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## REMARKS ON A NEW BOOK ON OLD PRUSSIAN

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This discussion is devoted to a new book in Old Prussian: W. Smoczyński, *Untersuchungen zum deutschen Lehnwort im Altpreussischen* (Analecta Indoeuropaea Cracoviensia, Vol. III. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2000, 261 pp.).

In the foreword Smoczyński (S.) writes that his goal is to discuss some problems of the treatment of word forms borrowed from German in the framework of the Old Prussian (OP) linguistic system (p. 6). The book is attractively printed and has a good binding.

Chapter I (pp. 13-25) is a discussion of the possibility of identifying some Germanisms with the help of the *swints*-rule, which S. has devised. According to this rule the sequences *\*enC* and *\*emC* (where C = any consonant) pass to *\*inC* and *\*imC* as the result of the raising of *e* to *i* before a tautosyllabic nasal consonant. His most convincing examples include OP *swints* 'holy' (beside Lith. *šveñtas* 'id.'), *swintinti* 'to keep holy' (Lith. *šveñtinti* 'to consecrate'), *senrīnka* 'gathers' < *\*sanrēnka* (cf. Lith. *sureñka* 'id.'), GrG 97 *dirsos ginthos* 'a good man' with *gint-* from *\*gent-* (cf. Old Lith. *gēntis* 'friend; relative'), the personal name *Kinstut* (1407), *Kynstut*, *Kynstut* (1442), *Hinrich Kynstute* (1440) beside Lith. *Kęstūtis*. Less convincing perhaps are the examples *auskiēndlai* '(may) drown', transcribed as [auskiēndlai] < *\*auskēndlai* (cf. Lith. *skęstū*, *skendaū*, *skęsti* 'to drown'), *piēnc̄ts* 'fifth' transcribed as [pinkts] (cf. Lith. *peñktas* 'fifth'). On the other hand one does not know for certain what Abel Will had in mind and it must certainly be admitted that the orthographic sequence *-ie-* can represent [i] in German.

Effects of the *swints*-rule are encountered in borrowings from other languages, thus *dīnckun* 'thanks' [dīnkun] < *\*dēnkun* from Pol. *dzięka* or *dzięk* 'act of thanks', (EV 562) *golimban* 'blue' which may be from Pol. *gołęby* 'white, ash-colored' (hence the name for the dove). German borrowings include (EV 483) *drimbis* 'veil', cf. Old High German (OHG) *trembil* 'toga, cloak', Anglo-Saxon *drembil* 'showy dress', (EV 388) *scinkis* 'draft beer', cf. Middle Low German (MLG) *schenk(e)bēr* 'id.', (EV 244) *wagnis* 'colter, knife which cuts the earth before the plough' a misprint for *\*wagins* which through

syncope derives from *\*waginsis* < *\*wagensis* < Middle High German (MHG) *wagense* 'ploughshare.' S. suggests that *vumpis* 'bake-oven' should be read as [vumpnis] and that the etymological form is to be reconstructed as *\*uvens* or *\*ûvens* (cf. MHG *oven*, MLG *ôven*) > *\*uvins* > *\*umins* (assimilation) > *\*umns* (syncope) > *\*umpns* (epenthetic *p*) > *\*umpnis* (epenthetic *i*) > *vumpnis* with prothetic *v* (p. 16).

S. proposes that (EV 80) *agins* 'eye' derives from *\*agens*, an incomplete Prussianization of the Low German plural form *\*ôgens* or *\*âgens*. The fact that both *agins* and (EV 83) *ausins* 'ear' are glossed as singular does not have any importance. It would be imaginable that the scribe wrote down those forms which he got from his informant. Since the plural forms *eyes* and *ears* were more common than the corresponding singulars, it is no wonder that the informant proposed the forms *agins* and *ausins* (p. 17).

According to S. (p. 18) at first glance the Old Prussian shift of *eNC* > *iNC* is reminiscent of the East Lith. dialect shift, e.g., *piñktas* < *peñktas* 'fifth', *tiñpk* < *tēmpk* 'stretch, pull' (see Zinkevičius 1966, 96ff.). S. writes, however, that the parallel sequence *\*aNC* is treated differently from Lithuanian in that the raising of *a* to *u* is not encountered, cf. OP *dantis* 'tooth' vs. East Lith. *duntis*. Yet among the OP personal names S. himself gives an example which could be interpreted as showing a similar development, *Schamdo*, *Skandio*, *Skondio*, *Scundio* (p. 18). Structurally a passage of *\*aNC/* to *\*uNC/* would be a good parallel for *\*eNC/* to *\*iNC/*. But perhaps in some OP dialects *\*aNC/* passed to *\*eNC/*, whereas in other dialects we encounter *\*uNC/*.

In order to illustrate the raising of vowels before nasals in tautosyllabic syllables S. draws on parallels from Middle Low German quoted from Lasch (1914, para. 138f.), *twintich* < *twentich* 'twenty', etc. The change of *enC* > *inC* is also encountered in sequences deriving from an earlier *anC*, e.g., *winte* 'until' < *wente* < *wante*; *inde* 'and' < *ende* < *ande*; *sinte* 'saint' < *sente* < *sante* (p. 19).

