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LITH. *atúodogiai*, *atúoriečiai* ‘SUMMER RYE’, *atólas* (m.) ‘AFTERMATH, AFTER-GRASS’ AND THE INDO-EUROPEAN NAME FOR ‘GRASS’

Lith. dial. *atúodogiai*, *atúodaugiai*, *atúodugiai* ‘summer rye’¹ and *atúoriečiai*, dial. *atúorėčiai*, *atúoriečios*, *atāriečiai* ‘vasariniai rugiai / summer rye’² seem unclear as to their structure and origin. Ernst Fraenkel relates these appellatives to the innovational compounds containing the Lithuanian prefix *at(a)-* (see OChSl. *otъ*, also *ot-* in compounds). He connects *atúoriečiai* with the following verbs: Lith. *riēsti* (*riečiū*) ‘rollen, windeln, winckeln’, iter. *raityti*, Lith. *rišti*, Latv. *rist* ‘rollen, wälzen’ and so on³. A quite different position is represented by Algirdas Sabaliauskas, who derives *atúoriečiai* by haplology from the earlier form **atúojoriečiai*, containing Lith. *jóras* ‘pavasario sėja, vasariniai javai / spring crops, summer corn’ in the second part of this compound⁴. His interpretation may be supported by an analogous analysis of *atúodogiai*. In this case the final part *-dogiai* is convincingly compared with OPrus. *dagis* (EV 13) ‘somer / summer’ and Lith. *dāgas* ‘heat of day, harvest’, see also OInd. *ni-dāgháh* (m.) ‘hot season’. The suggested comparison is additionally confirmed by two Old Prussian compounds *daga-gaydis* (EV 260) ‘somerweyse / summer wheat’ and *dago-augis* (EV 638) ‘somirlatte = Sproß, wie er in einem Sommer wächst’. The former contains the well known Old Prussian words: *dagis* ‘summer’ and *gaydis* (EV 259) ‘wheat’⁵. The latter is quite analogous to Lith. dial. *vasar-augis* and Latv. *vasar-aūdzis* ‘shoot, offspring’⁶, cf. Lit. *vāsara* (f.) ‘summer’, Latv. *vasara* (f.) ‘id.’ and Lith. *áugalas* (m.) ‘plant’, *auginỹs* (m.) ‘seedling’, *auglỹs* (m.) ‘sprout, shoot, offshoot, offspring’.

¹ Cf. LKŽ I² 443; J. D a g y s (ed.), Lietuviškas botanikos žodynas, Kaunas, 1938, 318.

² DLKŽ² 51; LKŽ I² 443, 357; J. D a g y s (ed.), Op. cit., 318; A. S a b a l i a u s k a s, Dėl lietuvių *atúoriečiai* ‘vasariniai rugiai’ kilmės, – Lietuvos TSR Mokslų Akademijos darbai, Serija A, 1 (10), 1961, 101–103.

³ E. Fraenkel, Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, I, Heidelberg–Göttingen, 1962, 23 (henceforth: LEW).

⁴ A. S a b a l i a u s k a s, Op. cit.

⁵ See V. M a ž i u l i s, Prūsų kalbos etimologijos žodynas, I, Vilnius, 1988, 172 (henceforth: PKEŽ).

⁶ Ibidem, 174–175.

As far as the initial element *atuo-* is concerned, Sabaliauskas's interpretation agrees completely with that of Fraenkel. However, their position seems unconvincing for two reasons. First of all, the prefix *at-* is attested in Balto-Slavic, but the supposed variant *atuo-* is attested in two analyzed names for 'summer rye' and in Lith. *atúo-diena* (f.) 'desselbigen Tages' (also the last word must be analyzed differently). Second, all the parallel formations (e.g. OPrus. *daga-gaydis*, *dago-augis*, Lith. *vasar-augis*, and so on) contain two semantic elements: (1) 'name of a season' and (2) 'name of a plant (a shoot, a grass and so on)'. This is why we should seek a different origin for *atuo-*.

In my opinion, the initial member *atuo-* may be successfully connected with the Common Baltic name for 'fresh grass, which grew up in summer after mowing the spring one': OPruss. *attolis* (m.) 'gromot, i.e. Grummet', Lith. *atólas* (m.) 'aftermath, after-grass, fog, rowen', Latv. *atāls* (m.) 'id.' (< Balt. **atālas*)⁷. A similar, but not identical, formation is attested in Slavic (see Russ. *otáva* f. 'grass grown up renew after mowing', dial. 'non-mowing grass in a meadow under the snow', BRuss. *otáva* f. 'aftermath, after-grass', Ukr. *otáva* f. 'id.', Sloven. *otáva* f., SC. *àtava* f., Bulg. *otáva* f. 'aftermath; grass grown up after mowing', Cz. *otava* f., Slovak *otava* f., Pol. *otawa* f. 'second grass, which grew up in summer after mowing the spring one, aftermath', also 'hay from the aftermath' < PSI. **otawa*⁸) and also in Iranian (cf. Ossetic Iron *taw*, Digoron *tawæ* 'отава; трава, выросшая на месте скошенной в том же году; Nachgrass; побеги; поросль'⁹ < Iran. **atāwa-*). As the semantics of all these words is obviously identical, it is clear that the Baltic, Slavic and Iranian terms can not be separated from each other.

