

Res Balticae 6, 2000, pp. 9-38.

BALTICO-ANATOLICA III.
AN OLD PRUSSIAN-LUWIAN ETYMOLOGY AND DIALECTAL
RELATIONSHIP OF BALTIC AND SOUTHERN ANATOLIAN
INSIDE INDO-EUROPEAN.

VJAČESLAV V. IVANOV
Los Angeles

An Old Prussian adjective *isarwi-s* "true, real" (Nom. Sg. Masc. g.) is attested in a combination with a negation: *ni ifarwis* = vngetrew "unfaithful"¹. From this stem an adverb *isarwi* "truly, really" (also in a negative construction *ni ifarwi* = vntreulich²) and an adjective *isarwi-sk-as* "true" (Nom. Sg. Masc. g.³: *ifarwiskas Deius* = *Warhaftiger GOTT*; *ifarwiskas smunents* = *Warhaftiger Mensch*⁴) with a productive suffix *-sk*⁵ are derived. In its turn from the last adjective a superlative construction with an adverb *uka isarwi-sk-ai* (*vcka ifarwiskai* = *trewlichst*⁶) is formed.

Inside the Old Prussian language it is possible to analyze the stem *is-arwi-* "true" as based on the adjective *arwi-* "true, real" (Nom. Sg. Masc. g. *arwis* = *ware*⁷, *arwis* = *gewiß*⁸, cf. Nom. Sg. Neutr. g.

1 III Catechism, III 67₅: Mažiulis 1981, 149; Schmalstieg 1974, 99; Palmaitis 1998.

2 III Catechism, III 67₂₂, 69₁₁: Mažiulis 1981, 151, 152, 274 (interpretation [*izarvi*] "ištikimai"), 354; Schmalstieg 1974, 116 (interpretation [*is-arvai*], adverb in *-ai*); Toporov 1980, 74-76; Palmaitis 1998 ("really").

3 Cf. a remark on the combination of different functions of the ending *-as* in this form: Smoczyński 1995, 181.

4 III Catechism, III 43₁₀₋₁₂: Mažiulis 1981, 123, 319; Toporov 1980, 76; Palmaitis 1998 ("real, true").

5 Schmalstieg 1974, 94-95 and 95-97, 61-64 on complex suffixes with *-sk-* as a second element. Particularly interesting is an antonymous adjective *reddisk-* "false" and a nearly synonymous stem *tickrōmisk-* "right".

6 III Catechism, III 132₆: Mažiulis 1981, 239, 274 (interpretation [*ukaizarviskai*] "ištikimiasiai"); Schmalstieg 1974, 116; Toporov 1980, 76; Endzelīns 1982, 229.

7 III Catechism, III 73₁₄: Mažiulis 1981, 157.

8 III Catechism, III 86₉: Mažiulis 1981, 175.

arwi = *war*). An analogical derivation with a prefix *per-* may be seen in an adverb *per-arwi* "truly" (= *warlich*⁹), cf. also forms with the suffix *-sk-*: a stem without any prefix *arwi-sk-* "true, certain" (in an adverb *arwi-fk-ai* "truly" = *zwar*¹⁰; *freilich*¹¹, *gewißlich*¹²) and a prefixed form *per- arwi-sk-* "true" (in an adverb *perarwi-fk-ai/-u-* "truly", once written as *per arwi-fk-ai*¹³). An interesting feature of the expressions that include these adjectives and adverbs is a tendency to combine identical or different forms derived from this stem in a sort of figura etymologica: An identical repetition *arwi arwi* "indeed, verily" is seen in a sequence *Amen/ Amen/ sta aft arwi/ arwi adder Ja/ Ja = Amen/ Amen/ das heyft | Ja | Ja* where the repeating Old Prussian *arwi* does not have any correspondence in the German original and thus can be viewed as an authentic Old Prussian ritualistic turn¹⁴. A combination of an adverb with a reenforcing adverb based on the same stem is met at several final parts of the chapters of the III catechism. After the same combination *sta aft* as in the previous example a figura etymologica follows: *sta aft (iau) perarwi-fk-ai arwi = Das ist (je) gewißlich war*¹⁵. As it does not reproduce the structure of the original German expression it can be assigned to the class of those Old Prussian native constructions that have started to be reconstructed recently¹⁶. The analysis of *per-arwi-(sk)-* as shaped on the base of *arwi* by means of a preverb *per-* is supported by such etymological figures. Thus it is possible to suggest that in *is-arwi-* "true" there is an initial prefix *is-* probably similar to the verbal

⁹ III Catechism, III 113₄: Mažiulis 1981, 215, 274 (translation "iš tikro").

¹⁰ III Catechism, III 54₉, 55₁₆: Mažiulis 1981, 135-136; Toporov 1975, 112-113.

¹¹ III Catechism, III 77₁: Mažiulis 1981, 215.

¹² III Catechism, III 121₁₇: Mažiulis 1981, 230.

¹³ Endzelīns 1982, 275; Toporov 1975, 111.

¹⁴ Toporov 1975, 112; 1980, 9.

¹⁵ III Catechism, III 41₁₆; 43₂₅₋₂₆; 45₂₃₋₂₄; 63_{8,9}: Mažiulis 1981, 122, 125, 127, 145.

¹⁶ See on the whole problem and also on some other examples of figura etymologica in reconstructed Old Prussian phraseological combinations: Eckert 1992, 10.

prefix *is-* denoting the completeness of an action¹⁷. One may find an exactly identical shade of meaning in a cognate Lithuanian prefix *iš-* in an adverb *iš-tikimai* that may be selected as a translation of the Old Prussian *is-arwi* [*iz-arwi*]¹⁸.

An accepted standard etymology of the Old Prussian *arwi-* and related words is based on their identification to the root of Proto-Slavic **orv-ьn-* "equal, the same": Old Church Slavonic *равенъ* "regular, even, equal", Bulgarian *raven*, Serbian-Croatian *rávan*, Slovenian *rávən*, Czech and Slovak *rovny*, Polish and dialect Upper Sorbian Luzitian *równy*, Upper Sorbian Luzitian *runy*, Polabian *rouvne*, Ukrainian *rívniy*, White Russian (Byelorussian) *róvny*, Russian *róvnyj*, dialectal *v-rovi* "on a level"¹⁹. As the Old Prussian *is-* [*iz-*] and a related Lithuanian *iš-/iž-* correspond to the Slavic prefix **jьz-*, an attempt has been made to reconstruct a Slavic form corresponding to the Old Prussian *is/z-arwi*. A Proto-Slavic nominal stem **jьz-orv-(ьn)-* has been tentatively reconstructed on the base of Serbian, Croatian *iz-ravan* "straight", Ukrainian *z-rívna* "regularly, evenly", dialectal Russian *iz-rav-n-jat'* "to make regular, even"²⁰.

Inside Baltic a further semantic link has been found in Lithuanian *arvas* "free" to which an exact correspondence has been discovered in Hittite *arawa-š* "free"²¹. The oldest written traces of this Anatolian nominal stem are present already in several personal names that occur in the Old Assyrian tablets from the trade colonies of XXII-XVIII centuries B.C.²² The nominal stem itself in a form

¹⁷ Toporov 1980, 74; Schmalstieg 1974, 116. See on Lithuanian prefix *iš-/iž-* in nominal derivation: Otrębski 1956, 321-322, § 717; Skardžius 1943, 445.

¹⁸ Mažiulis 1981, 274; 1988-1997, s.v. *arwi-s*, *is-arwi-skai* a.o. Cf. also a prepositional phrase *iš tikro*.

¹⁹ On the importance of the latter for the semantic reconstruction: Toporov 1975, 112. On different sides of the etymology cf. already Berneker 1896, 141.

²⁰ Toporov 1980, 75-76.

²¹ Toporov 1975, 112, with detailed bibliography.

²² An early date for such a *karum* (trade center) as Puruṣhanda has been suggested on the base of a newly discovered list of eponyms (*limmu*) studied in connection to data of dendrochronology. A work on chronological

identical to a later Hittite one can be seen in a personal name *A-ra-wa*²³. It appears as a first part of a compound with the second stem *-hš-u-* (probably "descendant, son") characteristic of these "Cappadocian" Anatolian names²⁴: *Arawa-hšu-* (perhaps from "descendant of a free person"). In a relatively recently found tablet a compound *Arawa-hšamina*²⁵ appears in the second part of which a stem identical to a later Hittite *Lūhamina-* "servant, manager" can be found. An interesting evidence of a beginning Anatolian-Hurrian symbiosis may be seen in a compound name *Arawarhi* which contains Hurrian *urhi-* "true, faithful" as its second part. A similar contamination of Anatolian and Hurrian elements might be supposed in later Hittite *arawa-nni-* (in the Hittite Laws and other texts) if *-nni-* is a postposed Hurrian article.

In the Laws and some rituals Old Hittite *arawa-* means "free from taxes or some obligatory work". Derived denominal verbs *araw-ahh-* "to make free" and *araw-eš-* "become free" are formed with productive suffixes²⁶. In Northern Anatolian the root seems to be continued also in Lydian *rava* "set free(?)"²⁷.

In the late South Anatolian Lycian language the existence of the word *arawa* "free" in the legal use exactly corresponding to that in Hittite²⁸ became known with the discovery of a trilingual text in which a construction with this word corresponds to Greek ἀτέλειαν

and dialectological stratification of the names of Indo-European origin found in Old Assyrian texts from these centres has only begun.

23 On this name as well as on the two following compound ones see: Laroche 1966, 37, NN 116-118; 298, 330, 337.

24 See on some other names with this second element: Goetze 1954, 354-356, 359. On a probable meaning: Laroche 1966, 299-305, Gusmani 1968, 94-101. The language seems to be related to Hittite, but different from it.

25 Donbaz 1986, 152.

26 On these words: Puhvel 1984, 119.

27 Gusmani 1982, 86; Melchert 1994, 341, 377-378.

28 Because of this extreme similarity one can not absolutely rule out a possibility of a very early borrowing from Hittite into a Luwian (South Anatolian) dialect that was an immediate predecessor of Lycian.

