The prehistory of Old Lithuanian *иß оßсзių*

Daniel Petit

École Normale Supérieure & École Pratique des Hautes Études (Paris, France);
daniel.petit@ephe.psl.eu

Abstract. The aim of the present paper, offered to Prof. Nikolai Kazansky as a token of respect and homage for his contribution to Indo-European linguistics, is to explore the etymology of an Old Lithuanian prepositional locution *иß оßсзių* 'on the back side' used twice by Jonas Bretkūnas in two different passages of his translation of the *Bible* (1590). It can be argued that the genitive plural *оßсзių* reflects a feminine noun **oščios* 'back-side' limited to the plural (plurale tantum) and is based on a Baltic feminine noun **āź-tjā-*. Historically, **āź-tjā-* seems to reflect the combination of a lengthened allomorph of the preposition *až(u)-* 'behind' and a suffix *-tjo-* which enjoyed a certain productivity in the prehistory of the Baltic languages. The long vowel of the preposition **āź-* is striking, however, and remains completely unparalleled in Lithuanian, where *až(u)-* is only attested with a short vowel, or with lengthening of the second vowel *ažúo-*, but not with a first long vowel **āž-*, which in turn appears in some Latvian dialects (*āz*). Taken at face value, the alternation between **ăź-* and **āź-* preserved in the prepositional locution *иß оßсзių* recalls that between **pă-* (Lithuanian *pa-*) and **pā-* (Lithuanian *pó-*), but the difficulty is how to clarify the function of its initial lengthening in contrast with the more common alternation **aź(u)-* / *aźúo-*. On the other hand, the Baltic suffix *-tjā* (< Proto-Indo-European **-tieh₂-*) is well attested in Baltic, in particular in the formation of abstract feminine nouns derived from prepositions (cf. for example Lithuanian *apačià* 'lower parts, undersides', Latvian *apakša* 'lower part' < Baltic **apa-tjā* < Proto-Indo-European **(H)opo-tieh₂-*).

Keywords: Lithuanian, Baltic, etymology, preposition.

Предыстория старолитовского *иß оßсзių*

Д. Пети

École Pratique des Hautes Études (Париж, Франция); daniel.petit@ephe.psl.eu

Аннотация. В данной статье рассматривается этимология старолитовского выражения *иß оßсзių* 'на обратной стороне', встречающегося дважды в переводе

Библии Йонаса Бреткунаса (1590). В обоих случаях *иß оßсзįų* оказывается дополнением или глоссой к словам *иßρakali* 'на задней стороне' (loc. sg.) или *iſch иßρakalo* 'сзади' (*iš* + gen.) в основном тексте. Можно предположить, что *оßсзįų* — это форма родительного падежа множественного числа от имени женского рода *oščios 'обратная сторона' (plurale tantum) и восходит к балтийской праформе **āź-tjā-*, образованной от алломорфа предлога *až(u)-* 'за, позади' при помощи суффикса **-tįā-*, который был в определенной степени продуктивным в предыстории балтийских языков. Вариант **āź-*, реконструируемый в рамках данной этимологии, в литовском не засвидетельствован. Тем не менее литовские предлоги демонстрируют высокую степень вариативности: так, для предлога со значением 'за' известны следующие формы в литовском (*ažù, àž, užù, ùž, ažúo-, ažū́-, užúo-* и *žù*) и латышском (*az, āz, aiz, iz, uz, uoz* и *ūz*). Такое количество алломорфов отчасти обусловлено смешением двух изначально разных предлогов, однако продление гласного является одним из известных типов видоизменения предлогов в балтийских языках, ср., например, лит. *pă-* → **pā-*, лит. *pó-*.

Способ образования имен прилагательных от предлогов при помощи суффикса **-tįo-* хорошо известен в индоевропейских языках. Большинство образований подобного типа в литовском являются существительными женского рода, при этом иногда они могут изменяться только по множественному числу, как, например, *ãpačios* 'остатки, (картофельные) очистки'. Соответственно, основой старолитовского высказывания *иß оßсзįų,* вероятно, было существительное множественного числа женского рода *oščios* 'обратная сторона', а не мужского рода *oščiai.

Ключевые слова: литовский, балтийские языки, этимология, предлог.

"Und alles bleibe hinter mir"
(Johann Wolfgang von Goethe)

Looking back over the span of the past twenty years, and particularly if I try to remember the time of the Lithuanian workshop at Palūšė (1997), where I first met Prof. Nikolai Kazansky, I can only be struck by the fact that Baltic philology has taken on a different face. Not only have primary data been made more easily accessible to the scholarly world, due to the edition of many ancient texts, but Baltic philology has also implemented new linguistic approaches and developed original, hitherto unexplored perspectives. As a result, new problems came to light, both

in the synchronic description of the Baltic languages and in their diachronic analysis. The Old Lithuanian corpus, in particular, provided us with a wealth of new data, which were previously unknown or ignored and deserve thorough philological investigations, paying due attention to their context. The aim of this paper, offered to Prof. Nikolai Kazansky as a token of respect and homage for his contributions to Indo-European linguistics, is to explore the prehistory of an Old Lithuanian locution *uß oßczių* 'on the back side', which appears exclusively in the works of Jonas Bretkūnas (16th century) and has left no trace in Modern Lithuanian.

