

# Home and Spread of the Slavs and a New Bibliographical Collection

Jürgen Udolph

Niedersächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Göttingen, Germany

**Email address:**

udolph@t-online.de

**To cite this article:**

Jürgen Udolph. Home and Spread of the Slavs and a New Bibliographical Collection. *International Journal of Language and Linguistics*. Vol. 11, No. 4, 2023, pp. 136-147. doi: 10.11648/j.ijll.20231104.16

**Received:** July 27, 2023; **Accepted:** August 21, 2023; **Published:** August 31, 2023

---

**Abstract:** The article consists of two parts: On the one hand, a file created by the author with around 450,000 geographical names, which has been freely accessible on the Internet for several months, is presented. The title of this file is *Nomina Geographica Europaea. Bibliographische Sammlung zu europäischen Orts-, Elur- und Gewässernamen*. It can be reached at the following Internet address: <https://adw-verwaltung.uni-goettingen.de/ortsnames/images-lightbox.php/>. It took decades to compile the names contained therein. The collection contains water, place and field names, especially from Eastern and Central Europe. The author hopes that it will be useful for further research into the geographical names of Europe. In the second part of the article, a selection of geographical names from Eastern Europe is used to show that Slavic tribes knew and used different terms for geographical objects as they spread north and east. This opens up opportunities to identify older and younger Slavic settlements. Their mapping shows very clearly that older Slavic settlements can mainly be found in the Ukraine, while large areas of what later became Russian territory are primarily known for younger settlements. A comprehensive mapping of the mentioned place names further shows that the Pripjat' area cannot have been the home of the Slavic tribes, but that they must be sought south of it in the fertile areas of the Ukrainian black earth (loess soils). The sharp increase in the Slavic population described by ancient writers can be explained as follows: good arable soil is the basis for good and better harvests than in other areas with less good soil. As a result, the population in the areas with better soil grows faster and their languages and dialects spread more widely than those of other settlers.

**Keywords:** Geographical Names, Slavic Tribes, Eastern Europe, Expansion, Hydronymy, Original Homeland, Soil Quality, Spread of Names

---

## 1. Introduction: Importance of Place Name Research

Today's settlement area of East Slavic tribes came into being as a result of centuries of expansion. Since the question of where this conquest of land could have taken place, i.e. where the starting point of the migration could have been, has been dealt with without prejudice, the investigation of geographical names has often been included in these considerations. And very early on, there were voices that advocated taking name research into account.

Even from today's perspective, the opinion of the so-called "last universal scholar" Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) is surprising when he wrote more than 300

years ago: "Et vetustissima linguarum vestigia supersunt in nominibus fluviorum atque sylvarum, quae mutatis accolis plerumque persistunt" (And the oldest traces of languages are preserved in the names of rivers and forests, which generally survive even when their inhabitants change). [18].

August Ludwig Schlözer, who intensively researched history and languages 250 years ago, also emphasized the importance of geographical names in Eastern Europe<sup>1</sup>. According to Schlözer, the consideration of the languages and their traces in the names provide the most important material for the early history of the Slavs:

"The oldest history of the Slavs is lost in the night of antiquity [...]: only their language, which [...] can refresh

---

<sup>1</sup> I have written about this extensively elsewhere: Udolph 2000.

the cautious connoisseur but almost completely faded historical truths, remains for us instead of all other sources", and finally: "No written monuments, no traditions, nay even mythologies, enlighten us of the origin of this illustrious people, their first dwellings, and their kinship with other nations: only their language can guide us in this obscurity". [36]

Two recent quotes may underscore the importance of geographic names for early and prehistory. H. Krahe wrote in 1950:

[...] names of rivers, mountains and settlements [...] for us the most valuable material, often the only one for ethnographic research in the earliest times, and above all the safest, because where place names of a certain language are found in large numbers, the language in question must have been spoken and members of the people who speak this language must have lived. [15, 25].

And one last quote from Vasmer, who has worked intensively on the questions of the original homeland of the Slavs and migrations of the peoples in Eastern Europe. He had emphasized that the Slavic original homeland question [...] can primarily be promoted by thorough research into loan words and place names and by taking all old historical and geographical sources into account as completely as possible. [40] (S. 90-91)

## 2. The Question of the Original Homeland of the Slaves

The opinions mentioned so far seem to come from ancient times. But are we really any further along today when assessing the questions about the Slavic homeland and the first expansions? Hardly - a look at the relevant keywords of "Wikipedia", which almost every Internet user knows and asks - does not offer any reliable statements. It is often argued that the results of various scientific disciplines must be combined in order to arrive at the most convincing possible result. Recently, genetic research has also been increasingly questioned in this direction.

However, it is also not uncommon to doubt that there was an "Urheimat" at all. In addition, the ancient sources are repeatedly cited, although A. L. Schlözer (see above) has already pointed out clearly and persistently that the development of Slavic from the south, not least because of the blockade by the Carpathians, is not seen, observed or commented on could.

What can help? I stick to the view taken by Leibniz, Schlözer, Vasmer and Krahe that editing the geographical names has the best chance of success. Geographical names are tenaciously connected to the ground, they also survive changes of people. Hundreds of Slavic place and field names, for example in the new federal states, survived the conquest by German settlers and are reliable witnesses to the areas formerly populated by Slavs. Additionally, conquering races that do not or cannot transition to permanent settlements do not leave geographical names. These develop only slowly,

only with longer and persistent settlements. So geographical names that could be attributed to the Huns or the Avars can hardly be found.

However, in order to arrive at conclusive results for Eastern Europe, a comprehensive examination of the nomenclature of this large area is necessary. And you have to be clear about which types of names promise the most success and in which way the names should be processed, above all, again, which geographic names can contribute to a solution. I will not go into the question of the oldest settlement areas of the Slavs in detail here. I have commented on this in detail elsewhere from the point of view of name research. [31]

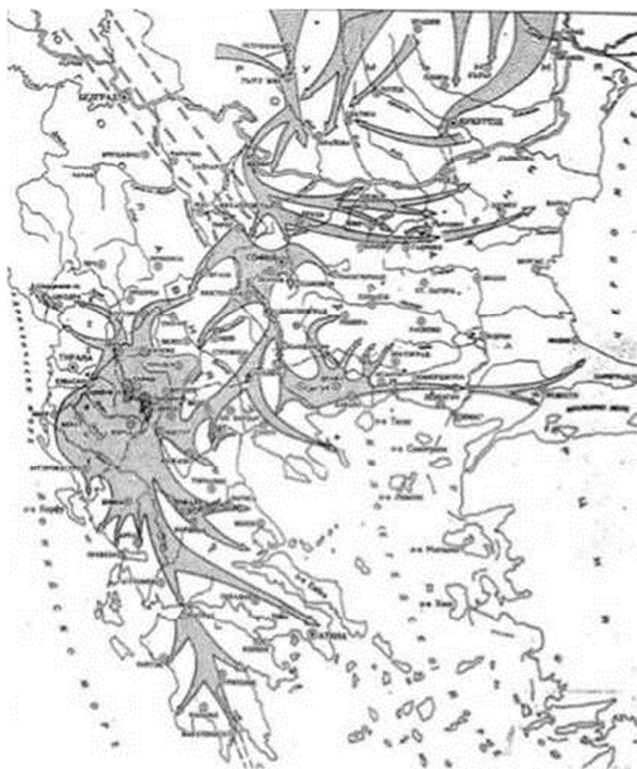


Figure 1. (Source: Zaimov 1967, Supplement).

