

# Concerning the Standard System of Romanian Surnames

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**B**Y ASSUMING THAT STANDARD SYSTEM means a multitude of surnames bearing an official, normative, typical and therefore super-regional character, with a high coefficient of repetition, we have set ourselves the task of outlining the above mentioned system,<sup>1</sup> specific to the contemporary Romanian language (our data refer to the year 1970), by means of an inventory of names with the most widespread circulation and their classification according to structure and origin, to which we add the presentation of the main distinctive features of each anthroponymical category.

We shall confine ourselves to the "basic nucleus" or, in a way, to the "basic word stock" of the Romanian surnames in the official system of denomination, made up by means of selection and, consequently, by using the statistical method.

When selecting the material we were guided by the fact that the capital—the main city of the country—holds enough demographic and, consequently, anthroponymic<sup>2</sup> data to enable us to conclude veridically on the whole by the agency of a partial analysis. Using a current method pointed out or employed in such works as: /17; 64/<sup>3</sup>, /5; VI/, /1; III/, /24; 31-42/, we established<sup>4</sup> a representative basis of selection (see /27; chapter III and the following/, /20; 1-28/) including about 153,000 elements which are more than ten percent of the total<sup>5</sup> of surnames met in Bucharest at the above mentioned time. We ultimately obtained about 34,000 anthroponymical units, i.e., typical names with different repetitive coefficients and arranged them in the decreasing order of their frequency.

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<sup>1</sup> Therefore we shall not take into account such combinations as *Ion a lu Costache*, *Ioana lu Ptca* /10;91/, *Vuța Irinii*, *Culici Gegiului* /19;8/, *Mucenicu*, *Broscoi* /23;44,48/ and so on, because such names are, both in structure and functional status, regional ones, unofficial and atypical of the standard system.

<sup>2</sup> In fact, mainly in the last two decades, Bucharest really incorporated, to a larger or smaller extent, elements of population from absolutely all the important regions of the country.

<sup>3</sup> The figures in square brackets indicate the corresponding work in the bibliography given at the end of the article and, when necessary, the respective pages after the semi-colon.

<sup>4</sup> Excepting pages 1-1,048 of the *Telephone Directory of Bucharest*, 1970.

<sup>5</sup> The population of Bucharest being 1,500,000 inhabitants in 1970 (in 1969 it was estimated at 1,468,000).

Taking into account that our aim is to study (in the present paper which is but a part of a larger one) only the names with the widest circulation from a single point of view—the outlining of the typical structures according to their origin—we are ready to investigate the first hundred anthroponymic units having a frequency between 2,999 (*Ionescu*, the most frequent Romanian surname) and 180 (*Bogdan*).

As the investigated elements, though relatively small in number, have a high coefficient of repetition<sup>6</sup> and represent a wide basis of selection (the 100 typical names presented in the table at the end of this paper belong to 42,293 persons!) the errors of estimation are minimal and we hope that the conclusions can be considered relevant enough to get a “bird’s eye view” on the Romanian surnames in the contemporary system of official denomination.

The initial purpose of making out an inventory of typical names—the most difficult part of our research work<sup>7</sup>—being achieved (see the table at the end), we pass to the presentation of our data in decreasing order of the frequencies of the microsystem structures obtained by means of selection. The classification comprises four anthroponymic categories as shown below.

### SURNAMES—FIRST NAMES

The simple names, without any special suffixes—specific to surnames—the *structure of which wholly coincides with Christian names*—represent, in point of quality, the most important category of Romanian surnames (53 percent) historically constituted by the changing of the functional value of the respective homonymic first names or, in other words, by mere conversion. Indeed, owing to their bifunctional character, such anthroponyms like *Gheorghe* can be used both as first names (main value) and surnames (secondary value).

