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DIFFERENT ASPECTS FOR THE STUDY OF TOPONYMS DERIVING FROM PERSONAL NAMES¹⁾

ROZDÍLNÉ ASPEKTY STUDIA TOPONYM VZNIKLYCH Z OSOBNÍCH JMEN

Původ toponym vzniklých z antroponym hraje důležitou roli v každém onymickém systému a nejinak je tomu i v maďarském jazyce. Toponyma s podobným semantickým obsahem, tj. spojení osobního jména s prostorem, který označuje, mohou být vyjádřena pomocí různých lexikálně-morfologických struktur. Článek se pokouší přiblížit, jak se vztah těchto dvou jmenných kategorií (osobních jmen a toponym) vyvíjel v maďarském pojmenovávacím procesu během posledního tisíciletí. V maďarštině mohou toponyma vznikat z osobních jmen prostřednictvím rozličných strukturních formací: a) toponyma se mohou vyvinout z osobních jmen prostřednictvím metonymie (osobní jméno *Péter* > toponymum *Péter*); b) toponymické sufixy mohou být připojeny k antroponymům (osobní jméno *Márkos* > místní jméno *Márkosi*, osobní jméno *Péter* > toponymum *Peterd*); c) antroponyma se mohou objevit ve složeninách, nejčastěji v kombinaci se zeměpisným jménem jako druhým členem.

Keywords

different lexical and morphologic structures, Old Hungarian name-giving, international context, innovative aspects

1. Toponyms of anthroponymic origin play an important role in every onomastic system, which is the case also of the Hungarian language. In toponyms, similar semantic contents, i.e. the connection between the personal name and the area designated by it (reflecting ownership or usage), can be expressed through different lexical-morphologic structures. European languages display two main methods for the formation of toponyms from personal names: a) toponyms may be created from personal names through the addition of toponym-forming affixes: e.g. Polish *Lublin*,²⁾ *Poznań*, *Radom*,³⁾ Slovak *Ploštín*,⁴⁾ Russian *Vladimir*,⁵⁾ Romanian *Băiești*, French *Cluny*, *Nancy*,⁶⁾ Finnish *Mattila*, *Pekkala*, *Eskola*,⁷⁾ Mordvin *Kočkurovo*⁸⁾ etc. toponyms; b) personal

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²⁾ L. Kiss, *Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára I–II*, Budapest 1988, p. 52.

³⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 369, 394.

⁴⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 354.

⁵⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 773.

⁶⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 291; II, p. 221.

⁷⁾ E. Kiviniemi, *Perustietoa paikannimistä*, Helsinki 1990, p. 144.

⁸⁾ S. Maticsák, The types of the Mordvin settlement names. In: S. Maticsák (ed.), *Onomastica*

names may appear in toponyms in the form of compounds, especially complemented by a geographical common name as posterior constituents, such as in English *Allentown*, *Bedford*, *Darlington*, *Evansville*,⁹⁾ German *Arnstadt*, *Duisburg*, *Ebenfurth*, *Mannheim*,¹⁰⁾ Finnish *Matintalo*¹¹⁾ and Russian *Leningrad*¹²⁾ etc.

From the 1970's on, the model theory in European toponomastic research, developed primarily by the Czech Rudolf Šrámek¹³⁾ and the Finnish Eero Kiviniemi,¹⁴⁾ has focused mainly on the question of toponymic systems and patterns. According to this approach, there is a certain model that manifests in the particular linguistic characteristics of names, thus the linguistic features expressed in toponyms can be traced back to models representing a higher level of generalization. Relying on this approach István Hoffmann¹⁵⁾ developed a possible model for the analysis of Hungarian place names. In fact, the descriptive method created by Hoffmann is a multi-level typology which links functional-semantic and lexical-morphologic categories to the structural analysis of names, at the same time also providing a syntagmatic description. Since the functional-semantic models playing a role in toponymic name-giving are typical not only of particular languages as language-specific categories, but are also fundamentally connected to the different forms of cognition, and in general, to human knowledge,¹⁶⁾ both similarities and deviations can be observed in the toponymic systems of different languages.

