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BALTIC **JŪRĀ-* / -(*I*)*IĀ-* ‘SEA’ & **JAURĀ-* / -(*I*)*IĀ-* ‘WET SOIL, BOG, DEEP WATER’

Baltų **jūrā-* / -(*i*)*īā-* ‘sea’ ir **jaurā-* / -(*i*)*īā-*
‘šlapias dirvožemis, pelkė, gilus vanduo’

ANNOTATION

This article analyses the Common Baltic term **jūr-* ‘sea’ with its *vṛddhi*-formation **jaur-* ‘wet soil, bog, deep water’, their toponymic traces in the macro-Baltic area, probable borrowings identifiable in Fennno-Permic **jūr3* ‘deep place in water’ and Fennno-Volgaic **järwā* ‘lake’, probable external cognates in Armenian *jowr* ‘water’, and in the hydronyms *Iuras* & *Zyras* from Eastern Thrace and the Gaulish oronym *Jura* with regard to the semantic connection of the meanings ‘deep’ and ‘high’. These partial steps lead to the final conclusion that the primary meaning of the Baltic root **jūr-* was ‘deep water’.

KEYWORDS: Baltic, Fennno-Volgaic, Fennno-Permic, Armenian, Thrace, Gaulish, appellative, hydronym, toponym, etymology, semantic parallel.

ANOTACIJA

Straipsnyje analizuojamas bendrabaltiškas žodis **jūr-* ‘jūra’ ir jo *vṛddhi*- darinys **jaur-* ‘šlapias dirvožemis, pelkė, gilus vanduo’, jų toponiminiai pėdsakai Baltijos jūros makroregione, tiketini skoliniai Permės finų (**jūr3* ‘gili vieta vandenye’) ir Volgos finų (**järwā* ‘ežeras’) kalbose, galima giminystė su arménų *jowr* ‘vanduo’ ir siejimas su hidronimais *Iuras* ir *Zyras* iš Rytų Trakijos bei galų oronimu *Jura*, atsižvelgiant į reikšmių ‘gilus’ ir ‘aukštas’ semantinių

Baltic *jūrā-/-*(i)īā-* ‘sea’ & *jaurā-/-*(i)īā-*
‘wet soil, bog, deep water’

ryši. Atliktas tyrimas leidžia padaryti išvadą, kad pirminė baltų šaknies *jūr- reikšmė buvo ‘gilus vanduo’.

ESMINIAI ŽODŽIAI: baltų, Volgos finų, Permės finų, armėnų, trakų, galų, apeliatyvas, hidronimas, toponimas, etimologija, semantinė paralelė.

DOCUMENTATION OF THE BALTIC APPELLATIVES AND THEIR PROTOLANGUAGE RECONSTRUCTIONS

1. In the Baltic languages there is a specific term *jūr- for ‘sea’, the quasi-synonym to Lithuanian *mārios* or *mārēs*¹ f. pl. tantum ‘sea; bay separated from the sea by dunes’, Latvian *mare*, *maļa* ‘bay, lagoon’, Prussian **marī* ‘bay, lagoon, spit’ [Elbing Vocabulary 65: *mary* ‘Haff’] (Mažiulis 2013: 582; Smoczyński 2018: 755). The Baltic term was probably adopted into the Balto-Fennic languages: Finnish, Olonets, Veps, Votic, Estonian *meri*, Karelian *meſi*, Livonian *meŕ* ‘sea’. The umlaut *a > *e has analogy in Finnish *reki* ‘sledge’, Karelian, Olonets *regi*, Votic *reči*, gen. *regé*, Estonian *regi*, Livonian *reggos* < Baltic: Lithuanian *rāgēs* ‘sledge’, Latvian *ragus* / *raguvas* / *ragavas* ‘flat sledge’, derived from the Baltic term for ‘horn’: Lithuanian *rāgas*, Latvian *rags* ‘horn’, pl. *ragi* ‘handles of a plough’, Old Prussian *ragis* [EV] ‘Horn’ (Thomsen 1890: 199, 210–211; SKES 341, 762; Smoczyński 2018: 1051, 1105).

1.1. In Lithuanian there appear two apophonic variants, *jūr-* and *jaur-*.

1.1.1. Lithuanian *júra* f. ‘sea’, pl. *júros*; var. *juria* f., pl. *jūrios* and *júrē*² f., pl. *júrēs* (Smoczyński 2018: 458) reflect Proto-Baltic **jūrā-*, **jūriā-*, **jūriiā-* respectively.

1.1.1.1. The first record appears in Bretkūnas’ Lithuanian translation of the New Testament (1579/1580) as the acc. pl. *júrēs*: *Bet kaip Ekrutnikai... Walti [bateli] ing Iures nuleido* ‘Da aber die Schiffeute... den Kahn niderliessen in das meer’ (ALEW 423).

1.1.2. Lithuanian *jáura*, *jáurē*, *jáuris* ‘wet, heavy, infertile soil; soil with clay’, *jáura* or *jáuras* ‘bog, deep water’, adj. *jaurùs* ‘marshy’, reflect the *vṛddhi*-type formation **jaur-* of the root **jūr-*, with similar nominal extensions (Smoczyński 2018, 459; Hill, ALEW 423: Das morphologische Verhältnis der tiefstufigen und vollstufigen Bildungen zueinander ist unklar. Es ist möglich, dass der Ablaut verschiedene Stammalternanten des grundsprachlichen Nomens reflektiert. Es ist aber auch nicht auszuschließen, dass die vollstufige Bildung eine rezente

¹ The corresponding forms of the sg. tantum are attested too: *marià* & *māré* (LKŽ VII 858, 848).

² On the derivation of the final -ē from *-īā see Bammesberger 1970.

Vṛddhi-Ableitung zum in lit. *jūra* vorliegenden tiefstufigen Stamm fortsetzt.; Darms 1978: 435–436). The semantic relation between ‘sea’ and ‘marsh’ corresponds with Germanic **mari-* ‘sea’ vs. the *vṛddhi*-formation **mōra-* ‘marsh, swamp’ (Darms 1978: 158–166, 435).

1.2. Latvian *jūra* or *jūrā* ‘sea; great mass of water; lake’, dial. *jūre*, *jūris* (ME II 122), Nehrung-Curish *jūr(e)* f. ‘sea’ (cf. ALEW 423) are derivable from the same Proto-Baltic pattern **jūrā-*, **jūriā-*, **jūrijā-* respectively, as their Lithuanian counterparts.

