The Slavic ‘guest’ and some of his Indo-European colleagues

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PSl. *gost-ĭ- (m.)

OCS, ORuss. gostь, Bulg. gost, B/C/S gost, Gen. gõsta, Slov. gõst, Gen. gósta, P gość, Č. host, USorb. hósć, Ukr. hist, etc.

UNEQUIVOCAL COGNATES

• Goth. gasts, OHG gast, ON gestr, OE giest, etc. ‘stranger, guest’, ‘enemy’

• Lat. hostis (m., f.) originally ‘stranger’, later ‘hostile stranger’, ‘enemy’
  (Walde/Hofmann, 661-662)
1. ‘someone standing aside’

< PIE *gʰo-sth₂-i-
<< *gʰe/o- 'this'
+ *st(e)h₂- 'stand'

Heidermanns 2002, 190

2. ‘someone affiliated by meal’

< PIE *gʰos-t-i-
to √*gʰes- 'eat, devour'

Eichner 2002, 155; NIL 173, Fn. 2
COMMENTS ON MORPHOLOGY OF BOTH PROPOSALS

1. < PIE \(^*g^h o-sth_2-i\-<< ^*g^h e/o\ , this\‘ + ^*st(e)h_2\ , stand\‘

Is rejected by a majority of scholars mainly since this appears to be an unparalleled (mechanic) construction of an otherwise unattested morphological pattern. In PIE, pronominal stems are never found as the first member of a verbal governing compound.

2. < PIE \(^*g^h os-t-i\- as an -i-suffixed possessive adj. ‘pertinent to a meal’ to a hypothetic -t- suffixed acrostatic abstract noun ‘meal’ of the root \(^*g^h es\- ‘eat, devour’, attested only in IIr. with reference to humans and animals.

‘guests’ = ‘those belonging to a meal’

The o-grade of the root could theoretically be obtained from a causative, or a substantivization product with a thematic suffix, but in IIr. there’re no such formations. Few derivatives of the root show a zero-grade ti-abstract stem, as in compounds, Ved. -gdhi-, (EWAIa I, 514), and a lengthened grade cf. Ved. ghāsá-/ghāsi- m. ‘feed’.
EARLIEST OCS ATTESTATIONS

• gosti(нь)nica f. (Ass, Supr, ViConst, HomGr) for Gr. πανδοχεῖον / Lat. hospitium (SJS I, 427)

• gostъnikъ (Sav L 10,35), gostинъникou (Mar, Ostr), gostinnikou (Zogr, Ass L 10,35) ‘guesthouse proprietor’

Earliest occurrence of “guests”:

○ The “Treaty of Great Prince Igor with the Greeks” (Laur 15v-16r)
○ Texts of the oldest ESL. legal code „Russkaja Pravda“ since the 2nd redaction
○ Later (East)CS, as Supr (11th c.), ViConst (in the 15th c. copy) HomGr (13th c.)
Договорь Б. Княза Игора съ Греками 945 г.

Мы отъ рода русьского съ ли и гости: Ивов, съ Игорь велика княз русского, и обильи съ ли: Вуй-фт Игнославы сына Игорева, Искуссвер Ольги кня-гии, Слуди Игорь нотия Игорева, Ульб Владислави, Канимарь Прздславны, Шихберги Свантайре жены Ульбы, Прастын Туровь, Либь Арь-астовь, Гримь Сырьковь, Прастын Акунь, нотия Игорева, Карть Студьковь, Каршень, Туровь, Егри Евлисковь, Воист Вонк-ковь, Истръ Амундовъ, Прастын Бернов, Ястюгь Гу-наревь, Ширидь Аддань, Коль Клековь, Стеги Етоновь, Сырья, Алаардь Гудовь, Фруди Труадовь, Мутурь Устиньь, кушь Адуны, Адубь, Игтиладь, Олбу, Фрутань, Гомьль, Куци, Еминь, Турыбидь, Фурстень, Бруны, Роалдь, Гунастрь, Фрастын, Игельдь, Турьбернь, Монь, Руалдь, Свънь, Стирь, Аддань, Тирей, Аспубрань, Вузльь, Сынь, Коробичь, послань отъ Игорь, велика князь русского, и отъ ныся князь, и оть всъх людей руський земля.
OCS, ORuss. gostь

• ORuss. prigostiti ‘make a profit’, ‘make a bargain’ ("Russkaja Pravda")
• Late OCS gostiti (Supr) ~ Gr. ξενίζω ‘host, entertain’
• ORuss. gostínoe (adj. n.) a quasi-terminus technicus for 'customs duties'

