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ON THE ORIGIN OF THE TOPOONYM *RAJGRÓD*

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1. Formal description of the toponym *Rajgród* (Pol.).

The stronghold of the Yotvingians is regarded as the beginnings (see SGKP IX: 495–496; Wiśniewski 1970: 462; LE XXIV: 439–440) of the city called *Rajgród*; “a town in the Grajewo County, Podlaskie Voivodeship”. It is also known as the “Castle Hill”.

Two main morphological types of the toponym are presented in numerous Polish, German and Ruthenian sources:

(a) a place-name in a shape of one stem, i. e. top. CS *Pau* 1253 found in the Chronicle of Galicia-Volhynia, cf. “[...] и градъ бывши на неи. Преже именемъ Раи [...]”¹. The toponym denotes the main stronghold of the Yotvingians, which is situated in the south of their land (for more details see SRP II: 525);

(b) the compounds are recorded in the documents of the 13th c. and in later written sources, cf. *Raygrod* 1244 (see CDCM 540), *Raygrod* 1358, 1485, *Reygrod* 1429 (see NMP X: 82) ↔ *Pauigorod* (see PSRL XVII: 238, 254, 368), *Pauigorodъ* (see PSRL XVII: 307), *Rayhrod* (see PSRL XVII: 433), *Rayhorod* (see PSRL XVII: 487)².

¹ See PSRL II: 566; also see Būga III: 147; Wiśniewski 1967: 22; Urbańczyk 1970: 462.

² For more details about the list of the forms of the toponym recorded in written sources, see NMP X: 82; also see footnote 7.

Different forms of the castle-town naming are presented in the documents of the Teutonic Order: Wigand of Marburg (Wigand von Marburg / Wigandus Marburgensis) mentioned the onym *Rongart* 1360 (see SRP II: 525; also see Kamiński 1953: 99; Jaskanis 2001: 75); the form *Rogard* 1360 recorded in the document № 87 (see CDP 113, 114); toponym *Rogarden* 1402 found in the Road Inventory (see SRP II: 692; also see Wiśniewski 1967: 41); the form *Rogors* 1422 mentioned in other written sources (see CDL 287; also see Wiśniewski 1967: 48, 1970: 462).

The area of the stronghold³ is linked with the lake district of the same designation, i. e. the “Castle Hill” in Rajgród is located upon the lake with a similar name: *Rajgrodzkie Lake*, which originated from the name of the town. All forms of the hydronym indicate the subclass of the composites, cf. *ad lacum Raygrad* 1420 (see CEV 495), *in lacum Vayhrod* 1422 – an incorrect form with initial V- instead of *R-ayhrod (see CEV 552; also see Wiśniewski 1967: 32, 1970: 462). The hydronym *Rogorth* 1529 recorded in the Peace Treaty between the Teutonic Order and Sigismund I the Old, the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania (see section 3), cf. “[...] ad lacum, qui dicitur, Rogorth [...]” (see PSHP 41; also see PTT 707).

2. Previous descriptions of the origin of the toponym *Rajgród* (Pol.)

Previous etymological descriptions of the toponym *Rajgród* and the hydronym *Rajgrodzkie Lake* are to be grouped into 3 main subtypes on the basis of – (α) the primary, or substrate, reconstructed root of the Baltic origin; (β) the lexical units of partial calques related to hybrids, i. e. the 1st component of the compound is interpreted as the primary form of the Baltic origin, while the 2nd component is ascribed to lexemes of the West Slavic origin; (γ) the primary root of the Slavic origin:

(α) Kazimieras Büga (I: 476) clearly stated that the top. CS *Pau* 1253 was of the Baltic origin. It is to be emphasized that the researcher interpreted the form of the hydronym as primary (see Büga II: 103, III: 148), i. e. the name of the lake Yotv. *Rōja-s (*Rāja-s) was also used to designate the stronghold in the long run. He explained the semantic value of Yotv. *Rōja-s (*Rāja-s) on the basis of the genetical correlation between the sub. Latv. *rāja* ‘slack water in a pool’ (see ME III: 495) and the sub. Kash. *raja* ‘a swamp’.

However, due to the newest results of the formal analysis of the Kash. *rēja*, the said comparison is not sufficient for the etymologization of the CS *Pau* 1253. It should be noted that the hypothesis of K. Büga is justified by **fallacious** explanation of the phonological status of the sub. Kash. *raja* ‘a swamp’, presented by Aleksander

³ The stronghold was set up on a prominent rising of a peninsula on the eastern bank of *Rajgrodzkie Lake* (see Kamiński 1953: 99; Wiśniewski 1970: 462; Jaskanis 2001: 77; also see LE XXIV: 439).

Berka (1891: 606). The Kash. *rēja* - ‘an ice-fishing gear; road pit; boggy meadow; a hollow, a ravine etc.’ (see SGK IV: 314–315) reflects the root vowel ē /ä/ < *i < *ī resp. sub. Kash. *rēja* < *rija < *ryja (see SEK IV: 190), but **not** a root with a long vowel ā, as K. Būga (II: 103) interpreted. It was obviously for that reason that the researcher presupposed the existence of the Balto-Slavic lexical word-formative isoglossic line, cf. the sub. Kash. *raja* ‘a swamp’ ↔ top. Latv. *villa Roye* 1387 resp. top. / the hydr. Latv. *Ruoja* (village / river – see Būga I: 476, 523, II: 103)⁴.

