

THE BALTIC GOD OF LIGHT AND THE BALTO-SLAVIC WORD FOR STAR

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Words for 'star' in Southern and Eastern Slavic (Old Church Slavonic [d]zvězda, Bulgarian zvezdá; Pl. dialect zvézdi, Serbo-Croatian zvijezda, Slovene zvézda, Russian zvezdá¹; Pl. zvězd-y, Ukrainian zvizda) with the initial sibilant z- differ from the Western Slavic forms having the velar phoneme g- (or h- coming from the letter) at the beginning of the form: Polish gwiazda, Kashubian gviazda, Polabian gjozda, Low Sorbian gvijezda, High Sorbian hvijezda, Czech hvezda, Slovak hviezda. The former type is similar to the word in Eastern Baltic: Lithuanian žvaigždė, Latvian zvaigzne with the morphonemic reinterpretation: -n- < *-d- the trace of which is still preserved in Latvian dial. zvaizde, Gen. Pl. zvaižu = Lithuanian žvaigdžių.² The initial *ž-/z- may go back to the same Indo-European palatal phoneme which seems to be depalatalized (i.e. velarized) in Western Slavic. The Prussian spelling swaigst-an (of the noun rendering German Schein 'light', cf. also verbal forms of the 3 Person with the nasal affix: er-schwaigstina 'erleucht, illuminates' (po-swaigstina = 'erleuchte, illuminated' and Nom. Sg. masc. Past. Part. Act. er-schwaistiuns 'erleuchtet, illuminated') may be interpreted as *zvaigzd-³ that in its turn might be close to the Proto-Baltic form (*žvaigdz- > žvaigdž-/zvaigdz-). The difference between Slavic -zd- and Baltic -gzd- may be due to the later Slavic change since the groups of consonants were simplified in Proto-Slavic. The Baltic form has not been caused by a later insertion of -g- because in Eastern Baltic several forms retain the same -g- in this stem: Latvian zvaig-ala 'a cow with a

¹ On the dialectal shift of the accent towards the initial syllable, see: Zalizniak 1985, 185, 254.

² Endzelīns 1971, 58; on Latvian forms semantically close to the Prussian ones: Toporov 1979, 85 with further references.

³ Stang 1966, 108.

white stain on the forehead', *zvygulys*, *zvig-ul'uot* 'to shine'⁴ = Lithuanian dialectal (Northern-Western Žemaitian) *žvyg-uliuoti* 'to shine', Latvian (in a folk song) *zvidz* 'shines'.⁵ The original Baltic root **žvai-/žvi-* may be reflected in Lithuanian dialectal (Northern-Western Žemaitian) *žvai-na-* 'with a white strap in the eye', Lithuanian dialectal (Northern-Western Žemaitian) *žvy-nos*, Plural *žvy-nai* 'scales' = Latvian *zvinas* and some other forms with different suffixes.⁶ On the base of the later **žvaig-/žvig-* for Baltic one can postulate an older form like **g(')woy-g-* with possible traces of reduplication: **g...g* (and perhaps later assimilation: **ž...ž / *z...z*). In the Baltic stem one may assume an (originally reduplicated?) form with the repetition of the Indo-European palatal or velar phoneme at the beginning and at the end of the stem. The closest structural parallels to such forms with the phoneme *u* after the first palatal or velar consonant are found in Sanskrit:⁷ *juhoti* 'pours in libations, sacrifices'⁸ (the type of such reduplication with *-u-* is sometimes considered to be an innovation),⁹ *gūhati* 'hides' (Avestan *gaoz-/guza-ya*, Lithuanian *gužti*, Indo-European **geug'h-*).

It can be supposed that the word was originally related to the designation of the 'shining, brilliant light' and can be reconstructed as **g'hwoygw-sda-* (the suggestion had been made by K. Būga as early as 1908,¹⁰ but became popular only recently with the reference to Pokorny's dictionary¹¹). This reconstruction is based on the genetic identification of the Baltic and Slavic forms with the Greek epithet *φοῖβος* 'pure, luminous, shining, brilliant' referring to the sun (Aesch., *Prom.*, 22), the lightning during the tempest (*Bacchylide*, 13, 139) or

⁴ Endzelīns 1974, II, 268-269; 523.

