Lithuanian \textit{pažėl} and Old Irish \textit{galar}, Hittite \textit{kallar}

GEORGI T. RIKOV
(Sofia)

Abstract

The Lithuanian adverb \textit{pažėl} 'vain, in vain, fruitless' points to an original \textit{e}-vocalism of the Indo-European root. The double \textit{ll} of the related Hittite \textit{kallar} 'unfavourable' indicates that we are dealing with a singular root. Then, OIr. \textit{galar} 'sickness, disease, physical pain' goes back to IE. \textit{*gʰh₂ero-} and Hitt. \textit{kallar} can continue either IE. \textit{*gʰelh₂-γ} or IE. \textit{*gʰelh₂-γ}. The Germanic, Slavic and most of the Baltic forms can continue either a singular root or an anaphoric one.

Pedersen compared the Hittite neuter noun in -\textit{r kallar} 'unfavourable'\(^1\) ("trotz der Schwierigkeit des doppelten \(l\)") with OIr. \textit{galar} nt. 'sickness, disease, physical pain'\(^2\) which is possibly related to OlCel. \textit{galli} m. 'Schaden, Fehler', Lith. \textit{žalā} 'Schaden, Leid, Verletzung', \textit{žalingas} 'bösartig (von Wunden), schädlich' and Ukr. \textit{zólok} 'die schmerzhafte Stelle einer Wunde', Russ. \textit{názóla} 'Grama, Kummer, Ärger'; all these forms are given by Pokorny under \textit{gʰal}\(^3\).

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

\(^1\)The use of Hitt. \textit{kallar} as an adjective is paralleled by that of Hitt. \textit{kvar} nt. which signifies not only 'enmity', but also 'inimical' (and 'enemy'). Similarly, Greek also uses old neuter nouns in -\textit{αφ} as adjectives, see Schwyzer (1939:519).

\(^2\)Pedersen (1938:46).

\(^3\)Pokorny (1959:411).
in this case remains unexplained; IE. *ǵʰal-ṛ presupposes a single l in the expected Hittite word. Similarly, the supposed *ǵʰal- cannot be justified by the laryngeal theory; the interpretation of the radical a either as a result of IE. *h₂e does not solve the problem of the double l in Hitt. kallar.

At this point the evidence of the Lithuanian adverb pažel 'ummonst, vergeblich, fruchtlos' is decisive. As Fraenkel pointed out, this Lithuanian adverb is related to Lith. žal, etc.; it is clear that the radical e-vocalism of Lith. pažel cannot be reconciled with that of the supposed IE. *ǵʰal-ṛ.

If so, the Old Irish noun galar (< Celtic *galaro-), on the basis of which was assumed the e-vocalism of the Indo-European root, can be traced back to IE. *ǵʰh₂ ero. The development of the Indo-European sequence CH₂e into Celtic CaRu is well known, cf. OIr. talam 'earth', which, according to Hamp, continues IE. *h₂ero-mon- as well as OIr. tan(a)rc 'thin' (< IE. *h₂er-o-no-), Corn. tanow (which matches Gk. τοιονική 'outstretched, tall, taper' < IE. *h₂er-o-). The formation of OIr. galar is paralleled by that of Gk. πτέρων 'feather, wing', which, in view of Skt. paśram '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 nominative singular noun in *-r can be reconstructed either as *ǵʰh₂ar- or *ǵʰeh₂ar-.

In fact, the original paradigm of this noun in *-r can be continued by the Hittite nominative singular noun galar (with gloss-wedge in ABO 56 III 13; yet Laroche interprets it as a Hittite word*), nominative plural noun kallar and instrumental singular noun kallar. Thus, the nominative singular noun galar- can reflect either IE. *ǵʰh₂ar- or IE. *ǵʰeh₂ar- and the plural kal-la-ar points to

---

4Fraenkel (1962:560)
5If Latv. zēba and zēba are, as Fraenkel (1962:560) gives them, genuine Latvian words, Latv. dial. zēba 'Schaden, Körperverletzung' (Drashti) may represent an original e-vocalism of the root, whereas the Latgalian zēba 'id.' (Saikava, Jaunsēbene, Lizums, etc.), 'a wound' (Pilda), etc. can be explained by the dialectal development of e into a.
6The possibility that the Latvian noun in -ba can be borrowed from Russian is mentioned by Endzelin (1911:66).
8Beekes (1976:12).
10The Hittite acc. sg. c. kallar represents a transfer into the Hittite a-stems; cf. as parallels Gk. πτέρων, OIr. galar, etc.
Lithuanian aissūs ‘dreary, gloomy, bitter’ and its cognates (IE. *ā́i- ‘burn, glow’ in Baltic)

SIMAS KARALIŪNAS
(Vilnius)

Abstract

The etymologies proposed until now for Lith. aissūs are not satisfactory. The author suggests that aissūs can be traced back to IE *ā́i-, represented also in Hittite. This root was variously expanded in Baltic, yielding *ā́i-́t- (Lith. aistrūs etc.), *ā́i-x- (OPr. ennoys ‘fever’ etc.) and *ā́i-sk- (Lith. aškus etc.).

E. Fraenkel compares Lith. aissūs with a set of Lithuanian words aimmān ‘woe is me’ (ai ‘oh, ah’ + mān ‘me’, dat. sing. of aš Ÿ), aimmàn ‘moan, moaning’, aimmintói (-uša, -išo), ‘moan, grieve, mourn’1. K. Büga’s approach to aissūs is contradictory. On the one hand, he connected it with Latv. āissū (÷u, -išu) ‘grin, bare one’s teeth; banter, chaff’2, on the other, he traced it back to the ancient root *ie-/oi- ‘burn, glow’, represented, according to K. Büga, by, e.g., Lith. išmē ‘fire-wood for one heating, firing-charge’, aistrūs ‘bitter, tart; yielding much heat’3. The first connection is hardly successful, because Latv. āissū (÷u, -išu) belongs to Latv. at-iesū (-šu, -sū) ‘show one’s teeth, snarl’, at-iesū (-žu, -zū) ‘id.’, iesū (-žu, -zū) ‘id.’ and evidently to Lith. iezūti (-ia) ‘pull, pod, shell’ (< IE. *ei-āi(h)-)4. This would imply that Latv. -s- in āissū and at-iesū is secondary with regard to the original Latv. -z-

1Fraenkel (1962:3).