## 3. Place and Water Names and Their Processing

At this point I would like to briefly address a fundamental question that is neglected in onomastic research, especially in the discussion about the oldest water body names in Europe: A convincing interpretation of a geographical name can only succeed if extensive preliminary work has been carried out. On the one hand, it is necessary to undertake a careful collection of the historical tradition of the name, which of course depends on reliable editions of the texts. Second, it is imperative to search for similar names, for comparative names, and for parallel names, whether for the base word or the basis of derivation - both are of great use.

Basically, an old saying of onomastics still applies today: first collect, then interpret. Eilers [5] (S. 49) put it as follows:

"First collect and classify, then analyze linguistically and historically! All successes, all insights that I can record in the field of onomastic research have been gained in this way."

Once you have collected enough material for a place name and its possible parallels, a third way is recommended: mapping the name and its parallels, which means, for example, mapping the root word, the modifiers and the name-forming elements. Frings [7] (S. 9) underlined this in clear words: "We attach special importance to the maps. Her plastic way is able to say more than the talk of many sides".

In order to do justice to these conditions - especially the last one - long collecting work over years and decades is necessary. This applies to all major onomastic undertakings, such as the collection of place names in Poland [20] or old Polish personal names [28].

However: As with archaeology, which is based to a large extent on the mapping of finds of the same or similar origin - what else are definitions such as Funnelbeaker culture, Tumulus culture, Linear Pottery Culture based on? - it is necessary to examine a wide geographical area and to make as many finds of the same kind as possible. If one wants to get reliable results from the point of view of onomastics, it is necessary to examine as large an area as possible and to determine similarly formed geographic names, which can then be mapped and presented cartographically. As you will easily see, a mapping of 5-10 names is not very meaningful. When a hundred or more names are mapped, it is far more likely to weigh the result and then draw conclusions from it.

Decades ago, Zaimov was able to show the interesting results that the collection and mapping of Slavic names of places and bodies of water could lead to, using a distribution map of southern Slavic tribes (Figure 1).

However, this map by J. Zaimov only shows the immigration of Slavic tribes in the east of the Balkans, the west has not been recorded here. However, as I have shown elsewhere [31] (S. 628-631), this gap can be closed by further collections and mappings of other Slavic geographical names.

## 4. A New Resource: A Bibliographic Collection of Geographic Names

The main purpose of my contribution is to refer to a very extensive collection of geographic names that has been freely available on the Internet for several months. It was created over the past 50 years. Since neither the Internet nor EDP or computers were available at the beginning of the collection (1970), the collection was created using the only possible method at the time: on paper. There was no other possibility. This corresponded to the scientific standard at the time and was used, for example, in the attempt to create a "New Förstemann" in Freiburg, but also for the collection of *Nazwy miejscowe Polski* in Kraków. The author of this article had the opportunity to see this collection and use it for some

research a few years ago.

The newly presented collection, which is the subject of this amount, is now freely accessible on the Internet. It is on the website:

[https://adw-verwaltung.uni-goettingen.de/ortsnamen/images\\_lightbox.php](https://adw-verwaltung.uni-goettingen.de/ortsnamen/images_lightbox.php). In the following I give a short description of the file and instructions on how to use it.

### 4.1. How the File Was Created

The collection contains a large number of geographical names, estimated at around 450,000. It was initially only created for the Slavic area (current and former settlement area of Slavic tribes). In the course of time, names from neighboring regions were also included, above all because it turned out in the course of the work that the Slavic settlement area contains names that can only be processed and meaningfully interpreted if non-Slavic toponyms and hydronyms are also included.

The collection is primarily a reference file. Initially, an attempt was made to add interpretations and notes to the individual names, but the abundance of material - the Slavic settlement area extends or extended from the river Elbe to the Kamchatka and from the Baltic Sea to Greece - soon did not allow this expansion. In a sense, the collection can be compared to the register of contributions to onomastic research edited by Schützeichel and edited by his collaborators, a register that can still be used with profit today.

### 4.2. Structure of the Collection

The core is the alphabetical note file. It contains around 450,000 slips of paper. When you use it, you will see that it is a relatively simple collection, you might even call it primitive. This is partly due to the fact that when the collection began, the author was unaware of the details of the process and what would develop from the first small beginnings.

The main index is arranged alphabetically. A name *Aa* is followed by *Aar*, *Abalon*, *Achalm*, etc. But there are special features that are largely due to the alphabets of the Eastern European languages in particular and the conversion of Cyrillic scripts. These include the classification of *-q-* (after *-a-*); *-e-* (after *-e-*); *-ć-* = *-c-*; *-č-* (after *-c-*); *-v-* = *-w-* etc. The details are given in the web file in an introductory section under "Generation Notes" and "Usage Notes". The process of use can be described as follows:

If you are looking for a specific name, e.g. *Heche*, you should proceed as follows:

1st step: In the main file, in the upper row of the text field, click on the first letter, in this case *H* (note that the loading times can be several seconds due to the large amount of material, especially for the first letter *B*, *K*, *P* and *S* it may take longer than you are used to from the internet).

After opening the letter "H" the following picture appears:

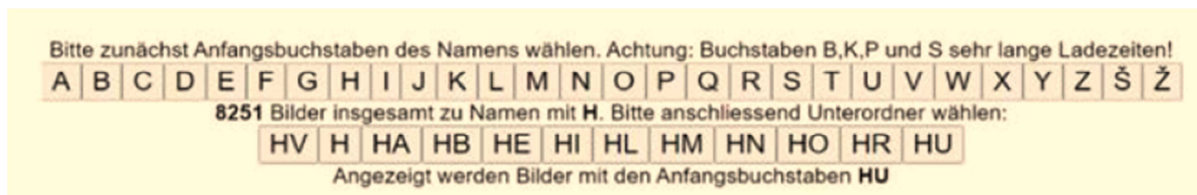


Figure 2. Entry portal for the collection.

The bottom line is important: For technical reasons, the file with the initial letters *He-* cannot be shown, which is a bit unusual.

At the bottom it says, "Images starting with *Hu* are

displayed." If you scroll down, you'll see the *Huba*, *Hualimer*, *Huaha*, etc. flashcards.

To get to *Heche*, click on the *He* tab in the lower alphabet line (see Figure 2).

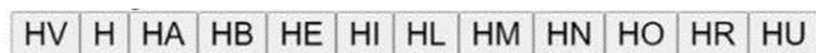


Figure 3. Subdivision of the entrance portal.

