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DOI: doi.org/10.35321/all83-02

CIMBRI ET TEUTONI

Kimbrai ir teutonai

ANNOTATION

The well-known names *Cimbri* and *Teutoni* / *Teutones* are traditionally said to denominate two different Germanic tribes. Here a new idea is proposed, namely that they originally formed a syntagm consisting of both words, PGmc. **þeudānōz kumbrijōn* ‘chieftains of tribes’, which later got split up into two tribal names in ancient sources: *Teutoni Cimbrique*, or *Τευτόνοι καὶ Κίμβροι*. While PGmc. **kumbr-* must be reconstructed, there are different ways in which the name is rendered in the Latin and Greek sources, where we find a variation *u/y – i* in the root vowel. This may be due to the fact that there is a certain fluctuation between *u* and *i* in inherited words in Latin on the one hand and a fluctuation between all these vowels in loaned words and names in both languages.

The original form of the name of the *Cimbri*, PGmc. **kumbrija*, may continue an obscured compound of the roots PIE **gem-* ‘press, squeeze, grab’ and **b^her-* ‘carry’. PGmc. **þeudānōz* is the regular plural to **þeudānaz* ‘tribal chieftain’, later ‘king’. Its origin from PGmc. **þeudō* ‘tribe’ is generally accepted. Among various etymological attempts to analyze ‘West Indo-European’ **teutā* we prefer the idea of de Vries deriving the word from

the Celto-Germanic isogloss to **teuto-* ‘good, friendly’. The Hittite cognates imply the existence of the root **teu-* ‘to be kind, friendly’.

KEY-WORDS: Germanic ethnonyms, discussion of existing etymologies, new etymological solutions, obscured compounds, semantic typology.

ANOTACIJA

Tradiciskai manoma, kad gerai žinomi vardai *kimbrai* ir *teutonai* įvardija dvi skirtingas germanų gentis. Straipsnyje keliama mintis, kad šie vardai iš pradžių sudarė sintagmą iš abiejų žodžių – PGmc. **peuđanōz kumbrijōn* ‘genčių vadai’, iš kurios išsirutuliojo jau senuosiuose šaltiniuose paliudyti dviejų genčių vardai: *Teutoni Cimbrique*, arba **Τευτόνοι καὶ Κίμβροι**. Nors PGmc. **kumbr-* turi būti rekonstruotas, šis vardas lotyniškuose ir graikiškuose šaltiniuose atkurtas pateikiamas įvairiai. Juose randami *u/y* – *i* šaknies balsio variantai. Taip galėjo nutikti dėl to, kad paveldėtuose lotynų kalbos žodžiuose, viena vertus, yra tam tikra *u* ir *i* kaita ir, kita vertus, abiejų kalbų skolintuose žodžiuose bei varduose yra šių balsių kaita.

Pirminė *Cimbri* vardo forma PGmc. **kumbrija-* galėjo išlaikyti užslėptą šaknų junginį PIE **gem-* ‘spausti, slėgti, griebti / pasisavinti’ ir **b^her-* ‘nešti’. PGmc. **peuđanōz* yra taisyklingoji daugiskaita iš **peuđanaz* ‘genties vadas’, vėliau ‘karalius’. Šio žodžio kilmė iš PGmc. **peuđō* ‘gentis’ nekelia abejonių. Iš įvairių bandymų etimologiškai išnagrinėti „Vakarų indoeuropiečių“ **teutā*, straipsnio autoriams labiausiai priimtinas de Vrieso pasiūlytas šio žodžio kildinimas iš keltų-germanų izoglosės **teuto-* ‘geras, draugiškas’. Kognatai hetitų kalboje leidžia manyti, kad yra buvusi šaknis **teu-* ‘būti maloniam, draugiškam’.

ESMINIAI ŽODŽIAI: germanų etnonimai, esamų etimologijų aptarimas, nauji etimologiniai sprendimai, neskaidrios struktūros dariniai, semantinė tipologija.

1. CIMBRI

The ethnonym *Cimbri* has been attested in several variants (cf. Schönfeld 1911: 63f.):

Κίμβροι (Posidonius {135–51 BCE} apud Strabo, *Geographica* 2.3.6, 7.2.2; further Strabo {63 BCE – 23 CE} 4.3.3, 4.4.3, 5.1.8, 7.1.3, 7.2.1, 7.2.3, 7.2.4; Diodorus Siculus {90–30 BCE}, *Bibliotheca Historica* 5.32.4)

Κίμβροι (Polyaenus {2nd cent. CE}, *Strategematum* 8.10.1, 8.10.2, 8.10.3)

Κύμβροι (Ptolemy {c. 140 CE}, *Geographia* 2.11.16 in ms. X)

Cimbri (Cicero {106–43 BCE}, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 2.65; *De Officiis* 1.38; Caesar {100–44 BCE}, *De bello Gallico* 1.33.3, 1.40.5, 2.4.2, 7.77.12,

7.77.14; Valerius Antias {1st cent. BCE} apud Orosius, *Historiae adversum paganos* 5.16)

Cymbri (Valerius Maximus {wrote between 14–37 CE}, *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* 2.11: *Cymbrorum* in ms. L; 3.6. *Cymbricumque* in ms. A; Frontinus {30–103 CE}, *Strategematon* 1.5.3: *Cymbris*, *Cymbri* in ms. H; 2.5.8: *Cymbrico*, *Cymbris* in ms. HP; Aulus Gellius {125–180 CE}, *Noctium Atticarum* 16.10.14: *Cymbrico* in ms. X)

Cumbri (Aulus Gellius {125–180 CE}, *Noctium Atticarum* 16.10.14: *Cumbrico* in ms. Z)

Conbri (Eutropius {finished 364 CE}, *Breviarium ab urbe condita* 5.1.4: *Conbris* in ms. G¹).

2. ETYMOLOGICAL ATTEMPTS

The first attempt to explain the ethnonym appeared already in ancient times.

2.1. Festus {2nd cent. CE}, in *De significatione verborum*, p. 43, thought that it designated ‘robbers’ in Gaulish: *Cimbri lingua Gallica latrones dicuntur* “Cimbri are called ‘robbers’ in the Gaulish language.”

Sextus Pompeius Festus, *De verborum significatu que supersunt cum Pauli epitome*, edidit Aemilius Thewrewk de Ponor. Budapest: Academia Litterarum Hungaricae 1889.

2.2. Plutarch {46–119/127 CE}, in *Caius Marius* 11.3, said the same with the only difference that he proposed the Germanic¹ origin of this ethnonym:

¹ Already in the middle of the 1st cent. CE Pliny [NH 4.28/40/99] presented the first classification of the Germanic tribes, where he explicitly included both *Cimbri* & *Teutoni* among the *Inguaeones*: *germanorum genera quinque: vandili, quorum pars burgodiones, varinnae, charini, gutones. alterum genus inguaeones, quorum pars cimbri, teutoni ac chaucorum gentes. proximi autem rheno istuaeones, quorum ... mediterranei hermiones, quorum suebi, hermunduri, chatti, cherusci. quinta pars peucini, basternae, supra dictis contermini dacis. amnes clari in oceanum defluunt guthalus, visculus sive vistla, albis, visurgis, amisis, rhenus, mosa. introrsus vero nullo inferius nobilitate hercynium iugum praetenditur.*

Plinius: *Naturalis Historia*, ed. Karl Friedrich Theodor Mayhoff. Lipsiae: Teubner 1906

“There are five Germanic races; the Vandili, parts of whom are the Burgundiones, the Varini, the Carini, and the Gutones: the Ingævones, forming a second race, a portion of whom are the Cimbri, the Teutoni, and the tribes of the Chauci. The Istævones, who join up to the Rhine, and to whom the Cimbri belong, are the third race; while the Hermiones, forming a fourth, dwell in the interior, and include the Suevi, the Hermunduri, the Chatti, and the Cherusci: the fifth race is that of the Peucini, who are also the Basternæ, adjoining the Daci previously mentioned. The more famous rivers that flow into the ocean are the Guttalus, the Vistillus or Vistula, the Albis, the Visurgis, the

καὶ μάλιστα μὲν εἰκάζοντο Γερμανικὰ γένη τῶν καθηκόντων ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον ὠκεανὸν εἶναι τοῖς μεγέθεσι τῶν σωμάτων καὶ τῇ χαροπότῃ τῶν ὀμμάτων, καὶ ὅτι Κίμβρους ἐπονομάζουσι Γερμανοὶ τοὺς ληστής.

