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DOI

OLD ICELANDIC *GNÁ*

Gná senojoje islandų kalboje

ANNOTATION

In the article the Old Icelandic theonym *Gná* is analyzed from the point of view of semantics, word formation, etymology, and semantic typology. Taking in account the partial results, the following hypothesis was formulated: the theonym *Gná* may reflect proto-Germanic **gnō* or **gnaihō*, which seems to be a lost Germanic continuation of the Indo-European appellative **d^hǵ^hmeH₂-* “earth” or its derivative **d^hǵ^hmeH₂ikeH₂-* “belonging to the earth”. The theonyms designating the earth deities formed from the stem **d^hǵ^hem-* appear in nine Indo-European traditions. The analyzed Germanic theonym can represent the tenth tradition.

KEYWORDS: theonym, word formation, semantics, etymology.

ANOTACIJA

Šiame straipsnyje semantikos, žodžių darybos, etimologijos ir semantinės tipologijos požiūriu analizuojamas senosios islandų kalbos teonimas *Gná*. Atsižvelgiant į dalinius rezultatus, buvo iškelta hipotezė, kad teonimas *Gná* gali atspindėti germanų prokalbės **gnō*, arba **gnaihō*, kuris, tikėtina, yra prarastas indoeuropiečių apeliatyvo **d^hǵ^hmeH₂-* ‘žemė’ ar jo vedinio **d^hǵ^hmeH₂ikeH₂-* ‘priklausantis žemei’ tęsinys germanų kalbose. Žemės dievybės pavadinantys teonimai, susiformavę iš kamieno **d^hǵ^hem-*, randami devyniose indoeuropiečių tradicijose. Straipsnyje analizuojamas germanų teonimas gali būti dešimtosios tradicijos atspindys.

ESMINIAI ŽODŽIAI: teonimas, žodžių daryba, semantika, etimologija.

1. DOCUMENTATION

Old Icelandic *Gná* designated ‘goddess from the group of *Ásynja*’. It appears in several Old Icelandic texts:

1.1. *Gylfaginning* 35. *Frá ásynjum*.

*Þá mælti Gangleri: ‘Hverjar eru ásynjurnar?’ Hárr segir: ‘Frigg er æðst. Hon á þann bæ, er Fensalir heita, ok er hann allvegligr. Önnur er Sága. Hon býr á Sökkva-bekk, ok er þat mikill staðr. Þriðja er Eir. Hon er læknir beztr. Fjórða er Gefjun. Hon er mæx, ok henni þjóna þær, er meyar andast. Fimmta er Fulla. Hon er enn mæx ok ferr laushár ok gullband um höfuð. Hon berr eski Friggjar ok gætir skóklæða hennar ok veit launráð með henni. Freyja er tignust með Frigg. Hon giftist þeim manni, er Óðr heitir. Dóttir þeira er Hnoss. Hon er svá fögr, at af hennar nafni eru hnossir kallaðar, þat er fagrt er ok gersimligt. Óðr fór í braut langar leiðir, en Freyja grætr eftir, en tár hennar er gull rautt. Freyja á mörg nöfn, en sú er sök til þess, at hon gaf sér ýmis heiti, er hon fór með ókunnum þjóðum at leita Óðs. Hon heitir Mardöll ok Hörn, Gefn, Sýr. Freyja átti Brisingamen. Hon er ok kölluð Vanadís. Sjaunda Sjöfn, hon gætir mjök til at snúa hugum manna til ásta, kvinna ok karla, ok af hennar nafni er elskhuginn kallaðr sjafni. Átta Lofn, hon er svá mild ok góð til áheita, at hon fær leyfi af Alföðr eða Frigg til manna samgangs, kvinna ok karla, þótt áðr sé bannat eða þvertakit þykki. Þat er af hennar nafni lof kallat ok svá þat, at hon er lofuð mjök af mönnum. Níunda Vár, hon hlýðir á eiða manna ok einkamál, er veita sín á milli konur ok karlar. Því heita þau mál várar. Hon hefnir ok þeim, er brigða. Tíunda Vör, hon er vitr ok spurul, svá at engi hlut má hana leyna. Þat er orðtak, at kona verði vör þess, er hon verðr vís. Ellifta Syn, hon gætir dura í höllinni ok lýkr fyrir þeim, er eigi skulu inn ganga, ok hon er sett til varnar á þingum fyrir þau mál, er hon vill ósanna. Því er þat orðtak, at syn sé fyrir sett, þá er maðr neitar. Tólfta Hlín, hon er sett til gæzlu yfir þeim mönnum, er Frigg vill forða við háska nökkurum. Þaðan af er þat orðtak, at sá, er forðast, hleinir. Þrettánda Snotra, hon er vitr ok lát-prúð. Af hennar heiti er kallat snotr kona eða karlmaðr, sá er hóflátr er. Fjörtánda **Gná**, hana sendir Frigg í ýmsa heima at erendum sínum. Hon á þann hest, er renn loft ok lög ok heitir Hófvarpnir. Þat var eitt sinn, er hon reið, at vanir nökkurir sá reið hennar í loftinu. Þá mælti einn:*

‘Hvat þar flýgr, / hvat þar ferr / eða at lofti líðr?’

