

ARCHAIC PLACE NAMES IN SLOVENIA:  
PRE-INDO-EUROPEAN, INDO-EUROPEAN (ILLYRIAN, CELTIC,  
THRACIAN), EARLY ROMANCE

V arhaičnih krajevnih imenih po Sloveniji se odraža stanje, ki je podobno povsod po jugovzhodni Evropi: večplastna dediščina, v kateri je zaslediti najstarejše predindoevropske (po Gimbutasovi 'staroevropske', sam avtor je pred nekaj leti te vplive označil kot 'urbijske'), indoevropske (ilirske, keltske, tračanske) in različne romanske vplive, večinoma italijanske ali dalmatinsko romanske. Takšno dediščino najdemo tudi pri drugih južnoslovanskih jezikih, pa tudi v romunščini. Nedvomno gre za nekakšno starodavno poimenovanje krajev, katerega določene značilnosti so skupne jezikom jugovzhodne Evrope ne glede na njihovo sedanjo jezikovno pripadnost: slovansko, romunsko, albansko, grško. Nekatere slovenske oblike se zdijo bolj sorodne (proto-)romunskim kot »balkanskim« oblikam, kar lahko kaže na določeno zblizhanost pred 10. stoletjem n. št., verjetno vzdolž Donave v Panoniji.

Archaic place-names in Slovenia reflect a situation common throughout Southeastern Europe: a multi-stratified heritage, represented by the oldest Pre-Indo-European ('Old European' in Gimbutasian terms, or 'Urbian', as labelled by the author some years ago), Indo-European (Illyrian, Celtic, Thracian), then various Romance influences, mainly Italian or Dalmatian Romance. This type of heritage is also shared by other South Slavic languages, and also by Romanian. There exists, beyond any doubt, a form of archaic naming of places, with specific features shared by the languages of Southeastern Europe, which disregards their modern linguistic affinity: Slavic, Romanian, Albanian, Greek. Some Slovene forms seem closely related to (Proto-)Romanian, rather than to 'Balkan' forms, which may suggest a certain closer vicinity before the 10<sup>th</sup> century A.D., probably along the Danube in Pannonia.

### Introduction

The paper resumes and enlarges on a theme I have approached on several occasions: the origins of place-names in Southeastern Europe. During the past years the situation has become clearer, and new material has been added to our basic knowledge of what I would label »archaic place-names«, i.e. those place-names inherited from languages now extinct.

The first coherent set of data was presented in Paliga 1996. A comprehensive chapter refers to the most relevant archaic forms found in South Slavic. The theme

was resumed and considerably enlarged by adding the most relevant Romanian forms (presented at the Thracian Congress in Sofia-Jambol, September 2000, in print while the present paper is being prepared). The present paper concentrates only, or basically, on Slovene forms which I encountered during my stay in Ljubljana in 1993; to these I have added some comments and new interpretations. Chronologically, this paper is the first in a series of papers or chapters of books I have written lately; it is pure coincidence that it should be the last to be presented to a large public. It so occurred that a large version was published first, i.e. the one referring to the entire South Slavic area and Romania.

There are at least two archaic strata to be found in Slovene place-naming (as there generally are in European place-naming), and this is, to a large extent, a situation similar to that of other neighbouring areas:

1. Pre-Indo-European, i.e. the relics of the idiom spoken during the European Neolithic and Mesolithic periods, later integrated into newly emerged languages in the wake of Indo-European expansion beginning approximately in the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> millennium B.C.

2. Indo-European: Illyrian, Celtic, and also Thracian (see our interpretation below). This later linguistic stratum also assimilated and incorporated the earlier Pre-Indo-European heritage, and forwarded it to modern times.

It is the linguist's task to discriminate between the two basic components of this archaic heritage, even if this is not always easy, and the result may sometimes be uncertain or debatable.

There are several views in the interpretation or reconstruction of the complex European ethnogenesis, starting with what we may identify as the earliest ethno-linguistic component, labelled 'Old European' by Marija Gimbutas, 'Urbian' by the present author (Paliga 1989 and 1992b, the latter with direct reference to some Slavic areas, an idea later developed in Paliga 1997 and in the paper for the Thracian Congress in Sofia-Jambol, September 2000), or 'Mediterranean' (as used by many Italian linguists in their studies published in *Studi Etruschi* from 1927 onwards).

To this we may add the early Romance influence, which – along with the two above-mentioned strata – represents the Pre-Slavic heritage of Slovenia's place-names (and Slovene vocabulary in general). I have basically concentrated on the first two, archaic, components. As I shall try to show below, they share obvious affinities with the archaic heritage of all South Slavic languages as well as with the Pre-Romance heritage of Romanian. There are also clear relations to archaic place-names found elsewhere in Europe which are of Indo-European or Pre-Indo-European origin.

The limits of this paper do not allow a more detailed analysis of some basic terms such as »Pre-Indo-European«. The reader is referred to some previous papers (e.g. Paliga 1992c, 1993, 1998, most of the relevant studies have been collected in Paliga

1999). I would like to stress that the investigation of Preie. heritage is not akin to the various theories labelled »nostratic«, a term introduced, if I am not mistaken, by Illič-Svityč, which assumes a common origin for all language groups of the world. N. D. Andreev's Proto-Boreal (PB) theory is another, though more restricted, and probably more realistic example. This theory assumes that Proto-Indo-European (PIE), Proto-Uralic (PU), and Proto-Altaic (PA) had an earlier, Mesolithic stage (»Proto-Boreal«), which may be identified in some 210 basic roots preserved in these linguistic groups. Anyway, PB – and all its three basic derivatives – developed parallel to Pre-Indo-European (or »Old European«) civilisations of the European Mesolithic and Neolithic periods. I shall focus on Andreev's theory in my paper for the International Congress of Slavic Studies to be held in Ljubljana in 2003.

