

Indo-European  $*\partial_2 k̑ éwā$  'elder, *Sambucus nigra* L.' and  
its Baltic descendants

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*Abstract*

In his paper the author reconstructs for the first time the Indo-European term for '*Sambucus nigra* L.' and discusses phonological and semantic aspects of this proposal. The original meaning of the archetype  $*\partial_2 k̑ éwā$  is preserved not only in the Baltic languages such as Jatvingian (a gloss *fjale* 'bez', i.e. 'elder') and Lithuanian (*šeivā-medīs, šeiv-medīs* 'elder-tree'), but also in Greek and Dacian. In Armenian this appellative means 'ash-tree', whereas in Albanian and in Bessan it has probably undergone a deeper semantic divergence: '*Sambucus nigra*' > '*Ilex aquifolium*' > '*Tussilago farfara*'.

1. POSSIBLE EVIDENCE

Evidence for I.E.  $*\partial_2 k̑ éwā$  f. 'elder' is seen, according to my opinion, in Greek ἄκτεα f. 'elder', also ἄκτεος (m.), Attic ἄκτη f. 'id.' (whence Lat. *acte*) with a secondary contraction, Armenian *hac'i* (gen. pl. *hac'eac'*) 'ash', Dacian σέβα, *seva* f. 'elder', Jatvingian *fjale* '*Sambucus nigra*' and Lithuanian *šeivā-medīs, šeiv-medīs* 'elder' (cf. *mēdis* 'tree'). It cannot be excluded that two other cognates (Bessan ἄσᾶ, Albanian *ashë* '*Ilex aquifolium, Tussilago farfara*') belong here as well.

## 2. REMARKS ON GREEK ἄκτεά

So far no etymology for Gk. ἄκτεά has been proposed, see, e.g., Boisacq (1950:39), (Frisk 1960:60-61), Chantraine (1968:52). However, if this word belongs to the Greek arboreal vocabulary of Indo-European origin, the etymology presented here for the first time may become an important achievement in research. The Greek term requires no additional comments, because the derivation of Gk. ἄκτεά 'elder' from IE. \* $\partial_2$ k $\acute{P}$ éwā 'id.' presents no phonological difficulties, and, on the other hand, the semantic aspects are unquestionable. Thus the Greek word for 'elder' seems to be the basic reflex of the Indo-European etymon.

## 3. A CONTROVERSY ON THE ORIGIN OF ARMENIAN hac'i 'ASH'

Traditionally, Indo-Europeanists have compared the Armenian term for 'ash', hac'i, with Germanic \*askaz/\*askiz m. 'id.',<sup>1</sup> Albanian ah (from IE. \*oskos f. 'ash'), Indo-Aryan \*ašká- (and \*akšá- by metathesis of -sk-) 'a kind of deciduous tree'<sup>2</sup> and Greek δξύη, δξέα f. 'beech' (Pokorny 1959:782; Friedrich 1966:20, 1970:92-98), but this connection is unsatisfactory on account of the unexpected a-vocalism in the Armenian word<sup>3</sup> and because of the presence of Arm. c' indicating a consonant group with the Indo-European palatal \*k, namely -sk-, -ks- and k -, whereas the Indo-European name for 'ash, Fraxinus' contains the Indo-European velar stop \*k (see Mann

<sup>1</sup>Cf. OIsl. askr m. 'ash-tree; ashwood spear, ship', Isl. askur, Norw. ask, OSwed. asker, Swed. Dan. ask 'ash', OE. æsk 'ash; ashwood spear, boat' (all from Gmc. \*askaz m.) and OHG. asc, OSax. ask (both from Gmc. \*askiz m.). See especially De Vries (1961:15), s.v. askr.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Skt. akšá- m. 'the tree *Elaeocarpus ganitrus*', Nepali ākh 'the tree *Croton oblongifolius* (?)', Modern Singhalese aka 'the tree *Terminalia belerica*' (Turner 1966: No. 22). The Ugro-Fennic terms for 'elm, ash' (Mord. ukso, uks 'elm, *Ulmus*; ash, *Fraxinus excelsior*'; Cher. ošk 'ash, poplar', dial. oško 'black poplar' < UF. \*oksa or \*oska) are clearly borrowings from Indo-Aryan (cf. Pokorny 1959:782; Rédei 1986:55) and they might conceivably belong here as well. It should be added that the metathesis of -sk- > -ks- is also attested in Gk. δξύη, δξέα f. 'beech, *Fagus*' ([as if] from IE. \*oskúwā/\*oskéwā f. 'ash, *Fraxinus*').

