

Bölcskei, Andrea, The Findings of Onomastic Field Research on Synchronic Hungarian Toponyms used in Transylvanian Settlements [Egy névtani terepmunka eredményei: jelenkori magyar helynevek erdélyi településeken]. In: Löfström, Jonas – Schnabel-Le Corre, Betina (eds.), *Challenges in synchronic toponymy / Défis de la toponymie synchronique*. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag GmbH + Co. KG. Megjelenés előtt.

Andrea Bölcskei

The findings of onomastic field research on synchronic Hungarian toponyms used in Transylvanian settlements

1 Introduction: challenges

Onomastic fieldwork presents several challenges. The challenges are especially great when collecting Hungarian microtoponyms in settlements in the countries surrounding Hungary. A fieldworker, in such cases, must be clever enough to overcome quite a few subtle political and language barriers.

The settlements outside the present borders of Hungary with a considerable population of Hungarian native speakers were annexed to their recipient countries almost a hundred years ago, as a result of an international treaty concluding the First World War. In today's united Europe, communication between groups of Hungarian people living in different countries is no longer frowned upon; however, unspoken fears of the possible consequences faced in the past by those who failed to meet the requirements of the former regime, which appreciated closed communities, have not entirely vanished and often make informants unsure of what they can reveal to a stranger from the home country about their way of living.

Linguistically, as most people of Hungarian mother tongue living in the countries surrounding present-day Hungary are educated and provided access to daily information in the official language of the state whose citizens they are, informants usually tend to undervalue their Hungarian language skills, claiming that their Hungarian is poor as a result of the lack of regular practice in reading and writing in it. In several cases, informants also seem to be reluctant to use their native Hungarian language in formal situations (e.g. in an interview with a fieldworker).

2 The details of the onomastic field research

In the summer of 1998, in the framework of an OTKA [Hungarian Scientific Research Fund] research project, a group of five PhD students in Onomastics and a research student in Linguistics from Eötvös Loránd University (Tamás Farkas, the leading researcher of the project, Edina Zántó, Gyula Hári, Péter Havas, Attila Mártonfi and myself) travelled to Covasna (formerly known as Háromszék) County, Transylvania (Romania) to collect synchronic toponyms and family names in five Hungarian-majority settlements. The settlements surveyed were Angyalos (Angheluș), Kökös (Chichiș), Kilyén (Chilieni), Sepsiszentkirály (Sâncraiu) and Szotyor (Coșeni).

In preparation for the actual fieldwork, we copied the relevant village maps and assembled historical place names from published (*Dénes Bogáts*, 1929) and then unpublished sources (*Frigyes Pesty*, 1864; *Attila Szabó T.*, 2001) to be able to check whether these toponyms were still used in the communities. We tested our skills by collecting synchronic toponyms in Sepsiszentkirály, the smallest of the villages, guided by Jenő Janitsek, an emeritus professor of Babeș–Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca. After the fieldwork had been conducted, we returned to Hungary to organize and analyze the collected data, with the help of Prof. Mihály Hajdú, then the director of the Onomastic PhD Programme at Eötvös Loránd University. The toponyms of Sepsiszentkirály were soon published (*Jenő Janitsek, Gyula Hári*, 2000).

In 2003, the five of us (Tamás Farkas, Edina Zántó, Mariann Slíz, Péter Havas and myself) travelled back to Covasna County to check and improve our collection (by involving more informants as well as several valuable local sources: ecclesiastical documents, administrative registers, cadastral maps). Eventually, the place names collected were presented in papers (*Andrea Bölcskei*, 2006; *Mariann Slíz*, 2006; *Tamás Farkas*, 2008), organized into dictionaries (along with family names), localized on maps, and analyzed linguistically in booklets (*Tamás Farkas, Edina Zántó*, 2008; *Andrea Bölcskei, Péter Havas, Mariann Slíz*, 2008, hereafter: *AKcshn*).

This paper reports on the most important findings of this fieldwork, concentrating on the linguistic features of the place-name sets thriving in two of the above-mentioned settlements (i.e. in Angyalos and Kökös). In general, we should emphasize that the Hungarian inhabitants of the surveyed villages have preserved the former native microtoponymy to a great extent up to the present day. My aim here is to present the basic features of this varied name stock and, by doing so, to illustrate some important regional characteristics of the Hungarian place nomenclature in Transylvania.

3 The settlements of Angyalos and Kökös

Angyalos is situated 8 km to the east of Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfântu Gheorghe), the county seat, in the northern part of the fertile land called Szépmező. The settlement was first mentioned in writing as *Angelus* in a 1332–1337 ecclesiastical tithe roll (FNEsz, 2: 518). Throughout its history, Angyalos has always been a relatively small settlement. According to the census returns in 2002, the village had a total population of 692 people; the ethnic make-up was claimed to be 656 Hungarian (94.8%), 22 Roma (3.2%), 13 Romanian (1.9%) and 1 German (0.1%) inhabitants (Árpád E. Varga, 2008a, 31). In the same year, most inhabitants belonged to the Protestant faith: 646 Calvinists (93.3%), 29 Roman Catholics (4.2%), 13 Orthodox (1.9%) and 4 persons of other religion (0.6%) were registered (Árpád E. Varga, 2008b, 20). The most important historic buildings in the village include a fortified Protestant church, erected around 1800, and a former denominational school (now functioning as a community centre), built in 1882. Angyalos today is administered by the neighbouring Gidófalva (Ghidfalău).