Most of these surnames are originally calendaristic forms and mainly popular ones<sup>8</sup>: *Gheorghe, Dumitru, Cristea, Ștefan, Mihai, Barbu<sup>9</sup>, Vasile, Petre, Ion, Grigore, Iancu, Costache, Manea* (compare respective refined forms not mentioned in our records: *Gheorghie, Dimitrie, Cristofor*, etc. partially archaic, certainly less usual than *Gheorghe, Dumitru, Cristea*, etc.)

The “neuter” forms are equally numerous. One cannot say they are

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<sup>6</sup> That is to say an extremely unfavourable coefficient of anthroponymic identification, because, as we are treating of names with maximum frequency, each of the 100 anthroponymic units corresponds to about 423 persons roughly (the ratio being 1:422,93).

<sup>7</sup> Which, being made manually, required an important investment of time, together with the preparatory work (in excerpting and classifying the material we were helped by the senior year students attending a special course “Problems of Onomastics” at the Faculty of Slavonic Languages in Bucharest).

exclusively refined or exclusively popular, though the majority are canonical ones: *Constantin, Marin, Tudor, Toma, Matei, Andrei, Ilie, Enache, Ivan, Roman, Zaharia, Ene, Lazăr*. Refined canonical forms are: *Nicolae*<sup>10</sup>, *Anghel, Ioan* (compare the respective popular forms: *Nicoară, Anghie, Ion*, of which the first two do not appear in our selection because of their regional character).

Surnames made by conversion of lay names are, obviously, less numerous: *Radu, Stoica, Stan, Șerban, Florea, Dragomir, Stoian, Oprea, Preda*<sup>11</sup>, *Neagu, Voicu, Badea, Stancu, Lupu, Vlad, Dobre, Nedelcu*<sup>12</sup>, *Bucur, Bodgan*—generally anthroponyms of Slavic origin (except: *Florea, Oprea, Badea, Lupu* and *Bucur*).

All the above mentioned anthroponyms are, as is well known, full, complete forms, though, in certain cases we also meet surnames which are hypocoristic in origin: *Dinu, Tănase, Niță* or diminutives: *Stanciu, Ioniță*, formed in the Romanian language as such. In contradistinction to the respective hypocoristic names having an endearing character (*Dinu, Niță*) the homophonous surnames are established as solemn and official forms; they are assimilated—from this point of view—with all the “complete” names: as surnames, *Dinu* and *Niță* are not at all less official than *Constantin* (though *Dinu* derives from *Constantin*), *Ioniță* or *Ion*. Thus, the reduced forms lose their initial affective value by anthroponymic conversion.

As we have already shown above, the names we are talking about have no special suffixes, proper to surnames. The *-a* article in names like *Oprea, Badea*, or the diminutive suffix *-ciu* in *Stanciu*, are morphemes used in creating the respective anthroponyms as Christian names; therefore, the derivation must be analyzed at the name’s level while the corresponding surnames were formed by conversion without any morphematic modifications.

Though there are masculine as well as feminine names, the studied surnames are formed out of the masculine<sup>13</sup> (compare *Gheorghe*,

<sup>8</sup> The categories and the examples of names are arranged in the decreasing order in their frequency.

<sup>9</sup> We included it among the calendaristic forms considering it as derived from *Barbura* < *Barbara* (see /4;21/).

<sup>10</sup> The name is spelled this way in most of the cases, though the correct form is, obviously, that with *i*: *Nicolaie* (see /10; 149/).

<sup>11</sup> Mentioned by mistake in the work /4; 136/ among the calendar names.

<sup>12</sup> *Idem* in /4; 116/ by the same author.

<sup>13</sup> There are, certainly, some exceptions such as *Floarea*, not included in our list (frequency 22, order 213). We have to mention that such anthroponyms are feminine only as Christian names, for as we know they form the synthetic genitive by means of the enclitic article: *copilul Floarei* (though it is often said *copilul lui Floarea* (unrecommended form). As surname they become masculine, obligatorily receiving the mark of the analytic genitive, namely the enclitic article: *copilul lui Floarea*, even though they belong to a feminine person (compare *copilul lui Floarea Maria* and *copilul lui Floarea Ion*, identical forms).