It should be noted that the Kash. *rēja* is **not** to be related to the above-mentioned Latvian toponyms and hydronym. The lexeme can be linked with v. Kash. *rēc*, *rēje* ‘to dig, to burrow’ (see SGK IV: 309) <PSl. *ryti ‘to dig’ (see SEK IV: 190–191). Due to these reasons, the sub. Latv. *rāja* ‘spoiled, dirty, stagnant pool water’ is **not** genetically related to the Kash. *rēja*, although K. Būga (I: 476, II: 103) stated the opposite. The assumption is based not only on the phonetic value of the Kash. *rēja*, but also on the possible Finno-Ugric **loanword** status of the sub. Latv. *rāja*⁵, cf. sub. Est. *raju*⁶ ‘mud; dirt; shabby thing’ (see Wiedemann 1869: 1018), sub. Fi. *rōja* ‘a swamp; stagnant water’ (see Kulonen 2000: 78). It is to be assumed that the top. / hydr. Latv. *Ruoja* is of the same origin, cf. sub. Fi. *ruoja* ‘a swamp; stagnant water; ooze; dirt; a loon, a miscreant’ (see Kulonenibd.; also see SEK IV: 191). Moreover, it should be noted that the top. Latv. *Ruōja* is of a presently obscure origin. The researchers of Latvian onomastics linked the toponym with the sub. Latv. *rūoja*² ‘copulation, rutting’ (see LVV IV: 495; also see ME III: 578). The etymological analysis of the said onym is done by the principle of logorrhoea, i.e. instead of the detailed structural word distribution, hardly justified description, based on the associative assumptions of comparison of homophones or homonyms (presupposed by the atomistic method), was presented.

In order to refute the hypothesis of K. Būga, one more argument can be used – all Old Prussian toponyms, presented by the researcher to indicate genetically related lexemes of the top. CS *Pau* 1253, reflect diphthong *oi*, but **not** *ai*, cf. top. OPr. *Rogys* 1299, *Royenn* 1411, *Roigen* 1469 (see Būga III: 148; also see Urbańczyk 1970: 462) ≠ top. CS *Pau* 1253. It should be noted that onomastic forms of the top. Pol. *Rajgród* with structural elements *-oy-* / *-oay-* (for more details see Mažiulis 1966: 49) are **not** recorded in written sources, cf. top. CS *P-au*, *R-ay-grod* 1244, *R-ay-grod* 1358 etc. (see section 1)⁷. These toponyms are of an obscure origin (See Gerullis 1922: 144; Vanagas 1981: 283; Przybytek 1993: 243; Blažienė 2000: 133).

4 The essentially fallacious comparison of these lexemes referred to in numerous linguistic works (see Rozwadowski 1948: 259; Urbańczyk 1970: 462; Schmid 1984: 9; Przybytek 1993: 243).

5 See Bednarczuk 1976: 51; Vanagas 1981: 283; SEK IV: 191.

6 To quote Jānis Endzelins (1951: 64), long ā in Latvian loans (cf. sub. Latv. *r-ā-ja*) presupposes the primary form of the same vowel quality and quantity.

7 Cf. historical forms (compounds) of top. Pol. *Rajgród*: *Raygrod* 1244, 1358, 1485, 1529, 1571, 1744; *Rajhrod* 1529; *Rairod* 1552, 1580; *z Rajgrodem* 1571; *capitaneatu... et Rajgrodensi* 1574; *Rajgród* 1576, 1579, 1591, 1877, 1888, 1973; *Rajgrod* 1577; *miasteczko Rajgrod* 1591; *Raygród* 1827 (see NMP X: 82).

Moreover, it should be noted that researchers did not establish the causes of the emergence of *-oy-* / *-o-* variation in the top. OPr. *Royge* 1297 ↔ *Rogie* (forest – see Gerullis 1922: 143). It is highly probable that (1) forms of the toponym OPr. *R-oyge* ↔ *R-o-gie* presuppose an alternation of structural elements **-ui-* ↔ **-u-*⁸, (2) the structural element **-ui-* is secondary because of the epenthesis of **-i-*. To quote Friedrich Scholz (1981: XXII), the same change of structural element **-u- → -ui-* is characteristic also of the surname Lith. *Ru-i-gýs*, and probably of the top. Lith. *Ruīgai* (village – see LATŽ 267), which is related to the said personal name (see LPŽe). Thus, the surname Lith. *Ruigýs* and the top. Lith. *Ruīgai* can be linked with the sub. Lith. *rugýs* ‘rye etc.’⁹ (see Scholz ibd.; also see LKŽe), while the top. OPr. *Rogys*, mentioned by K. Būga, with the sub. OPr. *ruggis* ‘rye etc.’ E 258 (for more details see PEŽ IV: 32–33), cf. top. OPr. *Rogelaucken* 1533 ← **Rug-lauk-* ← sub. OPr. *ruggis* (see Blažienė 2005: 166).

