Abstract. The purpose of this contribution is to separate Baltic *kaluā “hill” from Baltic *kalnas “mountain” and to connect it with Indo-Aryan *kū́lva-, Iranian *karu̯a- “thin-haired”; Greek *χόλϝος “docked, hornless”; Italic *kalau̯o- & *kalau̯ā “bald (head)”, and the Pre-Romance oronym *kalauos, 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.

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

1.1.1. There are some Lithuanian hydronyms, e.g., the river-name Kalvadà or lake-name Kālvė, which may belong here and not to kālvis & kālvo “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 *Kalves-kalņš* or lake-names *Kalņu-ēzers*, *Kalvenes-Ēzers*, pond-names *Kalvas diķis*, *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 *kalvo* (see Schall 1966, 452–454):

(i) AD 1439 *Octekalwen*, 1454 *Oktkalwen*, 1506 land *Ottekalve < *aukta-kalvē*; 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 *kālnas* “mountain, hill”, Latvian *kalņš* “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 diminutive *kalvakā* “small hill” (Nesselmann 1851,
Baltic *kalvā “hill”, 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 Kolowač 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 *kalvo 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 *kalvā “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 kal̄ns “mountain (ME 2, 142–143); Nehring Curonian kalns (ALEW 1, 442); ‘Narewian’ kauni “mountain” /kaln/; similarly cauta “guilt” vs. Lithuanian kalčé id. (Zinkevičius 1984, 14); cf. the parallel formation in Lithuanian kalnus = 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 *kalvā from the feminine or collective *kolHu-eH₂-.

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?), (Ström: 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 hëlla f. “Felsen, Klippe” (de Vries 1962, 221) < *halla–, adopted into Balto-Fennic *kall(i)jo > Finnish & Ingrian kallio, Karelian källivo, Ludi kallī, kal’, Veps kall’, Votic kall’o, Estonian kal’jo “rock” (LGLO 2, 21), and Common Saami *källījä id. > North gal’le, Umea gallöi, Arjeplog kaal’luo, Lule kallö, Inari källee, Kolta ka’lli, Kildin ka’lje, Ter källe (Lehtiranta 1989, 44–45, n. 349), while Saami of Norway have: Finnmark bakte-alli, Kalfjord bafte-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 *päktē “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 hill(e), 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 *-l(H)n-. The liquid + nasal cluster is also reconstructible in Iranian *karnā- and its derivatives: Pašto kānay “stone”, Waziri kōnai “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 käwn, pl. käwnāθ “gulf, abyss, chasm, canyon” (Ėdel’man 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” < *karnja- (Morgenstierne 1974, 26).

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

1 Cf. E.g. Germanic *fulla– “full” vs. Vedic pūrṇā–, Avestan parṇa–; Old Irish lán, Lithuanian pilnas, Old Church Slavonic plīv “filled, full” < *plH₁-nó–.

2 If East Baltic *kalu̯ā 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. Neří (2003, 346) collected several Gothic nouns classified as u-stems, which correspond to o-stems in other Indo-European languages, e.g. paurus ‘ākavθa’, i.e. “thorny-plant” vs. Vedic tī̄na– “grass, straw” n. < *tṛṇa– (Lehmann 1986, 357). It is possible to speculate about the influence of another u-stem, Gothic qairnus* “millstone”, known in the compound asīlu-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’, *Kaluvieis* ‘Calvii’ <Italic *kale/oio– < *klHu̯-e/oio– (Ernout, Meillet 1932, 132–133; Bottiglioni 1954, 357; Schrijver 1991, 194, 217, 294–295, 299; Nussbaum 1997, 187, fn. 44; de Vaan 2008, 85; Walde, Hofmann 1938, 144; Weiss 2009, 298).

3.1.1. The Latin forms continue in Romance languages: Romanian *chelbe* “Kopfgrind” < *clalia < *calvia; Italian *calvo*, Logudorese *kalu*, Engadine *k’alv*, French *chauve*, Provençal *calv*, Catalan *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 áti-kū̄lva- “exceedingly thin-haired” [Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā], in the Kāṇva version áti-kū̄lva–, while in the Mādhyandina version áti-kulva– (Lubotsky 1997, 142); Kašmiri *kōlur* “the bald coot Fulica atra” (Turner 1966, n. 3355).

