

## ON MOST SPECIFIC DENOMINATIONS FOR *RYE* IN DIALECTS OF LANGUAGES IN EUROPE\*

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Cereals are a main necessity for man's living. Cereal plants of which they are produced are important for the everyday life and for the economic activity in the first place because of the grain. The bread, which is the staple and most important food, is made of grain.

The saying "*Panem et circenses*", whose meaning is "*Bread* < i.e. food > *and circuses* <for the people>", has been known already from the Latin language.

In the modern Albanian language, for example, the word *bread* is mentioned with second meaning 'the food we eat for breakfast, lunch and supper; meal' (FShS 1984: 117). The expression *ha bukë* – '*I eat bread*' is used with the meaning 'I have my meals; I eat', and the question "*When will we eat?*" in the traditional speech goes "*Kur do të hamë bukë?*". This is so because in the traditional everyday life and in the recent past the bread was not only the main, but often the only food.

In the traditional everyday life of the Bulgarian person, the *bread* is also perceived as a main value of life, which is seen in the proverb *No one is bigger than the bread*. This maxim of life is also reflected in examples from the fiction – cf. in the poetry:

„Работиме много,	„We work hard,
работим от сутрин до здрач.	<i>we work from morning till dusk.</i>
Но хлеба е малко.	<i>But the <b>bread</b> is scarce.</i>
Но хлеба не стига, деца.	<i>But the <b>bread</b> is not enough, kids.</i>
И вашите лица	<i>And your faces</i>
са сгърчени вече от плач.	<i>are already convulsed with crying.</i>
...	...
И в тях е стаен	<i>And fierce horror</i>
ужас свиреп:	<i>is hidden in them:</i>
Хлеб!	<i><b>Bread!</b></i>
Хлеб!"	<i><b>Bread!</b></i>
Nikola Vaptsarov "Do not be afraid, children".	

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\* I would like to thank colleagues Sirka Saarinen and Stamatis Beis by the international team of ALE, who have given me important instructions for working with the rare names of rye in Hungarian and in Greek languages.

Besides the grain from which the most important part of the food is produced, necessary for the man are also the green parts of the cereal plants, which are used in the feeding and breeding of animals – cf. the straw, as well as for the production of various objects of the everyday life, including for ornaments – cf. hand baskets, big baskets, ornamental objects and garlands, etc.

*Rye* (*Secale cereale*), which belongs to the grasses family (*Poaceae*, *Gramineae*), is one of the main types of cereal plants. It developed uncultivated in the nature of the Middle East – approximately in the territory of modern central and eastern Turkey and its belonging areas. In the past, a number of ancient civilizations, among which, for example, the Trojan kingdom, were prospering here.

Archaeological evidence of the presence of *rye* in the household, and, therefore, of its cultivation in the economy, were found in Neolithic settlements in Asia Minor – cf., for example, in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic settlement Çatalhöyük in Anatolia (present-day Turkey), which existed approximately from 7,500 to 5,700 BC.

Traces of this cereal crop are not found in archaeological excavations in central Europe until the Bronze Age (1800–1500 BC). It is possible that it spread west from Asia Minor during transport of wheat as a minor admixture in it.

The first written mention of the *rye* was noted in works of Pliny the Elder. He was dismissive of this cereal crop, writing that it is a very poor food and only serves to avert starvation. In his opinion, the *rye* had to be mixed with *spelt* to mitigate its bitter taste, and even then is most unpleasant to the stomach.

To the negative evaluations of the qualities of rye as food in antiquity, we also have to add the fact that during its sowing it could be infected by the fungus *Claviceps purpurea* (Fries) Tulasne from the *Ascomycota* division, called *ergot*. As a result of this, it may acquire hallucinogenic influence. Although the disease also develops in other cereal plants, it may be supposed that the ideas of the inferior nutritive and gustatory qualities, inherited from the antiquity, as well as the fact that it is used by the poorer circles of the population are the reason for the spread of legends according to which rye is food of magicians and witches. In the Middle Ages, all similar phenomena were ardently stigmatized and severely persecuted.

