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Wojciech Smoczyński, **Słownik etymologiczny języka litewskiego. Indeks wyrazów litewskich**, Wiłno: Uniwersytet Wileński, Wydział filologiczny, 2007, xxvii + 797 + 308 pp.

Smoczyński writes in the introduction (p. vii) that this dictionary was prepared at first for University of Warsaw students to be used in exercises on Lithuanian historical linguistics and for the reading of Old Lithuanian texts. The didactic purpose of the dictionary has incurred certain defects, viz. the limitation to a single volume and the lack of references to the works of certain etymologists. Therefore the current dictionary cannot aim to be equal to the *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1955–1965) by Ernst Fraenkel.

This seems almost to invite a comparison with Fraenkel's work. One notes, for example, that the first four entries in Fraenkel's dictionary are (1) *abà* 'or' from Pol. or Byelorussian *abo*, (2) *abarà* 'cow shed' from Pol. *obora*, (3) *ābaras* 'a net woven of thin threads usually to catch small fish' from Byelorussian

*obora*, (4) *ābazas* ‘camp, encampment’ from Pol. *obóz*. These entries are missing completely from the dictionary under review, but, of course, it makes no sense to include such words in a book planned for Polish students, who would in all probability immediately recognize both the meaning and the origin of the Lithuanian words.

On comparing the entries in the two dictionaries one notices immediately the greater emphasis on Indo-European etymologies in Fraenkel’s dictionary in contrast to the richer documentation of Lithuanian in Smoczyński’s dictionary. For example under the entry *gerti* ‘to drink’ Fraenkel (1955, 148f.) mentions Old Indic *girāti*, *gṛṇāti* ‘swallows’, *ajagāra-* ‘lit. goat-swallower, i.e., large snake, boa’, Young Avestan *jarōiš* ‘may you swallow’, *aspōgar-*, *nərəgar-* ‘swallowing horses, men’, Armenian *eker* ‘ate’, *ker*, *kur* ‘food; bait’, Gk. βιβρώσκειν ‘to consume’, βρωμα, βρωσις ‘food, meat’, Lat. *vorāre* ‘to eat voraciously, to swallow’, *carnivorus* ‘meat-eating’, OHG *quērdar*, MHG *querder* ‘bait’. Under the same entry in Smoczyński’s dictionary one encounters only the Greek cognates ἔβρωσ ‘you (sg.) ate up’, βιβρώσκω ‘I eat up’, βρωτός ‘to be eaten’ and Vedic *girati* ‘swallows’ and *gīṛṇa-* ‘swallowed’. Armenian, Avestan and Germanic cognates go unmentioned. On the other hand the entry in Smoczyński’s dictionary is far richer in Lithuanian and in general East European material. Thus Smoczyński (p. 172) quotes from Sirvydas (Pakalka’s 1979 and 1997 editions): *geriu kitop* ‘kredencuię komu’, *geriu iki*

*soti* ‘dopiiam’, *ažusigeriu* ‘zapiiam się’, *įgeriu ką savisp* ‘nabieram w się czego’, *pasigeriu* ‘podpijam sobie, upijam się’, *persigère* ‘rozmarzyło go piwo, wino’. From the lengthened grade of the root Smoczyński quotes the derivative *gėrauti* ‘stale pić, pijać, upijając się, ucztować’ from Daukša. None of these Lithuanian forms are listed in Fraenkel’s dictionary. It is evident then that anyone studying Lithuanian etymology will now have to use both Fraenkel’s and Smoczyński’s etymological dictionaries. Perhaps in the future someone will write a Lithuanian etymological dictionary combining the information of the two dictionaries in question.

Under the heading *akis* (p. 6) Smoczyński compares Latv. *acs* and OP *ackis* and writes: ‘...formacja singulatywna do *aki* du. f. “dwoje oczu”, czemu odpowiada scs. *oči* “oczy”...’ He compares further the OP acc. pl. *ackins* and EV *agins*. It seems to me that Smoczyński’s explanation of the origin of the \*-i stem for the Baltic word on the basis of a reinterpretation of the old neuter dual attested in Slavic *oči* ‘two eyes’ (cf. also Vedic *akṣī*) is perfectly convincing. In an earlier publication Smoczyński (2000, 71) had mentioned also EV 214 *accodis* ‘Rauchloch’. In his review of Smoczyński (2000) Mažiulis (2000, 106) wrote: ‘Nicht zum ersten Mal wiederholt der Verfasser (i.e., W. Smoczyński) den Fehler von W. R. Schmalstieg, wonach das apr. (E) *accodis* aus dem (Mask.) \**akutis* ‘kleines Auge’ käme. Während W. R. Schmalstieg sich später wenigstens geholfen hat