• „vělikъ gostinecъ“ — ‘major trade route’ (not “road for guests")
  (Supr 323, 23; 537, 20 and "Russkaja Pravda")
• gastynec dial. Ukr., Bel. ‘main road’; ESL. dial. ‘souvenir brought from elsewhere’
• ORuss. pogostь (m.)
  originally ‘trading venue’ → ‘place for the church’ → ‘church community / parish’
  cf. SSL. trg as a traffic area ← ‘trade’ cf. Lith. tuũgus, Alb. trege ,marketplace`

LIT: Ključevskij 1956, 128; Ključevskij 1959, 252-253; Juškov 1935; SJS I, 428; SCSRJa 1847, 284.
**HOSTIS AND THE RELATED WORDS IN LAT.**

- *hostis* ‘stranger’, later narrowing to ‘hostile stranger’, ‘enemy’

  semantic development in the light of ‘receiving’ and ‘paying back’, a reciprocal performance / attainment of ‘exchange’ as payment or warranty service

- *hostīre* , to compensate, requite‘

- *hostia* , substitutive sacrificial victim‘

- *hostus* ‘the yield of olive from a single pressing’ ~ OHitt. *kāššaš* , in exchange for‘

  in the context of animal sacrifice

< *Gʰe/os-*, to take, give in exchange‘

+ PIE *ʰges(o)r-*, ‘Hand‘ (per Eichner, s.b.)

GERMANIC CONTINUANTS AND THEIR SEMANTICS

Both semantic developments: (1) ‘stranger’ and (2) ‘hostile stranger’ → ‘enemy’, as in Lat.

1) Heroic epos: a certain code of hospitable conduct (≠ medieval hospitium)

BUT: per “Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde”
the sources suggest no general ’obligation of protection‘ towards those appealing for hospitality.

2) Many occurrences, have an explicit hostile connotation, e.g.:
   In OE „Beowulf“:
   o gist/gyst (163v6:1524, 179r20:2230, 161v15:1443),
   o in composition with the first member gryre- ‘gruesome’
   o feðe-gestum clearly a ’foot soldier‘ (173r18:1979, etc.)

ON gestr is by no means an invited guest

SOME SOCIO-ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSIGHTS

• What may be understood under ‘individual tourism’ in antiquity, particularly in the barbarian European world?

• What kind of non-militant intercultural communication is reflected in the earliest written sources?

− Group/community affiliation → rights on support and protection
− Antithesis own vs. foreign (or inside-outside-relation)
  o most important in social anthropology
  o significantly molds the attitudinal and behavioral patterns
− Safe mobility needed an intelligible goal and a warranty
− Historical records speak for primarily the economic driving force of travel
− Exchange is basic to all socio-economical and sociopolitical spheres:
  o the most basic form of interaction and trade,
  o compensation for sustenance, housing or protection while on journey,
  o a suitable gift ensures successful diplomacy

LIT: Jancke 2013, 446f, Lévi-Strauss 1970; Scheidler 1852, 325-339.
DIPLOMACY OF RECIPROCITY

ON Hávamál (Part of Elder Edda)

4 (3-4)

…

góðs um oðis, ef sér geta mætti,
orðz oc endrþǫgo.

… marks of good will, fair fame if ’tis won, and welcome once and again (Bray 1908, 62-63)

Mit guter Begegnung erlangt man vom Gaste Wort und Wiedervergeltung (Simrock 1876, 37)


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DIPLOMACY OF RECIPROCITY

ON Hávamál (Part of Elder Edda)

41 [40] (1-4)

With raiment and arms
shall friends gladden each other,
so has one proved onself;
For friends last longest, if fate be fair,
Who give and give again. (Bray 1908, 72-73)

Freunde sollen mit Waffen und Gewändern sich erfreun,
Den schönsten, die sie besitzen:
Gab und Gegengabe begründet Freundschaft,
Wenn sonst nichts entgegen steht. (Simrock 61876, 42)

LIT: Neckel/Kuhn 51983, Crawford 2019, Bray 1908, 72-73  Simrock 61876, 42.
OTHER TRACES IN GERMANIC NORTH EAST

A form of obligatory „exchanges“ is reflected in tribute payments including hostages on the part of the Baltic and Finno-Ugrian population as a common practice to avoid severe lootings by the Scandinavian Germanic clans, controlling the East Baltic region.

Cf. also Latv. pagasts (a Slavic loan) ‘gathering of peasants for the delivery of taxes’.

