Geographische Namen
Geographical Names

Romanian Oikonyms and Hodonyms Mirroring the Great Union of 1918

Oliviu Felecan, Cluj-Napoca (Romania)*

with 4 figures in the text

Contents

Summary

In the exploration of commemorative names, researchers' attention has focused increasingly on the relationship between hodonyms and oikonyms, on the one hand, and history, geography, politics, ethnic, social, and cultural context, on the other. These significant aspects determine the authorities' decision to (re)name public space. The aim of this study is to analyse hodonyms and oikonyms evocative of the Great Union of Romania of 1918, as well as their dissemination and occurrence in urban toponymic landscape.

The end of World War I redrew the borders of Europe and led to the appearance of new states, the independence of certain countries, and the unification of others. In this respect,

---

*   Prof. univ. Dr. habil. Oliviu Felecan, Faculty of Arts, Technical University of Cluj-Napoca, North University Centre of Baia Mare, Romania. – Email: olifelecan@yahoo.com.

Romania was not an exception, as it joined the neighbouring countries in the reconfiguration of the political map of the old continent. The unification of the country took place on 1 December 1918, a date which has been celebrated since 1990 as the National Day of Romania.

To compile the corpus used to investigate toponyms referring to the Great Union of 1918 throughout Romania, the author consulted the mass media and online maps, as they mirror the current state of affairs the best. Precepts from socio-, psycho-, ethnolinguistics, geography and history make up the methodological framework of the research. One of the conclusions of the article is that the Unification of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania is the greatest achievement of the Romanian political elite. Therefore, it had all the odds to become the most frequently encountered commemorative name in Romanian public space as a result of the major political changes of the twentieth century. The linguistic, geographical, religious or social motivation, related to the configuration of a place, loses prominence, as the centre of attention becomes the historical connection accepted by the majority of the population, local administration, and the ruling political class.

Keywords: Oikonym, hodonym, public space, Great Union, commemorative name

Zusammenfassung

RUMÄNISCHE SIEDLUNGS- UND STRASSENNAMEN IN ERINNERUNG AN DIE VEREINIGUNG SIEBENBÜRGENS MIT RUMÄNIEN

Bei Siedlungs- und Straßennamen mit Gedenkfunktion richtet sich die Aufmerksamkeit der Forschung immer mehr einerseits auf das wechselseitige Verhältnis von Hodonymen und Oikonymen und andererseits auf ihren geschichtlichen, geographischen und politischen Hintergrund und ihren ethnischen, sozialen und kulturellen Kontext. Es sind dies auch die Faktoren, die Neu- und Umbenennungen von Siedlungen und Straßen beeinflussen. Objekte dieser Studie sind Siedlungs- und Straßennamen, die sich auf die Vereinigung Siebenbürgens mit dem Königreich Rumänien am 1. Dezember 1918 beziehen, und deren Verbreitung in der urbanen Namenlandschaft.

Das Ende des Ersten Weltkriegs führte zu Grenzverschiebungen in Europa und dazu, dass neue Staaten entstanden und andere sich in ihrer Größe veränderten. Zu letzteren zählte Rumänien, das sich um seinen innerkarpatischen Teil sowie um die Bukowina und Bessarabien wesentlich vergrößerte. Die Vereinigung des innerkarpatischen Rumäniens, also Siebenbürgens im weiteren Sinn, mit dem „Alten Königreich" wurde am 1. Dezember 1918 vollzogen; ab 1990 wurde der 1. Dezember dann rumänischer Nationalfeiertag.

Die analysierte Sammlung der auf die Union Siebenbürgens mit Rumänien Bezug nehmenden Toponyme wurde auf der Grundlage von Bezeichnungen in Massenmedien und im Internet abrufbaren Stadtplänen erstellt, da diese am besten den aktuellen Stand widerspiegeln. Die Erkenntnisse der Sozio-, Psycho- und Ethnolinguistik sowie der Geographie und der Geschichtswissenschaften bilden die Grundlage der hier angewandten Methodologie. Eine der Schlussfolgerungen lautet, dass die Vereinigung Siebenbürgens mit dem Königreich Rumänien als die größte Errungenschaft der politischen Elite Ru-

mäniens im 20. Jahrhundert gilt und infolgedessen alle Voraussetzungen dafür erfüllt, die Grundlage für die am häufigsten verwendeten Gedenknamen im öffentlichen Raum Rumäniens zu bilden. Motive sprachlicher, geographischer, religiöser oder sozialer Art, die sich auf das zu benennende Objekt beziehen, treten dabei in den Hintergrund. Ausschlaggebend für Namen mit Geschichtsbezug sind die Akzeptanz durch die Mehrheitsbevölkerung sowie der Wille der örtlichen Verwaltung und der politischen Entscheidungsträger.

Schlagwörter: Oikonym, Hodonym, Siedlungsname, Straßenname, öffentlicher Raum, Union Siebenbürgens mit Rumänien, Gedenkname

1 Theoretical outlook and methodology

In the last decades, an increasing number of linguists, geographers, historians and sociologists have turned their attention to hodonyms and oikonyms, and studied them on the theoretical level (Azaryahu 1996, pp. 311–330; Azaryahu 2011a, pp. 28–33; David 2011, pp. 214–228; Felecan 2013, pp. 143–151; Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch 2016, pp. 1–21; Golomidova 2018, pp. 36–61; Hagen 2011, pp. 23–27; Rose-Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu 2010, pp. 453–470; Rusu 2020, in press), and from numerous applied perspectives, diachronically (Algeo 2015, pp. 220–232) and synchronically.

Although most studies are highly complex and therefore difficult to be put into a clear-cut category, some can be grouped according to the main topics: politics (Alderman 2003, pp. 163–173; Alderman and Inwood 2013, pp. 211–233; Basik 2019, pp. 65–66; Brasher, Alderman and Subanthore 2020; Chloupek 2019b, pp. 25–35), racism (Berg and Kearns 1996, pp. 99–122), (post)colonialism (Atencio 2018; Casagranda 2013, pp. 291–302; Mamvura 2019, pp. 32–39; Mamvura 2020, in press; Njoh and Chie 2019, pp. 1109–1127), nationalism after interethnic and interreligious wars (Feldman 2005, pp. 649–662), post-Nazism (Azaryahu 2011b, pp. 483–492; Azaryahu 2012a, pp. 385–400), post-communism (Chloupek 2019a, pp. 71–75; Crljenko 2012, pp. 230–241; David 2018, pp. 70–86; Felecan 2017a, pp. 78–87; Forest, Johnson and Till 2004, pp. 357–380), post-apartheid (Guyot and Seethal 2007, pp. 55–63; Neethling 2013, pp. 19–34), post-dictatorship (Capdepon 2020, pp. 100–130), cultural heritage (David 2013, pp. 53–60), religion (Felecan 2017b, pp. 611–621), feminism/gender equality (Novas Ferradás 2018, pp. 109–129; Walkowiak 2017, pp. 331–350), commerce and publicity (Madden 2010, pp. 187–207), tourism development and cultural conflict (Shoval 2013, pp. 612–626).

Studies can also be grouped according to places they examine: cities – such as Berlin (Azaryahu 1997, pp. 479–493), Bucharest (Light 2004, pp. 154–172; Light, Nicolae and Suditu 2002, pp. 135–144; Light and Young 2014, pp. 668–685), Budapest (Palonen 2008), Kraków (Drozdzewski 2014, pp. 66–78), London (Algeo 1999, pp. 205–214), Minsk (Basik and Rahautsou 2019, pp. 107–120), Moscow (Gill 2005, pp. 480–503), New York (Algeo 1999, pp. 205–214; Allen 1993, pp. 219–227; Rose-Redwood 2008, pp. 431–452) –, regions (Felecan 2019, pp. 167–184; Nyström 2018, pp.

263–279), countries or nations (Azaryahu and Kook 2002, pp. 195–213; David 2012, pp. 227–238; Gnatiuk 2018, pp. 119–136; Whelan 2011, pp. 7–12).

