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VESSELS FOR DRINKING IN INDO-EUROPEAN LEXICON

ABSTRACT. A purpose of the present study is to map main semantic strategies in designations of vessels usually for drinking in the Indo-European languages. A choice of this specific semantic field was motivated by the fact that vessels represent a cultural phenomenon connected with borrowing, frequently mediated by a trade. Determination of the loan-vectors allow us to map the most probable trajectories of the trade routes even for periods before any historical records. In the study a minilexicon of 20 terms is analyzed. In 15 cases it was possible to determine a semantic motivation: “to drink”, “to make full, contain”, “a pointy formed vessel similar to a horn”, “to carve, cut out”, “hollow”, “glossy/shining”, “to weave”, “to hang”, “to bake”. Very frequent is a semantic connection between “vessel” and “skull” as well as “vessel” and “belly” with its organs. From 20 terms discussed here there are 13 attested in Slavic, but only two of them are inherited formations, while remaining 11 terms were borrowed. It is no surprise that the oldest final sources of borrowing appear in languages of early civilisations of Mediterranean and Mesopotamia, Egyptian, Ugaritic, Aramaic, Akkadian.

KEY WORDS: Indo-European, lexicon, semantic motivation, vessel-names, borrowing

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The main ambition of this etymological-semasiological study is to map substantial approaches of semantic motivation in designation of vessels made for drinking in the Indo-European languages. The choice of this specific semantic field is based on assumption that vessels represent the first-class cultural phenomenon, frequently connected with borrowing mediated by trade. Determination of loan-vectors allows us to trace the most probable trajectories of the trade routes even for the preliterate periods. Such a study is ready to serve as a methodological starting-point for partial etymological analyses devoted to individual Indo-European branches too.

In the Indo-European protolanguage there are reconstructible several vessel names. The number of the drinking vessels is still more limited. The following minilexicon concentrates especially on the vessel terminology in languages of Europe, but the Indo-Iranian languages are not also omitted. Individual lemmas summarize both the inherited terms continuing in several branches and isolated designations, spread further via borrowing. The vessel names belong to the most typical cultural terms and so the relatively long chains of loanwords should not be surprising. Standard tools of comparative linguistics, especially historical phonetics, serve to differentiate the borrowings from inherited forms. For instance, Old Norse *koppr*, Old English *cuppe* > English *cup*, Old High German *kopf* “vessel for drinking” > German *Kopf* “head” should be borrowed from Middle Latin *cuppa* (#7), since Latin *c-* [*k*] (< IE **k-*) regularly corresponds to Germanic *h-*, and not *k-/c-*, cf. Greek *κύβη* “(drinking-)cup, bowl”; Middle Irish *comm* “vessel, pot”, Breton *komm* “trough”, versus German *Humpe(n)* “beaker, tankard” (#6). If the material and technological origin of the studied vessels is taken in account, the approach of linguistic archaeology is applied. In tradition of German historical linguistics this approach is called *Wörter und Sachen*, which means that in historical research of lexicon of any language the analyzed words should not be separated from objects or entities, which they designate.

A. The following terms are reconstructible for the late Indo-European protolanguage:

1. **poH₃-tl-om* > **pōtlom*

Latin *pōculum* “drinking vessel, cup, goblet, bowl, beaker” [from Plautus] exactly corresponds to Vedic *pátram* “drinking vessel, goblet, bowl, cup, dish, plate” (EWAI II, 119). Greek *ποτήρ* «drinking-cup, wine-cup” (**pH₃-tér*) is of the same origin. All is derived from the verb **peH₃(i)-* “to drink”, which continues in most of branches: Vedic *píbati* “drinks”, Wakhi *pōv-* “to drink”; Armenian *əmpem* “I drink”; Hittite *pāsi* “swallows, gulps down”; Greek *πίνω*, Aeolic *πώνω* “I drink”, perf. *πέπωκα*; Old Albanian *pīi* “drinks”; Latin *bibō, -ere* “to drink”, *pōtus* “a drinking, drink”; Gaulish *ibetis* “drink!” (2nd pl.), Old Irish *ebait* “they drink” (**pibonti*); Prussian *poūt* “to drink”, Lithuanian *puotà* “drinking spree”; Old Church Slavonic *pījō: pīti* “to drink” (EWAI II, 113–14; LIV 462–63; Mallory, Adams 2006: 240; Pokorny 1959: 839–840).

