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## BALTIC \**kaluā* “HILL” Baltų \**kaluā*

**Abstract.** The purpose of this contribution is to separate Baltic \**kaluā* “hill” from Baltic \**kalnas* “mountain” and to connect it with Indo-Aryan \**kúlva-*, Iranian \**karuā-* „thin-haired“; Greek \**κόλφος* “docked, hornless”; Italic \**kalauro-* & \**kalaūā* “bald (head)”, and the Pre-Romance oronym \**kalauros*, besides the Gaulish cognomen *calaua*. The semantic shift from “bald” to “hill” is supported by numerous examples of “bald hills”.

**Keywords:** Baltic; appellative; toponym; word-formation; semantic motivation; etymology.

**Anotacija.** Straipsnio tikslas – atskirti baltų \**kaluā* nuo \**kalnas* ir susieti jį su indų-iranėnų \**kúlva-*, iranėnų \**karuā-* „plonų plaukų“; graikų \**κόλφος* „beuodegis, beragis“; italikų \**kalauro-* & \**kalaūā* „plikas“ ir ikiromaniškojo oronimu \**kalauros*, plg. dar galų pravardę *calaua*. Semantinę raidą nuo „plikas“ iki „kalva“ patvirtina gausūs „plikų kalvų“ pavyzdžiai.

**Raktažodžiai:** baltų kalbos; apeliatyvas; toponimas; žodžių daryba; semantinė motyvacija; etimologija.

1. The Baltic oronymic term \**kaluā* “hill” is well-documented in both the Lithuanian & Latvian appellative lexicon and toponymy. Probable equivalent counterparts appear in Old Prussian, Curonian and maybe Galindian toponymies.

1.1. Lithuanian *kalvā*, acc.sg. *kaĩvą* “hill, rise, knoll; patch of land among meadows; forest clearing; shallow spot in the sea floor” (Fraenkel 1962–1965, 209; ALEW 444–445; Smoczyński 2018, 478: the Lithuanian circumflex indicates the *aniť*-root, but the Latvian acute agrees with the accentuation of Lithuanian *kálnas* “mountain, hill”). The adj. *kalvūs* “hochgelegen” represents an innovation formed from the comp.-adv. *kalviaũ*, in the same way as *kalnūs* id. vs. *kalniaũ*.

1.1.1. There are some Lithuanian hydronyms, e.g., the river-name *Kalvadà* or lake-name *Kálvė*, which may belong here and not to *kálvis* & *kálvė* “smith” & “smithy” (Toporov 1980, 185; Vanagas 1981, 144).

1.2. Latvian *kalva* “hill, knoll; isle on a river, peninsula, bay, sand bank”, *kalvs* “ein Vorgebirge” (ME 2, 146–147).

1.2.1. There are some Latvian hydronyms, e.g. the river-name *Kalveskalns* or lake-names *Kalvu-ēzērs*, *Kalvenes-ēzērs*, pond-names *Kalvas dīķis*, *Kalvenis* etc., which may belong here and not to *kalvis* & *kalva/kalve* “smith” & “smithy” (Endzelin 1934, 120, 130; Schall 1966, 453; Toporov 1980, 185).

1.3. In Old Prussian there is no corresponding appellative. With regard to the limited lexical corpus it is legitimate to seek hypothetical cognates in Old Prussian onomastics. Toporov (1980, 184–185; 1984, 116–117) included here the Prussian lake-name *Kulwen* (1384), *Calben* (1388), *Kalve* (1420), in the first half of the 20th cent. *Kalben-See* (Gerullis 1922, 53), besides *Kalwa Wielka* = *Grosser Calben See* and *Kalwa Mała* = *Kleiner Kalben See* etc. in Masuria-Warmia, Województwo Olsztyn, in Poland (Toporov 1980, 185). Blažienė (2005, 359–360) adds the village-name *Kalwa* from the neighborhood of Stary Targ in the south of Elbląg, first attested already AD 1246 as *de Calue*, and reconstructs Old Prussian *\*kalvā* “hill”.

