

BALTICO-ANATOLICA II.
SOME INDO-EUROPEAN HYDRONYMS

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0. According to Leibniz «les noms des rivières, estant ordinairement venus de la plus mieux le vieux langage et les anciens habitans, c'est pourquoi ils mériteront une recherche particulière» (Leibniz 1882, p. 264). Among Indo-European hydronyms of Asia Minor¹ of the time of the Hittite power those which demonstrate particular similarity to Baltic names of rivers deserve special investigation.

1. Hittite and/or Palaic hydronym (1) *Šariya* (a river of the Northern Anatolia close to the land of Pala or in it²) is practically identical to Lithuanian *Sarià*, Latvian *Sarija* (also *Sar-upe*, Vanagas 1981, p. 291 with references). Both the Anatolian name and the (Eastern) Baltic one are derived with the same suffix **-iya-* from the Indo-European **se/or-* 'to flow', Old Indian *sar-*, Vedic *sisar-ti*, *sarsr-e*, Old Irish *sir-id* (= Old Indian *sar-a-ti*). From the same root such names of water basins with other suffixes are formed as Old European *Sar*, *Sars*, *Sor-a*; Vedic *sar-as* 'lake', Classical Sanskrit *sar-it-* (fem.) 'river' (cf. Thracian **Ser-it-a* > Rumanian *Siret-ul*, Illyrian

¹ Rosenkranz 1966; Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984-1995, I, pp. 759 and ff. with remarks on Hittite and Luwian hydronyms that I do not repeat here.

² Güterbock 1956, pp. 90, 126; Laroche 1966, p. 278; Bo TU 41 A I 12; for other contexts see: Forlanini 1977, p. 219 (equivalence to the Göklrmak is suggested); cf. Xachatrian 1971, pp. 69-71.

Seret-ion, *Seret-os*³). The Sanskrit *-it-* type⁴ may be tentatively compared to the Luwian nominal suffix *-it-* (a productive type⁵); the latter is also found in some derivatives from place-names like *Nirikk-it-* from *Nerikk-*, the name of a town and of a source of water (cf. below). The **-u-* suffix is attested in Old Persian *Har-aiva*⁶, Avestan *Har-aiva-/Har-oiva-*; Modern Persian *Har-e* (a river-name); Indo-European **s(e/o)r-* (*e/o*)*u-*: Old Indian *sru-*, *srau-a-ti*, Avestan *ravan-* 'stream', Old Persian *rau-ta-h-* 'stream, river'⁷, Greek *ῥέω*, *ῥέυμα* < **sreu-m(e/o)n-*⁸ > Old Irish *sruaimm* 'stream', Old Norse *straumr*, Old High German *stroum* = Modern German *Strom*, Old English *stream*, Balto-Slavic **sr-e/ow-me/on-*: Lithuanian *sraumuo* 'rapid stream', *Stromis*, Latvian *straume*, Proto-Slavic **strumy* reflected in nouns like Polish *strum*, Old Russian *strumenĭ* and in hydronyms like *Strumien*⁹. *Strymon* was known as one of the two largest rivers of Thracia. It is mentioned in Hesiod's catalogue of rivers in Theog., 337-345:

Τηθὺς δ' Ὀκεανῷ Ποταμοῦς τέκε δινήεντας,
Νειλὸν τ' Ἀλφειὸν τε καὶ Ἑριδανὸν βαθυδίνην,

³ On other possible Illyrian and Thracian names from **Ser-* see: Wesche 1965, p. 238 with literature; Poghirc 1983, p. 60; Scherer 1961, p. 406.

⁴ Cf. Renou 1984, p. 323.

⁵ Starke, 1990, pp. 151-242.

⁶ Bartholomae 1979, pp. 1787, 1806. Among early works of the previous century discussing the possible geographical identity of the name on the base of the existing literature one may cite a glossary in Kossowicz 1872, Glossarium, p. 50.

⁷ Bartholomae 1979, pp. 1492, 1512.