2. *kol-/*k_l-

Vedic *kalása-* “water-pot, pitcher, jar, dish” vs. ?Greek κύλιξ “(drinking) cup, wine-cup”, Latin *calix* “vessel for food or drink, cup, goblet, pot” (EWAI I: 321). It can be formed from the root, which is attested in Sanskrit *kalilá-* “full of”. The irregular root vowel *-u-* in the Greek word perhaps appeared under the influence of κύλα pl. “hollows” (sr. Frisk II: 46–47), but it not excluded, it is a quite different cultural term 1. The Latin word was borrowed into Old Irish *cailech*, Old English *calic*, Old High German *kelih*, Middle High German *ke-lich*, German *kelch*; Middle High German > Old Czech *kalich/kelich*, Polish *kielich*, Slovenian *kélih* etc. (Buck 1949: 349; Machek 1968: 236).

2a. *k_l-p-/*kel-p-

Greek κάλις “vessel for drawing water, pitcher”, κάλπος. ποτηρίου εἶδος, i. e. “kind of drinking vessel” (Frisk I: 767–768): Old Irish *cilornn*, *ci-lurn* “bucket, pail”, Welsh *celwrn* “tub, bucket, pail, barrel”, Breton *kelorn* “pail, bucket” (**kelpurno-*; see Pokorny 1959: 555). It seems, it is the same root as the preceding one, extended of *-p-*, which could be identified as a trace of the verb **peH₃-* “to drink”.

3. *korn-/*k_{rn}-

Middle Irish, Cornish, Breton *corn* “drinking horn”; Old Norse *horn* “horn”, also “drinking horn”. This meaning was used already in the Old Runic inscription on the golden drinking horn from Gallehus, dated to c. 400 CE:

ek hlewagastiz holtijaz horna tawido

“I Hlewagastiz Holtijaz, [this] horn I made”.

The Celtic and Germanic words were formed from the Indo-European designation of “horn”, which is known e. g. in Latin *cornū* “horn”, but also “a vessel in the form of horn” (Pokorny 1959: 576; de Vaan 2008: 110, 137: **k_{rn}-* “horn as material”, **k_{rn}-* “an individual horn”, **k_{er}H₂-* collective “that what forms top” = “head”, **k_{er}(H₂)u-* “having horns” = “horned animal” = “deer, stag”).

4. *kouko-

Vedic *kóśa-* “cask, vessel for holding liquids, pail, bucket”, khot. *kūsa-* “vessel, measure”; Greek *καῖκα & καῖκος* “kind of cup”; Latin *caucum* “drinking vessel”; Middle Irish *cúach* “bowl, cup”, Welsh *cawg* “bowl”: Lithuanian *káušas* “skull”, Latvian *kaúss* “skull, vessel, bowl” (EWAI I: 403–04; Bailey 1979: 64; Frisk I: 802; Mann 1984–1987: 481).

B. Other vessel names for drinking are limited to only one branch, but with relatives in other branches and with different semantics. The terms frequently spread thanks to a chain borrowing.

¹ The base **kulio* designating various kinds of vessels appear in several Indo-European languages: Sanskrit *kulya-* n. “receptacle for bones” [MBh I: 150] and/or *kulija-* n. “particular vessel” [Kaus.], “sort of measure” [Pān.], Cuneiform Luvian ^{DUG}*kullita-* “vessel (for honey or oil)” (Melchert 1993: 106; Tischler 2001: 83); Tocharian B *kwalyye* “kind of vessel” (Adams 2013: 253).

