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On the Slavicity of Several Place Names in North-Eastern Bavaria

Abstract

In his 2015 PhD thesis (published 2016) J. Andraschke investigated the oldest Germanic layers of names in North-Eastern Bavaria. In the course of the book the author deprived more than three dozen toponyms of their (traditional) Slavic etymologies and claimed them to be of West Germanic origin. This was mostly done without really discussing the Slavic etymologies. This author's research done into the etymologies of those names, however, betrays a certain lack of knowledge of historical phonology. A re-evaluation of the data showed that hardly any of those West-Germanic etymologies are better than any of the 'traditional' Slavic ones. As examples will serve *Feustritz/Pewstritz/Beußdrytz* < Comm. Slav. **bystrica* 'quickly flowing river' (not < WGerm. **fû-str-itja-* 'foul ground'?), *Gleußen* < Comm. Slav. **glušina* 'thicket, bushes' (not < WGerm. **glūsina* 'glow'), *Feuln* < Comm. Slav. **bylina* 'kind of plant' (not < WGerm. **fūlina* 'foul ground, swamp'?). Finally, a new etymology can be proposed for the microtoponym *Keltz* (which the above-mentioned author in his PhD thesis unconvincingly connected with some other toponyms in North-Western Germany). It seems much easier to derive it from Comm. Slav. **kalьcь*, the diminutive to **kalъ* 'swamp, mud', a word which elsewhere in Slavic speaking communities also serves as (micro-)toponym.

Moreover, more precise criteria for giving the exact dates of when Slavic names were taken over into Old/Middle High German in North-Eastern Bavaria shall be given, where possible.

1. Preliminaries

The names to be dealt with in this paper stem from North-Eastern Bavaria. Under this name we mainly understand the Bavarian Regierungsbezirk Oberfranken/Upper Franconia but also the areas bordering on it in Unterfranken/Lower Franconia, Mittelfranken/Central Franconia and the Oberpfalz/the Upper Palatinate. This area shows a special and unique feature in its toponymic landscape in the context of Bavaria: a reasonable number of toponyms, microtoponyms and hydronyms of Slavic origin can be found here. These names were coined by Slavic settlers who had been arriving there most probably since the middle of the 8th century. Formerly the Slavs were thought to have arrived already a century earlier, but neither archaeological nor linguistic arguments support such an opinion any longer.[1]

Linguistic features, namely the results of the Common Slavic restructuring of syllables of the Proto-Slavic sequence *CVRC*, commonly known as the 'metathesis of liquids', show clearly that most of the area was settled by speakers of Sorbian dialects, coming from the North-East, from what is today Thuringia and Saxonia, while only a minor part in the South-East of North-Eastern Bavaria, that is, minor parts of Upper Franconia and parts of the Upper Palatinate, were settled by speakers of what we might call Proto-Czech. The best examples for this feature are names showing reflexes of PSlav. **TerT*, giving **TreT* in Proto-Sorbian, but **TrěT* in Proto-Czech or of PSlav. **TarT*, giving **TroT* in Proto-Sorbian, but **TraT* in Proto-Czech.[2]

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[1] Cf. Hans Walther in Herrmann, 1985, pp. 25f. (= Walther, 1993, pp. 293f.); Fastnacht, 2000, pp. 34*f., 2007, pp. 77*–81*; Häusler, 2004, p. 38; Janka, 2007, p. 127; George, 2008, pp. 33*f.; Klír, 2016, pp. 328, 330, 2017, pp. 366, 394, 399, 2020, pp. 200, 229f., 252, 256, 258. In this context it is interesting that according to Klír (2020, pp. 243–245, 257f.) the early datings of the arrival of the Slavs are based either on merely speculative suppositions (immigration into a vacuum after the deletion of the realm of the Thuringians in 531 or after the defeat of the Frankish army near Wogastisburg in 631 respectively) or on (as is known now) wrong datings or ascriptions of the so called 'Slavic pottery of the Prague type': it comes to its end in the 8th century and can be found mainly in areas of North-Eastern Bavaria, where structurally old Slavic hydronyms and toponyms can*not* be found.

[2] Moreover, the results depend partially on the Proto-Slavic intonation: old acute syllables give long **ě̄* > OCz. *ie* > NCz. *í* while short/circumflexed **ě* gives OCz., NCz. *ě* (PSlav. **berˈzā˙* > **bě́rza* > **brě̋za* > OCz. *břieza* > NCz. *bříza* 'birch-tree' vs. PSlav. **bergu* > **bêrgъ* > PCz. **brěgъ* > OCz.

