

Ján Bauko

Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra

## The use of personal names among Slovakia Hungarians<sup>1</sup>

### 1.

Personal names form a system, name types are mutually interrelated, and their changes mutually affect each other.

Hungarian onomastics usually differentiates between the following four types of personal names: surnames, given names, diminutives, and nicknames. The four types are interrelated and mutually affect each other. There is a closer connection between given names and diminutives and between surnames and nicknames than between the other combinations of the types. The types of personal names are usually closely interrelated within the system of names. It is well-known that surnames have more factors connecting them to nicknames than to the others.

From a diachronic perspective, some surnames originate from other names: from given names<sup>2</sup> (like *Albert* “Albert”, *Antal* “Anthony”, *Balázs* “Blasio”, *Bálint* “Valentine”, *János* “John”, *Máté* “Matthew”, *Menyhárt* “Meinhard”, *Pál* “Paul”, *Péter* “Peter”, *Sándor* “Alexander” etc.), diminutives (*Benkő*, *Bencúr*, *Gergő*, *Józsa*, *Ladó*, *Mikó*, *Zsigó* etc.) or nicknames. Blanár<sup>3</sup> lists 156 surnames derived from the 1964 register of Bratislava / Pozsony electorate that derive from the given name *Pavel* “Paul”: their basic element is *Paul-*, *Pav-* and *Pal-*: *Paul*, *Paulík*, *Pauliny*, *Paulis*, *Pavel*, *Pavko*, *Pavliček*, *Pavčina*, *Pálfy*, *Pálik*, *Palkovič*, *Páll*, *Palo* etc. Surnames deriving from given names and nicknames form a considerable proportion of the name material of individual regions and localities.

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<sup>2</sup> Equivalent of given names are given in quotation marks. – Translator’s note.

<sup>3</sup> V. Blanár, *Teória vlastného mena. Status, organizácia a fungovanie v spoločenskej komunikácii* [The theory of proper nouns: Their state, structuring and functioning in social communication]. Bratislava 1996, p. 146–147.

For instance, in the early 17th century, in Csíkszék county (Sekler Land, today's Romania), 25 of the most common 35 surnames were of given name origin: *András* "Andrew", *Antal* "Anthony", *Balázs* "Blasio", *Bálint* "Valentine", *Barabás* "Barabas", *Benedek* "Benedict", *Ferenc* "Frank", *Gál* "Gallus", *Gergely* "Gregory", *György* "George", *Imre* "Emery", *István* "Stephen", *János* "John", *Kelemen* "(male name, no equivalent)", *László* "Ladislav", *Lukács* "Luke", *Márton* "Martin", *Máté* "Matthew", *Menyhárt* "Meinhard", *Mihály* "Michael", *Miklós* "Nicholas", *Pál* "Paul", *Péter* "Peter", *Sándor* "Alexander", and *Tamás* "Thomas"<sup>4</sup>. As the listing shows, it is mostly male names (patronymics) that usually become surnames. Female given names (matronymics) rarely serve as surnames<sup>5</sup>. Surnames derived from given names can have different variants: e.g. *Ambrus* "Ambrose" as *Ambarus*, *Ambrusch*, *Ambrús*, *Ambruzs*, *Ambrúzs*, *Ambruz*, *Ambrusz*, *Ambros*, *Ambrosch*, *Ambrosz*, *Ambrósz*, *Ambróz*; *Balassa* "Blasio" as *Balasa*, *Balása*, *Balássza*, *Ballassa*, *Balázsa*, *Balazsa*, *Balasi*, *Balási*, *Balasai*, *Balassai*, *Balassay*, *Balassi*, *Balassy*, *Balássi*, *Balássy*, *Balasy*, *Balásy*, *Balázsi*, *Balazsi*, and *Balászy*<sup>6</sup>. In the Middle Hungarian era about one-third of all given names provided their diminutive forms for surnames: *Bene*, *Benkő*, *Bertók*, *Gergő*, *Józsa*, *Kriszta*, *Ladó*, *Petrás*, *Sebők*, *Zsigó* etc. Several diminutives were preserved only as surnames: for instance, the diminutives of the given name *Miklós* "Nicholas" was the basis for the following surnames: *Mika*, *Mike*, *Mikcse*, *Miksa*, *Mikes*, *Mikeska*, *Mikecs*, *Mikse*, *Mikó*, *Mikos*, and *Mikus* etc.<sup>7</sup>. The diminutives of *János* "John" also served as surnames: *Jacsó*, *Jancsa*, *Jancsi*, *Jancsó*, *Jani*, *Jánk*, *Janka*, *Jankó*, *Jankus*, *Janó*, and *Jánoska* etc. The diminutives of the equivalents of the given name *John* serve as bases of surnames in other languages as well. For instance, in Slovakia the following are well-known names: *Jaňo*, *Janko*, *Janík*, *Janek*, *Janiček*, *Janeček*, *Janic*, *Janček*, *Jančík*, *Jančula*, and *Jánošík* etc.<sup>8</sup>.

