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RECENZE – РЕЦЕНЗИИ – REVIEWS – BESPRECHUNGEN

Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak: *Indoeuropejskie nazwy zbóż*. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2003, 159 s. ISBN 83-7171-712-1

The book under review has its origin in the author's dissertation finished in 1995. Naturally, the actual form of the book corresponds with the present state-of-art of Indo-European comparative linguistics. In the **Introduction** (pp. 9–12) the author explains his purposes and methods and describes his sources. In the **Chapter I** (pp. 13–24) the beginning of agriculture is characterized, including the spreading of the neolithic revolution from the Near East through Asia Minor in Europe. All these events are evaluated from the Nostratic perspective. In the **Chapter II** (pp. 25–38) the author discusses the agriculture of Indo-Europeans from the point of view of archeology, their agricultural terminology in the light of the linguistic paleontology, the questions of the Indo-European homeland. The chapters III–IX are devoted to designations for both general terms and concrete kinds of cereals: III: **Frumentum** (pp. 39–50), IV: **Hordeum** (pp. 51–63), V: **Avena** (pp. 64–73), VI: **Panicum** (pp. 74–90), VII: **Triticum** (pp. 91–107), VIII: **Secale** (pp. 108–115), IX: **Semen ~ Granum** (116–120). The lexical data collected in the chapters III–IX are analyzed from the point of view of chronology in the **Chapter X** (pp. 121–124) and of semantics in the **Chapter XI** (pp. 125–136). The English Summary (pp. 139–142) follows. In the end of the book there are the abbreviations (pp. 143–146) and a very rich bibliography (147–158) with more than 350 titles; the most recent of them are from 2000.

Let us mention the most important lexical data collected by Witczak to reconstruct the Indo-European cereal terminology in its maximal completeness. The protoforms reconstructed by the author are arranged in the alphabetical order (the initial laryngeals immediately follow the \*a-). Some additional or critical remarks are from the reviewer.

\**albʰi* “barley” (pp. 58–59) > Iranian \**arbusā* > Khotanese *rrusā*, Wakhi *arbāsi* “Hordeum”, Pashto *ōrbūše* “barley” | Greek ἄλφι, pl. ἄλφιτα “barley flour” | Albanian *elp*, -*bi* “barley”. The term is usually derived from \**albʰos* “white”. The quotation of Poppe's (1960, 87) reconstruction of Altaic \**arfa* “barley” is probably from a second hand source, correctly it should be \**arpa*, while the form *arfa* is from Manchu. It is not evident, why the protoform \**albʰi* was reconstructed without any initial laryngeal, in contrary to other forms with the initial \*a- < \**H<sub>2</sub>ǵ-*.

\**H<sub>2</sub>ǵad-* “grain” (pp. 117–18) > Avestan *ādū-* “grain”, Sogdian \**d'wk* [*āduk*] “corn, grain, cereals” | Armenian *hat* “grain” | Lycian *xδδahe* “hay, fodder” | Gothic *atisk* “grainfield” | Tocharian A *āti*, B *ātiyai* “grass”.

\**H<sub>2</sub>ǵadHor* “Triticum dicoccum” (pp. 101–102) > Hittite *hattar* “a kind of wheat” | Armenian *hačar* “Spelt” | Latin *ador*, -*oris* “wheat Triticum dicoccum”. The author accepts Szemerényi's etymology postulating the root \**H<sub>2</sub>ǵad-* “grain”. The Balto-Fennic (not Uralic!) designation for “barley” cannot be reconstructed \**ōtra*, regarding *h* in Finnish *ohra*, *z* in Veps *ozr* and even -*st-* in Karelian *ostrā*, besides *ośra*, *oźra*, *ozra* in various dialects. Just the protoform \**ostra* (or \**ośtra* or \**oźtra*) seems to be primary, cf. Finnish *ihra* ~ *itra*, Veps *izr*, Karelian *isra* “Speck, Schmalz, Fett” < Old Norse n. *istr* “die Eingeweide umgebende Fettschicht”, f. *istra* id. (Kylstra et al. 1991, 135) or Finnish *kehrä* ~ *keträ* “Rolle, Scheibe; Rad, Spindelwirbel”, Karelian *kes(t)rä*, *keźrā*, Veps *keźr*, Estonian *keđr* “Scheibe, Spindel”; Lappic Lule *kiersē* ~ *kārsē* “Spinnwirtel”; Mordvinian Mokša *kšriä* “Spindel”, Mari KB *šəðər* id. < Fenno-Volgaic \**keštrā* < Indo-Aryan, cf. OI *cāttra-* n. “Spindel” (UEW 656).