"tax-exemption" (lines 11-12) while *arawa* is translated as ἀπελευθέρου "freed-men" (line 21)²⁹.

It is possible to suggest another Southern Anatolian Luwian correspondence to the Baltic group of words discussed above. Cuneiform Luwian adjectives *i-šar-(ú-)wa-ya(-an)* "favorable, right"³⁰ and *i-šar-ú-i- (/wi₅-)li-iš* "right (hand); favorable"³¹ constitute an exact match to the Old Prussian stem [izarwi-] "true". Semantically the meaning "favorable, right" is very close to "true"³² (as can be shown, by the way, on the example of English *right* that can combine both these senses).

In an archaic ritual going back to the Old Hittite period there is a formula *an-za-ti i-šar-wi₅-li-iš a-aš-ti* "... to us right (= favorable) is"³³ (in the next line a synonymous sign ZAG "right, favorable"³⁴ with a phonetic complement *-iš* is used in the same meaning). In a later copy of the Middle Hittite ritual of Kuwatalla there are 2 symmetrical lines:

17' *i-pa-la-ti-du-wa-an hu-i-nu-wa-a[h-ha*

18' *i-šar-ú-i-la-ti hu-i-nu-wa-a[h-ha*

"I have cau[sed] him (*-an*, Acc. Sg. of the enclitic pronoun of the 3 Pers. *-a-*) run for this man = the patient (*-du* Dat.-Abl. Sg. of *-a-*) on the left (*i-pa-la-ti*) side, I have caus[ed] [him (*-an*, Acc. Sg. of *-a-*)] run [for this man = the patient (*-du*, Dat.-Abl. Sg. of *-a-*)] on the right (*i-šar-ú-i-la-ti*) side"³⁵. In the other part of this ritual the same Luwian formula is expanded: *i-pa-la-a-ti-du-wa-an hu-i-[n]u-wa-a[h-ha*

29 Laroche 1979, 58, 66, 69, 103, 117-118; Carruba 1977, 296.

30 Melchert 1993b, 94.

31 Laroche 1959, 53; Melchert 1993b, 94.

32 On semantic shift in the words for "right" and "left" cf. Fraenkel 1950, 110; Beekes 1994; Ivanov 1999c.

33 KUB XXXV 133 Rs.IV 11"; Starke 1985, 282; the text is a XVI century copy of an Old Hittite ritual (XVIIc. B.C.).

34 Rüter, Neu 1989, 212, N 238; the double sense of this logogram makes it possible to ascribe both meanings to a corresponding Luwian word.

35 KUB XXXV 20 Ro 6-7; Starke 1985, 85; cf. already remarks by Otten 1953, 37, 100-101. The last grammatically unusual sentence lacking all the enclitic particles may continue a line of an archaic Luwian verse of the type studied by Watkins 1995, 144-151.

*a-du-ut-ta i-pa-la-a-ti-en la-at-ta i-šar-ú-i-la-ti-[i-p]la-du-wa-an hu-i-nu-wa-ah-
 ha a-du-ut-ta at-tu-wa-li-in h[a-a]t-ta-aš-ta-ri-in la-at-ta* "I have caused
 him to run for this man on the left side, and (conjunction *a-*) directly
 (*-tta*, a locative particle³⁶) the leftness-sinisterness (*i-pa-la-a-ti-en*,
 Acc. Sg. of *ipalat[i]*³⁷) he has taken from him, I have caused him (*-
 an*, Acc. Sg. of *-a-*) run [for this man = the patient (*-du*, Dat.-Abl. Sg.
 of *-a-*)] on the right (*i-šar-ú-i-la-ti*) side and he has taken the evil
 fear"³⁸. A Hittite correspondence to this Luwian formula is
 contained in the ritual preserved in two copies³⁹: GÜB-lazz-an-ta
*huinunun nu-šši-kan GÜB-latar daš ZAG-na-ma-an-da huinunun nu-
 tta-kan idalu hatugatar daš* "On the left side I have caused him run for
 you, and he has taken sinisterness. On the right side (Hittite *kunna*)
 I have caused him run for you, and he has taken evil terror". In the
 Hittite part of the ritual in which the Luwian formula occurs
 corresponding actions of the magician-the priestess (The Old
 Woman) are described: *nu-uš-šan* SAL.ŠU.GI UDU BABBAR A.NA
 EN SISKUR *an-da a-p-pa-an-na 4-ŠU ir-ḫa-a-iz-zi ḫa-an-te-iz-zi p[al-ši
 Z]JAG-az EGIR-AN-DA GÜB-la-az EGIR-an-da*⁴⁰ "and the Old
 Woman finishes tying up the patient (the person who has ordered
 the ritual) to the white sheep: first [of all to the r]ight side, then to
 the left one..." From this ritual it can be seen that the evil has been
 associated with the left side. The right one was that of luck. It seems
 that this meaning is characteristic of the derived stem *i-šar-ú-i-li-ya-
 an* "of the right hand = favorable"⁴¹.

36 Melchert 1993b, 199-200.

37 See on Luwian word for "left" (*ipala-*) cognate to Tocharian (B
šwālyai, A *šālyi* "left") and to migratory cultural terms in other families:
 Ivanov 1999, 38-39. The evil according to Luwian and Hittite texts was
 connected to the bad left side (Hittite GÜB-latar): Laroche 1959, 52; Melchert
 1993b, 90. On the symbolism of the "left side" in the Hittite religion see:
 Ivanov 1976; on typological parallels cf. Ivanov 1998; Needham 1973;
 Maybory-Lewis, Almagor 1992 (with references).

38 KUB XXXV 43 II 16-17; Laroche 1959, 147-148 (with references);
 Starke 1985, 144.

39 KUB IX 4 II 10-12 + KUB IX 34 III 8-10, Laroche 1959, 149-150.

40 KUB XXXV 43 II 19-21; Laroche 1959, 148; Starke 1985, 144.

41 Melchert 1993b, 94 (both the context are not clear).

The last form shows that the basic stem was ending in *-i-* to
 which a suffix *-li-*⁴² (modified as *-liya-* in *išarwi-li-ya-*) has been
 added. The adjective *išarway-* "favorable" may have another ablaut
 grade of the same diphthong ending in *-i*.

In a prayer (Hittite *mugawar*) included into a magical ritual⁴³ the
 Cuneiform Luwian word *išarwili-* "right (hand)" is used twice as an
 epithet of a name of a paired part of body (^{UZU}*kaldunni-*, probably
 "thigh"⁴⁴). In connection with the same name of a body part the
 word *išarway-* occurs in a magical medicine ritual. In a line after the
 next one in the same text an adjective *i-šar-ú-i-li-ya-an* "favorable"
 appears⁴⁵. If the proposed equation of these Luwian forms to the
 Old Prussian ones is right, one may suppose that not only the ritual
 use connected with the magical and mythological associations, but
 also a stylistic repetition of the words derived from this Indo-
 European stem were inherited from a mythopoetic tradition going
 back to the time when a common ancestor of these two branches
 had existed. In that case the translators of German catechisms into
 Old Prussian used a term that had a sacred shade of meaning in the
 pre-Christian Western Baltic paganistic tradition.

If the semantic closeness of Old Prussian [*izarwi-*] "true" and
 Luwian *išarw(a)i-* "right, favorable" is beyond any doubt, there is
 also an interesting detail proving the possibility of exact phonetic
 matching of the two stems. The initial part of the Luwian stem in all
 the three words derived from it is always written with an ordinary
 sign for the intervocalic consonant: *i-šar-*. This cuneiform spelling is
 opposed to a consistent writing of a partly similar word for "hand".
 If in the latter the following sonorant *-r-* is written with a preceding
*-a-*⁴⁶, the intervocalic spirant always has a double spelling: *iš-ša-ra/i-*

42 Melchert, ib., speaks of a (diminutive) suffix *-ila-*, but as Meriggi
 (1980, 292, 293, § 55, 59) remarks, the adjectives in *-li-* have forms of Abl. in
-ati.

43 KBo XXIX 31 Rs. IV 3',4'; Starke 1985, 364 (the text dates of the
 XIVth century B.C.).

44 Melchert 1993 b, 98.

45 KBo XXIX 16 Vs. II 8'-10'; Starke 1985, 196.

46 It is still disputable whether it was pronounced with this vowel, see
 on different opinions about Hittite and Luwian spelling: Melchert 1994, 29
 and 151, 272 on Hieroglyphic Luwian *i-s(á)-t(a)-ra/i-* < *isra/i-* "hand".

47. This consistent opposition of -š- and -šš- contradicts a hypothesis according to which the word for "the right hand" is derived from the Luwian form of the Indo-European word for "hand"⁴⁸ (*iššar-i- < *ǵhes-r-*). The latter contained an Indo-European voiceless phoneme *-s- rendered by double spelling both in Hittite (*keššar*) and Luwian. The opposition of double and single spelling here as in general according to Sturtevant's rule presupposes an earlier distinction of two series of Indo-European non-sonorant consonants. The old voiceless phonemes were rendered by double spelling (probably tense or intensive)⁴⁹ while the series usually understood as a voiced (lax or glottalic according to the glottalic theory⁵⁰) is rendered by a consonant written once. In that case Luwian *išarwi-* can be seen as an exact phonetic correspondence of the reconstructed Old Prussian stem *[izarwi].

If one believes in the identity of these two stems, then (despite a semantic change that can be easily explained), this Luwian-Old Prussian isogloss is exceptionally exact⁵¹, as, for instance, the famous equation of Hittite *dalug-ašti* = Proto-Slavic **dľgostь* > Polish

47 See the spelling forms enumerated in: Melchert 1993b, 95.

48 Tentatively suggested in: Laroche 1959, 53. An indirect argument in favor of this suggestion might be found in those Luwian texts where both the adjectives and the word for hand are used in neighboring lines: KBo XIX 16 Vs. II 8'-10', 15'. But a co-occurrence of an adjective "right" and a name for "hand" in the same context can be easily explained semantically. If the proposed etymology of the adjective is accepted, this hypothesis must be abandoned as in Baltic the initial consonant of the (lost) name of "hand" (corresponding to Greek χ- in χείρ, Old Indian h- < *gh- in *has-ta-*) has been preserved in its derivatives in a satəm form (cf. Lithuanian *pa-žastis*).

