

LEXICAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE VALENCIAN TOPONYMIC ATLAS (VTA)

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Abstract. *Lexical contributions of the Valencian Toponymic Atlas (VTA).* The Valencian Toponymic Atlas (VTA) encompasses over 50,000 living toponyms, gathered from living voices across the Land of Valencia in its areas of Castilian and Catalan linguistic base alike. The materials result from field interviews with old informants and local connoisseurs (shepherds, hunters and peasants), carried out by graduates in linguistics, history and geography. Such interviewers were trained in the methodology of both cartography and onomastic surveying, since all the toponymy gathered is located and sited on a map scale 1:10.000. Therefore the toponymic scale is low and the gathered corpus has been conditioned by its reference to cartography. Therefore, the toponymic rate is low: about 2,20 toponyms/km². The present corpus for the VTA is in ways of approval and publication by the Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua (AVL), the institution with legal jurisdiction over Valencian onomastics and inheritor of the sustained work carried out by the Directorate General for Language Policy of the Generalitat Valenciana since 1994, coordinated from its inception by the tireless Ms Aigües Vives Pérez Piquer. The compilation has allowed, for the first time, to count on a corpus gathered on the ground without the errors of the former cartography, affecting both the location of toponyms and, particularly, wrong spellings, hispanicized Valencian toponyms, etc. It has also made possible a presentation from the utmost respect to the oral toponym, dressed up with the normative orthography while maintaining both the dialectal and archaic lexical varieties, as well as avoiding corrections or interpretations which, made without the complement of a thorough historical documentation, would have been a source of many ultracorreptions. This VTA constitutes, therefore, the first step towards a future all-time comprehensive compilation of Valencian toponymy. Such a large corpus, gathered by over 230 interviewers from the mouths of the most qualified connoisseurs in Valencian toponymy, is a treasure kept and made available to everyone, enriching our collective heritage, serving both geographers and historians, helping experts in linguistics to properly write local toponyms and contributing many teachings and linguistic novelties to linguistics and onomastics scholars. I therefore consider it appropriate to present this preliminary approach called Second Seminar of Methodology in Toponymy and Language Revival, a lexical contributions made by the VTA as well as an assessment of its content.

Rezumat. *Contribuțiile lexicale ale Atlasului Toponimic Valencian (VTA).* Atlasul Toponimic Valencian (VTA) cuprinde peste 50 000 de toponime în uz, colectate de la “*vocile vii*” de pe teritoriul Valenciei în arealele sale cu bază lingvistică Castiliană și Catalană. Materialele au rezultat din aplicarea în teren a unor interviuri adresate informatorilor în vârstă și cunoscătorilor locali (păștori,



vânători și țărani) de către absolvenți în domeniul lingvisticii, istoriei și geografiei. Astfel de intervievari au fost instruiți în ceea ce privește metodologia folosită atât în cartografie cât și în cercetarea onomastică, mai ales de când toate toponimele colectate au fost localizate și amplasate pe o hartă cu scara 1:10000, cu alte cuvinte, fondul lexical colectat a fost condiționat de referințele sale la cartografie. Prin urmare, rata toponimelor este scăzută: în jur de 2,20 toponime/km². Fondul toponimic curent pentru VTA este pe cale de a fi aprobat și publicat de către Academia Valenciană de Litere (AVL), instituție cu jurisdicție legală în ceea ce privește onomastica Valenciană și moștenitoarea activității susținute și desfășurate de către Direcția Generală pentru Politica de Limbă a Generalitat Valenciana din 1994 și coordonată încă de la începuturile sale de către neobosita Aigües Vives Pérez Piquer. Procesul de compilare a permis, pentru prima dată, bizuirea pe un fond lexical cules de pe teren, fără erori ale celei dintâi cartografii, afectând atât localizarea toponimelor, dar mai ales ortografiile greșite, hispanizarea toponimelor Valenciene, etc. De asemenea, acesta a făcut posibil o prezentare de la cel mai mare respect la toponimele orale, pusă la punct cu ortografia normativă, în timp ce menținerea varietăților lexicale, atât cele legate de dialect cât și cele arhaice, precum și evitarea corecturilor sau interpretărilor ar fi fost o sursă de multe ultracorecții dacă ar fi fost făcute fără o analiză aprofundată și completă a întregii documentații istorice. Prin urmare, acest VTA constituie primul pas spre o viitoare compilație comprehensivă a toponimiei Valenciene. Un fond atât de vast, adunat de un număr de peste 230 intervievari, pe cale orală, de la cei mai calificați cunosători în toponimia Valenciană, reprezintă o comoară păstrată și disponibilă oricui, îmbogățind moștenirea noastră colectivă, servind atât geografilor cât și istoricilor, experților în lingvistică pentru a scrie corect toponimele locale și contribuind la multe învățături și noutăți lingvistice pentru oamenii de știință din domeniul lingvisticii și onomasticii.