\**H<sub>2</sub>ǵaliks* ~ \**H<sub>2</sub>ǵalkis* “a kind of wheat” (pp. 102–03) > Hittite *halkis* “corn, grain, barley”; add Lycian *Qelehi* “(god of) grain” (G. Neumann, followed by Melchert 1993, 60) | Greek ἄλιξ,

gen. ἄλικος “Speltgrauen” | Latin *alica* “Speltgrauen, Speltnus, Sommerdinkel”, if it is not borrowed from the Greek accusative ἄλικα. There is an internal etymology based on the verb *\*Hal-* “to nourish”, while external comparison (Dolgopolsky 1998, 27) offers the cognates in Arabic *ḡallat-* “cereals” and Georgian *ḡalva* “zu mählende (not mähende) reifes Korn”, reflecting Nostratic *\*galV* (with uvular *g*, not *\*galV*).

*\*H<sub>2</sub>árg<sup>m</sup>ǰ* : *\*H<sub>2</sub>órg<sup>m</sup>eno-* “a kind of millet” (pp. 82–83) > Nuristani *\*arjana-* > Aškun *ažü*, Kati *awī* “millet” | Dardic: Dameli *ārin*, Pašai *ařin*, Kalaša *ařin* etc. “millet” | Iranian *\*arzana-* > Persian *arzan*, Ormuri *ažan*, Yidgha *yürzun*, Wakhi *yīrzn*, Khotanese *eysä*, *āysam* “millet, Panicum miliaceum” | Greek ὀρφίνη · καλάμη μελίνης (Hesych.) | Old Irish *arbor*, *arbar* m., n., gen. sg. *arbe* & *arbann*, nom. pl. *arbuir* & *orbaind* “corn”.

*\*H<sub>2</sub>(a)wiǵ-i-/s<sup>o</sup>* “oats” (pp. 66–68) > Iranian *\*avi[z]-sa-* > Khotanese *haju* “oats”, Yazgulam *wis* “Avena” | Greek αἰγίλος, αἰγίλωψ “wild oats / Aegilops ovata”; cf. the compound αἰγίπυρος “a corn-like plant” | Latin *avēna* “oats *Avena sativa*” | Lithuanian *avižà* “grain of oats”, pl. *āvižos* “oats”, Latvian *āuza*, pl. *āuzas* “oats”; Old Prussian *wyse*, *wisge* “oats” | Slavic *\*ovъsъ* “oats” > Russian *ovēs* id. etc. According to Starostin (1988, 121) it is a substratal term borrowed from a source related to North Caucasian *\*HVbVgV* > Avar *ogób*, gen. *abg-il* “rye”, Axwax *hagib* id.; Ubykh *bagəna* “oats”

*\*b<sup>h</sup>árs-* “barley” (pp. 57–58) > Ossetic Digor *bor* (*xwar*) “millet”; ?Yazgulam *vraχt* “flour” < *\*br̥sta-* | ?Greek (Hesych.) φῆρος “food of ancient gods” < *\*b<sup>h</sup>arsos* | Albanian *bar* “gras” < *\*b<sup>h</sup>arso-* | Latin *far*, *farris* “Dinkel, Spelt”, Oscan & Umbrian *far*, Umbrian adj. *farsio* “farrea” | Irish *barr* “harvest” | Old Norse *barr* “Korn, Gerste”, Old English *bere* “barley”; cf. the derivatives *\*b<sup>h</sup>ars(e)ino-* > Latin *farīna* “flour” | Gothic *barizeins* “of barley”, Old English *beren* id. | Slavic *\*borъsno* > Old Church Slavonic *brašъno* “food”, Russian *bórošno* “flour of rye”; and *\*b<sup>h</sup>arsagen-* > Old Irish *bairen* “bread”, Welsh, Cornish, Breton *bara* id. | Latin *farrāgō*, *-inis* “Mengfutter”. The author quotes Semitic *\*burr-/barr-* “grain, wheat” as cognate, in contrary to Illič-Svityč (1964, 4–5) or Gamkrelidze & Ivanov (1984, 872, 943) who saw in the Semitic term a source of the Indo-European forms.

*\*b<sup>h</sup>rsdaH<sub>2</sub>*, “Triticum monococcum” (pp. 97–98) > Albanian *bardhë* “wheat” | Thracian βρίζα “a kind of corn, perhaps wheat or rye” | Germanic *\*bursta-* > Old High German *borse*, Middle high German *porst* “Myrica gale”, German *Sumpfporst* “Ledum palustre” | Lithuanian *birždis*, *birždis*, *brizdis* “heather, Calluna vulgaris”. The termination in *\*-sd-* is common with *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>ersd-* “barley”.

