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*Toponyms on the Valley of the Someșul Mare River (from  
Beclean to Dej).*  
*A Linguistic Study*

**SUMMARY OF THE DOCTORAL THESIS**

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**« Qui a décrété que l'histoire de ces hommes sans histoire était moins noble?**

**Sans doute ceux dont l'Histoire n'est faite que de sang. »**

**Gérard Martenon, 7**

We decided to gather the toponymic materials of Someșul Mare Valley of localities on both banks of the river, from Beclean to Dej.

At the two ends of the investigated area there are Beclean and Dej, with larger living space, with an area larger than that of the surrounding villages with wider territory inside and outside the built-up area. dar și în extravilan. It is known, however, that in the life of cities, politics is more involved, for which toponymic tradition sometimes suffers drastic changes. The intervention of modern economics, the extension of cities, extensive and intensive urbanization require the attention of the administration and politics and multilateral development lead to drastic changes in education, culture, linguistic usages. High culture is different to rural and traditional cultural, but maybe we should talk about the third category of culture: urban culture that is special, it is neither popular culture nor high culture, it is the culture of well-organized urban agglomerations which are planned politically or economically or both politically and economically.

In the micro-region there live Romanians, Hungarians, Romas and before there also lived Saxons, Jews, Armenians, and this mix of ethnic groups, the local situations of folk bilingualism, poliglotism are reflected a particular manner in the system of toponyms.

The geographical area is mixed from the ethnic and religious point of view. We started from the premise that multi-ethnicity, multiculturalism, history of the places itself, the settlements, during times must have left their mark on the toponymization in this micro-region, on the system of placenames, the name system. Only after the field research through notes taken over the years, through discussions with persons known or unknown and surveyed by researching the maps made together with the interviewees, the local authorities, those obtained by satellite, covering the area by foot or by traditional transportation etc. could we prove our assumptions

The village of *Cireșoaia* (formerly known as: *Dicea* / palatalized: *D'icea*, from the Hungarian oikonym *Décse* / *Magyardécse* (Szabó M., Attila) is located at about 4 km from Braniștea, 5-6 km from the Someș Mare, on the highest hilltop of the area we studied

from the linguistic / toponymic point of view. Ethically, the village is purely Hungarian; among others the inhabitants go to work to a place called in Hungarian: *Szilajba*.

It seldom occurs that an adjective becomes a toponym - possibly after changing its grammatical value: after becoming a noun ... First, we ruled out the Hungarian adjective „szilaj”, meaning „roguish, coltish, incontrollable”. It is clear that *-ba* at the end of the name is the inessive-illative ending that are often mistaken in the area, considered as one, rendered only by the *-ba / -be* endings. We asked an interviewee (a university graduate who works in the field he was trained for but who is also a well-known orchardist in the area – what the name meant, where the toponym came from. He could not answer, which meant that the toponym became completely obscure in a monolingual village in the very same language in which it got formed ... The term is made up of the H. *szil* R. „elm” (elm) and H. *alj* „bottom” and the Hungarian ending of the adverbial of place i.e. the toponym is in relation with the frequent medieval practice of obtaining arable land by stubbing. The „elm forest” does no longer exist and it has long been lost from the collective memory. Why do we speak about this toponym? The first more important village after Braniștea, towards Dej, on the road linking Beclean to Dej, on the left bank of the Someșul Mare River is Sânmărghita, which is ethnically mixed (both Romanians and Hungarians). Here we found the Romanian toponym *Sâlbea*. (Compare: Szabó T., Attila, *Az Isztambulba* and Kádár, József, *Monographia*).

The Hungarian linguist, a real encyclopedia of the field determined the H. etymon *szil* „elm”... Its inessive-illative form with the *-be* ending was interpreted by the monolingual Romanians as a subjective case adding the Romanian enclitic definite article, *-a-*, to a form of singular ending in *-(b)e*, unspecific to Romanian: the foreign phonetism got improved by morphological adaptation.