mit einer ad hoc Vermutung, dass hier das Femininum ins Maskulinum auf baltische Weise sich verwandelt hat, wagt W. Smoczyński sogar ohne Erläuterung den Leser gerade in die Irre zu führen: “\**akutis* ‘kleines Auge’” (S. 71). Aber es gibt ein solches Wort weder in der litauischen Literatursprache, noch in irgendwelcher litauischen Mundart; es kann erscheinen nur in der Sprache der Personen, für die das Litauische eine gelernte Fremdsprache ist’. As far as I can recall neither in my 1969 article nor anywhere else have I ever posited a Lith. \**akutis*, so it is difficult for me to see how I could have been responsible for leading anyone astray on this ground. In (1969, 166) I posited only Old Prussian /*akutis*/. I still have in my files for my original 1969 article the letter of acceptance (1969.II.6) from Prof. Jonas Kazlauskas. He wrote: ‘Jūsų straipsnį “Four Old Prussian Etymologies” perskaičiau su malonumu. Dėl naujų etimologijų man nekilo abejonių. Ypač patiko prūsų žodžių *accodis* ir *quaitis* etc. etimologijos’. Apparently the lack of a Lithuanian word \**akutis* did not prevent at least one native speaker of Lithuanian from accepting the etymology. Mažiulis (1988, 49) suggests that the Indo-European root for ‘eye’ might also supply Lith. *āk-as*, *ak-à* ‘ice-hole’, Latv. *ak-a* ‘well’ and finally Lith. *ak-etis* or *ek-etis* (-ė, -ys), Latv. *ak-ata* (-e) ‘ice-hole’. So I have recently proposed (2001, 19ff.) that there existed an OP \**akas*, which had a diminutive \**ak-utas* (= EV *accodis*) just as Lith. *láng-as* ‘window’ has the dialect diminu-

tive *lang-ùtas* ‘small window’ (Ambrazas 2000, 103).

For Lith. *dù* ‘two’ Smoczyński (p. 128) gives the accepted etymologies relating, e.g., Vedic *dvā* and *dvāu*. I propose that the numeral for ‘two’ is to be related also to the Indo-European root \**dō-* ‘to give’ (p. 134), the original meaning for ‘to give’ being something like ‘to divide into two, to share’. I would call to mind the English slang expression *share the wealth* which really means ‘give me some of what you have (e.g., give me some of your potato chips, candy, cookies or wine, etc.)’. I would reconstruct the root as (stem one) \**dow-* and (stem two) \**dwo-*. Stem one would have had the alternant \**dō-* if followed by a consonant, thus \**dō-tei* > Lith. *dúoti* ‘to give’, Gk. δί-δω-μι ‘I give’, etc., but the alternant \**dow-* when followed by a vowel as in Lith. *dāvė* ‘gave’, Gk. Cypriot infinitive δωφεναι (Schwyzer 1959, 808). A contamination of \**dwo-* and \**dō-* led to the creation of *dwō* (> Vedic *dvā*, Slavic *dvā*, etc.) and a contamination of \**dwō* and \**dow-* led to the creation of \**dwōw* (> Vedic *dvāu*). A feminine form \**dwo-i* could give Balto-Slavic \**dvai* > Lith. *dvì*, Slavic *dvě*.

On p. 147 Smoczyński lists the Hittite correspondent of Lith. *erēlis* ‘eagle’ as *hāras*. The apparent reason for the macron on the initial *-ā-* is the existence of the *-a-* in the cuneiform syllabary which can be transliterated as *ḫa-a-ra-aš*, but in fact no conclusion as to length should be drawn from this double writing (Sturtevant 1951, 23f.). For example,

Friedrich (1952, 56) and Tischler (1983, 170) list this word as *hara(n)*.