1.3.1./2. The corresponding Old Prussian terms appear in two main sources, the Elbing Vocabulary (the only known copy by Peter Holcwesscher is dated to c. AD 1400, but the original should probably be a century older), and the so-called Third Catechism, called *Enchiridion* (printed AD 1561):

Old Prussian *luriay* [EV 66: ‘Mer’] = nom. pl. m.³ **jūr’ai* (Mažiulis 1981: 276; 2013: 319).

Old Prussian *iūrin* ‘sea’ = acc.sg.m.⁴ **jūr’an* (Mažiulis 1981: 276; 2013: 319): K III, 67.11: *Bhe rikauite kirscha fuckans en iūrin* ‘vnd Herschet vber Fifch im Meer’.

K III, 75.2: *bke* {= *bhe*} *stan pertrinctan Pharao sen wiffan swaieis en vrminan iūrin aufkandinnons* ‘Vnd den verstockten Pharao mit allen den seinen im Roten Meer erseufft’ (Mažiulis 1981: 206, 226; Toporov 1980: 93).

1.4. The forms collected above were projected into Proto-Indo-European by various scholars:

- 1.4.1. Darms (1978: 435): **iu̥ero-* vs. Vṛddhi-Ableitung **ieu̥ero-*.
- 1.4.2. Irslinger (NIL 2008: 404–405): **iuHr-aH₂-/-i̥aH₂-* and **ieuHr-aH₂-*.
- 1.4.3. Petit (2010: 9): **H₁uHr-* and **H₁euHr-*; alternatively **jūr-* (with regard to Armenian *յօր* ‘water’).
- 1.4.4. Hill (ALEW 2015: 423): **iuHr-*.
- 1.4.5. Derksen (2015: 215): **uHr-/eu'r-*.

DOCUMENTATION OF THE BALTIC TOPOONYMS

2. The use of these appellatives in Baltic toponymy is also interesting.

³ Petit (2010: 144) sees in *-ay* the feminine dual in *-āi.

⁴ Trautmann (1910: 349) identified in Old Prussian *iūrin* the feminine corresponding to the Lithuanian & Latvian counterparts.

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2.1.1. In Lithuania, e.g., the river-names *Júra*, *Júré*, *Júrupis* are known, and the lake-name *Jùr-ežeris* (Vanagas 1981: 139), corresponding to the compound appellative *jurēžeris* ‘very big lake’ (Toporov 1980: 93).

2.1.2. The vřddhi-formation was also applied in Lithuanian hydronymy: the rivers *Jáur-upé*, *Jáuros upėlis*, *Jauryklà*, lakes *Jaurýs*, *Jauriùkas* (Vanagas 1981: 134).

2.2. In Latvia there are also toponyms formed from these appellatives: the meadow *Júra*, and the forests *Júras-mežs*, *Jur-biērz* etc. (Vanagas 1981: 139).

2.3. On the southern border of the territory of the historical Yotvingians the river called *Jura* was known (1426, 1428 *Iura*, 1432, 1540, 1565 *Jura*), today Bronówka, the right tributary of the Narew River (Rozwadowski 1948: 125; cf. also Przybytek 1993: 91–92 about the place-names of the same origin). Udolph (1990: 128–130) correctly mentioned that the Baltic root *jūr- should have been transformed into Slavic / Polish +*Jyra* and further +*Jira*. The form *Jura* in Slavic milieu indicates a primary Pre-Slavic source of the type *jaur-, which is really attested (see §1.1.2.).

2.4. In the basin of the Moskva River, the tributary of the Oka, there are two gorges called *Jurin*, which can be etymologized with help of Lithuanian *jaurýnas* ‘marshy place’ (Otkupščikov 2004: 91).

2.5. The first written record of a possible derivative of the Baltic root *jūro in some hypothetical West Baltic dialect could be identified in the toponym 'Ioúqouvov, attested in the so-called manuscript Rt of “Geography” by Ptolemy [2.11.27.] from the middle of the 2nd cent. CE under the coordinates [$\mu\delta'L'$, $\nu\varepsilon'$] = [44°30', 55°00'], i.e., to the west of the mouth of the Vistula river [$\mu\varepsilon'$, $\nu\varsigma'$] = [45°00, 56°00] and to the east of the mouth of the Viadua River [$\mu\beta'L'$, $\nu\varsigma'$] = [42°30, 56°00] and from the mouth of the Suevus River [$\lambda\theta'L'$, $\nu\varsigma'$] = [39°30, 56°00] (see Ptolemy 2.11.3.). Let us mention that the alternative record is Ovíqouvov with coordinates [$\mu'L'$, $\nu\varepsilon'$] = [40°30', 55°00'], which shift it to the west, between the mouths of the rivers Viadua and Suebus (see Cuntz 1923: 66). Accepting the form 'Ioúqouvov, it is possible to analyze it as the Baltic root *jūr-, plus the suffix *-ūn-, which appears, e.g., in the Prussian river-name *Raudune* (1316), without the suffix in the Lithuanian river-name *Raudà*, both from the adj. of the type Lithuanian *raūdas* ‘reddish’; similarly in the Old Prussian lake-name *Sirgun* vs. *sirgis* ‘stallion’; Lithuanian *Dumbliūnai* : *duñblas* ‘marsh’ (Gerullis 1922: 139, 254).

PROBABLE BALTIC BORROWINGS INTO FENNO-PERMIC

3. Remarkable are probable borrowings of both the Baltic variants, **jūr-* & **jaur-*, into Fennno-Permic **jür3* ‘deep place in water’ and Fennno-Volgaic **järwā* ‘lake’ respectively.

3.1. Fennno-Permic **jür3* ‘deep place in water’ (UEW 635–36; SKES 128–29) > Finnish *jyrä* ‘Bach mit steilen Ufern, steil abfallender Kanal, Brunnen’, *jyrämä* ‘kleinerer Wasserfall, Wasserstrudel’; Saami *järem* ‘slight widening of a river’ (N), L *järrē* ‘kleiner Talkessel, tiefes Loch, tiefer Kolk in einem See oder Fluß’, L *jarēm* ‘kleiner Talkessel mit reicher Vegetation; kleine runde Ausbuchtung in einem Fluß oder einem Bach’, Ko. Not. *jērem* ‘tiefe Stelle im Wasser (bes. unterhalb eines Wasserfalls)’ (> Finnish dial. *järämä* ‘kleiner Wasserfall’; Udmurt *jer* ‘tiefe Stelle (im Wasser), Tiefe, Strudel’, Komi *jir* (S P) ‘tiefe Stelle im Fluß oder See’ (S), ‘Vertiefung; tief (bes. von Wasser, auch z.B. v. einer Grube’ (P), PO *jör* ‘tiefe Stelle (im Wasser’).