> *"Much of the scholarship has focused on place names in the context of nationalism and (post)colonialism and how political elites   public authorities within countries use the toponymic process – particularly commemorative street naming – to erase signs of earlier political and ideological regimes and to advance new notions of national identity and memory."* (Alderman and Inwood 2013, p. 212)

In Romania, as in all former communist countries, research into hodonymic and oikonymic public space has been carried out beginning with the post-1989 period by linguists, geographers, and historians. These specialists are Romanian and foreign, which has facilitated the recording of objective analyses revealing both the perspective of insiders, and the detached approach coming from the outside. In this respect, among the significant studies one can mention *The History of Street-Name Changes in Transylvania* (Bartos-Elekes 2016, pp. 37–54), *Tradiție și inovație în toponimie. Hodonimele* [Tradition and innovation in toponymy. Hodonyms] (Butnaru 2013, pp. 59–65), *Toponimie geografică românească* [Romanian geographical toponymy] (Buza 2002), *Toponimie românească* [Romanian toponymy] (Crețan 2000), *Popular Responses to City-Text Changes: Street Naming and the Politics of Practicality in a Post-Socialist Martyr City* (Crețan and Matthews 2016, pp. 92–102), *Politics of Street Names and the Reinvention of Local Heritage in the Contested Urban Space of Oradea* (Erőss 2017, pp. 353–367), *Hodonimie românească – între autohtonism și cosmopolitism* [Romanian hodonymy – between autochthonism and cosmopolitanism] (Felecan 2013, pp. 318–328), *Un veac de transformări oiconimice în România* [A century of oikonymic changes in Romania] (Felecan 2016, pp. 439–453), *The Great Union Reflected in Romanian Urban Toponymy* (Felecan 2019c, pp. 105–116), *Oiconime bănățene de origine maghiară* [Hungarian oikonyms in the Banat] (Frățilă 2011, pp. 411–430), *Shifting Urban Namescapes: Street Name Politics and Toponymic Change in a Romanian(ised) City* (Rusu 2020a, pp. 48–58), *Political Patterning of Urban Namescapes and Post-Socialist Toponymic Change: A Quantitative Analysis of Three Romanian Cities* (Rusu 2020b), *The Change of Names in 20th Century Romanian Toponymy* (Tomescu 2012, pp. 353–364), *Straßennamen in Rumänien am Beispiel von Hermannstadt/Sibiu* [Street names in Romania using the example of Hermannstadt/Sibiu] (Wochele 2015, pp. 151–168).

To compile the corpus used to investigate toponyms referring to the Great Union of 1918 throughout Romania, the author consulted the mass media and online maps, as they mirror the current state of affairs the best. Precepts from socio-, psycho-, ethnolinguistics, geography and history make up the methodological framework of the research.

2 Historical and geographical premises

The year 1918 did not only bring about the end of World War I, but also the collapse of the German, Austro-Hungarian, and Ottoman empires. In Central Europe, these historical events affected the political world through the proclamation of the independence of certain

states (Poland and Czechoslovakia in October, Hungary in November), the transformation of states into republics (Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia), and the unification of states (Romania, the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs). Some geographical effects ensued as well, as the borders were redrawn and subsequently sanctioned through the Treaty of Versailles.

Source: Wikimedia Commons (Greater Romania, *https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File: Greater_Romania.svg*)

Figure 1: Administrative map of Romania in 1930 (including historical regions and counties)

For the Kingdom of Romania, the year 1918 meant the twofold increase of state territory[1] as a result of the unification of the mother country with all the areas inhabited by Romanian majority: Bessarabia in March, Bukovina in November, and Transylvania on 1 December 1918.[2] The unification of all Romanians derived from the "democratic exercise of the right to national self-determination of the majority population in Transylvania", as Pop and Bolovan (2016, p. 382, originally Romanian) point out. The authors further note that the principle of national self-determination has also entailed that certain peoples of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire were "content with the situation created and cel-

---

[1] 295,049 km^2 as opposed to 138,000 km^2 during the reign of Charles I of Romania (Karl of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen): 1881–1914.

[2] *De facto* and *de jure*, the Banat was only taken over by the Romanian authorities in August 1919.

ebrated their great joy, while others were utterly disappointed because they considered the outcome had been catastrophic or sheer national tragedies" (ibid., p. 387, originally Romanian), as dictated by their interests and sentiments.

For the Romanians, the Great Union is the major achievement subsequent to World War I, when Romania's borders expanded considerably and there appeared the context for steady development. As proof of the importance of the establishment of the National Unitary State of Romania, after freedom was regained in 1989 and democracy was reinstalled Romania chose the date of 1 December as its National Day.

The celebration of the centenary of the Great Union may be a reason to carry out a multidisciplinary analysis of the anniversary of a key event in the history of a state. By using tools of investigation specific to geography, history, and sociolinguistics, this study aims at examining names of thoroughfares and settlements related to the event celebrated on 1 December 1918. *Ab initio* a methodological delineation must be made between the Great Union and the Small Union, which took place in 1859 when the ruler Alexandru Ioan Cuza succeeded in unifying the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia under the name of *Romania*, as sanctioned in the Constitution adopted in 1866. In what follows, as a result of etymological research, the paper only discusses names related to the unification established on 1 December 1918.

Source: Wikimedia Commons (United Principalities (Romania), 1859–1878, *https://commons. wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Romania_1859-1878.png*)

Figure 2: United Principalities of Romania (1859–1878), in light grey

3 Names of thoroughfares

Of all toponyms, hodonyms are the most unstable as they are subject to socio-political arbitrariness and preferences of local authorities. According to Nicolae and Suditu (2008, p. 124, originally Romanian), "street names disseminate certain symbols and values. When they correspond to proper names, they allow" the display for all the inhabitants of the illustriousness of certain citizens and the promotion of values and symbols specific to the entire society. The idea of prestige is given more consideration than geographical, linguistic or social motivation. Nevertheless, historical motivation plays an essential role in the choice of hodonyms after the decisive moment of the establishment of the National Unitary State of Romania. As noted by Rose-Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu (2018, p. 5), "the renaming of streets and remaking of urban commemorative landscapes have long been key strategies that different political regimes have employed to legitimize spatial assertions of sovereign authority, ideological hegemony, and symbolic power". However, one cannot infer that "street nomenclature was more than a passive artifact, but was rather a means of claiming a city's landscape, symbolically and materially, and using the power of urban space to legitimize certain worldviews and identities" (ibid., p. 5), because in the case under investigation a major historical event is celebrated, along with the memory of the ancestors who achieved it.

3.1 Transparent hodonyms

The Unification is present in Romanian hodonymic landscape throughout the country in association with numerous appellatives: *şosea* [road], *bulevard* [boulevard, avenue], *stradă* [street], *splai* [riverbank], *piaţă* [square], *cale* [roadway], and *alee* [lane]. Diachronically, the hodonyms analysed are not older than a century, except for some names in the Old Kingdom.[3] The landmark for these names was the Union accomplished by Alexandru Ioan Cuza in 1859.

In general, by investigating online maps[4] I could notice that in most cases the hodonyms in question are found at the centre of settlements. They designate the main streets of a town (for instance, in Bacău, Baia Mare, Buzău, and Drobeta-Turnu Severin) or a secondary, shorter roadway, but one situated nearby administrative sites that are significant for the local community (city halls, prefectures, cathedrals, and the like): Arad, Braşov, Piteşti, Sibiu, Satu Mare, Tulcea, Zalău. There are some cases in which the name is linked to a less prominent street: Alexandria, Râmnicu Vâlcea, Roman, Slatina, Vaslui, Zimnicea.

Piaţa Unirii [Union Square] is toponym enjoying the best geographical position in most Romanian urban settlements (Bistriţa, Cluj-Napoca, Oradea, Slobozia, Timişoara), thereby showing the respect that authorities have for the century-old political event. In

---

[3] After winning its independence from the Ottoman Empire (1877), under the reign of King Charles I (born as Prince Karl of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen) the official name of the state was *Kingdom of Romania* (as of 1881).

[4] The research was carried out in the summer of the year when the centenary of the Great Union was celebrated.

certain settlements, Union Square is central, but it does not identify the most important place of a town/city. An eloquent example in this respect is Târgu-Mureș.

Nevertheless, there are instances in which *Piața Unirii* [Union Square] does not refer to the event that happened a hundred years ago, but to the Small Union achieved by Alexandru Ioan Cuza. One comes across such examples in the cities that were involved in the 1859 event, e.g., Bucharest (see B1 2018), Iași, and Focșani.

Piața 1 Decembrie (1918) [1 December (1918) Square] is found in Botoșani, Bucharest, Oradea, Ploiești, Reșița, Sibiu, and Turda. The year is sometimes left out of the hodonym, as it is believed that the importance of the date could not lead to any confusion, especially since it identifies the National Day of Romania as of 1990.