2. In the Hungarian language, toponyms can be created from personal names through different structural formations: a) toponyms can evolve from personal names through metonymy, i.e. when a given anthroponym becomes a toponym in itself, without any name formant (derivational or second component), e.g. personal name *Péter* > toponym *Péter*; b) toponymic derivatives can be attached to anthroponyms, most commonly *-i* and *-d* (personal name *Márkos* > place name *Márkosi*, personal name *Péter* > toponym *Peterd*); and finally, c) anthroponyms may occur in compounds, most frequently with a geographical common name as the second component (*Egyed-*

Uralica 3, Debrecen–Helsinki 2005, p. 78.

⁹⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 70, 182, 356, 436.

¹⁰⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 116, 393, 403; II, p. 89.

¹¹⁾ E. Kiviniemi, Paikannimien Rakennetyypeistä. Helsinki 1975, p. 55.

¹²⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 27.

¹³⁾ R. Šrámek, Zum Begriff „Modell“ und „System“ in der Toponomastik, *Onoma* 17, 1972–73, p. 55–75.

¹⁴⁾ E. Kiviniemi, Paikannimistö systeeminä. In: E. Kiviniemi (ed.), *Nimistöntutkimus ja paikallishistoria*, Helsinki 1978, p. 73–89; E. Kiviniemi, Über die gegenwärtigen Perspektiven der finnischen Orstnamenforschung, *Studia Fennica* 24, 1981, p. 29–46.

¹⁵⁾ I. Hoffmann, *Helynevek nyelvi elemzése*, Debrecen 1993.

¹⁶⁾ I. Hoffmann, o. c. in note 15, p. 24–25.

falva ,village of a person named Egyed', *Kozmaháza* ,village of a person named Kozma', *Mikolatelke* ,land of a person named Mikola').

With respect to toponyms derived from personal names, Hungarian historical toponomastic research has primarily focused on the background of name-giving (e.g. on the motives explaining the emergence of a particular name type or the setting up of a chronological order), while little interest has been shown towards the linguistic structure of toponyms and the personal names serving as their basis, as well as to their interrelations and connections. At the same time we can also observe a substantial imbalance in the literature as researchers' attention has been directed almost exclusively at toponyms deriving from personal names without any formant, whereas little has been said about toponyms formed from personal names with the help of affixes or posterior constituents.¹⁷⁾ Of course, this disproportion is somewhat explained by the special method of deriving toponyms from personal names within the Hungarian onymic system. Namely, it is a widely accepted view among researchers that the method of toponym formation from a personal name without an affix or a further compound element is a virtually unique Hungarian phenomenon in whole Europe,¹⁸⁾ thus in the Carpathian Basin no other naming community could have used such toponyms, all such place names were given by Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin, in a manner typical only of them in whole Central and Eastern Europe. This mode of name-giving can be found neither among Slavic peoples, nor among Germans or Romanians.¹⁹⁾

Examining ancient Slavic toponym naming and referring to several modern Bulgarian names, Ján Stanislav established that toponyms of anthroponymic origin are also present in Slavic languages. However, István Kniezsa refuted this claim: he examined a large number of Bulgarian, Serbo-Croat, Slovenian, Czech, Polish and Russian toponyms, but could not detect a layer of toponyms derived from bare anthroponyms.²⁰⁾ Ján Stanislav's claim does not stand up since not once does he cite toponyms from pre-13th century resources. In Slavic languages toponyms were created from personal names only by attaching a derivative, even in those cases which may seem contradictory. For example, one might come across toponyms originally formed by derivative *-jb*, which lost the suffix and therefore became identical to the bare anthroponym

¹⁷⁾ Cf. V. Tóth, Adalékok személynévi eredetű településneveink nyelvi kérdéseihez, *Magyar Nyelvjárások* 47, 2009, p. 45–46.

¹⁸⁾ Cf. I. Kniezsa, *Kelet–Magyarország helynevei*, Budapest, 1943–1944/2001, p. 18.; G. Kristó, Szempontok korai helyneveink történeti tipológiájához, *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis de Attila József nominatae. Acta historica*, tomus LV, Szeged 1976, p. 15–38.

¹⁹⁾ L. Kiss, A Kárpát-medence régi helynevei, *Magyar Nyelvőr* 120, 1996, p. 444–445.