3.2. Fennno-Volgaic **järwā* ‘lake’ (UEW 633; SKES 132) > Finnish *järvi*, Vote *jarvi*, Estonian *järv* ‘lake’; Saami N *jaw're* Lule *jau'rē*, T *jāvre*, Kld. *ja,vr*, Not. *javr* id., Mokša Mordvin (*j*)*εr'-k'ε*, Erzya *εr'-k'ε* ‘id., pond’, Mari KB *jär*, U B *jer* ‘lake’ (Būga 1959: 273; Rozwadowski 1948: 127; Toporov 1980: 97; Baltic > Fennno-Volgaic; Bednarczuk 1976: 48: Fennno-Volgaic > Baltic). The metathesis of sonorants is regular in borrowings of Baltic origin, cf. e.g. (a) Finnish *karva* ‘hair’, Estonian *karv* ‘id., color’ < Lithuanian *gaūras* ‘hair on the body of an animal’, Latvian *gauri* pl. ‘pubic hair’ (Thomsen 1890: 171; SKES 166–167; Fraenkel 1962/1965: 140); (b) Finnish *tarvas* ‘roe, elk’, Estonian *tarvas* ‘bull-elk, aurochs’ < Lithuanian *taūras* ‘aurochs, bull’, Prussian *tauris* ‘bison’ (Thomsen 1890: 228–229; SKES 1240–1241).

4. It seems that there is only a single secure cognate within Indo-European, namely Armenian *յօր* ‘water’, gen.sg. *յրօյ*, inst.sg. *յօրբ*, gen. pl. *յօրք*, *յրօց* (Meillet 1936: 52; Solta 1960: 320–322; Džaukjan 1967: 220; Schmitt 1981: 70; Olsen 1999: 50, 662, 674, 787, 855: o-/consonant-stem).

4.1. Meillet (1936: 52), followed by Džaukjan (1967: 221–222) and Martirosyan (2010: 556; in his etymological dictionary the lemma *յօր* ‘water’ is surprisingly missing), cite yet another example of the development of **i-* > Armenian *յ-*, namely Armenian *յան* ‘zeal, effort, labour’, vs. Greek ζῆλος, Doric ζᾶλος ‘zeal, emulation, jealousy’, further Armenian dial. (Suč‘ava) *glxi janal* ‘to do harm, damage’ vs. Greek ζημία ‘loss, damage, penalty’, Young Avestan *auua-iiā-* ‘penance’. Džaukjan (1967: 222) added the comparison of Armenian

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jōv ‘shoot, sprout’ vs. Vedic *yávasa-* ‘grass, pasture’, besides *yáva-* ‘Getreide, Gerste, Hirse’; cf. Greek φυσί-ζοος ‘Getreide hervorbringend’, Lithuanian *javai* ‘Getreide’ etc. (Pokorny 1959: 512).

4.2. Alexander Nikolaev (p.c., April 3, 2021) drew my attention to a hypothetical cognate of Baltic *jūr- ‘sea’, which he sees in Greek Εὖρος ‘{God of} Southeast wind’ [Od. 5.295, 331; 19.205]. The existing etymologies are not convincing: Curtius (1879: 398) connected it with the verb εῦω ‘to singe’ < *H₁eūs- ‘to burn’ (Beekes 2010: 486), but it does not agree with the epithet ύγρὸς ‘wet, moist, watery, fluid; weak, soft’ of this wind, mediated by *Scholia* to Odyssey [5.295]. Kaibel (1885: 614) developed the ancient idea of connection with Greek αὔρα ‘breeze, fresh air’, related to ἄήρ ‘mist, haze, clouds’ < *H₂eūs-ēr (Beekes 2010: 27, 171–172), but the initial diphthongs εu- and αu- are incompatible. A new etymology could consist in the semantic opposition between Ionic Βορέης, Attic Βορρᾶς, Lesbian Βορίας, ‘North wind’, by Aristotle Βορέας καὶ ἀπαρχτίας, and Εὖρος ‘Southeast wind’. If Βορέας as a hypothetical ‘wind of the mountains’ hides a petrified IE word *guorH- ‘mountain’ (cf. Beekes 2010: 227), it is tempting to speculate that Εὖρος, bringing wetness, could be connected with a ‘sea’, perhaps ‘wind from the sea in southeast’. It remains to explain differences in the initial position.

4.2.1. Petit’s reconstruction *H₁eūHr- and Derksen’s *eu’r- seem to be compatible with Greek Εὖρος, but not with Armenian *jowr* ‘water’, while Irslinger’s reconstruction *iuHr-/*ieuHr- = Darms’ *iuəro-/*ieuəro- is compatible with Armenian *jowr* ‘water’. Let us judge whether they are compatible also with Greek Εὖρος. In Greek, there are two continuants of IE *i̥-, namely ζ- and h- (*spiritus asper*) – see Schwyzer 1939: 303; Lejeune 1972: 165–166. But *psilosis* operated in Ionic and Aeolic, by which *spiritus asper* was replaced by *spiritus lenis*, e.g. εἰνατέρες pl. ‘wife of the husband’s brother’ [Il.], sg. ἐνατηρ [inscr.; Anatolia] < *(H)ienH₂-ter-, with cognates in Sanskrit *yātar-*, Armenian *ner*, Latin *ianitricēs* ‘wives of brothers’, Old Lithuanian *jentė* ‘brother’s wife, sister-in-law’, Old Church Slavonic [Gl Meth] *jetry* ‘sister-in-law’ (Beekes 2010: 389; Smoczyński 2018: 447; Valčáková, ESJS 5: 292–293). It means, Greek Εὖρος is also derivable from *ieuHr-.