GREEK

• Gr. ξένος Dor. ξένφος, Myc. ke-se-nu-wo- , guest‘/‘host‘ (reversible!) foreign person; mercenary’

< *ξένFος < *Gʰs-én-wo- of √ *Gʰe/os , to take, give in exchange’

DERIVATIVES IN PARALLEL CONTEXTS

• ξενίς, (-ίδος) (Delph. Π) ‘road leading into foreign countries’ vs. OCS gostиньсъ
• τὰ ξένια (substantivized adj. pl.) (Hom.) , guest souvenirs‘ = Myc. ke-se-nu-wi-ja (about textiles or oil) vs. OCS gostиньсъ
e = OCS gostиньская
• ξενίδιον (n.) ‘small hostel‘

vs. OCS gostinьnica

LIT: Beekes, EDL „ξένος“, Frisk 1972, 333-334; Chantraine 1980, 764
ALBANIAN

húaj ‘foreign’ occurs exclusively with a prepended article i

Demiraj (1997, 204) compares it to
  o Formation of the possessive pronouns: i júaj (2pl.m./f.) of ju ‘you’ (2pl.)
  o Formation of the possessive genitive, e.g. fund ‘end’ vs. i fundit ‘of the end’

< *ks-é/ón-jo- < PIE *Gʰs-ó-Hn(H)- vel. sim (with the possessive (Hoffmann)-suffix) ‘endowed with Gʰs’.

If this etymology is true, Alb. húa, huá, uhá f. ‘loan, surety’ would also belong here.

Cf. Celt. and Baltic Finn. borrowings from the Germ. derivatives of the i-infixed root allomorph:
  • OIr. gell (n./m.), Ir. giall explicitly ‘pledge, surety’
  • Eston. kihl ‘pledge, stake, bride gift’, Livon. kí’l ‘pledge, engagement gift’

FURTHER COGNATES AMONG I-INFIXED ROOT DERIVATIVES

*i*-infixed root variant PIE *Gʰeys-:

- Langob. (*Edictus Hrôtharit 172*) gîsel / gîsil, ‘gift recipient’, ‘surety, witness’ cognate to:
  - OHG gîsal ‘hostage’ (9th c.), ON. gîsl, OE. gîsel, m.
  - OIr. gîall, MCorn. gwystl, OCorn. guistel ‘hostage’ on the basis of PIE *Gʰeys-(t)-lo-
    parallel to a zero-grade derivative of the root *Gʰis- in
  - OIr. gell, n./m., Ir. giall ‘pledge, surety’ (in legal sources)

DIL (III, 61) notes: „In Laws of the pledge of some valuable belonging, given as earnest of
payment from debtor to creditor whofasts on him."

The current alternative etymological explanation of Celt. and Germ. as from the root
meaning ‘to wish’ is per general consensus an emergency solution.

LIT: Ackermann 2016 [2020]; Kylstra 1996, 88-89 with lit.; Meyer 1877, 28; Bruckner (1895, 206); EWAhd (IV, 382);
DIL (III, 61).
A REVERSIBLE PAIR: 'HOST' AND 'GUEST' IN CROSS SURVEY

• Gr. ξένομαι (in many dialects) can denote both:
  ‘to treat / host someone as guest’ AND ‘be treated /accommodated as a guest’

• Gr. ξένος: both meanings already by Homer and visible in later Bible translations:
  ~ Goth. Gasts ‘guest’ (Mt. 25,43) / waírdus ‘host’ (Rom. 16,23)

• OHG gast renders once ‘foreign’, the other time Lat. hospes in its original word-
  formational meaning ‘host’ (< *ghost(i)-poti- ‘guest-master’ cf. Ved. átithi-pati-)

• Lat. hospes once ‘host’, the other time ‘guest’, Paelign. hospus is just ‘foreign’

• OCS gostiti – still denotes the giving hypostasis ~ ModRuss. ‘stay as a guest’

GUESTS AND GUEST ADMINISTRATORS
AS A SOCIAL STRATUM IN GERMANIC AND SLAVIC COMMUNITIES

• ORuss. gostь (16th c.) and Langob. gastald(o) (= OBav. castaldiус)
  had similar functions and qualifications for the nomination:
  both offices held wealthy subjects of the prince/the king, who obtained responsibility for
  the financial, i.a. tax and fine administration

• Langob. gastald(o) (Edictus Hrôtharit, 643 AD)
  A backformation of the verbal governing compound *gastaldan < *gast-waldan
  ‘acquisition-manage’ with *waldan ‘control, dispose of’
  cf. OSax. waldan, OHG waltan ‘control, govern’

  the loss of the initial w- in composition is regular,
  cf. Langob. PNs in -(o)ald < wald (in Bruckner 1895)

  parallel to Sl. vlad- / ESL. volod- in compound PNs, like Vladi-mirъ or Vladi-slavъ
GUESTS AND GUEST ADMINISTRATORS AS A SOCIAL STRATUM IN GERMANIC AND SLAVIC COMMUNITIES

- **ORuss. gosti** (historically speaking wholesalers, whose wealth was accumulated through trade with foreign countries over generations) in the 16th c. are also:
  - financial administrators of the prince
  - nominated for a certain period of time
  - whose travelling experience was of use for the purpose of tax revenues in distant *pogosts*.