Consequently, Bavarian Slavic was probably never a Slavic language of its own, separated from other Slavic languages by isoglosses, but it was rather (in most of the area) the south-westernmost extension of Proto-Sorbian and (on a much smaller area) the westernmost extension of Proto-Czech.

Early absorptions of Slavic names before the metathesis of liquids, that is before ca. 800[3] are rare, but they do exist (cf., e.g., *Perschen* formerly Landkreis/county Nabburg, now Landkreis/county Schwandorf: 798 *Bersana* [forgery ca. 1055, cop. second half of the 11th cent.], 1122 *Perssin*, before 1176 *Persin*). According to Schwarz (1960), this name is traditionally said to go back to Comm. Slav. *Beržane* 'people living at the riverside', a derivative of Comm. Slav. *bergъ 'riverside';[4] alternatively we might ponder an etymology, explaining the name as Comm. Slav. *Berzina (or *Beržane) or rather (the less probable, according to Janka, 2011, p. 340) *Berzьn- formed on the basis of a derivative of PSlav.[5] *berˈzāˈ > *brěza 'birch tree', or (which is less probable) Comm. Slav. *Beržьn- from *bergъ 'riverside'.

The toponyms of Slavic origin were given starting from the arrival of the Slavs in (the middle of) the 8th century. Soon after that the process of the absorption of these toponyms into Old High German, the language of the population already present in large parts of the area, started. The time of the absorption of Slavic names into Old High German cannot always be determined precisely, but with very few exceptions, such as the above mentioned *Perschen*, absorption started around 800 and continued until the 11th century. Hard facts are not available, but it is generally assumed that the Slavic language in North-Eastern Bavaria ceased to exist in the course of the 12th

břeh > NCz. *břeh* 'river-side'); on the other hand, in Proto-Sorbian we find (independently from Proto-Slavic intonations) *TreT (but then further developments of the vowel take place, depending on its surroundings, cf. PSlav. *berˈzāˈ f. > *bérza f. > PSorb. *breza f. > USorb. *brěza* f., LSorb. *brjaza* f. 'birch-tree' vs. PSlav. *bergu m. > *bêrgъ m. > PSorb. *bregъ m. > USorb. *brjóh* m., LSorb. *brjog* m. 'river-side'). For PSlav. *TarT cp. PSlav. *gardu > PCz. *gradъ > OCz. *hrad* > NCz. *hrad* 'castle' vs. PSlav. *gardu > PSorb. *grodъ > OSorb. *grod > USorb. *hród*, LSorb. *grod* (cf. Bräuer, 1961, pp. 80f.; Eichler, 1965, pp. 130–139, 140–142; Lamprecht et al., 1986, p. 38; Lamprecht, 1987, pp. 59, 61; Schaarschmidt, 1997, pp. 45f.; Šekli, 2018, pp. 87f., 177f., 225f.).

[3] On the dating of the metathesis of liquids cf. Schwarz, 1960, pp. 183f.; Lamprecht, 1987, pp. 65f., 192: 750/775–825/850 CE. – On the development in all Slavic languages cf. Shevelov, 1964, pp. 391–421.

[4] Cf. Schwarz, 1960, p. 185, 1961, p. 362.

[5] For the notation of Proto-Slavic forms I by and large follow the conventions used to note it as used by Holzer, 2007, 2011, 2014, 2020; Klotz, 2017.

century. There are only very few names whose attested form might point to an absorption into late Old High German around or after 1100.

The Slavicity of a great part of the toponyms and hydronyms in that region has been generally supported by a number of researchers for the last 110 years. Although of course not everything written a century or more ago has withstood closer inspection, and although there are also several publications widely overestimating the number of Slavic names in the region, there is a core of Slavic names which now may be regarded as firmly established.