A new page opens with the names *Heciul-Nou*, *Hechtenbach*, *Hechly*, *Heche*, *Hecha* etc. The first line shows the following tab (see Figure 3):

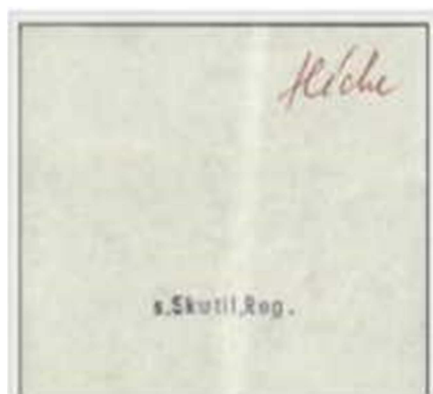


Figure 4. Index card Heche.

It contains the additional information: "s. Skutil, Reg.".

You have to look for the resolution in the "Literature" file. To do this, you return to the start page of the file (see figure 5).



Figure 5. Entry portal of the index.

On the right side is the reference to "literature". Click on this and the following page will open (see Figure 5).

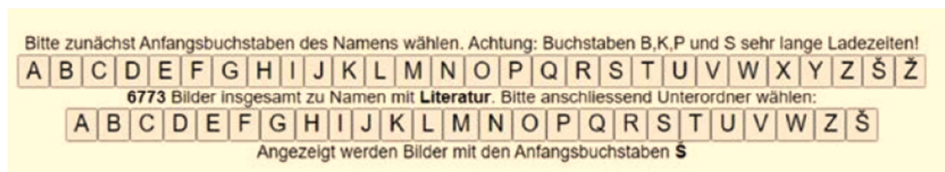


Figure 6. Entry portal for the references.

Now please do not click on the upper line, but on the lower one, above which it says: 6773 pictures in total for names with literature. Please select subfolder afterwards. Images beginning with the letter Š are displayed.

To search for *Skutil*, click on the letter *S*. A new page opens with the literature that is saved under *S*-. The index cards begin with *Sächsischer Flurnamensammler*, *V. Sadlo*, *J. Sack*, etc.

Scroll down and find several titles under the author's name *J. Skutil*, beginning with *J. Skutil, Pomístní jména....* Pay attention to the entry on the index card *Skutil, Reg.* and find the overall title on this card: *J. Skutil, Mikrotoponymie a oronymie Dražanské vrchoviny*, Blansko 1968. In the register [= Reg.] you will then find the name *Heche* and be able to view the corresponding page. Here is an image of the corresponding index card (see Figure 7).

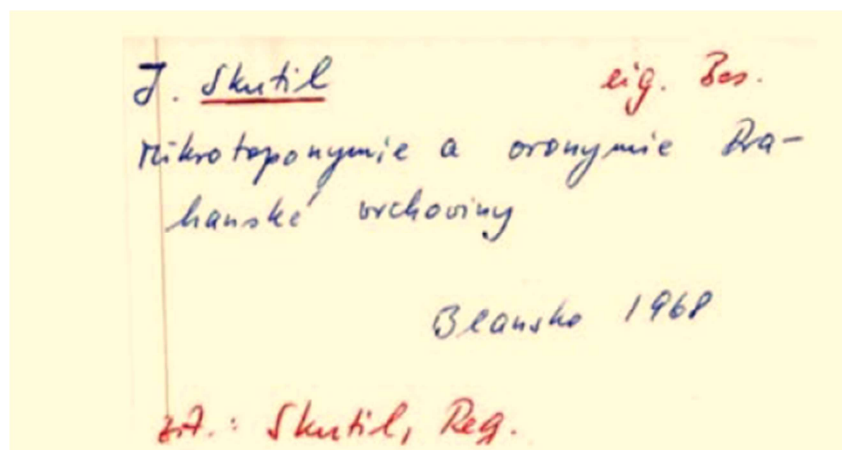


Figure 7. Index card of the literature file.

This index card also contains information about the location of the publication, in this case: "Eig. Bes." = "own possession". The information is tailored to the Göttingen location, especially to the university library and the library of the Slavic Seminary.

You can see that using the file is not easy and the question of where a searched name is located and what is said about it at the relevant point must then be looked up in the publication mentioned. I realize that using the file isn't easy, but that's not to be expected given the wealth of almost half a million flashcards. In addition, it is necessary to have a university library with good Slavic stocks or a library of a Slavic seminar or institute in the vicinity for faster and better use of Slavic names.

## 5. Homeland and Spread of East Slavic Tribes

Name research is closely linked to historical word research. Names have arisen and arise at all times. Unless they are based on personal names, they are usually created from the appellative vocabulary and are therefore dependent to a certain extent on the life of the words: once a word has disappeared from the language community, it is no longer used to create geographical names. If one nevertheless falls back on old designations, it can be recognized immediately from a linguistic point of view that the designation must have originated inorganically; the mountain names *Taunus* and *Teutoburg Forest* in Germany show without a doubt that they are resurrections of old names; if they had remained alive in the German mouth, they would have looked quite different

today.

Words have their own history; after their emergence, they usually experience a heyday which, after a longer or shorter period of productivity, gradually declines and can lead to the disappearance or death of the language. This development can also be traced in the place names derived from it. The names in the territory of the German Ostsiedlung east of the Elbe show that older types of names and forms of formation were no longer productive: there are no suffixes there, such as the *-ung/-ing*-names, the *-mar-*, *-lar-*, *-leben-*, *-ithi-*, *-loh-*composites as well as single-stem types from the early Germanic period. The entire stock of names that can be explained from German makes a younger impression and shows that it is based on immigration from the West. A closer look reveals that a few ancient-looking names have been transferred from the West, for example in the case of *Beweringen*, today *Bobrowniki* (Pomeranian) and *Beveringen* near Pritzwalk. "Since names with the suffix *-ingen* were no longer formed at the time of the medieval German Ostsiedlung" [42] (S. 61), the name must have been brought from the west.

In order to want to trace a settlement movement with the help of geographical names, one can try to contrastively examine appellatives of different ages in their occurrence in the name inventory of an area, including a mapping of the place names derived from them. Different ages of the words to be considered can be helpful. M. Vasmer had already expressed similar thoughts on questions of the East Slavic conquest and referred to how and with which method linguistics could contribute to questions of settlement history: "Above all, a detailed consideration of the Russian

vocabulary and names can largely explain the course of the North Great Russian illuminate colonization in the Northeast and in Siberia", and more concretely: A more detailed examination of word-geographical differences in the topographical nomenclature is suitable for clarifying the contribution of the individual landscapes of the core areas to the Russian colonization. [40] (S. 780, 779). M. Vasmer himself created the prerequisites for such an investigation in a decisive way by tackling collections of East Slavic water and place names; the resulting books are an important source with the help of which the questions raised here can be brought closer to a solution. Further additions can be found in the Internet file presented here.

