

*Praslovanska dialektizacija
v luči etimoloških raziskav*

*Ob stoti obletnici rojstva
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ZBORNİK REFERATOV
Z MEDNARODNEGA ZNANSTVENEGA SIMPOZIJA
V LJUBLJANI, 16.–18. SEPTEMBRA 2010

UREDILI
METKA FURLAN IN ALENKA ŠIVIC-DULAR

Ljubljana 2012

Archaism vs. Innovation, Composition vs. Derivation

A contribution to the study of territorial variation and chronological segmentation within the Proto Slavic vocabulary

The present paper deals with two Common Slavic words, **gribъ* '(edible) mushroom, especially *Boletus edulis*', and **(s)korbъji* 'basket, casket, any object made of bark', both analysed as archaic compounds, the former as **gʷr(H)ej̄-bhuH-o-* 'grown in forest', cf. OInd plant-name *giri-bhū-*, the latter, together with Lith *karbija*, Lat *corbis*, as **(s)kor-bhiH-* 'removed bark', cf. Russ dial. *bit' beresto* 'to bark a birch'.

Keywords: Common Slavic **gribъ*, **(s)korbъji*, Indo-European, etymology, compounds, mushrooms, basketry

0. The present paper* joins a series of my articles proceeding on the assumption that, not unlike its ancestor language Proto-Indo-European, the early Proto Slavic was more inclined and able to create compounds than the late Common Slavic, where the derivation largely prevailed.¹ As a result, many archaic compound in Slavic languages ended up being misunderstood, reshaped, and unrecognized as such even by the modern etymologists. Generally speaking, our judgment on the archaic or innovative character of a word and on its compound or derivative structure can be revised by reconsidering the sum of the diachronic and synchronic facts, including the onomastic data as well as parallels from cognate languages. The onomastics can complete our knowledge of the dialectal distribution of a word, and what from the intralingual perspective appears isolated, recent and secondary may prove to be an archaism shared with another language. Two etymological discussions follow illustrating this general statement.

* This paper has resulted from research on the project No 178007 "Etymological research of the Serbian language and compiling the *Etymological dictionary of Serbian*", which is fully financed by the Ministry of education and science of the Republic of Serbia.

¹ Summarizing and generalizing Loma 2003, 2008a, where also papers are cited focusing single etymologies; to be added Loma 2007a, 2007b, 2008b, 2010, 2011.

1. *gribъ

PSI **gribъ* is reconstructed mainly on the basis of North Slavic data: Russ, Ukr *grib*, Bel *gryb* Pol *grzyb*, LSorb *grib*, USorb *hrib*, Cz *hřib*, Slk *hrib* (ĚSSJa 7: 126 ff.; SP 8: 214). Its original designatum seems to have been any edible common mushroom with a stem and a cap, but it refers especially to the penny bun, *Boletus edulis*, Russ *belyj grib*. Its South Slavic attestations are scanty and spurious. As an appellative, it is found only in Slovenian: Slov dial. *grīb* (*gribânj*, *gribânja*) ‘*Boletus edulis*’ (Bezljaj l.c.), whereas Serbo-Croatian *grib* seems to be a 19th century learned loanword² and Bulg dial. *grib* does not exist, pace ĚSSJa 7: 126, cf. BER 1: 280, where the word is reconstructed out of toponymy; in Serbian area too there are toponymic clues to its former presence, such *Gribi*, a hamlet in northern Metohia recorded 1379/80, cf. Bel *Griby*, Pol *Grzyby*, Cz *Hřiby*, and *Gribska* (thus in the 16–18 centuries, today *Grivska*), a village in western Serbia, cf. Russ *Gribskaja*, Cz *Hřibsko*, Pol *Grzybsko*. Rather than to an innovation, this historical distribution of **gribъ* points out to an archaism, which already in the late Common Slavic began to be replaced by new-coined synonyms, such as *pečěra/pečura*.³