²⁰⁾ I. Kniezsa, *Keletmagyarország helynevei*. In: J. Deér – L. Gáldi (eds.), *Magyarok és románok I–II*, Budapest 1943, p. 119.

formants (cf. Bulgarian personal name *Preslavъ* > toponym *Preslavjъ* > toponym *Preslav*; anthroponym *Pavel* > toponym *Paveljъ* > toponym *Pavel*).²¹⁾ The majority of Romanian toponyms created from anthroponyms have the suffix *-ești*, *-eni*. There are instances of toponyms morphologically identical to singular anthroponyms, but in almost all cases they are adaptations from Hungarian.²²⁾

In Europe and its neighbouring regions apart from Hungary, this name type, is characteristic only of Turkish name-giving.²³⁾ In most recent research it was the Swedish Gunnar Jarring, who – studying the Turkish toponyms of Central Asia – concluded that for instance the toponym *Dilgi* had been created from a personal name.²⁴⁾ In the Central-Asian Turkish toponymic corpus several personal names can be discovered that had also functioned as place names, therefore these can be considered examples of name-giving without any formant, like in the case of the Turkish names *Dilger*, *Häser*, *Heibulla* ~ *Hejbulla*, *Muk(k)ur*, *Saate*, *Sadak*, *Tajek*, *Tujdale*.²⁵⁾ Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that most of these names are hydronyms (*Muk/k/ur*, *Sadak*, *Tajek*, *Tujdale*), whereas in the Hungarian language the toponyms derived from personal names without any formant can be found predominantly among settlement names, while in the category of hydronyms such names are rare. Further to the European characteristics of name-giving deriving from personal names, Rudolf Szentgyörgyi has proven that the method of name-formation without any formant was practiced also in the Greek language.²⁶⁾ Already this brief, sketchy outline indicates sufficiently that the question of name-giving without any formant (based on metonymy) would deserve further thorough examination (in a wider European context).

This type of toponyms derived from personal names without any formant indicates well the richness of the corpus of ancient Hungarian personal names: among the personal names serving as a basis for the formation of toponyms we can discover not only Hungarian names from pagan times (e.g. *Álmos*, *Bánk*, *Bölcs* settlement names), but also Turkish (*Alpár*, *Bátor*), Latin (*Albis*, *Bogyiszló*), French (*Gyán*), German (*Ajka*, *Volf*) and Slavic (*Bagos*, *Buzita*)²⁷⁾ ones. These personal names (and the topo-

²¹⁾ L. Kiss, *Málca és Malčica*. In: L. Kiss (ed.), *Történeti vizsgálatok a földrajzi nevek körében*, Piliscsaba 1999, p. 183.

²²⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 19, p. 445.

²³⁾ Cf. I. Kniezsa, o. c. in note 20, p. 127; L. Kiss, o. c. in note 19, p. 444, etc.

²⁴⁾ G. Jarring, *Central Asian Turcic Place-Names (Lop Nor and Tarim Area)*, Stockholm 1997, p. 129.

²⁵⁾ G. Jarring, o. c. in note 24, p. 129, 166, 300, 396, 440, 484.

²⁶⁾ R. Szentgyörgyi, *A Tihanyi alapítólevél görög helynevei*, *Magyar Nyelv* 106, 2010, p. 389–390.

²⁷⁾ A. Rácz, *A régi Bihar vármegye településneveinek nyelvészeti vizsgálata*, Debrecen 2005, p. 98.

nyms preserving them) help us to gain insight into the cultural impacts exerting an influence on the Hungarian people, and to observe the developments in potential usage trends of particular personal names.²⁸⁾ However, it is important to point out that the personal names of foreign origin do not refer to the ethnic roots of the persons nor to linguistic relations, as they are only connected to the name-giving trends typical of the given period.²⁹⁾

3. However, acknowledging the special character of the name type, besides toponyms derived from personal names, I consider it important to explore also further types and features of settlement name formation (with affixes and through composition). For this purpose I chose a corpus of toponyms to be examined relying on data from the comprehensive work of Lajos Kiss titled „Földrajzi nevek etimológiai szótára“³⁰⁾ [Etymological Dictionary of Geographic Names], which includes settlement names from the earliest times until the 20th century. The place names with the highest frequency of 71% (4,239 name forms) within the corpus of 6,000 toponyms derived from personal names are the toponyms originating from personal names without the addition of any name formant. Also the category of compound toponyms representing 21% of the corpus (1,270 names) can be considered rather frequent. The number of toponyms formed from personal names through derivation was 451, which constitutes only 8% of the studied corpus.

