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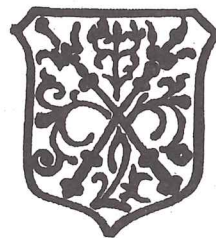
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Remarks on Baltic, Slavic and Latin tool names

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This article investigates the hypothesis that the Balto-Slavic instrument noun **dalpta-* arose from **dalptla-* by dissimilation. A similar analysis can be suggested for Lith. *káltas*, Latv. *kalts* 'chisel', which may come from Proto-Balt. **kāl-tla-*, i.e. a regular *nomen instrumenti* from the verb seen in Lith. *kálti*, Latv. *kalīt* 'to forge, to hammer, to beat'. In Balto-Slavic the instrumental *-ta-* suffix may have come about (at least in some cases) on the basis of **-tla-* derivatives from roots containing an *l*, which caused dissimilation/simplification. In connection with this, the Slavic and Latin words for 'hammer' (OCS *mlatъ*, Ru. *mólot*, etc.; Lat. *marculus* and its secondary derivations) are analyzed in their semantic and formal aspects.

1. Baltic and Slavic testify to the existence of tool names with suffix **-tlo-* (> Balto-Sl. **-tla-*) and with suffix **-to-* (Balto-Sl. **-ta-*), e.g., Lith. *árklas*, Sl. *ra(d)lo* 'plough' next to Lith. *káltas*, Latv. *kalts* 'chisel' or OCS *pęto*, Ru. *púto*, pl. *púty*,¹ Pol. *pęto*, etc. 'fetter' (cf. Vasmer 1953–58, II, 468–69), and Lith. *siętas*, Latv. *sięts*, CS *sito*, Ru. *sító*, Cz. *sító*, etc. 'sieve' (< Balto-Sl. **sęita-*; cf. Trautmann 1923, 254; Vasmer 1953–58, III, 629²).

The coexistence of these instrumental formations, their continuity from Indo-European to Balto-Slavic, and their intertwinings in Baltic and Slavic allow us to reject:

(a) The traditional view that Baltic has generalized IE **-tlo-* and Slavic IE **-dhlo-*³ (see Vaillant 1974, 421); in several cases, **-tlo-* must be posited for Slavic, e.g., *-klo* < **-k-tlo-* in CS *oblęklo*, Bulg. *oblekló* 'dress, clothes' (cf. Vaillant 1974, 415), and especially *-slo* < **-s-tlo-* in, e.g., *maslo* 'oil' from Pre-Sl. **mās-tlo-*,⁴ cf. *mazati* 'to smear' or OCS *čislo* 'number' from Pre-Sl. **keis-tlo-* < **k^(w)eit- + -tlo-*;⁵

¹ The singular is no longer usual in the modern language.

² We are sceptical with respect to Rasmussen's (1989, 29 n. 11) statement that this word 'sicher den Bildungstyp von d. *Kind* < idg. **géhnh₁-to-m* (Vřddhi zum PPP, hier als 'das zum Gesiebten Gehörige') vertritt'.

³ Olsen (1987; 1990) claims that there was no IE **-dhlo-* (Gk. *-θλον* and Lat. *-bulum* going back to **-thlom* < **-H-tlom*).

⁴ Not from **maz-slo-* as Vasmer (1953–58, II, 102) has it.

⁵ It is probable *a priori* that Sl. *ra(d)lo* and Lith. *árklas*, as well as Sl. **gęr(d)lo* 'throat' and OPr. *gurcle* 'gorge, throat', Lith. *gurklęs* 'Adam's apple' go back to the same protoforms, viz. Balto-Sl. **ār-tla-* and **g^(w)ūr-tla-* respectively. For Sl. *-dlo* < **-tlo-*, see Mikkola (1942, 160–61) and Szemerényi (1957, 120–21 [1991, IV, 2168–69]; 1967, 277–78 [1991, IV, 2182–83]).

(b) an overall semantic interpretation of the nominals in Balto-Sl. **-ta-* (> Balt. *-ta-*, Sl. *-to-*) as 'substantifs abstraits en *-to-*' (Meillet 1902–1905, 296–300).⁶

There remain, however, problems of formal and semantic analysis, especially when we consider some Baltic tool names. An investigation of these problems will lead us into the field of Slavic and Latin, where similar questions remain open.