Kökös is located 10 km to the south of Sepsiszentgyörgy, at the confluence of the rivers Olt and Fekete-ügy (Râul Negru). The name of the settlement was first recorded in 1461 in the form of *Kewkews* (FNEsz, 1: 791). In history, Kökös played an important role in the 1848–1849 Hungarian war of independence as a strategic crossing point into Háromszék County; two significant battles fought against the Tsarist troops invading from the east to aid the Habsburgs took place next to the village (on 23rd of June and 2nd of July, 1849). Áron Gábor, artillery officer and the leader of the Székely Hungarian resistance in Háromszék County was killed in the second battle. Between 1940 and 1944, as a result of the Second Vienna Award (1940), which gave back the territory of Northern Transylvania to Hungary, Kökös became a border settlement (AKcshn, 56). According to the 2002 census, the total population in the village was 1075 people, consisting of 857 Hungarians (79.7%), 197 Romanians (18.3%), and 21 inhabitants of other ethnicity (2%) (Árpád E. Varga, 2008a, 27). Based on the same census, the religious distribution in the settlement was reported to be 525 Calvinist (48.8%), 222 Orthodox (20.7%), 210 Unitarian (19.5%), 102 Roman Catholic (9.5%), 6 Lutheran inhabitants (0.6%), as well as 10 inhabitants of other religious faith (0.9%) (Árpád E. Varga, 2008b, 17). The village is famous for its historic Unitarian church, which dates back to the 13th–14th centuries; its Orthodox wooden church from around 1740, moved here from the village of Zajzon (Zizin), Burzenland between 1812 and 1815; its Calvinist church, erected at the end of the 18th century; and its parish hall, built in 1901. Since 1968 Kökös has been administering the neighbouring Kökösbácstelek (Băcel), a village of predominantly Romanian inhabitants.

The geographical positions of the two settlements, with all their effects on place-naming practices, are remarkably different: Angyalos lies at the southern foot of the Bodoki Mountains; Kőkös, however, is situated on a 509-metre high plateau at the confluence of two rivers. The fields belonging to Angyalos are dominated by wooded hillsides and gently sloping pasture lands, whilst Kőkös mostly has flat meadows and plough-lands on its outskirts.

4 Denotata named in the two settlements

In 2003, according to our collection, the geographical features named in the two settlements total 195 denotata in Angyalos and 240 denotata in Kőkös, in the following distribution: parts of the settlements: 5.9% and 6.4%; buildings: 23.7% and 40.5%; plough-lands: 34.8% and 33.7%; meadows: 0.4% and 7.2%; pastures: 6.8% and 0.8%; woods: 5.5% and 0%; vegetable and fruit gardens: 1.3% and 0.4%; mixed crop-lands: 9.3% and 4.1%; boundary points: 1.7% and 0.8%; bodies of water: 10.2% and 6.1%; relief features: 0.4% and 0%, respectively. As one can see, Angyalos, though the smaller settlement, because of the much more varied configurations of its terrain, displayed 11 different types of named denotata in contrast with the 9 distinct types of denotata named in Kőkös.

The number of the named denotata and the number of the name forms used in the two settlements are, of course, not in a strict 1:1 relationship. A single denotatum might be designated by several names based on different motivations (i.e. identifying features of the indicated entity), and each relevant name might be realized grammatically in more than one form. Thus, the 195 denotata in Angyalos are identified with the help of 304 distinct names in 358 different forms; whilst the 240 denotata in Kőkös are indicated by 332 names in 433 separate forms.

Furthermore, we must also call attention to the fact that in some cases the different parts of the very same denotatum are known under distinct names in the villages: the names for streams and streets, for instance, can be different in the built-up area and in the fields of the same settlement. In Angyalos, the creek that runs through the settlement in a north–south direction is known as *Patak* ('creek')¹ in the built-up area, but identified as *Bikkés-patak* ('beech creek') or *Patakfolyás* ('creek course') if its reaches outside the residential area are meant. Similarly, the northwest–southeast street of the same settlement is known as *Fő út* ('main street') or *Kereszt út* ('crossing street') inside and as *Gidófalvi út* (the section of the road west of the village leading

¹ In parentheses I provide the approximate semantic equivalents of the Hungarian place names in English, trying to reflect also the grammatical structure of the original name forms.

to the neighbouring settlement of Gidófalva) and *Bessenyei út* (the section of the road east of the village leading to the neighbouring settlement of Sepsibesenyő) outside the inhabited area.