⁸ Chantraine 1984, p. 971. See on cognate names: Krahe 1965, p. 196.

⁹ Udolph 1979, pp. 272-276 with the map 31 showing river-names derived directly from the stems **strumen-*, **strum-* and similar place-names, as well as river names formed from these stems with a suffix and similar place-names.

Στρώμονα Μαϊάνδρον τε καὶ Ἴστρον καλλιρέεθρον
 Φᾶσιν τε Ῥῆσον τ' Ἀχελῷόν τ' ἀργυροδίνην
 Νέσσον τε Ῥοδίον θ' Ἀλιάκμονά θ' Ἑπτάπορον τε
 Γρήνικόν τε καὶ Αἴσηπον θεῖόν τε Σιμοῦντα
 Πηνειόν τε καὶ Ἑρμον ἑυρρείτην τε Κάικον
 Σαγγάριόν τε μέγαν Λάδωνα τε Παρθένιον τε
 Εὐήνον τε καὶ Ἀλδῆσκον θεῖόν τε Σκάμανδρον¹⁰

in M. West's translation of the passage¹¹:

Tethys bore to Oceanus the swirling Rivers:
 the Nile, Alpheus, and deep-swirling Eridanus,
 Strymon, Maeander, and fair-flowing Danube,
 Phasis, Rhesus, and silver-swirling Achelous,
 Nessus, Rhodius, Haliacmon, Heptaporus,
 Granicus and Aesepus and wondrous Simois,
 Peneus, Hermous, and flowing Caicus,
 Great Sangarius, Ladon, Parthenius,
 Euenus and Ardescus and wondrous Scamander.

The last classical scholar who had attempted to analyze the name added by Hesiod to the Homeric catalogue of the rivers (Il., XII, 20-22)¹² was the late Leonid Gindin who in his book on the population of the Homeric Troy following Georgiev's suggestion compared the hydronym *Strymon* to the proper name of a

¹⁰ I had the possibility to use besides the recent textual investigations the edition: Hesiodi 1623, pp. 196, 253 (tabula IX).

¹¹ West 1990, p.130.

¹² In Hesiod's poem the two river names Στρωμών and Ἴστρος are added to those included in the catalogue in *Iliad* while Κάρησος is excluded. According to Zaitsev 1990, 486, only Σκάμανδρος, Σίμοις, Γρήνικος and Αἴσηπος correspond to a known geographical reality while the other names might have been a product of a poet's imagination, cf. West 1990, p. 68, on l. 337. On Σκάμανδρος cf. Tischler 1977, pp. 138-139; Watkins 1998, pp. 208-211; also cf. Watkins 1994, pp. 456-472.

supposedly Thracian woman *Strymo*¹³. Gindin was insisting on the importance of Thracian elements (as well as Luwian ones according to the last variant of his theory published just before his death) among the Trojan names such as *Ksanthos*, in the language of gods the name of the river that is called Skamandros in the language of men (Il., XX, 74), see the last (345) line of the text of Hesiod; *Rhesos*, the river-name that coincides to that of the Thracian king who lead Thracians to Troy from the valley of the *Strymon* (usually compared to I-E **reǵ-* 'king', cf. also Lithuanian hydronym *Rėž-upa/elis*¹⁴).

2. The same correspondence of the Anatolian suffix *-a/iya* and (Eastern) Baltic *-ija* is present in the hydronyms

(1) Hittite and/or Luwian *Hulaya*¹⁵ : Lithuanian *Vilija*¹⁶,

but in this case it seems possible to establish also the etymological link to another pair of river-names with another suffix of an archaic character:

(2) Old Hittite *Hulana*¹⁷ : Lithuanian *Viln(-ia)*¹⁸

¹³ Gindin 1993, pp. 17, 38, 115, 119; cf. Poghirc 1983, p. 114 (with references).

¹⁴ Vanagas 1981, p. 276; cf. *Rhesos*: Tischler 1977, p. 125.