The toponym Yotv. (CS) *Pau* would be an isolated and unclear word with no equivalents of cognate East and West Baltic languages, if the said etymological analysis of the top. OPr. *Royge* ↔ *Rogie* is correct;

(β) the origin of the 1st component of the compounds *Ray-grod*, *Pau-zopod(z)*, *Ray-hrod* K. Būga (II: 103, III: 148) tended to justify by reconstruction of the Baltic proto-form, cf. hydr. Yotv. **Rājas* → **Rōjis* resp. Yotv. **Rōja-gardas* → Yotv. **Rō-gardas*. The 2nd component of Slavic origin: **-gardas* was attached by the same researcher to the group of linguistic calques, i. e. Yotv. **-pils*, cf. top. Yotv. **Rō(ja)pils*, and, to quote K. Būga, in the course of history it was changed to Yotv. **-gardas* (see Būga III: 148; also see Urbańczyk 1970: 462).

Given the typology of the indicated hypothesis of K. Būga, Kazimierz Rymut (1987: 202)¹⁰ stated that the 2nd component, i. e. the sub. Pol. *gród*, was added to top. Yotv. *Raj* (resp. CS *Pau*) over time.

Some Polish historians and researchers of onomastics ascribed the top. Pol. *Rajgród* to the onomasticon of the Balts (i. e. Yotvingians), with the assumptions of K. Būga’s hypothesis taken into account (see Wiśniewski 1967: 88, 1981: 245; Urbańczyk 1970: 462; Halicka 1978: 63–64; Rymut 1987: 202; Malec 2003: 20–21; also see Vanagas 1981a: 100). Jerzy Wiśniewski (1981: 245)¹¹ attached the said toponym to the group of Lithuanian onyms;

(γ) Alexander Brückner (SEBr 452) formulated the research methodology of the top. Pol. *Rajgród* based on the primary Slavic derivational model, i. e. the sub. Pol. *raj* ‘the Garden of Eden, the living place of Adam and Eve; an intermediate resting place

8 The peculiarities of the expression of grapheme OPr. *o* = /ū/ see Mažiulis 1966: 45.

9 Cf. top. Latv. *Rudzis* (see LVV IV: 369, 377) ← sub. Latv. *rudzis* ‘rye etc.’ (see ME III: 555).

10 Cf. “Z czasem do nazwy został dołączony polski człon *gród* ‘miasto, zamek’” (see Rymut ibd.), i.e. Over time, the Polish component *gród* ‘city, castle’ was added to the name.

11 Cf. “[...] grodu litewskiego Rajgród [...]” (see Wiśniewski ibd.), i.e. Lithuanian city Rajgród.

for righteous souls awaiting the Resurrection etc.¹² (see SW V: 467). To quote the author of the assumption, what was added to it was the sub. Pol. *gród* ‘castle; a large fortified building or group of buildings with thick walls, usually dominating the surrounding country; city court; city’ (see SW I: 916). The hypothesis was repeated by Elżbieta Borysiak (see NMP X: 82–83). In fact, an identical guess of the origin of the top. Pol. *Rajgród* was also presented by the German archaeologist Bruno Ehrlich (1921: 37). He originated the said onym from Slavic lexemes *raj*, *raje* ‘a grove’ and *grod* ‘an enclosure’.

Moreover, it should be noted that Stanisław Rospond (1984: 324), in compliance with K. Būga’s hypothesis (see above), ascribed both components of the compound to the inherited lexicon of the Slavs, i. e. he reconstructed the sub. PSl. **raj*, **raja* as ‘a swamp, a marsh, morass’.

On the basis of the above-mentioned explanation of the Slavic origin of the castle-town, some researchers established the borders of ethnicity of the territory in which the onym was used, i.e. the borderline of the Masuria land, cf.:

Innym argumentem co do etnicznej przynależności obszaru położonego wokół granicy z 1358 r. do Mazowsza jest to, że w tekście porozumienia wszystkie nazwy są czysto polskie (jeżeli pominiemy polską nazwę złożoną *Rajgród*, o niewyjaśnionej do końca etymologii członu pierwszego [...]]) (Kowalczyk-Heyman 2019: 223),

i. e. inherited onyms of the Polish origin (not mentioning the Polish compound *Rajgród* with the 1st component of obscure etymology [...]), recorded in the Treaty, are to be regarded as another argument on the basis of which the ethnic borders of the territory near the frontier of Masovia from 1358 are to be established.

From the linguistic point of view, this interpretation of ethnological motifs and of the origin of the toponym seems random as well, because such an assumption is based on questionable arguments. The conclusion can be drawn on the basis of:

- (1) the division into periods of the Polish language, i. e. the present-day (from the 19th c. till nowadays) sub. Pol. *raj* can not be interpreted as the substrate word of the top. Pol. *Rajgród* recorded in the written sources of different periods (starting from the 13th c.), cf. top. Pol. *Raygród* 1244. There are no doubts concerning the presence of the sub. OPol.¹³*raj* ‘the Garden of Eden, the living place of Adam and Eve; heaven – resting place for God and his angels, also for righteous

¹² It should be noted that the origin of the sub. (Old / Middle) Pol. *raj* is totally unclear. The etymological analysis of the lexeme, used by all Slavs, is usually based on the usage of an Iranian loanword, cf. sub. Av. *rāy-* ‘wealth; fortune’ (see SEBor509; SEMań166; Vasmer II: 486). Andrzej Bańkowski (SEBańIII: 13) indicated another possible protoform, i.e. the sub. Skt. *raya* ‘well, current; river’. To quote the author of the hypothesis, water was the greatest fortune of the nomads who herded cattle.