3.1. As mentioned earlier, it is a fundamental feature of ancient Hungarian name-giving practices that the owner's name was used to refer to his lands: while in early times this could appear in the form of toponyms derived from personal names without any formant, from the 13th century on – due to different economic and social changes (donation and distribution of estates) – these names usually appear with a geographical common name second component. According to the widely held view, the practice of name-giving without any formant goes back to the 9th century, to the times before Hungarians settled down in the Carpathian Basin, reaching the peak of its productivity in the 11th–12th centuries and flourishing well into mid- or late 14th century.³¹⁾ The toponymic corpus examined also proves that toponyms derived from personal names without any formant started appearing as early as the 11th century (e.g. *Pozsony*, 1002:

²⁸⁾ V. Tóth, *Névrendszertani vizsgálatok a korai ómagyar korban (Abaúj és Bars vármegye)*, Debrecen 2001, p. 33.

²⁹⁾ L. Benkő, *A honfoglaló magyarság nyelvi viszonyai és ami ebből következik*. In: L. Kovács – L. Veszprémi (eds.), *Honfoglalás és nyelvészet*, Budapest 1997, p. 169.

³⁰⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2.

³¹⁾ G. Kristó, o. c. in note 18, p. 37–38.

Poson;³²⁾ *Fadd*, 1055: *fotudí*;³³⁾ *Tihany*, 1055: *tichon*;³⁴⁾ *Veszprém* 1002 e./1109: *βεσπρέμ*;³⁵⁾ *Csaba*, 1067 k./267: *Soba*,³⁶⁾), although a place name, *Levédia* (950 k.: *Λεβεδία*³⁷⁾), denoting the Hungarians' place of dwelling in the times prior to the Conquest, is also known from the 10th century. The 12th–14th centuries saw a multiplication of place names formed in this way, followed by a decline of the name type. At the same time it should be noted that from the aspects of chronology and productivity the picture is highly influenced by the availability of documentation and the multiplication of written sources. This also means that, apart from minor differences, the productivity graph of most types of ancient Hungarian settlement names (depending on the chronology of preserved sources) replicates more or less the aforementioned patterns.

It is typical of the structure of two-component toponyms that the first part of the name contains the owner's name, whereas the second component is a geographic common noun referring to the type of place, e.g. *falu* 'village', *telek* 'piece of ground, land', *föld* 'land', *ház* 'house', *hely* 'place', etc.). Grammatically, the compound structures formed in this way may be either marked or unmarked possessive attributive structures. Regarding their primary meaning, as posterior constituents, the geographic common nouns lexemes do not have the same functional content. Valéria Tóth calls geographic common nouns such as *falu* ~ *falva*, *ülés(e)*, *szállás(a)*, *lak(a)*, *ház(a)*, originally meaning 'settlement, place of dwelling', primary settlement name formants.³⁸⁾ The common names *föld(e)*, *telek* ~ *telke*, meaning 'land, estate', represent a sort of transitory type among them, since in ancient times their function ('somebody's land') was closely linked to that of the primary settlement name formant 'somebody's village' (loc. cit.), therefore they could easily take on the meaning 'settlement, place of dwelling'. The third type of settlement name formants consists of geographic common nouns whose primary meaning is far from expressing the function 'place of dwelling' (e.g. *egyház* 'church', *fő* 'source, starting point', *híd* 'bridge', etc.), yet representing a frequent element of toponymic formation, they took on also this secondary role, occasionally in settlement names, with the meaning 'special village (e.g. with a church; built near a source, etc.)'.

³²⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 370.

³³⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 438.

³⁴⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 644.

³⁵⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 758.

³⁶⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 582

³⁷⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 31.

³⁸⁾ V. Tóth, *Településnevek változástipológiája*, Debrecen 2008, p. 185.

After the 13th century, two-component settlement names with the structure personal name + geographic common noun came to play a highly important role in the Hungarian toponymic system. Studying settlement names with the posterior constituent *-falu* from the period between the 13th–19th centuries, Miklós Kázmér pointed out that this posterior constituent occurs in some 3,000 settlement names.³⁹⁾