Smoczyński (p. 148) quotes the Latin verb for 'to eat' as: *edō, es, est* (pf. *ēdī*). The lack of a macron on *es, est* > *ēs, ēst* as opposed to the correct placement on *edō* and *edī* is a misleading misprint, since it produces the false impression that a short vowel present contrasts throughout with a long vowel perfect. Actually the ablaut contrast in the present tense seems to be ancient. Meillet (1931, 197) wrote: 'une flexion comme celle de lat. *ferō, ferimus* en face de *fers, fert, fertis* et *edo, edimus* en face de *ēs, ēst, ēstis* se dénonce comme une survivance d'un ancien état de choses indo-européen'. The generalization of \**ē* is, of course, encountered throughout the present tense in Baltic \**ēd-* 'to eat'. Smoczyński writes that Hittite *ēdmi*, 3 pl. *adanzi* reflects a new ablaut alternation *ē::ā*. Kronasser (p. 46f.) writes, however: 'Daneben wurde ein häufiger *e/a* als Ablaut aufgefasst, angeblich grundspr. *ē/ā* bzw. *e/v*, d.i. Reduktionsstufe von Kurzvokalen... Diese Auffassung kann kaum richtig sein'. Kronasser ascribes the initial *a-* of *atantsi* (which he writes instead of *adanzi*) and various other 3rd pl. forms to umlaut. Probably no very definite conclusion should be drawn from the Hittite orthography and it might be noted that Friedrich (1952, 44) gives *edmi* without a macron and that Sturtevant (1951, 55, 171) transcribes cuneiform *e-it-mi*, with a suggested phonetic interpretation *edmi*. The interpretation given by Smoczyński apparently goes

back to Pedersen (1938, 128) although even Pedersen himself writes that it is 'schwer zu belegen'. Nevertheless Pedersen's notion has frequently been repeated according to Tischler (1983, 117).

Smoczyński (p. 155) writes that the forms *ganà, gañ* 'enough' are not completely clear. I have suggested (1984, 77) that *ganà* is a reliquary 3rd person verb which, becoming separated from its etymological verbal paradigm, retained a final stress. For the infinitive *ganéti* 'to be sufficient' in addition to the usual 3rd pres. *ganéja* the Academy Dictionary [Vol. 3, p. 200] also lists a form *gāna*. As I have noted before it seems that at one time end-stressed 3rd person verbal forms were possible in Lithuanian. Skardžius (1935, 199) labels Daukša's *Postilla* forms *gadiná, giwená* as errors, but it seems to me that such forms may be etymological end stressed forms.

Under the entry *jūra* 'sea' (p. 239f.) Smoczyński has chosen to ignore Jakobson's (1959, 268) connection of the root \**úr-* to Slavic *ryba* 'fish'. As Jakobson points out, if there is a connection then '...the metathesis of \**úr* > \**rú* must have preceded the appearance of the prothetic *v-* in primitive Slavic'.

Smoczyński (p. 389) writes that Lith. *mergà* 'girl' does not have a convincing etymology, not even mentioning his own former attempt (2000, 56ff.) to connect the name with MHG *Mérge* < *Márja*, an etymology which seemed to me to be quite good.

Smoczyński (p. 787) compares Lith. *žiótis* 'to yawn' with Old Church

Slavic *zījati* which he compares to Proto-Baltic \**žij-ā-* < Proto-Indo-European \**ǵ<sup>h</sup>ih<sub>1</sub>-eh<sub>2</sub>*. He writes further that the form *žiójuos* is not original, but rather derived from \**žijójuos* by way of syncope of *i* in the pretonic syllable. A long time ago (1960, 204f.) I proposed an analysis of this verb assuming Diver's (1959, passim) palatal laryngeal \**-H<sup>v</sup>*-. The full grade root would then be reconstructed as \**ǵheH<sup>v</sup>*- (as represented in Slavic 1st sg. pres. *zě-jǫ* and Old Indic *vi-hā-yas* 'atmosphere').

Smoczyński (p. 794) derives *žvaigždė* 'star' from a proto-form \**h<sub>2</sub>-stēr* and compares Hittite *hstērs*. I would prefer a transcription from the Hittite cuneiform *ḫa-aš-te-er-za* (Tischler 1983, 204). As one can see from the cuneiform transcription the rendering *hstērs* with no vowel separating the first and second consonants and a long vowel separating the third and fourth consonants is pure speculation. The interpretation may be correct on the basis of comparative evidence, but the Hittite orthography does not provide evidence.

Although I might have a few objections here and there I should like in general to praise this dictionary and commend its author for this and his many other vastly important contributions to Baltic philology.

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