2. Jēgers (1970) has offered a unified account of Baltic instrumental nouns in *-ta-*, explaining them as past passive participles;⁷ this semantic hypothesis involves a chain of changes, which we should reconstruct as follows: activity (expressed by a finite verb) → state which obtains afterwards (expressed by past passive participle) → object in which this state is realized, and which is used as an instrument. Thus, in Jēgers's opinion, Lith. *káltas*, Latv. *kalts* 'chisel', would be functional specializations of the participles Lith. *káltas* (verb *kálti* 'to forge, to hammer, to beat') and Latv. *kalts* (verb *kalīt*); the chain would thus be: 'to forge, to hammer' → 'forged, hammered' → '(hammered thing used as a) chisel'. Jēgers's reasoning, viz. that the chisel was named as '(that which was) hewn (off)', e.g. a chip of flint or bone later used as a chisel because of its form' [p. 83] appeals to archaeological evidence — which only suggests that chips of flint or bone have been used as chisels, but which in no way can prove anything about the directionality of name-giving —, and is extended to cases such as the Slavic word for 'hammer' represented by, e.g., Ru. *mólot*, explained as the past passive participle of 'to grind' (cf. Ru. *mólot(yj)*, Lith. *máltas*, Latv. *maľts* 'ground'): '(that which was) ground (crushed)' > 'hammer'. According to Jēgers (1970, 83), 'If a piece, e.g., of stone, thus obtained was ground still more (made smooth by grinding) it could be used as a hammer'.

In our view, it is necessary to avoid overgeneralizations such as

(a) explaining all Balto-Slavic derived nouns in **-ta-* (< **-to-*) as verbal abstracts (cf. Meillet);

(b) explaining all Balto-Slavic instrumental nouns in **-ta-* as functionalizations of past passive participles (cf. Jēgers);

Mikkola rightly stresses that the instrument nouns in *-slo* (formed from dental stems), 'in denen *-sl-* nur aus *-stl-* erklärlich ist, zeigen, daß von *-tlo-* (lit. *-kla-*) und nicht von *-dlo-* auszugehen ist'. Such forms as Cz. *pletl* 'he braided' can of course easily be explained as analogical.

⁶ Similarly Vaillant (1974, 680) and Sławski (1976, 38–39). Vaillant (1974, 638; cf. also Sławski [1976, 40]) also refers to the Sanskrit nouns in *-t(h)am* (*ástam* 'home', *ukthám* 'sentence, praise') — also mentioned as possible comparanda by Meillet (1902–1905, 296) — and the Greek nouns in *-τον* (*ποτόν* 'drink', *φυτόν* 'plant'). But these Greek nouns are simply substantivized verbal adjectives in *-to-*.

⁷ Jēgers's theory is found 'überzeugend' by Hofmann (1970[72], 167).

(c) assuming a general semantic evolution applicable to all instrumental nouns.

With respect to the latter problem, while for some cases, like Lith. *aũtas*, Latv. *āuts* 'cloth (for wrapping) round the foot' (from Lith. *aũti*, Latv. *āut* 'to wrap around, to pull on foot-wear'), Jēgers's explanation on the basis of a past passive participle would make sense, it is hardly convincing in other cases: for instance, it would be rather strange that a chisel were named as something cut off, rather than as something used for cutting. Moreover, it should be pointed out that the semantic evolution of the derivatives in **-ta-* can be extremely complex, and thus not always point to an 'instrumental' reading. OPr. *deicton*, *deicktan* 'Stätte/place', *deickton* 'something', Lith. *dáiktas* 'thing, object; place', Latv. *daikts* 'thing; tool', may be explained, following Jēgers, as 'that which is pricked' (from Lith. *dięgti* 'to prick, to pierce', Latv. *diēgt*),⁸ but it should at least be noted that the semantic result is not an instrumental noun in most of these words (except for one of the meanings of Latv. *daikts*).