The classification and stratification of archaic Slovene place-names generally follows the basic principles explained by Skok many years ago in *Slavenstvo i romanstvo na jadranskim otocima* (Skok 1950), which remains a reference study in the field.

### Abbreviations

IE	Indo-European
ND	nomen dei, name of god
NFl	nomen fluminis, name of river
NL	nomen loci, name of place
NP	nomen personae, personal name
NPp	nomen populi, ethnic name (»ethnonym«)
NR	nomen regionis, name of region
NSt	nomen stagni, name of lake
Preie.	Pre-Indo-European ('Urbian', 'Mediterranean', 'Old European': see <i>Introduction</i> for brief definitions of these alternative terms)

### Forms

*Aborna*, a tributary of the Nadiža. Certainly Pre-Slavic (Illyrian), from \**Abarna* (cf. Ill. *Abarnos*) or \**Aborna*, *Alburna*, *Albruna*, cf. ancient *Albarna* > *Aubarne* (France). The root \**ab-*, \**alb-* is presumably Preie. (Bezljaj). It must be \**AL-*, \**AR-*, as in Lat. *altus*. – The choice between the basic root forms \**AB-* or \**AL-b-* is difficult as both are recorded in archaic European place-names of Pre-Indo-European origin.

*Abrnca*, a tributary of the Reka. Explained from \**Apnarica* < Pre-Slavic (Ill.) *apno* < IE \**ap-* 'water'. – May be related to the preceding, however with the question: IE or Preie. origin?

*Arbeč*, also *Rbeč*, a tributary of the Nadiža. Pre-Slavic *Arba*, *Arva*, cf. It. *Erbezzo* < Lat. *\*herbidia* < *herba*. In the Slovene area, it may be an Illyrian river-name, initially borrowed by the Romanised population, or a Latin river-name. As the root *ar-* is present in other river-names as well, I prefer to incline to the hypothesis of an Illyrian river-name which was later influenced by Latin spelling in the context of Roman expansion (similar to *Bezljaj*). Cf. *Arda*, *Dunav(a)*, *Rab*.

*Avšček*, a tributary of the Soča, region of Avče. Frl. *Ause*, *Ausa*, It. *Aussa*, ancient *Alsa*, name of a rivulet or brook in the delta of the river Soča. Pre-Slavic, Illyrian, eventually Celtic. – The root *\*AS-*, *\*AIS-* is recorded as *Preie.*, and the basic meaning seems to have been 'bright; to shine'; this is perfectly suitable for a river-name; cf. *Asău*, *Asuaj* in Romania, presumably of *Preie.* origin as well.

*Bač*, *Bača*, several place-names of this type; related to *Bač*, *Bačka*, NR, Serbia, usually considered as borrowed from Rom. *baci* 'chief shepherd', of indigenous Thr.-Dac. origin, possibly also via Hung. *bács* 'id.' in Serbian, though this is not necessarily so; Hu. *bács* is also borrowed from Romanian. Considered Pre-Slavic by *Bezljaj* (1961 and 1969). – For Slovene, the Romanian origin (from *baci*) may seem difficult to accept (but see our *Final Note*). It is rather an indigenous Illyrian element, which leads to the conclusion that both Thracian and Illyrian had a similar word preserved throughout a large area. Similarly, cf. NP Thr. *Batsinis*, f. (*Dečev* 1957: 46), and NP Ill. *Bato*, m., *Batina*, f. (*Russu* 1969: 175). Cf. next entry. – The ultimate origin of these forms seems to be *Preie.*, though an accurate phyletic tree is difficult to reconstruct. However, this is not the only case where Slovene is closer to archaic Romanian forms (see other examples below and the *Final Note*). The basic meaning of Rom. *baci* is 'the eldest shepherd, the leader of shepherds', and seems related to *bade* 'an elder person'; it is also the usual term used by a girl referring to her beloved (basic archaic word). If the *Preie.* origin is kept in view, then it may be related to Greek *basileus* from *\*batileus*. This seems to be, despite contrary opinions, the only coherent analysis. Given the rich presence of these forms all over Southeastern Europe (Greek, Romanian, South Slavic, Hungarian), the term must be archaic, and reflecting basic *Preie.* heritage. The transmission to modern languages must be assumed via Thracian, Illyrian and Greek.

*Bača*, a tributary of the rivers Idrijca-Soča. Certainly Pre-Slavic (*Bezljaj*). Closely related to *Bačica*, a water-spring; *Bački Potok*, NFI, a tributary of the Mirna. Cf. previous entry and Rom. *baci*.

*Badica*, NFI, a tributary of the Rabojesca. Cf. Rom. *bade*, *bădiță*, a term to address a male person, in modern dialectal Romanian used by a beloved girl. Considered »unclear« by *Bezljaj*, probably Pre-Slavic. As the relation to Rom. *bade* is obvious, it may be questioned whether it is a Proto-Romanian element in Slovene, or whether a similar word related to (»urverwandt«) Rom. *bade* existed in Illyrian too. Cf. *Bač*, *Bača*, supra, *Batava*, infra, and the *Final Note*.