The Old Lithuanian locution *uß oßczių* 'on the back side' is not mentioned in Ernst Fraenkel's [LEW] (1962–1965), nor in Wojciech Smoczyński's [SEJL] (2007), but is duly described in Wolfgang Hock's [ALEW 2: 722], where it incidentally grabbed my attention. In Old Lithuanian, it seems to be limited to Jonas Bretkūnas' translation of the *Bible* (1590), where it occurs twice:

(1)   Old Lithuanian: Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblia* (1590: 95v$_{25}$, *Ex.* 26:23)
       priegtam   dwi   lenti
       in addition   two.ACC.DU.F   board.ACC.DU.F

       ußpakali   [uß   oßczių]
       back side.LOC.SG   on   back side.GEN.PL

       ant   dweiu   sąſparu   [tabernakulo]
       on   two.GEN.PL   corner.GEN.PL   tabernacle.GEN.SG

       '(And you shall make) two frames for corners of the tabernacle in the rear.' (German: *dazu zwey bret hinden an die zwo ecken der Wonung*)

(2)   Old Lithuanian: Jonas Bretkūnas, *Biblia* (1590: 79v$_{16}$, *1Sam.* 15:11)
       neſa   ghis   iſch   ußpakalo   nog   manens
       for   3.SG.NOM   out of   back.GEN.SG   from   1.SG.GEN

       atkrjpa   [ußu   oſchcziu
       turn back.PST.3   on   back side.GEN.PL

       nůg   manens   nuſsikreipe]
       from   1.SG.GEN   turn back.PST.3

       'For he turned back from me.' (German: *er hat sich hinder mir abgewand*).

In both occurrences the locution *uß oßcȝių* appears as an addition, or a gloss, to the main text, where we find *ußpakali* 'on the back side' (loc. sg.) resp. *iſch ußpakalo* 'from the back side' (*iš* + gen.). It may be suggested that *uß oßcȝių* reflects an alternative translation of the text, eventually downgraded to a marginal note and replaced by a more usual expression. As such, it is unlikely to represent anything else than a moribund archaism. This prompts us to examine this frozen locution carefully in order to determine its origin. No other Old Lithuanian document displays anything similar. Samuel Chyliński's translation of the Bible (1660), cited after Kavaliūnaitė [2008], for example, has an entirely different text in the two passages: *teypag dwi ląti, kąmpo łątump Nomero, iſz abieju ſzalu* (*Ex*. 26:23), resp. *delto jog atſigryżo nog manęs* (*1Sam*. 15:1).

The locution *uß oßcȝių* is completely isolated in Lithuanian. Considering the regular construction of the preposition *ùž* 'on, behind' with the genitive, the form *oßcȝių* is likely to be the genitive plural of a noun of unknown gender, either **oščiai* (m. pl.) or **oščios* (f. pl.). No such noun, however, is documented at any stage of the history of the Lithuanian language. Following the LKŽ [8: 1021], the ALEW [2: 722] suggests a masculine plural *oščiai* (?) with a question mark, but a feminine plural *oščios* is equally possible and cannot be ruled out. Concerning the formation of the word, the ALEW sees in *oščiai* a derivative in **-tio/eh₂-* from a prepositional basis corresponding to Latvian dial. *āz* 'behind', thus assuming a Lithuanian prototype that could be reconstructed as **āž-čia-* or **āž-čiā-* < Baltic **āź-tja-* (suffix **-tịo-*) or **āź-tjā* (suffix **-tịeh₂*) with a meaning 'back side' (Germ. *Hinterseite, Rückseite*). The redactor of the entry in the ALEW concludes with a note of caution: *Die Verbindung bleibt so mit einer Unsicherheit behaftet*.

There are good reasons for taking a closer look at this etymology. The first one is that it supposes a prepositional basis **āž-* that has an equivalent in some Latvian dialects (*āz*), but remains otherwise entirely unknown to Lithuanian. The second problem is the meaning of the formation in **-tịo-* or **-tịā-* applied to a prepositional basis. Both aspects require a precise analysis, which has not yet been done.

To begin with, it is necessary to remind that the preposition 'behind' may exhibit several forms in the Baltic languages, both in its prepositional

usage and in composition (verbal or nominal prefix). In Lithuanian, we find the following variants:

Table 1

Lithuanian	Initial vowel *a-*	Initial vowel *u-*	Initial vowel *ū́-*	Initial vowel *ø-*
	àž	*ùž*	*ū́ž-*	
Final *-ž-*	various dial. North, East, Belarus	ubiquitous	East Lith. dial. (as a nominal prefix)	
Final *-žu-*	*ažù*	*užù*		*žù*
	Old Lith.: Sirvydas	Old Lith.: Mažvydas, Bretkūnas, Morkūnas, Petkevičius, Klein		dial. Rodūnia (Belarus)
	ažúo-	*užúo-*		
Final *-žuo-*	East Lith. (as a nominal prefix)	ubiquitous (as a nominal prefix)		
	ažū̄-			
Final *-žū̄-*	East Lith. dial. (as a nominal prefix)			