¹³ Old Polish is a form of the Polish language that was spoken from the 2nd half of the 12th c. until the late 15th c. (see Kregždys 2016: 27).

souls; a place of eternal joy' (see SStp VII: 430) in the said toponym. It should be noted that the sub. OPol. *raj* is recorded in written sources starting only from the 14th c. (see SEBor509);

- (2) the localization of the toponym, i. e. the territory of the Western Balts, or rather Yotvingians (for more details see Wiśniewski 1981: 242). It is highly probable that the etymology of the onym is to be explained by the ethnic subjection of the natives or the continuity of the cultural tradition of the actual administrators of the land of Yotvingians (e. g. the Teutonic Order [see section 3]);
- (3) erroneous formulation presented by E. Borysiak (see NMP ibd.) that K. Büga (1913: 30) originated the said toponym from the Yotv. *Roj(a)gardas of the **same semantic value**. E. Borysiak (see NMP ibd.) cited the article published in *Rocznik Slawistyczny* 6. It is to be emphasized that the meaning of the Yotv. *Rōj(a)-gardas has generally been avoided in this paper (also see Büga I: 523).

3. Etymological analysis of the *Rajgród* toponym (Pol.)

In the etymological analysis of the top. Pol. *Rajgród*, attention is to be paid to the characteristics of the territory where the castle-town is situated. The Marshes of Yotva (resp. Pol. *Błota Jaćwieskie*) around the stronghold made a natural **barrier** that protected the land of Yotvingians from enemies (see Jaskanis 2001: 75–76).

The Teutonic Order had much influence in the said region, as the stronghold was set up on the **frontier** of Prussia (see Wiśniewski 1967: 37–39). The land formally belonged to Yotvingians up to 1283 when they were conquered by the crusaders (see Łowmiański 1989: 52, 56; also see Kregždys 2020: 92).

It is to be emphasized that there is no agreement among researchers on the problem of the ownership of the South Yotvingian territory in the 13th–15th centuries. Some historians stated that the said territory belonged to the Duchy of Masovia from 1283 to 1295 (see Wiśniewski 1967: 40). Others say the opposite, rejecting the possibility of the presence of the Masovians in the said territory (see Kowalczyk-Heyman 2006: 7)¹⁴. Józef Śliwiński made an assumption about the hegemony of the Teutonic Order. Rajgród and its surroundings, to quote the researcher (see Śliwiński 2006: 364, 367–368, 377, 2007: 539–540), were under the direct rule of the Teutonic Order since 1283¹⁵. The territory was not attached to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania earlier

¹⁴ To quote Jerzy Strzelczyk (2006: 286), Masurian riders resided in the stronghold *Raygrod* in 1244 y. (see CDCM 540). That information was ascribed by Polish historians to made up factography, as the castle-town was ruined at that date (see Wiśniewski 1970: 462; Białyński 1999: 100; Kowalczyk-Heymanibd.; Śliwiński 2006: 366).

¹⁵ Cf. “[...] wchodził faktycznie i formalnie (*de iure*) od dawna w skład państwa krzyżackiego [...]”, i.e. it was of old with *de facto* and *de jure* a part of the State of the Teutonic Order (see Śliwiński 2006: 364).

than in 1422¹⁶. The author of the hypothesis also states that Rajgród and its surroundings never really belonged to the Duchy of Masovia (see Śliwiński 2007: 539).

Thus, no doubts arise about the influence of the Germanic culture that could greatly affect the customs and lifestyle of native Yotvingians. Therefore, the origin of the onym can be linked not only with the protoforms of Balts and Slavs, but also with the **West Germanic** substrate form.

To quote J. Wiśniewski (1967: 35, 95, 1970: 462), the stronghold *Ray* was one of the main **borders** in the South Yotvingian area¹⁷ and it was used to stop invasions of Ruthenians and Masovians (also see Jabłonowski 1909: 183–184). The distance from the castle-town to the **border** of the State of the Teutonic Order was roughly 5 kilometres (see Ehrlich 1921: 31). In the 1358 the borderline agreement was made between Mazovia and Lithuania¹⁸, according to which the **border** reached Rajgród and even further: “[...] directe ad Raygrod et a Raygrod directe eundo per fluvium Metha [...]”¹⁹.

The said geographical reference (i. e. designation of the **border**) was also presented in the 1529 peace treaty between Sigismund I the Old, the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, and Albert of Prussia (*Albrecht von Preussen*), Duke of Prussia: “Item a finem **limitum** Ducum Masouiae [...] ad lacum, qui dicitur, Rogorth [...]” (see PSHP 41; also see PTT 707).