The decisive role falls to the names and their distribution, because a comparison of the underlying words provides only modest insights, e.g. that a word only exists in West Slavic, but is missing in East Slavic, etc. However, if you expand your view into If you look at the names, it quickly becomes clear that there, in the "graveyard of words", old Slavic vocabulary can still be found, some of which has completely disappeared from the living vocabulary.

In the following, an attempt will be made to compare appellatives that are missing in East Slavic in their entirety or in parts with words that were still known in early East Slavic, to record and map their distribution in the name material and to interpret the results. West Slavic will not play a subordinate role here, but will play an important role in terms of the age of the words used.

Three pairs of words are suitable for the task outlined here:

- 1) slav. *vъsъ* 'village' (still alive today in West and South Slavic) - Russian *derevnja* '(smaller) village';
- 2) slav. *potok* 'stream' (still known in almost all Slavic languages, in Russian often only attested in a figurative sense as *potok reči* 'flow of speech', etc.) - Russian *ručej* 'stream, small watercourse';
- 3) Russian *korč-* in *korčevanie*, *korčevka*, clearing (trees etc.) - Russian *gar'* 'slash-and-burn' in *garnyj*, for burning, burning', *gar'* 'burned, burnt' and *dor* 'clearing (trees etc.)' in *dor* 'new land, broken land' , i. e. terms for 'fire, stick, tree clearing', which may be of particular interest with regard to settlements to be established.

### 5.1. \**Vъsъ* - *Derevnja*

Proto-Slavic \**vъsъ*, Old Church Slavic, Old Russian *vъsъ* lives on (usually meaning 'village') in Slovenian *vās*, Czech, Slovak. *ves*, Polish *wies*, Upper Sorbian *wjes*, Lower Sorbian *wjas*, etc. In East Slavic it can only be found in Old Russian as *vъsъ* and in Russian dialects (around Smolensk and Novgorod) as *věska* and *vescá* and in Old Ukrainian as *vjesъ*<sup>2</sup>. It also appears in some phrases (e.g. *goroda i vesi*), but on the whole makes an archaic impression that is

gradually abandoning living language. It also does not appear in Slovar' russkich narodnych govorov [30] (SRNG).

But there is no doubt that this word is an old hereditary word within Slavic. This is undoubtedly supported by the non-Slavic equivalents such as Latvian *viesis* 'foreigner, newcomer', ancient Indian *viç-* 'branch', avestan *vīs-* 'house', Greek (*foikos*, Latin *vicus* and also German *wik*, which is wrongly understood as a loan word from Latin 3. The evidence mentioned suggests an idiosyncratic approach \**ei* ❖ (German also \**ei* ❖), whereby other stages of sound (e.g. in Slavic) can also be detected.

Schmid (1977) dealt extensively with the terms for 'farmer' and 'village' in Slavic and also went into the relationship *ves'* - *derevnja* - *selo* in East Slavic. Among other things, it turned out that Russian *derevnja* is to be regarded with high probability as a loan word from the Baltic [2]. Since *ves'* is an old word (from the Slavic point of view), it will be of interest to find out in which areas of the East Slavic settlement area names derived from it can be proven. One can assume from the outset that the Polish language area to the west also knows names derived from it.

My search for place names that slav. *vъsъ* is based, gave the following result: *Veska, Věska, Veska Novaja* [23] (S. 79); [45]. *Veski, Veski Malye, Veski Porečkie* [23] (S. 79), cf. [41] (S. 350, 356) *Ves' Zolotaja, Ves' Novaja, Ves' Russkaja, Wies' Średnia, Ves' Staraja, Ves' Černaja, Ves', Ves' Gornye, Ves' Pol'nye, Ves' Starye, Ves', Ves' Velikaja, Veliko-Ves', Ves' za ruč'em* [23] (S. 80f.); [19] (S. 126-127). furthermore numerous names are taken from the extensive Internet file Udolph, Nomina].

I left aside names like *Vesnino, Vesniny*, etc., which can hardly be connected with the Slavic village word. Some of the *Ves'* names in northern Russia, which can be connected with the Finno-Ugric people of the *Veps*, Russian *Ves'*, also remained unconsidered. Furthermore, no water body names were used, since it is not always possible to decide with certainty whether the Slavic village word or a well-attested old European water body name: \**eis-*/\**is-* is the basis.

From the Polish area and adjacent areas, names were extracted from the Słownik Geograficzny, from Udolph [38] and from numerous monographs on Polish place names. The detailed compilations in the official list of place names in Poland<sup>4</sup> and in the anthology by Jakus-Borkowa/Nowik [12] were also helpful: *Końcawieś, Zławieś, Wieś, Nowa Wieś, Nowawieś, Nowa wioska, Nowa Wioska, Starawieś, Stara Wieś* and others.

I offer a distribution map, combined with the distribution of names based on the appellative *derevnja, ručej, potok, korč-, gar'* and *dor*; below (figure 10), where the contrastive distribution compared to *derevnja* is of particular importance.

A corresponding mapping already exists [19] (S. 124), but

2 [29,1] (S. 47); [30] (S. 183); [26,1] (S. 170). I. I. Sreznevskij, Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka po pismennym pamjatnikam, vol. 1-3. S.-Peterburg 1893-1912, Reprint Graz 1955-1956, vol. 1, col. 47; SNRG 4 (S. 183); Slovník staroukrajinského jazyka XIV - XV st. u dvoch tomach, Kyiv 1977-1978, vol. 1 (S. 170).

3 Against this opinion: [25]; [32] (S. 104-111): L. Schütte, Wik. Eine Siedlungsbezeichnung in historischen und sprachlichen Bezügen, Köln-Wien 1976, und J. Udolph, Namenkundliche Studien zum Germanenproblem, Berlin - New York 1994, S. 104-111.

4 Wykaz urzędowych nazw miejscowości w Polsce, vol. 3, Warszawa 1982, S. 554f.



it is overloaded with symbols and not very meaningful. You can check this yourself on the map (see figure 8). Above all, the small occurrence of *вѣсь* in the place names does not correspond to the actual occurrence.

In contrast to slav. *вѣсь* owns Russian *derevnja* 'village', in dialects also 'arable land' (also testified to in Old Russian), 'field', 'village community', also 'desert land' [30, 8] (S. 13), neither equivalents in the related Slavic languages nor non-Slavic relatives, so that the suspicion of a borrowing arose very early on [40] (S. 341f.), for which Schmid [24] has pronounced. This is also proven by the spread of place names derived from *derevnja*: *Derevenec*, *Derevenka*, *Derevenkin* (< personal names?), *Derevenskaja*, *Derevenskoe*, *Derevencevo* (< personal names?, probably also *Derevencej*), *Dereven'ka*, *Dereven'ka Gogarskaja*, *Dereven'ka Novaja*, *Dereven'ki*, *Dereven'sčiki*, *Novo-Dereven'sčina*, *Derevni*, *Derevni Velikie*, *Derevnino*, *Derevnica*, *Derevnišča* (na Meze), *Derevnišči*, *Derevnja*, *Derewnja*, Polish *Derewnia* [19] (S. 121f.); [23, 2] (S. 714-718); [38].



