'.

Partos (TM), farmland < Hungarian *partos* 'sloping'.

Peresmező (TM), pasture < Hungarian *peres* 'litigant; litigious' + Hungarian *mező* 'land, lot'.

Rákoshegy (TM), forest < family name *Rákos* + Hung *hegy* 'hill'. The inhabitants of the village of Piatra call the same place simply *Racoș*. In Maramureș, the *Rakos* family name is frequent, and it has the following spelling variations: *Racoș, Rákos, Rakoș, Rakosi, Rakoși* (see DFNFM 282; 284).

Rekesz (CT), furrow, first documented in 1891 as *Rekeszben* (Szabó 2010: 51) < Hungarian *rekesz* 'divider'.

Rétfüzes (CT), furrow < *rét* 'meadow' + *füzes* 'willow forest'.

Riviszé (TM), pasture < Hungarian *riviszé* 'belonging to Rivisz' < anthroponym *Rivisz.*

Sánc (CT), furrow < Hungarian *sánc* 'ditch'.

Szakadás (CT), pasture < Hungarian *szakadás* '(land) fracture'.

Szászmáté (CT), furrow < anthroponym *Szász Máté* 'Sas Matei'.

Szénégető (CT), pasture < Hungarian *szénégető* 'place where charcoal is made from wood, charcoal burner' (see also Loșonți, Vlad 2010: 155). Hungarian toponyms that refer to the production of charcoal are also recorded in Câmpulung la Tisa, *Szénhely,* pasture < Hungarian *szén* 'charcoal' + Hungarian *hely* 'place', or in Coștiui, *Seneș,* forest < Hungarian *szenes* 'with charcoal'.

Tölgyesoldal (CT), pasture < Hungarian *tölgyes* 'with oaks' + *oldal* 'coast'.

Because of the geographical features of the three villages in question, what can be noticed as predominant are the toponymic terms *hedy, odal* or words that describe places *füzes, láz, mocsár, rét.* Equally so, the microtoponyms presented are significant for the illustration of the anthroponymy of the given area.

b) Toponymic doublets and triplets

The emergence of toponymic doublets or triplets is due to the interaction of two or three unrelated linguistic systems: Romanian, Hungarian, and Ukrainian. This has led to the translation of certain names, the adaptation of names from one language to another, the relinquishment of certain place names, or the creation of other names, respectively. It is difficult to ascertain which toponymic element appeared first, which was translated or if it was formed independently as a result of the impact which the environment had on the name giver. What is

certain is that their role is the same in all the languages used in the community: to identify and individualise the objects noticed in the field. Worth noting to illustrate this point are these names: Hungarian *Borkut,* Romanian *Borcut* (TM), mineral spring; Hungarian *Csonkás,* Romanian *Cioncaș* (CT), pasture; Hungarian *Gosztáté* 'belonging to Gostat', Romanian *Gostat* (TM), pasture that once belonged to Gostat[6]; Hungarian *Kanton,* Romanian *Canton* (TM), the area of land around the forest canton; Hungarian *Kakukk mező,* Romanian *Poiana Cucului,* Ukrainian *Kúkolovo Pole* (TM), clearing; Hungarian *Nagyrákos mező,* Romanian *Poiana Racoșu Mare,* Ukrainian *Pole Velékij Rakos* (TM), clearing.

Because of the fact that there are in the Romanian language the appellatives *borcut* 'mineral spring', *cioncaș* 'deforested land', and *fizeș* 'willow forest', which have a higher frequency as toponyms in areas where the Hungarian ethnic group is absent, it is difficult to ascertain whether, in Romanian–Hungarian communities, these names were given initially by Romanians or by Hungarians, and then translated, or they were independently created in each language, starting from the same geographic realities.

Some translations have been made by administrative officials, and these are often erroneous. For example, the Hungarian *Szénégető* (TM), farmland < Hungarian *szénégető* 'place where charcoal is made from wood, charcoal burner' was translated officially as *Cărbunărești,* designating the street that leads to the aforementioned land and, by extension, the entire area known by its Hungarian name. The form *Cărbunărești* would refer to the group name *Cărbunărești* < anthroponym *Cărbunar,* but the use at the same time of the Romanian and Hungarian variants becomes a deciding factor in the belief that the translation is faulty, the correct form being *Cărbunăriște* < Romanian *Cărbunăriște* 'place where charcoal is made', which is found also in other places in Maramureș (see Vișovan 2005: 32).

In some cases, during the naming process, the speakers started from the physical characteristics of the geographical object in question. This led to the creation of certain toponyms, which are semantically and phonetically different from their correspondents in the other contact languages (Vișovan 2001: 177). The land on the border between the two counties, Satu Mare and Maramureș, where the 'Sâmbra Oilor' Folk Festival takes place every year, is called by Romanians *Sâmbra Oilor,* referring to the custom of measuring sheep's milk before it is given by the owners at the fold. Hungarians call this festival *Kabána,* referring to the lodge and restaurant located in that area. The left bank of the River Tisa, used by locals for crops, is named by the Romanians from Teceu Mic, *Malul Tisei,* and by the Hungarians, *Tiszélve.* Likewise, the farmland on the periphery

[6] Name used during the Communist Regime for the State Collective Farm.

of the village of Teceu Mic is known to Hungarians under the name of *Határ,* and to Romanians *Șase ari.*

The existence of these toponymic doublets/triplets reflect the fact that people observe places and name them according to their ethnic and linguistic identity, because the speakers have certain beliefs regarding the language they use, related to quality, value, status, norms, functionality, and social relations (Blommaert 2006: 241). Moreover, the language used in everyday communication is essential to our identity insomuch as we are defined by it (May 2012: 141).

4. Conclusions

The linguistic contact and the bilingualism, sometimes trilingualism, which characterise the historical Maramureș, are found both at the phonetic and lexical level, and in the major and minor toponymy. The Romanian–Hungarian mixed communities have, depending on the size of the ethnic group, a greater or smaller number of Hungarian toponyms used in communication, as well as a higher or lower percentage of toponymic doublets. It is interesting the way in which the Romanian population in Câmpulung la Tisa, while knowing and speaking Hungarian, uses toponymic nomenclature in Hungarian form. However, it cannot be said that there is toponymic homogenisation, because each member of the community tries to assert his or her own name choice. The Hungarian influence is nonetheless successful in areas inside the village; mountains and large bodies of water have Romanian names.

Abbreviations

B = Borșa
CT = Câmpulung la Tisa
D = Dragomirești
O = Ocna Șugatag
P = Piatra
R = Remeți
TM = Teceu Mic
VI = Vadu Izei
VS = Vișeu de Sus

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Abstract

This particular research aims at identifying the influence of the Hungarian language on the toponymy of northern Maramureş, especially in the localities from the left shore of the Tisa River. The corpus of the paper consists of the Hungarian toponyms taken from three localities from Maramureş, namely Câmpulung la Tisa, Piatra and Teceu, where the Hungarian community is old and well-established. The linguistic analysis of the toponomastic material of Hungarian origin, the identification of the toponymic fields that they formed, as well as the illustration of the manner in which these toponyms have infiltrated the everyday speech of the Romanians and of the other ethnic groups living there emphasise the linguistic contact that has taken place. It is likewise important to establish the semantic area of the analysed toponyms, as well as the percentage of geographical objects bearing names based on Hungarian terms, in order to show the age of these toponyms and to trace the region in which the Hungarian population has moved.

Keywords: Hungarian names, linguistic stratification, toponymic fields, toponymy

Anita Rácz

*Chronologie relative des types de toponymes**

1. La typologie historique des toponymes hongrois, considérée comme valable jusqu'à nos jours par les historiens de l'onomastique, s'est développée durant la première partie du 20e siècle à la suite de l'étude du stratum onomastique de la période de l'ancien hongrois (MELICH 1925–1929, MOÓR 1936: 110–117, KNIEZSA 1938, 1943, 1944, 1960, KERTÉSZ 1939: 33–39, 67–77). Cette typologie était basée sur les spécificités sémantiques et morphologiques des toponymes anciens. C'est ainsi qu'elle a distingué les types de toponymes issus de noms de tribus, d'ethnonymes, d'anthroponymes et de noms de métiers, et créés soit sans formant, soit avec les topoformants *-i* et *-d,* ainsi que les toponymes contenant comme deuxième constituant *-falva* 'village', *-háza* 'maison', *-laka* 'habitation' (termes munis de suffixe possessif), et enfin les types de noms issus de patrocinia. C'est à partir de cette période-là qu'on utilise le terme de *« types de noms de localités anciens ou précoces »* pour désigner ce stratum (voir KRISTÓ 1976, et KISS 1997). Toutefois, il faut noter qu'en dehors des éléments mentionnés ci-dessus, d'autres types de noms de localités étaient également fréquents pendant les siècles qui ont suivi l'installation des Hongrois dans le bassin des Carpathes, comme par exemple le groupe des noms de localités créés à partir de noms relatifs à la nature. Au-delà de leur apparition précoce, et par conséquent, au-delà de leur valeur de source multidisciplinaire notable, l'importance des strata onomastiques susmentionnés réside dans le fait que ce sont essentiellement ces types sémantiques qui constituent également les bases du corpus des toponymes hongrois actuels.

Dans la typologie des toponymes hongrois, la valeur dite d'identification chronologique des toponymes a revêtu une importance particulière. La thèse qui est devenue généralement acceptée dans la recherche des toponymes hongrois a souligné que « l'époque de la genèse d'un toponyme peut souvent être déterminée même en l'absence de données anciennes » (BÁRCZI 1958: 149). Une critique importante de cette thèse, exprimée par un cercle restreint composé essentiellement d'historiens, a été formulée au milieu des années 1970 (KRISTÓ–MAKK–SZEGFŰ 1973; et KRISTÓ 1976). La critique s'est concentrée sur le problème de la modification et l'extension des limites chronologiques des différents types onomastiques.

* This work was carried out as part of the Research Group on Hungarian Language History and Toponomastics (University of Debrecen–Hungarian Academy of Sciences).

L'opinion initiale relative aux toponymes issus de noms de tribus était que ceux-ci n'ont pu être créés au-delà du 10e siècle (Melich 1925–1929: 360), et que, de toute façon, leur genèse ne peut être postérieure au milieu du 11e siècle (Kniezsa 1938: 371). Toutefois, la critique visant à étendre les limites chronologiques a considéré que la limite de la période de la création des toponymes avec des noms de tribus pouvait être prolongée au moins jusqu'à la fin du 11e siècle (cf. Kristó 2000: 8).

La caractérisation chronologique des autres types de toponymes susmentionnés était similaire. Dans un travail important, István Hoffmann et Valéria Tóth ont récemment attiré l'attention sur le fait qu'il est impossible de fixer de telles limites chronologiques pour les types de noms de localités (Hoffmann–Tóth 2016). Ils ont également démontré que la théorie elle-même était intenable sur les anciennes bases méthodologiques erronées. Par conséquent, l'étude chronologique des anciens toponymes hongrois doit être effectuée sur d'autres bases théoriques et méthodologiques. Toutefois, la question est de savoir déterminer les nouvelles solutions qui peuvent se substituer aux anciennes. Dans mon exposé, je chercherai à répondre à cette question avec la présentation d'un certain test méthodologique.

2. Malheureusement, l'état actuel de l'onomastique hongroise permet l'étude de ces strata onomastiques non sur la base du corpus intégral, mais seulement sur la base d'un échantillon prélevé de chaque type, qui se rapproche pourtant de l'intégralité présumée. Cela revient à dire que l'exposé présente les résultats de l'étude de 1362 noms de localités issus de patrocinia, de 1312 noms de localités issus d'ethnonymes, de 344 noms de localités issus de noms de métiers et de 213 noms de localités issus de noms de tribus, donc au total de 3231 noms de localités. La base de données contient les toponymes jusqu'à la fin du 16e siècle inclus, et englobe la période dite de l'ancien hongrois. On peut constater qu'à cette période-là, le système des toponymes hongrois s'était consolidé quant à ses caractéristiques essentielles, la genèse des types de noms s'était terminée.

3. Mes examens se concentreront sur l'analyse des noms de localités qui contiennent des noms de tribus, des ethnonymes, des noms de métiers et des patrocinia. J'en ai distingué quatre types structurels. L'un est le groupe des noms dans leur forme de base, sans topoformant, tels que *Német* < 'allemand', *Tarján* < nom de tribu Tarján, *Fazekas* < 'potier', *Szentimre* < 'Saint Émeric', etc. Un autre type comprend les toponymes créés avec un morphème topoformant (le plus typiquement avec les morphèmes *-i* et *-d*), tels que *Németi* < 'allemand' + topoformant *-i, Kéri* < nom de tribu *Kér* + topoformant *-i, Halászi* < 'pêcheur' + topoformant *-i,* etc. Ces deux types appartiennent au groupe structurel des noms à un seul constituant. Dans le troisième groupe, les lexèmes examinés sont en position de premier constituant dans le rôle d'épithète, devant un nom

commun géographique comme deuxième constituant désignant la localité, p.ex. *Németfalu* < 'allemand/village', *Nyékfalva* < 'nom de tribu Nyék/village', *Halászfalu* < 'pêcheur/village', *Szentmártonfalva* < 'Saint Martin/village'. Dans le dernier groupe, ces lexèmes ont également le rôle d'épithète, mais ils se placent devant des noms de localités déjà existants, comme dans le cas de *Szásznyíres* < 'saxon/Nyíres', *Lovászhetény* < 'écuyer/Hetény'.

Le diagramme suivant présente le pourcentage des formes des structures onomastiques à l'intérieur de chacun des quatre types sémantiques.

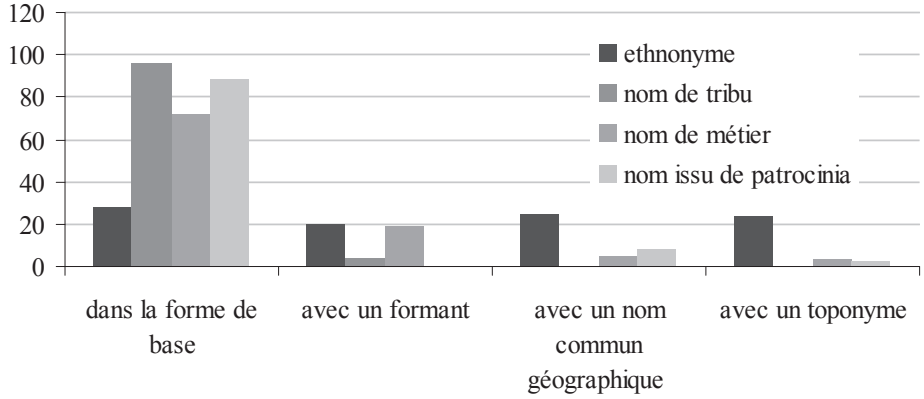


Diagramme nº 1. Répartition des formes des structures onomastiques en pourcentage

Sur la base de ces données, on peut constater qu'au moment de la création des noms particuliers à l'intérieur des quatre types sémantiques des toponymes, les créateurs des noms hongrois ont eu recours aux outils linguistiques disponibles dans des proportions fort différentes. Lors de la création des noms contenant des ethnonymes, ils ont profité des potentialités du langage de manière assez équilibrée : les proportions des noms créés par métonymie (ethnonymes au nominatif), par la construction morphématique (dérivation toponymique), et par l'une des deux formes de la composition (ethnonyme comme constituant principal ou comme complément) sont presque identiques pendant la période sous examen. En ce qui concerne l'aspect structurel, les noms de localités issus de noms de métiers et de patrocinia présentent une image moins équilibrée. Bien que les noms de métiers soient présents dans chaque type structurel, les rapports numériques indiquent nettement la prédominance de la création des noms sans formant (toponymie métonymique). En outre, la dérivation a également joué un rôle important, mais les deux autres types structurels n'ont joué qu'un rôle insignifiant dans le cas des noms de métiers. Dans le cas des noms issus de patrocinia, on peut constater l'absence de la formation des noms au moyen de la construction morphématique, c'est-à-dire l'absence de la dérivation. La plus

grande homogénéité des structures onomastiques peut être observée dans le cas des noms de localités issus de noms de tribus. A part quelques exceptions, ces noms sont dépourvus de topoformants (c'est-à-dire qu'ils ont été créés par voie métonymique). Une quantité minimale de ces dénominations contient des morphèmes topoformants, tandis que l'occurrence des formes composées est insignifiante.

4. Par la suite, je vais présenter la chronologie des différents types sémantiques. Toutefois, ici, il faut immédiatement attirer l'attention sur un problème important : c'est que la première apparition écrite des différentes données onomastiques ne peut coïncider avec la période de leur genèse que dans des cas extrêmement rares, et il se peut même qu'une longue période de temps se soit écoulée entre les deux. Étant donné que nous ne disposons pas d'outils scientifiques à l'aide desquels nous puissions établir le moment de la genèse des toponymes de façon à ne laisser subsister aucun doute, nous ne pouvons faire confiance qu'au témoignage des données attestées. Bien que le premier enregistrement des noms soit aléatoire, cela peut évidemment affecter chaque nom de manière identique, donc, dans le cas d'une assez grande quantité de noms, même les premières occurrences dessinent bien la chronologie relative des différents types de noms. Par conséquent, dans les examens que j'ai effectués, c'est la première occurrence des noms des localités que j'ai prise en considération.

Pour le présent exposé, la question centrale est de savoir si, du point de vue chronologique, il existe des différences importantes entre les toponymes qui relèvent de types sémantiques différents. Donc, est-ce qu'il y a des raisons chronologiques expliquant l'existence ou l'absence, ou la fréquence relative des modèles onomastiques structuraux dans les différents groupes sémantiques ?

4.1. Au tableau précédent, on pouvait observer que parmi les moyens de création des noms, la métonymie avait une importance primordiale pendant la période sous examen. D'une part, le pourcentage des noms de localités ainsi créés est assez élevé dans le corpus des toponymes de l'époque. D'autre part, c'est la seule structure présente dans un pourcentage statistiquement mesurable dans chacun des quatre groupes sémantiques. Cela justifie que ce type doit être séparément soumis à une analyse comparative. Le diagramme nº 2 ci-dessous présente la répartition chronologique des toponymes sans formant dans chacun des quatre groupes sémantiques.

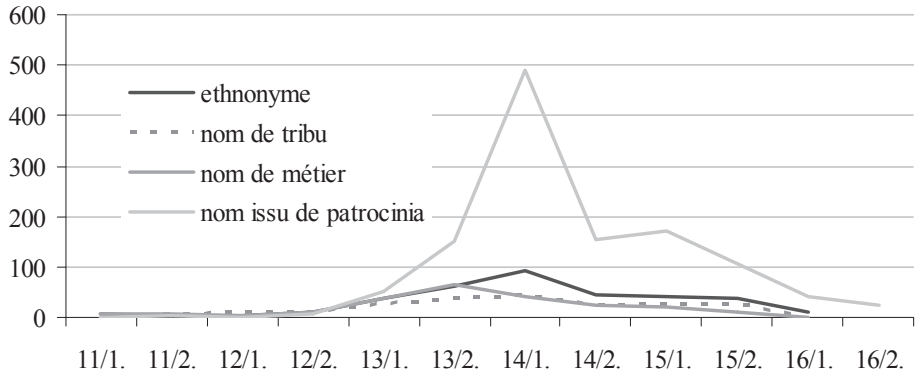


Diagramme nº 2: Répartition chronologique des noms dépourvus de formants, présentée selon les chiffres absolus des premières occurrences

Le diagramme présente les chiffres absolus concernant les noms qui figurent dans les différents types onomastiques selon des périodes de demi-siècles. Il est bien visible que dans la toponymie de l'ancien hongrois, il n'y a pas de période où la métonymie n'ait pas été utilisée dans chaque type sémantique. Toutefois, on peut également observer la différence et la similitude des périodes qui voient l'émergence du plus grand nombre de noms dans chaque groupe.

Ce sont les toponymes métonymiques issus de noms de métiers qui sont les premiers à connaître une période ascendante dès la première moitié du 13e siècle, pour atteindre un apogée pendant le demi-siècle suivant. Pourtant, on peut relever un grand nombre de données concernant les noms de localités créés par ce mode de désignation même pendant les cent cinquante années suivantes.

Les toponymes issus d'ethnonymes, de noms de tribus et de patrocinia présentent une image parallèle, car leur fréquence dans les chartes est la plus élevée dans la première moitié du 14e siècle. Toutefois, le taux de leur occurrence reste relativement important même durant la deuxième moitié de ce même siècle et durant le 15e siècle aussi. Tout cela est d'autant plus remarquable que, du point de vue chronologique, les noms de tribus sont traditionnellement opposés aux autres groupes sémantiques : la période du début et la période de la fin de la genèse des noms de localités issus de noms de tribus étaient considérées comme étant les plus précoces par rapport aux autres groupes sémantiques. Toutefois, tout ce qui a été dit ci-dessus n'appuie pas cela : les premières occurrences des noms de tribus en tant que toponymes prouvent qu'on n'a aucune raison d'attribuer une valeur chronologique particulière à ces noms.

Par rapport à tous ces éléments-là, il est très important de garder une chose à l'esprit. Ce diagramme et tout diagramme similaire indiquant des chiffres absolus de l'occurrence des noms (et même le chercheur faisant des

recherches onomastiques) ne peuvent se servir que de données onomastiques émergeant aléatoirement dans les sources. À travers les données onomastiques documentées, on ne peut observer qu'une partie des noms existant effectivement dans la période examinée, et cette image peut être davantage déformée par la diminution ou l'augmentation des sources dans le temps. En effet, le nombre des données dépend également du nombre des sources : si un plus grand nombre de sources a été préservé d'une période donnée, *ipso facto,* ces sources permettent de conserver plus de données. Lors de l'étude du corpus onomastique hongrois précoce, c'est dans la première moitié du 14e siècle que l'on peut observer une augmentation très importante des occurrences toponymiques ; or, nous savons que cette augmentation est liée au premier recensement qui a eu lieu en Hongrie. Toutefois, la tâche de la recherche onomastique n'est pas l'étude des sources, mais celle des noms et des structures onomastiques. Je pense que les études de chronologie relative peuvent aider à éliminer les problèmes mentionnés ci-dessus. Par la suite, je vais tenter de le faire.

Examinons donc sous un autre angle le corpus des noms de localités sans formant qui ont été analysés ci-dessus. Maintenant, nous allons observer le taux des différents groupes sémantiques dans la création métonymique des noms de localités, apparus dans telle ou telle période (comme ci-dessus, par tranches de demi-siècles). C'est ce que le diagramme suivant indique dans une répartition en pourcentage. Par l'analyse des mêmes données, on obtient une image complètement différente.

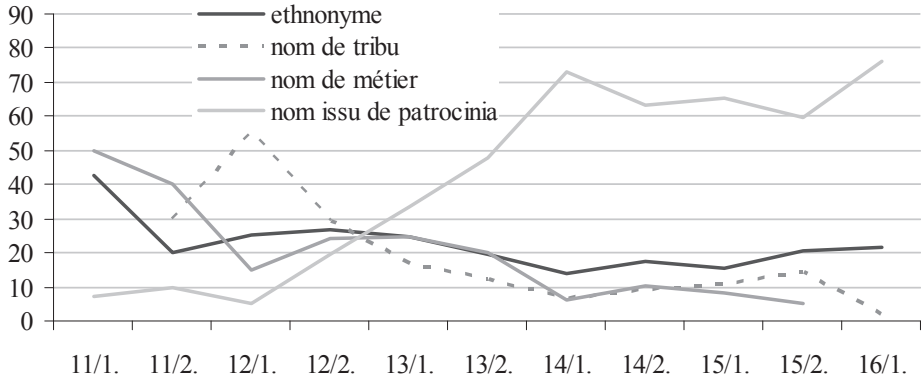


Diagramme nº 3: Répartition chronologique des noms dépourvus de formants, présentée selon le pourcentage de la participation des groupes sémantiques

Dans ce diagramme, comparé au précédent, deux phénomènes sautent aux yeux. Le diagramme précédent ne pouvait pas montrer que les noms de tribus ont constitué la base de plus de la moitié des nouveaux noms créés pendant la première moitié du 12e siècle. Donc, on ne pouvait pas observer que pendant cette

période-là (même si, au total, les sources ne permettent pas d'attester beaucoup de noms de localités), les lexèmes en question ont joué un rôle considérable dans la toponymie métonymique. Au 11e et au 12e siècles, le taux des noms de localités issus d'ethnonymes et de noms de métiers est également important. L'oscillation de leur nombre s'explique principalement par le fait que de cette période-là, nous ne disposons que de peu de données. Pourtant, il est encore plus évident que c'est non seulement au 14e siècle que le patrocinium est un motif toponymique dominant parmi les noms de localités créés par métonymie (ce qui est suggéré par la courbe visible dans le diagramme nº 3). Après la période ascendante qui se présente dès la deuxième moitié du 13e siècle, 60 à 70% des noms de localités sans topoformant de la période du 14e au 16e siècle peuvent être ramenés essentiellement à cette base sémantique.

4.2. Sur le diagramme suivant, on peut observer l'absence ou la quantité minimale des noms créés par dérivation parmi les toponymes issus de patrocinia ou de noms de tribus (comme on l'a constaté d'après le diagramme nº 1 également). Toutefois, les spécificités chronologiques des noms créés à partir d'ethnonymes et de noms de métiers à l'aide de topoformants présentent un parallélisme évident avec les noms créés sans formant. Il semble que nos toponymes précoces à un seul constituant, créés dans leur forme de base (par métonymie) et nos toponymes précoces créés avec un formant (par voie morphématique), apparaissent massivement dans la même période. Par conséquent, l'absence de la toponymie morphématique dans le cas des noms issus de patrocinia[1] et l'occurrence insignifiante de la toponymie morphématique dans le cas des noms de localités issus de noms de tribus ne peuvent pas être expliquées par des facteurs chronologiques.

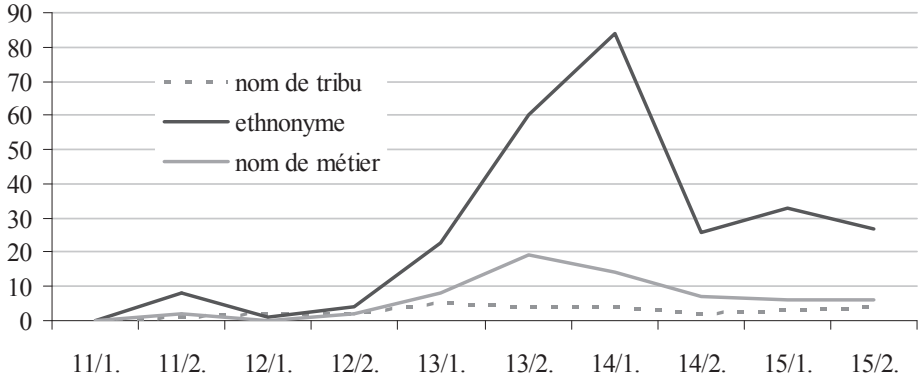


Diagramme nº 4: Relations chronologiques des noms créés par formation, présentées selon les chiffres absolus des premières occurrences

[1] Concernant la question des noms de localités créés rarement avec des topoformants attachés aux noms de tribus, voir aussi mes études précédentes : A. RÁCZ 2005, 2006, 2007.