*Banj*, NFI, a tributary of the Lahinja. River- and place-names having the root *ban-* are unclear, cf. NL *Bane* and its relation to *ban* 'a local leader' (archaic,

presumably a Thracian or Thraco-Illyrian word, as considered by Bezljaj). *Ban* was analysed elsewhere (Paliga 1987); the word must be of indigenous, Thracian origin, but Illyrian might have had a similar word. Both the Romanian and South Slavic forms should be explained from either Thracian and/or Illyrian. See the *Final Note*.

*Barbačina*, NFl, a tributary of the Vipava. Pre-Slavic, cf. ancient *Barbanna* > fr. *Barbanne*. In Slovene, an Illyrian origin may be surmised, probably the root *\*barb-* 'mud, a marsh' (Bezljaj) or the same root as in *Bar*, *Baredine*.

*Baredine*, NFl, a tributary of the upper Mirna. Pre-Slavic and Pre-Roman, Veneto-Illyrian *\*barradjo-*, of unclear meaning, probably akin to *Bar*, *Barbačina* (supra) and next entry. *Barman*, NFl, a tributary of the Rezijanska Bela. Pre-Slavic, Illyrian *\*borm-* 'a water-spring' (Bezljaj). Suffix *-man* is specific to some Thracian and also Illyrian place-names, e.g. *German*, Rom. *Caraiman*, *Căliman* (peaks in the Romanian Carpathians).

*Batava*, NFl, a tributary of the upper Bača, at Podbrdo. Pre-Slavic and Pre-Roman, cf. *Batavi*, *Batavia*, *Patavium* (today *Padua*). The root *\*BaT-*, *\*BaD-* seems of Preie. origin. Cf. next two entries and cf. *Badica*, supra. I am inclined to consider all these four forms to be of the same origin.

*Bate*, NL, at the border with Italy. Pre-Slavic, Illyrian, cf. Npp *Venti* and alb. *vend*, *vënd* 'a place, a locality', NL Ill. *Avendona* (Bezljaj 1961: 151).

*Batuje*, NL, Ajdovščina. Ancient *Batavia* (Bezljaj 1969: 25). Cf. NFl *Batava*, supra.

*Bled*, NL. Pre-Slavic *\*peld-*, *\*beld-*, Illyrian or Celtic, unclear meaning (Ramovš 1936: 26). Might continue Preie. *\*P-L*, *\*B-L*.

*Bojanci* (Črnomelj), *Bojanja vas* (Metlika), *Bojanji vrh* (Grosuplje), NL. See *Bojana*.

*Bosut*, NL, Pann. Inf. < (*Ad*) *Bas(s)ante* (see also Skok 1917: 133, n. 23). The ultimate etymon is unclear.

*Bračana*, NFl, a tributary of the Mirna in Istria. Certainly Pre-Slavic, either a Pre-Roman (Illyrian) relic, or a Roman personal name. Cf. ancient *Brattia*, *Bratia* (Bezljaj) and NI *Brač*, an island in the Adriatic. May reflect Preie. *\*B-R-*, *\*P-R-* 'a stone, a cliff; a mountain river', as in the next entry.

*Bregana*, NFl, a tributary of the Sava. Pre-Slavic, cf. *Brege*, NFl (Baden), Ill. *Berginium*, Celtic *\*briga* 'a hill, a mountain' (Bezljaj). Cf. *Bîrgău* in Romania. Both forms might be Preie. – Many Pan-European forms in *\*B-R-*, *\*BR-* seem to reflect Preie. *\*B-R-* 'a cliff, a mountain'. There is a long, still unfinished debate about the relation between Preie. *\*B-R-*, *\*BR-* and German *Berg*.

*Brenta*, a waterfall of the river Volarnica. Pre-Slavic, etymon unclear, cf. Slv. *brenta*, Cr. *brenta*, Istr.-Rom. *brente* 'Butte' (Bezljaj). – The ultimate etymon may be Preie., as in the preceding.

*Brinjek*, a water-spring and other 13 place-names of the type *Brinje*, *Brine* in Slovenia and Croatia. Pre-Slavic and Pre-Roman relic *\*brina* 'juniperus', Frl. *brene*, *brena* (Bezljaj).

*Briše*, NL, the Zagorje region; *Brišče*, NM. The mountain-name is attested in 888 in the Med. Lat. spelling *Broxias*. Pre-Slavic, probably Illyrian *\*Broskja* > *\*bryšče* > *Brišče*; there is no early document for the place-name, but the relationship with the mountain-name is obvious (Ramovš 1936: 36).

*Buzet*, v. S.-Cr. *Blzet*, NL, Croatia. Ancient *Piquentum* > Romance *\*pilgent-* > Sl. *\*bblzētъ* > *Blzet*, *Buzet* (Ramovš 1936: 31).

*Cavtat*, Cr., *Čedad*, Slv. (It. *Ragusa Vecchia*; ancient *Epidaurum*), NL (Adriatic Coast) < *civitatem* (*Civitas Epidauriensis*) (Ramovš 1936: 34). Cf. Rom. *cetate* (NL *Cetate*, *Cetatea*, in some regions of Romania), Alb. *qytét* 'a township'. – The presence of these forms all over Southeastern Europe, which disregards modern linguistic distribution (Neo-Latin Romanian or South Slavic), attests this once widely spread form.

*Celje*, NL. Lat. *Celeia*, Med. Lat. *Cilia*. Cf. *Kilia*, NL, Bulgaria and *Chilia*, a branch of the Danube Delta. – The forms may ultimately be of Preie. origin, root *\*K-L-* (also *\*K-R-*) 'a stone; a cliff; earth'.