Șoseaua Unirii [Union Road] designates the main roadway in several small or medium-size settlements – such as Balotești, Corbeanca, Moara Vlăsiei, and Orăștie –, which is why it may comprise the appellative *șosea* [road] or *stradă* [street]. As this hodonym identifies the main thoroughfare crossing a settlement, online maps are not consistent and record both appellatives, *șosea* and *stradă*, for the same toponym. The difference lies in the way one relates to the named object. To locals, the thoroughfare is a street, be it main or secondary, whereas to drivers/passengers/travellers it is a road that allows/facilitates crossing the settlement.

The name *Splaiul Unirii* [Union Riverbank] appears in Bucharest. It should not be mistaken for *Bulevardul Unirii* [Union Boulevard]: although both start from the homonymously named square, they go in opposite directions. Thus, the hodonym is semantically motivated – Romanian *splai, splaiuri* (neuter-gender noun), "1. the side of a body of water, a raised, strengthened, and paved area; 2. a wide, richly planted thoroughfare on the bank of a body of water (within the confines of a settlement)" (MDA 2010, s.v., originally Romanian).

Bulevardul Unirii [Union Boulevard] only coexists with *Bulevardul 1 Decembrie 1918* [1 December 1918 Boulevard] in Bucharest. In agreement with the definition of the term *bulevard* [boulevard, avenue], the aforementioned names refer to "intensely used thoroughfares, usually lined with trees". Nevertheless, in most settlements – Alba Iulia, Cluj-Napoca, Deva, Petroșani, Târgu-Mureș etc. – the name of one of the thoroughfares includes the appellative *bulevard* [boulevard, avenue], whereas the other designation comprises the appellative *stradă* [street], depending on the size and structure of the roads.

On the map of the capital city of Romania, one can also find *Strada Unirii* [Union Street] at the periphery. The homonymy of the determiner is solved by means of the determined element: boulevard, roadway, riverbank, street, lane, drive, and others.

The name *Calea Unirii* [Union Roadway] appears in the list of street names of the towns Craiova and Suceava. It designates main thoroughfares that ensure the connection between important roads (e.g., E79) and the town centres. The preference for *cale* [roadway] instead of *bulevard* [boulevard, avenue] is perhaps related to the history of the town, since an old meaning of the noun *cale* is "thoroughfare used for entering a town, establishing its connection with an important road".

In Romanian oikonymic space, the appellative *street* is most commonly attached to the elements *1 Decembrie* [1 December] and *Unirii* [(of the) Union] in urban and rural areas (Chiajna – Ilfov county, Costinești – Constanța county, Lăpușel – Maramureș county, Oc-

na-Șugatag – Maramureș county, Recea – Maramureș county) in which local authorities decided on the names of the streets. In most situations the position of the named entities is central, in the vicinity of significant landmarks for the local community (the city hall, a cathedral/church etc.). Alba Iulia is an eloquent example in this respect. In Cluj-Napoca, for instance, *Strada Unirii* [Union Street] did not enjoy an ideal position in the past (in the neighbourhood Gheorgheni). Nevertheless, taking into consideration the extension and development of the city in the past decade (a mall, several faculties and students' hostels, new residential neighbourhoods etc.), the city grew in importance.

Aleea Unirii [Union Lane] is found in Botoșani, Sibiu, Șelimbăr, and Târgu-Jiu. The name designates geographically central yet administratively unimportant thoroughfares. At the same time, the appellative can also be found in parks in certain settlements (e.g., Ploiești), in which the alleys are strictly meant for pedestrian use. By extrapolation, the name *Unirii* [(of the) Union] may be extended from a street, boulevard or roadway, to a neighbourhood (e.g., in Bucharest, Cernavodă, Reghin, Sighetu Marmației, Slatina, and Târgu-Mureș) or park (in Alba Iulia, Bucharest, and Olănești).
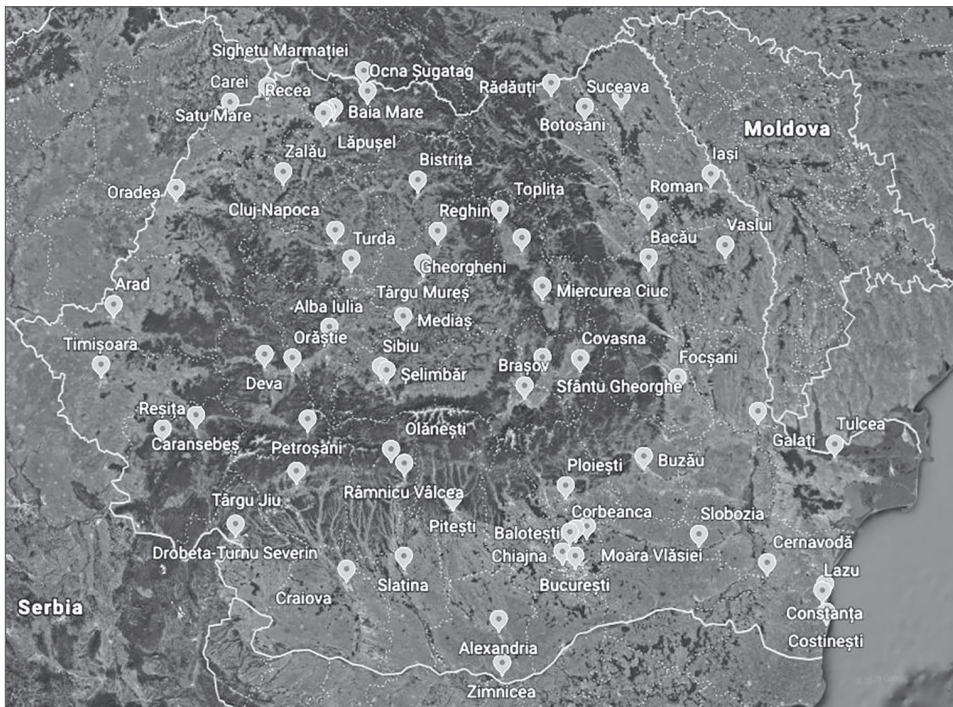
Source: Map generated with Google Earth

Figure 3: The settlements from which the hodonyms analysed in chapter 3 were selected

A different situation may be observed in settlements with Hungarian administration (Carei, Covasna, Miercurea Ciuc, and Sfântu Gheorghe), in which one cannot find names like

Piața Unirii [Union Square], *Strada/Bulevardul Unirii* [Union Street/Boulevard], *Strada 1 Decembrie 1918* [1 December 1918 Street]. Hungarian local authorities in Transylvanian towns in which the Hungarian minority constitutes the majority are reluctant to name streets for the Great Union or the key figures that achieved it.[5] The aforementioned authorities are still fixed on the idea that the Union was a "disaster, a great historical injustice, the tragedy of disproportionate loss" (Pop and Bolovan 2016, p. 387, originally Romanian). This thought has stayed with the Transylvanian minority ever since the end of World War I, when the Paris Peace Conference acknowledged "officially and internationally the union of Transylvania with the Romanian state". "First and foremost, it was aimed at sanctioning a geopolitical reality based on the clear demographic majority of the Romanians in the territories which decided on their statal belonging by means of plebiscite" (Pop and Bolovan 2016, p. 382, originally Romanian). Thus, in the settlements with Hungarian administration, the absence of names celebrating the Great Union "plays a key role in the remaking of urban commemorative landscapes, and, as such, political regimes of varying stripes have enlisted street naming as a strategy of asserting sovereign authority, ideological hegemony, and symbolic power" (Rose-Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu 2018, p. 2).

3.2   Opaque hodonyms

The class of opaque hodonyms includes street names derived from the names of figures that participated in the Great Union. Vasile Goldiș, Iuliu Hossu, Miron Cristea, Alexandru Vaida-Voevod, Aurel Lazăr, and Ștefan Cicio-Pop are some of the leaders of the Romanians from Transylvania. They played a decisive role in the Great Union of 1918. However, most local inhabitants or travellers do not associate the hodonyms based on the names of the aforementioned figures with the individuals in question. Nevertheless, for one category of educated people (albeit not a large group), the obscurity is relative, as their solid general knowledge grants them the chance to decode correctly the meaning of street or settlement names. As one can notice, the list of those who have prepared and established the Unification does not include any women; thus, there are no streets in present-day public space related to the Great Union and bearing women's names. Although this situation could be construed as deeply gendered, it can be accounted for, on the one hand, by the position of women in Romanian society in the past century and, on the other, by their engagement in political life and the movement of national liberation. The only notable exception could be considered Queen Marie of Romania,[6] who successfully negotiated the unification of

---

[5] "The governing authorities of city and state, of course, have long viewed the urban streetscape as a political technology of infrastructural power […], as a space in which to inscribe the ideologies of the ruling regime, and its vision of history, into the landscape of everyday life" (Rose-Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu 2018, p. 1).