5. *teks-to-/tā-

Avestan *tašta-* “cup, bowl”, ?Khotanese *tcašta* “bowls” (Bailey 1979: 137: influenced by the verb *čāš- ‘to drink’); Parthian *t’st* & *t’st/tāst/*, *t’stg/tāstag* “cup” (Durkin-Meisterernst 2004: 322), Zoroastrian Pahlavi *tšt/tašt/* “bowl” (MacKenzie 1971: 82), Persian *tast* “cup, goblet” (Steingass 1892: 280), besides *tās* “cup, dish, plate” (Steingass 1892: 275), and a reverse loan *tās* “cup, goblet; a dish; the vessel in which water is cooled; brocade” (Steingass 1892: 806) from Persian-Arabic *tās*, pl. *tāssāt*. The Iranian vessel-name is a derivative of the verb attested in Avestan *taš-* “to cut; make, construct”, Vedic *takṣ-* “to fashion, carpenter, create, cut” < *teḱ- (Cheung 2007: 384–85; LIV: 638). Latin *testa* “earthen pot, pitcher, jug, urn” is probably of the same origin (Pokorny 1959: 1058; Mallory, Adams 2006: 240). Let us mention that its Romance continuants mean “head”: French *tête*, Catalanian *testa* “head”, Provençal *testa* “head, nutshell” > Italian *testa* “head” etc. (Meyer-Lübke 1935: #8682).

On the other hand, the Persian word *tašt* through its Arabic adaptation *tās* penetrates into East European languages: Italian *tazza* “cup, mug”, French *tasse*, German *Tasse* id. (Kluge 1999: 816).

6. *k^(h)umb^(h)-

Greek κύμβη “drinking vessel, cup, bowl” (Nicander, *Alexipharmaca*, 2nd cent. BCE; Athenaios, 2nd-3rd cent. CE), Cypriot κύββᾶ: Vedic *kumbhá-* “jar, pitcher, water-pot”, Avestan *xumba-* “pot”, Persian *xum* “jug, pitcher”; Old Irish *comm* “vessel, pot”, Breton *komm* “trough”; German *Humpe(n)* “beaker, tankard” (Frisk II: 48; Kluge 1999: 387–88; Huld & Adams 1997: 443; Mallory, Adams 2006: 239). The Greek and Indo-Iranian forms cannot be projected into any common protoform. It means, it is necessary to propose their independent borrowing, perhaps from two different, but related sources. A good candidate could be Semitic **qubbaš-(at-)*, reconstructed on the basis of Emar Akkadian *qubbašū*; Ugaritic *qbš* “goblet”, Phoenician *qbš* “cup”, Hebrew *qubbašat* “cup, goblet”, Aramaic *qbš?*, Syriac *qūbšō* id., Arabic *qubšat* “calyx”. (DUL: 691–62; HAL: 1062). The dissimilation *-bb- > -mb- has analogy in other Semitic loans in Greek: τύπανον ~ Aramaic *tuppā* or λαμπάς, -ᾶδος ~ Aramaic *lappidā*, Hebrew *lappid* (Rosó1 2013: 53–54). For Greek a donor-language might be Phoenician or Aramaic with regard to relatively late attestation, while Vedic and Avestan could borrow the word from some Akkadian variety.

7. *kūp-

Greek κύπελλον “big-bellied drinking vessel, beaker, goblet, cup” [Ilias]: Latin *cūpa* “tub, cask, tun, vat”, Sanskrit *kūpa-* «hole, cave, well», besides the late Greek gloss of the lexicographer Hesychius κύπη. τρώγη, i. e. «hole, cave» (Frisk II: 51). Medieval Latin variant *cuppa* was a source of Italian *coppa*, French *coupe*, Spanish *copa*, Romanian *cupă*; Modern Greek *κούπα*; Old Irish *copp*, *copán*, Welsh *cwpan*, Breton *kop*; Old Norse *koppr*, Old English *cuppe* > English *cup*, Old High German *kopf* “drinking vessel” > German *Kopf* “head”

(Buck 1949: 348–49). Middle High German *kopfel* “small cup” was a source of Czech *koflík* id. (Rejzek 2001: 283). It is not excluded that Late Greek κύπη “hole, cave” should be separated from the word κύπελλον “big-bellied drinking vessel, beaker, goblet, cup”, known already from Ilias. This form is derivable from **kupeslon*, indicating a Semitic source of the type Ugaritic *kpsln* “container or measure for liquids” (DUL: 453).