Aleksander Jabłonowski (1909: 4) named Rajgród as Prussian or Sudovian frontier, cf. “[...] u Rajgrodu, **granicy pruskiej**”, i.e. near Rajgród, the Prussian **frontier** (also see Jabłonowski 1909: 16), “[...] **granicy pruskiej** (sudawskiej) [...]”, i. e. near the Prussian (Sudovian) **frontier** (see Jabłonowski 1909: 171; also see SRP II: 525). J. Wiśniewski (1981: 247) called it the centre point of frontier defence, cf. “[...] graniczny punkt obronny”.

According to B. Ehrlich (1921: 32), the stronghold of the city of Rajgród was called **frontier** by natives, cf. “Der Burgberg von Rajgrod heißt im Volksmunde zamezysko²⁰[...].”

On the basis of the presented arguments and Germanic forms of Rajgród, i.e. *Rongart* 1360, *Rogard* 1360, *Rogarden* 1402 (see section 1), one can draw a cautious conclusion that the 1st component of the onyms presupposes sub. MLG *renne-*, **ronne**,

¹⁶ This hypothesis was criticized by Elżbieta Kowalczyk (2007). J. Śliwiński (2007), after diligent and firmminded research, has forcefully rejected and refuted the hostile criticism.

¹⁷ Cf. “[...] na **granicy południowej** [...]” (Wiśniewski ibd.), i.e. Along the southern **boundary**.

¹⁸ E. Kowalczyk-Heyman (2019: 217–218) states that there are no direct references about a frontier place, mentioned in the borderline agreement, i.e. it is not totally clear whether it was near the stronghold or the lake of the same designation, as the castle was deserted after 1283. It has been stated that the said castle-town was ruined at that date (see footnote 14).

¹⁹ See Jabłonowski 1909: 5; Kowalczyk-Heyman 2006: 7; Ličkevič 2013: 28, 46; Kowalczyk-Heyman 2019: 213, 215–216.

²⁰ Cf. v. OPol. / MPol. *zamierzyć* ‘to set a border etc.’ (see SStp XI: 124–125; SL VI: 700).

runnebōm ‘border pole resp. frontier, landmark’²¹ ↔ sub. MLG *reen*, *reyn* ‘ditto’ (see SchL III: 460–461). It is to be assumed that the origin of the top. *Rongart* 1360 can be linked with sub. MLG *ronne(bōm)* ‘border pole resp. frontier, landmark’, which reflects a **clipping**, cf. hypocoristic personal name MoHG(EPr.) Schmidt *Rahn* = *Rahnkalwen* F. Insterburg (see Hoppe 1878: 584)²².

On the comparison of the top. *Rogard* 1360, *Rogarden* 1402, *Rogors* 1422, the hydr. *Rogorth* 1529 and the top. *Ro-n-gart* 1360, the apocope of the structural element *-n-* is reflected (see footnote 25), i. e. the protoform **Rongarde* may be reconstructed.

It is highly believable that the top. CS *Pau* 1253 also reflects a defective form of the West Germanic origin, i. e. the top. **Rai*/ **Rei* (/ **Rey*) (due to the apocope of *-n*²³) ← top. **Rain*/ **Rein* (/ **Reyn*) ‘frontier ↔ frontier terrain’²⁴ ← sub. MLG *reyn*²⁵ / MH *Grein*, *rain* ‘frontier, landmark’ (see MLEX II: 388) / ENHG *rein*, *rain* ‘ditto’ (see Götze 1920: 175; DW: 811; FHNDWe) / MoHG *Rain* ‘ditto’ (see DWG VIII: 72–73; also see Kluge 2011: 743)²⁶.

The 2nd component of the compound *-gart* (↔ *-garden*) is to be related to the sub. OS *gard* ‘a garden; a house; (dwelling) place; residence; world’ (see Tiefenbach 2010: 117; also see Korsmeier 2011: 286, 451) ↔ MLG *garde* ‘a garden; a yard’²⁷ (see

21 Cf. top. MLG *Rone* 1399, MoLG *Ronne* 1721 (see Meineke 2013: 174–175). Also cf. sub. MHG *reinboum* ‘border pole’ (see MLEX II: 389), sub. MoHG *Rainbaum* ‘border pole, landmark’ (see DWG VIII: 73) ↔ sub. ENHG *lachbaum* ‘a tree with cut mark’ = sub. MoHG *Grenzbaum* ‘landmark tree’ (see Götze 1920: 145).

22 Cf. sub. MoHG dial. (EPr.) *Rahn*, *Rohn*, *Rahne* ‘a log’ (see Fr II: 210).

23 That kind of change is typical of the dialect of East Prussia Highlanders, cf. sub. MoHG dial. (EPr.) *ſtufxə* ‘steps’ ↔ sub. MoHG *Stufchen* ‘ditto’; v. MoHG dial. (EPr.) *tūa* ‘to do’ ↔ v. MoHG *tun* ‘ditto’, v. MoHG dial. (EPr.) *gēa* ‘to go, to walk’ ↔ v. MoHG *gehn* ‘ditto’ (see Ziesemer 1924: 124; also see Mitzka 1937: 61). Such a trend of the absence of the ending *-n* also found in the dialect of East Prussia Lowlanders, cf. sub. MoHG dial. (EPr.) *frūkə* ‘the little woman’ ↔ sub. MoHG *Frauchen* ‘ditto’ (see Ziesemer 1924: 127; also see Mitzka 1937: 41, 53–54, 74). Also cf. an example of the sporadic apocope – v. ENHG *sein* ‘to be’ ↔ *sei* ‘ditto’ (see FrG 210).