At the same time, streets dividing into two or three branches in the settlement are often indicated by a single name. In Kökös, for example, the name *Vasút utca* ('railway street') is used to identify each of the three parallel streets leading to the railway station in the district called Agrád. *Új utca* ('new street') is the name for a T-shaped street in the northern part of the same settlement. This practice reveals a special concept of street adopted by the villagers, not necessarily differentiating the main and the side streets from each other in the same part of the settlement.

5 Linguistic features of the collected toponyms

The present short linguistic analysis focuses on the most important region-specific (5.1) socio-onomastic, (5.2) syntactic and (5.3) semantic features of the collected toponyms, as well as (5.4) on the name formation processes adopted historically in the surveyed settlements.²

5.1 Socio-onomastic features

Focusing first on socio-onomastic features, we could identify three distinct sets of toponyms in local name use: our informants differentiated between vernacular, semi-official and cadastral place names. Vernacular (i.e. non-official, but widely used) toponyms have been inherited from generation to generation over a longer period of time, often preserving the memory of a well-known former inhabitant connected in some way to the indicated place, e.g. *Mani-tag* ('Mani plot'; A),³ from the nickname of its possessor, Manó Incze, a pre-World War 2 schoolmaster in the settlement. Vernacular names sometimes inform us about how the land was previously utilized, e.g. *Rókák* ('foxes'; A) was the site of a silver fox farm in the Socialist Era; or tell us true or folk stories about the past, e.g. *Csíki ember földje* ('land owned by the man from Csík [Ciuc]'; A), plough-land of poor quality allocated to a man from the region called Csík after he had refused to join the local agricultural co-operative in the 1950s; *Jánka-puszta* ('Jánka plain'; A), a field where a presumed 13th-century Hungarian warrior called Jánka is said to have been beheaded, while patrolling, by the lurking Tatars. Names for former springs

² The syntactic and semantic features of the toponyms, as well as the name formation processes are described here on the basis of *István Hoffmann*, 2007; concepts and terms are used accordingly (see esp. pp. 171–180); cf. also footnotes 8, 30, 33, 36, 37.

³ In parentheses, apart from the explanation of meaning, I also give in an abbreviated form the name of the settlement in which the indicated denotatum is located: A stands for Angyalos and K stands for Kökös.

and wells are also remembered and occasionally used in the villages even today to refer to the sites where they once stood, e.g. *Juhitató* ('watering hole for sheep'; K). In Angyalos, the function, and thus the vernacular name, of some public buildings has changed several times in the past, so it seemed to depend on the age of the informant which name (s)he used, e.g. the name shift from the earlier *Községgháza* ('parish hall') via *Néptanács* ('people's councils') to the present *Tűzoltóráktár* ('fire station').

Semi-official toponyms are recent name forms originating in the last two decades. We were informed by our consultants that, in the national official agricultural registers (entitled *România Registrul agricol*), pieces of land possessed by the inhabitants in a settlement are required to be identified in a very precise manner. These documents are prepared by local administrators, who, in an effort to provide unambiguous identification, are thus forced to invent names to indicate otherwise nameless plots of land. The name forms coined by them are usually ad hoc circumscriptions, easily understood and accepted by the villagers, e.g. *Futballpálya mellett* ('next to the football field'; K). Though these name forms are mostly improvised, as they are recorded in official documents, most people regard them as formal place names. As a result, sometimes attempts are made to substitute inherited vernacular names with these admittedly invented toponyms in formal situations, e.g. a lane in Kökös, known in the vernacular as *Csorda útja* ('the herd's street', cattle were driven on it to the pastures) or as *Román templom útja* ('street of the Romanian church', the lane is behind the old Romanian church), is to be indicated officially as *Mező utca* ('field street', the lane leading to the fields), which is its administrative name.

The local authorities also provided us with cadastral maps and lists of place names prepared in the second half of the 1990s. Though several toponyms on the cadastral maps were identical with the collected vernacular names and the place names specified in the lists, not all toponyms coincided. Formally, the (potentially official) cadastral place names seem to differ from the vernacular toponyms in several respects: they might include an ordinal number, e.g. *Rét I.* ('meadow I'; K); they might combine two vernacular toponyms into a single name, e.g. *Nyírestó (Bánya)* ('birchen lake + mine';⁴ K); or they might also be entirely new name forms, e.g. *Községi-legelő* ('common pasture'; K). The denotata of the same vernacular and cadastral toponyms can be identical, e.g. *Lókötő* ('a place to tether horses'; K); partially identical, e.g. *Morgó* ('growling'; K);⁵ neighbouring, e.g. *Forrás* ('boiling'; K);⁶

⁴ No actual mine was recorded or is remembered there (*AKcshn*, 92).

⁵ In the past, this marshy area was heard "growling", when someone stepped on it (*AKcshn*, 90).

⁶ In the past, the turf there looked like as if it were boiling, when it was raining (*AKcshn*, 96).

and entirely different, e.g. *Égés* ('burn'; K).⁷ For today, name users are typically familiar not only with the vernacular toponyms, but also with the cadastral place names, often derived from the vernacular forms, but applied to different denotata. Thus, when, as often happens, the vernacular and cadastral toponyms are used mixed in everyday communication, it is not always easy for an outsider to understand which place is actually meant.