Most linguists believe with no necessary reason that all the Baltic and Slavic words, including these for 'aftermath', contain the same prefix *at(i)-*¹⁰, but they derive these items from some completely different roots. This way of thinking is awkward, eccentric and deprived of sense. In my opinion, the basic meaning of the Balto-Slavic terms must be confined to the element *at-*, which is quite naturally developed by different

⁷ E. Fraenkel, LEW I 22; V. N. Toporov, Prusskij jazyk. Slovar', I (A–D), 138–139; V. Mažiulis, PKEŽ I 107–108; K. Karulis, Latviešu etimoloģijas vārdnīca, I, Rīga, 1992, 82.

⁸ See e.g. A. Brückner, Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego, Warszawa, 1985 (first edited in Cracow in 1927), 386; M. Vasmer, Ètimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka, III, Moskva, 1987, 168–169; A. Bańkowski, Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego, II (L–P), Warszawa, 2000, 464.

⁹ V. I. Abaev, Istoriko-ètimologičeskij slovar' osetinskogo jazyka, III, Leningrad, 1979, 237–238. Some Caucasian terms, e.g. Chechen *taw / tov-buc* 'aftermath, after-grass' (cf. *buc* 'grass'), Ing. *tov* 'aftermath', are regarded as loan words from Ossetic.

¹⁰ So A. Walde, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen, hrsg. von J. Pokorny, I, Berlin–Leipzig, 1930, 43; J. Pokorny, Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Bern–München, 1959, 71 and 1055 (henceforth: IEW). Unfortunately, most etymologists repeat this erroneous opinion without any discussion of the problem and even with no attempt of its verification.

suffixes (namely: **-ālo-* in Baltic and **-āwā* or **-ōwā* in Slavic). This analysis seems to be confirmed by the comparison of two Iranian forms **atāwa-* ‘young grass grown up in summer after mowing the spring one, aftermath, after-grass; sprouts, shoots, offspring’ (attested in this sense in Ossetic) and **atī-* (f.) ‘grass’ (attested in the Scythian compound *adī-gār* ‘grasshopper or locust’, literally ‘devouring the grass’, cf. Hesychios’ gloss: ἀδιγόρ · τρωξαλλίς, ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν¹¹). What is more, the root *at-* ‘grass’ appears not only in Baltic, Slavic and Iranian, but also in five different Indo-European subgroups, namely in:

Tocharian: Toch. A *āti* (f.) ‘grass’ (obl. pl. *ātyās*), Toch. B *ātiyai*, *ātyai* (obl. sg.) ‘id.’ (pl. *ātyañ*)¹² (< CToch. **ātī-* < IE. **atī-*).

Indic: OInd. *atasa-* (n.) ‘bush, thicket’ (originally perhaps ‘thicket of the grass’), *atasī-* (f.) ‘flax, *Linum usitatissimum* L.’, Pali *atasī-* (f.), Prakrit *ayasī-*, *alasī-* (f.) ‘id.’, Nepali *alas*, *ālas*, Awadhi lakh. *arsī*, Hindi *alsī*, Gujarati *aḷṣi* (f.), Marathi *aḷṣi*, *āḷṣi* (f.) ‘flax’ (< Ind. **at-as-ī-*)¹³;

Dardic: Kashmiri *aḷś* (f.) ‘flax, linseed’ (< Dard. **at-as-ī-*)¹⁴.

Celtic: Welsh *atwf* / *adladd* (m.) ‘second crop, aftermath’, *atyfu* ‘to grow again’.

Anatolian: (?) Hitt. *hattar* ‘a kind of wheat’; Lycian *χθθase* ‘hay, fodder (?)’ (= OInd. *atasa-*)¹⁵.

The above-quoted lexical material requires comments. Some etymologists regard the Tocharian term *āti* / *ātiyai* as a borrowing from Turkish name *ot* ‘grass’¹⁶, but this derivation “seems phonologically excluded” (so rightly Hilmarsson¹⁷). Others suggest that the Tocharian term for ‘grass’ is cognate with Lat. *ados* ‘spelt, emmer wheat’, Goth. *atisk* ‘field of grain’ (< IE. **ades-*)¹⁸, but this connection must be abandoned for phonological reasons (IE. **d*, if not palatalized into *ś*, regularly disappears in Tocharian). It is more promising to compare the Tocharian name for

¹¹ Cf. Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon, recensuit et emendavit K. Latte, I (A–Δ), Hauniae, 1953, 42 (a–1130).