- ? A farther parallel to **ON gestir** (10th/11th c.)
  - part of the king’s retinue,
  - came from foreign clans
  - responsible for various tasks in the name of the king, related to travelling

MORPHOLOGY

< *ǵhos-t-i-

(1.) As a substantivized possessive i-suffixed Adj. of
• -t-abstract noun *ǵhos-t- „exchange“ or
• -to- adjective as in Lat. hostus “substitute”
  (Cf. praenomen hostus as quasi “substitute child”
  and possibly in OHitt. kāššaš “in exchange for, as a substitute for” (Eichner o.c.)

The corresponding formation in Sl. is traceable to ORuss. po-gostъ,
orig. ‘a barter trade venue‘

(2.) Alternatively the PIE proto-form can be an endocentric masc. i-derivative of a
thematic adjective (per Vine 2006, 151) whereas according to Nussbaum (2004) the
derivational semantics would be that of “one, that is X”.
PHONOLOGICAL ISSUES

If PIE r-stem *\( \hat{g}h\)és-ōr/r ‘hand’ to \( \sqrt{*G^h}\)es- ‘give and take in exchange’ belongs here
→ Sl. satem-form with the initial *\( \hat{g}h \) were źostь

Cf.:
Lith. žãstas ‘upper arm’, Žem. ‘palm’
Ved. hásta-< *\( \hat{g}h\)óstо-
O/YAv. zásta-
OPers. dasta

BUT:
Sl. word family around the “one involved in barter-trade” is attested exclusively in the centum-form i.e. with the reflex of the non palatal media [aspirata].

Is this a reason for the separation either of the word for “hand”
or of all Sl. continuants of the root?
PHONOLOGICAL ISSUES

30-40 lexemes of Sl. inherited lexicon:

- show divergent reflex of the PIE palatovelar, as what would be expected
- have no direct source of a hypothetical borrowing from a centum-language

E.g.

PSl. *gọsǐ ‘goose’ < *gʰans- vs. Lith. žąsis, Ved. hamsā-
PSl. *bęrgū ‘shore, river-bank’ < *bʰergʰ-o- vs. YAv. bərəz- ‘tall, high’, etc.

Cf. In detail Shevelov (1964)

LIT: ALEW 747; Shevelov (1964, 141-145)
BORROWING?

A complete borrowing from Germ. is generally not assumed:

Cf. Kiparsky 1934, 68; Pronk-Tiethoff 2013 has no mention; Vasmer I 300; Derksen EDSIL „*gôstъ“, a.o.

TWO SEEMING FACTORS IN FAVOR OF A BORROWING:

• Frozen ablaut of the root → but it is so in other IE continuants, as well, hence old

• The unexpected centum-continuant of PIE ĝʰ → but consider the previous folio
FACTORS AGAINST

• M. Vasmer, V. Kiparsky and others underscores the very ancient pattern of inflexion and word formation, generally not found in the layer of Germ. loan words

• If Germanic borrowing is assumed, the NGerm. root vowel reflex would have been more expectable, whereas the EGerm. reflex (e.g. Gothic) is difficult to account for, since we have no evidence for any kind of interaction from supposedly 4th c. AD. Presumably:
  o Slavs were not that developed to be involved in hostage exchanges with the Goths
  o The Goths are not famous for their intensive and prevailing trading activities in the East, and Goth. has no such meaning attested.

• A later borrowing would mean that Varangian (transit-) travelers were occupied in Garða-riki* exclusively with trade, as this meaning is in ESl. clearly the original. However, as well known, the relations of Varangians to the Slavic population went well beyond trade.

*Garða-riki lit. ‘Fort-land’, a Scandinavian collective name for the Sl. fortified settlements along the waterways
SOME MORE EVIDENCE

• Sl. rather maintained the centum-form (PSl. *gost-ǐ) of the inherited lexeme due to the intensive contact with the Germ. precisely in a word realized in the intercultural socio-economic discourse.

• Arabic authors, e.g., Ibn Khordadbeh in the 9th c. in the “Book of Ways and Lands”, couldn’t make difference between separate groups of “guests” from Rus’, either Germanic or Slavic speaking, coming to Bagdad from the North.