Key words: *toponyms, Valencian Toponymic Atlas.*

Cuvinte cheie: *toponime, Atlasul Toponimic Valencian.*

1. LEXICAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE VTA

The study offers us for the first time a systematic vision of toponymy in all the Land of Valencia, so that a detailed analysis allows for unravelling isoglosses, knowing the presence or absence of traditional varieties, geosynonyms shared with the rest of Catalan-speaking territories, or clashing formal varieties according to the dialectal distribution of the Land of Valencia. It also enables us to know the range of nicknames in toponymic composition, existing syntactic structures, phonetic trends, interferences between both linguistic areas in Valencia, etc. I will choose but a few among these fields of study as an example of the value of this survey, while distinguishing the toponyms of either linguistic area.

1.1. Catalan-speaking area

a) The toponymy gathered witnesses the existence of an appellative lexical layer today lost in the area, thanks to which we can know with certainty that words today lost in Valencian existed in the past. For instance¹:
Adjutori < ADIUTORIU. Latinism still alive in the Middle Ages.

Aiguadolç / Rocafort. Example of Latin adjectives with two endings, passing to Catalan with a single form for both masculine and feminine, before originating a feminine.

Alberca. Arabism alive up to the 15th century.

Alforí. Arabism alive in Valencia until very recently, meaning ‘granary’.

Algar. Arabism meaning ‘water cave’.

Algoleja. Arabism alive up to the 16th century, meaning ‘meander’.

Asnet < ASINETU. Popular evolution of a derivate of ase (ass) < ASINU.

Atzavara. Arabism, today in decline before “pitera” (agave).

Auzell < AVICELLU ‘bird’. Today the word “pardal” is general in Valencian.

Batle < BAJULU ‘mayor’. Today is still known in nicknames and street names under the form balde. Today replaced by alcalde.

Brugars / burgal. Derivates of bruc ‘heather’. Burgal is a metathesis and a change of suffix of brugar.

Bullent < BULLIENTE ‘boiling’.

Calapatar. A group of calàpets ‘toads’. Word replaced by “sapo” in the 15th century.

Canadella. Diminutive of the old form CANNA > cana meaning small reedbed.

Cint < CINCTU ‘tight’. Remains of the ancient form. Today the Aragonese word cinto is present in the whole land.

Cossa / cós < CURSA / CURSU. It refers to the ancient Roman way, with a popular evolution.

Denes / Setenes < DECENA / SEPTENA, ancient way of counting, today alive in the form dotzena ‘dozen’.

Devallades, Vallada. Witness of the verb davallar ‘lower’, today also dying out.

Empriu < AEMPRIVU ‘lands of common property, banal lands’.

Escaig. Perhaps from the Indo-European ‘retail, escapoló’.

Espioca. A derivate of the verb espiar ‘to spy’ with suffix –occa. Place to watch the sea.

Esplugues < SPELUNCA ‘cave’. Originating from the name.

Feixa < FASCIA ‘plot’. Replaced by bancal.

Fembra < FEMINA ‘female’. Today completely replaced by femella.

Fonguda. Analogic participial of the verb fondre ‘to melt’, instead of fos.

Garganta. Derivate of the root garg-, this form is common in Catalan up to the 16th century.

Hortal < HORTALE ‘land plot’.

Jana < DIANA. In other areas or languages meaning ‘witch’.

Jussana / Sussana < DEORSU + ANA ‘the lowest part’. Because of popular etymology in the Costera county, known as Sussana.

Madremany / Formany: the ending witnesses the Latin MAGNU ‘great’ > many. Both are medieval family names.

Madriguera < MATRICARIA ‘den’. Normal evolution in Valencian.

Mareny < MARITIMU. Also in Catalan evolves into maresme.

Mesell < MISELLU ‘withered, miserable’.

Obaga < OPACA ‘opaque, shady place’. Excepting the north, the term hombría / umbria is alive today in most of the country.

Onque < AVUNCULU ‘uncle’. A popular variant of oncle.

Peiró ‘creu de terme’, ‘city limit cross’, alive in the north of the Castelló province.

Péleg < PAELAGUS ‘washing place’.

Perencisa / perenxisa < PETRA INCISA. Witness of the formal variant pera ‘stone’ and the word encís ‘broken’.