POSSIBLE BALKAN HYDRONYMIC COUNTERPARTS

5. Outside the Baltic toponymical area, there are further toponyms which suggest themselves as possibly related.

5.1. In the territory of historical Thracia Pliny the Elder⁵ recorded two hydronyms, *Zyras*, today perhaps Batovska reka in Dobrudža (Detschew 1957: 196), and *Iuras*, today perhaps the South Bulgarian river Karaagač ('black tree' in Turkish), known also as Kitenska reka (Beševliev apud Janakieva 2009: 77), which are more or less promising candidates for relation with the Baltic-Armenian isogloss.

5.1.1. Tomaschek (1894: 98) connected *Zyras* (he wrote Ζύρας & Ζούρας) with Armenian *յօր* 'water', but located the river in the neighbourhood of Thynias, where Pliny had located the *Iuras* River. Maybe Tomaschek implicitly judged that both of the hydronyms are identical, although their geographic locations were determined differently by Pliny (cf. Janakieva 2009: 70–71). Let us mention that Duridanov (1969: 34) thought that *Zyras* was a Dacian hydronym and connected it with the Lithuanian river-name *Žiūrā* etc.

⁵ Plinius, *Naturalis Historia* 4.44–45: ⁴⁴namque thracia altero latere a pontico litora incipiens, ubi hister amnis inmergitur, vel pulcherrimas in ea parte urbes habet, histropolin milesiorum, tomos, callatim, quae antea cerbatis vocabatur, heracleam. habuit et bizonen terrae hiatu raptam; nunc habet dionysopolim, crunon antea dictam; adluit *zyras* amnis. totum eum tractum scythaer aroteres cognominati tenuere. eorum oppida aphrodisias, libistos, zygere, rhocobae, eumenia, parthenopolis, gerania, ubi pygmaeorum gens fuisse proditur; catizos barbari vocabant, creduntque a gruibus fugatos. ⁴⁵in ora a dionysopoli est odessus milesiorum, flumen pannysis, oppidum ereta, naulochus. mons haemus, vasto iugo procumbens in pontum, oppidum habuit in vertice aristaeum; nunc in ora mesembria, anchialum, ubi messa fuerat. astice regio habuit oppidum anthium; nunc est apollonia. flumina panisos, *iuras*, tearus, orosines; oppida thynias, halmydesos, develton cum stagno, quod nunc deultum vocatur veteranorum, phinopolis, iuxta quam bosphorus.

Plinius Secundus: *Naturalis Historia*, ed. by G. Winkler, 1988.

'The other side of Thrace now begins, on the coast of the Euxine, where the river Ister discharges itself; and it is in this quarter perhaps that Thrace possesses the finest cities, Histropolis, namely, founded by the Milesians, Tomi, and Callatis, formerly called Acervetis. It also had the cities of Heraclea and Bizon, which latter was swallowed up by an earthquake; it now has Dionysopolis, formerly called Cruni, which is washed by the river Zyras. All this country was formerly possessed by the Scythians, surnamed Aroteres; their towns were, Aphrodisias, Libistos, Zygere, Rocobe, Eumenia, Parthenopolis, and Gerania, where a nation of Pygmies is said to have dwelt; the barbarians used to call them Cattuzi, and entertain a belief that they were put to flight by cranes. Upon the coast, proceeding from Dionysopolis, is Odessus, a city of the Milesians, the river Panisus, and the town of Tetranaulo- chus. Mount Haemus, which, with its vast chain, overhangs the Euxine, had in former times upon its summit the town of Aristaeum. At the present day there are upon the coast Mesembria, and Anchialum, where Messa formerly stood. The region of Astice formerly had a town called Anthium; at the present day Apollonia occupies its site. The rivers here are the Panisos, the Iuras, the Tearus, and the Orosines; there are also the towns of Thynias, Halmydessos, Develton, with its lake, now known as Deultum, a colony of veterans, and Phinopolis, near which last is the Bosphorus.'

Pliny the Elder: *The Natural History*, translated by John Bostock & H. T. Riley, London: Taylor & Francis, 1855.

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5.1.2. Duridanov (1969: 34–35) and Georgiev (1977: 82) compared *Iuras* with Baltic *jūr- ‘sea’.

A HYPOTHETICAL ORONYMICAL COUNTERPART

6. It is tempting to speculate about the relationship of the oronym *Mons Iura*, i.e., the Jura Mountains in contemporary western Switzerland and eastern France, which form the northwestern shore of the biggest and deepest lake of Western Europe, Lake Geneva (580 km²; 310 m). Already in the first ancient source where the Jura Mountains were mentioned, in ‘Gallic War’ by Caesar, the height of the Jura Mountains was stressed: *altera ex parte monte Iura altissimo*⁶ ‘on a second side by the **Jura**, a very high mountain’ [1.2.3.] or *inter montem Iuram et flumen Rhodanum, ... mons autem altissimus impendebat*⁷ ‘between Mount **Jura** and the river Rhone ... there was, moreover, a very high mountain overhanging’ [1.6.1.]. The oronym *Jura* is continued in some dialectisms from the French-Swiss borderland (FEW V, 82–83): Old Neuchâtel (1297) *jour* ‘forest’, Montana

⁶ Caesar: *De bello Gallico* 1.2.3: *Id hoc facilius iis persuasit, quod undique loci natura Helvetii continentur: una ex parte flumine Reno latissimo atque altissimo, qui agrum Helvetium a Germanis dividit; altera ex parte monte Iura altissimo, qui est inter Sequanos et Helvetios; tertia lacu Lemanno et flumine Rhodano, qui provinciam nostram ab Helvetiis dividit.*

‘To this he more easily persuaded them, because the Helvetii, are confined on every side by the nature of their situation; on one side by the Rhine, a very broad and deep river, which separates the Helvetian territory from the Germans; on a second side by the Jura, a very high mountain, which is [situated] between the Sequani and the Helvetii; on a third by the Lake Geneva, and by the river Rhone, which separates our Province from the Helvetii.’

