

Linguistica ONLINE. Published: August 3rd, 2007.
 http://www.phil.muni.cz/linguistica/art/blazek/bla-006.pdf
 ISSN 1801-5336

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

reviewed by Václav Blažek

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.

[*] Previously published as Blažek, Václav. 2005. Review of Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak: *Indoeuropejskie nazwy zbóż. Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity A* 53.223-9. Reproduced with permission [Editor's note]

**alb^hi* "barley" (pp. 58-59) > Iranian **arbusā* > Khotanese *rrusā*, Wakhi *arbāsi* "Hordeum", Pashto *ōrbūše* "barley" | Greek ἄλφι, pl. ἄλφειτα "barley flour" | Albanian *elp*, -*bi* "barley". The term is usually derived from **alb^hos* "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 **alb^hi* was reconstructed without any initial laryngeal, in contrary to other forms with the initial *a- < **H₂a-*.

**H₂ad-* "grain" (pp. 117-18) > Avestan *ādū-* "grain", Sogdian ʾdʷwk [*āduk*] "corn, grain, cereals" | Armenian *hat* "grain" | Lycian *xθθαhe* "hay, fodder" | Gothic *atisk* "grainfield" | Tocharian A *āti*, B *ātiyai* "grass".

**H₂adHor* "Triticum dicoccum" (pp. 101-102) > Hittite *hattar* "a kind of wheat" | Armenian *haēār* "Spelt" | Latin *ador*, -*oris* "wheat Triticum dicoccum". The author accepts Szemerényi's etymology postulating the root **H₂ad-* "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 *ostra*, besides *ośra*, *oźra*, *ozra* in various dialects. Just the protoform **ostra* (or **oštra* or **očtra*) 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*, *kežrä*, Veps *kežr*, Estonian *kedr* "Scheibe, Spindel"; Lappic Lule *kiersē* ~ *kärsē* "Spinnwirtel"; Mordvinian Mokša *kšt'ir* "Spindel", Mari KB *šəðər* id. < Fenno-Volgaic **kešträ* < Indo-Aryan, cf. OI *cāttra*- n. "Spindel" (UEW 656).

**H₂aliks* ~ **H₂alkis* "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, Speltmus, Sommerdinkel", if it is not borrowed from the Greek accusative ἄλικα. There is an internal etymology based on the verb **H₂al-* "to nourish", while external comparison (Dolgopolsky 1998, 27) offers the cognates in Arabic *yall-at-* "cereals" and Georgian *yalva* "zu mählende (not mähende) reifes Korn", reflecting Nostratic **galV* (with uvular *g*, not **galV*).

**H₂árg^{wh}ǵ* : **H₂órg^{wh}eno-* "a kind of millet" (pp. 82-83) > Nuristani **arjana-* > Aškun *azū*, Kati *awī* "millet" | Dardic: Dameli *āāin*, Pašai *aṣṣn*, Kalaša *aṣin* etc. "millet" | Iranian **arzana-* > Persian *arzan*, Ormuri *ažan*, Yidgha *yūzrun*, Wakhi *yīzrn*, Khotanese *eysā*, *āyysam* "millet, Panicum miliaceum" | Greek ὀρφίνη · καλάμη μελίνης (Hesych.) | Old Irish *arbor*, *arbar* m., n., gen. sg. *arbe* & *arbann*, nom. pl. *arbuir* & *orbaind* "corn".