Some toponyms with the structure personal name as anterior constituent + geographic common noun as posterior constituent can be dated back to as early times as the 12th century, yet many of these data lived on in forged charters: e.g. *Ketellaka*, 1180 k.: *Ketelloca*),⁴⁰⁾ *Gyanafalva* (+1187/15. sz.: *Ianafalu*),⁴¹⁾ *Badafalva* (+1187/15. sz.: *Badofalu*),⁴²⁾ *Pócsfalva* (+1187/15. sz.: *Pacfalva*).⁴³⁾ This type came to play an important role from the 13th century: *Cegőtelke* (1243: *Chegeteleke*),⁴⁴⁾ *Bocfölde* (1247: *Buchfelde*),⁴⁵⁾ *Budafalva* (1251: *Budafalua*),⁴⁶⁾ *Cséptelek* (1283: *Chepteluk*),⁴⁷⁾ *Makófalva* (1299: *Makofolua*),⁴⁸⁾ and this structure has become really frequent from the 14th century: *Mihályfalva* (1308: *Myhalfolua*),⁴⁹⁾ *Kozmatelke* (1315: *Kvzmate-luke*),⁵⁰⁾ *Márkfölde* (1345: *Markfeulde*),⁵¹⁾ *Gáborjánháza* (1389: *Gabrianhaza*)⁵²⁾ etc.

3.2. It is a generally held view⁵³⁾ that, in the Hungarian language, the most frequent toponym-forming suffixes added to personal names are the endings *-i* and *-d*, from which the former has been (typically) used in the formation of settlement names, displaying a very low frequency in any other types of toponyms. In the ancient Hungarian language the suffix *-i* came to be distinguished from the affix morpheme *-é* expressing possession through simultaneous split of both form and content, taking on an independent function as a toponym-forming suffix. Presumably, the change of functions had started among toponyms derived from personal names. Although originally the suffix *-d* had been a diminutive, hypocoristic formant, in the role of a

³⁹⁾ M. Kázmér, *A »falu« a magyar helynevekben (XIII–XIX. század)*, Budapest 1970.

⁴⁰⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 240.

⁴¹⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 539.

⁴²⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 134.

⁴³⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 355.

⁴⁴⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 281.

⁴⁵⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 221.

⁴⁶⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 178.

⁴⁷⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 275.

⁴⁸⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 83.

⁴⁹⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 342.

⁵⁰⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 788.

⁵¹⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 99.

⁵²⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 489.

⁵³⁾ Cf. V. Tóth, o. c. in note 28, p. 53–55. A. Rácz, o. c. in note 27, p. 182, 190–191.

toponym-forming suffix it was mostly added to a base denoting some animal or plant to create a settlement name.⁵⁴⁾ Indeed, in ancient Hungarian time, the suffix *-d* had also been widely used in the formation of personal names (exactly due to its diminutive function), thus several personal names containing the suffix *-d* could become toponyms through metonymy, which must have contributed to the emergence of the formant's new, toponym-forming role.⁵⁵⁾ Valéria Tóth, emphasises the necessity of several different investigation possibilities in connection with the *Acsád*-type names, since derivative *-d* can both denote a person (anthroponym *Acsád* > toponym *Acsád*) and a toponym (personal name *Acsa* + *-d*).⁵⁶⁾

The above described general view is underpinned also by toponyms derived from personal names through composition, since the toponym-forming suffixes with the highest frequency proved to be the endings *-d* and *-i* also in relation to the name corpus analysed for this purpose. Toponyms formed with the suffix *-d* represent 42%, whereas the ones created with the suffix *-i* represent 27% of toponyms derived from personal names, which can be mostly dated back to the 12th–14th centuries, for instance in the case of names like *Darázsi*, (1113: *Dra/sey/*),⁵⁷⁾ *Petri* (1212: *Petri*),⁵⁸⁾ *Tamási* (1247: *Tamasy*),⁵⁹⁾ *Jánosi* (1321: *Ivanosy*);⁶⁰⁾ *Dolosd* (+1082/1327 e.: *Dulosd*),⁶¹⁾ *Köpösd* (1113: *Copusde*),⁶²⁾ *Fülesd* (1181/1288/1366/16. sz.: *Filesd*),⁶³⁾ etc. In addition, the corpus contains also some scattered examples of toponyms created with the suffixes *-ka/-ke* and *-c, -cs*: *Bojonka* (1193: *Boinca*);⁶⁴⁾ *Ivánka* (1245: *Ivanka*);⁶⁵⁾ *Zalacska* (1249: *Zalachka*),⁶⁶⁾ *Koronka* (1332–7: *Korunka*);⁶⁷⁾ *Gubacs* (1067 k./267: *Gubach*),⁶⁸⁾

⁵⁴⁾ M. Szegfű, A névszóképzés. In: L. Benkő (ed.), TNyt. I. = A magyar nyelv történeti nyelvtana. I. A korai ómagyar kor és előzményei, Budapest 1991, p. 253–254.