Mais voyons le taux de l'occurrence relative des groupes sémantiques parmi les noms morphématiques.

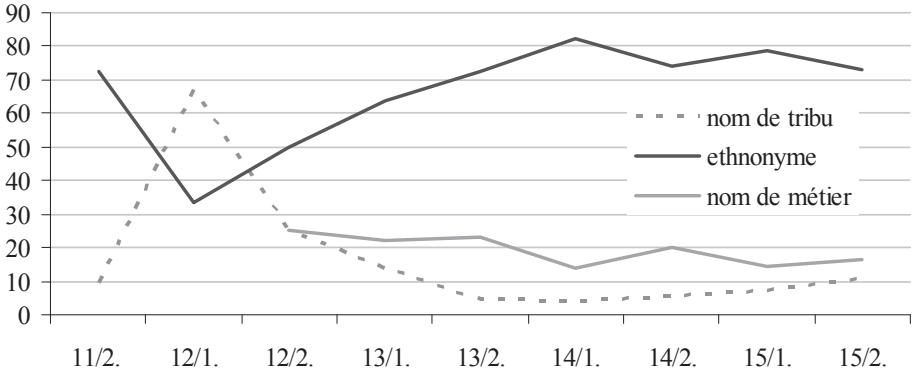


Diagramme nº 5: Relations chronologiques des noms créés par formation, présentées selon le pourcentage de la participation des groupes sémantiques

Le diagramme nº 5 confirme l'image basée sur des chiffres absolus, selon laquelle parmi les noms de localités créés à partir des noms de groupes sociaux par construction morphématique, les sources indiquent le plus grand pourcentage des noms issus d'ethnonymes. Toutefois, ce constat est nuancé davantage par le diagramme basé sur les rapports numériques. Tandis que sur la base du premier diagramme, la période la plus typique de l'apparition des noms de localités créés à partir d'ethnonymes avec des topoformants est la période entre la deuxième moitié du 13e siècle et la première moitié du 14e siècle, le second diagramme indique de manière évidente que jusqu'à la fin du 15e siècle, ces formes onomastiques restent les plus fréquentes (elles ne changent pratiquement pas, et oscillent entre 70 et 80%) parmi les noms de localités apparus avec des topoformants, à l'intérieur du domaine sémantique examiné ici.

En ce qui concerne les noms de localités présentant les deux autres structures (à savoir un nom désignant une localité suivi d'un nom commun géographique ou un nom de localité comme deuxième constituant), j'ai également préparé et étudié les deux types de digrammes présentés ci-dessus. Toutefois, en raison du cadre temporel restreint de l'exposé, je ne voudrais pas traiter les leçons tirées de ceux-ci, pourtant, par la suite, je vais y faire allusion dans un certain contexte.

4.3. Par rapport à ce qui précède, les différences et les corrélations entre les différentes structures sont présentées de manière plus claire sur le diagramme chronologique représentant chacune des quatre structures des noms de localités issus d'ethnonymes.

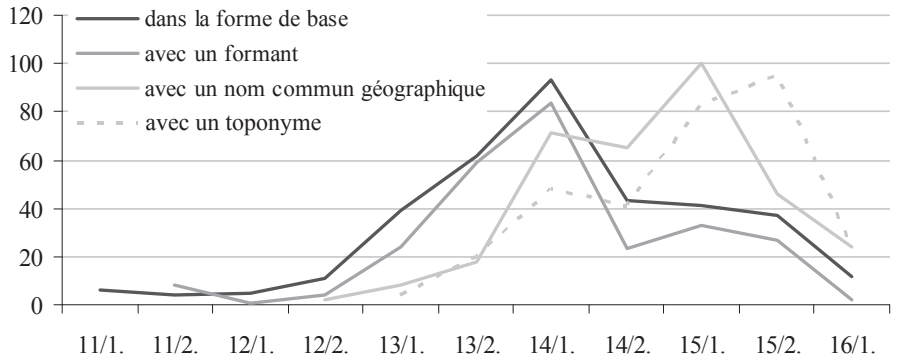


Diagramme nº 6: Types structurels 1 à 4 des noms de localités issus d'ethnonymes, présentés selon les chiffres absolus des premières occurrences

Le diagramme présente les différences entre les caractéristiques chronologiques des noms à un seul constituant (créés par métonymie et par un morphème-formant) et celles des noms à deux constituants (créés avec des ethnonymes dans le rôle d'épithète) sur la base des chiffres absolus des premières occurrences des noms observables dans les sources. La période de pointe de l'apparition des noms à un constituant est donc la période entre la deuxième moitié du 13e siècle et la première moitié du 14e siècle. En revanche, l'émergence massive des noms à deux constituants ne peut être observée qu'un siècle plus tard. Leur nombre augmente visiblement à partir du 14e siècle, et ces noms sont présents dans la toponymie comme un groupe important jusqu'à la deuxième moitié du 15e siècle. Cette image chronologique inclut également les types onomastiques rares dont on ne peut remarquer qu'une occurrence sporadique (p.ex. nom de tribu + formant, nom de tribu + nom commun géographique, nom de métier + nom de localité existant).

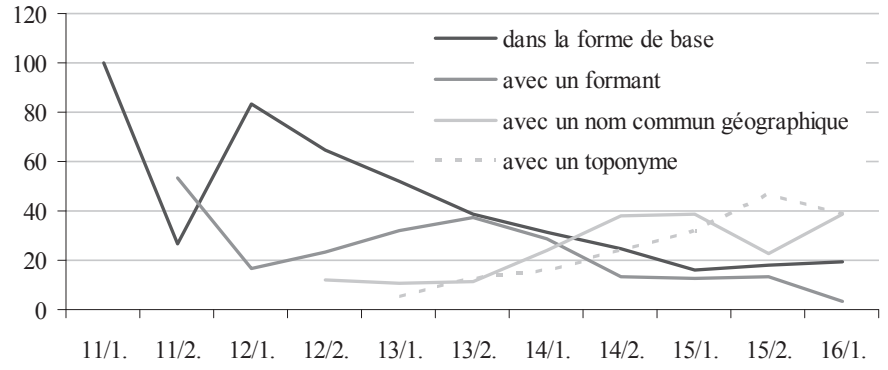


Diagramme nº 7: Types structurels 1 à 4 des noms de localités issus d'ethnonymes, présentés selon le pourcentage de la participation des groupes sémantiques

Ce système de rapports peut également être visualisé par une représentation graphique:

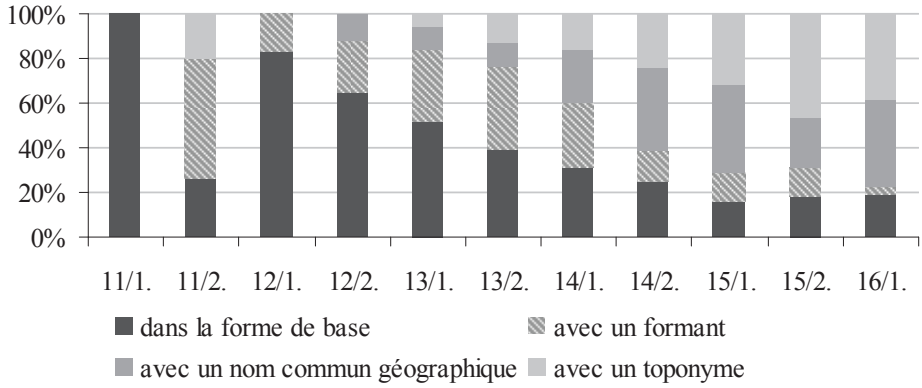


Diagramme nº 8: Types structurels 1 à 4 des noms de localités issus d'ethnonymes, présentés selon le pourcentage de la participation des groupes sémantiques

Je pense que la différence entre ces deux approches des relations chronologiques a déjà été démontrée dans ce qui précède, mais c'est peut-être maintenant que la différence se manifeste de la manière la plus évidente. En observant les pourcentages des modes de création des noms, on peut constater la présence dominante des noms à un seul constituant dans la période précoce. Toutefois, sur la base des pourcentages d'occurrences, l'émergence massive des noms présentant cette structure onomastique doit être datée non pas de la deuxième moitié du 13e siècle, mais du 12e siècle, quand les noms à deux constituants font tout juste leur apparition. Mais les noms de localités à un seul constituant sont représentés dans une proportion assez importante même dans la deuxième moitié du 14e siècle. Les proportions se renversent au profit des noms à deux constituants à partir du demi-siècle suivant, et après cette période-là, l'occurrence des noms de localités à deux constituants présente une augmentation constante.

5. En résumé de ce qui précède, on peut conclure que le constat de la typologie traditionnelle est tenable même aujourd'hui, selon lequel parmi les modes de création des noms, la création des noms par voie métonymique et la création des noms par voie morphématique précèdent la forme de création des noms par composition. Toutefois, on doit également souligner que l'étude chronologique relative que j'ai appliquée ici présente, concernant le changement du système onomastique, une image beaucoup plus nuancée que les études précédentes. Pourtant, on doit également constater qu'on ne peut pas tracer des limites chronologiques rigides en ce qui concerne la genèse des noms de localités pouvant être liés aux divers groupes sémantiques.

Bien que la méthodologie de recherche présentée ici ne nous permette pas de déterminer la période de la genèse des différents noms de manière sûre, l'analyse chronologique de l'apparition des données onomastiques dans les sources peut mener à des constatations plus appropriées (de toute façon plus nuancées que les constatations précédentes) concernant les spécificités chronologiques relatives des différentes formes des structures onomastiques.

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Résumé

L'étude des noms de communes d'origine ethnonymique, tant dans le cadre de la recherche des toponymes hongrois, que dans le cadre de l'historiographie, menée du début du 20e siècle jusqu'à nos jours, est considérée comme une tâche particulièrement importante. L'une des orientations de recherche des linguistes et des historiographes s'occupant des toponymes est l'étude de l'utilité des toponymes contenant un élément ethnonymique dans la détermination des relations ethniques d'un territoire donné. Ainsi, la question de l'établissement des Hongrois dans le bassin des Carpates a également été étudiée à l'aide des toponymes anciens. Les Hongrois qui sont arrivés ici lors de la conquête de la patrie ont trouvé des populations étrangères sur place, d'une part, et eux-mêmes ont été accompagnés d'autres peuplades, d'autre part. Par la suite, au cours de l'histoire, les établissements et les introductions de populations pour diverses raisons ont également augmenté le nombre de la population différente du groupe ethnique hongrois. Tout cela a laissé des traces dans la panoplie des toponymes hongrois. Mon exposé vise à répondre à la question relative à la période de temps et aux circonstances qui ont motivé la genèse des toponymes renvoyant à des groupes ethniques. Est-il possible d'identifier des raisons linguistiques et/ou historiques de protée générale dans la genèse des toponymes appartenant à ce groupe sémantique ? D'autre part, est-il possible d'expliquer, le cas échéant,

la non-réalisation de ce type de toponymes malgré le fait que la genèse de telles formes de toponymes eût été justifiée pour des raisons de migration ? Il ne fait aucun doute que l'étude des noms de communes d'origine ethnonymique est une tâche interdisciplinaire. Leur analyse permet l'application des méthodes de recherche de la linguistique, tout comme celles de l'historiographie, dont les résultats peuvent être valorisés mutuellement dans la fourniture de réponses aux questions posées ci-dessus.

Mots-clés : toponymes, ethnonymes, migration, moyen âge

Michel A. Rateau

La base « hongr- » et ses variantes en onomastique française

0. Introduction

Cette trop brève étude est partie d'une réflexion multiple, philologique et étymologique, portant sur le lexème français *hongre* et sur l'unité lexicale *cheval hongre*, sur les sens et définitions qui leur ont été variablement donnés au cours des âges, parmi lesquels certains affirmèrent ou affirment encore, toujours erronément, que la pratique du *hongrage* (des chevaux, donc !) est essentiellement voire uniquement hongroise.

Il s'agit donc, ici, d'observer, trop brièvement hélas ! Leur comportement ainsi que celui des dérivés qui en découlent éventuellement, correspondant à des cas de figure spécifiques d'emprunts, culturels, historiques, sociolinguistiques, qui ont mené à la création de quelques unités lexicales et à des éléments onomastiques français voire occitans. Les bases observées sont *hongr-, -ongr-, ougr-, ogr-*... lesquelles se partagent un tronc étymologique commun.

Dans un premier volet, non sans avoir, au préalable, rappelé quelques éléments de méthodologie, il sera montré que l'idée et la pratique de castrer un animal et plus spécialement un cheval, ont été antérieures à l'impression souvent confuse voire inexacte qu'ont pu laisser à leurs lecteurs, un certain nombre d'auteurs, lexicologues ou autres, anciens ou plus récents, lorsqu'ils citaient / citent ou traitaient / traitent du lexème « hongre » ou de l'unité lexicale composée « cheval hongre ». Cette assertion sera démontrée par une observation comparative de termes autrefois utilisés dans différentes langues et autres parlers, anciens ou actuels.

Dans un second volet, sera présentée une sélection de créations ou d'emprunts lexicaux restés manuscrits ou publiés depuis plusieurs siècles, en latin, allemand, français d'oïl et occitan. Ces dernières concerneront ledit doublet ainsi que les lexèmes dont ils ont dérivés et qui ont subsisté jusqu'à récemment, dans ces deux langues. Cette sorte de florilège lexical permettra de situer dans le temps les circonstances historiques probables de leur entrée en usage et pourquoi les francophones et occitanophones semblent avoir été les seuls locuteurs occidentaux à augmenter et enrichir leur vocabulaire à partir de ces éléments, contrairement aux autres locuteurs qui ont préféré la base latine *castr-*.

Un dernier volet fera découvrir une sélection des éléments onomastiques français ainsi provenus de cette double base.

Enfin, une brève conclusion viendra, momentanément, clore cette première étude.

1. Méthodologie

En avant-propos, rappelons les titres de quelques outils de recherche de base. Les sources toponymiques et patronymiques sont fort nombreuses (textes inédits, publications papier ou électroniques, articles parus sur Internet, cadastres municipaux, etc.), parmi lesquelles ont été, exhaustivement consultés, le *Dictionnaire des Toponymes de France* (DTF, 2017), celui du Cdip (cédérom, révisé 2017), la *Toponymie Générale de la France* (TGF, 1990) d'Ernest Nègre, le *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de lieux en France* (DENLF, 1963), d'Albert Dauzat et Charles Rostaing, le *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de famille* (1991), de Marie-Thérèse Morlet, le *Tous les noms de famille de France…* (1999), de Laurent Fordant.

1.1. Observations lexicales synonymiques et comparatives du nom et de l'action de « castration »

De façon générale, la domestication du cheval et, sans doute, l'idée, le besoin et l'usage de « castrer » / « châtrer », l'un des deux (le chien étant l'autre) « meilleurs amis de l'Homme »… date, probablement, chronologiquement et épistémologiquement, du début de la Protohistoire (culture de Botaï, au Kazakstan ; énolithique : âge du cuivre) et de ses nombreux peuples et civilisations dont on ne connaît pas toujours les langues, selon les lieux et les époques dans lesquelles ils ont évolué.

1.1.1. Les Scythes auraient été parmi les premiers peuples à châtrer des / les chevaux en nombre important mais là n'est pas notre propos immédiat. Aucune graphie attestée n'a pu être relevée.

1.1.2. La base grecque cantēr-

Le terme *kanthelios* ou l'une de ses variantes désignait d'abord l' « âne (mammifère 'voisin' du cheval) qui porte des paniers suspendus à un bât » (Grandsaignes 1948: 78) ; puis en grec ancien, le mot *kántharos,* entra en usage. De ce dernier proviendrait le latin *cantērinus, -a, -um,* signifiant « de / du cheval hongre ».

1.1.3. La base latine canter-

Chez les latinophones, les formes étaient *cantērĭus* / *canthērius, -ĭi,* le « cheval hongre » (M. T. Varro(n) ou Varro(n) Reatinus, *Res Rusticae* 2, 7, 15; Gaffiot

1934: 253). R. GRANDSAIGNES (*id.*) ajoute que *canterius* signifia autant « cheval hongré » que « mauvais cheval ». Dès maintenant, on observe combien les sens exacts des mots peuvent varier selon les locuteurs et leurs activités, les époques et les pays et combien peuvent se rencontrer de confusions. Du point de vue anthroponymique, GAFFIOT (1934: 255) cite également *Cantērĭus, -ĭi,* comme « nom d'homme », donnant, de nouveau, Varron pour source (*Res Rusticae* 2, 1, 8). Aurait-ce été le « nom » ou, plutôt, d'abord le « surnom » d'un *homme hongre,* c'est-à-dire d'un *homme castré ?* Celui d'un eunuque ou encore d'un homme à la voie fluette / d'un castrat ? La question reste posée et nous verrons, plus après, que « hongre » a également connu une fonction anthroponymique. Comme dérivé probable de cette base, citons l'ancien français, *cantauus ;* il aurait, également eu pour synonyme celui de *cheval sané* (daté début XIVe siècle ; Rome, Bibliothèque vaticane, Lat. 2748, 979 ; ROQUES 1936: 117).

1.1.4. La base latine sanare

Le participe passé français, *sané,* provient de l'infinitif *saner.* C'est l'un des synonymes français de « (cheval) *hongre* » ; dans ce cas, il signifie hongré (participe passé). Cependant, le *Grand Dictionnaire d'Ancien français : la langue du Moyen Âge, de1080 à 1350* (GREIMAS 2007: 542) donne : « (année) 980, < latin *sanare,* « guérir » et « soigner ». le verbe *hongrer* aurait-il jamais pu véhiculer le sens de soigner / guérir ? L'ancien français *saner* (GODEFROY 1965: 473) portait aussi l'idée de « panser » (…un cheval qui vient d'être hongré ?). Cependant, si „panser" a bien signifié „soigner", il n'a jamais pris le sens „castrer". À la Bibliothèque Nationale (Doc. Latins 7692 ; ROQUES *id.:* 271) et à la Bibliothèque municipale de Conches, dans l'Eure, partiellement provenue des Archives de l'Abbaye de cette ville, on trouve, daté de 1304, *sanarer,* qui, alors, signifie « guérir » (voir aussi ROQUES *id.:* 467).

En occitan, *sanar* signifient châtrer et guérir ; le *sanage* est la castration, le châtrage et, curieusement, le « rapiéçage » **(**DANIEL *et al.* 1988: 288). Un « *cheval hongré* » aurait-il été considéré comme un animal *rapiécé ?* Comme *recousu, réparé, raccommodé, rafistolé, reprisé ? ;* le *sanaire* est le « châtreur, le *hongreur* » (DANIEL *id.*). Ainsi, *sanar* est bien l'équivalent de *hongrer*. ALIBERT (1966: 624) donne les verbes *sanar* et *sanoar,* « *guérir, rendre sain, coudre rapidement*… » ; le nom *sanair* (châtreur ; guérisseur, *id.*: 624) partage la même base que *sanadis* (< latin *sanare*), pour « mauvais travail » et / ou « travail fatigant ». Chez DANIEL (1988: 61), *sanage* et *chatrage* signifient castration ; *sanâ, castrâ, eicreistâ* et *adoubî* valent pour castrer : le castreur est le *sanaure,* le *chastraire,* le *crestaire, l'adoubaire*… (*id.*). Le *hongre* est le *chatrat*… En parler aveyronnais (oc), *sanar* est « châtrer » (CROZES 2010).

Afin d'aller plus loin dans cette recherche, on se consultera l'étymologie d'autres lexèmes se rapportant à cette famille de mots : *assainir, insensé, insane, vésanie, insanité, sain et malsain, sanicle et sanicula, sanie, sanitaire, santé...* qui partagent la même origine avec ceux des familles espagnole et anglaise. *Soigner,* en 1160, signifiait „s'occuper de, veiller à" ; être préoccupé de", du francique *sunnjôn, „s'occuper de" (Dauzat *et al.* 1968: 697). Tous pourraient avoir connu une origine indo-européenne comparable

1.1.5. La base latine castrō

Après les Grecs et chez d'autres auteurs latins, tels Plaute (v. 254 av. J.-C. – 184 av. J.-C.), *Merc*ator (272), et Suétone (v. 70 – v. 122 ; *in Domitianus* 7, 111), le terme *castrō, -āvi, ātum, āre* (Gaffiot *id.:* 272) signifie également châtrer un animal, sans spécialisation chevaline. Le nom *castrātĭo, ōnis* (*id.*) est employé pour castration par l'agronome L. J. M. Columella (4 – v. 70 ; *in rei rusticae* 6, 26). Le *castrātŏr, -ōris,* est le « castreur », attesté par Tertullianus, l'écrivain chrétien de Carthage (mort v. 240 ap. J.-C. ; *in Adversus Judaeos* 1, 1).

En occitan (et donc provençal), Alibert (*id.:* 211) donne *castrar* < *castrare,* comme le fait l'auteur du dictionnaire catalan *(un cavall castrat)* (Ruis Vidal 1932). Le synonyme de châtrer est *crestar.* Dans les Cévennes, le *castron* est l'agneau ou le chevreau castré. En terre occitane, *castier* est un autre synonyme (*id.* 65).

1.1.6. La base latine ĕquus

Sous Cicéron (106 – 43 av. J.-C.), *ĕquus* désignait le cheval *(in Pro rege Dejotaro* 28) sans que soit faite la moindre allusion à la pratique de la castration.

1.1.7. La base gallo-latine căballa

Căballa (< *caballus,* Gaffiot *id.:* 234) désignait la « jument » et un *caballĭo, ōnis* (< *caballus, id.*) était un « petit cheval ». Cependant, *căballus, -i,* a éliminé le latin populaire *equus* (Gaffiot *id.*) et il a clairement désigné le *cheval hongre* ou le « cheval (qui a été) *hongré* ») mais sans préciser à quelle époque. Dans ce cas lexical latin, l'auteur certifie que la notion de « cheval castré » est connue d'un peuple « ancien », celui des Romains (?), et ce dans leur langue, tel chez M. V. Martialis (40 – 104 ap. J.-C. ; 1, 41, 20).

Notons, ici, que le participe passé *hongré,* dans son / cette assertion spécifique, semble avoir produit l'adjectif *hongre*, (d'abord) non accentué, lequel est alors homographe (à l'exception de la lettre majuscule initiale) et homophone du nom commun masculin singulier / ethnonyme *Hongre (l'homme hongrois / le*

Hongrois) et de l'adjectif ethnonymique *hongre (qui est hongrois)*. Cette réalité a certainement pu créer quelque confusion grammaticale.

2. La base latine *ougro-* et ses variantes : *hongr-* / *ongr-* / *ougr-* / *ogr-*Étymologies et sens

2.1. Définitions d'autrefois et variantes étymologiques discutées

Nous qualifions cette base d'*ougrio-latine* parce que tous les lemmes et les éléments onomastiques français et occitans que nous allons présenter proviennent de cette base, laquelle, par l'intermédiaire du latin médiéval puis de sa forme germanisée, appartient au groupe des langues finno-ougriennes. Nous proposons ici une sélection, chronologiquement ordonnée, de quelques unes des étymologies et des hypothèses avancées et publiées par les auteurs consultés. Cette liste, obligatoirement non exhaustive, montre une certaine confusion et diverses contradictions.

1573 : dans la 1ère édition de son *Dictionnaire*, JEAN NICOT (1530–1604), diplomate, philologue et introducteur du tabac en France, n'inclut pas de termes commençant par *hongr-* / *houng-* / *hung-* / *ong-* / *oung-* / *ung-*…

1606 : cependant, dans l'édition suivante, il indique clairement que « hongre » signifie : « *ores celuy ou celle qui est du païs de Hongrie, combien qu'on le deust plutost en cette signification ecrire sans aspiration ongre ou ungre, et ores chastré qu'on dit autrement senné* (voir en 1.2, à *sanare*), *'Cui exerti sunt testiculi', mais le François attribue ce terme spécialement aux chevaux castrez*. » (art. '*hongre*'). L'auteur nous dit que ce mot procède de deux fonctions grammaticales c'est-à-dire, tout également, nom et adjectif communs et gentilé). « *Celuy ou celle qui est du païs de Hongrie* » signifie « celui ou celle qui est originaire de ce territoire et de ce royaume » comme « celui ou celle qui est sujet du roi de ce pays ». Il est ici clairement établi que *senné* est un dérivé verbal de conjugaison (sans doute de **senner*) comme le sont *castrez* de castrer et *hongré* de hongrer. On note aussi que la préférence lexicale, peu étymologique, est plutôt donnée à *hongre,* plutôt qu'à *ongre* ou *ungre,* une préférence qui se confirmera ultérieurement.

1611 : chez RANDLE COTGRAVE (lexicographe anglais, XVIe s.–1634), « *hongre : An Hungarian ; also a guelded man, or horse ; an eunuch, a guelding* »… (non paginé : art. '*Hongre*') un Hongrois, mais aussi un homme ou un cheval châtré, ce qui a pu générer des anthroponymes de la sous-catégorie des surnoms. Noter que, dans son *Dictionnaire*… l'auteur liste les lexèmes en français et produit ses définitions, en anglais.

1749–1789 : dès sa première édition, Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon (1707–1788) précise qu' « *Un cheval hongre n'a plus la puissance d'engendrer,*

*mais il peut encore s'accoupler, et l'on en a vu des exemples***.** » (*Histoire naturelle des Quadrupèdes*. t. I, p. 123 ; Littré, *Dict. de la Langue française*). Il ajoute que « *Les chevaux entiers* (comprendre : 'non castrés') *ont le cou plus gros que les juments et les hongres* » (*id*. *Quadripèdes,* t. I, 49 ; Littré 1863–1877). Ici, *hongre* est un 'substantif' (nom). En outre, Buffon ajoute que « *En Perse, en Arabie et dans plusieurs autres lieux de l'Orient, on n'est pas dans l'usage de hongrer les chevaux, comme on le fait en Europe et à la Chine* » (Buffon, *Quadrupèdes,* t. 1, 121 ; repris par Littré, éd. en 33 cahiers, 1863–1877).

1755 : L.-G. Hansy donne : « *Hūngărĭa*, *-æ*, *: Hongrie, royaume d'Hongrie* » (art. *Hūngărĭa*). On note que le /h/ initial est aspiré et que l'auteur francophone aurait pu écrire « de Hongrie ». Ici, sont donnés le nom de pays (un chroronyme) et l'adjectif ethnonymique. La confusion règne.

