

esse sīran
sen labban quāitin

Festschrift for

Jenny Helena Larsson

on the occasion of her 30th birthday
18 October 2003



esse sīran sen labban quāitin

Festschrift for

Jenny Helena Larsson

on the occasion of her 30th birthday
18 October 2003

Edited by

Adam Hyllested, Anders Richardt Jørgensen
and Thomas Olander



Editiones Olander
Copenhagen 2003

esse sīran sen labban quāitin. Festschrift for
Jenny Helena Larsson on the occasion
of her 30th birthday 18 October 2003

© 2003 Editiones Olander and the authors
1. ed. (2003)
Printed in Denmark 2003

ISBN 87-91009-02-2

Editors

Adam Hyllested, Anders Richardt Jørgensen and Thomas Olander

esse sīran sen labban quāitin, from the Old Prussian *Enchiridion* 95,14,
is a translation of *von herzen mit gutem willen* of the German original.

Table of contents

Preface.....	3
<i>Rick Derksen</i> , The bright future of Indo-European.....	5
<i>Irene Elmerot</i> , Lögn, lock eller låga – teorier om Lokes ursprung.....	11
<i>George Hinge</i> , ἀπρόζωο: Skizze zu einer Lösung eines Problems der griechischen Wortbildung und Lautgeschichte.....	21
<i>Adam Hyllested</i> , Saami loanwords in the Old Norse dialects.....	29
<i>Anders Richard Jørgensen</i> , Breaking of <i>e</i> > <i>ea</i> in Haut-Vannetais.....	45
<i>Ahvin Kloekhorst</i> , The Hittite syllabification of PIE *C ₁ R.....	51
<i>Thomas Olander</i> , The role of accentuation in etymology: The case of Slavic *bělъ ‘white’.....	55
<i>Michaël Peyrot</i> , Matters of linguistic distribution: Tocharian B <i>wesēna</i> ~ <i>wesēno</i> ‘voice’ and <i>pest</i> ~ <i>päst</i> ‘after, away’.....	61
<i>Michiel de Vaan</i> , Birthday tune.....	69
<i>Falco Weber</i> , Warum <i>balnern</i> Berliner nicht?.....	75

Preface

This tiny sample of articles is to honour our dear friend and colleague, Jenny Helena Larsson, on her 30th birthday.

Since her early Indo-Europeanist days, Jenny has focused mainly on the history of the Baltic languages with special emphasis on Lithuanian and Old Prussian. Her production embraces word-formation (root-nouns and nominal composition), laryngeal reflexes, accentuation, palaeography and mythology.

Jenny's research is characterized first of all by solid work and rational thinking rather than wild ideas – although exactly this procedure has sometimes led to ground-breaking conclusions challenging what was otherwise thought to be well-established theories in the field. As it is indicated by the list of contributors, her direct manner, open-mindedness and catching gaiety has led to an international scholarly network as well as many friendly connections with colleagues home and abroad.

Although she might not admit it herself, she has made Denmark her second homeland (at least in a profane sort of way), and the Indo-European school in Copenhagen has benefited immensely not only from her serious results, inspiring curiosity and good reputation, but also from her loyalty towards the field even through tough periods.

In November she is expected to become the first Ph.D. in IE linguistics in Denmark ever.

Grattis, Jenny!

What struck me most about this particular item of the journal's news section was not so much the remarkable achievement attributed to Forster and Toth as the uncritical attitude of the person who wrote the item. There was not the slightest hint that the results of the study were open to discussion, let alone that the reader was alerted to the fact that most linguists would readily dismiss the entire article as blatant nonsense. Forster and Toth's study had already been mentioned in one of our national newspapers, the *Volkskrant*, within a week after its publication. I have not seen the newspaper article, but there is no doubt in my mind that it presented the study as a highly interesting new development. Since more traditional articles in the field of comparative Indo-European linguistics rarely find their way to national newspapers, one may ask oneself what makes Forster and Toth's article so irresistible.

