Theses of Ph.D. Dissertation

Studies in Socio-onomastics in Hajdú-Bihar County

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1. The Subject and Description of the Dissertation

Studies in socio-onomastics focusing on the use of toponyms and their cultural and social context have only recently come to the foreground in onomastics research in Hungary. Despite the fact, however, that comprehensive studies highlighting the social embeddedness of names have only emerged over the past decade, questions related to the awareness and use of toponyms have preoccupied onomasticians for over half a century. From the beginning of the 1960s, numerous progressive ideas have been expressed in this field, however, the findings inherent in them have been fundamentally characterized by the lack of cohesion (mostly due to the lack of a common system of objectives and a shared terminological and methodological background). At the same time, it is a common feature of these studies that even though they did not specify their research framework, their background in name theory can be identified in their functional approach to language. It is due to the need for empirical data in studies in socio-onomastics that this research is rooted in works of traditional toponym collection that became more widespread after the second third of the past century. We may say that this half-a-century-long interaction had a positive impact on both sub-disciplines.

In my dissertation, I considered it to be one of the key tasks to increase the currently low number of empirical surveys in socio-onomastics. These works primarily use the principle of inductive generalization, and I believe that it could contribute to this area of study the best if several interrelated and comparable, systematically structured socio-onomastic analyses became available. The comparison of research findings of various studies would strengthen not only the terminological and methodological framework that is still under development today, but by means of comparisons it may also entail the refinement of conclusions drawn for the purposes of theoretical generalization. Thus I argue that today's socio-onomastic research projects can set the key areas of this research field together and in a continuous dialogue with one another (HOFFMANN 2015: 18). When discussing the topic and objectives of my work, it should also be highlighted that I have completed it within the onomastics group in Debrecen, also adapting its general theoretical approach, i.e., a functional approach to language (HOFFMANN 2012), and while being directly involved in the theoretical foundation work (GYÖRFFY 2018) and research in the area of toponym sociology (VARGA 2020).

While considering the above objectives, in my dissertation I have completed the socio-onomastic analysis of four settlements in Hajdú-Bihar County (Szentpéterszeg, Bakonszeg, Pród and Bodaszőlő), surveying the toponym awareness of close to 300 people over the past decade.

2. Methods and Considerations of Surveying

My dissertation is made up of two larger units. The first chapter includes an introduction to the theoretical and methodological background of studies in toponym sociology. After the definition of name sociology and toponym sociology and an overview of this field of research, I discuss several terminological issues related to the dissertation. Then, I provide an overview of those basic principles of functional linguistics that are central to more recent socio-onomastic research and which I have also used in my studies. Besides the significance of empirical data from real language use, in this chapter I also introduce the concepts of typological intention and extra-linguistic factors, followed by a detailed introduction to the methodology of traditional toponym collection and toponym awareness surveys.

In the second, longer chapter that makes up the bulk of the dissertation I introduce the results of the name awareness survey conducted in the four settlements. These surveys were completed between 2013 and 2019 using half-structured interviews. For the analysis, I used the synchronous toponymic corpus that I compiled by means of traditional toponym collection between 2011 and 2016. I started working on this as a university student joining the Hajdú-Bihar County project of the Historical Linguistics and Onomastics Group of the University of Debrecen: When compiling the registry of Hajdúböszörmény, I collected toponyms, among others, in Bodaszőlő and Pród. The two onomastic corpuses are included in Hajdú-Bihar megye helynevei 1. [Toponyms of Hajdú-Bihar County 1.] A Hajdúböszörményi és a Hajdúhadházi járás helynevei [Toponyms Hajdúböszörmény and Hajdúhadház districts]. In the settlements in the southern part of the county, i.e., Bakonszeg and Szentpéterszeg, I collected toponyms due to my personal involvement, however, when choosing the settlements I also considered the partly similar and partly different nature of settlement types. I published the toponymic corpus of these two settlements in the form of journal articles in 2015 and 2016. The corpuses compiled this way have been recorded in the databases with a field structure specified by the Hungarian National Toponym Registry.