1.4. Curonian, another extinct Baltic language known only thanks to onomastics, can offer several promising toponyms based on the root *\*kalv°* (see Schall 1966, 452–454):

- (i) AD 1439 *Octekalwen*, 1454 *Oktkalven*, 1506 *land Ottekalve* < *\*auktakalvē*; cf. Old Prussian place-names *Aucti-garbin*, *Aucta-kops*, where the first components mean “high”. As the appellative, it appears in *Enchiridion* in the form *auctimmien* “chieftain”, lit. “highest” (Toporov 1975, 152–153).
- (ii) AD 1253 *Percunecalve*, 1291 *Percunecalve*, *scilicet insula in Liva sita*, indicate that *\*kalvē* could also mean “island”, here concretely “Perkuns’ island”.
- (iii) AD 1439 *de Platkalwische*, 1455 *Platkalwen*, while in AD 1506 it was recorded as *Platkalne*, where the second component corresponds to Lithuanian *kálnas* “mountain, hill”, Latvian *kalns* “mountain”. This implies that it is possible to expect the same meaning “mountain, hill” for Curonian *\*kalvē*.
- (iv) AD 1253 *Calnesemme* / *Kalnesemme* / *Kalveseme*, 1503 *Kalveseme*, where the second component corresponds to Latvian *zeme* “earth, land”, and the first components confirm their synonymity.

1.5. Nepokupnyj (1970, 25) contemplated the Baltic (Galindian?) origin of the Lake of *Kolovač* by Cminy in Volynskaja oblast’ in Polesye, comparing it with the Lithuanian deminutive *kalvakà* “small hill” (Nesselmann 1851,

176), seeing both the parallel semantic motivation and word-formation in the river-name *Horbač*, flowing in the neighboring village. He also referred to Lewy (1904, 74) and Gerullis (1922, 99, 176), identifying the Prussian counterparts of Nesselmann’s Lithuanian *kalvakà* in two toponyms from Sambia, both recorded to AD 1258: *Myntite colowach* and *Sunecolowach* (cf. Prussian *sunis* “dog”). The specific vocalization of the limnonym *Kolovač* indicates the East Slavic pleophony. If this is the case, the Prussian toponyms formed by *colowach* should also have been mediated through an East Slavic setting.

1.6. Outside the core Baltic language territory, the Baltic root \**kalv*<sup>o</sup> can be identified in the hydronym *Kalwy*, belonging to the basin of the Warta river, which is a biggest tributary of the Odra river (Orel 1997, 338; he preferred the identification of Baltic “smith” here).

2. Baltic \**kaluā* “hill” has been connected with East Baltic \**kalnas* “mountain” (Pokorny 1959, 544; Fraenkel 1962–1965, 209; Derksen 2015, 222; ALEW 444–445; Smoczyński 2018, 478):

Lithuanian *kálnas* “mountain, hill” (Smoczyński 2018, 476); Latvian *kalns* “mountain (ME 2, 142–143); Nehrung Curonian *kalns* (ALEW 1, 442); ‘Narewian’ *kauni* “mountain” /*kaln*<sup>o</sup>/; similarly *cauta* “guilt” vs. Lithuanian *kaltė* id. (Zinkevičius 1984, 14); cf. the parallel formation in Lithuanian *kalnūs* = *kalvūs* “hochgelegen, high up”.

2.1. But the accentuation of Lithuanian *kalvà* does not support the presence of any laryngeal, while Latvian *kalva* “hill, knoll; isle on a river, peninsula, bay, sand bank” confirms its presence.

Yamazaki (2009, 456) thinks that ... the original accentuation of Lithuanian *kalvà* must have been acute, and that it has undergone *métatonie douce* in the prehistory of Lithuanian rather than the Saussure effect on the Proto-Indo-European stage.

2.2. Yamazaki (2009, 456–457) and Neri (2003, 273–275) see in Gothic *hallus*\* “stone, rock” the continuation of \**kolHu-* instead of traditionally proposed \**kol(H)nu-*. Taking in account the *u*-stem \**kolHu-*, Yamazaki derives Baltic \**kaluā* from the feminine or collective \**kolH<sub>2</sub>-eH<sub>2</sub>-*.

2.3. Elsewhere I tried to demonstrate that Gothic *hallus* “stone, rock” should not be separated from Old Runic (Stenstad) **halaz** /*hallaz*/ m. “stone” (*a*-stem?), (Strøm: whetstone) **hali** /*halli*/ acc.sg. m. (*i*-stem) (Antonsen 1975, 49–50, 54–55); Old Norse *hallr* m., gen.sg. *halls*, nom.pl. *hallar* “stone”, Icelandic *hallur*, Norwegian dial., Swedish *hall* id. < \**hallaz* (de Vries 1962, 205), Old English *heall* “rock” (Holthausen 1963, 151),

