

Toponymic homonymies and metonymies: names of rivers vs names of settlements

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Abstract: This paper analyses several toponymic homonymies and metonymies in Romania. Due to the country's rich hydrographic network, there are many hydronymic and oikonymic similarities. Most often, the oikonoms borrow the names of rivers which, diachronically, enjoy the status of initial name bearers. However, there are various examples in which oikonoms and hydronyms are not completely homonymous, as numerous compounds or derivatives exist, etymologically and lexicologically eloquent in the contexts described.

Keywords: toponymic homonymies and metonymies, hydronyms, oikonoms

Homonímies i metonímies toponímiques: noms dels rius vs. noms dels assentaments

Resum: Aquest treball analitza diverses homonímies i metonímies existents a la toponímia de Romania. En el context d'un país caracteritzat per la importància de la xarxa hidrogràfica, criden l'atenció les nombroses similituds existents entre els hidrònims i els noms dels assentaments de població. Molt sovint aquests últims, a Romania, prenen en préstec els noms dels rius –els quals, diacrònicament, gaudeixen de la condició de portadors de noms inicials. Tot i això, hi ha diversos exemples en què noms d'assentaments de població i hidrònims no són completament homònims: es tracta, sobretot, de casos de noms compostos o derivats, que tant des del punt de vista etimològic com lexicològic resulten eloqüents dels contextos descrits.

Paraules clau: homonímies i metonímies toponímiques, hidrònims, noms d'assentaments de població (*oicònims*)

In Romanian and in other languages, the homonymy that frequently occurs between names of rivers and names of settlements makes it difficult to determine which onyms were coined first: “The specification of the relationship between the genesis of the hydronym and the settlement name is made more difficult because the direction of metonymy is often hard (if not impossible) to decide” (Hoffmann, Rácz, Tóth 2017, 235).

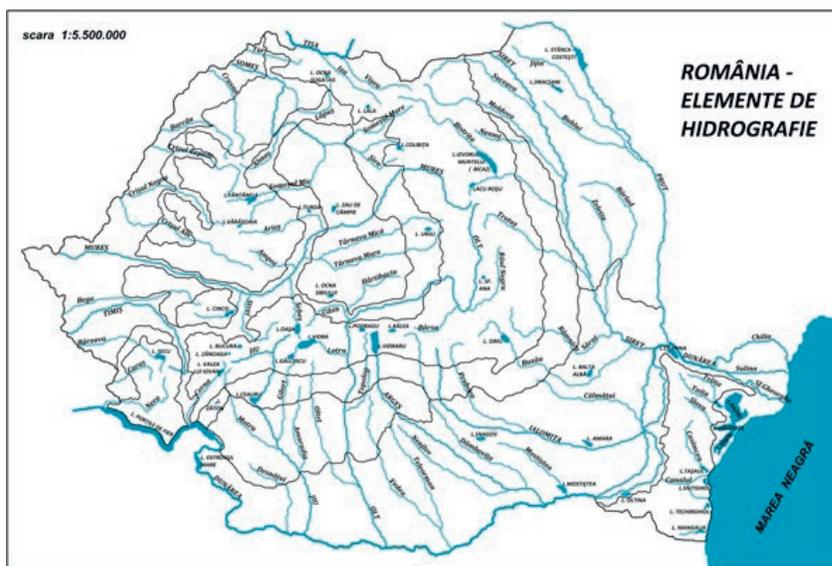


Figure 1: Romania – hydrographical elements (website *Totul despre geografia României* [Everything about the geography of Romania] 2012).

While the quoted Hungarian researchers establish a connection between this phenomenon and metonymy, S. Strandberg describes the former as “a specific kind of naming: eponymization (transfer of an existing toponym to denote another place as well)” (2016, 105).

As geographical entities, rivers generally have the priority in being named, especially long rivers, which, according to Iorgu Jordan, also possess the attribute of age: “The oldest, most enduring names are the designations of mountain ranges and long rivers, which are known, of course, by all the peoples inhabiting the territories through which the rivers pass. [...] Thus, for instance, when a village and a river bear the same name, we are entitled to believe, until proven otherwise, that the river was given that name before the village (and was also called by that name by the inhabitants of neighbouring villages, through which the river flows)” (1963, 3, originally Romanian). I. Hoffman, A. Rácz, and V. Tóth support the same idea: “In the case of the identical form of hydronyms and settlement names, we suspect a hydronym > settlement name metonymy if the original presence of the hydronym is made probable by

semantic arguments: these could include denominations referring to the waterbed, designations including the names of plants or aquatic animals, etc.” (2017, 235).

Romania is one of the countries with a rich hydrographic network consisting of 4,925 watercourses (see Oros 1996, 76), grouped into 15 main drainage basins of which 14 pertain to the Danube (98%) and one is the basin of the Black Sea (see Botzan 2002, 17). Over the years, watercourses have been classified from several viewpoints: according to the length of the river, the etymology of river names, the economic significance of the rivers and so on, depending on the idea that the researchers wished to highlight.

The classification of rivers according to their length reveals the following aspects: six rivers are more than 500 km long (the Danube, Tisa, Prut, Mureş, Siret, and Olt), five rivers range between 300 and 500 km in length (the Someş, Ialomiţa, Jiu, Argeş, and Timiş), seven rivers are between 200 and 300 km long, and ten rivers vary between 100 and 200 km in length. In total, there are twenty-eight rivers whose length is greater than 100 km, and the rest of the rivers amount to less than 100 km in length. Most rivers (97%) are less than 50 km long¹.

Most watercourses, except streams, make up the root of a more or less extended toponymic development which specialists call “toponymic chains” (Oros 1996, originally Romanian), “toponymic fields” (Moldovanu 2010, originally Romanian), and “derivative branches” (Rezeanu 2014, originally Romanian). The starting point of such structures is the name of the watercourse (a large/small river). We consider this hydronym to be the *base* or the *first level*. The *second level* includes, in agreement with the topic of our research, all the oikonyms and hydronyms which are in a homonymous relationship with the base, i.e., compounds or derivatives starting from the base. The third level will be provided by other referents, minor toponyms in particular, or other historical, administrative, cultural, religious or economic entities, whose number may increase or decrease in time due to social, historical, cultural,

1 *Wikipedia* 2019, the list of rivers in Romania by length. See also Botzan 2002, 17; Ielenicz 2007, 100; Felecan O., Felecan N. 2015, 251-269.

and various other factors that lead to the multiplication or disappearance of the said entities.

The present study deals with the toponymic fields of seventeen large and small rivers in Romania.

Argeş, a left-bank tributary of the Danube, is 350 km long. Herodotus mentions it as Ὀρδησσός (*Ordesos*), a form that V. Pârvan considers to be an erroneous transcription of the name Ἀργεσος or Ἀργισος, derived from the root *arg-* ‘white’, which also occurs in Thracian areas or in languages related to Thracian – Phrygian and Armenian (Pârvan 1923, 12-13; Drăganu 1933, 350-352; DTRM, I 2005, 203; Frăţilă 2011, 35; Toma 2015, 114-116).