A definite advantage of a joint publication by a geneticist and a linguist is the fact that it makes the investigation look more scientific. More scientific means more exact and verifiable, after all one is actually able to calculate the results. Besides, the general public is accustomed to being confronted with major scientific breakthroughs. Of course, I do not want to suggest that Forster and Toth were out to attract media attention by writing a pseudo-scientific article on the Indo-European language family. Everybody knows that otherwise respectable newspapers will not hesitate to publish even the most ridiculous theories if they believe that they may appeal to the general public.³ I find it disturbing, however, that an article which combines genetics and linguistics, though not by analyzing genetic as well as linguistic data, is a priori regarded as revolutionary.

³ An example that stuck to my mind is the "discovery" that Etruscan can be identified with Sanskrit, which sparked some discussion in the late eighties.

The bright future of Indo-European

Rick Derksen
Leiden University

The phylogenetic method is easily executed by hand and promises to be an informative approach for many problems in historical linguistics.

Forster and Toth 2003: 9079

...and then I looked at the formula again and I noticed that I had put a decimal point in the wrong place. So I corrected it and realized that I really *had* found a cure for cancer. Which was nice.

Patrick Nice¹ on The Fast Show

While I was leafing through the journal of the A.G. van Hamel foundation for Celtic Studies, my eye was caught by the heading "Indo-European ten thousand years old".² It turned out that it referred to a joint publication by the geneticist Peter Forster and the linguist Alfred Toth, who had adapted tools from evolutionary genetics and used them to analyze linguistic data. In addition to dating Proto-Indo-European at 8100 BC, Forster and Toth had reconsidered the Indo-European family-tree, established Celtic as a branch that had split off very early and clarified the relationship between the Celtic languages. Moreover, the investigators had managed to date the arrival of Celtic in Britain at 3200 BC.

¹ A character played by actor Mark Williams.

² The item under discussion was, quite appropriately, followed by "Police station may reveal mediaeval secrets" and "King Arthur was an Italian".

The prestige that the exact sciences enjoy is exemplified by the case of a certain professor of comparative Indo-European linguistics, who advertised his field of expertise as the most exact discipline in the Faculty of Humanities. If this was an attempt to attract students who would otherwise embark on a study of mathematics or physics, it was unlikely to succeed. Someone who feels genuinely drawn to the exact sciences might easily become disappointed by the on closer inspection not so exact nature of historical linguistics. Whereas, for instance, Andrew Wiles's proof of Fermat's Last Theorem is now accepted by the entire mathematical community⁴ (after a first version of his proof had been subjected to thorough scrutiny and demonstrated to be flawed), the debate on even some of the most fundamental issues in Indo-European studies seems to go on forever. Highly convincing solutions are mysteriously ousted by doubtful ones, only to be rediscovered later. A sound law that is regarded as a first-rate discovery by part of the linguistic community may be rejected or ignored by many others, reformulated in a certain way by one scholar and in almost the opposite way by another.⁵ The upshot of all this is not that comparative Indo-European linguistics is an inferior discipline compared with mathematics. It is simply different. Likewise, the "exact" concept of sound laws does not make our discipline superior to, let us say, the study of Russian literature.

Back to Forster and Toth. Their article met with violent criticism from reputed linguists such as Larry Trask and Sally

⁴ Of course, only a handful of mathematicians can fully grasp the extremely complicated proof, but that does not detract from the fact that the theorem is now regarded as proven.

⁵ We may note that Holst has recently claimed that Winter's law, which according to Shintani and Rasmussen is limited to the syllable immediately preceding the stress, operated exclusively under the stress. Obviously, this situation, apart from reflecting the nature of our discipline, involves a great deal of ignorance.

Thomason (see *The Linguist List* 14-1876, 14-2034). Quite understandably, the criticism was partly aimed at the notion of similarity, on the basis of which items are assigned to the same state or to different states. Since the core of the investigation is constituted by a limited corpus of Gaulish forms and their Latin glosses, the decision whether two forms are similar or not greatly influences the final results. Perhaps resemblance coding, which Forster and Toth acknowledge to be much more subjective and difficult than cognation coding but nevertheless resort to in order to avoid ascertainment bias, is not the way to go. In principle, however, I am not opposed to phylogenetic tree analysis as a means to establish the relationship between language groups, if only because I am curious to know what the outcome would be if the method were applied to large sets of reliable data. I do have a problem, however, with the way Forster and Toth establish absolute chronologies.