**H₂(a)wiǵ-i-/s^o* "oats" (pp. 66-68) > Iranian **avi[z]-sa-* > Khotanese *hqu* "oats", Yazgulum *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 **ovьsь* "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 *bağəna* "oats"

**b^hárs-* "barley" (pp. 57-58) > Ossetic Digor *bor* (*xwar*) "millet"; ?Yazgulam *vraχt* "flour" < **b^hřsta-* | ?Greek (Hesych.) *φῆρος* "food of ancient gods" < **b^harsos* | Albanian *bar* "gras" < **b^harso-* | 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^hars(e)ino-* > Latin *farīna* "flour" | Gothic *barizeins* "of barley", Old English *beren* id. | Slavic **boršyno* > Old Church Slavonic *brašino* "food", Russian *bórošno* "flour of rye"; and **b^harsagen-* > Old Irish *bairgen* "bread", Welsh, Cornish, Breton *bara* id. | Latin *farrāgō*, *-inis* "Mengfutter". The author quotes Semitic **burr-/barr-* "grain, wheat" as cognate, in contrary to Illiè-Svityè (1964, 4-5) or Gamkrelidze & Ivanov (1984, 872, 943) who saw in the Semitic term a source of the Indo-European forms.

**b^hřsdaH₂* "Triticum monococcum" (pp. 97-98) > Albanian *bardhë* "wheat" | Thracian *βίζα* "a kind of corn, perhaps wheat or rye" | Germanic **bursta-* > Old High German *borse*, Middle high German *porst* "Myrica gale", German *Sumpf-porst* "Ledum palustre" | Lithuanian *birždis*, *birždis*, *brizdis* "heather, Calluna vulgaris". The termination in **-sd-* is common with **g^hersd-* "barley".

**d^gwHaH₂* "a kind of millet" (pp. 83-84) > OI *dúrvā-* "sp. millet, Panicum dactylon" | Gallo-Latin *dravoca* "Personacia, lappa", Welsh *drewg*, Breton *draoch*, *dreok* "Lolium termulentum" > 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", *derevnja* "Dorf", *pášet derévnju* "bestellt das Feld". Traditionally Thessalian *δάρατος*, Delphian *δαράτα*, Macedonian *δράμις* "bread" have been added too. Witczak also speculates about a connection with some Semitic forms as Ugaritic *drt* pl. "millet" and Arabic *durrat* "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.

**d^hoHnáH₂* f. "corn" (pp. 39-41) > OI *dhānāh* "corn, grain" | Khowar *dān* "parched grain" | Avestan *dānō-karš(a)-* "körnerschleppend", Khotanese *dāna-* "grain, corn", Sogdian *δ'n* "Getreidekorn" | ?Hittite ^{NINDA} *dannas* "eine Speise", Luwian *tannas* | Lithuanian *dūona* "bread", Latvian *duōna* "crust or slice of bread" ||| Semitic **duḥn-u* "Sorghum vulgare" ||| Dravidian **tin-ay* "Italian millet" < Nostratic **dEqnV*.

**gand-* ~ **skand-* "a kind of wheat" (pp. 96-97) > OI *gōdhūma-* "wheat" | Iranian **gantuma-* id. > Avestan *gaṇtuma-*, Sogdian *gantum* vs. **ganduma-* > Khotanese *ganam*, Pašto *yanəm*, Munjan *γandām* | ?Hittite *kant-* "wheat"? (if it does not derived from IE **knt-* "rye") | Latin *scandala* & *scandula* "Spelt, Triticum spelta". Witczak'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.

**g^hHnom* "grain" > corn" (pp. 44; 116-17) > Pashto *zəṇay* "grain" | ?Albanian Gheg *grünë* "wheat, corn" | Latin *grānum* "grain" | Old Irish *grán* "grain", Welsh *grawn* | Gothic *kaur̥n*, 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 **gerH₂-* "aufreiben, alt machen" (LIV 165-66).

**g^hrudom* "grain" (p. 119) > ?Albanian Gheg *grünë* "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 **g^hrud-* "to beat" > Lithuanian *grūsti* : *grūdu*.

**g^hérsd^(h)-* : **g^hříd^h-* "barley" (pp. 55-57) > ?Middle Persian *ǰurtāk* & *zurtāk* "corn", Persian *zurt* & *zurd* "a kind of millet", dial. *ǰurdā* "corn" | Greek *κρῖ* n., gen. *κρῖθος* "barley", f. *κρῖθή* 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 *κοτίατα* "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 **kñntz* "Getreide, Same" (cf. Blažek 2003, 92-93).