5.2 Syntactic features

Syntactically, both single-constituent and two-constituent⁸ name forms are found in the place nomenclature of the two surveyed settlements. Their proportion depends mostly on the types of the denotata they identify; but regional preferences can also play an important role. In Kökös, for instance, we could collect only two-constituent street names,⁹ e.g. *Hátsó utca* ('rear street'); whilst in Angyalos 5.6% of the relevant names turned out to be single-constituent names, e.g. *Dörgös* ('rubbing').¹⁰ The two distinct structures are present more proportionately in the field name¹¹ stock of Angyalos (two-constituent names constitute 53%, single-constituent names form 47% of all field names) than in that of Kökös (62.2% and 37.8%, respectively). Single-constituent field names include examples such as *Tőkés* ('stumpy'; A), *Hegyes* ('pointed'; K).¹² The second component in two-constituent field names in most cases (91.9% [A] and 78.3% [K] of all instances) identifies the type of the indicated denotatum with the help of a generic term, e.g. *Császár martja* ('Császár's steep bank'; K); and less frequently (8.1% [A] and 21.7% [K] of all instances) it denotes the place by way of a toponym, e.g. *Horgas-Káka* ('hooked Káka', i.e. 'the hooked part of the plot called Káka'; K). As we can see, the only component of the single-constituent field names and the first component of the two-constituent field names equally clarify a specific feature of the designated entity (see part 5.3).

⁷ The wood there was burnt up (*AKcshn*, 96).

⁸ 'Name constituents' are units of toponyms "which – in the situation of name formation – express any semantic feature that is connected with the signalled denotatum" (*István Hoffmann*, 2007, 176), e.g. the name *Ürmösi Misi bácsi utcája* ('Uncle Misi Ürmösi's street'; K) consists of two constituents, as it gives us two pieces of information about the denotatum: (1) the name of the person (consisting of three words) who is associated with the place (as a well-known inhabitant) and (2) the type of the indicated denotatum. Thus, a name constituent is not necessarily a single word.

⁹ The term 'street name' is used here as defined in the ICOS Terminology List: "proper name of a thoroughfare in a city, town, or village" (p. 5); thus, names for high roads, railway lines and farm roads are excluded.

¹⁰ The name denotes a path along the creek, where women often wash carpets by rubbing even today (*AKcshn*, 31).

¹¹ A 'field name', according to the ICOS Terminology List, is the "name of a small piece of rural land" (p. 3).

¹² Names referring to how the land was gained and shape, respectively (*AKcshn*, 34, 96).

Two-constituent toponyms are regularly attributive structures, containing either a qualifying adjective, e.g. *Közép-láb* ('middle plot'; K); or a possessive one. Possessive constructions can be morphologically marked, e.g. *Jankó bá pusztája* ('Uncle Jankó's plain'; A); or unmarked, e.g. *Elekes-tag* ('Elekes plot'; A).¹³ Possessive structures usually identify the (former) owner of the place, e.g. *Templom nyíre* ('the birch grove of the church'; A); but a certain part of a larger territory, e.g. *Rakottvás ponkja* ('the ridge of the piece of land called Rakottvás'; A); or a territory around a striking object, e.g. *Magasmegfigyelő lábja* ('the plot of the observation post'; K)¹⁴ can also be referred to in this form.

Toponyms identifying the (former) owner of the place can also be single-constituent names derived directly from personal names (i.e. without adding a generic constituent or a suffix to the personal name: a typical Hungarian place-name type), e.g. *Hersényi* (A), *Konca* (A).¹⁵ Personal names, especially names of married women completed with the possession suffix *-é* are also used with the same function in this area, e.g. *Inczéné* ('Mrs. Incze's'; A), *Nagy Dénesné* ('Mrs. Dénes Nagy's'; K). Some structurally unique adverbial toponyms lack the (obvious) generic constituent and thus also count as single-constituent names, e.g. *Nyírre menő* ('[a stretch] leading to the piece of land called Nyír'; A), *Pistinénál* ('at Pisti's wife's [place]'; K).

5.3 Semantic features

Semantically, the collected toponyms, especially the vernacular ones, display a great variety. The semantic functions (i.e. the motivational factors) expressed in the one-constituent place names or in the specific components of the two-constituent toponyms are strongly dependent on the types of the denotata indicated by the actual names. If we consider the two largest groups of the observed microtoponyms (i.e. vernacular street and field names), we can easily detect some characteristic differences in the naming patterns adopted in the two surveyed settlements.

In the case of street names, several semantic functions are reflected in the name stocks of both villages: the age, e.g. *Új utca* ('new street'; K); the function of the street, e.g. *Fő út* ('main street'; A); a significant building, e.g. *Malom utca* ('mill street'; A); well-known inhabitants in the street, e.g. *Sógorok utcája* ('brother-in-laws' street') ~ *Tolvaj utca* ('thief street'; A); the precise situation, e.g. *Bongos út* ('street across the field called Bongos'; A); the direction, e.g. *Temető út* ('cemetery street'; A); the relative position of the street, e.g. *Első utca* ('front street'; K); miscellaneous other features of the street, e.g. *Dene tizenegy*

¹³ *Elekes* is a Hungarian family name (AKcshn, 37).