It is hard to say today how large the elm forest was. We do not know how large it was, nor its configuration when it was cleared if it was cleared by one action or in successive steps or time interleaving. The two mentioned settlements are not neighboring villages, the national road does not cross Cireșoaia but the boundary of Cireșoaia and the boundary of Sânmărghita touch, so that the two toponyms could refer „historically to the very same forest... Collective bilingualism left its mark in the name of places. R. *Sâlbea* was re-borrowed by the Hungarians in a historic time when the influence of Romanian on

Hungarian became stronger, after the meaning of the etymon became unknown. Today we assist at the creation of the Hungarian illative-inessive form by doubling the case ending over the Romanian definite article: *Szâlbeába*. Compare with the Hungarian toponyms *Pálobába, Hosszubába, Bodibába, Várbára / Várbába, Holjoambába* and R. *În Palobă, În Hosubă, În Bodibă, În Varbă, În Holioambă etc.* in Uriu, Coldău, Reteag etc.

Romanian linguistics insists on the fact that since in Romanian we have the regionalisms *bărc, râț, tău, temeteu* etc. (borrowed from Hungarian: *berek, / berk, rét, tó, temető*), the simple or compound toponyms with *Bărc, Râț, Tău, Temeteu* must surely be of Romanian origin. The opinion should be shaded. The corresponding Hungarian toponyms are likely to (alongside with the respective appellatives) have had an important role in the final establishment of the Romanian regionalisms, the relation between the Romanian and the Hungarian toponyms, between the Romanian regionalisms and their Hungarian etymons, the two appellatives and the two toponyms being extremely complex.

On the other hand, we must make a clear-cut distinction between the loanwords and the toponymic loans. With some exception, the loanwords get from one language to the other along with its lexical content: its meaning can be kept entirely, in other cases the meaning can be enriched (extension of the meaning), narrowed (restricted), improved or derogated. Preserving the meaning of the etymon appellative matters little in the toponymic loan. Anyhow the its role in the language of origin is not that of designating general notions but rather it will have a special function both here and in the receiving language: to designate one single object, as any proper noun, to identify, designate any object, to personalize it, to establish a place that will be its own in the category of objects of the same kind. And for this it does not need the meaning of the etymon appellative.

Each language has toponyms, which are strongly connected to the appellatives they come from; they are at the beginning of their journey to become toponyms. In others, the meaning of the appellative is long lost, becoming obscure and the etymon is no longer known. These ancient toponyms passed from one language to the other during the decades, centuries and millennia, were borrowed and re-borrowed successively several times and they were phonetically and morphologically adapted many times.

It is an endless process, and the older a toponym, the higher the likelihood of not being able to determine its etymon. These processes, phenomena took place in the past and take place in the present, the phenomena acquire new hues only due to the changes of the factors, the socioeconomic conditions influencing them.

Knowing the languages in contact, knowing the action of phonetic laws limited in time and space, knowing the economic, social, historic, demographic realities in which a toponym was born, in which it got transmitted from one language into the other etc. also help the researcher pin down the initial form of the toponym and find its etymon.

When writing the thesis we deemed important to read a vast literature about the science of toponyms, the history of Romanian, the history of Hungarian, the history of the Romanians and the history of the Hungarians, the descriptive grammar of Romanian and Hungarian, general linguistics, general issues of bilingualism as a science, Romanian and Hungarian bilingualism, contact linguistics, Romanian dialectology, Hungarian dialectology, certain aspects of historic dialectology, spatial linguistics, areal linguistics, Romanian-Hungarian contrastive linguistics etc.

The theoretical studies have been interrelated with the practical activity in the field, the toponymic, social, sociolinguistics and psycholinguistic surveys in order to collect the concrete material.

Between the Introduction proper on the one hand and the Final conclusions followed by maps, the list of abbreviations and the bibliography on the other hand, this doctoral thesis is divided into four major chapters.

Chapter 1 deals with the general issues of toponymization, the extralinguistic conditioning of place names. We highlighted the manner in which the features of the idioms in contact are reflected in toponymy, in a folk bilingual environment, how the geographic, former and current economic issues, the property relations, the people's living conditions, the demographic data, the demographic, ethnic ratios, the religion of the people and the local history are reflected both directly and indirectly.

