The "Caland roots" of Balto-Slavic

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§1. One of the central characteristics of the Caland System is its pervasively "deradical" nature. This is apparent both on the diachronic level, since the morphological patterns constituting the System have been convincingly argued to ultimately rest on root nouns, and on the synchronic level, since the derivational relationship between the members of a particular Caland set typically cannot be established with certainty and is often best analyzed as based on an underlying abstract unit (Balles 2009, Rau 2009 etc., following Schindler).

§2. The research summarized in this paper explore the development of this state of affairs in the branch of Balto-Slavic (and in the individual daughters Baltic and Slavic), with a glance at its fellow North IE neighbor Germanic. Since studies of the Caland System in Baltic are extremely few in number and rather short (Ostrowski 2006: 117–123) and of Slavic non-existent, and since the branch has only received glancing attention in the Indo-Europeanist literature on the topic, the work has to start with collecting and evaluating the pertinent material.

§3. So far, the discussion of the branches in question has been limited to listing descendants of well-established PIE Caland roots such as $*h_1rewd^h$- 'red' or $*d^hewb$- 'deep'. Instead, the approach adopted here is to focus on the development of the system as a whole. Roots participating in Caland-like phenomena in Balto-Slavic can be identified based on various diagnostics; the relevant material includes e.g.:

- roots that form a) deradical comparatives, b) positives derived with unproductive suffixes (PSl. *dьlgъ* 'long', cpv. *dьl-jьš-*; PSl. *debelъ* 'fat', cpv. *deb-jьš-*);
- roots that form a) deradical comparatives, b) positives derived with productive suffixes (PSl. *lьg-ъkъ* 'light', cpv. *lьg-jьš-*; PSl. *vys-okъ* 'tall', cpv. *vys-jьš-*);
- roots that associate with Caland suffixal material, but are not reconstructible beyond BSl. (OPr. *arwis* 'certain, sure', PSl. *orvь-nъ* 'even' < *orw-i-*, PSl. *orves-ьnikъ* 'peer' < *orw-es-*);
- roots that associate with Caland suffixal material, but are not reconstructible beyond North IE (PGerm. *dapra-* 'heavy$^{(?)}$' [adj. $*d^hob^{(h)}$-ro-], PSl. *dobljь*, Latv. *dabļš* [← adj. $*d^hob^{(h)}$-lo-], Latv. *dapsis* 'strong' [← abstr. $*d^hob^{(h)}$-es-], as well as OPr. *debīkan* 'big', PSl. *deb-elъ* 'fat' above);
- roots that (archaically) associate with the first compositional member pattern R-*i*- in North IE (possibly also reflected in the BSl. system of personal names);
- roots with prototypical Caland semantics (property-concepts, non-externally caused states), associated with diverse morphological material.

§4. The patterns emerging from the investigation of these and certain other sets help elucidate a number of previously unexplained (or unaddressed) issues in BSl. word formation, especially of the deradical type, and of root properties, e.g. the pervasive spread of the invariable *o*-grade in many Caland roots in BSl. and Germ.

§5. A further claim is that our understanding of certain details in the architecture of the Caland System in PIE can be enhanced through – and only through – data from BSl., which can be considered a "Caland branch" at least on par with e.g. Celtic (see Bernardo Stempel 1999: 529–537), although of course of secondary importance in comparison with IIr., Gr. and Lat.

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