

Początek celownika typu lit. *vilk-ui* i pr. *sīr-u*.

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Autor krytykuje aprobowany przez Villara pogład Mažiulisa, jakoby rzeczowniki o temacie na *-o* miały w prabaltyckim końcówkę dat. sg. **-ō*. Według Autora dla wszystkich języków indoeuropejskich jako punkt wyjścia trzeba przyjąć **-ōi*, które się w litewskim i pruskim regularnie przekształciło w *-ai*, podczas gdy pozostałe końcówki tłumaczą się tym, co Autor nazywa nieregularnym rozwojem fonetycznym spowodowanym frekwencją.

REFLECTIONS ON WATER: OPr. ELBING 59 WUNDAN

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In one of his studies on Old Prussian denasalization Smoczyński (1992: 75-76) writes that effects of this phenomenon may be encountered in the nom.-acc. singular forms of Simon Grunau's *wunda* 'wasser, water' < **wundan*, cf. [EV 59] *wundan* which Smoczyński would derive from **vandan* < **vanden-ø* (cf. Lith. acc. sg. *vandenį*) or **vand-* + German *-en*. Smoczyński's comparison of **vandan* with Lith. *vandenį* would seem to imply that *wundan* may have a neuter **-n* stem ending. If the latter is the case, then it is not completely clear to me whether the final *-an* in *wundan* is supposed to derive from an original phonological **-on* or from an original **-en* which somehow passed to *-an*.

In Balto-Slavic one encounters final *-n* or its reflex in the nominative singular of *-n* stem nouns with *-e*-grade suffix ablaut, cf. Slavic *sěmę* 'seed' = Old Pr. [EV 256] *semen* 'somen, seed' = Lat. *semen*, but the nominative singular of **-n* stem nouns with the **-o*-grade suffix ablaut has not otherwise retained the final nasal pronunciation, cf., e.g., Lith. *akm-uō*, Slavic *kam-y* 'stone' < **-ō*. Since the Old Prussian word *wundan* seems to be cognate with Lith. *vand-uō* 'water' where the final vowel derives from **-ō* we would not expect a final nasal consonant in the nom.-acc. singular. Cf. also the Gothic nom. sg. neut. *wato*, gen. sg. *watins*, which would seem to correspond exactly to the declensional pattern of Lith. *vand-uō* < **-ō*, gen. *vand-e-ns* < **-enes*. Typically the nom.-acc.

sg. of Indo-European **-n* stem neuter nouns is in **-en* (cf. Old Pr. *semen* above) or **-ŋ* (cf. Old Indic *nāma*, Gk. *ónoma* 'name'). The Gothic nom. sg. neut. *-n* stem ending *-o* is said to be remodeled from *-un* < **-ŋ* (see Szemerényi 1970: 155), but I see no reason to doubt the direct evidence of our senses and I would reconstruct final **-ō* for Goth. *wat-o* as well as Lith. *vand-uō* and in fact for Slavic *vod-a* (which, because of the Slavic merger of Indo-European **ō* and **ā*, was completely assimilated to the *-ā* stem declension).

I have proposed (1980: 32) that within Indo-European (with the exception of Anatolian!) word-final position **-on* would have in the daughter languages two possible sandhi outcomes, depending upon whether the following word began with a vowel or a consonant, thus one could expect from etymological **-on* either the retention of the original form (in sandhi position before a following vowel) or **-ō* (in sandhi position before a following consonant). Either one of these two possible sandhi outcomes might be generalized for morphological purposes.

The evidence for the retention of the etymological **-on* in the nominative singular of **-n* stem neuter nouns is rather indirect. The Old Indic **-n* stem noun *udan-* 'water' has the suppletive nom.-acc. sg. *udakām* (Wackernagel/Debrunner 1975: 316). The stem *udán* can, however, function as a locative case and Bartholomae (1889:30-31) proposed that the *-n* reflected an old locative element. Similarly Bartholomae (1889: 15-16) proposed that the final *-r* of the *-r* stem nouns was of locative origin, e.g., *áhar* 'day.' Benveniste (1935: 92-93), however, wrote that these 'locatives' were in reality nominative-accusative neuters. Apparently defending Bartholomae, Haudry (1982: 53) argues that for such a Vedic word

as *rathar-* 'in a chariot' Benveniste's theory would have the double disadvantage of postulating a derivative in *-r* which would have the same meaning as its base and a locative value not marked by anything. *Mutatis mutandis* the same argument could be made for the **-n* stem nouns.