1783 : on comprend pourquoi le célèbre traducteur néerlandais, O. R. F. W. Winkelman, ne s'est pas aventuré à la moindre hypothèse de ce genre : « *Een hongaarsch of hongers paerd* = un cheval hongrois, (c'est-à-dire) d'Hongrie » (1783: 688). Pour ce linguiste de renommée, ni *hongaarsch* ni *hongers* ne véhiculait (vraiment ?) le sens de châtrer.

1843 : cependant, il est curieux de noter, par exemple, que A. Perrot, le géographe, et Aragon, dans leur 4e édition du *Dictionnaire universel de Géographie moderne,* page 26 de la lettre H, dans leur article *Hongrie,* signalent l'importance de l'élevage des chevaux dans ce pays mais sans évoquer la pratique du *hongrage.*

1852 : Louis-Nicolas Bescherelle (lexicographe et grammairien, 1802–1883) « *hongre : adj. ; châtré. Ne se dit que des chevaux : un cheval hongre. On en amenait beaucoup autrefois de Hongrie. S'emploie aussi comme subst.* Exemples : « *un beau hongre ; un attelage de six hongres de même robe.* » (Bescherelle 1852: 154). « *Hongré, -ée, part. pas. du verbe hongrer. S'emploie adjectivement : cheval hongré*. » (*id*.). « *Hongre : s'est dit pour Hongrois* » (*id.*), le gentilé. On trouve, ici, un féminin plutôt curieux !

1869 (1861–1870) : l'éditeur Maurice Lachâtre (simple coïncidence… 'châtre', variante de château, < *castra* < *castrum*), en fait : M. de La Châtre (1814–1900) se limite à affirmer que ce terme, *hongre,* « *se dit particulièrement des chevaux* ». Ici, *hongre* signifie et est synonyme de 'châtré' (part. pas.)

1878 : (Joseph Étienne) Frédéric Mistral (ou Frederi Mistral ou encore Mistrau, en 'provençal'), écrivain occitan et lexicographe provençal (1830-1914) inclut *oungrés* dans son *Dictionnaire…,* lui donnant le sens de 'hongrois', comme adjectif. (art. *oungrés*).

1895–1900 : Darmestteter, Arsène énonce (t. 2 : 1248) : « *Hongre, proprement, l'usage de châtrer les chevaux étant venu de Hongrie ; sens existant en 1549* ». On

observe ici, de nouveau, l'erreur historique et chronologique de divers auteurs, puisque l'idée de la castration des chevaux n'appartient pas exclusivement à ce pays ou à ses habitants, comme le démontrent les prédécesseurs les plus anciens. Cependant, comme il va être montré, il semblerait que cet usage ait résulté des échanges, nombreux et ininterrompus, entretenus entre les pays concernés, au cours des XIIe – XVIe siècles. L'entrée des termes appartenant à cette famille lexicale n'a, très naturellement, fait que suivre.

1932 / 1989 (8e éd.) : selon BLOCH *et al.* (*id.:* 323), « *Le mot remonte au latin d'Allemagne ungarus / hungarus, qui est formé sur le turc ogur, signifiant « flèches », mot avec lequel les Turcs désignaient les Hongrois…* », parce qu'ils étaient autant d'excellents tireurs à l'arc que de remarquables cavaliers. « *Hongrer » dérive de « hongre », depuis 1613* » (*id.*).

1952 / 1977 (3e éd.) : selon MACHADO (248, § *Húngaro*) « *Húngaro, do lat. tardio da Germânia (h)ungaru, de origem controverso (*voir : *Schonfield, Wörterbuch des algermanischen Personen- und Volkernamen, Nasc. II). Em 1512 : « e que el Rey d'Ongria que já tinha mandado o cardeal ungro / Vngaro (sic), que aqui entrou averáora pouquod* » (*Corpor Diplomático Português*, 2, 153 ; MACHADO *id*.). Cet auteur n'hésite pas à évoquer une *controverse* publiée en Allemagne et ce faisant, une certaine confusion. La citation, bien qu'intéressante parce qu'elle souligne le fait de la controverse, n'inclut pas *hongre.*

1968 : Selon DAUZAT (*et al.* 1968: 373) et BLOCH (*et al.* 2001: 486) , c'est dans *Le Jouvencel* (vol. I) que JEAN DE BUEIL (1406–1477), son auteur, aurait été le premier à employer ce terme, pour la première fois publié, dans son récit semi-autobiographique, rédigé entre 1461 et 1466, incluant la relation du siège d'Orléans de 1429.

1971 : pour LOSIQUE (118) : Il semblerait que ce soit des nomades (venus) de l'Oural, alors appelés « *Ougriens* » (pour les peuples ou tribus Magyars, Vogouls, Ostiaks), qui, vers 896 (le *Larousse* du XIXe dit 894), auraient vu leur surnom ou leur nom, phonétiquement, être plus ou moins correctement interprété (*Uhri, Ugri, Ungri, Wengri…* Larousse XIXe s. 374) et plus tard, suivant l'évolution populaire naturelle du latin médiéval, il aurait été repris dans celui (le latin d'Allemagne) sous le terme de *ungarus* / *hungarus,* qui aurait été formé d'après le turc *ogur* (flèches, au pluriel), mot, terme voire surnom avec lequel les Turcs désignaient les *Hongrois.* La formation lexicale *cheval hongre* a pu être inspirée de celle de ce surnom 'ethnique' : « tireur à l'arc *hongre* (= hongrois) monté (sur cheval) *à la hongroise…* » (et le sens de 'hongrois' aurait, par suite d'une simple confusion, évolué vers celui de 'hongré')… à moins que ce peuple des steppes n'ait possédé que des « chevaux castrés rapides comme des flèches »…

1989 : BLOCH donne en citation : « … *spécialisation de l'ancien français hongre / ongre, d'où nous* (les Français) *avons tiré hongrois, l'usage de châtrer les chevaux étant venu de Hongrie* » (BLOCH *et al.* 1989: 323) …ce qui, on l'a vu, n'est pas véritablement exact.

Du point de vue purement lexical et onomastique, français et occitan, la base « *hongr-* » et ses dérivés sont d'origine exonymique et, donc ! Non provenus du magyar.

2.2. Ébauche d'une hypothèse lexico-historique

Pour quelle(s) raison(s), seuls les francophones et les occitanophones ont-ils construit leurs emprunts lexicaux d'après l'élément « *hongr-* » au lieu de « *castr-* » *?*

Une recherche historique systématique réalisée « en ligne », sur les rapports et / ou les liens ayant existés entre la plupart des pays d'Europe et la Hongrie, a permis de constater que la France est le pays qui a, très loin devant tous les autres, connu le plus grand nombre de « connexions » de toutes sortes. Afin de tenter de répondre à cette interrogation et de rendre cette hypothèse recevable, il est nécessaire d'observer les échanges et / ou alliances anciennement attestées à partir de l'époque de l'établissement définitif des Magyars en Hongrie, vers l'an 1000

2.2.1. Les personnages ayant parlé l'oïl (ancien et moyen français) en France d'alors

XIe siècle : traitant de la Hongrie, des Croisades et des pèlerinages, l'historien hongrois SÁNDOR CSERNUS (1999: 1 et 2) rappelle les nombreux cas d'échanges et de contacts établis entre la Hongrie et la France. Ainsi :

Guillaume II *Taillefert* (v. 960–1028), Duc d'Angoulême, traverse ce pays courant 1025, lors d'un pèlerinage.

1054 : l'évêque de Cambrai, Saint Lietheberb traverse la Hongrie avec 3000 pèlerins. Ils y rencontrent André 1er, dit *le Catholique,* roi de Hongrie (1046–1060).

D'autre part, les alliances princières et royales sont nombreuses :

Marie de France (1158–1197), fille de Louis VII *le Jeune* (1137–1180), roi des Francs, et de Constance de Castille, épouse, en secondes noces, en 1185, Béla III *Árpád,* (1172–1196), roi de Hongrie (1185–1196).

On le sait, le rameau de Hongrie de la maison capétienne d'Anjou-Sicile est issu de Charles Ier (1227–1285), roi de Naples et de Sicile (1266–1285), dernier fils du roi de France (1223–1226), Louis VIII, dit *le Lion,* et de Blanche de Castille

(1188–1252). Il avait tenté d'étendre son pouvoir sur les Balkans et était devenu, en 1277, le prétendant au trône de Jérusalem. En 1248, il accompagna le roi de France, Louis IX pendant la septième croisade. À la suite de cet événement, se fera une forte période franco-hongroise, dès 1290, avec la dynastie d'Anjou :

Charles d'Anjou, dit *Martel,* roi titulaire de Hongrie (1290–1295), fils de Charles II d'Anjou, dit *le Boiteux,* roi de Naples (1285–1309) et du Maine, et de Marie de Hongrie, sœur de Ladislas IV de Hongrie, dit *le Couman* (1262–1290). Elle était la fille d'Étienne V de Hongrie *Árpád* (1270–1272) et d'Élisabeth *la Coumane* (1240 [1290–1295]).

Charles Ier Robert (1288–1342) ou Carobert / Charobert d'Anjou-Sicile, roi de Hongrie (1308–1342), fils de Charles Martel de Hongrie. Son 2e fils, André, épouse Jeanne, héritière royale, descendante du roi de France, Louis VIII *le Lion,* dont il vient d'être question.

Louis Ier de Hongrie (1342–1382) ou Nagy Lajos, roi de Pologne (1370–1382), membre de la Maison capétienne d'Anjou-Sicile.

2.2.2. Les personnages ayant parlé l'occitan (ou oc) d'alors

Dès au moins 924, le frère de Guillaume II *Le Jeune,* duc d'Aquitaine (décédé en 926), combat les Hongrois, installés en Pannonie depuis 901.

Au Xe siècle, les Hongrois menèrent diverses expéditions à travers de la partie sud de la France, se confrontant aux Burgondes puis aux Aquitains, aux détenteurs de la Gothie (Septimanie ou Narbonnaise Première / Septimanie ou Province de Narbonne, de langue occitane), avant de rentrer en ancienne Pannonie, en train de devenir la Hongrie (Pannonie : site). Peut-être les officiers de Guillaume ont-ils combattu les redoutables cavaliers hongrois voire même découvert les « chevaux de la cavalerie hongroise, *hongrés à la mode hongroise* » ! Mais ? Tous leurs chevaux étaient-il, pour autant, hongrois ou d'origine hongroise ?

Jean d'Anjou ou Duc de Durazzo (1309–1336), fils de Marie de Hongrie, épouse, en secondes noces (1298), Agnès de Périgord (décédée en 1345), fille d'Hélie Taleiran ou Hélie VII de Talleyrand comte de Périgord (1261–1311), et de Brunissende de Foix. Tous trois comptent parmi les maisons les plus puissantes d'Aquitaine et sont de langue d'oc / occitane. Le rameau de Hongrie (éteint en 1399) et celui de Durazzo (éteint en 1435) sont issus de la Maison capétienne d'Anjou-Sicile qui a constitué des alliances royales et princières avec le Royaume de Hongrie.

En 1502, Anne de Foix (1484–1506), fille de Gaston II de Foix-Candale et de Catherine de Foix, fut reine consort de Bohême et épouse Vladislas Jagellon, IV, roi de Bohème (1471–1516) et de Hongrie (1490–1516). En réalité, fervente

catholique, elle ne sera pas vraiment reine de Bohème. Son fils sera Louis II *Jagellon,* roi de Hongrie (1506–1526). Elle parlait aussi l'occitan gascon.

À la lecture de ces deux sous-paragraphes, on peut être en droit d'avancer l'hypothèse selon laquelle certaines influences sociolinguistiques ont pu « accompagner » certains emprunts lexicaux…

3. Les apports lexicaux (non onomastiques) aux langues française et occitane

3.1. Les dérivés de *hongr-*

Dans les textes et lexiques anciens, on trouve également des dérivés à partir de ses variantes : *houng-* / *ong-* / *ongr-* / *oung-* / *hung-* / *ung-,* que le manque d'espace rédactionnel empêche de citer ici.

hongre : selon DAUZAT (*et al.* 1968: 37), chez BUEIL (1466 : sans pagination), « *hongre est une ellipse* (du nom composé) *de cheval hongre, c'est-à-dire hongrois, l'usage de châtrer les chevaux venant de Hongrie* ». En d'autres termes, dans cette ellipse, hongre signifie 'hongré et hongrois'. il s'agit également d'un gentilé ou d'un ethnonyme adjectivé. On pourrait, alors, avancer que *hongre* (adjectif) et *hongre* (nom propre commun ou propre) dérivent de *Hongrie* (du latin puis de l'allemand médiéval *Hungaria* ou variantes d'époque). On ne sait dire, en ancien français, qui de *hongre* ou de *Hongrie* est d'abord entré dans l'usage de ces deux termes homophones et homographes. Cependant, on est en droit de s'interroger sur le sens donné par DAUZAT : celui d'un adjectif, certes, mais, tout ce qui est *hongrois* n'étant pas, systématiquement, *hongré* (aujourd'hui, avec l'accent aigu qu'exige la grammaire française), ce « double *hongre* » a pu représenter le participe passé français *hongré* (d'un verbe *hongrer*), signifiant « qui est / qui a été châtré, comme on le fait en Hongrie » ou bien « comme le pratique les *Hongrois* »… La consultation du travail collectif (mené sous la direction d'édition de Chantal Lambrechts) qui a abouti à la publication du *Grand dictionnaire étymologique et historique du français* (2001–2005) qui, curieusement, ne cite pas le DAUZAT dans sa bibliographie, ne fait que reprendre cette théorie inadaptée ou, en tous les cas, imprécise. Hongre, ici, peut, en conséquence, être un adjectif et un nom commun.

Historiquement, il est vrai qu'au cours du haut Moyen Âge, les cavaliers magyars châtraient leurs chevaux afin de les rendre plus dociles lors de charges de cavalerie contre l'ennemi ou lors de poursuites effrénées après ce qu'il restait de combattants.

Notons ici, pour le principe, que la première véritable proposition, publiée, de pratiquer les accents (aigus, circonflexes et graves) en langue française, date de 1529, dans *Champleury,* de Geoffroy Tory (v. 1480–1533), imprimeur de

François 1er, roi de France (1515–1547), c'est-à-dire bien après la rédaction de celui de BUEIL.

hongrois : nom commun, composé de *hongr-* + suffixe *-ois,* en moyen français, qui n'a pas évolué vers *(*hongr)ais,* comme *anglois* > anglais, *francois* > français. Nom du quadrupède. Il ne représente pas l'éventuelle forme féminine, ce qui se comprend aisément mais il est autant son singulier que son pluriel. *Hongrois* représente, en ancien français, l'évolution et le passage de la forme *hongre* vers sa continuation en *hongrois.*

ongrat : traduction occitane de *hongre.* On note ici que *ongrat* signifie *(qui est) hongré* et (qui a été) *hongré :* il s'agir du participe passé. L'oc dit également *crestat* (castré). Variante : *un caval ongrat,* ou *sanat* (LAUX 2001: 405).

ongrés / *ongresa :* hongrois/hongroise (ALIBERT *id.:* 516). Les auteurs ne précisent pas si l'un est venu de l'une ou de l'autre langue variantes : *oungrés / oungresa :* même sens, graphie du TDF.

hongrer : verbe : *hongr-* + suffixe verbal *-er* du 1er groupe (XVIe s.). En 1852 : « *hongrer : châtrer un cheval* » (BESCHERELLE 1852: 154), que ce soit en Hongrie, en France ou ailleurs, à la mode hongroise ou non.

hongreur : nom commun : *hongr-* + suffixe d'agent *-eur* (fin XIXe s.) ; il s'applique à des agents hongrois, français ou d'autre nationalités, en Hongrie comme en France. « **Hongreuse* », pourrait être un éventuel féminin singulier qui, cependant, ne semble pas (encore) avoir été jamais attesté.

hongrage : nom : *hongr-* + suffixe d'exécution d'une action ; ici, celle de *hongrer ;* il désigne l'acte de castration du cheval, quand bien même certains auteurs l'ont également utilisé pour d'autres animaux (âne, chameau, etc.). Il a pu, tout également, signifié « châtrer à la hongroise » (= comme le font les Hongrois ou comme cela se pratique dans leur Hongrie).

3.2. Les dérivés de *Hongrie*

N.B. : les estimations de dates données en siècles ne correspondent pas aux dates des premiers emplois mais à celle de l'époque de leur entrée, attestée, dans le lexique français ou occitan.

Oungrio : Hongrie (TDF id.) en occitan. *Mario d'Oungrio : Marie de Hongrie,* épouse du Comte de Provence, Charles II le *Boiteux.*

Es tarrible aquò, me vòlon fa rèi d'Ongria e lo vòle pas estre : citation occitane (LAGARDA 1967: *Bufòla,* conte de veillée). Traduction : 'C'est terrible, ça, ils veulent me faire roi de Hongrie et je ne veux pas l'être'. Communiqué par Joan Rigosta (Jean Rigouste), Agen (47), Professeur d'occitan.

hongrois : adjectif décliné en *-se, -ses.* Selon plusieurs auteurs « hongre » a été la forme ancienne de « hongrois ». Sa formation a été classique en français : base *(hongr-)* + suffixe d'origine *(-ois, -oise, -oises),* permettant la création d'adjectifs d'origine. Il s'agit de celui qui renseigne sur l'origine géographique et / ou culturelle.

Ongrés / *Ongresa* (*id.*) ; *Oungrés* / *Oungresa :* selon le TDF.

Pudent coma un Oungrés : locution proverbiale occitane datant du Xe s., signifiant « Puant comme un Hongrois » (d'alors !) Rappelons-nous que les hordes hongroises ravagèrent la Provence et le Languedoc…Ces cavaliers ne devaient pas avoir le temps de faire la moindre de leurs ablutions… Et l'ennemi est rarement bien porté dans les cœurs des victimes…

Oungrés : occitan, *Hongrois* (TDF 1878 : art. *oungés*). Une expression, du Xe s.

hongrois (le) : la langue finno-ougrienne, parlée par les Hongrois / les hongrophones (un néologisme en voie d'acceptation) / en Hongrie. Bien entendu, on trouve l'adjectif *hongrois* dans tous les composés de type *albano-hongrois*, *franco-hongrois…*

hongrieur et *hongroyeur :* le premier est d'un usage plus ancien. Ces noms sont d'origine professionnelle : ils désignent l'ouvrier qui façonne le « cuir de Hongrie ». En 1852, BESCHERELLE (1852: 154) énonce « *hongrieur : subst. Voir hongroyeur*. *Hongrieur avait d'abord été formé d'après Hongrie, le nom du pays d'origine de ces cuirs traités dans ce royaume* ». Il était linguistiquement logique qu'il évolue vers *hongroyeur,* qui a perduré. Ajoutons que cet auteur précise également que « les tanneurs de Paris sont aussi *hongroyeurs* » (*id.*), une assertion qui modifie l'identité nationale ou ethnique du terme, son sens étymologique se perdant ainsi. Le hongroyeur français travaillant des « cuirs venant de Hongrie ou encore des « cuirs façonnés à la mode hongroise et sans doute ou peut-être dans ce pays » (WAILLY et al. 1845 : 436).

hongroyer (XVIIIe s.) : tanner des peaux selon la « méthode de tannage des cuirs » pratiquée en Hongrie.

hongroierie (fin XVIIIe s.) : lieu ou se pratiquait cette méthode.

hongroyage (fin XIXe s.) façon de traiter des peaux, « comme cela se fait en Hongrie », « selon la méthode des Hongrois ».

(h)ongre : en numismatique, la monnaie hongroise a connu plusieurs équivalents en français. En 1799–1800 (An VIII) : « *On appelle hongre une monnaie qui se fabrique en Hongrie. Le hongre pèse 3 grains de moins que le ducat de Venise*. » (PEUCHET 1799: 6490). « *C'est une monnaie de compte dont se servent les banquiers et négocians de Hongrie, pour tenir leurs livres. En Hongrie, on compte par hongre et par demi-hongre*. » (*id.* 650). En 1852 : le « *hongre était*

une monnaie de Hongrie, valant 10 francs 50 centimes. » (BESCHERELLE 1852: 154).

hongreline : habillement de femme, autrefois porté en *Hongrie,* soit par les hommes, soit par les femmes, selon les modes et les époques. L'emploi du suffixe *-ine* est ancien et souvent utilisé pour nommer des éléments vestimentaires, alors à la mode. Voir : mousse*line* (1298 < mosul*in,* Marco Polo, < Mossoul, Mésopotamie), brigand*ine* (*ca* 1350, armure sommaire, de l'italien), capel*ine* (1367, de l'occitan), mantel*ine* (1513), basqu*ine* (1534, de l'espagnol), pèler*ine* (début XIXe s .), crinol*ine* (1829, de l'italien).

oungrelino : variante occitane pour *hongreline,* pour employée sous Louis XV dit *le Bien-Aimé* (1710–1774 / roi : 1715–1774).

point de Hongrie : dès au moins 1769, motif de parquet traditionnel français, aussi dit en chevron, avec frises de mêmes longueurs et coupe à l'onglet, d'après le style hongrois d'autrefois.

point de Hongrie : nom variante du papillon *Erynnis tages,* identifié en 1758 par Linnaeus (Carl von Linné, 1707–1778), et de nouveau nommé en 1780 par le moine augustin Marie-Dominique-Joseph Engramelle (1734–1814), pour les motifs qui sont restés les siens.

point de Hongrie : nom d'une sorte de tapisserie, autrefois très utilisée en ameublement français. Ces trois derniers exemples composés rappellent leur origine commune : le savoir-faire hongrois ou « *des Hongrois en Hongrie* ».

Hongroiseries (2010) : création humoristique, construite d'après hongrois + suffixe français en *-erie* (idée de contenant, de rassemblement d'items : ici, liste de jeux d'esprit) de András Ecedi-Derdak et Zoltán Jeney, de l'Institut hongrois de Paris, titre d'une plaquette non moins humoristique, rappelant les mots français empruntés à la langue hongroise. Il ne s'agit pas (encore) d'un néologisme officiellement attesté par l'Académie Française.

3.3. Les dérivés de *ougr-*

Notons ici que les formes simples *ougrien(s), ougrienne(s), Ougrien(s), Ougrienne(s)* sont des créations lexicales savantes. C'est en 1868 qu'elles apparaissent comme néologismes. Peu après (1874), suivront les formes adjectivales composées *ougrio-finnois, ougrio-finnoi(e)s.* DAUZAT et al. (1968: 519) ajoute qu'elles dérivent de *Ougre,* un nom de peuple. Quant à *ogre,* les auteurs sont trop en désaccord pour que ce terme soit pris ici en considération

4. Les créations onomastiques

4.1. L'anthroponymie

4.1.1. Patronymie : des cas simples

1331 : Lettres de Bertrand *Le Hongre,* citoyen, échevin de la ville de Metz (Archives Départementales de la Moselle, Inventaire B, 44e liasse). On relève l'adjonction de l'article masculin singulier définissant le surnom de l'époque. On note qu'il n'y a pas eu agglutination.

1390 : Un certain Perrinet *le Hongre* fut légitimé cette année-là (Arch. Nationales, série JJ 140, n° 10).

1412 : Jacques *le Hongre,* écuyer du roi (Charles VI *le Fou,* un Valois), conseiller général des Aides.

1628–1676 : Étienne *Le Hongre,* célèbre sculpteur français, né et mort à Paris. Son nom s'est également écrit sous sa forme agglutinée *Lehongre* (Le Hongre Étienne : site).

1712 : en Belgique francophone : *De Longrée,* à Huy / néerlandais Hoei / wallon Hu ; variantes : *Longrée* (à Hoei), *Longré, Longrie* (de *Longrès, Longré(e)), Longrie, L'Ongrée* (Itter). Tous ces patronymes ont été interprétés comme signifiant *(la) Hongrie* / *Hongarije* (flamand – néerlandais) et sont des noms de pays d'origine (Belgique : site).

1745 : Bertrand *Le Hongre,* époux de N… (patronyme inconnu), dont la fille était prénommée Mahaut (Calmet 1751: t. V).

début XIXe s. : Louis Nicolas Couppé de Kervennou (1796–1840) s'installa au lieu seigneurial de *la Hongraie* et changea son nom de famille en Couppe de *La Hongraie.* La *Hongraie* était un lieu (une *hongraie*) spécialisée dans la castration de chevaux français, afin de les rendre hongres, c'est-à-dire « castrés ». Le propriétaire, « habitant du lieu de la hongraie lui emprunta son nom, avec ajout de la préposition d'apparence nobiliaire dont la fonction première était celle de la localisation toponymique et géographique. (communication : Alain *de Lahongrais,* 2016).

1999 : *Hongre :* patronyme localisés à Nampce (42 naissances entre 1891 et 1990), dans le département de l'Oise (Fordant 1999 : 466). Ou bien son patronyme est un ancien surnom, celui d'un individu qui possédait un « cheval hongre », hongrois ou pas, châtré ou pas mais au moins l'un des deux ; ou bien il était « Hongre », c'est-à-dire Hongrois, originaire de Hongrie. M.-Th. Morlet (1991: 517) se limite à « *représente l'ancienne forme de hongrois* », sans plus d'analyse.

1999 : *Hongrois :* aujourd'hui localisé dans les départements de la Seine-et-Marne, de la Somme, de l'Yonne (*id.:* 466). Dans ce cas, ou bien le premier porteur était Hongrois (gentilé) ou bien c'était un Français qui avait fait la guerre dans ce pays ou qui y avait séjourné et qui avait l'habitude de le rappeler à tout un chacun ; dans ce cas, ce patronyme a d'abord été un véritable surnom, lequel, avec l'exercice des siècles, est devenu un patronyme français officiellement reconnu comme tel.

1999 : *Ongre :* patronyme essentiellement localisé à Paris, dans le 6e arrondissement (*id.:* 683). Il serait en voie de disparition (*id.:* 1277).

4.1.2. Patronymie 'dynastique' : des cas composés

Marie de Hongrie (langue d'oïl) (1257–1323) était la fille d'Étienne V de *Hongrie ;* elle appartenait à la dynastie d'*Árpád* (nom dynastique) et, en français, son nom de famille est *de Hongrie.* Elle était l'épouse de Charles II d'Anjou ; « *d'Anjou* » était alors devenu un patronyme dynastique hongrois d'origine française.

Marie d'Autriche (1505–1558) avait ce patronyme royal pour nom de naissance, mais elle était plus généralement appelée *Marie de Hongrie,* qui était, en conséquence, devenu une sorte de « surnom royal ».