3. Next to semantic complications we have to notice a number of formal problems. Let us, e.g., have a look at the word denoting a pointed instrument for making holes in Old Prussian and Slavic, which constitutes a nice example of a lexical isogloss between West-Baltic and Slavic: OPr. *dalptan* «durchslag» (i.e. an instrument for making holes) and CS *dlato*, Ru. *dolotó*, Cz., Slk. *dláto*, Pol. *dhuto* 'chisel'.⁹ South Slavic has mostly forms which seem to reflect **del(p)ta-* > **dlēto*, cf. Slov. *dléto*, Croat. *dlijèto*, Serb. *dléto*, Bulg. *dletó* 'chisel'. The meaning of the corresponding verb was 'to dig into, to make an incision, to hollow, to chisel', as can be seen from the meanings of the reflexes of Proto-Sl. **delti* (Čak. *dlisti*), **dylb(s)ti* (Serb., Croat. *dúpsti*), **dylbati* (Pol. *dhubać*) and **dylbiti* (Ru. *dolbít'*) 'to hollow, to chisel'¹⁰ and of the Germanic cognates (cf. OHG *bi-telban* 'to bury', OE *delfan*, Dutch *delven* 'to dig, to delve').¹¹ It certainly cannot originally have meant 'to chip off',

⁸ Jēgers (1970, 84–85) refers to Lat. *punctum* as a parallel.

⁹ Cf. Trautmann (1923, 54), Vasmer (1953–58, I, 360), Trubačev (1978, 60) and Sławski (1981, 70–71), the latter three with bibliographical references.

¹⁰ On the Slavic verbs, see Vaillant (1966, 157–58); Trubačev (1978, 206); Sławski (1979, 36, 246–48).

¹¹ Cf. Seebold (1970, 153). — Meillet–Vaillant (1934[65], 222) think that the different ablaut grades of Sl. **dylb-* and Gmc. **delb-* (cf. also the traces of a Sl. infin. **delti*) point to an original athematic present. A similar relation exists between Ru. CS *mlěsti*, *mlězu* and OHG *melchan* 'to milk'. — In Baltic, apart from Lith. *dálba*, *délba* 'lever, crowbar', the verbs *dilbinti* 'to walk around with downcast eyes', *dēlbtī* 'to cast down one's eyes', etc., are generally considered cognate (see Fraenkel 1962–1965, I, 81). However, this traditional view is criticized by Trubačev (1978, 206), who thinks that the Lithuanian verbs meaning 'to cast down one's eyes' cannot be separated from the phrase *iš padilbu*, which arose on the basis of Pol. *spodetba* (cf. Ru. *ispodlób'ja* 'from under the brows').

which excludes Jēgers's (1970, 83) tentative explanation of Balto-Sl. **dalpta-* from an original meaning '(that which was) beaten, chipped off'.¹² Another solution is therefore to be preferred. Comparing Balto-Sl. **dalpta-* with semantically related nouns which show a derivative formation in **-tlo-* from a verb of action in Latin, *scalprum* (< **scalp-tlom*, in our view¹³) and *caelum* 'chisel' (< **kaid-tlom*¹⁴), and taking into account the possible occurrence of a dissimilation, we have to accept the possibility of two underlying formations in Proto-Balto-Slavic: **dalpta-* or **dalptla-*. Accepting **dalptla-* as the historical basis we are in a better position to account for the instrumental function expressed by the noun; the form with the suffix **-tlo-* (> Balto-Sl. **-tla-*) could then have given rise to a dissimilated form **dalpta-* (cf. Niedermann 1903, 106–107 [1956, 140]):¹⁵ this dissimilation occurred in the context *(-l)(X)\$tl-* (where \$ stands for morpheme boundary, and (X) for an optional segment following the *l* in the lexical morpheme). Generally, **dalpta-* is regarded as the original Balto-Slavic form and the South Slavic forms are considered secondary variants.¹⁶ But since the suffix **-tlo-* was attached to the verbal root, we should rather expect **delpt(l)a-* as the original form, built on a Balto-Slavic stem **delbe/a-*¹⁷ (= Gmc. **delbi/a-*). It is possible that this was indeed the case and that an old **delpta-* is reflected by the South Slavic forms, and that **dalbta-*, which is implied by the Old Prussian and most Slavic¹⁸ forms, has been influenced by verbal forms with **dolb-*.¹⁹ Other

¹² The fact that **dalbta-* is a derivative with a specifically Balto-Slavic instrumental suffix from a verb that only in this language group developed the specialized meaning 'to chisel' makes it very improbable that Romanian *daltă* and Albanian *daltë* 'chisel' are not Slavic loans, but were borrowed from some ancient language of the Balkans, as maintained by Çabej (1967, 52; 1987, 154–56 [Fr. summ. 441]). Against Çabej, see Svane (1992, 78).

¹³ Cf. Leumann (1977, 313 ['Vielleicht']).