⁷ Caesar: *De bello Gallico* 1.6.1-2: *Erant omnino itinera duo, quibus itineribus domo exire possent: unum per Sequanos, angustum et difficile, inter montem Iuram et flumen Rhodanum, vix qua singuli carri ducerentur, mons autem altissimus impendebat, ut facile per pauci prohibere possent; alterum per provinciam nostram, multo facilius atque expeditius, propterea quod inter fines Helvetiorum et Allobrogum, qui nuper pacati erant, Rhodanus fluit isque non nullis locis vado transitur.*

‘There were in all two routes, by which they could go forth from their country one through the Sequani narrow and difficult, between Mount Jura and the river Rhone by which scarcely one wagon at a time could be led; there was, moreover, a very high mountain overhanging, so that a very few might easily intercept them; the other, through our Province, much easier and freer from obstacles, because the Rhone flows between the boundaries of the Helvetii and those of the Allobroges, who had lately been subdued, and is in some places crossed by a ford.’

C. Julius Caesar: *De bello Gallico*, ed. by T. Rice Holmes, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914.

C. Julius Caesar: *Gallic War*, translated by W. A. McDevitte & W. S. Bohn, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1869.

zür, Chamonix *dur* id., Neuchâtel *joux* ‘forêt, surtout forêt de montagne’, *jorat* ‘petite forêt; lieu plein de broussailles’, Vionnaz *dzorá* ‘petite forêt de sapins’, besides Middle Latin (Savoy) *joria* ‘Bergwald’ etc.

6.1. The semantic connection between the meanings ‘deep’ and ‘high’ should not be surprising. 6.1.1. E.g. Latin *altus* means both ‘high’ (originally ‘grown’, if it is derived from *alō* ‘to nourish, increase’) and ‘deep’, cf. *sub ramis arboris altae* [Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 3.19.44] or *altis de montibus* [Ovidius, *Metamorphoses* 3.181] vs. *altissima flumina* [Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 3.6.13] or *altior aqua* [Caesar, *Bellum civile* 3.77]. Remarkable is the syntagm ‘high sea’, used already in archaic texts as IN ALTOD MARID PVCNandod [*Columna Duili* = *CIL* 25; see Wachter 1987: 359–60] or *tu qui permensus ponti maria alta velivola* [Livius Andronicus apud Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 6.5.10].

6.1.2. On the other hand, Tocharian A *täp-* ‘to become high’, besides A *tpär*, B *tapre* ‘high’, reflecting **d^hubro-*, are derivatives of the root **d^heub-* ‘to be deep’, cf. Brittonic **dubno-* > Welsh *dwfn*, Cornish *down*, Breton *doun* ‘deep’; Gothic *diups*, Old Norse *djúpr*, Old English *dēop*, Old Saxon *diop*, Old High German *tiof* ‘deep’; Lithuanian *dubùs* ‘deep; with a hollow (of a tree); concave, collapsed’, besides *daubà* ‘gorge, gulch, forest ravine’, Old Prussian [EV] *padaubis* ‘valley’; note also *ro*-less Tocharian A *top*, B *taupe* ‘mine’ (Adams 2013: 296, 330; Smoczyński 2018: 199–200, 256–257). It is tempting to add the sigmatic extension in Cuneiform Luvian *dupša*⁸ in the formulation *al-ta-an-ni-iš \ Du-up-ša-aš* ‘the spring Dupša-’ [KBo II 7 Vo. 25] (Starke 1990: 175; Melchert 1993: 235). Further *r*-derivatives are also known outside Tocharian: Lithuanian *dubrà* ‘ravine in a forest’, *dubrÿs* ‘dent, hollow, ravine; depths in a river or lake’, Latvian *dubra* ‘mud, quagmire’, Church Slavonic (Russian redaction) *dъbrъ* ‘φάραγξ, ravine, gorge’, Slovak dial. *debra* ‘ditch washed out by storm water; ravine, gully, hole’, Ukrainian dial. *débra* ‘ravine, gorge, valley’, Belorussian dial. *dziebra* ‘valley between mountains; stream, creek between mountains’ etc. (Smoczyński 2018: 256); Celtic **dubro-* ‘water’ > Old Irish *dobur*, Middle Welsh *dw(f)r*, Welsh *dŵr*, Cornish & Middle Breton *dour* id., Old Brittonic *Dubris* [*Itinerarium Antonini*], today *Dover*, Gaulish **dubra* > *Douvres*, or today *Tauber* in the German region Tauber-gau (*Dubra-gave* AD 807), etc. (Hamp 1972: 233–237; Matasović 2009: 107; Greule 2014: 529; Delamarre 2018: 152). The gloss δύβρις · κατὰ γλῶσσον θάλασσα [sch. Theoc. 1.118c] undoubtedly belongs here too, although its language affiliation is open; the favourite has been Illyrian (Beekes 2010: 358). The meaning ‘sea’ also supports another derivative of the same root, Albanian *det*, Italo-Albanian *dejt*,

⁸ The corresponding s-stem could be found in the name of one of Lithuanian lakes, *Būdasas*, usually derived from **dubasas* (Vanagas 1981: 93).

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dejēt, if it continues the protoform **d^heubetā*, corresponding to Proto-Germanic **deupipō* ‘depth’ > Gothic *diupiþa*, Old Norse *dýpt*, Old Saxon *diupitha*, Middle Low German *dēpede*, Middle Dutch *diepde*, etc. (Orel 1998: 61).

6.1.3. If *Iura* originally designated ‘mountain forest’, judging from the Romance dialectisms like Old Neuchâtel (1297) *jour* ‘forest’, Montana *zūr*, Chamonix *dur* id., Neuchâtel *joux* ‘forêt, surtout forêt de montagne’, *jorat* ‘petite forêt; lieu plein de broussailles’, Vionnaz *dzorá* ‘petite forêt de sapins’, besides Middle Latin (Savoy) *joria* ‘Bergwald’ etc. (FEW V 82–83), the primary semantics of the root forming *Iura* may also be ‘high’. There is another Gaulish oronym with probable parallel semantic motivation, the Forest of *Arduenna*: *in silvam Arduennam* or *per Arduennam silvam* [Caesar, BG 5.3.4, 6.29.4] and Αρδουέννα ὄλη [Strabo 4.3.5⁹]. It is generally accepted that this oronym is derived from the stem **arduo-* ‘high’, cf. Old Irish *ard* ‘high, big’, Welsh *ardd* ‘hill’, but the Ardennes Mountains are not characterized by their height (the highest peak is Signal de Botrange – 692 m), but by vast forests. Judging from Latin *arbor* ‘tree’, *arbustum* ‘wood’, derivable from **H₃rd^h-os* ‘height, uprightness’ (de Vaan 2008: 50), or Czech *strom* ‘tree’, derived from *strmý* ‘steep’, besides Polish *strom* ‘steep slope’ vs. *stromy* ‘steep’ (Rejzek 2015: 666), the *Arduenna* probably designated ‘forest’, consisting of tall trees. Accepting this idea, it is possible to speculate about a similar semantic motivation for the oronym *Iura*, from the hypothetical adj. **jūro-* ‘high, full-grown’ through its substantivisation into ‘tree’ to the collective **jūrā* ‘forest’.