[6] This study did not take into consideration the name in hodonymic context, as it is difficult to delineate the Queen's diplomatic activity in 1918–1920 and her genealogy (granddaughter of Queen Victoria of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of Alexander II, Emperor of Russia), on the one hand, from her favourable image in the country, on the other (she was called *mother of the wounded* due to her engagement in World War I).

the country at the Paris Peace Conference, when the new political and territorial order in Europe was established.

Similarly, a street name such as *Alba Iulia*[7] is less likely to trigger associations related to the Great Union than to the Transylvanian city itself, without any historical connotations, along the lines of other thoroughfares bearing the names of other cities (Brașov, Bucharest, Constanța, Sibiu, and Timișoara, for instance). As ROSE-REDWOOD, ALDERMAN and AZARYAHU (2018, p. 8) underline, "street names often become empty signifiers to many urban residents who use them as spatial identifiers on a daily basis but may not know, or care, who or what has been commemorated in a street name".

Streets like *Alexandru Vaida-Voevod* (in Cluj-Napoca), *Aurel Lazăr* (Oradea), *Iuliu Hossu* (Bistrița, Cluj-Napoca, Mediaș, Oradea, Satu Mare), *Miron Cristea* (Bistrița, Bucharest, Timișoara), and *Ștefan Cicio-Pop* (Arad, Târgu-Mureș) may confuse people who wish to discover the activity of the well-known persons whose names they borrow: reputed politicians, cultural figures, and high dignitaries who had a significant contribution to the fulfilment of the Unification of Transylvania with Romania. In the case of notable individuals, many street names comprise a determiner in addition to the underlying anthroponym, e.g., *patriarh* [patriarch] or *episcop/cardinal* [bishop/cardinal], which may eliminate ambiguity. For example, *Strada Cardinal Iuliu Hossu* [Cardinal Iuliu Hossu Street], in Cluj-Napoca, Oradea, Satu Mare, and Târgu-Mureș is opaque to the people who do not know anything about the historical figure's life. When the Proclamation of Unification was read, Iuliu Hossu was 33 years old and Bishop of the Greek-Catholic Eparchy of Cluj-Gherla. The title of cardinal was bestowed upon him *in pectore* in the year 1969.

Consequently, the apposition in the street name refers to the merits of the dignitary, not to his official quality at the time the Union was proclaimed. The same situation can be noted in the case of Miron Cristea, who was Bishop of Caransebeș in the year 1918 and only became the first Patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church in 1925. In Gheorgheni, Miercurea Ciuc, and Toplița (settlements in Harghita county, where Miron Cristea was born) the streets bearing his name do not include any title. However, in most settlements in the country Miron Cristea's name is associated with an appellative: *Episcop* ([bishop], Caransebeș), *Mitropolit* ([metropolitan], Lazu – Constanța county), or *Patriarh* ([patriarch], Timișoara).

Another way to render names related to the Union opaque or ambiguous consists of the confusion between the Great Union (1918) and the Small Union (1859). To leave no room for interpretation as regards the event commemorated by means of a hodonym, certain local authorities chose explicit street names such as *Bulevardul Marea Unire* ([Great Union Boulevard], Galați), *Strada Mare a Unirii* ([Great Street of the Union], Focșani), as opposed, for instance, to *Str. Unirea Principatelor* ([Union of the Principalities Street], in Focșani and Rădăuți). Explicit names like those illustrated above explicate the meaning conveyed by means of the hodonyms.

---

[7] This city hosted the Great National Assembly which proclaimed the Unification of Transylvania and the Kingdom of Romania.

4 Settlement names

In days of old the oikonym *Unirea* [the Union] did not exist in Romanian space (see SUCIU 1967, 1968), as it is a commemorative name celebrating the Unification and does not bear any connection with the configuration of the place, nor with its geographical or social motivation. The appearance of settlement names inspired by the significant historical event at the beginning of the twentieth century pertains to the wider phenomenon of renaming human settlements. This action began when Romania gained its independence and the monarchy was established, but it intensified along with the modernisation and consolidation of the Romanian state (see TOMESCU 2012, pp. 353–364; FELECAN 2016, pp. 439–453). "(Re)writing of the toponymic landscape demonstrates the connections between cultural and political processes. In particular, it shows how power relations shape commemorative priorities and produce certain geographies of public memory" (AZARYAHU 2011, p. 28).

4.1   Transparent oikonyms

The clearest settlement name in Romanian landscape is that which refers to the day when the Unification of Transylvania and the Kingdom of Romania took place. The oikonym *1 Decembrie* [1 December] designates a commune in Ilfov county. In the past this settlement bore several names which mirrored the political changes in Romania: *Copăcenii de Sus* ([upper Copăceni], from Romanian *copac* [tree], at the end of the nineteenth century), *Copăceni-Carada, Regele Ferdinand* ([King Ferdinand], in 1931–1947), and *30 Decembrie* ([30 December], 1968–1996). The choice of the name *1 Decembrie* did not rely solely on the wish to avoid the homonymy with the neighbouring settlement (*Copăceni*) and the return to a name reminiscent of the monarchy, but also on the resemblance with the previous name: by changing the number, the proclamation of the republic[8] is made to appear obsolete, and the date of the country's unification is celebrated instead.

Renaming settlements by means of the smallest phonetic alteration is relatively old in Romania. The process is motivated linguistically, ethnically, religiously, and even ethically: *Caraorman < Kara-Orman, Enisala < Yeni-Sala* (as a result of the Romanianisation of the Turkish forms in which the two constituents appear as distinct elements), *Făclia* [the torch] *< Facria, Florești < Flocești* (from [pubic hair]) (see FELECAN 2016, p. 439–453).

The most appropriate bearer of the name Unirea [the Union] in Romanian space is perhaps the settlement in Alba county. Various, multilingual names (see SUCIU 1968 II, p. 251) have been recorded for this settlement over time: *Vințul de Sus* [upper Vințul], Hungarian *Felvinc, Aranyosvinc*, German *Oberwinz/Oberweinsdorf* (*Viile de Sus* [upper vineyards]). Given the fact that in 1918 the Great National Assembly and the proclamation of the Unification were held in the city of Alba Iulia, the choice of the oikonym *Unirea* ['the

---

[8] *De iure*, communist dictatorship began on 30 December 1947, when King Michael I of Romania was forced to abdicate, and the republic was proclaimed.

Union'] for a neighbouring settlement may be motivated historically. On the one hand, *Unirea* is not merely a tag attached conventionally by the authorities to the settlement in the 1970s. On the other, the old name is not entirely lost in the oikonymic landscape of Alba county, but it survives in the name of the settlement *Vințu de Jos* [lower Vințu]. However, the motivation for the adverbial phrase *de Jos* [lower] in the oikonym disappears.

The commune *Unirea* in Călărași county received this name in the year 1964, when the Decree no. 799 was issued, "the most important official document regarding the administrative-territorial reorganization of the Romanian state under communism" (Felecan 2017, p. 80). According to Moldovanu (1991, pp. LIV–LV) and Nicolae and Suditu (2008, pp. 223–228), *Șocariciu*, the previous name of the settlement, recorded since the end of the nineteenth century, was deemed indecent ethically and aesthetically as compared to the oikonymic standards of the time (it was associated with a term that in Romanian slang designates the male reproductive organ).

In the 1970s, the name of the settlement *Risipiți* (from Romanian *a risipi* [to waste], initially *Cearâng*), in Dolj county, was changed into *Unirea* [the Union] in agreement with social norms. According to the teacher who wrote the monograph of the commune, the current name is not related to the establishment of the National Unitary State of Romania: "*Risipiți* was considered a hilarious name, although other similar names were preserved. The rulers of the commune at the time decided that the initial name no longer represented reality and, since the lands were united, the commune should be called *Unirea*. An unfortunate choice, but the name survived. It is extremely expensive to try and change it" (Ungurenuș 2013, originally Romanian). Therefore, it could be considered a fake commemorative name, as its etymology refers to local history in an antonymic relationship with the former name.