*Dumitru, Cristea*, etc.); this is due not only to the fact that, as a part of the calendar names (which are the most widespread), the repertoire of the feminine ones canonized by the church is poorer than that of masculine names, but also to the juridical and social reasons concerning the part played by the male in his family, especially in the past, and the dominant system (even today) of inheriting the father's name. The surnames discussed are therefore always masculine (even though, sporadically, the corresponding Christian name is feminine; see note 13).

The prevailing character of the simple, unsuffixed surnames indirectly offers the image of the large popularity of their corresponding Christian names. It is noticeable that nowadays a number of anthroponyms such as *Badea, Ivan, Lupu, Vlad, Dobre, Nedelcu, Bucur, Stanciu*, originally first names, are mostly, if not exclusively, used as family names. Similar cases of "absolute" conversion are signalled by other researchers both on national (e.g., the names ending in *-otă*: *Calotă, Dragotă, Dobrotă, Balotă* etc. /21; 205/) and regional scales /19; 4/.

Some problems referring to the word-order are also raised by such names. In the case of family names with a marked character (cf. *infra*) the value of the two anthroponyms is easily established. Both in *Ion Popescu* and in *Popescu Ion*, *Popescu* cannot be anything but a family name and *Ion* a Christian name. The situation of simple surnames in such combinations as *Gheorghe Ion* is completely different, as we cannot tell which one is the family name, both variants of the word-order being in current use. It is true that ". . . in modern European languages—Romanian included—the rule is to put the Christian name first" /10, 95/, but, as the same author goes on, ". . . there are many instances when the official usage reverses the order" /10; 95/<sup>14</sup>.

Among the factors determining the fixed word-order in Romanian, briefly enumerated in the Grammar of the Romanian Language published by the Romanian Academy /6; 428/, the anthroponymic factor must evidently be included: the formal coincidence of the Christian name with the surname in which case the former must always be placed first. The explanation is not only somewhat traditional with many parallels in the anthroponymy of other languages but also grammatical, as the surname is—at least at its origin—a post-placed substantival attribute (*Aioanei*), or an adjectival one (*Popescu*), as is seen in the names we are dealing with. After all, speaking in terms of transformational syntax, a deep structure of the type *Gheorghe a lu(i) Ion* corresponds to a surface structure of the type *Gheorghe Ion* as it is often met in the regional microsystems of Wallachia and Transylvania (see note 1). In other words, to a genetical explicit attribute of the non-

<sup>14</sup> Similar cases applied to some Altaic and Iberian-Caucasian languages we mentioned in the volume *Studii de slavistică* I, Bucharest, 1969, pp.136-137.

standard anthroponymic system corresponds an implicit "attribute"<sup>15</sup> in the standard system.

Surnames built by mere conversion of the Christian names have a typical prevailing character not only in the standard system but also in the different regional microsystems such as those in Oltenia /2; 51/, Argeş /19; 9/, etc. Therefore, this is *the most characteristic structure for the Romanian anthroponymy taken as a whole*.

Hence, it was quite natural that a number of influences appeared in the system of denomination of certain nationalities present on the Romanian territory as ethnic enclaves. Thus, under the pressure of the Romanian official model, the Lipoveans (population of Russian origin living in the North-East of Romania) started using specific structures different from the Russian common system: family names formed by eliminating the onomastic suffix (*Artamon, Andrei*, etc.; compare the Russian macrosystem *Artamonov, Andreev*), or an even more interesting fact, by means of eliminating the suffix and adopting the Romanian form of the corresponding Christian name. (Compare *Grigore, Marcu, Alexe, Lazăr*, etc. in the Lipovean anthroponymy and *Grigorov <Grigor (ij), Markov <Mark, Alekseev <Aleksej, Lazarev <Lazar'* in the Russian common anthroponymy)<sup>16</sup>.