49 Melchert 1994, 150, 266, thinks of gemination of *-s- in clusters; in that case the form discussed here should be seen as not having a cluster (i.e. having a vowel between the spirant and the sonorant). In Lycian *izre* "hand" Melchert, ib., 315, supposes a change to a voiceless affricate, and not later voicing.

50 Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1995.

51 Just because of this a possibility of a chance coincidence still exists but it is quite low particularly since there is some semantic change making the identity of the two items not absolutely complete.

*dlugość*⁵². In the latter the derivational suffixes are also identical. Let us look at the probable derivational history of our stems.

Old Prussian *iz-arwi-* can be analyzed as an archaic form an *-i*⁵³ based on an old stem in *-*u-/-w-o-*. Instead of the type of the Old Indian *pr̥thwī* "earth < broad" Baltic has usually formations in *-i* like Lithuanian *plat-i* as a Feminine gender counterpart of *plat-ū-s* "wide" (Masc. g.). But an older stage with a sequence of a widely represented Baltic adjective suffix *-u-* and a following *-i-* (originally not necessarily representing the Feminine gender)⁵⁴ could have left traces in some archaic stems⁵⁵. Such a sequence can be supposed in the Old Prussian *arwi- < *or-u-i-* as well as in **iš-arwi-* derived from it. The final part of the Luwian adjective *išarwi-* can be analyzed in a similar way. The element *-i-* in such stems as Hittite *parkui-* "pure" is usually analyzed as a parallel to the "Motion" in the other Indo-European dialects⁵⁶. In Anatolian (as also in Baltic according to Stang) its function need not necessarily be connected to the grammatical notion of a Feminine gender that did not exist either in Hittite or in Luwian. The original structure of Luwian *išarwi-* seems similar to that of Hittite *parkui-* "pure", *dankui-* "dark" = Luwian *dakkui-* (see on it below), Hittite *warḫui-* "rough, shaggy"⁵⁷ and Latin *gravis* "heavy", *levis* "light", *pinguis* "fat", *suavis* "sweet", *tenuis* "slender".

More difficult is a decision about a morphological structure of an initial part of Luwian *išarwi-*. If one can judge on the base of the comparison to Baltic, one should suppose that a morph *iš-* was added to a stem cognate to Lycian *arawa* "free"⁵⁸. A hint at this

52 Ivanov 1957b;1987 (with references).

53 See on the basic stem *arwi-* in this connection: Endzelīns 1971, 173, 275; Stang 1966, 180, 259.

54 Stang 1970, 26-39, 171; 1966, 262.

55 Schmid 1970, 471-472.

56 Pedersen 1938, 35 ff.; Gusmani 1968, 92; Kimball 1983, 495ff.; Oettinger 1987; Starke 1990, 59ff.; Melchert 1994, 102, 240.

57 Gusmani 1968, 92.

58 In several works (see: Laroche 1979) Laroche suggested an etymology of *arawa-* presupposing its derivation from a social term *ara-* (cf. Puhvel 1984, 120). The scope of semantic changes both in Luwian and in

direction might be probably received from Lycian *ihi-qla*⁵⁹. In the latter a prefix *ih-i* (< Luwian **is-i*) is parallel to *hr-i(-)* "up, on top" (< Luwian *šarr-i*, old Dat. Sg. of a noun related to the Old Hittite relational noun *šer*⁶⁰) in *hr-i-q/xla(di)* "acro-polis, Ober-hof" based on the stem *qla-* "curt(yard), sacred precinct"⁶¹. Since the meaning of Lycian *ihi* is not clear, to understand its function one may study less rarely used Lycian words.

A preverb *ese-* "with, com-"⁶² enters some compounds of the type similar to the Luwian adjectives under discussion. A similar preverb that may be traced back to Indo-European **eghs-* (Latin *ex*) might have resulted in Luwian **es/z-*⁶³ > *iz-* > *iš-*.

There is yet another possibility. One need not start with the morphological analysis of the Old Prussian [*izarwi-*] since it may be in the long run a popular etymology. To begin with Southern Anatolian one may think of an initial combination with a morph parallel to the one reflected in Lycian *ese-r-i* "together"⁶⁴. It might have been originally identical to the Avestan *iš-arə* "just, in a moment, right away"⁶⁵. To such a pronominal adverb a suffix *-u-* was added (that later might be thematized resulting in **wo-* as in some Western Indo-European dialects in adjectives semantically close to the Luwian one: Gothic *taihswa* "right", Gaulish *Dexsiva*, Mycenaean Greek *de-ki-si-wo*; Latin *laevus*, Greek *λαίος*, Old Church Slavonic **lěvъ* "left"; Lithuanian *kreivias* "crooked, curved" connected to the name/title of an Old Prussian priest *Krive*⁶⁶). The addition of a

Baltic speaks against this suggestion. The root of Greek ἀρείων "better, superior", ἀριστερός seems a more probable starting point.

⁵⁹ Melchert 1993a, 30.

⁶⁰ Laroche 1959a.

⁶¹ Melchert 1993a, 27, 60.

⁶² Melchert 1993a, 20.

⁶³ Not necessarily identical to the Lycian preverb since Lycian *-s* should go back to **k* while **s* > Lycian *h*, **gh* > \emptyset in Luwian-Lycian. Thus Lycian *ese* may go back to **egse* only if an early devoicing **gs* > *ks* had taken place before the palatalized *k* > *s* and *ks* > *ss* that changed to *s* avoiding the fate of a usual **s*.

⁶⁴ Melchert 1993a, 21.

⁶⁵ Bartholomae 1979, 374-375.

⁶⁶ Toporov 1984, 196-205 (with references).

secondary suffix *-i-* constitutes a last stage of this development. In that case the establishment of the links to adjectives without the initial **is-/iz-* (of the type of Old Prussian *arwi-*, Lycian *arawa-*) belongs to a much later reinterpretation on the part of speakers (popular etymology) or scholars (in their diachronic studies). But since these two processes might have lead to similar results in two branches if Indo-European, for probabilistic reasons this second hypothesis is less reliable than the first one that starts with a stem **(o)r-/*ar-* to which a preverb had been added.

No matter which of the two alternative derivations is preferred, the equation of Old Prussian [*izarwi-*] "true" and Luwian *išarw(a)i-* "right, favorable" seems to constitute an interesting example of an isogloss uniting Western Baltic (to which Slavic correspondences probably may be added) and Southern Anatolian. Luwian *išarwili-* "right" is specific only for this branch as Hittite has another term: *kunna-* "on the right side"⁶⁷. In the light of this comparison one may ask a question about possible relationship of the two branches of Indo-European: Western Baltic and Southern Anatolian. This problem has not yet been studied since until recently a view prevailed according to which Hittite and Luwian can be viewed as one general category in terms of Indo-European dialectology. Both these languages have been subsumed under a cover term of Anatolian.

There are two articles dedicated to common features and differences between Baltic and Anatolian. In the first of them Jaan Puhvel discussed mainly two problems. The first one is important for the etymology of an adjective in *-u-i-* based on *-u-* that we have discussed. Puhvel points out the fact that adjectives in **-u-* are formed from verbs both in Hittite and Lithuanian⁶⁸. There is a group of *-u-* adjectives common to several Indo-European dialects and probably going back to Proto-Indo-European. In this connection Puhvel mentions also such a Cuneiform Luwian adjective as *wāš-u-*

⁶⁷ See on a possible Indo-European etymology of the term that occurs already in the Old Hittite inscription of the king Anitta: Melchert 1994, 162, 252; cf. Goetze 1954.

⁶⁸ Puhvel 1982, 180-182. See in more details on a comparison of Hittite *panku-* "total" and Lithuanian *bingūs* "stout-hearted" that opens the list of adjectives in Puhvel's article: Ivanov 1957; Gusmani 1968, 95.

"good" corresponding to Palaic *waš-u-* "good", Sanskrit *vásu-*, Avestan *vohu-* "good", Gaulish *Vesu-*, Germanic *Wisu-*; this stem was present both in Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic (*wa/i-su*) Luwian, but not in Hittite (that had *ašš-u-* corresponding to Sanskrit *su-*, cf. Greek *εύ-*)⁶⁹. The stem with the initial *w-* is present in Northern Anatolian Palaic that in some other isoglosses also joins Southern Anatolian Luwian.

Puhvel came to the conclusion that Lithuanian adjectives like *bingùs* "stout-hearted", *lengvùs* "light", *platùs* "wide", *kartùs* "bitter"⁷⁰, *gurdùs* "slow" go back to Proto-Indo-European. He also specified a small group of adjectives of this type common to Lithuanian and Hittite and formed from Indo-European verbs partly preserved in these dialects: Lithuanian *alp-ù-s* "weak" (the verb *alp-ti* "swoon"): Hittite *alp-u-š* "smooth, rounded" (also *alp-ant-* "swooned, weak - about a sick child, mild - of cheese", probably an old participle in *-nt-* of a verb lost in Hittite⁷¹); in Luwian a corresponding nominal stem might be represented in a possessive adjective with a Luwian suffix *-ašši-* occurring as an epithet of "mild[?]" bread prepared as porridge *<al-pa-aš-ši-iš* in KBo II 4 II 22, III 26, IV 4 where a *Glossenkeil* points to a Luwian origin⁷²); Lithuanian *svarù-s* "heavy" (the verb *sver-ti* "lift, heave, weigh"⁷³): Hittite *šuwaru-š* "weighty, hefty, mighty"; probably Lithuanian *gudrù-s* "wise, clever" if it is connected to the Hittite *kutruwa-* (another etymology presupposes connection of the Hittite word to the Indo-European numeral "4" lost in Anatolian⁷⁴); Lithuanian *išk-ù-s* "clear" possibly connected to Hittite *išku-na-hh-* "proclaim(?)⁷⁵, Old Church Slavonic *jasnъ* "clear";

69 Cf. Gusmani 1968, 107-108; Rosenkranz 1978, 119.

70 See more details in Gusmani 1968, 103-104.

71 Puhvel 1984, 38-41.

72 Cf. texts in: Haas 1990, 282; 286; 298; Hoffner 1974, 150; Puhvel 1984 (with another etymology suggested by Laroche); Melchert 1993b, 10.