In S.'s view in OP *emprijkisins* 'present' the second element *-sins* derives from Proto-Baltic *\*sant-* 'being' (cf. Old Lith. acc. sg. *santj* 'id.'). OP *\*sant-* passes to *sent-* (similar to the passage of *dangan* 'heaven' > *dengan*) as the oblique case form *emprikisentismu* shows. We can therefore posit a sequence *-sins* < *\*-sens* < *\*-sents* < *\*-sentis* < *\*-santis*. S. disputes a reconstruction of the participle based on a stem *\*/h<sub>1</sub>s-ent-/* noting that elsewhere in Balto-Slavic we encounter only *\*/h<sub>1</sub>s-ont-/*, cf. Old Lith. *sant-*. In fn. 14 he notes the Old Indic nom. sg. masc. *sán* 'being' < *\*/h<sub>1</sub>s-ont-/*, gen. sg. *satás* < *\*/h<sub>1</sub>s-nt-és/*. He mentions also Lat. *sóns* 'guilty', *insóns* 'innocent', noting in fn. 15 that Lat.

*absêns*, *praesêns* are innovations deriving from analogy with the thematic type *ferent-*. Finally he concludes that in the individual Indo-European languages there are no plausible traces of the *e*-grade of this suffix. He does not mention, however, Doric Gk. nom. pl. *éntes* for *\*héntes*, like 3 pl. *entí* 'are' for *\*hentí* which Buck (1933, 307) derives from IE *\*s-ént-* (3 pl. *\*sénti*). See also Thumb/Hauschild 1959, 98-99 for this and other considerations. In addition, although the Germanic forms of the participle seem to be derived from *\*-o-* grade form, cf., e.g., Eng. *sooth* < *\*sont-os*, the present active participles are in principle derived from the 3rd plural present and Germanic gives evidence of an etymological *\*-e-* grade in the 3rd pl. of the corresponding verb, cf., e.g., OE *sind*, OHG *sint* (Prokosch 1938, 220). Phonologically, of course, the Old Indic nom. sg. masc. *sán* could just as well be derived from *\*/h<sub>1</sub>s-ent-/*. Another example of the development *in* < *en* < *an* is (EV 799) *pintis* 'way', GrG 33 *peentes* and GrA *pentes* 'via' which would derive from an original *\*pantis* which might be from Pol. *pać* 'path' (p. 21).

Examples of the derivation of the sequence *\*[eNC]* from *\*[aNC/]* include the following: *dengan*, *dengon* II, III beside *dangan* III, (EV 3) *dangus* 'heaven'; *emprikisentismu* < *\*emprikisantismu*; (EV 22) *pentnix* 'Friday' < *\*pantnīks* < *\*pant-nīkas*, a hybridization of the Polish loan-word *piątek*; *pertengginons* 'sent' < *\*perdinginans*, cf. Old Lith. *dangintis* 'to betake oneself somewhere' (p. 21).

One also encounters examples of a secondary sequence [eNC] from *\*[iNC/]*, thus *dessempts* I 'ten' beside *dessimpts* II (cf. Lith. *dėšimtis* 'ten'), *lembtwey* I 'to break' beside *limtwey* II, *limtwei* III (cf. Lith. *palimti* 'to bend down, to break'). Parallels for this are to be encountered in East Central German *henauff*, *henunder* to which one can compare standard *hinauf*, *hinunter* (pp. 22-23).

Sometimes the proposed passages of one sequence to another and then back to the original sequence seem unnecessary, e.g., (EV 147) *pentis* 'heel' is derived from *\*pintis* which in turn comes from *\*pentis*, cf. Lith. *pėntis* 'butt (of an axe); heel' (p. 23). S. notes that the foreign phonemic sequence [eNC] is retained in some borrowings, e.g., *menso* 'flesh', *sacraments*, *testaments* (p. 24).

I think that S. makes a good case for his *swints*-rule, but I would incorporate the rule into my own notion of co-existent phonemic systems and propose that spellings with (1) *en* might reflect the etymological system and spellings with (2) *in* represent the innovating system (Schmalstieg 1974,

18; 1998, 8). I might even suggest a chain-shift such that (1) /aNC/ > (2) /eNC/ while (1) /eNC/ > (2) /iNC/, although this would not explain those examples in which (1) /aNC/ seems to have jumped ahead to (2) /iNC/. For OP one could, of course, assume that while etymological (1) \*/eNC/ was passing to innovating (2) \*/iNC/ the etymological sequence (1) \*/iNC/ was passing to innovating (2) \*/eNc/. This would explain, for example, *dessempts* and *lembtwey* mentioned above. On the other hand a merger of the two etymological sequences as \*/iNC/ seems more likely to me. Such a merger of \*/eNC/ with \*/iNC/ could imply a broader allophonic range of \*/i/ in position before \*/NC/ such that a foreigner might sometimes hear the vowel of \*/iNC/ as more open and other times more close, leading to a vacillation in spelling between \*in and \*en. S. has some very interesting notions concerning the vocalic changes before tautosyllabic nasal, but I would like to see if these could be incorporated into some kind of coherent system of Labovian type vocalic shifts.