In connection with the data about the areas in which *rye* was found initially uncultivated and later grown as a cultivated plant, it is worth paying attention in the first place to the lexeme *βπιζα*. According to the material of *Atlas Linguarum Europae* (ALE) – this remarkable linguistic geography project that allows to trace back denominations of main realia and notions from the everyday life of the population in Europe, *βπιζα* is the main word denominating the plant *Secale cereale* ‘rye’ in most of the northern Greek dialects. It was inherited from the lexis of the peoples inhabiting the Balkan Peninsula in antiquity. According to the works of Galen, the word *βπιζα* means ‘spelt, rye’ – a plant that is found in the ancient regions Thrace and Macedonia.

In his work “The Thracian Language”, Vl. Georgiev (Георгиев 1957: 55, 56) shows *βρίζα* neut. ‘a kind of cereal plant, spelt, rye’, which he compares with *ὀρίνδης* ( *ἄρτος* ) rice (for bread) ... *ὄρρυζον* (-v- instead of -ι-) ‘rice’ from Iranian *\*wri(n)g’h-* (Indo-European *g’h* > Iranian, Thracian *ḍ, z*). In his later studies, he shows *βρίζα* as one of the most sure Thracian words cognate to ancient Indian *vr̥hi-* ‘rice’, also mentioning in connection with them the word *βρ(ο)ῦτος* ‘(barley) beer’ = Anglo-Saxon *Broð* ‘soup’, from Indo-European *\*b<sup>h</sup>ru-to-* (Георгиев 1977: 22, 103, 168). The word *βρίζα* exists even to this day in the Greek language, being shown not only in dialectological studies, but in traditional bilingual dictionaries (ЕА 1957: 127).

Vl. Georgiev also reveals the presence of the word in Bulgarian dialects where it, in his opinion, has been inherited from the Thracian language – cf. dial. *брица* ‘a kind of spring plant’ = Thracian *βρίζα* ‘a kind of cereal plant, spelt, rye’ (Георгиев 1957: 65).

According to the Archive of the Bulgarian Dialect Dictionary, the word *брица* ‘a kind of spring wheat’ is found in Kyustendil Region (see also БЕР: Т. 1, 1971: 79) – cf.: *Спрямо другите села тука посяват повече ниви с лемец и брица (тѣй наричат пролетната пшеница)* – the village of Gorni Koriten, Kyustendil Region; *Че ми чѹваи дѣвет воденѹци, што ми мѣља брица и пченѹца* – the village of Krlev Dol, Pernik Region. In Breznik Region, the same word is also used with the meaning of ‘any kind of wheat’: *Рѹитѹ узрѣ, брицата оште нѣ е*. In Radomir Region and Sofia Region, it is noted with the meaning of ‘a kind of spring hard wheat’, which is close to the description of the meaning in Samokov Region ‘a kind of wheat with awn on the ears’. According to the noted in the Archive about the village of Zagazhene = Dobravitsa, the Municipality of Svoge, Sofia Region, here the lexeme *брица* is used as an adjective with the meaning of ‘pure, without admixtures – for wheat or rye, i.e. only wheat or only rye’. The information of H. and K. Škorpil shows that in antiquity there was a Thracian settlement here. In Breznik Region, a use that is similar to that noted in Sofia Region: *Посейѹ брицѹ пченѹцѹ* – the village of Brusnik, is found.

In accordance with Vl. Georgiev, D. Detschew also shows Indo-European *\*bhrēi-*, which he relates to forms shown by other scholars, such as *\*wruġ’ja-*, neut., cognate to Indo-European *\*rghio-* rye (Detschew 1957: 87).

From the point of view of the opportunities that the linguistic geography affords, as well as of the range of the settlements in the network of the ALE, it is worth mentioning here the ideas of the two scholars, according to whom the Thracian language has emerged on the basis of mixing an autochthonous Etruscan or Etruscoid language with Iranian (Detschew 1957: 56); one linguistic union comprised Thracian, Daco-Moesian, Phrygian, Macedonian, Illyrian and Greek, like the later Balkan Linguistic League// Balkan Linguistic Union (Георгиев 1977: 22). The presence of the lexeme *брица* in Bulgarian dialects confirms this idea. The relation between the Slavic lexeme *rye* – *rəž*, most wide-spread in Bulgaria