There is a settlement named *Unirea* in Brăila county as well, a designation which was bestowed through Decree 799/1964. The settlement was founded in 1828 by a Turkish general[9] and bore the deanthroponymic name *Osmanu* for more than a century. Nevertheless, the communist authorities considered the name was ethnically and religiously unsuitable in relation to the ethnic and confessional configuration of the commune, which mainly consisted of Orthodox Romanians.

The reverse situations were also recorded, in which the name *Unirea* was replaced by the will of most of the people or of the authorities. An example in this respect appears in Hunedoara county: after a local census, the inhabitants abandoned the oikonym *Unirea* in favour of an interwar name: *General Berthelot* ([General Berthelot], which before 1923 was called *Fărcădinul de Jos* [lower Fărcădin], Hungarian *Alsófarkadin*, German *Unterwolfsdorf*, i.e., Romanian *Lupenii de Jos* [Lower Lupeni], from *lup* [Wolf]). On this occasion, the prestige of the French general, who used to own a property in that area, weighed more in the choice of the current name (which had been abandoned in 1965). Another explanation could be the fact that the locals associated the name *Unirea* with the communist regime. Wishing to erase the traces of the painful past, the inhabitants decided to return to a previous name with European connotation.

---

[9] Although the region enjoyed internal autonomy, it was, at that time, tributary to the Ottoman Porte (the Ottoman Empire).

Another example is recorded in Tulcea county, in which the settlement called *Juri-lovca* (Russian *Журиловка*) was founded at the beginning of the nineteenth century by Lipovan Russians. The name *Unirea* was used officially only between the years 1983 and 1996. The return to the old name reveals the locals' attachment to origin and tradition,[10] rather than their regard for a great act for the Romanian nation, but one that does not imply the same connotation for the Lipovans.[11] According to a teacher from the settlement in question, the name *Unirea* was given by the communists because they could not translate or Romanianise the old name, as they did with other names in Dobruja (Romanian *Dobro-gea*; see LaPunkt 2016): *Baş Punar > Fântâna Mare* [big well], *Cucur-Ova > Ciucurova, Turkoy > Turcoaia* (from [Turkish]).

The ephemeral nature of the last two *Unirea* oikonyms shows that they did not endure in the urban toponymic landscape of Romania due to their artificial nature and the lack of linguistic, historical, geographical, and socioeconomic motivation. Although imposed by the totalitarian political power, the two names of settlements in Hunedoara and Tulcea counties were uncharacteristic of the natural configuration of the areas. Thus, they did not become fixed in collective memory or administrative documents. Democracy, which was gained after 1989, and the people's right to determine their fate led to the return to previous, motivated names.

A special situation was recorded in Constanța county,[12] i.e., the unsuccessful attempt to impose the name *Unirea* for the settlement named *23 August*. The initial name was Muslim (Turkish *Büyük-Tatlıcak*, Romanian *Tatlageac/Tatlâgeac Mare* [great Tatlageac/Tatlâgeac]), but it was changed to *Domniţa Elena* [Lady Elena] in the interwar period. This is an instance of replacement of an artificial name with another of the same kind, which "ignores the motivation relationship between the linguistic sign and its referent (the designated settlement)" (MOLDOVANU 1991, p. LII, originally Romanian). The attempts to change the oikonym in 1994 and 1996 failed due to administrative and financial reasons which referred to the bureaucracy and inherent costs of such a process. Therefore, a controversial commemorative name like *23 August*[13] was favoured instead of the name *Unirea*, which cannot be suspected of having been tainted during communism. *Vox populi, vox Dei …* AZARYAHU (1996, p. 312) confirms that "commemorations not only celebrate extraordinary moments of history, but are also instrumental in their reification. Their impact should also be measured by the way they affect rhythms of social life and settings of human activities".

---

[10] "Whenever the authorities put up the road sign with the name *Unirea*, the Lipovans would come at night, tear it, and put up another reading *Jurilocva* instead" (LaPunkt 2016, originally Romanian).

[11] As noted by ROSE-REDWOOD, ALDERMAN and AZARYAHU (2018, p. 1), "the urban streetscape is a space where different visions of the past collide in the present".

[12] Dobruja (Romanian *Dobrogea*) excelled in artificial, commemorative oikonyms. It was the first area in which authorities regulated the coinage of names of certain settlements after the independence was obtained (see TOMESCU 2012, pp. 355–357; FELECAN 2016, pp. 440–442). Nevertheless, the return to the initial, motivated name is not an exception. Other notable examples include the village *Caugagia* (Turkish *Kavgaci*), which bore the name *Unirea* for a certain period, just as *Murighiol* (Turkish *Murî-Göl* [the lake of ants] was called *Independenţa* [the Independence] in 1983–1996.

[13] On 23 August 1944 Romania turned against Nazi Germany and joined the Allies in the fight against the Axis powers. This decision ended World War II six months sooner. During the communist totalitarian regime, 23 August was celebrated as the National Day of Romania, which tainted its present-day perception.
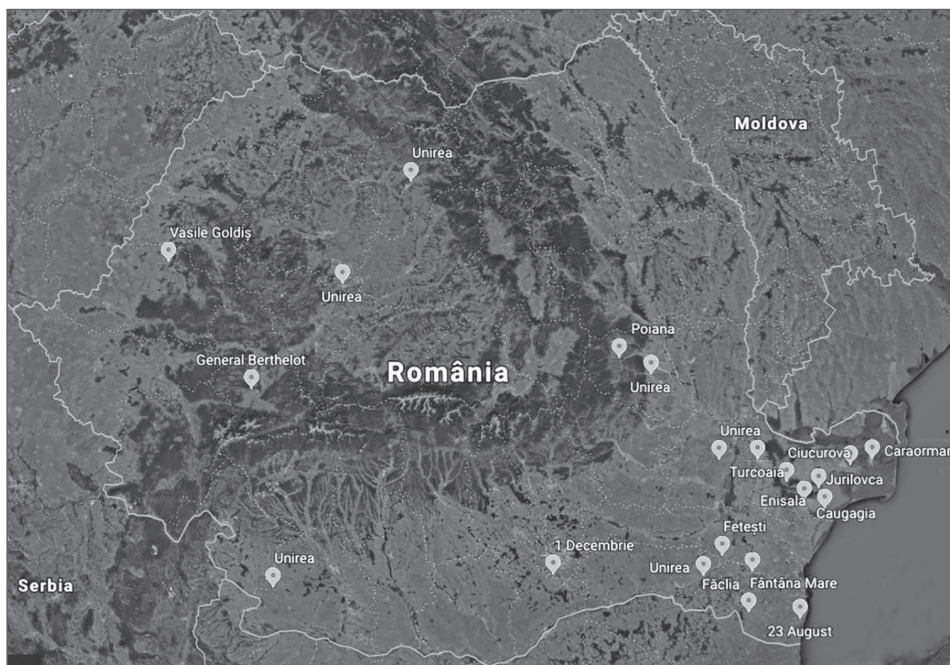
Source: Map generated with Google Earth

Figure 4: The settlements mentioned in chapter 4, most of which are evocative of the
          Great Union

In Romanian oikonymic landscape, the name *Unirea* can also be observed in the case
of two settlements which in time were embedded by the urban agglomerations in their
vicinity. Upon becoming a municipality (in 1979), Bistrița incorporated the neighbouring
village, called *Aldorf < Waldorf*, as it had been founded by the Saxons (see Suciu 1968 II,
p. 219). Nowadays, although the road sign with the toponym *Unirea* is preserved, the set-
tlement is considered a neighbourhood of the aforementioned Transylvanian municipality.
The name *Unirea* was given arbitrarily by the local administration in 1959, and it did not
bear any historical connection with the settlement. Nonetheless, after the Saxons returned
to Germany, the name remained in the collective memory. The substitution of a German
name with a Romanian one can be construed from an ethnic perspective: "Essentially, the
message conveyed by the authorities was that ethnic differences were not important in the
socialist society, as people were united by a shared political ideal" (Felecan 2017a, p. 82).