Greek has neuter adjectives with the ending *-on* of the type nom.-acc. sg. *eúdaimon* 'happy' (as opposed to the masc.-fem. nom.-acc. sg. *eudaímōn*), but according to Buck (1933: 210) the short vowel of the neuter ending derives from analogy to the type masc.-fem. nom. sg. *eumenēs* 'well-disposed, kindly' vs. the neut. nom. sg. *eumenés*. Hittite, however, (where my proposed development of **-on* > **-ō* did not take place) may have retained final **-on* in the nom.-acc. sg. of neuter nouns, cf., e.g., *ša-aḫ-ḫa-an* 'feudal service' (gen. sg. *ša-aḫ-ḫa-an-aš*) and *la-a-ma-an* 'name' (gen. sg. *lam-na-aš*), see Sturtevant (1951: 96-97). On the other hand according to Kronasser (1956: 123) a form such as nom.-acc. sg. *laman* might reflect final **-ŋ*. Kronasser (1956: 99) writes that Indo-European final **-on* becomes Hittite *-un*, so the Hittite common gender acc. sg. *-an* derives either from **-ām* or is the result of assimilation to the stem vowel to the nom. sg. *-aš*. Presumably the suffix vocalism of the type nom. sg. *ša-aḫ-ḫa-an* could be explained by assimilation to the vocalism of the oblique cases (gen. sg. *ša-aḫ-ḫa-an-aš*), or perhaps, conversely, the suffix vocalism of the oblique cases can be explained by assimilation to the nominative case where *-an* < **-ŋ*. I would have an alternative explanation according to which Indo-European **-on* passed to Hittite *-un* in final position when the following word began with a consonant, but remained as *-an* when the following word began with a vowel. Sometimes the

sequence *-un* was generalized (e.g., 1st sg. pret. *e-šū-un* 'I was' < **es-om*), otherwise the sequence *-an* was generalized (e.g., the **-o* stem acc. sg. *at-ta-an* 'father'). In any case the *-n* stem **-o-* grade ablaut noun nom. sg. ending **-on* seems to be represented by **-ō* in Indo-European languages other than Hittite.

It is difficult to evaluate the claim that *wundan* may have the German suffix *-en*. If Old Prussian borrowed German morphemes with *-n(-)*, it would seem odd that no German morphemes with *-n(-)* were borrowed into Old Prussian, particularly in the word for 'water' = German *Wasser*.

Differently from Smoczyński, Mažiulis (1997: 267) considers [EV 59] *wundan* 'wasser, water' a nom.-acc. sg. **-o* stem neuter noun. On the other hand since we encounter in the Enchiridion an apparent nom. sg. masc. *unds* 'water,' Mažiulis finds the Enchiridion word *undan* to be an accusative singular masculine. I suspect that [EV 59] *wundan* is also an accusative singular form just like the corresponding Enchiridion *undan*. Final **-n* is not attested elsewhere in Balto-Slavic **-o* stem neuters, cf. Lith. *gėr-a* 'good,' Slavic *měst-o* 'city.' Therefore it seems to me that any Old Prussian etymological **-o* stem words ending in *-n* must reflect an oblique case and are not nom.-acc. sg. neuter substantives.

Since in neighboring Gothic *wat-o*, Lith. *vand-uō* and Slavic *vod-a* we encounter the phonological results of final **-ō*, it seems likely to me that we would encounter the same in Old Prussian. If the final *-an* of [EV 59] *wundan* 'wasser, water' were indeed to reflect an **-n* stem nom.-acc. neuter singular it would be possibly paralleled only in Hittite. In fact, however, in my view the Old Prussian word for 'water' had passed completely to the masculine **-o* stem

class and forms with final *-an* reflect only the accusative singular of this class.

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Reflections on water: Elbing 59 *wundan*.
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Comparison with other Indo-European languages demonstrates that Old Prussian [EV 59] *wundan* "wasser; water" is not an *-n stem nom.-acc. neuter singular, but rather shows a masculine *-o stem accusative singular ending. The Elbing Vocabulary word is rather to be compared to the Enchiridion form *undan* "water", an accusative singular form.

DOUBLE CONSONANTS IN OLD PRUSSIAN

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In an earlier study (1974) I noted that double consonants were particularly frequent before stressed long vowels in the Enchiridion, e.g. *semmē*, *weddē*, *billit*, *seggīt*, *skellānts*, *dessimts*, *stallēmai*, *turrīlai*, *epwarrīsnan*, *enwackēmai*, *aupaickēmai*, *serrīpimai*, *ettrāi*, *tickrōmai*, *dellikans*, *isranckīsnan*, *sallūbi gennāmans*, *tennā*, *tennēison*. Considering that it is a priori more probable that double consonants occur under the same conditions in word forms without a macron as they do in word forms where we can derive the place of the stress from the macron, I hypothesized that a double consonant may be an indication of stress on the following vowel. In support of this hypothesis I adduced the remarkable alternation between *e* and *a* before a double consonant, e.g. in dat.pl. *wirdemmans*, *waikammans* and 1st pl. *giwemmai*, *giwammai*, also *wertemmai*, 2nd sg. *giwassi*, which is easily explained as a result of pretonic neutralization, as in nom.sg.f. *tennā*, *tannā*, also acc.sg. *gennan*, *gannan*, nom.pl. *gennai*, *gannai*, acc.pl. *gennans*, *gannans*. I also argued that the hypothesis enables us to derive the Old Prussian accentual system from its reconstructed Balto-Slavic origins.

Comparing the place of the macron in the Enchiridion with the place of the stress in Lithuanian and Slavic, I argued that all three languages underwent a progressive accent shift, but not under the same conditions. On the one hand, the stress shifted to the desinence in *semmē*, *weddē*, but not in Lith. *žėmė*, *vėdė*. On the other hand, the stress did not shift in *āusins*, *rānkans*, as opposed to Lith. *ausis*, *rankàs*. I proposed that in Prussian, a stressed short vowel lost the ictus to the following syllable and added that this rule may have