Toponyms are sometimes true linguistic fossils in a complex relation with history and the life of people (Chiorboli, Jean, *Langue corse*, p. 11). Sometimes, the historic data help us in the multiple interpretation of the toponyms while in other cases, when historic arguments are missing, toponyms help clarify some historic aspects ...

We showed the extent in which Romanian and Hungarian, first and foremost as well as German by the Saxon dialect (but not only) are involved in the toponymization process. We highlighted that generally, the first occupant of a land; the first conqueror names the places but in a multiethnic area this process becomes extremely complex, complicated especially because it pertains to the slow long-term history of mentalities, folk spirituality and language proper... We paid special attention to the history and social and economic condition of the Roma, presenting the reasons why newer or older toponyms are generally translations into Romani language.

The scientific issues dealt with are anchored into studies on bilingualism, contact linguistics by some well-known authors, specialists in the field: Uriel Weinreich, Marius Sala, Ferenc Bakos, Ladislau Balázs, Francis Király, János Péntek, Attila Szabó T., Ștefan Szász, Lajos Tamás; in older and newer toponymy studies by L. Réthy, Marius I. Oros, L. Kiss, L. Loșonți, Iorgu Iordan, M. Lungu, A. Rosetti, C. Suciu, E. Janitsek, Emilian M. Burețea, Rodica Suflețel, V. Frățilă, Dragoș Moldovanu, Mircea Homorodean, Dana Botoroagă-Bercu, Ioan Toma, Miklós Hints etc.

We highlighted in Chapter 1 and the following that the structure of some toponyms reflect the Medieval religious faith of the people of the area in their etymology (*Beclean, Cristeștii-Ciceului, Mănășturel, Sânmărghita, Mica, Sântejude=Sântajud* < from H. *Szentgyed* etc.) (Réthy, László, *Szolnok-Dobokavármegye nemzetiségi*, Tagányi K., SZDVM, I).

Others refer to the geographical aspects the relief of the area: *Pe Șăs, Reteag* < Sl. *reteaz/reteag* „hill back”, *Măluț* also in an incipient stage of toponymization (semi-toponym): *Pe Creastă, Lunca* etc. (Ștefan Szász, *Interferență*, p. 460 etc.) From a Slavic word we have the R. *obraz* but also the R. toponym *Breaza*; by loan translation in H.: *Emberfő* „head, face, cheek”, from H. *ember* „man” + *fő* „head”; the H. compound noun became *Ambriciu* after being phonetically adapted and obscured.

The following place names have a historical meaning: *Uriu, Tiołtiur, Ardău* (See: N. Drăganu, *Toponimie și istorie*, p. 34 etc., E. Petrovici, *Studii* p. 214). *Uriu* < H. *Őr*, *Tiołtiur* < *Tótőr, Erdőóvó* > *Ardău* then by pseudo-etymology: H. *Hordó* > R. *Hordou*, the birthplace of G. Coșbuc, today bearing the poet's name.

The name of the villages Ciceu Giurgești, Negrilești come from athroponyms, suggesting the names of the founders (Gheorghe, Negru.)

R. *Nireș* < H. *Nyíres* „birch forest”, *Sâlbea* < H. Szil(be), *Măgheruș* (Cristești) < H. *Magyarós* „nut grove”, *Huci*, *Poienile Reteagului*, *Bigbe(a)* < *Bükk* / *Bikkbe*(be), *La Arini*, *Agriș*, *Agrieș* < *Egeres* / *Jégeres* „alder grove”, *Curtuiuș* (today: *Periș*) < H. *Körtvélyes*, *Cărpiniș*, *Dobric*, *Păltineasa*, *Sita* < Sl. „bulrush”, *Leorda*, *Cioncaș* < *Csonkás*, *Tioc* < *Tők*, *Borzás*, *Borzies* < H. *Borzás*, *Borsószer* < *Borszószer* / *Borsószer*, *Chișirât* < *Kisirit* < *kicsi rét* „small pasture”, *Bicarâturi* < H. *Bikarét*(ek) < H. *bika* „bull” + *rít* / *rét* „pasture” etc. refer to the flora of the place and the stubbing manner of the forests to obtain arable land.