    In Moldova, Vrancea county, there existed the village *Unirea*, which bore this name
only for four years. Before 1964 the village was called *Pățești*, and beginning with 1968 it
was administered by the town Odobești, situated it its nearby vicinity and famous for the
high-quality vineyards and wines. Despite being linguistically motivated, the name *Pățești*
(< verb *a păți* [to happen] + suffix *-ești*, frequent in Romanian oikonymy) was not approved
by the communist regime, which preferred "a performative enactment of sovereign author-

ity over the spatial organization of cities" (Azaryahu, Rose-Redwood and Alderman 2018, p. 309). As if predestined, the ephemeral nature of the oikonym is related precisely to the disappearance of the village as a result of its unification with the neighbouring town, a common practice in the development of urban entities in every geographical space.

4.2   Opaque oikonyms[14]

The only settlement that can be listed under this headline was "baptised" for a key figure of the Great Union. The village called *Mocirla* [bog] in Arad county was renamed *Vasile Goldiș*, as it was the birthplace of the one who, during the Great National Assembly on 1 December 1918, delivered a speech about the imminent division of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the necessity of the unification of Transylvania and Romania.

The name of Alexandru Vaida-Voevod also occurs in Romanian interwar oikonymy, in the new designation of the village Poiana [meadow] in Gugești commune, Vrancea county. Due to the Transylvanian intellectual's right-wing sympathy and his closeness to Marshal Ion Antonescu,[15] the use of his name as an oikonym, in the aforementioned case and in other similar situations, was eliminated immediately after 1945, when Vaida-Voevod was arrested by the communist authorities.

5   Conclusions

The end of World War I redrew the borders of Europe and led to the appearance of new states, the independence of certain countries, and the unification of others. In this respect, Romania was not an exception, as it joined the neighbouring countries in the reconfiguration of the political map of the old continent.

The unification of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania, which took place on 1 December 1918, is the greatest accomplishment of the Romanian political elite. Thus, it became the perfect candidate for the position of the most frequent commemorative name in Romanian public space in the wake of the major political transformations of the twentieth century.

Hodonyms reminiscent of the Great Union are formed with almost all the categorial appellatives in Romanian public space (*șosea* [road], *bulevard* [boulevard, avenue], *stradă* [street], *splai* [riverbank], *piață* [square], *cale* [roadway], and *alee* [lane]). They can be found in most settlements throughout the country, except in those governed by the

---

[14] The paper does not take into consideration former oikonyms such as *Regele Ferdinand* [King Ferdinand] and *Regina Maria* [Queen Marie], which were based on the names of the monarchs who were ruling when the Unification was achieved. (The King's byname was *Întregitorul* [the Unifier].) In the interwar period, settlement names inspired by the first names of members of the royal family could be found throughout the country. Thus, it would be exaggerated to claim that they are exclusively connected with the Great Union.

[15] He led Romania *de facto* during most of World War II. His figure remains controversial throughout history, as he is considered, on the one hand, a patriot and a man of great integrity who fought for the country's unification and, on the other, a war criminal with anti-Semitic views.

Hungarian minority (especially in Harghita and Covasna counties). This is not a fashion determined by political, administrative, social or ethnic influences, but the result of embracing the commemoration of the 1918 event, as shown by the central position of the thoroughfares thus named. In this context, hodonyms are always defined by transparency, because they evoke symbols of the fight for national unity, from the generic term and the date when the unification was achieved to the figures who contributed to the materialisation of the Romanians' century-old ideal. From the perspective of the majority population, the Unification is associated with prestige and national fulfilment, to the same extent to which it is met with irritation by the Hungarian minority. In settlements ran by mayors pertaining to other national minorities (e.g., Sibiu), the issue of avoiding hodonyms evoking the Great Union does not exist, since no other minority feels hurt or disadvantaged from this viewpoint. "The act of street naming is one of the primary means of historicizing space and spatializing history" (Azaryahu, Rose-Redwood and Alderman 2018, p 309).

As regards oikonyms, the most frequent ones are recorded outside the Carpathian arch and date from the 1960s. The settlements which were given the name *Unirea* [the Union] at the beginning of the 1980s – against the background of the intensification of national communism as practised by Ceaușescu's regime – returned to their old names in the mid-1990s, thereby confirming the short life of certain arbitrary designations. The forced synchronisation with history by disregarding onomastic continuity is bound to fail in democracy, when people can decide their own fate by means of referendum. This is how one can account for the instability of certain commemorative settlement names:

> *"When used to designate settlements, the stability of place names is a prerequisite for their basic function in communication – i.e. to name a place. Commemorative names are connected and influenced by reality outside the relationship between the named geographical objects and their names. For this reason, commemorative names are frequently changed; ideologically 'outdated' names are substituted by new place names, very often their original forms, which display no features of commemoration and could be considered neutral"* (David 2011, pp. 219–220).

In European context evoking events that are decisive for a nation, such as independence or state unification, is a common naming practice in public space. From this viewpoint, Romania behaves like other countries. Although commemorative hodonyms and oikonyms are not related to the configuration of the places named, to their geographical, linguistic, social or religious motivation, a relatively recent historical link is established. Despite its novelty, this link is sanctioned by the political class, local administration and, last but not least, by most of the population, and it appears in national symbols. The attitude towards this type of names differs depending on the connotation of the event: to the Hungarians the Great Union is associated with the end of Great Hungary and the loss of their dominant position in Central Europe;[16] to the Romanians, Saxons, and other nations, the same his-

---

[16] The Treaty of Trianon of 4 June 1920 sanctioned that Hungary lose 67.8 percent of its territory and 59 percent of population. This explains the resentment of the Hungarian administration in Transylvania towards the date of 1 December 1918 and the people that contributed to the achievement of the Great Union.

torical event appears providential, as it fulfils the secular dream of national self-determination. The number and importance of hodonyms and oikonyms indicative of the unification of the country proves the struggle for national justice and the role of commemorative names in contemporary landscape and streetscape.

Acknowledgement

6 References

ALDERMAN D. (2003): Street Names and the Scaling of Memory: The Politics of Commemorating Martin Luther King, Jr. within the African American Community. In: Area, 35 (2), pp. 163–173.

ALDERMAN D. H., INWOOD J. (2013): Street Naming and the Politics of Belonging: Spatial Injustices in the Toponymic Commemoration of Martin Luther King Jr. In: Social & Cultural Geography, 14 (2), pp. 211–233. – *https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2012.754488.*

ALGEO J. (1999): Trans-Atlantic Street Names. In: Names. A Journal of Onomastics, 47 (3), pp. 205–214.

ALGEO J. (2015): From Classic to Classy: Changing Fashions in Street Names. In: Names. A Journal of Onomastics, 63 (4), pp. 220–232. – *https://doi.org/10.1080/00277738.2015.1118984.*

ALLEN I. L. (1993): Some Informal Neighborhood and Street Names in Manhattan: From Alphabet City to The Dead End. In: Names. A Journal of Onomastics, 41 (4), pp. 219–227.

ATENCIO R. (2018): Haunting Pasts and the Politics of Street Naming in Nicaragua and Brazil. In: City & Society, 30 (1), 6 pp. – *https://doi.org/10.1111/ciso.12148.*

AZARYAHU M. (1996): The Power of Commemorative Street Names. In: Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 14 (3), pp. 311–330. – *https://doi.org/10.1068/d140311.*

AZARYAHU M. (1997): German Reunification and the Politics of Street Names: The Case of East Berlin. In: Political Geography, 16 (6), pp. 479–493. – *https://doi.org/10.1016/S0962-6298(96)00053-4.*

AZARYAHU M. (2011a): The Critical Turn and Beyond: The Case of Commemorative Street Naming. In: ACME. An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies, 10 (1), pp. 28–33.

AZARYAHU M. (2011b): The Politics of Commemorative Street Renaming: Berlin 1945–1948. In: Journal of Historical Geography, 37 (4), pp. 483–492. – *https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2011.06.001.*

AZARYAHU M. (2012a): Renaming the Past in Post-Nazi Germany: Insights into the Politics of Street Naming in Mannheim and Potsdam. In: Cultural Geographies, 19 (3), pp. 385–400. – *https://doi.org/10.1177/1474474011427267.*

AZARYAHU M. (2012b): Rabin's Road: The Politics of Toponymic Commemoration of Yitzhak Rabin in Israel. In: Political Geography, 31 (2), pp. 73–82. – *https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2011.10.006.*

AZARYAHU M., KOOK R. (2002): Mapping the Nation: Streets Names and Arab-Palestinian Identity: Three Case Studies. In: Nations and Nationalism, 8, pp. 195–213.