Zigmas Zinkevičius [1966, 428; 1981: 189] writes that variants with initial *a-* are limited to the East Lithuanian dialects; in Old Lithuanian, *až(u)-* is sporadically found in Western Lithuanian (East Prussia) as well, which suggests that it was once more widely spread. The variation between initial *a-* and *u-* cannot be explained by regular phonetic change and it is better to assume that we are dealing with two originally distinct prepositions that eventually merged in the course of their history. This assumption is supported by the fact that some Old Lithuanian documents and some modern dialects use both variants (*až* and *už*) side by side with

a difference of meaning. According to Zinkevičius [1966: 428], in East Lithuanian *až* covers the range of meanings of Standard Lithuanian *ùž* 'behind, beyond, after' (+ gen.), 'for' (+ acc.), whereas *už* corresponds to *añt* 'on' (+ gen.). It is therefore likely that there were originally two prepositions, **ažu* and **užu* (or **už* if **užu* is taken for secondary after **ažu*), and that their distinction was blurred in many Lithuanian dialects. The striking point, however, is that there is in Lithuanian no trace of a long vowel variant **āž* that could be the basis of the nominal form **āž-čia-* or **āž-čiā* apparently preserved in the Old Lithuanian locution *uß oßcȝių* 'on the back side'.

In Latvian, we find the following variants:

Table 2.

Latvian	Initial vowel *a-*	Initial vowel *ā-*	Initial vowel *ai-*	Initial vowel *u-*
Final -*z*-	*az*	*āz*	*àiz*	*uz*
	various dial. 'behind', 'on' (Latgalian *oz*)	various dial. 'behind', 'on' (sometimes only as a nominal prefix)	ubiquitous 'behind'	dial. 'on', 'onto, to'
Latvian	Initial vowel *ū-*	Initial vowel *uo-*	Initial vowel *i-*	
Final -*z*-	*ūz-*	*uoz-*	*iz*	
	Old Latv. *uhs* dial. *ūz* (as a nominal prefix)	Prussian Latvian	High Latv. dial. 'on', 'onto, to'	

As far as I can see, forms with an initial vowel *u-* (*uz* and its lengthened variants *ūz-* and *uoz-*) and with an initial vowel *i-* (*iz*) are restricted to the meaning 'on, onto' and secondarily 'to, towards', [1] whereas *aiz* and dial. *az* mean 'behind' and occasionally 'on, onto'. It is clear that we are

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[1] Cf. Endzelin [DI, 1: 409–425 and 575–580 for *uz*, 541–548 for *aiz*; 1923: 485–489 for *aiz*, *az*, 507–508 for *iz*, 532–537 for *uz*].

dealing with two different prepositions, *a(i)z 'behind' on the one hand, and *uz* 'on' on the other hand, and that their merger did not reach the same stage as in Lithuanian.

The Old Prussian data are confused and uncertain. Three prepositions can be compared to Lith. *ùž*, East Lith. *ažu* and Latv. *aiz*:

— OPr. *enſai* = Germ. *auff* 'on' (III: 117_{23});

— OPr. *eſſe* = Germ. *von, aus* 'from, out of' analyzed by Vytautas Mažiulis [PKEŽ²: 187] as **aza* < Common Baltic **aźō* = East Lith. *ažu*;

— OPr. *unſey* = Germ. *auff* 'on' (III: 117_{23}) analyzed by Vytautas Mažiulis [PKEŽ²: 924] as a contamination of **en* 'in' and **uz* 'on'.

It seems to be the case that Old Prussian possessed both **aźō* (= East Lith. *ažu*) in *eſſe* and **uź* (= Lith. *ùž*) in *unſey*, but their semantic relationships are far from clear: while *unſey* routinely means 'on', *eſſe* exhibits a completely unparalleled ablative meaning ('from, out of'). This difficulty is compounded by the fact that a contamination seems to have taken place with **en* 'in' to explain the nasal in *unſey* (**uź* + **en-* > **unź-*); the hapax *enſai* could be a mistake for **unſai* (it comes after *ſten* in III: 117_{23}). In addition, the endings of the different prepositions are unexplained: -*ai, -ey* is reminiscent of the adverbial ending -*ai* (cf. *labbai* 'well'), but the ending -*e* of *eſſe* (-*a* in *aſſa* in I and II) is obscure. And, last, but not least, we do not know how the meaning 'behind' was expressed in Old Prussian.

To sum up, it may be assumed that the Baltic languages inherited two different prepositions **aźō* 'behind' (= East Lith. *ažu*) and **uź* 'on' (= Lith. *ùž*, Latv. *uz*). Their distinction was lost, or at least blurred, in some dialects, and this merger may locally have had formal consequences: Old Lith. *užu* (instead of *už*) was probably created after *ažu*, and conversely Latv. dial. *az* (instead of **azu*) may have been shaped after *uz*. It is possible that Latv. *aiz* results from a contamination of *az* with *iz*, whose vowel is not completely clear, however. The short form *žu* (instead of *ažu*) in the Lithuanian dialect of Rodūnia (Belarus) might be due to the influence of Slavic *za*.