⁵ Būga 1959, II, 681.

⁶ Būga 1959, II, 681.

⁷ From this point of view it might seem interesting that even such artificial Sanskrit words as the grammatical term *ghu-* (used as a cover substitute for several roots serving as bases for nominal stems) were shaped according to this onomatopoeic pattern: Wackernagel 1905, 9, §2f.

⁸ On the Sanskrit grammatical description see: Filliozat 1988, 120; Katre 1987, 176.

⁹ Thumb-Hauschild 1959, 258-259, 275.

¹⁰ Būga 1958-1961, I, 153-154.

¹¹ Pokorny 1959, I, 495; Delamarre 1984, 223; Chernykh 1993, I, 319.

water (Hes., *Fr.*, 274). The initial Greek *φ-* may go back either to **g^{wh}* that would find its exact correspondence in the Western Slavic *g-* (Indo-European **g^{wh}woygw-*) or to the group **g^{hw}* (reflected both in Baltic and Southern and Eastern Slavic) as in Greek Homeric *Φῆρες* and Aeolian *φηρ*: Lithuanian *žvėris* 'beast', Old Church Slavonic *zvěrь*.¹² Thus for the Greek word two alternative Indo-European forms can be reconstructed: **g'hwoygw-* / **g^{wh}woygw-*. But to grasp the development in Baltic and Southern and Eastern Slavic one has to derive the first reconstructed form from a prototype that may explain also the second one. One may posit **g^{wh}woygw^h-* suggesting a reverse order of deaspiration according to Grassmann's Law¹³ in a reduplicated stem based on **g^{wh}oy-*, but such a normalized form might have been a result of the generalization of the labiovelar **g^{wh}* in the older **g'hwoygw^h* (if the latter had not been caused by a regressive dissimilation of the two labiovelar phonemes in an originally reduplicated form¹⁴).

Although the Greek form that is basic for these reconstructions seems still unclear and isolated, in the Homeric language it is a regular second name of the God Apollo: *Φοῖβος*. In Homeric Greek the combination *Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων* occurs 28 times, the reverse order is found in 4 cases only. The name of the god {DA?}ap-pa-li-u-na-aš in the list of the gods in the treaty of Alakšanduš (=Alexandros?), the king of Wiluša (=Ilios?) dated around 1280 B.C., can be identified to the Common Greek **Apelyon* (Mycenean [a]-pe-ro₂-ne) according to the old suggestion of Forrer.¹⁵ Since the god was connected to Troy it was not necessary that his name should be Greek. But still scholars attempt to connect it either to Greek Doric *ἀπέλλα(ι)* 'assembly < group of male warriors; a male club'¹⁶ or to *ἀπειλέω* 'threaten, predict',¹⁷ although both words are not clear etymologically¹⁸. As it was shown by Dumézil,¹⁹ it can be suggested that the god Apollo goes back to an old

¹² Cf. on the Greek phonemic development Lejeune 1987, 84.

¹³ See Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995, I, 20-24.

¹⁴ See for other explanations Vasmer 1967, II, 86.

¹⁵ Forrer 1931; Güterbock 1986, 42; Gindin 1993, 44 with further references to the recent Russian publications.

¹⁶ Watkins 1995, 149 with literature.

¹⁷ Nagy 1986, 143; Nagy 1994.

¹⁸ Chantraine 1984, 96.

¹⁹ Dumézil 1987, 9-108.

Indo-European image. But 'Απόλλων cannot be his ancient name, since even if it is Greek (and not Luwian which is possible) it does not come from an old Indo-European stem. It appears strange to suppose that the Indo-European god did not have his own name. Such a name may be preserved in his Greek epithet Φοῖβος.