4.1.3. Cas d'emploi erroné

Le temps d'écriture de ce texte est difficile à dater : vers le XIIe s. (?) : Dans *Li Romans des Lohérens,* l'auteur indique bien souvent comme suit : « *hungre* est, à l'époque, employé pour *Hongre,* c'est-à-dire *Hongrois.* Tout cela manque de précision et, en outre, *hungre* est utilisé pour *Sarrazin,* pour hérétique, pour brigand. D'autres auteurs les ont rapprochés du terme français « ogre » parce qu'ils (les Hongrois) étaient tellement féroces au combat qu'on les comparaissait aux personnages de conte et qu'on supposait qu'ils avaient la même étymologie… « *Si com li hongres* (en fait, le Sarrazins) *vinrent en cest pais chrestienete ont malement laidi ces hommes mors* (Maures) *et detruit le pays, ils arcene Rains* (Reims), *Paris…* (ROQUEFORT 1807: I, 732).

4.1.4. Démonymie, ethnonymie, gentilés

XIIIe : *Hongres* In : 1 : « … *Hervis attaqué par les Hongres* (Hongrois) » (BÉDIER 1907 t. 38). 2 : Il enverra « *mander les Grecs, les Hongrois, les Anglais…* » (*id.*) ; ils sont cités ainsi parmi les autres nations (*id.*). 3 : « *Et lors je menneray en France tant de Hongres que je desherïteray Charles Martel.* » (*id.*) ... Alors que l'on sait, aujourd'hui, que ce Ch. Martel (le Français et non

le roi hongrois) combattit et battit les Arabes ou Sarrazins, et non les Hongrois, à Poitiers, en 732.

XIIIe : Dans le poème de Jean Bodel (1165–1210), *La Chanson des Saxons* (2e moitié du XIIIe s.) ou *Le Chant des Saisnes* (Saxons) / *Widukind de Saxe*, une chanson de geste appartenant au cycle carolingien, l'auteur interprète « hongrois » comme « *langue parlée en Hongrie et* (comme un) *habitant de la Hongrie* » (MICHEL 1839: 308).

milieu XIIIe s. : Dans la *Chanson de Gaufrey,* une chanson de geste appartenant également au cycle carolingien, son auteur (anonyme) précise que : « *Maint Hongres, et maint Grisons et maint d'outre la mer* (vers 9205, p. 278) (étaient) *ce qu'il avoit mandé pour la terre…* (vers 9206, *id.*). Ici, *Hongres* signifie Hongrois.

av. 1404 : Dans ses *Chroniques de Jehan Froissart* (t. II, 267), écrites en moyen français, cet auteur couvre les années 1322 à 1373. Dans le tome II, il explique « … *car les Hongres qui furent sur les champs avec leur roy fuitis et recreans, leur roy meisme enmainent leur puissance, sanz assembler, ayans tint souvenance. »*. Ici, les *Hongres* sont des *Hongrois* (gentilé). Par ailleurs, il relate qu'ils « *envoyèrent trois escuiers montész sur trois hongres chevaux trop appers*. » (prompts et capables = de très bons chevaux).

vers 1442–1444 : Antoine de la Sal(l)e (v. 1386–1462), dans ses œuvres, dont le tome I, *La Salade,* parues en 1935, en forme d'édition critique, à Liège : Faculté de Philosophie et de Lettres / Librairie E. Droz, il y cite de nombreuses fois la *Hongrie* qu'il orthographie comme au XXIe s.

1665 : Antoine de Ruffi (1607–1689), conseiller du roi, l'auteur de *l'Histoire des Comtes de Provence*… (parue à Aix-en-Provence, en 1665, chez le libraire-imprimeur Jean Roize) mentionne que « *Les Hongres* (les Hongrois) *furent excommuniez par le légat du Pape*… ».

4.2. Toponymie

Dans les textes et ouvrages, anciens ou plus récents, comme dans les dictionnaires, historiques ou non, les citations se retrouvent dans divers cas de figure.

4.2.1. Toponymie choronymique

Xe s. / remaniée XIIe s. : La chanson de geste, *Li Romans de Raoul de Cambrai et de Bernier,* fut publiée pour la Ière fois en 1860. Trois occurrences nous sont connues : 1° - « *N'avoit si bel jusqu'en Esclavonie* (la Slavonie)*, Ne tel vassal jusqu'en Hongerie*. » (LE GLAY 1840: 144, v. 3498 ; p. 144). Fonction

; 2° : « *Tant alast loing en Puille n'en Hongrie* » (*id*. : 145, v. 3477) ; 3° : « *Se ne t'enfuis en Puille ou en Hongrie*. » (*id*. : 207, v. 5095). Le toponyme a une fonction géolocative.

XIIIe s. : « *Que uns des halz barons de l'ost qui avoit Simon de Montfort, ot fait son plait al Roy de Ungrie*… » (VILLEHARDOUIN, B.N., Paris, Mss. f° 55). Fonction d'identification dynastique.

milieu XIIIe s. : Dans la *Chanson de Gaufrey* (déjà citée), l'auteur informe que le pays qui sera traversé sera la *Honguerie* (vers 346). Fonction géographique.

1ère moitié XIVe s. : 1° : « … *comment le roy Charles Martel de France et le duc Gerard de Roncillon se voulurent marier aux deux filles du rot* (roi) *de Honguerie*. » (BÉDIER 1907). Fonction dynastique et généalogique. 2° – « *Et ilz leur dirent qu'en tout le pajïs il n'y avoit nulles plus grans nouvelles sinon que mort estoit Othon de Honguerie et que li roy Charles Martel avoit fait publier par tout le royauime de Hongurie, de France, par toute la Bourgoingne*… ». Il s'agit sans doute de Béla V, de la dynastie des Árpád, aussi appelé Othon III de Bavière, alors roi de Hongrie (1305–1308). Fonction géographique et dynastique.

4.2.2. Toponymie géopolitique

Ce nom de pays et / ou l'adjectif qui lui correspond entrent dans la composition de nombreux noms propres géopolitiques dont voici quelques exemples :

1526–1718 : les toponymes composés suivants sont souvent cités : la *Hongrie habsbourgeoise* (ou : *Hongrie royale*), la *Hongrie ottomane* (1541–1699, sauf pour la région du Banat, en 1718), la *Hongrie orientale* (ou Transylvanie ou *Royaume de Hongrie Orientale*).

1608 : La *Diète de Hongrie* ou Diète hongroise *(Országgyűlés)* est *l'Assemblée nationale de Hongrie* ». Fonction indicatrice d'un système historique de fonctionnement politique.

1848 : proclamation de *l'Unification hongroise :* incluant la *Hongrie Royale.*

1867–1918 : *Compromis austro-hongrois*, établit en 1867 avec la *Double-monarchie d'Autriche-Hongrie,* remplaçant l'Empire d'Autriche lui-même issu en 1804 de l'Empire des Habsbourg, et terminé en 1918.

1867–1920 : création du nom informel de *La Grande Hongrie* (en hongrois : *Nagy-Magyarország*) ou *Hongrie historique (történelmi Magyarország)* donné au territoire hongrois entre l'établissement du dualisme austro-hongrois (1867) et la fin de la Première Guerre mondiale qui s'acheva par la division du pays, officialisée par le traité de Trianon en 1920.

1867–1918 : création de l'*Empire d'Autriche et du Royaume de Hongrie,* liés par un / le *« Compromis austro-hongrois* », en allemand *Ausgleich,* en hongrois *Kiegyezés*).

1918–1919 : *République hongroise* (et non **République de Hongrie*) : *Magyar Köztársaság.*

1920–1946 : *Royaume de Hongrie.*

1939–1945 : on aura vu apparaître un terme politique, *l'hungarisme* (hongrois *hungarizmus*), une idéologie créée par le Parti des Croix Fléchées (1939–1945).

1949–1989 : *Deuxième République de Hongrie*.

1948–1956 : *Parti des travailleurs hongrois* (en hongrois : *Magyar Dolgozók Pártja*), au pouvoir dans la *République populaire de Hongrie* (également traduit par *République populaire hongroise* ou *République démocratique hongroise*) était le nom officiel de la Hongrie pendant cette période.

1949–1956 : *Front populaire indépendant hongrois*, du Parti socialiste ouvrier hongrois, qui restera au pouvoir en République populaire de Hongrie jusqu'en 1989.

La *Hongrie* (en hongrois : *Magyarország*) est une république

4.2.3. Toponymie communale / municipale

1267 : Magny-*le-Hongre :* est une commune du département de Seine-et-Marne. Depuis au moins de VIIIe s., ce village a porté différents noms. Le qualificatif *Le Hongre,* est attesté dès 1267, sous la forme *Menniaco dictite Hungre.* Puis il est de nouveau attesté en 1372, 1392 et 1411. Ce n'est qu'en 1412 qu'un écuyer du roi, Jacques *Le Hongre,* est cité dans les documents d'archives, mais il pourrait avoir été à l'origine de ce toponyme composé, même si son origine reste incertaine. On note que la variante *Hungre* se rapproche du latin médiéval dont est issue la forme en haut allemand médiéval qui en est découlé. Peut-être s'agit-il d'un souvenir de croisade ou de pèlerinage…

Longré (Charente) : cité par Nègre (1990: 4052). Cet auteur lui donne pour valeur sémantique celle de « longue raie » ou « sillon » de labour et, donc, de 'terre labourable', en pays d'oïl. Nous souhaitons proposer, ici, la réflexion suivante, tout en prenant en considération ce qui a déjà été énoncé plus haut en 4.1.1. Ce microtoponyme ayant conservé le hiatus, semble plutôt correspondre à *La Hongrie* / *Longrie* / *L'Ongrie* ou bien à *La Hongraie* (le lieu spécialisé dans le *hongrage* des chevaux) / *Longraie* / *L'Ongraie,* qu'à une **longue Raie.* Après tout, les Magyars n'attaquèrent-ils pas la France dès 910, puis 915, 924, 926, 936, 937, 938 puis 953 en Flandre ? Toutes ces effusions de sang n'auraient-elles pas généré quelques repères ou souvenirs toponymiques ? On observe

que, dans toutes ses analyses concernant la base *hongr-,* NÈGRE n'envisage jamais une telle étymologie.

4.3. Microtoponymie

La Hongrais : une *hongraie* était un lieu spécialisé dans le châtrage / *hongrage* des chevaux, en particulier. Il a d'abord désigné le lieu professionnel rural, où œuvrait le *hongreur.* Lorsque ce lieu devint la propriété et le lieu d'habitat d'un individu spécifique, hongreur ou non, ce nom commun devint le nom propre dudit lieu et devint le lieu-dit nommé *La Hongraie.* En même temps, il servit d'adresse à son habitant. Il était alors devenu un toponyme rural et un point de repère sur la carte comme dans l'ensemble de la paroisse, commune, région. Il apparut sur le cadastre. Ce nom dérive de la base *hongr-* + suffixe locatif courant en *-aie* (voir : pommeraie, cerisaie) ; la mutation de -aie vers -ais n'est due qu'à la pérennisation d'une erreur graphique. Lorsque l'habitant eut quelque prétention sociale, nobiliaire ou non, il pu ajouter ce groupe toponymique « La Hongrais », à la suite de son nom patronymique, il le fit en intercalant la préposition « de », ce qui n'est, aucunement, un signe d'information d'ordre nobiliaire. Le « de » ne fait pas de vous un noble. Le cœur ou l'esprit, peut-être...

Les Hongres : à Saint-Loup-de-Gonois (Loiret). Ce nom de lieu pourrait rappeler l'ancienne présence, en temps de guerre (un sac) ou de paix (implantation) d'un groupe ou d'une famille de Hongrois. Aucune attestation documentaire ne semble avoir été conservée.

Les Hongrais : à Ruaudin (Sarthe) ; rappelle la présence d'un groupe de Hongrois.

4.4. Microtoponymie urbaine

Restaurant (de) La Hongrée, est une première ellipse pour **Restaurant de la rue de la Hongrée,* puisqu'il lui a été donné son nom. En forme plus populaire et plus courte, il est appelé *Restaurant La Hongrée.* Toujours simplifiant et abrégeant, les habitués disent *Le Hongrée,* le masculinisant, le représentant la forme masculine de « le restaurant », qui est lui-même masculin.

4.5. Oronymie

Col de l'Ongré : ce col se trouve sur la commune d'Arignac (Ariège). Ce nom propre n'est pas cité par les auteurs de dictionnaires de référence, à l'exception du cédérom du Cdip / Ign. Il s'agit d'un passage situé dans une combe (< gaulois *cumba,* vallée ou dépression) en région montagneuse, comme l'indique l'appellatif '*col*'. L'étymologie de l'élément *Ongré* n'est pas claire

mais pourrait être rapprochée de l'ancien français *hongre* ou *hongré* dont le sens était et reste souvent confus, car il a pu être appliqué à un cheval, à un âne, un mulet, un ânon, un bourricot, un bourriquet, un bardot, un onagre, un grison.

Come Le Hongre : à Somme-Yèvre (Marne) ; ici, il s'agit plutôt d'une élévation de terrain. Ce nom est composé de *Come* (< gaulois *cumba*) + *Le Hongre* (un *Hongrois* ou bien un *(cheval) hongre*).

N.B. : on ne confondra pas avec les innombrables (la) / (le) / (les) *Longrais* qui, pour une bonne partie, représentent un nom de lieu signifiant 'terre labourable' ou 'terre labourée', la 'raie' étant le sillon labouré, avec un sens collectif.

En revanche, les lieux nommés *Longrois,* à Juigné-sur-Loire (49 ; Cdip) *Longrois,* à Vézelay (89 ; Cdip) correspondent bien à une présence magyare.

4.6. Odonymie : quelques exemples

Rue de la Hongrée : à Aywaille, Belgique. Sans doute le souvenir (non attesté) d'une ancienne *hongraie,* un lieu où l'on châtrait les chevaux, le suffixe locatif, *-ée,* ayant été différemment entendu et erronément orthographiés.

Rue de la Hongrie : à Nantes (Loire-Atlantique), avec l'article défini féminin singulier « *la* ») *; Rue de Hongrie,* à Leulinghem (Pas-de-Calais), sans l'article « la ».

Rue de Hongrie : à Rennes (Ille-et-Vilaine) ; à Craon (Mayenne), sans article : cette forme raccourcie suit la tendance informatisée.

Rue Marie de Hongrie : à Binche, en Wallonie. Il s'agit de Marie d'Autriche 1505–1558).

Rue Béatrix de Hongrie (1293–1354) : à Romans-sur-Isère (Isère). Fondatrice du Monastère Saint-Just de cette ville, elle est la fille du roi Charles Martel de Hongrie et de Clémence de Habsbourg et belle-sœur du roi de France Louis X. Elle épousera Jean II de Viennois et l'un de leur fils, Humbert II, signera (1349). le rattachement de la province du Dauphiné (dont fait partie l'Isère) à la France

Passage de la Reine-de-Hongrie : à Paris, 1er arrondissement. D'après le surnom attribué à une marchande des Halles d'autrefois, Julie Bécheur qui habitait ce passage en 1789 et qui ressemblait à ce point à l'archiduchesse Marie-Thérèse d'Autriche, reine de Hongrie, que Antoinette, sa propre fille en fut si frappée qu'elle surnomma ainsi cette jolie marchande « Reine-de-Hongrie » (Reine : site).

Paroisse Sainte-Élisabeth de Hongrie (1207–1231) à Versailles. Il existe en France, trois églises portant son nom : à Neuville-en-Avenois, Paris et Versailles

5. En guise de conclusion

Tout d'abord, on a pu observer l'étrange fait que les locuteurs des seules langues française et occitane ont employé la base *(h)ongr-* pour véhiculer l'idée de châtrer un cheval voire d'autres animaux, contrairement aux locuteurs des autres langues aujourd'hui encore parlées. Les cas de créations lexicales et les exemples onomastiques proposés à partir d'une même base exonymique évoluent plutôt souvent dans une certaine confusion de la part des auteurs d'ouvrages de référence, mais cela n'a pas empêché la création d'éléments anthroponymiques et toponymiques non moins intéressants, quand bien même leur nombre demeure restreint et ne permet pas de déductions statistiques véritablement pertinentes. La qualité et l'intérêt du sujet gagnaient sur le petit nombre de ces créations.

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Résumé

Cet exposé a pour but de traiter de deux exemples d'extensions lexicales (sociolinguistique et onomastique), à partir des bases « *hongr-* » et « *ougr-* », issues d'un nom de pays (la Hongrie, en latin médiéval) ou de peuple (les Hongrois) et dont les locuteurs francophones emploient les dérivés tant dans le lexique des mots communs que dans celui des noms propres (onomastique : ethnonymie et gentilés, patronymie, toponymie, odonymie, zoonymie…). Si le corpus observé n'est pas particulièrement conséquent, il n'en est pas moins intéressant par les approches qu'il propose d'observer portant sur l'onomastique et la transnationalité sociolinguistique.

Mots-clés : Hongrie, hongreur, hongraie, dérivés lexicaux

Brittnee Leysen-Ross

Introduced Pākehā place-names in New Zealand's Otago region

1.1. Introduction

Understanding the motivations behind place-names is rarely straightforward, and Pākehā place-names are no exception. Although a place-name may seem to be relatively self-explanatory, it is the responsibility of the name-scholar to look beyond the name itself to its origin, which is often a more arduous process. This especially holds true in regions where settlement patterns have heavily influenced local naming practices resulting in Anglicisation, loan-word use, and a general multi-lingual namescape, such as is in the Otago region located in the south-east of the South Island of New Zealand. There are many theories about the first settlers in New Zealand with regards to who they were and where they came from, but most scholarly literature has the Māori, the indigenous New Zealand population, settling in New Zealand around the 13th century (Howe 2005). European immigration however, began much later, coming in waves since the start of the 19th century. With European influence came a dynamic change in the New Zealand landscape, both physically and politically. The Māori language was purely oral until 1815, which saw the publication of missionary Thomas Kendall's basic grammar book, *Korao [kōrero] no New Zealand; or, the New Zealander's first book; being an attempt to compose some lessons for the instruction of the natives*. The written language then struggled through flawed orthography until 1844 when the first edition was published of Williams's Māori Dictionary, still in use today (Higgins–Keane 2015). However, the Treaty of Waitangi, New Zealand's founding document tying the fate and rights of the Māori peoples to the British crown, was enacted in 1840, years before the first dictionary of the Māori language was released (TOW 1840). The Treaty of Waitangi resulted in a great deal of complications, primarily the interpretation of the treaty since the Māori version was not a direct translation of the treaty in English. This treaty and its various interpretations resulted in a significant amount of land-transfer between the Crown and the Māori peoples, and with it came settlement and naming-patterns still evidenced today.

1.2. Key terminology

For the purpose of this paper it is useful to define a few key terms relevant to the study of the Otago region. The word *Pākehā* for instance, is a prominent term used to distinguish Māori and non-Māori. The origin and original meaning

behind the term *Pākehā* is unknown, but it is often thought to refer to a "person of predominantly European descent" (Williams 1957: 252). However, this interpretation has remained fluid, "with time, Pākehā was the fair-skinned person who was born in New Zealand. Later the term was even more general. It was applied to all fair-skinned people in New Zealand, 'no matter what their ancestry or place of birth' (DOL 1985)." (Ranford 2015: 65). This paper will use Williams' definition of *Pākehā* when analysing place-names displaying non-Māori orthography.

Māori can refer to the indigenous New Zealand population, or the language they speak. Formally, Māori in association with the language is called *Te Reo Māori,* meaning 'the Māori language' where *te* is 'the' and *reo* is 'language' or 'dialect' (OED 2017). Māori itself is thought to have been how the indigenous population referred to themselves as "normal, usual, or ordinary" in opposition to the non-native peoples coming to New Zealand generally labelled as Pākehā (Williams 1957: 179). Many Māori New Zealanders refer to themselves in relation to their Iwi, or tribe, as there are dialectical and even cultural differences between each Iwi. The term *Māori* will be used in this paper to represent the indigenous New Zealand population and language as a whole.

1.3. Guiding questions

This paper will address the five main questions guiding the research on Otago place-names, which I am currently undertaking as a part of a larger PhD thesis at the University of Glasgow. Firstly, it is useful to understand the current discourse on New Zealand – and in particular Otago – place-names, and so the question of what existing literature there is about Pākehā place-names in New Zealand must be addressed. Secondly, we must discuss what Pākehā place-names are and where they are found in the Otago region. Thirdly, a question which at this stage in the research can only be answered in terms of speculation: what are the motivations behind these names? Fourthly, we must ask what these names can tell us about the settlement of the Otago region? Finally, the last question this paper will contemplate is what these names tell us about the European diaspora in the Otago region.

2. Existing literature on Pākehā place-names

There are very few sources that address the subject of place-names in New Zealand, especially with the consideration of place-names as cultural artefacts. The main body of work published on New Zealand place-names that addresses name etymology is A. W. Reed's *Place Names of New Zealand* published in

1975 (REED 1975).[1] REED had produced the largest collection of researched place-name data of his time, including over 10,000 place-names across New Zealand. However, sometimes having the largest collection of data does not mean that it is the most accurate. While REED's text is undoubtedly useful in encouraging interest in the place-names of New Zealand, it becomes difficult to accept his research as fact due to his decision not to include any sources.

In his introduction, REED states "the serious student may justly complain that authorities for many statements [on place-names] have not been provided. It has not been possible to provide these, for it would too greatly increase the length of this book; but a comprehensive card index which provides the source of the information has been deposited by the compiler at the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington." (REED 1975: x).[2]

One further point to note when utilising REED as a source for place-name research in New Zealand, is his, at times, problematic tendency to include probabilities and possibilities along with claimed 'known' information pertaining to naming motivations. "With European names which come from such a variety of sources, the origin is either known or unknown and indeed may occasionally be as suspect as literal renderings of Māori names," says Reed, and that "the frequency of phrases such as 'it is said', 'probably', and 'possibly' is indicative of such uncertainties" (REED 1975: xi). In REED's text, he does indeed include these signifiers of uncertainty where appropriate, which one would hope conversely indicates some certainty of name etymologies without these signifiers present.

Where REED's corpus covered the entirety of New Zealand, to date there has only been one author that has tackled specifically place-names in the Otago region, HARRIES BEATTIE. In 1948, BEATTIE published *Otago Place Names,* which included an impressive listing of some 4,500 place-names. BEATTIE, like REED, did not come from a scholarly background, but instead had an admirable passion for preserving Māori culture that prompted him to record and publish ethnographic studies of the Otago Māori (ANDERSON 1998). In his book, BEATTIE includes notes on his ethnographic studies which have generated his interpretations of Otago place-names. Even more useful, BEATTIE's text has a vast amount of orally recorded origin stories, collected by BEATTIE during

[1] For the purpose of this paper, all mentions of REED's research will be in reference to his 1975 publication of *Place Names of New Zealand,* rather than the second or third editions, printed in 2002 and 2010 respectively, long after his death in 1979 (CAFFIN 1998). Recent editions include modern corrections, revisions, or alterations by the NZ Geographic Board of Names, however, the original corpus and research methodology endure.

[2] At the time of writing, my inquiries with the Alexander Turnbull Library collections have not produced REED's referenced 1975 card index, though it does seem this same index was used in later editions of *Place Names of New Zealand.*

interviews with local inhabitants of the Otago region (Beattie 1948). However, as with Reed's *Place Names of New Zealand,* there remains the question of transparency in his text. We are led to assume the stories collected by Beattie are authentic and indicative of the origins of place-names in the Otago region.

The primary challenge of using Beattie's text as a valid resource in the etymology of Otago place-names comes from its age and the ever-changing linguistic landscape of New Zealand. However, this can also be an invaluable resource to understanding New Zealand's namescape before modern land ordinances were enacted that vastly changed the naming and renaming process of the entire country. Although Beattie and Reed's research has the benefit of recorded and analysed early place-names, it conversely makes answering the question what are, and where are, Pākehā place-names in the Otago region, all the more challenging in a modern setting.

3. Timeline of land ordinances

New Zealand's history of land distribution and land ordinances have shaped the linguistic landscape of today, but it is not without its complications. It is only in the past 70 years that New Zealand place-nomenclature began to develop substance as a result of the New Zealand Geographic Board Act of 1946. For reference, that was only two years prior to the release of Beattie's book on Otago place-names. The Act of 1946 established the New Zealand Geographic Board and included provisions to ensure fair representation of the Māori community. The Board was responsible for investigating doubtful place-name spellings, new geographic features, original Māori place-names, and the replacement of 'alien' names, by which they mean foreign non-Māori names, on official maps (NZGBA 1946). The Board had the ability to assign, or alter, any place-name in New Zealand, and officially replaced the Designation of Districts Act of 1908, and the Designation of Districts Amendment Act of 1909.

In 2008, the New Zealand Geographic Board Act of 1946 was repealed and replaced with the current New Zealand Geographic Board Act. This Act was meant to increase the public involvement with the process of place-naming in New Zealand, and sought to re-define the roles and responsibilities of the Board. A major change to New Zealand place-naming brought about by this act was the inclusion of alternative official geographic names, a provision that allowed a place, or feature, to have two or more official names (NZGBA 2008: Section 4). Another change brought about by the Act of 2008 was a more thorough explanation of the Board's commitment to investigating and instituting Māori place-names throughout New Zealand (NZGBA 2008: Section 6). The changes introduced by the Act of 2008 were meant to aid the Board in creating an official New Zealand place-name gazetteer of unofficial and official place-

names. Official place-names as defined by the Land Information New Zealand website are "assigned, altered, approved, discontinued, adopted, concurred with or validated by the NZGB [New Zealand Geographic Board] or other legislation, such as Treaty of Waitangi settlements, and are listed in the New Zealand Gazetteer" whereas unofficial place-names are defined as "unofficial because they have not been assigned, altered, discontinued, approved, adopted, concurred with or validated by the NZGB" (LINZ).

In the now repealed Act of 1946, the Board determined that "original names are given preference where duplication occurs" (REED–STARTUP 1975: 491). The terminology used by the Board to define an *original name* is the "name first applied" as stated in Section 11 of the New Zealand Geographic Board Act of 1946. Although this Section makes an effort to prioritise the initial place-names of New Zealand, this was not always the case with land legislation. Prior to the Act of 1946, there was the Designation of Districts Act of 1894, the previously mentioned Designation of Districts Act of 1908, and Amendment of 1909. These Acts delegated the ability to give and alter place-names to the Governor of New Zealand. In addition, the Governor had official say over how duplicate place-names were renamed, which did not include any specification about the need to utilise 'original' names or Māori names. The Designation of Districts Act of 1908 specifies that whenever a place "is generally known or named by a name professing to be a Māori name, but is not the true spelling of the said Māori name, or is a corruption thereof, the Governor may by Proclamation alter the name of such locality or natural feature as aforesaid in consonance with the correct Māori orthography" (DODA 1908: Section 6). The progression of place-name regulation requirements and responsibilities have created a long trail of alternative names. More often than not, the intention of contemporary place-name changes seems to be to correct transliteration or spelling errors, rather than to prioritise the use of *original* or first-known place-names.