3.3. Young Avestan *kauruua–* “thin-haired” [Yt 8.21], Old Persian (or Median?) personal name *Karva* & *Karvaka*, known from the Elamite transcriptions kar-ma & kar-ma-ak qa (Hinz 1975, 150), Persian *kal* “bald, baldness, bald head”, Yaghnobi *kal, kall*, Yazghulami *kal* “bald” < *klHu̯o- (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).

---

3 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 */-lVu̯–*.

4 Lubotsky (1997, 142) reconstructs the primary simplex */kú̄lva–*, assuming that the root-vowel in the compound áti-kú̄lva– was shortened in an unaccented position and the lengthened compound áti-kú̄lva– originated thanks to introduction of */ū–* from the simplex according to him.

5 *kauruua–... kauruua.gaoṣ̌a–... kauruua.barǝṣ̌a–... kauruua.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 *kl̥Heu̯o-/-eH₂- or *kl̥Hou̯o-/-eH₂-, parallel to e.g. Gaulish *talamōn, really attested as the place-name Talamun in the 11th 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” < *t̥l̥Hemon- (de Bernardo Stempel 1987, 142), or Old Brittonic *tanaus6 (Holder 2, c. 1717), Middle Welsh teneu, Welsh tenau, Cornish tanow, Middle Breton tanau, Breton tanaw; Old Irish tanae “thin, slender” < *tn̥H₂eu̯- (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. 19.67] there appears the mountain, called Kaorisa-, i.e. *Karu̯isa-, 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)

---

6 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).

7 See https://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etc/iran/iran/avesta/avest.htm (Nov 6, 2021).
“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 *hoľa*, translated as “a grassy area of mountaintops above the treeline” (Králik 2015, 202). It serves to designate relatively high mountains with the bare tops, e.g., *Kráľova hoľa*, 1946 m high mountain, the highest one in the eastern part of the Low Tatras in Central Slovakia. On the slopes of the *Kráľova hoľa* 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’ülă* “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 *golь* “bareness”, all from the adj. *golb* “bare” (ESSJ 6, 207–208).

3.5.8. Another example of the ‘bald’ semantic motivation can be found in the Czech oronym *Plešivec*⁸, 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 *plěšь* “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 *łyśy* mean “bald”.

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

---

⁸ https://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plešivec

⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bald_Mountain
4. A key to the etymology of the preceding lexemes can be found in Greek κόλος “docked” (δόρυν) [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” (πυραμίς) [Nicom. Ar. 2.14]; κολούρα “truncated hill” [inscr. Hermione, Epid. 2nd cen. BCE; cf. Paus. 2.36]; κολονθίος in κ. πέτρη “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 *κόλϝος and in the verbal form κολούω the present in *-ōu̯(o)-, in the same way as in ὀρούω “to rise quickly, rush away”. Schwyzer (1939, 683) agreed with Brugmann concerning the present formation in *-ōu̯-, while Chantraine (1958, 374) identified here the suffix *-u̯- (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 *-u̯o- vs. *-eu̯o- (cf. the Greek doublet in Attic κενός, Ionic κεινός vs. Homeric κενός, Epidaurian κενεξός, Cypriot -ke-ne/u-wo-ne “empty” < *kenyo- vs. *keneyo- respectively; see Hintze 1993, 29; Nussbaum 1997, 187; Beekes 2010, 672):