Compounds: *Albeştii de Argeş* ‘village’; *Curtea de Argeş* 1. ‘town’², 2. ‘monastery’; *Dealurile Argeşului*; *Muscelele Argeşului*; *Poienarii de Argeş* ‘commune’ (Argeş).

The toponym *Argeş* in the compounds *Albeştii de Argeş* and *Poienarii de Argeş* has got a determinative use. It delineates and specifies the location of the villages in Argeş county in opposition with *Albeştii Bistriţei*, a village in Bistriţa-Năsăud county, in whose name the toponym *Bistriţei*, in the genitive case, fulfils the same role. As regards *Poienarii de Argeş*, a settlement on the river Argeş, the village is distinguished from others found in different areas. The situation is the same for *Dealurile Argeşului* and *Muscelele Argeşului*.

Derivatives: *Argeşani* ‘village’; *Argeşanul* ‘village’; *Argeşel* ‘river’, 70 km long; *Argeşelu* ‘village’ (Argeş); *Argeşeni* ‘village’³.

It should be noted that some names pertaining to a toponymic field can develop their own toponymic chains. Thus, they are both subordinate elements in the original chain, and base toponyms in the derivative chains:

Argeş: *Argeşel* ‘river’ > *Argeşel* ‘village’/*Argeşel* ‘hill’;

Argeş: *Curtea de Argeş* ‘town’ > *Curtea de Argeş* ‘monastery’.

Arieş measures 164 km in length. It flows into the river Mureş, south of Luduş. N. Drăganu considers its name was derived from Hungarian

² Former royal residence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (DTRM I, 202-203).

³ They pertain to the same field and are obtained “by means of polarisation” (Moldovanu 2010, originally Romanian).

Aranyos (< *arany* ‘gold’) ‘auratus, aureus’ based on the forms with which it has been recorded since the year 1075 (*Arantias*, *Aran(y)os*, *Aranyas*, *Oron(y)os*). An older Romanian form is *Areniaș*, which accounts for the variants *Arănieș*, *Arieș*, and *Anieș* (BN) (< old forms *Arănieș*, *Aninieș*) (Drăganu 1933, 484).

Compounds: *Arieșu de Câmp*, village (MM); *Arieșu Mare* (*mare* ‘big’), *Arieșu Mic* (*mic* ‘small, little’, singular masculine form), two rivers that refer to the upper course until their confluence; *Arieșu de Pădure*, village (MM)⁴; *Baia de Arieș*, commune (Alba); *Gura Arieșului*, village (Alba); *Str. Arieșului*, street (Baia Mare);

Derivatives: *Arieșeni*, village (Alba).

Bârsa is the river flowing through the Land of Bârsa and joining the Olt. The etymology of its name has long been the topic of debate for Romanian and foreign linguists alike. The most varied hypotheses have been circulated: Greek βρύσις ‘to spring’, Medieval Greek βρύση ‘spring’ (Diculescu 1926, 499); Dacian word similar to Slavic *breza* ‘birch tree’, cf. Saxon ‘Birkenbach’ (‘the birch stream’), Slavic *breza* ‘birke’ (Drăganu 1920-1921, 141-142); Slavic *brdce*, *brdco* < *berd-* with the primitive meaning ‘peak, point’; Slavic *brs* ‘rock, stone’ (Kisch 1929, 59); Albanian *verts(ë)*, *vers(ë)* ‘a piece of a plough which breaks up the soil and turns it over’, ‘(plough) breast’, borrowed from Latin **vertia* < **vertire* < *vertere* ‘to turn over’; anthroponymic origin, from the personal name *Bârs(u)*, known in the Land of Făgăraș (Drăganu 1933, 549-550).

A detailed and relevant analysis of this problem was provided by Dragoș Moldovanu, in the book *Teoria câmpurilor toponimice* [Theory of toponymic fields], 2010: “Romanian *Bârsă* probably originates in the Latin form **bersa*, resulting from the betacism of *versa*, which doubled **vertia* with the specialised meaning ‘the element of a plough which turns over the earth’. This piece is now called *cormană* ‘(plough) breast’, but the lexical differentiation occurred subsequently⁵. In the structure of the

4 The two settlements in Maramureș got their name from the homonymous river in the drainage basin of the Someș.

5 “The word *cormană* (‘(plough) breast’) is not derived from Hungarian *kormány*, as it is generally believed, but from a southern Slavic word stock, just like Serbo-

first Romanian ploughs, ‘the lower part of the plough is from the same piece as *bârta* (‘the stilt’), and in Bucovina *cormana* (‘(plough) breast’) and *bârsa* (‘the stilt’) are considered a single piece: ‘together, they are called *trupuța* (‘the body’) of the plough’. Regardless of the interpretation, *bârsa* (‘the stilt’), which connects the ploughshare, breast and landside, fulfils the role of turning over the furrow, ensuring that the plough cuts the earth deeper or only at surface level. The doublets **vertia/versa* and **bertia/*bersa*, respectively, could account for the Romanian pair *bârță/bârșă*. Geographically, they display a complementary construction in Daco-Romanian: the first element of the pair is used particularly in the south, whereas the other in the north, with convergences in Transylvania and the Banat. Both forms can be considered inherited from the Roman age, as the improved plough which enabled the turning over of furrows existed since that time. It was borrowed from the Roman population by Balkan Slavs in the sixth-ninth centuries, when the latter became nonmigratory farmers. [...] The term ‘*cormana*’ (‘(plough) breast’) was derived from a Latin word in use by means of metonymic semantic evolution: from the turned earth (**bersa gleba*) to the part of the plough carrying out this process (**bersa*). In the western Romance world, the Latin word stock was exploited as well: *versorium* ‘plough’ began to designate, in a restricted sense, the ‘(plough) breast’ (Romanian *cormana*; French *versoir*, Italian *versoio*). According to this hypothesis, we no longer have to assume there occurred the incidental phonetic change of *t* to *s* in *berdce* > *bârță* > *bârșă*, as Densusianu proposed. The regional meanings of the Slavic word in Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian can ultimately be accounted for by means of semantic borrowing from proto-Romanian” (Moldovanu 2010, 67, originally Romanian). According to the same linguist, the onomastic point of departure is “the great bend of the Olt, in which the Bârșă rivers (initially two of them) used to meet and on the banks of which the Land of Bârșă was founded. The Latin speaking population in the area named it **Bersa (aqua)*, i.e. ‘turned’ (feminine form), probably by borrowing the basic meaning of the verb *versare*,

Croatian *korman*, genitive *kormana*, postverbal form of *kormaniti* ‘to row’ < *krma* ‘oar’” (Moldovanu 2010, 67, originally Romanian).

whose form had been affected by betacism in various areas of Vulgar Latin”⁶. The toponymic field of the base⁷ includes the following names:

Homonyms: *Bârsa*, two villages (Arad, Sălaj); *Bârsa*, ‘left-bank tributary of the Someș’, 10 km long.

