

**Kitti Hauber**

✉ [hauber.kitty@gmail.com](mailto:hauber.kitty@gmail.com)

🆔 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3616-7983>

🏠 Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE)

🌐 Budapest, Hungary

🔗 <https://doi.org/10.4467/K7446.46/22.23.17276>

# **The System of German Surnames in the Carpathian Basin of the 18th Century**

## **Abstract**

The paper aims to detect and describe the function of name patterns in the creation of the Transylvanian Saxon surname stock of German origin in the 18th century. The research is based on the theoretical approach of cognitive linguistics. Through the analyses of the semantical motivational types of the surnames and the frequency of their appearance in the name stock, certain characteristics and therefore patterns can surface. Names are strongly connected to extralingual culture and its changes, thus these patterns are impacted by time, space and sociocultural aspects. When the Saxons settled down in Transylvania, their linguistic and cultural connections with the coherent German speaking territory ended as early as the 12th century. Their surnames were created centuries later in strong connection with the Hungarian ethnicity. The paper presents the analyses of the Saxon surname stock and its comparison to the Hungarian and the German surnames stock. The results shed light on the differences about how much impact name pattern had in the creation of the Saxon surnames and what kind of reasons could influence the conventionality of the patterns.

## **Keywords**

surnames of German origin, name pattern, Transylvanian Saxons, cognitive linguistics

## 1. Introduction

The paper aims to detect and describe the function of name patterns in the creation of the Transylvanian Saxon surname stock of German origin in the 18th century. The research is based on the theoretical approach of cognitive linguistics. As naming by human beings always has a motif, personal names can provide us information about the one who bears the name, the one who gives the name and the community that uses the name. Through the analyses of the semantical motivational types of the surnames and the frequency of their appearance in the name stock, certain characteristics and therefore patterns can surface. Names are strongly connected to extralingual culture and its changes (see Hoffmann et al., 2017), thus these patterns are impacted by time, space and sociocultural aspects. With their analyses we can discover historical knowledge and interdisciplinary correlations (e.g. between society, economic and cultural history) that often lack any other sources.

The 17th and 18th centuries meant a transitional period between the emergence and fixation of the set of naturally formed surnames (14th–15th centuries) and the emergence of the set of artificially formed surnames (19th–20th centuries) in the Carpathian Basin. Thus surnames from this time frame possess particularly important information. It is highly true for the surname stock of the Transylvanian Saxons.

The choice of this source is based on a hypothesis arising from the foggy history of this community. By the time the Central European surname stocks started to emerge, the Saxons had already settled down in Transylvania and formed a language island in the sea of Hungarians. They differed as far as language is concerned but shared very similar economic conditions. Therefore differences between the Saxon, the Hungarian and the German surname stock are reasonably expected. In order to detect these differences the research included the comparison of them.

The paper begins with the review of the theoretical achievements of cognitive linguistics regarding proper names and the act of naming. This subsection also deals with the question of how it is possible to define the function of name patterns when it comes to surnames created centuries ago. Next the source and the method of the research are described. The paper continues with the summary of the historical background of the Transylvanian

Saxon community regarding their linguistic and geographical origin. Then the results of the research on the three most prominent types of surnames are presented with the introduction of the important role of time and space.

## **2. Names from the cognitive point of view**

Functional approaches in onomastic research have always been present, but the consistent application of the functional-semantic point of view have started only in the last few decades (see Brendler, 2016). Functional research does not exclude the structural research, only relocates it into wider frames. Language is considered a part of human cognition, a dynamic, constantly changing system that is a mental and cultural phenomenon at the same time. The acquisition of linguistic knowledge can only be possible by cognition. We construct our knowledge about the world based on our experience in the way of condensing it into the conceptual meaning of linguistic signs by the method of abstraction, schematization and categorization. Proper names are understood as linguistic units of form and meaning, though meaning is primary (Tolcsvai Nagy, 2008). Therefore in the analyses of proper names semantic components are the base (Sjöblom 2011).<sup>1</sup> Nowadays cognitive literature interprets proper names as linguistic signs with especially rich semantic networks, although the exact perceptions of meaning can differ (see van Langendonck, 2007).

### **2.1. The role of patterns in the cognitive act of naming**

Naming can be considered a cognitive act. Its realization depends on many different aspects including the context, the situation and the attention control of the participants of the interaction (Hoffmann, 2012; Slíz, 2012). The semantic content expressed in names does not reflect the world itself, but the knowledge language users possess about it. Meaning is related to the way language

<sup>1</sup> For theories that suggest otherwise see Van Langendonck, 2007.

users perceive their surroundings and process it mentally and linguistically (Tolcsvai Nagy, 2005; Kiefer, 2007). Therefore naming is accompanied by a high level of semantic awareness alongside the aim of identification. Namely, proper names are motivated (J. Soltész, 1979; Hoffmann, 1993; 1999; 2012; Hajdú, 2003) and the motivation is necessarily based on the name bearer. For the sake of the proper identification only the most prominent characteristics at the exact moment of the naming can serve as motivation (Hoffmann, 1999; 2012; Slíz, 2012). However, the same scene can be constructed conceptually and semantically in many different ways depending on the conceptual perspective (Langacker, 1987). Thus in the act of naming the cognitive influence of the naming person will prevail (Tomasello, 2002; Sjöblom, 2011).

The naming person can abstract patterns from the already known names. These patterns form part of their mental-linguistic system. They take effect in the act of naming and influence the outcome. The individual specimens of the name system are the realizations of the name patterns. Therefore the creation of new names always happens in relation to the already existing system (J. Soltész, 1979; N. Fodor, 2008; Hoffmann, 2012; Slíz, 2012). The more names belong to the same type, the more conventional the pattern will be. The more conventional a pattern is, the more new names will belong to the type the pattern represents (Hoffmann, 2012). Consequently, name patterns can vary linguistically, culturally, geographically and even from name community to name community.

From a cognitive semantic point of view, surnames are transferred names, in other words, contact names or nexus names. They represent belonging (to father, mother, family, nation, etc.). Their inheritance is influenced by extra-linguistic reasons (Hoffmann, 2008). However, in the case of the naturally formed surnames, specific elements that are considered the antecedents of the surnames (J. Soltész, 1979; N. Fodor, 2008; Slíz, 2012) are descriptive names or feature marking names (Hoffmann, 2008). They can be analysed in order to discover the possible motivations behind the naming. They can provide us information about the name bearer, the name creator and the community that uses the name.

### 3. The source of the research

The research was based on the database of the Atlas of Historical Surnames of Hungary (AHSZ). It contains surname data from the name list of the censuses from 1713–1715 and 1720–1723 realized in the entire territory of the Hungarian Kingdom with some exceptions (for further information about the database of AHSZ see N. Fodor, 2013; 2015; 2018). The current research used the data of the name lists from the Saxon territories like Beszterce (now Bistrița), Besztercevidék (now district of Bistrița), Brassó (now Brașov), Kőhalomszék (now district of Rupea) and Szerdahelyszék (now district of Miercurea Sibiului) in Transylvania. The collection of the names as part of the census was carried out in 1713. The database contains a total of 6974 surnames of which 1715 surnames were identified undoubtedly as of German origin.