and recorded in the material of ALE, and the Thracian *βπιζα* is assessed as uncertain (cf. БЕР: Т. 6, 2002: 364). Nevertheless, in my opinion, also when examining the parallels between the lexemes *rəž* and *βπιζα*, one should have in mind that, in terms of location, the northern Greek Ionian dialects, in which it is distributed, are located in the immediate vicinity of the archaic Bulgarian dialects from the territory of Northern Greece. As regards the closeness of the Slavic *rəž* and *roggen*, *rye*, etc. distributed in Germanic languages, *r'ykkis* + *rukis*+, etc. in Finnish languages, *rug'ī.s* + *rugy̥s*+, etc. in Baltic languages – denominations reflected in the material of ALE, then they are related for sure – cf. in Фасмер *рожь* – related to Lithuanian *rugy̥s*, ancient Prussian *rugis*, ancient Icelandic *rugr*, Old Saxon *roggo*, Anglo-Saxon *Rugas*, etc., and also in Komi *rud'žeg*, Udmurt (votyak) *žžek* (Фасмер 1971: 493–494). From the Slavic languages, the denomination *rəž* > *r'ož* + *roz*s+, etc. was also borrowed in Hungarian, as well as in a number of languages in Caucasus – cf. *rož'* + *rož*+ Chechen, *rudž'eg* + *rudž'ög*+ Komi-Zyrian ?; *yr'Aš* + *yraš*+ Tatar; *dž'eg* + *žeg*+ in Yodzyak languages in the vicinity of Perm. Direct denominations of rye also represents probably the word in Turkish *tšavd'ar* + *čavdar* +. In this way, on the map of dialects in Europe, one for sure genetically related ancient Balkan-Slavic areal, as well as one Slavo-Balto-Germanic areal, very close to it, are delineated.

Out of the languages that have been present in the Old continent since the pre-Christian age, a different lexeme has been noted in Romance languages. In them, the main denomination of rye is *seigle*. In Latin, *sēcāle* – ‘rye, somewhere black spelt’ (ИЛС 1862: 760) is noted. The meaning of the word *sēcāle* is similarly reflected in a Latin-French dictionary – cf. ‘Plin, seigle’ (DLF 1903: 1242). In the same dictionary, we also find the denomination *siligo* – ‘first-quality flour, the colour of flour, Plin’ (DLF 1903: 1272). The same word is noted in ИЛС as *siligo* – ‘winter wheat’ (ИЛС 1862: 779), and in LRS – with the meaning of ‘wheat of highest quality; finely ground wheat flour’ (ЛРС 1986: 809). The meaning *rye* of the word *sēcāle* is formulated here as “probable” (ЛРС 1986: 694). In Celtic languages, the denomination of rye coincides with the Romance one – cf. *z'egəl* + *segəl*+ in Breton, etc. From the Romance languages, the denomination was also borrowed in some Germanic languages – *š'egəl* + *seagal*+ – Scottish, etc., as well as in some Balkan languages – cf. in Romanian – *sek'arə* + *secară*+, etc; in individual Greek dialects – *s'ikali*; in Albanian *'θekər* + *thekër*+ (Meyer 2007: 511), in some of the dialects of the Slavic languages – *sAg'AlA* – Croatian, *sAk'ArA* – Serbian.

As already noted, *rye* is very close in its appearance to most of the other most popular cereal plants. Fundamentally, there is a close resemblance between many of the cereal plants whose seeds are used for production of flour from which bread is kneaded – cf. *Secale cereale* – *rye*, *seigle*, *рѣж*; *Triticum vulgare* – *wheat*, *blé*, *жито/пшеница*; *Hordeum*, *barley*, *orge*, *ечемик*; *Triticum monococcum*,

*Triticum boeoticum* // *baeoticum*, *meslin*, *méteil*, *лумец*; *Triticum spelta*; *Triticum dicoccum*, *Spelt*, *épeautre*, *спелта*; *Triticale* – a hybrid plant between *rye* and *wheat*, mainly resembling *rye*. Some of them grew mixedly, especially in the period when they were not cultivated, and in the process of development of agricultural activities hybrid varieties were created in order to improve their qualities. This is the most essential problem when explaining the lexemes denominating these plants, including in the denominations for *rye*. That is why, the denominations of the cereal plants are often mixed up – cf. the above-mentioned meanings of the word *бpица* < Thracian *βpίζα*, as well as the parallels that prominent linguists make between some of the denominations of *rye*, *wheat*, *spelt*, *barley* and even *rice* in ancient languages. With respect to its main purpose – to serve for production of flour, the rye resembles even maize that appeared by far later in the everyday life of the European peoples. That is why, there is confusion in the above-mentioned denominations, and, in more rare cases, in the denominations for ‘ovec’ (*Avena sativa*) and even for *maize* (*Zea mays*) that, as known, emerged on the continent of Europe in much later age.