*\*dǵwHaH<sub>2</sub>*, “a kind of millet” (pp. 83–84) > OI *dūrvā-* “sp. millet, Panicum dactylon” | Gallo-Latin *dravoca* “Personacia, lappa”, Welsh *drewg*, Breton *draoch*, *dreak* “Lolium termentulum” > French *droue* id. | Middle Dutch *tar(e)we*, Dutch *tarwe* “wheat”, Middle English *tāre* “Lolch, Wicke”, English *tare* id. < *\*dorəwā* | Lithuanian *dirvā* “Saatfeld, Getreidefeld”, Latvian *dirva*, *druva* “der bestellte Acker, Saatfeld” | Russian *derevki* “place in a forest cleared for agriculture”, *dérevnja* “Dorf”, *pášet derévnju* “bestellt das Feld”. Traditionally Thessalian δάρατος, Delphian δαράτα, Macedonian δράμις “bread” have been added too. Witzczak also speculates about a connection with some Semitic forms as Ugaritic *drt* pl. “millet” and Arabic *ǧurrat* “grobe Hirse, Maise”. But IE *\*d* does not correspond with Semitic *\*d* in a frame of the Nostratic hypothesis. This relation can be interpreted only as a Semitic borrowing in Indo-European.

*\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>oHnáH<sub>2</sub>*, f. “corn” (pp. 39–41) > OI *dhānáh* “corn, grain” | Khovar *dān* “parched grain” | Avestan *dānō-karš(a)-* “körnerschleppend”, Khotanese *dāna-* “grain, corn”, Sogdian *δ’n* “Getreidekorn” | ?Hittite <sup>NINDA</sup> *dannas* “eine Speise”, Luwian *tannas* | Lithuanian *duona* “bread”, Latvian *duōna* “crust or slice of bread” || Semitic *\*duh<sup>n</sup>-u* “Sorghum vulgare” || Dravidian *\*tiŋ-ay* “Italian millet” < Nostratic *\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>EqnV*.

*\*gand-* ~ *\*skand-* “a kind of wheat” (pp. 96–97) > OI *gōdhūma-* “wheat” | Iranian *\*gantuma-* id. > Avestan *gantuma-*, Sogdian *gantum* vs. *\*gandūma-* > Khotanese *ganam*, Pašto *yanəm*, Munjan *yanām* | ?Hittite *kant-* “wheat”? (if it does is derived from IE *\*kpl-* “rye”) | Latin *scandala* & *scandula* “Spelt, Triticum spelta”. Witzczak’s comparison with Semitic *\*hint-(at-)* “wheat” is excluded, because according to the Nostratic hypothesis, Semitic *\*h* does not correspond with any Indo-European velar in the initial position.

*\*ǵ<sup>h</sup>h<sup>n</sup>om* “grain” > corn” (pp. 44; 116–17) > Pashto *zəray* “grain” | ?Albanian Gheg *grinë*

"wheat, corn"| Latin *grānum* "grain"| Old Irish *grán* "grain", Welsh *grawn* | Gothic *kaurn*, Old English *corn*, Old High German, Old Norse *korn* "grain" | Lithuanian *žirnis*, Latvian *ziņnis* "pea", Old Prussian *syrne* "kernel of fruit" | Old Church Slavonic *zrěno*, Russian *zernó* etc. The traditional etymology derives it from the verb \**ǵerH₂-* "aufreiben, alt machen" (LIV 165–66).

\**ǵrudom* "grain" (p. 119) > ?Albanian Gheg *grúnë* "grain, wheat" < \**grūdino-* (but cf. the preceding entry) | Old English *grūt* "grout", Old High German *gruzzi* "Grütze" < \**grutjō* | Lithuanian *grūdas* "grain" (the length after Winter's law?), Latvian *gruds* id. Derived from the verb \**ǵrud-* "to beat" > Lithuanian *grūsti* : *grūdyti*.

\**ǵársā<sup>(h)</sup>* : \**ǵrīdā<sup>h</sup>* "barley" (pp. 55–57) > ?Middle Persian *furtāk & zurtāk* "corn", Persian *zurt & zurd* "a kind of millet", dial. *jurdā* "corn" | Greek κρι n., gen. κριθος "barley", f. κριθή id. = Mycenaean *ki-ri-ta* | Albanian *drith* m. & *drithë* n. "corn" | Latin *hordeum* "barley" | Germanic \**gerstō* > Old High German *gersta* "barley", Dutch *gierst* "millet"; while Old English *gorst* "Brombeerstrauch, Stechginster" reflects Germanic \**gursta-*.

\**kaskos* "barley" (p. 57) > Iranian \**kaska-* > Khotanese *chaska-* "corn", Munjan *kosk* "Hordeum", Šughni *čūšč*, Rušani *čošč* "barley" etc., Persian *kašk* id. | ?Armenian *hask* "ear of corn". The correspondence of Armenian *h-* vs. Iranian \**k-* is rather problematic. On the other hand, there is an alternative etymology for the Iranian forms, starting from the reconstruction \**kṛša-ka-* (Pachalina 1983, 115), namely its comparison with Slavic \**kolsъ* "ear of corn" | Albanian *kallë* "id.; stalk" | Tocharian B *klese* "a kind of food or an ingredient necessary for baking *kanti*-bread"; the unattested Tocharian A counterpart could be identified in the Old Chinese loan \**klas* "grain" (Blažek 1999, 79–80).