The dates that were mentioned in the first paragraph of this article are phylogenetic time estimates based on lexeme mutations. A calibration was obtained from known language splits, e.g. Latin/Romance or Old Irish/Modern Irish, which yielded a mutation rate of ≈ 1 mutation in 1,350 years. What the journal of the Van Hamel foundation did not mention was the fact that Forster and Toth did not fail to add the quite formidable standard deviations. The date for the fragmentation of Indo-European in Europe is actually $8,100 \text{ BC} \pm 1,900$, the date for the fragmentation of Celtic $3,200 \text{ BC} \pm 1,500$ years. If combined with the arbitrariness inherent to cognation coding, the time estimates lose much of their value. Frankly, I do not believe that the standard deviations really "express the uncertainty caused by mutation rate fluctuation" (o.c.: 9083). In fact, I do not believe that average mutation rate is a reliable concept. However sophisticated Forster and Toth's method may be (especially in comparison with

The bright future of Indo-European

Swadesh's glottochronology), it seems to me that it is not vastly superior to the admittedly not always transparent *modus operandi* which underlies the time estimates of Indo-Europeanists.

In my opinion, it is very well possible that comparative Indo-European linguistics will benefit from the progress made in other disciplines. It is naive, however, to believe that the mere implementation of tools from another discipline, preferably an exact science, would allow historical linguistics to make a giant leap forward. Journalists want to believe that such a thing is possible, just like they love to entertain the idea that a retired lawyer or construction worker, largely ignoring existing scholarship, may succeed in revealing the truth about Linear A or the origin of Basque. I sincerely hope that the same attitude will not gain support among those who are responsible for the financing of academic research.

References

Forster, Peter & Alfred Toth, 2003: "Toward a phylogenetic chronology of ancient Gaulish, Celtic and Indo-European". – *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, vol. 100, no 15: 9079-9084.

namnet har Loke bl.a. när han förvandlat sig till en örn och sitter uppe under taket hos jätten *Geirrodur*.

En fråga som syns mig ha blivit alltför yttligt behandlad i religionsforskningen är vilka likheter det finns mellan gudarna med liknande namn: Loke och *Lugh*. *Lugh* är det irländska namnet på den keltiske gud som återfinns under lite olika former: på fastlandet brukar han få heta *Lugos*, i Wales är formen *Llew*. Vid läsning av olika böcker om dessa två figurer, verkar de ha vissa saker gemensamt, medan andra av deras respektive karaktärsdrag återfinns hos sådana som står den ene eller andre nära³. I denna artikel tas dels sannolika etymologier upp, dels några idéer om Lokes karaktärsdrag.

Etymologierna:

1) Låsaren, den som lägger locket på: Utgårdaloke är av jättesläkt, liksom Loke. Hans namn är detsamma som den klassiske Lokes, så oavsett övriga likheter och skillnader, är Utgårdas väktare den som sköter låsandet och locken.

Här kommer även 'lock' som i t.ex. hårlock in, alltså något lockigt och böjt, inte rakt. Detta har mer med den klassiske Loke att göra.

Ursprung: IE **leug-* 'böja, bryta, låsa in i' (lat. *luctare/luctari* 'brottas, kämpa') > germanska **luke-an-*, person som låser. Jfr även svenska 'lycka' ('lyckta dörrar' etc): att stänge, med korrekt *i*-omljud från germanska **luke-j-an-*, avledning av **luke-* 'låsa' (jfr de Vries 1962: 365).

2) Lögnaren: den mest vanliga och även mest omtalade av varianterna.

men dels kan det, som de Vries redovisar, vara en sammandragning av det äldre *lopt-eldr*, dels torde Loke ha en del med eld att göra.

³ En av dem som får räknas som närstående till *Lugh*, är den irliske hjälten *Finn* (på fastlandet *Vindoi*) som i en historia hittar *Vishetens* lax. Den nordiske Loke förvandlar sig till en lax vid ett tillfälle, men om detta kan binda samman Loke och *Lugh* är högst osäkert. Se Hyllested, 2002.