Compounds: *Bârsa Fierului* ‘left tributary of the Bârsa’ (15 km), *Bârsa Groșetului* ‘left-bank tributary of the Bârsa’, *Bârsa lui Bucur* ‘left-bank tributary of the Bârsa’ (12 km); *Bârsa Tâmașului* ‘right-bank tributary of the Bârsa’⁸; *Dealul Bârsei* (nearby Jibou), *Depresiunea (Țara) Bârsei*; *Bârsăul de Jos* (*de jos* ‘lower’) and *Bârsăul de Sus* (*de sus* ‘upper’), villages (SM), *Bârsău Mare* (*mare* ‘big’, Sălaj), *Bârsești-Bodești*, village (Vâlcea), *Bârseștii de Jos* and *Bârseștii de Sus*, villages (Argeș, Olt), *Dealul Bârsăului* ‘peak in Ciceu Hills’, *Dealurile Bârsăului* ‘in Chioar’, *Măgura Bârsâncii* ‘in Romanai Plain’; *Târnița Bârsăului* ‘in the Rodna Mountains’;

Derivatives: *Bârsaca*, *Bârsaci*⁹; *Bârsan*, *Bârsani*, village (dissolved and incorporated into the village Găgeni, Vâlcea county); *Bârsana*, two villages (Alba, MM); *Bârsanca* (feminine form, with the suffix *-ancă*, instead of *-ana*, ‘newer, more popular and more familiar’, cf. FCLR I, 99, originally Romanian); *Bârsănescu* ‘a peak in the Rodna Mountains’; *Bârsănești* 1. villages (Bacău, Botoșani), 2. stream, ‘right-bank tributary of the Tazlău’; 3. ‘a hill in the Tazlău Sub-Carpathians’; *Bârsău*, 1. villages (Hunedoara, MM), 2. ‘right-bank tributary of the Someș’¹⁰; *Bârsăuța*, village (Sălaj)¹¹; *Bârseanul*, village (Prahova), *Bârseasca*, 1. village (Argeș), 2. ‘a forest in the Olt couloir’, *Bârseni*, village (Olt); *Bârseșcul*, village (Olt); *Bârsești*, eight villages (Gorj, Vâlcea, Vrancea); *Bârsoiu*, village (Vâlcea);

6 On this matter, see Moldovanu 2010, 57-76, chapter 3.3. *Etimologia Bârsei/Brașovului* (‘Etymology of Bârsa/Brașov’).

7 The same idea was proposed by Moldovanu (2010, 62, originally Romanian): “The point of departure was of course the hydronym *Bârsa*, pronounced *Bârsa* in the thirteenth century, which had already become *Barsa* in Slavic dialects in the area”.

8 Actually, *Bârsa Groșetului* and *Bârsa Tâmașului* are two arms whose joining resulted in the creation of the river Bârsău.

9 *Bârsaca*, *Bârsaci*, *Bârsan*, *Bârsanca*, *Bârșați*, *Bârsăneasca*, *Bârsătești*, and *Bârskota* are considered minor toponyms by I. Toma (2015, 124), who is quoted in this paper.

10 The derivative with the augmentative suffix *-ău* developed from *Bârsa*, a 10-km long tributary of the river Someș.

11 *Bârsăuța*, with the diminutive suffix *-uța*, was derived from *Bârsa*, a village in the same county (Sălaj).

Bârsoieni, village (dissolved and incorporated into the village Stănești, Vâlcea county).

Bichigi is an affluent of the Sălăuța. As regards the etymology of its name, N. Drăganu proposes two solutions, both plausible: < Hungarian *bükk* ‘beech’ + *ügy* ‘fountain’ or *bikkigy bükkös* ‘a place with beech trees’ (1928, 43-46 and 1933, 277). The linguist states the following with respect to the two explanations: “if *Bichigiul* is derived from *bikkigy* ‘beech forest’, we have to begin from the forest whose name extended to the village and then to the valley or watercourse *Bichigi*, diminutive form *Bichigel*. However, if the etymology actually refers to Hungarian *bükk* ‘fagus’ + *ügy* ‘fons’, the process occurred the other way around: the name of the watercourse extended to the land and the village” (Idem, *Ibid.* originally Romanian).

Given the rather late records of the settlement (dating from the year 1523), it can be assumed that the river was the first to bear the name, and on its banks the village was founded. Thus, the hydronym appeared first, and this tallies with the above-mentioned information.

Homonyms: *Bichigiu*, village (BN);

Derivative: *Bichigel*, affluent of the river Bichigi.

Bistrița is the name borne by several rivers flowing through the three large regions of Romania: *Bistrița* (Moldova), right-bank affluent of the Siret (288 km); *Bistrița* (Transylvania), right-bank affluent of the Șieu (65,4 km); *Bistrița* (Oltenia), right-bank affluent of the Olt (50 km).

The etymology is based on Slavic *bistr-* ‘fast, rapid’ (Jordan 1963, 122; Graur 1972, 103), to which the Slavic suffix *-ica* (*ița*) was added.

Homonyms: *Bistrița*, municipality (seat of BN county); *Bistrița*, villages (Mehedinți, Neamț, Vâlcea);

Compounds: *Bistrița Aurie* ‘upper course of the Bistrița (in Moldova), from its spring to the confluence with the river Dorna’; *Bistrița Bârgăului*, village (BN); *Bistrița Nouă* (*nouă* ‘new’, singular feminine form), village (Olt); *Bistrița Izvor* (*izvor* ‘spring’), river;

Derivatives: *Bistricioara*, 1. ‘streams’ (Bacău, Cluj, Neamț, Olt), 2. ‘village’ (Neamț).

Buzău measures 302 km in length, and it is a right-bank affluent of the Siret. Its name has received various interpretations: from *Mouseos*, a river mentioned in *Acta Sancti Sabae Gothi* (on p. 968), in which Sabbas the Goth was drowned in the year 372 at the order of King Athanaric during the persecution of the Christians in his kingdom. V. Pârvan considers *Mouseos* is a mistaken spelling of *Bouséos*. However, V. Frăţilă, in agreement with Drăganu (1933, 248-249), accounts for the phenomenon by the fact that “the Greek letter β began to be uttered *v*, whereas the letter *b* in foreign words was rendered by means of similar sounds (*m*, *p*, *mp*) [cf. Turkish *bej* ‘beige’ > Greek *mpees*, *barca* ‘boat’ > *mparka*], and the Thraco-Dacian sound *b* evolved to *m* (cf. *Tibisis* > *Timiş*)” (Frăţilă 2011, 261, originally Romanian).