*Cerej*, NFl, a tributary of the river Koren. Lat. *cerasus* 'a cherry-tree'.

*Čadra*, NFl, a tributary of the Tolminka. Probably from Lat. *cataracta*, with the evolution Lat. *c* > Slv. *č* and *t* > *d*.

*Davča*, *Davški potok*, NFl, a tributary of the Selška Sora. Probably related to NL *Avče* in the Soča valley; initial *d-* may be explained as in other examples in Friulan, e.g. Frl. *Damar* < *Ad Amar*, *Delés* < *Ad Alesso*, *Deveà* < *Aveaco*, *Darte* < *Arte* etc. Further discussions s.v. *Avšček*, supra.

*Dramlje*, *Dramlja*, NFl; must be related to *Draniča*, NFl, a tributary of the Bregalnica, Macedonia. Pre-Slavic Thracian and/or Illyrian, cf. NFl ancient *Dramatica*, NR *Drama* (ancient Macedonia). Cf. NFl Pol. *Drama*, the Oder basin, IE *\*drem-* 'to go, to run; a road', Gr. *dromos*. (Duridanov 1975: 169). Cf. *Drava*, *Dreta*, *Drina*.

*Drava*, NFl (S.-Cr., Slv.), a tributary of the Danube. Ancient: Lat. *Dravos*, *Dravus*, Gr. *Δραυος*, Illyrian and/or Thracian origin, IE *\*drowos* 'flowing water'. Cf. *Dreta*, *Drina*, *Dramlje*, *Dramlja* and ancient NL *Drobeta*, today Turnu Severin on the Danube in Romania.

*Dreta*, NFl, a tributary of the Savinja. Unclear, probably related to NFl Cr. *Dretulja*. Slovene forms in *-ija* (*Litija*, *Medija*) are Pre-Slavic. Cf. NFl Slk. *Drietoma*, *Drietomica*, Pre-Slavic too; the suffix *-oma* is Pre-Slavic as well, cf. Celtic *-amo*, *-ama*. Place-names of this type are usually Pre-Slavic (Bezljaj).

*Gabernica*, NFl, a tributary of the Sava. Related to *gâber*, *gâber* '*Carpinus Betulus* (hornbeam)'. In Slovenia only, there are about 60 place-names with this root, cf. Mac. (ancient) *grabion* '(piece of) oak', Neo-Epirotic *grabos*, Npp III.

*Grabaei*, Dalmatian *Gravosium* < Ill. \**grab-* 'oak' < IE \**grebh-*, \**gerebh-*, in various names of plants and trees.

*Galjevica*, NFI, a tributary of the Ljubljanica. Probably from Lat. *Gallus*. The forms *gal-* are generally unclear, probably all Pre-Slavic (Bezljaj). The root \**gal-* may reflect Preie. \**G-L-*, \**K-L-* 'a rock, a stone; rocky'. Cf. *Galaț(i)* in Romania.

*Glana*, NFI (Carintia), a tributary of the Krka-Drava. The bookish, literary form is *Glina*. Attested in 983: *iuxta flumen Glana*. Pre-Slavic, with numerous parallels in European river-names: NFI *Glan* (Salzburg, Austria; sec. VIII: *Glane*); NFI *Chiana* (Etruria, Italy) < *Glanis*; *Glan*, a water-source in Scotland; Celtic \**glano-s* 'bright, to shine' < IE \**glan-*. The literary form *Glina* has been influenced, by folk etymology, by *glina* 'mud'; there are numerous place-names *Glina* in the Slavic-speaking area; NL *Glina* in Romania is usually considered a Slavic place-name; rather, it continues an indigenous Thracian place-name adapted under the Slavic influence.

*Idrijca*, NFI, a tributary of the Soča. Pre-Slavic, Pre-Roman, cf. NSt *Idrie*, NFI *Idrica*, NFI *Itter*, *Euter* (Germany). Probably Preie., cf. Romanian forms in *ad-*, *at-* analysed elsewhere.

*Ig*, *Iga*, NFI, NL; several forms. Pre-Slavic and Pre-Roman, no clear etymon (Bezljaj). – Archaic place-names in \**AG-*, \**IG-* also spread over a large area in Southeastern Europe.

*Jadran* (S.-Cr., Slv.) 'Adriatic Sea' < Lat. (*mare*) *Adriaticum*. It is often surmised that the ancient name *Adriaticum* is related to NFI *Adda* (Lombardia), cf. *Ada*, analysed in our paper for the Sofia-Jambol Thracian Congress. The forms must ultimately be of Preie. origin.

*Klis*, NL (near Solin, Adriatic Coast) < *Clissa*. Illyrian of probable Preie. origin, root \**K-L-*, \**G-L-*, zero grade \**KL-*, \**GL-*.

*Ključica*, NFI, a tributary of the Ziljica. From colloquial Lat. *clusus* < *claudere*. Place-names derived from this word are very frequent in the Romance area, e.g. It. *Chioso*, *Chiusa*, *Chiusaforte*. Cf. NL *Cluj*, in Transylvania (Paliga 1992a, with further references).

*Kobarid*, NL, reg. Tolmin. Ancient *Caporetum* (Bezljaj 1969: 25).