24 Cf. top. MLG †*Reyne* 1292, 1293, 1489 ← sub. MLG *reyn* ‘boundary, landmark, frontier’ (for more details see Flöer, Korsmeier 2009: 375). Also cf. West Germanic toponyms of close semantic value, including onomastic equivalents of East Prussia territory: top. MoHG *Grenz*, *Grenzaker*, *Grenz-bruch*, *Grenzdorf*, *Grenzhaus*, *Grenzhofetc.* (see NTSGW II: 77–78).

25 Cf. top. Pol. *Reygrod* 1429 (see NMP X: 82). It should be noted that such cases of the sporadic apocope of the ending *-n* of the 1st component of compounds are also found in German onomastic forms, cf. p. n. OHG *Rainmar*, MHG *Reinmar* 1263 ↔ *Reimar*, MoHG *Reimer* (see Pott 1859: 252; Socin 1903: 31; DO 517; DLV 208–209), MHG *Reinbolt* 1282 ↔ *Reibolt* 1284 (see Socinibd.), MLG *Reinmer* ↔ *Reimer* (see Flöer, Korsmeier 2009: 372); top. OS *in Reinlage* 1140, MLG *in villa Rein-linghe* 1255 ↔ MLG *toRellinge* 1314 (see DO 518).

26 There is a possibility to interpret the 1st component of top. OPr. *Raynkaym* 1363 (see Gerullis 1922: 138) as a Germanism with the sememe ‘landmark → a village near territorial boundary’, although, up to the present time, it is ascribed to the group of inherited lexemes and related to p. n. OPr. *Raynicke*, Lith. *Rainys*, *Rainikis* (see Gerullisibd.; Trautmann 1974: 81; LPŽe).

27 Also cf. sub. MoLG *Garten* ‘strip of land (i.e. a line), which separates garden and yard’ (see Korsmeier 2011: 451).

SchL II: 12) ↔ MHG *gart(e)* ‘ditto’ (see MLex I: 740) ↔ ENHG *garte* ‘a garden; a yard; a place’ (see DWG IV: 1396). The old lexeme was used to form East and West Germanic onyms (see Hartig 1967: 160), cf. (p. n. / top. ?) Go. *Ousígardos*, top. Go. *Engarde* (see Schramm 2013: 74, 98, 194), top. MLG *in Damgarden* 1359, *Rosengarden* 1456 (see DO 524, 533), top. MoHG *Neugarten* (see NTSGW III: 272; also see Bonk 1895: 68).

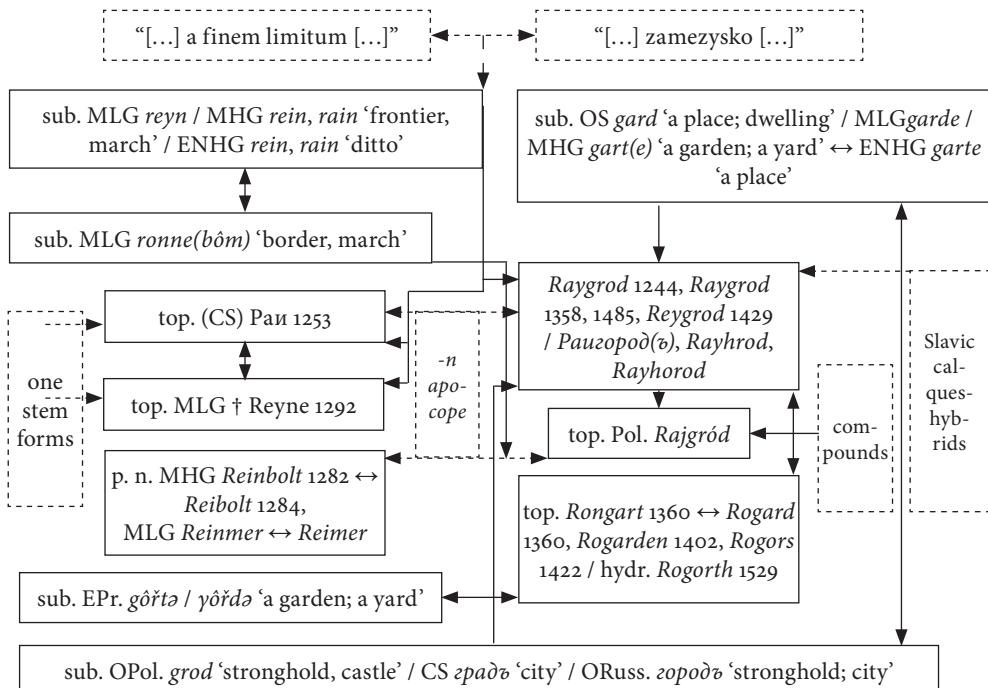
The 2nd components *-gars*, *-gorth* of the top. *Rogors* 1422 and the hydr. *Rogorth* 1529 (see section 1) reflect dialectal forms, used in the East Prussia, cf. the change of the short ā to longō, found in the area of German Highlanders, cf. sub. MoHG dial. (EPr.) *góṛta/γóṛdə* ‘a garden; a yard’ ↔ sub. MoHG *Garten* ‘ditto’ (see Ziesemer 1924: 124, 126)²⁸. The ending *-t* of top. *Rongart* 1360 can be interpreted as a secondary voiceless variant of *-d* (cf. sub. MLG *garde*), cf. sub. MoHG dial. (EPr.) *baijt* ‘a band’ ↔ sub. MoHG *Band* ‘ditto’ (see Ziesemer 1924: 122).