One may suggest that just as an Indo-European epithet or name of a god of light this Homeric Greek noun continues the same tradition that has been reflected also in the Prussian name of the god *Suaixtics* = **Zvaig-stiks/zdiks*. The latter was interpreted as 'Sol' (Sun) or 'ein Gott des Lichtes'. Both interpretations coincide with an important aspect of Apollo. Thus to a still very short list of Proto-Indo-European names of gods one may add the correspondence (that implicitly was given already in the above-mentioned work by Būga in 1908):

Old Pruss. *Suaixtics* [Zvaig-stiks] =
Greek Φοῖβ- (ος) < **g'hwoyǵw-*.

Discussing the oldest features of the Indo-European god reflected in the image of the Greek Apollo, Georges Dumézil discovered that he had been first of all the god of sounds, musical or verbal.²⁰ In this connection one has to return to the interesting hypothesis on the link of the name under discussion both to the light and to the sound. While following Brückner who had assumed the forms with voiced consonants **g'wei-/g'hwei-* being parallel to IE **k'weit* 'bright' in ChSl. *světъ* 'light', Buck added that «the words have all the appearance of imitative orig[in], like Lith. *žvigt* 'squeal', ChSl. *zvizdati*, Pol. *gwizdać* 'whistle' etc., in which the consonant relations are precisely the same. A shift of application from sound to light is entirely possible. Cf. NE *flash*, of imitative orig[in] and once used only of the rushing or splashing of the sea, now only with the reference fire or light'.²¹ The relation of the Russian *vezda* 'star', *svist* 'whistle'²² and dialectal

²⁰ Dumézil 1987; Nagy 1986; on some important details of such divine musical and verbal performance see also Nagy 1990, 1996.

²¹ Buck 1988, 56.

²² From this point of view it might be important to see how the *onomatopoetical* links of these words influence their use in the poetical language. In Pasternak's early poem *Opredelenie poezii* (The Definition of Poetry) *vezda* is one of the main images (that is supported by the poet's comments on the text written

zviz-nut 'to whistle; to hit with force', also Russian *cv'et* 'colour' (from the Indo-European **kwei-t-* without the palatalization of the first phoneme) and *sv'et* < **kwei-t* (from a similar stem with the first palatal phoneme) and the cognate Slavic words has been discussed in the etymological dictionaries.²³ The link between the representation of light and the words denoting sounds and vice versa was noticed already by Potebnia in connection with the Slavic images of the stars and the sunlight in the folk poetry.²⁴ But particularly intriguing seems the role of the acoustic image influencing the sound shape of the word itself. The symbolic use of the opposition of a voiceless phoneme and a voiced one is found in the stems ending with -*t-* like the Sanskrit *śveta-* 'white', Avestan *spaeta-*, Northern Pamirian Shugni *šiped*, Rushan, Bartang *šipid* < **spaita*, Sogdian *'sp'tk* > Yaghnobi *sipéta*,²⁵ Lithuanian *šviēsti* 'gleam' (: *šviesùs* 'bright'²⁶) and those which represent the stem ending with *-*d-*: Gothic *-ga-h, eitjan* 'whiten', Old Icelandic *hvitr*, Old English *hvit* > *white*. Such variations supported the view on the voiced double **g'woi-d* being a twin of the unvoiced **k'woi-t* accepted in many Slavic etymological dictionaries as well as the idea about the connection between the Slavic and Baltic words for 'star' and 'whistle'.²⁷ For the meaning 'to whistle' in a reduplication of **g'whoy-* the Greek onomatopoetic verb ποιφύσσω may be cited as well. But such symbolic consonant variation seems to be a particular case of a universally spread interchange of voiced and unvoiced, particularly glottalized phonemes in the onomatopoetic words or 'ideophones'. Roman Jakobson and Linda Waugh in their study of such elements of the mythopoetic speech paid particular attention to pairs like Avatime *kpokpo* 'thin' : *gbogbo* 'thick' where the phonemic binary opposition is used to render a semantic one.²⁸ Besides the Penutian data discovered

shortly before his death). It is named only in the last quatrain. But the first line of the poem ends with the word *svist*.

²³ For instance Preobrazhenskii 1910-1914, I, 245; II, 261-262, 265; Fasmer 1967, II, 85-86; Pokorny 1959, 629; Chernykh 1993, II, 146-148, 362 with the addition of the Indo-European **swizda* > Irish *fead* as suggested by Pedersen, etc.