Diminutives can also become officially recognized given names as well. The following names derived several diminutives which then became officially recognized as well: *Borbála* "Barbara" gave *Bora*, *Bori*, *Boris*, *Boriska*, *Borka*, and *Boróka*; *Ilona* "Helen" gave *Ila*, *Ilka*, *Illa*, *Ilon*, *Ilonka*, and *Ilus*; *Katalin*

<sup>4</sup> M. Hajdú, *Általános és magyar névtan* [General and Hungarian onomastics], Budapest 2003, p. 847.

<sup>5</sup> I. Nyirkos, *A családnév-ként szereplő női keresztnevéről* [On female given names serving as surnames], "Névtani Értesítő" 1999, 21, p. 183–188.

<sup>6</sup> M. Hajdú, *Családnévek enciklopédiája. Leggyakoribb mai családnéveink* [An encyclopedia of surnames: Our most common current surnames], Budapest 2010.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. B. Kálmán, *A nevek világa* [The world of names], 4th revised and enlarged edition, Debrecen, 1989, p. 76–77.

<sup>8</sup> M. Majtán, M. Považaj, *Výberte si meno pre svoje dieťa* [Choose a name for your child], Bratislava 1998, p. 135.

“Catherine” gave *Kata, Katarina, Katica, Katinka, Kató,* and *Katrin*; *Mária* “Mary” gave *Mara, Mari, Marica, Marinka,* and *Mariska*; *Benedek* “Benedict” gave *Bende, Bene, Benke, Benkő,* and *Benő*; *Gergely* “Gregory” gave *Gergő,* and *Gerő*; *György* “George” gave *Györe, Györk,* and *Györke*; *Miklós* “Nicholas” gave *Mike, Mikes, Mikó,* and *Miksa*; *Péter* “Peter” gave *Pető,* and *Petres*<sup>9</sup>. In the United States surnames of famous people often become used as given names: e.g. *Calvin, Franklin, Jefferson, Kennedy, Lincoln,* and *Washington*. Hungarian examples like this include *Cézár, Ciceró,* and *Robinzon*.

The numerous diminutives of some given names indicate great variability in unofficial personal names. Examples of two names are as follows<sup>10</sup>. The traditional and very common female name *Erzsébet* “Elizabeth” has more than a hundred diminutives in Hungarian: *Berzsi, Beta, Betta, Betti, Betkó, Betuska, Böbe, Böbi, Böbike, Böske, Bözse, Bözsi, Bözsó, Csöre, Csöri, Eliz, Erdzsu, Eri, Erzsa, Erzse, Erzsi-Berzsi, Erzsike, Erzsó, Erzsócska, Erzsók, Erzsu, Erzsus, Liza, Lizi, Örzse, Örzsi, Örsók* etc. The name *István* “Stephen” has the following: *Csefán, Están, Estó, Estók, Iccsi, Ista, Isti, Istike, Istó, Istók, Istu, Istuka, Pesta, Pestu, Pestuka, Pestus, Pestuska, Petya, Petykó, Pista, Pisti, Pistike, Pistók, Pistu, Pistuka, Pityesz, Pityi, Pitykó, Pityu, Pityuci, Pityuka, Pityus, Putyi, Putyus, Stefán, Stefi, Stefike,* and *Stefkó* etc.

