

CHURCH SLAVONIC *korabъ* AND GREEK *κάραβος*

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[Greek *κάραβος* is not the source of the Slavic word, as is frequently assumed, but is borrowed from it. The Slavic term can be explained as a derivative of IE \**qer* 'cut'. It passed also into Latin as *carabus*. See also the summary at end of the article.]

In the opinion of most etymologists ChSl., etc. *korabъ*, *korabъ*, *korablъ* 'ship, boat' is a loanword, coming from Gk. *κάραβος* 'a kind of light ship, etc.', NG *καράβι* 'ship, vessel' (Berneker, *SEW* 567, with refs.; Brückner, *Słownik Etymologiczny Języka Polskiego*, 266). On the other hand, the discussion has also elicited views in support of the Slavic origination of *korabъ*, etc. So Himly in *Zs. f. Völkerpsych. u. Sprw.*, 12. 229 expresses doubt of the borrowing from Greek, while St. Romanski in *Revue des Études Slaves* 2. 52f. connects *korabъ* with ChSl., etc. *koryto* 'trough', Bulg. *koruba* 'hollow of a tree, hole in a tree', etc., and insists, in spite of some irregularity in suffix, on its Slavic origin. His arguments were rejected by Vasmer in *A. Sl. Ph.* 38. 282, but Berneker, *ib.* 265, seems to oppose Romanski mainly because he thinks that the Slavic term should not be separated from the Gk. *κάραβος*, etc.

That the etymology of *korabъ* should not be subordinated to an assumed unity with *κάραβος*, is a postulate derived from the frequent co-existence of words, similar in form and meaning, yet without any historical relationship. Compare, for instance, Hung. *ház*, Eng. *house*; Hung. *mi*, SCr. *mi* 'we'; Hung. *adandó*, Lat. *dandus* 'to be given'; SCr. *ker*, Eng. *cur*; SCr. *motika*, Eng. *mattock*.<sup>1</sup> But even if the unity of *korabъ-κάραβος* has to stand, the Slavic origin of the former must not be given up. Barring their derivation from a common source, the latter can be true only if we assume that the borrowing came from the oppo-

<sup>1</sup> Vast material of phonetic and semantic coincidence from non-related languages is collected by Platon Lukashévitch in his curious pamphlet: "Mnimyj Indo-Germanskij Mirъ," Kievъ, 1873.

site direction, i.e. that the Gk. *κάραβος* was taken over from Slavic. This I propose to prove.

Several facts combine in making the borrowing from Greek improbable. Not a single etymologist from among those arguing for the Greek origin of *korabъ* has thus far accounted for the difference of labials in the assumed Greek source-word and its Slavic derivative, [v] vs. [b]. Any attempt to reduce the borrowing to the Hellenistic period, involves its author in semantic anachronism, as *κάραβος* first appears with the meaning 'a kind of light ship' in the 7th century, while in the 4th (or even 5th) century of our era it still lacked it. In a nautical sense *κάραβος* was listed for the first time in *Etymologicum Magnum*, a dictionary of the 10th century. Hesychios, an Alexandrian grammarian of the 4th (W. Smith, *A Dict. of Greek and Roman Biogr. and Myth.* 2. 448f.) or 5th (Pauly-Wissowa 8. 1317) century, ignorant of its nautical force, thus describes the meanings of the term: *κάραβος· ἔδεσμα, ὡς φασιν, ὠπτημένον ἐπ' ἀνθρώκων. ὑπὸ δὲ Μακεδόνων ἢ Πύλῃ· καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ξηροῖς ξύλοις σκωληκία· καὶ τὸ θαλάττιον ζῶον.* Similarly Varinos-Glyky 362 (1801).

In view of the elaborate treatment of the nautical force of *κάραβος* by the later Byzantine lexicographers, the omission of the latter by Hesychios can be explained only by the absence of such meaning in his time. The more eloquent is this absence, as the writer impresses us with his zeal to give a complete semantic record of the word. Our conclusion cannot reasonably be doubted in spite of a single occurrence of *καράβια* 'ships, boats', the diminutive form of *κάραβος* in the same dictionary, when some later Byzantine interpolator, probably, explained the meaning of *ἐφόλκια* 'tow-boat', as *μικρὰ καράβια, παρὰ τὸ ἐλκεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν κωπηλατῶν ἢ τῶν μεγάλων πλοίων.* The same attitude is apparent in Leo Meyer's *Handb. d. griech. Etymologie* 2. 349f, which does not attach nautical force to *κάραβος*; and in H. Stephanus-Didot, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, 4. 956f., which separates the nautical meaning from the ancient animal names as a medieval development. But even *καράβιον* (Stephanus-Didot, 4. 956; Du Cange<sup>2</sup> 1. 589), apart from occasional interpolations, does not appear sooner than in the texts of the 8th century (Pope Zachary's *Gk. Dialogues*, etc.). This is just as we would expect it, since the diminutive *καράβιον* can appear only after *κάραβος*, from which it is derived.

Thus in the light of historical facts the consonant agreement can be saved only by giving up the nautical force of the former, and substituting in its place for some period the meanings specified by Hesychios.

But who would attribute to *korabъ* meanings like 'a kind of roast; gate, mountain-pass; kind of tree-worm; crayfish, lobster'? Consequently, the meaning 'a kind of light ship' of the form *κάραβος* could have been communicated to the Slavs not before the 6th or 7th century, but at that time  $\beta$  sounded as [v] and there is no reason why the Slavs should have resisted the forms *\*koravъ*, *\*koravъ*, when the ending of both is very popular in Slavic. (Exx.: Russ., etc. *korova* 'cow', *borovъ* 'boar', *zdorovъe* 'health', *zabava* 'entertainment'; SCr. *zaborav* 'oblivion', etc.) For the same chronological reason we have to discard the idea of a buffer-race, or dialect, whose mission was—as it would appear from some etymologists—to preserve the explosive character of  $\beta$  in *κάραβος* until the coming of Slavs (Meillet, *Ét. Sl.* 187; Brückner, *SEJP* 266), and then to disappear from the stage of history. That such mediation was not needed here, becomes obvious from the fact that the Slavs overran all of the Balkans as early as the 6th century, and shortly after settled down among the Greeks in most parts of European Byzantium. On historical evidence, therefore, the riddle [v] vs. [b] remains unsolved.

The disagreement of vowels in both terms is of no less importance. Why should the uniformity of root-vowels in the Greek terms (*κάραβος*, *καράβιον*) be broken up after their passage into Slavic? The latter might have raised their tone, or left them as flat as in Greek, but the dissimilation in this case would certainly be in defiance of the other well-ascertained examples of the vocalic transfer from Greek. Cf. Russ. *sorokъ* 'forty' from Gk. *σαράκοντα*, *σαρακόστι*, abbreviations of *τεσσαράκοντα* 'forty'; ORuss. *sandalija* from Gk. *σάνδαλις* 'a kind of ship'; ORuss. *katartъ*, SCr. *katarka* 'mast' from Gk. *κατάρτιον* 'mast'; Russ. *kanatъ* from Gk. *κάννατα* 'cable, rope'; ChSl., etc. *komora*, ORuss. *kamara* 'room, vault', SCr. *kamara* 'stack' from Gk. *καμάρα* 'vault, room'; ORuss. *dromonija* from Gk. *δρόμων* 'a small sailing vessel'; Russ. *uksusъ* 'vinegar' from Gk. *ὄξος* 'stale wine, vinegar', etc.<sup>2</sup> These facts, certainly, cannot be ignored.