\**knt-* "rye or a similar cereal" (pp. 111–112) > Hittite *kanta-*, Luwian *kant-* "Einkorn; Triticum monococcum" | Dacian κριτατα "Triticum repens" | ?Lusitanian > Latin *centēnum* "rye, Secale" (first in the Edict of Diocletian from AD 301), continuing in the Ibero-Romance languages: Spanish *centeno*, Portugal *centeio* | Tocharian B *kanti* "a kind of bread or a baked product made of flour". Witczak also thinks about a relation of Fenno-Permian \**kāntā* "Getreide, Same" (cf. Blažek 2003, 92–93).

\**kers-* "millet" (p. 82) > Hittite *karas-* n., *karsas-* "wheat Triticum dicoccum or Triticum durum" | Oscan *caria* "bread", Sabine *ceres* n. id., cf. Latin *Ceres*, *-eris* 'goddess of fertility' | Germanic \**hersja-* m. "Hirse" > Old High German *hirso*, *hirsī*, Old Saxon *hirsī* id. It is generally accepted to derive this phytonym from the verb \**kerH₂-* "to nourish" (cf. LIV 329), not \**ker-*. This etymology represents the only evidence for the reconstruction of the initial \**k-*. It is tempting to add some of the Dardic designations of "millet": Kalaša *karas*, Khowar *khəraš*, Phalura *kāraž*, Dameli *kārač* id. (Stebelin-Kamenskij 1982, 46). The acceptance of their relationship implies the reconstruction of velar \**k-*.

\**kop-[ǵ]* "oats" (pp. 68–69) > OI *sāpa-* m. "treibholz, Trift, Geflötes", m. "angeschwemmtes Schilf" | Alan *zabar* "auena"; Šughni *sip(i)yak* "a kind of millet" (Iranian \**sāpar-ku-*), Persian *sabz* "vegetable; grass" (Iranian \**sāpa-čf-*), Rošani *sabēc* "pod of bean" (Iranian \**sāpaitra-* = OI *sāpa-ṭa-*) | Hittite *kappara-* "vegetable" | Greek κόπηθρον "a wild vegetable" (Hesych.) | Middle Irish *corca*, *coirce* "oats"; Welsh *ceirch*, Cornish *kerch*, *keirch*, Middle Breton *querch*, Breton *cerc'h* < Celtic \**kor(i)kkyo-* < \**kopǵ-kyo-* | Old Norse *hafri* m. "oats", English dial. *haver*, Old Saxon *haboro*, Old High German *habaro* "Hafer" < Germanic \**habrōn* || Lithuanian *sāpas* "Halm, Ästchen, Splitter".

\**kporyanos* "a kind of wheat" (pp. 99–100) > Armenian *c'orean* "wheat Triticum carthlicum" | Middle Irish *tuirenn*, Irish *tuirend* f. "wheat". Witczak speculates about a relation with Kartwelian \**dika-* "wheat", assuming the correspondence of the IE cluster \**k̑p-* to the sequence \**dik̑o* in Kartwelian.

\**koidyos* "wheat" (pp. 98–99) > Germanic \**hwaitja-* "wheat" > Gothic *hvaiteis*, Old Norse *hveiti*, Old English *hwōte*, Old High German *weizzi* | Old Prussian *gaydis* m. & *gayde*, *gaide* f. "wheat" with *g-* instead of expected *k-*, analogously to *girmis* "worm" vs. Lithuanian *kirmis* id. < \**k̑ȓmis*. The author does not explain his rejection of the etymology based on Germanic \**hwaita-* "white".

\**melH-i, n-és* "Italian millet" (pp. 77–78) > Khowar *blan* "sp. barley" (after Turner compatible with Sanskrit *māna-* "withered, shrivelled, dark-coloured" | Greek μελίνη "Kolbenhirse" | Latin *miliūm* "Hirse, Rispenhirse" | ?Old Norse *melr* "Elymus sabulosus" | Lithuanian *mālna* "Schwa-

den, Sussgras, Kolbenhirse". Witczak discusses three etymologies: 1) IE *\*melH-* "to grind, mill"; 2) *\*melH<sub>2</sub>-n-* "black", cf. OI *śyāmāka-* "Indian millet / Panicum frumentaceum" : *śyāmā-* and the semantically opposite counterpart in IE *\*alb<sup>h</sup>-i* "barley", regarding the most probable derivation from IE *\*alb<sup>h</sup>-o-* "white"; 3) IE *\*mél-i-t*, gen. *\*mel-n-és* "honey". Outside of Indo-European, Witczak quotes Furnée's interesting parallel in Georgian *meleuli & meleuri* "zu Gaben gebundene Hirse", which may be interpreted as the collective from the unattested protoform *\*méli* "Hirse", following the model of *p'ureuli* "Getreidearten, Könerfruchte" vs. *p'uri* "Brot, Korn, Getreide".