*Kodrjana*, NFI, a tributary of the Kozica-Arbeč. From NP Lat. *Quadratus* or Istro-Romanian *kodru* 'a forested hill', Rom. *codru*, Alb. *kodër* (Bezljaj). *Quadratus* was sometimes invoked to explain the Romanian and Albanian forms. This hypothesis is hardly acceptable. Rom. *codru* and Alb. *kodër* must be considered as indigenous Thracian forms together with the form *Kodrjana*. Reflects IE \**kādh-* 'to cover, to protect', with the normal evolution *a* > *o/u* in some Northern Thracian dialects.

*Kokra*, NFI, a tributary of the Sava. Pre-Slavic; Bezljaj assumes it is related to *Krka* (cf. NFI Gr. *Korkoras*). It rather reflects Preie. \**K-K-*, \**G-G-* as in Romanian *Cuca*, *Coca*, *Gagu*, *Gugu*, *Goga*.

*Kolpa*, Slv.; *Kupa*, S.-Cr., NFl, a tributary of the Sava. Ancient *Kolapis*, Κόλαπις, Κόλοψ. Prototype *\*Kol-ap-is*, *kol-* having unclear origin, probably Preie., while *\*ap-* is IE: 'water' (Ramovš 1936: 25; Bezljaj 1956–1961). Cf. Rom. forms *Călan*, *Călata* (Lexicon C), Preie. *\*K-L-*, *\*G-L-*.

*Koper*, NL, a port on the Adriatic Coast (It. *Capo d'Istria*) < Lat. *Capris*, from *capra* 'a goat'. Cf. *Kopranj*, *Kopara* (the Adriatic islands) and NSt *Capra* in Romania.

*Koroška*, *Koroško*, NR, Gm. *Kärnten*. Lat. *Carinthia*. The root *kar-*, *kor-* is Pre-Slavic, ultimately of Preie. origin. Cf. *Carpați*, alb. *karpë* 'a cliff', Preie. *\*K-R-*, *\*K-L-*.

*Kranj*, NL < *Carnium*, *Carnia*. Illyrian, ultimately of Preie. origin, cf. *Kras*, *Koroška*, *Krajna*. Compare with *Carsium* > *Hîrșova* (on the Danube in Romania) with the evolution *c/k* > *h*, still not explained satisfactorily; Poghirc (1969: 360) considers the latter an indigenous Thracian place-name; rather, the evolution *k* > *h* reflects a local, dialectal tendency as it is not encountered elsewhere, nor is it explainable as a Slavic influence.

*Krka*, NFl (*Trebinje*) < *Corcoras*, *Korkoras*. Attested in 799 as *Corca*. Pre-Slavic, Illyrian, ultimately of Preie. origin. Cf. *Koroška*, *Kranj*, *Krajna*, *Kras*. (Bezljaj; Ramovš 1936: 25; see also Skok 1917: 121).

*Kupa*, see s.v. *Kolpa*.

*Labin*, NL, south of Istria, Croatia < *Albona*; Latin spelling for an indigenous Illyrian place-name, of IE or Preie. origin (see also Skok 1917: 128). Preie. root would be *\*L-P-*, *\*L-B-* as in Rom. *Lăpuș*.

*Labuta*, *Labota*, *Labotnica*, NFl, a tributary of the Drava. Pre-Slavic, seemingly related to *Labin* (see preceding entry) or possibly of Celtic origin, *albanto*, *albento* 'bright, shining' < IE *\*albh-*. The approach to *labod*, *lavud* 'a swan' is folk-etymology (>etymological substitution<, cf. *Ljubljana*, infra).

*Lanja*, NFl, a tributary of the Karnahita. Pre-Slavic, cf. Frl. *Lâgna*, It. NFl *Anio*, *Agnò*, *Agnone*. Similar names in Etruria, Lombardy, Venice, South Tirol, Latium, Campania, etc. In Slovenia, the name may be Pre-Slavic or, eventually, a Friulan influence. Cf. *Anieș* in Romania.

*Lašta*, NFl, a tributary of the Soča, and some other place-names of this type, e.g. *Lašta*, *Lašte*, also *lašta* 'a stone'; these forms must be related to Northern Italic *lasta* 'a slab', NL *Lasta*, *Laste*, *Lasturo*, NFl *Lástego*. Cf. Basque *arlasta*, *arralasta*. Root *\*lassa*, probably of Preie. origin (Bezljaj). Cf. Rom. *lespede* 'a stone slab', which may reside on either of the archaic roots *\*les-* or *\*lep-se-d-* with metathesis.

*Ljubija*, NL, NFl, a tributary of the Savinja. Pre-Slavic, of unclear origin (Bezljaj). Cf. Thraco-Illyrian forms in *lab-*, *leb-*. See next entry.

*Ljubljana*, NL; *Ljubljanica*, NFl. Probably Pre-Slavic, related to the preceding, from *\*Lablana*, by substitution and folk etymology (Sl. *ljubiti*). Cf. NL *Labin*, supra and Rom. *Lăpuș*. In the antiquity, the divinity of the Ljubljanica is attested as

*Laburus*, and Anonymus Ravenniensis named the rivers of *Ljubija* and *Ljubljana* as *Lebra* and *Elebra* respectively (Bezljaj 1961: 149; Russu 1969: 218). – Rather, the archaic root \**L-B-*, \**L-P-* is Preie.

*Logatec*, NL. Pre-Slavic, probably Illyrian, ancient *Longatici* (Ramovš 1936: 27).

*Medija*, *Medijski Potok*, NFI, a tributary of the Sava. Pre-Slavic, cf. Frl. *Medée*. The modern form does not allow the reconstruction of the prototype. Cf. NL Rom. *Mediaș*.