¹⁴ In our view, Lat. *caelum* does not come from **kaid-lom* (cf. Sommer 1914, 229; Ernout-Meillet 1959, 83) nor from **kaid-slom* (cf. Niedermann 1915, 1091; 1953, 126; Walde-Hofmann 1938–56, I, 130; Schrijver 1991, 267; both reconstructions are mentioned as a possibility by Sommer-Pfister 1977, 160) as is commonly assumed, but represents a regular **-tlo-* formation **kaid-tlom*, which, via **kais(s)lom*, became *caelum*. We hope to return to this issue on another occasion.

¹⁵ This dissimilation would be of Proto-Balto-Slavic date, as against the one we observe in **žędlo* (OCS *žęlo* 'κέντρον', Ru. *žálo*, Pol. *ządło* 'sting') < **želdlo* (cf., e.g., Mikkola 1942, 160; Vasmer 1953–58, I, 410), which dates back only to Proto-Slavic.

¹⁶ Cf. Meillet (1902–1905, 297): 's. *dlijęto*, sl. *dlęto* ont subi l'influence d'un infinitif **dlęti*; on signale en effet l'infinitif *dlisti* en regard du présent *delbem* dans l'île de Krk' and Vaillant (1966, 157): 'le substantif s.-cr. *dlijęto* pour *dlato*, refait sur le thème **dlę-*'. Likewise Trubačev (1977, 205; 1978, 60).

¹⁷ Or **dilpt(l)a-*, on the zero grade **dilbela-*.

¹⁸ As also noted by Meillet (1902–1905, 297) and Trubačev (1978, 60), strictly speaking, Ru. *dolotó* can also reflect Proto-Sl. **delto* < Balto-Sl. **delpta-* (cf. Ru. *molokó* 'milk' from Proto-Sl. **melko*).

¹⁹ For the possibility that Slavic once possessed an iterative **dolbiti*, cf. Sławski (1979, 250) s.v. *dl'biti*: 'Nie można wykluczyć też przekształcenia pierwotnego iter. *dolbiti* pod wpływem

cases of such a dissimilatory process could be the already mentioned Lith. *káltas*, Latv. *kalts* 'chisel' (< **kāl-tla-*),²⁰ and Lith. *plāktas* 'a big hammer' (< **plak-tla-*, i.e. instrument for beating, cf. *plàkti* 'to beat'), for which Jēgers (1970, 84) less plausibly starts out from a past passive participle '(that which was) made by forging (beating)'. In this reconstructive view the dissimilated forms with **-ta-* coming from **-tla-*, could have been secondarily analyzed as containing a suffix **-ta-*, which could then be productively applied to form new names of instruments (e.g., Lith. (old) *graižtas* 'saw' [from *griežti* 'to cut'] or *grąžtas* 'borer, drill' (from *gręžti* 'to turn, to bore, to drill'), which Jēgers less convincingly explains as '(that which was) cut off (and later used for cutting off, sawing)' and '(that which was) turned (in order to drill)' respectively. Our hypothesis gains a kind of 'cyclical credibility' if we take into account that Balto-Slavic **-tla-* itself is best explained, at least in part, as a dissimilation from **-tra-* (< IE **-tro-*).²¹ This is not to say that all Balto-Slavic instrument nouns in **-ta-* must have this origin. As seen above, for a few of them Jēgers's account can perhaps be accepted.²² The presence of this innovative instrument suffix in both Baltic and Slavic can be regarded as one of many pieces of evidence of a former Balto-Slavic unity.

dl'batī, dl'bajō. — Referring to OCS *pęto* 'fetter' and *zlato* (Ru. *zóloto*, Pol. *zloto*) 'gold', Meillet-Vaillant (1934 [1965], 353–54) think that the *o*-vocalism in Slavic *-to*-formations is old. But the latter example is certainly not a *nomen instrumenti* and is cognate with Latv. *zēlts* and Gmc. **gulpa-*, which show an *e*-grade (**g'helto-*) and a zero grade (**g'hltō-*) respectively. Vaillant (1974, 684) also classes *zlato* with *dlato*, *pęto*, *sito*, etc., but adds that it is 'l'adjectif *zlatū* substantivé'. Meillet (1902–1905, 296), who, as said above, includes all these words among the abstract nouns in *-to-*, points to the fact that these nouns usually had *o*-grade in Indo-European (cf. Gk. *φόρος, κοίτος, νόστος*, etc.; for this comparison, see also Schmid 1958, 223). But in Greek these *-to*-abstracts are masculine whereas the Slavic words in question are neuter.