*\*pʰHwen-* "a kind of wheat" (p. 103) > Hittite *parhuenas* "eine Art Getreide" | Gallo-Latin *arinca* "wheat Triticum dicoccum" < pre-Celtic *\*[p]arwenkā*.

*\*prokom* "common millet" (p. 81) > Old Prussian *prassan* "millet" | Slavic *\*proso* id. Witczak proposes an interesting idea to see here a metathetical variant of *\*kopʰ* "oats". Recently Ivanov (2003, 196–97) has found a more exact cognate in Tocharian B *proksa* "grain", deriving them from *\*proks-* and further from the root *\*perk-* "to dig", cf. West IE *\*pʰk<sup>h</sup>-ā* "furrow".

*\*pūrós, -óm* "Triticum compactum" (pp. 94) > OI *pūra-* m. "cake" | Greek *πῦρος* "Weizen(korn), Triticum compactum" | ?Germanic *fursa-* > Old English *fyr*s, English *furze* "Quecke, Triticum repens" | Lithuanian m. pl. *pūrai* "Winterweizen", Latvian m. pl. *pūri* id., Old Prussian f. *pure* "Tresppe, Bromus secalinus" | Chrch Slavonic *pyro* "Spelt", Slovenian m. *pír*, f. *pira* "Spelt", Czech *pýr* "Quecke, Triticum repens", Russian *pyréj* id. Witczak mentions that the Germanic example better agrees in phonetics with Greek *πράσων* "Allium porrum", Latin *porrum* id. < *\*pʰsōm*. Traditionally, Georgian *p'uri* "wheat, wheat, corn" has been compared too, although its Greek origin cannot be excluded.

*\*putro-* "grain, corn" (pp. 119–20) > Welsh *wtr* "light corn; light grain" < *\*putro-* | Lithuanian *putrà* "Grütze", Latvian *putra* id.; Baltic > Finnish *puuro* "porridge".

*\*rug<sup>h</sup>is, \*rug<sup>h</sup>yos* "rye" (pp. 110) > Iranian *\*rujika-* > Šughni *roʔz* "ear of rye or rice", Wanetsi *rōjʃ* "ear of corn" (> Mordvinian *rož*; Komi *rudžeg*, Udmurt dial. *žijeg* "rye"; see Blažek 2003, 93–94) | Germanic *\*rugiz* > Old Norse *rugr* "rye", Old English *ryge* id. & *\*ruggan-* > Old Frisian *rogga*, Old Saxon *roggo*, Old High German *rocko* id. | Lithuanian *rugys* "Roggenkorn", Old Prussian *rugis, ruggis* m. "rye" | Old Russian *ръѣ* m. "rye". Witczak adds the Afroasiatic parallels: Egyptian *rṛrd* "cereals" and Hausa *roogo* "cassawa" which seem more convincing than the comparison with East Caucasian *\*račēV* "a kind of cereal (oats, rye), because later this reconstruction looks otherwise (Nikolajev & Starostin 1994, 950: *\*rḥəḏV ~ \*ḏḥərV* > Avar *roḏḏ* "wheat"; Lezgin *gerg* "oats", Agul *jerg*, Tabasaran, Tsakhur *γarγar* id.).

*\*sēH mṇ* "grain" (p. 118) > Latin *sēmen* "seed" | Old Saxon *sāmo*, Old High German *samo* "Same" | Old Prussian *semen* "Samen", Lithuanian *sėmenys* pl. "Flachsaa" | Old Church Slavonic *sēmę* "seed, semence".

*\*seH ḷaH<sub>2</sub>*, "seed" > Albanian *gjollë* "seed-patch" | Old Irish *síl* "seed"; Welsh *hil* "Samen, Nachkommenschaft" < Celtic *\*sēllo-* | Lithuanian *sėklà* "Saat". But there is no unambiguous evidence about the *tl*-extension. The Albanian and Celtic examples can reflect *\*sēlo-/ā-*. In Lithuanian *paselys* "Aussaat" there is the only *l*-extension, similarly in Hittite *sēli-* "Getreide(haufen)" (Oettinger 1979, 541).