Plet < PLACITU ‘lawsuit’. This variant shows that it has also existed. Today alive only in pleit, surely a remainder of the medieval form, perhaps backed by the Castilian form.

Porçons < PORTIONES ‘water portions’. Brother to Los Alporchones in Murcia, it is pronounced Porçons or Purçons in different towns.

Pregó / prigó < PROFUNDU. Today only known in the literary language. In some places the Barranc Pregó ‘Deep Ravine’ is called today Barranc Fondo, as in Albaida.

Presseguer < PERSICARIU ‘apricot tree’. Besides the toponym, we find a street in the city of Valencia, “perseguer”, and the word is still alive in the north.

Quadrella < QUADRU + ELLA. A diminutive, still alive in the irrigated area around Castelló de la Plana.

Sentiu < SENTICE ‘plant’. It could well originate from the toponym of Lleida La Sentiu.

Sinoga < SINAGOGA. Perhaps remainders of the ancient common word.

Somera < SUMM + ARIA ‘the highest part’. Also alive somera ‘female ass’.

Uixola – Uixó < OSTIU + OLA and –ONE. Both must be witnesses of the substantive uix ‘exit’, still alive in the verb auixar ‘throw out’.

Ver (pi) < VERU ‘true’ opposed to false pine.

Vermellar < VERMICULU + ARE. The adjective roig ‘red’ has erased vermell except in the south of the country. We also have the name Bermell, but names are far more ephemere than toponyms.

b) Evidence of intermittent or temporal phonetic developments that failed to become general patterns, as well as dialectal forms. This section requires resorting to documents from previous centuries in order to build a sound opinion. For instance:

Abugot. Velarization of the vowel e of abegot ‘bumblebee’.

Albureca. Intermittent change of the voiced dental into r, as in Alameda > Alamera.

Algevar < Atzevar and Dotge < dotze. Palatalization of the voiced alveolar fricative. There are but very few words presenting this pattern.

Arcúrnia / Alcúrnia. Arguenya / Alguenya, Armaig / Almaig, Cormo, Plançonar > Prensonar and Algamassa / Argamassa: timbre change between the flap r and l.

Argilaga. Closing of the palatal e > i in contact with a palatal consonant.

Atzaneta / Atzenet, Salzadella. As in Pinatellada, with a parallel process e... é > a... é.

Benenzar < BENETZAR, with a vocalic change by dissimilation of aa and change from alveolar affricate into nz.

Bítols < Vítors. Dissimilation of rs into ls.

Bolta. The labiodental v of volta, in contact with the labial-velar vowel, became dissimilated into bilabial B already in a distant past.

Caullà. Simplification of cogullada, with dissimilation of ou > au.

Creveta. Consonantization of Creueta, as happens with other derivations: bou > bover.

Eixèrcit. We observe the normal change cs > ix.

Estral. Elimination of d- due to vacillations between the derivates of suffixes de + ex and –ex, together with the weakness of the dental before the stress, due to syntactic phonetics.

Flare. Dissimilation of vibrant flap in frare < FRATER.

Flissura. Simplification of three palatal consonants in two, as in quixal: FREIXURA > flissura.

Fontanars < Fontanals. An old change of flaps, perhaps due to a change in the suffix.

Francés. However difficult it is to assert whether this family name stems from the first name Francesc or the adjective francés, we observe here the simplification of the group esc

> és, normal since the 16th century. In many cases we know for sure that it stems from Francesc.

Gargori. A metathesis of Gregori and opening of e + r > ar.

Jagant. An assimilation of the atonic e to a tonic a.

Maixquera. A medieval palatalization of sk into ixk.

Natzaret. A derivate of llatzeret by popular etymology. We observe the change of e...é into a...é.

Òlbits. Epenthesis of the final consonant t after the vowel i, as in geni > genit.

Paixarella. Stemming from the Valencian bird Paixarell, present in the written norm under the form passerell.

Pinatellada. A derivate of pinetell, with the ever general opening of e...é into a.

Porxinos < PORCINOS. Palatalization of Ce, i.

Pra < PRADA. Simplification of the post-stress -d- in places where it is common today.

Prat > parat. Anaptyxis of a vowel.

Quebrassa. CREPACEA > crebassa > quebrassa, with metathesis.

Rajos > rajjos. Evolution of the voiceless palatal affricate in the biphoneme i + voiced palatal fricative. It is endemic in the north of the Castelló province.

Remua. Elimination of the -d- in general in the south.

Rúbia. Before the surprise of a toponym formed on a blond woman, we discovered that it was a spontaneous evolution of the toponym Atzúbia, with the same rotacism in the voiced alveolar affricate than today's dotze>dosre.