2. Revisionist views

This notwithstanding, in a 2015 PhD thesis (University of Bamberg; published in 2016),[6] its author investigates the oldest Germanic layers of names in the Western parts of North-Eastern Bavaria, or, more exactly, the western parts of Upper Franconia and neighbouring parts of Lower Franconia. In the course of the book the author strips more than three dozen toponyms of their (traditional) Slavic etymologies and claims the names to be of West-Germanic origin. This is mostly done without really discussing these Slavic etymologies. Research done into the etymologies of those 40-plus names, however, shows that hardly any of the West-Germanic etymologies is better than any of the 'traditional' Slavic ones. Some of them seem to be hardly more than rather frustrated attempts at showing the Germanic descent of certain names. In some cases, even generally accepted rules of German or Germanic historical phonology are neglected or seem to be unknown to the author. But for the general aim of getting rid of names of Slavic origin for whatever reason, every means available seems appropriate.

Nevertheless, the results of Bichlmeier (2021, pp. 261–276) concerning the Slavicity of place names in the Western parts of North-Eastern Bavaria of a certain morphophonological type, namely those ending in *-itz*, *-nitz*, *-atz*, show clearly that Andraschke's ideas and 'results' are quite far off reality. When looking at these results, two things must be kept in mind: first, the corpora

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[6] Andraschke, 2016; for reviews see Bichlmeier, 2018, 2019a, 2019b.

of Andraschke and Bichlmeier are not completely identical, but widely over-lapping: Andraschke's corpus contains some 40 names, Bichlmeier's about 50. Second, in Andraschke's opinion actually all these names are of Germanic origin. This analysis is certainly wrong. Even when we take the lowest num-bers in the tables of Bichlmeier's (2021) conclusions, a total of at least 62% of the names and at least 67% of the etyma in his corpus are uncontradicti-bly of Slavic origin. Splitting up the corpus of names according to name types we find that over 60% of the microtoponyms and about 80% of oikonyms and lost oikonyms are definitely of Slavic origin. Some of these names with their etymologies will be discussed in the next paragraphs.

3. Examples

3.1. *Fewstritz/Peustritz/Beußdrytz*[7]

The first such example is the microtoponym *Fewstritz/Peustritz/Beußdrytz*, attest-ed four times in three variants for three places (Landkreis/counties Lichtenfels and Bamberg respectively: 1410 *in der Fewstritz* [near Kleukheim], 1586 *in der Peustritz* [near Ehrl], 1524 *in der Beußdrytz*, 1556 *uf die Peustritz* [near Stübig]).

  Here the Germanic etymology is based on an adjective PGerm. *$*f\hat{u}$-stra-* 'foul' from a root PGerm. *$*f\bar{u}$-* 'to rot, to foul' + suffix PGerm. *$*-iti̯a$-* giving in the end *$*f\hat{u}$-str-iti̯a$-* which would mean 'place, where there is foulness' or 'foul ground'. Here several points are problematic: the suffix *$*-stra$-* usually forms nouns only, with the exception of maybe one or two rather late and rarely attested cases. The adjective *$*f\hat{u}stra$-* thus is not attested in the appellative lexicon, neither as such nor as the basis of derivatives. The PGerm. suffix *$*-iti̯a$-* (> OHG *-izzi*), moreover, forms neuter abstract nouns and action nouns. But among the dozen or so Old High German formations with that suffix not a single one can be actually called a place name or the like. (cf. Bichlmeier, 2021, p. 32). And as mentioned, these are neuter nouns: all attestations of our place name(s), however, are feminine in gender. Even more importantly, of course *Fewstritz* might theoretically go

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[7] Cf. on that name more explicitly Bichlmeier, 2020a, 2021, pp. 47–55.

back to that invented form *fû-str-itị̯a-, but it cannot be imagined how an initial Germanic *f- might become initial B- or P- as in *Beußdrytz*, *Peustritz* in the Eastern Franconian Dialect of Old High German. Such transitions do not happen. To put it simply: once initial PGerm. *f- – always initial f-.

To sum up: The proposed phonology does not work, the proposed morphology does not work and the gender is wrong. Even if an alternative option were not available, such an etymology would be utterly worthless.