### 4. The Transylvanian Saxons – a walk down history lane

The Saxon community in Transylvania is considered the first German speaking ethnicity that settled en masse in the territory of the historic Hungary (see Mollay, 1982). The beginning of the settlement can be tied to the reign of Géza II., king of Hungary (1141–1162). Nowadays Saxons occupy three well separable territories in Transylvania that include Hungarian and Romanian speaking settlements as well (Schuller, 2010).

#### 4.1. What we know from written sources

There are only a few historical documents left regarding the origin and exact history of arrival of the Saxons and neither can they provide direct information (Cziráki, 2006). It is important to stress that the name *Saxon* never meant that any of the settlers came from Saxony in Germany (Zimmernann & Werner, 1892; Klusch, 2009).

Besztervevidék (now district of Bistrița, Ger. Nösterland) presumably got inhabited at the end of the 11th century with soldiers from a crusade that passed through Transylvania (Klusch, 2009). However, the first mass settlement was almost certainly organized. This is proved by the rights and privileges that the Saxons already possessed and by the duties that they already had towards the Hungarian kings by the time the first known mention of the community appeared (Cziráki, 2006). These were documented in the so-called *Andreanum*, a diploma signed by King András II. (Cziráki, 2006). The diploma ensured the rights of the Saxons living in Nagyszeben (now Sibiu, Gern. Hermannstadt) who had arrived in Transylvania to answer the call of King Géza II: „*Vocati a piissimo rege Geise*” (Nagy, 2002).

Another mass settlement happened between 1211–1225 but this time the immigrants answered the call of the German Knights (Teutsch, 2010) who also decided not to return to their homeland after a crusade. This period of time brought prosperity for the Saxon community. The German Knights eventually had to leave Transylvania in 1225 as a consequence of their numerous attempt to establish a sovereign state for themselves inside the borders of the Hungarian Kingdom. However, King András II (Kristó, 1994) did not take away the freedom of the Saxons that they received in exchange for their duty, namely protecting the borders of the kingdom and serving as soldiers when needed (Teutsch, 2010). With the *Andreanum* the king established the so-called national territories (Kopeczi, 1986). This meant the prohibition of mixing ethnicities on the royal lands. Consequently, a linguistically and ethnically homogeneous Saxon community was built (Kopeczi, 1986).

#### **4.2. What we assume from dialectal research**

Dialectal research that started from the 18th century indicated that the Saxons always spoke various German dialects. Most of these dialects show similarities with Rhenish Franconian dialects of the Moselle region (Zimmermann, 2005; see also Klein, 1963), while the northern Transylvanian Saxon dialects also carry characteristics of the High German dialectal region of Bavaria (Kristó, 1994).

According to these results the following region of origin for the Saxons can be detected: the regions of Maas and Moselle, the lands surrounding Luxembourg and the territory from Cologne through the Rhineland to Flanders (Zimmermann, 1994; Cziráki, 2006).

### 4.3. The importance of time and space

In the creation of the Saxon surname stock time had a serious impact. The emergence and fixation of the surname stock of the coherent German speaking territory is usually dated to the 13th–15th century (Kohlheim & Kohlheim, 2005). As the first wave of Saxons left for Transylvania as early as the 12th, they must have arrived without heritable surnames. With their leaving their connection with the other German speaking communities ended. Saxons were influenced by different historical and linguistic factors. The emergence of their surname stock could have started in the 14th–16th century (Keintzel-Schön, 1976) in parallel with the Hungarian surname stock motivated by similar reasons and goals (see Hajdú, 2003).

Not only time but space could have played an important role in the creation of the Saxon surnames. As mentioned above, Saxons probably came from the western part of the German speaking territory. It is likely to assume that they not only had an everyday connection with the speakers of the neo-Latin languages who already had been using two element names, but also could have used specific elements attached to their names themselves. However, although in Cologne specific elements were commonly used in the 12th century, nearby in Neuss they still were quite rare (Kohlheim & Kohlheim, 2005). Namely, it would be frivolous to say that Saxons already possessed the base of their later surnames, but they could have already known patterns for how to create these specific name elements.

## 5. The research method

Surnames from the Saxon territories were identified with their language of origin, then etymology was attached to each. For this, German, Hungarian and Romanian surname dictionaries (CsnSz; Heitze & Castorbi, 1925; Brechenmacher, 1957–1963; Bahlow, 1967; Naumann, 1987; Hornung, 1989; Kohlheim & Kohlheim, 2005; DOR), the German and the Hungarian atlas of surnames (DFD; AHSH), and German dictionaries (DWB; RhWB; Adelung, 1793–1801) were used. Also, the monograph “Die siebenbürgisch-sächsischen familiennamen” by Keintzel-Schön (1976) was studied.



Based on their etymology, surnames were categorised into semantical motivational types. The specialty of the Saxon surname stock required the use of a categorization that allowed a detailed analysis but also the comparison of the names with other surname stocks of German and Hungarian origin. The latter was necessary as the Saxon surname stock formed part of the database of AHSH. The possibility of the reintegration of the analysed Saxon surname data was crucial as it also served the bigger goal of extending the original database with the processed German data. Another reason was the sociocultural and geographical connection between the Hungarian and the Saxon surnames, discussed below. Therefore the applied typology was created taking into consideration the international typology used for the Surname Typology Project (see Farkas, 2015), the typology used for the categorization of the current surname stock of Germany by Kunze (2004) and the typology of AHSH developed for the categorization of the Hungarian surnames (see N. Fodor, 2010).

Based on these three, the typology used in the current research contains the following main types:

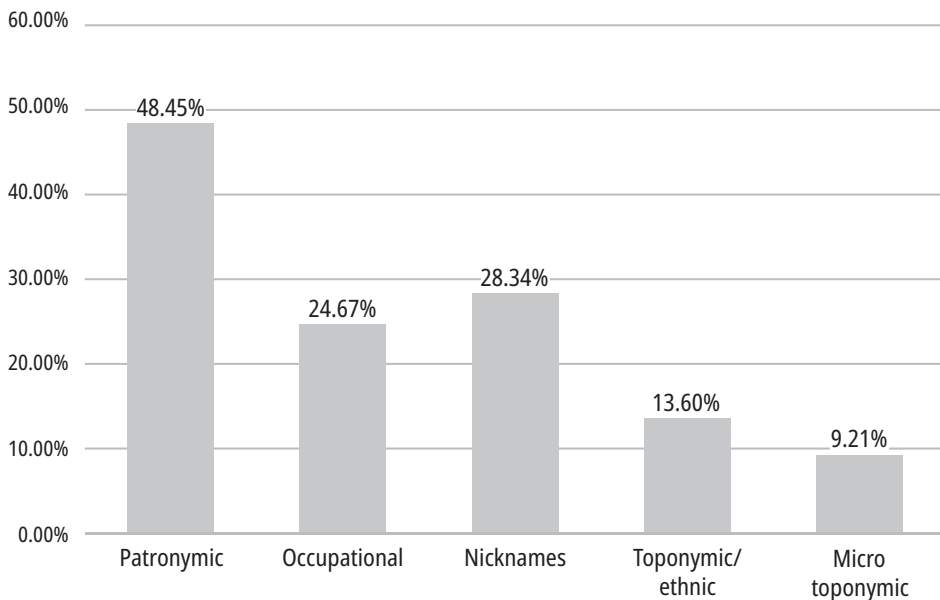
- (1) patronymic surnames
- (2) occupational surnames
- (3) nicknames
- (4) toponymic/ethnic surnames
- (5) microtoponymic surnames.