Homonyms: *Buzău*, municipality (Buzău);

Compounds: *Buzău Mic* (*mic* ‘small, little’, singular masculine form) ‘old name of Buzăiel village’ (Braşov); *Buzoieni-Răzeşi* (Iaşi), *Buzoianca-Iatropolo*, village (Buzău).

Derivatives: *Buzăiel*, village (Buzău), *Buzăielul*, two streams, one of which flows into the Buzău; *Buzăiel(ul)*, eight streams in Braşov county; *Buzoieni*, *Buzoianca*, *Buzoianul* (Prahova).

Dâmboviţa is a right-bank tributary of the Argeş, measuring 286 km in length (< Slavic *dŭbŭvica* (< *dŭb* ‘oak’ + toponymic suffix *-ovica*) lit. ‘river of the oaks’, ‘(valley) with oaks’) (Graur 1972, 103; Toma 2015, 166).

Homonyms: *Dâmboviţa* ‘old name of Podu Dâmboviţei village’ (Argeş);

Compounds: *Podu Dâmboviţei*;

Derivatives: *Dâmboviceanca*, village (Prahova); *Dâmboviceanul*, village (Ilfov); *Dâmbovicioara*, 1. ‘affluent of the river Dâmboviţa’; 2. villages (Argeş, Dâmboviţa).

Dunărea, the Danube (*Danubius*, *Danuvius* to the Romans, Δάνουβις (*Danuvis*), Δούναβις (*Dunavis*)¹² to the Greek, *Dunavŭ* in Old Slavic,

12 The Thracian name of the Danube, in the lower part, was *Istros* (*Hister*), from the root **istr-* ‘which flows fast’, the same as in the name *Nistru* (in the Republic of Moldova; Greek *Tiras*, cf. Iranian *turos* ‘fast’, ‘rapid’, from Indo-European **isro-*, **sreu* ‘to flow’). The

**Donawi*, **Dunawi* in Gothic), is 2,860 km long in total, of which 1,075 km flow on the territory of Romania.

In modern languages the names of the river have the following forms: *Donau* (German), *Duna* (Hungarian), *Dunav(o)* (Serbian), *Dunav* (Bulgarian), *Dunaj* (Russian, Ukrainian, Czech, Slovak, Slovenian, Polish)¹³, *Dunăre* (Romanian)¹⁴, *Tuna* (Turkish), *Tune* (Albanian).

Regardless of the language to which they pertain, the aforementioned forms refer to the radical **dan-/don-* meaning ‘water’, ‘river’, also found in the name of the Don river, the old name of the Dnieper (*Danapris*) and of the Nistru (*Danastris*), as well as in many names in the North Caucasus: *Gizeldon*, *Urs-Don*, *Hobi-Don*, *Ar-Don* (Eremia 1986, 249; Frățilă 2011, 39-40). As opposed to these names, the Romanian name is derived from a Thracian hydronym, **Donaris*, which is developed from the same root, **dan-*, *don-* (Ivănescu 1958, 132), and the Thracian suffix *-ris*, also found in the names of two other rivers in Dacia: *Naparis* and *Miliare* (Petrovici 1970, 243). This form “continued to exist on the left bank of the river, in the language of Romanised Dacians” (Pușcariu 1974, 429, originally Romanian).

Homonyms: *Dunărea*, two villages (one in Constanța and another, dissolved, in Ilfov);

Compounds: *Dunărea Mică* (*mică* ‘small, little’, singular feminine form), village (Mehedinți);

Derivatives: *Dunăreni*, villages (Constanța, Dolj); *Dunărița* ‘brook detached from the Danube’, ‘valley’ (Ilfov); *Dunăroaia* ‘island’ (Brăila).

Jiu is a left-bank tributary of the Danube, measuring 384 km in length. It results from the confluence of Jiul de Est (‘Eastern Jiu’), whose spring is

Nistru was called *Danaster* in Latin, *D(ü)něstru* in Old Slavic, *Dnestr* in Russian, and measures 1352 km in length. Etymology: Scythian-Sarmatian root *dan-* (see Iranian *dana* ‘river’) and the Thracian component **is(t)r-* ‘strong water current’. The Italians, who were acquainted with it upon its flow into the Black Sea, called it *Tyrlo*, whereas the Arabs and Turkic peoples named it *Tyrła*, a hydronym which was passed on to the population of Bessarabia as one can see in the phrase *s-a dus pe Turlă-n jos* ‘to go down the Nistru’ (Eremia 1986, 63).

13 *Dunaj* is a Slovenian exonym for Vienna.

14 As regards the Romanian name for *Danube*, *Dunărea* is the form with the enclitic definite article, while *Dunăre* does not bear any article.

in the Parâng, and Jiul de Vest ('Western Jiu'), originating in the Godeanu Mountains, in the vicinity of Livezeni, from where it is known as *Jiu*. The name *Jiu*, folk form *Jîu*, could be based on the old form **Jil'* (from which Hungarian *Zsil* and German *Schil* were derived), subsequently *Jii*, later resulting into *Jiîu* > *Jiu* (Frăţilă 2011, 257).

Homonyms: *Jiul*, village (Dolj).

Compounds: *Târgu Jiu*, city (Hunedoara); *Jiu-Coroieşti*, a village incorporated into the town of Vulcan (Hunedoara); *Jiu-Paroşeni*, a settlement pertaining to the town of Vulcan (Hunedoara).

Lăpuş < Slavic *lopuch* 'marshy' (Drăganu 1933, 476; Iordan 1963, 62, 466), cf. Hungarian *Lápos* (Hoffmann, Rácz, Tóth 2017, 98).

Homonyms: *Lăpuş*, village (MM). *Lăpuş* 'dissolved village, incorporated into the village of Miheşu de Câmpie' (Mureş);

Compounds: *Lăpuşul de Sus* (Vrancea), *Lăpuşul Românesc*, *Lăpuşul Unguresc*, *Dealul Lăpuşului* (MM), *Valea Lăpuş* (Sibiu), *Lăpugiul Inferior* ('inferior 'lower') and *Lăpugiul Superior* ('superior 'upper')¹⁵, which became *Lăpugiul de Jos* ('de jos 'lower') and *Lăpugiul de Sus* ('de sus 'upper'), *Lăpuşnicul Mare* ('mare 'big'), *Târgu Lăpuş*, town (MM);

Derivatives: *Lăpugiul*, *Lăpuşani*, *Lăpuşata*, *Lăpuşel*, *Lăpuşeşti*, *Lăpuşnea*, *Lăpuşnic*, *Lăpuşnicel*, *Lăpuşoiu*¹⁶.

Mureş (*Maris*, *Marisos*, *Marisia*, *Marisus*, *Marisius*, *Morises*) is an affluent of the Tisa. It is 756 km long, of which 718,5 km flow on the territory of Romania. Several etymologies have been proposed to account for the name: root **mar-* 'water', related to Sanskrit *mira-s* 'sea, border, limit'; **mar-* 'to shine, to flicker'; Dacian **morisjo* 'swamp, pond' (cf. Frăţilă 2011, 26).