⁵⁵⁾ Cf. M. Szegfű, o. c. in note 54, p. 254, also A. Bényei, Még egyszer a *-d* helynévképzőről. In: I. Hoffmann – V. Tóth (eds.), Helynévtörténeti tanulmányok 4, Debrecen 2009, p. 92.

⁵⁶⁾ V. Tóth, Személynévképzés vagy becéző képzés. A személynevek képzőinek funkciója az Árpád-korban. Manuscript, Debrecen 2010, p. 7.

⁵⁷⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 807.

⁵⁸⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 51.

⁵⁹⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 47.

⁶⁰⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 83.

⁶¹⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 381.

⁶²⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 794.

⁶³⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 484.

⁶⁴⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 154.

⁶⁵⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 260.

⁶⁶⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 219.

⁶⁷⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 781.

⁶⁸⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 534.

Inárcs (1263: *Inarch*),⁶⁹⁾ *Ebedec* (1322: *Ebedicz*),⁷⁰⁾ *Endrőc* (1479: *Endrewcz*),⁷¹⁾ *Tar-solc* (1482: *Tharsolcz*).⁷²⁾ In certain cases, toponyms derived from personal names may also display the suffix *-s* (*Szeleméres*, 1436 k.: *Zelemeres*).⁷³⁾ However, this is a fairly rare phenomenon, as the toponym-forming suffix *-s* – whose secondary role for the expression of abundance in something may have emerged from its function as an ending forming collective nouns⁷⁴⁾ – was mostly added to nouns referring to plants or animals (e.g. *Száldobos* ,száldob/linden tree + *-s*‘ *Szőlős* ,szőlő/vine + *-s*‘, *Hodos* ,hód/beaver + *-s*‘ etc. settlement names;⁷⁵⁾ *Gyepes* ,gyep/grass + *-s*‘, *Baglyas* ,bagoly/owl + *-s*‘, etc.; also hydronyms),⁷⁶⁾ and it was only rarely used to form toponyms from personal names.

4. It may be considered an innovative aspect in the study of toponyms derived from personal names to look at how the frequency of particular personal names within the system influences their role in the formation of toponyms with a particular structure, and what forms of personal names are at all „suitable“ to be used in the naming process for the formation of toponyms.⁷⁷⁾ Common, high-frequency personal names provide the best basis for such an examination of the structural connections between personal names and toponyms. A further factor influencing the selection may be the etymological background of the particular name: in this respect it can be highly useful to choose ecclesiastic personal names of Latin origins for a starting point of our examination. In connection with personal names we may this way, indeed, be able to map also the linguistic prestige relations which were likely to influence the appearance of certain personal names in given toponyms.⁷⁸⁾ This method was used by Valéria Tóth⁷⁹⁾ to examine the name tree of the personal name *Péter*, and by Anita Vigh⁸⁰⁾ in the study of the name tree of the personal name *Mihály*, as well as the structural characteristics of the toponyms deriving from these personal names. The results of these studies may

⁶⁹⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 627.

⁷⁰⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 403.

⁷¹⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 418.

⁷²⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, II, p. 623.

⁷³⁾ L. Kiss, o. c. in note 2, I, p. 420.

⁷⁴⁾ M. Szegfű, o. c. in note 54, p. 255.

⁷⁵⁾ Cf. A. Rácz, o. c. in note 27, p. 124–125, 251, 273.

⁷⁶⁾ É. Kovács, *Az ómagyar kori Bihar vármegye vízneveinek nyelvi elemzése*. Manuscript, Debrecen 2007, p. 30.

⁷⁷⁾ V. Tóth, o. c. in note 17, p. 47.

⁷⁸⁾ V. Tóth, o. c. in note 17, p. 47.

⁷⁹⁾ V. Tóth, o. c. in note 17.

⁸⁰⁾ A. Vigh, *A személynévi eredetű településnevek vizsgálatának újabb eredményei*. Manuscript, Debrecen 2011.

serve as an excellent basis for later research, therefore it is worth providing a brief outline of their conclusions.