8. **stig-*

Gothic *stikls* “beaker, chalice”, Old High German *stehhal* “beaker”; a more primary meaning was preserved in Old Norse *stikill* “tip of a drinking horn”, Old English *sticel*, Old High German *stichill* “point, tip”, all from IE **(s)teig-* “to prick”, cf. Greek στίζω id. (Pokorny 1959: 1016; Wodtko, NIL: 660–661).

The Gothic word is a source of Common Slavic **stǫklo* “glass” > Church Slavonic *stǫklo* “glass”, cf. Old Church Slavonic *stǫklǫnica* “drinking glass”, Bulgarian *stǫklǫ* “glass”, Serbo-Croatian *stǫklo* “glass, (glass) dishes”, Slovenian *stǫklǫ* id., Slovak, Czech *sklo*, Old Czech *stko* “glass”, Upper & Lower Lusatian *šklo* “bowl”, Polish *szkło*, Ukrainian *sklo*, Russian *stekló* “glass” (Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 146–147).

9. **g^hloso-*

Old English *glæs*, Old Saxon, Old High German *glas*, German *Glas* “(drinking) glass” reflect Germanic **glasa-* < **g^hlōso-*, while Old Norse *gler* id. is a continuant of Germanic **glaza-* < **g^hlosó-*. Old English *glér* “amber, resin”, Middle Low German *glār* “resin” represent a lengthened grade **glēza-* < **g^hlēsó-*. The same formation may be identified in the Latinized record *glēsum*, which had to designate “amber” among the Aesti, the inhabitants of Eastern Balticum according to witness of Tacitus (*Germania* § 45). The Aesti have usually been identified as Balts, but the word *glēsum* is probably an adaptation of a Germanic, most likely Gothic, word. In the 1st cent. CE just East Germans mediated the trade between Rome and East Balticum. Latvian *glīsis* & *glīse* “amber” (ME I, 627) with its *ī* reveals East Germanic origin. On the other hand, Latvian *glāze*, similarly as Estonian (*k*)*lāž*, “(drinking) glass”, represent late borrowings of Middle Low German *glas* (ME I, 624). In North Germanic there is a relative in Old Norse *glæsa* “to decorate oneself by something bright” (Holthausen 1963: 132; Kluge 1999: 326). From the point of view of word formation, Germanic **glasa-/glaza-* “(drinking) glass” is not formed from **glēza-* “amber”, but more likely oppositely. The starting-point has been sought in Germanic **gladsa-*, formed from the adj. **glada-* “glossy; bright” (Pokorny 1959, 432), or in the verb **glōwan-* “to glow” (Kroonen 2013: 180, 182; Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 190–91).

10. **plokt-skā*

Old Norse *flaska* “bottle”, Old English *flasce*, Old High German *flasca*, German *Flasche*; from here e. g. Czech *flaška* “bottle”. The Germanic protoform **flaskō* is probably formed from the verb **flehtanan* “to weave, plait” > Old High German *flehtan*, German *flechten*, Old Norse *flétta* id., cf. Gothic *flahta*

“a plait”; further Latin *plectere* “to plait, braid, interweave”; Czech *plést* “to weave, plait” etc. This solution implies that originally it was a ‘vessel’ plaited of twigs, later serving as a protective layer for vessels of more fragile materials, including glass (Kluge 1999: 270–271).

11. **pōdo-*

Lithuanian *puodelis* & *puodukas* «small cup» are diminutives from *puodas* «pot», Latvian *puōds*. Their relatives are Old Norse *fat*, Old English *fæt*, English *vat*, Old High German *faz*, Middle High German *vaz* «vessel», German *Fass* id. Their primary meaning apparently was «that what contains», cf. German *fassen* «to contain» (Buck 1949: 341; Kluge 1999: 251).