Compounds: *Izvorul Mureşului*, village (Harghita), *Mureş* county, *Mureş-Sat*, village (Harghita)¹⁷; *Sâncraiu de Mureş*, *Sângeorgiu de Mureş*,

15 I.e., *Lăpujul*, therefore *Lăpuşul* (cf. *Lugoj* < *Lugoş*, *scoruj* < *scoruş* etc.) (Iordan 1963, 62, footnote 2).

16 These derivatives are based on Bulgarian *lopuš* (= Slavic *lopuh*) 'butterbur (*Petasites officinalis*)'. Cf. Serbian toponym *Lopušnik* and Ukrainian *Lopuşna*, *Lopuşnica* (Iordan 1963, 62).

17 We do not believe we can include here the village of *Mureşenii Bârgăului* (BN), because the first element of the toponym does not refer to the river Mureş, but to the

Sântana de Mureș, Sântioana de Mureș; Târgu-Mureș, municipality (Mureș);

Derivative: *Mureșeni*, a settlement pertaining to Târgu-Mureș municipality.

Olt (*Aloutas, Alutas, Alutus, Alutum*), a left-bank tributary of the Danube measuring 670 km in length, springs from the mountain Hășmașul Mare, just like the Mureș. In documents of the Hungarian chancellery, written in Latin, it is mentioned as *Alt* in the years 1211 and 1222, and as *Olt(h)* beginning with the year 1233 (cf. Drăganu 1933, 536-537). Although multiple etymologies have been proposed – Thracian, Scythian or Agathyrasian, Illyrian, Latin, Baltic, Germanic and Indo-European (root **el-/*ol* ‘to flow’, preserved in certain hydronyms in the Balkan Peninsula¹⁸) –, most linguists consider that *Olt* is derived from the Dacian population, the form *Alutus*, with *a > o*, a late Dacian-Moesian phonetic phenomenon which occurs “in other examples, as one can see in the vacillation in the transcription of ancient names: *Potaissa – Patavissa, Porolissum – Paralissensium*” (Frățilă 2011, 245, 259-260, originally Romanian).

Compounds: *Drăgănești-Olt*, town (Olt); *Piatra-Olt*, village (Olt); *Olt* county;

Derivatives: *Olteanca*, villages (Mehedinți, Teleorman, Vâlcea); *Olteanu*, village (Gorj); *Oltenesti*, village (Vaslui); *Olteni*, villages (Alba, Constanța, Covasna, Dâmbovița, Ilfov, Olt, Prahova, Teleorman, Vâlcea, Vrancea); *Olteț*, river, village (Brașov); *Oltețani*, village (Vâlcea); *Oltețu*, village incorporated into Oteteleșu village (Vâlcea); *Oltina*, village (Constanța); *Oltișoru*, village (Olt).

Săsar, a river in Maramureș, is a right-bank tributary of the Lăpuș, 31.6 km long. Nicolae Felecan explained that its etymology is based on the Indo-European root **sar-*, **ser-* ‘water, flow’, cf. Sanskrit *sarit* ‘river’, *sisarti* ‘flow’, Latin *serum* ‘liquid, serum’, elements that can be found in numerous toponyms, mostly names of rivers, some preserved until nowadays on a

inhabitants of Maramureș, an ethnonym which in northern dialects is pronounced *moroșeni/mureșeni*.

¹⁸ A history of the debates can be found in Tănase 1963.

vast territory, including Romania. Thus, one comes across *Sarine*, *Sarona*, *Sarno*, *Sarnen* etc. in Romansh Switzerland, *Zarren* < *Sarno*, *Seron* < *Saron* in Belgium, *Soar* in England, *Siarum* in Spain, *Germisara* (< *germi* ‘warm’ + *sara* ‘water’), *Siret* in Romania. The root *sar-* led to *sarsar* as a result of reduplication, just as in the case of *Arar*, a river in Gaul mentioned by Caesar¹⁹. The form *Săsar* can also be explained easily from the viewpoint of phonetics. Through the assimilation of *r*, the group of consonants *-rs-* became *-ss-*, spelled *-s-* during the Roman age: *rs* > *ss* > *s*: Classical Latin *deorsum* > Vulgar Latin *deossu(m)* > Romanian *jos*; *sursum* > *sussu(m)* > Romanian *sus*. The reduction of the group *rs* to *s* as a result of the assimilation of *r* has even been mentioned by Plautus (*russum*, *rusum* for *rursum*). In spoken language the forms without *r* were frequent: *pe[rsica]* non *pessica*, in *Appendix Probi*, and silent *a* became *ă* (cf. *sappare* > *săpa(re)* ‘to dig’, *farina* > *fărină* (> *făină* ‘flour’), *capra* > *capră* ‘nanny goat’, *casa* > *casă* ‘house’, *salutat* > *sărută* ‘kiss’, *padulem* > *pădure* ‘forest’ etc.). Thus, it could be that over time *Sarsar* became *Sassar* > *Sasar*, a form from which *Săsar* developed (Felecan 2011, 11-14).

Homonyms: *Săsar*, village (MM).

Someș is a left-bank tributary of the Tisa, measuring 381 km in length, 349 km of which flow on the territory of Romania. It is formed by the confluence of the *Someș Mare* (119.6 km, lit. ‘the large Someș’) and the *Someș Mic* (153 km, lit. ‘the small Someș’). In its turn, the latter results from the union of the *Someș Cald* (64 km, lit. ‘the warm Someș’) and the *Someș Rece* (45 km, lit. ‘the cold Someș’). The *Someș* has been recorded since antiquity (cf. CIL III, I, no. 827) as *Samus*, the name of the area through which it passes. A.D. Xenopol considered that the aforementioned form was the Dacian prototype from which the name of the current *Someș* was derived (cf. Frățilă 2011, 249).

Compounds: *Someșu Cald* (*cald* ‘warm’), 1. village, 2. river (Cluj), *Someș-Guruslău*, village (Sălaj); *Someșu Mare* (*mare* ‘big’), river, ‘the segment in the north-east, close to the river’s spring’ (BN), *Someșu Mic* (*mic* ‘small, little’, singular masculine form), river, ‘the segment in

19 “Flumen est Arar [...] in Rhodanum influit incredibile lenitate [...]” (C.I. Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, I, 12).

the south-east, close to the river's spring' (Cluj), *Someș-Odorhei*, village (Sălaj), *Someșu Rece* (*rece* 'cold'), 1. village, 2. river, (Cluj), *Someș-Uileac*, village (Sălaj); *Coasta Someșului* 'sloped land site towards the Someș';

Derivative: *Someșeni*, village (SM).