The Latin *Petrus* and its Hungarian correspondent *Péter*, as well as the Latin *Michael* and the corresponding Hungarian personal name *Mihály* had rich name trees already back in the Árpád-age. Except for the basic name forms of *Péter* and *Mihály*, these highly common personal names of foreign origins came to be assimilated into the Hungarian toponymic system mostly through affixes. The morphemes were added to the truncated forms of the Latin *Petrus* and *Michael*, which usually meant the elimination of either the ending *-us* (stem *Petr-*) or that of the second syllable (stems *Pet-*, *Mi-*). The high grade of popularity and frequency of these personal names is highlighted by the fact that the name with the Latin form *Petrus* ~ Hungarian *Péter*, has 33 different derivatives in the Hungarian language (e.g. *Petre*, *Peterke*, *Peterd*, *Pete*, *Petes* etc.),⁸¹⁾ while the personal name *Michael* ~ *Mihály* (e.g. *Mikus*, *Miska*, *Mikó*, *Mika* etc.),⁸²⁾ has 11 types of personal name derivatives which can be documented through early charters. Of course, the particular name forms may indeed display significant differences in frequency.

Studying the connections of the personal names *Péter* and *Mihály* within the toponymic system, researchers could identify their personal name derivatives manifesting in toponyms. Earlier studies had emphasised a natural connection between the high frequency of personal names actually used for naming persons and the probability of their occurrence within the toponymic system.⁸³⁾ Therefore, in this respect, it is worth focusing on structural questions. It can be noted with respect to both personal names *Péter* and *Mihály* that these names appear very rarely as toponyms without any name-forming formant: only one single settlement name, *Péder*, can be mentioned in relation to the name *Péter*, which, in addition, is also phonetically distinguished from the base of the personal name;⁸⁴⁾ merely a few toponyms without any formant are known in the case of the name *Mihály* (1244/1346: *Myhal*, 1270: *Michal* etc.)⁸⁵⁾ as well. Consequently, we may conclude that – exactly due to their high-frequency as personal names – popular personal names (such as *Péter* and *Mihály*) are less suitable to fulfil the role of toponyms on their own. Nevertheless, these personal names have been used to create a large number of toponyms, either through the addition of affixes (e.g. *Petri*, *Peterd*;⁸⁶⁾

⁸¹⁾ V. Tóth, o. c. in note 17, p. 50–51.

⁸²⁾ A. Vigh, o. c. in note 79, p. 21.

⁸³⁾ V. Tóth, o. c. in note 17; A. Vigh, o. c. in note 79.

⁸⁴⁾ Cf. V. Tóth, o. c. in note 17, p. 54.

⁸⁵⁾ Cf. A. Vigh, o. c. in note 79, p. 23.

⁸⁶⁾ Cf. V. Tóth, o. c. in note 17, p. 54.

Mihályi, Miháld etc.⁸⁷⁾), or through the addition of posterior constituents in the form of geographic common nouns (e.g. *Péterfalva, Péterfa, Péterlaka, Péterháza* etc.;⁸⁸⁾ *Mihályfalva, Mihályháza* etc.⁸⁹⁾), As for the structure of toponyms created from often used personal names, the only difference consists in the predominance of either the method of derivation or composition typical of a particular name.

While the basic names *Péter* and *Mihály* occur in toponyms rather frequently, we can observe a completely different trend with respect to their derivatives: only a few of them were used to create toponyms (e.g. *Pete, Peteny, Petk, Petre, Petres*;⁹⁰⁾ *Mika, Mike, Mikó, Miske*⁹¹⁾), and even these forms were fairly unproductive. Presumably, the reason for this lies in the functional differences of personal name forms, namely, that derivative names appeared as hypocoristic forms of the particular personal names, and as such could not really be used in the formation of toponyms (settlement names), as diminutive forms are normally not used in name-giving.⁹²⁾ Of course, this assumption evokes further questions, yet these relate mostly to functional issues linked to personal name forms (and their affixes) and as such do not directly belong under the scope of the present study.

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⁸⁷⁾ Cf. A. Vigh, o. c. in note 79, p. 23.

⁸⁸⁾ Cf. V. Tóth, o. c. in note 17, p. 54.

⁸⁹⁾ Cf. A. Vigh, o. c. in note 79, p. 23–24.

⁹⁰⁾ V. Tóth, o. c. in note 17, p. 53.

⁹¹⁾ A. Vigh, o. c. in note 79, p. 22.

⁹²⁾ V. Tóth, o. c. in note 17, p. 56–7.