⁹ ὄλη γάρ ἐστιν οὐχ ὑψηλῶν δένδρων πολλὴ μὲν οὐ τοσαύτη δὲ ὅσην οἱ συγγραφεῖς εἰρήκασι, τετρακισχιλίων σταδίων, καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Αρδουένναν: κατὰ δὲ τὰς πολεμικὰς ἐφόδους συμπλέκοντες τὰς τῶν θάμνων λύγους βατώδεις οὖσας ἀπέρροπτον τὰς παρόδους. ἔστι δ' ὅπου καὶ σκόλοπας κατέπιπτον, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατέδυνον εἰς τὰ βάθη πανοίκιοι, νησίδια ἔχοντες ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι: Strabo: *Geographica*, ed. A. Meineke, Leipzig: Teubner, 1877.

‘It consists of a forest filled with low trees; of great extent, but not near so large as writers have described it, viz. 4000 stadia. It is named Arduenna. In the event of warlike incursions the inhabitants would interweave the flexible brambly shrubs, thus stopping up the passages [into their country]. They also fixed stakes in various places, and then retreated with their whole families into the recesses of the forest, to small islands surrounded by marshes.’

Strabo: *The Geography*, translated by H. C. Hamilton & W. Falconer, London: George Bell & Sons, 1903.

RELATION BETWEEN $*\dot{i}uHr-$ -/ $*\dot{ie}uHr-$ - AND $*uH_1r-$ -/ $*u\dot{e}H_1r-$ - ‘WATER’?

7. It is legitimate to ask whether there is any relation between $*\dot{i}uHr-$ -/ $*\dot{ie}uHr-$ - discussed above and IE $*uH_1r-$ -/ $*u\dot{e}H_1r-$ - ‘water’¹⁰.

7.1. Petit’s reconstruction $*H_1eu\dot{e}Hr-$ (§1.4.3.) is probably compatible with both Baltic $*jūr-$ ‘sea’ and IE $*uH_1r-$ -/ $*u\dot{e}H_1r-$ ‘water’, if these forms are reinterpreted as $*H_1uH_1r-$ -/ $*H_1u\dot{e}H_1r-$ -, but not with Armenian $\dot{\jmath}owr$ ‘water’ (§4.2.1.).

7.2. A feasible way out could be to analyze $*\dot{i}uHr-$ -/ $*\dot{ie}uHr-$ - as a compound consisting of $*\dot{i}u-$ -/ $*\dot{ie}u-$ - + $*uH_1r-$ -. The first component seems to be related to one of two homonymous roots:

7.2.1. $*\dot{ie}u-$ - (< $*H_1\dot{i}-eu$ -¹¹ – see EWAI II 420) ‘to move’ > Khotan Saka *gyūna-*, *jūna-* ‘movement, gait; times’, Pashto *yun*, pl. *yānā* ‘movement, gait, step’, besides Avestan *yaona-*, if it meant ‘way’ instead of the traditional translation ‘place’, and Vedic *yóni-*, if it meant ‘route, abode’ (ESIJ 4: 94–95; NEVP 100; Bailey 1979: 112; Lubotsky 1988: 38).

7.2.2. $*\dot{ie}u-$ ‘to separate’ > Vedic *yúcchatī* ‘hält sich fern, trennt sich’, conj. *ví yavanta* ‘werden trennen’ etc., *yutá-dveṣas-* ‘delivered from enemies’ (LIV 314; EWAI 2: 403–04; Turner 1966: #10442, 10497; MW 848, 852–53); Young Avestan *yūta-* ‘separated’; Middle Persian: Manichaean *jdwy*, Buddhist *ywdt* ‘separated, divided’, Parthian *ywd* ‘separate (from); without’; Modern Persian *judā*, Baluchi *jtā*, Zazaki *jiyā*, Qohrudi *yadā* ‘separate’; Pashto *byal* ‘separate, different, apart’ etc. (Cheung 2007: 215–16).

7.2.3. There is a specific Indo-Iranian term $*\dot{iau}(i)\dot{iā-$ - designating ‘water-course’, continuing in Vedic *yávyá-* ‘stream, river, channel’ [RV 8.98.8], Ashkun yo ‘streamlet’, Kati *yū* id. etc.; Old Persian *yauviyā-* ‘channel’, Zoroastrian Pahlavi *ywd /jōy/*, Modern Persian *jo(i)* id., Parachi *žī* ‘rivulet’ (EWAI 2: 405; ESIJ 4: 118–19; Turner 1966: #10442). The water-courses have been moving, as e.g. Bailey (1979: 112) mentioned (cf. §7.2.1.), but they can also separate their shores, as e.g. Turner (1966: #10442) proposed (cf. §7.2.2.). The same may be said about a sea too. That is why the hypothetical compound

¹⁰ Vedic *vár-*, Young Avestan *vāra-* ‘rain’; Cuneiform Luvian *wārsa* ‘water’; Latin *ūrinari* ‘to dip’, Old English *wær* ‘sea’, Old Norse *vári* ‘liquid, water’, *úr* ‘wetness, moisture’; Old Prussian *wurs* ‘pond’ etc. (NIL 715–17).

¹¹ The form $*H_1\dot{ie}u-$ - represents the extension of the root $*H_1ei-$ ‘to go’ (LIV 232–233) like $*sreu-$ ‘to flow’ (LIV 588) vs. $*ser-$ > Vedic *sar-* ‘to run, hurry’, Pali *sarati* ‘moves’; Sogdian *hrt* ‘went’, Kurdish *har* ‘to go’ (EWAI 2: 705–706; Blažek 2018: 74–76).

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*iu-/ *ieu- + *uH₁r- is interpretable in two alternative ways: (i) ‘moving water’; (ii) ‘water which separates’.