¹⁵ Goetze 1940, p. 52; Rosenkranz 1966, p. 131; Neu 1974, p. 34; Klinger 1996, p. 190, n. 262 (with bibliography).

¹⁶ Vanagas 1981, pp. 382-384 with detailed bibliography and history of the problem.

¹⁷ The river-name is mentioned already in the oldest Hittite inscription of the king Anitta, Neu 1974, pp. 33-34 with references; Laroche 1966, p. 278.

¹⁸ Vanagas 1981, p. 384.

As it was shown earlier¹⁹ the inner form of the Hittite name is to be understood as *hulana-* 'wool', see the writing combining the determinative of the river-names $\dot{I}D$ + the logogram (Sumerogram) $S\dot{I}G$ 'wool' $\dot{I}D$ $S\dot{I}G-na$ = 'the river Hulana-'; the metaphor is based on the similarity of the waves on the surface of the water and the wool of the sheep (the Proto-Indo-European **Hwl-n-aH* 'wool': the meaning is preserved in Hittite *hulana-*, Sanskrit *ūrṇā-*, Avestan *varēnā-* 'wool, dress made of wool', Greek *λῆνος*, Latin *lāna*, Welsh *gwlan*, Cornish *gluan*; Gothic *wulla* 'wool', Old Icelandic *ull*, Old English *wull*, Middle Low German *wulle*, Old High German *wolla*, Lithuanian *vilna* 'fine hair', Latvian *vilna* 'wool', Old Prussian *wilna* 'dress', Russian dialect. *volna* 'sheep's wool'); the semantic development 'wool' > 'wave' in this stem in **-n-* (as different from Sanskrit *ūrmih* 'wave', Avestan *varēmi*) is common to Baltic (Lithuanian *vilnis*, Latvian *vilnis*), Slavic (Church Slavonic *vĭlna*, Russian *volna*, Czech *vlna*, Polish *welna*) and Germanic (Old High German *wella*), possibly also Albanian *valë*²⁰ and Ossetic *ulaen* (Abaev's 'Scytho-European' isogloss²¹ that has remained problematic). Since both the latter forms are not yet clear Stang's opinion is still valid: «Diese Sonderübereinstimmung zwischen Balt., Slav. und Germ. ist auf das *n-* Suffix beschränkt»²². But to this dialectal group also besides Baltic, Slavic and Germanic one

¹⁹ Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984-1995, p. 759, n. 4; Pokorny 1959, pp. 1139-1140; Lehmann 1986, p. 412, W 100 with further references.

²⁰ According to Pedersen 1897, p. 543, and Jokl 1923, pp. 270-271. On the other points of view cf. Huld 1974, p. 39.

²¹ Abaev 1965, pp. 22, 38, 124; 1985-989, IV, 15.

²² Stang 1971, p. 63.

should add as well the Indo-European dialect of the Asia Minor from which this hydronym originated.

A special interest of this Baltic stem consists of its link to the myth of the foundation of the city of *Vilnius*. Since the myth may be seen as the Baltic variant of the archaic story about the destroyer of the eaglets' nest common to different cultures of the Old and New World²³ it seems interesting to attempt an analysis of another hydronym possibly relating to the same variant of the myth (cf. 3).

3. Lithuanian *Lizdų ežeras*²⁴ (literally 'the lake of nests [Gen.Pl.]', Nom.Pl. *lizdaĩ* from the stem *lizd-*, I-E. **ni-sd-* > **ni-zd-* > *lizd-* with the development common only to Baltic and Tocharian B *lesto* 'nest'²⁵). The principal hero of the myth of the foundation of Vilnius was the boy found by the Prince Gedemin in a nest and called *Lizdeika*. The term denoting the nest seems to be the key word in all the variants of the myth of the 'denicheur' (destroyer of the nests) starting from the oldest record known in the written form - the Sumerian poem about the hero Lugalbanda: *ge-e gud-mu-se he-me-en za-e eren-zu* "I (= the sacred eagle Anzu) belong to my nest, you (the hero Lugalbanda) belong to your army".