4. Pākehā versus Māori place-names in the Otago region

The Otago region has a diverse namescape to match its diverse landscape, including a mixture of Pākehā and Māori place-names throughout. Many of the Pākehā place-names in Otago are reminiscent of names seen in Scotland, England, and on occasion Australia. However, there is a large body of place-names that do not easily fit into the category of a Māori or a Pākehā name. In REED's *Place Names of New Zealand, Waimotu, Maheno, Kurow, Kuri Bush, Otakou,* and *Waikaura* are classified as Pākehā names. Pākehā by definition indicates European-origin, yet the names cited by REED are Māori in appearance. In this case, there is evidence to suggest that these place-names were not given by the Māori, but are instead displaying a new category of place-names that are

a form of Anglicised Māori and loanwords. *Kuri Bush,* for example, contains the English element *bush,* and *kurī* which is the Māori word for 'dog' (Reed 1996 [1961]: 112). The combination of the elements *kuri* and *bush* demonstrate a specific classification of place-name stemming from what is now called *New Zealand English* in which Māori words, names, and figures are incorporated into the introduced English language as loanwords. "Māori has provided New Zealand English with so many loanwords, and in particular with place-names, the pronunciation of Māori is an important facet of the way in which English is used in New Zealand." (Bauer 1994: 396). *Waimotu, wai* being the element for 'water' and *motu* the element for 'island', is said by Reed that, in fact, "the name was given by Pākehā's" (Reed 1975: 450). While this might not make the name itself Pākehā, the creation of the place-name by a non-Māori source might call into question if it is a truly Māori place-name, or just created with the Māori language. *Maheno,* thought to mean 'island' and *Waikaura, koura* meaning 'crayfish', are cited as representing this same circumstance (Reed 1975: 238, 447). In reference to the place-name *Otakou,* there is "a certain amount of diachronic and stylistic variation apparent. Very early loans from Māori appear to have been borrowed from oral sources, later ones from written sources […] Māori Otakou gives English Otago, showing the unaspirated Māori stops being perceived as corresponding to English voiced stops" (Bauer 1994: 398). As English voiced stops *p/t/k* can be heard through aspiration, there is occasional misinterpretation of Maori voiceless stops being understood as *b/d/g,* leading to transliteration errors as with Otakou, when the Maori *k* is being taken as an English *g*. "Such words may have been borrowed before Māori spelling was standardised in the late 1830s and 1840s." (Bauer 1994: 398). The place-name *Kurow* demonstrates yet another common occurrence in the New Zealand namescape, where the Māori spelling of the word *Kohurau* has been altered through Anglicisation, resulting in further transliteration errors that can still be seen on modern maps (Reed 1975: 219).

5. Naming motivations of the Pākehā

As with any namescape, it is as much a challenge to trace the origins of place-names as it is the motivation behind the names. As previously discussed, Reed's *Place Names of New Zealand* has the largest collection of place-name etymology data for New Zealand, and as a result this will be the main body of work used to analyse naming motivations in the Otago region.

Oftentimes when attempting to understand the motivations behind a place-name, it is helpful to determine the origins of the name. For a significant number of names in Otago, the origin lies in a country with a strikingly similar landscape, Scotland. The most widely recognised place-name in the Otago

region, *Dunedin,* is known as the Scottish capital of New Zealand. Even the place-name itself was taken from the Gaelic *Dùn Èideann,* for Edinburgh, "the place somehow reminded the founding settlers of the Midlothian countryside from which the majority came […] Dunedin seemed tailormade for settlement by Scots" (DCC). *Dunedin* is not the only place-name evidence of Scottish settlement, but to better understand why these Pākehā place-names were brought to and used in Otago, we must begin by analysing naming motivations.

REED in his introduction discusses the motivation behind the use of Pākehā place-names as belonging to one of five categories: 5.1. personal names in place-names or anthropo-toponyms,[3] 5.2. descriptive or physical names, 5.3. commemorative or historical names, 5.4. transplanted names as a result of diaspora, and 5.5. ship-names (REED 1975: xi). By analysing the 580 Pākehā place-names in the Otago region collected by REED, we see that 34% of the place-names were anthropo-toponyms, 31% were motivated by the physical landscape, 18% of place-names were transplanted as a result of diaspora, 16% were from commemorative or historical event motivations, and finally, the remaining 1% of place-names were named after ships.[4]

5.1. Anthropo-toponyms

The most common type of Pākehā place-name element in the Otago region is personal names, and the identities and histories of that individual, resulting in anthropo-toponyms. *Port Chalmers, Palmerston, Mount Nicholas,* and *Dansey Pass* are only a few examples of this type of name. Although REED often includes the name of the person who inspired the place-name as well as the connection they had to the place, or even the date of the name-giving, this is by no means his standard format. For example, *Mount Nicholas* has the entry, "named after Nicholas von Tunzelmann by James McKerrow in 1863" (REED 1975: 288). While REED has given the name and the date, there is important information omitted that might have been beneficial in understanding why *Mount Nicholas* was named after this individual, such as his origin or connection to the land, as well as his identity. *Palmerston* has an even more vague entry, "after Lord Palmerston, a British prime minister" (REED 1975: 316). Again, REED's lack of sources hinders the reader's ability to research further. *Port Chalmers* is "named after Dr Thomas Chalmers, the leader of the dissenting ministers who formed the Free Church of Scotland in 1843", which provides more detail to

[3] See EVEMALM (forthcoming) *Theory and Practice in the Coining and Transmission of Place-Names: a Study of the Norse and Gaelic Anthropo-toponyms of Lewis* (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow).

[4] These place-names are not mutually exclusive to their respective categories. Place-names that fit in multiple categories have been counted as such.

better understand the role he played in inspiring the place-name (Reed 1975: 334). Even more detailed is *Dansey Pass,* "after the lessee from 1857 to 1871 of the Otekaike run, William Heywood Dansey. With three companions Dansey crossed the pass to explore the Maniatoto district about 1855." (Reed 1975: 98). Anthropo-toponyms are some of the best sources of information on the settlement of the Otago region, and while Reed may have omitted crucial source information on the names in his book, they are nonetheless a useful first step towards a better understanding of the settlement period.

5.2. Physical landscape in place-names

A close second to anthropo-toponyms, the need to describe the physical landscape in place-names, is nearly as common in the Otago region. Physical appearance plays a large role in the naming of this diverse region: *Nugget Point, Cathedral Caves, Raggedy Ridge,* and *Coronet Peak,* are all indicators of a region with mountains, hills, and caves. In these examples alone, it can be seen that the physical terrain often inspires place-names coupled with more human artefacts such as the cathedral in *Cathedral Caves* or coronet in *Coronet Peak.* Reed validates these claims in his text, "Coronet Peak: named by James McKerrow on account of its appearance […] the outcrop of rocks on the summit has something of the appearance of a coronet." (Reed 1975: 91). Reed also confirms that *Cathedral Caves* is indeed a descriptive name, as are *Nugget Point* and *Raggedy Ridge,* named from their prominent rock outcroppings (Reed 1975: 71, 291, 349).

5.3. Transplanted names as a result of diaspora

Kelvin Grove, Peebles, Ben Lomond, and the *Clutha River* are all examples of transplanted place-names in the Otago region. The *Clutha River,* for example, is an Anglicised version of the Gaelic *Cluaidh,* the (River) Clyde, which runs through the Scottish city of Glasgow. However, this river has been subject to heavy debate since originally the Clutha was named *Molyneux,* after Captain Cook's sailing master. In addition to this, there is a Māori name for the river, *Matau,* that has not yet followed the common practice in New Zealand of being granted official dual-naming status. The Otago Association, founded in 1845 by the Free Church of Scotland and tasked with establishing Scottish settlement in the Otago region, understandably preferred *Clutha,* but many still refer to some parts of the river as *Clutha,* some as *Molyneux,* and some as the Māori place-name *Matau* (Reed 1975: 82). Reed believes *Ben Lomond* was named by Otago shepherd Duncan MacAusland when he was in search of a route for his sheep to reach Lake Wakatipu, which took him over a mountain that "he thought bore a resemblance to the mountain of this name in Scotland" (Reed

1975: 37). *Kelvin Grove* and *Peebles* represent the birthplace in Scotland of their name-givers, again demonstrating the effect the Scottish diaspora had on naming patterns in the Otago region (Reed 1975: 209, 325).

5.4. Commemorative and historical events

Historical events as a motivating factor are rather complicated in New Zealand, as oftentimes it is difficult to separate fact from fiction in the lore that has been passed down, particularly when Māori origin stories are involved. *Murdering Beach,* as the name implies, is in reference to a historical event which occurred between the Māori and the crew of the brig *Sophia* and in which both parties have been found to be at fault, so the generic reference of murder is applied to the event overall (Reed 1975: 278). *Tucker Beach* despite looking like an anthropo-toponym, is actually associated with a rather entertaining story. Reed claims that the beach was named "when a Chinese miner who was panning gold in the river was asked how he was faring, he replied, 'making tucker, just making tucker'"; tucker being food (Reed 1975: 431). The vast majority of place-names compiled by Reed and associated with a commemorative or historical event unfortunately lack a reliable source, making it difficult to determine if the place-name does, in fact, have an event-motivated name.

5.5. Ship-names

Ship-names, as opposed to commemorative names, are slightly more straightforward. Records of ships leaving European countries and docking in New Zealand ports are easier to access and more reliable than a number of secondary sources, so place-names such as *Aldinger, Wickliffe Bay, Deborah Bay,* and *Anita Bay,* are fairly certain to be named after the respective ships, presumably by the emigrants who travelled on them (Reed 1975: 8, 12, 101, 479). The complication here lies in the fact that these place-names resemble anthropo-toponyms, making it difficult to identify other ship-names in the place-names of the Otago region without proper source material

6. Settlement of the Otago region

The settlement of the Otago region has seen a consistent escalation of European colonisation since the late nineteenth-century. This can be seen in the type of tenure, and its proportional change, of New Zealand's occupied land from 1892 to 1950 (McLintock 1966). Between 1892 and 1911, the majority of land was held by the Crown as designated unoccupied land. As the years went on, the amount of freehold land rose, while Māori land declined dramatically. Prior to 1892, land that was once purchasable from the Māori independently became solely the responsibility of the Crown to buy and sell. Over the course of 20

years, the Māori hold on the South Island was completely dismantled, with parcels of land being sold off in large chunks every few years. The result was an altering of the landscape politically and linguistically forever. A new wave of place-names took over the South Island, particularly in the Otago region with its many ports and high immigration rates.

Although there is significant literature on the settlement of New Zealand, particularly by Scottish emigrants, in regard to who they were and their motives for emigrating, there is a clear lack of analysis on how these emigrants impacted the New Zealand landscape, both physically and politically through naming and boundaries. A rare example of Scottish settlement literature considering place-name influence, TOM BROOKING's article, *Sharing out the haggis: the special Scottish contribution to New Zealand history,* considers Scots emigrants through their contributions to New Zealand economically, religiously, politically, in education and literature, and culturally. In BROOKING's cultural analysis, the subject of place-naming appears, "About 14 per cent of run names in the Otago/Southland region, where Scots were most highly concentrated, are Gaelic in origin or derivation." (BROOKING 2003: 55). However, a good portion of these run names did not survive the transitions between owners, making sources like BEATTIE and REED important in tracking these early settlement, and thereby naming, patterns.

7. Continuing place-name study in New Zealand

As with most of New Zealand, Otago has undergone a number of naming evolutions. From the Māori names throughout the region, some Anglicised, to the Pākehā, or European names, Otago is a challenging namescape to research, which is perhaps why it has gone for so long without having been thoroughly examined by onomastics scholars. This is not to say there is not progress, however. An official New Zealand Gazetteer has been created and maintained by Land Information New Zealand (LINZ), a government-funded initiative meant to "make sure New Zealand has accurate information about where people and places are, people have confidence in their property rights and Crown property is well managed for future generations" (LINZ). This extensive gazetteer is essential in unlocking the past to New Zealand's settlement history and place-name evolution. Although the gazetteer is an excellent source of place-name data, it lacks the analysis of the names collected which would help towards a better understanding of the historical and cultural context of each place-name. In addition, further place-name analysis and historical data as a part of the gazetteer would aid LINZ with their existing place-name consultation process, where each place-name proposal or alteration must be researched and investigated by the Board for legitimacy.

Lastly, as REED wrote over 40 years ago, "It would be desirable to establish in New Zealand the equivalent of the American Name Society, or of the several British organisations, for the gathering of such information is a task that can be accomplished only by cooperative effort" (REED 1975: ix). A cooperative effort is indeed what is called for in New Zealand. As a collaborative and multidisciplinary community, it is possible to preserve the names of the past, and create a space for informed discussion to take place, but only if robust and appropriate research methodologies underpin this with all the many changes of the New Zealand map taken into account.

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Abstract

The linguistic landscape of New Zealand's Otago region is well matched to its equally dynamic physical landscape. This paper will examine which place-names in Otago have European origins, and why they were transported to New Zealand. Also addressed in this paper are the motivating factors behind the Pākehā place-names in this region, and how these place-names have affected the social identity and politics of the people in the Otago region. By studying the origins and development of introduced Pākehā place-names in the Otago region, we see not just why the place-names are there, but how they came to be there. Through the use of maps, journals, and land treaties, I aim to uncover what the place-names of Otago can tell us about European migration and Māori-European relations in the region. Introduced place-names in the Otago region will be addressed partially through their interaction with the Māori language and Māori place-names in dual-named places, as well as stand-alone place-names. In particular, I shall consider why certain introduced place-names are located where they are, oftentimes surrounded by Māori place-names.

Keywords: New Zealand, Otago, place-names, migration, Pākehā, Maori, introduced names, European diaspora

Inge Særheim

Galten, Oksa *and* Porthunden – *the boar, the bull and the watchdog. Words for domestic animals – taboo in coastal naming?*

1. Words for domestic animals used in naming sunken rocks

Place-names are important sources about language and cultural history. Through toponyms we understand and reimagine past conceptions of the landscape. Microtoponyms map animal lives on to the landscape. Some coastal names containing words for domestic animals, denote locations where these animals used to graze (SÆRHEIM 2015: 59–60). In some cases, however, words for animals – wild as well as domestic – are used as metaphors. Several mountain names in Norway contain words for domestic animals, e.g. for boar (*Trond(en),* Old Norse *þróndr* m.), ram (*Ruten,* Old Norse *hrútr* m.) or billy goat (*Havren,* Old Norse *hafr* m.). Most often such names refer to the shape of the mountain. Some names refer to parts of an animal, e.g. a small lake called *Kyrauga* 'the cow eye', a mountain called *Studehovudet* 'the bull's head' and a headland called *Mulen* 'the muzzle', all of them from Sirdal, southwestern Norway (SÆRHEIM 1982: 391, 400).

Words for domestic animals or parts of an animal are common in coastal naming, often referring to form and shape (HOVDA 1941). Quite often names containing words for domestic animals denote sunken rocks along the Norwegian coast, often linked to critical points in the sailing route, for example *Oksen* 'the bull', *Hesten* 'the horse', *Sugga* 'the sow', *Porthunden* 'the watchdog', *Oksafoden* 'the bull's foot' and *Grisaryggen* 'the pig's back', all of them from Jæren, southwestern Norway (SÆRHEIM 2015: 52–53). In some names a word for domestic animal forms part of compounds: *Habboen* (Old Norse *hafr* m. 'billy goat' and *båe* m. 'sunken rock') and *Risbidskjeret* (*risbit* m. 'billy goat' or 'ram' and *skjer* n. 'rock'), both denoting rocks in the sailing route (loc. cit.).

Similar names are found other places in northern Europe, for example in the old Viking settlements in the North Atlantic area. Among the many examples from Orkney are the rocks *Galt, Galtie Rock* and *the Golt* (LAMB 1993: 45), and from Shetland the rocks *de Galti* and *Galtastakk* (JAKOBSEN 1936: 134), all of them containing an Old Norse word for 'pig' (cf. Norwegian *galt* m. 'boar'). From Finland ZILLIACUS (1989: 88) mentions coastal names like *Galten* 'the boar', *Hästen* 'the horse' and *Björnen* 'the bear'. Parallels from southern Sweden are *Galten* 'the boar', *Son* 'the sow', *Märren* 'the horse' and *Oxen* 'the bull' (LINDROTH 1921: 37, 1922: 26, MODÉER 1933: 55–58).

From southwestern Sweden FALCK-KJÄLLQUIST (OGB 13/2: 40) mentions *Grisen* 'the pig', denoting a low rock in the sea surface. She underlines that topographical features ressemble animals and parts of animals: a goat back, a horse, a spiny dogfish and a saddle, and she states that comparison makes it easier for seamen to find the right direction.

Words for animals – wild and domestic – as well as some other words and names were taboo among seamen. It was forbidden to use them at sea; mentioning them might lead to bad fishing, or worse, to shipwreck and drowning. There has also been unwillingness among seamen to mention landmarks by their normal names, because this was believed to lead to disaster. Such names were taboo as well.

In this context the following questions will be discussed: why are words for domestic animals used in names denoting sunken rocks and critical points in the sailing route, and how does this type of naming reveal special traditions, attitudes and conceptions among fishermen and seamen, for example conceptions about taboo and noa? Most of the examples presented are coined from oral sources – old fishermen and farmers – from Jæren (SÆRHEIM 2015).

2. Words for 'pig'

The coast of Jæren has been a ship churchyard for a long time. Several names refer to stranded ships. On September 14–15 1896 three ships stranded within 17 hours on the shores of Kvalbein and Kvassheim, one of them on the dangerous pebble bank Raunen (Kvalbein). The local rescue team rowed their boat from the boatlanding *Krossen* 'the cross', by *Kyrkjetangen* 'the church headland', passing by the dangerous sunken rocks *Litla sugga* 'the little sow' and *Stora sugga* 'the big sow', crossing the strong current Soget, arriving at Raunen where the rescue operation was carried out. The words *kross* m. 'cross' in the name *Krossen* and *kyrkje* f. 'church' in *Kyrkjetangen,* referring to Christian tradition, are maybe believed to give protection in this challenging sailing route. There is no church on this site.



Figure 1: The rock *Galtskjeret* 'the boar rock' from Galta, often called only *Skjeret* 'the skerry, the rock' or *Galten* 'the boar'. The farm *Galta* is probably named after this rock (Photo: Inge Særheim)

The name *Sugga* 'the sow' appears four times in southern Jæren, denoting sunken rocks, twice in plural *Suggen(e).* Similar names are found other places in Rogaland. One informant from Kvalbein used the word *sugge* f. 'sow' almost as an appellative when referring to dangerous rocks under the sea surface in the sailing route. Such names therefore seem to have a weak proprial status, almost like appellative use. The many occurrances of names like *Sugga, Galten,* etc. might indicate that they are result of analogical naming – naming by analogy. The use of words like *sugge* f. and *galt* m. in naming underwater rocks was probably known by the name givers and name users from other places along the coast.

Galten 'the boar', and plural *Galtane,* are common names for sunken rocks along the Norwegian coast (INDREBØ 1929: 15–16, SLYNGSTAD 1951: 76). *Galten,* reflecting definite form of the word *galt* m. 'boar', appears five times along the coast of Jæren, and also other places in Rogaland.

The old settlement name *Galta* from Rennesøy (Rogaland), spelled *Golte* 1519, *Galtte* 1521 and *Galte* 1521–22, i.e. Old Norse **Galti* m., is derived from oblique case (i.e. another case than nominative), Old Norse **Galta,* of Old Norse *galti* m. 'boar, hog'. This farm name, which might date back to the Iron Age, probably refers to the rock *Skjeret* 'the skerry, the rock', also called

Galtskjeret ‘the boar rock’ and *Galten* ‘the boar’ (Fig. 1). From this example we learn that the use of words for domestic animals in naming dangerous rocks in the sailing route is ancient, in some cases probably dating back to the pre-Viking period, i.e. before 800 AD.



Figure 2: The rocks *Galten og suggene* ‘the boar and the sows’ from the farm Galta; the boar in the middle (Photo: Inge Særheim)

In the nearby bay *Tristeinsviga* ‘the three rock bay’, there are, as reflected in the name *Tristeinsviga,* three rocks, called *Galten og suggene* ‘the boar and the sows’ (Fig. 2). The name of these three rocks is most likely formed in analogy with the farm name *Galta* – or the name of the rock *Galtskjeret (Galten)*.

Other names of sunken rocks referring to ‘pig’ along the western coast of Norway are *Rånane* ‘the boars’ (*råne* m.; Hordaland), *Tronden* ‘the boar, hog’ (Old Norse *þróndr* m.; Sunnmøre), *Gylta* ‘the sow’ (*gylte* f.; Sunnmøre), *Grisen* ‘the pig’ (*gris* m.) and *Purkene* ‘the sows’ (*purke* f.), the two last-mentioned from northern Rogaland (Hovda 1941: 5–9, Slyngstad 1951: 76). Names from Jæren referring to the back of a pig are *Grisaryggen* ‘the pig’s back’ (an underwater ridge), *Galtaryggen* ‘the boar’s back’ (a headland) and *Fleskaryggen* ‘the flesh back’ (a sunken rock) (Særheim 2015: 52).

3. Words for 'bull', 'horse', 'sheep', 'goat' and 'dog'

The name *Oksa* 'the bull', which appears three times in Rogaland, denoting dangerous sunken rocks, also derives from oblique case, like the aforementioned farm name *Galta,* formed to ON *oxi/oxa* m. 'bull'. In this part of Norway the case system was not used after 1500 AD; in other words, names in oblique case date back to medieval times or earlier. Names reflecting definite form of this word, *Oksen,* are found several places along the Norwegian coast (HOVDA 1941: 4–5). There is one example in Jæren, also called *Oksafoden* 'the bull's foot' (SÆRHEIM 2015: 165). Another word for 'bull' in Norwegian is *stut* m. The name *Saltstud* ('salt' + 'bull'), probably referring to 'a bull' in the 'salt' sea, appears twice in northern Rogaland (INGEBRIGTSEN 1978: 98).

Another word for domestic animal used in coastal naming in Norway is *hest* m. 'horse'. According to old tradition, words for 'horse' and other domestic animals were taboo among Norwegian fishermen; mentioning them might lead to bad fishing or shipwreck (SOLHEIM 1940: 61–63). *Hesten* is the name of a rock and boat landing in Kvassheim (Jæren), probably referring to the size and maybe the shape of the rock. Boat landings on the open sea in Jæren were critical points. It sometimes happened that the small boats of the fishermen were overturned by big waves when they were entering or leaving the landing place. This might be a question of life or death. It was important to know the movements of the waves.

A big rock and landing place for boats in Vik (Jæren) is called *Tasen,* formed to the word *tase* m. '(old) sheep' (Fig. 3) (SÆRHEIM 2015: 219). Words for sheep and goats are also found in coastal names other places in Jæren, e.g. the mentioned *risbit* m. 'one year old billy goat or ram' in *Risbidskjeret* (a rock in the sea), and ON *hafr* m. 'billy goat' in *Habboen* (a sunken rock) and *Hafrsfjord* (a fjord). Another example from Jæren is *Rongvershola,* containing the word *runnvêr* m. 'ram'. An example from Farsund (southern Norway) is *Bukkane* 'the billy goats' (HOVDA 1940: 17), and from Sunnmøre (western Norway) *Geita* 'the goat' (SLYNGSTAD 1951: 79).

The word *risbit* m. in *Risbidskjeret* might refer to a dangerous underwater reef stretching out from this skerry. *Habboen* (also called *Havsboen*) is a dangerous sunken rock in the open sea and sailing route south of the small island Feisteinen. The fjord *Hafrsfjord* is the location where Norway, according to the sagas, was united as a kingdom after a sea battle in 872. The first element, ON *hafr* m. 'billy goat', might refer to a dangerous sunken rock, ON **Hafr,* in the narrow entrance of the fjord. There is strong current in this sound.

Words for 'dog', e.g. *hund* m., are also found in names denoting dangerous sunken rocks in Rogaland, and other places along the Norwegian coast (HOVDA

1941: 10–11, SLYNGSTAD 1951: 80–81). HOVDA (1941: 10) underlines that such names normally are located by the entrance of fjords, sounds and bays, often linked to a harbour. The name *Porthunden* 'watchdog, dog watching the gate' appears twice in southern Jæren, referring to rocks located by the sailing route where one enters a local boat landing (SÆRHEIM 2015: 170–171). A similar name is *Buhunden* ('farmdog'), referring to a dangerous sunken rock by the headland Jøsneset in northern Rogaland where entering the fjord Erfjorden.



Figure 3: The rock *Tasen* 'the (old) sheep' from the farm Vik (Jæren), linked to a boat landing (Photo: Inge Særheim)

4. Some connotations

Some of the names of sunken rocks containing words for domestic animals probably refer to the shape or size of the locations, but this does not fit for all of the names (HOVDA 1941: 5). It looks like some of the names relate to the fact that they are linked to critical points in the sailing route. Words for domestic animals (pigs, sheep, goats, horses, dogs, etc.) represent something well-known, familiar and close to the local fishermen, who were also farmers. One might therefore be tempted to think that the use of such words in naming dangerous rocks in the sailing route were meant to milden and give protection in a harsh and often unknown environment, i.e. a safe journey. This interpretation does not, however, seem likely, due to the fact that such words were taboo among seamen,

These names, containing words for living beings, a dynamic force, represent something unpredictable, and they obviously serve as a warning to boatsmen, demanding full attention and alertness. Names like these are probably easier to remember than many other coastal names. It has been suggested that some of them refer to a special sound of the waves hitting the rock, which might help recognize and remember the site, e.g. when sailing in darkness (SLYNGSTAD 1951: 76, 79, UPPSTAD 1993: 113, 127). As mentioned, most fishermen were also farmers, however the farm and the sea were two separate worlds. Rowing a small boat in the open sea demanded full alertness. There was no time to think about farm life, farm work or the cattle. A lack of attention at sea might lead to disaster.

5. Taboo and noa

Words for animals were, as mentioned, taboo among seamen; using them might lead to bad fishing or shipwreck. This tradition is recorded in literature from the early 17th century to present day, e.g. by PEDER CLAUSSON FRIIS in 1613 from southern Norway, by Knut Leem in the 1740s from Karmøy (northern Rogaland), by Hans Strøm in the 1760s from Sunnmøre (northwestern Norway), by SVALE SOLHEIM (1940) from many places along the Norwegian coast and other coastal areas in northern Europe, and by JÖRAN SAHLGREN (1915, 1918) from Sweden.