besides the derivative in Old Norse *hella* f. “flat stone”, Icelandic, Faroese, Norwegian *hella* id., Old Swedish *hælla* f. “Felsen, Klippe” (de Vries 1962, 221) < \**hallʹjōn-*, adopted into Balto-Fennic \**kall(i)jo* > Finnish & Ingrian *kallio*, Karelian *kallivo*, Ludi *kalʹlī*, *kalʹ*, Veps *kalʹlʹ*, Votic *kalʹlo*, Estonian *kalʹju* “rock” (LGLO 2, 21), and Common Saami \**källijā* id. > North *galʹle*, Umea *gällöi*, Arjeplog *kaalʹluo*, Lule *kallō*, Inari *källēe*, Kolta *kaʹlli*, Kildin *kaʹllej*, Ter *kaʹlle* (Lehtiranta 1989, 44–45, n. 349), while Saami of Norway have: Finnmark *bakte-alli*, Kalfjord *baste-hallē*, Karlsö *bakte-halli*; Sweden: Sorsele *allie* “Felsen, unter welchem Obdach zu finden ist” (Qvigstad 1893, 89), which are borrowed from a later Scandinavian source (the first component represents Common Saami \**pāktē* “rock” – see Lehtiranta 1989, 98–99, n. 884); German dial. (Swiss) *hell* “flat stone” (cf. Pokorny 1959, 925), plus the zero apophonic grade in Old English *hyll* “hill”, English *hill*, Low German *hull*, Middle Dutch *hil(le)*, *hul* < \**hulli-* (Hamp 1976, 37; Hoad 1986, 216; Holthausen 1963, 183).

2.4. These Germanic forms have been compared with East Baltic \**kalnas* “mountain”, which confirm the derivation of Germanic \*-*ll-* from the cluster \**-(H)n<sup>-1</sup>*. The liquid + nasal cluster is also reconstructible in Iranian \**karnā-* and its derivatives: Pašto *káṇay* “stone”, Waziri *kōṇai* “stone (solid, not flat or thin)” < \**karna-ka-* (Morgenstierne 1927, 33; Pašto was compared with Lithuanian *kálnas* here, which was repeated in NEVP, 39); Yazgulami *kawn*, pl. *káwnáθ* “gulf, abyss, chasm, canyon” (Ėdeľman 1971, 139) < \**karnā-* (ESIJ 4, 295); Rošani *čāwn* “steep slope” < \**karnā-* (Morgenstierne 1974, 28); Šughni *čīn* “rocky slope, place in the hills which is difficult to pass” < \**karnija-* (Morgenstierne 1974, 26).

3. Summing up, Baltic \**kaluā* “hill” should be separated from Gothic *hallus*<sup>2</sup>. More promising cognates, especially from the point of view of word-formation, can be found in Italic and Indo-Iranian (cf. Pokorny 1959, 554).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E.g. Germanic \**fulla-* “full” vs. Vedic *pūrṇá-*, Avestan *parəna-*; Old Irish *lán*, Lithuanian *pilnas*, Old Church Slavonic *plъnъ* “filled, full” < \**plH<sub>1</sub>-nó-*.

<sup>2</sup> If East Baltic \**kaluā* and Gothic *hallus*\* do not belong together, the projection \**kol-Hu-* has no support outside of Gothic. That is why it would be more natural to propose the secondary origin of this formation instead of a more expectable *o*-stem. Neri (2003, 346) collected several Gothic nouns classified as *u*-stems, which correspond to *o*-stems in other Indo-European languages, e.g. *þaurus* ‘*ἄκανθα*’, i.e. “thorny-plant” vs. Vedic *tīṇa-* “grass, straw” n. < \**tīno-* (Lehmann 1986, 357). It is possible to speculate about the influence of another *u*-stem, Gothic *qairnus*\* “millstone”, known in the compound *asilu-qairnus* “donkey-mill” (Lehmann 1986, 44).

**3.1.** Latin *calvus* “bald”, *calva* “bald head” [L. Pomponius], Paelignian *Calauan(s)* ‘Calvanus’, Oscan gentilic name **Kalaviis** ‘Calvius’, **Kalauium** ‘Calvium’, **Kalúvies** ‘Calvii’ < Italic \**kale/oṽo-* < \**k̑H-e/oṽo-* (Ernout, Meillet 1932, 132–133; Bottiglioni 1954, 357; Schrijver 1991, 194, 217, 294–295, 299; Nussbaum 1997, 187, fn. 44;<sup>3</sup> de Vaan 2008, 85; Walde, Hofmann 1938, 144; Weiss 2009, 298).