During the surveys of toponym awareness, however, I used a database with a different structure, including three different fields. The basis of the database is the name usage unit field. In my research I considered all those toponym varieties signifying the same place to belong to a single name usage unit that had the same (or in some cases almost the same) semantic content. For example, in the case of a forest road in the outskirts of Bodaszőlő, the following toponyms are used: Bocskai nyiladék ~ Bocskaikerti nyiladék ~ Bocskaikerti őt ~ Csalánszállító nyiladék. In my study I considered these to be two name usage units as the semantic content of one of them is 'a (forest) road leading to Bocskaikert', while that of the other is a 'forest road on which people used to carry nettles'. I consider this methodological process to be expedient because I believe that the distribution of toponym use is mostly related to the functional-semantic content, the lexical-morphological structure of names has a smaller impact on it. Name users practically consider name variants with an identical functional-semantic content to be one name, they see a difference between names signifying the same referent only in the case of a differing semantic content. The second field of the database contains object information on the localization of the referent of the name usage unit, and additional information connected to the object that are important from the perspective of toponym awareness. Finally, in the third field I marked the toponym awareness of respondents: during the surveys, I took it for certain that a name user is aware of a given name only if they could also locate it. This practically matches ZSOLNAI'S concept of active name awareness. I considered any other cases (e.g., if the respondent has heard the name but cannot localize it or if a respondent has never heard of it) as examples when the name user is not aware of the name, i.e., I did not consider name awareness related to the elements of the passive toponymicon. When calculating the percentage figures in the dissertation, I considered the synchronous toponymic corpus of the given settlement to represent 100%, and within this the name variants designating the same referent, expressing an identical semantic content were considered as one name usage unit.

When selecting the residents participating in the toponym awareness survey, my aim was to have respondents who represent the given community as widely as possible. In the case of each settlement, I paid attention not only to a balance between the gender groups but also to the diversity of occupations. I also tried to include such respondents who are more aware of names due to their profession, i.e., postmen, hunters, those involved in

water management: their occupation requires a familiarity with toponyms designating particular places much more than in the case of others. The interviews started with informal discussions in all cases, then we talked about the names of the inner area of the settlement. Using their imagination, I navigated the respondents to a specific part of an area and asked them to list the places around there. Then I designated their own street as a starting point and asked them to introduce the village starting from there. In the second part of the interviews, I asked all my respondents about the awareness of names that had not come up in the discussion, using the interrogation method. The third phase of the toponym awareness survey involved the organization of collected materials.

Using the method outlined here, I completed the name sociological analysis of the four settlements partly based on common considerations and partly on different factors, i.e., in line with individual features due to the social situation of the particular settlements and the resulting unique aspects inherent in the stock of toponyms. Of the extra-linguistic factors, age correlated most with toponym awareness, thus I explored the correlations between these two factors in connection with the onomastic corpus of all settlements involved. To ensure the comparability of the results (in line with recently published works) I presented the analyses in terms of generational groups specified for every 20 years. Approaching from a linguistic-onomatosystematical perspective, in several analyses I discussed the interconnectedness of toponymic systems and toponym awareness and I completed the name community studies as well with regard to several settlements. I specified the additional key points of the analysis based on the different toponym-sociological aspects inherent in the various name usage groups: In Pród I completed a follow-up study, while in Bakonszeg I analyzed the toponym usage mechanisms of children as part of the survey. I examined the links between sex and toponym awareness in Szentpéterszeg and the impact of ethnic belonging on name awareness in Bodaszőlő.

In the last unit of the second chapter of the dissertation I included the comparison of the four analyses and their evaluation, in consideration of the above-mentioned analytical aspects. Here, I also supplemented findings of my own research with the results of research carried out by ERZSÉBET GYŐRFFY and ZSUZSA VARGA.

3. New Scholarly Findings of the Dissertation

3.1. The Interconnectedness of Settlement History and Toponym Awareness

Comparing the name awareness averages of the four villages, I have found that in Bakonszeg and Szentpéterszeg, two prototypical settlements with a long history, inhabited since the Árpád Era, on average language users are aware of at least half of the name corpus of their settlement. As opposed to this, in Pród and Bodaszőlő, which have a history of only a few decades or two centuries and not established as traditional villages, there is a somewhat lower level of name awareness averages. Based on the difference between the two extremes, we might conclude that name toponym awareness also correlates with the past, traditions of the settlement and the continuity of the populations: those living in settlements that have been inhabited for centuries are probably more familiar with the toponyms surrounding them than those living in settlements with a shorter history.