One may suggest that it was just the semantic function of the word for 'nest' in Baltic mythological texts that caused its taboo

²³ Lévi-Strauss 1971, particularly the map 34, p. 530, showing the distribution of the main variants of the myth in America, see among other recent works : Ivanov 1978. See also Matteson 1972, reconstructions NN 587 and 588 (**sia*, **taz-il/n* both with the meaning 'nest') at p. 71 and remarks on p. 61 on some possible changes of morphs.

²⁴ Vanagas 1981, p. 195.

²⁵ Cf. Toporov 1990, pp. 114-118; Hamp 1994 with a different explanation.

transformation that had perplexed so many scholars. If this explanation is accepted then it may be generalized not only for Tocharian with the same initial *l-* but also to Slavic that has transformed I-E. **n-* into **gn-* with some dialectal variations similar to those in Baltic: *gnijezdo* ~ *glazno* ~ *glazlo* in Serbo-Croatian²⁶. The old myth about the foundation of Vilnius is typologically (and indirectly possibly also through the ancient archetypes, although it has remained controversial) close to some other foundation myths based on the archaic motif of the 'destroyer of the eaglets' nest' (cf. the foundation myth of the Mexico-city). Definitely it is connected not only with the motif of the 'nest' (*lizdas*) and the boy crying (as an eaglet) in it and called after it (*Lizdeika*), but also with several hydronyms. According to the Russian chronicles a cult centre has been founded at the place where the *Vilnia* river flows into the *Vel(i)ja*. This centre was supposed to be moved to the castle of the prince (Toporov 1980a) and to the valley of the river.

4. The stem *Neris* is very productive from the point of view of the Baltic hydronyms and may be linked to the old name of Neuroi. But still its etymology (a possible link to the root of Lithuanian *nér-ti* 'to dive'²⁷ and Russian *nora* 'burrow') as well as possible connections to the Western Slavic (mainly Polish²⁸), Thracian (Rumanian *Naruja*, cf. Old Prussian *Naruse*, *Narussa*²⁹) and Old European river names seem doubtful. The suffixes *-k-* and *-et-* in

²⁶ Skok 1971, p. 576, with the apt remark on the similarity of the Slavic initial *g-* and Latvian *ligzds*, *ligzda*.

²⁷ Vanagas 1981, p. 228; Dini 1997, pp. 26-29 with references.

²⁸ See Udolph, 1979.

²⁹ Duridanov 1969, p. 49.

Lithuanian hydronyms *Nér-k-a*, Latvian *Ner-ēt-a* might seem comparable to forms like Hittite *Nerik*³⁰, *Nerik-it* (see above on the suffix), but since the stem is of Hattic origin the only possible explanation for a not-by-chance coincidence will rest on the idea of a non-Indo-European substratum root (see also the name of the rivers of the [Southern] Caucasus like *Terek*).

5. Luwian adjective *zare/iy-* 'swift, rapid'³¹ (Nominative Plural *za-re-e-ya-an-zi*, Accusative Plural *za-re-e-ya-an-za*, Ablative *za-ri-ya-at-ti*) is used as a constant epithet of the noun *ĪD^{MES}-anz-i/a* 'rivers' in the stock phrase meaning 'swift rivers'. This logogram should be read probably as **hap-iy-anz-i/a* (?), Luwian *ha-a-pi-* 'river'³², *ha-a-pi-in-ni-in-za* 'small rivers, rivulets'³³, Hittite *hap-* 'river, water', Palaic *ha-a-ap-na-aš*³⁴. The stem is contained also in the ancient Anatolian hydronyms and toponyms being compounds with the second

³⁰ Haas 1970; Forlanini 1977, pp. 200-201; Klinger 1996.