Chapter II (pp. 27-102) is a study of the nouns which have been only recently recognized as loan-words. S. suggests that (EV 689) *anctan* 'butter' instead of being a -t- derivative of the root \*ang- 'to spread on, to rub on' (cf. Ved. *anākti*, Lat. *unguo*) might rather be a remodeling of German *Anke(n)* 'butter.' The -t- segment is commonly added in East Middle German where we encounter, e.g., *vortragkt* for *Vortrag*. Another possibility is that the sequence -ct- is a mistake for -ck- (p. 27).

In the Old Prussian sentence *tu turei stesmu kurwan kas arrien tlāku ni stan āustin perrēist* 'Du solt dem Ochsen der da Dreschet / nicht das maul verbinden' it is customary to assume that *arrien* translates German *da*, but it is possible that the Old Prussian translation was made from a German translation which more accurately reflected the Lat. *Non ligabis os bovis terentis in area fruges tuas* = (King James ed., Deuteronomy 25.4) 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn.' If OP *arrien* translates Lat. *fruges* 'corn' it might be borrowed from MHG *arn, erne* 'harvest' (p. 28).

S. starts from the formulaic *im Namen des Vaters und des Sohns* 'in the name of the Father and the Son' and presupposes the adoption in Old Prussian of a unified citation form \*in.nāmn in which the borrowed preposition was replaced by the native preposition to give \*en.nāmn. First there was dissimilation in medial position so that \*en.nāmn > \*em.nāmn and next there was assimilation such that \*em.nāmn > \*em.nān. When the form \*emnān lost its connection with German *im Namen* the stress was shifted to \*émnan, it came to be reanalyzed as *emn+an* and the neologism *emn-* 'name' was

created (pp. 30-34). The word is otherwise quite difficult to analyze and S. suggests at least a possible explanation. (EV 338) *gnode* 'dough trough' is said to be a borrowing from a noun based on the MLG verb *knēden* 'to knead' (p. 35). German *helm* which had the meaning 'upper round roof of a church tower, cupola' gave \**elms* which passed to *ilmis*, in which the narrowed meaning 'shelter for crops consisting of a roof held up by four poles' is observed (pp. 35-36). OP *kadegis* 'juniper' represents a pronunciation [kadikis] and presupposes a MLG *kadik* (pp. 36-40). MHG *heil* 'healthy, sound; health, healing, salvation' furnishes the basis for the OP borrowing \**kailu-* or \**kaila-* to which the suffixes -*üst-* and -*isk-* are added to give the attested *kail-üst-isk-un* 'health' (pp. 40-41). In *kalopeilis* 'chopping knife' an orthographic -l- replaces an original -c- presupposing an earlier initial \**kaka* < MHG *hacke* 'axe, hoe' such that the word is an original hybrid <*kacopeilis*>, the second element of which is native Baltic (p. 42). (EV 208) *kamerto* which is commonly corrected to *kamerco* 'room' does not have to be a Slavic borrowing, but could come from the East Prussian provincial word *Kamerke* 'little room' (pp. 42-43). GrG 74 *caneips* 'hemp' just like Latv. *kaņepe* 'id.' could be derived from a German source, cf. MHG *hanef, hanif*, MLG *hennepe* 'id.' (pp. 43-44). (EV 683) *cuylis* 'boar' (corrected from *tuylis*) could be read either as [gūlis], [gü:lis] or even [gu:lis] and could be a loan-word from MHG *gūl* 'id.' S. notes, correctly, that in the Baltic languages sometimes we encounter *k* where *g* would be expected, thus OP *kirdīl* 'to hear' (beside Lith. *girdėti*) and in the *Lexicon Lithuanicum* (17th cent.) *nekandas* beside *negandas* 'Herzeleyd' (pp. 44-46). But these are all places where German influence is encountered and it is well known that native speakers of German, differently from native speakers of the Baltic and Slavic languages, have difficulty in distinguishing initial voiced and voiceless stop consonants, probably as a result of the 'delayed voicing' which is typical of the Germanic stop consonants, a point which I will return to below. (EV 359) *lapinis* 'spoon' is to be corrected to \**lepinis* (cf. [EV 56] *ladis* 'ice' < \**ledis*) and with a shift of suffix derived from \**lep-elis*, which, in turn, reflects MLG *lêpel, leppel*, MHG *leffel* 'spoon' or perhaps *lapinis* is to be derived from a verb \**lapint* borrowed from MLG *lappen* 'to lap (up)' (p. 49). Similarly to Trautmann (1910, 370), S. sees the initial element of (EV 271) *lituckekers* 'lentils, (lit.) small peas' as Low German *lütke, lütke* 'little' plus an OP suffix -*uk-* replacing the MLG suffix -*ke*. The adjective *likuts* 'small' derives then from a metathesis of \**lituk-* (pp. 49-52). GrG4 *ludis* could come from MHG *liut*, MLG *lüde* which could have the singulative meaning 'man.' The meaning of