**3.1.1.** The Latin forms continue in Romance languages: Romanian *chelbe* “Kopfgrind” < \**clalvia* < \**calvia*; Italian *calvo*, Logudorese *kalvu*, Engadine *k’alb*, French *chauve*, Provençal *calv*, Catalanian *calb*, *caul*, Spanish, Portuguese *calvo* “bald” (Meyer-Lübke 1935, n. 1530, 1532; FEW 2, 106)

**3.1.2.** Latin *calva* is a source of Old Irish *calb* “head” (LEIA C-26).

**3.2.** Sanskrit *āti-kūlva-* “exceedingly thin-haired” [Vājasaneyi Saṃhita], in the Kāṇva version *āti-kūlva-*, while in the Mādhyandina version *āti-kulva-* (Lubotsky 1997, 142<sup>4</sup>); Kašmiri *kōlur* “the bald coot *Fulica atra*” (Turner 1966, n. 3355).

**3.3.** Young Avestan *kauruua-* “thin-haired” [Yt 8.21<sup>5</sup>], Old Persian (or Median?) personal name \**Karva* & \**Karvaka*, known from the Elamite transcriptions *kar-ma* & *kar-ma-ak-qa* (Hinze 1975, 150), Persian *kal* “bald, baldness, bald head”, Yaghnobi *kal*, *kall*, Yazghulami *kal* “bald” < \**k̑Hṽo-* (EWAI 1, 377; Tremblay 2005, 679, fn. 25; ESIJ 4, 188, 320; Novák 2010, 79–80 determines the Tajik and Persian origin of the Yaghnobi forms respectively).

**3.4.** There are no apparent Celtic appellative counterparts, but some interesting Gaulish proper names should be taken in account:

*Calaus mons* (AD 925), later *Kalomonte*, today *Chalmont* in dep. Seine-et-Marne (Holder 3, c. 1043).

<sup>3</sup> Nussbaum (1997, 186–193) demonstrated that the IE sequence \**-lu-* would have changed into Latin *-ll-*, while the Latin cluster *-lv-* originated via syncope from \**-lVl-*.

<sup>4</sup> Lubotsky (1997, 142) reconstructs the primary simplex \**kūlva-*, assuming that the root-vowel in the compound *āti-kulva-* was shortened in an unaccented position and the lengthened compound *āti-kūlva-* originated thanks to introduction of \**ū* from the simplex according to him.

<sup>5</sup> *kauruua-* ... *kauruuō.gaoša-* ... *kauruuō.barəša-* ... *kauruuō.dūma-* “thin-haired, with thin-haired ears, with a thin-haired mane, with a thin-haired tail” (cf. Lubotsky 1997, 142, fn. 11).

See <https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/iran/airan/avesta/avest.htm> (Nov 6, 2021).

*Calaus*, continuing in names of three villages: *Chalô-Saint-Mars*, dep. Seine-et-Oise; *Chalo-la-Reine*, dep. Seine-et-Oise; *Chaloux*, dep. Nièvre (Holder 1, c. 689: \**Calavos*).

*Calava* - masculine cognomen of some potter from Lezoux (Holder 1, c. 689; 3, c. 1043; Delamarre 2007, 53).

The hypothetical Gaulish starting-point \**kalauos* & \**kalauā* is derivable from \**k<sub>l</sub>Heu<sub>o</sub>-/-eH<sub>2</sub>-* or \**k<sub>l</sub>Ho<sub>u</sub>o<sub>o</sub>-/-eH<sub>2</sub>-*, parallel to e.g. Gaulish \**talamōn*, really attested as the place-name *Talamun* in the 11<sup>th</sup> cent., today *Talmont* in the department Vendée (Holder 2, c. 1707; Dauzat, Rostaing 1978, 668), which has been connected with Old Irish *talam*, gen. *talman* “earth, world, ground” < \**t<sub>l</sub>H<sub>2</sub>emon-* (de Bernardo Stempel 1987, 142), or Old Brittonic \**tanaus*<sup>6</sup> (Holder 2, c. 1717), Middle Welsh *teneu*, Welsh *tenau*, Cornish *tanow*, Middle Breton *tanau*, Breton *tanaw*; Old Irish *tanae* “thin, slender” < \**t<sub>n</sub>H<sub>2</sub>eu-* (Beekes 1976, 11; 2010, 1448; de Bernardo Stempel 1987, 143; Hamp 1965, 77; Zair 2012, 210–213).