¹⁴ The observation post, which also indicated a landing strip for gliders, has already been demolished (AKcshn, 93).

¹⁵ *Hersényi* and *Konca* are Hungarian family names (AKcshn, 36, 37).

(‘highway 11’; K). The size (*Nagy utca* ‘great street’) and material (*Aszfalt* ‘asphalt’) of the street, as well as an event that happened in the street (*Hammás utca* ‘ash street’),¹⁶ however, are commented on only in Kökös street names. Though references to inhabitants associated with the street occur in both place nomenclatures (see above), streets are named after their prominent (former) dwellers only in Kökös, where a single street can bear several distinct names from different time periods as a result of this motivation, e.g. *Orosz Misi bácsi utcája* (‘Uncle Misi Orosz’s street’) ~ *Bordás Sándor utcája* (‘Sándor Bordás’s street’).

With respect to field names, most semantic functions are shared in the relevant microtoponyms of the two settlements: the size, e.g. *Százlépés* (‘hundred steps’; K);¹⁷ the shape, e.g. *Kurta* (‘short’; A); the function of the field, e.g. *Bikás* (‘with bulls’; A);¹⁸ the flora, e.g. *Jegenyék* (‘poplars’; K); the fauna, e.g. *Ravaszlik* (‘fox-hole’; K); a building, an establishment found in the field, e.g. *Cigányháznál* (‘at the Gypsies’ house; K);¹⁹ the possessor, e.g. *Orbók* (‘Orbók’; K);²⁰ the inhabitants, e.g. *Remete* (‘hermit’; K);²¹ the origin of the field, e.g. *Vágott-nyír* (‘cut birch grove’; A); the field is a part of a place, e.g. *Peres teteje* (‘the top of the field called Peres’; A); the precise situation, e.g. *Híd köze* (‘between the bridges’; K);²² the direction, e.g. *Egerre menő* (‘[a stretch] leading to the piece of land called Eger’; K); the relative position of the field, e.g. *Magas-Eger* (‘high Eger’, i.e. ‘the highest part of the plot called Eger’; K); miscellaneous other features of the field, e.g. *Farkas-rakottya* (‘wolf thicket’; K).²³ Events having occurred at a particular place are reflected only in Angyalos field names, e.g. *Peres* (‘disputed’).²⁴ The colour of the soil is expressed in a single field name in Kökös: *Halovány* (‘pale’).

In both settlements, vernacular names for bridges can indicate the place where the structure is found, e.g. *Bábolna hídja* (‘the bridge of the field called Bábolna’; A), *Komlós hídja* (‘the bridge of the field called Komlós’; K); references to the builder, the function or the quality of the bridge, however, can only be observed in Kökös names, e.g. *Komplex hídja* (‘the bridge of the agricultural cooperative’), *Vasút hídja* (‘the bridge of the railway’), *Palló* (‘board-walk’). Springs and wells were named after their owners, e.g. *Zsigmondok kútja* (‘the Zsigmonds’ well’; K);²⁵ their users, e.g. *Cigány-kút* (‘Gypsy well’;

¹⁶ Houses in the street were burnt down several times in the past (*AKcshn*, 87).

¹⁷ The length of a one-acre plot there is one hundred steps (*AKcshn*, 98).

¹⁸ Fodder for animals was produced there (*AKcshn*, 34).

¹⁹ The house has already been demolished (*AKcshn*, 92).

²⁰ *Orbók* is a Hungarian family name (*AKcshn*, 92).

²¹ Hermits are said to have lived there (*AKcshn*, 100).

²² A plot between the highway and the railway bridges (*AKcshn*, 98–99).

²³ Wolves are suspected to have lived there; *Farkas* is also a family as well as a Christian name in Hungarian (*AKcshn*, 97–98).

²⁴ The wood has been given back to the Church recently (*AKcshn*, 32).

²⁵ *Zsigmond* is a Hungarian family name (*AKcshn*, 112).

A); their age, e.g. *Új kút* ('new well'; K); their function, e.g. *Itatókút* ('watering well'; K); or after the fields where they have their sources, e.g. *Káka kútja* ('the well of the field called Káka'; K).²⁶ Lakes in Kökös got their names from their shape, e.g. *Patkó-tó* ('horseshoe lake'); situation, e.g. *Fröcilla-tó* ('lake in the field called Fröcilla'); and maintainer, e.g. *Oga-tó* ('Oga lake').²⁷ Rivers and streams bear names referring to the colour of the water, e.g. *Fekete-ügy* ('black stream'; K); the vegetation on the banks, e.g. *Bikk-patak* ('beech creek'; A); the fields they cross, e.g. *Remete-patak* ('creek across the field called Remete'; A); *Olt* is a river name borrowed from a Slavic language into Hungarian.²⁸