Sària. Simplification of RRY into Ry.

Sorts > sots. Elimination of the vibrant implosive, as in dimarts and the family name Ots<HORTS.

c) Formal variants within the Land of Valencia. In many cases we could establish isoglosses as in cadolla; cocó or clotxa; jonc and junc; but, in general, they all live scattered everywhere. The same differences happen in the appellative words:

Abeletjar / Albellatjar / Albelatge

Alfadali / Alfardí-

Aliacrans / alacrans

Àliga / àguila

Assagador / assehador. Assagador is the etymologic form, but its pronunciation in e - perhaps due to analogy with segar- is majoritary.

Bega / Vega. The Bega in the Ribera county, between Sueca and Cullera, was documented so already in the Middle Ages, however the toponym seems of foreign origin.

Buscarró / buixcarró and Cascarra / caixcarra. The same pattern as in peixquera.

Cadolla / Codolla / Godolla. The first two are pretty general variants.

Campello / Campiello / Campillo. All these forms stem from the Aragonese < CAMPELLU, not from the Mozarabic.

Cim / xim. Xim is alive between the Albaida Valley and the Safor county and is also a trend of palatalization of ce, i.

Foiet / Foeta.

Gentisclar / llentisclar.

Joncar / juncar.

Llacorellar / llecorella

Llagosta / Llangosta

Mànega / Màniga

Matalap / matalaf. In the Castilian-speaking area we find matalàs.

Montanyar / muntanyar.

Naiximent: even though in many maps we find naixement, which is the only normative form, naiximent is the medieval form and the only one alive in Valencian.

Òbila / òliba.

Orso. We never find ós.

Penyaicendra. ‘I’ represents the evolution of de, where the –d– falls and e > i as if it were the copulative conjunction.

Pobill / pubil.

Pouet / povet and Boveral / boeral

Querenets / carena

Roll d’aigua / assarb

Rugla / Rungla

Saldonar / Saulonar

Salvatxo / fardatxo

Solsida / ensulsida

Sopalma / sopalmo / sobalma / subalma

Sortanella / sortonella. Sortonella is the etymologic form.

Tea / teda. In many studies we find either teia or teda, but the only one alive is tea.

Xumenera / ximenera / aixumenera.

In many cases we have only found one variant, which could be used to trace isoglosses with words from other territories. For example: Clavill, Murta, Alguazil, Paraís, Giner.

d) Toponyms with controversial etymologies. Many names lack at first sight a clear origin or explanation, for which reason we leave their assessment for a future time when we will count on ancient documentation. For example:

Badell. The Badell river may originate either from VADELLU or from Vedell, with the change e...é > a...é.

Grapat, which according to Coromines would be related to gripau ‘toad’, could also possibly be the noun grapat ‘handful’, since there are similar names, such as font de la Petaca, font del Gamelló, etc.

Vilaret, apparently a metathesis and apheresis of l’Olivaret.

And so on with other cases such as Clariano and Agrillent (I believe my proposals in former papers clarify the issue), Aiguar, Termetet, Porxinos, Arxipèl. In Oró, the evolution ACERONE > auró > Oró remains unclear.

e) Hispanicisms, adapted or not, are generally alive in border areas between Valencian and Castilian-speaking towns. For instance, the Devadillo from Picassent stems from l’Elevadillo; Gorgoróbio is a name coined by Aragonese shepherds, Fos may originate from the Aragonese FOS, with two possible etymologies –FOSSUM or FOCE– despite Coromines’ claim at Oncat, s.v. fou.

Very often, some hispanicisms originated from an old name like Verdejo –a family name from the town of Alfafara– documented already in the 15th century and commonly pronounced Verdeixo; or Galtero, from the 18th century. Many of these non-Catalan lexemes have been documented since the Middle Ages and would come together with the Aragonese lexemes. Their settlement shows how easily have rooted rare or less frequent elements to designate the territory. It is worth noting that, besides border toponyms, those stemming from nicknames or family names are easily transportable by speakers. A sample with further examples:

- Acebador. The verb *cebar*, pronounced in some places with a *v* (*acevar*) could also be Catalan < CIPARE, but its geographic distribution does not back this hypothesis.
- Agüelo. Common word since the 17th century.
- Alcornoque and Alcornocar. Isogloss that has penetrated the Plana county.
- Algarroba. In the same area, the appellative *garrofa* is alive.
- Almanaque. Modern toponym in an area where people say *l'Almanac*.
- Almendroler. It is an *ametleral* or *almeleral*.
- Arboleda. A group of trees.
- Arranque. A colloquial word.
- Bohío. People pronounce it *el BuXio*, the Castilian way, being a toponym imported from Cuba at the beginning of the 20th century.
- Buitrera. Place with many *buitres* or *voltors* 'vultures'.
- Cabeço. Together with *cabeç*, it designates smaller *tossals* 'hills'.
- Caicó. In the Castilian-speaking area, it is called *caicón*.
- Cano, *el*. This toponym is so deep-rooted in the Land of Valencia that it has been thought to be of Mozarabic origin.
- Caporutxo. The ending *-utxo* has an Aragonese origin. However, the word is very well known in spoken Valencian, particularly in the expression "fer el meu caporutxo/caparrutxo". I do not believe it is of Mozarabic origin.
- Castellarejo. The adaptation of the Castilian suffix *-ejo* is surprising, but it is well alive.
- Cata, *la*. A place where tasting is performed, called in popular Valencian *catar*.
- Collado. Word discussed by Coromines, who considered it Mozarabic however the ending makes it impossible.
- Colpeo. Mongrel substantive of *colp* and *golpear*.
- Desetxat. The area is full of toponyms adapted to Valencian.
- Encarnelles. Word also present in Murcia.
- Fonderaco. It has been considered Mozarabic, but it is clearly Aragonese.
- Forato. Valencian adapted to Castilian.
- Guargo. Remains of Aragonese diphthongation.
- Guendo / Duende. The first form is well rooted in spoken Valencian.
- Judeu 'judío'. A mongrel of *jueu* and *judío*.
- Junquerejos. In the same area we find the toponym *Juncaret* with the same meaning.
- Madronyal / Modronyal. The word *alborser* is also well alive.
- Majadafría. Toponym coined by Aragonese transhumance.
- Pato. Word coexisting with *ànec*, but very vigorous.
- Pavo. Colloquial word coexisting with *titot* and *gall d'indi*.
- Penyascal. Toponym in an area free of Castilian terms excepting *el Cerro*, however it is difficult to explain in Catalan.
- Querido. Originating from a nickname.
- Reconco-Recuenco-Reconc. It shows the effort made to adapt foreign toponyms.
- Redonda. Word of Aragonese origin brought by shepherds, also alive in Occitan, documented already in the Middle Ages.
- Sangria. It replaces the ancient toponym *la Sagnia* to designate a water source.
- Sombrials. Hispanicism with Valencian ending, like *umbrial*.
- Somo, los Somos. Aragonese or affective pronunciation of the word *som* < SUMMU 'height'.
- Terrericos Pardos. An example of the suffix *-ico*, also well rooted in Valencian.

Vallejo. A small valley.

Xarco. A very ancient word, as is Xorro².

f) Residential developments. The proliferation of foreign names to designate residential developments is one of the problems of our toponymy. A law protecting toponymic heritage is required here. For example:

Mutxavista. Name created by imitation of the toponym Mutxamel.

Paraíso. Having a name as dynamic as Paraís, this toponym is incomprehensible for the development, if not indeed due to the hitherto secondary or residual role of Valencian.

Saplaya, combining the simple possessive sa (ex. sa casa, ma mare) and the Castilian playa, since saplatja did not sound alive in the development site.

g) Nicknames and Hypocorisms. A good deal of toponyms have their origin in nicknames and hypocorisms, especially in those coined after the 19th century. Such nicknames are a source of headaches for etymologists lacking a proper documentation and a deep knowledge of the local microhistory. For instance, in the interpretation of the toponyms El Gafaüt and el Torrater, Coromines attempts risky explanations, not knowing perhaps that their etymology or origin was, in fact, two nicknames, as I have proved somewhere else. For example:

Camaenalt.

Cantallasdeu, coined from a recurrent expression by the landlord.

Catxoles ‘catxotxes’.

Entraisale. Castilian is used here in a humorous way, as it happens in a percentage of nicknames.

Fole. Because that person always repeated this interjection.

Juano.

Llobero

Maicalles.

Milantes, el tio.

Minxo, because he liked food.

Panou. A traditional Easter cake.

h) Anthroponyms, first names and last names. These are also numerous, but in general are easy to study and work out, as Albentosa, Cayetano and Anselmo. Very often the names are masked, as in Perolit < Pere d’Olit, Plangamell < Pla d’en Gamell o Llomandilla < Lloma d’Andilla.

i) Word families with different suffixes. The toponymy gathered gives an insight into the derivative richness of Valencian. For example: Covarxa, Covarxella, Covarxet, Covarxó, Covarxo, Covarxota.