Then the Saxon surname stock was compared to the surname stock of German origin of Sopron (Ger. Ödenburg) from 1715. Data was provided by the AHSH. There we can count on a significant German speaking community that arrived in Hungary in later centuries, spoke the High German dialect and had a permanent connection with the coherent German speaking territory. The Saxon surname stock was also compared to surname stock of current Germany analysed by Kunze (see Kunze, 2004). Nevertheless, in the case of the type of patronymic surnames, the most characteristic of the Saxon surname stock, the Saxon frequency were compared to the surname stock of the Hungarian Kingdom from 1715. Data was provided by the AHSH once again.

## 6. The results of the research

### 6.1. The name types in general

The frequency of each surname type in the Saxon surname stock is shown in Figure 1. The most frequent type is undoubtedly that of patronymic names which makes up 48.45% of the surname stock. Then comes nicknames, making up 28.34%, occupational names, 24.67%, toponymic/ethnic names, 13.60% and microtoponymic names, 10%.



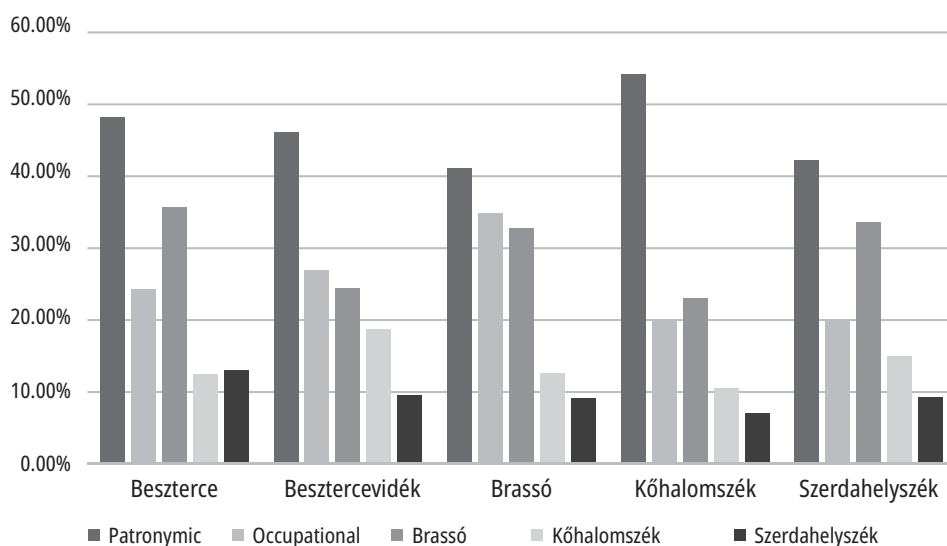
**Figure 1. The distribution of the surname types in the Saxon surname stock in 1713**

Source: AHSB and own work.

Among the most frequent surnames, patronymic names, nicknames, occupational names and toponymic/ethnic names can be found: 1. *Klein* ('small', nickname), 2. *Rot* ('red', nickname or toponymic/ethnic name), 3. *Hermann* (patronymic name), 4. *Werner* (patronymic name), 5. *Gellner* ('coiner, deptor', occupational name), 6. *Lang* ('long', nickname), 7. *Groß* ('big', nickname), 8. *Lutsch*

(patronymic name), 9. *Daniel* (patronymic), 10. *Dotz* (patronymic). The highest ratio is taken by patronymic names and nicknames.

There is no prominent difference between the districts in the frequency of the name types (see Figure 2). However, the ratios can differ. The most frequent type in each district is that of patronymic names. It makes up more than 40% everywhere. It is most frequent in Kőhalomszék (now district of Rupea) with 54.11%. The second most frequent type is that of nicknames in every district, except in Brassó (now Braşov). This type makes up to 30% in Beszterce (now Bistriţa), Brassó (now Braşov) and Szerdahelyszék (now district of Miercurea Sibiului), while in Kőhalomszék (now district of Rupea) it stays under 25%. In Brassó (now Braşov) this is still the third most frequent type and is preceded by the type of occupational names with 34%. This type fluctuates between 20–25% in other districts and is the third most frequent type.



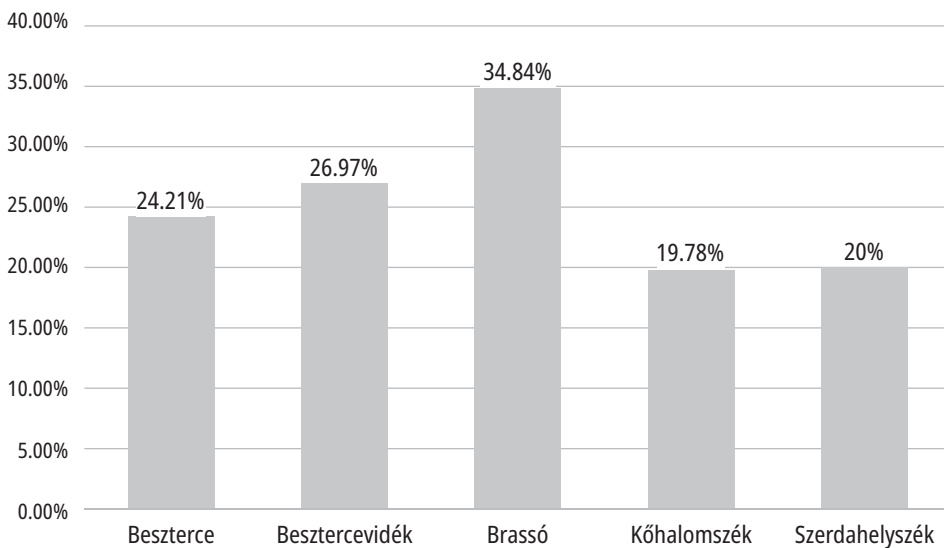
**Figure 2. The distribution of the surname types in the Saxon districts in 1713**

Source: ASHS and own work.