In view of this, it is difficult to reconstruct a uniform prototype for all the forms mentioned above. The comparison with Slavic and

other Indo-European languages adds a greater level of complexity. Two Slavic prepositions may belong here: *za* 'behind, beyond, after, for' (Ru. *za*, Pol. *za*, etc.) and *vъzъ* 'in return for, up, back' (Ru. *vz(o)-, voz-* 'up, back', Pol. *wz(e)* 'up').[2] While the former might go back to Slavic **źō*, i.e. the same form as Baltic **aźō* 'behind', but without initial *a-*, the latter can reflect Slavic **uź*, like Baltic **uź* 'on'. The apparent variation between Slavic **źō* and Baltic **aźō* can hardly be explained in terms of PIE ablaut (zero grade vs full grade) and remains completely in the dark. A PIE prototype **(He/o)ǵʰoH* would fail to explain the vowel alternation, and the structure of the preposition would still be obscure. The other form, Balto-Slavic **uź*, could be traced back either to **(H)ud-ǵʰ-* (with **ud-* = Skt. *úd* 'up, away, out of', cf. Gk. ὕστερος, Skt. *úttara-* 'higher, later') or to **(H)up-ǵʰ-* (with **up-* = Goth. *uf* 'on', cf. Hitt. *ūpp-ᶻⁱ* 'to come up'); Rick Derksen [EDSIL: 533] proposes reconstructing more directly Balto-Slavic **uź* as **up-s* (**up-* + adverbial ending *-s*?) with generalization of the voiced sandhi variant, which is uncertain. Reinhold Trautmann [1923: 336] compares Lith. *ùž* and Slavic *za* with the Armenian polyfunctional preposition *z-* 'through' (+ acc.), 'about' (+ abl.), 'around' (+ instr.), 'against' (+ loc.), but this comparison, which goes back to Heinrich Hübschmann [1897: 446], is formally and semantically imprecise. The PIE prehistory of both **(a)źō* and **uź* in Balto-Slavic remains unclear, but the only certainty is that the long vowel of Latvian *āz* and Old Lithuanian *oβcʒių* is unparalleled in Indo-European and should therefore be given an internal explanation in Baltic.

Taking the Old Lithuanian locution *uß oβcʒių* at face value, *oβcʒių* is likely to reflect the genitive plural of a noun. But both the suffixation and the formation of this noun remain to be determined: a Baltic reconstruction **āź-tja-* or **āź-tjā* has to be motivated by formal and semantic parallels. The derivation of nominal forms from a prepositional basis by means of a suffix **-tja-* or **-tjā* is not unparalleled in Lithuanian, as shown by the following forms:[3]

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[2] Meanings are given after Derksen [EDSIL: 533, 540].

[3] Cf. Skardžius [1943: 332]; Ambrazas [1993: 49].

— Lith. *apačià* 'lower parts, undersides' (e.g. *ſpod / ſpodek cʒego / Ima ſuperficies alicuius rei, pars inferior / Apaćia* in Sirvydas, *Dictionarium trium linguarum* (ca 1643): 416 *apud* Kruopas [1979]) < Baltic **apa-tjā* < PIE **(H)opo-tịeh₂* (from PIE **(H)op-* = Hitt. *āppa* 'after, behind');

— Lith. *įsčia* 'internal parts, womb, intestines' (e.g. nom. sg. *iſcʒia* = Pol. *żywot* in Daukša, *Postilla Catholicka* (1599): 624₃₉ etc. *apud* Palionis [2000]) < Baltic **ins-tjā* (from the PIE preposition **h₁en*, **h₁n̥* = Gk. ἐν 'in', Lat. *in* + adverbial *-s* as in Gk. εἰς 'into' < **h₁en-s*);

— Lith. dial. *príeščia* 'part located at the front' LKŽ [10: 691] < Baltic **preịs-tjā* (Lith. *priēš* 'before', from PIE **preị-s*);

— East Lith. dial. *ažačià* 'place located behind, backside' LKŽ [1: 533] < Baltic **aźa-tjā* (East Lith. *až(u)* 'behind');

— East Lith. dial. *ažvačià* 'place located behind, backside' LKŽ [1: 536] < Baltic **aźō-tjā* (East Lith. *až(u)* 'behind');

— Lith. dial. *užačià* 'remote corner' LKŽ [17: 586] < Baltic **uźa-tjā* (Lith. *ùž* 'behind');

— Lith. *užuočià* 'remote corner' (LKŽ [17: 729], e.g. *užʒoćio* 'in a remote corner', loc. sg. *-io(je)* in Daniel Klein, *Naujos Giesmju Knygos*: 474₆ *apud* Michelini [2003]) < Baltic **uźō-tjā* (Lith. *ùž* 'behind');

— Lith. *pasčiūkos* 'residue', f. pl. (LKŽ [9: 460]; ALEW [2: 737], e.g. *Paßcʒúkos Grund=Suppe* in *Clavis Germanico-Lithuana* 17th century: 817 *apud* Drotvinas [1995]), probably diminutive of a noun **pasčià* < Baltic **pas-tjā* (Lith. *pàs* 'near, by', compare Arcadian Greek πός 'towards' < PIE **pos* and Lat. *post* 'after' < PIE **pos-ti*).

Most of these derivatives are of feminine gender. The pattern [PREP] → [PREP + FEM **-tjā*] is so widespread that one may reasonably surmise that the basis of the Old Lithuanian locution *uß oßcʒių* is also a feminine

(plural) noun *oščios* 'back side, rear parts' (from Baltic *$\bar{a}\acute{z}$-tjā*-) rather than a masculine (plural) noun **oščiai*. There are parallels for the specialization to the plural, e.g. Lith. *ãpačios* 'residues (of potatoes)' LKŽ [1: 183] < 'what is left behind' beside the singular *apačià*. Some of these derivatives are built on a preposition that is still in use in the language, e.g. Lith. *príeščia ← priēš* 'before', *užačià* and *užuočià ← ùž* 'behind', East Lith. *ažačià ← až(u)* 'behind', and, more remotely, *įsčia ← į̃* 'into', but, in the case of *apačià* 'lower parts, undersides', the corresponding preposition **ap(a)* was lost, probably due to the quasi-homonymy with *apiẽ* 'around'.

