Lithuanian *pažél* and Old Irish *galar*, Hittite *kallar*

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Abstract

The Lithuanian adverb *pažél* 'vain, in vain, fruitless' points to an original *e*-vocalism of the Indo–European root. The double *ll* of the related Hittite *kallar* 'unfavourable' indicates that we are dealing with a *set* root. Then, OIr. *galar* 'sickness, disease, physical pain' goes back to IE. $*\acute{g}^h l h_2 ero$- and Hitt. *kallar* can continue either IE. $*\acute{g}^h o l h_2 \text{-} r$ or IE. $*\acute{g}^h e l h_2 \text{-} r$. The Germanic, Slavic and most of the Baltic forms can continue either a *set* root or an *anit* one.

Pedersen compared the Hittite neuter noun in *-r kallar* 'unfavourable'[1] ("trotz der Schwierigkeit des doppelten *l* ") with OIr. *galar* nt. 'sickness, disease, physical pain'[2] which is possibly related to OIcel. *galli* m. 'Schaden, Fehler', Lith. *žalà* 'Schaden, Leid, Verletzung', *žalìngas* 'bösartig (von Wunden), schädlich' and Ukr. *zólok* 'die schmerzhafte Stelle einer Wunde', Russ. *nazóla* 'Gram, Kummer, Ärger'; all these forms are given by Pokorny under $\acute{g}^h al$-[3].

Even if we restrict our analysis only to these forms, the reconstruction of a preform $*\acute{g}^h al$- offers a serious difficulty. Thus, if we assume that Indo-European had a phoneme $*a$ (beside $*e$ and $*o$), the double *ll* of Hitt. *kallar*

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[1] The use of Hitt. *kallar* as an adjective is paralleled by that of Hitt. *kurur* nt. which signifies not only 'enmity', but also 'inimical' (and 'enemy'). Similarly, Greek also uses old neuter nouns in -$\alpha\rho$ as adjectives, see Schwyzer (1939:519).

[2] Pedersen (1938:46).

[3] Pokorny (1959:411).

in this case remains unexplained; IE. $*\acute{g}^h al\text{-}r$ presupposes a single l in the expected Hittite word. Similarly, the supposed $*\acute{g}^h al\text{-}$ cannot be justified by the laryngeal theory; the interpretation of the radical a either as a result of IE. $*h_2$ between consonants or as a result of IE. $*h_2 e$ does not solve the problem of the double l in Hitt. *kallar*.

At this point the evidence of the Lithuanian adverb *pažél* 'umsonst, vergeblich, fruchtlos' is decisive. As Fraenkel pointed out, this Lithuanian adverb is related to Lith. *žalà*, etc.[4]; it is clear that the radical e-vocalism of Lith. *pažél* cannot be reconciled with that of the supposed IE. $*\acute{g}^h al\text{-}$[5].

If so, the Old Irish noun *galar* ($<$ Celtic $*galaro\text{-}$), on the basis of which was assumed the a-vocalism of the Indo-European root, can be traced back to IE. $*\acute{g}^h lh_2 ero\text{-}$. The development of the Indo-European sequence $CRh_2 e\text{-}$ into Celtic $CaRa\text{-}$ is well known, cf. OIr. *talam* 'earth', which, according to Hamp, continues IE. $*tlh_2 e\text{-}mon\text{-}$[6] as well as OIr. *tan(a)e* 'thin' ($<$ IE. $*t\underset{\circ}{n}h_2 ewyo\text{-}$) and Corn. *tanow* (which matches Gk. $\tau\alpha\nu\alpha\acute{o}\varsigma$ 'outstretched, tall, taper' $<$ IE. $*t\underset{\circ}{n}h_2 ewo\text{-}$)[7]. The formation of OIr. *galar* is paralleled by that of Gk. $\pi\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho o\nu$ 'feather, wing', which, in view of Skt. *pátram* 'wing, feather', Lat. *accipiter* 'hawk', etc., can be explained by the generalization of the stem of the weak cases throughout the paradigm; then, the Indo-European nom.-acc. sg. nt. of the original noun in $*\text{-}r$ can be reconstructed either as $*\acute{g}^h olh_2\text{-}r$ or $*\acute{g}^h elh_2\text{-}r$.

In fact, the original paradigm of this noun in $*\text{-}r$ can be continued by the Hittite nom.-acc. sg. nt. *gallar* (with gloss-wedge in ABoT 56 III 13; yet Laroche interprets it as a Hittite word[8]), nom. acc. pl. nt. *kallar* and instr. sg. *kallarit*[9]. Thus, the nom.-acc. sg. nt. *gal-la-ar* can reflect either IE. $*\acute{g}^h olh_2\text{-}r$ or IE. $*\acute{g}^h elh_2\text{-}r$ and the plural *kal-la-ar* points to

[4]Fraenkel (1962:560)

[5]If Latv. *zalba* and *zęlba* are, as Fraenkel (1962:560) gives them, genuine Latvian words, Latv. dial. *zęlba* 'Schaden, Körperverletzung' (Drusti) may represent an original e-vocalism of the root, whereas the Latgalian *zàlba* 'id.' (Saikava, Jaungulbene, Lizums, etc.), 'a wound' (Pilda), etc. can be explained by the dialectal development of e into a. The possibility that the Latvian noun in $-ba$ can be borrowed from Russian is mentioned by Endzelin (1911:66).

[6]Hamp (1983:91).

[7]Beekes (1976:9-12).