The semantic development of the denominations of plants that are used for production of cereals shows two main directions:

1. Changing the semantics of the names from designation of general meaning – ‘cereals’ (were the name represents a hypernym) – to a special meaning – individual type of cereal.
2. Changing the semantics of the names from meaning an individual type of cereals to the name of this species, which is most characteristic of the region, and from there to the relevant local dialect.

Both directions of semantic development testified to the gradual specialization and terminologization of the names in the language, as well as availability of modality of the linguistic denomination of traditional livelihoods, which is associated with the natural conditions of life.

These tendencies are reflected in the Map No. 47 „Names of *barley*” in ALE 1997. Cinquième fasc. and also in a number of other publications on the names of the plants used for the production of cereals (ALE 1997). For Slavic languages, the question has been specifically studied by Klepikova, Usachjova (Клепикова 1965; OJIA 2012) and Mladenov (Mladenov 1983).

You have the same information about the Romance languages according to H. Franconie in the ALE material and in the dictionary – for example FEW (FEW 1969, Vol. 11: 184, 185; DCECH 1980).

In the ALE material, the following direct denominations meaning general name of cereals, which are used as names of rye, are noted: *blé* – northern French dialect (oïl) < Lat. *Blatum* – in Belgium and Italy; *wtī* + *wheat*+, etc. English; *getreide* – borrowed from German in dialects in Hungary and Austria; *žito* – in a number of dialects of the Slavic languages, and from there also borrowed in some

eastern languages in the vicinity of Caucasus – cf. *ʕit'a*, etc., in Romany – *giv*, in Tatar languages – *gar'a budaj* – ‘black wheat’.

The lexeme *gabona* noted in Hungarian, which represents a borrowing of Slavic origin, may be added to this group – cf. in the ALE material *g'əbonə* +*gabona*+ in Hungarian dialects in Hungary and in the Ukraine. The lexeme *gabona* has the meaning of ‘cereal’. It is used as a general denomination of cereals – cf. *gabonafélék*, and in some dialects has the meaning of ‘rye’. It has been borrowed from Slavic languages – cf. Serb. *gobino* ‘wheat, spelt’ (EWU 1992: 439). In the Dictionary of Old Bulgarian, it is noted: *гобино* Old Bulgarian ‘abundance, plenty’ – cf. *алъчѣштинѣхъ въ поустѣиныхъ до сѣитости крѣмими бѣвахѣ, а они въ гобинѣхъ вѣрзи, глѣдомъ невѣрствина мѣрвахѣ* (CP, T. I, 1999: 351). From the example in the text is seen that the noun *гобино* is used in a context related to the expression of an antithesis between physical and spiritual hunger and satiety – abundance. P. Skok notes that the lexeme *gobino* has not been confirmed in modern dialects. He shows as possible synonyms: feast, triticum spelta L., interlacing of leaves and flowers, garland – cf. *gobinji*, distributed in Middle Dalmatia, borrowing from Gothic *Gabej* ‘wealth’, respectively in Latin *habeo*, *kobac* (Skok, T. I, 1971: 583). In BER, a verb *гѣбам*, *гѣбна*, *гѣбвам* is noted in Bulgarian dialects, with the meaning of ‘outwit, make someone look foolish, ridiculous’, cognate to the Old Russian *гѣвати* ‘embarrass’ from Indo-European *\*ghābh-// \*ghābh-*, cognate to Lithuanian *gobús* ‘greedy’ with other ablaut degree in Lithuanian *gābana* ‘armful’, Latin *habeo* ‘have’ (BER, T. I, 1971: 219). In the Archive of the Bulgarian Dialect Dictionary, a lexeme *гѣбѣн* ‘fur overcoat’ is noted, which could be given in connection with the above-mentioned words on the basis of the presence of a semantic feature for wealth, related to clothing. In the ALE material, we could draw attention to the words, unclear with respect to etymology, from Nakh-Daghestanian languages – *ogób* Avar, *'ogob* Andi, meaning ‘rye’. According to this material it may be assumed, a language like proto-Bulgarian, which could connect the various appearances from the east with the appearances in South Slavic Languages via the territory of the Hungarian dialects, has contributed.