Settlements	Name awareness average
Bakonszeg	60%
Szentpéterszeg	53%
Pród	49%
Bodaszőlő	45%

Fig. 1 The aggregate name awareness average of respondents for each settlement

My findings have also been confirmed by the comparisons made with other research results: in connection with Tépe, a settlement neighboring Szentpéterszeg, and similarly to Bakonszeg and Szentpéterszeg also continuously inhabited since the Árpád Era, ERZSÉBET GYŐRFFY has also found that the name awareness of the inhabitants covers at least half of the settlement's toponymic corpus on average (2018).

3.2. The Interconnected of Age and Toponym Awareness

Based on the results of my analyses, the name awareness averages increase in all settlements as we move up in the age groups (see Fig. 2). According to these results, the weighted name awareness average of those under 20 years of age is 27%, this group is aware of a bit more than a quarter of the settlement's onomastic corpus on average. Those between 21 and 40 are familiar with almost the double of this, on average 49% of the names. The name awareness of a middle aged (41–60 years old) language user is around 60% on average, while that of a person over 60 is 75%.

Generational		Bakonszeg	Szentpéterszeg	Tépe	Pród	Bodaszőlő	Weighted
	groups						average
1.	Under 20	36%	30%	18%	18%	33%	27%
2.	between 21 and 40	59%	44%	50%	51%	41%	49%
3.	between 41 and 60	69%	64%	63%	55%	48%	60%
4.	Over 61	78%	75%	81%	73%	70%	75%

Fig. 2 Name awareness averages of different generational groups

My results are in line with the indicators of all surveys conducted in this topic, however, in view of the results of the follow-up study (introduced below) included in one of the sub-chapters of the dissertation the previous observations and the conclusions based on them are somewhat refined.

3.3. The Interconnected of Sex and Toponym Awareness

The widely held opinion that men are aware of much more toponyms than women is rooted in experience in traditional toponym collection and the methodological descriptions created based on these and related to name collection. The earliest toponym collection guidelines published recommended contacting male respondents belonging to the old peasant layers, however, later on the scope of respondents was expanded. As due to the studies of toponym awareness this long-held view could also be revisited, I certainly wanted to include this issue in my dissertation as well: based on my experience during my research, there is no significant difference in the name awareness of the two groups. The studies introduced in sub-chapter 1.5. of Chapter II indicate that women in Szentpéterszeg are aware of 48% of the total onomastic corpus on average, while men are familiar with 58% of it, which means that three-fourths of the names known by men are also known by women.

The case study of Szentpéterszeg also showed that the somewhat more extensive name awareness of men is due to their gender, i.e., their social situation and position. If we also involve data in the analysis from those settlements where this aspect is not specifically addressed but I obviously worked with both male and female respondents, the following conclusions can be drawn. We see similar proportions in the surveys in Tépe and Pród, while in Bakonszeg and Bodaszőlő there is an even more balanced proportion, what is more, in the latter case the name awareness average of women is somewhat above that of men (see Fig. 3).

Settlements	Women	Men
Szentpéterszeg	48%	58%
Bakonszeg	60%	61%
Tépe	48%	56%
Pród	44%	53%
Bodaszőlő	47%	45%
Weighted average	49%	55%

Fig. 3 Name awareness according to gender

Results of weighted averages indicate that women on average are familiar with 49% of the local toponym corpuses, while men are aware of 55% of it. Summarizing those mentioned above, we can claim that on average men are familiar with more toponyms but there is no major difference between the name awareness of the two sexes.

3.4. Interconnectedness of Ethnicity and Toponym Awareness

I explored the links between ethnicity and toponym awareness by means of the name awareness studies of the toponymicon of Bodaszőlő. Based on the results of the survey, Hungarians are familiar with 44% of the toponymic corpus of Bodaszőlő, while the Roma are aware of 37% of it. We can find interesting results when looking at the name knowledge of specific ethnic age groups: both Hungarian and Roma children are familiar with one third of the toponymic corpus. In the other age groups, however, Hungarians are characterized by a better name awareness than members of the Roma population: there is an x percentage point difference between the name awareness of these two groups. When completing the ethnic survey of Kisbábony is Romania, ZSUZSA VARGA also found that Hungarians were familiar with somewhat more toponyms than the Roma residents. He argues that the Roma of Kisbábony are aware of fewer names, especially toponyms designating objects in the outskirts, because while Hungarians have traditionally lived from agriculture, the Roma encounter toponyms in the outskirts only during occasional agricultural work (2020).