Mentioning landmarks by their normal name was also believed to lead to disaster. Such names were taboo as well. Another word or name, i.e. a so-called noa word (or noa name), was used instead. This is, according to SOLHEIM (1940), known from a large part of the Viking world, for example from Norway, Shetland, Faroe Islands, Orkney and Hebrides. Examples of noa names from the Faroe Islands are *Tvøstlutur* 'a piece of meat of pilot whale' for Múlin (the northern tip of Borðoy), and *Smørnøs* ('butter' + 'nose') for Kallsoy; the last-mentioned is maybe referring to Trøllanes 'the headland of the trolls', the northernmost tip of this island.

Smør- appears as a first element in some coastal names in Norway, reflecting *smør* n. 'butter', most often denoting dangerous sites in the sailing route. This word seems to be used as a weakened and mildening expression, e.g. *Smørboen* ('butter' + 'sunken rock') from Jæren, and *Smørsund* ('butter' + 'sound'), a narrow sound in northern Rogaland (SOLHEIM 1940: 140, SÆRHEIM 2015: 202).

A weakened and mildening – positive – name denoting critical points in the sailing route is also represented in the island name *Landego(de)* 'good land', found three places along the Norwegian coast (Bodø, Stad and Kragerø). The name *Landego(de)* from Stad is mentioned by Hans Strøm in the 1760s. This is according to SOLHEIM (1940: 134–136) and SLYNGSTAD (1951: 77–79) a noa

name for *Svinøya* ‘pig island’, which is also called *Storskjeret* ‘the big skerry’ by fishermen from this area. *Storskjeret* is maybe also a noa name.

The island name *Landegode* from Kragerø is explained as a noa name for the island Jomfruland by Peder Clausson Friis as early as in 1613. He writes that Norwegian seamen will not, due to superstition, mention the name *Jomfruland* when they are at sea before they have passed the island, but call it *Landegode*. He adds that this kind of superstition is also linked to other locations. The Old Norse name of this island was *Aur* ‘gravel’, probably referring to the many rocks and banks surrounding the island. *Jomfruland* ‘virgin (is)land’ is probably also a noa name – a mildening and positive name.

From Öland (Sweden) Sahlgren (1918) mentions the island name – and noa name – *Jungfrun* ‘the virgin’, spelled *Jonffrwn* 1507 and *Jomfrwn* 1519, which has replaced an older name *Blåkulla* (spelled *Blaakulla* in the early 1400s). Olaus Magnus writes in the mid 1500s that seamen call the island *Jungfrun* to avoid stormy weather. The name *Blåkulla* ‘blue (dark) knoll’ is in Sweden often linked to locations that were regarded as dangerous, cf. the conception of witches gathering at Blåkulla (SOL 154). Other well-known examples of weakened and mildening naming are *Godthåp* ‘good hope, good wish’ from Greenland and *Cape of good Hope* from the southern tip of South-Africa.

Fishermen from many places in the North Atlantic area are reported to have used noa words and names for animals and several locations (landmarks). From Shetland Jakobsen (1928–1932: 63, 66, 69, 74) mentions 18 different Old Norse noa words for ‘horse’, 7 for ‘cow’, 11 for ‘sheep’, 13 for ‘pig’, 5 for ‘dog’ and 22 for ‘cat’. Among noa words for domestic animals used by Norwegian fishermen are *langrumpe* ‘long tail’ for ‘horse’ and ‘cow’, *roskate* for ‘pig’, *snauskolt* ‘skinhead’ and *spretta* ‘leap’ for ‘sheep’ and *stikka* ‘sting’, *saga* ‘saw’ and compounds with the element *-horn-* ‘horn’ for ‘goat’ (Solheim 1940: 61, 64–65, 67–68).

From some parts of the Norwegian coast Solheim (1940: 141–144) also mentions special behavior and traditions linked to some locations: to sting, greet or make sound like a pig, to sting or roar like a bull, to sting the calf, to shoot the crow, to treat the old lapp woman *(Finnkjerringa)* with a pipe, and to throw sticks (i.e. nails) to *Skomakaren* ‘the shoemaker’. These actions were carried out in order to prevent disaster at sea. From the shores of Rogaland Hovda (1941: 11–12) tells that boatsmen used to sting Galten at Tunge and Galten at Galta, and that they would bang with the oars when rowing past Galten at Randøy.

6. Concluding remarks

Names containing words for domestic animals and denoting sunken rocks are, as mentioned, common along the long Norwegian coast, and such names are also found in the Viking colonies in the North Atlantic area, as well as other places in northern Europe. Such names seem to be metaphors, quite often referring to the form and shape of the location. However, the fact that some of the names are linked to critical points in the sailing route indicates that they also refer to other characteristics. The names serve as warnings to boatsmen, demanding full attention when passing these locations.

Such names contain words that were taboo among seamen, i.e. forbidden words. Names containing such words were also taboo among fishermen. In some cases they used noa names instead, for example *Storskjeret* and *Landegode* instead of *Svinøya.* Names containing noa words seem to warn the boatsmen about dangers ahead, i.e. critical points in the sailing route, telling them to be alert. Even though such words represent something well-known and familiar to the fishermen – animals from their own farm – they are linked to an unknown environment, referring to a dynamic force in the sea, something unpredictable – like a living being. The distribution of this type of names, naming traditions and attitudes indicates that this is part of an old Norse culture and tradition, dating back to the Viking period.

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Abstract

Place-names are important sources to understand and reimagine past conceptions of the landscape. Some microtoponyms denoting sunken rocks along the Norwegian coast contain words for domestic animals, in some cases used as metaphors referring to the shape of the location, in other cases referring to some other characteristics, e.g. *Galten* 'the boar', *Sugga* 'the sow', *Oksa* 'the bull', *Hesten* 'the horse' and *Porthunden* 'the watchdog', all of them denoting dangerous rocks in the sailing route. Such names seem to serve as warnings to seamen, demanding full alertness. Words for certain animals were earlier taboo among Norwegian fishermen – who were also farmers. At sea they would instead use other words and names – so-called noa words and noa names – for the animals and the locations. Special behaviour was linked to some of the locations, e.g. to sting a pig or roar like a bull. The grammatical form indicates that some of the names date back to medieval times. Similar names of Old Norse origin are found in the Viking settlements in the North Atlantic area, which indicates that this is part of an old Norse culture and tradition, dating back to the Viking period.

Keywords: Coastal naming, place-names, taboo, noa, domestic animals, southwestern Norway

Wolfgang Ahrens–Sheila Embleton

Parish Names in the English-Speaking Caribbean

Parish names give us an insight into English Caribbean history and the interconnectivity between English colonization of different Caribbean islands and aspects of earlier English and later British history.

In medieval times in England the term *parish* was used for a locality that had both civic and ecclesiastical functions; parishes were centred around a church, but also had civic functions, such as keeping the peace, relief of the poor, maintaining roads, oversight over weights and measures, markets and workhouses. The English Civil War (1642–1651) saw a breakdown of state-controlled religious conformity and the rise of many new religious sects. As a consequence, the old concept of a parish having both ecclesiastical and civic functions broke down and the concept of a civic parish as a political division arose. After the English Civil War and up until the 19th century, parishes gradually split into civic and ecclesiastical parishes. A civic parish is now a subdivision of a county while an ecclesiastical parish is a subdivision of a diocese. A civic parish has only administrative functions and has no relation to a church or religious function. An ecclesiastical parish designates the territory in which the members of a congregation live. Boundaries of civic and ecclesiastical parishes do not usually coincide any more. At present in England, there are 10,449 civic parishes and 12,600 ecclesiastical parishes of the Church of England.

The term *parish* is not only used by the Church of England (Anglican Church), but is also used by many Christian denominations, such as the Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Methodist and Presbyterian churches. In Scotland, the Church of Scotland has ecclesiastical parishes, but Scottish civic parishes were abolished in 1929. In Wales, civic parishes were replaced by the term *communities* in 1974.

The term *parish* is used in the church context in most English-speaking countries. The term parish for a civic unit is more restricted and can now only be found in the English-speaking world in England and in the Caribbean. Other European countries have terms derived from the same linguistic root for parish (Latin *paroecia*), used either for ecclesiastical or civic units. Thus, France had the *paroisses;* these were similar to the English parishes that combined ecclesiastical and civic functions. These *paroisses* were replaced in 1791, during the French Revolution, by the civic *communes*. In Spain, in the regions of Galicia and Asturia, we still have the civic administrative unit called *parroquia*. In Finland parishes were originally a territorial entity associated with a church. There were

over 400 parishes, renamed as municipalities (*kunta* in Finnish, *kommun* in Swedish) in their civic function in 1865 and numbering 311 from 2017. There are now about 400 ecclesiastical parishes (Finnish *seurakunta, församling* in Swedish) affiliated with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland.

In our study of the use of the term *parish* in the Caribbean, we are mainly concerned with the use of the term in the civic context as an administrative unit. The difference between England and the Caribbean is that in the Caribbean when an island has parishes, there are no larger administrative units, such as counties. The larger administrative unit is the island's (country's) legislature itself.

When looking at the English Caribbean islands, we need to divide these into different groups according to their settlement history, because this determined to a large extent the division into and the naming of parishes or districts in the individual islands.

1. Islands which from the beginning of settlement in the 17th century or nearly the beginning were settled and governed by England: Barbados and the Leeward Islands (St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua and Montserrat).

2. Jamaica, which was first settled by Spain, but then surrendered to England in 1655. Little, except for some place names, has remained as a reminder of Jamaica's earlier Spanish past.

3. Islands which for more than a hundred years had been ruled by the French or had alternated rule with Great Britain,[1] and which were then ceded to Great Britain between 1763 and 1814: St. Lucia, Dominica, Grenada and St. Vincent.

4. Special cases are:

a) Tobago, which saw itself changing hands 33 times between France, Spain, Holland, Courland,[2] Great Britain and Sweden. Great Britain gained sole permanent possession of Tobago in 1814.

b) Trinidad was ruled by Spain until it was ceded to Great Britain in 1802. Under Spanish rule, there were very few Spanish-speaking settlers on the island. However, the island received a large influx of French-speaking settlers, coming mainly from the French-speaking Caribbean islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe. In the early 19th century, some English-speaking planters

[1] We use England for the period before 1707 and Great Britain for the period after. 1707 saw the Acts of Union, which established the union of the Scottish and English parliaments to form the Parliament of Great Britain, as the Kingdom of Great Britain had now been created.

[2] Now part of Latvia; from 1561–1795 an independent duchy, nominally a vassal state of Poland-Lithuania, but acting as an autonomous state; the population was mainly Latvian, but during this time, the nobility and ruling class was German and place names in Courland were mostly German.

from the other Caribbean islands as well as some English-speaking European immigrants also arrived. Later in the century, there was a heavy influx of indentured labourers from northern India, as well as from southern Europe and the Portuguese Atlantic islands (Madeira, Azores). In addition to the new settlers, the island still has a fair number of descendants of the original indigenous population. All of the various groups of inhabitants had an influence on the naming of administrative units.

The naming of parishes in the Caribbean followed generally the same pattern – the pattern which was already set in Bermuda: 1) naming after prominent individuals, mainly nobility or local governors and 2) naming with Saint names, mainly the patron saints of the British Islands: St. Andrew (Scotland); St. David (Wales); St. George (England) and St. Patrick (Ireland).

Although Bermuda is not strictly in the Caribbean, it has a connection to the region, because in the 17th and 18th centuries, voyages to the Caribbean often involved a stop in Bermuda; it served as a transfer point of English traditions to the Caribbean area. Thus the term *parish* seems to also have been carried forward from here to the Caribbean.

Bermuda settlement started in 1609 when Admiral George Somers (1554–1610), while on a voyage to the recently established English colony of Virginia, was caught in a storm of hurricane proportions and was forced to beach his leaking ship on a reef off shore from Bermuda. Somers died on Bermuda in 1610. Five years later, in 1615, the Somers Isles Company was formed in England to support settlement and economic development in Bermuda. The name Somers Islands continued to be used into the 19th century as an alternate name for Bermuda,[3] although one also finds it altered to Summer Isles. In 1616–1622, Richard Norwood surveyed Bermuda on behalf of the Somers Isles Company. His map was published in England in 1622. He divided the territory into eight equal parcels of land that were given to each of the company members. He called these parcels of land *tribes*. Norwood did a second survey in 1662; by this time the term *tribe* had been changed to *parish*. The Somers Isles Company administered Bermuda until 1684, when the crown took over the administration.

The parishes on Bermuda were all civic administrative units and had no ecclesiastical connection. The term *parish* now is no longer used in Bermuda for an administrative unit. However, regions are still referred to as parishes in historical and cultural contexts.

The eight tribes/parishes that were named after the eight prominent founding members of the Somers Isles Company were: *Devonshire* (William Cavendish, 1st Earl of Devonshire, 1552–1626), *Hamilton* (James Hamilton, 2nd Marquess

[3] For information on the naming of Bermuda and its parishes see AHRENS–EMBLETON 1999.

of Hamilton, 1589–1625),[4] *Paget* (William Paget, 4th Baron Paget of Beaudesert, 1542–1629), *Pembroke* (William Herbert, 5th Earl of Pembroke, 1580–1629), *Sandys* [pronounced 'Sands'] (Sir Edwin Sandys, 1561–1626), *Smith's* (Sir Thomas Smith/Smythe, 1558–1625), *Southampton* (Henry Wriothesley [pronounced 'Risley'], 3rd Earl of Southampton), and *Warwick* (Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick, 1587–1658). A ninth parish was established that was not named after a Company member: St. George's. This was named after the first settlement and first capital of Bermuda, St. George's Town, later only St. George's. The name was taken from the patron saint of England, and the English navy has flown the St. George's standard since the Middle Ages. Contrary to earlier usage in England when parishes were often named after churches, this was not the case here. The earliest church in St. George's Town was St. Peter.

Some local historians try to maintain that the name St. George's on Bermuda can be attributed to the first name of George Somers; this would not fit the pattern followed in the naming of the other parishes. However, we can't be entirely certain that this couldn't be a secondary explanation as a case of "double etymology"; maybe the fact that Somers' first name was George reinforces the aptness of naming the parish for the patron saint.

This St. George's has set the pattern for the naming of many other towns and parishes in the Caribbean, where one can find many Georgetowns and St. George's, such as George Town, Grand Cayman; George Town, Exuma, Bahamas; George Town, Belize; Georgetown, St. Vincent; Georgetown, Guyana; and St. George's, Grenada. However, since many of these were named primarily in the 18th century, one can no longer say with certainty that they, particularly Georgetown, were not named in honour of one of the British kings named George. There were four in succession, between 1714 and 1830 – the time during which most of the settlement of the English-speaking Caribbean took place. On the other hand, perhaps we have in this case again a matter of double etymology.

1. St. Christopher (St. Kitts), Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat and Barbados

Sir Thomas Warner (1580–1649) set out for the Caribbean in 1624 with the purpose of founding a new English colony. He considered St. Kitts suitable and founded the first English colony in the Caribbean there. The year after, he was appointed Governor of the new colony of St. Kitts and the nearby islands of Antigua, Nevis and Montserrat. In addition, he was also appointed Governor

[4] *Hamilton* parish was first called *Bedford,* after Lucy, Countess of Bedford, but changed to *Hamilton,* when he bought her shares in the company.

of Barbados. In 1643, he became Parliamentary Governor of the Caribee Islands. Under his guidance, new settlements were founded on all these islands, Barbados in 1625, Nevis in 1628 and Antigua and Montserrat in 1632. Also under his authority, each of these islands was divided into parishes and then named. It is not surprising that therefore the naming of the parishes all followed a similar pattern. These parishes at first did not have churches, but soon, as the population grew, churches were built and these for the most part received the name of the parish in which the church was located. Thomas Warner died on March 10, 1649 and was buried in the graveyard of St. Thomas church, located in the village of Old Road, St. Thomas-Middle Island parish, St. Kitts. His grave can still be visited; however, it has not been cared for and lies derelict, with its stone cover broken and half fallen into the grave. The first St. Thomas church on St. Kitts was erected in 1625 and this was the first Anglican church in the Caribbean. It received several alterations, but was completely destroyed in a hurricane in 1860. It was rebuilt and the present St. Thomas church stems from the 1860s.

St. Christopher, generally referred to as *St. Kitts,* was the first English colony in the Caribbean, established in 1624. The French arrived in St. Kitts in 1625 and established there as well their first French colony in the Caribbean. The French had the two ends of the island (the areas around Capisterre and Basseterre) and the English held the centre; the arid south-eastern peninsula was held jointly. Over the next twenty years the English colonized the islands neighbouring St. Kitts (Nevis, Antigua and Montserrat) and the French also spread from St. Kitts to St. Barthélemy (English: St. Barts; French: St-Barth) in 1648, as well as to Martinique and Guadeloupe, which remain French to this day. Sharing the island of St. Kitts initially worked well, as they formed a united front against the still large native population. However, soon one nation and then the other took over the entire island. The island changed hands five times before Great Britain alone took over the island permanently according to the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. The transfer was confirmed with the Treaty of Paris in 1783.

At first, five English parishes on St. Kitts had the name of a saint or the name of the first church built there and in addition it carried the name of the location or main settlement of the area. The parishes were Christ Church-Nicola Town, St. Mary-Cayon, Holy Trinity-Palmetto Point (now Trinity-Palmetto Point), St. Thomas-Middle Island and St. Anne-Sandy Point. When the English took over the French section of the island, four more parishes were named and added: St. George-Basseterre, St. Peter-Basseterre, St. Paul-Capisterre and St. John-Capisterre. These parishes were established when in England a parish still had ecclesiastical and civic functions and there is no doubt that this view was maintained with the St. Kitts administration; however fairly soon, a separation of functions occurred in the early18th century.

Of the English-speaking Leeward Islands, *Nevis* was clearly the most prosperous and most economically profitable by far well into the 19th century. The English governor of all these island colonies also acted from Nevis. Nevis was divided into St. George, St. James, St. John, St. Paul and St. Thomas parishes. Similar to St. Kitts, soon all parishes had churches and thus parishes added an ecclesiastical function to their civic administrative one. The St. Thomas church was built in 1643 and was one of the first Anglican churches in the Caribbean; it still stands today and services are still held there. It served as the church for the then capital of the island: Jamestown. Jamestown was destroyed in an earthquake and disappeared in a subsequent tsunami in 1690. Similar to St. Kitts, all parishes now also have secondary names which serve for administrative and electoral purposes: St. George-Gingerland, St. James-Windward, St. John-Figtree, St. Paul-Charlestown and St. Thomas-Lowland.

Antigua was settled in 1632 from St. Kitts and was divided into six parishes: St. John, St. George, St. Peter, St. Philip, St. Paul and St. Mary. In time, some of these parishes also had a parish church with the same name as the parish, such as St. George's, 1687; St. John the Divine, 1681 and St. Peter's, 1711. This is demonstrably a reverse of the earlier pattern in England, where we had named churches first and the name of the parish followed the name of the church. In Antigua's case, and similarly for the most part on St. Kitts, Nevis and Barbados, we have the parish name first and then the name of the church. Thus, the civic function of the parish came first.

Finally for the Leeward Islands, *Montserrat* was settled as well in 1632 and the island was divided into three parishes: St. Peter, St. Anthony and St. George. The settlement was from St. Kitts and Nevis from where, as a result of anti-Catholic violence, a number of Irish Catholic indentured labourers escaped to settle in Montserrat. In contrast then to St. Kitts, Nevis and Antigua, the tradition in Montserrat was therefore Catholic. At present, as a result of the recent volcanic eruption in 1995,[5] the parishes of St. Anthony and St. George are exclusion zones and only the parish of St. Peter is still inhabited.

The Leeward Islands all have parishes, all named in the 17th century. In the case of St. Kitts the name of the parish corresponds with the name of the central church of a parish – the church more or less built at the time of the naming of the parish. In the case of Antigua, this was no longer the case; the central church often was built quite a few years after the naming of the parish occurred. In a few cases here also the name of the central church does not correspond to the name of the parish. Thus it seems that the important thing about the naming of a parish was that it carries a saint's name. Some of these names are repeated from

[5] The major eruption lasted until 1997 and frequent further eruptions occurred until 2010; now the eruption area is still under watch.

one island to another, such as St. George, St. John, St. Paul and St. Peter. It is interesting that the Scottish, Welsh and Irish saints, St. Andrew, St. David and St. Patrick, don't appear in the parish names, but will appear later in the islands taken over by Britain in the 18th century. The reason for this probably lies in the fact that between 1620 and 1640 there was a mass migration of English Puritans to the new colonies in the New England area and the West Indies/ Caribbean as well. These emigrants came mainly from areas such as Norfolk, Suffolk and Sussex. Scottish emigration came later. The early Irish settlers had no say in administrative matters, as they were mainly poor indentured labourers and there was also an early law that prohibited Catholics from owning land in the colonies. This would explain why in Montserrat, despite the large number of Irish settlers, there is no St. Patrick parish; thus, St. Patrick as a parish name does not appear until the middle of the 18th century.

The first English settlements in *Barbados* (from 1625–1627) were under the stewardship of Thomas Warner (1580–1649); he had also been granted royal assent to colonize St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua and Montserrat. It is therefore not surprising that the same names for parishes appear in Barbados as those that we see in the Leeward Islands. The first parishes on the island were named in 1629, four years after the first settlers arrived. They were: Christ Church, St. James, St. Lucy, St. Michael, St. Peter and St. Thomas. By 1645, further settlers had arrived and the rest of the island was divided and received parish names. These were St. Andrew, St. George, St. John, St. Joseph, and St. Philip. Here, we see the first appearance of St. Andrew, perhaps reflecting the ebbing of the first wave of solely English settlers and now including settlers from elsewhere in the British Isles.

Only in a couple of these areas did churches exist when the parishes received their name, e.g. the churches named St. Lucy and St. Peter. Perhaps these influenced the naming of the new parish in which they were located. Thus, again we see the naming of parishes emphasizing the priority of the parish designation as a civic administrative unit. Parish churches only fulfill ecclesiastical functions; each parish primarily acts a civic unit with administrative functions.

Repeated hurricanes, such as in 1780 and 1789, and the massive hurricane of 1831 destroyed the churches in Barbados and they had to be rebuilt. Thus, parish churches usually have been rebuilt two to five times. St. George Parish Church has survived since 1784 and is the oldest of the parish churches; most of the others were (re-)built during the 1830s after the 1831 hurricane. The parish church for St. Michael parish, St. Michael and All Angels, has been elevated to cathedral status, and as such is the main church for the diocese of Barbados and the Leeward islands. It is located in Bridgetown. The St. Joseph parish church was closed in 2011. It had suffered structural damage caused by earth slippage

(it was built on a cliff), as well as damage caused by an earth tremor in 2007 and further damage caused by tropical storm Tomas in 2010. A new parish church is in the process of being built.

2. Jamaica

Jamaica was ruled by Spain until 1655, when England conquered the island. Spain, however, only officially relinquished its claim to Jamaica in 1670. Initially, the new English rulers renamed most of the Spanish settlements, such as the capital *Santiago de la Vega* to *Spanish Town* and *Puerto Santa Maria* on the northern coast to *St. Mary.* Other towns or areas were just anglicized: *Sevilla la Nueva* to *Seville* and *Bahia de la Manteca* to *Montego Bay. Manteca* translates as butter or lard. Tourist literature maintains that the name is derived from the vast quantity of pig lard that the Spanish exported from here. This is somewhat doubtful, because the area during Spanish times was sparsely populated. One can however assume that the newly arrived Spanish were struck by the extensive beach of *butter*-coloured sand, untrampled by human habitation.

Soon there was need to arrange the island's government by districts and in 1664 the governor, Sir Thomas Modyford (Governor 1664–1671), divided the settled part of the island into seven parishes and gave names to these. A further five were added in 1670, and by 1703 another five were created. Gradually, until 1844, yet five more appeared. By now there were twenty-two in total. Then, in 1866, a reorganization was carried out with eight parishes being abolished to come up with fourteen. These fourteen parishes still exist today. One should note that on Jamaica the parishes right from the start had no ecclesiastical function; these parishes were solely civil parishes, thus modelling the political and religious situation in England post-Civil War (1642–1651).

What led to the expansion of parishes in Jamaica? Parishes were created by subdividing existing parishes because the local population thought that they needed to be closer to a seat of government and travel was difficult in the 18th to early 19th centuries. By the middle of the 19th century however, roads had been built and there even was a railroad (built in 1845) to connect all parts of the island. Thus, seats of government had become more readily accessible and fewer parish centres were needed.

Among the first named parishes, some deserve a comment. Besides St. George's, there is also St. David's and St. Andrew's, which can be explained by a change in political climate in Great Britain since the time of the founding of the Leeward Island colonies. After the Cromwellian period, the royal family had been restored to power (1660) and Wales and Scotland were more readily

recognized. St. Katherine's[6] was named after Catherine of Braganza, wife of Charles II, the English king. St. James was named after James, the king's brother, who later became James II; but in 1664 he was still Duke of York in England and Duke of Albany in Scotland, as well as Lord High Admiral. He also was given oversight over the new American colonies from Delaware to Connecticut.[7] St. Ann parish was named after Ann Hyde, James's wife; Clarendon was named after Edward Hyde, 1st Earl of Clarendon, 1609–1674, Ann Hyde's father; and St. Elizabeth was named by Governor Modyford after his own wife Elizabeth. The parish of St. Mary was named after the town of St. Mary (capital of the parish). An alternative explanation is that Governor Modyford named the parish after his daughter Mary, just as St. George's could have been named after Mary's husband, George Needham. This could also be a case of convenient double etymology. Sir Thomas Lynch followed Modyford as governor and he created only one new parish, which he named Vere after his own wife, Vere Herbert.

Local Jamaican historians have said that the derivation of the name St. Thomas for St. Thomas Parish is not clear. We suggest that perhaps this is not such a great mystery. After the English took over Jamaica, colonists from other areas in the New World were invited to settle there and many from New England, Bermuda and Barbados followed the call. Also, Luke Stokes, the Governor of the Leewards, set out with a large group of 1,600 colonists from Antigua for Jamaica in 1656 and landed in Morant Bay (in the area of the later St. Thomas parish). His son and grandson built the largest plantations there (Stokesfield and Stokes Hall). The seat of Government for the Leewards was in St. Thomas parish in Nevis and St. Thomas was the first Anglican church there. Also, there already was a St. Thomas church and parish in St. Kitts. The Stokes family no doubt had an influence over what to name the parish in which they lived and a transfer of the name St. Thomas from Nevis was obvious.