| *klu̯H-     | *kūlva- “thin-haired” | *kālva- “thin-haired” | Indo-Aryan | *kālva- “thin-haired” | Baltic | *kalvā “hill” (*“bald hill?”) |
|------------|----------------------|----------------------|------------|----------------------|--------|-----------------------------|
| *klu̯H-    | Greek *kōlposé “docked, hornless” | Baltic *kalvā “hill” (*“bald hill?”) | *klu̯H- | Greek *kōlposé “docked, hornless” | Baltic | *kalvā “hill” (*“bald hill?”) |
| *-u̯o-     | Italic *kalypo- & *kalayā “bald (head)” | *-u̯o-     | Italic *kalypo- & *kalayā “bald (head)” | *-u̯o-     | Italic *kalypo- & *kalayā “bald (head)” | *-u̯o-     | Italic *kalypo- & *kalayā “bald (head)” |
| *-eyeH₂-   | Gaulish PN *kalauous & *kalauā | *-eyeH₂-   | Gaulish PN *kalauous & *kalauā | *-eyeH₂-   | Gaulish PN *kalauous & *kalauā | *-eyeH₂-   | Gaulish PN *kalauous & *kalauā |

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 κελοῦ · ξύλα “chopper, cutter”, κελείς · ἀξίνα “axe, hacking”, maybe κέλωφ · 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,
Baltic *kalųā “hill”

tear”; Armenian c’elauw “spaltete sich, zerriß”; Gothic skilja “butcher”, Old Icelandic skilja “to split; distinguish”; Lithuanian skeliu : skėlti “to split wood, hew into splits”; Russian ščel’b “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”.

REFERENCES

ALEW – Altltaiisches etymologisches Wörterbuch 1–3, unter Leitung von Wolfgang Hock und der Mitarbeit von Elvira-Jūlia Bukevičiūtė und Christiane Schiller bearbeitet von Rainer Fecht, Anna Helene Feulner, Eugen Hill und Dagmar S. Wodtko, Hamburg: Baar 2015.

Antonsen, Elmer H. 1975, A Concise Grammar of the Older Runic Inscriptions, Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Bartholomae, Christian 1904, Altiranisches Wörterbuch, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter (reprint 1960).

Beekes, Robert 1976, Some Greek aRa-Forms: 1. ταναός, Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft 34, 9–12.

Beekes, Robert, with assistance of Lucien van Beek 2010, Etymological Dictionary of Greek 1–2, Leiden, Boston: Brill.

de Bernardo Stempel, Patrizia 1987, Die Vertretung der indogermanischen liquiden und nasalen Sonanten im Keltischen (= Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 54), Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.

Blažienė, Grasilda 2005, Die baltischen Ortsnamen im Ostpreußen (= Hydronymia Europaea 3), Stuttgart: Steiner.

Bottiglioni, Gino 1954, Manuale dei dialetti italici (Osco, Umbro e dialetti minori). Grammatica, Testi, Glossario con note etimologiche, Bologna: Società Tipografica Editrice Bolognese.

Brugmann, Karl 1916, Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen 2.3, Strassburg: Trübner.

Chantraine, Pierre 1958, Grammaire homérique 1 (phonétique et morphologie) (= Collection de philologie classique 1), Paris: Klincksieck.

Chantraine, Pierre 1970, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots 2 (E–K), Paris: Klincksieck.

Dauzat, A., avec la collaboration de G. Deslandes et corrigé par Ch. Rostaing 1982, Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de rivières et de montagnes en France, Paris: Klincksieck.
Dauzat, A., Ch. Rostaing 1978, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de lieux en France*, Paris: Guénégaud.

Delamarre, Xavier 2007, *Nomina Celtica Antiqua Selecta Inscriptionum (Noms de personnes celtiques l’épigraphie classique)*, Paris: Errance.

Derksen, Rick 2015, *Etymological Dictionary of the Baltic Inherited Lexicon*, Leiden, Boston: Brill.

Édeľman, Džoj I. 1971, *Jazguljamsko-russkij slovař*, Moskva: Nauka.

Endzelin, J. 1934, Die lettändischen Gewässernamen, *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie* 11(1/2), 112–150.

Ernout, Antoine & Antoine Meillet 1932, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots*, Paris: Klincksieck.

ESIJ – *Étymologičeskij slovař iranskix jazykov* 1–4, by Vera S. Rastorgueva (1–3) & Džoj I. Édeľman (1–4), Moskva: Vostočnaja literatura, 2000–2011.

ESSJ – *Étymologičeskij slovař slavjanskix jazykov*, ed. Oleg N. Trubačev et alii, Moskva: Nauka, 1974f.