²⁴ Potebnia 1989, 307; first published in 1860.

²⁵ Edel'man 1986, 84.

²⁶ Fraenkel 1962-1965, 1043-1044; Lehmann 1986, 200, Hv 15.

²⁷ See for instance Machek 1957, 151.

²⁸ Jakobson and Waugh 1988, 204.

by Sapir and typological parallels in many other Amerindian languages²⁹ one may point out to quite similar Kartvelian (Mingrelian) and Indo-European³⁰ forms which show that a threefold phonemic opposition of the type voiceless : voiced (aspirated) : glottalized may correspond to a tripartite grading system constituted by the norm, the diminutive and the augmentative forms.

If one accepts the idea that the general voicing or glottalizing transformation of an onomatopoetic character might have operated on the whole shapes of Slavic and Baltic words for 'star', then it may be supposed that the stem *g'hwoyg^w-zda (zde) was altering with *k'woyk^w-sta (ste). But the most interesting possibility is opened in connection with the second part of the word if we suppose that it was an old compound.

If the first part of the compound was a name or epithet of the god connected with the light, the sun and the music or sounds, the second one may be derived from the later Indo-European *stēr- 'star' as reflected in Sanskrit *star-/tāra-*, Avestan *stār-*, Persian *sitara*, Khotanese Saka *staraa*, Khwarezmian *a^astar, starik*, Eastern Iranian *x(V)tVr- > Northern Pamirian Shugni *xiterj*,³¹ Latin *stella*, Welsh *seren*, Cornish and Breton *sterenn*, Gothic *stairno*, Old Icelandic *stjarna*, Old High German *stern*, Old English *steorra*, Tocharian A *šre-ñ*, B *šcirye*,³² the earlier form with clear reflexes of an ancient laryngeal (reminding of a possible Afro-Asiatic prototype of this prehistoric cultural borrowing) is still found in Hittite *hašter*, Greek ἀστήρ, Armenian *asth*.³³ Since from the point of view of the glottalic theory the oldest prototype of the later voiced phonemes was a glottalized one, it is worth mentioning that the Ossetian reflex of the Indo-European name of the 'star' *st'aly* (Digor dialect *st'alu*) has a glottalized *t'*.³⁴ It might be a Scythian archaism preserved in the Caucasian linguistic zone where the

²⁹ Nichols 1971.

³⁰ Cf. Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995, I, 459-560.

³¹ On the other Eastern Iranian dialects see Edel'man 1986, 93-96.

³² See Lehmann 1986, 322, 131; Scherer 1953, 18-23.

³³ Watkins 1974; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995, 591-592; Melchert 1994, 98, 103.

³⁴ On this phoneme in the word in different texts see Akhvlediani 1960, 16-18, 20, 22.

glottalized consonants were spread due to geographical reasons.³⁵ In that case the Ossetian word might be a direct counterpart of the Slavic -zda, Baltic -zd- (if they come from *-st'a-, -st'- with the glottalized phonemes becoming later voiced).

The disappearance of the final *-r after a long accentuated vowel with a special tone in Baltic and Slavic *ste/or- is regular according to the rule established by Fortunatov³⁶ and anticipated by Gauthiot.³⁷ Thus (without speaking about the feature of voicedness discussed above) the relation between the Proto-Slavic *-zda, Proto-Baltic *-zd- and Indo-European *stē/ōr may be compared to that of Proto-Slavic *voda : Hittite *watar*. The rule for the disappearance of the final -r in Hittite was different from that in Slavic and Baltic (as well as Indo-Aryan, Nuristani and Ancient Macedonian). In Hittite it was lost just if the last syllable was not accentuated.³⁸

Since the conditions for disappearance of the final -r were similar in Baltic and Slavic, on the one part, Indo-Aryan and Nuristani (Kafir in

³⁵ See on this connection with the possible influence of the position after s-: Abaev 1949, 524; 1979, III, 161-162.

³⁶ Fortunatov 1922, 20, 23, 152, 184; see also Kořinek 1948, 19, 66, 70.