• Ethnic diversity and the high percentage of NGerm. travelers
  Cf. the names of gostie and sъly: ‘merchants’ und ‘envoys’ in the diplomatic mission of Great Prince Igor to Byzantines (“Treaty of Great Prince Igor with the Greeks”, 945 AD):

  *Sfirьka* beside *Alvardъ* and *Frudi*, or followed by *Egri, Roaldъ, Rualdъ*, etc.

LIT: Barbier de Meynard 1865, Welichanova 1986: Jireček 1880.
Major Varangian trade routes, till the 11th c.
CONCLUSIONS

• There is no need to explain only a part of the widely scattered IE evidence of the inherited PIE root.

• The Sl. and Germ. material (as shown) perfectly fits the analysis argued for Lat.

• The Sl. centum-continuant takes its place among several dozen others and is well accountable due to the clearly intercultural context of its employment, precisely with the Germanic speaking counterparts.

• PSl. *gos-t-ǐ as the ‘one involved in exchange’ as a mercenary, or a trader reflects the reality of peaceful relations at the time of the development of Sl. independently from Balt. (which lacks the form) compatible with all derivatives attested in Sl. as well as parallel cases in Germ., Gr., Alb., Celt. and several borrowings outside the IE family.
The distant relation of the ‘guest’ as the ‘one involved in exchange’ (→ ‘exchange, i.e. barter dealer’ → ‘dealer’ generally) to the PIE r-stem ą̞hēs-(o)r ‘hand’ has a remarkable parallel in German Handel (since 13th c.)
Identical semantic extension obviously recurred, starting from an originally differently motivated lexeme (OHG hant ,hand‘ < *handu as ,grasper‘) via the verb handeln.

S. Neri apud EWAhd IV, 99 suggested to connect Germ. ‘Gast’ to *ą̞hēs ,Hand‘ as “den in der Hand – also im Schutz – befindlichen” – “someone who is in one’s hand, i.e. under protection”.

But

- The word for ‘hand’ to ą̞hēs occurs solely as a r-derivative and is not visible elsewhere;
- Such motivation is totally missing in any other IE derivative, or an idiomatic expression with a positive connotation;
- No legal text (either Germ., Celt., or Sl.) speaks of ,protection‘, whereas the focus rather lies on the liability of a hospes towards the settlement community for his guest;
- The semantics of ,protection‘ would also make it difficult to account for the development of the negative connotation in Lat. and Germ.

LIT: Kluge/Sebold 2015, „Handel“, „Hand“
Николай Рерих. «Заморские гости». 1901. Государственная Третьяковская галерея, Москва

https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=21509654
### Abbreviated Languages and Dialects

- **Alb.** – Albanian
- **B/C/S** – Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian
- **Balt.** – Baltic
- **Baltic Finn.** – Baltic Finnish
- **Bel.** – Belarussian
- **Bulg.** – Bulgarian
- **Celt.** – Celtic
- **Č.** – Czech
- **Dor.** – Doric
- **ESl.** – East Slavic
- **(East)CS** – East Church Slavic
- **Eston.** – Estonian
- **Germ.** – Germanic
- **Goth.** – Gothic
- **Gr.** – Greek
- **IE** – Indo-European
- **IIr.** – Indo-Iranian
- **Ir.** – Irish
- **Langob.** – Langobardian
- **Lat.** – Latin
- **Lith.** – Lithuanian
- **Livon.** – Livonian
- **ModRuss.** – Modern Russian
- **Myc.** – Mycenaean
- **NGerm.** – North Germanic
- **OAv.** – Old Avestan
- **OBaw.** – Old Bavarian
- **OCS** – Old Church Slavic
- **OE** – Old English
- **OHG** – Old High German
- **OHitt.** – Old Hittite
- **OIr.** – Old Irish
- **ON** – Old Norse
- **OPers.** – Old Persian
- **ORuss.** – Old Russian
- **OSax.** – Old Saxon
- **P** – Polish
- **Paelign.** – Paelignian
- **PIE** – Proto-Indo-European
- **PSI.** – Proto-Slavic
- **Slov.** – Slovene
- **SSI.** – South-Slavic
- **USorb.** – Upper-Sorbian
- **Ukr.** – Ukrainian
- **Ved.** – Vedic
- **YAv.** – Young Avestan
MANUSCRIPT ABBREVIATIONS

Ass – Codex Assemanianus,
HomGr – Homiliae St Gregori Magni
Laur – Laurentius Chronicle
Mar – Codex Marianus
Ostr – Ostromir Gospel
Sav – Savina Kniga
Supr – Codex Suprasliensis
Zogr – Codex Zographensis
ViConst – Vita Constantini


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