But there is an alternative at hand which seems obvious for anybody who already knows some Slavic. In dozens of hydronyms all over the Slavic speaking areas, as well as in regions formerly inhabited by Slavs in Germany and Austria, we find descendants of the lexeme Comm. Slav. *bystrica 'quickly flowing river' from an older Proto-Slavic *būˈstrīˈkāˑ;[8] cp., e.g., Cz. *Bystřice*, Croat. *Bistrica*, Pol. *Bystrzyca*, in Austria *Feistritz*, etc.[9]

Starting from Comm. Slav. *bystrica, it is easy to arrive at the attested forms: it is known that from the end of the 8th till the end of the 11th century, that is, roughly from ca. 770/80 CE till ca. 1080 CE, Slavic *b was taken over into Old High German as *v- which then quickly developed into *f-. This happened because at the end of the 8th century OHG *b- turned from a voiced plosive into an unvoiced lenis plosive. Thus for Slavic *b, which remained a voiced plosive, the closest substitute in Old High German was not any longer OHG *b, but the only voiced labi(o-dent)al remaining, which was *v-. So we can quite confidently say that our attested toponyms with initial F- were taken over between ca. 780 and ca. 1080 CE.[10] The normal thing now would be to say that the form with B- was taken over after that, but that is not so easy: especially in the Eastern Franconian dialect, on the fringes of Old High German, this substitutional process seems never to have worked as thoroughly

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[8] Cf. Berneker, 1924, p. 113 (s. v. bystrъ); Brückner, 1927/1993, p. 54 (s. v. bystrzy); Skok, 1971–1974, 1, pp. 157f. (s. v. bȉstar); ĖSSJa 3, p. 151; Machek, 1968/1997, p. 78 (s. v. bystrý); ESSJ 1, p. 22; Bańkowski, 2000, 1, p. 104 (s. v. bystrzy); SES 73; Matasović, 2016, p. 59 (s. v. bȉstar); Klotz, 2017, p. 78.

[9] Cf. Schwarz, 1931, pp. 74, 197, 318, 319, 1961, pp. 96, 211, 229, 308; Profous, 1947–1960, 1, pp. 231–233; Šmilauer, 1960/2015, pp. 375, 396; Bezlaj, 1956–1961, 1, pp. 62ff.; WRG 1, pp. 245f.; RGN 1, p 618; Hosák & Šrámek, 1970–1980, 1, pp. 138–140; SHU 50; SENGŚ 1, pp. 133f.; Rymut, 1987, p. 45; Schuster, 1989–1994, 2, p. 12; ANB, pp. 345–347; Fischer, 1996, p. 33; NMP 1, pp. 477f.; Lutterer & Šrámek, 1997/2004, p. 60; Hohensinner & Wiesinger, 2003, p. 170; Bergermayer, 2005, pp. 49f.; Holzer, 2008, pp. 91f., 203; Lochner von Hüttenbach, 2008a, p. 52, 2008b, pp. 73–76, 2015, pp. 139–141; ESSZI 61, pp. 168f.; DGNB 62, p. 143; Anreiter, 2015, pp. 49–55.

[10] Cf. Schwarz, 1960, pp. 185, 232; Eichler et al., 2001, p. 242, 2006, p. 261.

as, for example, in Austria. Thus, for *Beußdrytz* nothing can be said about that. The vocalism also is of little help here: if the name had been taken over into Old High German still with PSlav. long *$\bar{u}$, it would later have undergone *i*-umlaut by the *i* following in the suffix. Around 800 CE or at the beginning of the 9th century CE PSlav. *$\bar{u}$ was fronted to Comm. Slav. *y.[11] As the Common Slavic collapse of quantities in the vowel system occurred in the 10th century, we may suppose that until then Comm. Slav. *y was a long vowel. And non-Slavs might have perceived it as a long vowel under the accent maybe well into the 11th century and would have absorbed it into Old High German as a long /$\bar{u}$/, which would later on diphthongize into the attested forms with -*eu*-. So, to remain on the safe side, we can say that *Fewstritz* etc. were taken over into Old High German between the late 8th and mid-10th century, or possibly even somewhat later.

So, the result is clear: starting from Comm. Slav. *$bystrica$ we can satisfactorily explain the phonology and morphology of the attested forms, since the word is attested both appellatively and in dozens of onyms all over the Slavic world and it gives us even the right gender. The West-Germanic explanation does not even offer half of that and may thus be discarded.

The above point is illustrated by Table 1:

Table 1. Results

	West Germanic explanation	Slavic explanation
F-	+	+
B-/P-	–	+
-eu-	+	+
morphology	–	+
derivational basis	–	+
gender	–	+
parallel names	–	+

Source: own work.

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[11] According to Holzer (2007, p. 58, similarly, 2011, pp. 52f.) at the beginning of the 9th c. at the latest.

3.2. *Gleußen*[12]

The case of the place name *Gleußen* (Coburg) is similar, though also shows some new aspects.