73 On related forms in Germanic and maybe some other Indo-European dialects: Lehmann 1986, 181-182.

74 Oettinger 1982, 174, fn. 46; Puhvel 1984-, vol. 3, s.v. *kutruwa-*; Carruba 1999, 155-156; Ivanov 1996.

75 Another Anatolian stem in *-na-* of a similar type originally linked to the Indo-European adjectives in **-u-* may be present in Luwian *mannakuna/i* "short" (a Hittite borrowing in Luwian as seen by the preservation of

Lithuanian *arž-ù-s* "lustful" corresponding to the stem of the Old Hittite *ark-* "mount, copulate with"⁷⁶. Studying these words Puhvel established that Lithuanian adjectives of this type may go back to Indo-European. In Old Prussian to this group an adjective *aug-u-s* "greedy" might have belonged if one accepts a traditional etymology linking it to Indo-European **aug-*⁷⁷. The same problem of the deverbal adjectives in *-u-* and their particular spread in Hittite and other ancient dialects has been discussed earlier in a special chapter of Gusmani's book on Hittite vocabulary⁷⁸.

Gusmani's and Puhvel's findings concerning archaic preservation of Indo-European of Indo-European deverbal adjectives in *-u-* in Baltic and Anatolian find interesting continuation in recent discoveries of Gordon Whittacker. According to his hypothesis in a "Euphratic" Indo-European dialect some elements of which are found in the oldest Mesopotamian tablets in IV-III mil. B.C. there was a whole group of adjectives in **-u-*⁷⁹ like Euphratic [*guru-d*] "thick, heavy" (Sanskrit *gur-ú-* "heavy", Greek *βαρύς* "heavy, thick"); Euphratic [*lugu-d*] "short" (Sanskrit *lagh- ú-* "light, slight", Greek *ελαχύς* "small, short"); Euphratic [*dugu-d*] "heavy" (Old Icelandic *þungr* "heavy", Lithuanian *ting-ù-s* "lazy, sluggish, slow", the verb *ting-ti*⁸⁰). If the Euphratic hypothesis of Whittacker is proven, one will see in these materials also an argument in favor of Puhvel's theory according to which Lithuanian adjectives like *ting-ù-s* can be traced back to Proto-Indo-European.

-k-; Hittite *manninkuwa* "short", Melchert 1993b, 136) if (on the assumption of an assimilation of **-r- > -nn-*) it can be traced back to **mygh-u-* "short" (Sanskrit *múhu-r* "suddenly, at once", Vedic *muhūrtá-* "moment", from Middle Indo-Aryan, Avestan *mərəzu-* "short" in compounds, Greek *βραχύς*, Latin *brevis*, Gothic *ga-maurgjan* "shorten", Gusmani 1968, 102; Lehmann 1986, 145).

76 Puhvel 1984, 142-143.

77 Toporov 1975, 147-148.

78 Gusmani 1968, 91-119, see on Lithuanian on p. 114, fn. 73. The chapter escaped Puhvel's attention.

79 Whittacker 1998, 133-143.

80 See on the relation between the verb and the adjective: Skardžius 1943, 34, 58.

Another group of facts studied by Puhvel consists of similar features of verbs of speaking in Baltic and Anatolian⁸¹. At the end of the article Puhvel stresses significance of the common archaisms found in these two Indo-European dialects.

Just the problem of archaisms and conservative features in these dialects has been studied recently by Adolf Erhart⁸². In his systematic survey of their respective features he has also paid attention to the problem of adjectives with the *-u-* stems. Their relative large number in Lithuanian is seen by him as an archaism if one compares this language to the rest of West Indo-European (in Eastern Indo-European the type is well represented, see the Indo-Iranian and Greek examples above)⁸³. While discussing relative archaism of Anatolian he speaks only about Hittite as its main (and better understood) representative. Now it is possible to continue this discussion paying particular attention to Cuneiform and Hieroglyphic Luwian. In some respects these languages (and in general Southern Anatolian including Lycian, more archaic but poorly understood Lycian B or Milyan, as well as recently becoming more understandable Carian, and also Sidetic and Pisidian) differ from Hittite (and Northern Anatolian as a whole including Palaic and Lydian) and are linked with some important isoglosses to Baltic. The following phonological, grammatical and lexical items (some of them still controversial) seem important to establish a particular relation of Southern Anatolian to Baltic (and also to Slavic).

In *phonology* particularly important seems the fact that while Hittite and the other Northern Anatolian languages belong to the centum dialects in which Indo-European palatals merged with velars, in Southern Anatolian (as in Proto-Baltic) Indo-European

⁸¹ Puhvel 1982, 183-184. Some of these and similar isoglosses were pointed out also in: Ivanov 1970; 1981, 108-109, 140, 165 a.o.

⁸² Erhart 1995.

⁸³ Erhart 1995, 7. Latin is also archaic in this respect, but, as noticed above, the *-u-* stems in adjectives are systematically transformed into the **-u/w-i-* type. Since Old Prussian *arwi-* and adjectives derived from it belong to the latter, it is possible to see in them a characteristic transformation of the West Indo-European type. According to the proposed etymology, this transformation is shared also by Luwian (South Anatolian).

voiceless palatals developed into affricates/fricatives (*satəm* type)⁸⁴. Old Hittite *ki-ir* [*kēr*], *kardi-* "heart", Greek κῆρ, καρδί "heart" < I-E **kēr, kyd-*: Cuneiform Luwian *zart-*, *zarza*, Hieroglyphic Luwian *zarza* "heart", Old Prussian *βer*, Lithuanian *širdi-s*, Latvian *sirds*, Old Church Slavonic *srъdb-ce* "heart"⁸⁵; Hittite *ki-* "this": Luwian *za-/zi-* "this", Lithuanian *ši-s*, Old Church Slavonic *sъ-*; Hittite *ki-ta (ri)* "to lie, be put", Palaic *ki-tar*, Greek κεί-ται: Luwian *zi-* "to lie", Lycian *si-*, Sanskrit *śe-te*, Avestan *saē-te*. Since in these forms in Luwian and Lycian the development into affricates/spirants is attested in a position before frontal vowels, that could have been interpreted also as a later event giving a result converging in respect to the palatalization in the other *satəm* dialects. But this alternative hypothesis is ruled out in those cases where the same change occurs in the other positions: Hittite *karawar* "horn", Loc. *garaun-II*, Cuneiform Luwian *zarwani(ya)*, Hieroglyphic Luwian *zu-ra/i-na/i* "horn"⁸⁶, Lithuanian *stirna* "roe, doe", Latvian *stirna*, Old Church Slavonic *srъna*⁸⁷; Hittite *kuwan* "dog(?)"⁸⁸, Greek κύων: Hieroglyphic Luwian *zú-wa/i-n(i)* "dog", Old Prussian *sun-is*, Lithuanian *šuo*, Latvian *suns*, Sanskrit *śuva-*; Indo-European (Northern Anatolian?)

⁸⁴ Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies 1986; Melchert 1987. As Luwian preserved labiovelars, Southern Anatolian may be compared to those *satəm* dialects that (as Armenian and Albanian) have shown traces of all the three distinct rows of 'guttural' consonants (velars, labiovelars, palatals); traces of labiovelars are found not only in Prot-Slavic, but also in Proto-Indo-Iranian. But in Luwian (as in the other dialects of this type) labiovelars tended to disappear mainly due to their secondary palatalization: Ivanov 1999.

⁸⁵ On a Baltic and Indo-European name for "heart" cf. in particular Szemerényi 1970; Ivanov 1957b; 1981, 143-147.

⁸⁶ Nussbaum 1986, 31 (see index, s.v.); Melchert 1994, 234 (see index, s.v.). On the base of this word and two others with the same development of **ku/w-* the *satəm* character of Hieroglyphic Luwian was discovered already in: Bonfante, Gelb 1944.

⁸⁷ Endzelins (1971, 70, § 73) supposed the change **ts* (cf. Luwian *z-*) > *st-*. Both in Baltic and Slavic there are forms with centum changes in the same root (Ivanov 1957b, 1958 with references) probably (as E. Hamp suggested also in connection to Albanian) depending on a position before a sonorant.

⁸⁸ Melchert 1994, 94 (with references).

proper name *Akuwa* mentioned in several Old Assyrian tablets from trade centres and probably originally connected to the Indo-European name of horse⁸⁹, Latin *equus* "horse": Cuneiform Luwian *azz/ššuwā-* "horse", Lycian *esbe*⁹⁰: Old Prussian *aswinan* "horse milk", Old Lithuanian *ašvā* "mare", Sanskrit *áśva-* "horse".

Among significant isoglosses in the nominal morphology one should pay attention to the change the Indo-European name for "earth" (originally a root noun in **m/-n: *dh[e]ǵhom* > Hittite *tegan/tagn-/tgan*, Tocharian A *tkam* [*tkan*]⁹¹, Greek *χθών* with a metathesis in the initial group of stop consonants) for an *-i-* stem in Cuneiform Luwian *tiyammi*⁹² < **dheǵom-i-*: Baltic **ǵem-yā/ē* > Old Prussian *semme*, Lithuanian *žemė*, Latvian *zeme*; Proto-Slavic **zem-i-/y-ā/ē* > Old Church Slavonic *zemlja*, Russian *zeml'a / na-zem'*. The original **-y-* lost in most cases in Baltic is reconstructed on the base of the Genitive Plural (Lithuanian *žemių*, Latvian *zemju*)⁹³. As the type has changed in later prehistoric Baltic it can be assigned to the earliest Proto-Balto-Slavic period. Thus a real dialectal link to Southern Anatolian (and not simply a convergent shift in a similar direction) seems possible for the reasons of relative chronology.