*Mirna*, NFI, a tributary of the Sava. Pre-Slavic, possibly related to *Nera*, *Neretva*, *Ner*, ancient *Naron*, etc. if the alternance *n/m* may be admitted, or related to the forms derived from IE \**mar-/mor-* (Lat. *mare*, NFI *Morava*, *Marica*, etc.). Pre-Slavic origin is certain. The modern form was probably due to association, by folk-etymology, with Sl. *mir* 'peace'. – There are many other European river-names with the root \**mar-*, \**mir-*, \**mor-*, \**mur-*; it is difficult to assume a common or uniform origin for all these. In principle, some reflect IE, others Preie. relics.

*Modrejce*, NL. Ancient *Materieia* (Bezljaj 1969: 25). Cf. *Motru* in Romania. The ultimate root may be Latin *mater*, or, rather, an interference between Latin *mater* and indigenous Thracian or Illyrian forms.

*Mošun*, NL, several locations in the South Slavic area. *Mošnje*, NL, Slovenia. All reflect Lat. *mansionem*, a term mirroring transhumance specific to Romanised groups (Bezljaj 1969: 25). Further examples are spread in the Adriatic islands (analysed elsewhere).

*Mura* (S.-Cr., Slv.), NFI, a tributary of the Drava. Pre-Slavic, Illyrian and/or Thracian, co-radical with *Morava*, *Marica*, *Mureș*. Vocalism *u*, instead of \**o*, as in *Morava*, is considered a substitution by Bezljaj (1961: 149, comparing it to NFI Venetian *Mare*). Nevertheless, if we consider the Northern Thracian form, then vocalism *u* is normal (from Thracian *ā*), as in *Mureș*, Romania. It is less clear why Slovene preserves a form with phonetic evolution closer to indigenous Thracian forms in Romanian (Northern Thracian) rather than adopting phonetic evolution specific to Southern Thracian or Illyrian. Further research may clarify the topic. Anyway, *Mura* seems closely related to *Mureș*, and also Romanian *a mura* 'to pickle' (to preserve vegetables in salted water over winter). See *Final Note*.

*Muzge*, NFI, a tributary of the Krka. NL *Muzge* (several locations in Slovenia and Croatia); cf. NFI pol. *Muzgawa*, NL *Moskva*. Surely Pre-Slavic, etymon unclear (Bezljaj). – The archaic, widely spread, root \**MoS-* may be Preie. Further discussion in Paliga 1998.

*Nadiža*, NFI, a tributary of the Tera-Soča; Frl. *Nadisòn*, It. *Natisone*. Ancient *Natiso*. In Slovene, probably via Friulian intermediary or preserving a Pre-Slavic Romanised form.

*Nebula*, *Nibeljski Potok*, NFl, a tributary of the Nadiža. Cf. FrI. *Nevolaè*, *Nuvolaè*, possibly from Lat. *Nubilius*. Surely Pre-Slavic, etymon uncertain. – The Latinised form may reflect an indigenous form adapted to Latin spelling.

*Nevlica*, NFl, a tributary of the Kamniška Bistrica. Related to NFl *Nevlja*, at the Bulgarian-Serbian border, to NFl *Nevlja* (Russia), NFl *Neva*, NFl *Nevajärni* (Finland). The root is specific to many European river-names < IE \**snau-*, \**snaw-* 'to flow' (Bezlaj 1961: 151).

Nevlje, NL. See *Nevlica*.

*Podkrašče*, a water-source in Bohinjska Bistrica. From the Slavic prefix *pod-* and the Pre-Slavic root \**kras* 'a cliff, a stone'. Place- and mountain-names in *kras*, *cras* are frequent not only in the South Slavic area, Slovenia included, but are spread over a large area in Europe, specifically in Southeastern Europe. They generally reflect the Preie. root \**KR-*, zero grade of \**K-R-*. See *Kranj*, *Koroška* (supra) and the numerous forms in *car-* in Romania: NL *Caraş*, NL *Caran-sebeş*, NM *Carpaţi*, NM *Cîrpa* (cf. Alb. *karpë* 'a cliff, a rock'), etc. – Preie. root \**K-R-* was extensively analysed in Paliga 1998.

*Pòreč*, NL, Istria, It. *Parento* < Ill. \**Parent-*, ancient spelling *Parentium*. The root \**par-*, \**per-* is probably of Preie. origin (Ramovš 1936: 27; Kiss 1980).

*Postojna*, NL; one of the world's largest caves. Lat. *Arae Postumiae* 'Postumius's altars'. The modern Slavic form should be also explained by folk-etymology substitution, cf. Slv. *postojna* 'kind of vulture'.

*Ptuj*, NL. Pre-Slavic of Illyrian origin, attested in the antiquity in the Latin spelling *Poetovio* > Ill.-Rom. \**Petojo* > Sl. \**Рѣтујъ* > Slv. *Ptuj* (Ramovš 1936: 34).

*Raba* (Gm. *Raab*), NFl (a river flowing near the border of Hungary, Slovenia and Austria, a tributary of the Danube; the main course is in Hungary) < *Ar(r)abo*, Latin spelling of an indigenous river-name, Illyrian and/or Celtic < IE \**orobh-* 'red, reddish' or rather Preie. \**R-B-*, \**R-M-*, hence maybe also Sl. *ryba* 'a fish'. Cf. NFl *Raba*, a tributary of the Wisła (Vistula) in Poland and *Rebra* (Romania). See also our brief study *Are there 'Urbian' elements in Slavic?* (Paliga 1992b).