One form deserves special attention. According to the LKŽ [1: 337], in a few Lithuanian dialects (Biržai, Kriukai, north of Lithuania, close to the Latvian border), there is a compound * aščiagaliaĩ* 'grain residues' (nom. pl.), corresponding to Lith. *nuobiros*, *grūdagaliai*. It seems to be based on a form **aščias* or **aščiā* 'residue, what is left behind', apparently from **ăź-tja-* or **ăź-tjā-* with short vowel (in comparison with the long vowel of **āź-tjā* > Old Lith. **oščios*). The status of this form is uncertain and the explanation of its first member given here is only a possibility among others.

The same pattern [PREP] → [PREP + FEM **-tjā*] has existed in Latvian, and in some cases the correspondence with Lithuanian goes so far that one may assume a Common East Baltic formation:

— Latv. *apakša* 'lower part' ME [1: 73] < Baltic **apa-tjā* (with ep-enthetic *-k-* in Latvian) < PIE **(H)opo-ti̯eh₂* (from PIE **(H)op-* = Hitt. *āppa* 'after, behind');

— Latv. *ìekša* 'internal part, interior', pl. *ìekšas* 'intestines' ME [2: 30–31] < Baltic **en(s)-tjā* (with epenthetic *-k-* in Latvian) < PIE **h₁en(s)-ti̯eh₂* (from PIE **h₁en* = Gk. ἐν 'in', Lat. *in*);

— Latv. *prìekša* 'place located before' ME [3: 393] < Baltic **prei̯-tjā* (with epenthetic *-k-* in Latvian) < PIE **prei̯-ti̯eh₂* (from PIE **prei̯*).

Some of these nouns are used regularly, or even predominantly, in the locative as adverbs or secondary prepositions, e.g. Latv. *ìekša* 'internal part, interior' → *ìekšā* 'within, inside' (loc. sg., ME [2: 31]), Latv. *prìekša*

'place located before' → *prìekšā* 'before, in presence' (loc. sg., ME [3: 394]). Sometimes, the noun has disappeared and is preserved only indirectly through its frozen locative: a noun **beša* 'lack' (< **be-tjā*, from *be* 'without' + feminine suffix *-tjā*)[4] may be inferred from the locative *bešā* 'without' (adverb, ME [1: 281]).

In Old Prussian, the pattern [PREP] → [PREP + FEM **-tjā*] is not clearly attested as such, but an equivalent of Lith. *įsčia* 'womb, intestines', Latv. *ìekša* 'internal part, interior', pl. *ìekšas* 'intestines' might be reflected by OPr. *inxcze* 'kidney' (EV: 128, Germ. *Niere*).

The Old Lithuanian locution *uß oßcʒių* 'on the back side' is thus likely to be based on a feminine noun **oščios* 'back side, rear parts' (from Baltic **āž́-tjā-*). The derivation of a feminine noun in **-tieh₂* on a prepositional basis is probably a secondary formation. There was in Indo-European an adjectival suffix **-tio-* which served to derive adjectives from prepositions or adverbs. The most widespread adjective of this type is PIE **ni-tio-* (Skt. *nítya-* 'own, familiar', Goth. *niþjis* 'relative, parent, cognate', Gall. *Nitio-broges* name of a tribe) from PIE **ni* 'down' (Skt. *ní*). Another archaic formation is PIE **(H)op-tio-* (Skt. *aptyá-* 'located outside', Hitt. *appezziia-* 'later, last' with *-e-* by anaptyxis or by analogy to the antonym *ḫantezziia-* 'located at the front')[5] from **(H)op-* (Hitt. *āppa* 'after, behind'). On account of its meaning, the Sanskrit substantivized neuter *ápatyam* 'offspring' is likely to reflect another formation PIE **h₂epo-tio-* from **h₂epo-* (cf. Gk. ἀπό 'from'). Many of these adjectives are reflected in Ancient Greek, either directly (a) or through substantivized forms (b) or through adverbs (c):

(a) Ancient Greek adjectives:

— περισσός 'excessive, superfluous' < PIE **peri-tio-* 'located above' (from PIE **peri*, Gk. περί 'around, above', Skt. *pári* 'above'); alternatively, περισσός could reflect PIE **peri-k-io-* with a velar (cf. adv. πέριξ 'around');

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[4] In Latvian the preposition *be* 'without' is usually replaced by the Slavic loanword *bez*.

[5] See Oettinger [1995], who reconstructs **h₂op-tio-*.

— ὕπτιος 'laid on one's back' < PIE *up-ti̯o- 'located under' (from PIE *up, Gk. ὑπό 'under', Skt. úpa 'under'); the lack of assibilation is unexplained.