Nicknames are often derived from the person’s surname, given name, or diminutive<sup>11</sup>. There are generational differences from this aspect: adults often have as a nickname the surname, given name or diminutive name of one of their ancestors, parents, or relatives. In the Kalotaszeg region (in Transylvania, Romania) as well as in Hungarian villages Göcsej and Hetés the most frequent nicknames are those referring to names of family members<sup>12</sup>. Students often receive a nickname which playfully distorts some element of their real name or which is a common name derived through some association from their name and only very rarely get a nickname of the kind that adults get.

Within the system of anthroponyms two subsystems can be differentiated on the basis of the domain of name use: the official vs. non-official (folk) names.

<sup>9</sup> J. Ladó, A. Biró, *Magyar utónévkönyv* [The book of Hungarian given names], Budapest 1998.

<sup>10</sup> M. Hajdú, *Magyar becézőnevek (1770–1970)* [Hungarian diminutives, 1770–1970], Budapest 1974; E. Fercsik, J. Raátz, *Keresztnévek enciklopédiája. A leggyakoribb női és férfinevek* [An encyclopedia of given names: The most common female and male names], Budapest 2009.

<sup>11</sup> J. Bauko, *Investigation of nicknames in a bilingual environment*, „Poznańskie Studia Polonistyczne” 2012, t. 19 (39), zeszyt 1, s. 105–118.

<sup>12</sup> B.P. Gergely, *A kalotaszegi magyar ragadványnevek rendszere* [The system of Hungarian nicknames in the Kalotaszeg region], Bukarest 1977, p. 87–90; F. Ördög, *Személynévviszágálatok Göcsej és Hetés területén* [Investigating personal names in Göcsej and Hetés], Budapest 1973, p. 158–171.

Official names are surnames and given names, whereas non-official names include diminutives and nicknames. The use of official names is primarily characteristic of formal domains: a person's name is entered into the registry of birth and other official documents. Non-official names are used mostly in informal speech situations: among family and friends. Official names are societally codified, used primarily in writing, known in a larger community context, and their use is regulated by laws. Non-official names are used in smaller communities, characteristic of spoken language, and are quite variable. The narrower societal use makes it possible for names used in spoken language to be greatly variable. In the communicative act a non-official name often plays a more important role than the official name. A person can have several different diminutives and nicknames besides their officially registered name, and these can be used in different groups or communities<sup>13</sup>. Some researchers<sup>14</sup> also identify a transitional category between official and folk names called semi-official names, which are groupings of names in which one (or sometimes more) element(s) is/are official and one is a folk name: examples are combinations of nickname and given name, nickname and surname, nickname and surname together with the given name.

The differences between official and non-official personal names are summarized in Table 1 below:

Table 1. Differences between official and non-official personal names

Official personal names	Non-official personal names
formal domains	informal domains
socially codified	socially not codified
widely used socially	less widely used socially
written language	spoken language
more static set of names	dynamic set of names
closed system of names	open system of names

Žródlo: J. Bauko, *A szlovákiai magyarok személynévhasználata* [The use of anthroponyms among Slovakia Hungarians], "Magyarok Szlovákiában VII. Nyelv." [Hungarians in Slovakia VII. Language], eds G. Szabó Mihály, I. Lanstyák, Somorja 2011, p. 412.

<sup>13</sup> J. Krško, *Úloha stredú a okraja societ pri tvorbe prezývok* [The role of the group in giving nicknames], In: *Okraj a střed v jazyce a literatúre* [Periphery and center in language and literature], eds M. Čechová, D. Moldanová, Z. Milerová, Ústí nad Labem 3003, p. 82–86.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. Š. Krištof, *Osobné mená bývalej Tekovskej stolice* [The personal names of the former Tekov/Bars county]. Bratislava 1969, p. 29.

The dividing line between official and non-official names is not very strict. Depending on the space and time dimension, official names can become non-official and vice versa. As has been mentioned before, surnames and given names can fulfill functions of nicknames, many old diminutives continue to exist as surnames or given names, and nicknames used in writing are almost official.