The semantic difficulty, although steadily overlooked, is no less embarrassing than the two, mentioned above. One should show cause why the specific boatname of the Greek became generic in Slavic, and

<sup>2</sup> The apparent dissimilation of vowels in Russ. *krovatъ* 'bed', as from Gk. *κραββάτιον* 'bed', may have been the result of contamination with *kroulja* 'roof lid', *pokrovъ* 'cover, veil', or some other derivative of the verb *krytъ* 'to cover'. Phonetically, however, the *o* in *krovatъ* is identical with *a* in the first syllable of the Greek term, so that the uniformity of the Greek vowels has not been broken in Russian.

PREV

NEXT

was diffused in this force all over the Slavic world. For the small, unpretentious *κάραβος*, *καράβιον* this distinction seems unduly high, especially if we consider that not even the impressive *τριήρης*, *κουμβάρα*, *κοντούρα*, *σάνδαλις*, *χελάνδιον*, *δρόμων*, etc., survived with as much as their literal meaning in a single Slavic dialect. If the Slavs had to borrow a generic term for 'ship'—all being well equipped with the wide-spread ChSl., etc. *alъdija* 'ship'—one to include the largest and heaviest afloat, we would expect them to introduce the massive *τριήρης*, *κουμβάρα*, *κοντούρα*, *σαγήνη*, or any other craft, more imposing than *κάραβος*. When the names of the large ships, whose Greek origin cannot be doubted, could not outlive their vessel, how can we admit that *καράβιον*, the name of a mere 'tow-boat, barge' would enthrone itself as a central term of the Slavic nautical vocabulary? The semantic evidence hardly offers anything in support of the theory that *korabъ* was taken over from Greek.

Since *korabъ* and *κάραβος* differ both in form and meaning, and since this difference can be neither overlooked nor explained, would it not be preferable in the case of both terms to attempt a derivation from their respective native source?

A Slavic etymology of *korabъ* seems neither unreasonable nor improbable. The problem is chiefly one of the suffix-relationship to the root. Is *-bъ*, *-bъ* to be conceived here as a suffix? And if so, with what force of meaning? Further, excluding the idea of a dissyllabic root, whether a noun or verb, can we attach to the increment *-a-* such a semantic force as would justify the extension of the root? Finally, does the combined meaning of the root, increment, and suffix yield such a semantic structure, as would imply the idea of 'boat, ship' by the shape, workmanship, material, or some other distinctive mark of the craft? Evidently, the mutual support of so many etymological elements cannot be accidental, and their testimony, therefore, cannot be disregarded.

The root-syllable *kor-* reflects too well the IE *\*sqr-*, *\*qer-* 'cut' (Walde-Pokorny, 2. 573ff.), to leave this fact unnoticed. In their IE stage *\*sqr-*, *\*qer-* commanded a wide system of extensions, among which the labial increments are conspicuous both in monosyllabic and dissyllabic formations (Walde-Pokorny 2. 582f., 587). This variety of forms is not only preserved in Slavic, but even enriched by the attachment of functional symbols, which are a Slavic development. So not only the various grades of IE *\*sqr-*, *\*qer-* (*\*sqor-*, *\*sqor-*, *\*qer-*, *\*qor-*, *\*qor-*, *\*qer-*, *\*qr-*) appear in Slavic, but they may take on both consonants

PREV

NEXT

(*t, d, p, bh, m, n*) and vowels (*i, oi, u, ou, a*) as increments, and the vowels may again be extended by consonants (*p, b, s*). Thus a vast system of derivatives arises, with a closely related group of meanings, such as 'cut, hew, carve, peel, hollow, dig' (Walde-Pokorny 2. 573 to 587, with refs.). Of especial interest to us, however, are the stems with labial increments, whether attached directly to the root, or to a vocalic base. Among the former we may class:

(a) IE *\*sqor-bh-*, as in SCr. *škrabija* 'drawer', *škrabnica* 'alms-box'; Boh. *škrabulka, škraboška* 'mask'; S-Cr., Boh., etc. *škrabati* 'scratch, scrawl', etc. (Brückner, *SEJP* 267).

(b) IE *\*sq<sub>r</sub>-bh-*, as in Pol. *szczyrb*, Russ. *ščerba* 'gap, crevice, etc.', etc. (Trautmann, *BSWb.* 266; Brückner, *SEJP* 543).

(c) IE *\*sq<sub>r</sub>-bh-*, as in Slov. *škrba* 'gap, tooth-gaping'; SCr. *škrbau* 'full of notches'; ChSl., etc. *skrǫbъ* 'worry, grief'; SCr. *skrb* 'care, worry', etc. (Trautmann, *BSWb.* 266; Brückner, *SEJP* 543).

(d) IE *\*qor-bh-*, as in SCr. *krabija, krabica* 'ark'; Russ. *korobъ* 'bast-trunk, wide flat basket, box, etc.', *korobka* 'box'; Pol. *krobia, króbką* 'basket'; Boh. *kraboška* 'mask', etc.<sup>3</sup> (Brückner, *SEJP* 267; otherwise Berneker, *SEWb.* 568; *Riječnik Akademije* 5. 428, and older writers, without proving borrowing, either from Latin or German.)

(e) IE *\*q<sub>r</sub>-bh-*, as in SCr. *krbao* (15th cent. *\*krǫblъ*) 'vas vinarium', *krbulja* 'a basket, made of crude bark of a young tree (for children to pick berries)', *krbanj, krboč* 'a kind of pumpkin, with a wide bottom and thin handle, its side being bored out so as to let in water, and make it handy for drinking' (*Riječn. Akad.* 5. 490f); Boh. *krb* 'hearth, fire-side; dove-cot; mower's whet-stone case', *krban* 'dove-cot', *krbanec* 'pitcher, jug, mug', etc. (The assumption of borrowing from Lat. *corbis* or OHG *churpa, churbilin* 'basket', is rendered improbable not only by phonetic disagreement, but especially by the wide semantic range of the Slavic forms. In all the above terms obviously the idea of 'hollowing, carving' is active, and has branched out into its specific meanings probably through an intermediate 'dug-out, container'. This against Berneker *SEWb.* 569f., and in support of Brückner, *SEJP* 267.)<sup>4</sup>

In all the above groups we saw the labial increment *-bh-*, attached directly to the various grades of the IE *\*sqer-*, *\*qer-*. But the latter

<sup>3</sup> In the latter two as well as in Boh. *škrabulka*, the meaning 'mask' developed from 'a hollowed, carved out (thing)', probably with reference to the so prepared pumpkin or bark, up to this time a hand-made mask of the rural frolickers.

