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LITHUANIAN *brāzdas* etc., HITTITE *pár-aš-du-uš* (AND ICELANDIC *broddur*)

The etymology offered here may or may not be correct. Formally and probably also semantically the words in question correspond in a reasonable manner. But the difference in time and space between their documentation lessens the credibility of their relationship. Also the fact that these words seem to be rather isolated in their respective languages is to be reckoned with.

The words *brāzdas* and *brazdà* are common Lithuanian words documented in most dialects. Their meaning as given by the Lietuvių kalbos žodynas (=LKŽ) is 1) „sultinga plėvelė, skirianti medžio kietumą nuo žievės“ (“a sappy film between the tree’s hardness and its bark”), 2) „augalo sultys, žaliumas“ (“a plant’s sap, green growth”). Also *brazdà* has the meaning 3) „pavasario laikas, kada medžiai turi brazdo“ (“time in spring when trees are sappy”). Correspondingly Kurschat’s Lit.-deutsch. Wb. translates these words as *brāzdas* = *brazdà* 1) „der Saft unter der Baumrinde“, 2) „die Zeit wann der Saft in den Bäumen emporschießt“, 3) „der Splint (das saftige junge Holz unter der Rinde)“. Niedermann – Senn – Brender’s Wb. der lit. Schriftsprache gives for *brāzdas* the meaning „Saft unter der Baumrinde, die unmittelbar unter der Rinde liegende, Holzschicht, Splint, Weissholz“. Fraenkel who refers to both *brāzas* and *brāzdas* repeats that translation.

The form *brāzas* is dialectal (first documented in Nesselmann’s Wb. der lit. Sprache and Kurschat’s dictionary) and probably a secondary derivation from *brāzdas* as shown by the -z-, the voiced allophone of /s/ before voiced consonants, – here /d/.

Lithuanian has also a widely attested adjective *brazdūs* meaning „sultingas“ (“sappy”). As the adjectival *u*-stems have been extremely productive in Lithuanian right up to modern times, this form does not necessarily have to be old, indeed its root-vocalism seems to betray a relatively recent derivation from the substantive *brāzdas* or *brazdà*. Still an *u*-stem of this root might be an archaism.

From the substantives *brāzdas* and *brazdà* many verbs are derived, such as e. g. *brazdauti* „imti nuo medžio brazdą“ (“remove the sap from a tree“), *brazdóti* (Nes-

selmann) „skusti brazdą“ (“scrape off the sap“), *brāzdyti*, *brazduoti* „skusti medžio brazdą“ (“scrape off the sap of a tree“), – and also other substantives, e. g. *brazdiniai* (pl.) = *brāzdas* 1) and *brazdalių* „geltonos spalvos šakaliai, kurių drožles vartodavo juodam dažymui“ (“yellow splints, the strips of which were used for dyeing black“), – and adjectives, e. g. *brazduotas* „sultingas“ (“sappy“).

In his Lit. Etym. Wb. E. Fraenkel explains *brāz(d)as* as belonging to the same family of words as Lith. *brōzdauti*, *brazdėti*, *brozdėti* „poltern, fahren, niederfallen“, Latv. *brāz(d)ēt* „poltern, sausen, krachen, stürmen“ and Lith. *barškėti* „klappern, rasseln“, Latv. *bakš(k)ēt* „prasseln, rasch sprechen“, *brakstēt*, *brakšēt*, i. e. „dröhnen, krachen“ comparing them with O. Icel. *brēsta*, A. S. *berstan*, OHG. *brastōn*, in the same way as Germ. *Splint*, Engl. *splinter* is to be compared with *splitten* resp. *split*.

However, bearing in mind what seems to be the basic meaning of *brāzdas* and *brazdà* “sap and sappy substance of a tree“ the connection with *brazdėti* “make noise etc.“ does not recommend itself.