Luwian is more archaic than Balto-Slavic since in it the synchronic analysis of this stem helps to see the function of the suffix *-i-* in *tiyam-i-* as different from *tiyamm-ant-i-š* "the sky = ether as magical substance in a ritual" (an isolated occurrence together with *tappaš-ant-*

89 Ivanov 1999a, 193-194, fn. 294 ff.

90 Ivanov 1999, 36-37; 1999a, 185-188.

91 Recently it was supposed that this form is significant for dialectological classification of Tocharian. As far as Hittite is concerned one might speak of a shared archaism in respect to Tocharian A while a loss of the first consonant in Tocharian B *kem* shows a beginning of the process similar to that in a dialect that evolved into Balto-Slavic.

92 On different possible explanations of a Hieroglyphic Luwian form *takamma* similar to the Hittite one (a Northern Anatolian borrowing?) see: Melchert 1994; Ivanov 1999, 39. Probably the palatal consonant was depalatalized before a sonorant in a stem **dhe/oǵhm-* > *tkam-* (cf. Tocharian A *tkam* = Hittite *tgan*) as in several intermediary *satəm* dialects (see above on Hamp's view of Albanian).

93 Endzelins 1971, 88, 97; Stang 1976, 3, 101, 115, 180.

iš "sky"⁹⁴ in KUB XXXV 37 II 14-15⁹⁵) and the stem of a possessive adjective *tiyamm-ašši-š* "belonging to the sky". The stem *tiyamm-i-* in a mythological narrative about the banquet of All the Gods⁹⁶ corresponds to the Hittite *Dagan-zipa-* "the Divinity of Earth, the Spirit of Earth"⁹⁷. It occurs also in a mixed Hittite-Luwian mythological and ritual context in which an epithet - Luwian *dakkui*, Hittite *dankui* "dark" refers to this divine creature⁹⁸. The combination "Dark (Black) Earth" has Indo-European correspondences, for instance, in Latvian *dainas* (folk songs) in which the adjective *melna* "black" refers to *zeme* "earth" that can be seen as cognate to the Luwian word, cf. a similar semantic combination *γᾶν μέλαιναν* "dark earth" in Sappho⁹⁹ where the Greek adjective is etymologically the same as that used in a *daina*. But since the same semantic combination of different roots is met in Hittite *išta-razzil* "the black (dark) earth" equivalent (with a reverse word order) to Modern Adygh (North-West Caucasian) *šćy f'yts'eri* "earth-black"¹⁰⁰ it seems possible to see in this mythopoetic formula a common feature of mediterranean cultures and their neighbors. The earth was considered to be a divine person (cf. typologically *Mat' Syra Zemlja*

94 In Luwian (Cuneiform *tappaš-*, Hieroglyphic *tipas-* "sky") the initial Indo-European **n-* in **nebhes-* (> Hittite *nēpiš-* "sky": Sanskrit *nabhas-*, Old Church Slavonic *nebo*, oblique stem *nebes-*) loses nasalization as in Lithuanian *debesis*, Latvian *debess* "sky".

95 The sense of the sentence (Meriggi 1957, 23, cf. on the previous part Meriggi 1957a, 58-59; Ivanov 1958a) contradicts the definition of these *-nt-* form as Ergatives (Melchert 1993b, 208, 230) based only on formal similarity to Hittite *nepiš-ant-*. See on the form Meriggi 1980, 308, II § 106.

96 Ivanov 1998a.

97 Laroche 1959, 97, 159. A later analysis seems purely formal (Kimball 1983, 437, fn. 20, Melchert 1993b, 231; 1994, 236, 242, 252, 254, 259, 263), but constitutes a step backwards from Laroche's intuitive breakthrough. A locative with a zero ending at the early period to which Kimball and Melchert trace back the Luwian word is an absolute form of the stem and thus does not explain the origin of the Luwian stem that is not a locative.

98 KUB XXXV 145 Rs. III 8', Starke 1985, 231. See on the Indo-European etymology (Old Icelandic *dakkr*, German *dunkel*): Gusmani 1968, 92.

99 Snell 1981, 27, N 27, line 2.

100 Ivanov 1985, 37.

"The Wet Mother- Earth" in the Russian folklore with a possible explanation of the adjective as going back to Iranian *Sūra* in Iranian *aradvī Sūra Anahitā*, chtonic deities — Mothers Goddesses of the Ancient Anatolia etc.) and the addition of the suffix *-i-* was connected to this symbolic representation.

In the sphere of nominal derivation Luwian possessive adjectives in *-šši-* < *-*sk-* of the same type as in Tocharian and Slavic can be compared to Baltic adjectives in *-is/ška-* of the type of the Old Prussian *tawiskan* "väterliche" (see also examples of *-sk-* derivatives from the adjectives discussed above). The suffix is considered to be a characteristic derivational feature of North-West Indo-European. Luwian uses these forms in cases when in Hittite one may expect mostly genitives in *-(a)š* and *-an*¹⁰¹. From this syntactic point of view Baltic¹⁰² is closer to Hittite than to Luwian.

In the sphere of nominal inflexion Eastern Indo-European dialectal Locative Plural in **-s-u*¹⁰³ (Sanskrit *-su*, Avestan *-su/-hu/-šu*, Balto-Slavic *-*su*) has been preserved (maybe in another function) in Hieroglyphic Luwian *ta-ra/i-su* "thrice", Milyan *trisu* identical formally to Sanskrit *tri-su* = Lithuanian dialectal *trisù* = OCS *trixŭ*; cf. Milyan *tbisu*, Lycian *kbihu* "twice"¹⁰⁴. This isogloss (still controversial as there are different historical explanations of the Southern Anatolian form) might be especially important in restricting the dialectological place of Luwian as an Eastern Indo-European dialect belonging together with Indo-Iranian and Balto-Slavic.

Particularly revealing in this respect is a lexical index of a past tense present in Cuneiform Luwian *puwa* "formerly" (Lycian *puwe-*). The form is important both for verbal morphology and as a vocabulary item. It is found in such formulae as *pa-aš/u-na-at-ti-iš pu-ú-wa* [*ku-w*]a-ti a-aš-ta na-nu-un-ḫa-aš a-pa-ti a-aš-du/a-

101 Mittelberger 1965.

102 Fraenkel 1950, 101.

103 See on its dialectal distribution: Erhart 1995, 7.

104 See on these forms and their different possible explanations: Ivanov 1996, 714-715; Blažek 1999, 165.

ya-ru "and as she/the woman (during whose labour the rite has to be performed) was (*āšt[a]*, 3 P. Sg. Past of *aš* < **es-*) previously, so (in a similar state) let her be/ let her do now"¹⁰⁵; a similar opposition of the active (quasi-Ergative) forms in *-za* of derived nouns *puwa-til-za* "the past" and *na-nun-tarr-i-* "the present" is attested in a ritualistic enumeration of binary oppositions (like "life" and "death")¹⁰⁶ while in a partly similar enumeration¹⁰⁷ *puwa-til* "the past" is opposed to *pariyan-al-* "the future". Luwian *puwa* goes back to Indo-European **bhuH-*, a suppletive verb "to be" from which the forms of the Perfect (and modal categories linked to it including Future) and/or the Past and Infinitive are derived in Indo-Iranian (Vedic 1 P. Sg. Injunctive *bhuvam*, Avestan *bābhv-are* "they used to be", Conj. 1 P. *bva*, cf. Oscan *fuid*), Italic (Latin *fui*), Celtic (Old Irish *bofe* < **bhowe-yo*, 3 P. Rel. Abs.), Germanic and Balto-Slavic: Lith. *būvo* "it was, they were" = Old Irish *bā*, Slavic **by-lъ* (cf. Old Prussian *boul-ai*)¹⁰⁸, Past Part., Rus. *byl*, 3 P. Sg. Past masc., *byloe* "past" (= Luwian *puwala* "past"), *o-byva-tel'* "inhabitant, resident" < **(o-)buh-VH-t(e)l-i-s* formally comparable to Luwian *puw-a-til*. A form of the verb **bhwe-* without a suffix *-i-* is characteristic for Western Baltic and Slavic different from Eastern Baltic¹⁰⁹. In a Luwian combination *puwa ašta* "formerly he/she/it was" the semantic value of the Past is coded twice: in the lexical meaning of *puwa* and in the morphological meaning of the secondary ending *-i(a)*, cf. Latin *fu-it*.