In Indo-European area, the word is limited to Slavic,⁴ which suggests a relatively late intralingual formation. The etymologies proposed so far went in this direction. The most popular one seems to be the derivation from **gre(b)ti*, *grebъ*,⁵ implying a lengthened grade **grib-* from **grbb-*, with the underlying semantics variously interpreted: *‘what sticks out of the ground’;⁶ *‘something raked together, a heap’⁷, *‘hump, excrescence’⁸. Apart from the vagueness of those interpretations, the reconstruction of the PSI verbal stem **grib-* as admitted in both Moscow and Krakow dictionaries s.v. **gribati* lacks a solid basis. Most the evidence adduced to attest its existence in Common Slavic is highly problematic. South-Slavic instances of *grib-*⁹ stem from a restricted East Serbian, Macedonian and Bulgarian dialectal area, where the type with the iterative lengthening *e > i* is productive and relatively recent, in any case not earlier

2 Only two records, both from learned sources, ‘*Boletus ramossimus*’ in Šulek’s botanical dictionary (RJA), ‘*Rosellinia quercina* (a parasite on oak trees)’ in a forestry manual published in Zagreb 1924 (RSA); cf. SP 8: 213 f.; Bezljaj 1: 176.

3 Russ *pečerica/pečúra*, Ukr *pečerica*, Pol *pieczyrka*, Cz *pečárka*, SCr *pečúra*, *pečūrka*: **pek-ti* ‘to bake’ + *-ěra/-jura* ‘any edible common mushroom with a stem and a cap, especially *Agaricus campestris*’ (cf. Vasmer 3: 256; Boryś 427).

4 Lith *grỹbas* ‘mushroom, fungus’ would stemm from Bielorussian, and Latv *grība* ‘boletus’ is also derived from Slavic (Fraenkel 1: 168; Smoczyński 199).

5 Going back to J. Loewenthal, ASIPh 37/1920: 38; Brückner 163a s.v. *grzyb*.

6 Thus R. Jakobson, Word 8/1952: 387.

7 O. N. Trubačev, ĚSSJa 7: 127, with reference to Russ dial. *grib(y)* ‘punk, sponge; jaw; abscess; alluvium; elevation of a rutted road; potato bed; frill of dress, etc.’; subsequently ĚSBM 3: 108 s.v. *грьбъ*, Rejzek 217 s.v. *hřib*.

8 Thus Schuster-Šewc 341 f. s.v. *hrib*, who connects it not only to **greti*, *grebъ*, **grebenъ* ‘comb, ridge’, but also to **grbbъ* ‘hump, hunch, excrescence, elevation’, **granъ* ‘sharp corner, border’, and even **gora* ‘mountain’ (see below!) tracing all these words back to PIE **gher-/gre-* (?).

9 *griba(m)* 1.sg.praes.; the infinitive is lost in those dialects.

than the denasalisation $\epsilon > e$, cf., e.g., in the same area, *trisa(m)* from *tres-ti* ‘to shake’ < PS1 **trēs-*.¹⁰ Cz dial. *(o)hříbat* ‘to dig up’, Ukr *pohribaty* ‘to burry’ represent normally *(*ob-/po-*)*grěbati*. Russ dial. *gribat’sja* ‘to screw up one’s face, to frown’ is obviously denominative from Russ dial. *grib* in the meaning ‘jaw’, which is derived from ‘mushroom’ by imitating, in a geographically more restricted area and on a chronologically shallower level, the pattern of PS1 **gōba* both ‘fungus’ and ‘jaw’; Russ dial *grib* designating various fold-like elevations could be in its turn deverbative from ‘to frown’ via *‘to wrinkle, to crease’. The alleged stem **gr̥b-* as the only way to get from **greb-* to a Common Slavic **grib-* is hardly assured through OCz *hřběti* ‘to lay buried’, Cz *pohřbiti* ‘to bury’, which might be due to a secondary reshaping, cf. Cz *hřbet* ‘spine, ridge’ beside *chřbet*, Pol *grzbiet* id. beside *chrzebiet* < PS1 **xr̥bb̥t̥*. A phonetic development *ri > r̥* with subsequent lengthening to *ri* being hardly imaginable, the reality of a verbal stem **grib-* in Common Slavic may be claimed by assuming a reflex in it of the synonymous root PIE **ghreibh-*, otherwise known to Baltic and German (Lith *griēbti* ‘to catch, seize’, Goth *greipan*, etc., cf. LIV 203), but it does not help with the semantics. Other etymological attempts are even less convincing both formally and semantically. Machek 188 connects Cz *hřib* with Slk *hrib*, Pol *grzyb* ‘old man’, Cz *zhřibět* and assumes the original meaning *‘old, crooked, deformed mushrooms’ by referring to Lith *iškr̥ypelis* ‘crook-limbed’, PS1 **kriv̥* ‘crooked’, which implies a highly irregular root alternation. Vasmer’s comparison to Lith *greĩmas* ‘cream; slimy deposit in water’ as derived from *griēti* ‘to cream’ (Vasmer 1: 457 f.) is again a root etymology without a serious semantic foundation. There is also an etymology deriving **grib̥* from *glib̥* ‘mud, slime’ and claiming it to be quasi-synonymous with **gliva* ‘fungus’, as well as with Gk μύκης id. supposedly related to Lat *mūcus* (Sławski 1: 373; K. Moszyński, JP 36/1956: 196; SP 8: 214); even if such an interpretation had been phonetically acceptable, from the semantic point of view it contradicts the fact that Greek correspondent to **grib̥* is rather βωλήτης, the designation of edible common mushrooms.