B1 (2018): Piața Unirii, un spațiu încărcat de istorie al Capitalei, în care s-au desfășurat cele mai importante evenimente legate de Unirea Principatelor de la 1859 [Union Square, a history-laden space in the Capital City of Romania, where the most important events related to the Union of the Principalities of 1859 took place]. – *https://b1.ro/stiri/bucuresti-centenar/piata-unirii-un-spatiu-incarcat-de-istorie-al-capitalei-in-care-s-au-desfasurat-cele-mai-importante-evenimente-legate-de-unirea-principatelor-de-la-1859-215831.html* (accessed on Sept. 13, 2018).

BARTOS-ELEKES Z. (2016): The History of Street-Name Changes in Transylvania. In: JORDAN P., WOODMAN P. (eds.): Place-Name Changes. Proceedings of the Symposon in Rome, 17–18 November 2014. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, pp. 37–54 (= Name & Place – Contributions to Toponymic Literature and Research, 5).

BASIK S. (2019): The Political Life of Urban Streetscapes: Naming, Politics, and Place. In: Canadian Journal of Urban Research, 28 (1), pp. 65–66.

BASIK S., RAHATUSOU D. (2019): Toponymic Politics and the Symbolic Landscapes of Minsk, Belarus. In: Geographia Cassoviensis, 13 (2), pp. 107–120. – *https://doi.org/10.33542/GC2019-2-02.*

BERG A. D., KEARNS R. A. (1996): Naming as Norming: 'Race', Gender, and the Identity Politics of Naming Places in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In: Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 14 (1), pp. 99–122.

BRASHER J. H., ALDERMAN D., SUBANTHORE A. (2020): Was Tulsa's Brady Street Really Renamed? Racial (In)justice, Memory-Work and the Neoliberal Politics of Practicality. In: Social & Cultural Geography, 21 (9), pp. 1223–1244. – *https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2018.1550580.*

BUTNARU D. (2013): Tradiție și inovație în toponimie. Hodonimele [Tradition and innovation in toponymy. Hodonyms]. In: OFELLA I. (ed.): Tradiție/inovație – identitate/alteritate: paradigme în evoluția limbii și culturii române: simpozion international, Iași, 18–19 septembrie 2012 [Tradition/innovation – identity/alterity: paradigms in the evolution of the Romanian language and culture: international symposium, Iași, 18–19 September 2012]. Iași: Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza", pp. 59–65.

BUZA M. (2002): Toponimie geografică românească [Romanian geographical toponymy]. Sibiu: Editura Universității "Lucian Blaga".

CAPDEPON U. (2020): Challenging the Symbolic Representation of the Franco Dictatorship: The Street Name Controversy in Madrid. In: History & Memory 32 (1), pp. 100–130. – *https://doi.org/10.2979/histmemo.32.1.06.*

CASAGRANDA M. (2013): From Empire Avenue to Hiawatha Road: (Post)colonial Naming Practices in the Toronto Street Index. In: FELECAN O. (ed.): Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Onomastics "Name and Naming". Onomastics in Contemporary Public Space. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, Editura Argonaut, pp. 291–302.

CHLOUPEK B. R. (2019a): Post-Communist City Text in Košice, Slovakia as a Liminal Landscape. In: Miscellanea Geographica – Regional Studies on Development, 23 (2), pp. 71–75. – *https://doi.org/10.2478/mgrsd-2019-0009.*

CHLOUPEK B. R. (2019b): Public Memory and Political Street Names in Koice: Slovakia's Multiethnic Second City. In: Journal of Historical Geography, 64, pp. 25–35.

CREȚAN R. (2000): Toponimie românească [Romanian toponymy]. Timișoara: Editura Mirton.

CREȚAN R., MATTEWS P. (2016): Popular Responses to City-Text Changes: Street Naming and the Politics of Practicality in a Post-Socialist Martyr City. In: Area, 48 (1), pp. 92–102. – *https://doi.org/10.1111/area.12241.*

CRLJENKO I. (2012): The Renaming of Streets and Squares in Post-Socialist Croatian Towns. In: Мова і суспільство [Language and Society], 3, pp. 230–241.

DAVID J. (2011): Commemorative Place Names – Their Specificity and Problems. In: Names. A Journal of Onomastics, 59 (4), pp. 214–228.

DAVID J. (2012): Czech Street Names: The Tendencies of Development in Modern Times. In: KREMER D., KREMER D. (eds.): Die Stadt und ihre Namen. Festkolloquium 20 Jahre Gesellschaft für Namenkunde e.V. 1990–2010. 1. Teilband [The City and its names. Festive Colloquium 20 years of the Society for Onomastics 1990–2010]. Vol. 1, pp. 227–238. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag (= Onomastica Lipsiensia, 8).

DAVID J. (2013): Street Names – Between Ideology and Cultural Heritage. In: Acta onomastica, 54 (1), pp. 53–60.

DAVID J. (2018): Toponymy in a Relocated City: The City of Most, Czech Republic. In: Voprosy onomastiki [Problems of Onomastics], 15 (2), pp. 70–86. – *https://doi.org/10.15826/vopr_onom.2018.15.2.015.*

Dexonline. Dicționare ale limbii române [Dexonline. Dictionaries of the Romanian language]. – *https://dexonline.ro/* (accessed on Sept. 14, 2018).

DROZDZEWSKI D. (2014): Using History in the Streetscape to Affirm Geopolitics of Memory. In: Political Geography, 42, pp. 66–78. – *https://doi.org/10.1016/j.polgeo.2014.06.004.*

ERŐSS Á. (2017): Politics of Street Names and the Reinvention of Local Heritage in the Contested Urban Space of Oradea. In: Hungarian Geographical Bulletin, 66 (4), pp. 353–367. – *https://doi.org/10.15201/hungeobull.66.4.6.*

FELDMAN D. (2005): Renaming Cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In: I•CON – International Journal of Constitutional Law, 3 (4), pp. 649–662. – *https://doi.org/10.1093/icon/moi043.*

FELECAN O. (2013): Hodonimie românească – între autohtonism şi cosmopolitism [Romanian hodonymy – Between autochthonism and cosmopolitanism]. In: FELECAN O. (ed.): Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Onomastics "Name and Naming". Onomastics in Contemporary Public Space. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, Editura Argonaut, pp. 318–328.

FELECAN O. (2015): Borders and Ethnic Identities Reflected in Street Names from Transylvanian Localities. In: Transylvanian Review, Supplement 1, pp. 229–244.

FELECAN O. (2016): Un veac de transformări oiconimice în România [A century of oikonymic transformations in Romania]. In: FELECAN O., FELECAN D. (eds.): Magistri et alumni, amore scribendi. Studia. In honorem Professoris Nicolae Felecan. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, Editura Argonaut, pp. 439–453.

FELECAN O. (2017a): Oikonymic Transformations in Romania in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century. In: Names. A Journal of Onomastics, 65 (2), pp. 78–87. – *https://doi.org/10.1080/00277738.2016.1262132.*

FELECAN O. (2017b): Sacred and Profane Aspects in Transylvanian Urban Toponymy. In: FELECAN O. (ed.): Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference of Onomastics "Name and Naming", Sacred and Profane in Onomastics. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, Editura Argonaut, pp. 611–621. – *https://doi.org/10.30816/ICONN4/2017/49.*

FELECAN O. (2019a): Transylvanian Oikonyms and Hodonyms: Between Sacred and Profane. In: FELECAN O. (ed.): Onomastics between Sacred and Profane. Wilmington: Vernon Press, pp. 167–184.

FELECAN O. (2019b): Oikonymic Transformations in Romania in the First Half of Twentieth Century. In: Dacoromania, XXIV (1), pp. 57–65.

FELECAN O. (2019c): Marea Unire reflectată în toponimia urbană românească [The Great Union reflected in Romanian urban toponymy]. In: ICHIM O. (ed.): 1918–2018. Limba şi cultura română – structuri fundamentale ale identității naționale: evaluări, perspective [1918–2018.

The Romanian language and culture – Fundamental structures of national identity: evaluations, perspectives]. Bucharest: Editura Tracus Arte, pp. 105–116.

Frăţilă V. (2011): Oiconime bănăţene de origine maghiară [Hungarian oikonyms in the Banat]. In: Felecan O., Felecan D. (eds.): Confluenţe lingvistice şi filologice [Linguistic and philological confluences]. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, pp. 411–430.