Another connection within Lithuanian is worth considering, namely that with *birzdis* (Ruhig-Mielcke 270 and Kurschat) and *brizdis* (Kurschat and Pabrėža) „viržis, šilojas“ („Heidekraut, *Calluna vulgaris*“). Fraenkel explains these words as variants of *viržės* “id.“, Latv. *virzīs* “id. etc.“ and associates them with a family of words of non-Indo-European origin. This is not plausible, however, – not only because of *b-* instead of *v-* and *-z-* instead of *-ž-*, neither of which being uncommon phenomena in words of this semantic category, but more so because of the total lack of *-d-* in the *viržės*-word-group and especially because of the apophonic grade *-ri-* of *brizdis* which reveals a connection with a normal-grade *-ra-* as attested in *brāzdas*. Also semantically *brizdis* and *birzdis* might fit as relatives of *brāzdas*, *brazdà* and *brazdūs*, because a name of a plant may well derive from such qualities of the plant as sap, juice, soft substance of the stem, fibres, etc.

As already mentioned the adjective *brazdūs* does not necessarily imply an original *u*-stem of this root in Lithuanian, but on the basis of *birzdūklis* „pagaliukas, įsiūtas į drabužį vietoj sagos, sprunklis“ (“small piece of wood sewn onto clothes instead of a button, toggle“) one might assume that an *u*-stem of this root indeed did exist. A form **birzdu-* (and *brāzdas*) would derive from I.-E. **bhṛsd(h)u-* (resp. **bhrosd(h)-os*).

It cannot be said with certainty which is the original meaning of the underlying stem-form of *brāzdas/brazdà* “sap or sappy wood“, but for the Lithuanian words in question one might well imagine the following development:

- 1) *brāzdas/brazdà* "sappy young wood"
 ↓ |————→ *birzdùklis* "toggle"
 ↓
 2) *brāzdas/brazdà* "sap"
 ↓ |————→ *brazdùs* "sappy"
 ↓ |————→ *brizdis/birzdis* (Names of plants)
 ↓
 3) *brāzdas/brazdà* "time when plants are sappy"

In Hittite the word *pár-aš-du-uš* (acc. sg. *pár-aš-du-un*) is attested nine times, — five of which were not known until recently through C. Burde's work: *Hethitische medizinische Texte*. Earlier handbooks are not quite certain of the meaning of this word. Thus J. Friedrich in his *Hethitisches Elementarbuch* gives the translation: „Knospe, Trieb?“ (with a question-mark). In his *Hethitisches Wörterbuch* he gives the same translation, but this time without the question-mark. E. Sturtevant in *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language* takes *pár-aš-du-uš* in the meaning "young shoots" to be a prefixed zero-grade of the I.-E. root **sed-*, cf. Gk. ὄζος < **o-sd-os*. However, the I.-E. root **sed-* is not attested elsewhere with the prefix **pr-* or **por-* in that meaning. A. Juret in *Vocabulaire Étymologique de la langue Hittite* translates *parašdu-* as "pousse d'arbre" and compares it with Gk. πτόρθος. The same — but in a broader context — does J. J. S. Weitenberg in a recent article (*KZ*, 1976, 89, p. 66–75) where he also prefers for Hittite *pár-aš-du-uš* the translation "Schößling" ("shoot") to „Knospe“ ("bud"). He bases his opinion especially on the context of KUB XII 44 II 30, cf. below. Furthermore he compares this Hittite word with Gk. πτόρθος "shoot" and Arm. *ort* "vine", but the phonetic difficulties involved (e. g. the question of *pt-* : *p-*, internal *-š-* of Hittite and the aspirated tenuis of Armenian and Greek) make this etymology inferior to the one proposed below where no such obstacles are encountered.

The Hittite form *pár-aš-du-uš* can be read **párašduš* or **páršduš*, the latter variant being more probable. The form **páršduš* could derive from I.-E. **bhṛsd(h)us* and would thus formally correspond exactly to Lith. **birzdus* < **bhṛsd(h)us* (indirectly attested in Lith. *birzdùklis* "toggle"), both forms being *u*-stems with zero-grade of the root. Lith *brāzdas* is the same root, but with *o*-vocalism.