(EV 185) *ludis* 'Wirt, host, owner' could have been influenced by MLG *lüdehūs*, MHG *liuthūs* (pp. 53-55). The second element of (EV 384) *piwa-maltan* derives from MLG *malt* 'malt' (p. 55). The OP expression *en mattei* 'in the amount' is a direct imitation of the MLG phrase *in maten* (pp. 55-56). Contemporary and MHG *scherge* 'bailiff' and *ferge* 'ferry-man' derive from OHG *scario* and *fario* respectively, showing a development of the sequence \*-rj- to -rg-. Thus the name *Marija* with the German initial stress passed to *Márja* > *Mérje* > *Merge* (cf. the modern place name *St. Märgen*). If one takes into consideration the fact that in the Catholic church the name *Maria* 'Mary' is a symbol of maidenhood, one can easily see how the name could develop into a general noun denoting maiden. Therefore the MHG form *Mérge* lies at the basis of Lith. *meřgė* (> *mergà*) 'girl' and (EV 192) *mergo* 'juncvrouwe', GrG 52 *merga* 'jungfer' and GrA22 'virgo' (pp. 56-59). To me this etymology is much better than anything previously proposed. East Middle German *nawen* was Prussianized as *nawan*, which served as the stem for *nawans*, in which the final -s is the marker of the neuter gender (pp. 59-61). OP *peckan*, *pecku* 'cattle' is not an Indo-European inheritance, but rather a borrowing from MHG *vēhe* in which we find the substitution of *p* for *v/f*, *k* for *h* and *e* for *ě*. Probably the strongest argument against this identification would be the apparent retention of a \*-u stem ending in *pecku* (apparently in harmony with Old Indic *paśu-*, Goth. *faihu*) but even this argument is not iron-clad, because, as S. points out, we encounter such variation also in apparent \*-o stem nouns, cf., e.g., *malnīku* 'child' beside *malnījkan* (pp. 61-64). S. would read OP *perōni* 'parish, community' as *\*perūni* which goes back to *\*/parú:ni/*. MLG *parre* or MHG *pfarre* 'parish' furnished an OP *\*/pare:/* or */pari/* to which the native suffix *-ūni* was added to give *\*/parú:ni/* (pp. 64-65). (EV 233) *plonis* 'threshing floor' is borrowed from MHG/MLG *plân* 'free area, plane' (pp. 65-66). S. finds that the root word in both (EV 351) *podalis* 'worthless pot' and (EV 695) *poadamynan* 'sweet milk' is MLG *pot* 'pot'. An acc. sg. *\*pod-an* was extracted from the nom. sg. *\*pot-s*. S. illustrates this with examples of Baltic *t* being written with orthographic *d*, e.g., (EV 687) *dadán* 'milk' from *\*dātan* < *\*dētān* 'milked', cf. Latv. *dēts* 'sucked, milked' (pp. 66-73). I believe that the feature of 'delayed voicing' or 'aspiration' of the voiceless stop consonants in the Germanic languages leads to the possible misperception of Baltic and Slavic stop consonants by Germans. A Lithuanian /t/, for example, does not sound exactly like an English /t/, in part because the aspiration accompanying a typical English /t/ is missing. Therefore Lithuanian /t/ could be interpreted, although probably not

usually, by an English speaker as a /d/. (EV 418) *sarwis* 'weapon' derives from MHG *sar*, *sarwes* 'armor' as does Lith. *várvas* 'armor', the initial *v-* being explained as being under the influence of *várvas* 'gray' (p. 73). In (EV 496) *schuwikis* 'shoe-maker' the initial element *schuw-* is borrowed from MHG *schu-werte* and the native suffix *-ikis* is added (p. 73). (EV 229) *seweynis* is to be derived from the East Middle German adjective *sewīn*, *seuwīn* 'belonging to a sow, of a sow' (< MHG *siuwīn*). (EV 682) *swintian* 'pig' is thought to come from MHG *swīn*, with the addition of the OP suffix *-it-* (pp. 74-77). (EV 353) *siduko* 'pot for straining, sifting' comes from MHG *siedōk* which was Prussianized to *\*[si:du:ks]* and then perhaps *\*[si:duks]* (pp. 77-79). (EV 119) *spenis* 'nipple' as well as Lith. *spenys* 'id.' may be borrowed from MLG *spene* 'nipple' (pp. 79-80). (EV 71) *stordo* 'hairy skin of the head' is read as <svordo> which derives from *\*[svarda]* a borrowing either from MLG *swarde* 'thick, hard skin, sword' or MHG *swarte* 'hairy skin of the head' (pp. 80-81). (EV 196) *sulis* 'post, pole' is simply MHG *sūl* just like Pol. *szulo* and Russ. *šulo*, whereas Lith. *šūlas* is probably a borrowing from Polish, and (EV 207) *talus* 'floor' can be regarded as a plural form of *\*tala* from MHG *tale* 'floor' (pp. 81-82). S. quotes with approval Dini's 1991 derivation of (EV 454) *tuckoris* 'weaver' from MLG *tūchōre*, *tūcher* (pp. 82-83). S. suggests (as I did 1973, 153-154; 1976, 284) that (EV 553) *twaxtan* 'bath switch' should be read as *\*[kvakstan]* with the insertion of *-k-* before the sequence *-st-*. I derived the word from Slavic *xvost* which is attested in the meaning 'bath switch', but S. would see in the word rather MHG/MLG *quast* 'brush' (pp. 83-85). S. reconstructs the translation of *Das Sechste Gebot* 'the sixth commandment' as *\*Stas Susts Pallaips* which as a result of sandhi variation was reanalyzed as *\*Stas Usts Pallaips*. The *-u-* of *Susts* is a result of the influence of the unlauded vowel in MLG *sōs* 'six' (pp. 85-94). (EV 331) *Vumpīs* 'bake-oven' is to be read as *vumpnis* < *\*umpnis* < *\*umnis* (<-is> = [əs]) < *\*umns* < *\*umins* < *\*uvins* < *\*uvens* which comes from MHG *oven* or MLG *ōven* 'oven' (pp. 94-95). S. would emend the reading (EV 625) *wimino* 'elm' to <wlmino> and with a vocalic reading of *w* would interpret the stem as [ulmin-] which, derived with a suffix *-in-*, is a transposition of MHG *ulm(e)boum* 'elm tree' (pp. 97-99). S. derives both (EV 398) *wīnis* 'tap, plug (on a barrel)' and Lith. *vinis* 'nail' from MHG *phinne*, *vinne* 'nail', which, in turn, goes back to Lat. *pinna* 'feather, pen' (pp. 99-100). OP *winna* 'out' is to be derived from MLG *winne* 'arable land' (pp. 99-102) and *walnint* 'to improve' from an adverb *\*val-nai* which is based on a borrowing from MHG *wol(e)*, *wal(e)* 'good, well, very, completely, etc.' (p. 102). S. reads (EV 649) *wissambs* 'auerochs' as