Four of the new parishes created in the 18th and 19th centuries were created by governors who named a parish after themselves: *Portland* Parish, after Henry Bentick, 1st Duke of Portland, Governor 1721–1726; *Trelawney* Parish, after William Trelawney, 6th Baronet Trelawney, Governor 1739–1752; *Manchester* Parish, after William Montegu, 5th Duke of Manchester, Governor 1808-1827; *Metcalfe* Parish, now part of St Mary's Parish, after Charles Metcalfe, 1st Baron Metcalfe, Governor 1839–1842.

The interesting feature of parish names in Jamaica is that we initially have the maintaining of St. names for parishes, even though the impetus for the name

[6] Initially parish names carried an apostrophe, e.g. St George's, but by the 19th century the apostrophe had been dropped; thus, St. Katherine's, then St Catherine's, and later St. Catherines.

[7] The cities of New York and Albany in the United States of America were named after him.

was not a saint but a member of the royalty or the colonial aristocracy. Later, we see a new development, the naming after people of prominence (without the addition of St.). One can see a return to the pattern that was introduced much earlier in Bermuda.

3. Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Lucia

France ceded *Grenada* to Great Britain in 1763. During French rule, Grenada had been divided into six paroisses: Paroisse des Sauteurs, Paroisse du Grand Marquis, Paroissse du Maigrin, Paroisse de la Basse Terre, Paroisse de l'Anse Goyave and Paroisse de Grand Pauvre. The new rulers kept the boundaries of the paroisses intact, but gave them all English names:[8] Saint Patrick, Saint Andrew, Saint David, Saint George, Saint John, Saint Mark, and later added Carriacou, encompassing the Grenadine islands of Carriacou and Petit Martinique.

Most of these parish names we have met before on the other British islands, but we see for the first time the name of St. Patrick; we now for the first time have parishes bearing the names of all four saints of the British Isles. The old French capital, Ville de Fort Royale, was taken over as capital, but was renamed; as can be expected it was now St. George Town, nowadays referred to as St. George's. Of course, it was also in St. George parish, and the old Fort Royale was renamed as Fort George, after the British king George III.

The French pattern for naming the paroisses was to name them after towns and locations. The English did not maintain this pattern, but resorted to the St.-name pattern that we have seen in such islands as Antigua and Barbados.

St. Vincent was also ceded by France to the British in 1763, the same year that Britain gained control of Grenada. Except for a short five year interval (1778–1783) when the French again ruled, Britain has ruled St. Vincent since then – that is, until St. Vincent became independent in 1979. France had only a few small settlements on the island, as the local Carib population mounted a strong resistance to European settlement. Thus, it seems that there had not been a necessity to divide the island into parishes. The English however, even though they also encountered strong resistance from the natives, divided the island into five parishes. We can by now perhaps guess the names: St. George, St. Patrick, St. David, St. Andrew and Charlotte, this time not with a "Saint" prefix. This parish was named after Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz (1744–1818), the wife of George III. Later the islands to the south, the Grenadines, came under St. Vincent jurisdiction and were named the Grenadines Parish. Georgetown in Charlotte Parish is the second largest town on the island, but it is not the capital. Kingstown, as the largest settlement, has always played that role.

[8] However, the names of two of the paroisses still exist as town names: Sauteurs and Goyave.

With Charlotte Parish, we have a new development, diverging from the pattern set in Jamaica. This is the naming of a parish after royalty without maintaining the St. pattern.

France also ceded *Dominica* to Great Britain in 1763, but the first English settlement on the island only stems from 1805. The French had established only very few settlements. Most of the country was settled by the original Carib population in numerous small villages. The names of these villages can still be found in today's settlements. Where the French settled, they established quartiers, such as Grande Anse and Colihaut, and one named after a saint, Saint Joseph. English surveyors after 1763 abolished the quartiers and divided the island into parishes. However they kept one quartier name, renaming it a parish: St. Joseph. The familiar naming pattern here obviously was influenced by the fact that the parish maintained an already existing name. Grande Anse quartier became St. John parish, and its main settlement was Portsmouth, the first capital of the new colony. The ten new parish names – and these still exist today – were: St. George, St. Andrew, St. David, St. Patrick, St. John, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Joseph, St. Luke and St. Mark. As can be expected, St. George gained in importance and it encompasses Roseau, the present capital of the island. Again, we have the appearance of all four saint names of the British Isles.

Between 1660 and 1814, *St. Lucia* changed hands between France and Britain seven times, although it was mainly the French that ruled here during those years. The settlement was mainly from France and the local population spoke (and still speak as their second language) French or, rather, a local creole developed from French. Since 1814, the island has been British. The French divided the island into quartiers, which they also called paroisses. When the British took over, nothing was changed. The boundaries were kept as well as the French names, the only difference being that now a quartier was a quarter and a paroisse was a parish. These paroisses or parishes were and still are: Anse La Raye, Castries, Choiseul, Gros Islet, Laborie, Micoud, Soufrière and Vieux Fort. In 2014, small changes were made: the parishes of Dauphin and Praslin were deleted and Canaries parish and Forest Reserve Area Quarter were added. In addition, the names *quarters* or *parishes* for administrative areas were abolished and the areas are now referred to as *districts*.

4. Tobago and Trinidad

Up until 1814, *Tobago* was the scene of numerous battles and it changed hands an incredible thirty-three times – Courland, Holland, Sweden, Spain, France and England all being involved. Since 1814 however, it has been British and since 1889, it has been jointly administered with Trinidad. Until recently, it

was officially a ward of Trinidad, more precisely a ward of the county of St. David of Trinidad. Earlier, in the 18th century under British rule, the island was divided into divisions according to geographical references: Courland Bay, Sandy Point, Rockley, Barbadoes [sic] Bay, Great River, Queen's Bay and North East. Since 1814, Tobago has had parishes, which have familiar names: St. Andrew, St. David, St. George, St. Patrick, St. John, St. Paul and St. Mary.

Trinidad had a different colonial history from that of the other islands that Great Britain took over in the 18th and 19th centuries. In this case, it was Spain that ceded Trinidad to Great Britain in 1802. Spain had established some settlements in Trinidad, but there were also a large number of French-speaking settlers on the island who had come in the 18th century from French-speaking Caribbean islands. The island also had a large number of "Free Persons of Colour" who owned slaves. Nowadays, there is still some French creole spoken on the island; even the small remnant of Amerindians (Caribs, known as Kalina or Kariña) speaks a French Creole. Trinidad toponyms remain about 50% Carib, with a mixture of French, Spanish and English for the remainder.

When the English took over, initially the Spanish government system was maintained: a governor with an advisory council, with no regional divisions. The Spanish had some regional centres, founded around missions, La Anunciata de Nazaret de Savanna Grande,[9] Purísima Concepción de María Santísima de Guayri (modern San Fernando), Santa Ana de Savaneta (modern Savonetta), Nuestra Señora de Montserrate (modern Mayo, also known as Montserrat); and founded later in 1789, Santa Rosa de Arima (near modern Arima). The Spanish missions in the Americas were founded by religious orders. In the case of Trinidad, it was the Capuchin friars. Missions also had military detachments. On the one hand, the missions fulfilled a religious function, consisting of converting the local native population to the Catholic Church, and on the other hand, they also had a civic function as outposts of the central Spanish government. Thus, in a way they were similar to the English parishes that prior to the English Civil War fulfilled both ecclesiastical and civic functions.

In the 18th century, the French population also founded a number of towns in Trinidad (Blanchisseuse, Champ Fleurs, Paramin, Cascade, Carenage, Laventille). In the early 19th century, the English government introduced a system of quarters. Then in 1849, the local Governor, Lord Harris,[10] introduced a system of *counties* and *wards*. Port-of-Spain and San Fernando achieved

[9] Modern Princes Town; named in 1880 after a visit by Queen Victoria's grandsons, Prince Albert and Prince George, later George V. The town is often mistakenly referred to as Princess Town.

[10] George Francis Robert Harris, 3rd Baron Harris; Governor of Trinidad 1846–1854; Governor of Madras 1854–1859.

borough status, in 1852 and 1851 respectively. Trinidad was divided into eight counties, with each being divided into two or more wards. The counties were St. Andrew, St. David, St. George, St. Patrick, Victoria, Caroni, Nariva and Mayaro. The first four are of course the same names as had been given to parishes in other islands, reflecting the names of the four saints of Great Britain; Victoria was named after Queen Victoria and the other three counties received Carib names by which these areas were already known. Caroni was named after the river Caroni[11] and had the meaning of 'water' in the Carib language.

In 1990, the Municipal Corporations Act of Trinidad abolished counties and introduced fourteen municipalities: nine Regional Corporations, three Boroughs, and two Cities.[12] Even though counties have been abolished and no longer have an administrative function, the names for the old counties are still used locally as reference points.

The names of the municipalities show a language mix derived from Spanish, French, Carib and English. They refer to towns, villages or areas with these names in the municipality. Although Trinidad never had an administrative division named *parish,* it used Saint names for their administrative divisions, called *counties;* the same type of Saint names that had been used traditionally as parish names elsewhere. It also used a name of a royal personage, Queen Victoria, for a county name, i.e. Victoria County. This was the same naming practice we saw introduced earlier in St. Vincent, where we saw a Charlotte Parish.

Anguilla, Barbuda, the Cayman Islands and the British Virgin Islands do not have parishes, as these English-speaking islands are small and have low populations. Thus, there was no need for administrative divisions, such as parishes. However, for the sake of completeness of presenting all of the English-speaking Caribbean islands, we give as well a brief introduction to these islands and their colonial past. It will lead to a better understanding of why a civil administrative unit such as a *parish* was not necessary for these islands.

The Bahamas Islands and the Turks and Caicos Islands are English-speaking islands which do not have divisions named parishes.[13] They are small and do not strictly lie in the Caribbean area. Therefore they are not dealt with here.

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[11] The river Caroni later became a Ganges substitute for the large number of indentured Hindu Indian workers, with the river banks serving as a place for cremating their dead.

[12] *Regional Corporations:* Couva-Tabaquito-Talparo; Diego Martin; Penal-Debe; Princes Town; Rio Claro-Mayaro; San Juan-Laventille; Sangre Grande; Sipuria; Tunapuna-Piarco. *Boroughs:* Arima; Chaguanas; Point Fortin. *Cities:* Port-of-Spain; San Fernando. It is interesting to note that Arima had actually been a borough for a long time, since the title of Royal Borough was conferred on it in 1887 by a decree signed by Queen Victoria herself.

[13] For an article dealing with the island names of the Bahamas, see Ahrens 2015.

Anguilla is a small island located just north of St. Martin/St. Maarten, an island shared between French and Dutch administrations. Anguilla was settled in the 1660's by English speakers from St. Kitts and Antigua. There were repeated conflicts with the French and severe droughts over the next two hundred years which caused the population to fluctuate between 2,000 and 10,000. By 1819 the population had stabilized at around 3,000 which included 2,451 slaves. At present, the population is 15,056. In 1871, Anguilla was forced into one colonial administration centred in St. Kitts. In the 1960's, Anguilla resisted joining the newly independent state of St. Kitts and Nevis, and the island has remained a British Overseas Territory. It is governed by a local council and a Governor from Great Britain.

In the period up to the late 19th century, there was a large lake in the centre of the island which was used for salt production. The lake has now dried up. The island for the longest time was well forested; however, charcoal production and clear cutting for pasture land left the island completely deforested. Up until the 1960's, the island had no paved roads, no electricity, no telephone service, no central fresh water supply, no harbour for larger ships and no villages (there had been some earlier which were destroyed in the wars with the French). It had, however, a postal service and a small airstrip for small aircraft.[14] Anguilla has now developed into an up-market tourist destination, with all modern conveniences available. The island, because of its small size, has no civic parishes.

Barbuda is a small island associated with Antigua in the state of Antigua and Barbuda. It can be reached from Antigua via a two hour ferry ride, or via a 15 minute flight by helicopter or small plane. There is only one settlement on the island, Codrington. Before hurricane Irma struck in September 2017, the entire population of the island, 1,600 people, was evacuated. After the massive destruction by the hurricane only 300 people have returned so far. Living conditions are still rather make-shift, but reconstruction is continuing. There are no parishes on the island; it is too small for political divisions and it is administered from Antigua.

In 1680, the English king Charles II granted the island as a 50 year lease to the Codrington family in exchange for a yearly fee of "one fat sheep on demand". The lease was renewed by Queen Anne in 1705 for 99 years. The Codrington family was a prominent family in Barbados that had large sugar plantations there. They also moved north to Antigua and held political positions there, including the position of governor. They had several plantations in Antigua as well. Barbuda was used as a supplier of food for the plantation workers in Antigua. Barbuda had a large slave population in the 18th century. When the

[14] One of the authors of this paper, Wolfgang Ahrens, visited the island in the early 1970s.

slave population grew large enough, the "oversupply" of slaves was sold to other planters mostly in Antigua. With the abolishing of slavery and the leaving of the Codrington family for England, the population turned for a living to small crop farming and fishing as well as to working in Antigua.

The *Cayman Islands* lie south of Cuba and northwest of Jamaica; the islands consist of Grand Cayman, and the smaller Cayman Brac and Little Cayman islands. The total population of the islands is now 62,410. Early in the 17th century, Spain held both Jamaica and the Cayman Islands, but surrendered both to England with the Treaty of Madrid in 1670. 1734 is considered the start of permanent settlement of Grand Cayman, while permanent settlement of Cayman Brac and Little Cayman did not start until 1833.

The early commercial activities were ship building, fishing and turtling. In the 19th and early 20th century, Cayman men often signed on as sailors on American and English commercial ships. At present, tourism and the off-shore financial investment industry are the main commercial activities in the Cayman Islands.

The Cayman Islands formed part of the British Crown Colony of Jamaica until 1962, when Jamaica gained independence. At the same time, the Cayman Islands became a separate Crown Colony. The designation *Crown Colony* was subsequently changed to *British Dependent Territory* and since 2012, the official term has become *British Overseas Territory.* The Cayman Islands has resisted gaining independence, as they have no natural resources and they fear that they could not guarantee financial stability without assistance from Great Britain.

The islands do not have civic parishes. There are however six districts which are overseen by a District Manager. The function of the districts is only for electoral purposes and the keeping of statistical data. They do not have governing administrative functions.

The *British Virgin Islands* lie east of Puerto Rico and slightly northeast of the American Virgin Islands. The islands derive their name from Christopher Columbus who visited the islands on his second voyage in 1495; he named them *Santa Ursula y las once mil virgines.* The British Virgin Islands consist of four major populated islands: Tortola (the largest), Virgin Gorda, Jost Van Dyke and Anegada. There are a further twelve smaller inhabited islands, and 20 slightly larger uninhabited ones. As well, there are around two to three dozen smaller uninhabited islands. At present, the total population of the islands is 31,762, Tortola has 23,908 inhabitants, with Roadhouse being the largest settlement and serving as capital; Roadhouse has 9,400 inhabitants. The island of Virgin Gorda has 3,930, Jost Van Dyke 298 and Anegada 265. The only settlement on Anegada, where practically all inhabitants live, is called "The Settlement".

The islands were first settled by the Dutch. In 1615, Jost Van Dyke established a settlement on Tortola and in 1631 there was a Dutch settlement on Virgin Gorda. These settlements were short-lived as the Spanish attacked and destroyed them. In 1665 the English landed on Tortola and in 1672 they ousted the remaining Dutch settlers and started settlements and plantations based on sugar. The English also introduced slavery in the islands to support their new plantations. By 1680, further settlements were on Virgin Gorda and Anegada. In 1773, the islands, now Anegada, Tortola, Virgin Gorda, Jost Van Dyke, Peter, Norman, Guana, Ginger and Salt islands, were administratively united as a British Crown Colony. This lasted until 1872 when the Virgin Islands were joined with the Leeward Islands as one Crown Colony. The Virgin Islands gained its status as a separate Crown Colony again in 1960 and is now a British Overseas Territory. The islands are not divided into civil parishes, but just like the Cayman Islands they have districts. These districts, also just like in the Caymans, do not have an administrative function, but serve only as electoral districts. These islands depend now mainly on the tourist industry.

The islands of Anguilla and Barbuda, the British Virgin Islands and the Cayman Islands are the only regions in the English-speaking Caribbean that do not have and never have had designated civic parishes. On the other hand, the remaining English-speaking islands, all have had civic divisions still mostly named *parishes.*

What does this overview of parish names in the English-speaking Caribbean show? Initially there was a match between a church congregation and secular administration, with a parish name like St. Thomas (St. Kitts and Nevis). Then, reflecting the political development in England in the 17th century, the Caribbean followed England in splitting civic parishes from ecclesiastical ones. Then, parish names in the 17th century were beginning to be named after royalty or local administrators, partially maintaining the Saint tradition for some parishes, such as in Jamaica. Here, the royalty connection was hidden by the Saint designation, such as St. James named for King James II, who certainly was not a saint. By the 18th century, we notice a moving away from saint names and instead parishes being named after prominent colonial individuals or else landscape features. With islands that were taken over by the British in the 18th century, the earlier boundaries of the French division into paroisses were generally maintained, but a renaming took place with a Saint pattern (St. Vincent, Dominica, Grenada); in St. Vincent, the borders of the French paroisses were maintained as well as the French names, but the new English administrative divisions were not called parishes, but rather districts. In all cases, there was no relation to a church or an ecclesiastical connection. Trinidad, as we have seen, had a completely different colonial and settlement history. In general, there also seems to be an indication of moving away from

the designation *parish,* with St. Lucia now using *district* and Trinidad using *regional corporations* and *boroughs*.

What lies ahead? Instead of the term *parishes,* we may see the increasing use of terms such as *districts* or *boroughs,* in order to avoid any confusion between church and civic parishes. We may also see a renaming of *Saint-parishes* by using names of famous local people, or a following of the recent trend of renaming toponyms using Carib names, e.g. in St. Kitts *Mount Misery* to *Mount Liamuiga*.

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Abstract

England and Scotland had parishes as ecclesiastical and secular entities since medieval times. The tradition of parishes was transferred via Bermuda to the English-speaking Caribbean islands. On Nevis, one of the first islands to receive English-speaking settlers in the 17th century, parish names were derived from parish churches, but soon added civic functions. Jamaica, also settled in the 17th century with English-speaking settlers, had parishes with 'saint' names; however, most were actually named after members of the nobility, e.g. St. Catherine's, after Catherine Braganza, wife of Charles II. Islands that had been under French rule and were ceded to Great Britain in 1763 after the Seven Years' War (Grenada, St. Lucia, Dominica) had Catholic parishes replaced by Anglican ones, both as church and civic units. The land area of the new parishes coincided with the earlier French units. One can trace the extension and gradual expansion of English/British rule from island to island by parish names.

Keywords: Parish names, English Caribbean, colonial history, Caribbean history, Thomas Warner, secular parishes

Mats Wahlberg

Local, National and International Features of Swedish Street-Names

Street-names in Sweden, as in most parts of the world, are given from a local, national or international perspective, in this paper exemplified by names mainly from Uppsala and Stockholm. Name-giving with a local connection is common to all kinds of place-names all over the world, down the ages. The earliest examples of names given from a national perspective date from the middle of the 17th century. Names with international connotations did not come into use until the 20th century.

1. The Middle Ages

During the Middle Ages, street-names arose spontaneously in Swedish towns, and they all had a local connection. In all probability, names were not officially authorized. Although the written medieval sources preserved to our time do not give a detailed picture of the use of street-names, several streets and lanes did not bear names. To state the position of a house, detailed descriptions could be necessary, as in this example from Stockholm in 1444: "At the south gate on the eastern side, south of the lane which is situated between the previously mentioned site and that of the heir of Cord van Riin, below, between the two common streets". Similarly, a street could be mentioned by a description of its position, e.g. "when you go from the square to the monastery" or "the street which leads from the bridge to St. Peter's church", two streets in 14th century Uppsala. Such descriptions, which are common also in other European towns, can be regarded as a preliminary stage to real street-names. These two last mentioned streets in Uppsala were later called *Klostergatan* 'Monastery Street' and *S:t Persgatan* 'St. Peter's Street' (WAHLBERG 1994: 38, 41).

Some examples of medieval street-names from Uppsala referring to topography, buildings, characteristics or location of the street etc. are *Tovagatan* 'Tova Street', situated in a district called *Tovan,* named after a small field called *Tova* 'the tufty field', *Köpmannagatan* 'Merchant Street', later called *Vårfrugatan* 'Our Lady's Street', since it lead to the church of Our Lady, *Bredgränden* 'Broad Alley' and *Östra gatan* 'Eastern Street' (WAHLBERG 1994: 43–44, 32, 45).

Numerous examples of medieval Swedish street-names contain personal names, most certainly referring to persons living at the street. From Uppsala can be mentioned *Magnus Håkanssons gata* 'Magnus Håkansson's street' (WAHLBERG 1994: 40). Women, all of them probably widows, occur sparsely.

From Stockholm can be mentioned *Fru Gunillas gränd* 'Lady Gunilla's lane'. These names were normally changed when the person in question died or moved. A Stockholm document from 1495 mentions, "Bishop Birger's lane, which is now called Johan Bengtsson's lane, since he is living at the head of the lane" (WAHLBERG 1997: 186). Such names, though, could sometimes continue to be in use after the death of the person in question. The Uppsala name *Nils Svarts gata*/*gränd* 'Nils Svart's street/alley', mentioned in 1549, refers to a citizen who died in 1510 at the latest (WAHLBERG 1994: 47–48). In Stockholm, a few 16th century names of this type are still in use.

2. The 17th and 18th centuries

During the 17th and 18th centuries street-names with a local connection of the same type as the medieval names were still prevailing in Swedish towns, referring to features such as topography, buildings, characteristics or location of the street etc. In most cases, these names seem to have arisen spontaneously. Names containing personal names, referring to people living at the street, following the mediaeval tradition, still occur frequently in the 17th century.

The first examples of official name-giving date from the first half of the 17th century, when the municipal authorities in Stockholm and Uppsala began to take interest in the name-giving. Due to a royal resolution from 1643, the medieval town plan of Uppsala was considerably changed, following the rectilinear grid model of the Renaissance, making a regular street pattern with crossings at right angles and rectangular town blocks (WAHLBERG 1994: 54–58). It was not only the predominant demand for orderliness of the 17th century, but also an intention to reduce the risk of fire in the narrow streets and alleys with mostly wooden houses. The 1643 resolution includes a map with the new town plan over the old medieval street system (Fig. 1). A new Renaissance style town square was created with streets leading at right angles from the sides of the square. All changes were to be made at the citizens' own cost – they had construct the new street system, pull down the houses which could not be kept and build new ones. The plan was carried out towards the end of the 1660's. Since the new streets in most cases did not correspond to the old ones, it was necessary to create new street-names. For that reason, a Naming Committee was appointed in 1669 with six members from the town council and two from the university (WAHLBERG 1994: 58–70). The Naming Committee did excellent work. Since the town plan was totally changed, only a few of the old names could be preserved. The majority of the 26 new names has a local connection. A street could be named after a house situated by the street, such as *Akademigatan* (the old University building), *Rundelsgränd* (an old fortification called *Rundeln* 'the round'), and *Ladugatan* (*lada* 'barn', referring

to barns at the city border), the name of three different streets, now *Kungsgatan, Kyrkogårdsgatan* and *Skolgatan* (WAHLBERG 1994: 127, 133, 113, 129, 136). No names contain personal names, referring to people living at the street, a common feature of the medieval street-names.

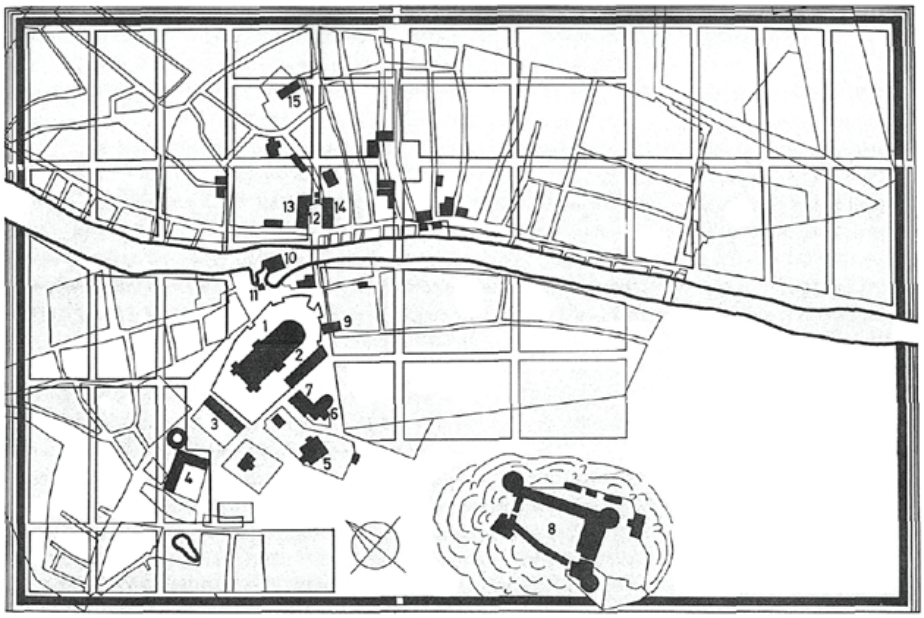


Figure 1: Map from 1643 (fair copy), showing the old medieval street system and the intended new street system (WAHLBERG 1994: 54–58)

Three of the new street-names, though, do not have a local, but a national connection, reflecting deference to the strong monarchy of the time: *Stora Konungsgatan* 'Great King's Street', now *Kungsängsgatan, Stora Regeringsgatan* 'Great Government Street', now *Svartbäcksgatan* and *Drottninggatan* 'Queen's Street' (WAHLBERG 1994: 60, 113, 117–118, 111–112). These names, representing a new feature of the street-names, were probably borrowed from Stockholm. The two men responsible for the carrying out of the street regulation in Uppsala had earlier been responsible for a street regulation of the same kind in Stockholm in the 1630's, where these names were introduced, probably in honour of the infant Queen Christina and her regency government. Nowadays we find *Kungsgatan* and *Drottninggatan* in most Swedish towns. These names have come to form part of the common street-name onomasticon.

Regulation of the street pattern of Stockholm in the 1630s and 1640s did not only result in new street-names being created by the authoriries. Another interesting innovation was the naming of the small street blocks of buildings –

the *kvarter* ‘quarters’, a uniquely Swedish custom still in use. This use of names for the street-blocks did not follow any foreign pattern, and it has not spread outside Sweden with the exception of the once Swedish Finland, where names of street-blocks are, however, no longer in official use. The town Gustavia in the former Swedish colony Saint Barthélemy in the West Indies, also had streets and blocks with Swedish names, as long as the colony belonged to Sweden, i.e. 1784–1878.