<sup>4</sup> The Serbo-Croatian borrowing from German *Korb* 'basket' is *kórpa* 'basket', but the rest is native.

PREV

NEXT

developed, both in Indo-European and Slavic, bases with consonant and vowel attachments, and these became, further, productive of secondary increments, enriching thus the root-complex with new forms and meanings. Hence ChSl., etc. *krojiti* 'cut', *krajъ* 'edge, end' from IE \**qr-ei-* (Walde-Pokorny, 2. 585; Berneker, *SEWb.* 620), and SCr. *kršiti*, *krhati* 'break'; Russ. *krocha* (from \**kr̥cha*) 'crumb, morsel'; ChSl., etc. *sakrušiti* 'break (to pieces), destroy'; SCr., etc. *kruh* 'loaf, bread', etc. from IE \**qr-u-s-* and \**qr-ou-s-* (Berneker, *SEWb.* 628f., 630f.).

The bases derived in Slavic from the fuller grades of IE \**sqer-*, \**qer-* are: Pol. *skorupa* 'crust, pottery', SCr. *skorup* 'crust, cream', etc. from IE \**sqor-ou-p-* (Walde-Pokorny 2. 587; Brückner, *SEWb.* 495), and Russ. *červъ* 'sickle', *červakъ* 'saw' from IE \*(s)*qer-w-yo-* (Walde-Pokorny, 2. 586; Berneker, *SEWb.* 172). To this group we can assign Bulg. *koruba* 'hollow of a tree, hole in a tree', SCr. *korubati* 'shell, peel corn-ears', as if coming from IE \**qor-ou-bh-*, and ChSl., etc. *koryto* 'trough, dug-out', as if from IE \**qor-ū-to-* (see Berneker, *SEWb.* 579, whose connection with ChSl., etc. *korъць* 'a cubic measure, vessel, etc.', etc., brings also the latter within the system of IE \**sqer-*, \**qer-*, all of them reflecting the idea 'dug-out, hollowed out [thing]'; Brückner, *SEJP* 258).

All the above quoted root-extensions came about through the attachment of *-i-*, *-u-* or their variations to some grade of the root, and may have come directly from the parent-speech, or may have been formed at a later time after the old patterns. But also the Slavic period contributed some of its own increments to the useful and popular root. What would be more natural, indeed, than to derive from a perfective \**korti* (as in ChSl., etc. *kratъ* 'once, time', *kratъkъ* 'short'; Berneker, *SEWb.* 576f.; Brückner, *SEJP* 270) an iterative-durative \**korati* in the sense 'cut, hew, carve over and over again, thoroughly, etc.', since we observe a vast number of such formations in Slavic? Cf. Russ. *katitъ*, *katatъ* 'roll, slide'; *cvěsti*, (*pro*)*cvětatъ* 'blossom'; *korotitъ*, *korotatъ* 'shorten'; SCr. *bosti*, Russ. *bodatъ* 'stick, pierce', SCr. *pustiti*, *puštati* 'let go, release'; *pući*, *pucati* 'burst, shoot', etc., all with their perfective and iterative or durative force, respectively. In view of this intensive force of \**korati*, and with reference to SCr. *krabija* 'ark', Russ. *korobъ* 'bast-trunk, sled-top, etc.', Bulg. *koruba*, 'hollow of a tree, etc.', Boh. *krb* 'fire-place, dove-cot', etc., we may claim for *korabъ* the force of a result-noun, derived from \**korati* with the original meaning 'an over and over hewn, a well-timbered (craft or thing)'. This would seem reasonable also on the strength of the internal analogy, as we have seen above that the labial increment attaches in Slavic to nearly all the variations of IE \**sqer-*, \**qer-*.

PREV

NEXT

But also outside of this group, where its function is obvious, the suffix *-b-* appears as a popular formative of animal-names, as well as of action, result, instrument, and abstract nouns in Slavic. (See Vondrak, *Vergl. Slav. Grammatik*<sup>2</sup> 1. 603ff.) Among the former we find in SCr., etc. *golub* 'pigeon', *galeb* 'sea-gull', *jastrijeb* 'vulture', *jareb*, *jarebica* 'partridge', *vrabac* 'sparrow', *riba* 'fish', *žaba* 'frog', etc. The action and abstract nouns are very common. Exx.: Russ., etc. *borъba* 'fight, struggle', *chodъba* 'walk', *sudъba* 'fate, destiny', *družba* 'friendship', *služba* 'service', *prosъba* 'request'; Pol. *choroba* 'disease'; SCr. *berba* 'vintage', *tužba* 'complaint', *molba* 'petition', *zloba* 'rancor, spite', *grdoba* 'ugliness, monster', etc.

In the group of the instrument and result nouns belong: Russ., etc. *stolbъ*, *stolpъ* 'column, pillar', SCr. *stube*, pl. 'ladder, steps' (probably to *stъlati* 'spread, stretch'; see Miklošić, *SEWb.* 321; Trautmann, *BSWb.* 290f.; Brückner, *SEJP* 502); ChSl., etc. *dъbъ* 'oak', if it belongs with *domъ* 'house' in the sense 'timber' (Berneker, *SEWb.* 216f; otherwise Brückner, *SEJP* 85); Pol. *kozub* 'a little basket, bag from bark or bast' (Brückner, *SEJP* 263); Russ. *kolybelъ* 'cradle', if from *kolychatъ* rather than the dialect-form *kolybatъ* 'swing, rock' (Brückner, *SEJP* 245; Berneker, *SEWb.* 545); ChSl., etc. *vrъba* 'willow', Russ. *vorôba* 'a pair of compasses, compass-string, -board', *vôrobъ*, *vorôbbe* 'an instrument to wind off the yarn', to IE \**wer-* 'turn, bow', as in ChSl., etc. *vrъvъ* 'rope', etc. (Walde-Pokorny 1. 275; Brückner, *SEJP* 617f.); ChSl., etc. *Srъbbъ* 'Serbian', Pol. *pasierbъ*, Russ. *paserbъ* 'step-child' in the sense 'kin, related one' (see L. Niederle, *Původ a Počátky Slovanů Jižních* 486, with refs.; certainly not 'a co-sucker, co-sipper' as Brückner, *SEJP* 485, 398, who is not supported by Walde-Pokorny 2. 704); SCr. *glъb* 'mud' to ChSl. *glъjъ*, *glina* 'clay, loam' (Berneker, *SEWb.* 310, 304); Russ. *glyba* 'chunk, block' to *gluda* 'dump, dumpling' (Berneker, *SEWb.* 310); etc.<sup>5</sup> Here belong further: Scr. *škrabija* 'drawer', *krabija* 'ark',