\**wissambtis* or \**wissambts* and suggests a pronunciation \**viSantis* in which the labial has been dissimilated from the dental in the original \**viSantis*, which in turn was derived from MHG *wisant*. Essentially then the definition of (EV 648) German *wesant* should go with (EV 649) OP *wissambts*' (pp. 124-125). Similarly in S.'s view the definitions of (EV 347) and (EV 348) have been reversed such that *Aubirgo* goes with *Kuchin* 'kitchen' and in turn is to be derived from MHG/MLG *herberge* 'inn.' In OP the meaning has been narrowed from 'inn' to 'kitchen' (pp. 127-129). Connecting (EV 36) *knaistis* with *vuncke* 'spark', rather than *brand* 'fire' allows one to derive it from MHG *gneiste* 'spark' (pp. 129-131).

A curious feature of Low German dialects is the rendering of etymological *nd*, *nt* by a nasal plus velar sequence (cf. our English present active participles in *-ng*, where the velar certainly represents an etymological dental). This allows S. to explain OP *wangan* 'end' as a possible borrowing from MLG *wande* 'turn; boundary, end' (pp. 131-136).

A common failing of many (but perhaps not all) native speakers of West Germanic languages is the inability in every day speech to differentiate between the sequences /ns/ and /nts/ on the one hand and /ls/ and /lts/ on the other hand. Thus for me in ordinary rapid speech the words *tense* and *tents* are homonyms just as are *false* and *faults*. Two native speakers of German here at Penn State reported that for them the words *Hals* and *Malz* on the one hand, and *Fels* and *Pelz* on the other hand were rhyming words. In her grammar of Middle Low German Lasch (1914, 172) writes that sometimes one encounters *ss* (*sz tz*) after consonant and quotes the example *kersse* where the *-ss-* stands for High German *z*. For the rendering of the so-called 'scharfes s' *tz*, *cz* and *c* are common, thus the spellings *Rus(s)en*, *Ruscen*, *Rutzen*, *Rucen*, *Rycen* 'Russians' are encountered in the Baltic provinces. Therefore it seems to me that S. is completely justified in suggesting that OP *ainaseilingi* 'alone' is borrowed from the MHG adjective/adverb *einzelinc* 'single.' Similarly S.'s derivation of OP *kelsāi* 'sounds, purports to be' and *kaltzā* from MHG *kelzen*, *kalzen* 'to shout' seems quite plausible to me (pp. 136-140).

Chapter III (pp. 141-184) is a discussion of the treatment of certain borrowed verbs. S. derives *brewinnimai* 'we further' from MHG *brüeven* which has a number of meanings, among which are 'to bring forth, to cause' and accepts Marstrander's 1945 derivation of *druwīt* 'to believe' and congeners from Middle German *drūwen* 'to trust' (pp. 143-146).

S. calls to our attention the well-known confusion of *ti* and *ki* in many languages of the world and suggests that OP *etskiuns*, *attskiwuns* 'arisen' presuppose an infinitive \**atstīt* < \**at-stē-ti* which is from MHG *er-stē-n* 'to arise' with substitution of the native prefix *at-* for the German prefix *er-*. Other examples of the dental/velar confusion, *kāigi...turri* from \**kāi dī...turri* 'how one...should', and *delli* 'some, several' < \**gellin* < \**kellin*. The rendering of etymological \**k* by orthographic *g* is encountered also in (EV 786) *girmis* 'maggot' (cf. Lith. *kirmis* 'worm'), *gannan* 'wife' < \**kann-an* < MHG *kone*, *kon*, *kan* 'wife.' MHG *kērben* 'to notch, to indent' furnished the OP borrowing \**girbīt* from which the noun *girbin* 'number' is derived (pp. 146-149). The German interpretation of Baltic /k/ as /g/ is easy to understand because of the lack of aspiration in the Baltic voiceless stops and the 'delayed voicing' in the Germanic voiced stops (cf. the case of Baltic /t/ interpreted as /d/ mentioned above). On the other hand the rendering of Germanic /k/ by orthographic Baltic *g* is more difficult to understand. The confusion here might result from the fact that frequently native speakers of German have difficulty in distinguishing voiced and voiceless consonants in word-initial position, and might randomly chose the letter denoting the voiced, rather than the voiceless, stop. Still the traditional etymology of OP *gannan* as a variant of *gennan* and a congener of Slavic *žena*, etc. seems more likely to me.