*\*s<sup>h</sup>syà f., \*s<sup>h</sup>syóm n.* "corn" (pp. 41–42) > OI *sasyám* n. "Feldfrucht, Saat auf dem Felde", *sasá*-m. "Nahrung, Speise, Kraut, Gras, Saatfeld" | Avestan *hahiiia-* "frumentarius", *haghuš-* | Hittite *sesa-* "Frucht" | Celtic *\*sasio-* & *\*sasiā* > Hispano-Celtic *\*sas(s)ia* > Provençal *saisseto* "froment de la plus belle qualité", Catalanian *xeixa* "candeal", Spanish *jeja* "Winterweizen"; Gaulish *asia* "rye"; Welsh *haidd* "barley", Breton *heiz* id. Let us mention Starostin's idea (1988, 125) about a substratal origin of this term, based on his comparison with Eastern Caucasian *\*sūsV* "rye" > Čečen *sos*, Laq *sus* id., Axxaw *šušul* "oats" etc.

*\*sīto-, \*sītyo-* "corn" (pp. 45) > OI *sī(i)yam* n. "corn" (lex.), besides a more frequent meaning "ploughed" attested by Pāṇini | Khowar [not Kati indicated by author] *siri* "barley", Kalasha *šīlī* "millet" | Mycenaean *si-to* "corn; grain (of wheat of barley)", Greek *σῖτος* "Getreide", especially "Weizen, Brot, Speise", Delphian *σῖτον*. According to Witczak the preserved *s-* could be caused by its hypothetical Pelagian origin.

*\*spérṃṇ* : *\*sporáH<sub>2</sub>*, (p. 119) > Armenian *sermn* "seed; grain" | Greek *σπέριμα* "Same" = My-

cenaeae *pe-mo*, σπορά “Säen, Saat” | Albanian *farë* “seed; clan” (*spórā*). Derived from the verb *\*sper-* (LIV 580) attested e.g. in Armenian *sermanel* “to sow”, Greek σπείρω “to sow; produce, beget, give birth”.

\**(s)pl̥t-* “Triticum spelta” (pp. 100) > Greek πόλτος “Brei aus Mehl” | Latin *puls, pultis* f. “eine Spelzgrütze”, Old Italian *polta* “Brühe, Brei” > Old High German *polz* id.; late Latin *spelta* occurs first in the edict of Diocletian AD 301; according to witness of Saint Hieronym it is of Pannonian origin.

\**swaH<sub>1</sub>raH<sub>1</sub>*, “common millet” (pp. 79–81) > Iranian *hwārā-* > Alan *huvar* “millet”, Ossetic Digor *xwar* “corn, grain, millet”, Iron *xor* “corn, barley Hordeum vulgare”, Sogdian *γwr-* “barley”, Middle Persian *xwār* “food” | ?Albanian *egjër* “Lolium temulentum” < \**ḡ-s(w)ārā* = “non-millet” after Jokl (*Wörter und Sachen* 12, 1929, 78–79) | Lithuanian *sóra*, pl. *sóros* “millet”, Latvian *sāre*, dial. *sūra* “Rispenhirse” | Tocharian AB *sāry-* “to plant”, *sārm* “seed”; the *n*-derivative is common for Iranian and Baltic: Avestan *x<sup>h</sup>arəna-* (not *xv<sup>h</sup>arəna-*) “Nahrung”; cf. the borrowing in Slavic \**chorna* “food” | Lithuanian *svirna* f., *sviřnas* m. “Speicher, Vorratskammer”. The author admits the *vřddhi*-formation from the root \**swer-* > Iranian \**x<sup>h</sup>ar-* “to nourish; defend”. But he prefers the Nostratic origin, referring to such forms as Semitic \**šūcār-(at-)* “barley” (lit. “hairy”) and Uralic \**šōra*.

\**wesH<sub>1</sub>aros* “spring corn” (pp. 42–43) > Armenian *gari*, gen. *gareoy* “barley” | Welsh *wenith*, Breton *gwinitz* “wheat” | Tocharian A *wśār* “heap of grain”, B *ysāre* “grain; ?wheat”; from the word for “spring” reconstructible as \**wesH<sub>1</sub>*, gen. \**wesH<sub>1</sub>nos*, cf. Lithuanian *vasariniai kviečiai & rugiai* “spring wheat & rye”, etc.

\**yēwH<sub>1</sub>os, -om* “barley” > “corn” (pp. 43–44) > OI *yáva-* m. “barley” | Avestan *yauua-* m. “Getreide”, *yauuaḡha-* n. “Weide”; Ossetic *yāw* “millet” | Hittite *ewan* n. “barley” | Greek ζειαί “Triticum monococcum”, Cretan *δῆαί* “barley; Hordeum” | Old Irish *éorna* “barley” | Lithuanian *jāvas* “Getreideart”, pl. *javai* “Getreide” | Earlier Russian *jevin*, Russian *ovin* “Getreidedarre, Riege” | Tocharian B *yap* “millet” < \**yewH<sub>1</sub>om*.