The former name of *Viișoara* used to be *Beșeneu* < H. *Besenyő* „Pechenegs”, in the documents of the time in Latin *Villa Paganica* „village of the peagans”; *Bălăban* (Cristur, Ilișua) is a Cumanic-Pecheneg remnant (Ovid Densusianu, *Istoria limbii române* vol. I, p. 243; Vl. Drâmba, *Limbile cumană și pecenegă* etc.)

The oikonyms *Bayerndorf* „Bavarian village” = R. *Crainimăt* < H. *Királynémeti*, approximately: „the king’s Germans”; *Aldorf*, i.e. *Wallendorf* „the Wallonian village” are of Saxon, German origin just as the microtoponyms *Bungăr* „orchard”, as a landmark, *Boctărie* „railway station” < *Bakterház* < H. *bakter* < Germ., *Dimiștai* (from Yiddish).

The following toponyms are also landmarks (some of which exist today while others have disappeared) R. *Burtucă* < *bortă* > H. *Burtuka*, *La Păr*, *Știubei* (in Uriu), *Budâi* < *Bodon* / *bödön* „lip, tub”.

*Între Ape*, *Sărătura* (by the Someș River, a sandy, salty, rocky place), *Prunduri*, *Holuan* / *Holioambă* „formerly the bed of the Someș River, today an unidentifiable wadi), *Șulediș* < H. *sülyedés* „abyss, coomb”, *Ciceu* – H. *Csicsó* „peak” < Sl. *Čiče* (N. Drăganu, *Români*) etc.

*Chendertău* < H. *Kendertó* < H. *kender* „hemp” + *tó* „lake” is a reflection of the landmark, the place where hemp used to be retted. To be compared with the toponyms in the southern part of the country such as *Topila*.

The property relations are reflected in the oikonyms such as *Mica* – H. *Mikéháza* (H. *háza* „smo.’s house), *Banatelke* (H. *telke* „smo.’s yard”), a former settlement on which Măluț was founded, *Cleja* „the parish property”, *Bodiba* from the H. anthroponym

Bódi / Boldizsár, *Pe Dimiștai / Într-a lui Dimiștai, Spermezeu* < H. *Ispánmező* „the prefect’s land”.

The current forms of the Romanian and Hungarian toponyms have etymons in one language or the other, which have been in contact for centuries, the evolution of the form of the toponyms was explained by the ethnic and demographic changes of the area, by the phonetic and grammatical adaptations that have been done in time.

Chapter 2 of the thesis focuses in depth on „bilingualism / multilingualism in toponymy”. Starting off with the possible definitions of mother tongue, we tried to define bilingualism as a social and psychological phenomenon dwelling on the idea that bilingualism is as natural a phenomenon as monolingualism is.

The interference and transfer phenomena between the idioms in contact can be exemplified abundantly in the toponym thesaurus of the researched area. We have toponyms that can be considered lexical loans proper, others are semantic loan translations, others translations proper, others lexical loan translations, others interlinguistic pleonasm.

The loans proper are phonetically adapted in the new language and then also grammatically; the two adaptations can be done simultaneously since actually the morphological adaptation also means the phonetic trimming of the loanword.

In a primary bilingual community not all members are necessarily bilingual and we consider that mostly the monolinguals are the ones who drastically adapt phonetically the toponym or the loanwords.

In an advanced stage of bilingualism, the bilingual easily utters the sounds that are not specific to his/her mother tongue. The monolingual adapts the words according to his/her phonetic system and articulation base. He/she selects the most the most convenient sound from the features of the foreign sounds according to the phonetism of his/her mother tongue From the H. *Őr / Űr* we get the R. *Uri*. The posteriority and rounding of Hungarian *ű* by the Romanian monolingual speaker could not be rendered simultaneously but rather selectively by *i* or *u* or successively by *iu*. There are many examples in this respect. We can compare the R. *Ambrifiu* with the H. *Emberfő*, R. *Figa*

with the H. *Füge*. In all cases or in almost all of them the phonetic adaptations take place based on some phonetic laws rigorously functioning in time and space.