S. reads OP *poskulēwie* 'they exhort' as [paskulēujə] and suggests that, provided with the *pa-* prefix, it is a causative of \**skulīt* 'sollen, should' < MHG *shuln*, *scholn* 'to have to', MLG *schüllen* (pp. 151-152). OP *polijckī* 'bestow', *polikins assei* 'have granted' seem to presuppose an infinitive \**polīk-īt* which can be derived from MHG *ver-lih-en* 'to award' with substitution of the native prefix *po-* for the German *ver-* (pp. 153-155). OP *rīpintin* 'following', *rīpaiti* 'follow' (and the related *ser-rīpi-mai* 'we experience') come from MHG *reppen* 'sich bewegen, to move (oneself).' OP *kniēipe* 'obtains' is to be derived from MHG *knifen* 'to scratch' (pp. 155-159). S. derives OP *senskrempūsnan* from a verb \**skrimpāt* which in turn comes from either MLG *schrimpen* 'to shrivel, to shrink' or MHG *schrimpsen* (pp. 161-163). OP *spagtan*, *spignā* 'bath (baptism)' is thought to derive from early modern HG *zwagen* 'to wash' or the umlauted present tense form *zwāget* (pp. 164-166).

S. has many interesting ideas about the derivation of infinitives in Old Prussian (pp. 166-170). One idea which seems particularly good to me is the suggestion that in the hapax *poklausīmanas* 'heard' the orthographic *-m-* and *-n-* are reversed and should be \**poklausīnamas* which derives from an



infinitive *\*poklausint*, cf. the Lithuanian verbs in which *-in-* and *-ij-* vacillate in the present, thus older *dalija* 'divide(s)' beside more modern *dalina*. Not so likely to me seems, however, the assumption that *etwiērpei* 'forgives' derives from *\*atwiērpai* in which there is a metathesis of the last two phonemes from *\*atvirpja* or *\*atverpja* (p. 171). A similar solution is suggested for the verbs *gerbais* 'speak, say', *dergē* 'they hate', *etwerē* 'you (sg.) open', *\*lemai* 'breaks' (for *lemlai*) < *\*lemja* (pp. 171-172).

S. traces OP *guntwei*, 1 pl. *gunnimai* back to MHG *gunnen* 'to allow' so that the phrase *ni niteisīngiskan dīseitiskan* (to be read as <dīleitiskan>) *guntwei* 'nicht vnehrliche hantierung treiben' is to be understood as 'not to allow dishonest dealings' and *nideiwiskan gunnimai* as 'we (do not) allow idolatry' (p. 176). Still the fact that the corresponding German text has *treiben* 'to drive, to chase' leads me to prefer the traditional connection with Slavic *gūnati* 'id.', etc. The noun *tuldīsnan* 'joy' is derived from a verb *\*tuldāti* which in turn comes from MHG *tulten*, *dulten* 'to celebrate (a church holiday)' (p. 177). OP *tussise* 'may (he) be silent' may be read as *\*tussi(n)se* and be traced back to MHG *tützen* 'to cause someone to be silent' or, in case the macron is not to be read as a nasal suspension, to MHG *tūzen* 'to be still' (p. 183).

Chapter IV (pp. 185-206) is devoted to words which may be, but are not necessarily, borrowed from German. Thus, e.g., (EV 606) *abse* 'asp' might show a metathesis of MHG *aspe* (p. 185). In the oldest German orthography consonant doubling after a long vowel was allowed, so that perhaps (EV 193) *buttan* 'house' might really reflect [bu:tan] and hence could be from MHG *buwete* 'building, construction' (pp. 186-187). Because of its position between *Acker* 'field' and *Morgen* 'unit of measure for land' (EV 238) *gasto* 'piece' most probably denotes 'piece of land' and could be derived from MHG *gestück* 'piece, piece of land' which might have been borrowed into OP as (neut.) *gastuk-an* or (masc.) *gastuk-s* in which the root final *-uk-* was interpreted as a diminutive suffix and from which *gasto* was created as a back formation. Another possibility is that *gasto* is to be connected with MLG *gēst*, *gast* 'high dry land (in opposition to the marshy lowlands)' (pp. 187-188). OP *ginnis* 'friends' may have been borrowed along with the plural ending in *-s* from MHG *günner* (pp. 188-189). GrA 99 *gosen* 'excrement' is probably derived from a German word cognate with early modern German *gossen*, *gosszen* 'drainage canal' (pp. 189-190). In OP *noseilis* 'soul' the initial element may derive from Baltic *\*nau-* 'dead' (cf. Lith. *nōvė* 'death') and the second element from MLG/MHG *sēle* 'soul' (p. 190). OP *panicke*, *paniko*,