<sup>5</sup> Interesting in this connection are the names of the three Slavic towns, given by the Arabic and Persian writers, as: *Djervab*, *Chordab* (*Churdab*), and *Kujab*, the former two being termed capitals (L. Niederle 268ff.) Notwithstanding some uncertainties in reading and probable phonetic alteration by the writers, the etymology of the names is transparent. The Moravian *Djervab* seems related to Russ. *derevnja* 'village, hamlet' (literally 'a wooden (place)', i.e. a place of frame-houses, log-cabins), and would mean 'town, village' in the sense 'a (place of) wooden (structures)'. Phonetically, we observe here the palatalization of *d* before the front-vowel, while the metathesis of *r* is still unaccomplished. Similarly in *Chordab* (*Churdab*) *r* is not yet transferred, while *ch* suggests a spirantized *g*, as in Ukrainian or Bohemian. Thus we can reconstruct \**Gordabъ*, a derivative

PREV

NEXT

*krbao* (15th century \**kr̥bb̥*) 'a wine-vessel', Boh. *krb* 'fire-place; dove-cot, etc.', and also ChSl., etc. *korab̥*, *korab̥*, *korabl̥*, *korablja*, 'ship, boat', in which the suffixes *-bo-*, *-byo-* and *-bya-* are reflected. The stem-variations of the suffix came as a result of dialect-influences, or through the semantic shading of the collective from the concrete noun. They are, further, responsible for the occurrence of epenthetic forms (*-bl̥*, *-blja*) alongside those with a straight labial (*-b̥*).

The above statements show that the labial suffix of *korab̥*, far from being an obstacle to the etymology of the word, holds the very key to its meaning. This could hardly be otherwise, due to the marked determinative force of the suffix *-b-* in Slavic word-formation. As to the preceding *-a-*, even if wrong in our assumption of an iterative \**korati*,<sup>6</sup> we can point to its use both in the denominative and deverbative formations, without having to reduce it in the latter case to an iterative stem. Such are: Russ. *stoljar̥*, SCr. *stolar* 'carpenter, joiner' to Russ., etc. *stol̥* 'table'; Russ. *Gosudar̥* 'monarch, prince', SCr. *gospodar* 'master, proprietor' to ChSl. etc. *Gospod̥* 'Lord, God', *gospodin̥* 'master, gentleman', etc.; Russ. *govjadar̥*, SCr. *govedar* 'cattle-herd, drover' to Russ., etc. *govjado* 'cattle', *govjadina* 'beef'; Russ., SCr. *ovčar̥* (̥) 'shepherd' to Russ., etc. *ovečij* 'pertaining to a sheep'; Russ. *zlotar̥* 'gilder', SCr. *zlatar* 'goldsmith' to Russ., etc. *zoloto* 'gold', *zlotit̥* 'to gild'; Russ. *durak̥* 'fool, block-head' to *dur̥* 'folly, caprice', *durit̥* 'be foolish, play pranks'; Russ. *morjak* 'seaman, sailor' to *morje* 'sea'; *rusak̥* 'a grey hare' to *rusjet̥* 'become light-colored', *rusyj* 'light-colored, flaxen'; *Sibirjak̥* 'a Siberian' to *Sibir̥* 'Siberia'; SCr. *pudar* 'watchman (in a vineyard)' to *puditi* 'scare away'; *pušać* 'tobacco-smoker' to *pušiti*

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of \**gord̥* 'town'. Having in mind the fact that both names designate capitals, we can reasonably attribute to the suffix *-ab̥* an exalting or augmentative force. Thus, both terms may mean 'big, chief town'. Cf. SCr. *Gradina*, *Gradište*, *Gradiška*, etc., all in the sense 'large town'.

*Kujab* is more difficult, but assuming phonetic alteration by the writer (cf. *Chordab* vs. *Churdab*), due, probably, to the fluctuation of tone in the back-vowels: *a*, *o*, *u* (cf. \**gord̥ak̥*, Pol. *gródek*, Russ. *gorodok̥*, SCr. *gradac* (*gradič*) 'a little town', etc.), we may reduce it to \**Kojab̥*. In the sense 'a quiet (village, town)' *Kujab* (\**Kojab̥*) compares well with Russ. *Kijev̥* (cf. Pol. *pokój*, Ukrain. *pokíj*, Russ. *pokoj* 'peace, quiet'), since the latter apparently shows the same meaning, and may derive its form, through the Ukrainian change *o* > *í*, from an earlier \**Kojev̥*. If the form of the recorded three names could be depended upon, the formative function of the suffix *-ab̥* would be here ascertained.

<sup>6</sup> Curiously enough, all the primary verbs, except ChSl., etc. *krojiti* 'cut', that represent IE \**squer-*, \**qer-* and their bases, are lost in Slavic.



PREV

NEXT

'smoke tobacco'; *gudalo* 'fiddle-stick' to *gudjeti* 'to fiddle'; *prdalo* 'culus, ex quo peditur' to *prdjati* 'pedere'; *grmljavina* 'thunder-storm' to *grmjati* 'to thunder', etc. Our semantic structure 'a hewn, timbered (craft)' is still firm, and can be applied to the 'boat, ship' as the distinctive mark of its workmanship.<sup>7</sup>

Finally, we can always think also of ChSl. *kora* 'bast, bark of a tree, hide' as the foundation of the structure in the sense 'hide-boat, wicker-boat', especially if we know that the 'hide' and 'bark' are very common raw-materials in the primitive Slavic industries, and that Lat. *carabus* 'navicula ex corio et vimine facta' as well as Ir. *corach* and Welsh *corwg* 'wicker-boat, coracle' convey exactly this force of meaning. Phonetically, nothing would be more natural than the adding of *-b-* to *kora*, describing thus the craft by its material. It may be assumed that a hide-boat was used,<sup>7a</sup> probably in an auxiliary capacity, by the Slavs at the time of their coming from the North; and if *korabъ* ever derived its specific force from *kora* 'bast, bark, hide', it strengthened thereby the generic term in its proper meaning 'an over-and-over hewn, a well-timbered craft'. The dense forests and the extensive river-system in the prehistoric abodes of the Slavs must have developed them from earliest times into good navigators, a fact which is apparent from the records. Only the lack of cutting and carving instruments could retard their progress, but the etymology of words 'trough, vessel, axe, hatchet, knife', etc., as well as the early historical records (Constant. Porphyrogenn., *De administr. Imper.* IX; O. Schrader<sup>2</sup> 2. 296) reveal them as fairly proficient in carpentry.

Whether we approach *korabъ* phonetically, or from a semantic point of view, we are in the realm of realities, all bearing the stamp of their Slavic origin. Within the system of the IE *\*(s)qer-*, *\*(s)qor-* 'cut, etc.', the phonetic make-up of *korabъ* testifies to the workmanship of the primitive Slavic boat, or discloses its material, if the term is used in a specific sense. Both these characteristics are known to contribute terms for 'boat, ship'. Semantically, *korabъ* 'boat, ship' fits well in the group of *\*qor-*derivatives, with the meanings 'ark, vessel, trough, trunk, box, etc.', as the latter figure prominently among the semantic

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Gothic, etc. *skips* 'ship, boat' from IE *\*sgei-b-*, derived from the root *\*sgei-* 'cut, separate' in the sense 'ausgeschnittener, gehöhlter Einbaum'. (Walde-Pokorny, 2. 545).