To conclude: in the previous discussion, in which took part the most distinguished etymologists of the 20th century, no convincing derivation of **grib̥* is proposed nor a plausible semantic interpretation given. Perhaps we need to change our perspective. Let us look deeper than the late Common Slavic and broader than the Balto-Slavic linguistic area, hoping to find more than vague assonances and diffuse notions to explain an obviously old word, presumably much older than the mid-1st millennium A.D. to which we can trace back its reconstructed form and meaning.

It was an etymology proposed by myself some twenty years ago which inspired me to think of **grib̥* as a possible archaic compound having become nontransparent long before the decomposition of Common Slavic. There is, in the western Serbia, a village named *Gorobilje* with a church consecrated to the Nativity of St John the Baptist (Serb *Ivanjdan*, the Midsummer day). According to an old and ultimately pagan custom widespread among the Serbs, people goes on this day into woods and meadows to collect herbs believed to be healthy; for that reason, the saint is called in some parts of

10 Cf. also BER 1: 280 s.v. *griba*.

Serbia *Sveti Jovan Biljober* ‘St John the Herb Picker’ (*Sv. Ivan Bil’ober* is also known in Bulgarian area). Thus I supposed that the place name *Gorobilje*, first recorded 1476 (Aličić 1984: 73), being a neuter possessive to *selo* ‘village’, may go back to **Goro-byľ* ‘the Lord of forest (*gora*) plants (*byľ-*)’ as a surname of St. John the Baptist (Loma 1990: 7, 9). The present wooden church in Gorobilje dates back to 1705, but it would have been preceded there by a St John’s monastery, mentioned 1572/73 (Zirojević 1984: 114). Be that as it may, our toponym seems to reflect a word juncture which may go back to Proto-Indo-European, where both the word **g^urH-i-* ‘mountain’,¹¹ in Baltic and Slavic also ‘forest’, and the verbal root **b^huH-*, that of OInd *bhávati*, *ábhūt*, Gk *φύομαι*, *ἔφῶ*, Slav **byti* etc. ‘to be, to grow’, especially of plants (cf. Slav **byľ* ‘plant’, Arm *boil* id., Gk *φῦτόν* id.) coexisted. Another instance is provided by Old Indian plant name *giri-bhū-*, literally ‘growing in mountains’. A similar structure may be recognized in **gribyľ*, which is analyzable as **gri-byľ* reflecting PIE **g^urei-b^hu-o-s*, with an *i*-stem locative **g^ur(H)éi* followed by the verbal stem **b^huH-* thematized as **-b^huH-o-*, after the loss of the intervocalic laryngeal **-b^hu-o-*. In Old Indian, *giri-bhū-* is hardly an inherited word; only lexicographically attested, it is rather of a relatively late date, thus not cognate with PSI **gribyľ* but independently coined; nevertheless, both reflect the same syntagmatic pattern, which is surely Proto-Indo-European.