**kērs-* "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 **kerH₃-* "to nourish" (cf. LIV 329), not **kēr-*. This etymology represents the only evidence for the reconstruction of the initial **k̑-*. It is tempting to add some of the Dardic designations of "millet": Kalaša *karas*, Khowar *khērāš*, Phalura *kāraž*, Dameli *kāraç* id. (Steblin-Kamenskij 1982, 46). The acceptance of their relationship implies the reconstruction of velar **k-*.

***kop**[*g*] "oats" (pp. 68-69) > OI *šāpa*- m. "treibholz, Trift, Geflotes", m. "angeschwenntes Schilf" | Alan *zabar* "auena"; Šughni *sip(i)yak* "a kind of millet" (Iranian **sāpar*-ku-), Persian *sabz* "vegetable; grass" (Iranian **sāpa*-čī-), Rošani *sabēc* "pod of bean" (Iranian **sāpaitra*- = OI *šāpeṭa*-) | 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*- < **kop_g*-kyo- | Old Norse *hafri* m. "oats", English dial. *haver*, Old Saxon *haboro*, Old High German *habaro* "Hafer" < Germanic **habrōn* || Lithuanian *šāpas* "Halm, Ästchen, Splitter".

***k̑poryanos** "a kind of wheat" (pp. 99-100) > Armenian *c'orean* "wheat Triticum cartholicum" | Middle Irish *tuirenn*, Irish *tuirend* f. "wheat". Witczak speculates about a relation with Kartvelian **dika*- "wheat", assuming the correspondence of the IE cluster **k̑p*- to the sequence **dik*^o in Kartvelian.

***k^woidyos** "wheat" (pp. 98-99) > Germanic **hwaitja*- "wheat" > Gothic *hwaiteis*, 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. < **k^wrmis*. The author does not explain his rejection of the etymology based on Germanic **hwaita*- "white".

***melH-i**, ^o**n-és** "Italian millet" (pp. 77-78) > Khowar *blan* "sp. barley" (after Turner compatible with Sanskrit *mlāna*- "withered, shrivelled, dark-coloured" | Greek μελίνη "Kolbenhirse" | Latin *milium* "Hirse, Rispenhirse" | ?Old Norse *melr* "Elymus sabulosus" | Lithuanian *málna* "Schwaden, Sussgras, Kolbenhirse". Witczak discusses three etymologies: 1) IE **melH*- "to grind, mill"; 2) **melH₂-n*- "black", cf. OI *šyāmāka*- "Indian millet / Panicum frumentaceum" : *šyāmā*- and the semantically opposite counterpart in IE **alb^h-i* "barley", regarding the most probable derivation from IE **alb^ho*- "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 **meli* "Hirse", following the model of *p^ureuli* "Getreidearten, Könerfruchte" vs. *p^uri* "Brot, Korn, Getreide".

***pgHwen**- "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 **kop_g* "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 **pyk*-ā "furrow".

***pūros**, ^o**óm** "Triticum compactum" (pp. 94) > OI *pūra*- m. "cake" | Greek πῦρός "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* "Trespe, Bromus secalinus" | Church Slavonic *pyro*

"Spelt", Slovenian m. *pír*, f. *píra* "Spelt", Czech *pýr* "Quecke, Triticum repens", Russian *pyréj* id. Witczak mentions that the Germanic example better agrees in phonetics with Greek πράσον "Allium porrum", Latin *porrum* id. < **p_gsom*. 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^his**, ***rug^hyos** "rye" (pp. 110) > Iranian **rujika*- > Šughni *rožj* "ear of rye or rice", Wanetsi *rōžj* "ear of corn" (> Mordvinian *rož*; Komi *rudžeg*, Udmurt dial. *žížeg* "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 *ръžь* m. "rye". Witczak adds the Afroasiatic parallels: Egyptian *rḏrḏ* "cereals" and Hausa *roogo* "cassava" which seem more convincing than the comparison with East Caucasian **rəḏčV* "a kind of cereal (oats, rye), because later this reconstruction looks otherwise (Nikolajev & Starostin 1994, 950: **rḥəḏV* ~ **ḏḥəV* > Avar *roḏḏ* "wheat"; Lezgin *gerg* "oats", Agul *jerg*, Tabasaran, Tsakhur *γaryar* id.).