³¹ Laroche 1959, p. 114. As remarked by Meriggi 1957 the meaning of the Luwian phrase is rendered clear due to the mythological description of a feast to which different gods were invited (KUB XXXV 107, 8-16). 'Swift rivers' as well as 'high mountains' belong to the divine guests at the feast.

³² Laroche 1973, p. 180. The combination *ha-a-pi-iš Ma-la-aš* 'the river Mala (Euphrates)', KUB XXXV 108 Rs. IV, 22' = Starke 1985, IIa): III.1, p. 240, occurs in the same account about the myth of the feast of all the gods in which the phrase 'swift rivers' is used (ib., Rs. IV 18'; Rs. III 11' = Starke 1985, pp. 240, 238; KUB XXXV 49 Vs. I 11' = Starke 1985, p. 150; KUB XXXV 45 Vs, II 5 = Starke 1985, p. 151).

³³ Occurs in the same mythological-ritual context in a few lines after the form *za-ri-ya-at-ti* (K Bo VII 68 (+) 69 Rs. III 9', 11' = Starke 1985, p. 363), cf. the sequence *ĪD^{HLA}-in-za ha-pi-in-ni-in-za* 'rivers, rivulets' in KUB XXXV 107 (+) 108 III 15' = Starke 1985, p. 238. On the productive suffix *-an(n)-* in this word: Starke 1990, p. 62. Still it is not absolutely excluded that this stem in Luwian should be compared to the Palaic stem in *-n-*, see below.

³⁴ Carruba 1970, pp. 22, 54; 1972, pp. 42-43.

element *-hapa*³⁵ similar to the Lithuanian hydronyms in *-upė*, Latvian *-upe* and/or Western Germanic *-apa* > Old High German *-affa* (Wesche 1965); *-ava* in the border area between Germanic and Celtic (Jungandreas 1965, pp. 271-272). Traces of a nominal phrase similar to Luwian *zariya-* + *hap-i-* have been preserved in Lithuanian hydronyms *Skar-upė*, *Sker-upis*, Latvian *Skaru-upe*³⁶. The Luwian adjective is cognate to Slavic **skorŭ-* 'swift, rapid'. The correspondence Luwian *z-* : Indo-European **sk-* : Lithuanian *sk-* is regular³⁷. Indo-European phrase **ske/or-(e/oy)-(s) *Hap-(s)* may be the prototype of both Luwian and Baltic combinations. A similar origin is supposed for Daco-Thracian *Scoris* (Poghirc 1983, p. 92).

As the possibility of reconstructing a whole fragment of a text makes this comparison quite safe, it seems that it becomes necessary to suggest a later date of voicing (or glottalization) of **-p-* in Anatolian **Hap-> *Hab-* parallel to a similar process in Latin *amni-s* 'stream, river' (cf. Palaic *hap-na-š* where the exact character of *-p/b-* can not be deduced from the cuneiform spelling because of the position after a consonant), Gaulish *afon* 'river'. There is no reason to suggest two different Indo-European synonymous roots **H₂eb(h)-* and **H₂ep-*³⁸ since in Anatolian, particularly in Luwian-Lycian the voiceless stops are voiced in a specific context (Morpurgo Davies 1982-1983; cf. Melchert 1994, p. 60).

³⁵ Carruba 1966, p. 8, n. 2; Rosenkranz 1966, p. 126; Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984-1995, pp. 759-760.

³⁶ Vanagas 1981, pp. 301 (with references), 303.

³⁷ Melchert 1994, p. 252.

³⁸ Watkins 1972; 1973; another point of view: Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984-1995, pp. 63, n. 352, 578.

6. Another Indo-European fragment of a text that includes the name of 'river' shared by Anatolian and Baltic as well as Iranian may be reconstructed on the base of Palaic *hap-na-aš ni-i te-ka¹-anza* 'the river does not flow'³⁹; Latvian *strauja upe tēk* 'fast river flows', *upes tēka* 'riverbed'; Avestan *kada xaō... apam tačaōnti nava* 'when the sources of the waters will flow anew?'; *tači.āp-* 'flowing water'⁴⁰. This stock phrase is reflected in the Baltic hydronyms: Lithuanian *Tek-upjys* (Vanagas 1981, p. 343).