Table 2. Attestations of the place-name *Gleußen*

Ziegelhöfer & Hey, 1911, p. 191	Schwarz, 1960, p. 275; Eichler, 1985, p. 272	Fastnacht, 2007, pp. 129–132 (without most of the attestations in copies)	Andraschke, 2016, p. 76
	[9th cent.] copy 12th cent. *Glusne*	[9th cent.] copy ca. 1160 *in Glûsne*	[9th cent.] copy ca. 1160 *Glûsne*
	12th cent., 1st half *Glusin*	1st half 12th cent. *apud Glusin*	
		ca. 1270 *Gluessene ... in Clussene*	
1299 *Gloussen*		1299 *in villa dicta Gloussen ... in villa Gloussen*	1299 *villa Gloussen*
1303 *Glussen*		[1303] *Lehenbuch* 1303–1313, copy 1358 *in Glussen*	
		[ca. 1322] *Lehenbuch* 1322–1233, copy 1358 *in Glusem ... Glusen*	
	1331 *Glevsen*	1331 *in villa Glevsen*, DV 15th cent. *zu Glewsen*	1331 *villa Glevsen*
			1332 *in Gluschen*; DV 15th cent. *Glevsen*
		[1333] *Lehenbuch* 1333–1335, *in Glusen*	
1334 *Gluzen*		1334 *in Gluzen*	
		1334 *in Gluzen*; DV 15th cent. *Gleuschen*	1334 *in Gluzen*; DV 15th cent. *Glewschen*
		1337 *in Gluschen*	
		[ca. 1335] *Lehenbuch* 1335–45, copy 1358 *in Glusen*	
		[ca. 1346] *Lehenbuch* 1345–72, *in Gluzzen*; copy 1595 *in Glüzzen*	

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[12] More details concerning that name can be found in Bichlmeier, 2020c.

Ziegelhöfer & Hey, 1911, p. 191	Schwarz, 1960, p. 275; Eichler, 1985, p. 272	Fastnacht, 2007, pp. 129–132 (without most of the attestations in copies)	Andraschke, 2016, p. 76
		1356 *zu Glewssen*	1356 *Glewssen*
	1386 *Gleuhsen*	1386 *zu Gleuhsen*	1386 *zu Gleuhsen*
		1390 (*Lehenbuch* 1372–1400) *zu Gluchsen*	
		1394 (*Lehenbuch* 1372–1400) *zu Glüssen*	
			1401 *Gluchsen*
		1420 *zu Gleüsen*	1420 *Gleusen*; RV *Gleuchsen*
		1435 *zu Glewhszen … zw Gleuhszen*	1435 *Glewhßen*; RV *Gleuchsen*
			1442 *Glewchssen*
		1446 (*Lehenbuch* 15th cent.) *zu Glewchßen*	
		[ca. 1448] *Lehenbuch* 1448–1471, *Gleuchsen … Gleuchßen*	
		1470 *Gleushen*	
		1470 *Gleußhenn*	
		1497 *Gleuchsen*	
		1500 *zu Gleuschen*	1500 *Gleuschen*; RV *zu Gleuchsen*
		1500 *zu Glewchsen*	
		1500 *umb Gleuchssen, zu Gleuchssen, zu und um Gleüssen, zu Gleüchsen*	
		+ ca. a dozen more attestations until ca. 1800	

Source: own work.

Already 110 years ago the name was etymologized correctly by Ziegel-höfer and Hey (1911), who connected it with Comm. Slav. *glušina, Cz. *hlušina* f. 'thicket, dense forest', LSorb. *glusyna* f. 'dark forest, thicket', etc. Although neither they nor Schwarz (1960) offered an explicit description of the absorption process, they were sure this was the solution – and they were right:

We have to start from PSlav. **glawšī˙nā˙* > Comm. Slav. **glušina*.[13] The root vowel PSlav. (7th cent.) **aw* develops via (8th cent.) **ō* > **ǭ* > **ū* > Comm. Slav. (9th cent.) **u*.[14] This vowel was phonemically and phonetically long at least until the 9th, probably into the 10th century.