“The most prevalent conjecture was that they were some of the German peoples which extended as far as the northern ocean, a conjecture based on their great stature, their light-blue eyes, and the fact that the Germans call robbers Cimbri.”

Plutarch, *Caius Marius*. – Plutarch’s *Lives*, with an English Translation by Bernadotte Perrin, Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press – London: Heinemann, 1920.

It is laconically repeated in the Byzantine lexicon Suda, p. 600 {10th cent. CE}: Κίμβρος ὁ ληστής.

Suidae Lexicon, ex recognitione Immanuelis Bekkeri. Berlin: Reimer 1854

Older authors mentioned only the ambition of the *Cimbri* to plunder² (Diodorus Siculus 5.32.4.) or that they were a piratical³ folk (Posidonius apud Strabo 7.2.2.). But it is necessary to verify the possibilities of both the Celtic and Germanic etymologies in this perspective (the attempt to connect the

Amisius, the Rhine, and the Mosa. In the interior is the long extent of the Hercynian range, which in grandeur is inferior to none.”

Pliny the Elder: *The Natural History*, translated by J. Bostock, H. T. Riley, London: Taylor & Francis, 1855.

² **Diodorus Siculus** {90–30 BCE} 5.32.4.

διαβεβοημένης δὲ τῆς τούτων ἀλκῆς καὶ ἀγριότητος, φασὶ τινες ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρόνοις τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἅπασαν καταδραμόντας, ὀνομαζομένους δὲ Κιμμερίους, τούτους εἶναι, βραχὺ τοῦ χρόνου τὴν λέξιν φθειραντος ἐν τῇ τῶν καλουμένων Κίμβρων προσηγορίᾳ. ζηλοῦσι γὰρ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ληστεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀλλοτριὰς χώρας ἐπερχόμενοι καὶ καταφρονεῖν ἀπάντων.

Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, Vol 1–2, ed. by I. Bekker, L. Dindorf, F. Vogel, Leipzig: Teubner, 1888–1890.

5.32.4. “And since the valour of these peoples and their savage ways have been famed abroad, some men say that it was they who in ancient times overran all Asia and were called Cimmerians, time having slightly corrupted the word into the name of Cimbrians, as they are now called. For it has been their ambition from old to plunder, invading for this purpose the lands of others, and to regard all men with contempt.”

Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, Volume 3: Books 4.59 – 8, translated by C. H. Oldfather, Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, 1939 (Loeb Classical Library 340).

³ **Posidonius** {135–51 BCE} apud **Strabo** {64/63 BCE – 19/24 CE} 7.2.2.

ταῦτά τε δὴ δικαίως ἐπιτιμᾷ συγγραφεῦσι Ποσειδώνιος καὶ οὐ κακῶς εἰκάζει, διότι ληστρικοὶ ὄντες καὶ πλάνητες οἱ Κίμβροι καὶ μέχρι τῶν περὶ τὴν Μαιώτιν ποιήσαντο στρατείας.

“Poseidonius is right in censuring the historians for these assertions, and his conjecture is not a bad one, that the Cimbri, being a piratical and wandering folk, made an expedition even as far as the region of Lake Maeotis.”

geographically distant ethnonyms *Cimbri* and *Cimmerii* will not be solved here – it is a typical *Volksetymologie* on the basis of the accidental similarity).

2.3. Müllenhoff (1887: 117) speculated about the Celtic origin from the point of view of the ‘robbery’-interpretation. He sought support in such Old Irish glosses as *cim(b)* ‘tax, tribute, silver’ (DIL C-186), besides *cimbid* ‘vinctus’, i.e. ‘captive’, but also ‘anathema’, i.e. ‘victim’, gen.sg. *cimbetho* ‘of the captive’, nom.pl. *cimbidi* ‘prisoners’ (DIL C-187). Related can be Gallo-Lat. [Endlicher’s Glossary] *cambiāre* ‘rem pro re dare’ (first attested in Apuleius), i.e. ‘to change’,⁴ Bret. *kemm* ‘change’ (< PCelt. **kambjō-* < PIE **kṃBʰ*), if the tribute was paid in changeable silver and the captives were exchanged, too (cf. LEIA C-99f.; de Bernardo Stempel 1987: 96f.; Schrijver 1995: 282f., 289). This solution implies that *Cimbri* were called ‘robbers’, since they took captives, probably for ransom. Even if it is accepted, there remains a phonological problem: the preceding examples confirm that the expected counterpart of OIr. *cimbʰ* is Gaul. **kambʰ*, if they both are derived from **kṃBʰ* (see Matthias 1904; Much 1905: 2999).

2.4. Zeuss (1837: 142) stressed the belligerent character of the *Cimbri*, explaining their name with the help of ONor. *keppa* ‘to demonstrate strength; to fight’, *kappi* ‘wrestler’, OHG *kampf* ‘Eifer, Streit, Wettkampf’, *kempho* ‘pugil’. Already Müllenhoff (1887: 118) rejected it, since these forms were borrowed from Lat. *campus* ‘Schlachtfeld’ (cf. AnEW: 300f., 306; EWAhd 5: 368–370, 469f.).

2.5. Naturally, it is also legitimate to take into account the possibility that the ethnonym of the tribe, which was dishonorably renowned for robbery, changed into an appellative, as e.g. in the case of the Vandals. This starting-point opens up space for other solutions, which are not connected with aggressiveness.

2.6. Müllenhoff (1887: 116f.) discussed several etymological attempts. Besides a relatively rational Celtic etymology analyzed in §2.3 above, he also rejected the superficial comparison with the ethnonym *Cymry* ‘Welsh’, Bret. *Kenro* proposed by Graff (AhdS IV: 405), since it reflected the Brittonic compound pl. **kom-brogī* ‘of the same territory’,⁵ in opposition to the Gaulish ethnonym *Allo-broges* [e.g. Cicero, *De divin.* 1.21; Brutus ad Cic. *Epist.* 11.13.14] ‘of other territory’ = ‘foreigners’ (ACS 1: 96–105, 1072; DLG¹: 34, 77; DLG³: 39, 91)

⁴ Lat. *cambiāre* is generally regarded a loan from Celtic, while the Medieval Celtic words mentioned above are sometimes regarded as re-loans from Latin (cf. Walde, Hofmann 1938–1956 1: 145f.; DÉLL: 89).

⁵ Cf. on this ethnonym *in extenso* Zimmer 2007 (with older literature).

or, according to Zimmer (2007: 674) “‘die auf dem Land von anderen (d.h. auf erobertem Land) wohnen’”.

2.7. Müllenhoff (1887: 118) himself also rejected the possibility based on OHG *gambar* ‘mighty, strong’, Langobardic foremother *Gambara*, where the expected voiceless **k*- should be a result of the strict ‘Zweite Lautverschiebung’.

2.8. Perhaps more promising from the point of view of historical phonetics, but weaker in semantics, is another attempt proposed by Müllenhoff (1887: 118), based on OHG *einkimpi* ‘funestus’, *pikimpôt*, *pikimbitha* ‘funus’, which should be related with *kumbalboro* ‘Heerzeichenträger’ (EWAhd 5: 861f.), OE *cumbol*, var. *cumbor* [Beowulf 1022] ‘Heerzeichen, Banner’ (Holthausen 1963[1934]: 63), ONor. *kumbl* ‘Grabmal, Helm(zeichen)’ (AnEW: 333f.). The common semantic denominator of these meanings should be ‘decoration’, applied to both the helmet and funeral or grave. Thus, the *Cimbri* were characterized by their decorated helmets (!). Still less compatible with the terms for ‘grave’, ‘banner’ or ‘helmet’ from a semantic perspective is OHG *kumbarra* ‘Stamm, Volk, Geschlechtsverband’, *cumpurie* ‘tribus’ [Vocabularius St. Galli], made by Grimm (1840: 92) and accepted by Müllenhoff (1887: 118) and even in EWAhd 5: 862f.