Lögn, lock eller låga – teorier om Lokes ursprung

Irene Elmerot

Göteborgs Universitet

När man försöker få reda på vad Loke var för en gudom i den fornnordiska sinnevärlden, får man lite olika svar. Många, kanske de flesta, är överens om att han var en skojare, en lurendrejare, en som inte drog sig för att driva med alla och byta sida när det passade honom. Om man däremot slår upp den etymologiska betydelsen av hans namn, blir det annat. En del (Nielsen 1989: 265, t.ex.) förknippar det med lock och lås. Eftersom jätten Utgårdaloke (fornnordiska *Útgårdaloke*) vaktar Utgård och har hand om låsandet, så kan detta säkert ha sin riktighet, men min teori är, att gudens namn lika väl kan ha kommit av flera ord som av ett enda. Om det bara har ett enda ursprung, vilket skulle det vara? Det är nog så att vi pratar om minst två, kanske fler, olika Loke när vi pratar om honom. När jag fick denna teori själv, hade jag inte läst Dumézils bok *Loki* (1948) ännu, men han kommer med samma förslag redan i första kapitlet, vilket stärker min teori. Ett argument är Lokes många namn; dels finns stavningsvarianter med *-lök-* (svensk stavning *-lök-*¹), dels de smeknamn han har, som *Lophr*, vilket betyder luft². Det

Stora tack till Adam Hyllested och Kristoffer Schollin för ovärderliga reaktioner och kommentarer.

¹ Jfr även färöiska *Lokki* 'Loke' (ODS XII: 1151)

² På modern isländska betyder ordet *lophr* blixst, något de Vries (1962: 366) inte vill koppla ihop med Loke, "för han är ju ingen blixstgud",

Ursprung: IE **leǵh-* > germanska **leŕjan-* (locka, luras, ljuga) > svenska 'ljuga'. Den fornnordiska formen är *ljúga*. Detta ord är i sin direkta form svårt att få ihop med gudarnas namn.

Varianten Locke / Lokke är lättare: germanska **lukōn-* 'fresta, lura' > svenska 'locka', till samma rot, men med annan konsonantutveckling: *-kē-*. Detta liknar expressiv gemination (**-gh-* > **-g-* > **-gg-* > **-kē-*) som är allmän i germanska. Den fornnordiska formen är *lokka* (o från *a*-omljud: **u* > *o*, när *a* finns i nästa stavelse).

3) Lågan, den ljuse: ev. bara "guden".

Ursprung: IE **luk-on-*, nollstadium av roten **leuk-* 'lysa' > germanska **lryan-* > svenska 'låga'.
Den fornnordiska formen är *logi* (< **lryan-* 'den brännande, den lysande').

4) Detta är den minst säkra och minst belagda etymologin: svenska dial. 'loka', förr även 'loke': (svårt) belägenhet, tjänst ur vilken man icke lätt kan frigöra sig; sannolikt av finska *luokka* (?). (SAOB)

Tyvärr hittas ingen gemensam nämnare i fråga om vilken ordklass namnen tillhör, vissa är nomina agentis, andra inte.

Vilka karaktärsdrag kan man då hitta för att försvara de olika etymologierna?

1) Lugos, den Lugh / Lleu som beskrivs under romersk tid, har ett namn som förknippas med försegling av eder och därför finns hans namn sällan inristat: det var för starkt. Ristar man det, så låser man sig.

Ordets betydelse 'böja, bända' är mer lättapplicerat: en som böjer sig efter vinden, lurar sig åt det håll som är enklast o.s.v., kommer lätt in överallt. En sådan person brukar Loke vara, när han luras och ljuger och dessutom när han byter skepnad, förvandlar sig till en örn eller en lax, t.ex.

När *Tor* och Loke kommer till Utgård, säger Utgårdaloke: "Vilken sorts idrott tycker ni att ni är duktiga på? Ingen får vara här hos oss, som inte överträffar de flesta i något slags konststycke eller färdighet." Dessa båda "lokar" är alltså båda böjliga, de klarar det mesta. När Lugh kommer till *Ténuir*, *Níadus* kungsgård, måste han bevisa att han kan allehanda färdigheter och inte förrän han visar att han kan allt, får han komma in.

Loke fann även på nätet som man kan böja för att locka (!) fisk till sig. Dessutom kallas vissa spindlar i Småland (enligt Hyltén-Cavallius 1972) för 'lockar', sannolikt för att Loke uppfann nätet en gång, han är ju också finurlig, liksom spindeln i sitt nät.