The phenomenon apparently also takes place in some of the Bulgarian patois in Romania. Owing to the aforementioned pressure, the Romanian pattern of two names is imposed, the family name being originally a Christian name without a special suffix, such as *-ov* or *-ev* (e.g., *Bonea Tinu*), replacing the three-name pattern actually in use in Bulgaria (e.g., *Vladimir Ivanov Kazabov*)<sup>17</sup>.

#### SURNAMES IN *-escu*

Names of this category, formed by derivation, i.e. by adding a special suffix, that of a Romanian family name (which makes them differ from the other structures) are situated immediately on the second place in point of quantity (34 percent of the total number of anthroponymic units we are dealing with) and nowadays make up a *productive type*<sup>18</sup> in full evolution.

<sup>15</sup> The inverted commas are explained by the fact that in the contemporary language the Christian name and the surname, being fused, form only one syntactic unit /6; 129/.

<sup>16</sup> For more details, see the work /25/.

<sup>17</sup> In this respect the fact that on the list of informers in the paper on Bulgarian dialectology, published by Gh. Bolocan in *Studii de slavistică*, vol. II, Bucharest, 1971, p. 149 and following, wherefrom the above mentioned examples were taken, the full names of the persons in the Bulgarian villages on the Bulgarian territory are all ternary, each having one of the suffixes *-ov (-ev)* or *-in*, while the complete names of informers in the Bulgarian villages of Romania are without exception binary and the family names unsuffixed, is significant.

<sup>18</sup> It is known that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the names in *-escu* were not many,

Differing from the simple names of the type *Gheorghe*, used both as names and as surnames, names ending in *-escu*, for example *Ionescu*, have always but one anthroponymic value, that of a surname. In other words, it is an opposition of the type unmarked/marked which explains the functional nonambiguity of the suffixed names.

The root is almost always a Christian name, usually taken from the calendar and popular in form (*Ion, Dumitru, George, Petre*, etc.) in such examples as *Ionescu*, the most frequent Romanian surname, also mentioned in /10; 114/, *Dumitrescu, Georgescu, Petrescu, Niculescu, Ștefănescu, Vasilescu, Cristescu, Grigorescu, Simionescu, Tănăsescu, Antonescu, Manolescu, Bărbulescu*<sup>19</sup>; “neuter” in form<sup>20</sup> (*Constantin, Marin*, etc.) *Constantinescu, Marinescu, Iliescu, Alexandrescu, Mateescu, Tomescu, Andreescu*; elevated, canonic in form (of the type *Teodor*): *Teodorescu, Nicolescu, Mihăilescu*. Here too, as in the case of simple names, the frequency according to the origin reflects the natural frequency of the calendaristic Christian names: those popular in form are the most numerous, whereas the elevated ones are the rarest.

In a series of family names in *-escu* the radical is a lay name (*Radu, Stan, Florea*, etc.): *Rădulescu, Stănescu, Florescu, Dobrescu, Șerbănescu, Stoenescu, Stoicescu, Zamfirescu* or in some cases an appellative name of profession (*popă* “pope, oriental rite priest,” *diacon* “deacon”): *Popescu*, the second Romanian name in point of frequency<sup>21</sup>, and *Diaconescu*.

The origin of the family names ending in *-escu*, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, may have several explanations. They might have formed, most of them, from names of communities and villages ending in *-ești*, derived in turn from the name of their founder /10; 113/, /4, XXXVI/. Thus, from the anthroponym *Ștefan*, the root of which, the toponym *Ștefănești*, plural in form, formed the anthroponym *Ștefănescu* where the suffix *-escu* represents, as known, the singular of the corresponding toponym /15; 159/. This is the way we can explain such names as *Ionescu, Popescu, Dumitrescu, Constantinescu, Marinescu, Petrescu, Niculescu, Teodorescu*, etc., of a “tribal” and implicitly toponymic origin (*Ionești, Popești, Dumitrești, Constantinești, Marinești, Petrești, Niculești, Teodorești* are all mentioned as village names in /4; s.v. *Ion, Popa, Dumitru*, etc./).