Comments to the additional comparative material:

P. 46 – Slavic \**zito* “corn, cereal”, especially “wheat, rye” | Old Prussian *geits & geitko* “bread” | Welsh *bwyd* “food”, Old Cornish *buit*, Breton *boed*; Old Irish *biad*. Add Hittite *kuuitta-* “a kind of a bread” (Van Windekens, *Archiv orientální* 57, 1989, 334–35; Puhvel, *HED* IV, 1997, 315).

P. 59 – Slavic \**ęčb-my* “barley” – following Charpentier (1907, 464), it is possible to connect it with Greek *ἄμπε(ν)η* “Nahrung, Getreide”. Starostin (1988, 127) proposed a substratal origin of \**Henk*-/ \**Honk*-, seeking a support in North Caucasian \**?almq̄qwV* “barley”, reconstructed on the basis of Avar *oq̄*, Bežit *ḍX* id., Axwax *ūqa* “oats”, Ubykh *X<sub>1</sub>a* “barley”, etc. But later Nikolajev & Starostin (1994, 502–503) changed their reconstruction in \**hnārqwĒ*, regarding Tabasaran *nurχl* “spelt”, Agul *nir X* “ground wheat”.

P. 63 – Tocharian *klu* “rice” is derivable from an Old Chinese source of the type \**lhū* ~ \**Lhū* “growing rice, paddy” (Blažek 1999, 82).

P. 106 – Old High German *dinchel*, *thincil*, *dinkil* “Dinkel, Triticum spelta”, with the variants *tinkel*, *tunkel* from modern dialects, is compatible with Anatolian data: Hittite <sup>(NINDA)</sup>*tuni(n)k-* “a bread”, Hieroglyphic Luwian *tunikala* “maker of *tunik*-bread”, with the suffix *-ala-* of *nomina agentis* (Tischler III, Lief. 10, 1994, 438–39).

P. 106 – Kartvelian \**diḡa-* “wheat” has the closest parallel (source?) in North Caucasian \**dīḡwi* “a kind of cereal” (Nikolajev & Starostin 1994, 400).

P. 106 – For Hittite *seppitt-* (& *sappitt-*) “wheat” there are two possible internal etymologies, based on comparison with (i) *sepa-* “Garbe; Getreidebündel”; (ii) *sappisarahh-* “to make into a cleansed person”. In the first case it is necessary to explain the difference between *-p-* and *-pp-*. But cf. two verbs with similar semantics, viz. *sapiya-* “to scrub, rub” vs. *sappai-/sippai-* “to peel, trim; scrape”. In the second case the semantic motivation “wheat” = “cleared” is known from Semitic languages, cf. Akkadian *burru* “sorte de céréale”, Hebrew *bar* “céréale, blé battu”, Arabic *burr*, Sabaic *br*, Soqotri *bor*, Mehri *barr* “froment, blé” vs. Akkadian *barru* “pur”, Ugaritic *brr* id., Hebrew *bārar* “purifier”, Aramaic *b<sup>r</sup>rar* id., Minaean *š-brr* id. (Cohen 1976, 87). On the other hand,

both the verbs *sapiya*- “to scrub, rub” vs. *sappai-/sippai*- “to peel, trim; scrape” stand in semantics not too far.

Summing up, Witczak’s book represents the most detailed study devoted to the Indo-European cereal terminology. The author has convincingly demonstrated the agricultural past of the Indo-Europeans. Some of the designations of cereals were probably inherited from the preceding, namely Nostratic, period. Others, with transparent Indo-European etymologies, were formed in the various periods of development of the Indo-European dialect continuum. Witczak’s conclusion is in a good agreement with the idea of Illič-Svityč who saw the reason of the disintegration of the Nostratic unity in the neolithic revolution, started in the Near East in the 11 th mill. BC according to our present knowledge. For the future research it is necessary to differentiate the inherited terms from the old borrowings.

#### Misprints:

P. 16, 17, 108 – Schnirelman against Shnirelman in the bibliography (p. 157); better Šnirelman in transcription from cyrillic.

P. 81 – Levin 1974, instead of 1994.

P. 87 – Sarikol. instead of Sankol.

P. 90 & 111 – Komi instead of Kami & Korni respectively.

P. 121 – Semitic \*š<sup>u</sup>cār-(at-) „barley“ (lit. „hairy“) is derivable from the Afroasiatic protoform with initial \*č- (or \*š-), but not \*š-.

P. 153 – L. Isebaert has published his dissertation *De Indo-Iraanse Bestanddelen in de Tocharische Woordenschat*, Leuven, in 1980, not 1970.

P. 155 – Nikolajev, S.L. & Starostin, S.A. have published their article „Severnokavkazskije jazyki i jich mesto sredi drugih jazykov Perednej Azii“ in the volume *Jazykovaja situacija v Perednej Azii v X-IV tysjačiletijach do n.e.* (Moskva: Institut vostokovedenija 1984, 26–34), not in *Jazyki srednej Perednej Azii*.

