

The remnants of the Proto-Indo-European ‘Caland System’ in Slavic

The ‘**Caland System**’ (Caland 1892, Wackernagel 1897, Risch 1937, Nussbaum 1976) is a phenomenon postulated for the Proto-Indo-European language. It consists in the fact that for certain lexemes, a number of formations are built directly from the root using a set of suffixes that co-occur so often that they almost ‘imply’ each other. The relevant forms are adjectives (*-ro-, *-u-, *-ent-, *-lo-, *-no- etc.) and their deradically formed comparatives (*-yos-) as well as superlatives (*-isth₂o-), first compound members (*R-i-), abstract nouns (*-es-, *-i-, etc.) and certain types of stative and factitive verbs. Newer research (Balles 2009, Rau 2009) has demonstrated that the Caland System was also closely connected with specific semantic domains – namely, it covered roots denoting property-concepts and non-externally caused states.

The Caland System has been reconstructed primarily on the basis of Greek, Indo-Iranian and Latin material, where it can still be observed ‘in action’ to some extent. The issue of the further persistence of the system in various other branches of Indo-European has been investigated to different degrees. For Baltic, we only have a single short study (Ostrowski 2006); **for Slavic, the question has not been addressed at all so far** (save for isolated examples and remarks found in IE-ist literature).

This paper explores the hypothesis that the Caland System remained active in Proto-BSl., and to some extent even in the separate Proto-Balt. and Proto-Sl., although it kept on undergoing substantial modifications at all stages – precisely like in the other branches of IE. **Much more relevant Sl. material can be identified than has been pointed out in IE-ist literature to date.** Some examples are deradical comparative formations such as *debelь ‘thick’ → *deb-jьš-, *dьlgь ‘long’ → *dьl-jьš- or word families such as *orvь-nь (< *orw-i-) ‘even’, *orves-ьnikь ‘peer’ (< *orw-es-). Many related patterns are found in whole groups of adjectives extended with *-kь or *-okь.

The ‘Caland behavior’ of many of the roots involved can **be further confirmed on the BSl. level**: e.g. for Sl. *orvь- above, cf. OPr. *arwis* ‘certain, sure’. Furthermore, many roots **also have ‘Caland counterparts’ in Germanic**, a fellow ‘North IE’ neighbor, and incidentally another branch of IE in which the question of the development of the Caland System has not

been fully explored. Thus, for PSl. **deb-elb* (cpv. **deb-jьš-*) above, cf. not only Latv. *dabļš* ‘strong’ (based on adj. in **-lo-*), Latv. *dapsis* ‘strong’ (based on abstr. in **-es-*) and OPr. *debīkan* ‘big’ (based on first compound member in **-i-(?)*), but also Old Norse *dapr* ‘sad’, Old High German *tapfer* ‘brave’ < PGerm. **dapra-* ‘heavy^(?)’ (adj. in **-ro-*).

The identification of the traces of the Caland System in Slavic enables the re-examination of numerous particular etymologies as well as the diachronic explanation of entire patterns in Sl. word-formation. Beyond that, it contributes to our understanding of the place of Sl. within the ‘North IE’ language area and the convergence tendencies it involved.