3.5. The semantic connection may be illustrated by examples from several Indo-European branches:

3.5.1. In Young Avesta [Yt. 19.6<sup>7</sup>] there appears the mountain, called *Kaorisa-*, i.e. \**Karūisa-*, which should be interpreted as “Bare or bald {mountain}” (Bartholomae 1904, cc. 432, 456; ESIJ 4, 320).

3.5.2. In Ireland there are several “bald” mountains, e.g.:

*Maol na nDamh* “bald {hill} of the stages”, Anglicized *Mulnanaff* - 475 m (Donegal in Ulster)

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Tacitus, *Agricola* 22: *Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentis aperuit, vastatis usque ad Tanaum (aestuario nomen est) nationibus* (see Cornelius Tacitus, *De Vita Iulii Agricolae*, in *Idem, Opera minora*, ed. by Henry Furneaux, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900). Now this place is called Firth of Tay. The same origin could be proposed for the Hispano-Celtic name *Tanaucius* [CIL VI 1672], belonging to the consul of Baetica and later the prefect of Rome (AD 375).

<sup>7</sup> See <https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/iran/airan/avesta/avest.htm> (Nov 6, 2021).

<p><i>yahmiia.jatarasca. ađutauuāasca.</i>  <i>spitauuarənāasca. spəntō.dātasca.</i>  <i>kadrūua.aspasca. kaoirisasca.</i>  <i>taērasca. barō.sraianō.</i>  <i>baranasca. frāpaiūasca. gairiš.</i>  <i>udriiasca. raēuūasca. gairiš:</i>  <i>yaēšqmca. parō. mašīiaka.</i>  <i>aifītaēdaca. spašītaēdaca.</i>  <i>gairinqm. nāmqm. dādar:</i></p>	<p>“und (die Gebirge) Yahmyajatarā und Ađutavah und Spitavarənah und Spəntō.dāta und Kadrva.aspa und <b>Kaoirisa</b> und die Bergspitze Barō.srayan und Barana und der Berg Frāpayah und Udrya und der Berg Raēvant und die (anderen) Berge, welchen früher die Menschen Namen gegeben haben, vom Begehen und Betrachten her (sie nehmend).”</p>
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The German translation by Wolff 1910, 286.

*Cnoc Maol Reidh* “bald hill with the smooth top”, Anglicized *Mweelrea* – 814 m (Arderin Scale).

3.5.3. In Wales there are also several “bald” mountains, e.g.:

*Moel Famau* “bare {hill} of Mama” – 554 m (Clwydian Range)

*Moel Hebog* “bare {hill} of the hawk” – 783 m (Snowdonia), etc.

3.5.4. In the territory of France there are several “bald” mountains (see Dauzat 1982, 130):

*Calva* – 1378 m (N.E. de Levie)

*Calvi* – 1071 m (Corse)

*Chalvine* – 2242 m (Isère)

*Chauve* – 584 m (A.-Mar.)

*Chauvet* – 1620 m (Drôme) etc.

3.5.5. In Germany, e.g. *Kahleberg* (905 m; Erzgebirge), can be named.

3.5.6. In Austria, e.g. *Kahlenberg* (484 m; Wienerwald), can be named.

3.5.7. The Slovak word *hol'a*, translated as “a grassy area of mountaintops above the treeline” (Králík 2015, 202). It serves to designate relatively high mountains with the bare tops, e.g., *Kráľova hol'a*, 1946 m high mountain, the highest one in the eastern part of the Low Tatras in Central Slovakia. On the slopes of the *Kráľova hol'a* there are sources of four rivers: Černý Váh (39 km), Hnilec (91 km), Hornád (286 km), and Hron (298 km). The geographic semantics appears in cognates in several Slavic languages: Upper Sorbian *hola* “wasteland; forest”, Lower Sorbian *góla* “steppe, wasteland, forest”, Polabian *d'ülã* “wasteland”, Polish arch. *gola* “open, bare place”, Ukrainian *holjá* “denuded top of a mountain”. In the Common Slavic perspective, it is the feminine \**golja* with the masculine counterpart \**gob* “bareness”, all from the adj. \**golv* “bare” (ESSJ 6, 207–208).