7.2.4. The following question is, if the same compound is applicable to the Gaulish oronym **Jūrā?*

7.2.4.1. Maybe it looks paradoxical, but the compound *iu-/ *ieu- + *uH₁r- with the hypothetical meaning ‘moving water’ could really serve to designate mountains, since it is just mountains where sources of rivers are located. In the territories where the Slavic languages are spoken, there are several mountains called *Tok*, i.e., ‘stream’. Similar ‘water’-etymologies can be proposed for such mountains as *Mons Abnoba* [Plinius the Elder, *Naturalis historiae* 4.79], today *Schwarzwald*, where is situated the source of the Danube. The oronym can represent the Latin adaptation of Gaulish *moniōs abnobi or later *abnobe ‘range [rich in] rivers’. Another example can be the mythical Avestan mountain *Harā-/ Haraitī-*, whose highest peak named *Hūkairiia-* is a home of the goddess *Arəduuī Sūra Anāhita*, ruling all the waters [Yašt 5.121; 10.50; 10.88; 12.23–25] (Blažek & Šefčík 2011: 239–49). In the Jura Mountains there are sources of several rivers, belonging to the basins of the Rhône and Rhine rivers: Ain (→ Rhône), Allaine (→ Doubs → Rhône), Birs (→ Rhine), Doubs (→ Saône → Rhône), Loue (→ Doubs → Rhône), Orbe (→ Thielle → Rhine), Seille (→ Saône → Rhône), Venoge (→ Lake Geneva → Rhône).

7.2.4.2. The second semantic interpretation, ‘water which separates’, is apparently not applicable to mountains. But there is at our disposal the modified compound *iu-/ *ieu- + *H₃(o)r-, where the second component can be identified in Continental Celtic: Cis-Alpine Gaulish *orom-bouii *‘{of} mountains-dwellers’¹², reconstructed on the basis of various variants of the Latin gen. pl.: *Oromobiorum / Orumboviorum / Orumbiviorum / Oromobiorum* (Meid 1996: 13); Celtiberian [Peñalba de Villastar] *oros- (s-stem) in the syntagm *eni.orosei* ‘on/

¹² See the interpretation documented by Pliny, *Naturalis historiae* 3.124–125:

oromobiorum stirpis esse comum atque bergomum et licini forum aliquotque circa populos auctor est cato, sed originem gentis ignorare se fatetur, quam docet cornelius alexander ortam a graecia interpretatione etiam nominis vitam in montibus degentium. in hoc situ interiit oppidum oromobiorum parra, unde bergomates cato dixit ortos, etiamnum prodente se altius quam fortunatius situm.

‘From Cato we also learn that Comum, Bergomum, and Liciniforum, and some other peoples in the vicinity, originated with the Orombouii, but he admits that he is ignorant as to the origin of that nation. Cornelius Alexander however informs us that they came from Greece, interpreting their name as meaning “those who live upon the mountains.” In this district, Parra has disappeared, a town of the Orombouii, from whom, according to Cato, the people of Bergomum are descended; its site even yet shows that it was situate in a position more elevated than fruitful.’

Pliny the Elder: *The Natural History*, translated by John Bostock & H.T. Riley, London: Taylor & Francis, 1855.

in mountain', i.e. 'montanus', as the epithet of the god Lugus (Meid 1996: 13). Related can be the word for 'limit, boundary' in Insular Celtic: Middle Irish *or m.* 'limit, boundary, extreme' (DIL O-149); Old Welsh (9th c.) *or*, Modern Welsh *ôr* 'limit, boundary, coast, margin, brink, brim, bank, edge' (GPC), Cornish *or f.*, pl. *oryon*, Old Breton *orion* gl. 'oram', Middle Breton *euryen* 'bord d'une fontaine' (LEIA II 26; Pedersen I: 207; II: 51). Extra-Celtic cognates are e.g. Greek ὄρος 'mountain, height' [*Il.* 14.227; *Od.* 5.279], ὅρεστης 'living in the mountains, consisting of mountains' [*Il.* 22.93; *Od.* 10.212]; Hittite *haršar*/ *haršn-* 'head, person, front, beginning' < **H₂ersₖ*, gen. **H₂ersnós* (Kloekhorst 2008: 314–315); Old Avestan *ərəšuuā-*, Vedic रश्वा- 'high' (EWAI 1: 262). In this case, the compound **iū-/iēu-* + **H₂(o)r-* + coll. *-eH₂ > Gaulish **Jūrā* would mean '*mountains which separate', probably for both, their slopes and forests.

CONCLUSION

8. The preceding partial analyses allow the formulation of the following conclusions:

8.1. In Baltic, we find two quasi-synonyms designating 'sea', **jūrā-*, **jūr(i)īā-* id. and **mar(i)īā-* 'sea, bay, lagoon'. If the latter term designated 'shallow sea'¹³, the first one should have meant originally 'deep sea'.

8.2. The Lithuanian *vṛddhi*-formation *jáura*, *jáuré*, *jáuris* 'wet, heavy, infertile soil; soil with clay', *jáura* or *jáuras* 'bog, deep water' can be connected with Common Baltic **jūr-* 'sea' in semantic perspective through the meaning 'deep water' with regard to the traditional perception of bogs as bottomless.

8.3. The hydronyms *Jura* (Narew basin) & *Jurin* (Oka basin) are situated far from any sea and that is why their primary meanings should be 'deep (water)' or 'marsh(y)'. The same can be proposed for the toponym Ιούροννον, which was located by Ptolemy south of the Baltic Sea coast. Perhaps it designated a

¹³ Originally 'sea' in general, widespread in the 'Old European' area: Latin *mare* 'sea(-water)'; Gaulish *more* 'mare' [Glossary of Vienne], Old Irish *muir*, Welsh *môr* 'sea'; Gothic *marei* 'sea', *mari-saiws* 'lake', Old Norse *marr* 'sea', Old High German *mari*, *meri* 'sea, lake'; Old Church Slavonic *morje* 'sea'. The primary meaning 'sea' in Baltic is confirmed by the Baltic loan in Balto-Fennic **mere* 'sea' discussed above (§1). Outside this area there are less safe cognates with rather different semantics: Hittite *marmar(r)a-*, *mammara-* 'waterlogged woodland, overgrown swamp, wetland, slough, moor, marsh' (Puhvel 2004: 79–80); Armenian *mawr* 'swamp' (**mamr-* < ?**marmr-*, although it could alternatively be connected with Lithuanian *máuras* 'slime, ooze, mud' etc. – see Džaukjan, Saradževa, Arutjunjan 1983: 128); Ossetic *mal* 'stagnant water' < **mārija-* (Gamkrelidze, Ivanov 1984: 673, 943).