In the following subsections the type of occupational names, patronymic names and toponymic/ethnic names are presented.

## 6.2. Occupational names

Occupational names reflect the technical, economical and social development of the time when surnames were created (Székely, 1967; 1970; Gulyás, 2008; 2009). These names are related to smaller communities, to a certain type of lifestyle and social system (Hajdú, 2003). It is a common belief that this surname type is the most frequent in the surname stocks of German origin (see Kunze, 2004). However, in the Saxon surname stock it is only the third most frequent one with 24.67% (see Figure 1). Nevertheless, Saxon districts show differences in the frequency of this type. In Beszterce (now Bistrița) and Besztercevidék (now district of Bistrița) it makes up around 25%, in Kőhalomszék (now district of Rupea) and Szerdahelyszék (now district of Miercurea Sibiuului) around 20%. In Brassó (now Brașov) its frequency reaches 35% and appears to be the second most frequent type (see Figure 3).



**Figure 3. The distribution of the occupational surnames in the Saxon districts in 1713**

Source: ASHS and own work.

When comparing the Saxons surname stock to the surname stock of German origin the following differences can be highlighted:

Among the 10 most frequent surnames in Sopron (Ödenburg) in 1715 five surnames belong to this type: 1. *Paur* (< *Bauer* ‘farmer’), 3. *Kern* (‘seed, grain’ metaphorically referring to a farmer, ), 6. *Fidler* (< *Fiedler* ‘musician playing the violin or other string instrument’), 8. *Miller* (< *Müller* ‘miller’), 10. *Schneider* (‘taylor’) (AHSB). From these surnames only *Schneider* and *Miller* (in the form of *Müller*) appear in the Saxon surname stock with one entry only in 172th and 188th place on the frequency list.

Among the 10 most frequent surnames of the current Germany only occupational names appear: 1. *Müller* (‘miller’), 2. *Schmidt* (‘smith’), 3. *Schneider* (‘taylor’), 4. *Fischer* (‘fisher’), 5. *Meyer* (‘farmer’), 6. *Weber* (‘weaver’), 7. *Schulz* (‘village judge’), 8. *Wagner* (‘wheelsman’), 9. *Becker* (‘baker’), 10. *Hoffmann* (‘farm steward’) (see Kunze, 2004). From these surnames *Meyer*, *Weber*, *Wagner*, *Becker* and *Hoffmann* appear in the Saxon surname stock in addition to the already mentioned *Müller* and *Schneider*. However, only *Meyer* appeared among the ten most frequent surnames.

The list of the ten most frequent occupational surnames is the following: 1. *Gellner* (*Gellner*, *Geltner*, *Göldner*, *Göllner*, ‘coiner, debtor’), 2. *Graf* (*Graff*, *Graeff*, *Grafft*, ‘Saxon leader’), 3. *Seidel* (*Saidell*, *Zajdel*, *Zeidel*, *Saidl* ‘wooden cup maker’), 4. *Frim* (*Frim*, *Frin*), 5. *Schetz* (*Secz*, *Sécz*, ‘treasurer’, metonymically referring to a tax collector), 6. *Renner* (*Renner*, *Rénert*, ‘horse courier, knight’), 7. *Binder* (‘cooper’), 8. *Brenner* (*Brenner*, *Brener*, < *brennen* ‘to burn, to light on fire’, metonymically referring to a coal burner), 9. *Brett* (*Breth*, ‘board’, metonymically referring to a carpenter’), 10. *Meyer* (*Mayer*, *Majer*, ‘farmer’).

The list contains traditional occupations, but positions with certain economical or social influence or with authority are much more frequent. They are related to the Saxon public administration and to the obligations that the Saxons had towards the king. Such as paying taxes (*Gellner*, *Shetz*) and military service (*Graf*, *Renner*). The surname *Graf* comes from the word for a Saxon leader, *graf*. Although the meaning of the standard German word *graf* is ‘count’, the Saxon *graf* did not hold any noble title. The primary duty of a *graf* was military service and the leading of the community. Thus the surname most likely refers to an occupation rather than a title.

The reason behind the difference in the frequency of the surname type in the surname stocks of the Saxons and of the other discussed German speaking territories could be the speciality of the Saxon mentality. Namely

the occupations that existed in every village as they were essentials for the life of the community (e.g. smith, tailor, shoemaker, miller) were not special enough to serve as identifier markers (Keintzel-Schön, 1976).

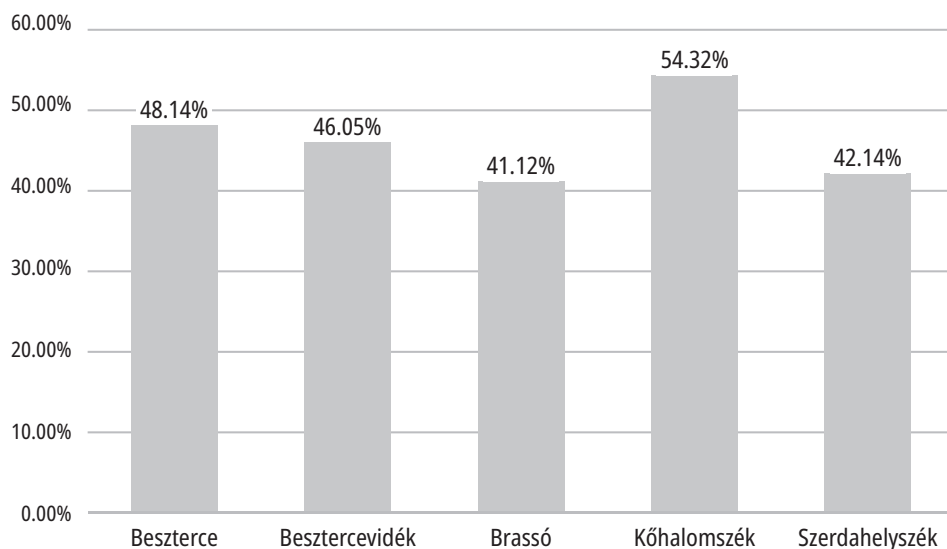
The frequency list of the occupational surnames in each Saxon district supports this theory. In cities the most frequent surnames belong to this type: in Beszterce (now Bistrița) the most frequent surname is *Gellner*, and it is *Schetz* in Brassó (now Brașov); in Kőhalomszék (now district of Rupea) the surname *Graf* appears in 9th position; in Besztercevidék (now district of Bistrița) *Seidel* is in 5th; in Szerdahelyszék (now district of Miercurea Sibiului) *Becker* is 4th and *Binder* is 7th. This shows that occupations were considered more suitable motivation for naming in cities where a larger variety of crafts and jobs existed in the first place. The frequency of the surname *Graf* in Kőhalomszék (now district of Rupea) also can be explained by the fact that the first wave of Saxons said to be invited by King Géza II settled down in the territory, and thus the position of the *graf* appeared there the earliest.