The same surnames may be also derived directly from the primitive first names, as a rule without passing through the stage of names ending

being borne almost exclusively by the boyars /10; 90, 113/.

<sup>19</sup> On the etymology of the radical-first name see note 9.

<sup>20</sup> On the concept, see above, SURNAMES-FIRST NAMES.

<sup>21</sup> The popularity of this name was explained by Professor Al. Graur, academician /10; 114-115/. See also Professor B.O. Unbegaun’s explanation on the frequency of the Russian *Popov* /24; 39-40/, analogous to the Romanian *Popescu* in origin and formation.

in *-esti*. *Gheorhe Ionescu* may be, originally, *Gheorghe Ion* /10; 90-91/, and someone whose father is called *Tănase* may easily become *Tănănescu* /16; 94/. Significant is the fact that of two brothers one may be called *Oprea*, identically with his father's name, and the other one *Opreșcu* /10; 91/, by adding the suffix *-escu*. Consequently: *Ionescu*, *Popescu*, *Dumitrescu*, *Constantinescu*, *Marinescu*, *Petrescu*, *Niculescu*, *Teodorescu*, etc. may be formed not only from names of villages and communities but also from primitives of the type *Ion*, *Dumitru*, *Constantin*, *Marin*, *Petre*, *Niculaie*, *Teodor*, which in their turn are anthroponyms with a double value: of a first name and of a surname (cf. *supra*) or from family names: *Popescu* < *Popa* (*Popescu* may be derived directly from the appellative *popă*).

To conclude, we have a double basis of derivation: from names ending in *-ești* (toponyms) and names without *-ești* (names of persons). For this reason, in a number of cases, it is difficult to tell the origin of a certain form ending in *-escu*. For instance, does *Dobrescu* come from *Dobrești* (plural *-ești* > singular *-escu*) or from *Dobre*, to which the suffix *-escu* was added? Both explanations are possible because such names have no single basis of derivation. We find ourselves in the presence of a *multiple etymology*, the well-known theory of Professor Al. Graur, academician, formulated for a series of appellatives /8; 67-77/ and affixes /9; 11-18/, which is to be extended, therefore, in the field of anthroponymy.

According to the pattern of naturally formed names of wide-spread circulation, described above, a number of names appeared, more or less artificially, by adding the suffix *-escu*, leading to hypercorrect forms of the type *Piper* (hyperurbanism) for the Moldavian *Chiper* /10; 114/, /16; 94/): *Piperescu*, to nicknames such as: *Frașcă* /10; 114/: *Frașculescu*, to nobility titles such as *armaș* "high official in charge of the prisons" /10; 114/: *Armășescu*. Such names can be formed from toponyms not ending in *-ești*, e.g., *Vladimir* > *Vladimirescu*, *Șuici* > *Șuicescu* /10; 113/, from appellatives stylistically coloured such as *pungas* "crook" /10; 18/: *Pungășescu*, to give a name to comedy characters, etc.

Names in *-escu* appear finally by the substitution of some Romanian suffixes such as *-oiu*: *Codoiu* > *Codescu* /10; 134/, or foreign ones (*-ovič*, *-enko*, etc.): *Eminovič* > *Eminescu*, *Kravčenko* > *Crafcescu*.<sup>22</sup>

Though not included in our table, the examples above—as a rule invented names—have also been taken in discussion in order to underline, on the one hand, the productive character of the names ending in *-escu*, and on the other hand, the de-etymologization of the adjectival suffix *-esc* /13; 601/. The possessive value of this suffix in appellatives of the type *popesc* "parsonlike" or "of a parson" is somehow maintained in

<sup>22</sup> In which *v* from the original name is rendered by *f* (in Russian *v* is pronounced *f* in front of *č*).

anthroponyms derived from names ending in *-ești* (e.g., *Popescu* < *Popești* or *Dobrescu* < *Dobrești*), but it gets lost in those names derived directly from person names (*Popescu* < *Popa*, *Dobrescu* < *Dobre*) to disappear completely in the fabricated names such as, e.g., *Piperescu* < *Piper*. In contrast to *-esc*, appellative suffix, *-escu* is an exclusively anthroponymic suffix apt to attach itself to radicals of the most different types and origins nowadays.