<sup>7a</sup> The lack of historical record to show that the Slavs made use of hide-boats does not exclude the possibility of their existence. In addition to the fact that other Europeans used them, it is known that the Lithuanians and Hungarians made boats out of horse-hides.

PREV

NEXT

sources or congeners of the terms 'boat, ship'. If not for the infix *-a-* the SCr. *krabija* 'ark', Russ. *korobъ* 'sled-top, box', etc. would be identical in stem with *korabъ*, *korablja* 'ship', but it is exactly the latter, which, through its iterative force, exalts the semantic content of our term, in order to impress one with the size and appearance of the larger craft.

In considering the semantic range of *κάραβος* one has to distinguish between its ancient meanings and the nautical force that does not appear until the 7th century, and is listed first in the *Etymologicum Magnum*. Its absence prior to 600 A.D. is richly compensated for by its ever increasing frequency in the late Byzantine texts, until the diminutive *καράβι* becomes in Modern Greek the normal term for 'ship, sailing vessel', sharing its popularity with ancient *πλοῖον* and Turkish *καίκι*. Inversely, the animal names and other meanings, current in antiquity, became gradually obsolete, and at present, apparently, are no longer in popular use.<sup>8</sup>

This chronological distribution of meanings, with the line of demarcation in the 6th and 7th centuries, may well raise the question, whether we have to deal here with two homonyms of different origin. Indeed, the semantic change 'crab, lobster' into 'a kind of light ship, tow-boat' not only would seem unique in the history of boatnames, but is highly improbable for the kind of vessel that it is claimed to be. While a trireme or galley, bristling with ranges of projecting oars, would more likely invite comparison with a lobster or craw-fish, the change nevertheless favored the 'small tow-boat' (*καράβιον · μικρὸν ἐφόλκιον*, Du Cange<sup>2</sup> 1. 589), or a 'kind of light ship' (*κάραβος*), probably a small sailing vessel with no more oars than its rudder. This discrimination in favor of the latter would certainly point to a bias, hard to explain.

The popular etymology of the Byzantine lexicographers<sup>9</sup> saw in *κάραβος* a compound with the force '(a)head-goer; on-the-head-goer', that could logically apply to 'stag-beetle; worm; crab; lobster; ship'.

<sup>8</sup> Although most Modern Greek dictionaries still list *κάραβος* in the sense 'lobster' and *καράβις* as 'craw-fish', the terms seem to be unknown to the common people. A personally conducted inquiry among the Greeks of Chicago, natives both of the coastland (Peloponnese and Thessaly) and Arcadia, ascertained their unfamiliarity with either. Only one person out of 35 knew that *κάραβος* means 'lobster'. The man is a native of Navarino, but his brother never heard of *κάραβος*.

<sup>9</sup> *κάραβος · παρὰ τὸ κάραν βαίνειν, τῆς κεφαλῆς προεχούσης, ἢ καὶ τὴν ναῦν ὡσαύτως · κάρα γὰρ ἡ τρόπις* (Du Cange<sup>2</sup>, *Gloss. Graec.* 1. 589. So *Etymologicum Magnum* (Gaisford) 1404 (490, 21); H. Stephanus (Didot), *Thes. Gr. linguae*, 4. 956f.

PREV

NEXT

In the latter case, however, they took care to explain that by the 'head' of the ship its 'keel' is meant. This indicates that the Byzantine etymologists did not derive the idea of 'ship' from that of *θαλάσσιον ζῶον*, but merely applied an assumed meaning '(a)head-goer' to nautical terminology. The idea of semantic transfer 'lobster-ship' came to the modern writers, who, after discarding the popular etymology '(a)head-goer', felt that separating these meanings would amount to their derivation from two different sources. Thus, by force of logic, we discover in *κάραβος* two different words: an ancient animal name and a Byzantine nautical term, which came into vogue by the end of the 6th or at the beginning of the 7th century (see above p. 281; below p. 291). Any language will offer examples of identical forms with different meanings, derived from non-related sources. Compare, for instance, Eng. *file*, to Germ. *Feile* 'rasp' and Lat. *filum* 'thread'; *steer*, to Germ. *Stier* and *steuern*; *net*, to Germ. *Netz* and French *net* 'pure, neat'. Further, *box*, *low*, *mean* (4 sources), *stale* (3 sources), *stable*, *miss*, *mere*, *bear*, etc. (2 sources),<sup>10</sup> Latin *volō* 'will, fly', *furō* 'rave, polecat' (2 sources), etc.<sup>11</sup> Greek *οὔλος* 'whole, woolen, baneful, sheaf'; *οὔρος* 'good wind, watchman, frontier, mountain' (4 sources); *θοός* 'quick, shining, pointed'; *ὄς* 'relat., demonstr. and possess. pronoun' (3 sources); *θοάζω* 'be seated, dash'; *ἐλελίζω* 'utter a war-cry; shake, rock'; *ἐλίκη* 'willow, spire'; *ἄμη* 'sickle; water-bucket'; *ῥλη* 'forest, timber; mud', etc. (2 sources).<sup>12</sup> In none of the above examples can one claim that the difference of meaning came about through internal semantic development.

The etymology of *κάραβος* with its ancient meanings 'stag-beetle, worm, craw-fish, lobster, etc.', seems obscure to Leo Meyer, *Handb. d. griech. Etymologie* 2. 349, while Boisacq, *Dict. etym. gr.* 411, sees in the term a Macedonian loanword, or at least a word of non-Greek origin. If at all Indo-European, the term will come from a source where the IE animal-suffix *-bho-* will merely deaspirate, and Macedonian or some Thracian dialect seems a good suggestion. (For the velar of the root cf. Lith. *karvė*, Russ., etc. *korova* 'cow' literally 'a horned-one'.)

Thus the etymology of the medieval *κάραβος* 'a kind of light ship' is left open, and with native resources we can succeed here no better than in the derivation of its ancient homonym. Borrowing alone seems to offer a solution, and several circumstances speak in favor of the assumption that the term comes from Slavic. It is not accidental that the

<sup>10</sup> See W. Skeat, *A concise Etym. Dict. of the Eng. Lang.*, s. vv.

<sup>11</sup> Walde, *Lat. Etym. Wb.*<sup>2</sup>, s. vv.

<sup>12</sup> Boisacq, *Dict. etym. de la langue grecque*, s. vv.