<sup>3</sup>Georgiev (1981:145) explains the development of IE. \*o to Arm. a, suggesting that hac'i 'ash' belongs to the Mysian component of the Armenian vocabulary. Unfortunately, the thesis about the existence of two components in Armenian is in the air and can be hardly accepted.

1984-1987:894, s.v. oskos), perfectly attested in the Albanian and Indo-Aryan forms. In other words, the Armenian word hac'i 'ash' (with an irregular h- as in the case of hum 'ram' or hot 'odour', cf. Schmitt 1981:47) cannot be derived from IE. \*oskéwā (cf. Gk. δξέα 'beech' with the metathesis of -sk- > -ks-) since one would expect to find Arm. \*\*oši and perhaps \*uši<sup>4</sup>, and therefore it seems preferable to posit IE. \* $\partial_2$ k $\acute{P}$ éwā (\* $\partial_2$ k $\acute{P}$ éwos) as the source form of Arm. hac'i which closely resembles the source form of Greek ἄκτεά (ἀκτέος) 'elder'. Thus both the Greek and Armenian nouns trace back to the same Indo-European protoform \* $\partial_2$ k $\acute{P}$ éwā (\* $\partial_2$ k $\acute{P}$ éwos) 'elder, *Sambucus nigra* L.' with a rare consonant group -k $\acute{P}$ -<sup>5</sup>.

ADDENDUM: Having written this paper I found that the Greek word δξέα 'beech' can be exactly connected with Arm. uši 'a kind of tree', dial. hoši 'a particular bush' (Džaukjan 1967:255). In respect of its shape, the correspondence of Arm. uši (and hoši with an irregular h-) and Greek δξέα 'beech' (both from IE. \*oskéwā f.) is quite analogical to some other Greek-Armenian names of deciduous trees and plants, for instance, (a) Arm. hac'i 'ash' = Gk. ἄκτεά / ἀκτέος 'elder'; (b) Arm. telí 'elm' = Gk. πελέα, Myc. pte-re-wa 'id.' (see 3.5); (c) Arm. mori = Gk. μορέα f. 'mulberry-tree' (see 3.6).

4. THE ARBOREAL TERMINOLOGY BEGINNING WITH IE. \* $\partial_2$ - AND THE SUFFIX -éwā (-éwos)

The initial Greek  $\acute{\alpha}$ - and Armenian ha (if h is of a secondary origin) can reflect the "prothetic vowel" \* $\partial_2$ , which occurs in other Indo-European

<sup>4</sup>An unexpected vowel lengthening before -š- is frequent in Armenian, e.g.

(1) Arm. ēš (gen. sg. išoy) 'ass, donkey' < IE. \*ékwoš m. 'horse', cf. Skt. áśvaḥ, Avestan aspa-, Lat. equus 'id.';

(2) Arm. gišer (o-stem) 'evening, night' < IE. \*wésk<sup>w</sup>eros m. 'evening', cf. Gk. ἕσπερος, Lat. vesper ([as if] from Osco-Umbrian), OIr. fescor, Welsh ucher (all from IE. \*wésk<sup>w</sup>eros/\*wésk<sup>w</sup>oros m. 'evening' (Illič-Svityč 1979:155, fn. 21).

<sup>5</sup>This consonant group appears in the most ancient Indo-European terminology, such as IE. \*k $\acute{P}$ inos 'kite' (cf. Gk. ἰκτῖνος 'a bird of prey, esp. kite' = Arm. c'in 'kite, vulture'), \*H $\acute{P}$ os 'bear, *Ursus*' (cf. Gk. ἄρκτος, Arm. arj < \*arc', OIr. art, Lat. ursus 'id.') and \*k $\acute{P}$ oryanos f. 'wheat' (Arm. c'orean = Mlr. tuirenn 'id.'). see Gunnarson (1971:49-51), Witczak (1992:69-70). Brugmann's notation /k $\acute{P}$ / is used here quite consciously because I think that it is more precise than both Cuny-Benveniste's /k $\acute{P}$ / and Kretschmer-Szemerényi's /tk/ notations. The problem of Brugmann's 'interdental spirants' shall be discussed by me in a separate paper.

names of deciduous trees and plants, e.g.