The first element **g^ur(H)éi* of **gri-byľ* implies an originally apophonic *i*-stem, otherwise unknown in Slavic, but reflected in OInd *giri-* ‘mountain’, Av *ga^uri-* id. and also underlying Lith *girià* ‘forest’, Latv *dziņa* id. Slavic *a*-stem **gorà* must be secondary, perhaps arisen only after the monophthongisation from the adverbially used archaic locative form **gorě* < **g^urH-ē* < **g^urH-ēi*, reinterpreted as an *a*-stem locative in *-ě* < **-āi*. For the second element **b^hu-o-s* cf. OInd *á-bhv-a-* m. ‘monster, spook (lit.: un-being)’ (Mayrhofer 94); in Common Slavic, a *u* preceded by *b* is regularly lost, cf. **obyknŏti* < **ob-vyknŏti*, **obolkŏ* < **ob-volkŏ*, etc.

In Slavic languages, *gora* means both ‘mountain’ and ‘forest’; in *gribyľ*, the latter meaning seems more appropriate to the mushrooms habitat. The designation ‘growing in forest’ might be applied to all kinds of forest trees and other plants present in a wooded area. It becomes distinctive only if something *grown in forest* regularly gets into the world of *domestic plants*, e.g. is served on the table together with the cultivated vegetables, which is precisely the case of the edible mushrooms.

In addition, one could problematize the traditional interpretation of the CSI plant-name **gori-květŏ/*goro-květŏ* related to various Ranunculaceae, and especially to the Adonis, as ‘burning flower’ *(thus ÉSSJa 7: 46, SP 8: 116), by assuming as its first element not the verbal stem of *gorěti* ‘to burn’ but rather the same *i*-stem locative as in **gribyľ* – only with the analogical full grade of the root –¹² respectively the uninflected stem of **gora*, thus *‘flowering in forest, forest flower’.

11 Thus Mayrhofer 1: 487.

12 Supposedly generalized before the word passed into the *a*-stems.

2. *korbъji

There is a Common Slavic designation of basket and other objects made (mainly) of bark (caskets, etc.). Its “radical” may be reconstructed as **(s)korb-*, the stem is varying. According to the materials collected in *ĖSSJa* 11: 51 ff., the following stems occur in Slavic languages with their derivatives:

korbъja**/korbъji**: OCS *krabii*, SCr **krabija*,¹³ OPol *krobia*, ORuss *korob’ja* 1228, Russ *korobejâ/korob’jâ*; dem. ***korbica**: SCr dial. *krâbica* (‘drawer’), Slov *krabica*, Slk *krabica*, Cz *krabice*, ORuss *korobica*, Russ-CSl *krabica*, Russ dial. *koróbica*; also with *s-*:¹⁴ ***skorbъji**, dem. ***skorbica**: SCr dial. (Dalmatia, Bosnia, Montenegro) *škrâbija* ‘box, drawer’, *skrabica*, *škrabica*, Slov *škrâblja*, *škrábica*.

***korbъjъ**: Bel *koroběj* (коробѣй) m.¹⁵

***korbъ**: Russ dial. *kórob’* (кóробъ) f.¹⁶

***korbъ**: ORuss *korobъ*, Russ, Ukr *kórob*, Bel. *kórab*; dem. ***korbъkъ**: Russ *koro-bók*, *-bká*, Bel *karabók*.

***korba**: Slov *kraba*, Pol dial. *kroba*, Russ dial. *koróba*, Bel *karóba*; dem. ***korbъka**: Cz *krabka*, OPol *króbka*, Pol *krobka*, ORuss *korobka*, Russ, Ukr *koróbka*, Bel *karóbka*; also with *s-*: OCz *škraboška*.