In Hittite in a similar function *karu* "formerly"¹¹⁰, *karuili-* "former, previous, ancient" (e.g. about an old generation of gods in Theogeny) are used (for instance, in Hittite Laws and in some legal or ritualistic documents) as a lexical index of a past event, cf. Greek *πάρως* "formerly" in an archaic construction with Injunctive: *πάρως... οὐτι θαμίζεις* "you never used to go formerly" (Σ 86): in these

105 KUB XXXV 103 + 103 Rs. III 6-7/ KBo VIII 130 Rs. III 4'-5'.

106 KUB XXXV54 Rs. III 3.

107 KUB 43 Vs. II 4, Rs. III 30"-31".

108 For analysis of the forms in different Indo-European dialects see: Ivanov 1981, 177-183, 197-198.

109 Stang 1943, 198; 1966, 380; Toporov 1975, 210.

110 See on a possible Indo-European etymology: Melchert 1994, 150.

construction an archaic lexical way of expressing temporal (tense) correlations has been supposed¹¹¹. According to Strunk (developing Wackernagel's interpretation of Greek and Indo-Iranian constructions), this function of *karu* goes back to Proto-Indo-European (in a similar way Belić suggested traces of the Indo-European Injunctive in Slavic forms that do not show a temporal distinction of primary and secondary endings; cf. a comparable situation in Proto-Tocharian). Hieroglyphic Luwian *ru-wa-na* "formerly" (a Northern Anatolian borrowing?) goes back to **kruw-an* (Hittite *karu*) with a loss of the initial stop. A verbal stem **bhuh-* has not been attested in Northern Anatolian. According to Meriggi's interpretation of a Lydian form of the 3 Pers. Sg./Pl. Past *e-l* < **es-l* "he/she/it/they was /were"¹¹² it is similar to modern Russian *by-l* "he was" (cf. Old Prussian *boul-ai*), but the difference between two suppletive stems of **es-*/**bhuh-* is not relevant for this Northern Anatolian dialect. A similar conclusion for the whole Northern Anatolian-Tocharian dialectal area can be reached on the base of the equation of Hittite 1 Person Sg. Voluntative *eš-l-i-t/eš-l-u-t/aš-all-u*, Tocharian A *nasäl* < **no-es-l*, B *nesalle*¹¹³. If Old Lithuanian *esle* is related to the latter, it may be supposed that Eastern Baltic (similar to Hittite and Lydian, i.e. northern Anatolian, and Tocharian) could use the stem **es-* in a combination with a modal ending *-*l-* different from Western Prussian where as in Slavic a suppletive stem **bhuh-* had to be used (Old Prussian *bou-lai*, Old Church Slavonic *bylъ*).

Hittite was peculiar in the absolute absence of any trace of grammatical role of **bhuh-*. This negative isogloss unites it with Tocharian and Greek-Armenian¹¹⁴ as different from Aryan that can be

111 Wackernagel 1924, 87; Ivanov 1981, 44.

112 Meriggi 1980, 253-254, § 8; 347, § 219; Gusmani 1986, 131; Ivanov 1981b, 147. Lydian offers an interesting typological parallel for the neutralization of the difference between Sg. and Pl. in the 3 Person similar to Baltic.

113 See on the history of these forms: Ivanov 1981a; 1999, 238 with references. On the relevance for Indo-European dialectology cf. Rosenkranz 1978, 134-135.

114 In Greek the stem is represented only in its older lexical meaning "to grow (of plants)" (as in φύσις "nature") that according to Illich-Svitych goes back to Proto-Nostratic.

grouped together with Southern Anatolian, North-Western Indo-European (Baltic included) and Western Indo-European from this point of view. It is remarkable that the area of the use of **bhuh-* as a suppletive stem includes the two more narrow territories marked above: that of *satam* languages (with the exception of Armenian) and a zone with a specific form of the Locative Plural in **-su*.

Similar conclusions can be made on the base of lexical isoglosses. A large zone including all the dialects except Northern Anatolian is defined by a name of a "wheeled vehicle, wheel" derived from a root **kwel-* "to turn". In "Euphratic" (*gigira* "chariot, wagon" known through Sumerian¹¹⁵), Tocharian (A *kukäl*, B *kokale* "carriage"), Eastern Indo-European (Indo-Iranian, cf. Sanskrit *cakra-*; Mycenaean and Homeric Greek; Phrygian) and Germanic a perfect type of reduplication of stem is used; in Hieroglyphic Luwian *zalal-* "carriage, vehicle" there is a probable trace of an older reduplication. Cuneiform Luwian *zal-war/n-* "riding in a chariot" derives from the same root without reduplication as cognate words in Old Prussian, Latvian, Slavic and Celtic¹¹⁶. Again the dialectal area for a non-reduplicated term is relatively narrow and coincides with the dialects enumerated above.

As it can be seen from the Old Prussian compound *kelle-wesze* "driver"¹¹⁷, a non-reduplicated form of the name for wheeled vehicle was used together with a verb **weġh-* "to drive", attested in verbal derivatives in Southern Anatolian, Balto-Slavic and Western Indo-European, while the area of the nominal formations derived from it and denoting different notions connected to wheeled transport and horse training extends to all the ancient Indo-European dialects except Hittite.

Two last lexical items might be interesting for an attempt to relate dialectological connections to possible ways of migrations for which wheeled transport was indispensable (Hittite and Tocharian

115 Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1995, 622; 639; Whittacker 1998, 144. There is no necessity to suppose a change of an ancient complete (intensive) reduplication as it is done in: Frayne 1992, 21.

116 Ivanov 1999a, 2167-218. If Chinese *ch'e* < **klʷag* (Mair 1990, 45-46) is borrowed from Indo-European, its source should be a dialect that used such a non-reduplicated form.

117 Mažiulis 1988-1997, II, 160; Eckert 1995, 51-65; Ivanov 1999a, 219.

have another term for "wheeled vehicle" different from the one discussed above¹¹⁸). If speakers of Proto-Balto-Slavic and Proto-Southern Anatolian dialects were moving together, at some stage of their migrations they might have had a unified social organization. Among social terms shared by Southern Anatolian and Balto-Slavic one may find remarkable coincidence in the use of the verb **wedh-* "to lead" in a specific meaning associated not to the widely represented general Indo-European (and also Balto-Slavic) carry-off-a-woman-by-force marriage custom¹¹⁹, but to the role of a leader. This particular meaning has been preserved in a number of Balto-Slavic archaic words as: Lithuanian *vādas* "leader", *pā-vadas* "leader", *prā-vadas* "leader" (cf. Old Prussian *pra-weedd-uns* = durchgeführt), *vedējas*, Latvian *vedējs*; Old Russian *vožь* = Old Church Slavonic *voždь*, Old Church Slavonic *predь-voditelь*, *voje-voda* "general", Serbo-Croatian *vōj-voda*, Czech *vévoda*¹²⁰, Old Russian *voe-voda* "general" (cf. the semantic type of Mycenaean *ra-wa-ke-ta* = λαφαγέτας). It is supposed that this meaning and some of the forms like **vod-(o)/(i)-* can be traced back to Balto-Slavic¹²¹. Accordingly these terms and particularly compounds with a final element **wod-ō-(H)/-i-* can be compared to Southern Anatolian: Luwian *hanta-wat(i)-* "supreme authority, king", Lycian *χnta-wat(i)-* "ruler, king". The latter can be traced back to Indo-European **Hnt-o-wodh-* "front- + lead-er", comparable to Balto-Slavic names of a "leader". It is possible to reconstruct their common source as a compound having as a last part an Indo-European dialectal noun derived from a verbal stem **we|odh-* in this particular general social meaning. In Northern Anatolian Hittite *haššu-* "king" (attested already in Ebla archives of the III mil.

118 See Ivanov 1999, 215-216.

119 Benveniste 1969, 240; Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1995, 658-660 (with references).

120 Hungarian borrowing from Pannonian Slavic *vajda*.

121 Trautmann 1923, 344; Fraenkel 1962-1965, 554, 649-650, 1177; 1211-1212. Some of the corresponding Baltic and Slavic terms were supposed to be due to loan-translation (later from Greek, earlier from Germanic languages in the case of Slavic, e.g. Old Church Slavonic *voje-voda* "general", Benveniste 1969, 153, in Baltic from Polish and other Slavic languages), but the role of a foreign influence was exaggerated, see on possible Baltic parallels to *voje-voda* "general", Skardžius 1943, 434.

B.C. in the name of a city *Hazzuwa*, cf. Old Hittite *Šall-a-hšuwa* "Of the Great King" as a city name) is usually identified to Sanskrit *asura-* "lord, god" (Avestan *ahura-*) and an Old Icelandic name of gods. In Southern Anatolian such an archaic term might have been substituted by a descriptive compound¹²². As in some other cases discussed above the area to which both Southern Anatolian and Baltic belong seems to be an innovative central one.

To social and military terms shared by Baltic and Anatolian probably one should add Luwian *wal-* "to die" different from Hittite *ak-* "to die" = to be killed¹²³ and Old Hittite *mer-* "disappear" = "die" (in the Zalpa story): Indo-European dialectal (also Balto-Slavic) **mer-* "to die". The Luwian verb is cognate to Tocharian A *wäl-/wal-* "to die". These verbs found in Southern Anatolian and Tocharian are related to terms for Netherworld in Balto-Slavic and Germanic¹²⁴. In this case the area includes not only Southern Anatolian and North Western Indo-European, but also Tocharian. It seems important that in this area both specific expressions for death and birth are found that differ from those in the other dialects¹²⁵.

To reconstruct a concrete spatial picture of dialectal relations between Baltic and Anatolian one may take into consideration also coincidence of some hydronyms and place-names discussed in a previous article¹²⁶. On the base of the data enumerated above it can be supposed that the Indo-European dialects that evolved into Proto-Baltic and Proto-Southern Anatolian had moved together from the original homeland. It may be suggested also that there might have existed a social unity that included speakers of these two dialects having one military leader. The exact time of a suggested

122 Besides it in Baltic other synonymous words existed as, for instance, derived from **wal-* "ruler" common to a part of Western Indo-European, Balto-Slavic and Tocharian and different from the noun **rēg-* shared by Italo-Celtic and Indo-Iranian. These isoglosses may point to several social units inside the area of Indo-European dialects.

123 See on a possible borrowing: Wagner 1985, 103-104. Besides a Lak correspondence mentioned by Wagner there is a probable connection to the Adygh-Kabardinian **kə-*: Nikolaev, Starostin 1994, 223.

124 Trautmann 1923, 348; Fraenkel 1962-1965, 1219.

125 Ivanov 1998b.

126 Ivanov 1999, 2999b.

community might be deduced from glottochronological comparisons, but unfortunately lack of important Luwian lexical data makes this measurement only theoretically possible. It seems that after the hypothetical movement of Proto-Southern Anatolian towards Greece and the Aegean area (no later than the border of the IVth and III mil. B.C.) the Proto-Baltic dialect might have moved farther to the North of the Balkans.

ABBREVIATIONS:

KBo = *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*. Leipzig/Berlin 1916-.