### 6.3. Patronymic names

As mentioned above, patronymic names make up 48.45% of the surnames of the Saxon surnames stock. Comparing this surname stock to the one of Sopron (Ödenburg), significant differences can be detected. Among the ten most frequent surnames of Sopron, none belong to this type (AHSH). Namely, this type of motivation was not characteristic of the Germans of Sopron. The same can be said about the current surname stock of Germany (Kunze, 2004) and the surname stock of Hungarian origin in the Hungarian Kingdom in the 18th century (see Figure 4). Surnames of this type make up only 25.84% of the whole stock (AHSH).

Among the 10 most frequent surnames 5 surnames belong to this type: 3. *Hermann*, 4. *Werner*, 8. *Lutsch*, 9. *Daniel*, 10. *Dotz*. The type is very frequent in each Saxon district with more than 40% in each one (see Figure 2). It is most frequent in Kőhalomszék (now district of Miercurea Sibiului) with 54.32%. Here among the 10 most frequent surnames 7 belongs to this type: 1. *Hermann*, 2. *Dotz*, 3. *Hellwig*, 4. *Jakobi*, 5. *Artz*, 6. *Daniel*, 7. *Gregori*. These surnames appear among the 10 most frequent surnames in other districts as well: Beszterce (now Bistrița): 2. *Werner*, 3. *Henich*, 5. *Seidel*, 6. *Frim*, 7. *Lutsch*; Besztercevidék (now district of Bistrița): 2. *Werner*, 3. *Lutsch*, 5. *Gotzig*, 8. *Rodelt*, 9. *Horger*,

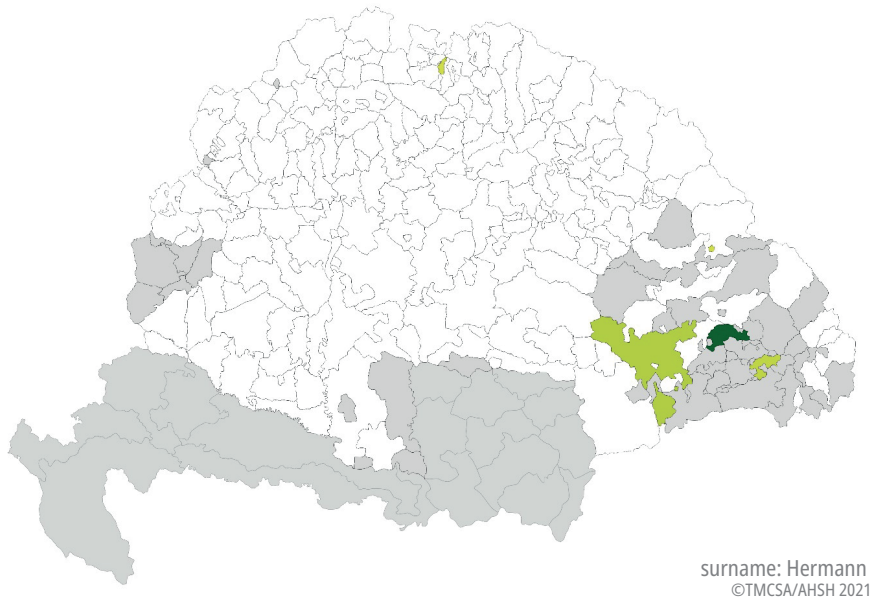
10. *Kloss*; Brassó (now Braşov): 3. *Günter*, 10. *Raab*; Szerdahelyszék (now district of Miercurea Sibiului): 4. *Kirr*, 6. *Bretz*, 7. *Hinz*. Based on these lists it is clear that although patronymic names are the most frequent in every district, there is a difference between the name communities when it comes to the frequency of individual surnames. The only two surnames that appear on the lists of two districts are *Werner* and *Lutsch*. These surnames are also the second and third most frequent surnames of all the patronymic names: 1. *Hermann*, 2. *Werner*, 3. *Lutsch*, 4. *Dotz*, 5. *Hellwig*, 6. *Jakobi*, 7. *Daniel*, 8. *Artz*, 9. *Gregori*, 10. *Lenard*.



**Figure 4. The distribution of the patronymic surnames in the Saxon districts in 1713**

Source: own work.

The most frequent surname of this type is *Hermann*. In the 18th century it only appears in Transylvania (AHSZ, see Figure 5) in 8 settlements of Brassóvidék (now district of Braşov), Besztercevidék (now district of Bistriţa) and Szerdahelyszék (now district of Miercurea Sibiului): Beszterce (now Bistriţa), Kiszsolna (now Jelna), Kaca (now Caţa), Garat (now Dacia), Felmér, Brassó (now Braşov), Lekence (now Lechinţa), Homorodiszentpéter (now Petreni).



**Figure 5. The spacial distribution of the surname *Hermann* in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom in 1715**

Source: AHSH.

### 6.3.1. The gravity of the pattern

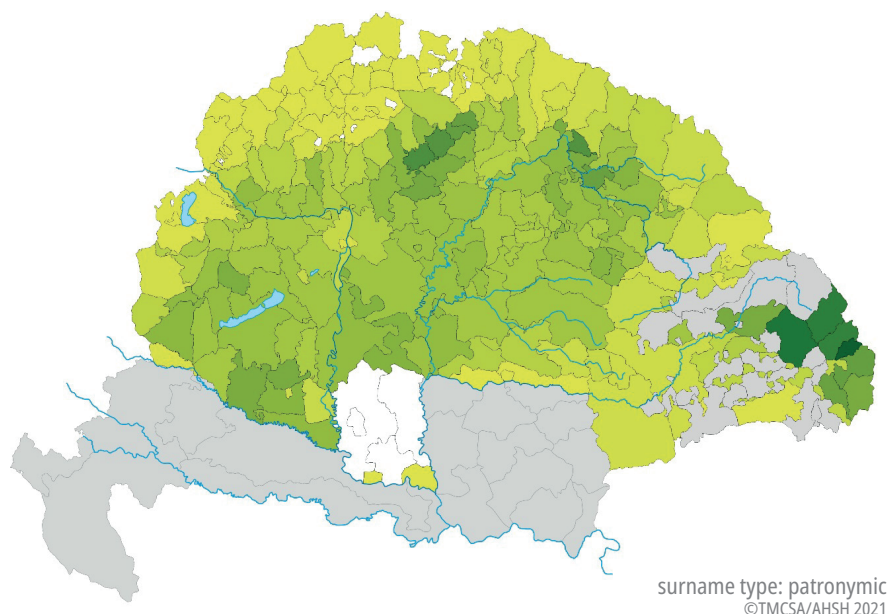
The pattern of using given names to create a specific name was highly characteristic for the Saxons, be it a given name alone (e.g. *Hermann*), a name with a suffix (e.g. *Jakobi*) or a pet name (e.g. *Lutsch*). The pattern could work so well because the German given name stock was not based on only names of ecclesiastical origin which was the case with the Hungarian given name stock. Given names of Germanic origin stayed in use although to a lesser extent. Also, Saxons used a large number of pet names that could provide enough diversity. For example, 5 different pet forms of the name *Friedrich* appear as surnames: *Fridl* (Kohlheim & Kohlheim, 2005), *Fridel*, *Frink*, *Frillik*, *Fritsch* (DFD).