The official system of names is characterized by relative stability, while non-official names are greatly variable. Static types of names are rendered to their bearers at birth, whereas the dynamic types of names can be assigned to them at any time<sup>15</sup>. Official personal names form a closed system. Surnames are inherited, given names are chosen from an existing list of names, and naming is strictly defined by social conditions. Even though nowadays individuals can request an official change of their name, few people actually do. Diminutives offer a greater range of names (since diminutive formation can produce an almost infinite number of variants), but these are always derived from the given name. Nicknames offer the greatest range of names: any linguistic sign or meaningless sequence of sounds can become a nickname, and nicknames can be chosen freely from the vocabulary of the given language or make up random sequences of sounds for the identification of the person named. It is up to the creativity and imagination of the creator of the name to decide what kind of name to invent. However, the choice of nicknames is limited by already existing nicknames within the same community. Except in the case of inherited nicknames, an existing nickname is rarely given to a newly named person in order to avoid homonymy. In case homonymous nicknames exist in the same place, they require an additional name element (a diminutive, a given name, or an element referring to age) in order to differentiate and more exactly identify their bearers.

## 2.

In this section I want to discuss the interrelatedness of social factors and personal name use as far as name use among Slovakia's Hungarians is concerned.

The speech community of Slovakia Hungarians is a bilingual speech community. In bilingual communities people can choose names from a wider range. Choosing a variant of a personal name from one language or the other can

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<sup>15</sup> I. Hoffmann, *A személynévrendszerek leírásához* [On the description of the system of personal names], "Magyar Nyelvjárások 46" [Hungarian dialects 46], eds I. Hoffmann, T. Kis, I. Nyirkos, V. Tóth, Debrecen 2008, p. 17.

depend on several factors: the communicative domain, the communication partners, the social or linguistic context etc.

As a result of historical changes, Slovakia Hungarian localities belonged to several countries in the course of the 20th century. In the early 20th century they belonged to Austria-Hungary, then, after World War I, as a result of the 1920 Treaty of Trianon, they became a part of Czechoslovakia. In 1938, under the Vienna Award, the Hungarian populated areas were reannexed to Hungary. In 1945, they became a part of Czechoslovakia again, whereas in 1993, at the breakup of this country, they went to the Republic of Slovakia. These social changes left their mark on proper nouns as well, especially on names registered in records of births and marriages and on the official use of place names. Relevant issues of naming policy and name planning have been discussed elsewhere<sup>16</sup>.

Naming policy concerns laws dealing with the usage of names. Laws of a country regulate the use of names in official (formal) domains. In Slovakia the 1994 Law on Registers guarantees the registering of the names of women of non-Slovak nationality without the *-ová* suffix (in the Slovak context, however, the variant of the name bearing the suffix has to be used), the registering of personal names in their Hungarian variants, and it allows that a name registered earlier in Slovak be “Hungarianized”<sup>17</sup>. The following regulations are in force according to the Law on Registers of the National Council of the Slovak Republic No. 154/1994:

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. J. Bauko, *A szlovákiai magyarok személynévhasználatára* [The use of anthroponyms among Slovakia Hungarians], “Magyarok Szlovákiában VII. Nyelv.” [Hungarians in Slovakia VII. Language], eds G. Szabó Mihály, I. Lanstyák, Somorja 2011, p. 407–422; I. Lanstyák, *A magyar nyelv Szlovákiában* [The Hungarian language in Slovakia], Budapest–Pozsony 2000; G. Szabó Mihály, *A határon túli névhasználat és a nyelvi tervezés* [The use of names and planning of names in Hungarian outside Hungary], In: *Név és valóság. A VI. Magyar Névtudományi Konferencia előadásai* [Names and reality: Papers from the 6th Hungarian Conference on Onomastics], eds A. Bölcseki, N.I. Császi, Budapest 2008, p. 41–52; F. Vörös, *Névpolitika a Felvidéken* [Naming policy in Southern Slovakia], In: *A magyar nyelvi kultúra jelene és jövője* [The present and future of Hungarian language culture], ed. G. Balázs, Budapest 2004, p. 367–381; O. Vörös, *A határon túli névkutatás és hozadéka a nyelvi tervezésben* [Hungarian onomastics outside Hungary and its proceeds to language planning], In: *Magyar névtani kutatások itthon és határainkon túl* [Research on Hungarian onomastics in and outside Hungary], ed. F. Farkas, Budapest 2004, p. 135–138; Z. Zalabai, ed., *Mit ér a nyelvünk, ha magyar? A „táblaháború” és a „névháború” szlovákiai magyar sajtódokumentumaiból 1990–1994* [What is our language worth if it is Hungarian? A selection from the Hungarian press documents in Slovakia concerning the “place-name sign war” and the “personal-name war”, 1990–1994], Pozsony 1995.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. I. Lanstyák, G. Szabó Mihály, *Magyar nyelvtervezés Szlovákiában* [Hungarian language planning in Slovakia], Pozsony 2002.