Såväl Loke som Lugh anses vara hantverksgudar, de kan konsten att böja, vrida och bända till saker för att få dem som de vill.

2) Här är det inte svårt att finna argument för den skandinaviske guden, eftersom Loke luras, bl.a. om vem som bröt benet på en av Tors bockar så den blev halt. Han luras genom att förvandla sig vid flera tillfällen, samt att han genom hela tiden i Asgård vara på gudarnas sida, för att slutligen, under Ragnarök, gå över till jättarnas sida⁴. Han lockar både kvinnor och djur till sig, han ska ha lurat håret av *Sif*, han ska ha lockat hingsten *Svadilfjare* att para sig (med *Sleipner* som resultat) och så vidare.

Argument för Lughs namn är lite värre, han är inte den som luras i första taget, men om man tror att det är han som är parallellen till handlaras gud *Mercurius*, så fungerar det; hur köpmän luras, vet väl alla ... *Mercurius* ämne är kvicksilvret, vilket var okänt i Germanien och Gallien för så länge sedan,

⁴ Detta förutsätter naturligtvis att Snorres Edda inte har influerats för mycket av kristen mytologi om Lucifer / Satan, utan att Loke verkligen hade rykte om sig att skola byta sida vid Undergången.

men det är en metall som böjer sig, ändrar form och skiftar karaktär; den ”vänder kappan efter vinden”.

3) Elden som element har alltid varit knutet till förändring och förmöshet (eller många former, om man så vill), vilket passar bra in på Lokes ombytliga karaktär. Att Lugh är den lysande är helt klart, bland annat sägs att han ser överallt och lyset upp sin omgivning.

Det verkar ha funnits en tradition i Skandinavien och Finland (! Dumézil 1948: 78) av att en *Locke* varit eldens gud. Bl.a. berättas det i delar av Småland att barnen, när de tappat sin första tand, kastade den i elden med t.ex. orden ”Locke, Locke Ran, ge mig en bentand för en guld tand!”.

Ännu ett argument för att koppla samman Loke med ordet ’låga’ är att han verkar vara samma gud som *Lóðurr*. Denne *Lóðurr* skapar människan ihop med *Oden* och *Höner*, och ger just ’livsgnistan’, *lá*. Detta lå har ännu ingen säker etymologi och det kan lika gärna röra sig om sammanfogningen av lemmar med hud och hår, själva modellerandet, vilket pekar mot Loke, men snarare mot honom som det lockigas, böjdas och hantverkets gud. Namnet *Lóðurr* torde gå tillbaka på **lāþra-*, ’luder’, ett lockbete (de Vries 1962: 363).

Desutom är det just Loke som får äta ikapp med Elden hos Utgårdaloke.

4) Detta ord stötte jag på av en händelse när jag rotade i SAOB efter ord som Loke kunde hänga ihop med. ”En svår belägenhet” är ju precis vad Loke själv försätter både sig själv och andra i med jämna mellanrum, vilket passar perfekt med betydelsen av ordet. Han utför tjänster som inte alltid är lyckade och måste då utföra en ny tjänst för att komma ur den första. Dock betyder det finska ordet *luokka* i första hand ’kategori, grupp (mänsklig), klass’, så hur det skulle kommit att betyda ’en svår belägenhet’ är osäkert.

I läsandet för att skapa denna artikel, kom en inbjudande teori till mig:

Är Loke en inflyttad Lugh? Är han den som en gång låste, den ljuse, dagsguden, som här fått tillnamnet ’Locke’? Lokes mor kallas *Lauþey*, vilket tolkats som ’löv-ö’, är det ’den gröna ön’?

Oavsett om Loke är inflyttad eller fanns hos skandinaverna samtidigt och på samma vis som Lugos fanns hos kelterna, följer här några argument för deras sammanblandning:

I Julius Caesars *De Bello Gallico* står det om kelternas sex ”gudar”, ibland tolkat som gudatyper, bl.a. Mercurius och *Dis Pater*. Man vill traditionellt att Lugh ska vara Mercurius(-typen), baserat på följande:

Denm maxime Mercurium colunt. Huius sunt plurima simulacra: hunc omnium inventorem artium ferunt, hunc vitarum atque iuvenum ducem, hunc ad questus pecuniae mercaturasque habere vim maximam arbitrantur.