³⁷ Gauthiot 1913, 206: «L'élément sonantique très mince et fugitif des diphtongues à premier élément long est sujet à disparaître».

³⁸ Melchert 1994, 87 with references. Since both in Balto-Slavic and Indo-Aryan and Nuristani (according to Hamp 1968, 129; 1970) and possibly Ancient Macedonian the loss of the -r goes together with the absence of the accent and length in the same syllable, one may suppose the dialectal difference caused by a split in a Proto-Indo-European rule. It seems that the connection of the disappearance of the final -r to the place of accent (or tone) and/or length was Common Indo-European. But the dialects were at least partially opposed to each other by the way they realized this connection. Still Prussian *brati, brōte* < *brāte being an exact correspondance of the Germanic word (Gothic *brōpar*) with the barytonic accent (confirmed by the other dialects) may be a relic of a system close to the prehistoric Hittite one. In this paradigm with a barytonic accent *-r was lost in a syllable that was not accentuated (as in a similar type of nouns in Hittite), but in which the vowel was long and probably had a special (non-acute, circumflexial or *broken* according to Fortunatov) intonation, see on tones in Hittite Ivanov 1983. For the other Anatolian languages a similar loss of the final -r may be reconstructed on the base of such forms as Luwian *ha-ap-pl-sa-a* «member, limb, part of the body» : Middle Hittite *u^{zu}ha-ap-pe-es-sa* (more often with the final -r: *happessar*): Tocharian A *āpsā* 'minor limbs' (cf. Witczak 1989).

the older terminology), on the other, to test the hypothesis on the transformation of the Indo-European **stēr-/stōr-* (< **H₂ster*) > *stēlstō* the data of the Nuristani languages might be important (the Vedic situation is not clear, since the only form of this root noun³⁹ attested in RgVeda is the Instrumental case of the Plural having an accent on the reduced grade of the root: *stībhīh*).⁴⁰ Nuristani languages show the absence of the final *-r* in this word: Ashkun *istá*, Kati *šta'*. Particularly interesting for a (typological or genetic?) comparison to (Western) Baltic (Prussian) is the Prasun form *istík*. The suffix that derived the Prasun stem from the *-r*-less form of the name of the star is the same that is used in the Prussian form of the name of the God of Light.

According to the hypothesis that we have put forward, the Prussian form was derived from the name of the *star* after the loss of the final *-r* in it. As to the Prussian suffix *-ik-* in the name of the God of Light *Suaixtix* [= *Zvaigzd-ik-s*], it is quite similar to the same element in the name of the God of the Fire *Pan-ik-e* (Voc.) 'O Feuerlein'⁴¹ derived from the stem of the Prussian **pan-u* > *panno* (Neutr. g., cf. *meddo* < **medhu* 'honey'), cognate to Gothic *fōn*, *funi-*, Old Icelandic *funi*, Hittite *pahhun-*, a heteroclitic oblique stem of *pahhur* 'fire', used in some Hittite text with a determinative of a God. Possibly it was one of the Indo-European names of the God of the Fire that had to be preserved.⁴² In that case it might seem interesting that the two Indo-European gods that survived in the Prussian tradition had the names with this suffix.

Some of the Prussian diminutive forms with the suffix *-ik-* seem archaic: *bratrikai* 'Brüder' may be compared to Proto-Slavic **bratrīci* > Old Czech *bratřec*, Slovene *brâtrc* and also to Gothic *brōtrahans* 'brothers', Umbrian *fratrexi* (hypothetical Latin **fratricus*), Sanskrit *a-bhrātṛkas*.⁴³ In such archaic derivatives the old type of the *r*- nominal stem have been preserved different from the Prussian *brati*, *brōte*. The Prussian name of the God of Light is structurally similar to the latter (cf. also Old Russian diminutive *zvēska* < *zvězdūka*). From a purely

typological point of view it seems interesting to compare the suffix *-ik-* in this Prussian name not only with the Prasun *istík*, but also with the dialectal Laurowani form in the Dardic language Pashai *estarič* < **starikya* (hypothetical reconstruction by Turner) and with Iranian forms in *-(a)ka-*: Khotanese Saka *staraa*, Khwarezmian *starik*, Sogdian *'st'r'k*, Ishkashim *struk*, Yazgulem *š(V)tarag*, Bartang *xitorj*, Pashtu (Afghan) *storay* < **staraka* etc.,⁴⁴ Greek *δοτριχὸ* where (different from the Prussian form) the old stem in *-r* has been preserved.