²⁰ Rasmussen (1989, 183, 204) compares Ru. dial. *kólot* 'Mörserkeule', and reconstructs a Balto-Slavic **kóltos* (the acute accent of Lith. *káltas* being due to the influence of the past passive participle). But this seems very doubtful, as Ru. *kólot* may be a back-formation from *kolotít'* 'to strike, to pound' on the analogy of *mólot*: *molotít'* 'to thresh'. Trubačev (1983, 158–59) cites from different Slavic languages words reflecting **koltъ, *kolta, *kolto*. Some of them apparently go back to original past passive participles, but, as Trubačev (1983, 159) notes, there are also cases 'obratnoj motivacii **koltiti* [...] → **koltъ*'.

²¹ Cf. Szemerényi (1957, 120–21 [1991, IV, 2168–69]; 1967, 277–78 [1991, IV, 2182–83]), who stresses that Balto-Sl. **ārila-* 'plough' must continue the same Indo-European protoform as Gk. *ἀροτρον*, Lat. *arātrum*, OIcel. *arðr*, Arm. *arawr*. Olsen (1987, 20–21; 1990, 367) also equates Balto-Sl. **g^(w)ūr-tla-* 'gorge, throat' with Gk. *βάραθρον* 'gulf, pit'. It is possible that also the Slavic agent noun suffix *-teljъ* goes back to IE **-ter-* after verbal roots containing an *r*, cf. OCS *prijateljъ* 'friend' (cf. Meillet 1902–1905, 313).

²² For some other Baltic words in *-ta-*, on the other hand, Meillet's and Vaillant's interpretation as original deverbative abstract nouns can be taken into account. This is conceivable, e.g., for Lith. *siētas* 'Strick', *saītas* 'Eimerschnur, -kette, Tragband', OPr. *larga-saytan* (n.) 'leather strap' (from 'tie?'). A similar interpretation would be conceivable for *pęto* 'fetter'.

4. We encounter similar problems of semantic and morphophonological explanation when we turn to the Slavic and Latin words for 'hammer'. It is obvious that a hammer is more likely to be called 'an instrument for beating/crushing' (cf. also what has been said above on Lith. *plāktas*) than '(that which was) ground (crushed)' as it should be in Jēgers's view.²³ Now, Niedermann (1903, 109–16 [1956, 143–49]) proposed to explain the Slavic and Latin words for 'hammer' from a single prototype by assuming various dissimilations. OCS *mlatъ* (Ru. *mólot*, Cz. *mlat*, Pol. *młot*, etc.) and Lat. *marculus* (Lucilius;²⁴ Martialis 12, 57, 6; Festus²⁵) are traced back to an Indo-European protoform **mal-tlo-s*. In Proto-Slavic this should have developed to **moltъ*, which dissimilated to **moltъ* > OCS *mlatъ* (etc.).²⁶ In Latin, **mal-tlo-s* gave **malclos*, which was dissimilated to *marculus*, the latter giving rise to a diminutive *marcellus* (attested in glosses²⁷) in Vulgar Latin.²⁸ *Marculus* itself was reanalyzed as a diminutive and gave rise to a back-formation *marcus* (Isidore, *Orig.* 19, 7, 2; Festus²⁹). The forms *martulus* (Plin., *N.H.* 7, 195), *martellus* (Isidore, *Orig.* 19, 7, 2; glosses)³⁰ are explained by Niedermann as based on **mal-tro-s* (with the variant suffix **-tro-*), whose diminutive **mal-tro-los* became **maltrlos* > **maltillus* > **martillus*, whence *martellus*, with a change of suffix similar to the one assumed for *marcellus*. Finally, as in most cases a diminutive in *-ellus* was flanked by a primary diminutive in *-ulus*, *martellus* would have given rise to a back-formation *martulus*.³¹ But given the interchange in Vulgar Latin between *-c(u)l-* and *-tul-* (with syncope of the unstressed penultimate vowel, and with possibly

²³ Cf. also the unambiguous *nomina instrumenti* OE *býtel* 'hammer' (from *bēatan* 'to beat, to strike'), OHG *slegil* 'Schlegel, sledge-hammer' (from *slahan* 'to beat, to strike').