Figure 8. Scattering of *вѣсь* and *derevnja* in East Slavic place names (Source: Lemtjugova 1983: 124).

The distribution of the names shows (Figure 10 below) that their area does not coincide with that of *вѣсь*. *Derevnja* names occur in larger numbers north of the *\*вѣсь*-zone, they represent a younger type seen from the East Slavic point of view. After reaching the Western Duna, the more northern areas (Lake Ilmen, Pskov) are affected first, in the further course an increase in names can be seen in an easterly direction (Vologda, Kostroma), which continues to Kazan', Vjatka and Perm'.

It is of course important that *Derevnja* names are missing in the old Slavic settlement areas (Ukraine, southern Poland, also in large parts of Belarus). This confirms the suspicion that Russian *derevnja* could be a loan word from the Baltic, also from an onomastic point of view. Apparently the word was borrowed from Baltic by the early East Slavs advancing north, displacing the old 'village' word *вѣсь*, among other things, and later used in naming by the further advancing East Slavs.

## 5.2. Potok - Ručej

While *potok* is a typical word for 'stream', in numerous Slavic languages, *ručej* is used in large areas of Russian today. I have already dealt with both appellatives when examining the Slavic water names and the names derived from them, but names based on Russian *ručej* 'stream, river' have only been recorded to a small extent. A re-mapping was necessary, I will comment on that in a moment.

As far as the treatment and mapping of *potok* is concerned, I refer to the detailed listing of the relevant appellatives and names that I have carried out elsewhere [31] (S. 244-250) together with the mapping (see Figure 9 here).

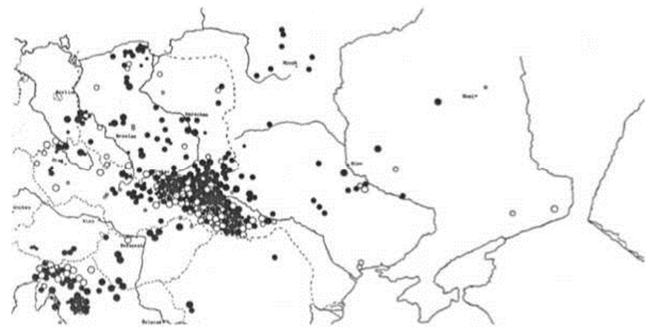


Figure 9. Spread of slav. *potok* 'stream, river' in East Slavic place names (source: Udolph 1983: 124).

The concentration of place and water names derived from *potok* on the northern slope of the Carpathians is unmistakable. One can also see a north and north-east encroachment, bypassing the Prip'yat' swamps, often mistaken for being the home of the Slavic tribes.

Of particular importance for further East Slavic expansion, however, is the spread of names derived from *ručej*. One finds the word in Russian, there also in numerous dialects with several variations [30] (S. 277f.) which I will not list here now, also in Belarusian (preferably in the Russian dialects [16] (S. 58) as *ručaj*, *ručajec*, *ručajok* and similar. according to Jurkowski [14] (S. 27) also in Ukrainian and other Slavic languages. I have made a compilation elsewhere [31] (S. 258f.) There I also raised the question of whether it is a common Slavic word or just a Russian word. The dissemination of the names can bring about the decision.

The search for corresponding names led to the following toponyms: *Ručej*, *Ručaj*, *Ruczaj*, *Ručej*, *Ruč'i*, with suffixes formed in *Ručeeek*, *Ručejka*, *Ručejki*, *Ruczajowka* and *Ručja* (list with sources: [31] (S. 259).

In contrast to *potok*, the yield is very low. As map 4 shows, there are clear differences compared to *potok*. With few exceptions, these meet north of an approximate line Vilna - Smolensk - Kaluga. Viewed from south to north, the names start at the eastern edge of the Prip'yat' region and form first concentrations in northern Belarus; the areas around Pskov, Staraya Russa and east of Lake Ilmen are conspicuous with a second chain of clusters. Another above-average name distribution occurs in Leningrad (today St. Petersburg again), on Lake Ladoga and on Lake Onega and extends with the last

foothills to Arkhangel'sk. Individual spurs can be observed east and north of Moscow, in the area of the upper Volga and near Vyatka and Perm'. I cannot agree with Jurkowski's [14: 27] view that names derived from it are most frequently found in the Ukraine and Belarus.

### 5.3. *Korč-, Gar', Dor*

All three word stems are terms from clearing terminology, roughly comparable to other terms of this type such as *novina*, *ljada/ljado*, *laz*, etc. However, the words to be treated have different ages.

#### 5.3.1 *Korč-*

An etymon that has not yet been clarified with certainty (which generally speaks more for higher than younger age) is in a Slavic word for "clearing, clearing place" that is well attested; Here are some appellative equivalents, which are mostly attested in meanings such as "clearing, cleared land, clearing site, aisle, reclamation, tree stump" and many more: Serbian, Croatian *krč*, Slovenian *krč*, *krča*, Old Czech *krč*, Czech, Slovak *krč*, Old Polish *karcz*, Polish *karcz*, *kurcz*, Russian *korč*, plural. *korči*, *korčb*, *karča*, Old Ukrainian *korčb*, Ukrainian. *korč*, Belorussian *korč*. Furthermore, derivations can be proven like Russian *korčev-*, Ukrainian *korčivka*, Belorussian *karčavenne* 'clearing, cleared land'; Correspondences can be found (the material cited here is mostly to be found in [6, 13] (S. 209f.) in Polish, Polabian, Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian, and also as a derivation from a probably proto-Slavic approach in verbs such as Slovenian *krčovat'*, Polish *karczowac*, Slovenian *karčovac*, Russian *korčevat'*, Ukrainian *korčuvaty*, Belorussian *karčavac'*, also in nouns like *\*kьrčevina* 'cleared land, cleared place', *\*kьrčevišče*, *\*kьrčevъje* etc.

It is therefore a term that is by no means limited to East Slavic, and for this reason too, the relatively old age of the appellative can be expected from the outset.

Taking into account Akan'e and the influence of Polish *karcz*, *karczowisko* in the East Slavic-Polish border area, a whole series of names can be found in the Ukrainian, Belarusian and Russian areas. Were mapped:

*Karč*, *Karčev*, *Karčevataja* *Predmest'e*, *Karčevatka*, *Karčevacha*, *Karčevka*, *Karčevo*, *Karčevskaja*, *Karčevščina*, *Karči*, *Karčišče* (Uncertainty was left aside), *Korč*, *Korčanka*, *Korčany*, *Korčev*, *Korčeva*, *Korčevatka*, *Korčevaja*, *Korčevo*, *Korčevskaja*, *Korčove*, *Korčenska*, *Korči*, *Korčiv*, *Korčiv'e*, *Korčik*, *Korčyki*, *Korčín*, *Korčinskaja*, *Korčinskij*, *Korčinskoe*, *Korčica*, *Korčicy* *Boľsie* bzw. *Malje*, *Korčišče*, *Korčovka*, *Korčuv'e*, *Korčunok*. [23] (S. 90-91).