Hon svarar:

‘Né ek flýg, / þó ek ferk / ok at lofti líðk / á Hófvarpni, / þeim er Hamskerpir / gat við Garðrofu.’

*Af **Gnár** nafni er svá kallat, at þat gnæfar, er hátt ferr. Sól ok Bil eru talðar með ásynjum, en sagt er fyrr frá eðli þeira.*

“Then said Gangleri: ‘Which are the Ásynjur?’ Hárr said: ‘Frigg is the foremost: she has that estate which is called Fensalir, and it is most glorious. The second is Sága: she dwells at Sökkvabekkr, and that is a great abode. The third is Fir: she is the best physician. The fourth is Gefjun: she is a virgin, and they that die maidens attend her. The fifth is Fulla: she also is a maid, and goes with loose tresses and a golden band about her head; she bears the ashen coffer of Frigg, and has charge over her footgear, and knows her secret counsel. Freyja is most gently born (together with Frigg): she is wedded to the man named Ódr. Their daughter is Hnoss: she is so fair, that those things which are fair and precious are called *hnossir*. Ódr went away on long journeys, and Freyja weeps for him, and her tears are red gold. Freyja has many names, and this is the cause thereof: that she gave herself sundry names, when she went out among unknown peoples seeking Ódr: she is called Mardöll and Hörn, Gefn, Sýr. Freyja had the necklace Brísinga-men. She is also called Lady of the Vanir. The seventh is Sjöfn: she is most diligent in turning the thoughts of men to love, both of women and of men; and from her name love-longing is called *sjafni*. The eighth is Lofn: she is so gracious and kindly to those that call upon her, that she wins Allfather’s or Frigg’s permission for the coming together of mankind in marriage, of women and of men, though it were forbidden before, or seem flatly denied; from her name such permission is called ‘leave,’ and thus also she is much ‘loved’ of men. The ninth is Vár: she harkens to the oaths and compacts made between men and women; wherefore such covenants are called ‘vows.’ She also takes vengeance on those who perjure themselves. The tenth is Vör: she is wise and of searching spirit, so that none can conceal anything from her; it is a saying, that a woman becomes ‘ware’ of that of which she is informed. The eleventh is Syn: she keeps the door in the hall, and locks it before those who should not go in; she is also set at trials as a defence against such suits as she wishes to refute: thence is the expression, that *syn* is set forward, when a man denies. The twelfth is Hlín: she is established as keeper over those men whom Frigg desires to preserve from any danger; thence comes the saying, that he who escapes ‘leans.’ Snotra is thirteenth: she is prudent and of gentle bearing; from her name a woman or a man who is moderate is called *snotr*. The fourteenth is **Gná**: her Frigg sends into divers lands on her errands; she has that horse which runs over sky and sea and is called Hoof-Tosser. Once when she was riding, certain of the Vanir saw her course in the air; then one spake: What flieth there? | What fareth there, Or glideth in the air?

She made answer: I fly not, | though I fare And in the air glide Hoof-Tosser,
| him that Hamskerpir Gat with Gardrofa.

From **Gná**'s name that which soars high is said to *gnæfa* {"to project"}. Sól and Bil are reckoned among the Ásynjur, but their nature has been told before."

<<http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/pre/pre04.htm>>

1.2. *Skáldskaparmal* 433.6

In the following passage there are summarized 28 Ásynja-names, including *Gná*:

*Nú skal Ásynj[ur] / allar nefna: / Frigg ok Freyja / Fulla ok Snotra / Gerðr ok Gefjun / **Gná** Lofn Skaði / Jorð ok Iðunn / Ilmr Bil Njörun. / Hlin ok Nanna / Hnoss Rindr ok Sjöfn / Sól ok Sága / Sigyn ok Vör. / Þá er Vár, ok Syn / verðr at nefna / en Þrúðr ok Rán / þeim næst talið.*