The contemporary forms in *-escu* were preceded by the forms in *-escul*, documentarily attested ever since the fourteenth century in the Slavonic texts /22; 451/; /10; 110/. The forms in *-l* (on their origin see /10; 110-113/ and /11/) are maintained only sporadically today, outside the standard system<sup>23</sup> and likewise rarely in toponymy, particularly on the periphery of the Daco-Romanian area.<sup>24</sup> (In onomastics, as well as in the domain of the appellatives, the peripheric areas are more conservative). In fact, in our restricted selection there is no name ending in *-escul*: e.g., *Popescul*, *Dumitrescul*. Natural and obligatory in the past, one can meet them now in the standard system without *-l*: *Popescu*, *Dumitrescu*, etc.

The case is also important because it demonstrates the *anthroponymization* of the suffix *-escu*. If, in an older period of the Romanian language, this morpheme could be found in the form *-escul*, both in appellatives and anthroponyms, at the present *-escu*, without the enclitic *-l*, can be met and is productive only in structure of family names. In other words, today *-escul* and *-escu* are incompatible with one another (complementary distribution) as they are not exchangeable: the first variant is found in the structure of adjectives used with an article (*popescul obicei*), the second one in the structure of family names (*Popescu*).

Lately it has been emphasized that shorter linguistic elements are more frequently used than longer ones and that this appears to have the quality of a synchronic law /18; 580/. There are, however, cases contradicting this rule and we shall refer here to a single example: the names ending in *-escu*. Their phonetic body is longer than that of names with no suffixes (compare *Ion* with *Ionescu*) but they are nevertheless more frequently used. On the first places in our table there are *Ionescu*, *Popescu*, *Dumitrescu*, *Georgescu*, *Constantinescu*, *Popa*, *Rădulescu*, *Marinescu*, *Petrescu*, *Niculescu*, *Ștefănescu*, *Teodorescu* and *Stănescu*

<sup>23</sup> Among those about 153,000 anthroponyms investigated there are only three family names in *-escul*, which we did not include in the table owing to their reduced frequency (one!): *Baloșescul*, *Balintescul* and *Nușescul*. Outside the standard system there are some Romanian surnames too, ending in *-escul* or *-ul* (e.g., *Buzeskul* /1;29/) or amplified by allogenic suffixes (e.g., *Radulov* /26/) on alloglotic linguistic ground).

<sup>24</sup> One can still find today such names as *Grozăvescul* in the South of Oltenia /15; 318/, or *Radijeskul*, *Brebeneskul* in the Ukrainian Carpathians /14; 364/.



(with a frequency between 2,999 and 713) and there is only one name without *-escu* among them: *Popa* (compare also the frequency of *Popescu*: 2,983 versus *Popa*: 996). On the other hand, suffixed names (34 percent) taken isolated as anthroponymic units are less numerous than simple names (53 percent), but their frequency is much higher (compare *Ionescu*: 2,999 and *Ion*: 226). Moreover, we should not forget that names in *-escu*, rare enough in the past century, have considerably increased in number and their productivity is continually increasing. It is quite possible that in the next five or six decades another statistical research, similar to the present one, may discover the prevailing character of the suffixed names not only in point of their frequency but also in point of the number of anthroponymical units, changing the ratio between two structures definitely in favour of the latter.

Facing these conditions can the assertion made at the beginning of this paragraph still be considered "law"?

### SURNAMES—APPELLATIVES

In our selection the names having the double value of appellatives and of family names occupy a rather modest place (eight per cent): *Popa*, *Ciobanu*, *Cojocar*, names showing occupations; *Munteanu*, *Olteanu*, *Ungureanu* showing local appurtenance; *Rusu*, and *Lungu*, nicknames at their origin.