The distribution (see figure 10, black triangles) shows that this clearing term was used in naming in an area that can be attributed to the older East Slavic: Galicia, Volhynia, Podolia, Belarus. The western Dūna is only crossed in a few specimens, the last foothills seem to be names at Staraja Russa and Gdov. Scattered documents near Arkhangel'sk, on the Suchona and near Moscow are very isolated and therefore give the impression of a name transfer. The gap in the

Pripy'at' area is shown again, and the connecting names between Poland and northern Belarus are also important, which we will come back to later. The following confrontation with two other clearing terms shows again that different terms were used here at different times.

#### 5.3.2 *Gar'*

An Indo-European expansion stage to Slavic *goreti* 'to burn' is the appellative *gar'*, which is only documented in Russian in this form. It means 'forest fire, smell of burning, cleared spot in the forest left vacant by the burning of wood, burning' and much more. [30, 6] (S. 148f.) It should be noted that within Russian the meaning of 'clearing, cleared place in the forest' is already outdated or only dialectally documented, so that the corresponding names within Russian are dealing with partly old elements. Attention will have to be paid to whether the mapping of the names to be provided corresponds or contradicts this.

In figure 10 (open triangles) the following names have been included: *Gareva*, *Garevaja*, *Garevka*, *Garevo*, *Garevoj*, *Garevskaja*, *Garevskij*, *Garevskoj*, *Garevčata*, *Garevčina*, *Garevy*, *Gari*, *Garišča*, *Garišč0e*, *Gary*, *Gar'*. [23, 1] (S. 422-424); [43, 2] (S. 315-323). The distribution of the names (see figure 10) roughly corresponds to expectations: first records (seen from the south) in northern Belarus, slight increase in the area around Lake Peipus and Lake Ilmen, in the further course hardly any radiation to the north, but stronger increase in the eastern area (around Vologda) up to high productivity around Kazan, Vjatka and especially Perm. The distribution shows great resemblance to the names related to *derevnja*. Perhaps of some importance is a remark by Vasmer [40, 2] (S. 372), who has pointed out that names derived from this word show - as do others - "that the soil of the forest area played an important part in the Russian conquest".

#### 5.3.3 *Dor*

As the last case of a clearing term, an example from the clearing of sticks or trees should be given. In a meaning 'clearing, new clearing', an appellative *dor* can be found in Russian, which is almost identical and as an ablaut variant to *drat*, *deru* 'to tear'. [41, 1] (S. 363). As a clearing term, *dor* is almost limited to Russian, with a similar but slightly different meaning "meadow in the forest" it appears in Belarusian, and also as early as 1490 in Ukrainian with the meaning "clearing" [9] (S. 82). From the point of view of the appellative (ablaut!), names containing *dor* can also be expected in the (East) Slavic old settlement areas. The mapping of the names will show whether this expectation is confirmed.

Figure 10 included (represented with a  $\wedge$  symbol) the following names: *Dor* (with different qualifiers), *Dorina*, *Dorino*, *Dorinskaja*, *Dorincy*, *Doricha*, *Doriči*, *Dorišči*, *Dorka*, *Dorki*, *Dorova*, *Dorovatka*, *Dorovatovo*, *Dorovaja*, *Dorovina*, *Dorovoe*, *Dorovskaja*, *Dorovskij*, *Dorovskoe*, *Dorovskoj*, *Dorok*, *Dorskoe*, *Dory* [4] (S. 71); [10]; [17] (S. 105); [23, 3] (S. 76f.); [38]; [43, 1] (S. 632-635).

A numerous occurrence outside the East Slavic settlement



area, such as in Slovenia [1] (S. 361-362), should also be noted.

A glance at the map (figure 10) immediately reveals the strong productivity of the appellative in the naming of Vologda. This center was apparently reached from the southwest, as only a few names seem to show, but their distribution seems quite unambiguous. For the countries of Belarus and Ukraine it can be said that where the *Korč* names end, the *Dor* zone begins. The spread of the *Dor* names also makes it probable that, unlike *rucej* and *derevnja*, there is a direct relationship between the areas on the upper reaches of the Dnieper and those at the headwaters and upper reaches of the Volga, i. e. the otherwise emerging migration route via Lake Ilmen and only then eastwards is not confirmed in the present case.

#### Synoptic mapping, results

In the following I offer the maps of the geographical names mentioned and treated, which have already been mentioned several times. In figure 10, all mentioned and localizable names are entered with different symbols.

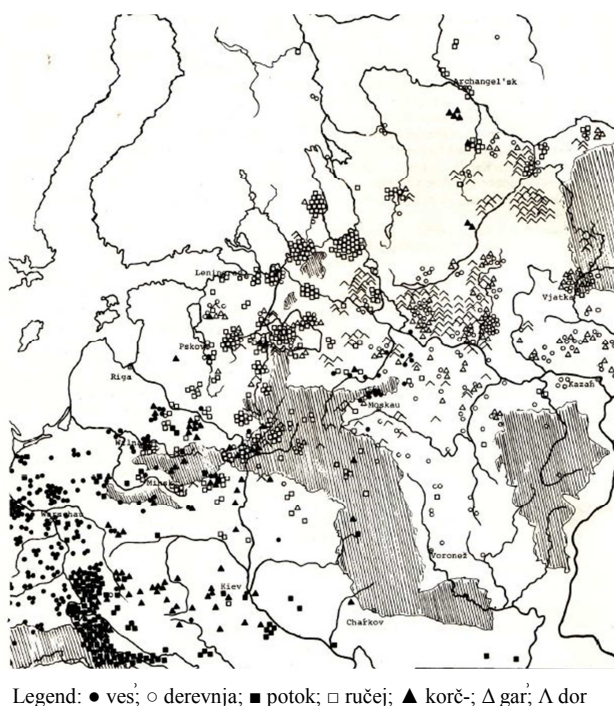


Figure 10. Mapping of geographical names derived from *derevnja*, *dor*, *gar*, *korč*, *potok*, *rucej* and *ves*.

When mapping and using the symbols, I made sure that names based on older appellatives (*ves*, *potok*, *korč*) are shown with black filled characters, while younger, hardly Proto-Slavic basic words are shown with empty characters.

When mapping, it is not necessarily important to be able to clearly assign each individual name on the map to the corresponding place name. The big picture is what matters. This is clear: the older names are grouped south and southwest of the Pripyat' swamps on the northern slope of the Carpathians, including large areas in Poland. The younger names are decisive for the spread of the East Slavs. From

their scattering, a few important points can be discerned:

Few occurrences in the Pripyat' Swamp area.

Immigration to present-day Belarus also from present-day Poland.

On the whole, a northbound trend is evident. Hardly any clusters of names can be seen to the east or north-east.