***korbul’a**: SCr *krâbulja* (also: ‘mask’¹⁷), Slov *krabúlja* (‘pupa’), Russ dial. *korobúlja*.

Opinions are divided over whether the word is inherited in Slavic or borrowed from Lat *corbis* ‘basket’, probably via OHG *korb*. The latter opinion is favoured by Berneker (1: 568), Walde/Hoffmann 273, Bezlaĵ (2: 78a), *ĖSBM* (5: 98), Fraenkel (1: 220b), Smoczyński (255); Miklosich assumed a direct borrowing from Latin,¹⁸ Šachmatov (*ASIPh* 33: 94) a mediation of the ancient Celts. In Baltic there are words matching the Proto-Slavic forms: Lith *kaĩbija* ‘basket’, OPrus **carbīo* ‘flour box’ = **korbъja*; Lith *kaĩbas* ‘basket’ = **korbъ*, Latv *kaĩba* ‘box’ = **korba*. Although there are no formal arguments against their inherited character,¹⁹ they are presumed to be early loanwords from Slavic, not only by those who derive the Slavic word from Latin (cf. especially Fraenkel, Smoczyński l.c.), but also by some scholars who consider it rather indigenous (Otrębski in *Die Sprache* 12: 58, Toporov 2: 217 f.). Trautmann was more cautious; according to him, “The relationship with Lat *corbis* ... is not clear; in any case are the cited words, even if borrowed, in Baltic-Slavic languages since a long time

13 *krabija* ‘arca, capsâ’ in Stull’s dictionary according to *RJA* 20: 428 from Russian (i.e. Church Slavonic), cf., however, OSerb place name *Krabijno* 1316 = Russ *Korobejno*.

14 These forms are not to be found in *ĖSSJa* 11; I cite them from Skok 2: 159, who suspects, apparently without a good reason, a Romance origin of *s-*, and from Bezlaĵ 4: 63, where M. Furlan reconstructs PSI **skorbĭ*, *skorbĭje* ‘wicker’ beside **korbĭ*.

15 Not reconstructed in *ĖSSJa* separately, cited s.v. **korbъja*/**korbъji*, p. 55.

16 Not reconstructed in *ĖSSJa* separately, cited s.v. **korbъ*/**korba*, p. 53.

17 Cf. perhaps Cz *krabiti* below.

18 As a possibility admitted also in *ĖSBM* l.c.

19 To be noticed the absence of the liquida-metathesis, unlike the obvious borrowings Lith *karabas*, *karabija* with East Slavic “polnoglasije”.

at home”.²⁰ A culture-historical argument against the borrowing hypothesis has been put forward by Brückner 267, where he claims that all designations for wicker vessels in Slavic are genuine; it is approved by Vasmer 2: 331, Trubačev in *ÉSSJa* 11: 53, Sławski 3: 112 ff.,²¹ Machek 288a s.v. *krabice*, who consequently all regard the Slavic, Baltic and Latin words as Indo-European cognates. Similarly D. Q. Adams judges Slavic and Baltic words as indigenous because of the meaning of the Latvian word: ‘bag made from alder- or birch bark’ (EIEC 52 f.).

Recently de Vaan s.v. *corbis* reconstructs, on the basis of Latin word and its possible Balto-Slavic cognates, PIE **k(o)rbh-i-* ‘basket, wickerwork’, yet with question mark; he remarks that the circumflex accent in Lithuanian and Slavic would point to aspirated **bh* [according to Winter’s law], but on the other hand, that the root structure **k_ṛbh-* was irregular in Proto-Indo-European and points either to a loanword or to an original root **sk_ṛbh-*. Then he mentions the widespread opinion, that BSl word is borrowed from Germanic, which is itself borrowed from Latin, and leaves the question undecided, adding, as a general statement, that words for ‘basket’ are often loanwords.

There is also a linguistic argument questioning the derivation of Slavic **korb-* from Lat *corbis*, either directly or by way of OHG *korb*, which in my knowledge has not been used so far. Unlike (T)arT, (T)alT, foreign groups (T)orT, (T)ol(T) in words and names borrowed into Slavic at an early date underwent no liquida metathesis, cf., in NW Balkans, SCr *Ras* < *Arsa*, *Skradin* < *Scardona* but *Vrm* < *Ormus*, *Vrsar* < *Orsara*, *Krka* < *Korkoras*. Obviously the tautosyllabic clusters *or*, *ol* were substituted by *vr*, *vl* at a time when Slavic possessed no short *o*, but *ǎ* (cf. Schramm 1981: 148). Consequently the expected result of Lat *corbis*, OHG *korb* in Slavic were **k_ṛrb-* > **k_ṛb-*, and not **korb-* > *krab-/krob-/korob-*.

