

INDIC-NURISTANĪ SÁKTH-I/ÁN-, ĆUPTI- AND ALBANIAN SUP

In *Indogermanica et Caucasica: 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 *sot* and Waigali *sōt*, whereby we recognize Nuristanī’s valuable contribution.

F. Sommer, *Festschrift Debrunner* (1954) 425-30, suggested that *sakthi-* ‘thigh’ be related to OHG *scinca*, OE *scēanca* ‘crus, tibia’, Dutch *schonk* ‘bone’ < **skak-thi x asthi* ‘bone’.

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. ἄστράγαλος)¹ and **sk-l-*, etc.

Morphologically this implies the equation(s) **sVk-H(-t)* ≅ Lat. *caput* < **kep-H_a(-t)* ≅ Indic *yákr-t*, Arm. *leard*.

We then may take Indic *śuptis*, 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, *caru-t*, γάλακ-τ- vs. εὐγλαγ-ής, -as, Lat. **(d)lac-t-* = *ásr-k*, ὄστρα-κ-ον, ἄστα-κ-ός < **Hstn-k-ó-*) [-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 *-къ* emptily supplied to Slavic *u*-stem adjectives (and to ‘apple’) and *veli-* ‘big’,² it sees 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 participial³) **(s)ko-*. Small languages can provide particularly precious evidence for widespread phenomena.

¹ I reluctantly defer the voicing of *γ* here.

² E. P. Hamp, *Journal of Slavic Studies* 1. 80-2 (1993).

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

Povzetek

INDIJSKO-NURISTANSKO *SÁKTH-I/ÁN-*, *ĆUPTI-* IN ALBANSKO *sup*

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