Moreover, it should be noted that the 2nd component of the analysed toponyms *Ray-grod* 1244, 1358, 1485, *Rey-grod* 1429 / *Pau-gopod(ž)* etc. presupposes calques-hybrids of Slavic origin, predetermined by the reference of West Germanic and Slavic lexical equivalents, i.e. sub. OS *gard* / MLG *garde* / MHG *gart(e)* / ENHG *garte* ↔ sub. OPol. *grod* ‘stronghold, castle; duty of the peasants to build and renovate strongholds’ (see SStp VII: 503–504) ↔ CS *zpaðv* ‘a city’ (see Gil’tebrandt 1993: 102) ↔ ORu. *gopodž* ‘a wall of stronghold; stronghold; city’ (see SRJ IV: 90–91).

To summarize the outcomes of the research into the top. (CS) *Pau* 1253 ↔ *Ray-grod* 1244 etc. ↔ *Rongart* 1360, *Rogard* 1360, *Rogarden* 1402, *Rogors* 1422 /hydr. *Rogorth* 1529, two main morphological models of the West Germanic protoform are to be reconstructed (see Scheme):

- (I) a place-name in a shape of one stem – top. **Rain*/ **Rein* (/ **Reyn*) ‘frontier’ → *Pau* 1253;
- (IIα) compounds – top. **Reingarden* / **Reingart(h)* ‘frontier place’ → (partial calques) *Raygrod* 1244, 1358, 1485, *Reygrød* 1429 / *Pauzopod(ž)*;
- (IIβ) compounds (with the alternation of the 1st component sub. MLG *reyn* / MHG *rain*, *rain* ‘ditto’ ↔ sub. MLG *ronne[bóm]*) – top. *Rongart* 1360, *Rogarden* 1402.

²⁸ Also cf. sub. MoHG dial. (EPr.) *mōn* ‘a man’ ↔ MoHG *Mann* ‘ditto’, sub. MoHG dial. (EPr.) *štōl* ‘stable’ ↔ MoHG *Stall* ‘ditto’ (see Mitzka 1937: 63).

Scheme 1. Etymological analysis of the top. Pol. *Rajgród*

4. The origin of the top. / p. n. Lith. *Raigardas*

Researches ascribed the p. n. Lith. *Raigardas* to innovative (i.e. late) onyms of the 20th c., not recorded in written sources, although J. Wiśniewski (1981: 245) stated that the top. Pol. *Rajgród* was of Lithuanian origin (see section 2). The personal name is attached to the top. Lith. *Raigardas*: 'a valley in Druskininkai' (see Kuzavinis, Savukynas 1994: 307; also see LE XXIV: 439).

Marcin Ciepliński, Polish writer and poet of the 19th c., was the first who presented the story about the valley and the lost city *Rajgród* near Druskininkai. The text was published in periodical *Ondyna Druskienickich Źródeł: pismo zbiorowe dla zdrowych i chorych w czasie czteromiesięcznego u wóz mineralnych pobytu* (vol. 6; from 15pg. [see SGKP IX: 496]) in 1845 y. Later, the same story was retold by a representative of Romanticism, Teodor Narbutt (1856: 224–225).

In fact, no doubts arise about the name of the valley Lith. *Raigardas* being a borrowing. It is highly probable that representatives of Romanticism used the top. Pol. *Rajgród* 'a town in Grajewo County established by Sudovians' to name the valley near Druskininkai in honour of Yotvingians, the extinct West Baltic tribe.

5. Conclusions

1. In accordance with the historical data and the statements of the citizens of *Rajgród* (Podlaskie Voivodeship), the stronghold of the city denotes a geographical term *a frontierplace*.
2. The top. CS *Pau* 1253 presupposes a defective protoform (with the apocope of the final *-n*) of the West Germanic origin, i.e. the top. **Rain* / **Rein* (/ **Reyn*) ‘a frontier’ (↔ top. MLG †*Reyne* 1292, 1293, 1489) which can be linked with the sub. MLG *reyn* / MHG *rein, rain* ‘a frontier’ / ENHG *rein, rain* ‘ditto’.
3. The compounds (i.e. translation-loans / hybrids) *Raygrod* 1244, *Reygrød* 1429 / *Pauzopod(z)* imply the reconstruction of the protoform of the West Germanic origin, i.e. top. **Reingarden* / **Reingart(h)* ‘a frontier area’. The 2nd component of the composite word is to be related to the sub. OS *gard* ‘a place; a dwelling etc.’, MLG *garde* ‘a garden’, MHG *gart(e)* ‘ditto’, ENHG *garte* ‘a place; a garden’.
4. The 1st component of the compounds top. *Rogard* 1360, *Rogarden* 1402, *Rongart* 1360, *Rogors* 1422 / hydr. *Rogorth* 1529 presupposed by the sub. MLG *ronne(bōm)* ‘a border pole, i. e. a frontier, a march’.
5. The top. Lith. *Raigardas* presents a secondary variant of the top. Pol. *Rajgród*.