The fact that they end in *-a* or *-u* (definite articles) and some others in *-eanu*, *-anu*, *-aru* (suffixes) does not make them belong to anthroponymy, the respective endings being used to form appellatives: *popa* and with article *popă* "pope, orthodox priest," *ciobanu* and without article *cioban* "shepherd," etc. The analysis of their formation must be made at the level of the respective appellatives, because as family names they formed themselves by a *sui-generis* conversion: appellative family names, e.g., *ciobanu* (*l*) > *Ciobanu* (*l*) or appellatives > nicknames > family names, e.g., *lungu* (*l*) > *Lungu* (*l*).

Here again, as in the case of names ending in *-escu*, we can find only forms without the definite article *-l*, in the standard system.<sup>25</sup> For instance, *Lungul* used as such in the time of Stephen the Great /4; 312/, and obviously later, is frequently found with the form *Lungu* nowadays.

### SURNAMES—LINGUISTIC BORROWINGS

In point of percentage they are situated on the last place (five percent): *Gheorghiu*, *Nicolau*, *Vasiliu* of a neo-Greek origin (compare Γεωργίου, Νικολάου, Βασιλείου); *Popovici* of Serbian-Croatian origin (compare

<sup>25</sup> Outside this system one can also find forms with *-l*: *Barbul*, *Sorbul*, *Grecul* etc. having a

*Popović*); *Pop* of Hungarian origin (compare *Papp*). All these names were evidently adapted to the phonomorphic structure of the Romanian language: those of Greek origin are pronounced with a consonantic *u* and a different number of syllables /16; 95/, /10; 147/; the phonetic value of *o* in *Pop* is different from that of *Papp*, etc.

In a number of cases such anthroponyms were invented, as they were in fashion, starting from authentic Romanian names. Thus, in the last century numerous *Gheorghiu* appeared substituting *-escu* by *-iu* /4; 65/, a more sophisticated form, and *Popovici* became frequent in the same epoch, especially in the province of Banat, by adding the suffix *-ovici* to a Romanian root, this practice being not only a fashion but also an obligation for the intellectuals /12; 178/. Therefore, *Gheorghiu* is often a *Georgescu* or *Gheorghe* at its origin and *Popovici* represents in a number of cases the serbianized form of the name *Popa* (or *Pop*). It is plain that the high frequency of the investigated anthroponyms can be explained only in this way together with the fact that they belong to the standard system.

Of the four categories of names reviewed here the surnames in *-escu* and the surnames-linguistic borrowings are marked, being always used as family names. The first names-surnames and the appellatives-surnames are not marked and they may be used either as first names (appellatives) or as family names. Considering the productive capacity of the suffixed forms described above the standard system is characterized by the tendency—*absolutely evident with respect to the dischronic record*—to confirm the marked forms.

Composition, which, as it is well known, is less developed in Romanian than in other Romance languages, proves to be less developed in respect to anthroponymy too. Even more, there is no example<sup>26</sup> of the category of compound nouns in the standard system.

The gender inflexion, well developed in the anthroponymy of other languages such as the Slavonic ones, where it is found in the official system of denomination, is improper to the Romanian standard system and, to a greater extent, to the whole standardized anthroponymic system of our days. We say "of our days," as in the past; in the pre-contemporary period, feminine forms ending in *-easca*, *-eanca* (*-anca*) etc., of the type *Brădeasca*, *Oteteleşanca* could be found in official documents /3; 143/. At the present time such forms circulate only in rural anthroponymy /7/ and in familiar talk /10; 123/, /3/.

Besides the frequent and characteristic types of names presented in

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reduced frequency (two or even one). Significant is the fact that *Greco* has the frequency 92, while *Greco* is met only once.