Șieu, a left-bank tributary of the Someș Mare, is 71 km long. The hydronym is derived from Hungarian *Sajó* 'salty river' < *só* 'salt' + *jó* 'water, river' (Hoffmann, Rácz, Tóth, 2017, 104).

Homonyms: *Șieu*, villages (BN, MM);

Compounds: *Șieu-Măgheruș*, *Șieu-Măgheruș-Vale*, *Șieu-Odorhei*, *Șieu-Sfântu*, villages (BN);

Derivatives: *Șieuț* 1. village; 2. 'left-bank tributary of the Șieu' (BN).

Tisa is a left-bank tributary of the Danube, measuring 960 km in length, with 62 km making up the border between Romania and Ukraine. It has been recorded with different names: *Pathissus*, *Patis(s)os*, *Tissas*, *Tisia*, *Titza*, *Tis(s)a*. The base of the toponym was believed to be, in turn, Thracian, cf. Avestan *peretu* and Indo-European *pateu* 'to lie, to expand'; Scythian or Celtic (root *Parth-* of *Parthona*, *Parteno*, *Parthantum*); Dacian **Tibisio*, from the Indo-European root **thib-* 'muddy' < **ti* 'to soften, to leak', amplified with *-bh-*, (ILR II, 359; Frățilă 2011, 22). Another hypothesis leads to "Slavic *tisŭ*, *tisa*, of which there derived the Romanian name *Tisa* (*tisă* 'plant') and the Hungarian name *Tisza*" (Toma 2015, 260, originally Romanian)²⁰.

Similar toponyms can be found in Hungary and Ukraine.

Homonyms: *Tisa*, villages (Arad, Bacău, Dâmbovița, Hunedoara, Prahova, Vâlcea);

Compounds: *Câmpulung la Tisa*, village (MM); *Dealul Tisei* 'peaks in the Zărand Mountains'; *Dealul Tisii* 'peak in Ciceu Hills'; *Fața Tisei* 'peak in the Metaliferi Mountains'; *Muchia Tisei* 'peak in the Clăbucetele Întorsurii Buzăului Mountains'; *Pădurea Tisa Mare*, *Tisa Nouă* (*nouă* 'new'), village (Arad); *Tisa-Silvestri*, village (Bacău); *Tisarul Mare* (*mare* 'big'), *Tisarul Mic* (*mic* 'small, little', singular masculine form) 'peaks in the Vrancea Mountains'; *Tisău de Sus*, village (Buzău).

20 Cf. Slușanschi 1976, 15-17; Poghirc 1974, 35-63.

Derivatives: *Tisaşul* ‘valley flowing into the Putna’; *Tisău*, village (Buzău); *Tiseşti*, former settlement incorporated into the town of Târgu Ocna (Bacău); *Tisieu*, village (Mureş); *Tisoara* (Jordan 1963, 93).

Vişeu is a tributary of the Tisa, measuring 77 km in length. As regards its etymology, several opinions have been issued: 1. An Indo-European root, *uiso*, meaning ‘the specific scent of wild animals’; 2. Celtic or Thracian-Dacian origin, from *viso* ‘meadow’; 3. German origin, from *Wishau* ‘water with fish’; 4. The anthroponym *Vişa*, a diminutive form of *Vičeslav* + suffix *-ov*. In Maramureş there are the family names *Vişa*, *Visovan*, *Vişovan*, *Vişan*, and *Vişe* among others (Mihali 2015, 53-54; Drăganu 1933, 390).

Compounds: *Valea Vişelui*, village, *Vişeu de Jos* (*de jos* ‘lower’), village, *Vişeu de Mijloc* (*de mijloc* ‘middle’), village, *Vişeu de Sus* (*de sus* ‘upper’), town (MM);

Derivative: *Vişeuţ*, left-bank tributary of the river Vişeu;

The data collected highlights several aspects. Firstly, a quantitative difference can be noticed as regards the toponymic field developed from the name of the base river. All the seventeen rivers analysed refer to one or several settlement names and, at the same time, to one or several hydronyms. With respect to the form of the oikonym in relation to the base, the following three structures can be delineated:

1 A simple form, which results in complete homonymy: *Argeş*, river / *Argeş*, town; *Bârsa*, watercourse / *Bârsa*, village; *Bistriţa*, river / *Bistriţa*, town / village; *Buzău*, river / *Buzău*, town; *Dâmboviţa*, river / *Dâmboviţa*, village; *Dunărea*, river / *Dunărea*, village²¹; *Jiu*, river / *Jiu*, village; *Săsar*, river / *Săsar*, village; *Şieu*, river / *Şieu*, town etc.

2 Compounds with the name of a river in the nominative, genitive or accusative with preposition. Some constructions are specific to oikonyms, while others may occur with oikonyms and hydronyms alike.

21 In every instance in which comparisons are not involved, we refer to Romania.

2.1 Oikonyms:

a) The appellative *târg* “designation of a (small) city” (DEX, *s.v.*, originally Romanian), as the first element, followed by the name of the river also in the nominative case: *Târgu-Jiu*, *Târgu-Lăpuș*, *Târgu-Mureș*.

Other constructions could be included under this heading as well: *Muntenii-Buzău*, *Piatra-Olt*, which Al. Graur explains “as being influenced by the abbreviation in writing of compound prepositional forms: *Cetatea-de-Baltă*, *Filipeștii-de-Pădure*, *Silivașul-de-Câmpie*” (1972: 80, originally Romanian);

b) The name of a river followed by the name of a village, both in the nominative: *Jiu-Coroiești*, *Jiu-Paroșeni*, *Mureș-Sat*, *Someș-Guruslău*, *Someș-Odorhei*, *Someș-Uileac*, *Șieu-Măgheruș*, *Șieu-Odorhei*, *Șieu-Sfântu*. In such situations, the name of the river fulfils the role of (cartographic) localisation of the respective villages in relation to other homonymous settlements;

c) An appellative indicative of the location of the settlement with respect to the three segments of a river (spring, flow, *debouche*) + the name of a river in the genitive: *Gura Arieșului* (*gură* ‘river mouth’), *Izvorul Mureșului* (*izvor* ‘spring’), *Valea Vișeuului* (*vale* ‘valley’);

2.2 a) Oikonyms: the name of a river followed by adjectives or adverbs: *Bistrița Nouă* (*nouă* ‘new’, singular feminine form), village (Olt); *Bârsău de Jos* (*de jos* ‘lower’), *Bârsău de Sus* (*de sus* ‘upper’), villages (Satu Mare), *Bârsău Mare* (*mare* ‘big’), village (Sălaj); *Buzău Mic* (*mic* ‘small, little’, singular masculine form), *Someșu Cald* (*cald* ‘warm’, singular masculine form), *Someșu Rece* (*rece* ‘cold’), villages (Cluj), *Vișeu de Jos* (*de jos* ‘lower’), village, *Vișeu de Sus* (*de sus* ‘upper’), town (MM) etc.