12. **kib-*

(a) Common Slavic **čьbanь* > Old Church Slavonic *čьvanь* “vessel, jug”, Bulgarian dial. *čvánica* “wine-vessel”, Serbo-Croatian *čvàn* id., Ukrainian dial. *čvan* “vessel for liquids”; besides the forms with *-b-*: Bulgarian dial. *džiban*, Serbo-Croatian (*d*)*žbàn*, Slovak, Czech *džbán*, Kashubian *zbòn*, Polish, Belorussian, Ukrainian *dzban*, Russian *žban* “vessel, jug” (ESJS 2: 120).

(b) Common Slavic **čьbьrь* “tub” > Bulgarian *čbār*, *čebār*, Serbo-Croatian *čabar*, Slovenian *čebèr*, Slovak *čbara*, (*d*)*žbar*, Old Czech *čber*, Czech *džber*, Upper Lusatian *čwor*, Polish *ceber*, hence Ukrainian *ceber*, Russian *cebar* (Machek 1968: 138).

Related is Lithuanian *kibiras* “bucket, tub”, Latvian *ciba* “round wooden vessel”, all from the verb, which is attested in Lithuanian *kibti* “to remain hanging”, *kibėti* “to hang” (ESJS 2: 120). It means, the vessel-names were motivated by the fact that the vessels were hanged.

13. **gʰr̥niko-*

Common Slavic **gьrньcb* “pot”, continuing e. g. in Serbo-Croatian *grnac*, Czech *hrnec*, Upper Lusatian *hornc*, Lower Lusatian *gjaríc*, Russian *gornéc* etc., is formed from Common Slavic **gьrнь* “(melting or potter’s) oven, furnace”, which is directly attested in East Slavic languages: Church Slavonic (of Russian redaction) *gьrнь* “kettle, forge, oven”, Russian dial. *gornó* “oven to fire bricks or potter’s ware”, Belorussian *harno*, *hurno* “potter’s oven”. It is formed in the same way as Latin *furnus* “oven” and Vedic *ghṛná-* “heat, ardour, sunshine” < **gʰr̥no-*, all from the verb **gʰer-* “to burn” (ESJS 4: 209–10; Machek 1968: 184). The Slavic “pot” explicitly means the vessel fired in a potter’s oven.

C. Let us analyze the other Slavic names of the drinking vessels separately. Usually they represent loans from other Indo-European branches or even non-Indo-European languages.

14. Old Church Slavonic *čāša* “goblet, cup, chalice”, Bulgarian *čāša*, Macedonian *čāša*, Serbo-Croatian *čāša*, Slovenian *čāša*, Slovak *čāša*, Czech *číše*, Polabian *coso* “goblet”, Polish *czasza*, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Russian *čāša* “bowl, big drinking cup” < Common Slavic **čāša* (ESSJ 4: 30–31; ESJS 2: 99) is borrowed from an Iranian source. The probable protoform adopted into

Slavic is reconstructible as *čāšā, cf. Khotanese *cāša* “measure for liquids” vs. Sogdian čš- “to taste”, pčš- “to drink”, čš’ntk “a drink”, Pashto č(ə)šəl “to drink, swallow”, Iranian > Armenian *čašak* “cup”; Sanskrit *cāṣaka-* “cup, wine-glass” (Bailey 1979: 101; ESIJ 2: 235–38; KEWA I: 380). Prus. *kiosi* “cup” is of Slavic origin.

