INDIC-NURISTANI SÁKTH-IÁN-, ČUPTI- AND ALBANIAN SUP

In Indogermanica et Caucasian: Festschrift für Karl Horst Schmidt zum 65. Geburtstag, edd. R. Bielmeier and R. Stempel (Berlin: de Gruyter 1994) 38, I have reconstructed the laryngeal heteroclite *sVktH/n: ‘thigh’. From the modern languages CDIAL adds more evidence. The basic noun is attested in Ashkun söt and Waigali söt, whereby we recognize Nuristan’s valuable contribution.


If we take *sákthi < *sVkt-H as representing Bartholomae’s Law, we arrive at *sákh-t(i) = *sákH-t, thus making Sommer’s conflation otiose. Then *sVk-H(-t) implies in the terms of my 1994 argument the presence of *sk-n(-g)- (cf. ḍστράγκλός)\(^1\) and *sk-l-, etc.

Morphologically this implies the equation(s) *sVk-H(-t) ≡ Lat. caput < *kep-Ho(-t) ≡ Indic yákrt-t, Arm. leard.

We then may take Indic súptis, Avest. supti- (IEW 627) and their Germanic cognates to be later developments of *k’up-t. The ancient paradigmatic status of this neuter (yákr-t, σχα-τ-ός, capu-t, γέλακτ-τ- vs. εὐγλαγ-ής, -as, Lat. *(d)lac-t- = ásr-k, ḍστρα-κ-όν, ἀστα-κ-ός < *Hstn-k-ό-) [-α grave, -voice, -contin., + obstr.] marker is then supported in this instance by its absence in Albanian sup ‘shoulder’, which must be *k’up- not followed by *-t, since the latter would have given *sut.

When we recall the -t (semantically empty) suffixed to (compounded) Indo-Iranian verbal nouns, and the -kḥ emptily supplied to Slavic u-stem adjectives (and to ‘apple’) and veli- ‘big’,\(^2\) it seems that with this [-grave] marker we are in the presence of a piece of bleached fossil pre-IE morphology. We may also wonder about it as a source of the productive IE adjective suffix (appurtenance and participial\(^3\) *(s)ko-). Small languages can provide particularly precious evidence for widespread phenomena.

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\(^1\) I reluctantly defer the voicing of γ here.


\(^3\) E. P. Hamp, IF 82. 77-9 (1977); 87. 73-4 (1982).
Povzetek

INDIJSKO-NURISTANSKO SÁKTH-IÁN-, ĆUPTI- IN ALBANSKO sup

Rekonstruirani heteroklitski (laringal vsebujoči) samostalnik *sVktH/n- 'stegno' se prek Bartholomaejevega zakona izvaja iz *sV'H(-t). Indijsko šuptis in dr. je tedaj iz starejšega *k'up-t, prim. albansko sup 'rama'. Verjetno imamo opraviti z okamenelim ostankom predindoevropskega oblikslovja.