Abbreviations

CS – Church Slavic, ENHG – Early New High German, EPr. – East Prussian (a combination of Early High New German and Middle Low German), Est. – Estonian, Fi. – Finnish, Go. – Gothic, Kash. – Kashubian, Latv. – Latvian, Lith. – Lithuanian, MHG – Middle High German, MLG – Middle Low German, MoHG – Modern High German, MoLG – Modern Low German, MPol. – Middle Polish, OPol. – Old Polish, OPr. – Old Prussian, ORu. – Old Russian, OS – Old Saxon, Pol. – Polish, PSl. – Proto-Slavic, Ukr. – Ukrainian, Yotv. – Yotvingian

Abbreviations of Grammatical Terms, etc.

dial. – dialectal form, hydr. – hydronym, p. n. – personal name, sub. – substantive, top. – toponym, v. – verb

Written sources

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- CDP: J. Voigt (ed.), *Codex Diplomaticus Prussicus. Urkunden-Sammlung zur ältern Geschichte Preußens aus dem königl. Geheimen Archiv zu Königsberg, nebst Regesten*, Dritter Band, Königsberg 1848.
- CEV: A. Prochaska (ed.), *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi Magni Ducis Lithuaniae 1376–1430*, Cracoviae 1882.
- PSHP: *Privilegia der Stände deß Herzogthums Preussen / darauff das Landt fundiert...*, Brvnsberg 1616.
- PSRL II: *Polnoe sobranie russkih letopisej*, vol. II: *Ipat'evskaa letopis'*, izdanie vtoroe, Sankt-Peterburg 1908.
- PSRL XVII: *Polnoe sobranie russkih letopisej*, vol. XVII: *Zapadno-russkie letopisi*, Sankt-Peterburg 1907.
- PTT: *Preußischer Todes-Tempel, worin verstorbenen Personen allerhand Standes von den außerlesenften Sachen...* Erste Unterredung zwischen Herman von Salza und Johann Jacob Rohde, Leipzig 1740.
- SRP: Th. Hirsch, M. Töppen, E. Strehlke, W. Hubatsch, U. Arnold, E. Maschke (eds.), *Scrip-tores rerum Prussicarum: Die Geschichtsquellen der Preussischen Vorzeit bis zum Unter-gange der Ordensherrschaft*, vol. I–VI, Leipzig – Frankfurt am Main 1861–1968.

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On the Origin of the Toponym Rajgród

Abstract

The article focuses on the etymological analysis of the place-name Pol. *Rajgród* ‘a town in Grajewo County, Podlaskie Voivodeship’. It has been stated that the stronghold known as the “Castle Hill” in *Rajgród* was founded by Yotvingians. Referring to the etymological analysis of the West Germanic forms of the analysed onym and its variants, such as *Rongart* 1360 etc., the author of the article presents a new hypothesis concerning the origin of Pol. *Rajgród*. In summing up the research results, one may conclude that the toponym Pol. *Rajgród* is to be ascribed to adapted place-names of Germanic origin, i. e. (1) CS *Pau1253* ← top. *Rain / *Rein (/ *Reyn) ‘a frontier’ ↔ top. MLG †*Reyne* 1292, 1293, 1489; (2) *Raygrod* 1244, *Reygrod* 1429 etc. (↔ *Rajgród*) ← **Reingarden* / **Reingart(h)* ‘a frontier area’; (3) *Rongart* 1360, *Rogors* 1422 etc. ← sub. MLG *ronne(bōm)* ‘a border pole, i.e. a frontier, a march’.

O pochodzeniu toponimu *Rajgród***Abstrakt**

Artykuł skupia się na analizie etymologicznej nazwy miejscowości *Rajgród* [miasto w powiecie grajewskim, województwo podlaskie]. Stwierdzono, że gród znany w Rajgrodzie jako *Góra Zamkowa* został założony przez Jaćwingów. Odwołując się do analizy etymologicznej niemieckich form *Rongart* 1360 itp., autor artykułu przedstawia nową hipotezę dotyczącą pochodzenia Rajgrodu. Podsumowując wyniki badań, stwierdza, że toponim *Rajgród* przypisać należy adoptowanym nazwom miejscowości germanńskiego pochodzenia: (1) cs. *Pau* 1253 ← top. **Rain* / **Rein* (/ **Reyn*) ‘pogranicze’ ↔ top. śródniem. †*Reyne* 1292, 1293, 1489; (2) *Raygrod* 1244, *Reygrod* 1429 etc. (↔ *Rajgród*) ← **Reingarden* / **Reingart(h)* ‘miejscie pod granicą’; (3) *Rongart* 1360, *Rogors* 1422 etc. ← śródniem. *ronne(bôm)* ‘znak pogranicza ↔ pogranicze’.