KUB = *Keilschrifturkunde aus Boghazköi*. Berlin, 1921-.

LITERATURE:

- Bartholomae, Christian 1979: *Altiranisches Wörterbuch zusammen mit den Nacharbeiten und Vorarbeiten*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Beekes, Robert S.R. 1994: "Right", "Left" and "Naked" in Proto-Indo-European. *Orbis*, 37, 87-96.
- Benveniste, Emile 1962: *Hittite et indo-européen. Études comparatives*. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve.
- Benveniste, Emile 1969: *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*. 1. *Économie, parenté, société*. Paris: Les Éditions du minuit.
- Berneker, Erich 1896: *Die Preussische Sprache. Texte, Grammatik, Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner.
- Blažek, Vaclav 1999: *Numerals. Comparative-Etymological Analyses and their Implications*. Opera Universitatis Masarykianae Brunensis Facultas Philosophica, šislo 322. Brno.
- Bonfante, Giuliano, Gelb, Ignace 1944: The Position of Hieroglyphic Hittite among the Indo-European Languages. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol 64, 169-190.
- Carruba, Onofrio 1977: Commentario alla trilingue licio-agreco-aramaica di Xanthos. *Studi Micenei e Egeo-Anatolici*, fasc. XVIII. Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo & Bizzarri, 273-318.
- Carruba, Onofrio 1999: Die indogermanischen Zahlwörter: Neue Ergebnisse und Perspektiven. In: Polomé and Justus 1999, 145-171.
- Donbaz, Veysel 1986: Publications of the Kültepe Tablets housed in Ankara. *Keilschriftliche Literaturen*. Ausgewählte Vorträge der XXXII. Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale. Münster, 8-23. 7. 1985. Ed. K. Hecker a. W. Sommerfeld. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 149-153.
- Eckert, Rainer 1992: Gibt es eine altpreuussische Phraseologie? *Colloquium Pruthenicum Primum. Papers from the First International Conference on Old Prussian held in Warsaw*, September 30th-October 1st, 1991. Ed. Wojciech

- Smoczyński and Axel Holvoet. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 7-12.
- Eckert, Rainer 1999: Wagen und Pferd in Sprache und Kultur der alten Preussen. *Baltistica*, 30, 1, 49-69.
- Endzelīns, Jānis 1971: *Comparative Phonology and Morphology of the Baltic Languages*. Translated by William R. Schmalstieg and Benjamin Jēgers. Slavic Printings and Reprintings. Edm. C.H. Van Schooneveld. The Hague-Paris: Mouton.
- Endzelīns, Jānis 1982 *Senprūšu valoda. Darbu izlase*, IV. 2d. Rīgā: Zinātne.
- Erhart, Adolf 1995: Archaisch oder konservativ? Das Anatolische und das Baltische. In: Smoczyński (ed.) 1995, 1-12.
- Fraenkel, Ernst 1962-1965: *Litauisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Indogermanisches Wörterbücher. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
- Fraenkel, Ernst 1950: *Die baltische Sprachen*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Frayne, Douglas R. 1992: Indo-Europeans and Sumerians: Evidence for their Linguistic Contact. *Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies Bulletin*, 25, 2-26.
- Gamkrelidze, Thomas, Ivanov, Vyacheslav 1995: *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans*. Vol. I-II. Berlin-New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Goetze, Albrecht 1954: *Some groups of Ancient Anatolian Proper Names*. *Language*, vol.30, N3, 349-359.
- Gusmani, Roberto 1968: *Il lessico ittito*. Collana di studi classici, diretta di F. Cupaiuolo. Napoli: Libreria Scientifica Editrice.
- Gusmani, Roberto 1982, 1986: *Lydisches Wörterbuch*. Ergänzungsband. Lieferung 2, 3. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Haas, Volkert 1970: Der Kult von Nerik. Ein Beitrag zur hethitischen Religionsgeschichte. *Studia Pohl* 4. Rom: Päpstliches Bibelinstitut.
- Hoffner, Harry 1974: *Alimenta Hethaeorum*. Food Production in Hittite Asia Minor. American Oriental Series. Vol. 55. Ed E. Bedner. New Haven, Connecticut.
- Ivanov, Vyacheslav Vs. 1957a: Proiskhozhdenie i istorija khettskogo termina panku- "sobranie". *Vestnik drevnej istorii*, N 4, 8-15.
- Ivanov, Vyacheslav Vs. 1957b: O znachenii khettskogo jazyka dlja srvnitel'no-istoricheskogo issledovanija slavjanskikh jazykov. *Voprosy slavjanskogo jazykoznanija*. Vypusk 2, Ed. S.B. Bernshtejn. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 3-28.
- Ivanov, Vyacheslav Vs. 1958: Problema jazykov centum i satem. *Voprosy jazykoznanija*, 4, 12-23.
- Ivanov, Vyacheslav Vs. 1958a: K izucheniju leksiki luvijskogo jazyka. *Issledovanija v chest na akad. D. Dechev. Studia in honorem acad. D. Dechev*. Sofia, 141-150.
- Ivanov, Vyacheslav Vs. 1970: Suffix -sk and the Problem of Verbs Denoting Sounds. In: Rūķe-Draviņa, 1970, 206-210.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav Vs. 1976: Iz semioticheskikh kommentariiev k klinopisnym khettskim tekstam. Vostochnaja filologija. Philologica Orientalis. IV. In *Memoriam Academician George V. Tsereteli*. October 19. 1904- September 9, 1973. Tbilisi, 111-134.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav Vs. 1981: *Slavjanskij, baltiiskij i rannebal-kanskij glagol. Indoevropskie istoki*. Moscow: Nauka.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav Vs. 1981a: Proiskhozhdenie slavjanskikh glagol'nykh form na -l. *Sovetskoe slavjanovedenie*, N 6, 91-102.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav Vs. 1981b: Proiskhozhdenie baltiiskikh i slavjanskikh otglagol'nykh form na *-l. *Acta Baltica-Slavica*, t. XIV, 145-153.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav Vs. 1985: Ob otnoshenii khattsckogo jazyka k severokazapadnokavkazskim. *Drevnjaja Anatolija*, ed. Boris B. Piotrovskij, V.G. Ardzinba, Vyach. Vs. Ivanov. Moscow: Nauka, glavnaia redakcija vostochnoj literatury, 26-59.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav Vs. 1987: O vozmozhnosti etimologicheskogo otzhdestvlenija slov, odnosjashchixsja k odinakovym slovoobrazovatel'nym tipam, v rodstvennykh jazykakh (praslav. dьlgostь i khettsk. dalugašti). *Sopostavitel'noe izučenie slovoobrazovanija slavjanskikh jazykov*. Moscow: Nauka, 150-156.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav 1996: Iz zametok o praslavjanskix i indoevropskix chislitel'nyx (From Notes on Slavic and Indo-European Numerals (From the Notes on I-E and Sl. Numerals). In: *Rusistica. Slavistica. Indoeuropeistica*. Moscow: Indrik, 704-727.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav Vs. 1998: Nechet i chet. In: *Izbrannye trudy po semiotike i istorii kul'tury*. T.I. Moscow: Yazyki rusckoj kul'tury.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav Vs. 1998a: Indo-European Expressions of Totality and the Invitation for the Feast of all the gods. *Proceedings of Ninth Indo-European Conference*, UCLA. Journal of Indo-European Studies, Supplement, Washington.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav Vs. 1998b: Balto-Anatolica I. *Res Balticae*. Pisa: CLU, 4, 67-89.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav V. 1999: Palatalization and Labiovelars in Luwian. In: *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference*. Los Angeles May 21-23, 1998. Ed. K. Jones-Bley a.o. Journal of Indo-European Studies Monograph Series, 32, 27-48.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav V. 1999a: Comparative Notes on Hurro-Urartian, Northern Caucasian and Indo-European. *UCLA Indo-European Studies*. Ed. Brent Vine and Vyacheslav Ivanov. Vol. 1. Los Angeles; University of California at Los Angeles, 147-264.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav V. 1999b: Balto-Anatolica II. Some Indo-European Hydronyms. *Res Balticae*. 5, 8-26.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav V. 1999c: On Terms for "Half, Moiety". In *Indo-European and Germanic*. In: Polomé and Justus 1999, 172-182.

Kimball, Sara 1983: *Hittite Plene Writing*. University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. Dissertation, Philadelphia.

Laroche, Emmanuel 1959: *Dictionnaire de la langue louvite*. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'institut Français d'archéologie d'Istanbul. VI. Paris: Librairie Adrien-Maisonneuve.

Laroche, Emmanuel 1959a: L'adjectif sarli- 'supérieur' dans les langues asiniques. *Festschrift Johannes Friedrich*, ed. Richard von Kiele a.o. Heidelberg: Winter, 291-298.

Laroche, Emmanuel 1966: *Les noms des hittites*. Paris: Librairie de Klincksieck.

Laroche, Emmanuel 1979: L'inscription lycienne. *Fouilles de Xanthos*. 6. Paris, 49-127.

Lehmann, Winfrid P. 1984: *A Gothic Etymological Dictionary*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Mair, Victor H. 1990: Old Sinitic *myag, Old Persian magus, and English 'magician'. *Early China*, 15, 27-47.

Maybury-Lewis, David, and Almagor, Uri (ed.s) 1992: *The Attraction of Opposites. Thought and Society in the Dualistic Mode*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Mažiulis, Vytautas 1981: *Prūsų kalbos paminklai II*. Vilnius: Mokslas. 1981

Mažiulis, Vytautas 1988-1997: *Prūsų kalbos etimologijos žodynas*. I-IV. Vilnius: Mokslas.

Melchert H. Craig 1987: PIE Velars in Luwian. *Studies in Memory of Warren Cowgill*. Ed. C. Watkins, Berlin-New York: de Gruyter, pp. 182-204.

Melchert H. Craig 1993a: *Lycian Lexicon*. Lexica Anatolica. Vol.1. Chapel Hill, N.C.