***sēHmḡ** "grain" (p. 118) > Latin *sēmen* "seed" | Old Saxon *sāmo*, Old High German *samo* "Same" | Old Prussian *semen* "Samen", Lithuanian *sėmenys* pl. "Flachsamt" | Old Church Slavonic *sēme* "seed, semence".

***seHtlaH₂** "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^esyā** f., ***s^esyóm** n. "corn" (pp. 41-42) > OI *sasyám* n. "Feldfrucht, Saat auf dem Felde", *sasá*- m. "Nahrung, Speise, Kraut, Gras, Saatfeld" | Avestan *hahiia*- "frumentarius", *haṅhuš*- | Hittite *sesa*- "Frucht" | Celtic **sasio*- & **sasiā* > Hispano-Celtic **sas(s)ia* > Provençal *saisseto* "froment de la plus belle qualité", Catalanian *xeixa* "candéal", 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., Axwax *šušul* "oats" etc.

***sīto**-, ***sītyo**- "corn" (pp. 45) > OI *sīt(i)yam* n. "corn" (lex.), besides a more frequent meaning "ploughed" attested by Pāṇini | Khowar [not Kati indicated by author] *siri* "barley", Kalasha *šilí* "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 Pelasgian origin.

***spérnḡ** : ***sporáH₂** (p. 119) > Armenian *sermn* "seed; grain" | Greek σπέρμα "Same" = Mycenaean *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.

**swaH₂raH₂* "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 termulentum*" < **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^varəna-* (not *xv^varəna-*) "Nahrung"; cf. the borrowing in Slavic **chorna* "food" | Lithuanian *svirna* f., *svirnas* m. "Speicher, Vorratskammer". The author admits the *v̥ddhi*-formation from the root **swer-* > Iranian **x^var-* "to nourish; defend". But he prefers the Nostratic origin, referring to such forms as Semitic **šū^cār-(at-)* "barley" (lit. "hairy") and Uralic **šōra*.

**wesH₂aros* "spring corn" (pp. 42-43) > Armenian *gari*, gen. *gareoy* "barley" | Welsh *wenith*, Breton *gwiniz* "wheat" | Tocharian A *wsār* "heap of grain", B *ysāre* "grain; ?wheat"; from the word for "spring" reconstructible as **wesH₂*, gen. **wesH₂nos*, cf. Lithuanian *vasar̥niai kviečiai & rugiai* "spring wheat & rye", etc.

**yéwH₁os, -om* "barley" > "corn" (pp. 43-44) > OI *yáva-* m. "barley" | Avestan *yauua-* m. "Getreide", *yauuagha-* n. "Weide"; Ossetic *yāv* "millet" | Hittite *ewan* n. "barley" | Greek *ξειά* "Triticum monococcum", Cretan *δηά* "barley; *Hordeum*" | Old Irish *éorna* "barley" | Lithuanian *jāvas* "Getreideart", pl. *javaĩ* "Getreide" | Earlier Russian *jevin*, Russian *ovin* "Getreidedarre, Riege" | Tocharian B *yap* "millet" < **yewH₁om*.