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Bohumil Vykypěl, *Studie k šlechtickým titulům v germánských, slovanských a baltských jazycích*. Masarykova univerzita v Brně 2004, Spisy Filozofické fakulty č. 353. 233 str. ISBN 80–210–3377–0, ISSN 1211–3034.

Práce s podtitulem *Etymologie jako pomocná věda historická* je souborem dílčích studií k jednotlivým etymologickým otázkám šlechtické terminologie. S osudy šlechty, pojmávané zde šířeji jako vrstva privilegovaných, je spojena většina významných momentů v dějinách Evropy, s poukazem na „dominantní postavení nobiles ve všech předmoderních společnostech“. Teritoriem zkoumání je germánsko-slovansko-baltský areál, který autor zvolil pro jeho kompaktnost a pro vzájemnou prostoupenost slovanských, germánských a baltských jazyků v oblasti šlechtických titulů. Na konkrétních příkladech se zde snaží autor, etymolog a historik, ukázat v praxi symbiózu etymologie s historií. Etymologie zkoumá, kdy slovo vzniklo, zjišťuje motivaci jeho utvoření, zdůvodňuje jeho existenci. Tím přispívá k popisu historických faktů, k „znovunalezení toho, co kdysi bylo a už není a bez čeho nelze zcela chápat to, co je“.

Kniha je rozdělena do tří částí, zabývajících se šlechtickými tituly podle jazyků, v nichž byly a jsou užívány: Tituli Germanici, Tituli Slavici a Tituli Baltici. Ve všech částech najdeme kapitulu Rex a v ní studie věnované historii a etymologii pojmenování suverénů. Tituly ostatních šlechticů jsou pojednány v kapitole Nobiles, germánským a slovanským vojevůdcům je vyhrazena kapitola Dux, baltské názvy tohoto typu se skrývají pod všeobecnějším Imperator et alii. Část věnovaná germánským titulům obsahuje ještě kapitulu věnovanou Římské říši a jejímu vládcovi. Toto dělení není (ani nemůže být) striktní, umožňuje však pochopit vzájemné vztahy a provázanost titulů v jednotlivých jazycích a v historických souvislostech.

Na počátku každé studie je představen velmi rozmanitý dokladový materiál. Vedle rekonstruované pragermánské nebo praslovanské podoby slov, utvořené podle nejstarších doložených písemných dokladů (jsou mezi nimi i doklady nalezené v runových nápisech) se zde vyskytují termíny podstatně mladší, často ojedinělé (stč. *nápravnik*, ch. *plemic*). U sl. materiálu by nebyla na škodu hojnější citace toponym (např. u *vладыка* – Vladyčí Újezd, u *bán* – Banja Luka aj.).

Značná pozornost je věnována všem atributům jazykovědy, tak jak je běžně užívá etymologie: rekonstrukci prajazykových tvarů, paradigmatickým i syntagmatickým hláskovým změnám a slo-  
votvorbě. Zde autor zdůrazňuje některé prvky typické pro tvoření šlechtické terminologie (např. suf. *-na-*, typický pro jména vládců a bohů, sr. pragerm. *\*peudanz*, *\*kendinz*, stsev. *Ódinn*, *Herjann*, suf. *-ing/-ung-*, jehož základním sém. rysem je přináležitost: pragerm. *\*kuningaz* ‘kdo přináleží k dobrému rodu, vládce’, aj.). Datace jazykových změn je sporná a závěry v tomto směru je třeba brát s rezervou. Dosavadní etymologie jsou prezentovány spolu s osobním hodnocením a připomínkami autora.

Z některých titulů nobiles je patrné, že k úkolům šlechty patřily vojenské povinnosti (germ. *þegnaz*, *erlaz*, *baro*, *herizogo*, *gesih*, sl. *vojevoda* ‘bojovník’, ‘ten, kdo vede vojsko’). Více přibližuje funkci nositele např. lat. *\*gardingus* ‘ten, kdo patří k domu, dvoru (panovníka)’, které reflektuje germ. *gard-ing-* (z jeho základu je např. angl. *garden*, nebo stangl. *geréfa* ‘ten, kdo počítá, registruje – [majetek, vojáky]’) a novější sl. tituly, např. stč. *zeměnin*, *nápravnik* (< *náprava* ‘nemovitost, náhrada za služby [panovníkovi]’). U některých termínů dochází k posunu od konkrétně biologických vztahů, z roviny personální, rodinné a privátní, ke vztahům abstraktně sociálním, do roviny veřejné a politické (např. stangl. *ealdorþan*, pův. ‘živitel, vychovatel’, později ‘urozený, mocný člověk, představený’, pragerm. *þegnaz* ‘urozený člověk’ s doloženými přibuznými výrazy s význ.