EWAI – *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen* 1–3, von Manfred Mayrhofer, Heidelberg: Winter, 1986–2001.

FEW – *Französischen etymologisches Wörterbuch: eine Darstellung des galloromanischen Sprachschatzes*, by Walther von Wartburg et alii, Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, later Zbinden; Paris: Champion; Genève: Slatkine, 1928–2003, https://apps.atilf.fr/lecteurFEW/index.php/page/view.

Fraenkel, Ernst 1962–1965, *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg: Winter, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Garnier, Romain 2010, *Sur le vocalisme du verbe latin: étude synchronique et diachronique (= Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 134)*, Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.

Gerullis, Georg 1922, *Die altpreußischen Ortsnamen*, Berlin, Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter.

Hamp, Eric P. 1965, Evidence in Celtic, in Werner Winter (ed.), *Evidence for Laryngeals*, The Hague: Mouton, 223–235.

Hamp, Eric P. 1976, Western Indo-European Notes: 3. Gothic hallus, ON. hallr etc., *Indogermanische Forschungen* 81, 36–38.

Hintze, Almut 1993, *A Lexicon to the Cyprian Syllabic Inscriptions*, Hamburg: Buske.

Hinz, Walther 1975, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der nebenüberlieferungen*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Hoad, T. F. 1986, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Holder, Alfred 1896, 1904, 1907, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* 1–3, Leipzig: Teubner.

Holthausen, Ferdinand A. W. 1963, *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg: Winter.
Baltic *kalūā “hill”

Karulis, Konstantīns 1992, *Latviešu etimoloģijas vārdnīca*, Rīga: Avots.

Králík, Lubor 2015, *Stručný etymologický slovník slovenčiny*, Bratislava: Veda.

van de Laar, Henri M. F. M. 2000, *Description of the Greek Individual Verbal Systems*, Amsterdam, Atlanta: Rodopi.

Lehmann, Winfred P. 1986, *A Gothic Etymological Dictionary*, Leiden: Brill.

Lehtiranta, Juhani 1989, *Yhteissamaelainen sanasto*, Helsinki: Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran toimituksia / Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 200.

LEIA – Vendryes, Joseph & Pierre-Yves Lambert, 1959–1996, *Lexique étymologique de l’irlandais ancien*, Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, Paris: CNRS.

Lewy, Ernst 1904, *Die altpreußische Personennamen*, Inaugural Dissertation, Breslau: Fleischmann.

LGLO – *Lexikon der älteren germanischen Lehnwörter in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen* 2: K–O, begründet von A. D. Kylstra, fortgeführt von Sirkka-Liisa Hahmo, Tette Hofstra, Osmo Nikkilä, Amsterdam, Atlanta: Rodopi, 1996.

LIV – *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*, by Martin Kümmel, Thomas Zehnder, Reiner Lipp & Brigitte Schirmer, ed. Helmut Rix, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2001.

Lubotsky, Alexander 1997, *The Indo-Iranian reflexes of PIE *CRHUV*, in Alexander Lubotsky (ed.), *Sound Law and Analogy. Papers in Honor of Robert S.P. Beekes on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*, Amsterdam, Atlanta: Rodopi, 139–154.

ME – Mühlenbach, K. 1925–1927, *Lettisch-deutsches Wörterbuch* 2, regiert, ergänzt und fortgesetzt von J. Endzelin, Riga: Herausgegeben vom lettischen Kulturfonds.

Meyer-Lübke, Wilhelm 1935, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg: Winter.

Morgenstierne, Georg 1927, *An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*, Oslo: Dybwad.

Morgenstierne, Georg 1974, *Etymological Vocabulary of the Shughni Group*, Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Nepokupnyj, Anatolij P. 1970, *Geografičeskie terminy i toponimy ukrajinskogo Polesja i baltijskie (iranskie) nazvanija reljefa*, Baltistica 6(1), 11–26.

Neri, Sergio 2003, *I sostantivi in -u del gotico. Morfologia e Preistoria (= Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 108)*, Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck.