Even toponyms were created with this pattern (see Teutsch, 2010). For example, the German name of Nagyszeben (now Sibiu), the “capital” of the Saxon community is *Hermannstadt*. The pattern seems to have been so practiced that it even influenced folk etymologies: for example, the founder of *Broos* (Hun. Szászváros, now Orăștie) is believed to be Anselm von *Braz*. He was a knight participating in the first crusade that passed through Transylvania (Zimmermann, 1994).



### 6.3.2. The possible influence

A significant influence on the practice of this pattern could come from the Szeklers as patronymic names are the most frequent type also in the Szekler surname stock (see Figure 6). As mentioned above, the emergence and fixation of the Saxon surname stock happened in the 14th–16th century in parallel with the surname stocks of Hungarian origin in Transylvania, including the Szeklers. Szeklerland is adjacent to the Saxon territories and these two communities shared similar geographical, economical and sociocultural peculiarities. Just like Saxons, Szeklers remained free after settling down, possessed rights and privileges in exchange for their military service on the borders. Consequently, the two communities could have had similar experiences, similar knowledge about the world, therefore they could see the possible ways of identifying a person very similarly (for further information about the possible existence of name regions based on motivational patterns see the paper of János N. Fodor in this volume).



**Figure 6. The spacial distribution of the patronymic surnames of Hungarian origin on the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom in 1715**

Source: AHSH.

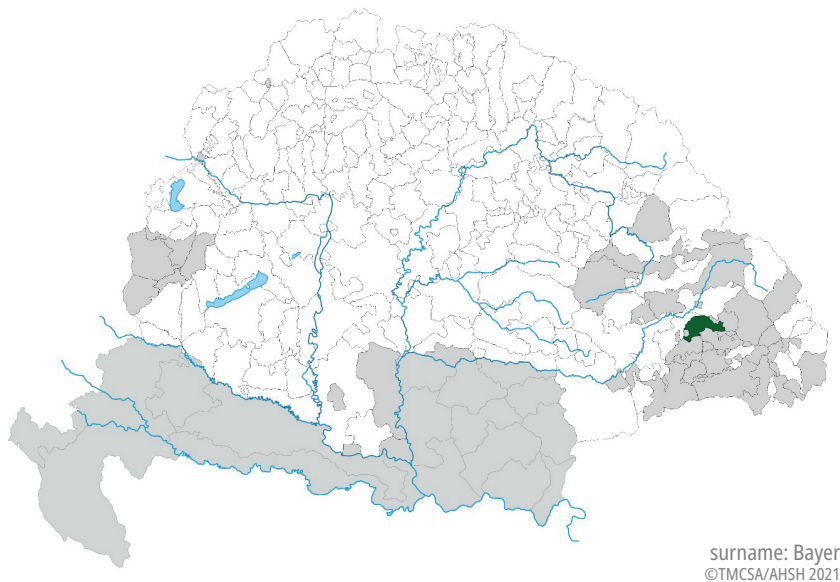
#### 6.4. Geographical/ethnic names

Surnames referring to origin provide us information about migration and urbanization processes (see Benda, 1970; Kubinyi, 1972; 1973).

In the case of the Saxon surname stock it is important to keep in mind the temporal difference between the Saxon settling and the emergence of the Saxon surnames. It is highly unlikely that centuries after the arrival of the Saxons, the names of the original residence of the settlers still meant active knowledge in the mind of the name givers. It is almost certain that the Saxon surnames refer to toponyms that existed and were known in Transylvania in the 14th–16th centuries.

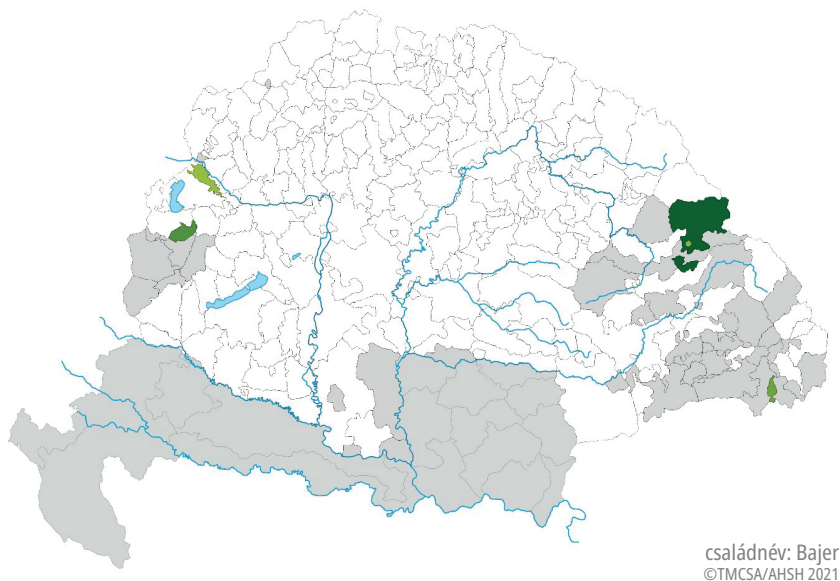
Toponymic surnames were created from toponyms only (e.g. *Almen* < *Almen*, Hun. Szászalmád, now Alma-Vii), from toponyms with suffixes (e.g. *Broser* < *Broos*, Hun. Nagyszeben, now Sibiu), from toponyms without the common words originally forming part of the toponyms (e.g. *Hohn* < *Hohndorf*, Hun. Hundorf, now Orăștie), with shortening or alteration of the toponyms (e.g. *Aelczt*, *Alczt* < *Elstendorf* or *Alzina*, Hun. Alcina, now Alțina; *Auner* < *Großau*, Hun. Kereszténysziget, now Cristian). Surnames that were created from the Saxon dialectal form of the toponyms as well (e.g. *Schinauer* < *Schinen*, Ger. Schönau, Hun. Szépmező, now Șona; *Busser* < *Buss*, Ger. Bußd, Hun. Szászbuzd, now Boz).