<sup>26</sup> Names as *Bratosin* (frequency 26), situated out of the standard system, are false compounds in Romanian, as the fusion of the terms was made in Slavonic wherefrom the names were taken via educated people.

this paper there are a number of forms left, less important but numerous enough, the productive capacity of which is to be determined by investigating a larger area of examples. In other words, the selective image offered by the examples above must be completed in point of structure and formation of the Romanian family names by strictly establishing the frequency of finals (the morphematic types of anthroponyms) on the basis of a comprehensive *a tergo* index. We set ourselves this task for a future research work.

LIST OF THE MOST USUAL FAMILY NAMES IN THE  
STANDARD SYSTEM, IN DECREASING ORDER OF  
THEIR FREQUENCY\*

No.	Name	Frequency	Rank	No.	Name	Frequency	Rank
1.	Ionescu	2999	1	31.	Vasiliiu	339	31
2.	Popescu	2983	2	32.	Stan	337	32
3.	Dumitrescu	1683	3	33.	Șerban	328	33
4.	Georgescu	1468	4	34.	Tudor		
5.	Constantinescu	1425	5	35.	Cristea	323	34
6.	Popa	996	6	36.	Mateescu		
7.	Rădulescu	946	7	37.	Ștefan		
8.	Marinescu	945	8	38.	Dinu	311	35
9.	Petrescu	935	9	39.	Mihai	303	36
10.	Niculescu	868	10	40.	Stanciu	296	37
11.	Ștefănescu	841	11	41.	Toma	289	38
12.	Teodorescu	759	12	42.	Barbu	288	39
13.	Stănescu	713	13	43.	Grigorescu		
14.	Gheorghiu	647	14	44.	Nicolae	285	40
15.	Vasilescu	621	15	45.	Rusu	280	41
16.	Radu	594	16	46.	Matei	278	42
17.	Iliescu	547	17	47.	Vasile	277	43
18.	Gheorghe	509	18	48.	Pop	274	44
19.	Munteanu	492	19	49.	Andrei	273	45
20.	Popovici	451	20	50.	Ilie		
21.	Dumitru	435	21	51.	Florea	271	46
22.	Constantin	433	22	52.	Șerbănescu		
23.	Stoica	414	23	53.	Anghel	270	47
24.	Florescu	405	24	54.	Simionescu	266	48
25.	Marin	393	25	55.	Tănăsescu	262	49
26.	Dobrescu	390	26	56.	Dragomir	247	50
27.	Nicolescu	373	27	57.	Diaconescu	246	51
28.	Cristescu	360	28	58.	Petre	245	52
29.	Alexandrescu	346	29	59.	Mihăilescu	244	53
30.	Nicolau	340	30	60.	Stoian		

\* The relative error of the elements in the table, reckoned according to the formula  $\delta = \frac{Z_p}{\sqrt{NP}}$ , is between 0,0000933 (the most frequent name, *Ionescu*) and 0,0003811 (the name with the least frequency, *Bogdan*).

No.	Name	Frequency	Rank	No.	Name	Frequency	Rank
61.	Ciobanu	242	54	81.	Costache	204	68
62.	Oprea			82.	Ioan		
63.	Ioniță	234	55	83.	Ivan		
64.	Antonescu	231	56	84.	Lupu		
65.	Tomescu	230	57	85.	Roman		
66.	Olteanu	229	58	86.	Stoenescu	200	69
67.	Preda			87.	Stoicescu		
68.	Neagu	227	59	88.	Zaharia	199	70
69.	Ion	226	60	89.	Bărbulescu	198	71
70.	Voicu			90.	Vlad	197	72
71.	Ungureanu	225	61	91.	Dobre	196	73
72.	Badea	224	62	92.	Ene	195	74
73.	Manolescu			93.	Nedelcu	194	75
74.	Grigore	222	63	94.	Bucur	193	76
75.	Stancu			95.	Lazăr	192	77
76.	Andreescu	220	64	96.	Manea	190	78
77.	Enache	216	65	97.	Niță	189	79
78.	Tănase	212	66	98.	Lungu	183	80
79.	Cojocaru	205	67	99.	Zamfirescu		
80.	Iancu			100.	Bogdan	180	81

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**BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JEWISH AND HEBREW  
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