Several generic constituents in field names, whether standalone or completed with a specific constituent, are derived from Transylvanian dialect words, e.g. *bütü* ('the piece of land that begins at the corner or rear edge of the outermost building of the village'; K), *mart* ('steep slope, bank'; K), *ponk* ('the ridge of a hill'; A), *rakottya* ('thicket'; K), *szeg* ('corner, nook'; K) (*ÚMTsz*, 1: 660, 3: 1001, 4: 555, 700, 5: 82); or display a regional meaning not found in Standard Hungarian, e.g. *sánc* ('narrow water channel', K and 'rampart, embankment' in Standard Hungarian; cf. *ÚMTsz*, 4: 813 and *ÉKsz*, 1167). Among the most frequent field-name generics used in the two settlements, a clear functional distinction can be observed: *bütü*-s are usually small pieces of land around the built-up area; *tag*-s are somewhat larger fields, often consisting of redistributed farm plots; and *láb*-s are long stretches of land at some distance from the built-up area (*ÚMTsz*, 1: 660, 5: 258, 3: 688); though in some names these generics are interchangeable, e.g. *Bencze-bütü* ~ *Bencze-tag* (K).²⁹ An otherwise obsolete hydronymic generic (i.e. *ügy* 'stream') has been preserved in the river name *Fekete-ügy* ('black stream'; K).

5.4 Name formation

Comparing the collected synchronic toponyms with the historical name forms available in different sources (e.g. *Frigyes Pesty*, 1984; *Dénes Bogáts*, 1929; *Attila Szabó T.*, 2001), one can estimate the name formation processes³⁰ in which the observed toponyms were born.

²⁶ In Kökös, most field wells were filled in by the agricultural cooperative from the 1960s to the 1980s (*AKcshn*, 112).

²⁷ From the name of the water supply company OGA (Oficiul de Gospodărire a Apelor) (*AKcshn*, 89).

²⁸ Its final etymon is probably the Dacian 'spring' (*FNESz*, 2: 275).

²⁹ *Bencze* is a Hungarian family name (*AKcshn*, 94).

³⁰ István Hoffmann (2007) differentiates 5 basic name formation processes: 1. 'syntactic construction' creates names from syntagms, in which "[b]oth units of the construction give a piece of information about the denotatum"; 2. 'morphematic construction' is a process "in which a bound morpheme (derivative or inflectional suffix) or a functionally similar element (postposition) is added to a lexeme, thus enabling the lexeme to

Generally, syntactic construction seems to be the most important name formation process in the two settlements, creating ca. 70% of all micro-toponyms on the outskirts (e.g. *Kovács nyírese* 'Kovács's birch grove', A).³¹ This process resulted in morphologically unmarked name forms more often (from 54% to 77% of the cases, depending on the settlement and on the types of the indicated denotata) than in marked forms (see above), except for the names for buildings in Kökös, in which case the morphologically marked forms are dominant (81%).

The second most frequent name formation process is semantic name forming, responsible for ca. 15% of the toponyms discussed. In the surveyed settlements, two of its subtypes, i.e. metonymy (e.g. *Bánya* 'mine';³² A) and semantic split³³ (e.g. *Döggút* 'carcass well'; K) could be observed. In Angyalos, semantic split produced more toponyms than metonymic name formation (65% : 35%); whilst in Kökös the latter process was adopted more frequently (39% : 61%). In the case of field names, metonymy was generally much more productive in name formation than semantic split (78% : 22%), which, however, created far more names than metonymy for bodies of water and for buildings (90% : 10% and 87.5% : 12.5%, respectively).

Other processes such as morphematic construction, structural change and name adaptation seem to have played a minor role in name formation in both settlements. In Angyalos, toponyms created by morphematic construction today are more popular than those produced by structural changes (7.7% and 2.9% of the microtoponyms); however, in Kökös the popularity of the two processes seems to be reversed (3.8% and 4.3%, respectively). Morphematic construction formed only field names in both villages, by way of adding mostly (79%) a suffix (e.g. *Tőkés* 'stumpy', A; *Berkek* 'groves', K),³⁴ and only rarely (21%) a postposition (e.g. *Kertek megett* 'behind the gardens', A; *Ágyáné mellett* 'next to Mrs. Ágya[']s house', K).³⁵ Structural changes, also producing field names only, were most frequently (73.3%) realized in the past by ellipsis (e.g. 1749: *felfogott erdő* 'retained forest' > 2003: *Felfogott* 're-

function as a toponym"; 3. in 'semantic name forming' "existing lexemes (common nouns and proper names) get a new, toponymic meaning"; 4. in the course of 'structural change' "the modification of the form of the toponym takes place while keeping the denotative meaning untouched"; 5. 'name adaptation' "enriches the toponymic stock from an external store" (pp. 177–179).

³¹ *Kovács* is a Hungarian family name (*AKcshn*, 34).

³² Three stone-quarries used to be there in the past (*AKcshn*, 37).

³³ Metonymy is used in its usual linguistic sense, 'semantic split' is a process in which "a geographical common name becomes a linguistic unit valued as a proper name" (*István Hoffmann*, 2007, 178).

