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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN SYLLABIC RESONANTS IN BALTO-SLAVIC

According to the standard view which goes back to Vaillant (1950, 167–177, especially p. 172, followed by Stang 1966, 82 and Kortlandt 1989, 45), the phonetic reflex of the syllabic resonants is **uR* after original labiovelar plosives and **iR* elsewhere, with reshuffling of the distribution as a result of secondary ablaut after the delabialization of the labiovelars. This account has recently been challenged by Ranko Matasović (2004, also 2005, 150), who claims that **uR* cannot have been analogical (except in expressive words, cf. Stang 1966, 79f.) and must therefore have been phonetically regular also after pure velars and, in the case of syllabic nasals, after palatovelars, dentals and labials as well as word-initially. It seems to me that this theory is easily disproved by three counter-examples where **in* cannot possibly be analogical because there was no corresponding full grade, viz. Prussian *insuwis* and Slavic *językъ* ‘tongue’, Old Latin *dingua*, where original **dn-* was simplified in the same way as **dl-* was in Lith. *ilgas* ‘long’, further Prussian *emmens* (with zero grade, cf. Kortlandt 2000) and Slavic *imeŕ* ‘name’, Greek *ónoma*, with full grade in Latin *nōmen* and Vedic *nāma* (cf. Kortlandt 2003, 55), and Lith. *pažinti*, *žinóti* ‘to know’, Slavic **zъnamъ* ‘I know’ (cf. Kortlandt 1985, 236f.), Vedic *jānāti* ‘knows’, with full grade in Slavic *znati* and Vedic *jñā-*, Greek 3rd sg. aorist *égnō*. We must therefore reconsider the origin of **uR* in Balto-Slavic.

Matasović lists 25 instances of **uR* as a reflex of a syllabic resonant, five of which are found after an original labiovelar plosive:

- (1) Prussian *gurcle*, Lith. *gurklỹs*, Slavic *gъrlo* ‘throat’.
- (2) Prussian *gulsennien* ‘pain’, Old English *cwelan* ‘to die’.
- (3) Lith. *gurdùs*, Greek *bradús* ‘slow’.

(4) Russian *gorn* ‘furnace’, Latin *fornus*.

(5) Prussian *guntwei* ‘to chase’, Slavic *gъnati*.

Here I add

(6) Lith. *ugnìs*, Slavic *ognjъ* ‘fire’ < *ng^w*nis*, where the initial nasal was evidently labialized by the following labiovelar (cf. Kortlandt 1979, 60, with ref.).

As a result, the labialized zero grade of *eR merged with the zero grade *uR of *ueR, e.g. in Lith. *turėti* ‘to have’ beside *tvėrti* ‘to seize’ and *uĩkti* ‘to growl’ beside *veĩkti* ‘to cry’, Russian *vorčát’*. It could then easily spread to other roots with a velar plosive preceding the syllabic resonant, possibly in the following instances:

(7) Russian *gorb* ‘hump’, for which Matasović adduces the highly questionable Scandinavian cognate *korpa* ‘wrinkle’.

(8) Lith. *gũlba* ‘elm’, for which Matasović adduces the equally doubtful connection with Scandinavian *kolfr* ‘bolt’ (cf. Endzelin 1911, 67; Karaliūnas 1989).

(9) Lith. *guĩbas* ‘bump’, for which Matasović adduces Scandinavian *kumpr* ‘lump’.

(10) Serbo-Croatian *gřtati* ‘to pile up’, Greek *ageíro* ‘gather’, which is a possible but not compelling etymology.

(11) Latvian *kuĩls*, *kũrls* and Lith. *kuĩčias* ‘deaf’, Russian *kórnyj* ‘short’ probably had a labiovelar plosive (cf. Derksen 1996, 226).

(12) Lith. *kũrpė* ‘shoe’, Greek *krēpís* is a possible but uncertain etymology which is rejected by Fraenkel (1962, 318) and Frisk (1973, 17).

(13) Prussian *sturdis* ‘pick’, Lith. *skurdūs* ‘poor, sad’, which Matasović connects with Old English *scort* ‘short’.

It is clear that none of these etymologies is particularly convincing.

The syllabic resonant was not preceded by a velar plosive in the remaining instances listed by Matasović, which constitute a heterogeneous collection:

(14) Slavic *sъto* beside Lith. *šĩmtas* ‘hundred’ points to a variant **sumt-* beside regular **simt-* attested in Slavic *desętъ* and Lith. *dėšimt*

'ten'. There is an Indo-European apophonic alternation between **duidk̑mti* 'twenty' and *-*dk̑omt-* in the higher decades (cf. Kortlandt 1983) which is reflected in Prussian *tūsintons*, Old Church Slavic *tysęsta* with zero grade beside *o*-grade in *tysq̑šta*, Lith. *tūkstantis* 'thousand'. The secondary zero grade in Slavic *svto* is evidently based on the latter (with loss of the nasal at stage 7.9 of Kortlandt 1989, 50; cf. already Trautmann 1923, 4).

(15) Lith. *dūmti*, full grade in Slavic *dq̑ti* 'to blow', cognate with Vedic *dhámati* 'blows' evidently adopted the ablaut pattern of Lith. *dūsti* 'to pant', *dvasià* 'breath', with secondary full grade in Slavic *duxъ* 'breath', *duša* 'soul'.