*pannike*, *panick* 'little fire' may come from MHG *vanke* 'spark' with reinterpretation of the initial bilabial spirant as a bilabial stop and the reanalysis of the root final *-k-* as the OP suffix *-ik-* (p. 191). S. derives (EV 288) *pānnean* 'mossy fen' from MHG *venne* 'fen' (p. 192) and (EV 777) *poaris* 'kind of cricket, Gryllotalpa' from East Middle German, East Prussian *werre* 'cricket' (p. 195). OP *prewerīsnan* 'need, necessity' may be derived from a verb *\*praverit* the root of which may be from MHG *wërre* 'need, oppression, suffering' (p. 197). (EV 539) *proglis* 'andiron' is based on MHG *brügel* 'stick, cudgel' (pp. 196-197) and (EV 435) *rapeno* 'mare' may be derived from MLG *rap* 'fast, impetuous' or maybe from the specialized term MHG *ros von ravīne* 'fast horse' (p. 197). (EV 539) *sbeclis* 'spring (in a lock)' may be an incorrect transcription of <sberlis> (phonetic [sperlis]) which could be compared with MHG *sperrer* 'Verschliesser' and *sperre* 'clamp, bolt' or perhaps *sbeclis* is an incorrect transcription of <sberclis> with the substitution of the native suffix *-klis* replacing the *-er* of *sperrer* (pp. 198-200). (EV 452) *slango* 'bit (to restrain a horse)' is traditionally corrected to <sbango> and S. would retain this correction, but would read it rather as [spango] < *\*spanga* which might be traced back to MHG *spange* 'beam, bolt, clasp' (pp. 200-201). S. suggests also that (EV 198) *seydis* 'wall' might be derived from MLG *sīde* 'side' (p. 202). Since (EV 174) *swestro* 'sister' is undoubtedly of German origin it seems possible that OP *soūns* 'son' might derive from MLG *sōne* and that the First Catechism forms gen. sg. *sunos*, acc. sg. *sunun* might derive from MHG *sun*. Perhaps also *muttin* 'mother' derives from German *Mutti*, *Mutter* (p. 203). OP *wirdai* 'words' could derive from the unrounding of a MLG nom. pl. *würde* < *wörde*. The singular *wirds* would then be a back formation based on the plural (p. 204). (EV 457) *woapis* 'color' could come from MLG *wāpen* 'coat of arms' in the meaning 'multi-colored sign of identification on a shield, armaments, banner, etc.' (p. 204). (EV 513) *wutris* 'smith' might derive from *\*hütter* a possible derivative of MHG *hütte* one of the meanings of which (mining terminology) is 'building for the smelting of iron' (p. 206).

Chapter V (pp. 207-228) is a discussion of the various OP prepositions which might be borrowed from German, e.g., OP *ēn* < MLG *ēn* 'in', OP *er* < MHG *her* 'here, up to here', OP *unsey*, *unsei*, *unsai* 'to, on' < MHG *unz/unze + an* (pp. 208-209). OP *en* could be a variant of the preposition *an* from German *an*, thus *As druwē en Deiwan*, *AS drowe an Deiuan* 'Jch glewbe an Gott, I believe in God.' Similarly the prefix *en-* might be considered a variant of *an-*, e.g., *enkaitītai* beside *ankaitītai* 'tempted', cf. German *angefochtēn* (p. 210). The

OP preposition *na* may have three separate origins, (1) etymological *\*nā* < *\*nô*, (2) MLG *nā* and (3) Pol. *na* (pp. 210-211). The OP preposition *per* can translate the German prepositions *für* 'for' and *vor*, whereas the prefix *per-* can translate the German prefix *vor-*, so there exists the possibility that a loan-word *\*pir* < MHG *vür* was assimilated to the native preposition *per*. In some cases *per-* translates German *ver-*, e.g., *perbānda* 'versucht, tempts' (p. 214). OP *sen* 'with' derives from MHG *sam* 'with, along with' (pp. 214-215).

Chapter V also contains a discussion of some of the morphological phenomena connected with the passage of *-m* to *-n*. For example we find fairly frequently the forms *stan* 'the' and *ainan* 'a' in dative function (pp. 216-220). There is also a discussion of the pronominal adverbs such as *enkasmu* 'darinnen, there within, inside' (p. 221). For *pirsdan*, *pirsdau* 'before, in front of' S. suggests a derivation from *\*pir* + *stan* with *\*pir* < MHG *vür*. There are three orthographic variants, *pirsdan*, *pirsdau*, *pirschdau*, the variants in *-au* resulting from a denasalization of *-an* (pp. 225-228).

Chapter VI (pp. 229-237), entitled 'Varia', takes up several unrelated problems. S. finds that the hapax OP *ste* 'deste, so much' is borrowed from MLG *iste* with loss of the initial vowel in OP. OP *tēnti* 'now' is from MHG *iezent* 'right now' (pp. 229-232). S. suggests, furthermore, that OP (GrA 98, GrF 99) *iest* 'is' derives from German *ist* the letters <ie> standing for [i] (pp. 232-234). The present form *astits* 'ists, it is' can be derived then from a hybrid of *\*ast* + *ists* then syllabified as *as.tists* and then one of the two implosive *s*'s is lost (pp. 234-235).