The monolingual speaker does not notice the compound character of a certain loanword and its form becomes obscured in the new language.

Hearing a new term the monolingual speaker focuses on the beginning of the word and then his/her attention decreases. For that matter, his hearing system is not the most efficient. He / she utters the new term approximately and he/she guesses the meaning of the new word also approximately in spite of all the effort.

Generally, the word endings also bear the grammatical meaning: suffixes, termination. They are ignored by the borrower not only because his/her attention diminished to the end of the word, but also because these foreign grammatical elements can be ignored since the loanword must be included in the grammar system of his/her own language. This is why we stated above that the morphological adaptation of the loanwords is phonetic and vice versa. The manner in which Hungarian vowels are reflected in Romanian loans of Hungarian origin and the reciprocity of the phenomenon are dealt with almost exhaustively in a study on bilingualism by Fr. Király.

Chapter 3 presents certain categories of toponyms trying to classify them by certain criteria. The toponyms are researched both synchronically and diachronically. Synchronically, the interferences are considered linguistic mistakes but diachronically, historically, they have an outstanding spiritual value. What is considered a language mistake at one time, usage can establish it in the language in time. The vocabulary of the languages is of Latin, Uraltaic origin at a small extent (talking about Romanian and Hungarian). Most certainly, we are not talking here about the main word stock of Romanian, for example. As for the rest, during the centuries each language has borrowed extensively from the languages it got in contact with. There is many a loanword but also many a semantic, morphological loan translation, which are also special loans of semantic or grammatical structure.

The language of a people is not only the standard language, the literary language, but also its dialects, idioms and contact variants. All these grant a special beauty, richness

to the language. Their speakers are our fellow countrymen whom the researcher is bound to treat with respect for the entire folk culture they created.

In Kálmán Béla, *Helynév kutatás*, pp. 344 we read that the names of larger rivers are extremely resistant and conservative everywhere and their etymons cannot be interpreted, coming from the pre-Indo-European times. The Hungarian hydronym *Szamos* got transmitted to Hungarian by Slavic. In Uriu, for example, inhabited mostly by Hungarians the Părău is of „Știubei”. The name of the body of water is of Romanian origin. Through Branișteea runs the so-called Părăul Dicii. This name comes from Hungarian. The oikonym and hydronym Ilișua is of Slavic origin. It would be extremely hard today to determine if the toponym got into Romanian and Hungarian directly from Ruthenian or if any of the two languages operated as a relay for the other. Taking this direction, we get to what the specialist literature calls multiple etymology.

Applying various criteria we can classify the toponyms by origin, the nature of the designated object, the basic feature of the toponyms.

By origin, we can speak about toponyms of Romanian origin, Hungarian origin, Romanian toponyms of Hungarian origin, Hungarian toponyms of Romanian origin, Gypsy toponyms of Romanian origin etc.

By the nature of the designated object we have: a) oikonoms (names of human settlements and their parts), b) morphonyms (oronyms)- toponyms for forms of relief and their parts: mountains, peaks, hills, knobs, mounds, planes, plateaus, slopes, valleys, coombs etc. (as stated by Constantinescu-Dobridor, *Mic dicționar*), c) hydronyms (names of bodies of water), d) limnonyms (names of lakes and ponds), e) names of landmarks, f) names of forests, g) hodonyms (names of roads).

Some collocations are only at the beginning of the toponymization process having an uncertain status for now as well as an uncertain future –as stated by Toma, I., *Factori* pp. 255.