[8]Laroche (1959:53).

[9]The Hittite acc. sg. c. *kallaran* represents a transfer into the Hittite a-stems; cf. as parallels Gk. $\pi\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho o\nu$, OIr. *galar*, etc.

IE. $*\acute{g}elh_2\text{-}\bar{o}r$; the pair $*\acute{g}^h olh_2\text{-}r : *\acute{g}^h elh_2\text{-}\bar{o}r$ would represent a well-known Indo-European apophonic pattern. Since the Hittite writing allows different interpretations, a definite solution to the case of the instrumental singular *kallarit* is difficult; yet it is possible that *kallarit* is formed from the weak stem $*\acute{g}^h lh_2 er\text{-}$. Now the double l of Hitt. *kallar* can be explained as a regular result of the development of IE. Rh_x before vocalic sounds into Hitt. RR; cf. for instance Hitt. *tarra-* 'be able' (e.g. 3rd sg. pres. middle *tarratta*) : Hitt. *tarḫ-* 'to overcome, be capable' (e.g. 3rd sg. pres. act. *tarḫzi-*), Skt. *tiráti-, turáti-* 'crosses over, passes over, overcomes' ($<$ IE. $tr\underset{\circ}{h}_2 e\text{-}ti$), verbal adjectives *tīrṇá-* ($<$ IE. $*tr\underset{\circ}{h}_2\text{-}n\acute{o}\text{-}$) and *tūrtá-* ($<$ IE. $*tr\underset{\circ}{h}_2\text{-}t\acute{o}\text{-}$), etc.; Hitt. *kalleš-* 'to call, invite' (e.g. 3rd sg. pret. act. *kallišta* $<$ IE. $klh_1 es\text{-}t$) : Gk. $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 'I call, summon, invite', etc.

The Germanic, Slavic and most of the Baltic forms can continue either a *set* root or an *anit* one.

OIcel. *galli* m. 'Schaden, Fehler' and ODan. *galle* m. 'Fehler, Schaden, Schmerz' are nominative singular forms of an abstract noun in $-an\text{-}$. The ll of Gmc. $*gallan\text{-}$ can reflect IE. $*\text{-}ln\text{-}$ as well as IE. $*\text{-}lh_2 n\text{-}$. In view of the *set* root, represented by OIr. *galar* and Hitt. *kallar*, I would prefer the latter possibility; then, Gmc. $*gallan\text{-}$ is probably a derivative in $-an\text{-}$ from Gmc. $*galla\text{-} < $ IE. $*\acute{g}^h olh_2\text{-}no\text{-}$.

Lith. *pažél* (the intonation of which is due to the loss of a final non-accented vowel), *žalà* (OLith. *zalá*), *žalìngas* (OLith. *žalingas, žalįngas, žaligas*), *žaliti* 'schaden', *žaloti'* 'beschädigen', Ukr. dial. *zólok*, Russ. dial. *nazóla*, etc. can represent the regular loss of the laryngeal after the consonantal l and before vowels. If Latv. *zalba* and *zęlba* are genuine Latvian words, the Latgalian *zàlba* is ambiguous because its $\grave{a}l^2$ can continue either $\grave{a}l$ or $\tilde{a}l$, but the Middle Latvian *zęlba* suggests that we are dealing with an *anit* root.

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Lithuanian *aisùs* 'dreary, gloomy, bitter' and its cognates (IE. *$\bar{a}i$- 'burn, glow' in Baltic)

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Abstract

The etymologies proposed until now for Lith. *aisùs* are not satisfactory. The author suggests that *aisùs* can be traced back to IE *$\bar{a}i$-, represented also in Hittite. This root was variously expanded in Baltic, yielding *$\bar{a}i$-t- (Lith. *aitrùs* etc.), *$\bar{a}i$-s- (OPr. *ennoys* 'fever' etc.) and *$\bar{a}i$-sk- (Lith. *áiškus* etc.).

E. Fraenkel compares Lith. *aisùs* with a set of Lithuanian words *aimán* 'woe is me' (*ai* 'oh, ah' + *mán* 'me', dat. sing. of *aš* 'I'), *áimana* 'moan, moaning', *aimanúoti (-úoja, -ãvo)*, 'moan, grieve, mourn'[1]. K. Būga's approach to *aisùs* is contradictory. On the one hand, he connected it with Latv. *àisît²* (*-u, -īju*) 'grin, bare one's teeth; banter, chaff'[2], on the other, he traced it back to the ancient root *ei-/oi- 'burn, glow', represented, according to K. Būga, by, e.g., Lith. *iesmė̃* 'fire-wood for one heating, firing-charge', *aitrùs* 'bitter, tart; yielding much heat'[3]. The first connection is hardly successful, because Latv. *àisît²* (*-u, -īju*) belongs to Latv. *at-ìest²* (*-šu, -su*) 'show one's teeth, snarl', *at-iezt (-žu, -zu)* 'id.', *ìezt² (-žu, -zu)* 'id.' and evidently to Lith. *iẽžti (-ia)* 'hull, pod, shell' (< IE. *ei-$\acute{g}(h)$-)[4]. This would imply that Latv. *-s-* in *àisît²* and *at-ìest²* is secondary with regard to the original Latv. *-z-*,

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[1] Fraenkel (1962:3).
[2] Būga (1961:334).
[3] Būga (1961:339).
[4] Cf. Fraenkel (1962-65:4), Karaliūnas (1987:172).