PREV

NEXT

Slavic *korabъ* is a generic term, while *κάραβος* is only specific. For the Slavs it signified the normal type of a boat or ship, but for the Greeks, who employed it only for minor nautical tasks, it signified a light watercraft, different from the more elaborate vessels of their marine. Just as *Σλάβος*, *Σλαβηγνός* 'Slav' became a 'domestic, servant, slave', the Slavic boat found its way into the terminology of the small auxiliary vessels, for the class of which such specific names as *ἐφόλκιον*, *ἄκατος*, *ἐπακτρὶς*, *πορθμῖς*, etc. were common. Restricted to their class, *κάραβος*, *καράβιον* were used at the beginning only as specific terms, and their meaning widened out as the larger vessels dropped out of use and vocabulary. A similar rise in the career of the originally unpretentious secondary vessels we observe in medieval Ital., etc. *brigantina* and *corsaro*, both small pirate-vessels, becoming the powerful *brig* (by abbreviation), and the modern *cruiser*, next in importance to 'dreadnoughts'. For the penetration of Slavic boatnames into the nautical vocabulary of other languages, cf. Germ. *Zülle*, *Zille* 'river-boat', Austr. Germ. *Tschinakl* 'boat', Hung. *csolnak* 'boat'; Ruman. *cin* 'canoe' from ChSl., etc. *ѣлонь*, *ѣлонокъ* 'boat'; Swed. *lodja*, Norw. *lodje*, *lorje*, MLG *lodie*, *lodige*, Icelandic *ellidi*, *ellida* 'a kind of ship', Hung. *ladik* 'boat, canoe'; Alban. *lafe* 'ship' from ChSl., etc. *ladъja* 'ship'; Hung. *kerép* 'barge' from ChSl. *korabъ* 'ship'; Hung. *naszád* 'ship, cruiser' from Sl. *nasadъ* 'a kind of ship'. In all the above cases the terms were introduced as specific names, and found their place among the names of lighter craft, in spite of the rich nautical terminology in each respective language.

Not insignificant is the coincidence in the appearance of this term with the coming of Slavs within the confines of the Byzantine empire. As early as the 5th century the Slavs came into close touch with the Grecian world.<sup>13</sup> In a series of successive raids and invasions the Slavs

<sup>13</sup> In opposition to the older views about the coming of the Slavs, L. Niederle places their appearance and isolated settlement in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire at much earlier periods. His theory (*PPSJ* 160f.) is: 'The Slavs came through the Carpathian Mountains not only in the 5th century to Hungary, and in the 6th to the Hungarian and lower Danube, but they were settled there, forming small islands in Illyricum—in the West—, and in Dacia, Sarmatia, and Thrace—in the East—, already in the second, or even in the first century A.D. Obviously, they gradually and successively forced their way along the northern tributaries of the Danube, chiefly along the Vag and Gron, as well as through the lowlands of the Theiss, and east of the Carpathians, along the Sereth and Pruth. During the storm of migration of the northern peoples, their advance became intensified, while in the 4th and 5th century the territories north of the Danube

PREV

NEXT

overran all of the Balkans in the 6th century, colonized most parts of the peninsula toward 600 A.D., while in the early 7th century the Slavization of the Balkans is completed. Constantine Porphyrogenetos, as well as earlier writers describe the sea-faring craft and skill of the Slavs in some detail. In the campaigns of the Avars in the 6th and 7th century, the Slavs supplied the naval forces, and made sea-attacks against Constantinople, Salonica, and Heracleia. In 626 A.D. they were defeated in a naval battle before Constantinople, but their sea-faring skill and courage is extolled by Anonymus Byzant., as follows: *πλείστην γὰρ οἱ Σκλάβοι πείραν τοῦ κατατολμᾶν τῆς θαλάσσης εἰλήφασιν.* (See for details: L. Niederle, *Život Starých Slovanů* 3. 448–453; *Původ a Počátky Slovanů Jižních* 237.<sup>14</sup>) Prior to the rolling off of the main stream of the Slavic migration, we have to assume exploratory cruises of their advance-posts, groups of adventurers, merchants, and freebooters sailing in and around the Greek ports. They could have done this mainly in their own vessels, built in their Slavic abodes, or after native patterns, with a peculiar workmanship, and suited primarily for navigation on large rivers. The craft was probably a good light cruiser, suited to raids and minor commercial tasks, and was adapted by the Greeks, as an auxiliary vessel, for a great many purposes. With the boat the Greeks took over the name, which readily suggested itself with the outstanding features of the craft, in all probability a primitive, but serviceable sailing-vessel.

No less remarkable is the phonetic agreement between *κάραβος* and *korabъ*, resulting from the Byzantine treatment of the Slavic form. Due to a process of vowel-mutation that took place in the earlier part of the Middle Ages,<sup>15</sup> the later Slavic *o* had an open flat sound *a*, which sounded to the contemporary Greeks almost or exactly like their *α*. (Similar is the phonetic relationship of the modern Russ. gen. sg. *góroda* 'town' to its nom. pl. *gorodá*). Thus the Slavic names and words which penetrated into Greek in the period from the 6th to the 10th century display

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were gradually filled with the Slavic tribes, who busied themselves with preparations to invade in a stream also the Balkans.'

For the extensive treatment of the subject, cf. *ibid.* 102–74.

<sup>14</sup> The names, applied by the Byzantine writers to the Slavic water-craft, are varied: *μονόξυλα, σχεδίαι, ἀκάτια, ἄλκιδες, καράβια* and later also *χελάνδια, σαγήναι, κοντούραι* (Niederle, *PPSJ* 237F; *ŽSS* 3. 450). This discloses a variety of Slavic boat-types and suggests the existence of a considerable ship-building trade.

<sup>15</sup> See P. Kretschmer, 'Die slav. Vertr. d. idg. *o*', *ASPh.* 27. 228f.; J. Schmidt, *Vokal.* 2. 169ff.

PREV

NEXT

an *a* for the Slavic *o*. Compare<sup>16</sup> (1) Ἀρδάγαστος, Theophyl. Sim. (7th cent.) 1. 7, 5; 7. 7. 1; 9, 1 (cod. Vatic.). Here the second element of the name is *gostъ* 'guest', while the first obviously comes from *radъ* 'fond, loving' (for the transposition of Sl. *-rax-* into Gk. *-arx-*, cf. Δαργαμηρός to *Dragoměrъ*, etc.), as in SCr. *Radoslav*, etc., so that the original compound \**Radogostъ* probably meant 'fond of, lover of guests'. (2) Πειράγαστος Theophyl. Sim. 1. 4. 13; Πηράγαστος, Theophan., p. 275f, from *Pirogostъ*. (3) Κελαγαστός Menand. (ed. Dindorf), p. 5 (7th cent.), from *Čelogostъ*. (4) Δαβραγέζας, Agathias 3. 21 (p. 186, 11 Bonn.), an entry of the 6th century. The first part of the compound comes from the Sl. *dobro-* 'good', a common element in Slavic names. (5) Δαργαμηρός, Theophan., p. 497, 17; cf. *Dragoměrъ*. (6) Σκλαβηνοί, Pseudo-Caesarius, about 525 A.D., etc.; cf. *Slověninъ*. (7) ζάκανον 'custom, habit', Const. Porphy. and earlier writers; cf. *zakonъ* 'custom, law'. (8) γαρασδοειδής 'smart-looking, shrewd', Euphemios. The first part of the compound comes from *gorazdъ* 'clever, able'. (9) ραγάζιον 'reed', scholiast *Gu* to Euripides; from *rogozъ* 'reed'. Here probably also Ἀνάγαστος, to *Onogostъ* (?), a leader at the court of Attila (L. Niederle, *PPSJ* 242). Passing over many other cases of similar agreement, some certain, others doubtful, I conclude with reference to Kretschmer's estimate (ibid. 236) of the situation: 'Eine weitere Durchforschung des in Betracht kommenden Materials, besonders aber der noch so wenig untersuchten slavischen Ortsnamen des modernen Griechenlands, wird vielleicht die Zahl dieser Belege für gr. *a-* slav. *o* noch vermehren'.