In considering the Latin, Slavic and Baltic words as independently reflecting a PIE designation of ‘basket’ **(s)k_ṛbh-*, its ultimate etymon is traditionally sought in the verbal root **(s)kerbh-* ‘turn’ reconstructed on the basis of Latv *skurbināt* ‘to spin somebody round’, *skuṛbtiēs* ‘to turn around’, Gk *κάρφω* ‘dry up, wither, wrinkle’, *κάρφος* ‘dry stalk, straw’ and perhaps also Slavic **korbiti* (s. below); thus a.o. Pokorny 948 f., O.N. Trubačev in *ÉSSJa* 11: 54, P. Valčaková in *ESJS* 6: 354 s.v. *krabii*, D. Q. Adams in *EIEC* l.c., who also includes Mlr *corb* ‘wagon(-seat)’, otherwise interpreted as a loan word from Latin, as well as ME *rip* ‘fish basket’, OHG *ref* ‘frame for carrying something on one’s back’, Lith *krėpšas* ‘large satchel, backpack’ and reconstructs PIE **kreb-*; this reconstruction is doubtful because the phonemic status of **b* in Proto-Indo-European is disputed and it seems more reasonable to leave the latter forms aside than to resort to a “Schwebeablaut” in order to connect them with those going back to **(s)k_ṛbh-*.²²

20 117 f. s.v. *karba-*, *karbiā-*: „Die Beziehungen zum la. *corbis* ... sind nicht klar; jedenfalls sind die angeführten Worte, auch wenn entlehnt, in den balt.-slav. Sprachen schon lange heimisch“.

21 Where he connects the noun with the verb **korbiti*, see below; cf. id. in *SP* 1: 84: Lith *kaṛbija* = PS1 **k_ṛbji*.

22 Walde/Hoffmann 272 f. reconstruct **(s)qereb(h)-* as an enlargement of **(s)qer-* ‘drehen’ in Lat *curvus*, referring to Isidorus XX 9, 10: *corbes dictae, quod curvatis virgis contexuntur*; they also include Mlr

In LIV 557 M. Kümmel reconstructs **(s)kerb-* ‘to warp, shrink’ from ON *skreppa* ‘to slip, withdraw’, *skorpinn* ‘wrinkled’, MHG *schrumpfen* ‘to shrink’, AHD *rimpfan* id., Lith *skrembù, skrèbti* ‘id.; to dry, desiccate’, Russ *skorbnut’* ‘to dwarf, dwindle’, with no mention of Gk κάρφω, κάρφος, but only κράμβος ‘dried, dry’, which is, however, hard to separate from the former words with its -β- after a nasal probably reflecting PIE **bh*. De Vaan, who judges a root structure **skrbh-*, unlike **krbh-*, acceptable, finds himself a comparison of Lat *corbis* with Gr κάρφος and its cognates “very questionable”. To sum up, there are problems in reconstructing the word family in question, and, more important, it provides no clear semantic link with the concrete notion of ‘basket’, neither by the general semantic of bending, twisting, assumedly developed into a term for weaving baskets, nor by a designation for ‘dry stalk, straw’ (Gr κάρφος) serving as a “raw material for basketry” (pace Adams, EIEC 53a).

In the light of the previous considerations, it seems not inappropriate to remind of an observation made more than hundred years ago. In 1901 Otto Schrader wrote: “It is noteworthy that several designations of basket, e.g. Russ *korošnja* ‘a sort of pannier’, *korzina* ‘small basket made from bark’, lat. *corbis* begin with the syllable *kor-*; certainly they are connected with OCSl *kora* ‘bark’, Russ *korī* ‘measles’, Lith *karnà* ‘lime bast’, Lat *cortex* ‘bark’, etc., so that the basket made from bark is maybe even older than the wicker one”.²³ Schrader’s cursory comparison did not draw much attention on the part of linguists, perhaps deservedly,²⁴ but his guess about the primacy of bark in the basket making was recently corroborated by the discovery of the around 5300 years old Tyrol Iceman “Ötzi”, among whose possessions the birch bark containers were found (cf. Adams l.c.). From time immemorial, the so-called plaited basketry with birch bark played a great role in the traditional material culture of the Northern Eurasia and North America, including Baltic and Slavic peoples; not only baskets and other receptacles, but also shoes and toys used to be made in that way; the archaeological excavations in Novgorod brought to light numerous medieval specimens (Yarish/Hoppe/Widess).