4.1. Gk. ἄπιος f. 'pear-tree', ἄπιον n. 'pear [fruit]'; Lat. *pirus*, also *pira* f. 'pear-tree', *pirum* n. 'pear [fruit]'; Iranian \**piša-* 'pear [tree and fruit]': Wakhi *pēšu*, whence comes Burushaski *phēšo*, Werchikwar *phēšu* 'id.' (all trace back to IE. \**ǵ<sub>2</sub>píso*s f. 'pear-tree', *ǵ<sub>2</sub>píso*m n. 'pear [fruit]');

4.2. Gk. ἄσπαραγος, Attic ἀσφάραγος m. 'young shoot', also 'stone sperage, *Asparagus acutifolius*'; Skt. *sphūrjaḥ* m. 'the plant *Diospyros embryopteris*'; Avest. *spərəṅa-* 'a prong', Wakhi *sprag* 'flower'; Lith. *spūrgas* m. 'shoot, sprout, bud, fridge' (all come IE. \**ǵ<sub>2</sub>sp<sub>h</sub>₂gos* m. 'a sprout');

4.3. Gk. ἄφάκη 'tare, *Vicia angustifolia*'; Alb. *bathë* f. 'beans' (both from IE. \**ǵ<sub>2</sub>bha*kā f. 'a leguminous plant');

4.4. Gk. ἄχερδος f. 'wild pear-tree, *Pyrus amygdaliformis*', Laconian ἄχρᾶς, -ᾶδος f. 'id.' (< \**ǵ<sub>2</sub>gherdos* beside \**ǵ<sub>2</sub>gh<sub>h</sub>d-s*); Mac. ἄγέρδα f. 'common pear-tree, *Pyrus communis*'; Alb. *dardhë* f. 'pear-tree' (< \**ǵ<sub>2</sub>gh<sub>h</sub>dā*); Toch. \**kārdo* f. 'pear-tree', whence Turkish and Ossetic appellatives for 'pear-tree'.

The suffix *-éwā* (*-éwos*) appears regularly in the Indo-European arboreal terminology (not only in the word \**ǵ<sub>2</sub>k<sub>ṛ</sub>éwā* 'elder') and may be found in such words as, e.g.,

4.5. Gk. πετέα f. 'elm, *Ulmus campestris*', Ionic πετέλη, also πετέα 'id.' in Epidaurus, Myc. *pte-re-wa* beside *pe-te-re-wa*, Modern Greek φτελία 'elm'; Arm. *t'eli* (gen. sg. *t'eleac* 'elm'<sup>6</sup>; Ossetic (Iron) *fārw*, (Digoron) *fārvā* 'alder'; OHG. *fēlawa*, *fēlwa* f. 'willow', MHG. *velwe* f. (and *velwēr* m.), German *Felbe* f. (and *Felber* m.) 'white willow' (all from IE. \**p<sub>ṛ</sub>eléwā* f. 'a deciduous tree, probably elm' (see especially Boisacq 1950:820, Gunnarsson 1971:68, Čop 1970:22);

4.6. Gk. Attic μορέα, Ionic μορέη f. 'mulberry-tree', Modern Greek μουριά 'id.'; Arm. *mori* (gen. pl. *moreac* 'bush of the mulberry' (both from IE. \**moréwā* f. 'mulberry-tree', cf. also Gk. μόρον n. 'mulberry' beside

<sup>6</sup>Some comparatists, such as Hübschmann (1962:375), Pokorny (1959:847), Frisk (1967:611), treat Arm. *t'eli* as a borrowing from Gk. πετέα 'elm', but Džaukjan (1967:96) rightly asserts that it is genuine Armenian. On the other hand, Pokorny (1959:847) erroneously separates the Greek and Armenian words for 'elm' from the Iranian and Germanic cognates (differently Szemerényi 1979:332). He prefers the correspondence between Gk. π(τ)ελέ(φ)α 'elm' and Lat. *tília* 'linden', but this is problematical from both phonological and formal points of view (Latin *tília* 'linden' should be connected with Gk. τιλίαι pl. 'black poplars', mentioned in Hesychius' lexicon).