3.5.8. Another example of the ‘bald’ semantic motivation can be found in the Czech oronym *Plešivec*<sup>8</sup>, designating 16 mountains and hills only in Czech Republic, further e.g. in Slovenia. Its etymology is also transparent: from the Czech adj. *plešivý* “bald”, and further *pleš* “bald head”, similarly Slovenian *pleš* etc., cf. Old Church Slavonic *plěšb* “bald” (Machek 1968, 459).

3.5.9. In Moravia, *Lysá hora* (1234 m), is the highest top of the Beskydy Mountains; in Poland, *Łysa Góra* (595) is the dominant top in the Łysogóry range. Czech *lysý* and Polish *łysy* mean “bald”.

3.5.10. In USA, there are at least 50 mountains called *Bald Mountain(s)*<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> <https://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plešivec>

<sup>9</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bald\\_Mountain](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bald_Mountain)

4. A key to the etymology of the preceding lexemes can be found in Greek κόλος “docked” (δόρν) [*Il.* 16.117], “stump/horned, hornless” (of oxen) [*Hdt.* 4.29]; κολούω “to cut short, dock, curtail” [*Il.* 20.370; *E. Fr.* 92; *Pl. Lg.* 731a], “to prune” [*Thpr. CP* 2.15.5]; κολούρος “dock-tailed, stump-tailed” [*Plu. Flam.* 21], “truncated” (πυραμῖς) [*Nicom. Ar.* 2.14]; κολούρα “truncated hill” [*inscr. Hermione, Epid.* 2<sup>nd</sup> cen. BCE; cf. *Paus.* 2.36]; κολουραῖος in κ. πέτρα “steep, abrupt rock” [*Call. Fr.* 66] (Chantraine 1970, 557–558; Beekes 2010, 739). Brugmann (1916, 220, fn. 1) judged that κόλος represented an Aeolism for \*κόλφος and in the verbal form κολούω the present in \*-ῶ(ο)-, in the same way as in ὀρούω “to rise quickly, rush away”. Schwyzler (1939, 683) agreed with Brugmann concerning the present formation in \*-ῶ(ο)- (sic), while Chantraine (1958, 374) identified here the suffix \*-u- (cf. also van de Laar 2000, 17).

4.1. The presented forms can be arranged in the table according to the grade of ablaut of the root, the zero vs. o-grade, and of the derivational suffix \*-uο- vs. \*-euο- (cf. the Greek doublet in Attic κενός, Ionic κεινός vs. Homeric κενεός, Epidaurian κενεφός, Cypriot -ke-ne/u-wo-ne “empty” < \*kenuο- vs. \*keneuο- respectively; see Hintze 1993, 29; Nussbaum 1997, 187; Beekes 2010, 672):

	*-uο- / *-ueH <sub>2</sub> -	*-euο- / *-eueH <sub>2</sub> -
*k <sub>l</sub> H-	Indo-Aryan *kúlva- “thin-haired” Iranian *karva- “thin-haired”	Italic *kalauo- & *kalaūā “bald (head)” ?Gaulish PN *kalauios & *kalauiā
*kolH-	Greek *κόλφος “docked, hornless” Baltic *kalvā “hill” (*“bald hill?”)	

Abbreviation: PN proper names.

4.2. These forms indicate the primary root \*kelH-. It remains to identify its hypothetical continuants. Promising candidates can be found in Greek κελοί · ξύλα “chopper, cutter”, κελεῖς · ἀξίνα “axe, hacking”, maybe κέλωρ · ἐκτομίας “eunuch” [all by Hesychius] (Pokorny 1959, 545). Latin *culter* “knife” [Plautus+], derivable from \*kolHtro- (cf. de Vaan 2008, 151), may be of the same origin. A cardinal question is whether \*kelH- is an independent root or the s-less variant of the root \*(s)kelH- “aufschlitzen, spalten” (LIV 553; Pokorny 1959, 923–924), continuing e.g. in Hittite *iškall-* “to slit, split,



tear”; Armenian *c’elaw* “spaltete sich, zerriß”; Gothic *skilja* “butcher”, Old Icelandic *skilja* “to split; distinguish”; Lithuanian *skeliù* : *skēlti* “to split wood, hew into splits”; Russian *ščelb* “slit, fissure, opening”. As an illustration of the natural semantic development from “cutting” to “baldness” may serve Old Icelandic *skalli* “Kahlkopf; Schädel” (de Vries 1961, 482). Let us mention that from the root \*(s)kelH- various designations of “rock” are also formed: Middle Irish *sceillec* “rock”; Old Church Slavonic *skala* “rock”.

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