(b) Ancient Greek nouns:

— Ἄμφισσα place name (near Delphi), perhaps from an adjective *ἄμφισσος < PIE *h₂embʰi-ti̯o- 'located around' (from PIE *h₂(e)mbʰi, Gk. ἀμφί 'around', Lat. *ambi-* 'from both sides, around', Skt. *abhí*); note, however, that Ἄμφισσα with short -ᾰ cannot be the direct reflex of the feminine of *ἄμφισσος (this would be *ἀμφίσσᾱ); alternatively -σσα could reflect a Prehellenic suffix;

— Ἄντισσα place name (near Lesbos), perhaps from an adjective *ἄντισσος < PIE *h₂enti-ti̯o- 'located in front' (from PIE *h₂enti, Gk. ἀντί 'in front of', 'for', Skt. *ánti* 'in front', Lat. *ante* 'before', Hitt. ḫanti 'in front'); note, however, that Ἄντισσα with short -ᾰ cannot be the direct reflex of the feminine of *ἄντισσος (this would be *ἀντίσσᾱ); alternatively -σσα could reflect a Prehellenic suffix;

— ἔπισσαι 'younger daughters' (Hecataeus) from an adjective *ἔπισσος (still reflected in Hesychius: ἔπισσον· τὸ ὕστερον γενόμενον) < PIE *h₁epi-ti̯o- 'located after' (from PIE *h₁epi, Gk. ἐπί 'on', Skt. *ápi* 'on', Arm. *ew* 'and, in addition');

— μέτασσαι 'lambs that are born later' (*Od.* 9, 221) from an adjective *μέτασσος (still reflected in *H. Hermes* 125: n. pl. μέτασσα used adverbially 'afterwards') < PIE *meth₂-ti̯o- 'located after' (from PIE *meth₂, Gk. μετά 'after', Goth. *miþ* 'with').

(c) Ancient Greek adverbs:

— εἴσω adv. 'into', probably the adverbial instrumental of a substantivized adjective *εἶσσος < PIE *h₁en-ti̯o- 'located inside, within' (from PIE *h₁en, Gk. ἐν 'in'); alternatively, εἴσω could be built directly on εἰς 'into' (< PIE *h₁en-s) + adverbial ending -ω (like ἄνω 'upwards');

— ἔξω adv. 'out', probably the adverbial instrumental of a substantivized adjective *ἔξος < PIE *h₁eǵʰ-ti̯o- 'located inside, within' (from PIE *h₁eǵʰ, Gk. ἐξ 'out'); alternatively, ἔξω could be built directly on ἐξ 'out' (< PIE *h₁eǵʰ-s) + adverbial ending -ω (like ἄνω 'upwards') or even simply by analogy to εἴσω;

— ὀπί(σ)σω adv. 'behind, back', probably the adverbial instrumental of a substantivized adjective *ὄπισσος < PIE *h₁opi-ti̯o- 'located behind' (from PIE *h₁opi, Myc. opi- 'on', Lat. *ob* 'towards, to, on account of');

— πρό(σ)σω adv. 'forwards, onwards', probably the adverbial instrumental of a substantivized adjective *πρό(σ)σος < PIE *pro-ti̯o- 'located before' (from PIE *pro, Gk. πρό 'before', Skt. *prá* 'before', Lat. *pro* 'before').

Further vestiges of the same formation are found in other Indo-European languages:

— OCS *ništ*ъ* 'beggar' (< PIE *nīs-ti̯o-, cf. *nī̆-s, the formation being parallel to that of Skt. *níṣṭya-* 'external, foreign');

— OCS *obъštъ* 'common' (< PIE *h₃ebʰi-ti̯o-, cf. *h₃ebʰi 'about', OCS *o*);

— Lat. *propitius* 'favorable, propitious' (< PIE *propo-ti̯i̯o-, cf. Lat. *prope* 'near' < PIE *propo, dissimilated from *pro-pro)[6]

— Goth. *auþs* (*auþeis*) 'desert' (< PIE *h₂eu̯-ti̯i̯o-, cf. adverb *h₂eu̯- 'away', OPr. *au-*, OCS *u-*);

— Goth. *framaþeis* 'foreign', OHG *fremadi*, Germ. *fremd* (< PIE *promo-ti̯i̯os, cf. Goth. *fram* 'from').

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[6] Cf. Dunkel [1980], accepted by de Vaan [*EDL*: 492]. Alternatively, but less likely, Lat. *propitius* could reflect a compound *pro-pet- (from *petō* 'to strive for, to seek', cf. *praepes* 'flying swiftly'), cf. DELL [539].

and, last but not least, probably:

— Lith. *svẽčias* 'guest' < 'foreign', Latv. *svešs* 'foreign, strange'
(< PIE *su̯e-ti̯o-, cf. the reflexive particle *su̯e 'own, apart').

The prehistory of the PIE suffix *-ti̯o- is obscure, but its diffusion testifies to its antiquity beyond any doubt. In Baltic, adjectives of this formation are extremely rare: apart from Lith. *svẽčias* 'foreign, guest', which has its own history, one could perhaps mention Lith. dial. *užuočias* 'concealed, secret' < 'located behind' LKŽ [17: 729], but this might rather be a secondary back-formation based on the more common noun *užuočià* 'remote corner' (loc. *užuočiojè* 'in a remote corner'). The first member of Lith. dial. *aščiagaliaĩ* 'grain residues' is unclear. There is no uncontroversial evidence for adjectives in *-tja- (< PIE *-ti̯o-) in Baltic, where this formation survives almost exclusively through substantivized feminines in *-tjā (< PIE *-ti̯eh₂). To this formation belongs in Old Lithuanian the feminine plural *oščios 'back side, rear parts' (from *ā́ź-tjā-).