When comparing the toponym awareness of the Hungarian and Roma community of Bodaszőlő, I have also found that the somewhat lower toponym awareness of the Roma population is not only the result of regional-ethnic separation or the somewhat different living space. Moreover, the different lifestyle also only partly explains this phenomenon. A part of the Bodaszőlő community has lived in the village for only 10-15 years, and this clearly affects their toponym awareness as well. In the age group, for example, in which all members have been living in the settlement since they were born, the name awareness

of the language users belonging to the two ethnic groups is practically identical, in the other generational groups, however, the name awareness of the Roma population is lower. This is not independent of the fact that all of the adult members of the Bodaszőlő Roma community are recently settled residents, while this proportion is lower in the case of Hungarians. Based on my research findings, the name awareness of the Hungarian language users not born in the settlement does not differ significantly from the values valid for the Roma population: thus the name awareness of recently settled residents is independent of ethnic belonging and depends on the time spent at the settlement and in relation to that their relationship with the outskirts.

3.5. Name Communities

In my dissertation I also addressed the topic of name communities, which has been discussed by scholars first from a theoretical standpoint (HOFFMANN 1993/2007) and more recently based on the findings of empirical research (GYÖRFFY 2018: 101–127). However, as until now we have not been able to fully clarify the notion of name communities (TÓTH 2016: 35), in my work I also wanted to contribute to the clarification of the attributes of the concept through two specific name community studies. In Szentpéterszeg I studied the name awareness of two regional-social micro communities, called kóróvárosiak and bőrkabátosok by locals, while in Bakonszeg I analyzed the name awareness of a genetics-based community, a three-generation family. Based on the results of the first study, all elements of the name cluster commonly known by kóróvárosiak designate objects in the outskirts, however, bőrkabátosok have a shared knowledge also of many toponyms in the inner area. The reason for the difference can be found in the social background of the micro communities: the bőrkabátosok have been cultivating their own land for generations and thus their relationship to the boundaries, the land was also limited fundamentally to their own land. As opposed to this, kóróvárosiak who typically performed contract work cultivated not only one or two pieces of land owned by them but just the opposite: they could cultivate land in any part of the boundary owned by small landowners. Thus in the group of kóróvárosiak the abundant field name corpus could be passed on for generations, while in the case of bőrkabátosok only those connected to the land due to their occupation could develop a broader name awareness. The findings of the study of the genetics-based name community are also instructive: the shared toponymicon of the family of five in Bakonszeg included a truly significant part, 36% of the village's

synchronous onomastic corpus. Furthermore, it is also clear that the referents of many elements in the shared onomastic corpus are located in the western boundary of the settlement, close to the residence of the family.

3.6. Further opportunities for research

In the last chapter of *Helynév-szociológia* [Toponym sociology] ERZSÉBET GYŐRFFY highlighted certain issues that he argued were not included or were not emphatic enough in his work, while they should represent important areas in name sociology (2018). In my dissertation I discuss two of these issues, the real and apparent time hypothesis, and the mechanisms of toponym use by children. The need for real time surveys is justified by the fact that static toponym awareness analyses provide insights only into the given synchronous condition but they offer no direct information on the real tendencies of change characterizing the name knowledge of language users. The examination of the toponym use of children, at the same time, may be considered a key task of toponym sociology and psycholinguistics because so far only a few studies have been published in this topic, and thus the methodology of this field of research is still to be established. Such studies might be informative also from the perspective of the later operation of proper nouns and they may also take us closer to answering questions in the field of name theory (RESZEGI 2015: 83).