It has been suggested that the stem in *-e* has been archaic in such words as Prussian *brati*, *brōte* 'brother' < Indo-European **bhrātē*, Prussian *duckti*, Lithuanian *dukte* < Indo-European **dhughtē*.⁴⁵ This suggestion corresponds to Fortunatov's idea concerning the early Indo-European dialectal chronology of the loss of the final *-r*. Such an old age may be assigned also to Indo-European **stē* 'star' continued in Nuristani (Kafir) and the Baltic **stē* > *zdē*, Slavic **stō* > **stā* > *zdā*.

But still one has to explain the details of the formation of the compounds in Baltic and Slavic where in the words for *star* no traces of compounding vowels have been preserved. The type of compounding without a vowel **-o-* is widely attested in Baltic⁴⁶ and more rare in Slavic (where it is known in some formations of the language of the folk poetry). But it seems interesting that the type of stems ending with *-e* in Baltic was characteristic of the second elements of the compounds particularly denoting the female beings.⁴⁷ The Old Lithuanian form of the Gen. pl. *žvaigždų* (often met in Bretkūnas) was considered to be an argument in the favour of the existence of pure stems in *-e*.⁴⁸ In other words it is supposed that the ancient stem **zde* had been reflected in it. Having in mind the suggested etymology one may compare the Slavic and Eastern Baltic names of 'star' (female creatures in the Slavic and Baltic folklore) in *(ij)-al(ij)-e* to the type of Greek *Φολβη* < **G^{wh}olǵ^w-a* which «is the feminine equivalent of Apollo's primary epithet

39 The form *tāras* (Nom. Pl. masc. g.) has already moved far away from the original paradigm, see Grassmann 1873, 547.

40 Grassmann 1973, 1589; Whitney 1962, 371; Renou 1984, 344.

41 Būga 1958, I, 154-159; 1961, III, 132; Endzelīns 1982, IV, 2, 271.

42 Ivanov 1962.

43 Toporov 1975, 248; Lehmann 1986, 81, B 104.

44 Sokolova 1973, 17; Edel'man 1986, 54, 84, 93-96.

45 Hamp 1992.

46 Endzelīns 1971, 80.

47 Endzelīns ib., 82-83, 89; see discussion: Stang 1966, 203-204.

48 The alternative suggestion of an old stem in *-ija* supported by Stang continued the point of view discussed already in the previous century (Schleicher 1856, I, 185).

Phoibos». ⁴⁹ In Slavic the type in **-or > *-ar > *-a* is attested as in **voda*: Greek ὕδωρ.

According to this hypothesis the old Indo-European name for the star did not disappear completely from Baltic and Slavic, ⁵⁰ but was included in an ancient compound with a meaning 'shining, luminous star' as its second part. As an example of a similar development one may cite the Kati (Nuristani, Indo-Iranian language) *fušto < ručšto* 'bright star' ⁵¹ *< *roc-(is) + *str-*; cf. Prussian *lauxnos* 'stars' from the same root **leuk-*. ⁵² The existence of archaic compounds with the Indo-European term for *star* is corroborated by a comparison of the Greek ἀστέροπη 'flash of lightning' *< ἀστήρ + *okw* 'eye' ⁵³ compared by Meillet to Armenian *p'ayl-akn* 'flash of lightning' *< p'ayl-em* 'to flash' (cf. Lucr. VI, 537: *stellis flugentibus*) + *akn* 'eyes' and *areg-akn* 'sun' *< arew* 'sun' + *akn* 'eyes'. ⁵⁴ In Greek there are several examples of the

⁴⁹ Nagy 1990, 76.

⁵⁰ As it is usually supposed, Abaev 1979, 161.

⁵¹ Morgenstierne 1956, 114; Turner 1989, 790, N13713.