b) Hydronyms: *Arieșu Mare* (*mare* ‘big’), *Arieșu Mic* (*mic* ‘small, little’, singular masculine form) ‘two branches of a river, from the spring until their confluence, a point from which the river is called *Arieș*’; *Bistrița Aurie* (*aurie* ‘golden’, singular feminine form) ‘upper segment of the Bistrița (in the region of Moldova), from the spring of the river until its confluence with the river Dorna’; *Bistrița Izvor* (*izvor* ‘spring’) ‘the upper segment of the river Bistrița’; *Crișul Repede* (*repede* ‘fast’), *Crișul Negru* (*negru* ‘black’, singular masculine form), *Crișul Alb* (*alb* ‘white’, singular masculine form) ‘three branches, from the spring until their confluence, a point from which

their name is simply *Criș*’; *Someșu Cald* (*cald* ‘warm’, singular masculine form), *Someșu Rece* (*rece* ‘cold’) ‘the upper segment of the river Someșul Mic’; *Someșul Mare* (*mare* ‘big’), *Someșul Mic* (*mic* ‘small, little’, singular masculine form) ‘the upper segment of the river Someș’ etc.

About such situations, Dragoș Moldovanu stated: “The *extensions and restrictions of the designated entity* (e.g., applying the name of a river from one of its segments to the whole watercourse – the case of *Danubius*, which eventually designated the lower segment of the river as well, earlier called *Istros* – or the restriction of a name to the upper course of the river – the situation of several Thracian hydronyms in the Balkans) cannot be considered structural processes *per se*. Between *Istros* and *Danubius* there did not exist opposition on the level of content, but complementarity, and the elimination of one of the names was determined by the construal of the object as a whole. The preservation of an older name for the upper course of a river, an instance that is common to the toponymy of other countries as well, can be accounted for by the contrary evolution from unity to complementarity. Upon withdrawing to avoid invaders, the autochthonous population kept the name to designate the upper course of a river. The allogenuous people coined a new name for the same river, which as a force of circumstance was only used in the lower course of the watercourse. The assimilation of the indigenous brought about the resolution of the synonymy by restricting the contents to the areas in which the names were used at the moment of the interethnic contact. It was not a matter of realia modification, but an alteration on the level of object representation, i.e., of the content of the toponymic sign” (2010, 16-17, originally Romanian).

In these cases, the similarity refers to the presence of antonymic adjectives: *mare/mic* (‘big’/‘little, small’), *cald/rece* (‘warm’/‘cold’), as is the instance of *Someșul Cald*, *Someșul Rece*, rivers / *Someșul Cald*, *Someșul Rece*, villages. We believe that the hydronyms preceded the oikonyms. *Someșul Cald* and *Someșul Rece* occurred before the villages bearing homonymous names, because we cannot see why a village could be described as ‘warm’ and another as ‘cold’ without referring to the water flowing in their vicinity.

Thus, the structure of the names under points 2.1. a), b), and c) is specific only to settlement names, whereas in group 2.2. a) and b) we

come across names of settlements and rivers. The latter refer either to the “upper segment of a river”, or to a tributary, regardless of the length of the watercourse (see the three rivers *Criș*, as well as *Someșul Mare* and *Someșul Mic*).

- 3 Derivatives. The suffixes employed are varied, and most can be used both with anthroponyms and with toponyms (cf. also Butnaru 2011, 20):
- ac(a), singular/-aci, plural: *Bârsaca*, *Bârsaci*;
 - an/-ean, (-ana/anca, feminine), -ani/-eni plural, ‘indicating an individual’s local origin rather than one’s personal origin’: *Argeșanul*, *Argeșani*, *Argeșeni*, *Arieșeni*, *Bârsan*, *Bârsana*, *Bârsanca*, *Bârsani*, *Dâmboviceanul*, *Dâmboviceanca*, 1. village, 2. ‘tributary of the Danube’; *Lăpușani*, *Olteanul*, *Olteanca*, villages (Mehedinți, Teleorman, Vâlcea); *Dunăreni*, *Mureșeni*, *Olteni*, *Oltețani*, *Someșeni*, *Suceveni*;
 - an + -escu/-ești: *Bârsănescu* ‘mountain’²²; *Bârsănești* 1. villages (Bacău, Botoșani), 2. stream, ‘right-bank tributary of the Tazlău’; 3. ‘hill in the Tazlău Sub-Carpathians’;
 - ar: *Tisar*;
 - aș: *Tisaș*;
 - at(a): *Lăpușata*;
 - ău: *Bârsău*, 1. village; 2. stream, ‘right-bank tributary of the Someș’; *Tisău*, *Tisăul de Sus*, villages;
 - ău + -uța: *Bârsăuța*, village;

22 This mountain is also mentioned by T. Morariu (1937, 109, originally Romanian): “If only few written documents about the arrival of the ‘Bârsani’ in the Rodna Mountains have been preserved, significant traces exist in toponymy. One comes across *Plaiul Bârsanului* (lit. ‘the Bârsan’s ridge’), which reached from *Coasta Netedă* (lit. ‘the smooth side’) to *Piciorul Calului* (lit. ‘the horse’s leg’); *Tarnița la Bârsani* (*tarniță* ‘saddle-shaped ridge’), *Târla Bârsanilor* (*târlă* ‘sheepfold’), *Podereiul Bârsanilor* (*poderei* ‘plateau’), *Bâtca Bârsanilor* (*bâtcă* ‘mountain peak’) etc., and in some communes (Zagra) the term *bârsă* (‘stilt’) is even used as a nickname [...]. These toponyms prove that the Bârseni expanded their settlements due to their sheep, and even reached Maramureș and the Rodna Mountains. The mountain in the nobiliary commune (Bârsana) has borne the name *Bârsănescu* since olden days (cf. Ioan Mihaly de Apșa, *Diplome*, p. 22).” I. Jordan claims a similar idea: “the Transylvanian settlements beyond the mountains do not solely originate in the founding of colonists’ villages or the employment of permanent workers on landed estates. Undoubtedly, most have appeared as a result of shepherding” (1963, 294, originally Romanian).