<<http://www.vsnrweb-publications.org.uk/Edda-2a.pdf>>

<<http://www.sacred-texts.com/neu/pre/pre05.htm>>

1.3. Þjóðólfr ór Hvini, *Ynglingatal* 7 // 12–13

<i>Kveðkat dul, / nema Dyggva hrör / Glitnis Gná / at gamni hefr, / þvít jódis / Ulfs ok Narfa / Konungmann / kjósa skyldi, / ok allvald / Ýngva þjóðar Loka mæx / of leikinn hefr.</i>	<p>"I call it no secret, but {the Gná <goddess> of Glitnir <horse>} [= Hel] has the corpse of Dyggvi for [her] pleasure, for {the sister of the Wolf and of Narfi} [= Hel] had to choose the king. And {the maiden of Loki} [= Hel] has outplayed the sovereign {of the people of Yngvi} [= Svíar]."</p>
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<<http://heimskringla.no/wiki/Ynglingatal>>

Edith Marold (ed.). 2012. 'Þjóðólfr ór Hvini, *Ynglingatal* 7', in: Diana Whaley (ed.), *Poetry from the Kings' Sagas 1: From Mythical Times to c. 1035*. Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages 1.

<<http://skaldic.abdn.ac.uk/db.php?id=4402&if=default&table=verses&val=edition>>

<<https://notendur.hi.is/eybjorn/ugm/skindex/yt.html>>

2. SEMANTIC ANALYSIS

From *Gylfaginning* 35 it is known that ‘Frigg sends her in different worlds’ (*í ýmsa heima*). In *Ynglingatal* 7 the periphrastic expression *Glitnis Gná* ‘Gná of horse’ was used for the same personage as *þvít jóðís / Ulfs ok Narfa* ‘sister of the Wolf and of Narfi’ and *Loka mæx* ‘Loki’s maiden’, i.e. Hel, the Underworld goddess (Goeres 2015, 40). And in *Skáldskaparmál* 433.6 *Gná* is named in the triad *Gná Lofn Skaði*, where the last theonym is probably connected with Gothic *skadus* ‘shadow’, Old English *sceadu*, Old Saxon *skado*, Old High German *scato* id., indicating the underworld affiliation of this goddess (cf. de Vries 1962, 480). *Gná* is not identical with *Skaði*, but she mediates contact between the world (& sky) and underworld, represented by *Skaði*. The primary semantics of *Gná* could be related to the meaning ‘world.’

3. INTERNAL RECONSTRUCTION

With regard to the gen.sg. *Gnár*, the theonym *Gná* is the *ō*-stem (the lengthening of the final vowel is regular in auslaut – see Noreen 1884, 42, §104), derivable from Proto-Germanic **gnawō* (cf. *þrá* ‘longing, yearning’ < **þrawō*), **gnahō* (cf. *rá* ‘berth in a ship’ < **rahō*), or **gnaiwō* (cf. *tá* ‘toe’ < **taiwō(n)*), **gnaihō* (cf. *rá-merki* ‘Grenzlinie’ < **raihō*), or **gnēwō* (cf. *brá* ‘eyelid’ < **brēwō-*) – see Noreen 1884, 117, §291; de Vries 1962, 618, 430, 578, 51; Kroonen 2013, 545, 402, 505, 403, 76.

4. ETYMOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

With regard to the hypothesis about the primary semantics of *Gná*, which was probably connected with the meaning ‘world’ (§2), it is attractive to derive it directly from **gnō* < **ǵ^hnā-* < **(d^h)ǵ^hmeH₂-* as Vedic *kṣmā-* f. ‘earth’ [RV 3.35.63] & *jmā-* f. [RV 6.52.15]. Let us mention that the initial cluster **gm-* is excluded in Proto-Germanic. Among the extended forms the variant **gnaihō*, which is parallel to Greek *γυναικεῖος*, Ionic *γυναικίος*, in compounds *γυναικο-*, ‘belonging to woman, feminine’, implies the semantic structure ±‘world’ = *‘belonging to **gnō*’, where **gnō* could originally mean ‘earth’. The semantic relation between ‘world’ and ‘earth’ is understandable, cf. Vedic *b^hú-* ‘earth, ground, soil’ besides ‘world, space, universe’, originally ‘place of being’ (MW 760-61).

