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LITH. *atūdogiai, atūoriečiai* ‘SUMMER RYE’, *atōlas* (m.) ‘AFTERMATH, AFTER-GRASS’ AND THE INDO-EUROPEAN NAME FOR ‘GRASS’

Lith. dial. *atūdogiai, atūodaugiai, atūodugiai* ‘summer rye’\(^1\) and *atūoriečiai*, dial. *atūoriečiai, atūoriečios, atūriečiai* ‘vasariniai rugiai / summer rye’\(^2\) seem unclear as to their structure and origin. Ernst Fraenkel relates these appellatives to the innovative compounds containing the Lithuanian prefix *at(a)*- (see OChSl. *otb*, also *ot*- in compounds). He connects *atūoriečiai* with the following verbs: Lith. *riēsti* (*rieiù*) ‘rollen, windeln, winckeln’, iter. *raityti*, Lith. *risti*, Latv. *rist* ‘rollen, wälzen’ and so on\(^3\). A quite different position is represented by Algirdas Sabaliauskas, who derives *atūoriečiai* by haplogony from the earlier form *atūojoriečiai*, containing Lith. *jōras* ‘pavasario sēja, vasariniai javai / spring crops, summer corn’ in the second part of this compound\(^4\). His interpretation may be supported by an analogous analysis of *atūdogiai*. In this case the final part -*dogiai* is convincingly compared with OPrus. *dagis* (EV 13) ‘somer / summer’ and Lith. *dāgas* ‘heat of day, harvest’, see also OInd. *ni-dāghāh* (m.) ‘hot season’. The suggested comparison is additionally confirmed by two Old Prussian compounds *daga-gaydis* (EV 260) ‘somerweyse / summer wheat’ and *dago-augis* (EV 638) ‘somirlatte = Sproß, wie er in einem Sommer wächst’. The former contains the well known Old Prussian words: *dagis* ‘summer’ and *gaydis* (EV 259) ‘wheat’\(^5\). The latter is quite analogous to Lith. dial. *vasar-augis* and Latv. *vasar-aūdzis* ‘shoot, offspring’\(^6\), cf. Lit. *vāsara* (f.) ‘summer’, Latv. *vasara* (f.) ‘id.’ and Lith. *ąugalas* (m.) ‘plant’, *auginys* (m.) ‘seedling’, *auglys* (m.) ‘sprout, shoot, offspring, offspring’.

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\(^1\) Cf. LKŻ I\(^2\) 443; J. Daguys (ed.), Lietuviškas botanikos žodynas, Kaunas, 1938, 318.
\(^6\) Ibidem, 174-175.
As far as the initial element atuo- is concerned, Sabaliauskas’s interpretation agrees completely with that of Fraenkel. However, their position seems unconvincing for two reasons. First at all, the prefix at- is attested in Balto-Slavic, but the supposed variant atuo- is attested in two analyzed names for ‘summer rye’ and in Lith. atūodiena (f.) ‘desselbigen Tages’ (also the last word must be analyzed differently). Second, all the parallel formations (e.g. OPrus. daga-gaydis, dago-augis, Lith. vasaro-augis, and so on) contain two semantic elements: (1) ‘name of a season’ and (2) ‘name of a plant (a shoot, a grass and so on)’. This is why we should seek a different origin for atuo-.

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

Most linguists believe with no necessary reason that all the Baltic and Slavic words, including these for ‘aftermath’, contain the same prefix at(i)-\(^9\), but they derive these items from some completely different roots. This way of thinking is awkward, eccentric and deprived of sense. In my opinion, the basic meaning of the Balto-Slavic terms must be confined to the element at-, which is quite naturally developed by different

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suffixes (namely: *-ĀLO in Baltic and *-ĀWĀ or *-ŌWĀ in Slavic). This analysis seems to be confirmed by the comparison of two Iranian forms *atāwa- ‘young grass grown up in summer after mowing the spring one, aftermath, after-grass; sprouts, shoots, offspring’ (attested in this sense in Ossetic) and *aṭī- (f.) ‘grass’ (attested in the Scythian compound aðī-gār‘grasshopper or locust’, literally ‘devouring the grass’, cf. Hesychios’ gloss: ἀδιγόφ· τρωξαλλίς ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν\(^{11}\)). What is more, the root at- ‘grass’ appears not only in Baltic, Slavic and Iranian, but also in five different Indo-European subgroups, namely in:


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

Dardic: Kashmiri alś (f.) ‘flax, linseed’ (< Dard. *at-as-ī-)\(^{14}\).