- el*: *Argeșel*, 1. river, 2. village; *Bârlădel* ‘the upper course of the river Bârlad’; *Bichigel* ‘tributary of the river Bichigiu’; *Buzăiel*, ‘two streams, one of which is a tributary of the Buzău river’, *Buzeielul* ‘the name of eight streams in Galați county’, *Buzeielul Sec* ‘three streams’, *Buzeielul Vizuinilor* ‘stream’²³; *Lăpușel*, village;
- escu*, (-*asca*, feminine)/-*ești* ‘patronymic, indicative of the descendants of the founder, owner, lord etc.’: *Bârseasca* ‘forest in the Olt couloir’, *Bârsești*, eight villages (Gorj, Vâlcea, Vrancea); *Oltenești*, village (Vaslui);
- eț(u)*: *Olteț* 1. ‘right-bank tributary of the Olt river’, 185 km long; 2. village (Brașov), *Oltețu*, village (Vâlcea);
- ica*: *Dunărica* 1. ‘stream’; ‘an arm of the Danube’; 2. ‘place’ (DTRM 2, s.v.);
- ina*: *Oltina*, villages (Constanța, Ialomița);
- (*i*)*oara*: *Bistricioara*, 1. village; 2. ‘stream in the areas through which the Bistrița river passes’ (Jordan 1963, 449); *Dâmbovicioara*, 1. village; 2. ‘tributary of the river Dâmbovița’; *Tisoara* (Jordan 1963, 93);
- ișor*/-*ișoara*: *Oltișoru*, village (Olt), *Putnișoara*, 1. ‘right-bank tributary of the river Putna’, 2. village, *Telcișor*, 1. village; 2. ‘left-bank tributary of the river Sălăuța’;
- ița*²⁴: *Dunărița* 1. ‘brook’; ‘valley’; 2. ‘village’ (DTRM 2, s.v.);

23 “The multitude of watercourses whose name is based on *Buzău* shows that the diminutive has an appellative role in the given area” (Jordan 1963, 450, originally Romanian).

24 The suffix *-ița* can also be found in the name of a town, *Oltenița*, which is not derived from *Olteni*. While recording derivative names, we cannot overlook instances of pseudo-diminutives, such as the oikonym *Oltenița*, a town in Ilfov county. Even Iorgu Jordan admits to have been mistaken about its etymology initially: “among others, the stress is contradictory, as a diminutive derivative from *oltean*, or any other kind of derivative, would bear the stress on the suffix” (originally Romanian). Beginning from the old form of the name, *Oltelnița*, Jordan proposes “Bulgarian *oteljam se* ‘to calve’” (cf. also Serbian *oteliti (se)* ‘idem’) whose radical could have been used in the derivation of a noun ending in *-niță* and meaning ‘a place where the action expressed by the primitive takes places’. As regards the *l* in the first syllable of the toponym, it is not difficult to agree upon an instance of epenthesis under the influence of the same consonant in the following syllable (as a result of the phenomenon of propagation, namely due to the anticipated utterance of the second *l*): *Otelnița* > *Oltelnița* and subsequently, by means of complete dissimilation, *Oltenița*” (Jordan 1963, 299, footnote 3, originally Romanian). With respect to the way in which the town of *Oltenița* was founded and developed, it is said (Mihăilescu, BSG XLIII, 38, originally Romanian) that “people from various settlements

- nic*: *Lăpușnic*²⁵;
 -*nic* + -*el*: *Lăpușnicel*;
 -*oi(u)*: *Bârsoiu*, village (Vâlcea); *Lăpușoiul*;
 -*oi* + -*an/-eni*: *Bârsoieni*, *Buzoianul*, *Buzoieni*, *Buzoianca*, *Dâmboviceanca*;
 -*oaia*: *Dunăroaia*;
 -*uț(a)*: *Șieut*, 1. village; 2. ‘left-bank tributary of the river Șieut’; *Vișeuț* ‘left-bank tributary of the river Vișeu’.

An overview of the aforementioned derivatives allows us to delineate three situations:

- 1 Most suffixes are for diminutives – *-el*, *-eț*, *-ica*, *-(i)șor*, *-ița*, *-uț(a)* – and augmentatives: *-ac*, *-ău*, *-oi/-oaia*. According to Iorgu Iordan, the “diminutive form of a word is used as a means of linguistic differentiation: regardless of their ‘size’, some objects receive diminutive names because it is the only way to eliminate confusion”. Nevertheless, “the primitive form of a diminutive toponym does not always appear in geographical nomenclature. In such instances we may imply that the toponym existed at one point, but disappeared in time or that the locals based the toponym on the corresponding appellative and [...] did not use it in this form, but as a diminutive, irrespective of its circulation as such in everyday language. [...] The diminutive toponym does not refer to a settlement similar to the one evoked by the primitive, but to one situated in its vicinity. Thus, *Bucureștioara* is a watercourse flowing through or nearby Bucharest, just as *Tecucel* is the name of a stream on the outskirts of the town of Tecuci and *Vasluiet*, the stream passing through the town of Vaslui etc. By comparison, look at French *Flayosquet*, the name of a river whose spring is in the *Flayose* valley; *Scyotte*, the name of a river crossing the settlement *Scye*; Slavic *Grabov* (town) > *Grabenitz* (river), *Mantey* (town) > *Mantenitz* (stream); *Revene* (town) > *Revenitz* (stream) and so on. [...] There are numerous examples proving beyond the shadow of a doubt that two neighbouring places bore the same name at one point; to eliminate the homonymy inhabitants turned one of the names into a diminutive. Thus,

and counties gathered there, including inhabitants from Oltenia, according to local tradition, which is why the old form *Oltelnița* became *Oltenița*” (cf. Iordan 1963, 299).

²⁵ Shows the possession of a quality.

the stream *Vaslui* was initially called *Vaslui*, like the town in its vicinity. A similar process must have been undergone by the stream *Tecucel* if we take into consideration its etymology, Slavic *tek-* ‘to flow’: the river was initially called *Tecuci* (i.e., lit. ‘flowing water’) and the name was borrowed by the town through which the river passed. This situation was reached by force of circumstance, as the possibilities to coin new names are limited. However, it could not last forever without running the risk of mistaking, at least in certain contexts, two very different entities. Therefore, this simple mechanism was employed, as the speakers caused little alteration to the old state of things, but the modification was sufficient to fulfil its purpose” (Jordan 1963, 446-448, originally Romanian). A similar explanation can be offered in the case of augmentatives.

2 Based on the aforementioned, one can claim that the stream *Telcișor* in Bistrița-Năsăud county initially bore the name of the settlement *Telciu*, in whose vicinity it flows into the Sălăuța river, and then *Telcișor*. The latter subsequently determined the polarization of the settlement *Telcișor*, recorded in official documents only in 1965.

3 Schematically, toponymic polarization may occur under the following shapes:

- (a) Base, watercourse > homonyms (name of settlements / watercourses) // compound names of settlements including the base (in the nominative, genitive or accusative with preposition) // derivatives. (*Bârsa*, watercourse > *Bârsa*, settlement / watercourse // *Bârsău*, watercourse / settlement > *Bârsăuța*, // *Bârsăul Mare*, *Bârsăul de Jos*, *Bârsăul de Sus*, villages; *Siret*, watercourse > *Siret*, settlement // *Câmpia Siretului*, *Gârla Siretului*, *Lunca Siretului*);
- (b) Base (watercourse) > settlement-related derivative (*Lăpuș*, river > *Lăpușel*, village);
- (c) Base (settlement) > watercourse-related derivative > homonymous settlement-related derivative (*Telciu*, commune > *Telcișor*, watercourse > *Telcișor*, village).²⁶

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