¹² J. Hilmarsson, Materials for a Tocharian Historical and Etymological Dictionary, Reykjavík, 1996, 51.

¹³ M. Mayrhofer, Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindiarischen, I 1, Heidelberg, 1986, 57 (“Unklar”); R. L. Turner, A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages, London, 1966, 11, No. 198 (henceforth: CDIAL).

¹⁴ R. L. Turner, CDIAL, 11, No. 198.

¹⁵ J. Puhvel, Hittite Etymological Dictionary, III, Berlin–New York, 1991, 247–248.

¹⁶ So H. Pedersen, Tocharisch vom Gesichtspunkt der indoeuropäischen Sprachvergleichung, København, 1941, 64, fn. 1; the same, Zur tocharischen Sprachgeschichte, København, 1944, 10; P. Naert, – Orbis, XIV, 1965, 534; A. J. van Windekens, Le tokharien confronté avec les autres langues indo-européennes (= Tokh.), I 1, Louvain, 1976, 624.

¹⁷ J. Hilmarsson, MTHED 51.

¹⁸ So G. S. Lane, Problem of Tocharian Phonology, – Language, XIV, 1938, 25, fn. 21; J. Hilmarsson, MTHED 51.

‘grass’, A *āti*, B *ātiyai*, with Scythian **aδī* ‘grass’ (< Iran. **atī-*) and further with the Baltic and Slavic terms for ‘young grass’. According to traditional opinion repeated by Manfred Mayrhofer, the Indic and Dardic terms for ‘flax’, **atasī-*, remain with no transparent etymology, but the formation **atasī-* seems to derive from the basic noun **atī* ‘grass’ (confirmed by the Tocharian and Scythian data), likewise as OInd. *yávasa-* (m. / n.) ‘grass’ derives from *yáva-* (m.) ‘corn, grain, barley’¹⁹. The Welsh (Celtic) forms match perfectly the suggested root **at-* ‘grass’. Only the Anatolian forms seem somewhat ambiguous. Puhvel quotes them under the verbal root *ḡat-* ‘to dry up, to become parched’ (< PIE. **H₂ad-*), paying attention to the phrase *welku ḡadan* ‘dried grass, hay’, but the cereal name *ḡattar* contains the geminate *-tt-*, which represents the voiceless dental stop *-t-* rather than *-d-*. The Lycian form *χθθase* ‘hay, fodder’ seems to be developed by means of the suffix *-so-*, which is seen in OInd. *atasa-* (n.) ‘bush, thicket’.

In my opinion, **at-* is the basic Indo-European term for ‘grass’. To further persuade all possible sceptics I would like to cite the item **GRASS**, which was introduced into the recently published *Encyclopedia of Indo-European culture*. The text by D. Q. Adams reads as follows²⁰:

“**uel-* ‘grass’ [IEW 1139–1140 (**uel-*); Buck 8.51]. Welsh *gwellt* ‘grass’, OPrus *wolti* ‘head of grass’, Lith. *váltis* ‘oat panicle’, Hit *wellu(want)-* ‘grass’. Cf. also OCS *vlasŭ* ‘hair, particularly human headhair’ and OInd *válsa-* ‘branch, sprout’. Rather sparsely attested; however, its geographical distribution assures its antiquity within IE. Probably the oldest word we can reconstruct for ‘grass’. Within the cosmological system of the early Indo-Europeans, grass is an alloform of hair, i.e. in the stories of the creation of the universe, grass is formed from the hair of the primeval giant. Similarly, in cures of balness, grass is applied to stimulate the regrowth of hair.

koino-* ‘grass’. [IEW 610 (koi-no-*); Buck 8.52]. Lith *šiėnas* ‘hay’, Latv *siens* ‘hay’, OCS *sěno* ‘hay, fodder, grass’, Grk (Hesychius) *χοινά* (pl.?) ‘grass’. At least a late term used in the central area of the IE-speaking world”.

It should be obvious for everybody that the former item **wel-*, in spite of its undeniable archaic character, appears to have an extremely scarce distribution, which is limited (at least in the meaning ‘grass’) only to the Anatolian and Celtic stocks.