7. The Hittite name of the upper Euphrates (of its part situated in Asia Minor) *Mala*⁴¹ can be compared to the Eastern Baltic name of a shore, coast (Lithuanian *mala*, Latvian *mala*) from which many hydronyms have been derived (Vanagas 1981, pp. 202-203); a similar stem is reconstructed for Paleo-Balkan languages while other Indo-European dialects use the root in the meaning 'mountain' (Poghirc 1983, pp. 78, 91), cf. a similar semantic difference between German *Berg* 'mountain' : Russian *bereg* 'coast' etc.

³⁹ Analysis in: Watkins 1995, p. 249 (the form is not studied in this last publication); Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1984-1995, I, p. 578 with other Indo-European parallels. Objections to this interpretation of the Palaic word based on Sturtevant's law (Melchert 1994, p. 193) do not seem valid since its action in Palaic has not been studied on a sufficient number of examples. Besides the interchange *-t/-k* in the spelling of a medial stop may point to its change (probably palatalization) that might have transformed the whole phonetic shape of the word.

⁴⁰ Bartholomae 1979, p. 625 with many other similar examples, p. 629; other Iranian parallels: Abaev 1985-1989, III, pp. 246, 284.

⁴¹ Laroche 1966, p. 277.

8. Luwian *ipp-atar* 'the bend (twist, curve) of a river'⁴² (Starke 1990, pp. 504-509): Lithuanian *Geibonių ežeras* (Vanagas 1981, p. 110), Old Prussian *Gibbune* (in a document of 1396 A.D., Toporov 1979, p. 231), I-E. **g(h)eibh-* (Russian *iz-gib reki* 'the bend of a river'; in Slavic mixed up with the root **g(h)eub-*); the loss of a velar in the position before **ei* in Luwian is regular.

9. Since the number of known Hittite, Palaic and Luwian hydronyms is small it seems remarkable that Baltic correspondences may be found to most of them. But it is possible that there are remarkable coincidences in such old Hittite and/or Luwian names of places as the city-state *P/Burušhanda*. The old name of the city (with the omission of a nasal possibly pointing to a nasalized vowel of a Luwian type) *Bu-ru-uš-ḫa-tum* is mentioned many times as the great city with a 'great' ruler in the Old Assyrian cuneiform tablets from the trade colonies of the border of the II and II mil. B.C.; the name is mentioned also in a half legendary story of Sargon's campaign in Asia Minor and in the legend of Naram-Sin⁴³. It is surely an old I-E. compound noun of the type of Hittite *mena-ḫhanda* 'in front of' with the second

⁴² Starke 1990, pp. 504-509. The double spelling of a stop seems to point to a devoicing in Luwian.

⁴³ Lewy 1966, pp. 3, 17, 21; Yankovskaya 1968, pp. 19, 28, 32, 47, 105 (the city and the merchant community of Burushanda in an Old Assyrian document of the Goleniščev collection, Moscow, State Museum of Fine Art, 1545, lines 1-3: *um-ma kà-ru-um Kàniš a-na kà-ri-im Bu-ru-uš-ḫa-tim ša-he-er rabi* 'The merchant community of Kanis = Nesa says the following to the merchant community of Burushanda including all the people from the small ones to the great'). Examples of the use of the name of Burushanda in the Kül-tepe (= Kanis = Hittite Neša) cuneiform tablets found by Hrozný: Hrozný 1952, pl. XXIV, CXIX: NN 26A mentioning the *karum* as the Goleniščev document and 189, line 27.

nominal stem *-handa* (old Directive of *ḫant-* 'forehead' having Indo-European and Nostratic etymology) as a second part; in the first part the old name of *Boruskoi*, *Burus* = *Prussians*⁴⁴ may be supposed to be reflected. The identity of names does not necessarily mean that of ethnicity or language but still it may be an interesting index of the similarity. Other possible coincidences of Baltic and Anatolian place-names such as *Kaunas* seem to support these suggestions.