For the semantic aspect we shall have to take a closer look at the context in which Hitt. *pár-aš-du-uš* is attested and see if its meaning fits the meaning of Lith. *brāzdas* etc.

1) KUB XII 44 II 28–30

(28) ...[n-an k] iš-ša-an a-ni-ja-mi na-aš mi-iš-ki-ṽ-an da-a-i ... a-ši ma-aḥ-ḥa-an ma-za ḥa-aš-ša-an-na-za...(30) ...an pá-r-aš-du-un iš-pa-ar-ḥi....

This document is fragmentary. A corner of the clay-tablet is completely broken off. The meaning can be gathered approximately as follows: "[And] I treat [it] in the following way. It begins to mature... When it has opened itself... I spread out the bud/shoot".

According to A. Kammerhuber (MIO, 1955, 3, p. 48) this passage treats of a vineyard and how it should be tended if it does not thrive. She translates *pár-aš-du-un iš-pa-ar-ḫi* as „den Trieb zertrete ich“. J. Friedrich (Heth. Wb.) gives the meaning „hinstecken, ausbreiten“ for the verb *išpar-*. Therefore a translation "I spread out the sap or sappy substance" is equally possible, — the sap in this case being the juice of the grapes rather than the sappy substance of the vine. If on the other hand *pár-aš-du-un* here means "bud" or "shoot", the sentence *I spread out the bud/shoot* would not be entirely comprehensible, although that of course could be due to the text's fragmentary form.

2) KUB XVII 10 I 16–18

(16) HUR-SAG AŠ. AŠ. HI. A ḫa-a-te-ir GIŠ HI. A-ru ḫa-a-az-ta na-aš-ta pár-aš-du-uš Ú.UL (17) ú-e-iz-zi ú-e-ša-e-eš ḫa-a-te-ir TÚL HI. A ḫa-a-az-ta nu KUR-ja an-da-an (18) ka-a-aš-za ki-i-ša-ti

Translation: "The mountains dried. The wood dried. And the bud/shoot does not come out. The fields dried. The water-hole dried. And in the country was hunger".

For the transcription of this text, see E. Laroche: RHA 1965, 77, p. 90. A. Götze (Madd., p. 143 Anm. 2) translates: „Die Bäume vertrockneten und die Triebe kommen nicht hervor“.

3) KUB XXXIII 24 I 14–15

(14) [HUR.SAG HI. (A ḫa-a-te-)er GIŠ HI. A-ru ḫa-a-]z-ta na-aš-ta GIŠ pár-aš-du-uš (15) [Ú.UL ú-e-ša-e-(eš ḫa-a-te) -er] TÚL HI. A ḫa-az-ta

This text is somewhat fragmentary, but has been restored by Laroche on the model of KUB XVII 10 I with which it is almost identical, cf. Laroche: RHA 77, p. 112–113, esp. p. 112 Note 4.

Translation: "The mountains dried. The wood dried. And (there was) no bud / shoot. The fields dried. The water-hole dried".

4) KUB XXVIII 101 III 8

This text is very fragmentary. In fact only the word *par-aš-du-uš* can be discerned. In the following line there seems to be a mentioning of *GIŠ*, i. e. "wood, tree", but the context is not to be gathered.

5) KUB XLIV 63 II 8–11

ma-aḫ-ḫa-an-ma-at-ši-kán iš-ḫar ar-ḫa tar-na-i nu-uš-ši-kán ki-i Ú an-da tar-na-i UD.NI.ŠA^{SAR} pár-aš-du-un da-a-i na-at IŠ-TU ME-E ar-ḫa ar-ri-ja-az-zi GA-PA-

NU-ja-aš-ši-kán ar-ḫa da-a-i nam-ma-at ša-ap-pa-a-iz-zi nu-uš-ši-kán ha-a-da-an
ḫar-ra-a-an-na-ja an-da- Ú.UL da-a-la-i

Translation (from C. Burde: Heth. med. Texte): „Sobald er es, das Blut, ihm aber ablässt, so tut er ihm diese Pflanze hinein. Die Knospe der UD.NI.SA-Pflanze nimmt er und wäscht sie mit Wasser ab, ihre Knolle nimmt er weg, dann säubert er es und lässt Vertrocknetes und Zerdrücktes nicht darin“.