*Raša*, NFl (Istria) < *Arsia*, *Arsa*. Latin spelling for an indigenous Illyrian river-name; cf. NFl *Aar*, *Aare*, Dan. *aar* 'a river'; cf. *Dunav*, *Dunaj*, *Dunăre* (Ramovš 1936: 24; Bezlaj). – Further discussions about the forms *Dunăre*, *Dunaj*, *Dunav* in our paper for the Sofia-Jambol Thracian Congress.

*Rižana*, NFl; flows into the Adriatic Sea near Koper; It. *Risano*. Pre-Slavic, Illyrian, cf. alb. *rjedh* < IE \**reg-* 'to flow, flowing water, a river'.

*Soča*, NL, along the border with Italy; It. *Isonzo* < Lat. *Isontius*, *Sontius*, reflecting an indigenous Illyrian place-name of IE origin. Cf. NFl *Suciu* (pron. *suču*), in northern Romania, this would indicate IE \**k'euk-*, developed \**k'euk-y-*. See *Final Note*.

*Solkan*, NL, near Nova Gorica. Ancient *Silicanus* (Bezlaj 1969: 25).

*Sotla*, Slv., *Sutla*, Cr., NFl. Pre-Slavic, Thracio-Illyrian \**Sontula*, \**Aesontula* (Bezljaj 1961: 149).

*Struga*, NFl, a tributary of the Savinja; another homophonous river-name, a tributary of the Krka. Pre-Slavic, Thracian, IE \**ser-* 'to flow; a river', zero grade \**sr-* with the typically Thracian evolution IE \**sr-e-* > \**stre-*. Related to NFl *Struma*, in Bulgaria also to NFl Rom. *Strei*, *Stremț* and *strugure* 'a grape', *strungă* 'a pen, a sheepfold'. The forms with the root *str-* most probably reflect indigenous Thracian influence, but the primitive root should be carefully analysed as both IE \**str-* and IE \**sr-* + vowel resulted in Thr. \**str-*. If Thracian, another striking similarity with the Thracian, not Illyrian area, for which see *Final Note*.

*Sužid*, NL, near Kobarid. Ancient *Silicetum* (Bezljaj 1969: 25).

*Škocjan*, NL. Pre-Slavic of colloquial Latin origin \**Sant* (*sanctus*) *Cantianus* > \**šъnt kocъjanъ* > Slv. *Škocjan* (Ramovš 1936: 27). Cf. *Smederovo* and *Sîngiorz* (< *Sanctus Georgios*) in Romania.

*Timava*, NFl; It. *Timavo*, Frl. *Timâu*. Pre-Slavic, related to NFl *Timok*, *Timis* (Romania), *Tynne* (Great Britain), *Thames* (with non-etymological *th*), etc.

*Tolmin*, NL; NFl *Tolminka*. Certainly Pre-Slavic, Ill. \**Tilmon-*, related to other place- and river-names, cf. Frl. *Talm*, Ligurian *Talamone*, It. *Talamona*, Sp. *Talamon*, Fr. *Talamon*, etc. Medieval attestation in 1146: *Tulminium*. Probably a Preie. relic (Bezljaj; Ramovš 1936: 26), root \**T-L-*. Cf. *Talma* in the Adriatic islands.

*Trsat*, NL, Istria < Lat. *Tarsatica*, presumably reflecting an indigenous Illyrian form, reflecting Preie. \**T-R*, \**T-L-* 'a cliff, a stone; a mountain; a rock, an elevated place'. Similar or related forms spread over a large area in Southeastern Europe.

*Trst*, NL; It. *Trieste* < Lat. *Tergeste*, a spelling for an indigenous Illyrian form also reflected in Alb. *treg* and O.Sl. *trъgъ* 'a market township'. – The Illyrian origin of Slavic *trъgъ* is the topic of a long and still unfinished discussion, and directly connected to the situation of Rom. *țîrg*. I am rather inclined to accept the 'Balkan' origin of *trъgъ*, Thracian and/or Illyrian, and ultimately of Preie. origin, root \**T-R-*, \**D-R-* 'a stone, a cliff, a mountain'. A direct borrowing from Illyrian is impossible as Illyrian became extinct in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D., so, if Illyrian is taken into account, the word must have been transmitted via Romance or, rather, via Thracian. If our view is accepted by linguists, then the Slavic origin of Rom. *țîrg* should be revised.

*Vipava*, NFl, a tributary of the Soča; Frl. *Vipàu*, It. *Vipacco*. Pre-Slavic, Illyrian, related to NP *Vippius*, Lith. *ùpe*, *upis* 'water-flow'.

*Vogljana*, NL. Probably from *Aquilania*, in any case Pre-Slavic (Bezljaj 1961: 149).

## Final note

Some instances show a close relationship between Slovene and Romanian place-names, both of archaic Pre-Romance origin. Since this issue is, as I am aware,

put forward for the first time in this paper, I assume it would require further research. At first sight, this relationship may seem impossible, and the present author to be blamed for just suggesting it. Taking this risk, I would be inclined to discuss the issue not in the context of present situation, but in the context of an ethnic and linguistic tableau reconstructible between the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.D., i.e. before the arrival and settlement of the Hungarians in Pannonia.