’De dyrkar Mercurius som den störste guden. Han har flera karaktärsdrag: de håller honom för upptäckare av allehanda konst, för vägvisare och anser att han har den största kraften vad gäller pengafrågor och handel.’ (*De Bello Gallico*, 6.17.1)

Även Loke har förknippats med Mercurius. Anledningar till detta är historien om att Loke hade skor som han flög genom luft och vatten med, samt att han är gudarnas budbärare.

Berättelsen om att Loke lurar den blinde *Höder* att skjuta på *Balder* med misteln, den enda sak i världen som inte svurit att inte skada *Balder*, är en intressant historia som man inte vet varifrån den egentligen kommer. Walesiske varianten av Lugh, *Llew*, anses svår att döda, men om man tillverkar ett spjut under ett helt år, så hjälper det, dessutom om han inte är någonstans. Misteln är en växt som inte är; den växer varken på marken eller på träd, den är ingen planta, inte en riktig buske och inte ett träd. Därför lyckas den med det omöjliga,

liksom Lleu (nästan) dödas när han inte är någonstans, utan mitt emellan att gå och att rida. Visserligen finns berättelser på flera ställen i världen om att när man ”inte är någonstans” så går vissa saker lättare, men misteln är ju känd som kelternas magiska växt.

Vartför är det just Loke Laufeyrson som använder misteln som medel för att döda Balder?

När Tor ska till Utgårdaloke, så följer Loke med. När de kommit fram och ska visa vad de går för, ska bl.a. Loke äta ikapp med (vad som visar sig vara elds-) lågan. Min fråga är, om de, trots att de färdats österut, kommit till Lughs land? Kan detta vara en historia om när några skandinav rest till Irland och där träffat på människor som var överdängare på det ena eller andra och för att inte behöva skämmas när man kom hem, så hittrade man på historien om jättarna som förvred synen på dem? Att Loke får möta sin urgamla symbol, elden, talar för likheten mellan den keltiske och den nordiske guden.

Lugh är dotterson till *Balor*, en enögd jätte (*Fomorians*) från landet bortom haven.

Profetian säger, att Balor ska dödas av sin dotterson, så Lugh göms undan och går över till *Danus* (walesiska: *Don*) folk (*Tuatha Dé Danann*), Irlands gudasiäkte. Balor dödas slutligen av Lugh, när denne själv riskerar att dödas av Balors enda öga, vars blick dödar allt levande. Här skiljer sig alltså historierna åt, genom att Loke i slutstriden går tillbaka till jättarna, medan Lugh håller sig till gudarna.

Loke kommer från jättarnas rike, son till Laufey, beger sig av till Asgård och blir Odens tjänare och spejare.

Oden blandade blod med Loke och de blir till fosterbröder, fick de även delar av varandras personlighet då?

Det finns gemensamma detaljer mellan Lugh och Oden, Lokes fosterbror:

Lugh hade två fåglar, enligt många var de korpar, som kom med besked. Han hade en häst, *Aenbarr*; som skyddade sin ryttare.

Lugh sitter på tronen i Den andra Världen, medan Oden sitter i Valhall.

Lugh får dock inte den negativa skildran som Loke får (se nedan), han förknippas inte mer med djävulen än andra keltiska gudar, såvitt jag vet. Trots dessa likheter, verkar det omöjligt att säga om Lugh är parallell till Loke, eller om Loke faktiskt vandrat in från den gröna ön och utvecklats till en annan än han var där.

Vissa religionshistoriker funderar på om inte Oden (också) kan ha varit flera gudar från början, eftersom han har så många skepnader, bl.a. flera av dem som även Loke anses ha (att byta hamn, att kunna luras, att veta mer än andra). Antingen har då Loke varit större i en tidigare tid och sedan blandats ihop med Oden, eller så har det funnits dels Utgårdaloke och dels Locke / Lokke och dessa har senare blandats ihop så att vi idag inte kan urskilja de enskilda karaktärsdragen. Att Oden skulle vara inflyttad senare än de andra gudarna, vilket det talades om förr, anser dagens forskare inte längre sannolikt, utan han är snarare bara en blandning av flera gudar⁵.