The last point I have to clarify is the form of the first member of *ā́ź-tjā-. As already mentioned, the preposition 'behind' exhibits a great diversity of forms in Lithuanian (*ažù*, *àž*, *užù*, *ùž*, *ažúo-*, *ažū́-*, *užúo-* and *žù*) and Latvian (*az*, *āz*, *aiz*, *iz*, *uz*, *uoz* and *ūz*). Some of these variations are attributable to the merger of two originally distinct prepositions, but there must be other parameters to explain the extent of the variations. It has long been recognized that there is in Balto-Slavic a system of formal differentiation separating three related forms — preposition, verbal prefix and nominal prefix. In Lithuanian, for example, there is still nowadays a marked distinction between the preposition *nuõ* 'out of, from' (+ gen.), the verbal prefix *nu-* (e.g. *nutekéti* 'to flow, to stream down', ind. prs. 3 *nùteka*) and the nominal prefix *núo-* (e.g. *núotakas* 'basin, drain, gutter, sewer'):

preposition [nuõ] ≠ verbal prefix [nù-] ≠ nominal prefix [núo-]

The distribution of these three degrees was described in Petit [2011] and their origin was clarified by Le Feuvre [2011]. For the present purpose, it suffices to provide an overview of the variations attested in Lithuanian:

Table 3

Lithuanian	Preposition	Verbal prefix	Nominal prefix	Examples
Type 1. Suppletion	*añt* / *ùž* *sù*	*ùž-* *sù-*	*añt-* *sám-*, *sán-*, *są́-*	*užplū́sti* 'to flood, to inundate' / *añtplūdis* 'flow, influx, crowd' *sujùngti* 'to connect, to link up' / *sájunga* 'union, alliance'
Type 2. Metatony	*į̃* *peř*	*į̃-* *pér-*	*į́-* *pér-*	*įnèšti* 'to bring in' (*į̃-neša*) / *į́našas* 'contribution' *pértraukti* 'to break, to interrupt' / *pértrauka* 'break, interruption'
Type 3. Formal variation	*į̃*	*į̃-*	*iñ-*	*įtekéti* 'to flow (into)' (*į̃teka*) / *iñtakas* 'affluent'
Type 4. Addition of a syllable	*ùž*	*ùž-* *at(i)-*	*užúo-* *atã-* or *ató-*	*užmègzti* 'to knot, to start' (*ùžmezga*) / *užúomazga* 'plot, embryo, rudiment' *atskaitýti* 'to deduct, to count off' / *atãskaita* 'account' *atslū́gti* 'to fall off, to fall away' / *atóslūgis* 'ebb, low tide'
Type 5a. Metatony + Formal variation	*nuõ* *priẽ* *põ* *prõ*	*nù-* *prì-* *pà-* *prà-*	*núo-* *príe-* *pó-* *pró-*	*nutekéti* 'to flow down' (*nùteka*) / *núotakas* 'basin, drain, gutter, sewer' *pritařti* 'to approve' (*prìtaria*) / *príetaras* 'superstition, prejudice' *pasùkti* 'to turn, to swing' (*pàsuka*) / *pósūkis* 'turn, turning, turning point' *praskìnti* 'to clear away' (*pràskina*) / *próskyna* 'opening, cutting (in a forest), clearing'

Lithuanian	Prepo-sition	Verbal prefix	Nominal prefix	Examples
Type 5b. Metatony + Formal variation	*põ* *prõ*	*pà-* *prà-*	*pã-* *prã-*	*pažadéti* 'to promise' (*pàžada*) / *pãžadas* 'promise' *pranèšti* 'to announce' (*pràneša*) / *prãnašas* 'precursor, herald, harbinger, prophet'
Type 5c. Metatony + Formal variation	*apiẽ*	*ap(i)-*	*apý-*	*apibrė́žti* 'to delineate' / *apýbraiža* 'outline, contour, sketch'
Type 6. No distinction	*ìš*	*iš-*	*iš-*	*išréikšti* 'to express' / *ìšraiška* 'expression'

and Latvian:

Table 4

Latvian	Prepo-sition	Verbal prefix	Nominal prefix	Examples
Type 1. Metatony	*nùo* *pìe*	*nùo-* *pìe-* *ìe-*	*nuõ-* *piẽ-* *iẽ-*	*nùodalît* 'to separate, to fence off' / *nuõdaļa* 'department, section, chapter' *pìedegt* 'to burn' / *piẽdęgas* 'burns' *ìekaût* 'to forge' / *iẽkava* 'instrument for forging'
Type 2. No distinction	*pa* *sa*	*pa-* *sa-*	*pa-* *sa-*	*pagulêt* 'to take a nap' / *paguļa* 'nap, short sleep' *sajust* 'to feel' / *sajùta* 'sense, sensation'

Some of the variations observed in the preposition 'behind' can receive an explanation within this system. For example, *ažúo-*, *ažū-* and *užúo-* in Lithuanian, *āz-* and *ūz-* in Latvian are limited to the function

of a nominal prefix. Descriptively, the variation of the nominal prefix can take on four main forms:

— Type (a). Metatony: e.g. Lith. *į-nèšti*, *į̃-neša* 'to bring in' → *į́-našas* 'contribution';

— Type (b). Lengthening: e.g. Lith. *pa-sùkti*, *pà-suka* 'to turn, to swing' → *pó-sūkis* 'turn, turning, turning point';

— Type (c). Diphthongization: e.g. Lith. *nu-tekė́ti*, *nù-teka* 'to flow down' → *núo-takas* 'basin, drain, gutter, sewer';

— Type (d). Addition of an extra syllable: e.g. Lith. *už-mègzti*, *ùž-mezga* 'to knot, to start' → *užúo-mazga* 'plot, embryo, rudiment'.