The identity of form of the Germanic dental preterit and the past passive participle is a vexed problem for specialists in Germanic and one wonders why in English, for example, one can say 'he was thanked by me' and 'I thanked him' using the same verbal form *thanked* in both sentences, but with an apparent reversal of diathesis. In German also the weak preterit in *-et* is the same as the participle in *-et*, so S. suggests that perhaps in imitation of German the OP participle in *-ts* came to be used as a simple preterit. This explains then the apparent participial form of OP *dīnkauts* 'thanked', *līmauts* 'broke' and *billāts* 'said' with an active meaning.

Now in Lithuanian and some of the Slavic languages the etymological passive participle is sometimes 'activized' (Gołab 1975, 29). Cf., e.g., Pol. *zabito* (neut. sg. past psv. part.) *człowieka* (acc. sg.) 'a man was killed, (somebody) killed a man' (Gołab 1975, 32). In fact I think that the identity of the Germanic dental preterit and the passive participles also derives from a kind of 'activization' similar to that observed in Polish (but, of course,

completely independent). I should also like to mention an instructive Greek example. Note the following sentence from the Iliad (XIII, 597):

<i>tò</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>ephélketo</i>
(nom. [acc.?] sg. neut.)	(conj.)	(3 sg. middle aor.)
the		and dragged
<i>meílinon</i>		<i>égkos</i>
(nom. [acc.?] sg. neut.)		(nom. [acc.?] sg.)
<i>ashen</i>		<i>spear</i>

Schwyzler (1966, 237) writes that the sentence could be translated in several ways, (a) 'der eschene Speer schleifte nach, and the ashen spear dragged after' or (b) 'wurde nachgeschleift, was dragged after' or even (c) 'er schleifte den e. Sp. hinter sich nach, he dragged the ashen spear after himself.' If one accepts translation (a) the verb is simply intransitive, and if one accepts translation (b) then the verb is passive. But if one accepts the translation (c) then the verb is active and transitive. In my view the sequence of possible translations follows exactly the historical development. The middle voice was originally intransitive and then with the appearance of an active counterpart in the preterit the morphological middle voice could be interpreted as passive. Finally a possible 'activized' usage of the old passive was introduced. Long ago Hirt (1928, 102) recognized that there was a morphological relationship between the 3rd sg. middle aorist ending of Greek *-to* (and Sanskrit *-ta*) and the indefinite case of the Indo-European participles in *\*-to*. I consider it quite possible that the formal identity of the Polish participle *-to* and the Greek 3rd sg. middle ending *-to*, as is evidenced in the preceding examples, is not accidental, although the 'activization' of the original intransitive (or passive) verbs is certainly independent in Greek and Polish (and elsewhere in Baltic and Slavic, where it also occurs). Certainly the possible 'activization' of the etymological passive participles would be an independent development in Old Prussian also and, as S. suggests, a possible imitation of German.

My dissertation supervisor, Prof. Alfred Senn, taught his students that in the consideration of linguistic phenomena a culturally close and internal explanation is preferable to one extending back to the distant past of Indo-European times. Keeping this principle in mind one would say that S.'s explanations of the linguistic phenomena of Old Prussian are preferable to those which require extensive Indo-European reconstructions. S. has produced a fundamental book, a book with many brilliant insights, novel and original explanations, many of which, if perhaps not all, are preferable

to the older previously accepted explanations. The book sheds a completely new light on the Old Prussian language and is essential for Balticists and Indo-Europeanists.

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#### LANGUAGES, WRITINGS, LINGUISTIC IDEAS, RELIGIONS, CULTURES IN THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA AND NEIGHBOURING AREAS IN XIV-XVII C. A.D. (Sociolinguistic Situation / Polyglossia)

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A collective work of a team of specialists is proposed. It seems important to find out whether the whole set of languages and cultures used by different parts of the population of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and some surrounding areas have been united by some common features:

a) **linguistic**, as it is supposed, for instance, in relation to Polish, Kashubian, Lithuanian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian (if one accepts a hypothesis that they have acquired some characteristics of the so-called "Rokytno-Zone");

b) **metalinguistic**, as it is shown by the circulation and variation of very popular linguistic ideas, especially on the origin of the languages spoken in the area and on the reciprocal relationships among them;

c) **cultural and religious**, as result of the recent traces of Paganistic (Baltic and Slavic, i.e. archaic Indo-European, and also Finno-Ugric) substratum and of its contamination with several religions of the "Axis" age (in Jaspers' terms): different branches of Eastern and Western Christianity, Judaism (and its variety accepted in the Karaite religion) and Islam.

Although one should not exaggerate the degree of **tolerance** reached inside the state (as there were periods of more acute conflicts between Christianity and Judaism as well as between the Orthodox cultural trends politically considered to be connected with Muscovite Russia and those oriented towards the Catholic Church or the Uniate variety), still a possibility of coexistence of several religions (the traces of which are still seen in some villages of Western Poland) seems quite unique for that period and interesting from the point of view of the prehistory of modern ideas of European integration. Also it seems remarkable that some independent intellectuals like the Muscovite Russian first-printer (*pervopectatnik*) Fyodorov and Prince Kurbsky who had been endangered or persecuted in the homeland found a possibility of continuing their intellectual activity in the