5. INDO-EUROPEAN THEONYMS DERIVED FROM THE ROOT $*d^h\hat{g}^hem-$ “earth”

Tradition	Theonym	Projection	Comments
Vedic	<i>Dyāvākṣāmā</i>	du. $*dī\bar{e}u_eH_1-d^h\hat{g}^h\text{ome}H_1$	“Heaven & Earth”
Avestan	<i>Zā</i> , acc. <i>Zam</i> , gen. <i>Zamō</i>	$*d^h\hat{g}^hm_s / *d^h\hat{g}^h\text{omm}_s / *d^h\hat{g}^hmós$	“Earth”
Hittite	<i>Tēkan</i> <i>Tagānzepa-</i>	$*d^h\hat{e}\hat{g}^hm_s$ $*d^h\hat{g}^h\text{ōm-seb}^ho-$	“Earth” “Earth-self”?
Greek	<i>Χθών</i> <i>Χθονία</i> (on De- meter)	$*d^h\hat{g}^h\text{ōm} < *d^h\hat{g}^h\text{ōm-s}$ $*d^h\hat{g}^h\text{ōm-i}H_2$	“Earth” “belonging to the Earth”
Umbrian	<i>Hunte</i>	dat. $*d^h\hat{g}^h\text{ōmto-ei}$	
Middle Welsh	<i>Dôn</i>	gen. $*d^h\hat{g}^h\text{ōm-os}$	*“{Mother} of the Earth”
Old Icelan- dic	<i>Gná</i>	$*d^h\hat{g}^hmeH_2-$ or $*d^h\hat{g}^hmeH_2\text{ike}H_2-$?	*“Earth” or *“belonging to the Earth”
Lithuanian	<i>*Žemina</i>	$*d^h\hat{g}^hemineH_2-$	“belonging to the Earth”
Latvian	<i>Zemes mōte</i>	$*d^h\hat{g}^hemī_eH_2-$	“Earth’s mother”
Russian	<i>Мать-сыра</i> <i>Земля</i>	$*d^h\hat{g}^hemī_eH_2-$	“Mother – damp Earth”
Tocharian B	<i>keṃ-ñākte</i>	acc. $*d^h\hat{g}^h\text{ōm-m}$	“Earth-Goddess”

6. CONCLUSION

The Old Icelandic theonym *Gná* designated the goddess communicating with both sky & world and underworld. Its internal reconstruction leads to the Germanic protoform $*gnō$ or $*gnaihō$, which can be interpreted as “world” ~ “belonging to the earth”. In Indo-European perspective, they may be projected into $*d^h\hat{g}^hmeH_2-$ “earth” or $*d^h\hat{g}^hmeH_2\text{ike}H_2-$ “belonging to the earth”. This solution identifies a hidden Germanic continuation of the Indo-European appellative $*d^h\hat{g}^hem-$ “earth”, known only in the form of the Germanic derivative $*guman-$ “man” $< *d^h\hat{g}^hm_s-Hon-$ (Kroonen 2013, 195). In Indo-European

perspective the derivatives of **d^hǵ^hem-* form most frequently the theonyms connected with “earth”.

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Gná senojoje islandų kalboje

SANTRAUKA

Straipsnyje analizuojamas senovės islandų kalbos teonimas *Gná* per semantinę, žodžių darybos, etimologijos ir semantinės tipologijos pjūvius. Deivė *Gná* priklauso Ásynja grupei, o pats teonimas aptinkamas keliuose senovės islandų tekstuose. Pirminė semantinė teonimo *Gná* analizė parodė, kad vardas sietinas su reikšme „pasaulis“, nes mitologijoje deivė palaikė ryšį tarp požemio karalystės, žemės ir dangaus. Vidinės rekonstrukcijos metu paaiškėjo, kad teonimas *Gná* gali būti protogermaniškos kilmės ir kildinamas iš **gnawō*, **gnahō*, arba **gnaiwō*, **gnaihō*, arba **gnēwo*. Remiantis pirmine semantine analize teonimas greičiausiai sietinas su žodžio ‘pasaulis’ reikšme. Todėl etimologiškai analizuojant prieita prie išvados, kad teonimas galėtų būti tiesiogiai kildinamas iš **gnō* < **ǵnā-* < **(d^h)ǵ^hmeH₂-* kaip vedų *kṣmā-* f. ‘žemė’. Teonimo vidinės rekonstrukcija paaiškintų, kad teonimas yra protogermaniška indoeuropietiško apeliatyvo **d^hǵ^hmeH₂-* ‘žemė’ forma arba šio apeliatyvo vedinys **d^hǵ^hmeH₂ikeH₂-* ‘priklausantis žemei’. Teonimai, įvardijantys žemės dievybes, būdingi devynioms indoeuropiečių tradicijoms, o analizuojamas deivės *Gná* vardas gali atstovauti dešimtajai tradicijai.

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