²⁴ Marx (1904–1905, frgm. 1165), Charpin (1991, 132, nr. 107).

²⁵ Müller (1839/1880, 125); Lindsay (1913, 112).

²⁶ Meillet's (1902–1905, 297), Persson's (1912, 646 n. 1) and Walde–Hofmann's (1938–56, II, 37) rejection of the derivation of *mlatъ* from **mal-tlos* because 'das Instr.-Suff. *-tlo-* sonst nicht im Slav. vertreten ist' (echoed more recently by Serbat [1975, 277]) is unjustified, since this suffix is very well represented in Slavic (cf. *supra*, with fn. 4). Persson's proposal that *mlato* [sic!] is 'eines der o-stufigen to- Substantive mit ursprünglich abstrakter Bedeutung, vgl. z.B. abulg. *dlato* 'Meissel' aus *dolp-to-*, zu *dūlbq* 'meissle'' (cf. Meillet's view) is unlikely in view of the instrumental meaning of these terms.

²⁷ See the references in ThLL VIII, 415–16 and Keller (1969, 313).

²⁸ Instead of *marcellus* we would expect **marcflos* > **marcellus*. Niedermann (1903, 111 [1956, 144]) sees here an example of 'Suffixwechsel'. But we may rather assume with Parker (1990, 55) that 'The *-ellus* dim[inutive] is analogic to such pairs as *porculus/porcellus*'.

²⁹ Because *marcus* is not attested beyond Isidore and Festus, it has been supposed that it was but 'une création de grammairien, fabriqué[e] commodément pour rendre compte d'un prétendu diminutif' (cf. Serbat 1975, 276). But the real character of this word is proven by the fact that it has descendants in Gallo-Romance (cf. Wartburg 1969, 315).

³⁰ Cf. It. *martello*, Fr. *marteau*, etc. See also Keller (1969, 313).

³¹ Niedermann's hypothesis is somewhat incorrectly reported by Ernout–Meillet (1959, 387). In fact Niedermann does not contend that *martulus* 'serait issu de **mal-tlo-*' (which is phonetically impossible).

added hypercorrection-strategies), we can hypothesize the creation of variants such as *martulus* and *martellus* next to *marc(u)lus*.³²

The terms for 'hammer' in Slavic and Latin raise a complex problem of reconstruction, if we want to propose a unified etymological account of these words. Meillet (1902–1905, 298) refused to link the Slavic word with the verb 'to grind, to mill', on the basis of the semantics and the accentuation (Ru. *mólot* and not **molót*). He was followed in this rejection by Niedermann (1903, 111 [1956, 144]) and Vaillant (1974, 156). But both of Meillet's arguments are disputable: (1) an IE **molh₁-tlo-* had to become **mol-tlo-* due to the disappearance of the laryngeal after a syllable with *o*-vocalism, and a result **molót* in Russian is thus excluded;³³ (2) the more general meaning 'to crush' of the IE root **melh₁-* is still testified to in Slavic by Ru. *mélkij* 'small; shallow', *izmel'čát'*, *izmel'čit'* 'to cut very small; to crumble up, to crush, to grind', *melít'* 'to cut up, to crush, to grind'.³⁴ If we accept the connection, we have to account for OCS *mlatъ* (etc.) as well as for Latin *marculus* by positing an original **molh₁-tlo-* 'instrument for grinding, crushing' (with masculine gender like **(s)ker-tros* 'instrument for cutting' > Lat. *culter* 'knife'³⁵). The somewhat problematic *o*-grade could have been taken over from the present of the corresponding verb where its occurrence is attested by several languages (cf. Goth. and OHG *malan* 'mahlen', Lith. *málti*, *malù* 'to grind').³⁶ The later evolution towards *a* in Latin could receive an explanation by Schrijver's (1991, 454–75) rule that in Italic an original **ō* preceded by **m*, **u* or a labiovelar became *ā* in open syllables as well as before *r* (or sonant in general) + velar stop.³⁷

³² *Martulus* has been plausibly interpreted as an artificial, hypercorrect form ('hyperurbanism') of spoken **marclus* (cf. vulgar *viclus*, *veclus* [App. Probi] against literary *vitulus* 'calf', *vetulus* 'old'), cf. Heraeus (1937, 150), whose explanation is accepted by J. B. Hofmann (ThLL VIII, 416), Walde–Hofmann (1938–56, II, 37), Keller (1969, 313) and Parker (1990, 55–56). A similar hypercorrect form was seen by Leumann (1960, 4; 1977, 154) in **spatula* (Fr. *épaule*) 'shoulder' for **spacla*, metathesized from **scapla* < *scapula*. There is, however, a second possibility to account for *martellus*: on the model of cases like *viclus* : *vitellus* (cf. It. *vitello*, Fr. *veau*), *martellus* could have been created alongside **marclus*.