So, we have a development PSlav. (7th cent.) **Glawšī˙nā* > Late PSlav. (8th cent.) **Glō/ǭšīnā* > **Glūšīnā* > Comm. Slav. (9th cent.) **Glušina*. When taken over into Old High German in the 9th century, probably still in the 10th century the result will have been OHG **Glūsǐna*. All further developments are regular: OHG **Glūsǐna* > Late OHG **Glūsinə* > MHG **Glūsən* > *Gleußen*. Also, the substitution of Comm. Slav. **š* by OHG *s* is regular, as OHG *s* (< PGerm. **s*) was phonetically a prepalatal sound. As can be seen, the derivation is impeccable. Here the time span for taking over the name into Old High German is thus slightly narrower than in the case of *Fewstritz*: it took place between the early 9th and the mid-10th century.

The Germanic explanation (Andraschke, 2016, p. 76) of the place name *Gleußen* refers to a "germanischen Wortstamm" [Germanic stem] **glû(h)s*-seen in Low German *glüse* 'lightfire, lighthouse' and *glusen* 'to glow'. A meaning for PGerm. **glǔs-ina-* is not given, but it probably would have meant 'glow, shining' or something similar. For a toponym this seems rather unusual – it is more appropriate for a hydronym.

Andraschke offers some more wrong or irrelevant etymological solutions – among them also his own folk-etymological proposals, demonstrating a certain unacquaintedness with historical linguistics, which can be neglected here.

Moreover, further place names in other West-Slavic areas can be adduced, which go back to the same etymon, such as two instances of *Glossen* in Saxonia: *Glossen* near Löbau (USorb. *Hłušina*) 1228 (or possibly 1241) *Glussina* and *Glossen* near Mügeln 1013 *Glussi(n)*,[15] as well as 1523 *Glussen*, later *Gluschen* (near Stolp in Mecklenburg).[16]

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[13] Cf. ÈSSJa 6, pp. 153f.; Muka, 1911–1928/2008, 1, p. 266; Šmilauer, 1963–1964, 1, p. 115, 1970, p. 66; Schuster-Šewc, 1979–1996, pp. 233f. (giving a probably incorrect etymology); Mühlner, 2008, p. 183.

[14] Cf. Holzer, 2007, pp. 59f., 2011, p. 54.

[15] Cf. Eichler & Walther, 1975–1978, 1, p. 82; Eichler, 1985, p. 337; SOSN 1, p. 143; HONBS 1, p. 317; HOS 1, p. 246f.; Wenzel, 2008, p. 67.

[16] Cf. Mühlner, 2008, p. 183.

Furthermore, a derivative Comm. Slav. *Glušnica is the etymological basis for *Glauschnitz*, today part of Laußnitz, near Bautzen.

So, in the end it is definitely clear that *Gleußen* comes from Comm. Slav. *glušina* 'thicket, bushes', and not from WGerm. *glūsina* 'glow, shining'.

Putting the above in Table 3, we obtain the following:

Table 3. Results

	Germanic explanation	Slavic explanation
phonology	?	+
morphology	?	+
etymology	–	+
parallel names	–	+

Source: own work.

3.3. *Feuln*[17]

The next name combines aspects already discussed with regard to the first two names analysed in the article.

Table 4. Attestations of the place-name *Feuln*

Guttenberg, 1952, pp. 36f.	Andraschke, 2016, pp. 72f., fn. 341
1310 *Fewln*	1310 *Fewln*
1398 *Fewlen*	1398 *Fewlen*
1398 *Fewln*	
another ca. 20 attestations till ca. 1800	

Source: own work.

Feuln (Kulmbach) can be derived quite cogently from Comm. Slav. *bylina* 'a kind of plant', which goes back to an older *būˈlīˈnāˈ*. The word is

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[17] Cf. on this name more explicitly Bichlmeier, 2020c.

well attested in the appellative lexicon of Slavic languages. The form itself, however, seems unattested as a name anywhere, though derivatives of the root of the word, that is *byl-, are; cf., e.g., Cz. *Bylnice, Bylochov*.[18] Rather close seems to be also Cz. *Bylany*, which is most probably a plural inhabitant name Comm. Slav. *Byl'ane/*Byléne based on a Comm. Slav. personal name *Bylanъ.

Anlauting Slavic *b- was taken over into Old High German between the late 8th and the late 11th century as *v- and later became *f- (see 3.1 above), while older Slavic long *ū or younger Slavic *y come out in the end as Late Old High German long /ü:/ – the first by *i*-umlaut in Old High German, the last automatically in the course of a later absorption process. As we need the long vowel in German (else we do not arrive at the attested diphthong of the name), and such long vowels were certainly perceived as long in the 9th and probably well into the 10th century, it is safer to locate the absorption of the name into Old High German no later than the middle of the 10th century. So, any point in time between 780 and the middle of the 10th century is possible.