From the linguistic point of view, a relationship between **(s)kerb-*, etc. and **(s)kora* may find a support in the occurrence, in both cases, of a *s*-mobile, but how to explain *-b-* in the designation of basket, if not by an ad hoc assumed “enlargement”, PIE **bh* rather than **b*, which is perhaps the best way to a bad etymology. However, those root extensions did not arise out of nothing, but from the contacts with other roots, e.g. **dh* building verbal stems goes back to the composition with the root **dh(e)H₁-* ‘to set, put’ as the second element, giving originally the causative meaning. Having lost its phonetic identity and meaningfulness, such an element glued on to a root begins to be perceived as its integral part, as something naturally grown out of it, and a new, “enlarged” root is born. This is the story of PSI **gribv* ‘mushroom’ as reconstructed

corb as indigenous, otherwise Vendryes C-207. There is no reason to suspect the Latin word to be of a non-Indo-European, “Mediterranean” origin, pace Ernout/Meillet s.v. *corbis*.

23 Schrader/Nehring 1: 629a: „Beachtenwert ist ... daß mehrere Benennungen des Korbes, z.B. russ. *korošnja* ‘eine Art von Tragkorb’, *korzina* ‘Körbchen aus Baumrinde’, lat. *corbis* mit der Silbe *kor-* beginnen, die gewiß mit altsl. *kora* ‘Rinde’, russ. *korī* ‘Masern’, lit. *karna* ‘Lindenbast’, lat. *cortex* ‘Rinde’ usw. zusammenhängen, so daß der Korb aus Rinde vielleicht noch älter wie der aus Flechtwerk ist“.

24 Common Slavic *korbija* he, too, derived from Lat *corbis* (ibid. 629b).

above, but here, in the word for ‘basket’, there might be more than a single *-b-* < **-bh-* left from the second element of the compound. Thus the structural “irregularity” of a root beginning in a voiceless stop and ending with a Media Aspirata as pointed out by de Vaan may be overcome by the supposition that the word contains not a single root, but is composed of two roots.