2.9. Müllenhoff (1887: 118) also speculated about the connection of the ethnonym *Cimbri* with OE *cimbring* ‘Kimmung, Fuge, Verbindung’ (Holthausen 1963[1934]: 49). Related are NFris. *kimming* ‘horizon’, further OE *cimb-stān* ‘pedestal, socket’, E *chimbe*, *chime* ‘edge or rim of a cask or drum’, MDu. *kimme* ‘edge, chime’, D *kim* ‘horizon’, dial. ‘edge of a cask, chime’, MLG *kimme* ‘Rand, Horizon’, G *Kimm* ‘Horizontlinie’; Swed. *kimb* ‘Fassdaube’ (Kluge 1999: 442; Holthausen 1963[1934]: 49). These forms derive from PGmc. **kembōn-* > **kimbōn-* f. ‘crest, ridge’, which is the ablauted feminine *n*-stem pertaining to PGmc. **kamba-* ‘comb’ (EDPG: 287, 279; EWAhd 5: 360–362). This idea was further developed e.g. by Matthias (1904: 40f.; cf. Much 1905: 2999: “Kimber – Leute vom Rand, von der Küste des Meeres”) or by Schönfeld (1911: 64: “Die einfachste und jedenfalls mögliche Deutung ist ‘die Leute vom Rande (*kim*), von den Küsten des Meeres, von der Waterkant”).

This semantic motivation might be based on stories mediated e.g. by Strabo (with doubts) or Florus about devastating tides, which had destroyed the sea coast of the homeland of the *Cimbri*:

Strabo (63 BCE – 23 CE), *Geographica* 7.2

περὶ δὲ Κίμβρων τὰ μὲν οὐκ εὖ λέγεται, τὰ δ' ἔχει πιθανότητος οὐ μετρίας. οὔτε γὰρ τὴν τοιαύτην αἰτίαν τοῦ πλάνητας γενέσθαι καὶ ληστρικούς ἀποδέξαιτ' ἂν τις, ὅτι χειρρόνησον οἰκοῦντες μεγάλη πλημμυρίδι ἐξελαθεῖεν ἐκ τῶν τόπων: καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἔχουσι τὴν χώραν ἣν εἶχον πρότερον,

Strabo: *Geographica*, ed. A. Meineke, Leipzig: Teubner, 1877.

“As for the Cimbri, some things that are told about them are incorrect and others are extremely improbable. For instance, one could not accept such a reason for their having become a wandering and piratical folk as this – that while they were dwelling on a Peninsula they were driven out of their habitations by a great flood-tide; for in fact they still hold the country which they held in earlier times.”

Strabo: *Geography*, ed. H. L. Jones. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press – London: Heinemann, 1924.

Florus (74–130 CE), *Epitome* III 3

Cimbri, Teutoni atque Tigurini ab extremis Galliae profugi, cum terras eorum inundasset Oceanus, novas sedes toto orbe quaerebant

“The Cimbri, Teutones and Tigurini, fugitives from the extreme parts of Gaul, since the Ocean had inundated their territories, began to seek new settlement throughout the world.”

Lucius Annaeus Florus: *Epitomae Historiae Romanae*, ab E. S. Forster editi apud Loeb Classical Library, Londinio, 1929

A problem arising with this etymology, however, is the question of word-formation. If we accept some Pre-PGmc. **gembā-* → PGmc. **kimb-ōn-* we would have to accept that there was an inner-Germanic *ro*-derivation from a full-grade root. This would be a very exceptional formation in Germanic. The regular formation to be expected would be a zero-grade formation, which, however would also have to be Pre-Proto-Germanic: PIE **ǵmb^h-ró-* > PGmc. **kum̃bra*. But the meaning of that formation would be far from clear, originally it would have meant something like ‘biting’, as PIE **ǵemb^h* meant ‘schnappen, (zer-)beißen’ (LIV²: 162f.). As we cannot tell, when the lexeme PIE **ǵómb^h-o-* ‘Zubiss’ (EWAhd 5: 362) underwent the lexicalization to PGmc. **kam̃ba-* ‘comb’, we cannot tell either, whether PGmc. **kum̃bra* might have had any semantic connection with PGmc. **kam̃ba-* ‘comb’.

2.10. Perhaps only an anecdotal sense has the last attempt quoted by Müllenhoff (1887: 118), namely the explanation on the basis of Icelandic *kimbi* ‘mocker’, in OIcel. ‘mockingbird’ (!).

2.11. Matthias devoted his dissertation (1904) to the problem of the ethnonym *Cimbri*, which was referred to and commented on in detail by Much (1905). Matthias favored two solutions, each excluding the other. The first one was formulated already by Müllenhoff in 1887 (see §2.9.), the second one is new. He connected *Cimbri* with such Danish place-names as *Himmerland*, or *Himbersyssæl*. It would imply that the initial *c-* in the ethnonym represented an imperfect record of Proto-Germanic **χ-* (i.e. *h-* in the Old Germanic literary languages) or that the First *Lautverschiebung* did not operate yet at the time of adoption of the ethnonym into Latin and Greek. Matthias' idea was accepted by Much (1920: 95), who proposed the Germanic starting-point of the ethnonym as **Himbrōs*. And this solution is kept till the present time, e.g. Nedoma (2017: 875) says:

“The first Gmc. *gentes* that came into contact with Rome were the *Cimbri* and the *Teutones*, who challenged the Roman empire at the end of the 2nd c. BCE), substitutes for Gmc. **Himbrōz* and **Peudanōz*, cf. *Himbersysæl* and *Thythæsysæl*, two areas in northern Jutland known from 1231 CE).”

Matthias (1904) also offered his etymology, which was based on the comparison with ONor. *híma* ‘in Gedanken versunken sein, trödeln’; cf. further Swed. dial. *híma* ‘kränkeln’, Norw. *hīm* ‘Schicht von dünnen Wolken, dünne Reif- oder Schneeschicht’, Faer. *hím* ‘schwaches Licht’, although the semantic motivation and word-formation remained unexplained. Perhaps the probable derivative, ONor. *himbrin* ‘Eistaucher (Colymbus glacialis)’, Norw. *imbre*, (*h*) *yimmer*, could have given the name to Dan. *Himmerland*, and Swed. *Himbra*, *Himmerfjärden* (cf. de Vries in AnEW: 227 who also did not exclude a relation with the name of *Cimbri*).

2.12. Rozwadowski (1928: 361; cf. also REW 3: 61f.) and Gołąb (1982: 166f.) saw a connection of the ethnonym *Cimbri* with the Slavic appellative **sębrъ* > Old Serbian *sebrъ* ‘participant, companion, partner’, Serbian *sěbar*, gen. *sěbra* ‘farmer’, Sln. *srebār*, gen. *srebra* ‘peasant’, ORuss. *ębrъ* ‘neighbor, a member of the same community’, Russ. dial. *sjaběr*, gen. *sjabrá* ‘neighbor, companion, partner’, Ukr. *sjáber*, *sjabró* ‘participant, companion, partner’, Blr. *sjabr* ‘relative, companion, brother’, with early borrowings in the Balkan languages, still preserving the nasal: Hung. *cimbora* ‘companion, friend’, Rom. *símbră* ‘society, community’, Alb. Tosk *sěmbër* ‘partner, co-owner of cattle’, MGr. *σέμπρος*, *σεμπρός* ‘partner’. If *Cimbri* reflects PGmc. **χimbra-*, it is indeed compatible with PSl. **sębrъ*, and both are derivable from the same protoform Pre-PGmc./Pre-PSl. **kímro-*. Related might be PGmc. **χaiṃa-* m. ‘village, home’ (EDPG: 201; EWAhd 4: 905–907) and PSl. **sěmbja* ‘family’, besides Lith. *šeimà* ‘family, kin, domestic staff’, with the *r*-extension *šeimerỹs* ‘companion’, Latv. *sàime*

‘domestic staff, family {in broader sense}’ (ESJS 13, 804f.) and further OIr. *cóim*, OBret. *cum* ‘dear’ (EDPC: 220), all from PIE **kei-* ‘to lie down’ or **tei-* ‘to dwell’ (LIV²: 320 or 643f. respectively).

The problem, however, with this etymology would be that Pre-PGmc./Pre-PSl. **kimro-* would have to be segmentized **ki-m-ro-*, as **ki-m-* would have to be regarded as the zero-grade of a neo-root **keim*, whose *m* is originally a suffix. If one is willing to accept this, an original meaning ‘belonging / pertaining to the home / family’ might be reconstructed.

3. A NEW SOLUTION

A key to a new solution might be sought in OHG *kumbar(r)a*⁶ f. ‘Stamm, Volk, Geschlechtsverband’, gl. *cumpurie* ‘tribus’ [*Vocabularius St. Galli*], which descends from PGmc. **kumbariōn-* (cf. EWAhd 5: 862f.), with a possible variant PGmc. **kumburīn-*.