Northern Russia is first reached in the areas of Pskov and Novgorod. Only then does a turn to the east take place, reaching Moscow, Kazan' and Vjatka.

As far as the immigration from Poland from the West is concerned, which certainly took place at a time when there were no strong linguistic differences between West and East Slavic, north of the Pripyat swamps there is a phenomenon that the author of the *Povest' vremennykh let* may have known (perhaps through legendary tradition): that part of the East Slavic tribes came from the Lyakhs, i. e. from the West.

I think one can dare to outline the approximate course of the settlement movements of the East Slavic tribes on the basis of the numerous geographical names and their mapping. Map 5 shows my attempt.



Figure 11. Expansion of the Eastern Slavs in the light of selected place names.

I'm at the end of gathering materials and mapping. It can be emphasized here that the cases dealt with could be supplemented by numerous others - the newly uploaded file provides the necessary material for this, but the picture would not change significantly. I therefore consider the material presented to be sufficient to use it to trace the most essential features of the conquest by the East Slavs in the light of onomastic research.

#### Old settlement areas and the question of soil quality

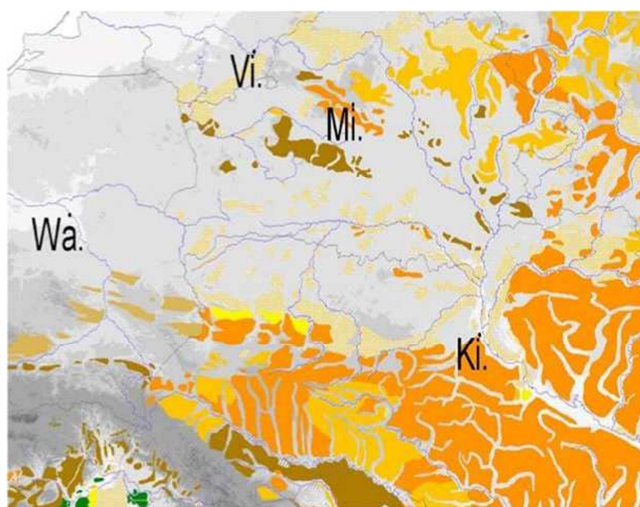
At the beginning of this article, I emphasized that I was primarily making a contribution to the question of the old

settlement areas of Slavs and East Slavs from a linguistic and onomastic point of view. In recent years, however, it has become increasingly clear - not only in the collection and interpretation of Slavic names - that there is another aspect that apparently has nothing to do with geographical names, but which, to my knowledge, is of crucial importance for early settlements: the quality of the soil. Little attention has been paid to this aspect so far. He can also make a decisive contribution to the question of how the surprisingly strong spread of the Slavs - and thus also of Slavic - came about. In this context, it should not go unmentioned that there have been several surprisingly far-reaching expansions of some peoples and languages or language groups, which have raised equally important questions.

In chronological order they were:

- 1) Indo-European tribes;
- 2) Celts;
- 3) Germans; and finally
- 4) Slaves

I think that one solution to these strong spreads could be the different quality of the soils. The fact that settlers in prehistoric times - which are not to be understood as rapid advances, but as slow, gradual expansion of the settlement areas - obviously oriented themselves towards the best and good soil in their settlement movements has been emphasized again and again for the Sorbian area by Wenzel for some time.



**Figure 12.** Loess distribution in eastern Poland and Ukraine. Mi. = Minsk, Ki. = Kiev, orange = loess thicker than 5 m (according to Haase et al. 2007).

I pointed this out in a meeting [34] and quote a few sentences from Wenzel here:

“In Upper Lusatia we were able to determine that these four [place names] types only occurred in the central loess areas with the most fertile soils, where the immigrants first settled. [...] The course of settlement depends to a decisive degree [also on] [...] the soil quality, which in Lower Lusatia can vary quite a bit even over short distances”. And elsewhere even more clearly: This can be “confirmed with specific land value figures from the atlas on the history and

regional studies of Saxony.. If one compares the distribution of this name type [...] with a land value map, the causal connection between soil quality and name type cannot be overlooked”.

Picking up on this, I will try here to briefly transfer these findings, which are by no means new, to the soils of Poland and the Ukraine. A loess atlas published in 2007 [8], from which I offer an excerpt, has proven to be particularly helpful here.

It is not difficult to match the distribution of loess in the Subcarpathian region with the old Slavic names collected in this article. As Figure 10 has made clear, the old Slavic place names are concentrated on the northern slopes of the Carpathians roughly between Kraków and Bukovina. Here are the western foothills of the Ukrainian black earth region.

Of course, you also have to take into account that loess soils are not always easy to work with. As a layman in the field of soil research, it is advisable to be very careful here.

But I can take up comments here on the question of old Germanic place names in Lower Saxony. A closer look at the distribution of place names (e. g. in eastern Lower Saxony, relevant from the point of view of onomastics: Casemir [3] 2003) leads to the conclusion that the oldest Germanic place names, i. e. those with suffix formations, are “not in the core areas of the loess troughs, the undoubtedly oldest settlement areas, [...] but on their fringes”. [3] (S. 410) The more fertile but at the same time heavy soils, as found in most Büttel locations, could only be cultivated with improved equipment.

If we apply this to the distribution of loess in western Ukraine and south-eastern Poland, it is striking that the center of the Old Slavic names can be found in the area where the distribution of loess is gradually “fraying”, for example in the area west of Kiev between Kraków in the west and Vinnycja and Moldau in the east.

To make it short: The distribution of the good soils coincides with that of the ancient Slavic names. If that is correct, we can assume that there was a nucleus - or rather: a core landscape - of a Slavic settlement in the foothills of the Carpathians. We can therefore assume for this area that the language group that we call “Slavic” today developed out of an Indo-European dialect area in a process that lasted for centuries.

Since good soil seems to have played a role in this, I would like to put forward the following consideration: good soil leads to better harvests, minimizes general and infant mortality, and leads to an overpressure of population that can only be alleviated by a gradual expansion of settlement activity. The intensive study of the geographical names of Eastern and Central Europe leads to the realization that Slavic must have developed from an Indo-European dialect (the Old European hydronymy and Baltic-Germanic-Slavic correspondences play a role here) in a relatively limited space between the upper Vistula and Bukovina, a Balto-Slavic intermediate stage cannot have existed, it came to early, hardly ever breaking contacts with Baltic and Germanic tribes and through a strong expansion the later residence e East, West and South Slavic peoples were reached. Elsewhere (Udolph 2021a) I have tried to show that the new file of Slavic names on the Internet can also provide important information for the early spread of South Slavic tribes.