The geographical distribution of forms and the chronology of their attestations within Slavic speak for the priority of the *ī*-stem **(s)korbi* (with its secondary variants **(s)korbyji*, **(s)korbyjъ*, **(s)korbyja*, **korby* and diminutive **(s)korbi-ca*) over the *o*- and *a*-stems **korby*, **korba*, and their diminutives **korbykъ* resp. **korbyka*.²⁵ Whereas Baltic evidence is inconclusive (Lith *kaĩbija* ‘basket’, OPrus **carbjo* ‘flour box’ but on the other hand Lith *kaĩbas*, Latv *kaĩba*), Latin has *corbis*, gen. pl. *corbium* Plin. NH 16, 75, which is an *i*-, or, in view of the abl.sg. *corbi*, twice in Cato RR 136, 1, originally perhaps an *ī*-stem. From our comparison results the most probable proto-form **(s)korbhī-*, which is analysable as a compound: **(s)kor-bhiH-*. The Slavic *a*-stem designating ‘bark’ **(s)kora* together with the *i*-stem **korъ* ‘a skin disease’ goes back to an athematic apophonic noun, reflected, in varying forms, as the first element of several compounds, where it is followed by a verbal stem meaning ‘to remove, to peel, to skin, to bark’: **(s)kor-lup-* ‘(egg-, nut-)shell, cream, etc.’ (**lupiti* ‘to shell’) **(s)kor-/*kъr-lušč-* ‘shell, scales’ (**luščiti* ‘to shell, to crack’); perhaps also, with PIE **meuk-s-/meuk-s-* ‘to take off, to tear out’, **čer-mъxa/-mъs(l)a* ‘Rowan, Sorbus aucuparia’, **čer-myslo* ‘bark, tan, midriff’, **kor-/čъr-myslo* ‘shoulder pole’ (Loma 2007). The same first element and a similar structure can be recognized in Gk κερ-τομεῖν ‘to sneer’ (-τομεῖν from τέμνειν ‘to cut’), κερ-βολεῖν id., σκερ-βόλλειν ‘to scold’ (with the second element presumably related to Sl **goliti*, *gol’o* ‘to strip’), if we assume in both cases the underlying semantics ‘to bare, to unmask’. In **(s)kor-bhiH-* the second element may be the PIE verbal root **bheiH-/bhiH-* ‘to beat’ (LIV 72 = *bhei(ə)-*, *bhī-* Pokorny 117f.) present in OLat *per-fīnes*,²⁶ OIr *-ben*, *-benat*, OCSl *bijo*, *biti*, *bi*, *bišę*, perhaps also in Alb *(m)-bin* ‘to sprout’. Slavic *biti* with an corresponding object can also mean ‘to bark’, cf. Russ dial. (Kostroma) *bit’ berestu/beresto* ‘to bark a birch’ (SRNG 2: 301a). The whole compound originally designated ‘removed bark’ as the basket-making material. It agglutinated from the transitive collocation of the verb **bh(e)iH-* with **(s)kor-* (**(s)ker-*, **(s)kŕ-*), which was an inanimate noun showing the pure stem in nominative/accusative. The Slavic verb **korbiti* in Russ *koróbit’* impers. ‘to warp (of wood)’, Ukr *koróbyty* id., Cz *krabiti* ‘to twist one’s mouth, face’, may have arisen independently from the same collocation, cf. SCr refl. *lupiti se* ‘to loosen (of bark loosened from the wood) beside the transitive *lupiti* ‘to bark’.²⁷

25 Trubačev’s claim that this highly archaic and widespread formation is secondary to **korby*, which is restricted to East Slavic, and **korba*, almost unknown in South Slavic, is hardly convincing, despite his referring to the same stress variation in Russ *kórob* : *koróba* < **koŕbo-* : **kōrbā* as in *vóron* : *voróna*, Lith *vaĩnas* : *várna*.

26 In Latin, initial **b^h-* > *f-* (also behind a prefix, medial **-b^h-* > *-b-*, thus **kor-b^h(e)i(H)-s* > *corbi-s*, with the following sequence *-(e)i-* reinterpreted as the stem-building vowel).

27 Consequently, it ought not to be denominative from the noun **korby/*korba* (thus Trubačev, ÈSSJa 11: 52; one would rather derive it from **korbi*), nor the derivational basis of the word for ‘basket’ (thus

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ESUM 3: 33, ESJS 6: 354); according to Vasmer 2: 331, the connection between *korobit'*, *krabiti* and *kórob* is doubtful. Cz *krab* 'cavity, unevenness', dial. 'wrinkle, crease, pleat' is a deverbative from *krabiti* and not an immediate cognate to Russ *kórob*, etc., and Cz *krb* 'hearth' remains ambiguous, pace ËSSJa 11: 52 ff.

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Резюме

Архаизм и инновация, словосложение и словопроизводство

К изучению территориальной вариантности и хронологического расслоения праславянского лексического фонда

В статье рассматриваются прасл. слова, **gribъ* ‘(съедобный) гриб, в частности белый гриб, *Boletus edulis*’ и **(s)korbъji* ‘корзина, шкатулка’, вообще ‘изделие из коры’. Оба интерпретируются как древние словосложения, первое как **g^{ur}(H)ei-bhuH-o-* ‘то, что выросло в лесу’, ср. др. инд. название растения *giri-bhū-*, другое, вместе с лит. *karbija* ‘корзина’, лат. *corbis* то же, как **(s)kor-bhiH-* ‘кора, снятая с дерева’, ср. русс. диал. *бить бересто* ‘сдирать бересту с березы’.

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