3.1. This solution, first mentioned by Graff in 1838 (AhdS IV: 405f.: “Ist *cumbirra* ‘tribus’ damit {scil. mit *Cimbri*} zusammen zu halten?”) and accepted e.g. by Laistner (1892: 31), is thinkable, if the original form of the ethnonym was PGmc. **kumbra-* or **kumbriā-*. Already Graff (AhdS IV: 405f.) mentioned the male personal name *Cumbro* together with the appellative *kumbar(r)a* and the ethnonym *Cimbri*. The variants of the ethnonym with the back vocalism *u/y/o* of the first syllable are really attested – see §1.

⁶ Laistner (1892: 31) tried to add MHG *kumber* ‘congeries, moles, molestia’, in WGS 37 projected into PGerm. **kumbra-*. But it is usually explained as an adaptation of Gallo-Lat. **comboros* ‘Zusammengetragenes’ (Kluge 1999: 493). Neumann et al. (2000: 494) tried to explain even OHG *kumbar(r)a* from Gallo-Latin, cf. Medieval Lat. *confero* ‘zusammentragen’. On the other hand, Tacitus [*Germania* 37] called them *civitas* ‘community’. It is tempting to see here a hint to the interpretation of the ethnonym:

Eundem Germaniae sinum proximi Oceano Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, sed gloria ingens. veterisque famae lata vestigia manent, utraque ripa castra ac spatia, quorum ambitu nunc quoque metiaris molem manusque gentis et tam magni exitus fidem.

Cornelius Tacitus: *de Origine et Situ Germanorum Liber*. In: *Opera Minora*, ed. by H. Furneaux. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900.

“In the same remote corner of Germany, bordering on the ocean dwell the Cimbri, a now insignificant tribe {more exactly ‘community’}, but of great renown. Of their ancient glory widespread traces yet remain; on both sides of the Rhine are encampments of vast extent, and by their circuit you may even now measure the warlike strength of the tribe, and find evidence of that mighty emigration.”

Cornelius Tacitus: *Germany and its Tribes*. In: *Complete Works of Tacitus*, translated by A. J. Church, W. J. Brodribb, New York: Random House, 1942.

Let us further mention the vacillation *u* ~ *i* in Latin, where the *u*-forms are primary,⁷ or the Greek vacillation *υ* ~ *ι*, which has been taken as a witness of substratum or foreign origin of words (Furnée 1972: 364–367; EDG xxxi; Beekes 2014: 25)⁸. Similar vacillation appears in transcriptions of ancient ethnonyms into Greek or Latin (Schönfeld 1911: 157, 215–217):

Λοῦγοι [Ptol. 2.11.10], Λύγιοι [Cassius Dio 67.5.2], *Lygii*, with the variants *Ligii* [Tacitus, *Germania* 12].

Sugambri [Caesar, *BG* 4.16.9, 4.18.3, 4.19.13, 6.35.9], Σούγαμβροι [Strabo 4.3.4, 7.1.3, 7.2.4], *Sygambri* [Horatius, *Carmina* 4.2.36, 4.14.51], Σύγαμβροι [Ptol. 2.11.6], *Sigambri* [Suetonius 21.1], *Sicambri* [Florus 2.30].

3.2. The semantic motivation is quite transparent, simply ‘people’, ‘tribe’ or ‘clan’s union’ *vel sim*. A parallel semantic development can be found in the German self-designation *deutsch*, OHG *diutisc* ‘people’s (language)’, Du. *duits*, MDu. *duutsc*, OSax. *thiudisk*, from PGmc. **þeuđiska-*, originally ‘belonging to one’s own tribe or people’, which is a derivative of PGerm. **þeuđi-* m. > OHG *diot* m., OLF *thiat*, nom.pl. *thiadi*, **þeuđa-* n. > OHG *diot* n. ‘Volk, Menschen, Volksstamm, Heiden’, besides most common PGerm. **þeuđō-* f. > Goth. *þiuda*⁹

⁷ Cf. Lat. *lubet* ~ *libet* ‘it is pleasing’, *clupeus* ~ *clipeus* ‘round shield’, *liber* ‘bark of a tree, book’ vs. OPruss. *lubbo* ‘bast, plank, shelf’, Russ. *lub* ‘bast’ (EDLIL: 337f., 121); similarly Marruc. *cibat* vs. SPic. **qapat** ‘liegt (begraben)’ (Untermann 2000: 418). The same effect probably operated in the Sabellian words transcribed by Roman authors, e.g. Sabinian *ciprum* ‘bonum’ [Varro 1.1.5, 159] vs. SPic. adv. **kupri** (Untermann 2000: 405). Let us mention that Gaius Marius, who defeated the *Cimbri*, was born near the city of Arpinum, till 305 BCE belonging to the territory of the *Volsci* [Iuv. 8.35; Diod. 20.90. Liv. 9.44, 16].

⁸ Cf. Gr. βίβλος ‘the inner bark of papyrus’ [Plato, *Polit.* 288E], ‘a book’ [Aesch., *Supp.* 947] vs. βύβλος ‘Egyptian papyrus’ [Hdt. 2.92; Aesch. *Supp.* 761], ‘paper, book’ [2.100]; βιβλίον ‘a strip of βίβλος, a paper, letter’ [Hdt. 1.125, 3.128; Ar. *Av.* 974] vs. βυβλίον ‘byblus-paper’ [Hesychius]; βίβλινος [papyr.], βίβλινος οἶνος ‘Biblian wine’ (about a district of Thrace) [Hes. *Op.* 587] vs. βύβλινος ‘made of βύβλο’ [Od. 21.391; Hdt. 7.25, 36], Βύβλινος [Eur. *Ion.* 1195]. These terms were motivated by the city-name Βύβλος, adapted from the primary Semitic form **Gublu*, reconstructible on the basis of Akk. ^{URU}*gub/gu-ub-la/li*, Syll. Ugar. ^{URU}*gu-ub-li* & ^{KUR}*gu₅-ub-li*, Alph. Ugar. *gbl*, Phoen. *gbl*, Hebr. *Gəbāl* (DUL: 290; HAL: 173f.; GEW 1: 235; Masson 1967: 101–107; Rosół 2013: 167).

⁹ CSLav. **tjudjъ* ‘foreign’ can reflect a Gothic source reconstructible as **þiudja-* (see Pronk–Tiethoff 2013: 202–204 and ESJS 16, 946f. with discussion). Although it is not preserved in the corpus of Biblical Gothic, it can be identified in the name of the Visigothic king *Thiudis* / *Theudis* / *Teudis* [Jordanes, *Getica* 58/302], Θεῦδης [Procopius, *BV* 1.13.13]. In Biblical Gothic it is reconstructible as **þiudeis* (Schönfeld 1911: 234f.). Jordanes [23/116] informed us about one foreign people *Thiudos* in the north, belonging under the might of the Gothic king Ermanaric. Zeuss (1837: 688) identified in this ethnonym Nestor’s [2.24; 2.105] Čjudь, perhaps the Estonians and their country.

‘people, nation’, *Gutþiuda* ‘people of the Goths’; ONor., Icel. *þjóð*¹⁰ ‘people’, Faer. *tjóð*, Norw. *tjod*, dial. *tjo*, Gotlandic *tjaud*; OE *ðeod*, OFris. *thiāde*, *thiēde*, OSax. *thiod(a)*, OHG *diota* ‘nation, people’ (EDPG: 540; EWAhd 2: 684–688; AnEW: 613; NDEW 2: 1307), with close relatives in Baltic: OLith. (Daukša) *tautà* ‘people’, besides *taūtinti* ‘nationalen Charakter geben’, *taūsti* ‘seinem Volkstum abtrünnig werden’, *aptaūtélis* ‘Zwerg’; Latv. *tàuta*, dial. (Raipole) *taūta*, ‘kind, species; kin, people, nation’, *tautas* f.pl. ‘strangers; regular soldiers; mercenaries from far-away lands’, cf. the family names *Taūtas*, *Taūtiņas*; OPruss. *tauto*, acc. *tautan* ‘land, country’, etc. (ALEW: 1082; Smoczyński 2018: 1458; LEW 2: 1069; LDW 4: 140f.).