As the above example of Δαβραγέζας for *Dobro-* shows, the Slavic *b* is rendered in Byzantine Greek with β. This is further observed in Tsakon. γράβα 'den, hole', from Slav. *grobъ* 'ditch, grave'.<sup>17</sup> NG, Epir. βεδρά 'hip, thigh-bone', from Sl. *bedro* 'id.'; Byzant., NG, Epir. βάβω 'old woman', from Sl. *baba* 'id.'; ὄβορός 'heap, cow-stable, etc.', from Sl. *oborъ* 'enclosure (for cattle), stall'; NG σβάνα 'wine-cup', cf. SCr. *žban*, *džban* 'a wooden can'.<sup>18</sup> Byzant., NG βάλτος 'marsh, swamp', cf. SCr. *blato* 'mud, puddle', Byzant. βοάνος, βοεάνος 'leader of the Avars', cf. SCr. *bojan* 'fighter', Byzant. Βούργαρος, βουλγαρικός, cf. Sl. *Bъlgarъ* 'Bulgarian', etc.<sup>19</sup>

The above correspondences show conclusively, why the Sl. *korabъ* assumed, after its passage into Greek, the form *κάραβος*, with its particu-

<sup>16</sup> Examples taken from P. Kretschmer, *ibid.* 231ff.

<sup>17</sup> P. Kretschmer, *ibid.* 234.

<sup>18</sup> G. Meyer, *Neugr. Studien* 2. 15ff.

<sup>19</sup> Man. A. Triandaphyllidis, *Die Lehnwörter d. mittelgr. Vulgärlit.* 150f.

PREV

NEXT

lar treatment of the Slavic *o* and *b*. This phonetic agreement is no less marked than the disagreement which becomes inevitable as soon as we reverse the process of borrowing, by deriving the Slavic form from Greek.

According to Ducange (L. Favre), *Gloss. mediae et infimae latinitatis* 2. 157, the word is also Latin, and appears in Isidore (*Origines* 19. 1. 26) with the definition 'parva scapha ex vimine et corio'; similarly in Ugutio, etc. (Papias: 'navicula discurrens in pado'). In spite of some semantic difference, the identity of the words is obvious, and there can be question only of the source of the borrowing. Did *carabus* come from Greek? Its form with the force of animal names certainly did (Walde<sup>2</sup> 129; O. Weise, *Die griech. Wörter im Latein* 369). As a nautical term, however, it can, in my opinion, more plausibly be derived from Slavic. (Otherwise, Walde<sup>2</sup> 129.) While Lat. *b* conflicts with the Byzant. Greek β, it agrees with Slavic *b*. Furthermore, the Sl. *o* of the medieval period is rendered in Latin with *a*, as it is in Greek with α. The early entries of the Slavic names in Dalmatia (9th, 10th cent.) prove this beyond reasonable doubt. Compare *Dabra*, from *Dobra*; *Balislava*, from *Boleslava*; *Gayslawus*, from *Gojслав*; *Pauersenus*, from *Povръženъ*; etc. (P. Kretschmer, *A. Sl. Ph.* 27. 237f.). So, the phonetic agreement here is rather in favor of Slavic than of Greek. And the semantic force attached to *carabus* 'a small wicker-boat, covered with raw hide' upsets, in my estimation, the balance decidedly in favor of Slavic. Again, we see the primitive Slavic boat, appearing, this time, on the central Danube and its tributaries (Theiss, Save, Drave), and probably along the island-coast of the eastern Adriatic. This was the sphere of Latin influence, and the advance-posts of the migrating Slavic tribes may have reached these places very early, impressing the Latin population with their primitive craft. In fact, L. Niederle argues, on hydrographic evidence, the existence of isolated Slavic settlements in Syrmium and northern Bosnia in the 2nd century of our era.<sup>20</sup> His-

<sup>20</sup> The river-names *Ulca*, now *Vuka* (near Vukovar in Syrmium) from \**Vьlka*, literally 'wolf-stream', and *Urpanus*, now *Vrbas* (but cf. *Vrpolje*), supported by a group of cognate stream and town names, such as *Vrbica*, *Vrbanja*, *Vrbas* (town), etc. (all in the sense 'willow-stream', etc.), further, the island-name *Metubaris* (probably *medjubarje* in the same sense 'island between two swamps' as *Medjumurje* in Croatia, and *Medjureč* in Montenegro), preserved in the documents of the 2nd and 3rd century, are quoted in support of this theory. Similarly the lake Platen is called by Pliny and later writers *lacus Peiso*, *Pelso*; *Pelsois*, *Pelsodis lacus*, a name, apparently cognate with Boh., Slov., etc. *pleso* 'lake' (Niederle, *PPSJ* 148-53).

PREV

NEXT

torical records show that the Slavs occupied the eastern coast of Adriatic (Dyrrhachium, Dalmatia, Istria, Julian Alps) in the second half of the 6th century, and made frequent inroads in northern Italy (Niederle, *PPSJ* 338ff., 374ff.).<sup>21</sup> The wicker- or hide-boat served the Slavs for emergency purposes on their passage of numerous water-barriers. Of any elaborate workmanship one could not think, and improvised pontoons of the above description may well have served the purpose.<sup>22</sup> For some time even following their settlement in the new country, the serviceable craft may have been used as a ferry or fishing-boat.