## 16.§

- a) “if the parents of a female child request so at the registering of her name in the Register of Births in accordance with section 13 paragraph 1, or the adapters do so at the registration of their adoption of the child, in the case of irrevocable adoption,
- b) if a woman requests so at the registration of her marriage in the Marriages Register in accordance with section 14,
- c) if a woman requests so in connection with the registration of a decision to change surname in accordance with a separate law.”

## 19.§

(3) “In the Birth Certificate of a person other than Slovak nationality whom this official statement concerns and whose name is entered in the Register in the Slovak equivalent, the person’s name is entered in his language, if he requests so in writing, and a note is made of this circumstance in the Register. All further alterations and confirmations are made out using this form of the name.”

(5) “In the Birth Certificate or Marriage Certificate of a woman whom this concerns, her surname is entered without the grammatical ending of Slovak declination, if she requests so in writing, and a record is made of this circumstance in the Register. All other official statements or confirmations of data entered in the Register are produced with this form of the surname. The written request in the first sentence is placed in the Document Collection.

(6) In case of an underage female person, the request specified in sections (3) and (5) may be submitted by the parents.

(7) Registering the change in the form of the surname and given name in the official registry as specified in sections (3), (5) and (6) does not fall under the regulations of law concerning changing the surname and given name, thus such an act is free of charge according to the law.

(8) A request to change a female surname to display the grammatical ending referring to gender after the person in question has used their right specified in sections (3), (5) and (6) as well as in Paragraph 16 counts as a request to change a name by special regulation.”

## 36.§

“The female surname is used in the Slovak language with the grammatical ending of Slovak declination referring to gender.”

A differential use of surnames and given names can be observed among Slovakia Hungarians in official (formal) vs. non-official (informal) domains. In official domains the use of Slovak-like forms is usual: names are used in the given name + surname order, and women’s names bear the *-ová* ending (e.g. *Peter Horváth, Katarína Szabóová*). In non-official domains, both in writing and in speech, Hungarian-like forms are dominant, with the usual Hungarian surname + given name order, and lack of use of the *-ová* ending with women’s names (e.g. *Horváth Péter, Szabó Katalin*).

The Slovak form of the name can occur in a Hungarian context in the Hungarian order (e.g. *Lukáč Kristian, Tamášová Ingrid*). This occurs, among other contexts, in the listing of students of schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction (in class registers, as well as in school yearbooks etc.).

The difference in the use of the name in the official vs. non-official domains can be manifested in its orthography as well. There can be a difference in the spelling of the surname (*Klaudia Prešinská : Presinszky Klaudia, Lívia Agóčová : Agócs Lívia, Lea Mésárošová : Mészáros Lea*), given name (*František Nagy : Nagy Ferenc, Vojtech Icsó : Icsó Béla, Andráš Kelemen : Kelemen András*), or both (*Eva Kóšová : Kósa Éva, Frederika Marcsová : Marcsa Friderika, Lýdia Bužická : Buzický Lídia, Peter Jančo : Jancsó Péter*).

A dual use of names or bi-naming (e.g. *Vojtech Ďurkovič : Ďurkovič Béla, Alžbeta Kissová : Kiss Erzsébet*) can characterize a dual identity, however, most people employ this as a pre-emptive strategy trying to avoid a possible language or communication problem by using the form conforming with the majority norm in a majority language context and the form conforming with the minority norm in a minority language or informal context<sup>18</sup>.