## References

- [1] Bezljaj, F. (1956): Slovenska vodna imena. Ljubljana.
- [2] Carius, D.; Eichler, E. (2002): "Fallstudie VI: Die slavischen Sprachen". In: Lexikologie/Lexicology, 1. Halbbd. Berlin, New York, 847-855.
- [3] Casemir, K. (2003): Die Ortsnamen des Landkreises Wolfenbüttel und der Stadt Salzgitter. Bielefeld.
- [4] Dickenmann, E. (1970): Rezension von: Russisches Geographisches Namenbuch, Bd. 2-4, 1. In: Beiträge zur Namenforschung, Neue Folge 5 (1970), S. 69-75.
- [5] Eilers, W. (1982): Geographische Namengebung in und um Iran. Ein Überblick in Beispielen. München.
- [6] ЁССЈ: Ётимологический словарь славянских языков - праславянский лексический фонд, Bd. 1ff., Moskva 1974ff.
- [7] Frings, Th. (1957): Grundlegung einer Geschichte der deutschen Sprache. 3. Auflage, Halle (Saale).
- [8] Haase, D. et al. (2007): "Loess in Europe - its spatial distribution based on a European Loess Map, scale 1: 2,500,000", in: Quaternary Science Reviews 26 (9-10). 1301-1312.
- [9] Halas, K. J. (1957): Iz toponimiky Zakarpattja, in: Dopovidi ta povidomlennja UŹhorodskoho DerŹavnoho Universytetu. Serija istoriko-foloholohična (1), S. 81-83.
- [10] Hrabec, S. (1950): Nazwy geograficzne Huculszczyzny. Krakow.
- [11] Jankuhn, H. (1977) (Hrsg.): Das Dorf der Eisenzeit und des frühen Mittelalters. Siedlungsform - wirtschaftliche Funktion - soziale Struktur. Göttingen.
- [12] Jakus-Borkowa, E.; Nowik, K. (2010): Nazwy miejscowości w Polsce. Układ a tergo. Opole.
- [13] Jaškin, I. Ja. (1971): Belaruskija heahrafičnyja nazvy, Tapahrafija, Hidralohija. Minsk.
- [14] Jurkowski, M. (1971): Ukraińska terminologia hydrograficzna. Wrocław et al.
- [15] Krahe, H. (1949/1950): "Alteuropäische Flussnamen", in: Beiträge zur Namenforschung (1), 24-51.
- [16] Łapicz, Cz. (1981): Terminologia geograficzna w ruskich gwarach Białostocznym na tle wschodniosłowiańskim. Warszawa et al.
- [17] Lebedeva, I. A. (1959): "Leksiko-semantičeskij sostav nazvanij naselennyh punktov Pskovskoj oblasti", in: Movožnavstvo (15), 99-107.
- [18] Leibniz, G. (1768): "Dissertatio de origine germanorum...". In: Ders., Opera omnia, Bd. 4, Teil 2. Genevae, 198-205.
- [19] Lemtjugova, V. P. (1983): Vostočnoslavjanskaja ojkonomija apeljativnogo proischoždenija. Minsk.
- [20] Nazwy miejscowe Polski, Bd. 1ff. Hrsg. K. Rymut. Krakow 1966ff.
- [21] Pokorny, J. (1959): Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Bern, München.
- [22] Register der Beiträge zur Namenforschung, Bd. 1-16. Heidelberg 1969.
- [23] RGN: Russisches Geographisches Namenbuch. Begr. von M. Vasmer, Hrsg. H. Bräuer. Bd. 1-10. Wiesbaden 1964-1981.
- [24] Schmid, W. P. (1977): "Sprachwissenschaftliche Bemerkungen zu den Wörtern für Bauer und Dorf im Slavischen." In: Jankuhn et al. (Hrsg.) (1977), 41-61.
- [25] Schütte, L. (1976): Wik. Eine Siedlungsbezeichnung in historischen und sprachlichen Bezügen. Köln, Wien.
- [26] Slovník staroukrajinského jazyka XIV-XVst. u dvoch tomach. Kyiv 1977-1978.
- [27] Słownik Geograficzny: Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich, Band 1-15. Warszawa. 1880-1902.
- [28] Słownik staropolskich nazw osobowych, Bd. 1-6 und Supplement. Hrsg. W. Taszycki, Wrocław usw. 1965-1987.
- [29] Sreznevskij, I. I. (1955-1956) [1893-1912]: Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskogo jazyka po pismennym pamjatnikam. Band 1-3. Sankt-Peterburg, Nachdruck Graz. Band 1, Sp. 47.
- [30] SRNG: Slovar' russkich narodnych govorov. Bd. 1ff., Moskva 1965ff.
- [31] Udolph, J. (1979): Studien zu slavischen Gewässernamen und Gewässerbezeichnungen. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Urheimat der Slaven. Heidelberg.
- [32] Udolph, J. (1994): Namenkundliche Studien zum Germanenproblem. Berlin, New York.
- [33] Udolph, J. (1997): "Zogen die Hamelner Aussiedler nach Mähren? Die Rattenfängersage aus namenkundlicher Sicht", in: Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte (69), 125-183.
- [34] Udolph, J. (2015): "Rezension zu: W. Wenzel, Namen und Geschichte. Orts- und Personennamen im deutsch-slavischem Sprachkontaktraum als historische Zeugnisse, Hamburg 2014", in: Beiträge zur Namenforschung, Neue Folge 51, 242-252.
- [35] Udolph, J. (2000a): "Der Weserraum im Spiegel der Ortsnamenforschung". In: Die Weser. Ein Fluss in Europa. Leuchtendes Mittelalter. Holzminden, 24-37.
- [36] Udolph, J. (2000b): "A. L. Schlözer und die slavische Namenforschung", in: Onomastické Práce (4), 459-481. (= Festschrift Ivan Lutterer).
- [37] Udolph, J. (2016): "Heimat und Ausbreitung indogermanischer Stämme im Lichte der Namenforschung", in: Acta Linguistica Lithuanica 76, S. 173-249.
- [38] Udolph, J. (2021): Nomina Geographica Europaea. Bibliographische Sammlung zu europäischen Orts-, Flur- und Gewässernamen. [https://adw-verwaltung.uni-goettingen.de/ortsnamen/images\\_lightbox.php](https://adw-verwaltung.uni-goettingen.de/ortsnamen/images_lightbox.php) [22.07.2022]
- [39] Udolph (2021a): "Eine neue bibliographische Sammlung zu europäischen Orts-, Flur- und Gewässernamen - Hinweise zur Benutzung", in: Onomastica 65/1, 83-98.
- [40] Vasmer, M. (1971): Schriften zur slavischen Altertumskunde und Namenkunde, Bd. 1-2. Berlin, Wiesbaden.

- [41] Vasmer, M. (1953-1958): Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Bd. 1-3. Heidelberg.
- [42] Wauer, S. (1989): Die Ortsnamen der Prignitz. Weimar.
- [43] WdrG: M. Vasmer (1961-1973) (Hrsg.): Wörterbuch der russischen Gewässernamen, Bd. 1-5 und Nachtrag. Berlin, Wiesbaden.
- [44] Zaimov, J. (1967): Zaselvane na bŭlgarskite slavjani na Balkanskija poluostrov. Sofija.
- [45] Žučkevič, V. A. (1974): Kratkij toponimičeskij slovar'Belorussii. Minsk.