³³ There is therefore no need to think that *mlatъ* reflects an *aniť* variant **mel-* of the *set* root of OCS *mlěti*, Ru. *molót'* 'to grind', as suggested by Walde–Hofmann (1938–56, II, 37) and Pokorny (1959, 717), who reconstruct **mol-to-*.

³⁴ For the proposed connection with the root of *molót'*, *meljú*, cf. Vasmer (1953–58, II, 115); see, however, Trautmann (1923, 165).

³⁵ Cf. Leumann (1977, 313); Olsen (1987, 19; 1990, 366 [**skér-tro-/skř-tro-*]). — Other examples of masculine nouns in **-tlos*, **-tros* are given by Niedermann (1903, 116 [1956, 149]).

³⁶ We cannot enter here into the reason for this *o*-grade, which is disputed. One may notice that if Schrijver's rule (cf. *infra*) is correct, Lat. *molere*, *molō* is not to be equated with the Germanic and Baltic presents, but can only reflect **mel(h₁)-* (cf. Schrijver 1991, 469).

³⁷ For this rule *mare* 'sea', from **mori*, and *manus* 'hand', from **monu-*, are fairly convincing examples. Cf. also Rasmussen (1993, 200–201), who judges it 'highly persuasive' and

Niedermann's reconstruction **mal-tlo-s* should not be criticized on phonetical grounds, as is done by Parker (1990, 55 n. 25),³⁸ who objects that 'Latin shows in such formations a regular dissimilation of *l □ l* to *l ... r*' and that we would therefore expect **malcrus* (and not *marculus*), parallel to, e.g., *fulcrum* (< **ful(k)klom* < **fulk-tlo-m*).³⁹ First, the dissimilation of **maltlos* (**malclos*)⁴⁰ to **martlos* (**marclos*) is in agreement with Grammont's (1933 [1968], 292) observation that 'De deux consonnes de même nature séparées par une consonne d'une autre nature, l'explosive dissimile l'implosive, type *veltragus* de *vertragos*'. On the other hand, we have to take into account analogy and morpheme-structure preserving mechanisms in the case of deverbal nouns still flanked by their verb bases.⁴¹ Furthermore, the dissimilated form **marclos* seems to be (at least if we accept Schrijver's rule) of Pre-Latin (or even Proto-Italic) date, whereas *fulcrum*, *scalprum*, and possibly *lucrum*, are later creations.

While we do not agree with Schrijver's explanation of *marculus*,⁴² it seems to us that the phonological change *o > a* in the context stated above,

accepts also the examples *margō* 'edge, brink, border, margin' and *marcēre* 'to be withered, wrinkled, weak', adduced by Schrijver (1991, 458–59) in favour of the validity of the rule before *r* + velar stop. The counterinstance *monēre* 'to cause to think, to admonish' has according to Rasmussen 'restored *o*'. As to *mola* 'millstone, mill' and *mora* 'delay, pause', Schrijver (1991, 473) explains them by positing **molH-eh₂-*, **morH-eh₂-*, with originally closed syllable. But we find it very hard to believe that laryngeals had been maintained for so long as Schrijver is ready to accept. We would therefore prefer to admit an analogical formation (**molā* : **melō* after **togā* : *tegō*, etc.), created at a time when the type *toga* was still productive in Italic and the verbal base of *mora* still existed.

³⁸ For this criticism, see also Serbat (1975, 277), who points to *lucrum* 'gain' from **lu-tlom*.

³⁹ Parker admits, though, that 'the instrumental *-tlo-* suffix clearly underlies this word, as Niedermann [...] was the first to observe', but thinks that 'Its ultimate root connection remains more obscure'. Now, if we accept Schrijver's rule, it is also possible to reconstruct **mor(h₂)-tlos* (from the less well attested root **merh₂-* 'aufreiben, reiben'; cf. Pokorny 1959, 735–36).