The nationality of the bearer of the name cannot be established on the basis of the etymology of the surname or its orthography. People of Hungarian nationality can have surnames written in Slovak orthography, e.g. *Andrušková, Danižová, Ďuričeková, Micháliková, Mohošová, Pšenák*, and *Šenkárová*, and vice versa, e.g. *Andruskó, Kocsis, Ölveczki, Pauliszová, Simon*, and *Szmrecsek*. Some given names (female names such as *Anikó, Csenge, Csilla, Emese, Enikő, Napsugár, Tünde*, and *Virág*, and male names such as *Csongor, Ödön, Örs, Szabolcs, Zalán, Zoltán, Zsolt*, and *Zsombor* etc.) are used only by Hungarians in Slovakia and have an identity signaling function.

In Slovakia, the variant of a surname with *-ová* refers to a female bearer of the name. The ending is not used, however, in the case of some names for pleonastic reasons: it cannot attach to names bearing the adjectival ending *-á*, e.g. *Bužická, Potocká*, and *Tichá*. The 1994 Law number 154 on Registers made it possible that every minority person whose name had been registered in Slovak request a birth certificate with their name written according to the rules of the minority language. Women of non-Slovak nationality are allowed to have their names registered without the Slovak *-ová* suffix, although in Slovak their name has to be used with it.

In Slovakia in recent years a great number of people used the opportunity to have their names, originally registered surnames and/or given names re-registered in Hungarian. In the Dunajská Streda/Dunaszerdahely region 542

<sup>18</sup> G. Szabómihály, op.cit., p. 44.



women deleted the *-ová* suffix from their names between 2002 and March 2007 (e.g. *Bartalová* → *Bartal*, *Vargová* → *Varga*) and 325 persons Hungarianized their given name (e.g. *Zuzana* → *Zsuzsanna*, *Katarína* → *Katalin*, *Ladislav* → *László*, *Juraj* → *György*). In the Nové Zámky/Érsekújvár region, 327 persons requested deleting the *-ová* suffix and 225 persons Hungarianized their given names between 1994 and 2005. In the Šaľa/Vágsellye region 324 people requested a Hungarianization of their names between 1994 and 2005, about half of them requesting to delete the *-ová* suffix, and the other half requesting their given name to be Hungarianized.

As far as the registering of given names is concerned, the list of names that people can choose from is longer, the choice of names freer. In Slovakia's registry offices primarily Majtán and Považaj's list of names is used, which contains Hungarian names as well. The dictionary of given names was published by these two authors in 1983, republished in several editions over the years, and published in an enlarged edition in 1998 under the title *Vyberte si meno pre svoje dieťa* ("Choose a given name for your child"). Given names are listed in alphabetical order in this book, with markings specifying whether a name is a female name or a male name, and, after providing the origin and etymology of the name, listing variants of the name in other languages (English, Czech, French, Hungarian, German, Russian, Spanish, and Swedish etc.)<sup>19</sup>. Registry offices in Slovakia also use other sources of names. In the Šaľa/Vágsellye registry office, for instance, all names are registered (according to the office officials) that appear at the [www.babynames.com](http://www.babynames.com) website.

A change in the naming fashion and a striving towards having rare names registered have been observed in Slovakia since the 1989 change of regime<sup>20</sup>. Foreign sounding names and names of foreign origin are frequently registered, some of them in several variants: e.g. *Anthony* / *Tony*, *Enrico* / *Enriko*, *Jessica* / *Jesica* / *Jesika* / *Jessika*, *Jenifer* / *Jennifer*, and *Scarlet* / *Scarlett* / *Scarleta* / *Skarleta*. Movie and TV series characters often serve as inspiration for naming<sup>21</sup>, e.g. *Brenda*, *Derick*, *Diego*, *Eszmeralda*, *Fiona*, *Francesco*, *José Armando*, *Onur*, *Melek*, *Maverick*, *Pamela*, *Rosalinda*, and *Seherezáde*. The

<sup>19</sup> Cf. J. Bauko, *A szlovák névtudomány múltja és jelene* [The past and present of onomastics in Slovakia], "Névtani Értesítő" 2008, 30, p. 185–193.