Even though approaching such topics has often been regarded with hesitation, and the author eventually suspected of obscure political bias, I suggest to discuss the whole topic in the context of a reasonably reconstructed tableau of this period. In those times, we may surmise that the Romance world was represented by a linguistic *continuum* stretching from the Black Sea to the Atlantic Ocean, with Proto-Slovene and Proto-Romanian groups in contact along the Danube. This article is not the right place to discuss the complex problem whether Pannonian Romance was very close to Proto-Romanian, and whether Pannonian substratum was mainly represented by Thracian, Illyrian, or Celtic, or all. I assume that all these three ethnic and linguistic groups made their contribution during this time. In the interval between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D., I cannot but assume a certain close similarity of Romance elements in Central-Eastern and Southeastern Europe, which are correspondingly reflected in the modern heritage of both Romanian and South Slavic, Slovene included. When choosing between Thracian and/or Illyrian origin, we should also choose between the radical views that Thracian was a satem idiom, whereas Illyrian was a centum idiom (the older, 'standard' view stated by Krahe), or incline to the idea that they were (closely) related, so that there can be no wonder that many archaic forms seem similar in both Thracian and Illyrian. The author of this paper is rather inclined to adopt this more recent, latter view.

I find this type of reconstruction (and discussion) more plausible (and recommendable) than to assume a completely independent evolution in areas now quite remote from each other, but culturally and linguistically closer some 1300–1400 years ago. Therefore, if some archaic Slovene place-names sometimes show a closer affinity to Illyrian, sometimes to Thracian (considering the observations regarding the Thracian-Illyrian relationship), and sometimes to Celtic linguistic relics, this may plausibly show the *realia* of those times, and the *realia* of this part of Europe, then, later, and now.

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## ARHAIČNA KRAJEVNA IMENA V SLOVENIJI: PREDINDOEVROPSKA, INDOEVROPSKA (ILIRSKA, KELTSKA, TRAČANSKA), ZGODNJerOMANSKA

### POVZETEK

V referatu avtor povzema in dodatno razširja temo, ki jo je že nekajkrat obravnaval: izvor krajevnih imen v jugovzhodni Evropi. Po vseh teh letih je stanje postalo bolj jasno, novo gradivo pa je razširilo naše osnovno znanje o tem, kar bi lahko imenovali »arhaična krajevna imena«, tj. krajevna imena, podedovana od danes mrtvih jezikov.

Prvi bistveni podatki so bili predstavljeni v Paliga 1996. Obsežno poglavje obravnava najbolj pomembne arhaične oblike v južnoslovanskih jezikih. Temo smo ponovno obdelali in še razširili z

najpomembnejšimi romunskimi oblikami (predstavljeno na Tračanskem kongresu v Sofiji – Jambolu, septembra 2000, v tisku v času priprave tega referata).

Pri poimenovanju krajev v slovenščini (kot tudi na splošno drugod po Evropi) ločimo vsaj dve arhaični plasti; v veliki meri naletimo na podobno ali enako situacijo v sosednjih območjih:

1. Predindoevropska plast, tj. ostanki jezikov iz evropskega neolitika in mezolitika, ki so se vključili v novonastale jezike v času indoevropske širitve, le-ta se je začela približno v drugi polovici 5. tisočletja pr. n. št.

2. Indoevropska plast: ilirska, keltska in tračanska. Ta mlajša jezikovna plast je prav tako asimilirala in vključila prejšnjo predindoevropsko dediščino in jo ohranila do sedanjih časov.

Naloga jezikoslovcev je razlikovati med tema dvema osnovnima sestavinama arhaične dediščine, čeprav to ni vedno lahko in so rezultati lahko nezanesljivi ali dvomni.

Pri razlagi in rekonstrukciji zapletene evropske etnogeneze obstaja več smeri. Najprej lahko prepoznamo najzgodnejšo etno-jezikovno sestavino, ki jo je Marija Gimbutas poimenovala »staroevropska«, pričujoči avtor »urbijaska« (Paliga 1989 in 1992b, slednji neposredno zadeva določena slovanska področja, zamisel je kasneje še razširjena v Paliga 1997 in v referatu za Tračanski kongres v Sofiji – Jambolu, september 2000), tudi »sredozemska« (kot jo imenujejo mnogi italijanski jezikoslovci v svojih študijah, objavljenih v *Studi Etruschi* od leta 1927 naprej).

Temu lahko dodamo še zgodnjeromanski vpliv, ki – poleg obeh prejšnjih plasti – predstavlja predсловansko dediščino v slovenskih krajevnih imenih (ter slovenskem besedišču na splošno). V osnovi smo se osredotočili na prvi dve, arhaični sestavini. Arhaično slovensko poimenovanje krajev kaže očitno podobnost z arhaično dediščino vseh južnoslovanskih jezikov kot tudi predromansko dediščino romunščine. Obstajajo tudi jasne povezave z arhaičnimi krajevnimi imeni drugod po Evropi, ki so indoevropskega ali predindoevropskega izvora. Po naši razlagi vsa jugovzhodna Evropa (ogromno območje med severnimi Karpati, Egejskim, Jadranskim in Sredozemskim morjem) razpolaga z bogatim gradivom tako iz predindoevropske (»staroevropske«, »urbijaska«, »sredozemske«) kot tudi iz arhaične indoevropske dobe (tračanske, ilirske, starogrške).

Klasifikacija in razporeditev arhaičnih slovenskih krajevnih imen navadno sledi osnovnim načelom, ki jih je pred mnogimi leti opisal P. Skok (1950) in katerega delo na tem področju ostaja referenčno. Povezava med arhaičnimi slovenskimi in romunskimi krajevnimi imeni lahko nakazuje večjo bližino protoslovenskih in protoromunskih skupin, živečih v Panonski nižini.