¹⁹ The derivatives ending with *-sa-* are common in Indo-Iranian, e.g. Pashto *sābah* m. ‘vegetables, greens’, also ‘a kind of grass’ (< Iran. **sāpa-ha-* m.) vs. Waziri *sōbə* m. pl. ‘a kind of vegetable eaten with bread’, Pashai *savī* ‘grass’ (< Iran. **sāpa-*, formally = Lith. *šāpas* m. ‘straw, blade of grass, stalk’, *šāpai* m. pl. ‘what remains in the field after a flood’, OInd. *śāpaḥ* m. ‘what floats in water; driftwood, floating’). Note that **yáva-sa-* occurs in four subgroups of Indo-Iranian, i.e. in Indic (cf. Skt. *yávasa-* m. / n. ‘grass’, Pali *yavasa-* n. ‘grass, hay’, Prakrit *javasa-* n. ‘grass, wheat and other grains’, Marathi *javas* m. ‘linseed plant’, n. ‘linseed’), Kafir (cf. Ashkun *yūs* ‘grass’ vs. Ashkun *yū*, Waigali *yū* ‘barley, millet’), Dardic (cf. Khovar *još* ‘grass’) and Iranian (cf. Awest. *yavanḡha-* n. ‘pasture’ vs. Avest. *yava-* (m.) ‘corn’, NPers. *jav*, *jō* ‘barley’, Osset. Iron *yæu* ‘millet’).

²⁰ D. Q. Adams, *Grass*, – *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture*, edited by J. P. Mallory and D. Q. Adams, London–Chicago, 1997, 240 (henceforth: EIEC).

What is more, it is highly probable that the sense ‘grass’ may (though have not to) be a semantic innovation²¹. The latter one (which should be reconstructed rather as **k̑₃ino-*) denotes first of all ‘hay’²², thus C. D. Buck lists correctly the root under 8.52 HAY²⁴. In opposition to the opinion expressed by D. Q. Adams in *EIEC*, the term **at-* ‘grass’, which occurs in many ancient languages, including the most archaic like Tocharian, Hittite, Old Indic and Scythian, must be regarded as «the oldest word [which] we can reconstruct for ‘grass’». In the Baltic, Slavic and Iranian languages we can distinguish secondary derivatives denoting ‘young grass, which grew up in summer after moving the spring one; aftermath, after-grass’. Moreover, one may securely conclude that two Lithuanian terms for ‘summer rye’, *atúodogiai* and *atúoriečiai*, meant primarily nothing other than ‘summer grass’ and ‘spring grass’, respectively.

²¹ The original meaning is perhaps ‘meadow, pasture’ (IE. **welu-* or **welsu-*, see Hitt. *wellu-* ‘meadow’; Pashto *wuršō* f. ‘meadow’ < Iran. **warušā-*; Gk. Ἠλύσιον πᾶδιον ‘the Elysian fields’, originally ‘meadow of the otherworld’), as suggested by D. Q. Adams in *EIEC* (p. 200, s.v. FIELD). It should be emphasized that IE. **wel-u-* denotes rather ‘a kind of fodder-grass’ or even ‘a kind of millet’, see OInd. *varukah*, *varūkah* (m.) ‘a kind of inferior grain’, Marathi *barag* ‘a kind of millet, *Paspalum miliaceum*’ (as if from **welū-ko-*), Shughni *warx* ‘a kind of mountain grass’, Roshani, Bartangi, Khufi *wārġ* ‘id.’, Yazghulami *warx* ‘the grass *Prangos pabularia*’ (as if from **welu-kho-*), Gk. ἔλυμος (f.) ‘Italian millet, *Panicum italicum* L. = *Setaria Italica* Beauv.’ (as if from **welu-mo-*) and Lith. *velėna* (f.) ‘soil-surface with grass-roots growing in it, turf’, also ‘young grass’. Taking into account the Indic and Greek forms, as well as Lith. *váltis* ‘oats panicle’, SC. *vlät* (f.) ‘ear of corn’, Pol. *włóc* (*zbożowa*) ‘a kind of millet, *Paspalum scrobiculatum* L. = *Paspalum frumentaceum* Rott.’, it seems not impossible to add a new item to six Indo-European words for ‘millet’, discussed by me in a previous issue of „Baltistica“, see K. T. Witczak, Millet (*Panicum* L.) in Lithuanian and Other Indo-European Languages, – Blt XXXII (1), 1997, 25–39.

²² The Hesychian gloss κοινά : χόρτος seems to denote ‘hay, fodder’ (it is the basic meaning of Gk. χόρτος) rather than ‘grass’. Also Lat. *faenum*, secondarily *fēnum*, *foenum* (n.) ‘hay (fresh and dried)’ and a number of Romance forms (e.g. Sp. *heno*, It. *fieno*, Fr. *foin*, Roum. *fin*) must derive through the stage **khainom* from the Indo-European term for ‘hay’ (IE. **k̑₃ino-*).

²³ C. D. Buck, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages. A Contribution to the History of Ideas*, Chicago, 1949, 520–521.