Coming back to the above-mentioned Czech place name *Bylany*, we could also regard this as a parallel name of the preform of *Feuln*, if the absorption of the Slavic name into Old High German took place after the fronting of long PSlav. *ū to Comm. Slav. *y, that is after the beginning of the 9th century: so, supposing an absorption of the name into Old High German roughly between 820 and 950, also the Comm. Slav. name *Bylani 'settlement of the Bylan-folks' or Comm. Slav. *Byléne 'folks living where plants are' would end up as *Feuln*.

In comparison to that possibility, it seems rather forced to presuppose a WGerm. form *fūlina 'foul ground, swamp' for the name. WGerm. *fūlina might theoretically exist as a derivative of PGerm. *fūla- 'foul, rotten', but it is not attested in the appellative lexicon and there seems to be at most one attestation as toponym elsewhere (in Luxembourg), so the productivity of formations claimed by Andraschke for this name certainly does not exist.

So here the result is also quite clear in the end, I think: the Slavic explanation works, the Germanic much less so.

Putting the above in Table 5, we obtain the following:

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[18] Cf. Profous, 1947–1957, 1, pp. 227f.; Hosák & Šrámek, 1970–1980, 1, pp. 136f.

Table 5. Results

	West-Germanic	Slavic
phonology	+	+
morphology	+	+
parallel names	+ = 1	+ = 1
		(and several close formations)
identical appellative	–	+

Source: own work.

3.4 *Keltz*[19]

Finally, there is the microtoponym *Keltz*, which Andraschke connects with some other toponyms, mainly in Germany.

There is the name of a farmstead (part of Gifting [Landkreis/county Kronach]) *Keltz* (1326/28 *Kelcz*, 1348 *Keltz*, 1400 *Keltz*, 1422 *Keltz*, 1453 *Keltz*, 1507 *Keltz*) and a microtoponym near Horsdorf (Landkreis/county Lichtenfels; 1503 *ecker im Keltz*).[20]

As can be seen below, only one of these names has probably the same etymology as the North-East Bavarian name.

The Germanic etymologies are:
- WGerm. **Kal-isa/ō-* > 931 (cop. 17th cent.) *Kelse*, 11th cent. *Kelese* > *Kelz* (Düren);
- EGerm. **Kal-isia-* > Ptol. (2nd cent.) Καλισία → Pol. *Kalisz* (G. *Kalisch*; Wielkopolska);
- WGerm. **Kal-it(t)ja-* > Early OHG **Kalize* > Late OHG **Kelize* > 1326/28 *Kelcz*, 1400 *Keltz*;
- WGerm. **Kal-it(t)ja-* > Early OHG **Kalize* > 1146 *superiori Calice* > *Kelze* (Landkreis/county Kassel).

Possibly they all are based on the same root, but even in that case the meaning of the root is not clear: it is either a verbal root PGerm. **kal-* 'to be cold',

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[19] Cf. on that name more explicitly Bichlmeier, 2020b, 2021, pp. 95–106.
[20] Cf. Andraschke, 2016, p. 68, Anm. 312, 2020, p. 114.

then the formation *kal-itja- is problematic, as it is hardly possible to derive a collective from a verbal root; or they pertain to PGerm. *kal-u̯a- 'bald, free of vegetation', but then the question arises, why there is no trace of the bilabial glide anywhere. So, in the end, although phonology and morphology are fine and there is at least one completely parallel name, we cannot with confidence etymologize the name. And, moreover, the other names at least partially are in areas where names might be of Celtic origin, as in the case of *Kalisz* (for further discussion of these problems cf. Bichlmeier, 2020b, 2021, pp. 95–106).

As we see clearly that the Germanic etymology does not work well, we may propose a new (Slavic) etymology: It is possible to derive the name from Comm. Slav. *kalьcь, the diminutive form derived from Comm. Slav. *kalъ 'swamp, mud',[21] a word which elsewhere in Slavic speaking communities serves as a (micro-)toponym as well. Furthermore, there are dozens of other place names containing the root Comm. Slav *kal- 'mud'.[22]

If the form Comm. Slav. *kalьcь had been loaned into Old High German at the right time, we get the 'right' results:

- Early Comm. Slav. (9th cent.) *Kālica-
  → OHG *Kāliz > Late OHG *Kēlez > MHG *Kēl(ə)z > Early NHG *Kelz <Kelcz> (?);
- Comm. Slav. ([early/mid] 10th cent.) *kalьcь
  → OHG *Kaliz > Late OHG *Kelez > MHG *Keləz > Early NHG *Kelz <Kelcz>.