Comments to the additional comparative material:

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

P. 59 - Slavic **žeb-my* "barley" - following Charpentier (1907, 464), it is possible to connect it with Greek *ῥμπ(ν)η* "Nahrung, Getreide". Starostin (1988, 127) proposed a substratal origin of **Henk^v-/*Honk^v-*, seeking a support in North Caucasian **ʔəlmq̄wV* "barley", reconstructed on the basis of Avar *oq̄*, Bežit *ōX* id., Axwax *ūqa* "oats", Ubykh *X_va* "barley", etc. But later Nikolajev & Starostin (1994, 502-503) changed their reconstruction in **hnārql̥*, regarding Tabasaran *nurχI* "spelt", Agul *nir`X* "ground wheat".

P. 63 - Tocharian *klu* "rice" is derivable from an Old Chinese source of the type **lhū^v ~ *lhū^v* "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 ^(NINDA)*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) *sappis-arahh-* "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*, Sogdian *bor*, Mehri *barr* "froment, blé" vs. Akkadian *barru* "pur", Ugaritic *brr* id., Hebrew *bārār* "purifier", Aramaic *b^erar* 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, Witzcak'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. Witzcak'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 11th 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 & Korn respectively.

P. 121 - Semitic **šū^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 "Severno-kavkazskije jazyki i jich mesto sredi drugich 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*.

TISCHLER, JOHANN. 1994. *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*, Teil III, Lief. 10. Innsbruck: IBS 20.
UEW *Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, ed. K. RÉDEI. Budapest: Kiadó 1986-88.

REFERENCES:

- BLAŽEK, VÁCLAV. 1999. Alimenta Tocharica (1-3). *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 8, 79-84.
- BLAŽEK, VÁCLAV. 2003. Toward the Fenno-Ugric cultural lexicon of Indo-Iranian origin. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 108, 92-99.
- CHARPENTIER, JARL. 1907. Zur arischen Wortkunde. *KZ* 40, 425-477.
- COHEN, DAVID. 1976. *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques*, 2. Paris-Haye: Mouton.
- GAMKRELIDZE, TAMAS & IVANOV, VJAČESLAV V. 1984. *Indojeuropejskij jazyk i indojeuropejcy*. Tbilisi: Izdatel'stvo Tbilisskogo univerziteta.
- HED *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*, by JAAN PUHVEL. Berlin-New York: Mouton de Gruyter 1984f.
- ILLIČ-SVITYČ, VLADISLAV M. 1964. Drevnejšije indojeuropejsko-semitskije jazyk-ovyje kontakty. In: *Problemy indojeuropejskogo jazykoznanija*, ed. by V.N. Toporov. Moskva: Nauka, 3-12.
- IVANOV, VJAČESLAV V. 2003. On the origin of Tocharian terms for GRAIN. In: *Language in Time and Space. A Festschrift for Werner Winter on the Occasion of his 80th Birthday*, ed. by B.L.M. Bauer & G.-J. Pinault. Berlin-New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 189-210.
- KYLSTRA, A.D., HAHMO, S.-L., HOFSTRA, T. & NIKKILÄ, O. 1991. *Lexikon der älteren germanischen Lehnwörter in den Ostseefinnischen Sprachen*, I (A-J). Amsterdam-Atlanta: Rodopi.
- LIV *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*₂. Ed. HELMUT RIX et al. Wiesbaden: Reichert 2001.
- MELCHERT, H. CRAIG. 1993. *Lycian Lexicon*. Chapel Hill: Lexica Anatolica 1.
- NIKOLAEV, S.L. & STAROSTIN, S.A. 1994. *A North Caucasian Etymological Dictionary*. Moscow: Asterisk.
- OETTINGER, NORBERT. 1979. *Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbuns*. Nürnberg: Carl.
- POPPE, NIKOLAUS. 1960. *Vergleichende Grammatik der altaischen Sprachen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- STAROSTIN, SERGEI. 1988. Indoeuropejsko-severno-kavkazskije izoglossy. In: *Drevnij Vostok: etnokulturnyje svyazi*, 112-163.
- STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ, IVAN M. 1982. *Očerki po istorii leksiki pamirskix jazykov: Nazvanija kulturnyx rastenij*. Moskva: Nauka.