Harald Bjorvand & Frederik Otto Lindemann: *Våre arveord. Etymologisk ordbok*, Oslo 2000[†][*]
reviewed by *Václav Blažek*

The first etymological dictionary of Norwegian (& Danish) was published by Falk and Torp in 1903-06, in 1910 edited in the German translation and reprinted in 1960. The Norwegian material was based on *bokmål*. In 1919 A. Torp published the etymological dictionary of *nynorsk*. Both the dictionaries reflect the young-grammarian level of the Indo-European linguistics. A new etymological dictionary appears only after 8 decades. The dictionary under review is primarily also based on *boksmål*, but the data from *nynorsk* are systematically quoted too. The dictionary starts with **contents** (p. 5), **preface** (pp. 7-8), where the authors refer to their predecessors, and explain their own purposes, **introduction** (pp. 9-12), containing a short survey of the Germanic languages and their historicény phonetics (Lex Grimm, Lex Verner) in the Indo-European context, plus **abbreviations** (13-16). The etymological part is more than respectable: pp. 17-1110. In the end, there are **index** of the cited Norwegian words without their own entries (pp. 1111-1120) and **bibliography** (pp. 1121-1142). A typical entry is arranged as follows: 1) item with its semantic definition; 2) cognates in all, both old and modern Sandinavian languages; 2) cognates in all old and modern other Germanic languages; 3) discussion of the proto-Germanic starting-point; 4) cognates from *all* Indo-European branches; 5) reconstruction of the Indo-European starting-point. Only this entry structure indicates the high ambition of the present dictionary. One of the author, Frederik Otto Lindemann, belongs in the first league in the Indo-European studies, especially in the field of the *laryngeal theory*. Judging the result, it is apparent that his and Bjorvand's "Etymological Dictionary of Norwegian" can be classified as one of the best modern etymological dictionary of any Germanic, and Indo-European languages at all. The following comments are represented only by rare supplementa and still more rare corrigenda.

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[*] To be also published in *Philologia Fenno-Ugrica*. Reproduced with permission. [Editor's note]

Adenda and corrigenda

Ad pp. 17-18: **adel** "nobility" < Germanic **áþala-*. The authors prefer the derivation from the Lallwort **atta* "father" (so Benveniste). The reviewer tried to demonstrate the etymological connection with Hieroglyphic Luwian *atala-* "brother" (Hawkins 2000, 131-32, 626), perhaps Tocharian A *ātäl* "man (vir)" and other forms, reflecting the old institution of 'fosterage' as a common denominator (Blažek 2003-04, 3-5): Greek ἀταλός "tender, delicate (of youthful persons)", ἀτάλλω "I skip in childish glee, gambol; bring up a child, rear, foster", redupl. ἀτιτάλλω "I rear, tend" (about other than own child, cf. *Il.* XXIV, 60; *Od.* XVIII, 323; Hesiod, *Theog.* 480), ἀτιτάλτας "foster-father" (Gortyn); see in details Moussy 1972. Maybe also the name of the heroine Ἀταλάντη belongs here. It is usually interpreted as "the [woman] equal [to a man]". According to the Arcadian version of the myth, she was a daughter of Minyos' daughter Klymene and Schoineos, who should come in Arcadia from Boeotia. In agreement with the local rules another man called Iasios (also Iasos or Iasion) was determined as her foster-father. But he wished a boy and that is why he left her in the Parthenion Mountains. A she-bear became her new foster-mother who also suckled her. Later Atalanta found her new home among herdsmen where she presented herself as a top-hunter and runner (Kaerst, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Halbband 4, 1896, c. 1891). In the story the motiv of the fosterage occurs at least twice: in the case of the foster-father who left Atalanta in the mountains and the she-bear who found and suckled her. Szemerény (1952, 42-43) preferred the derivation from the root **al-* = **H₂el-* "to grow; nourish", best attested in Latin *alō : alere* "to nourish", *alimentum* "food", *prōles* "offspring, race" (**pro-alēs*), *indolēs* "nature, inborn quality" (**endo-alēs*), Old Irish *alim* "I rear, foster", *altram* "act of nurturing / fostering; fosterage", *altru* "fosterer", Welsh *alu* "to bring forth", Cornish *els* "stepson"; Gothic, Old English *alan* "to grow", Old Icelandic *ala* "to nourish" (Pokorny 1959, 26-27); Tocharian B *āl* "adult"? (Adams 1999, 53-54).