In 1669, the Naming Committee of Uppsala introduced the use of names of street-blocks, most probably following the Stockholm model (Wahlberg 1994: 62–70). The majority of the names have a local connection – the blocks *Trädgården* ‘The Garden’ and *Fågelsången* ‘The Bird Song’ formed parts of the old castle garden, and in the block *Pistolen* ‘The Pistol’, a pistol maker had his house. Some of the names are examples of a naming practice whereby names of certain semantic categories are used together, a prominent feature of modern Swedish street- and block-names ever since. The semantically grouped names consist of animal designations, e.g. *Bävern* ‘The Beaver’, *Draken* ‘The Dragon’, *Hjorten* ‘The Deer’, *Näktergalen* ‘the Nightingale’, and *Svalan* ‘the Swallow’. Some of the animal designations are also names of constellations. That explains why we find *Jungfrun* ‘The Maid’ among these animals – she is certainly not an animal, but a constellation.

This way of naming street-blocks in Uppsala with names belonging to certain semantic categories, systematized name-giving, was probably also borrowed from Stockholm. In the part of Stockholm, which belonged to the Admiralty, we have early examples of block-names such as *Havsfrun* ‘The Mermaid’ and *Styrmannen* ‘The Mate’ and other names connected to the world of seamen (Wahlberg 2004: 389).

This naming practice, systematized name-giving, was most certainly borrowed from Amsterdam or Copenhagen (Wahlberg 2004: 390–391). In Holland, grouped names of streets are found in 1596 in Delft, where some streets in a newly-built housing area for textile workers were given names after Flemish towns, and in 1614 in Amsterdam in the newly-built district De Jordan, where a number of new streets were given names containing plant-names. As Rob Rentenaar (1995: 125–126) has pointed out, this was a new kind of naming system, which focused on the street pattern, not on each separate street. Thus, the systematic planning of a new town district also included the names of the new streets. A naming practice of the same kind is also found early in Copenhagen, in the district of Christianshavn, founded in 1618, where names such as *Kongens gade* ‘King’s Street, *Dronninggaden* ‘Queen’s Street’ and *Prinsensgade* ‘Prince’s Street’ were introduced. It is difficult to say whether Amsterdam or Copenhagen was the direct source of inspiration for the system

of semantically grouped names in Stockholm. Copenhagen is, of course, closer to Stockholm, but Holland and Sweden had quite a lively cultural intercourse during the first half of the 17th century. In Amsterdam and Copenhagen, this new system of naming affected street-names. In Sweden, it was chiefly the newly introduced names of street-blocks, which fitted extremely well into this system.

3. The 19th century

During the 19th century, when official name-giving was consolidated in most Swedish towns, the majority of the names were still given with a local connection, referring to features such as topography, buildings etc.

However, at the end of the century, commemorative names given in honour of nationally well-known persons, without any local connection, were introduced in many Swedish towns. Some examples: *Vasabron* 'Vasa Bridge' and *Vasagatan* (Stockholm 1878, Uppsala 1884, King Gustav Vasa/the Vasa dynasty), *Tegnérgatan* (Uppsala 1884, Stockholm 1885, the author Esaias Tegnér) and *Wallingatan* (Stockholm 1885, archbishop and author Johan Olof Wallin). In some cases those names can also be locally motivated, i.e. *Linnégatan* in memory of the famous botanist Carl von Linné (Stockholm 1882, after a newly unveiled statue of him) and, an early example, *Gustav Adolfs Torg* 'Gustav Adolf's Square' (Stockholm 1805, after a statue of King Gustav II Adolf, unveiled in 1796).

4. The 20th and 21st centuries

In the 20th and 21st centuries, systematized name-giving, whereby names of certain semantic categories are held together within a district, is frequently practiced. Among the categories used in Uppsala we find several with a local connection, e.g. berries, fruits, vegetables and spices in a district earlier characterized by market gardens, e.g. *Krusbärsgatan* 'Gooseberry Street', *Kålrotsgatan* 'Turnip Street' and *Timjansgatan* 'Thyme Street'. Other categories have been chosen from a national perspective, e.g. place-names from a certain Swedish province, Swedish artists (Stockholm) and Swedish authors (Uppsala). However, in many districts, categories without a local connection have been chosen, e.g. dog breeds and footwear (*Poodle Alley, Shoehorn Hill,* Stockholm), mushrooms and weather types (*Truffle Road, Rain Street,* Uppsala).

Another predominant naming feature, beside systemized name-giving, is the growing use of commemorative names, following an international trend. Politicians and different interest and pressure groups tend to think that the main purpose of street-names is to commemorate different prominent persons. If the names are suitable as names from a linguistic and local historical point

of view is seldom brought up for discussion. Street-names commemorating locally known people having lived at the street or elsewhere in the town are normally not controversial, although this can be the fact, as the name *Fadimes plats* 'Fadime's place' in Uppsala shows. Fadime Şahindal was a young Kurdish woman from Uppsala, who was murdered in 2002 by her father, since he disliked her way of living. She had become well known in Sweden after having openly talked about her situation at a seminar arranged by the Swedish Parliament. That a street-name in Uppsala should commemorate her was a request from several politicians, who wanted to draw attention to the so-called honour killings and the problematic question of how to integrate immigrants into the Swedish society. The Kurdish immigrant population in Uppsala, however, was very negative, thinking that a name commemorating Fadime would form an inequitably negative picture of the Kurds. Only after ten years, a rather insignificant garden square in central Uppsala without an older name was chosen. It should be noticed that just the woman's first name is used, since she had become widely known just as *Fadime.*

Ideologically conditioned urban name-giving is and has been very common throughout the world, especially in dictatorship regimes wanting to manifest themselves, though such names fortunately never have been a characteristic of Sweden. However, commemorative names, referring to nationally well-known persons, can arouse lively debate. The name *Olof Palmes plats* 'Olof Palme's Square' in Uppsala, commemorating the former Swedish Prime Minister, who was murdered in 1986, is the result of a decree from the politicians in the Municipality Council demanding the Street-Name Committee to find a place or street in Uppsala to commemorate Olof Palme. This decision was very much discussed, since Olof Palme, admired but controversial as prime minister, had no special link to Uppsala. A big statue made by Bror Hjorth, a nationally well-known Uppsala sculptor and painter, dominates Olof Palme's plats. Following the principle that a place or a street should get a suitable name, not that a name shall find a place, a better name would have been *Bror Hjorths plats*. Today we find *Olof Palmes gata*/*torg* also in other Swedish towns to which he has no connection. *Olof Palmes gata* in Stockholm, though, is locally motivated, since he was murdered there (its earlier name was changed, though the old one is preserved for a part of the street). The name *Raoul Wallenbergs plats* 'Raoul Wallenberg's Square' in Uppsala, is also a result of a demand from the Municipality Council to the Name Committee. Raoul Wallenberg, with no connection to Uppsala, was a Swedish diplomat, world-famous for having saved Hungarian Jews during the Second World War, caught by the Russian army and with unknown destiny. Wallenberg occurs in names of streets and squares in other Swedish towns too. The worldwide known former Swedish Secretary General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld, killed in an

airplane accident in 1961, is commemorated by street-names in several Swedish towns to which he lacks connection. In Uppsala, his hometown, the name of the street passing the castle, where Dag Hammarskjöld grew up as the son of the county governor, was changed from *Stockholmsvägen* to *Dag Hammarskjölds väg* two years after his death in 1961.

Names with an international perspective, given in honour of an internationally well-known, non-Swedish person, are practically non-existing. In Stockholm, commemorative names may only refer to Swedish or Scandinavian persons. However, at least one such name exists in Sweden, *Martin Luther Kings plan* 'Martin Luther King's Square' in Uppsala. This name, commemorating the black American freedom fighter Martin Luther King, was proposed by the members of the Social Democrat Party in the Municipality Council in 1968, when King had newly been murdered. The place chosen to commemorate him had no official name at the time. There was an intensive debate if it was appropriate to commemorate King. This was not due to him as a person—he was and still is very much respected for his achievements. However, his only connection to Uppsala was the fact that he should have participated in the congress of the World Council of Churches in Uppsala in 1968, shortly before he was murdered.

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Abstract

During the Middle Ages street names arose spontaneously, all with a local connection, e.g. *Magnus Håkanssons gata* 'Magnus Håkansson's Street' in Uppsala, where a certain Magnus Håkansson most probably owned a house, and *Vårfrugatan* 'Our Lady's Street', leading to the Church of Our Lady. Also today, names with a local connection are common, though not referring to people now living.

The earliest examples of name-giving with a national perspective date from the middle of the 17th century, when the medieval plans of many Scandinavian towns were changed considerably, making new street names necessary. The names *Kungsgatan* 'King's Street, *Drottninggatan* 'Queen's Street' and *Regeringsgatan* 'Government Street' were introduced in Stockholm and Uppsala by the local authorities as a reverence to the strong royal power of the time. Nowadays we find *Kungsgatan* and *Drottninggatan* in most Swedish towns, as a part of a common street-name onomasticon. Since the end of the 19th century, when official name-giving was consolidated, commemorative names given in honour of historically well-known persons have become common. Such names, if proposed on the initiative of politicians or pressure groups, often cause debate.

Names with an international perspective, e.g. given in honour of internationally well-known, non-Swedish persons, are up to now not common.

Keywords: street-names, Sweden, official name-giving

Adriana Lima–Patricia Carvalhinhos

Toponymic Inflation: When the Politics Dilates Names. The Bridges of São Paulo (São Paulo, Brazil)

With about 12 million inhabitants,[1] São Paulo is continuously changing its urban landscape and toponymy. Recently, places such as the bridges on the Tietê and Pinheiros rivers, watercourses of historical importance, suffered peculiar changes in their toponymy, reflecting how recent this political action is.

This study proposes a structural and motivational analysis of the bridge toponyms that were changed from 2010 until the first half of 2017. Our main objective is to understand the mechanism used by the Municipality to assign new names to these bridges, seeking to recognize the toponymic structure and the role of this new designation pattern in the city.

We used the methodology of the project entitled *Toponymic Memory of São Paulo, neighborhood by neighborhood,* of the University of São Paulo, which aims to construct a toponymic profile of the uptown city.

With about 65 thousand official public places (Prefeitura de São Paulo 2009), almost all of São Paulo's toponymy is recent and presents many tributes to important people. There are few spontaneous names. Most of the city bills aim to name and change toponyms. However, only in limited situations, can the toponym of public places' be changed. Terminologically, small modifications in toponyms are also considered changes, as well as a whole substitution of a toponym: there is no clear data on how the municipality conceptualizes *changes* and *substitutions.*

The current toponymic pattern differs from the 16th century until the mid-19th century, when there was only a slight territorial and demographic growth and few roads were built in the Historic Center. Names were mostly spontaneous. Since the first historical records of the city, Tietê and Pinheiros are very representative toponyms. Tietê, which means "genuine watercourse […]" (Sampaio 1901: 153).[2] in Tupi (Brazilian indigenous language), is a spontaneous name given by natives. Pinheiros is the name assigned to both the river and the Indian village (still in the 16th century) and to a small population occupying one end of the village for a long time (Dick 1997).

[1] Consult the website http://www.cidades.ibge.gov.br/v4/brasil/sp/sao-paulo/panorama for further information.

[2] The authors have opted for a free translation into English when citations are written in other languages.

In the first records referring to the names of the bridges found in the *Atas da Câmara* 'Minutes of the Chamber' (official documents of the city's public life) of the 16th century, there were indeed no names (specific element): merely "bridges" (generic element). Exclusively the toponym *ponte grande* 'big bridge' was accompanied by a specific adjective (Atas I). There are also expressions steeped in orality with a toponymic value, such as "the bridge over the river tamedoati[3] near the villa" (Atas I, 273; 31/08/1585) and "the bridge over the river tomãdoati" (Atas I, 104; 22/09/1576), in a referential mechanism.

Different forms of how the bridge was registered appear in the Minutes of the 18th and 19th centuries. For example, we cite the Ponte Grande do Rio Tietê 'Great Bridge of the Tietê River': "the bridge of guaré, the great" (Atas X, 276; 19/09/1733), "the bridge that goes to Nossa Senhora da Luz" (Atas X, 461; 18/02/1736), "the great Theethé bridge of Nossa Senhora da Luz" (Atas XIII, 487-488; 06/02/1754). This reveals spontaneity in naming these bridges, which floated with orality – and lacks a public policy regarding how to name public places that, actually, were a few in a small village.

With the increase in population and the intensification of economic activities, the construction of new bridges was observed at the edges of main rivers, as well as the aim of many proposals being to modify the toponymy.

Marginal Tietê is a spontaneous name, characterizing a group of several avenues forming a single route in both directions along the banks of the Tietê River. Marginal Pinheiros is equally formed by several avenues (Carvalhinhos–Lima 2013). These banks are connected, forming one of the main transit corridors of the metropolitan region (approximately 42 kilometers long).

1. Substitutions and changes in São Paulo toponymy

When analyzing changes in naming the bridges in Marginal Tietê and Pinheiros that took place in the city until 2009 (Lima 2012), these can be grouped into two types: a) substitution, in cases of total replacement of a specific element with another, and b) overlap, when there is already a specific element but this receives another one with or without the hyphen, which results in a double name, with two distinct semantic nuclei, in the same toponym. Such changes continue to occur and the use of the hyphen to connect a new name to the old acquired expressiveness, thus appearing in many bills, laws, and decrees. Actually, during 2017 some bills present the same new naming mechanism.[4]

[3] The both forms refer to tamanduá, the anteater. The etymology of this Tupi toponym is "genuine tamanduá's river" (Navarro 2013: 599).

[4] Legislative activity, history of names and biography of honourees was surveyed in City Hall of São Paulo (Câmara Municipal de São Paulo 2017) and in the Municipality of São Paulo (Prefeitura de São Paulo 2017).

Toponymic inflation is a term proposed by CARVALHINHOS to describe the association of ideas between the growth or augment that currently occurs in some names of São Paulo (including in bridges) and the economic inflation, which corroded (and erodes) the country, in a growth that, often, has neither logic nor ways of being detained. Thus, this association of ideas leads to the proposition of this term to illustrate the names that "grow" or inflate for political reasons.

In toponymy, hyphenization refers to the use of hyphens, to connect the various components of a composite name, avoiding changes in the word order. The hyphen is also used between syllables and words (United Nations 2002: 13).

In Portuguese, the hyphen is described as a traditionally and poorly systematized graphic sign (CASTILHO 2012: 95). In Portuguese grammar, the hyphen is used: "in composite name, locutions, and vocabulary sentences"; "in pre-fixation and suffixation word formations"; "in enclisis, mesoclisis and with the verb to have". As for places' names, the hyphen is used in composite toponyms that start with a verb (Passa-Quatro, because a stream pass 4 times in the land) or with adjectives "grão"/"grã" 'great' (Grã-Bretanha) or in toponyms presenting elements joined by an article (such as Albergaria-a-Velha, BECHARA 2003: 613–617).

Thus, the current political mechanism that makes use of the hyphen to inflate a specific toponymic element with tributes damages the rule of the Portuguese language. This combination of two different and semantically disconnected nuclei has become more and more commonplace in the city.

What makes this process so blatantly political is the fact that the name does not change. The change of name could be justified from the point of view of the Critical Toponymy, which considers, in Bourdieu's analysis (1985 in MADDEN 2017: 3), the official toponymy as "the practices by which names are invested with the prestige and authority of the state, and hence legitimized and naturalized. Renaming can be a way to buy political loyalty".

Considering that there are not ideologic proposals in renaming, such as MADDEN (2017) and ROSE-REDWOOD–ALDERMAN–AZARYAHU (2009) understand, it is possible to think about several possibilities. Bordieu (1985 in MADDEN 2017: 3) calls it "a way to buy political loyalty" – in this situation, it is the loyalty of the honorees, the family or the group that he represents (businessmen, communicators, other politicians, etc.). The other hypothesis is that this kind of toponymic change is so subtle that it supposes little popular resistance. The last hypothesis – in fact, a pure speculation – is that the enormous quantity of bills regarding name changes should serve to make a sort of "approval rates" in the City Council, revealing the "productivity" of the councilman.

From an administrative point of view, the elected representatives (councilors and mayor) act as namers, by proposing these changes and many others. The tribute to people who died, facts or relevant historical dates, respectively, are first and second place among the current criteria to name public places. After the Proclamation of the Republic in 1889, this pattern became very productive, and a wealth of options contributed to completely delete older references to that place. Nowadays, a different toponym can no longer be attributed to one that has been already traditionally established (dates, historical facts, location or geographical reference) and incorporated into the culture of the municipality.

Changing the names of public places is forbidden and occurs only in cases of: a) homonymous designations, b) similarities of several origins that produce a certain ambiguity in the identification and c) designation that can expose residents to ridicule. As we mentioned, changes are treated as alterations – there is no difference between substitution and tributes' addition or information about the hyphen in these situations.

Another possibility of replacement occurred in 2015: a program was established with the objective of carrying out a progressive change of toponyms that pay tributes to people and facts related to serious violations of human rights, as those occurred during the military period (from 1964 to 1985).

2. Toponymic inflation in the Marginals Tietê and Pinheiros: the expansion of the bridges' names

We identified and analyzed 34 bridge names in the first semester of 2017 through documents and mechanisms of maps viewing. We observed that 17 names were modified after officialization, and of these 11 occurred from 2010 until mid of 2017.

Comparing the new data with those of a previous study (Lima 2012), we found substitution changes and overlap. Only one toponym was replaced. The exchange of the toponym Ponte 'Bridge'[5] General Milton Tavares de Souza to Ponte Domingos Franciulli Netto deletes a tribute to one of the generals of the Dictatorship. This replacement took place before 2016 and occurred only to change the name related to the violation of human rights.

Ten of the registered toponymic changes overlap anthroponyms (personal names and titles plus personal names) to the old toponyms. Eight of ten (80%) bring a hyphen between the two semantic nuclei of the specific. As there is not a connection between the two nuclei, the specific becomes strange or semantically incoherent. It seems, by the way, that to add a new nucleus to a specific element of a pre-established toponym is a good way to convert it into a politic currency

[5] Onwards, we maintain the original generic and specific elements in Portuguese.

tool. In these cases, the change in the toponym doesn't bring problems to the people because they will always and ever use the original nomination – after changes, the second nucleus use to be ignored from people to media.

The hyphen is also used in subway stations names. In these cases, however, the composite toponyms have a completely different administrative motivation, for example, the stations Corinthians-Itaquera and Guilhermina-Esperança.

The old toponyms and toponymic inflation from our survey can be observed in more details in Table 1:

	Old Toponym			Actual Toponym		
Marginal	**Year**	**Generic**	**Specific**	**Year**	**Generic**	**Specific**
Tietê	1979	Ponte	Tatuapé	2010	Ponte do	Tatuapé Dep. Ricardo Izar
Tietê	1979	Ponte da	Vila Guilherme	2016	Ponte da	Vila Guilherme - Eng. Curt W. Otto Baumgart
Tietê	1979	Ponte	Cruzeiro do Sul	2010	Ponte	Cruzeiro do Sul - Jornalista Ary Silva
Tietê	1979	Ponte das	Bandeiras	2017	Ponte das	Bandeiras Senador Romeu Tuma
Tietê	1979	Ponte da	Casa Verde	2013	Ponte da	Casa Verde - Jornalista Walter Abrahão
Tietê	1979	Ponte	Freguesia do Ó	2017	Ponte	Freguesia do Ó - Padre Noé Rodrigues
Tietê	1979	Ponte do	Piqueri	2016	Ponte	Piqueri - Joelmir Beting
Tietê	1979	Ponte dos	Remédios	2013	Ponte dos	Remédios - Carmen Fernandes Neves
Pinheiros	1979	Ponte	Jaguaré	2012	Ponte do	Jaguaré - Hirant Sanazar
Pinheiros	s/d	Ponte	Laguna	2016	Ponte	Laguna - Vice-Presidente José Alencar

Table 1: Toponymic inflation in bridges' names of the Marginals Tietê and Pinheiros between 2010 and the first half of 2017 (old and current toponym with and without hyphen)

Hyphenization is used to connect the old toponym to the new one in 8 of the 10 toponyms analyzed. In general, this second nucleus brings homages to journalists, the journalist's mother, politicians (mayor of a neighboring city and vice-president of the Republic), an engineer and a priest. Although the hyphen is used in these toponyms, the rules of Portuguese grammar that refers to hyphenization uses had not been obeyed. As we said previously, these examples show the graphic sign connecting different nuclei born at distinct times: an old specific element is linked to a recent tribute.

Other additions without hyphen pay a tribute to two politicians, one deputy, and one senator.

These examples of toponymic inflation (with and without hyphens) preserve the traditional toponyms, which usually have a deep connection with the place where they were built: hydronyms (such as Tatuapé), neighborhood and region (Piqueri, Remédios, Jaguaré, Vila Guilherme, Casa Verde, Freguesia do Ó and Tatuapé), odonyms interconnected by the bridge (Remédios, Jaguaré, Cruzeiro do Sul and Laguna), and a historical fact from the Brazilian colonial period

(Bandeiras). The preservation of the first specific element allows the approach to the pattern prevailing in the city since the colonial period when the few existing bridges were known by a hydronym, a region where it had been built or by the bridge's own attributes.

Traditional names would be easily erased if they would not generate a certain resistance by the population. An example of a traditional toponym that is not erased from people's and media's minds is a bridge over Pinheiros River, at the Marginal Pinheiros. The toponym Ponte Cidade Jardim was replaced in 1995. Since then, its official toponym is Ponte Engenheiro Roberto Rossi Zuccolo. In its first nomination, the bridge "Cidade Jardim" had the same toponym already spread over the region (the neighborhood and an important local avenue). The proof of this resistance (a kind of toponymic attachment) can be found making a brief search in the collection of a traditional newspaper of São Paulo. The old news (since 1995) shows that the toponym "Ponte Cidade Jardim" is more common than the current toponym.[6] The nameplate of that bridge has been changed several times over the last years. Nowadays (2017), the former toponym remains highlighted on the nameplate – so drivers can identify the bridge, which is not possible with the "new" 22 years-old name.

Actually, this toponymic change (and others) is still a subject of protests among the population. In a blog post, Sarquis (2012) states that "renaming" the Marginal's bridges only confuse people. According to him, the use of the toponym "Ponte Cidade Jardim" is common in daily life and in the oral language. This habit of using the former toponym builds a discrepancy with the official information, creating a lack of effective communication. The former toponym is so strong that it continues being used in parallel in everyday life. Thus, for most people, Cidade Jardim remains the official name of the bridge.

The old toponym Ponte do Piqueri became the Ponte Piqueri-Joelmir Beting in 2016. It shows the same nomination mechanism of the previous example. Piqueri is Tupi and it means "river of the small fish" (Navarro 2013: 593). Piqueri was an old settlement in earlier times in the history of the city (Dick 1997). Nowadays, it is a neighborhood that can be accessed by that bridge. It is also a toponym that identifies a train station (Estação Piqueri 'Piqueri Station') and other places of the region. The insertion of a new nucleus by hyphenization commemorates a Brazilian journalist that died in 2012. Here again, the addendum does not represent a reference or a historical relationship with the region, providing a semantic disconnection between the two specific

[6] In the aforementioned collection, there are 485 occurrences of the "Ponte Cidade Jardim" after 1995. Most of them appear in 2000s news. On the other hand, there are only 4 occurrences of the "Ponte Engenheiro Roberto Rossi Zuccolo" (Estadão 2017).

elements. In the same way, people don't use the new toponym and the bridge still remains Piqueri.

The latest toponymic inflation in São Paulo occurred in 2017. The Ponte das Bandeiras is a bridge inaugurated in 1942. Since April 2017 this toponym has received a second specific element, another homage. The recently named Ponte das Bandeiras Senador Romeu Tuma is a construction that replaced the most ancient bridge of the Tietê River, rebuilt over the centuries at the same place where the old "Ponte Grande" (Dick 1997) was built the first time. It's a spontaneous and descriptive name ("Big Bridge") and an important place because it marks where expeditions ("Bandeiras") to hinterland used to depart. The very historical meaning of the word Bandeiras refers to this land clearing of the country in the colonial period (Priberam 2008–2013).

The tribute to the Senator, who died in 2010, happened by the addition of his name as the second specific element to the Ponte das Bandeiras after the approval of a bill proposed by councilor Eduardo Tuma, nephew of the honoree. The request makes clear the intention to pay tribute to his relative. The motion was accepted by his peers. However, after a legal dispute, the new nomination has been forbidden and the original toponym kept.

The two examples (Piqueri and Bandeiras bridges) show that the preservation of the former toponym is important for the insertion of tributes to "distinguished" individuals with or without the use of the hyphen, whose grammatical function in Portuguese seems completely strange to Councilors. If it was not for this newly discovered mechanism of toponymic inflation, it is possible that substitutions (which means to take off traditional toponyms and to set tributes instead) never occurred, first because there is a legal obstruction (established toponyms cannot be replaced) and second because there would be popular resistance, as it occurs for 22 years with the former Ponte Cidade Jardim.

Maintaining the traditional toponym and including new nuclei with or without a hyphen reveals how it is easy to take advantage of a "closed structure" crystalized at people's minds. Adding a new nucleus that always pays homage to "important" personalities does not represent a problem to people that live and use the urbanonym everyday: the orality guarantee that people will just use the first part of the new toponym (which corresponds to the traditional one) to communicate. As we have said, it can be assumed that this system of maintaining the traditional toponym and overlapping tributes emerged to avoid popular resistance – which seems to reveal "buying of loyalties".

Since bridges play a very important role in the movement of people and traffic, their names are also influenced by an entire social and political framework. That being said, every new change made official means an intentional change in that framework. We conclude this paper by emphasizing that the swelling of some

traditional toponyms in São Paulo shows a new synchronic denominational trend being established in the city (the toponymic inflation), a comfortable policy and apparently more popular than toponymic substitution.

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Abstract

The city of São Paulo has an urban landscape that receives frequent changes; a common feature of metropolitan areas. In recent years, we have observed peculiar changes in the naming of public spaces that have a prominent position, such as the names of the bridges over the Tietê and Pinheiros rivers. Dilation in the structure of these toponyms, especially the alterations made after the works of improvement that occurred in 2010 in the marginal avenues of these rivers, reflects how speedy an urbanonym can be changed or substituted in São Paulo. This study proposes an analysis of these toponym changes in order to understand

the mechanisms that the municipality uses to attribute new names to bridges. The data collection and the documentary research were considered as a basic methodological procedure for the construction of a toponymic profile of these transformations. The results show that the adoption of a hyphen to connect new elements to the previous toponym indicates an odd pattern to rename landmarks, characterizing a synchronic denominative tendency featured by expansion (or a swelling called toponymic inflation) of the original toponym.

Keywords: São Paulo toponymy, toponymic changes, bridges

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