⁵² On the glottochronological value of this item see Girdenis, Mažiulis 1994, 5-6. As Meillet first noticed, the synonymous stems **leuk-* and *kwei-* were competing in the old Indo-European dialects, Preobrazhenskii 1910-1914, 262.

⁵³ Cf. semantically similar *vezdoochityi* 'having stars as eyes' (with the same second part of a compound) in the Russian archaizing poetical language (Andrei Belyi).

⁵⁴ Chantraine 1984, 128; the combinations *areg-akownk* 'suns-sources', *ac'-kownk* 'eyes=sources' occur in the archaic hymn to the God of the Fire Vahagn: Ivanov 1983a, 37; on the other semantically comparable nouns in Indo-European see: Huld 1976; 1984, 132.

Albanian *yll* 'star' seems a Turk borrowing: Turk *yildiz* with the development *ld > -l-* normal for Albanian; compare Balkanic Gypsy (Romani) *tchilhaù* 'star' from the same source (Wolf 1987, 237, N3484). From the other names of the 'star' in Indo-European dialects still the most enigmatic remains the Germanic word continued in Gothic *tuggl-* 'star, constellation', Old Icelandic *tungl* 'moon', *himm-tungl* 'constellations', Old English *tungol* 'star' (*tungol sceal on heofenum beorhte scinan* 'star must be shining bright on the heaven', Gnomie verses, Sweet 1970, 176, lines 48-49), *tungel-witega-* 'astrologer'. Since most etymologies (including the comparison to the Baltic name for heaven: Prussian *dangus*, Lithuanian *dangùs* 'sky, heaven': *deng-ti* 'cover') have not been accepted (Lehmann 1986, 348), one can think of a Sumerian *dingir* 'god' (a word originally

compounds with φοῖβος - as a first element similar to the form that might be reconstructed (without the vowel **o*) for Baltic and Slavic: φοιβό-ληπτος, φοιβό-λαμπτος 'inspired by Phoebus; possessed by Phoebus'.

The following relative chronology of these Baltic and Slavic forms may be suggested: 1) the compound consisting of the stem of the epithet **g'woigw-(os)* and the Indo-European name for *star* was shaped in the late Indo-European dialectal period; 2) the final **-r* in the second part of the compound was lost in the long final syllable (possibly having a special type of intonation) in some Indo-European dialects, particularly Proto-Baltic and Proto-Slavic; 3) the *-r*-less stem was generalized in the whole paradigm of the word; 4) the stem as the whole compound was made phonologically marked — either glottalized or voiced; 5) the link to the name of the *star* was lost and the second part of the compound was reinterpreted as a suffix. ⁵⁵

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rendered by a pictograph for star having also hypothetical Altaic correspondences) as a possible distant source of an old cultural borrowing.

⁵⁵ To this later period processes similar to those described in the book by Otkupshchikov (1967, 152, 154-155) belong, particularly the change **-zde > -zne* in Latvian, see on the interchange of Slavic suffixes *-do/-no-*: Otkupshchikov 1967, 144. But the author was wrong in denying such evident Indo-European etymologies as Slavic **gnězdo* 'nest' *< *nī-sd-*. To understand the riddle of the Slavic initial *g-* one has to compare it to the Latvian *ligzds*: Lithuanian *lizda* (the old date of the change of the initial is supported by the Tocharian B *lesto*). The taboo character of the transformations of the word can be explained by the conjecture about the possible importance of the myth about the Destroyer of the Eagle's nest. The latter is the base of the myth on the origin of Vilnius, cf. the name of *Lizdejka* (the child crying in the bird's nest).

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**Die baltische Gottheit des Lichtes
und das balto-slawische Wort für Stern**
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Der Autor schlägt eine neue Etymologie für das baltische Wort für Stern vor: der alte idg. Name verschwand in Baltischen und Slawischen nicht ganz, sondern wurde als zweites Glied in Zusammensetzungen einverleibt, die den 'erleuchtenden Stern' bezeichnen (vgl. pr. *Suaixtics* [Zvaig-stiks], gr. Φοῖβ(ος) < *g'hwoyg^w-).