Ad pp. 27-29: **alen** "ell" - add Tocharian A *āle*, B *aliye* "palm of the hand" < **H₃élni-* (see Adams with the older literature, beginning of Van Windekens 1941); further Hittite *halhaldani-* "shoulder"?, Cuneiform Luwian (:) *halhalzāna/i-* c. "a body part", with the variant *halzānin* without the partial reduplication (Puhvel 1988, 256-57; 1991, 22-23).

Ad pp. 34-35: **and** "duck" - a possible Celtic correspondent could be identified in the name *Inis Ane* of one of the Scottish Islands from the end of the 1st cent. AD, called *Insula Anas* 'Duck's Island' by the Geographer from Ravenna ca. AD 700 (Hamp 1999-2001[2003], 55.

Ad pp. 78-79: **bjørn** "bear" - in agreement with many other scholars the authors connect Germanic **bernu-* & **beran-* "bear" with Lithuanian *bĕras* "brown". The reviewer (Blažek 2000, 54-55) offered an alternative etymology based on Gaulish **borna* "beehive" > South French *borna* id., Puy de Dôme *burnio* "bee", further Middle Irish *bern(a)* "Kluft, Schlitz", with other suffixal extension Slavic **bъrtь/ъ* "beehive". The similar semantic motivation is apparent for Slavic **medvĕdъ* "honey-eater", Lithuanian *bit-meškis* "bee-

bear", Old Irish *mil-chobur* "honey-lover". Less evident, but no less promising is to propose it for Baltic *lākija-* "bear" = "licker", Prusiian *clokis* "bear", NL *Tloken-pelk* < *at-lākija-*. Finally the oldest IE etymon *H₂ŗtko-* "bear", can be reinterpreted as *H₂ŗd-k̂o-*, based on *H₂ŗd-* "(bee-)sting" > Sanskrit (inscr.) *aḷi-*, (class.) *ali-* "bee", (lex.) *āli-* "bee, scorpion", (Patañjali) *sāḍa-* "having a point or sting"; Greek ἄρδις "arrow-point or sting".

Ad p. 108: **brudgom** "bridegroom" - correctly Hittite *antuhsa-* "man" instead of *an-tusha-*.

Ad p. 180: **eik** "oak" - the reviewer (Blažek 2002-03, 23-24) offered the etymology of Germanic *aikō* "oak" from *ai̯ǵ-* based on the idea of the tree with hollows, known from Lithuanian *áiža* "Riss", Latvian *aĩza* "Riss, Spalte" (cf. Slavic *dǫbъ* "oak" : Lithuanian *dumbė* "Grube, Loch", *dumbù* : *dùbti* "sich höhlen, hohl werden" - see Falk 1966, 265-85) or tree with the bark typical by its cracks (cf. Greek αἰγίλωψ "sp. of oak" : λοπός "Schale, Rinde, Schuppe")

Ad p. 259: Osthoff, *PBB* 20 (1985), correctly (1895).

Ad p. 328: **gutt**, nynorsk *gut* "child" - Otrębski (1950, 94) mentioned the attractive possibility to see here a source of the ethnonym *Gut-(on-)* "Goth". There are really suggestive parallels: the Germanic ethnonym *Buri* (Tacitus, *Germ* 43) = Βοῦροι (Ptolemaios II, 11.20), derivable from Germanic *buri-* > Gothic *baur* "born", Old Icelandic. *burr*, Old English *byre* "son" (Schönfeld 1911, 58; Schwarz 1956, 72). The Slavic ethnonym *Čexъ* corresponds with the appelative *čexъ* "boy", attested in Slovenian *čèh* "boy 10-15 years old" and Kashubian *čex* "boy", cf. Sutnar 1908, 612-17; Boryś & Popowska-Taborska 1994, 227.

Ad pp. 473-75: **kone** "woman, wife" - the Latin counterpart was identified in *virgō* "virgin" < *u̯r̆r-g^u̯ō(n)* "young woman" by Ledo-Lemos (2002, 219-239). On the other hand, the dissimilation *n...n > *l...n* proposed for Tocharian A *ku̯le*, B obl. sg. *klaiñ* "woman" by K.T. Schmidt (1980, 409-10) to include them to this etymon represents the *ad hoc* solution without any example of a parallel development. The reviewrer (*HS* 118, 2005) offered another solution, consisting in the derivation of the common Tocharian form *klāu̯i̯ē(n)* from the IE kinship-term *ĝ/gleH₂u̯i-H₁ēn*. The original meaning of the Tocharian word could probably be "bride" → "young unmarried woman".