Italic: Ven. nom.sg. **teuta**, Oscan nom.sg. τωϝτο, *touto*, acc.sg. *tautam*, Marruc. dat.sg. *toutai*, Umb. acc.sg. **tuta**, *totam*, *tota*, gen.sg. **tutas**, *totar* ‘civitas’,

Another designation of cf. Lat. *libet* ~ *libet* ‘it is pleasing’, *clupeus* ~ *clipeus* ‘round shield’, *liber* ‘bark of a tree, book’ vs. OPruss. *lubbo* ‘bast, plank, shelf’, Russ. *lub* ‘bast’ (EDLIL: 337f., 121); similarly, Marruc. *cibat* vs. SPic. **qapat** ‘liegt (begraben)’ (Untermann 2000: 418). The same effect probably operated in the Sabellian words transcribed by Roman authors, e.g. Sabinian *ciprum* ‘bonum’ [Varro 1.1.5, 159] vs. SPic. adv. **kuprí** (Untermann 2000: 405). Let us mention that Gaius Marius, who defeated the *Cimbri*, was born near the city of Arpinum, till 305 BCE belonging to the territory of the *Volsci* [Iuv. 8.35; Diod. 20.90. Liv. 9.44, 16]. Cf. Gr. βίβλος ‘the inner bark of papyrus’ [Plato, *Polit.* 288E], ‘a book’ [Aesch., *Supp.* 947] vs. βύβλος ‘Egyptian papyrus’ [Hdt. 2.92; Aesch. *Supp.* 761], ‘paper, book’ [2.100]; βιβλίον ‘a strip of βίβλος, a paper, letter’ [Hdt. 1.125, 3.128; Ar. *Av.* 974] vs. βυβλίον ‘byblus-paper’ [Hesychius]; βίβλιος [papyr.], βιβλιος οίνος ‘Biblian wine’ (about a district of Thrace) [Hes. *Op.* 587] vs. βύβλιος ‘made of βύβλο’ [Od. 21.391; Hdt. 7.25, 36], Βύβλιος [Eur. *Ion.* 1195]. These terms were motivated by the city-name Βύβλος, adapted from the primary Semitic form **Gublu*, reconstructible on the basis of Akk. ^{URU}*gub/gu-ub-la/li*, Syll. Ugar. ^{URU}*gu-ub-li* & ^{KUR}*gu₅-ub-li*, Alph. Ugar. *gbl*, Phoen. *gbl*, Hebr. *Gəbāl* (DUL: 290; HAL: 173f.; GEW 1: 235; Masson 1967: 101–107; Rosół 2013: 167).

CSlav. **tjudjb* ‘foreign’ can reflect a Gothic source reconstructible as **þiudja*- (see Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 202–204 and ESJS 16: 946f. with discussion). Although it is not preserved in the corpus of Biblical Gothic, it can be identified in the name of the Visigothic king *Thiodis* / *Theudis* / *Teudis* [Jordanes, *Getica* 58/302], Θεύδης [Procopius, *BV* 1.13.13]. In Biblical Gothic it is reconstructible as **þiudeis* (Schönfeld 1911: 234f.). Jordanes [23/116] informed us about one foreign people *Thiudos* in the north, belonging under the might of the Gothic king Ermanaric. Zeuss (1837, 688) identified in this ethnonym Nestor’s [2.24; 2.105] *Čjudb*, perhaps the Estonians and their ‘foreign people’, which could be of Gothic or East Germanic origin, appears in Old Hungarian (1121) *Tout* ‘Slav’, from the 17th cent. *Tót* ‘Slovak’ (EWU II: 1535f.).

¹⁰ A more archaic form appears in the Runic record of the compound ONor. *Sviþjóð*, namely in the formulation *a suiþiufu* ‘in Sweden’ from the runic inscription from Simris in Skåne dated to c. 1050–1100 (AnEW: 571). A still more archaic layer is represented by the Proto-Norse or Early Gothic loanword in Proto-Saami **tiēvDō* ‘man’ (Sammallahti 2001: 409; cf. Qvigstad 1893: 129f. with concrete dialect data).

SPic. nom.sg.? **toúta**, dat.sg./pl.? **toútaih** ‘town, society’ etc. (Untermann 2000: 779–781; EDLIL: 618f.).

Celtic: OIr. *túath* ‘people, tribe, land’, MWelsh *tut* ‘people, country’, Welsh *tūd* ‘land’, Corn. *tus*, MBret. *tut*, NBret. *tud* ‘people’ (EDPC: 386f.), Gaul. [inscr. from Vaison] *τρουτιους* ‘citizen’ (DLG³: 300), Cisalpine Gaul. [Brioni] gen.sg. *toutas* ‘tribe’ (Lambert 2003: 58, 74f.), Celtiberian [Botorríta IV: A1] acc.sg. *toutam* ‘pueblo’ (Jordán Cólera 1998: 148) = ‘Volk’ (Stifter [1996]2001: 97), besides numerous onomastic counterparts, e.g. in the Gaulish theonym *Teutates* [Lucanus, *Pharsalia* 1.444–446], *Toutatis* ‘epithet of Mars’ [CIL III: 5320], anthroponym in gen.sg. *Touto-rigis* [Vienne-en-Val; see Lejeune 1971: 484; Delamarre 2007: 184], besides Apollo’s epithet in dat.sg. *Toutio-rigi* [CIL XIII: 7564]; Galatian ethnonym *Touto-bodiaci* [Pliny 5.146] etc. (DLG³: 295); Lepontic anthroponym as the coin legend *Toutio-pouos* (Lejeune 1971: 484); Celtiberian family name in gen.pl. *Toutinikum* (MLH V.1, 411f.); plus further possible onomastic cognates in other languages: Lusitanian theonyms *Toudadigoe* (cf. Gaul. *Toutatis* + *-iko-*), *Toudopalandaigae* (MLM V.1: 411f.); Mess. proper names: *Taotinahiaihi* (gen.sg.), *Θeotor*, gen.sg. *Θeotoras* etc. (MLM 2: 174, 324); Illyrian queen *Τεύτα* [Polybius II.4.7, 6.9, 8.4, 8.7, 8.10, 9.1, 11.4, 11.16, 12.3] = *Teuta* [Pliny 34.6.24]; ‘Pelagian’ *Τευταμίδης* [Il. 2.843], i.e. ‘son of *Teutamos’, really used in Mac. *Τεύταμος* [Diodorus Siculus 18.59]; further Dac. *Tautomedes* in *Cod. Theod.* 15.1.13: *Tautomedi duci Daciae ripensis* (Detschew 1957: 495); Thracian woman’s name *Τιουτα*, *Τιουτη*, *Τουτα* (Plovdiv, Saladinovo, Varna resp.; Detschew 1957: 507) etc. (cf. e.g. EWAhd 2: 686; Beekes 1998: 461).

Related may also be Hitt. *tuzzi-* c. ‘army, military forces, military camp’¹¹, in spite of a strong effort to separate it from ‘Old European’ comparanda (cf. EDHIL: 908; Kloekhorst judges that the Hittite continuant of the *i*-stem **teuti-* should be attested as ***tuzzazzi-*). A hypothetical Anatolian cognate in Lycian B (= Milyan) *tuta-* was interpreted as ‘Gemeinde’ (Stoltenberg) or ‘Krieger’

¹¹ The same semantic difference between ‘people’ and ‘army’ appears in PGmc. **fulka-* > ONor. *folk* ‘army, crowd, people’; OE *folc* ‘Volk, Stamm; Menge, Schar; Heer’, E *folk*, OFris., OSax., OHG *folk*, MHG *volc* ‘multitude, people, infantry’, G *Volk* ‘people’ (Holthausen 1963[1934]: 111; Kluge 1999: 866). The form **fulka-*, directly preserved in the Langobardic gloss *fulc-free* ‘the highest degree of freedom for a former slave’ and East Germanic personal names as Visigothic *Fulgaredus*, Herulic *Φούλκαρις*, was adopted in CSlav. as **polkb* > OCS *plǫkb* ‘array; wedge’, CS *plǫkb* ‘crowd, people’, ORuss *polkb* / *plǫkb* / *plǫkb* / *polkb* ‘regiment, battle, campaign, people, crowd’, Russ. *polk* ‘regiment, crowd’, Ukr. *polk* ‘regiment’, Pol. *pułk*, arch. *pelk* ‘regiment’, USorb. *polk*, OCz. *plk*, Cz. *pluk* ‘group, regiment’, Slk. *pluk* ‘regiment’, SCR. *puk* ‘people, crowd’, Bulg. *plāk* / *pāl̩k* ‘id.’ (Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 121f.).

(Ševoroškin) – see Neumann (2007: 392f.), while Aixela, Bajun, Ivanov (1987: 173, 190) translated it as ‘army’.