μῶρον n. 'id.', Modern Greek μούρο; Lat. *mōrum* n. 'mulberry'; Arm. *mor* 'blackberry, mulberry' (see Pokorny 1959:749; Vendryes 1960:M-40; Frisk 1967:256; Chantraine 1947:713).

The above-mentioned suffix is especially frequent in both the Greek and Armenian languages and can be found in such words as:

4.7. Gk. μηλέα f. 'apple-tree', Dor. μαλέα f. 'id.' (from IE. \**māléwā*, cf. *mālus* f. 'id.', Alb. *mollë* f. 'apple [tree and fruit]', Hitt. *mahlaš* 'vine' < PIE. \**meh<sub>2</sub>lós* f. 'apple-tree');

4.8. Gk. Attic καστανέα f. 'chestnut-tree' (from IE. \**kastanéwā* f. 'id.', cf. Gk. Doric κάστανος f., Gaulish \**kassanos* 'oak': OFr. *chesne*, Fr. *chêne* 'id.' < IE. \**kastanos* f. 'a tree with edible nuts or acorns');

4.9. Gk. εἰτέα f. 'willow' (from IE. \**ǵ<sub>1</sub>witéwā* f. 'a kind of willow', cf. Pol. *witwa* f. 'osier, wicker', OPrus. *witwan* 'willow', *ape-witwo* 'osier' (Trautmann 1923:347; Toporov 1975:984);

4.10. Arm. *kalni* 'oak', gen. pl. *kalneac* (from IE. \**ǵ<sup>w</sup>lh<sub>2</sub>néwā*, cf. Arm. *kalin* 'acorn', Gk. βάλανος 'id.' < \**ǵ<sup>w</sup>lh<sub>2</sub>nos* 'acorn, glans').

## 5. BALTIC EVIDENCE FOR INDO-EUROPEAN \**ǵ<sub>2</sub>k<sub>ṛ</sub>éwā* 'ELDER, *Sambucus nigra* L.'

Related to these two words for 'elder', but showing the shift of *a*-stem to *e*-stem, characteristic of Baltic, is Jatvingian *sjale* '*Sambucus*' (gl. 'bez')<sup>7</sup>. This word can reflect Baltic \**šewē* f., because it is possible to demonstrate that, on the one hand, the Baltic phoneme \**e* yields Jatv. 'a (written as *ja* and *a* in Zinov's Glossary<sup>8</sup>), e.g.

5.1. Jatv. *pjarkuf* (i.e. *p'arkūs*) 'a pagan god' (gl. 'pogańske') < Baltic \**Perkūnas* 'God of Thunder(bolt)', originally 'oak god', cf. Lith. *Perkūnas*, OPrus. *Percunis* 'Thunder-god';

<sup>7</sup>In his article on the Polish-Jatvingian Glossary Zimas Zinkevičius (1984:18) finds that the meaning of Jatv. *sjale* (48 gl. 'bez') is obscure because Polish *bez* can be either a preposition meaning 'without' or a noun denoting 'elder-tree'. He also suggests that this word is corrupt. There are no good reasons to accept Zinkevičius' argument. The Jatvingian word is mentioned next to two other arboreal terms, namely Jatv. *pufe* 'pine-tree' (49 gl. 'sosna') and *egle* 'fir-tree' (50 gl. 'jodlowica'). Thus I have no doubts that Jatv. *sjale* (48) means '*Sambucus nigra*'.

<sup>8</sup>Zinov's Glossary (i.e. the only Polish-Jatvingian glossary) was discovered by V. J. Zinov, a young antiquarian, in 1978 in the Belovežje Forest (Byelorussia) and was published by Zinkevičius (1984 and 1985).

5.2. Jatv. *szjaszi* 'six' (i.e. *š'aši*) < Baltic \**šeši*, cf. Lith. *šeši* '6'.

On the other hand, however, the Baltic phoneme *w* yields *l* [l] in Jatvingian (e.g. in *u*-diphthongs), that is why we have the following notations:

5.3. Jatv. *cauta* 'guilt, sin' (gl. 'wina') instead of \**kalta*, cf. Lith. *kaltė* 'sin' with the secondary shift to *e*-stem (both from Baltic \**kaltā*);