Celtic: Welsh atif / adladd (m.) ‘second crop, aftermath’, atfy ‘to grow again’.

Anatolian: (?) Hitt. ḥattar ‘a kind of wheat’; Lycian χϑασι ‘hay, fodder (?) (= OlInd. atasa-)\(^{15}\).

The above-quoted lexical material requires comments. Some etymologists regard the Tocharian term āti / ātiyai as a borrowing from Turkish name ot ‘grass’\(^{16}\), but this derivation “seems phonologically excluded” (so rightly Hilmarsson\(^{17}\)). Others suggest that the Tocharian term for ‘grass’ is cognate with Lat. ados ‘spelt, emmer wheat’, Goth. atisk ‘field of grain’ (< IE. *ades-)\(^{18}\), but this connection must be abandoned for phonological reasons (IE. *d, if not palatalized into ś, regularly disappears in Tocharian). It is more promising to compare the Tocharian name for

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


\(^{14}\) R. L. Turner, CDIAL, 11, No. 198.


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

\(^{17}\) J. Hilmarsson, MTHED 51.

\(^{18}\) So G. S. Lane, Problem of Tocharian Phonology, – Language, XIV, 1938, 25, fn. 21; J. Hilmarsson, MTHED 51.
‘grass’, A āti, B ātiyai, with Scythian *adī ‘grass’ (< Iran. *atī-) and further with the Baltic and Slavic terms for ‘young grass’. According to traditional opinion repeated by Manfred Mayrhofer, the Indic and Dardic terms for ‘flax’, *ataśi-, remain with no transparent etymology, but the formation *ataśi- seems to derive from the basic noun *atī ‘grass’ (confirmed by the Tocharian and Scythian data), likewise as OInd. yāvasa-(m. / n.) ‘grass’ derives from yāva- (m.) ‘corn, grain, barley’19. The Welsh (Celtic) forms match perfectly the suggested root *at- ‘grass’. Only the Anatolian forms seem somewhat ambiguous. Puhvel quotes them under the verbal root ḫat- ‘to dry up, to become parched’ (< PIE. *H₂ad-), paying attention to the phrase welku ḫadan ‘dried grass, hay’, but the cereal name ḫattar contains the geminate -tt-, which represents the voiceless dental stop -t- rather than -d-. The Lycian form χόθασε ‘hay, fodder’ seems to be developed by means of the suffix -so-, which is seen in OInd. atasa- (n.) ‘bush, thicket’.

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

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


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

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

What is more, it is highly probable that the sense ‘grass’ may (though have not to) be a semantic innovation\textsuperscript{21}. The latter one (which should be reconstructed rather as \*kəzino-) denotes first of all ‘hay’\textsuperscript{22}, thus C. D. Buck lists correctly the root under 8.52 HAY\textsuperscript{24}. In opposition to the opinion expressed by D. Q. Adams in EIEC, the term \*at- ‘grass’, which occurs in many ancient languages, including the most archaic like Tocharian, Hittite, Old Indic and Scythian, must be regarded as «the oldest word [which] we can reconstruct for ‘grass’». In the Baltic, Slavic and Iranian languages we can distinguish secondary derivatives denoting ‘young grass, which grew up in summer after moving the spring one; aftermath, after-grass’. Moreover, one may securely conclude that two Lithuanian terms for ‘summer rye’, atūdogiai and atūoriečiai, meant primarily nothing other than ‘summer grass’ and ‘spring grass’, respectively.

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

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