³⁴ In the examples -s forms an adjective from a noun and -k is a plural marker at the end of the noun.

³⁵ The postpositions in the examples are *megett* 'behind' and *mellett* 'next to'.

tained', A),³⁶ and only few examples of completion (20%; e.g. 1733: *Forrás* 'boiling' > 2003: *Forrás-tag* 'boiling plot', K)³⁷ and derivational substitution of a constituent (6.7%; e.g. 1752: *Jegenye fánál* 'at the poplar tree' > 2003: *Jegenyész-rész* 'piece of land with poplars', K)³⁸ could be identified. Name adaptation occurred exceptionally and only in Kökös (0.9%; e.g. *Olt*, see above). Due to the lack of historical data, the processes by which the current names were formed could not be detected in 5.2% of the cases.

6 Conclusion

Even by examining this relatively small set of place names, some unique features of the Transylvanian Hungarian microtoponyms can clearly be outlined. Since foothills of the Carpathian Mountains are located on the northern and eastern boundaries of Transylvania, the types of denotata named in settlements are primarily determined by the varied configurations of the terrain, affecting hydrography, vegetation and the amount and quality of land available for cultivation. In name use different sets of microtoponyms are distinguished by the locals: vernacular, semi-official and cadastral place names can be separated. Toponyms of two constituents seem to be slightly dominant over single-constituent place names. The former names in most cases consist of a specific component describing a characteristic feature and a generic term identifying the type of the indicated denotatum. Several generic constituents are derived from dialect words, or are by now obsolete terms. Though semantic functions such as age, size, shape, colour, function, flora, fauna, building, possessor, inhabitants, origin, event, situation, direction and relative position can easily be identified in the specific name constituents of several microtoponyms, their frequency is strongly dependent on the types of the denotata indicated by the actual names. The majority of the synchronic toponyms seem to have been created by syntactic and semantic name-formation processes. The most unique feature of the current place nomenclature in Transylvania, however, is the continuous use of Hungarian toponyms by minority Hungarians over several decades; and the greatest challenge we are facing now is to find the right way to preserve this precious place-name stock.

³⁶ In the course of 'ellipsis' "the name is reduced with a functional name constituent" (István Hoffmann, 2007, 179). For the historical data see Attila Szabó T., 2001, 22.

³⁷ In the course of 'completion' "a new name constituent is added" (István Hoffmann, 2007, 179). For the historical data see Attila Szabó T., 2001, 104.

³⁸ For the historical data see Attila Szabó T., 2001, 105.

Literature

- Bogáts, Dénes (1929): "Háromszéki helynevek [Place Names in Háromszék County]", *Emlékkönyv a Székely Nemzeti Múzeum ötvenéves jubileumára [Festschrift in Honour of the 50th Anniversary of the Székely National Museum]*. Ed. Csutak, Vilmos. Sepsiszentgyörgy, Székely Nemzeti Múzeum. 52–71.
- Bölcskei, Andrea (2006): "Jelzős szerkezetek háromszéki falvak mikrotoponimáinak körében (Szabó T. Attila Erdélyi Helynévtörténeti Adattára alapján) [Adjectival Compounds among Microtoponyms in Villages of Háromszék County (Based on Attila Szabó T.'s Gazetteer of Transylvanian Historical Place Names)]", *Emlékkönyv Szabó T. Attila születésének 100. évfordulójára [Festschrift Commemorating the 100th Anniversary of Attila Szabó T.'s Birth]*. Ed. Bárh M., János. Budapest, KRE BTK – ELTE Magyar Nyelvtudományi és Finnugor Intézete. 70–74.
- AKcsbn = Bölskei, Andrea, Havas, Péter & Slíz, Mariann (2008): *A háromszéki Angyalos és Kökös család- és helynevei [Family and Place Names in the Settlements of Angyalos and Kökös, Háromszék County]*. Budapest, Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság.
- ÉKsz = Pusztai, Ferenc (ed.) (2003): *Magyar értelmező kéziszótár [The Concise Dictionary of the Hungarian Language]*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Farkas, Tamás (2008): "Két háromszéki településnévről. Kilyén, Szotyor és ami körülöttük van [Names for Two Settlements in Háromszék County. Kilyén, Szotyor and Facts around the Names]", *Helynévtörténeti tanulmányok [Studies on Place-Name History]* 3. Eds. Hoffmann, István & Tóth, Valéria. Debrecen, Debreceni Egyetem Magyar Nyelvtudományi Tanszéke. 53–69.
- Farkas, Tamás & Zántó, Edina (2008): *A háromszéki Kilyén és Szotyor család- és helynevei [Family and Place Names in the Settlements of Kilyén and Szotyor, Háromszék County]*. Budapest, Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság.
- FNESz = Kiss, Lajos (1988): *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára [Etymological Dictionary of Geographical Names]*. 4th ed. Vol. 1–2. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Hoffmann, István (2007): *Helynevek nyelvi elemzése [Linguistic Analysis of Place Names]*. 2nd ed. Budapest, Tinta Könyvkiadó.
- ICOS Terminology List = *List of Key Onomastic Terms* (in English). Available at: <<http://www.icosweb.net/index.php/terminology.html>>. (Accessed 10 February, 2012.)
- Janitsek, Jenő & Hári, Gyula (2000): *Sepsiszentkirály helynevei [Place Names in Sepsiszentkirály]*. Budapest, ELTE BTK.
- Pesty, Frigyes (1864): *Magyarország helységnévtára. Háromszék vármegye [Gazetteer of Hungary. Háromszék Comitatus]*. National Széchényi Library Manuscript Archive, Fol. Hung. 1114/18. FM 1/3814A/24. microfilm.
- Slíz, Mariann (2006): "Kökös helynevei Szabó T. Attila Erdélyi Helynévtörténeti Adattárában és ma [Place Names of Kökös in Attila Szabó T.'s Gazetteer of Transylvanian Historical Place Names and Today]", *Emlékkönyv Szabó T. Attila születésének 100. évfordulójára [Festschrift Commemorating the 100th Anniversary of Attila Szabó T.'s Birth]*. Ed. Bárh M., János. Budapest, KRE BTK – ELTE Magyar Nyelvtudományi és Finnugor Intézete. 75–78.
- Szabó T., Attila (2001) = *Háromszék [Háromszék County]*. Szabó T. Attila Erdélyi Történeti Helynévgyűjtése [Attila Szabó T.'s Gazetteer of Transylvanian Historical Place Names] 2. Eds. Hajdú, Mihály & Slíz, Mariann. Budapest, Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság.