Forest B., Johnson J., Till K. (2004): Post-Totalitarian National Identity: Public Memory in Germany and Russia. In: Social & Cultural Geography, 5 (3), pp. 357–380. – *https://doi.org/10.1080/1464936042000252778.*

Gill G. (2005): Changing Symbols: The Renovation of Moscow Place Names. In: Russian Review, 64 (3), pp. 480–503. – *https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9434.2005.00371.x.*

Giraut F., Houssay-Holzschuch M. (2016): Place Naming as Dispositif: Toward a Theoretical Framework. In: Geopolitics 21 (1), pp. 1–21. – *https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2015.1134493.*

Gnatiuk O. (2018): The Renaming of Streets in Post-Revolutionary Ukraine: Regional Strategies to Construct a New National Identity. In: AUC Geographica – Acta Universitatis Carolinae Geographica, 53 (2), pp. 119–136. – *DOI: https://doi.org/10.14712/23361980.2018.13.*

Golomidova M (2018): Toponymic Policy in Naming City Facilities: Theoretical and Applied Issues. In: Voprosy Onomastiki [Problems of Onomastics], 15 (3), pp. 36–61.

Grigore G. V. (2018): „1 Decembrie" – comuna din Ilfov ce poartă numele Zilei Naţionale a României [1 December – the commune in Ilfov county which bears the name of the National Day of Romania]. In: Ziarul Naţiunea, Serie nouă, Anul IX [Nation Daily, Newspaper, new series, 9th year]. – *http://www.ziarulnatiunea.ro/2018/02/25/1-decembrie-comuna-din-ilfov-ce-poarta-numele-zilei-nationale-a-romaniei/* (accessed on Sept. 13, 2018).

Guyot S., Seethal C. (2007): Identity of Place, Places of Identities: Change of Place Names in Post-Apartheid South Africa. In: South African Geographical Journal, 89 (1), pp. 55–63.

Hagen J. (2011): Theorizing Scale in Critical Place-Name Studies. In: ACME. An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies, 10 (1), pp. 23–27.

Iordan I., Gâştescu P., Oancea D. I. (1974): Indicatorul localităţilor din România [Index of settlements in Romania]. Bucharest: Editura Academiei.

Light D. (2004): Street Names in Bucharest, 1990–1997: Exploring the Modern Historical Geographies of Post-Socialist Change. In: Journal of Historical Geography, 30, pp. 154–172.

Light D., Nicolae I., Suditu B. (2002): Toponymy and the Communist City: Street Names in Bucharest, 1948–1965. In: GeoJournal, 56 (2), pp. 135–144.

Light D., Young C. (2014): Habit, Memory, and the Persistence of Socialist-Era Street Names in Postsocialist Bucharest, Romania. In: Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 104 (3), pp. 668–685. – *https://doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2014.892377.*

LaPunkt (2016): Interviu cu Ion Paraschiv, profesor de limba franceză din comuna Baia [Interview with Ion Paraschiv, a teacher of French language in Baia commune]. – *http://www.lapunkt.ro/2016/07/profesor-baia/* (accessed on Sept. 13, 2018).

Madden D. J. (2010): Revisiting the End of Public Space: Assembling the Public in an Urban Park. In: City & Community, 9 (2), pp. 187–207. – *https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6040.2010.01321.x.*

Mamvura, Z. (2020): 'Let Us Make Zimbabwe in My Own Name': Place Naming and Mugabeism in Zimbabwe. In: South African Journal of African Languages, 40 (1), pp. 32–39. – *https://doi.org/10.1080/02572117.2019.1672343.*

MDA – Mic dicţionar academic [Small academic dictionary] (2010). Bucharest: Editura Univers Enciclopedic Gold.

Moldovanu D. (ed.) (1991): Tezaurul toponimic al României. Moldova I [Toponymic thesaurus of Romania. Moldova I]. Bucharest: Editura Academiei.

Neethling B. (2013): Renaming Streets in the City of Cape Town: Policy and Practice. In: Nomina Africana, 27 (1), pp. 19–34.

Nicolae I., Suditu B. (2008): Toponimie românească și internațională [Romanian and international toponymy]. Bucharest: Editura Meronia.

Njoh A. J, Chie E. P. (2019): Vocabularies of Spatiality in French Colonial Urbanism: Some Covert Rationales of Street Names in Colonial Dakar, West Africa and Saigon, Indochina. In: Journal of Asian and African Studies, 54 (8), pp. 1109–1127. – *https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909619860248.*

Novas Ferradás M. (2018): Commemorative Urban Practices and Gender Equality: The Case of Santiago de Compostela's Urban Anthroponymy. In: Hábitat y Sociedad, 11, pp. 109–129.

Nyström S. (2018): Place-name Policies in Scandinavia and Elsewhere. In: Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft [Annals of the Austrian Geographical Society], 160, pp. 263–279 – *https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg160s263.*

Pop I.-A., Bolovan I. (2016): Istoria Transilvaniei [History of Transylvania], second edition. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Școala Ardeleană.

Palonen E. (2008): The City-Text in Post-Communist Budapest: Street Names, Memorials and the Politics of Commemoration. In: GeoJournal 73 (3), pp. 219–230. – *https://doi.org/10.1007/s10708-008-9204-2.*

Rateau M. A. (2011): Noms des voies de communication urbaines françaises ayant un lien avec le pays de Roumanie. Motivations des denominations [Names of French urban communication routes linked to the country of Romania. Reasons for denominations]. In: Felecan O. (ed.): Name and Naming. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Onomastics "Name and Naming": Multiethnic Connections in Anthroponymy. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, pp. 453–477.

Rose-Redwood R. S. (2008): From Number to Name: Symbolic Capital, Places of Memory, and the Politics of Street Renaming in New York City. In: Social & Cultural Geography, 9 (4), pp. 431–452.

Rose-Redwood R., Alderman D., Azaryahu M. (2010): Geographies of Toponymic Inscription: New Directions in Critical Place-Name Studies. In: Progress in Human Geography, 34 (4), pp. 453–470. – *https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132509351042.*

Rose-Redwood R., Alderman D., Azaryahu M. (eds.) (2018): The Political Life of Urban Streetscapes. Naming, Politics, and Place. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

Rusu M. S. (2019): Shifting Urban Namescapes: Street Name Politics and Toponymic Change in a Romanian(ised) City. In: Journal of Historical Geography, 65, pp. 48–58. – *https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2019.07.001.*

Rusu M. S. (2020a): Political Patterning of Urban Namescapes and Post-socialist Toponymic Change: A Quantitative Analysis of Three Romanian Cities. In: Cities, 103, 13 pp. – *https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2020.102773.*

Rusu M. S. (2020b): Street Names through Sociological Lenses: Multi-Paradigmatic Readings of Urban Toponymies. In: Social Change Review, 18 (in press).

Shoval N. (2013): Street-Naming, Tourism Development and Cultural Conflict: The Case of the Old City of Acre/Akko/Akka. In: Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 38 (4), pp. 612–626.

Suciu C. (1967, 1968): Dicționar istoric al localităților din Transilvania [Historical dictionary of settlements in Transylvania], vols. I–II. Bucharest: Editura Academiei.

Tomescu D. (2012): The Change of Names in 20th Century Romanian Toponymy. In: Felecan O. (ed.): Name and Naming: Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 353–364.

Ungurenuş A. (2013): Unirea, o istorie cu şi despre oameni [The Union, a history with and about people]. In: Gazeta de sud [Southern gazette]. – *http://www.gds.ro/Local/2013-06-08/Unirea%2C+o+istorie+cu+si+despre+oameni/* (accessed on Sept. 13, 2018).

Walkowiak J. B. (2018): Female Street Namesakes in Selected Polish Cities. In: Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft [Annals oft he Austrian Geographical Society], 160, pp. 331–350. – *https://doi.org/10.1553/moegg160s331*.

Whelan Y (2011): (Inter)national Naming: Heritage, Conflict and Diaspora. In: ACME. An International Journal for Critical Geographies, 10 (1), pp. 7–12.

Wochele H. (2015): Straßennamen in Rumänien am Beispiel von Hermannstadt/Sibiu [Street names in Romania using the example of Hermannstadt/Sibiu]. In: Kahl T., Kramer J., Prifti E. (eds.): Romanica et Balcanica. Wolfgang Dahmen zum 65. Geburtstag [Romanica and Balcanica. Wolfgang Dahmen on his 65th birthday]. München: AVM – Akademische Verlagsgemeinschaft München, pp. 151–168.