Joncar / Juncosa / Junces / Joncaret / Jonquera and Juncarejo.

j) Survival of unusual suffixes, as in

Abrell, Covatella, Vilella, < ELLU, diminutive.

Abret < ITTU, diminutive

Felipons < ONE

Fenassosa, Palmosa and Matoa < OSA

Jussera / Somera < ARIA

Llobero / Xopero / Domenguero < suffix of Castilian origin –ERO < ARIU.

Peixerona / Comona / Sortonella < UNDA.

Vallesa < ENSA. It stems perhaps from the family name and not from the common appellative.

Vinet, Carraixet < ETU.

k) Popular words unknown to young speakers:

Arrabassada 'wasteland turned into farmland'.

Balma 'cave'.

Bitxac 'little bird'.

Bustal 'rock' or 'land surface of the mas or farm for common use of neighbours, used particularly as threshing floor or as barn surface'.

Cleda 'fence'.

Covantoll < cova en toll

Edrets. Referring to the edros or évols.

Hedra. Many people believe that the proper Catalan term is heura, and when they find hedra they change it for heura in their notes.

Judia 'fredaluga'.

Llonga 'llarga'.

Marrada 'desviació'.

Menescal 'veterinari'.

Penella 'land plot'.

Perxàs 'roofed building next to a mas'.

Tomellar. Derived from tomello 'thyme'.

1.2. Castilian-speaking area

We would like to encourage the study of the Castilian-speaking area of the Land of Valencia, of either Aragonese and Murcian base, since those of us devoted to Catalan linguistics rarely take it into account, and neither do those studying Spanish linguistics. However, its study is essential to properly understand Valencian Catalan; as well as Aragonese, vulgar Castilian and Castilian dialects. Precisely the gathering of toponymy from the Western area of the Land of Valencia shows us that a great number of Castilian and Catalan isglosses are intertwined, in particular in language border areas, thus attaching a great value to the materials of the VTA. Let us see some of the contributions:

a) Valencian lexicon in a non-Catalan-speaking area, morphologically adapted or not. There is much fossilized as toponyms, showing us the onomastic principle that the rarest words are the ones that settle best in toponymy. I also evinces the linguistic interference between Aragonese and Catalan speaking settlers in the north, and the superposition of Castilian over Valencian in the south. We find particularly this toponymy in the border area. For example:

Albelló

Albereda

Aljub

Bacoro

Baladre

Bañat

Bateig

Calderons

Campets
Capoll
Fadrina
Falaguera
Fetge
Finestral
Garrofa
Guis
Güit
Herbasana
Hortanova
Lladres
Llencas
Llobera
Macianes
Mallades
Mamellar
Melic
Mos del Bou
Murta
Olivaret
Òrguens
Quixal
Rebentó
Regallet
Safareig
Setenas
Solsida / Sunsida
Suro
Taiboles
Tascón
Tolls
Trull

b) Many toponyms receive the same name in and from both language areas, especially when they designate important toponyms. This phenomenon causes that the official denomination uses a double name. Accordingly, when studying them, we will take into account that these toponyms may have originated in either area, before they became popular and finally general:

Espadà / Espadán
Penyagolosa
Matamón
Perenchisa
Campello
Charchanet
Carraixet

c) Many names – toponyms exist independently in both linguistic areas. We shall bear it in mind, as well as their referents, before we can give an etymologic opinion of a particular toponym, either an interpretation of the toponym or its filiation. For example:

Ababolar

Agres (Anna) / Agres

Alacranes – aliacranes

Arbolaje / albellatge

Árboles / àlbers > Arbres, by popular evolution in the Valencian-speaking area.

Ardacho – Fardacho / Fardatxo

Boscarró – buscarrón

Burgal / brugal

Canadilla / canadella

Cantalar

Crebada – crebantada.

El Ofra / L'Ofra

Esvarador: the origin of esvarar remains unclear. Is it perhaps an Aragoneseism in Valencian? I think so.

Fangachar

Fuchina / fugina

Gamellón – gamella

Hiedra / hedra

Hoya / foia

Huertacha – Covarcho – Urgacho – Furgacho

Jarea / Xarea

Lastras / llastra

Madroñal / madronyal

Milocha / milotxa

Morciguillo / mosseguello

Picayo / picaio

Querencia / carència

Rabosa, in both areas

Rodeno / pi rodeno

Rodero / roder

Toba / àtoba

Torratero / torrater

d) Phonetic traits common in vulgar Castilian, Aragonese or Murcian:

Boalaje. Loss of the pre-stress v.

Cardaire. Use of the pejorative –aire suffix, of Occitan origin.