15. Common Slavic *lagy, gen. *lagъve > Church Slavonic (of Russian redaction) *lagva*, *lagvica* “cup”, Serbo-Croatian *lågav* “barrel”, Slovenian *lågav* “bottle”, Czech *láhev*, Upper Lusatian *lahej*, Lower Lusatian *lågwe* “bottle”, Polish *lagiew* “cup”, Russian *lagóvka* “milk jug” < West Germanic *lāgel(l)ō-: Old High German *lāgel(l)a* “cask for liquids”, *lāgel(la)* “bottle”, dial. *lagen*, Middle High German *lāgel(e)*, *lægel(e)*, German *Lāgel*, *Legel* “small barrel”, Middle Dutch *lagel(e)*, *legel(e)* < Latin *lagoena*, *lagōna* “large vessel with narrow neck and handles, flask, flagon, bottle” < Greek λάγυνος “flask, flagon”, also “measure” [Aristotle, *Fragmenta* 457, 4th cent. BCE] (Machek 1968: 317; Kluge 1999: 499; Beekes 2010: 820; Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 114). An ultimate source should be sought in Semitic, where are attested such the forms as Ugaritic lg, Hebrew *lōg* “measure of capacity of liquids (1/6 litre)” [Lv 14:10,12,15,21,24], Middle Hebrew pl. *lōggīm*, Samaritanian *lag*, Aramaic *lōggā*, Syriac *lagg^{ctā}* “small bowl and liquid measure” (DUL 494; HAL 520; Klein 1987, 293, 294). The Greek extension in -ōv- may be explained as adaptation of the Semitic diminutive suffix *-ān-, which was regularly changed in -ōn- in Hebrew and Aramaic, e. g. Hebrew *ḥšōn* “pupil of eye”, lit. “the little man”, Syriac *b^rōnā* “small son”, New Syriac *īālūnā* “small boy” (Brockelmann 1908: 394–395; HAL: 44).

16. Czech & Slovak *pohár*, Polish *puhar*, Ukrainian *póhar* “cup” are borrowed from Hungarian *pohár* id. The Hungarian word itself has origin in Old High German *pechari* (& *behhari* > German *Becher*), being also the source of Slovenian *péhar*, Serbo-Croatian *pěhār* (Machek 1968: 468). The Old High German forms represent adaptation of Middle Latin *picārium* & *bicārium* “drinking vessel”. English *beaker* is of the same origin, while English *pitcher* came via Old French *pichier* from Middle Latin *picārium*, which itself is adapted from Greek βίκος «wine-jar; drinking-bowl» [Herodotus; 5th cent. BCE] (Buck 1949, 348), which is finally borrowed from Egyptian *b3k.t* “vessel for oil, used as a measure of capacity” [from Old Kingdom], further from *b3k* “olive tree” [from Old Kingdom], “olive oil” [from Middle Kingdom] (Frisk I: 237; Beekes 2010: 215; Wb. I: 423–424).

17. Czech *šálek* “small cup” is adaptation of German *Schale* “bowl”; further cf. Middle High German *schāl(e)*, Old High German *scāla*, Old Saxon *skāla*, Old Norse *skāla* “drinking bowl; scale” < Germanic *skālē; all from the verb *skeljan- “to separate”, derived from IE *skel- “to chop”, cf. Lithuanian *skėlti* id. (Buck 1949: 349; Kluge 1999: 710; Pokorny 1959: 923–927; Kroonen 2013: 443).

18. Serbo-Croatian *fildžān*, Polish *filiżanka* “small cup, small goblet” with mediation of Modern Greek φιλτζάνι, φλιτζάνι and Karaim *fylžan* respectively, plus Hungarian *findza*, have origin in Turkish *fincan*, *filcan* “cup” (Buck 1949: 348–349), which itself is adaptation of Arabic or Persian *fiḡān* “cup (for coffee)” (AED: 805; Räsänen 1969: 145).

19. Polish *czarka* “small cup”, *czara* “drinking bowl” < Old Russian *čara* (first AD 1151), Russian *čára*, *čárka*, Ukrainian, Belorussian *čára* “drinking glass” represent Turkish borrowings, cf. Tatar, Oïrot *čara* “big goblet”, Kazakh *šara* “big wooden bowl” (Vasmer IV: 316; Buck 1949: 349), all probably from the verb attested in Teleut *čar* “to wind, wrap”, Baraba Tatar *car* “to tie around” (Räsänen 1969: 100).

20. Russian *stakán*, dial. *stokán*, Old Russian *dostokanъ* (first AD 1356) is of Turkish origin, cf. Chaghatai *tostakan* “wooden bowl”, Kazakh *tustayan* “drinking glass; dipper, ladle”. Concerning the semantic motivation, cf. Old Turkish *tosta* “to show up”, Teleut *tosto-k* “being excellent” (Vasmer III: 743; Räsänen 1969: 491).