Iorgu Iordan in his ample work *Toponimia românească* offers an interesting classification of toponyms (pp. 16). We can speak about a) topographic names, b) social toponyms, c) historical toponyms and d) psychological toponyms. We also applied this classification with examples from the researched area. Dr. Réthy László in the work quoted above, by the nature of appellatives talks about a) oikonoms that refer to rivers,

grasslands, dead-waters and springs; b) oikonyms reflecting the orographic realities of the county; c) oikonyms referring to the geographic position, the spatial characteristics and the pedologic realities; d) oikonyms referring to forests, parks, plantations, stubbed out fields (*Kodor* from R. *codru*, *Dobric*, *Huci*, *Tioc – Tők*, *Bretea – Szász-beréte*, from Germ. *Brecht* „stubbed out land”); e) oikonyms from plant names (*Fizeșu Gherlii – Fűzes* „willow-grove”, *Borzaș – Borzás* from the appellative *bodzás* „elder grove”, *Cetan – Csatány* –to compare with the R. *cetină*, with Scr. *cetina*); f) oikonyms from animal names, pasturing and cattle breeding (*Purcăreș, Părău Porcului- Disznópataka*); g) oikonyms referring to professions and institutions (*Țigău – Szászcegő* from the appellative *cege*, fishing tool by which water is stopped across the body of water, *Bața – Baca* originate from the same etymon as the Romanian *baci*, *Uriu – Őr, Ocna Dej*); h) toponyms rendering the names of founders and the social relations related to the establishment of the settlement (*Ciceu Giurgești, Negriști*); i) oikonyms referring to the Roman-catholic church and church institutions (*Cristeștii Ciceului, Sânmărghita, Mănășturel*); j) oikonyms from people’s names (*Beclean – Betlen, Mica – Mikehaza*); k) oikonyms obtained from ethnonyms (*Unguraș, Lăpușu Unguresc, Lăpușu Românesc, Rusu de Sus, Sasnireș = Nireș – Szűsznyires, Beșeneu = Viișoara – Besenyő*).

Chapter 4 deals with the toponyms of each village. The historical data are taken from the seven volumes of the monumental Monograph of Solnoc-Dăbâca Shire by Kádár József, published in 1990 and the following years in Dej, capital city of the shire and then of Someș county; the data referring to the evolution in time of the oikonyms were taken from Kádár’s work, the Dicționarul localităților din Transilvania by Coriolan Suciu and the tri-lingual dictionary (Romanian-Hungarian-German) of the villages of Transylvania written by Szabó M. Attila and Szabó M. Erzsébet, published by the Kriterion Publishinghouse, Bucharest, 1992.

For the toponyms, Kádár József used an older work by Pesty Frigyes, published in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

At the beginning of the chapter we recorded the toponyms of Dej and Beclean but only those of the previous centuries: the two urban settlements around which the surrounding villages revolve whose toponyms are dealt with to length both

synchronously and diachronically. We went as far as 1900 with the toponyms of Dej and Beclean (the last data offered by Kádár József were taken from the year 1899). In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the major historical convulsions (calm, World War I, The Union of Transylvania with Romania, the occupation of North-Western Transylvania by Hungary, World War II, the Communist period, the period after the revolution of 1989) marked the names of urban settlements and streets. This way this thesis would have become oversized, which we tried to avoid.

The chapter continues with the toponyms of the villages of the researched area: the villages on the right bank of the Someș are followed by the villages on the left bank (Coldău, Cristeștii-Cicelului, Uriu, Reteag, Bața, Mănășturel, Cuzdrioara, then Măluț, Braniștea, Sânmărghita, Mica). By the end of the chapter we also listed the toponyms of Ilișua, Hășmașu Ciceului – small villages part of Uriu commune – and Nireș (a larger village part of Mica commune), although they do not lie on plain of the Someș River, in order to show that the smaller villages as far as the number of inhabitants and surface are concerned as well as the villages that have a larger boundary and a more varied relief can generally have more toponyms than the villages located on a plain as it is the case of Mănășturel village.

We indicated the years when the settlements were founded, the years when the oikonyms, the boundary names were first mentioned in official documents and we listed them, we also listed the current toponyms of the villages presenting the phonetic evolution of some of them... It is a 130 page chapter.