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⁴⁴ See on different old forms of this ethnonym and its possible etymology: Bednarczuk 1981, pp. 59-61; Velius 1983; Dini 1997, pp. 114, 238-240 (with further references).

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Балто-анатолийские исследования II. Некоторые названия
водных бассейнов индоевропейского происхождения.

Бяч. Вс. Иванов (Los Angeles)

Обращается внимание на гидронимы времени хеттского владычества в Малой Азии, обнаруживающие значительное сходство с балтийскими: х. (или пал[айск.]) *Šariya*: лит. *Saria* (и.-е. **ser-*), х. (или лув[ийск.]) *Ḫulaya*:- лит. *Vilija* и др.-х. *Ḫulana*: лит. *Viln-(ia)* (связано с и.-е. названием шерсти; литовский гидроним представляет значительный интерес в виду его связи с архаическим мифом об основании Вильнюса), лув. *zareyanza *ḫappinanza* «быстрые реки» может быть целиком отождествлено с лит. *Sker-upis*, латыш. *Skaru-upe*; пал. *ḫapnaš... tekanza* — с латыш. *upe tek* и с аналогичным древнеиранским сочетанием со значением «река течет»; лув. *ipp-atar* «иалучина реки» родственно названиям вод типа др.-прус. *Gibb-une*. Ставится вопрос об отражении в первой части древнеанатолийского сложного слова *B/Puruš-ḫanda*, засвидетельствованного в староассирийских текстах рубежа III и II тыс. до н.э. и в легендах о походе в Малую Азию еще более раннего времени, древнего слова, связанного с названием древних пруссов.

LIETUVIŲ IR PRŪSŲ KALBŲ SANTYKIAI
ŽODŽIŲ DARYBOS POŽIŪRIU

SAULIUS AMBRAZAS

Vilnius

Darybos afiksai žymiai dažniau negu kaitybos afiksai keliauja iš vienos kalbos (ar tarmės) į kitą. Todėl žodžių daryboje glūdi nemaža duomenų etnogenезės problemoms spręsti. Šiame straipsnyje norėčiau atkreipti dėmesį į tas žodžių darybos izoglosas, kurios sieja lietuvių ir prūsų kalbas, bet skiria jas nuo latvių kalbos.

Jau seniai pastebėta, kad *d e m i n u t y v a i* su priesaga *-alis(-ė)*¹, paplitę nemažoje žemaičių tarmės dalyje (Lietuvių kalbos atlasas 1991: 132, žemėl. Nr. 117), kur kadaise gyveno kuršiai (Būga 1961: 244), turi tikslų atitikmenį prūsų kalboje, pgl. lie. *puodālis* ir pr. *podalis* 'puodpalaikis' (Bosetop) E 351. Be to, pažymėtina, kad vienose žemaičių tarmės šnektose (pvz., Pagramančio) šio tipo vediniai turi mažybinę reikšmę (Jonikas 1939: 34), o kitose (pvz. Švėksnos, Salantų) — menkinamąją reikšmę (Skardžius 1943: 175; Salys 1992: 75, 337), kurią matome ir minėtame prūsų kalbos vedinyje. Latvių kalboje tokių vedinių beveik visai nėra (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959: 276).

¹ Ši priesaga, kaip ir jos giminaičiai *-elis(-ė)*, *-ėlis(-ė)*, *-(i)ulis(-ė)*, veikiausiai yra kilusi iš determinatyvo **-l-*, kuris gali būti heteroklitinio linksniavimo liekana, pgl. lie. *erėlis*, la. nom. pl. *ereļi*, pr. *arelie* (Are) E 709, sl. **орль* ir het. gen. sing. *ḫaranaš* 'erelio', gr. ὄρνις 'paukštis' (Ambrazas 1994: 134-138).