5.4. Jatv. *sala* 'sun' (gl. 'słońcie' instead of \**saula*, cf. Lith. *saulė*, Latv. *saule* 'sun', OPrus. *saule*);

5.5. Jatv. *kauni* (pl.) 'mountains' (gl. 'góra?') instead of \**katni*, cf. Lith. *kálnas* 'mountain, hill' (pl. *kalnai*), Latv. *kalns* (pl. *kalni*) < Baltic \**kalnas* 'id.' IE. \**kolh<sub>3</sub>nós*, cf. Gk. *κολωνός* 'hummock, tomb';

5.6. Jatv. *spila* 'small feather' (gl. 'piórko') instead of \**spilwa*, cf. Latv. *spilva* 'bird down' (Karulis 1987:138) < Baltic \**spilwā* f.; note also Latv. *spalva* 'feather' with an apophonical *o*-grade.

In my opinion, the Jatvingian word for '*Sambucus nigra*' cannot be separated from Lith. *šeivā-medis*, *šeiv-medis* 'elder', a compound containing Lith. *mėdis* 'tree' (cf. Jatv. *mejdo* 'tree', gl. 'drzewo', OPrus. *median* 'forest')<sup>9</sup>. Some doubts may be raised by the presence of an unexpected *ei*-diphthong in the Lithuanian term for 'elder'; however, this can have arisen by folk-etymology ('tree with holes', cf. Lith. *kiáur-medis*, English *hollow-tree*, OHG. *holun-tar*, all meaning 'elder') on account of an analogy to the Lithuanian noun *šeivà* 'pipe, tubule'.

It is worth emphasizing here that the lack of "prothetic vowels" is quite regular in Baltic languages, e.g. Lith. *bruvīs*, Latv. *bruvīs* 'eyebrow' < \**ə<sub>2</sub>bhrūs* f. 'id.', cf. Greek *ὄφρῦς* f. 'eyebrow', Paleo-Macedonian *ἄβροῦτες* (pl.) 'eyebrows'.

## 6. NOTES ON THE ORIGIN OF DACIAN *σέβα* 'ELDER'

The Dacian word *σέβα*, *seva* '*Sambucus nigra* L.', mentioned by Dioscorides Medicus (1st century A. D.), may reflect the Indo-European etymon \**ə<sub>2</sub>k̑P éwā* f., if we accept the lack of the "prothetic vowel" *ə<sub>2</sub>*- in Dacian. It can be added that the correspondence between Dacian and Lithuanian names for 'elder' was found many years ago by Tomaschek (1894:84), who notes on this tree that "the branches are full of pith and towards the tips

<sup>9</sup>For morphological parallels, see Ukrainian *bez-derevo* (XVIII century A.D.), literally 'elder-tree' (cf. Ukr. *derevo* 'tree'), and also Skt. *pītu-dāru* 'a conifer' beside Gk. *πίτυς* f. 'fir, pine, spruce' (cf. Skt. *dāru* n. 'tree').

they are empty" (Die Äste sind mit Mark gefüllt und werden zuletzt hohl)<sup>10</sup>; from this comes E. *hollow-tree*, OHG. *holun-tar*, German *holunder-baum*, Lith. *kiáur-medis* (cf. Lith. *pakiaurūs* adj. 'locker, löcherig'), and also *šeivā-medis* (i.e. 'Spülchenbaum' in Tomaschek's interpretation) from *šeivà* 'pipe, tubule'. His observation was continued by Detschew (1957:559), who derives Dacian *σέβα*, *seva* 'elder' from the Indo-European root \**kew-* 'to swell, vault, to be hollow' (see Pokorny 1959:592f.), and independently by Georgiev (1964:11; 1977:196; 1981:122), who compares the Dacian word with Lith. *šeivà* f. 'pipe, tubule' deriving both from IE. \**keiwā* (cf. also Nerzszak 1978:63). Both etymologies cannot be maintained. Detschew's explanation remains an example of a typical "Wurzeletymologie", which does not meet the basic linguistic requirements, whereas Georgiev's derivation from \**keiwā* must be rejected for both semantical (? 'pipe, tubule') and phonological reasons (lack of the Dacian diphthong *ei*-).

The etymology suggested in this paper seems to be more reliable, because the Dacian name for 'elder' is clearly the exact equivalent, both as to the shape and meaning, of Greek *ἄκτέα* 'elder', Armenian *hac'i* 'ash' and Baltic \**šewā* 'elder' (testified by Jatv. *šjale* and Lith. *šeivā-medis* 'id.').