In the Saxon surname stock eight surnames can be detected that could refer to ethnic origin: *Allmann* (*Aliman*, *Alimán*, < *Alemanne* ‘German’, Kohlheim & Kohlheim, 2005), *Bayer* (*Bajer*, *Bájer*, *Bajert*, ‘Bavarian’), *Deutsch* (*Taits*, *Taitts*, *Tecs*, *Tejts*, ‘German’), *Frank* (‘Franconian’), *Friese* (‘Frisian’), *Galles* (‘Gaulish’), *Todt* (*Todt*, *Thod*, < Hun. *tót*, ‘Slavic’, Kohlheim & Kohlheim, 2005), *Unger* (‘Hungarian’). These make up 17% of the type of surnames referring to origin. The surname *Bayer* stands in the 2nd position. According to the database of AHSB the surname appears only in Transylvania and in Sopron County (Ödesburg), Pozsony County (now Bratislava) and Moson County with one entry in each (AHSB, see Figure 7 and 8). In the Saxon surname stock the appearance of the surname confirms the already mentioned High German dialects features in the northern Transylvanian Saxon dialects.



**Figure 7. The spacial distribution of the surname *Bayer* in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom in 1715**

Source: AHSH.



**Figure 8. The spacial distribution of the surname *Bajer* in the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom in 1715**

Source: AHSH.

The reason behind the lack of ethnic surnames among the most frequent Saxon surnames could be the order of King András II, documented in the diploma of Andreanum that prohibited the settling of other ethnicities in Saxon territory from the 13th century (Kopeczi, 1986). Consequently ethnicity could never be an identifying marker in the 14th–16th centuries when the Saxon surnames started to emerge. Namely, the above mentioned surnames do not refer to ethnic, but to geographic origin. The only difference in this case is that surnames were created from region names. This pattern works when the name bearer is from a place too remote for the name giver to know (Bárczi, 1956).

## 7. Conclusions

The cognitive approach could reveal the main characteristics of the surname stock of the Transylvanian Saxons in 1713. It also detected the main differences and similarities between the Saxon and the Hungarian surname stocks, also between the Saxon surname stock and the surname stock of Sopron and of Germany. The reasons for the differences were also explored: the three dimensions of language, namely time, space and society had an impact on the surname system of the Saxons.

The Saxon settlers arrived in Transylvania as early as the 12th century. They received significant rights and privileges but also had obligations in exchange. This meant the end of their relationship with the coherent German speaking territory. Thus, although the Saxon surnames are of German origin, they do not form part of the German surname stock. Saxon surnames emerged approximately at the same time as the Hungarian surnames influenced by similar sociocultural, historical and economical characteristics. However, Saxon surname stock differs from the Hungarian surname stock regarding the motivational patterns. The reasons could be the characteristic way of thinking and point of view, the economical surroundings and social status of the Saxons, or even the patterns that the Saxons could have learned before leaving for Transylvania. In order to learn more the surname stock of western Germany and eastern France should also be studied.

## References

- Adelung, J. C. (1793–1801). *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart mit beständiger Vergleichung der übrigen Mundarten, besonders aber der oberdeutschen I–IV*. (2nd ed). Wien: Bauer.
- AHSH = N. Fodor, J. (Ed.). (2014–2023). *Történeti magyar családnévátlasz* [Atlas of Historical Surnames in Hungary]. Eötvös Loránd University. <https://csaladnevatlasz.hu/>
- Bahlow, H. (1967). *Deutsches Namenlexikon. Familien- und Vornamen nach Ursprung und Sinn erklärt*. Bayreuth: Grondrom Verlag.
- Bárczi, G. (1956). A magyar személynevek 16. századi történetéhez. *Magyar Nyelv*, 52, 144–157.
- Benda, K. (1970). A hajdúk eredetének meghatározása a családnevek alapján. In M. Kázmér & J. Végh (Eds.), *Névtudományi előadások. Névtudományi Konferencia, 2. Budapest, 1969. szept. 2–4* (Nyelvtudományi értekezések, 70) (pp. 193–196). Budapest.
- Brechenmacher, J. K. (1957–1963). *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Deutschen Familiennamen* (Vols. 1–2). Limburg a. d. Lahn: C. A. Starke.
- Brendler, S. (Ed.). (2016). *Cognitive Onomastics. A Reader*. Hamburg: Baar Verlag.
- CsnSz = Kázmér, M. (1993). *Régi magyar családnevek szótára XIV–XVII. század*. Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság.
- Cziráki, Zs. (2006). Az erdélyi szászok története. In Zs. Cziráki, *Az erdélyi szászok története. Erdélyi szász irodalomtörténet* (pp. 7–204). Kozármisleny: Imedias.
- DOR = Constantinescu, N. A. (1963). *Dicționar onomastic romînesc*. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne.
- DWB = *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*. (1854–1961). Digitalisierte Fassung im Wörterbuchnetz des Trier Center for Digital Humanities, Version 01/23. <https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB>
- Farkas, T. (2015). The most frequent Hungarian surnames. A study of some aspects of contrastive surname typology. In O. Felecan (Ed.), *Name and Naming. Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Onomastics “Name and Naming”: Conventional / Unconventional in Onomastics* (pp. 122–136). Cluj-Napoca: Mega. [http://onomasticafelecan.ro/iconn3/proceedings/2\\_6\\_Farkas\\_Tamas\\_ICONN\\_3.pdf](http://onomasticafelecan.ro/iconn3/proceedings/2_6_Farkas_Tamas_ICONN_3.pdf)
- Fleischer, W. (1964). *Die deutschen Personennamen. Geschichte, Bildung und Bedeutung*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- N. Fodor, J. (2008). A magyar családnevek új szempontú rendszerezési lehetőségeiről. *Magyar Nyelv*, 104, 286–306.
- N. Fodor, J. (2010). *Személynevek rendszere a kései ómagyar korban. A Felső-Tisza-vidék személyneveinek nyelvi elemzése (1401–1526)* (Magyar névtani értekezések, 2). Budapest: ELTE BTK.
- N. Fodor, J. (2013). The geolinguistic research of historic personal names found in the Carpathian Basin. In O. Felecan (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Second International*