Nesselmann, Georg H. F. 1851, *Wörterbuch der litauischen Sprache*, Königsberg: Verlag der Gebrüder Bornträger.

NEVP – *A New Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto* by Georg Morgenstierne, compiled and edited by J. Elfenbein, D. N. MacKenzie & Nicholas Sims-Williams, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2003.

Novák, Lubomír 2010, *Jaghnóbsko-český slovník*, Praha: Univerzita Karlova, Filozofická fakulta.
Nussbaum, Allan J. 1997, The “Saussure Effect” in Latin and Italic, in Alexander Lubotsky (ed.), Sound Law and Analogy. Papers in Honor of Robert S.P. Beekes on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday, Amsterdam, Atlanta: Rodopi, 181–203.

Orel, Vladimir Ė. 1997, Neslavjanskaja gidronimija bassejna Visly i Odera, in T. M. Sudnik, E. A. Xelimskij (eds.), Balto-slavjanskie issledovaniya 1988–1996, Moskva: Indrik, 332–358.

Pokorny, Julius 1959, Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Bern, München: Francke.

Qvigstad, J. K. 1893, Nordisch Lehnwörter im Lappischen (= Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandlinger for 1893 1.), Christiania: Dybwad

Schall, Hermann 1966, Kurisch-Selische Elemente im Norwestslawischen, in D. P. Blok (ed.), Proceedings of the Eight International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, The Hague, Paris: Mouton, 450–464.

Schrijver, Peter 1991, The Reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals in Latin, Amsterdam, Atlanta: Rodopi.

Schwyzer, Eduard 1939, Griechische Grammatik (auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns Griechische Grammatik) 1: Lautlehre – Wortbildung – Flexion, München: Beck.

Smoczyński, Wojciech 2018, Lithuanian Etymological Dictionary, edited by Axel Holvoet and Steven Young with the assistance of Wayles Browne, Berlin: Peter Lang.

Toporov, Vladimir N. 1975, 1980, 1984, Prusskij jazyk (A–D; I–K; K–L), Moskva: Nauka.

Tremblay, Xavier 2005, Bildeten die iranischen Sprachen ursprünglich eine genetische Familie oder einen Sprachbund innerhalb des indoiranischen Zweiges?, in Gerhard Meiser, Olav Hackstein (Hrsg.), Akten der XI. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, 17.–23. September 2000, Halle an der Saale, Wiesbaden: Reichert, 673–688.

Turner, Ralph L. 1966, 1969, 1985, A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages, plus Indexes, plus Addenda and Corrigenda, edited by J.C. Wright, London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press; London: School of Oriental and African Studies.

de Vaan, Michiel 2008, Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages, Leiden, Boston: Brill.

Vanagas Aleksandras 1981, Lietuvių hidronimų etimologinis žodynas, Vilnius: Mokslas.

de Vries, Jan 1961, Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, Leiden: Brill.

Walde, Alois, J. B. Hofmann 1938, Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch 1, Heidelberg: Winter.

Weiss, Michael 2009, Outline of the Historical and Comparative Grammar of Latin, Ann Arbor, New York: Beech Stave Press.
Baltic *kalųā “hill”

Wolff, Fritz 1910, Avesta. Die heiligen Bücher der Parsen, Strassburg: Trübner.
Yamazaki, Yoko 2009, The Saussure Effect in Lithuanian, *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 37(3–4), 430–461.
Zair, Nicholas 2012, *The Reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European Laryngeals in Celtic*, Leiden, Boston: Brill.
Zinkevičius, Zigmas 1984, Pol’sko-jatvjažskij slovarik?, *Balto-slavjanskie issledovanija* 1983, 3–30.

**Acknowledgement**
The article originated under the auspices of the Specific Research Fund at Masaryk University, nr. 2817. I am grateful to John Bengtson for his correction of English and to Stefan Zimmer for his valuable comments.

**Václav BLAŽEK**  
*Department of Linguistics and Baltic Studies*  
*Faculty of Arts*  
*Masaryk University*  
*Arna Nováka 1/1*  
*602 00 Brno*  
*Czech Republic*  
*[blazek@phil.muni.cz]*