4. TEUTONI / TEUTONES AND PIE **teu₂teh₂-*

From the same stem PIE **teu₂teh₂-* is derived the ethnonym *Teutoni* [Mela 3.3.32; Pliny, *NH* 4.99; Florus 1.38{3.3}], *Τεύτονες* [Plutarch, *Marius* 15, 18 & Plutarch, *Caesar* 18; Ptolemy 2.11.9], *Teutones* [Ammian 31.5.12] (see ACS 2: 1808–1820; Zimmer 2005: 368). It belongs to the first recorded West European ethnonyms, independently of its origin, Celtic or Germanic. Pliny in his *Naturalis Historia* [37.35–36/12/11] mediated the witness of Pytheas of Massalia from his voyage to the North realized c. 325 BCE:

... *Pytheas Gutonibus, Germaniae genti, accoli aestuarium oceani Metuonidis nomine spatium stadiorum sex milium; ab hoc diei navigatione abesse insulam Abalum; illo per ver fluctibus advehi et esse concreti maris purgamentum; incolas pro ligno ad ignem uti eo proximisque Teutonis vendere.*

Plini Secundi *Naturalis Historia*, ed. by K. F. T. Mayhoff, Lipsiae: Teubner 1906.

“... Pytheas says that the Gutones, a people of Germany, inhabit the shores of an æstuary of the Ocean called Metuonidis, their territory extending a distance of six thousand stadia; that, at one day’s sail from this territory, is the Isle of Abalus, upon the shores of which, amber is thrown up by the waves in spring, it being an excretion of the sea in a concrete form; as, also, that the inhabitants use this amber by way of fuel, and sell it to their neighbours, the Teutones.”

Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History*, translated by John Bostock, H. T. Riley, London: Taylor & Francis, 1855.

5. *TEUTONI & CIMBRI* = ‘KINSMEN’ OR ‘CHIEFTAINS OF TRIBES’?

If the preceding ideas are correct, both ethnonyms, *Cimbri* (**kumbr(ii)a-*?) and *Teutoni / Teutones* were formed from more or less synonymous designations of the same social unit, ‘tribe, people’. The ancient authors frequently quoted them together: *Teutonos Cimbrosque* [Caesar, *BG* 2.4.1], *Τευτόνων καὶ Κίμβρων* [Plutarch, *Marius* 11], etc.

5.1. One possibility is to suppose that it was one and the same tribe, known under two synonymous names, which were reinterpreted as the names of two different tribes. In this case it is necessary to explain the nasal extension in the name *Teutoni* / *Teutones*.

5.1.1. Scheel (1898: 578–595) saw here an adaptation of the primary Germanic ethnonyms to the Latin or Greek derivational models.

5.1.2. Schönfeld (1911: XXVf., 95f.) sharply criticized this solution and tried to explain *on-* as the result of the weak declension.

5.1.3. Schaffner (2015: 179–181) sees in the nasal extension in the Gmc. tribal names in **an-* m. / **-ōn-* f. the application of the Indo-European possessive suffix **-Hxon-* after levelling with ‘normal’ *n-*stems.

5.1.4.1. The nasal extension of the stem **teu̯to/ā-* has been identified in the name of an Illyrian queen *Teutana* from the 3rd cent. BCE [Florus, *Epitome* 1.21] in comparison with the unextended form Τεύτα [Polybius II.4.7, 6.9, 8.4, 8.7, 8.10, 9.1, 11.4, 11.16, 12.3], *Teuta* [Pliny 34.6.24] etc. (Krahe 1929: 113).

5.1.4.2. Better documented are these forms in Celtic:

Gaulish personal names (ACS 2: 1899f.; Delamarre 2007: 184; OPEL 4: 128):

*Cassia Toutona coniu*x from Lugdunum / Lyon, France [CIL XIII: 2014]

memori[ae] aeternae T[ou]tonius December qui vixit annos XIII from Lugdunum / Lyon, France [CIL XIII: 2287]

Q. Melius Toutonis f(i)lius from Arles, France [CIL XII: 852]

Dis Manib(us) Eutico Toutoni fil(io) from Langres / Adematunnum, France [L’Année épigraphique 1969/1970 (1972): 117, n. 427]

Inter Toutonos cahi from Greinberg by Miltenberg, Germany; c. 200 CE [CIL XIII: 6610]

Mascelio Touton[from Mainz–Kastel, Germany [CIL XIII: 7302].

Old Hispanic (especially from the area of Vettones) individual name:

Toutonus (MLH V.1, 411).

5.1.4.3. In Germanic there is even attested the appellative with the extension in **-an-* < Pre-PGerm. **-on-* (Feist 1939: 496f.; GED: 361; AnEW: 623; Holthausen 1963[1934]: 363):

Goth. *þiudans* ‘βασιλεύς’, i.e. ‘king’, OIcel. *þjóðann* ‘king, prince, leader’, OE *ðéoden* ‘king, lord; god’, OSax. *thiodan* ‘ruler, lord of the people’ < PGmc. **þeudānaz* < pre-PGerm. **teu̯tóno*.

5.2. Alternatively, in the pair *Teutoni* & *Cimbri* might be seen the Germanic syntagm **þeudānōz kumbri̯ōn* ‘chieftains of tribes / peoples’, more or less corresponding to the Gaulish tribal name *Bituriges* [Caesar, *BG* 1.18.6; 7.5.1 etc.; Livy 5.34.1; Pliny 4.108; Strabo 4.2.1 etc. – see ACS I: 434–441] which was formerly interpreted as ‘world’s kings’ (cf. Zeuss 1852: 14: “ita ut significet

nomen vetustum Bituriges aut semper aut mundi vel late dominantes, i. e. ‘potentes’”, but might more properly have meant ‘the King-of-the-world’s ones’ (if from Gaul. **Biturīgīo-*, an adjective of appurtenance, derived from the personal name **Bitu-rīg-*)¹² cf. OIr. *bith* ‘mundus’, and the discussion by Delamarre in DLG¹: 66; 32f., 127; DLG³: 76f.; 37f., 151f., including the parallel formations *Albio-rix*; *Dubno-rix* & *Dumno-rix*). Another case of perhaps analogous connection of two Germanic ethnonyms with the same first component can be identified in Τευτονόαροι [Ptolemy 2.11.9] = *Τευτονο-ούαροι (Schönfeld 1911: 224)?

6. ETYMOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF PGMC.

kumbariōn-*/kumburiōn-* and **peudō-*

6. The Germanic appellatives **kumbariōn-*/**kumburiōn-* and **peudō-*, if they represent the bases of the analyzed ethnonyms, should be etymologized in detail.

6.1. PGmc. **kumbariōn-*/**kumburiōn-* can be projected into pre-PGmc. *(*ǵ*)*mb^horiā-*/*(*ǵ*)*mb^hriā-*, while the reconstructed ethnonym PGmc. **kumbra-* or **kumbriia-* into pre-PGmc. *(*ǵ*)*mb^hro-* or *(*ǵ*)*mb^hriiō-*. If the suffix of appurtenance *-(*i*)*io-*/*-*iā-* is separated, there are several possibilities of segmentation:

6.1.1. Suffixal derivation: (i) *(*ǵ*)*m-r^o* with secondary **b^h*; (ii) *(*ǵ*)*mb^h-or-*/*-*ro-*.

A connection with the root PIE **ǵemb^h-* ‘to bite, make a bit’ (LIV²: 162f.) would be phonologically flawless. This root used to describe the ‘toothed’ or ‘comb-like’ coast, was already discussed in §2.9. There is still another theoretical possibility, based on PGmc. **kembōn-* > **kimbōn-* f. ‘crest’, which is the ablauted feminine *n*-stem pertaining to PGmc. **kamba-* ‘comb’ (EDPG: 287, 279; EWAhd 5: 360–362), namely the hairstyle. But as already mentioned above (§2.9), PIE **ǵmb^h-ró-* > PGmc. **kumbra* is semantically problematic, as it should have meant ‘biting’, while PIE **ǵemb^h-ro-* > PGmc. **kembra* > **kimbra-* would have been a rather exceptional formation.

PGmc. **kumbra* ‘biting’ might only make sense as an ethnonym in a formation PGmc. **kumbriia* ‘the biting one’, if it could be proven that there was a change in meaning towards ‘the aggressive ones’ *vel sim*. So far no such semantic shift could be found within Germanic, however.