<sup>20</sup> J. Bauko, *A keresztnévek használata magyar–szlovák kétnyelvű környezetben* [The use of given names in Hungarian-Slovak bilingual environment], In: *Tulajdonnevek a fordítás és a kétnyelvűség kontextusában* [Proper names in context of translation and bilingualism], eds J. Bauko, K. Benyovszky, Nitra 2013, p. 5–27.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. M. Knappová, *Rodná jména v Česku v 21. století* [Personal names in the Czech language in the 21st century], In: *Jazyk a jeho proměny. Prof. Janě Pleskalové k životnímu jubileu* [Language and its change: Festschrift for Prof. Jana Pleskalová on her birthday], eds M. Čornejová, P. Kosek, eds, Brno 2008, p. 121–132.

number of variants of one and the same name has recently increased as well. Cases in point are *Nikolett / Nikoletta / Nikoleta / Nikol / Nikola / Nicol / Nicola / Nicole / Nicolett* and *Kristóf / Krištof / Christofer / Christofor / Christopher / Christophor / Christo*.

According to the Law on Registry, a child can receive up to three given names in Slovakia. Bearers of more than one given name use the one listed first in the registry. Registering two given names has become a new fashion in Slovakia in recent years. Both given names can be Hungarian (*Álmos Bendegúz, Előd Zsombor, István Zoltán, József Kristóf, Szilárd János, Tamás Bence, Vilmos András, Zalán Márk; Biborka Ágnes, Jázmin Virág, Kincső Virág, Krisztina Viola, Réka Lilla, Enikő Csenge*). In rare cases one of the given names is registered in its Hungarian form, the other in Slovak (*Attila Peter, Balázs Imrich, Lajos Daniel, Ernest Balázs, Eugen Márk, Hajnalka Zlatica, Ladislav Krisztofer, Samuel Barnabás, Sebastián Zsolt*). A given name registered in its Hungarian version is sometimes combined with another one of foreign origin (*Anthony Csaba, Balázs Brúnó, Bence Christian, Bryan Zoltán, Ferenc Armand, Giuseppe András, James Jácint, Levente Kevin, Marion Mónika, Vanessa Etel*). Two given names of foreign origin combined with a Hungarian surname may have a comical effect: *Kelemen Noel Thomas, Székely Lara Fanny*, and *Csontos Jennifer Amira*. Three given names are rarely registered for children. In the Levice/Léva region only 7 cases of triple given names were registered between 1994 and 2007: *Adam Dávid Jeremiáš, Enriko Bálint Ludovít* (twice), *Michal Pavol Viktor, Tania Bea Jana, Viet Pluong David*, and *Viet Tuang Hung*.

There are also generational differences in name use. Older generations tend to have more traditional names, while today's children tend to have foreign sounding or foreign spelled names. For examples, in Komárno/Révkomárom names given to newborns include names that are completely missing from among the older generation's names: among those registered in 2008, we find *Amira, Brúnó, Cyntia, Jennifer, Jessica, Kiara, Kitty, Liana, Noel, Marcelló, Melanie, Nadine, Nelly, Ramón, Stefanie*, and *Thomas* etc., while among those registered in 2010 *Chiara, Dajana, Fernanda, Hugó, Lara, Lionel, Melisa, Scarlet*, and *Vivien* etc.

Non-official personal names are given to individuals by the members of the community they live in. Thus, we can make observations on the basis of names about the community as well. The stock of diminutives and nicknames has been affected by Hungarian-Slovak bilingualism, and the proportion of names from each of the languages may indicate the language affiliation of the community as well. Slovakia Hungarians' use of diminutives and nicknames is Hungarian dominant. But, the domination of names from one or the other language in a community can depend on the proportion of the two language groups at

a place: the greater the proportion of Slovaks at a place, the more names of Slovak origin and contact features we are likely to find. People of Slovak ethnicity who have Hungarian personal names usually live in ethnically mixed families and communicate in Hungarian often.