We see: if this form *kalьcь was taken over into Old High German when Comm. Slav. *a was no longer felt as an obvious long vowel (or was shortened immediately after the name had been taken over), but when middle yers were still perceived as *i*-like sounds (which might have been the case around the middle of the 10th century), then an outcome *Keltz* would be quite natural. If Comm. Slav. *a was shortened in the course of absorption or if the vowel was shortened later on in Old High German, also an earlier takeover might be regarded as possible.

[21] Cf. Berneker, 1924, pp. 475f.; Brückner, 1927/1993, p. 214; REW 1, p. 506; Šmilauer, 1963–1964, 1, p. 171; 1970, p. 87; Machek, 1968/1997, pp. 235f.; Skok, 1971–1974, 2, pp. 37f.; ÈSSJa 9, pp. 127–129; Schuster-Šewc, 1978–1996, pp. 483f.; ESSJ 2, p. 10; ESJS, p. 300; Bańkowski, 2000, 1, p. 613; Mühlner, 2008, pp. 197f.; SES, 277 (kâl¹); ČES, pp. 284f.; Klotz, 2017, p. 130; Králik, 2019, p. 251.

[22] Cf. WRG 2, pp. 192ff. passim; RGN 3, pp. 706–720; RGN 4, pp. 1–8 passim; Profous, 1947–1957, 2, pp. 182ff.; Hosák & Šrámek, 1970–1980, 1, pp. 376f. [= 2020, 1, pp. 367f.]; Eichler & Walther, 1975–1978, 1, p. 117; SOSN 1, p. 467; SOSN 2, pp. 12–13; HONBS 1, p. 467; Pohl, 2004, 2009, p. 110; HOS 1, p. 355; Wenzel, 2008, p. 86; Anreiter, 2015, pp. 24f.; Žigo, 2017, etc.

So, in the end also here we might tend towards the Slavic solution, as on the Slavic side everything is clear, the derivational basis is well defined, and the formation is represented also by parallel forms from the appellative as well as the onymic lexicon of the Slavic languages. On the other hand, for the Germanic solution exactly this clarity concerning the derivational basis is lacking.

The results of the analysis above are presented in Table 6.

Table 6. Results

	West-Germ. *Kal-it(t)i̯a-*	West-Germ. *Kal-isa/ō-*	West-Germ. *Kal-isi̯ō-*	Late PSlav. (ca. 700) *kāˑl-it'a-*	Early Comm. Slav. (ca. 800) *kālic-*	Bavaria-Slav. (after ca. 950) *kalьcь*
morphology	+	+	+	+	+	+
phonology	+	?	?	?	?	+
semantics	+	+	+	+	+	+
parallel names	1 in Hessia (Celt.?)	1 in NRW (Celt.?)	1 in Poland (Celt.?)	1 in Bohemia, 1 in East Tirol, others in the rest of the Slavia		

Source: own work.

4. Conclusions

I have hopefully been able to show that progress in the research of Slavic names in North-Eastern Bavaria is still possible. Especially the time of absorption of these Slavic names into Old High German can often still be established more precisely. For the moment these names do not give us more knowledge on the history of settlement of the region than we already have, but with new and more results this might change.

A lot of work is still to be done: more precise dates can be achieved.

The main result, however, is: Slavic names do play a relevant role in North-Eastern Bavaria, certainly a more prominent one than some might like to have it.

Abbreviations

Comm. Slav. – Common Slavic
Croat. – Croatian
Cz. – Czech
EGerm. – East Germanic
G. – German
LSorb. – Lower Sorbian
NCz. – New Czech
NHG – New High German
OCz. – Old Czech
OHG – Old High German
OSorb. – Old Sorbian
PCz. – Proto-Czech
PGerm. – Proto-Germanic
Pol. – Polish
PSlav. – Proto-Slavic
PSorb. – Proto-Sorbian
USorb. – Upper Sorbian
WGerm. – West Germanic

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