Frågan är slutligen om inte Loke blivit svartmålad av sentida kristna? Snorre beskriver t.ex. honom som ”asarnas förtalare, svekets upphovsman och alla gudars och människors skam” och dessutom säger profetiorna att såväl den bibliske djävulen som Loke skall återkomma vid jordens undergång. Tydligt är, att Loke blir elakare ju längre tiden lider, i guldåldern är allt bra, men slutligen är han en av de största orsakerna till jordens undergång, Ragnarök. Kan detta

⁵ Han kan också ha haft flera karaktärsdrag som tillsammans gjorde honom till den störste, i en tid när det var förnämligt att kunna många olika saker. Jfr sista stycket i denna artikel.

återspegla att han från början inte varit en så elak karaktär som sentida skrivare velat göra honom till? Allt eftersom man förknippat Loke med Lucifer (!) och velat förmörka hans karaktär, så kan man ha tagit bort de historier som fick honom att framstå som lysande och glänsande på ett positivt sätt.

I tidiga religioner ansågs motsägelsefullhet hos en gudom vara ett tecken på styrka och betydelse, men i senare, monoteistiska strömningar nedvärderades det tveetydiga och multiforma, för att slutligen reduceras till en kraftlös kliché som måste spela sin förutbestämda roll. Loke får inte längre vara både ond och god, eldslåga och lögnare, lax och örn, utan han måste placeras in i ett fack.

Litteratur

- Ahlberg, Lundqvist, Sörbom, 1960: *Latinsk-svensk ordbok*. Stockholm.
- Davidson, H.R. Ellis, 1988: *Myths and symbols in pagan Europe*. Glasgow.
- Dumézil, George, 1948: *Loki*. Paris.
- Nielsen, Niels Åge, 1989: *Etymologisk ordbog – ordenes historie*. København.
- Näsström, Britt-Marie, 2001: *Fornskandinavisk religion*. Lund
- Hyllested, Adam, 2002: ”Finn – ét eller to navne”. – Thomas Olander (red.), *Nid oedd fas i gyyddalid. Festskrift til Anders Richardt Jørgensen på 25-årsdagen den 5. juli 2002*. København.
- ODS = *Ordbog over det Danske Sprog*, 1918-1956. København.
- Rooth, Anna Birgitta, 1961: *Loki in Scandinavian mythology*. Lund.
- Schjødt, Jens Peter, 1981: ”Om Loke endnu en gang”. – *Arkiv for nordisk filologi* 98.
- Smyth, Daragh, 1996: *A guide to Irish mythology*. Dublin.
- Snorres Edda* 1999. Stockholm.
- Toivonen et al., 1958-81: *Suomen Etymologinen Sanakirja I-VII* (artikel *luokka*).
- de Vries, Jan, 1962: *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Leiden.
- Warmind, Morten, 2001: *Keltiske guder og helte*. København.

Övriga källor:

- Encyclopedia Mythica*: <http://www.pantheon.org/articles/b/balor.html>, artikel *Balor*.
- S.AOB*: <http://g3.spraakdata.gu.se/osa/show.phtml?filenr=1/142/36159.html>, artikel *löka*.
- De Bello Gallico* 6.17 & 6.18: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/pxxt?lookup=Caes.+Gal.+6.17.1> & <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/pxxt?lookup=Caes.+Gal.+6.18.1>
- Hyltén-Cavallius, Gunnar Olof, 1972: ”Wärend och wírdarne: ett försök i svensk etnologi”, § 56: http://www.hagstugan.com/gimle/Arkivet/Mytologi/Warend_Gudar.htm
- Zoëga's A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic: <http://www.northvegr.org/zoega/h267.php>

Mykenischen eben in der Form *a-mo* belegt worden ist, haben einige darin eine Entlehnung aus dem Mykenischen sehen wollen¹. Es leuchtet jedoch nicht ein, auf welche Weise eine derartige Entlehnung stattgefunden haben soll.

Vielleicht soll man vielmehr eine phonetische Erklärung suchen: Allen Wörtern ist auf jeden Fall gemeinsam, dass der problematische Vokal in klassischer Zeit vor einem Sibilanten steht. Die überlieferten Formen des Ionisch-Attischen und Dorischen lassen sich also mühelos mit folgender Lautentwicklung erklären²:

$$\begin{aligned} *n, *m &> am / _V \\ *n, *m &> a / C_C \\ *n, *m &> o / C_s^3 \end{aligned}$$

Es entspricht dem vorgeschlagenen Lautgesetz, dass wir im Ionisch-Attischen *εἴκοσι*, *διακόσιοι* und im Dorischen *ἑκατα*, *διακάτωι* finden (weil das *i* dort stehen geblieben ist), während beide Dialektgruppen *ἀρμόζω* aufweisen⁴.