6–9) In KUB XLIV 65 8 and KBo XXI 19 I 8,9,10 the text is so fragmentary that no meaning can be gathered.

The Hittite material seems to allow the following conclusions as to the meaning of the word *par-aš-du-uš*:

1. It is certainly a plant or tree or a part thereof.
2. It probably signifies the sappy substance of some sort of plants or trees, because it can be spread out (KUB XII) and because it seems to be greatly affected by drought.
3. The translation "bud, young shoot" may well be a good guess, because buds and young shoots are juicy, prone to dry up and die during droughts and are extremely popular in folk-medicine.

Thus Lith. *brāzdas*, *brizdis*, *birzdūklis* and Hittite *pár-aš-du-uš* correspond perfectly in form and reasonably well in meaning, their common denominator being the basic meaning "sappy young wood". This connection brings these words out of their assumed isolation and establishes them on Indo-European basis.

Whether cognates are to be found in other branches of Indo-European is not easy to see. However, one might suggest that Modern Icelandic *broddur* "beastings, cow-milk and ewe-milk during the first days after giving birth" could belong here. This word derives from Gmc. **bruzdaz* and usually it is thought to be connected with the Germanic word for *breast*, cf. Icel. *brjóst*, Goth. *brusts*, – so A. Jóhannesson in *Isländisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Indeed Swiss *briesch* < **bhreus-ko-* and *briescht* "beastings" and A. S. *béost*, *býsting* and Mod. Engl. *beastings* seem to testify to that. But formally Icel. *broddur* does not fit that etymology too well. The *-st-* of the *breast*-group derives from original I.-E. **-st-* if the comparison with Slavic **brъstъ* is correct, cf. Byelo-Russ. *brost* "bud" and Bulg. *brūs(t)* "bud". On the other hand the I.-E. stem **bhreus-* apart from showing the suffix *-t-* only shows the suffixes *-k-* and *zero* in Germanic or other languages, but never *-dh-* as far as can be seen, cf. Icel. *brjósk*, Germ. *Bries*, *Bröschen* etc.

The original *-zd-* < *-sdh-* of *broddur* < **bruzdas* is therefore reason enough for keeping this word apart from the *breast*-group. Indeed I suggest that it be compared with its new Lithuanian and Hittite relatives, i. e. *brāzdas*, *brizdis*, *birzdūklis* resp. *pár-aš-du-uš*. For the meaning "milk" vs "sap" it is easy to point out that the sap of

plants and trees is often called milk, so e. g. in Icelandic. A semantic link is fully established in that respect.

Another Icelandic word *ábrystur* with the variants *ábrystir*, *ábreistur*, *ábrestur* and *ábrestir* is usually thought to be connected with *brjóst* etc. The meaning of this word is not – as one often sees cited – the same as that of *broddur*. The latter means the natural milk of the cow or ewe in the first days after giving birth, whereas *ábrestur* etc. means a certain milk-product made of *broddur*. The processing of the *broddur* is in Icelandic called *brysta*, *bresta* or *bresta á*. The *broddur* is then no longer in floating form but stiffened into a sort of jelly. The verb *bresta* in Icelandic has the meaning "burst, split, etc.", but the meaning "stiffen" can be gathered from such expressions as e. g. *brostin augu* "the stiff and staring eyes of a corpse", cf. also N. Norw. *bresta* „Milch durch Wärme zerrinnen lassen“. I therefore suggest that *ábrestur* etc. be joined neither to the *brjóst*-group nor to *broddur*, but that it is a deverbative substantive from the verb *bresta á*.

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The author's note: "Reading it now I fully realize that it is badly written".