Cavo. From the Catalan Cau.

Charcum. Use of the Valencian pejorative collective suffix –um.

Clo / Clote. Adaptation of the Valencian clot, eliminating the final consonant or adding a final –e.

Collo. Adaptation of the Valencian with a final vocal –o, felt as Castilian.

Derecera. Anaptyxis of e before r.

Glea. Loss of d after the stress, as in southern Valencian.

Guargos (Chóvar). Aragonese diphthongation of Gorgu.

Jonjordana. Aspiration of the f of font.

Juésar. Aspiration and diphthongation of the F of Fossar.

Montul and Purtel. Adaptations of the palatal Catalan Montull and Portell.

Peacicopán. Elimination of the intervocal d.

Pijer. Aspiration of the labial ver.

Tuesa. Equivalent to the Catalan Tossa.

e) Many toponyms are formed on nicknames, names and hypocorisms, such as:

Nel / Nelo

Juano

Sento

f) A number of toponyms appear to have a double suffix -Valencian or Castilian- or a double pronunciation adapted to the local way of speaking. For example:

Artichuela / Artijuela

Bicorb / Bicuerbe

Cocón / Cocons / Cocones

Garrofero / Fustero

Palomaret / Palomarejo

Palop / Palope

Portichol / Portichuelo

Tejaret / Tejarico

2. LIMITATIONS OF THE VTA MATERIALS

The interview method as well as the task force and the proofreader are reliable. However, the use of VTA materials to conduct research on diachronic linguistics, or the historical evolution of toponymy, presents some problems, including the standardization of the toponym. This is due to the lack of historical perspective and the ignorance of ancient sources documenting the toponym. Veru often, we consider that the proposal is provisional, since in a number of cases we have realized that many toponyms have experienced changes, blurring the original toponym. Before we can formally declare a toponym, we need to contrast the documented forms throughout history of that particular toponym with its contemporary form, and study its evolution applying the methodology of historical Grammar in order to seize its etym and decide which form is the most suitable to fix and convey the name. In the absence of this study, the *Onomasticon Cataloniae* by Coromines has been one of the decisive bases, but we now know that, in many cases, the lack of documentation also induced the master of onomastics to commit some errors. Therefore, the AVL hopes to undertake a documentation task of all Valencian toponymy in a near future.

This task presents, broadly speaking, three major shortcomings which are easily solvable by means of further study and toponymy spotting:

a) Need of historical documentation prior to proposing a sound form, as some recent papers show. For example, in some of the cases studied:

Cinc vs / from Cint

Derrames vs Benarraes

Fadrí vs Alfadadí

Fosc vs Fos

La Batalla vs Batalla

Lluïssades vs llossa llúida, not from Lluís.

Malles vs Mallades

Molinell is an adaptation of the Aragonese Molinello, as Vaillo and Vaello from Vadello / Vadillo

Pospelat vs Tòspelat

Rüedes is an evolution of Rouredes

Suderma vs Sort Erma

b) The regularization of toponyms very often masks Valencian dialectal variation. To prevent it, the VTA database maintains the forms as they were collected. However, when it comes to conveying them, some generalizations have been made according to the normative language in order to avoid excessive variety. For example:

Anoer / Anoguer / Anouer: Anoer has not been transcribed.

Assagador / Assegador. Assagador has been the preferred form (until now).

Cadolla and Codolla.

Covilar and Cubilar. Covilar has been the preferred form.

Diumenge and Domenge, both after their origin.

However, both variants have been accepted for the following cases:

Güendo and Uendo: the first form has been preferred over the second.

Llentisclar / Llentiscar. Llentiscar has not been normalized.

Mànega and màniga.

Miracle and milacre.

Quebrasa and cabrasa. Quebrassa has been the preferred form.

Quincaller / Quinquiller. Quincaller has been the preferred form.

c) Local monographic studies to decide with a geographic, historical and linguistic backing many normative proposals of Valencian toponyms, especially toponyms of foreign origin, in particular names of residential developments, beaches or new complexes, which should be replaced by traditional names. For example,

El Teleraco of Aiolo de Malferit should be written El Telégrafo, its original, non distorted name, or rather recover the ancient name Alt d'Eixea.

La Ponderosa, from the name of a farm in a popular TV series, should recover its traditional name of el Dumeit.