Ad pp. 501-02: **lam** "lamb" - the authors discussed the etymon *ag^u(h)no-/*og^u(h)no-* "lamb", explaining the difference *a- vs. *o-* (*H₂e- vs. *H₃e-*) from the labial dissimilation **xʷegʷno- > **xegʷno-*. This idea is in principle acceptable, but why did operate only in some branches? On the other hand, to explain the difference between aspirated *g^uh* and unaspirated *g^u*, they identify in them two different root complements, while the bare root would be only '*xʷe..*', which has to be related to *H₃eu̯i-* "sheep". This *Wurzeletymologie* is not too elegant. There were two other solutions formulated in the recent time. Witczak (1999, 40-41; 2003, 146) adds important supplements in Lusitanian acc.

sg. *angom* ± "lamb" (designation of a beast of sacrifice in the inscription from Lamas de Moledo), Albanian Tosk *enjë*, Gheg *êjë* f. "Mutterschaff, das seine Jungen verloren hat" (pAlb *agni̯ā*), and Iranian of Pamir m. *ǎ̆gara-* > Khufi, Roshani *ažor*, Bartangi, Oroshori *ažȫr* "male lamb up to one year old", f. *ǎ̆garī-* > Khufi *ažær*, Roshani *ažēr*, Bartangi *ažīr*, Oroshori *ažūr* "female lamb up to one year old". The Pamir forms correspond exactly with Latin diminutive *avellus* "agnus recentis partus" < *ag^u(h)enlo-* < *ag^u(h)ņlo-*. The reviewer (Blažek 1996, 10-11) adds the probable Baltic cognate, attested in the Balto-Fennic borrowing: Finnish *vuona*, dial. *vuonna*, *vuorna*, Karelian *vuońńia*, Vepsian *vodn*, *vodnaz*, Estonian *voon*, *vûn* "lamb" < *ōðna(s)* < Baltic **ōgnas /*ōgnā* (SKES VI, 1819-20). He also discusses the relationship of Indo-Iranian *ag^ni̯ǎ* > Old Indic (RV) *ághnyā-*, *aghnyā́-* f. "cow", frequently "milker" (also m. *ághnya-*, *aghnyá-* "bull") = Old Avestan *agəniiā-* f. "milk-cow", usually interpreted as *ņ-g^uhn-ii̯o-/-ā-* "not to be killed". But regarding the textual evidence, it seems preferable to interpret this Indo-Iranian isogloss as "belonging to *ag^uhno-/-ā-*", most naturally "belonging to the lamb". Hypothetically Tocharian B *akwane*, designating some wares ("it was bought 30 *a.* for 550 people" - see Adams 1999, 4), which is derivable from *aK^wno-*, could belong here. Following Meillet (*BSL* 24/1, 1923, 184), Witczak (1999, 41) proposes two different etymons: *ag^unos* (Greek, Italic, Slavic) vs. *og^uhnos* (Celtic, Germanic, plus newly Indo-Iranian and Albanian). Taking in account such forms as Breton *eal* "foal", Middle Cornish *ehal* "pecus vel iumentum", Middle Welsh *ael* "cubbing, breed, race", Old Irish *ál* "offspring, cubbing", representing Celtic *aglo-* which could be derived from *ag^uhlo-*, it is possible to think about the primary *l/n*-heteroclitic paradigm of the type nom. *H₂óg^uhl̥* : gen. *H₂ég^uhņs*. It is possible to suppose the neutralization of the aspiration in the cluster *-g^uhn-* (see Blažek 1996, 12).

Ad pp. 592-93: **maur** "ant" - add the early Germanic borrowings in the Balto-Fennic languages: Finnish *mauriainen* "big black ant", Karelian *mauroi* id. (Kylstra II, 257). The reviewer tried to demonstrate that this ant-name is connected with the colour-terms of the type Luwian *marru(i)-* "black, blue", Khotanese *mura-* "dark, purple, red, brown", Greek μόρυχος "dark" (Blažek 2000a, 361-62). In Western Eurasia there are two great groups of ants recognizible according to their colour: "black" and "red".