⁴⁰ **-tl- > *-kl-* is a Common Italic sound change. It seems, however, to be absent from Venetic (if this language is to be considered Italic), in view of the words *magetlon* and *metlon*, to which Lejeune (1972, 185–86; 1974, 336) attributes a meaning 'offrande'.

⁴¹ Words like *fulcrum* and *scalprum* were at all times transparent derivatives of *fulcīre*, *scalpere* and it was thus only natural that they should retain the root-forms *fulc-* and *scalp-*. In *marculus*, on the other hand, any connection with a verb had been obscured so that nothing could prevent **malc-* from becoming *marc-*. As to *lucrum*, this word is in conformity with Grammont's dissimilation rules (cf. Sp. *roble* 'oak' < Lat. *rōbur*, quoted by Grammont 1933, 304).

⁴² Schrijver, recognizing — probably erroneously — an original diminutive formation in *marculus*, posits **mar-ke-lo-* < **mal-ke-lo-* from **mala-ke-lo-* < **molH-ke-lo-* or **mallo-ke-lo-* < **malalo-ke-lo-* (cf., e.g., *canicula*, of *canis*). But these reconstructions are not justified by the chronology of Italic diminutive formations, since the diminutive suffix *-culus* (< **ke-lo-s*) is of rather late, Italic origin (cf. Leumann 1977, 309), and are totally unsupported by the morphological data (there is no sufficient evidence for a noun **mala-* < **molH-* or **mallo-* < **malalo-*; the etymology of *malleus* 'big hammer, mallet' is too uncertain to support such a reconstruction). The later reinterpretation of *-culus* in *marculus* as a diminutive suffix may

which he posits for Latin, offers the best explanation for Lat. *marculus* from **mol(h₁)-tlos*, as a masculine tool name, and allows us to connect *marculus* (and its secondary derivatives) with Slavic *mlatъ* (etc.), tracing them back to the IE root **melh₁-* 'to crush, to grind' and explaining them as instrumental nouns derived in **-tlo-*.⁴³ If there is a relationship between *marculus* and *malleus* 'big hammer, mallet', as is often assumed, its nature remains obscure.⁴⁴

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explain the diminutive meaning attributed to the word by ancient grammarians. It is interesting to note that Isidore (19, 7, 2) misinterprets the relationship between *marculus* and *martellus*: 'Marcus malleus maior [...]. Martellus, mediocris. Marculus malleus pusillus'. A *marculus* is thus regarded as smaller than a *martellus*, although historically, as we have seen, *martellus* is a diminutive of *marculus*. Cf. also Parker's (1990, 55 n. 26) remark that Isidore's 'ranking by size is likely to be artificial'.

⁴³ Less plausible is the interpretation recently advanced for Lat. *marculus* by Olsen (1987, 20; 1990, 366). She suggests that *marculus* is from **martlo-*, metathesized from **mal-tro-* (IE **māl-trom*), and compares OHG *maltar* 'Malter' (a corn measure), which, it should be noted, is semantically divergent. However, this reconstruction cannot be reconciled with the root **melh₁-* 'to crush, to grind', of which OHG *maltar* is usually considered to be a derivative (cf. Seebold 1970, 344). But if we take up Olsen's suggestion of a metathesis in the Latin form and suppose that Schrijver's rule is valid, we can reconstruct **mol(h₁)-tros*, differing only by its suffix from the **mol(h₁)-tlos* which can underlie the Slavic word for 'hammer'. — Leumann (1977, 153) thinks that Lat. *marculus* in combination with the diminutive *martellus* indicates a protoform **mar-tlos* (reconstruction which he further on [p. 313] terms '[u]nsicher'); it is not clear, however, whether he is prepared to consider this as arisen by dissimilation from **mal-tlo-s*, or would rather assume a derivative of a root **mar-*.

⁴⁴ If the analysis of *marculus* which we propose in the text is correct, Niedermann's (1903, 116 [1956, 149]) opinion that 'malleus setzt wohl ein **mal-lo-* voraus, das zu *marculus* aus **mal-tlo-* in ähnlichem Verhältnis stünde wie *rallum* aus *rastrum*' cannot be accepted. Schrijver's (1991, 456) reconstruction **mala-lo-* < **mola-lo-* < **molH-lo-* is also very uncertain.

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