The motivation of the lexeme *gabona* may be related to the function of rye to represent the main source for production of bread for the population in the respective region, and hence the main source of prosperity.

From the ALE material, the following examples for use of direct denominations of rye may be shown, which in their primary meaning denominate another specific kind of cereal plant – cf. *b'arle* +*barley*+ primary meaning ‘barley’; *æats* +*oats*+ primary meaning ‘oats’ (*Avena sativa*) – in dialects of the English language; *hamts'*əj +adg. *hámelyj*+ primary meaning ‘black barley’ in dialects of eastern languages in the vicinity of Caucasus.



In view of the resemblance between the appearance and the use of cereal plants, attention should be paid to the denomination *orge*, meaning ‘barley’ in Romance languages. It has been established that it is formed from the Latin *hordeum* (ALE, 5, 1997). In the historical grammar of the French language, the phonetic alterations *hórdeum* > *órdium* > *orge* are shown as an example of a process of palatalization, which took place in the 13 c. (Vankov 1987: 94).

According to the archaeological information between peoples from Western Europe, rye was first grown along the rivers Rhine and Danube, as well as in Ireland and England. In the Middle Ages, it was distributed mostly in Central and Eastern Europe. It served as main crop for production of bread in most areas to the east of French-German border and Northern Hungary. In Southern Europe, it is grown in limited territories.

Information about history of *barley* as cereal crop shows that its use in the Middle Ages in Europe for production of bread is similar to that of *rye*. The bread made of *barley* and *rye* was considered rural food, whereas the *wheat* products were consumed by the high-ranking classes of the society. Pliny, who characterized rye as food of inferior quality, also notes similar characteristics for barley. He narrates that barley was used as food for gladiators known as *hordearii* ‘eaters of barley’, but he adds, that, during the time of Romans, wheat replaced barley as staple food. The use of hieroglyphs meaning barley in the Egyptian script also shows the close resemblance between the two plants, reflected in human perception and consciousness.

*jt* barley determinative/ideogram



The hieroglyph is used in the inscriptions in the description of the use of barley for production of beer (*zythum*) used as beverage when performing various cults. As already shown above, Vl. Georgiev shows parallels between the denominations *βπίζα* neut. ‘a kind of cereal plant, spelt, rye’ and *βρ(ο)ῦτος* ‘(barley) beer’ from Indo-European *\*b<sup>h</sup>ru-to-*. Thus, according to the image of the hieroglyph, from the photographs of the plants and from the description by the historians about their application, it is established that they indisputably resemble each other in shape and functions, and moreover they are sometimes also grown and used mixedly. That is why, without ignoring the data about the etymology of the word *orge* < Lat. *hordeum*, meaning ‘barley’ in Romance languages, in my opinion, one could think about the participation of the processes of paronymy between this denomination and the Germanic-Slavic denominations with root from Indo-European *\*rugh<io>-*.

Besides in the lexemes with root *βπίζ-* and *\*b<sup>h</sup>ru-t-*, *(h)ord-* and *\*rugh<io>-*, conditions for paronymy and confusion of semantics, as already shown, are also observed in the lexemes with root *silig-* // *sēcāl-*, wide-spread in Romance languages (cf. IJIC 1862: 760, 780; JPC 1986: 694, 709).

The secondary denominations for rye may be presented in several semantic groups:

- denominations motivated by the denomination of grain – cf. *grē* < northern French dialect – oil – in Belgium; *k''ən* +*corn*+, etc. in English and German dialects; *k''ar* +*kokar*+ in German dialects.

- denominations motivated by the denomination of the staple food that is produced from rye – ‘bread’ – in dialects of the Slavic languages, and from there also borrowed in eastern languages – cf. Russian *xl''ep* +*xleb*+ > Ossetian *xl'epa* +*hlepa*+; Spanish *Pan*.

- denominations motivated by the denomination of the season in which rye is grown – cf. *winter* – *zimitsA* +*zimica*+, etc. in Serbian and Croatian; *mapm* – *mart'aki* – in Greek dialects.

- denominations motivated by the notion of the number of grains that are usually sown when cultivating the crop. A number of dialects of the Spanish and Portuguese language differ from the dialects of the Romance languages in the presence of the denomination *θent'eno* +*centeno*+

- denominations motivated by the denomination of the people that has contributed to the spread of the cultivation of rye. In dialects in Italy, the denomination *germanus* – *jurum'ānu* was noted.