Ad pp. 650-52: **negl** "fingernail" - the authors explain *m-* in Tocharian A *maku*, B *mekwa* "fingernail" from the 'labial dissimilation' *n...w > *m...w*, again without any parallel example. The reviewer (2001, 191-95) proposed another solution, beginning from Common Tocharian *mækwæ < *māmækwæ < *[sä]mānækwæ* from the compound *sm̥-H₃nog^hu-o-* "all fingernails" or Common Tocharian *ṣänmækwæ < *sem-H₃nog^hu-o-* "one of fingernails". Similarly, Hittite *sankuwai-* "fingernail" is derivable via haplology from *sananku°* and further from the corresponding compound *sm̥-H₃ong^hu-*.

Ad pp. 661-62: **ni** "nine" - the authors mention the traditional derivation of the numeral "9" from "new". But there is at least comparably probable solution formulated by N.

Holmer who derived it from IE *ĕneu̯ "without". The detailed analysis of this idea - see Blažek 1999, 199-200.

Ad p. 691-92: **orm** "snake" - add Tocharian *warme* "ant", *wärmiye* "pertaining to ants" < *u̯rmo-* (Adams 1999, 580).

Ad p. 755: **salt** "salt" - add Hittite cognate attested in the oronym ḪURSAG *Saliwana/i* 'mountain Salt Rock' (Watkins, *Studies in Honor of Jaan Puhvel*, Part I, ed. D. Disterheft et al. Washington D.C. 1997, 34).

Ad p. 880: **svale** "swallow" - regarding semantics, the closest cognate occurs in Albanian *dallëndyshe* "swallow" (with the initial *d-* which may reflect *su̯-*, cf. *diell* "sun" < *su̯-* (see Orel 1998, 55), further add Slavic *solvьjь* "nightingale" and Hittite *saluwai-, salwini-, salwasalwa-* "a kind of the oracle bird" (CHD 2001, 108-110) - see Blažek 2005, 63.

Ad pp. 1058: **vinter** "winter" - The authors quote fours various etymologies, but none from them is unambiguous from the point of view of semantics. Semantically more plausible seems to be the comparison of pre-Germanic *wend-r-* with Hittite *wantai-* "warm sein, glühen; zürnen", partic. *wantiyant-*, fient. *wantes-* "warm werden", nom. actionis *wantemma-* "Glut, Hitze; Sonnenstrahl", redupl. *(u)wantiwant-* "Blitz", Cuneiform Luwian *wandaniya-* "(auf)leuchtend, hell" (Oettinger 1979, 381; Id. 2001, 463-65; Tischler 2001, 194). The semantic difference can be explained in two ways: a) "winter" = "[time] of the shining snow", cf. Welsh *eiry, eira* m. "snow", Middle Cornish *irch* gl. 'nix', Cornish *ergh*, Breton *erc'h* "snow" < Celtic *argio-*, probably reflected in the first component of the Gaulish proper name *Argiotalus*, and further related to Greek ἀργός "clear, white" etc. (Vendryes, *LEIA* 1959, A-88); b) "winter" is a time when the frost burns, cf. the examples from the Fenno-Ugric languages, where this connection is apparent: Finnish *pala-* "brennen", *palele-* "Kälte empfinden, frieren"; North Lappish *buolle-* "to burn, be on fire", *buolâš* "frost"; Mordvinian *palo-* "(aus)brennen", but also "(er)frieren", Mansi *pāľ-* "erfrieren"; Hungarian *fagy* "Frost; (ge)frieren" (UEW 352). Similarly Latin *pruīna* "Reif, Frost", pl. "Schnee, Winter" vs. *prūna* "glühende Kohle" or Old Indic *pruṣvá* "Tropfen, Reif, gefrorenes Wasser" vs. *plóṣati* "versengt, brennt", *pluṣṭa-* "versengt, verbrannt" or Gothic *frius* "frost" vs. Albanian *prūsh* "brennende Kohlen, Glut" (Walde & Hofmann II, 378-79; Pokorny 1959, 846; contra: Mayrhofer, *EWAI* II, 193: *ploṣ- < *pra-uṣ-*).

Ad pp. 1077-79 **vår** "spring" - add Tocharian A *yusār* "spring" (Schmidt 1994, 280) < *yän w'äsār < *en u̯esōr* "in the spring" (Hilmarsson 1991, 190).

In spite of these supplements (frequently published after the deadline in 1999) and rare corrections, the new etymological dictionary of Norwegian represents the highest quality in its genre.

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