But supposing a connection between PGmc. **kamba-* ‘comb’ and PGmc. **kumbra* might still have been felt, we want to quote Tacitus [*Germania* 38] on the importance of hair-styling for the *Suebi*:

¹² We thank Stefan Zimmer for turning our attention to this interpretation of *Bituriges*.

insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere: sic Suebi a ceteris Germanis, sic Sueborum ingenui a servis separantur. in aliis gentibus seu cognatione aliqua Sueborum seu, quod saepius accidit, imitatione, rarum et intra iuventae spatium: apud Suebos usque ad canitiam horrentes capilli retorquentur, ac saepe in ipso vertice religantur. principes et ornatiorem habent: ea cura formae, sed innoxia; neque enim ut ament amenturve, in altitudinem quandam et terrorem adituri bella compti, ut hostium oculis, ornantur.

“A national peculiarity with them is to twist their hair back, and fasten it in a knot. This distinguishes the Suebi from the other Germans, as it also does their own freeborn from their slaves. With other tribes, either from some connection with the Suevic race, or, as often happens, from imitation, the practice is an occasional one, and restricted to youth. The Suebi, till their heads are grey, affect the fashion of drawing back their unkempt locks, and often they are knotted on the very top of the head. The chiefs have a more elaborate style; so much do they study appearance, but in perfect innocence, not with any thoughts of love-making; but arranging their hair when they go to battle, to make themselves tall and terrible, they adorn themselves, so to speak, for the eyes of the foe”.

Cornelius Tacitus: *de Origine et Situ Germanorum Liber*. – *Opera Minora*, ed. H. Furneaux, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900.

Cornelius Tacitus: *Germany and its Tribes*. – *Complete Works of Tacitus*, translated by A. J. Church, W. J. Brodribb, New York: Random House, 1942.

As another example of the role of the hairstyle in the Germanic ethnonymy is the name of the Vandalic tribe *Hasdingi*, etymologizable with help of ONor. *haddr* ‘woman’s head-hair’, OE *heord* ‘hair’ (Schönfeld 1911: 129)

6.1.2. Compound: (iii) $*(\hat{g})\eta\text{-}b^{\text{h}}\text{or-/-}b^{\text{h}}\text{ro-}$; (iv) $*(\hat{g})\eta b^{\text{h}}\text{-}b^{\text{h}}\text{or-/-}b^{\text{h}}\text{ro-}$.

Already Laistner (1892: 31f.) offered to identify the first component with the IE root $*gem\text{-}$ ‘drücken, zusammenpressen; fassen’ (IEW: 368f.; LIV²: 186), cf. Gr. γέμω ‘to be full’, γέντο ‘he grasped’. In Germanic this root is continued in two variants, $*gem\text{-}$ and $*gemb^{\text{h}}\text{-}$: ONor. *kumla* ‘quetschen’, Norw. *kumla* ‘zusammenpressen, kneten; klumpen’, *kumsa* ‘Gemisch’ vs. OE *cimb(e)* ‘Verbindung, Fuge’, ONor. *kimbull* ‘Bündel’ (IEW: 368).

6.1.3. The suffixal derivation in *-r-* is not too typical among the Germanic ethnonyms (e.g. *Sugambri*, *Tungri*), and so we prefer the variant in 6.1.2, where the second component seems to be derived from the IE verb $*b^{\text{h}}\text{er-}$ ‘to carry, bear, bring’ (IEW: 128–132; LIV²: 76f.; cf. PGmc. $*beranan$ ‘to bear, carry; give birth’ [EDPG: 59]). An analogous use of the verb $*b^{\text{h}}\text{er-}$ can be shown e.g. in the compound $*oi\text{-}b^{\text{h}}\text{ró-}$ > PGmc. $*ai\text{b}ra\text{-}$ > OHG *eibar*, *eiver* ‘scharf, bitter; heftig, schrecklig’, OE *āfor* ‘vehement, hateful’ (EWAhd 2: 969f.; NIL: 16).

A compound consisting of the continuants of the IE roots *gem- + *ber-, PGmc. *kem(ḅ)-/*kum(ḅ)- + *ber-, allows us to propose several semantic interpretations: ‘bearing assembly’, ‘bearing union’, or ‘born in assembly’, ‘born in union’ *vel sim.*

6.2. PGmc. **peuḍa-*/**peuḍō-*, together with its Baltic, Italic and Celtic cognates, is derivable from Late PIE **teuḡo-*/**teuḡā-*, introduced above (§3.2.). If the continuants of **teuḡo-* were neuters, it seems natural to interpret the form **teuḡā-* < **teuḡeh₂-* as the pl.ntr. = collective. Probably the most exhaustive list of etymological attempts was compiled in EWAhd 2: 687f.

6.2.1. The most frequent etymology, repeated in most handbooks beginning with Fick (1890: 61), derives the word from the root PIE **teuḡh₂-* ‘schwellen, stark werden’ (IEW: 1080f.; LIV²: 639f.).

6.2.2. Beekes (1998: 461–465) rejected the derivation from the root PIE **teuḡh₂-* ‘schwellen, stark werden’ for both accentological¹³ and semantic reasons (unmotivated according to him) casting doubt upon the Indo-European origin of **teuḡā* in general and proposed its adoption from some hypothetical substratum, which was identified with the layer of ‘Old European’ hydronymy already by Hans Krahe. While Krahe had no doubts concerning the Indo-European affiliation of ‘Old European’ hydronyms, Beekes explicitly defined both these hydronyms and the lexeme **teuḡā* as non-Indo-European.

6.2.3. McCone (1987: 103, 111, 115f.) offered a new solution, based on the verb, which is continued in Lat. *tueor* / *tuor*, inf. *tuēri* & *tui* ‘to look at, watch over’, ppp. *tuītum* & *tūtum*, *contuēri* & *contui* ‘to look at, see’, with nominal derivatives as *tūtus* ‘safe, protected’, *tūtor* ‘guardian’, *tūtēla* ‘guardianship, protection’, *Tūtānus* ‘deity giving protection’, *Tūtīlīna* ‘goddess giving protection’. He derived **teuḡā* from the *aniḡ-*root **teuḡ-* and interpreted it as the collective *‘Dienerschaft [des Königs]’. It is possible to agree with this grammatical identification, as such a semantic motivation would more probably represent the feudal organisation of society at that time than at the time of the ‘Old European’ unity. In any case, McCone initiated the question of whether the root was *aniḡ* or *seḡ*. Kümmel (LIV²: 639) reconstructed the root-final laryngeal with regard to Latin *tūtus* ‘safe, protected’. De Vaan (EDLIL: 632f.) granted the explanation of *-ū-* from

¹³ Beekes (1998: 463) mentioned that in Baltic the loss of the laryngeal should be reflected as the circumflex intonation, i.e. **teuḡh₂teh₂* > Baltic **teūtā* and the diphthong *au* was incomprehensible. It seems necessary to bring to mind that there are really forms in Baltic with the expected circumflex, namely Lith. *taūtinti* ‘nationalen Charakter geben’, *taūsti* ‘seinem Volkstum abtrünnig werden’, *aptaūtėlis* ‘Zwerg’; Latv. dial. (Raipole) *taūta*, ‘kind, species; kin, people, nation’ (see above).

the diphthong *-eu- or *-ou- in a non-initial syllable. The high number of productive prefixes allows the acceptance of this solution as a real alternative.

6.2.4. Referring to Trier (1942: 239), de Vries (AnEW: 613) also rejected the 'strong'-etymology (§6.2.1.) and preferred the semantic starting-point based on the primary meaning 'Gemeinschaft'. In his lemma *þjóð* 'people' he alluded to ONor. *þýðr* 'kind, affectionate, affable', *þýða* 'friendship'. These forms are related to OE *geðiede* 'good, decent', OSax. *gi-thiudo* adv. 'in a seemly way', MDu. *ge-diede* 'obliging, benevolent' (**þeuđīa-*), besides the derived factitive verb attested in Goth. *þiupjan* 'to bless, pronounce good upon', ONor. *þýða* 'to win over, make friends with', OE *geđiedan* 'to join, connect, associate' (**þeuđīanan*). Naturally, these extensions in *-īa- cannot be the source of PGerm. **þeudō-*. There are more primary forms in Goth. *þiup* n. 'τὸ ἀγαθόν', i.e. 'the good' (**þeuþa-*), e.g. in *þiup taujan* 'to do good', besides the extended derivatives *þiupeins* 'goodness, generosity', *þiupeigs* 'good, just, perfect; blessed, praised' (Feist 1939: 498; GED: 362f.; EDPG: 539), and Runic OHG (i.e. Thuringian?) *þiup* (**þeuþi-*), appearing in the formulation *þiup:ida:x(x?)exxxxa:hahwar* 'Gutes, Ida! ... Hahwar.' This text was written on the amber perle found in a graveyard (Nordfriedhof) in Weimar. It is dated to AD 550 (Nedoma 2004: 313f.). The closest non-Germanic cognate can be found in OBret. *tut* 'good, favorable; ?magician', MBret. *astut* 'misérable, malheureux, chétif' < **estut* < **eks-teuto-*; cf. also MWelsh *Morgan(t) Tut* 'chief physician of Arthur's court' (Fleuriot 1964: 325; EDPG: 539).