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village by some deep lake in the Kashubian Lake District (*Pojezierze Kaszubskie*), e.g., Jeziorno Wdzydze: 14,55 km²; 69,5 m; or in the Drawsko Lake District (*Pojezierze Drawsko*), e.g., Jeziorno Drawsko: 19,56 km²; 79,7 m.

8.4. If Fenno-Perm **jür3* ‘deep place in water’ and Fenno-Volgaic **järwā* ‘lake’ represent adaptations of Baltic **jūrā-/-*(i)īā-* ‘sea’ & **jaurā-/-*(i)īā-* ‘bog, deep water’ respectively, they may reflect the more primary meanings, maybe ‘deep water’ generally and ‘deep water reservoir’.**

8.5. The hypothetical Pre-Baltic **jūr-* ‘deep water’ is compatible with Armenian *jowr* ‘water’ and Greek Εὔρος ‘{God of} Southeast wind’. Their common protoform was more probably **iuHr-/*ieuHr-* by Irslinger than **H₁euHr-* by Petit or **eu'r-* by Derksen.

8.6. Both hydronyms from Eastern Thracia recorded by Pliny, *Iuras* and *Zyras*, could be related, if they belonged either to deep or marshy rivers.

8.7. The oronym *Jura* refers to mountains characterized by a very steep slope towards the Lake Geneva. It may therefore well be of the same origin. The connection of the meanings ‘deep’ and ‘high’ is discussed in §6.1.2. Adams (2013: 296) adds: ‘what is deep when viewed from above may be taken as high when viewed from below’.

8.8. The legitimate question, if **iuHr-/*ieuHr-* represents an old compound consisting of **uH₁r-* ‘water’, can be answered positively, if the first component is identified as the verb **ieu-* (i) ‘to move’ or (ii) ‘to separate’. The idea of ‘moving water’ is applicable to the seas, rivers and even to mountains too, if they are the locations of river sources. The alternative idea of ‘separating water’ is also applicable to the seas and rivers, but probably not to mountains. In the case of the *Jura* mountains, reflecting probably Proto-Celtic **iūrā*, there could be in play the alternative compound **iu-/ieu- + *H₁(o)r- + *-eH₂-* ‘mountains which separate’. It is necessary to stress that the acceptance of the compound with one of these semantic interpretations makes irrelevant the speculations about ‘deep’ vs. ‘high’ discussed above (§6.1.2.).

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Baltic **jūrā*-/-(*i*)*īā*- ‘sea’ & **jaurā*-/-(*i*)*īā*-
‘wet soil, bog, deep water’

Baltų **jūrā*-/-(*i*)*īā*- ‘jūra’ ir **jaurā*-/-(*i*)*īā*-
‘šlapias dirvožemis, pelkė, gilus vanduo’

SANTRAUKA

Straipsnyje analizuojama proto-baltų šaknis **jūr-*. Ji paliudyta lietuvių kalbos žodyje *jūra* f., pl. *jūros*; var. *jūria* f., pl. *jūrios* ir *jūré* f., pl. *jūrés* ir lat. *jūra* arba *jūrā* ‘jūra; didelis vandens telkinys; ežeras’, dial. *jūre*, *jūris* (ME II 122), kuršininkų *jūr(e)* f. ‘jūra’. Šios formos atitinkamai gali būti sietinos su protobaltų **jūrā*-, **jūriā*-, **jūriiā*-. S. prūsus *luriay* [Elbingo žodynas 66: ‘Mer’] = nom. pl. **jūr’ai* ir *iūrin* [Enchiridion] ‘jūra’ = acc. sg. **jūr’an* atspindi protobaltišką formą **jūriā*-. Nagrinėjamajai šaknai giminiški ir liet. *jáura*, *járé*, *jáuris* ‘šlapia, sunki, nederlinga dirva; dirvožemis su moliu’, *jáura* arba *jáuras* ‘pelkė, gilus vanduo’, būdvardis *jaurūs* ‘pelkėtas’, atspindintys šaknies **jūr-* *vṛddhi-* darybos tipą **jaur-* su panašiais vardažodiniais plētiniais. Nagrinėjamasis žodis yra gana plačiai paliudytas Lietuvos ir Latvijos hidronimijoje, taip pat ir už rytinio Baltijos regiono teritorijos ribų, pavyzdžiui, *Iura* (Narevo intakas, pirmasis paminėjimas 1426 m.) ir *Jurin* (dvi griovos Maskvos upės baseine), pastarasis atitinka liet. *jaurýnas* ‘pelkėta vieta’. Pirmasis rašytinis galimai baltiškos šaknies **jūro* darinio paminėjimas gali būti atpažįstamas vv. Ioúgovov, lokalizuojamo į vakarus nuo Vistula upės žiočių ir į rytus nuo Viadua upės žiočių, kuris fiksuotas vadinamame Ptolemajaus *Geografijos* rankraštyje Rt [2.11.27.] (II a.). Abu baltų variantus **jūr-* & **jaur-* pasiskolino Permés finai – **jūr’z* ‘gili vieta vandenye’ ir Volgos finai – **järwä* ‘ežeras’. Kitose indoeuropiečių kalbose patikimai paliudytas tik vienas giminiškas žodis – arménų *jōr* ‘vanduo’. Esama galimybės ji sieti su s. graikų Eύρος ‘Pietryčių vėjo {dievas}’. Šiuo atveju galima rekonstruoti bendras protoformas **ieuHr-* ir **ieuHr’-*. Pateikiamos ir dvi perspektyvios Plinijaus Vyresniojo iš istorinės Trakijos užrašyto hidroniminės paralelės: *Zyras*, galbūt dabartinė Batovska reka Dobrudžoje, ir *Iuras*, dabar galbūt upė Karaagač (Pietų Bulgarija). Problemiškesnis siejimas su galų oronimu *Mons Iura*. Siūlomas naujas etimologinis sprendimas – formą **ieuHr-*/**ieuHr’-* galima analizuoti kaip seną junginį, sudarytą iš **ieu-* (i) ‘judéti’ arba (ii) ‘atskirti’ ir **uH,r-* ‘vanduo’.

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