- ÚMTsz = B. Lőrinczy, Éva & Hosszú, Ferenc (eds.) (1979–2010): *Új magyar tájszótár* [New Hungarian Dialect Dictionary]. Vol. 1–5. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Varga, Árpád E. (2008a): "Kovászna megye településeinek etnikai (anyanyelvi/nemzetiségi) adatai, 1850–2002 [Ethnic (Mother Tongue/Nationality) Data from Settlements in Covasna County, 1850–2002]", *Erdély etnikai és felekezeti statisztikája. Népszámlálási adatok 1850–2002 között* [Ethnic and Denominational Statistics of Transylvania. Census data between 1850 and 2002]. Available at: <<http://www.kia.hu/konyvtar/erdely/erd2002/cvetn02.pdf>>. (Accessed 10 February, 2012.)
- Varga, Árpád E. (2008b): "Kovászna megye településeinek felekezeti adatai, 1850–2002 [Denominational Data from Settlements in Covasna County, 1850–2002]", *Erdély etnikai és felekezeti statisztikája. Népszámlálási adatok 1850–2002 között* [Ethnic and Denominational Statistics of Transylvania. Census data between 1850 and 2002]. Available at: <<http://www.kia.hu/konyvtar/erdely/erd2002/cvfel02.pdf>>. (Accessed 10 February, 2012.)

The findings of onomastic field research on synchronic Hungarian toponyms used in Transylvanian settlements

The paper presents the linguistic analysis of a name corpus comprising 636 synchronically used Hungarian microtoponyms collected in two settlements of Hungarian majority population in Transylvania (Romania) in 1998 and 2003. The description focuses on the most important (i) socio-onomastic, (ii) syntactic and (iii) semantic features of the observed place names, as well as (iv) on the name formation processes adopted in history in the surveyed settlements with the intention of detecting the region-specific characteristics of this uniquely formed and preserved place nomenclature.

Résultats d'une recherche locale en domaine onomastique sur des toponymes hongrois synchroniques utilisés pour des lieux d'établissement en Transylvanie

L'étude présente l'analyse linguistique d'un corpus de noms qui s'élève à 636 microtoponymies hongroises à utilisation synchronique, collectées en 1998 et en 2003 sur deux lieux en Transylvanie (Roumanie) ayant une population majoritairement hongroise. L'étude met l'accent sur les principales caractéristiques socio-onomastiques (i), syntaxiques (ii) et sémantiques (iii) des noms de lieux étudiés, ainsi que sur les processus de formation des noms (iv) qui ont été en usage au cours de leur histoire, dans le but de détecter les particularités propres à cette région de noms de lieux, formés et préservés d'une manière singulière.

Ergebnisse lokaler Ermessungen für Onomastik: synchrone ungarische Toponyme zweier transylvanischer Siedlungen

Die Abhandlung liefert die linguistische Analyse eines Namenskorpus von 636 synchron geltenden ungarischen Mikrotoponymen, welche 1998 und

2003 in zwei transylvanischen Siedlungen (Rumänien) mit ethnischer Mehrheit der Ungarn gesammelt wurden. Die Schilderung fokussiert auf die relevantesten sozio-onomastischen (i), syntaktischen (ii) und semantischen (iii) Charakteristika der untersuchten Ortsnamen, und darüber hinaus werden die Entstehungsprozesse der Namen in den ermessenen Siedlungen (iv) ausgewertet, mit der Absicht, die regionsspezifischen Eigenschaften dieses unikal entstandenen und bewahrten Ortsnamenschatzes zu erschliessen.