CONCLUSIONS

Among 20 analyzed terms designating vessels usually made for drinking there are 15 cases, where the semantic motivation is determined with more or less probability, namely these motives: “to drink” (##1, 14), “to make full; contain” (##2, 11), “horn-like pointed form” (##3, 8), “to cut” etc. (##5, 17), “hollow” (#7), “smooth, glossy, bright” (#9), “to plait” (#10), “to hang” (#12), “to fire” (#13). “Glass” as material was used with high probability in the case of Gothic *stikls* (#8) and Germanic **glasa-/ *glaza-* (#9). Connection with “skull” appears in the case of etymons ##4, 5, 7; in the cases ##5 & 7 the semantic shift “vessel” → “skull” was realized, ambiguous is the situation in #4. Other body parts, which became inspiration for designation of vessel names, were organs of abdominal cavity, which really served as safe containers of liquids, or belly itself for its similarity with some vessels, cf. Sanskrit *udāra-pātra-* “stomach serving as a vessel” [Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad 5] vs. Vedic *udāra-* “belly, stomach, bowels, abdomen”; Latin *ventriōsus* “pot-bellied” vs. *venter* “belly; bowels, entrails”; Latin *uter*, gen. *utris* “bag or bottle made of an animal’s hide” vs. *uterus* “belly, paunch, womb”; Lithuanian *vėderas* “intestine, bowel, stomach, abdominal cavity” vs. Old Church Slavonic *vědro* “bucket”; Church Slavonic *лоньць*, Bulgarian *lonec*, Serbo-Croatian *lōnac* “pot” vs. Church Slavonic *lono* “womb” etc. (Buck 1949: 342; de Vaan 2008: 647). Let us mention that from 13 cases, when the Slavic material was analyzed in the present minilexicon (##2, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20), only two of them (##12, 13) represent original, unborrowed forms. The foreign designations of vessels penetrate in Slavic most frequently through Middle or Old High German (5x), plus once by an indirect route through Hungarian (#16), and once directly from Gothic

(#8). In three cases the Turkish loans are recognizable, one via Modern Greek. In only case (#14: “goblet”) the Iranian origin is probable. The semantic field “vessel” is much more abundant, but even this brief contribution offers illustration, how fruitful are vessel names in perspective of linguistic archaeology.

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СОСУДЫ ДЛЯ ПИТЬЯ В ЛЕКСИКОНЕ ИНДОЕВРОПЕЙЦЕВ

АННОТАЦИЯ. Задача исследования состояла в выявлении тенденций географического распространения основных семантических стратегий в обозначении сосудов (в основном для питья) в индоевропейских языках. Выбор столь специфического семантического поля вызван тем, что сосуды как культурное явление связаны с отношениями дара/отдарка, нередко опосредованных торговлей. Знание направлений заимствования позволяет картографировать наиболее веро-

ятные направления торговых путей, в том числе в период, не освещенный письменными источниками. В работе проанализирован минилексикон из 20 терминов. В 15 случаях удалось определить семантическую мотивацию: «пить», «наполнять, содержать», «сосуд с заостренным нижним концом типа рога», «резать, вырезать», «пустой», «блестящий/сверкающий», «ткать», «вешать», «печь». Высоко частотна семантическая связь между лексемами «сосуд» и «череп», а также между «сосуд» and «живот» (с находящимися в нем органами). Из 20 рассмотренных терминов 13 зафиксированы в протославянском, но лишь 2 унаследованы от более раннего языкового состояния, тогда как оставшиеся 11 представляют собой заимствования. Не удивительно, что самые ранние конечные источники заимствований отыскиваются в языках ранних цивилизаций Средиземноморья и Месопотамии — египетской, угаритской, арамейской, аккадской.

К Л Ю Ч Е В Ы Е С Л О В А : индоевропейцы, лексикон, семантическая мотивация, наименования сосудов, заимствование

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