- in some dialects, denominations whose motivation may be related to the denomination of the grain colour were noted – cf. *was'ε* ‘white’ in Belgium, although, as seen from the compound denominations shown above for denominations of rye, characteristic more often is the semantic feature *black*.

Thus, from the ALE material, as well as from the information in additional dictionary material and archivalia, it may be summarized that, in the denominations for rye in Europe, the following semantic groups, specific with respect to semantics and extensive with respect to territorial scope, are formed:

The first and the biggest group of lexemes are those that are direct denominations meaning the specific plant rye. Among the languages in Europe, they are represented mainly by three lexemes with numerous phonetic and some word-forming variants:

- The ancient name *βπιζ*- from Indo-European root *\*b<sup>h</sup>ru-t-*;
- Derivatives from Indo-European *\*rugh<io>-*;
- Derivatives from Lat. *secale*.

In the dictionaries, no specific clues about the motivation of the lexemes with root *\*rugh<io>-* and with root *βπιζ*- are found. According to the comparison with cognate lexemes, it may be assumed that the denomination *Secale* has semantic relation to the denomination of the colour characteristic of the plants rye and wheat – cf. Lat. *silāceus* ‘yellow like ochre’ (ΠΙJC 1862: 778; JIPC 1986: 709). Along with



this, relation between the lexemes with root from Indo-European *\*rugh<io>*– and the lexemes meaning *rust* – proto-Slavic *\*rьdiā*, may be also sought on the basis of the semantic feature fulvous colour, but for such parallel there are no clear etymological grounds (Фасмер, Т. 3, 1971: 480). It is obvious, however, that the division between the languages in Europe with respect to the lexemes *Roggen//rye//ръж* and *secale* shows the division between the romanized and non-romanized European culture.

The second group of denominations are the lexemes that represent direct denomination with meaning of generic names (hypernym) of cereal with meaning *wheat*.

Here, of special interest deserves the denomination *зобуно* whose use in Old Bulgarian language shows relation to the notion of prosperity and abundance. The denomination is probably related to the role of rye to serve as a main source for the production of bread in more infertile localities and among the poorer circles of the population.

We have also some examples of direct denomination with meaning of divergent name of separate type of cereal – cf. names with meaning *barley*, etc.

Besides these direct denominations, the ALE material also shows the presence of some secondary denominations that are motivated by different notions:

- denominations motivated by the notion *grain*;
- denominations motivated by the notion of the main product that is produced from rye – *bread*;
- denominations motivated by the notion of the *season* in which rye is cultivated, as well as some other similar types of denominations, widespread in more limited territories.

Among the listed denominations, the denominations *βρίζα*, noted in norther Greek dialects, which also have parallels in Bulgarian dialects and represent linguistic heritage from Thracian language, make special impression because of their infrequency and antiquity. The denomination *gabona*, noted in Hungarian language, which is explained as a borrowing from the South Slavic Languages, also deserves interest<sup>1</sup>. In them, parallels such as *зобуно* – ‘abundance’ – Old Bulgarian texts, *gobinj* ‘garlands’ in Middle Dalmatia, are found, and maybe *зобѹн* ‘fur overcoat’ in Bulgarian dialects, *ogób*, ‘ogob’ ‘rye’ – Avar and Andi and Nakh-Daghestanian languages, may be also added to them. These appearances pose the question of the presence of traces of the role of proto-Bulgarian for the transfer of parallels from the eastern languages to the territory of the South Slavic linguistic continuum. In the names meaning ‘rye’, which denominate a piece of ancient realia, which is permanently present in the everyday life and culture of the peoples from the continent of Europe, one could look with good reason for traces of similar ancient peculiarities.

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**ON MOST SPECIFIC DENOMINATIONS FOR *RYE*  
IN DIALECTS OF LANGUGES IN EUROPE**

**ABSTRACT**

The article studies the specific denomination for *rye* in the dialects of the languages of Europe on the base of material from *Atlas Linguarum Europae* as well as from the information in additional dictionary material and archivalia. By reviewing the basic types of rye denominations the author pays special attention to the lexemes *βριζα*, *бруца* and *gabona*. These names identify ancient areas in Eastern Europe.

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