Thus *carabus*, in the sense of a 'small wicker-boat, covered with raw-hide', comes nearest to the specific force of *korabъ*, as derived from ChSl., etc. *kora* 'bark, hide' (see above p. 287). It does not seem clear, whether the Romance equivalents of the Lat. *carabus* are its phonetic descendants, or borrowed Levantine terms, coming from the Byzantine Greek and Arabic sources. Judging by their meaning, neither the Span. *cáraba* 'cierta embarcación usada en Levante', nor *cárabo* 'embarcación pequeña, de vela y remo, usada por los moros' (Pagés, *Gran Dicción.* 2. 139f.; similarly for Port. *caravo*: Constancio, 1. 228; Moraes' 1. 334; Figueiredo 1. 251) seem to come from Lat. *carabus* 'wicker-boat'. The former will be borrowed from the Byzant. Gk. *κάραβος, κάράβι* (so Pagés, *ibid.*), and the latter from an Arabic adaptation of the Greek term (Corazzini, *Vocab. naut. ital.* 2. 88). If this be so, then the Lat. *carabus* 'wicker-boat' never overlapped the limitations of its class, and was doomed to oblivion with the passing of the craft. But its apparent diminutive form *\*carabella* broke through the belt of semantic restriction, and soon started out on a career of international importance. This very feature may arouse suspicion as to the diminutive character of the Late Latin *\*carabella*, as reflected in Ital. *caravella* 'caravel', etc. (Diez. *RWb.* 88; Hatzfeld-Darmsteter, *Dict. Général* 1. 355; *Vocab. degli Accademici* 2. 557, etc.).<sup>23</sup> Would, indeed, the diminutive type of

<sup>21</sup> In connection with the latter of especial importance is the definition of *carabus* by Papias: 'navicula discurrens in pado'. The valley of the Po is exactly the region of the Slavic inroads, as seen by the attacks on Cremona, Mantua, etc., ever since 548 A.D. Sporadic or massive settlements north-east of this area are known since the 7th century (Niederle, *PPSJ* 197, 223f., 338, 347ff.).

<sup>22</sup> The Slavs built in 580 A.D. pontoon bridges for the Avars on the Save and Danube (Niederle, *PPSJ* 237<sub>5</sub>).

<sup>23</sup> Not only isolated is Meyer-Lübke's (*REWb.* 1267) apparent assumption that the Ital. *caravella* comes from Port. *caravela*, but the author himself fails to support his view with any evidence. See A. Scheler, *Dict. d'étym. franç.* 89; Hatzfeld-Darmsteter, *Dict. Général*, 1. 355; *Vocab. degli Acad.*, 2, 557, etc. Curi-



PREV

NEXT

'a small wicker-boat', known as such in the 7th century, so soon become an important unit in the medieval marine? For Columbus discovered America with his fleet of three caravels (Corazzini, *Vocab. naut. ital.* 2. 94).

No doubt Ital. *caravella* seems related to Late Latin *carabus*, as Ital. *ucello* 'bird', *agnello* 'lamb', *rondinella* 'swallow', etc., are related to Lat. *avis* 'bird', *agnus* 'lamb', and *hirundo* 'swallow', all recipients of a diminutive suffix. But one can always wonder, whether it is accidental that some other diminutive suffix had not been attached to *carabus*, so as to contribute Ital. *\*caravetta*, *\*caravina*, *\*caraveccia*, etc. Surely enough, there is no more phonetic reason for one than there is for another. Moreover, the diminutive force of the suffix is in conflict with the historical rise of the craft, and one would rather expect an augmentative in its place, as we see Ital. *galeone* 'galleon' marking the growth of *galea* 'galley'. Finally, not insignificant is the fact that the Port. *caravo* and Span. *carabo* are smaller than *caravela* and *carabela*, respectively, while the force of the suffix would demand the opposite. Thus we shall keep better pace with the progress of history, by returning once more to its Slavic source and derive Late Latin *\*carabella* or its like from Sl. *korablja* 'ship' [or from a masculine form *\*korabъль* (cf. SCr. *korabalj*: *Riječn. Akad.* 5. 316f.), which in the early Dalmatian pronunciation sounded as *\*karabel*], this time in its generic sense and statelier aspect. The presence of the epenthetic *-l-* identifies *\*carabella* as a later borrowing, but one that took place prior to the raising of *-o-* to its present tone, and the 9th or 10th century seems a reasonable suggestion. That the Slavs ever since their appearance on the Adriatic had at their disposal impressive naval resources, is evidenced by Porphyrogenetos' description of King Tomislav's (800 A.D.) fleet (80 *sagenae* and 100 *conturae*), and by numerous raids, made by the Slavs on the coasts of Italy, Sicily, and North Africa (Niederle, *ŽSS.* 3. 450f., 451s.) Again the historical evidence is in line with the phonetic and semantic agreement on both sides.

*Korabъ* is not the only Slavic word that had an international career. Of similar expansion is *kola*, *kolesa* 'cart, cab' (cf. Ital. *calesse*, *calesso*, Fr. *calèche*, Span. *calesa*, and back into Slavic: Pol. *kolasa*, *kolaska*, Russ. *koljaska* 'calash, cab'; Berneker, *SEWb.* 549); ChSl., etc. *ladъja*

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ously enough, F. Constancio (*Novo diction. critico e etym. da lingua portugueza* 1. 228 (edit. 1836), derives the Port. *caravela* from French: 'carré, quadrado, e voile, vela'.

'ship', *člǫnъ* 'boat' (see above, p. 290); Russ. *šelkъ* (from *šьlkъ*), Lith. *šilkai*, ON *silke*, OE *seolc*, *seoluc* 'silk' (O. Schade<sup>2</sup> 383); ChSl., etc. *sukno* 'cloth, skirt' (Brückner, *SEJP*; Miklošić, *SEWb.* 333), etc. Earlier in antiquity from Slavic came Latin *viverra* 'ferret', *καυνάκης*, 'weasel-fur', *ζόμβρος*, *ζοῦμπρος* 'buffalo' (Niederle, *PPSJ* 165, with refs.).

In a summary of our discussion, the following points stand out with reasonable certainty:

(1) Assuming that *korabъ* was borrowed from *κάραβος*, the phonetic differences cannot be disposed of. By reversing the process of borrowing, the phonetic agreement becomes complete. The Late Latin *carabus* shows, in addition, a more specific agreement of meaning with Slavic.

(2) The meaning 'ship' of *κάραβος* is listed for the first time in the *Etymologicum Magnum*, a dictionary of the 10th century, while its first quotable entries come from the 7th century. At least a century of intensive touch of the Slavs with Greeks precedes the first entry.

(3) Whereas *κάραβος* is used as a specific boatname, *korabъ* is from the beginning generic. While it is natural for the primitive Slavic 'ship' to become a minor auxiliary craft in the Byzantine marine, it is inconceivable that *κάραβος*, one of the many specific boatnames which found their way into Slavic, not only survived, but became a generic term, spread all over the Slavic world, and established itself as a central term of their nautical vocabulary, to the exclusion of all others. If, on the other hand, *korabъ* was used also with the specific force 'wicker-boat, hide-boat', *κάραβος* never displayed such meaning, and the etymology of our term would plainly show its Slavic origin.

(4) A number of other cultural Slavic terms show wide diffusion over Europe from an early historical period.

(5) Etymological evidence identifies *korabъ* as a Slavic formation with the original meaning 'a thoroughly hewn, a well-timbered (craft)'. At the same time the nautical meaning of *κάραβος* has to rely for its derivation on an improbable semantic change, left without the support of a single quotable instance in the history of nautical terminology.