The different realizations of the system may lead to secondary analogies: Lith. *ažù* → *ažúo-* (type c. diphthongization) may be locally replaced by *ažù* → *ažū́-* (type b. lengthening), and likewise in Latvian we can find *az* → *āz-*, *uz* → *ūz-* (type b. lengthening). It is not necessary to go into the details of these variations nor to weigh up in individual cases which variation is original, which one is secondary. Suffice it to say that types (a), (b) and (c) are likely to form the core of the system, with (a) limited to the case when the basis is already a long vowel or a diphthong, and (b) resp. (c) formed from short vowels. Type (d) is generally a secondary evolution of (b) and (c) after the loss of a final syllable. The position of the preposition may vary: it can agree with the verbal prefix (e.g. Lith. *ùž* = verbal prefix *ùž-* ≠ nominal prefix *užúo-*) or it can remain isolated on its own (e.g. Lith. *nuõ* ≠ verbal prefix *nu-*, *nù-* ≠ nominal prefix *núo-*). The important point is that most of these variations can receive an internal explanation in Baltic in terms of paradigmatic analogy. In the case of *a*ź*ō̄* and *u*ź*, one can reconstruct the following possibilities:

— Lith. *ažù* → *ažúo-* (type c);

— Lith. *ažù* → *ažū́-* (type b);

— Lith. *àž* → **āž-* (type b) in Old Lith. *oščios (< **āź-tjā-*);

— Lith. *àž* → **až-* (no variation) in Lith. dial. *aščiagaliaĩ* (< **ăź-tjā-*);

— Lith. *užù* → *užúo-* (type c) or *ùž* → *užúo-* (type d);

— Latv. *az* → *āz-* (type b);

— Latv. *uz* → *ūz-* (type b).

One may note that type (b) (lengthening) may be applied either to the final vowel of a dissyllabic basis (e.g. Lith. *ažù* → *ažū́-*) or to the unique vowel of a monosyllabic basis (Latv. *az* → *āz-*) alike, which shows that it remained productive at different stages of development. In view of this, the Old Lithuanian derivative *oščios 'backside' (in the locution *uß oßczių* 'on the back side') may reflect an allomorphic variation of the type Lith. *až* → **āž-* (type b), which is as such not attested for this basis in Lithuanian, but has good parallels within the language (e.g. Lith. *pă-* → **pā-*, Lith. *pó-*). Strikingly enough, the same basis ('behind') may exhibit various allomorphs in the formation of the secondary derivative in **-tja-* or **-tjā*:

— Lith. *až* → *aža-* (East Lith. dial. *ažačià*); Lith. *až* → *ažuo-* (East Lith. dial. *ažvačià*); Lith. *už* → *uža-* (Lith. dial. *užačià*); Lith. *už* → *užuo-* (Lith. *užuočià*); Lith. *až* → *āž-* (Old Lith. *oščios in *uß oßczių*); Lith. *až* → *až-* (Lith. dial. *aščiagaliaĩ*).

No doubt that some of these variations can be of secondary origin: Lith. *až* → *aža-* (East Lith. dial. *ažačià*) and Lith. *už* → *uža-* (Lith. dial. *užačià*), for example, might have been influenced by the parallel formation of Lith. *apačià* (*ap-a-*). Similarly, the pattern *až* → *āž-* reflected by Old Lith. *oščios might owe its existence to the parallel pattern of Lith. *pa* → *pā-* (Lith. *pó-*), independently of the similar formation *az* → *āz-* found in Latvian for the same reasons. It is almost by accident that this residual possibility was preserved by Jonas Bretkūnas, barely recognizable, in the frozen locution *uß oßczių* 'on the back side'. A precise mapping of these variations remains to be done to determine not only dialectal patterns of diffusion, but also the position of each allomorph in the morphological system. It has to be noted that nominal prefixes occupy a unique position, regularly distinguished from the corresponding prepositions and verbal prefixes, but at the same time the formation of a noun

on a prepositional basis such as *$\bar{a}\acute{z}$-$tj\bar{a}$- 'back side' (< 'what is behind') seems to be caught between two conflicting pressures, that of the prepositional basis it is derived from and that of the process of nominalization to which it is subject.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 — 1st, 2nd, 3rd person; abl. — ablative; acc. — accusative; du. — dual; f. — feminine; gen. — genitive; ind. — indicative; loc. — locative; m. — masculine; n. — neuter; nom. — nominative; pl. — plural; prep. — preposition; prs. — present; pst. — past; sg. — singular.

Arm. — Armenian; Gall. — Gallic; Germ. — German; Gk. — Greek; Goth. — Gothic; Hitt. — Hittite; Lat. — Latin; Latv. — Latvian; Lith. — Lithuanian; Myc. — Mycenaean; OCS — Old Church Slavic; OHG — Old High German; OPr. — Old Prussian; PIE — Proto-Indo-European; Pol. — Polish; Ru. — Russian; Skt. — Sanskrit.

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