3. CONCLUSIONS

a) The lexemes present in the toponyms are the same as the lexicon contained in the oral language and alive in those very places it designates.

b) There is a high number of nicknames as a toponymic base, requiring a collection and study of living nicknames prior to studying the origin and etymology of many current toponyms.

c) The present VTA must be completed with a medieval VTA and a terminological corpus from historical documents, at least up to the 19th century. Without it, we will not be able to trace back the meaning and origin of many names with certainty.

d) We find in our toponymy linguistic interferences with other languages present in the territory: the Valencian-speaking area contains many hispanicisms and the Castilian-speaking area many Catalanisms. According to the historical documentation studied, this phenomenon is usually very old. Lliria and Alcudia de Veo stand as paradigms of these interferences.

e) The materials gathered by the VTA are the base of the maps prepared by the Institut Cartogràfic Valencià and the Instituto Geográfico España, which are divulged in every town within the leaflet collection “Toponímia dels pobles valencians”, of which over one hundred issues have been published.

f) The knowledge of Valencian lexicon has been greatly improved with this work. A new path has been equally opened for the study of Aragonese and Murcian subdialects in the linguistic border areas in the Western strip of the Land of Valencia.

NOTES

1) The publication of the VTA, due by end of 2007, will contribute a wide introduction where the methodology will be explained for the collection and identification of toponyms. This paper owes much to it.

2) I will only transcribe the word, without the articles or adjectives attached to it. I will also skip locating it in a town, excepting those cases where I consider it necessary to explain its value. In order to make the presentation and the article lighter, I always back the data with information from the Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear (DCVB) by F.B. Moll, the DECat and the OnCat by Joan Coromines. But also from many opinions present in a number of my papers. For example, in the following articles:

-“Aproximació a una toponímia d'aigües en català al País Valencià” (1988), in: *Col·lecció d'Urbanisme Musulmà*, 29, Ajuntament de Benissa, pp. 115-141;

-“Toponímia d'origen castellà” (1995) in *Materials de Toponímia: Estudis de Toponímia Valenciana*, Denes, pp. 1207-1216;

-“Toponímia i normativa: el cas valencià” (1997), in: *BISO*, 67, 1996, pp. 70-92;

-“La toponímia de serra de la Vall d'Albaida” (1998), in: *Toponímia. Más allá de las fronteras lingüísticas. Quaderns de Sintagma*, pp. 41-52;

-“El lèxic valencià medieval soterrat en la toponímia (o l'estat toponímic català a València)” (1999), in: *BISO*, 1997, 79, pp. 38-60;

-“La frontera lingüística castellano-catalana en el País Valencià” (2003), in: *RFR* 18 (2001), pp. 213-260; and

-“L'Onomasticon Cataloniae de Joan Coromines” (2003) in: *BISO*, 92, pp. 97-135.

3) Very often we find toponyms with different formal variants according to their local pronunciation. For example, Hortijola / Hortitxola and Llepassa / Llapassa. In these cases, we hesitate between using the normative spelling or keeping the local pronunciation. In the first case, the best option is to keep both pronunciations, since both are historical according to OnCat, IV, 422: Hortitxola would be Mozarabic –or rather Aragonese– while Hortijola would be its Arabized pronunciation. However, if we proceed thus here, why not do the same in Portitxol and Portijol?

In the second example and according to the norm, we transcribe llapassa in both cases.

4) In the Valencian-speaking area we happen to find a number of Castilian toponyms such as forato, devadillo or madronyal, while in the Castilian-speaking area we find a number of Valencian toponyms such as capoll, cap or cocons.

5) This is not the appropriate place to study each toponymic term from the point of view of the Aragonese language, owing to the lack of historical perspective. However, in many cases, a toponym of alleged Valencian origin can originate from a previous Aragonese -not Catalan- form. Valencian lexica can be found in the *Diccionari Valencià*, published by editorial Bromera, 1995.

I have not studied every case either, but should we do it, we would doubtlessly find out that Valencian toponyms originate from a) an ancient toponym of the area before its hispanicization, such as bateig and baladre, in Elda; a border toponym such as aljub or tolls in Veo or Tous, c) nicknames such as garrofa, etc.

6) In his study about the toponym Penyagolosa, Emilio Nieto concluded that the name of the mountain would have been coined in the Aragonese-speaking area. See his “Dues notes breus de toponímia valenciana: Penyagolosa, Les Useres”, in: *Sintagma* 12, pp. 5-18.

7) I have already discussed the etymology of both the word roder ‘runaway, bandit’ and the toponym el Torrater, and I disagreed with Coromines. Now, with the current documentation, I am more confident about my opinion.

8) A second phase of interviews has started as an attempt to enlarge the number of toponyms collected. We believe that this second survey will gather a further 20,000 toponyms. Accordingly, the most important toponyms of the Land of Valencia will be collected and located on a map.