## 7. SPECULATIONS ON THE BESSAN AND ALBANIAN COGNATES

As far as I know, only one gloss, nominally described as belonging to the language of the Bessans, has survived in the ancient sources: *ἄσᾶ* (formerly \**ἄσᾶ*), i.e. *ἄκρόφυλλον* 'colt's foot, *Tussilago farfara*' (cf. Sotiroff 1963:105; Nerzszak 1978:41). This gloss has an evident relation to the Albanian term *ashë*, meaning 'colt's foot' on the one hand, and '*Ilex aquifolium*' on the other. This coincidence is striking both phonetically (Alb. *ë* is a middle vowel, not clearly articulated, resembling Rum. *ă* or Bulg. *ə*) and semantically. Both terms seem to continue the Indo-European protoform \**ə<sub>2</sub>k̑P éwā* 'elder' as well. The phonological aspects are unquestionable here, whereas the semantic change '*Sambucus nigra*' > '*Ilex aquifolium*' > '*Tussilago farfara*' is fully motivated by the similarity of sharp-pointed leaves of all

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Georgiev (1981:122). Quite an improbable etymology of Dacian *σέβα*, *seva* 'elder' was given by Friedrich (1970:31, note 9), who compares it with Gaulish *σκοβίη* 'id.', Slavic \**bōzš* and Latin *sambucus* 'id.'. Later he adds also Hittite *šampukki* 'a caserole dish' (ein Topfgericht), the more limited meaning of which as a cooked food made of elderberries is far from established (Friedrich 1970a:149-150).

plants in question. Moreover, if the proposed etymology of the Bessan and Albanian words is correct, then their significant semantic similarity<sup>11</sup> proves a genetic relationship between Albanian and the language of the Bessans. Stating this Bessan-Albanian lexical resemblance, one cannot overlook the great semantic and phonetic divergence between Dacian  $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha$ , *seva* f. 'Sambucus nigra' and the Bessan-Albanian term  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tilde{\alpha}$ /*ashë* '\*Ilex aquifolium; Tussilago farfara', which speaks against the formerly suggested hypothesis about the Dacian origin of Albanian.

#### 8. CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

The lexical evidence given above indicates that the archaic lexeme  $*\partial_2 k\acute{P}\acute{e}w\acute{a}$  f., postulated in this paper, existed in the Indo-European protolanguage. The observations presented here have enabled me to suggest the following lexical entry that will be included in a new version of an Indo-European Dictionary<sup>12</sup>:

\* $\acute{a}k\acute{P}\acute{e}w\acute{a}$  f. (*a*-stem) 'elder, Holunderbaum, czarny bez, *Sambucus nigra* L.', also \* $\acute{a}k\acute{P}\acute{e}w\acute{o}s$  m. (< f.) 'id.'

Gk.  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$  f. 'elder', Attic  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\eta$  (borrowed into Lat. *acte* 'id.'): only once  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$  m. // Arm. *hac*'i (gen. pl. *hac'eac*) 'ash' // Dac.  $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\beta\alpha$ , *seva* f. 'elder' // ? Bessan  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tilde{\alpha}$  (formerly \* $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ ) 'the plant *Tussilago farfara*'; Albanian *ashë* f. 'id.; the tree *Ilex aquifolium*' // Baltic *šewā* f. 'elder': Jatv. *šjale* 'id.' (gl. 'bez'); Lith. *šėivā-medīs*, *šėiv-medīs* 'elder-tree' (cf. Lith. *mėdis* 'tree').

<sup>11</sup> Probably the Bessan term  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tilde{\alpha}$  meant not only 'colt's foot' but also '*Ilex aquifolium*'; the lack of confirmation of the latter meaning is easily explained by the incompleteness of the ancient data and by the accidental character of the bequeathed vocabulary.

<sup>12</sup> The mode of presentation follows the principles worked out for a new Indo-European dictionary, prepared by a research group at the University of Łódź (see Danka & Witczak 1990:316-317). For reasons of convenience, we use the notations  $\acute{e}$   $\acute{a}$   $\acute{o}$  instead of the "hieroglyphic signs"  $\partial_1$   $\partial_2$   $\partial_3$  (as in the traditional symbolism) to denote *e*-/*a*-/*o*-coloured vocalized laryngeals.

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