The doctoral thesis ends with some final conclusions that we also list below:

1. The toponyms of the Valley of the Someșul Mare River are a linguistic, historical spoil of the villages along the river, a mirror of the traditional culture of the inhabitants, a huge cultural heritage.
2. The life of the Romanians, Hungarians, Saxons, Jews, Romas etc. living together in the region during the centuries is reflected indirectly in a special manner in the toponymy of the area.
3. The cultural interferences are reflected in linguistic inferences especially in the Romanian-Hungarian linguistic interferences. On a synchronic level they became

obsolete and often considered unwanted mistakes due to the mutual influence of the languages with unwanted effects. Diachronically, the interferences are very concrete in each language, the effect of the mutual influence enriched both languages. The interferential mistakes at a given time can spread as waves, can be accepted by an increasing number of speakers and can become generalized as any linguistic change or innovation. The usage establishes these changes after a time. They become “correct” linguistic facts since “this is how it is said”.

4. In a bilingual, multiethnic environment with a common history spreading throughout the centuries, toponymy reflects the life of the people living together belonging to the different linguistic communities but to the very same bilingual speech community.

5. In a bilingual speech community not all speakers are bilingual. The bilinguals master the two languages with the same ease and in case they resort to loanwords they can easily utter the foreign sounds of the loanword. The monolingual individuals on the other hand phonetically adapt the words drastically, being bound to resort to this means since he/she lacks the physical and psychological capacity of handling the foreign elements with their specific features.

6. The loanword is a visible loan while the lexical, semantic, morphological, phraseological loan translation, the mixed loan translations are hidden interferences.

7. The places are named by the first occupants of the area, in general, by the first founders and colonists. The other ethnic groups settling later generally learn the toponyms the first settlers use. But there are also exceptions. In some cases we can speak about parallel toponymization.

8. During the centuries, the demographic and ethnic ratio between the different language communities can change and the population that came last can become the great majority and can take over spontaneously the initiative of toponymization. This way, during 100-200 years, the toponymic system born in a certain language can slowly lose its privileged place and be replaced by the toponyms of the name givers of a different mother tongue.

9. The translation of toponyms from one language into another by the inhabitants of a

region in a spontaneous and pragmatic manner is a natural, simple, easy and harmless phenomenon while the translations done by the state administration for political reasons is a blow given to the culture (either “pure” or “mixed”) that gave birth to the respective toponymic system.

10. The simple people are our fellows who gave birth to traditional culture as a response to their vital needs, they thought and felt in the idioms, subdialects, dialects as richness of the languages and for this reason they deserve the researcher’s respect.

11. Most often the changes in the property lead to certain changes in the toponymic system.

12. In many cases, the change of an element can also cause other changes in the system.

13. The people name the places according to what they consider as the most important feature of that given place.

14. The repeated lexical and toponymic loans in one direction or the other with their phonetic and morphological adaptations lead to the loss of the appellatives the toponyms come from the collective memory of the name givers, the etymons become obsolete without the names losing their linguistic function: identification and differentiation. If a toponym keeps its natural relation to the appellative and they support each other, they are going to live together in the same word hoard. If this relation breaks and then the appellative is lost, the toponym will live on independently and also keeps its essential function: that of designating unique objects as any compound noun.

15. Ignoring the grammatical category of the etymons and the etymons of the borrowed toponyms is a natural process: they are going to be adapted anyway both phonetically and morphologically in the system of the receiving language.

16. There are many linguistic structures, semi-phrases, words that are on their way to become toponyms. This process can lead to the complete loss of the appellatives / etymons or it can stop and their place can be taken over by another word, another structure, a new toponym.

17. The same appellative etymon in the toponymization process in different villages, in different conditions can have a different evolution and can reach different stages and get different forms.

18. The property relations in society, in the communities at a given time especially in a geographical environment with a less varied relief have a special importance in the toponymization process.

19. It seems that we are on the threshold of some major changes in Romanian agriculture since Romania has become a member of the European Union. In the future we may witness land amalgamation; due to globalization, the massing of the financial means, there will be new owners and it is likely that the fate of traditional toponymy be endangered.

In order to ease reading, we added a list of abbreviations and a bibliography of 180 titles as well as some maps taken from the town halls and the interviewees.

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