Diminutives have different variants in bilingual Hungarian-Slovak environments. The diminutives of *Katalin* “Catherine” are a case in point: some of its diminutives can be registered as full fledged names, for instance, *Kata*, *Katica*, *Katinka*, and *Kató*. Hungarian speakers usually use Hungarian diminutives of the name of a person of Hungarian identity: *Katácska*, *Katalinka*, *Katicácska*, *Katici*, *Katicka*, *Katika*, *Katinka*, *Katkó*, *Kató*, *Katócska*, *Katóka*, *Katu*, or *Katuci*. The Slovak acquaintances of the Hungarian bearer of the name will likely use Slovak diminutives for them: *Kača*, *Kačka*, *Kačena*, *Kačenka*, *Katarínka*, *Katruša*, or *Katul’a*. Some derivational suffixes occur in both Hungarian and Slovak, with slight orthographic differences: *Katus* – *Katuš*, *Katuska* – *Katuška*, and *Katya* – *Kat’a*. It might be the case that the bearer of the name will use in writing (e.g. in texting or in emails) variants of their name from one language some of the time and from the other language the rest of the time, depending who they are communicating with and in which language. There are diminutives that have the same orthographic form but are pronounced differently in the two languages: *Kata*, *Katka*, *Kati*, *Katica* (in Slovak <a> stands for an unrounded vowel, whereas in Hungarian for a rounded one).

The ethnic composition of the population of a place has an effect on the language origin of nicknames: it is the dominant language which usually gives the vast majority of nicknames at a given place. The history of the study of nicknames of Slovakia Hungarians was summarized in Bauko<sup>22</sup>. From the works mentioned there it is clear that in those places where Hungarians constitute the majority of the local population, Hungarian-Slovak bilingualism has a lesser effect on the use of nicknames than in places where Hungarians are the local minority. The greatest part of the corpus is comprised of names of Hungarian origin, while names of Slovak etymology are rare.

### 3.

In sum, it is important to stress that the bilingual environment of Slovakia Hungarians affects their use of personal names. Bilingual persons can choose names from a larger set of names. The social environment, the (formal or

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<sup>22</sup> J. Bauko, *Ragadványnev-vizsgálatok kétnyelvű környezetben* [Studying nicknames in a bilingual situation], Nitra–Budapest 2009.

informal) communicative situation, and the communicative partners have an influence on whether the name used is from one language or the other. The dimensions of time, space and society play an important role in the change and diversity of personal names. A Hungarian dominant use of names characterizes Slovakia Hungarians in the informal domains, and Slovak dominant use in the formal domains. Personal names have an identity marking function, and can indicate the language affiliation and nationality of their bearer.

Ján Bauko

### **The use of personal names among Slovakia Hungarians**

This study deals the use of personal names among Slovakia Hungarians. The bilingual environment of Slovakia Hungarians affects their use of personal names. Bilingual persons can choose names from a larger set of names. Choosing a variant of a personal name from one language or the other can depend on several factors: the communicative domain, the communication partners, the social or linguistic context etc. The dimensions of time, space and society play an important role in the change and diversity of personal names. A Hungarian dominant use of names characterizes Slovakia Hungarians in the informal domains, and Slovak dominant use in the formal domains. A dual use of names or bi-naming can characterize a dual identity, however, most people employ this as a pre-emptive strategy trying to avoid a possible language or communication problem by using the form conforming with the majority norm in a majority language context and the form conforming with the minority norm in a minority language or informal context. Personal names have an identity marking function, and can indicate the language affiliation and nationality of their bearer.

**KEYWORDS:** onomastics, personal names, surnames, given names, diminutives, nicknames, Slovakia Hungarians, bilingualism.

Paed **Dr. Ján Bauko** – PhD. (1970) is a lecturer of the Institute of Hungarian Linguistics and Literary Science at the Faculty of Central European Studies of Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra. He teaches disciplines of Hungarian Linguistics (onomastics, phonetics, morphology, lexicology, orthography). He is a member of onomastic commission of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, of public body of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and various linguistic associations (Gramma Language Office in Dunajská Streda, Society of Hungarian Linguistics in Budapest). His publications deal primarily with the issues of onomastics and sociolinguistics.