(16) Slavic **zъly*, **zъlvъ-* 'husband's sister', Greek *galóōs* is a clear counter-example to the rule proposed by Matasović, who invokes depalatalization of **ǵ-* before syllabic *-l-* in order to arrive at the reflex **ul* (2004, 346) though he dismisses "any evidence that depalatalization rules applied before syllabic resonants" (2005, 150). In fact, the front jer **ъ* was retracted to *ъ* before the back vowel of the following syllable (cf. Vaillant 1950, 134ff.). There is no evidence for an earlier apophonic alternation in this word.

(17) Prussian *clumpis* 'stool', SCr. *klúpa* 'bench' cannot be used as evidence for a Balto-Slavic development.

(18) Latvian (not "Lith. dial.", Matasović 2004, 346) *lūmsti* "Weberlade" cannot be used (cf. Derksen 1996, 91).

(19) Prussian *lunkis* 'corner', Latvian *lūnkans* 'supple' beside *lūokans* 'flexible' cannot be used either.

(20) Old Church Slavic inst.sg. *mbnojъ* beside dat.sg. *mbně* 'me' < **minoi* (cf. Kortlandt 2005, 8) exemplifies the retraction of a front jer before a back vowel in the following syllable while the High Latvian root *mun-* took its vowel from the 2nd sg. form **tub^hoi* (cf. Endzelin 1922, 376, 1957, 148). There never was a syllabic nasal in these forms.

(21) Slavic *mbnogъ* 'much' beside Lith. *minià* 'crowd' again shows retraction of **ъ* to *ъ* before a back vowel in the following syllable.

(22) Slavic *vb* ‘in’ beside *ϝ-* cannot be separated from *sv* ‘with’ and *kv* ‘to’ beside *sϝ-*, Vedic *kám* ‘for’, Lith. *sù* beside *sám-*, *sán-*, *sá-*, and must be regarded as a secondary zero grade **un* beside **in* in Prussian *en* and Lith. *į* (cf. Trautmann 1923, 4; Vaillant 1950, 173). Conversely, Prussian has introduced a secondary front vowel in the preposition *sen* ‘with’ beside *san-* and in the prefixes *ep-* and *et-*, East Baltic *ap-*, *at-*, Slavic *ob-*, *ot-* (cf. Kortlandt 2000).

(23) Lith. *siũsti* ‘to send’, Gothic *sandjan*. This etymology is no more than a possibility and leaves the Lith. present formation unexplained (“*siũsti* ‘senden’, das kaum zu got. *sandjan* ‘senden’ gehört”, Vasmer 1955, 658). I find it difficult to separate the Lith. verb from *siaũsti* ‘to knock (in), to throw’ (Fraenkel 1965, 780, with ref.).

(24) Latvian *tùmšs* ‘dark’, *tùmsa* ‘darkness’ beside High Latvian *timsa*, Lith. *tamsà*, Slavic *tъma* may be an expressive variant. There may have been some confusion with the regular zero grade of *tuméti* ‘to thicken’, Latin *tumēre* ‘to swell’ (Vaillant 1950, 136).

(25) Slavic *tvъkvъ* beside *tvъkvъ* ‘thin’, Russian *tónkij* beside Polish *cienki* again shows retraction of a front jer before a back vowel in the following syllable (Vaillant 1950, 135).

It thus appears that Matasović’s theory cannot be maintained. I conclude that Vaillant’s solution has stood the test of time and remains unsurpassed more than half a century after its formulation.

IDE. SKIEMENINIŲ SONANTŲ RAIDĄ BALŲ IR SLAVŲ KALBOSE

Santrauka

Remiantis standartiniu požiūriu, postuluotu Vaillanto (1950, 167–177, ypač 172; plg. Stang 1966, 82; Kortlandt 1989, 45), skiemeninių sonantų fonetinis atspindys pozicijoje po pirmųjų lūpų gomurinių sprogstamųjų priebalsių buvęs **uR*, o kitais atvejais **iR*. Šią distribuciją sujaukė po lūpų gomurinių sprogstamųjų priebalsių delabializacijos vykusios antrinė apofonija. Tokiu aiškinimu neseniai suabejojo Ranko Matasovičius (2004 ir 2005, 150), tvirtinantis, kad **uR* negalėjęs atsirasti dėl

analogijos (išskyrus ekspresyvinius žodžius, plg. Stang 1966, 79t.) ir todėl turėjęs būti fonetiškai reguliarus refleksas ir po grynųjų gomurinių priebalsių bei (skiemeningų nosinių priebalsių atveju) po palatalinių gomurinių, dantinių ir lūpinių priebalsių, taip pat žodžio pradžioje. Man atrodo, ši teorija lengvai paneigiama trijų priešingų pavyzdžių, kur **in* negali būti analoginis, kadangi nebuvo atitinkamo pamatinio balsių kaitos laipsnio. Taigi Matasovičiaus teorija negali būti paremta. Darytina išvada, kad Vaillanto aiškinimas išlaikė laiko bandymus ir lieka nepranoktas daugiau nei pusšimtį metų, kai buvo suformuluotas.

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