3.6.1. Mechanism of toponym use by children

In works studying the toponym awareness of children so far, based on the different case studies (RESZEGI 2015, GYŐRFFY 2018, VARGA 2020), we could gain insights into the mental toponym lexicon of only 20 children under 10 years of age. When assessing the results of such studies, we can start out from the assumption that a child around the age of 3 has a good chance of hearing toponyms related to his or her own settlement at this phase of language acquisition. Although the spatial knowledge of the child is probably only of a small scale, it definitely includes the pathways taken every day. As after a while they also associate these pathways with the toponyms heard, it is not by chance that the first items to appear on their mental map are the names of their own street, part of the city, and settlement. The local toponym knowledge of children living in small settlements, also due to the above mechanism, expands with the inner area names of the settlement, primarily street names. More or less at the same time, simultaneously with the expanding spatial knowledge, they also learn the names of neighboring settlements and the names of the

settlements of relatives. Somewhat later, at around young school age (probably not independently of the expansion of their living space and the impact of new social relationships and education) they begin to learn some of the names in the outskirts of their own settlement. These names typically designate objects located directly next to the inner area. Finally, at the age of 7-9, the names of objects located further away may also appear in their cognitive map. At this age, the proportion of names known in the outskirts sometimes exceeds the number of toponyms designating objects in the inner area.

3.6.2. Studies of real and apparent time

With the help of studying real and apparent time we can measure the changes in the toponym awareness of different language users with age. According to the concept of apparent time, the differences perceived in the present could be interpreted as a process in time if the differences appear between language users of a different age or generational group (Bodó 2013: 8). To support the apparent time hypothesis, we need to conduct studies based on data from real time. One of the methods of real time studies involves follow-up studies, i.e., the repetition of examinations made in the given time. This is subdivided into two types, trend and panel studies. In my dissertation I used the latter, thus measuring the language use of the same people at different times. The two studies were conducted in 2013 and 2019 with the involvement of 16 language users.

As I have noted above, according to the results of static measurements so far, the scale of toponym awareness increases with the age groups. This also indicates that language learning spans the whole life of the individuals and the continuous expansion of the toponymicon reaches its peak at an older age. Intuitively, based on our experience with toponym collection, we suspect, of course, that such a pace of expansion in the toponymicon can hardly be matched with the basic mechanisms of use of place names. The apparent time studies may confirm such a suspicion with scholarly tools as well.

The result of the panel survey introduced in sub-chapter 3.4.2. of Chapter II is that the toponym acquisition of children and youngsters significantly slows down after a while, what is more, practically it terminates in the second age group (see Fig. 4).

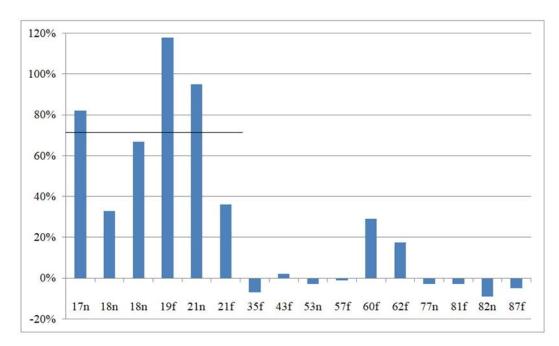


Fig. 4 The percentage change of the scale of toponym awareness in real time

Moreover, the follow-up study has also revealed that the proportion of names known by all respondents shows an increasing trend by age group, however, between the values of the first and second age group there may be double or even fivefold differences, while the values of the third and fourth generational groups barely differ from one another. This overview also indicates that in the case of those over 40 we cannot expect a sharp increase in toponyms, thus our above statement is strengthened even further.

Thus, as a final conclusion we might say that the higher name awareness of older generations is mostly not due to the continuous expansion of name awareness. Probably members of this age group were familiar with much more names then today's younger generations even when they were young. This at the same time means that the younger people will not learn the toponymicon possessed by the elderly and the reduction in the frequency of name awareness also means a shrinking local stock of toponyms. Simultaneously, due to globalization the global toponymicon of language users (probably also belonging to the newer generations) going beyond the borders of their own settlement is probably going to expand rapidly.

4. Further opportunities for research

Toponym awareness correlates with numerous linguistic and onomatosystematical as well as extra-linguistic variables, these correlations, however, may be modified by additional variables related to individual life stories. As socio-onomastic research has so far focused only on the toponym awareness of residents of small settlements, we currently

have no information whether similar trends characterize the toponym awareness of people living in bigger settlements like towns. Thus I believe that the expansion of studies in this direction can definitely provide us with new findings. It would also be informative to repeat the follow-up study another decade later and expand it to the other settlements. It may represent a completely new field of research in toponym sociology to conduct surveys on the total toponymicon of the individual, including the assessment of the local stock of toponyms.

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