Melchert H. Craig 1993b: *Cuneiform Luwian lexicon*. Lexica Anatolica vol. 2. Chapel Hill, N.C.

Melchert H. Craig 1994: *Anatolian Historical Phonology*. Amsterdam-Atlanta, GA: Rodopi.

Meriggi, Pietro 1957: Zum Luvischen. *Wiener Zeitschrift zur die Kunde des Morgenlandes*. Bd. 53, H. 3/4, 193-226.

Meriggi, Pietro 1957a: Testi Luvii. *Athenaeum*, vol. XXXV, fasc. I-II, 56-77.

Meriggi, Pietro 1980: Schizzo grammaticale dell'Anatolico. *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*. Anno CCCLXXVII-1980, Memorie, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, Serie VIII, vol. XXIV, fasc. 3. Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.

Morpurgo-Davies, Anna and Hawkins J.D., 1986: A Luwian Heart. *Anadolu Araştırmaları*, 10, 359-32 (also: Studi di storia e di filologia anatolica dedicata a G. Pugliese Carratelli, ed. F. Imparatti. Firenze: ELITE, 1988, 166-182).

Needham, Rodney (ed.) 1973: *Right and Left: Essays on Dual Symbolic Classification*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Neu, Erich (ed.) 1982: *Investigationes Philologicae et comparativae. Gedenkschrift für Heinz Kronasser*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz

- Nikolaev, Sergei; Starostin, Sergei 1994a: *North Caucasian Etymological Dictionary*. Moscow: Asterisk.
- Nussbaum, Alan J. 1986: *Head and Horn in Indo-European. Untersuchungen zur Indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft 2*. Berlin-New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Oettinger, Norbert 1982: Reste von e-Hochstufe im Formans hethitischer n-Stämme einschließlich des '-umn'-Suffixes. In: Neu (ed.) 1982, 162-177.
- Oettinger, Norbert 1987: Bemerkungen zur anatolischen i-Motion und indogermanischen Chronologie. *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung*, Bd.100, 35-43.
- Otrębski, Jan 1956: *Gramatyka języka litewskiego. T. III. Nauka o formach*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Otten, Heinrich 1953: *Beiträge zur grammatikalischen and lexikalischen Bestimmung des Luvischen*. Untersuchung des Iuvili-Texte. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Orientforschung. Veröffentlichung Nr. 18. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Palmaitis, Letas 1998: *Trilingual Dictionary of Prussian (Prussian, German, English)* [based on Mažiulis 1988-1997]. University of Vilnius: Website.
- Pedersen, Holger 1938: *Hittitisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen*, Danske Vidensk. Selskap. Hist.-filol. Meddelelser 30/4. Copenhagen: Munksgard.
- Polomé, Edgar C. and Justus, Carol F. (eds.) 1999: *Language Change and linguistic Variation*. In Honor of Winfrid P. Lehmann on the Occasion of his 83rd Birthday. Vol. I: Language Change and Phonology. *Journal of Indo-European Studies*, Monograph 30. Washington D.C.: Institute for the Study of Man.
- Puhvel, Jaan 1982: *Baltic-Anatolian Isoglosses*. In: Neu (ed. 1982), 179-185.
- Puhvel, Jaan 1984: *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Vol. 1-4. Berlin-New York: Mouton Publishers.
- Rosenkranz Bernhard 1978: *Vergleichende Untersuchungen der altanatolischen Sprachen*. Trends in linguistics. State-of-the-art-Reports 8. ed. W. Winter. The Hague-Paris: Mouton.
- Rūķe-Draviņa, Velta 1970: *Donum Balticum* (Christian S. Stang-Festschrift). Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Rüster, Christel; Neu, Erich 1989: *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon. Invent und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Boğazköy-Texten*. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, Beiheft 2. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Schmalstieg, William R. 1974: *An Old Prussian Grammar: The Phonology and Morphology of the Three Catechisms*. University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Schmid, Wolfgang P. 1970: Zur primären -w- Ableitung in einigen Baltischen Gewässernamen. In: Rūķe-Draviņa 1970, 469-479.
- Skardžius, Pranas 1943: *Lietuvių kalbos žodžių daryba*. Vilnius: Lietuvos Mokslų Akademija, Lietuvių kalbos Institutas.

- Smoczyński, Wojciech 1995: Das altpreussische Enchiridion: Zur Deutung einiger strittiger Kasusformen. In: Smoczyński (ed.) 1995, 185-192.
- Smoczyński, Wojciech (ed.) 1995: *Kuryłowicz Memorial volume*. Part Two. *Linguistica Baltica*. Vol. IV. Kraków: Universitas.
- Snell, Bruno (ed.) 1981: *Frühgriechische Lyriker*. 3 Teil. Sappho, Alkaios, Anakreon. Schriften und Quellen der Alten Welt. Bd. 24, 3. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Stang, Christian S. 1942: *Das Slavische und baltische Verbum*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Stang, Christian S. 1966: *Vergleichende Grammatik der Baltischen Sprachen*. Oslo-Bergen-Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget.
- Stang, Christian S. 1970: *Opuscula Linguistica. Ausgewählte Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Starke, Frank 1985: *Die keilschrift-luwischen Texte in Umschrift*. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, H.30. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Starke, Frank 1990: *Untersuchung zur Stammbildung des keilschriftluwischen Nomens*. Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten, H.31. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Szemerényi, Oswald 1970: The Indo-European name of the Heart. In: Rūķe-Draviņa, Velta 1970, 515-533.
- Toporov, Vladimir N. 1975, 1979, 1980, 1990: *Prusskij jazyk. Slovar*". A-D, E-H, I-K, K-L. Moscow: Nauka.
- Trautmann, Reinhold 1923: *Baltisch-Slawisches Wörterbuch*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
- Wackernagel, Jakob 1924: *Vorlesungen über Syntax mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von griechisch, lateinisch und Deutsch*. Bd.1. Basel: Birkhauser (2 ed. 1950).
- Wagner, Heinrich 1985: *Das Hethitische vom Standpunkte der typologischen Sprachgeographie*. Testi Linguistici, 7. Pisa: Giardini editori e stampatori.
- Watkins, Calvert 1995: *How to Kill a Dragon. Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*. Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press.
- Whittaker, Gordon 1998: Traces of an Early Indo-European Language in Southern Mesopotamia. *Göttinger Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft*, Heft 1. Göttingen: Peust & Gutschmidt Verlag GbR, 111-147.

Baltico-Anatolica III. Древнепрусско-лувийская этимология и диалектные отношения о балтийского и южно-анатолийского внутри индоевропейского

Vjačeslav V. Ivanov (UCLA, Los Angeles)

Предлагается сравнение древнепрусского прилагательного *isarwis* «действительный, истинный» с лувийским *išarwi-* «правый, благоприятный». Это этимология рассматривается на фоне других изоглосс, позволяющих отнести балтийский и южноанатолийский к одной группе индоевропейских диалектов, характеризовавшихся, в частности, также изменением палатальных по типу *satəm*, присоединением суффиксального *-i-* к основе индоевропейского названия «земли», переходящего в одушевленный род по семантическим причинам, употреблением суффикса прилагательных *-sk-*, образованием местного падежа множественного числа с окончанием **-su*, наличием супплетивной основы глагола бытия-связки **bhuH-* в формах, обозначающих прошедшее время, нередуцированным названием колеса от корня **k^wel-* и глагольной основой **weǵh-* «ехать», образованием названия предводителя, князя от корня **wedh-* «вести», однотипными обозначениями явлений, связанных со смертью и рождением. Предлагается связать эти общие черты с намеченными ранее общими чертами в гидронимике и ономастике.

**L'AFFIORARE DEGLI ARCAISMI:
A PROPOSITO DI *tj, *dj IN SLAVO E IN BALTICO**

MARIO ENRIETTI

Torino

Le latin *apis* s'est conservé à l'est (Suisse), au nord (Artois), au nord-ouest (Guernesey), au sud-ouest (Médoc). Cette répartition géographique de *apis* implique indubitablement que *apis* était autrefois le mot employé pour désigner l'«abeille» dans toute la région intermédiaire entre ces quatre aires ou points, que ces quatre aires ou points ne sont que les affleurements d'une couche qui, autrefois, s'étendait de Boulogne à la Gironde, de Guernesey aux Alpes fribourgeoises.

(J. Gilliéron, *Généalogie des mots qui désignent l'abeille*, Parigi, 1918, p. 19).

E' stato il Durnovo 1929, 55 sgg., a sostenere che il dialetto slavo di Salonicco usato da Cirillo e Metodio (*Urkirchenslavisch*) avesse *k'* e *g'* come rappresentanti dei protoslavi **tj, *dj*¹, invece degli *št* e *žd* che incontriamo nei testi paleoslavi a noi giunti, testi posteriori di 100-200 anni all'epoca cirillo-metodiana (fa eccezione il Messale di Kiev con *c, dz*). L'idea del Durnovo è oggi condivisa da molti studiosi (Horálek 1962, 366; Mareš 1969, 74 sg.; Moszyński 1978, 159 et alii).

¹ Foneticamente *k'* e *g'* sono molti vicini a *t', d'* che ci aspetteremmo quali rappresentanti dei protosl. **tj, *dj* (Stieber 1969, 77). Il Seliščev 1918, 140, così descrive i *k', g'* del macedone: «Artikuljacija pri obrazovanii makedonskix *k' - g'* zaključaetsja v sledujuščem. Jazyk perednej svoej čast'ju soprikasaetsja s tverdym nebom. Eto soprikosnovenie proisxodit v časti tverdogo neba meždu mestom artikuljaciji dlja palatal'nogo *k' (g')* i palatal'nogo *t' (d')*, bliže k toj ili drugoj časti tverdogo neba, no ne zaxodit tak daleko vzad k predelu *k'* i ne podvigaetsja vpered k predelu *t' (kraepalatal'nogo)*». Per i fini di questo lavoro *tj, dj, t', d', k', g'* saranno considerati equivalenti.