- Conference on Onomastics „Name and Naming”: Onomastics in Contemporary Public Space* (pp. 518–527). Cluj-Napoca: Mega. [https://onomasticafelecan.ro/iconn2/proceedings/5\\_05\\_Fodor\\_Janos\\_ICONN\\_2.pdf](https://onomasticafelecan.ro/iconn2/proceedings/5_05_Fodor_Janos_ICONN_2.pdf)
- N. Fodor, J. (2015). Language contact effects in historical Hungarian and Romanian personal names. In O. Felecan (Eds.), *Name and Naming. Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Onomastics “Name and Naming”: Conventional / Unconventional in Onomastics* (pp. 163–173). Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega & Editura Argonaut. [https://onomasticafelecan.ro/iconn3/proceedings/2\\_9\\_Fodor\\_Janos\\_N\\_ICONN\\_3.pdf](https://onomasticafelecan.ro/iconn3/proceedings/2_9_Fodor_Janos_N_ICONN_3.pdf)
- N. Fodor, J. (2018). Personal names and ethnicity. *Onomastica Uralica*, 13, 55–64. <https://mnytud.arts.unideb.hu/onomural/kotetek/ou13/04.pdf>
- Gulyás, L. Sz. (2008). Középkori mezővárosi foglalkozásneveink forrásértékéről. *Századok*, 142(2), 437–462. <http://real-j.mtak.hu/id/eprint/13762>
- Gulyás, L. Sz. (2009). Újabb adatok a középkori jobbágyi-mezővárosi személynévadás kérdéséhez. *Névtani Értesítő*, 31, 47–61. <http://hdl.handle.net/10831/6661>
- Hajdú, M. (2003). *Általános és magyar névtan*. Budapest: Osiris.
- Heintze, A., & Castorbi, P. (1925). *Die deutschen Familiennamen*. Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses.
- Hoffmann, I. (1993). *Helynevek nyelvi elemzése*. Debrecen: KLTE Magyar Nyelvtudományi Intézet.
- Hoffmann, I. (1999). A helynevek rendszerének nyelvi leírásához. *Magyar Nyelvjárások*, 37, 207–216. <https://mnytud.arts.klte.hu/mnyj/37/index.html>
- Hoffmann, I. (2008). A személynévrendszerek leírásához. *Magyar Nyelvjárások*, 46, 5–20. <https://mnytud.arts.klte.hu/mnyj/46/01hoffmann.pdf>
- Hoffmann, I. (2012). Funkcionális nyelvészet és helynévkutatás. *Magyar Nyelvjárások*, 50, 9–26. <https://mnytud.arts.unideb.hu/mnyj/50/02hoffmann.pdf>
- Hoffmann, I., Rácz, A., & Tóth, V. (2017). *History of Hungarian Toponyms*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Hornung, M. (1989). *Lexikon österreichischer Familiennamen*. St. Pölten & Wien: Verlag Niederösterreichisches Presshaus.
- J. Soltész, K. (1979). *A tulajdonnév funkciója és jelentése*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Keintzel-Schön, F. (1976). *Die siebenbürgisch-sächsischen familiennamen*. Köln–Wien: Böhlau Verlag.
- Kiefer, F. (2007). *Jelentélmélet*. Budapest: Corvina.
- Klein, K. K. (1963). Das Rätsel der siebenbürgischen Sprachgeschichte. Die Goten-Geten-Daken-Sachsengleichung in der Sprachentwicklung der Deutschen Siebenbürgens. In K. K. Klein (Ed.), *Transsylvania. Gesammelte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze zur Sprach- und Siedlungsforschung der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen* (pp. 90–139). München: R. Oldenbourg.
- Klusch, H. (2009). *Az erdélyi szászok betelepüléséről*. Budapest: Kriterion Könyvkiadó.



- Kohlheim, R., & Kohlheim, V. (Eds.). (2005). *Duden Familiennamen. Herkunft und Bedeutung*. Dudenverlag.
- Kopeczi, B. (Ed.). (1986). *Erdély története I. A kezdetektől 1606-ig*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Kristó, Gy. (Ed.). (1994). *Korai magyar történeti lexikon*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Kubinyi, A. (1972). Parasztok fővárosba költözése a középkor végén. Tanulmányok Somogy megye múltjából. *Levéltári Évkönyv*, 3, 13–45.
- Kubinyi, A. (1973). Budapest története a későbbi középkorban Buda elestéig (1541–ig). In L. Gerevich (Ed.), *Budapest története II. Budapest története a későbbi középkorban és a török hódoltság idején* (pp. 9–240). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Kunze, K. (2004). *dtv-Atlas Namenkunde. Vor- und Familiennamen im deutschen Sprachgebiet*. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag.
- Langacker, R. W. (1987–1991). *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar* (Vols. 1–2). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Mollay, K. (1982). *Német-magyar nyelvi érintkezések a XVI. század végéig*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Nagy, G. (Ed.). (2002). *Magyar középkor: 997–1526*. Debrecen: Tóth Könyvkereskedés és Kiadó Kft.
- Naumann, H. (1987). *Familiennamenbuch*. Leipzig: VEB Bibliografisches Institut.
- RhWB = Müller, J. et al. (Eds.). (1928–1971). *Rheinisches Wörterbuch* (Vols. 1–9). Bonn–Berlin: Fritz Klopp.
- Schuller, F. (2010). Az erdélyi szász népesség statisztikája. In F. Teutsch (Ed.), *Az erdélyi szászok letelepedéséről* (pp. 43–88). Budapest: Orpheus.
- Sjöblom, P. (2011). A cognitive approach to the semantics of proper names. *Onoma*, 41, 63–82. <https://doi.org/10.2143/ONO.41.0.2119611>
- Slíz, M. (2012). Tulajdonnév és kategorizáció. *Magyar Nyelv*, 108, 282–291. <http://hdl.handle.net/10831/11682>
- Székely, Gy. (1967). Középkori kézműves foglalkozások és a családnevek kialakulása. In S. Imre & I. Szathmári (Eds.), *A magyar nyelvtörténet és rendszere. A debreceni nemzetközi nyelvészkongresszus előadásai* (pp. 206–210). Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- Székely, Gy. (1970). Személynevek és történettudomány. In M. Kázmér & J. Végh (Eds.), *Névtudományi előadások. Névtudományi Konferencia, 2. Budapest, 1969. szept. 2–4* (Nyelvtudományi értekezések, 70) (pp. 201–208). Budapest.
- Teutsch, F. (2010). Az erdélyi szászok letelepedésének módjáról. In F. Teutsch (Ed.), *Az erdélyi szászok letelepedéséről* (pp. 7–38). Budapest: Orpheus Kiadó.
- Tolcsvai Nagy, G. (2005). A magyar birtokos szerkezet jelentéstana, kognitív keretben. *Általános Nyelvészeti Tanulmányok*, 21, 43–70.
- Tolcsvai Nagy, G. (2008). A tulajdonnév jelentése. In A. Bölcskei & I. N. Császi (Eds.), *Név és valóság. (A VI. Magyar Névtudományi Konferencia előadásai)* (pp. 30–41). Budapest: KGRE BTK.
- Tomasello, M. (2002). *Gondolkodás és kultúra*. Budapest: Osiris.

- Van Langendonck, W. (2007). *Theory and Typology of Proper Names*. Berlin–New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Zimmermann, F. & Werner, C. (1892). *Urkundenbuch zu Geschichte der Sachsen in Siebenbürgen I. Nr. 17*. Hermannstadt: Franz Michaelin.
- Zimmermann, H. (1994). Die Deutschen Siebenbürgens im Königreich Ungarn. In H. Rothe (Ed.), *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (pp. 1–14). Köln–Weimar–Bécs: Böhlau Verlag.
- Zimmermann, H. (2005). A német-magyar kapcsolatok a 12. század közepén és az erdélyi százszok betelepítése. *AETAS*, 20(4), 124–135. <http://acta.bibl.u-szeged.hu/id/eprint/41235>