This 'friendly'-etymology may be supported by etymologies of the other ethnonyms. One of the most frequent ethnonyms in Europe, *Veneti* etc. (see Krahe 1942: 137), has been projected into the protoform **uēnHetoī*, which has been derived from the verb **uēnH-* 'liebgewinnen' (IEW: 1146f.; LIV²: 682f.). The most convincing continuants appear again in the Celtic and Germanic languages:

Germanic **uēni-* 'friend' > ONor. *vinr*; OE, OFris. *wine*, OSax., OHG *wini* 'id.' (EDPG: 579).

Celtic **uēniā* > OIr. *fine* f. 'family'; OBret. *guen-ceil* gl. 'cognationem', *coguenou* gl. 'indigena', MBret. *gouen(n)*, Bret. *goenn* f. 'race, kind'; Lepontic *Uenia* (Fleuriot 1964: 112, 188; Lejeune 1971: 429; EDPC: 413). In the Gaulish onomasticon there are many proper names with the component **uēni-*, which can be interpreted as 'member of the clan', e.g. *Ueni-carus*, *Ueni-clutius*, *Ueni-lati*, *Ueni-marus* etc. Very interesting is the compound Ουενη-τοουτα [G-106]. This meaning is supported by the Gallo-Greek inscription from Vallauris [G-279] ουενηκοι μεδου 'ceux du clan pour Medos' (DLG³: 313). It is legitimate to ask, if there are any cognates to the Celto-Germanic isogloss **teuto-* 'good, friendly', naturally, besides the rather remote Lat. *tueor*. Neumann (apud HEG

T-466) identified it in the Hittite verb *tušk(iē/a)-zi* ‘to be happy, entertain (oneself), play’, *tuškari-* ‘happiness’, *tuškaratt-* and *duškatār / duškarann-* ‘id.’, *dušgarauuant-* ‘happy, glad’, if it is analyzed as containing the root **teu-* extended by the *ške/o-*-suffix. Kloekhorst (EDHIL: 901f.), who documented the quoted forms, expressed doubts about Neumann’s etymology, but without any counter-argument. On the other hand, Kloekhorst himself (EDHIL: 365) accepted the derivation of the Hittite verb *hušk/a-zi* ‘to wait for, linger’ from the root **h₂eu-* ‘to see’, plus the same *ške/o-*-suffix. The continuation of the root **teu-* without any suffixal extension was identified by Aixenval’d, Bajun, Ivanov (1987: 122) in the Hittite reduplicated verb *duddu-* ‘gnädig behandeln’. Let us mention that Georgiev (1966: 36) directly connected Hittite *duddu-* with *tuzzi-* ‘army’ etc. and Goth. *þiuda* ‘people’. Summing up, there is at our disposal the primary verb **teu-* ‘to be kind’, confirming the ‘friendly’-etymology of the term **teutā-*.

7. CONCLUSION

Both ethnonyms discussed here, *Teutoni* & *Cimbri*, are analyzed as purely Germanic formations. These names are formed from words of more or less the same meaning, ‘tribe’, and so they might refer to one and the same tribe. But the meaning ‘tribal chieftain’ of the nasal extension PGmc. **þeudana-*, which probably lies at the beginning of the ethnonym *Teutoni / Teutones*, could be a part of a syntagm consisting of both ethnonyms, **þeudanōz kumbrijōn* ‘chieftains of tribes’. This solution would also imply that in reality *Teutoni* & *Cimbri* represented only one tribe¹⁴ or tribal union, perhaps with a leading position among other tribes.

8. POSTSCRIPTUM

Morgenstierne (1942: 266) and Szemerényi (1962: 195, fn. 107) extended the comparanda to the following hypothetical Iranian counterparts: Persian *toda* ‘heap; a rick, stack; a hillock, tumulus; the butt or mark at which arrows are shot’, *tod* (for *toda*) ‘hill; top, summit; a heap; a camel’s bunch’ (Steingass 1892: 334) and Sogdian: Buddhist *twδ’k*, Christian *twdy*, Manichaean *twδyh*, ‘heap,

¹⁴ In 113 BCE in Noricum happened the first historically documented military conflict between the Romans led by Gnaeus Carbo and Germans, represented just by *Cimbri* [Strabo 5.1.8; Tacitus, *Germania* 37]. It must be regarded as rather improbable that the Romans were able to recognize different Germanic tribes from the first moment.

mass' (Gharib 1995: n. 9705). Accepting our 'friendly'-etymology of **teutā*, it seems impossible to join them. On the other hand, these Iranian forms could be related to the oronym in Young Avestan *Tuδaska*- 'Name eines Bergs oder Gebirgs' [Yt. 19.2 .. 4.] (Bartholomae 1904: 655).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The article originated with support of the Research Fund nr. 2817 at Masaryk University, Brno. We are grateful to John Bengtson for his correction of English. We would like to express our thanks to scholars who wrote us their comments, additions and critical remarks, namely Robert Nedoma and Stefan Zimmer. We remain responsible for all mistakes.

ABBREVIATIONS

acc. – accusative	Latv. – Latvian
Akk. – Akkadian	Lith. – Lithuanian
Alb. – Albanian	Mac. – Macedonian
Alph. Ugar. – Alphabetic Ugaritic	Marruc. – Marrucinian
Blr. – Belorussian	MBret. – Middle Breton
Bret. – Breton	MDu. – Middle Dutch
Bulg. – Bulgarian	Mess. – Messapic
Corn. – Cornish	MGr. – Middle Greek
CS – Church Slavonic	MHG – Middle High German
CSlav. – Common Slavic	MLG – Middle Low German
Cz. – Czech	MWelsh – Middle Welsh
Dac. – Dacian	NBret. – New Breton
Dan. – Danish	NFris. – North Frisian
Du. – Dutch	Norw. – Norwegian
E – English	OBret. – Old Breton
Faer. – Faeroese	OCS – Old Church Slavonic
G – German	OCz. – Old Czech
Gaul. – Gaulish	OE – Old English
gen. – genitive	OFris. – Old Frisian
Goth. – Gothic	OHG – Old High German
Gr. – Greek	OIcel. – Old Icelandic
Hebr. – Hebrew	OIr. – Old Irish
Hitt. – Hittite	OLF – Old Low Franconian
Hung. – Hungarian	OLith. – Old Lithuanian
Icel. – Icelandic	ONor. – Old Norse
inf. – infinitive	OPruss. – Old Prussian
Lat. – Latin	ORuss. – Old Russian

OSax. – Old Saxon	Serb. – Serbian
OSerb. – Old Serbian	sg. – singular
PGmc. – Proto-Germanic	Syll. Ugar. – Syllabic Ugaritic
Phoen. – Phoenician	Slk. – Slovak
PIE – Proto-Indo-European	Sln. – Slovenian
pl. – plural	SPic. – South Picenian
Pol. – Polish	Swed. – Swedish
ppp. – passive perfect participle	Ukr. – Ukrainian
PSl. – Proto-Slavic	Umb. – Umbrian
Rom. – Romanian	USorb. – Upper Sorbian
Russ. – Russian	Ven. – Venetic
SCr. – Serbo-Croatian	

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Kimbrai ir teutonai

SANTRAUKA

Straipsnyje nagrinėjami du germanų etnonimai *kimbrai* (*Cimbri*) ir *teutonai* (*Teutoni*), kurie senuosiuose šaltiniuose dažnai vartojami kartu. Išsamiai aptarus jau esamas etimologijas, pateikiamas naujas sprendimas – sintagma **þeudanōz kumbrijōn* interpretuotina kaip „genčių vadai“. Tokiu atveju abu etnonimai būtų susiję su ta pačia gentimi arba genčių sąjunga.

Įteikta 2020 m. spalio 4 d.

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