¹ A. Heubeck, „Zur dialektologischen Einordnung des Mykenischen“, *Glotta* 39 (1960/1): 159-172, bes. 169-170; E. Risch, „Les différences dialectales dans la mycénien“, in: *Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies*, Cambridge 1966: 150-157, bes. 157 [= *Kleine Schriften*: 458].

² Im Mykenischen (und im Arkadischen-Kyprischen und Äolischen) wurde silbisches **n, *m* zu *o* auch in anderen Kontexten. Häufig nach Labialen, vgl. A. Bartoněk, *Handbuch des mykenischen Griechisch*, Heidelberg 2003: 135. Die näheren Umstände sind aber nicht geklärt.

³ **nʷ* = dorisch, ostionisch *σσ*, attisch *ττ* war offenbar nicht von dieser Regel betroffen, vgl. Fem. Part. dor. *ἔασσα* [dorische Kunstprosa neben *ἔσσα*], kret. *ἄττα* [IC 4.72 VIII.47] < **h₁sith₂*, att. *Φερέφαττα* [Plat., *Krat.* 404^c] < **-g^hhith₂* – *θαιμάσιος* (zu *θαίμα*) ist vielleicht eine jüngere Ableitung von *θαίμα(σ)τος*.

⁴ Vgl. den lakonischen Amtstitel *ἀρμοστῆρ* in IG 5(1).937.2 (Kythira, 4. Jh. v.Chr.) und bei Xenophon, *Hell.* 4.8.39. In den attischen Quellen sonst gewöhnlich *ἀρμοστῆς*.

ἀρμόζω: Skizze zu einer Lösung eines Problems der griechischen Wortbildung und Lautgeschichte

George Hinge
Arhus Universität

1. Das Ionisch-Attische hat für den silbischen Nasal **m, *n* in der Regel das Ergebnis *a*, z.B. **g^mmlós* > *ἄβαρος*, „unbetreten, unbetreibar“, **dk^mmlóm* > *ἑκατόν* „hundert“. Im Zahlwort **d^hh₁-dk^mmlh₁* „zwanzig“ haben wir aber *o*: *εἴκοσι(ν)* gegenüber dorisch *ἑκατα*. Man hat dieses *o* als eine Anlehnung an die anderen Zehner erklärt: *τριάκοντα*, *τεσσαράκοντα*, *πεντήκοντα* usw., in denen *o* gemeinindogermanisch sein soll: < **o^odk^momh₂*. Im Mykenischen, im Arkadischen und im Lesbisch-Äolischen begegnet uns für silbisches **m, *n* neben *a* öfter *o*. Es mag sein, dass die Qualität des Vokals am Anfang zweideutig war, und dass er eventuell durch Nasalisierung begleitet wurde. Im Französischen wird der Nasalvokal eben geschlossen und *o*-ähnlicher ausgesprochen: *chance* [ʃɑːʃ] und *chasse* [ʃas].

Wie dem auch sei, die Schwankung, die in der Linear B noch nicht gelöst war, wurde in den klassischen Dialekten in den einzelnen Wörtern zugunsten des einen oder des anderen Vokalismus aufgegeben. Das Ionisch-Attische wählt, wie gesagt, in der Regel *a*. In einigen Formen begegnet uns aber nichtsdestoweniger ein offenbar unregelmäßiges *o*, so in *εἴκοσι* „zwanzig“, in den Hunderten auf *οκόσιοι* und im Verb *ἀρμόζω* „zusammenfügen; passen“. Da letztgenanntes Verb wahrscheinlich zum Appellativ *ἄρμα* „Wagen“ gehört, das im

2. Im klassischen Griechisch werden zu den Neutra auf -μα gewöhnlich Verben auf -αίνω gebildet, z.B. σημαίνω (: σημα) „bezeichnen, Zeichen geben“, πημαίνω (: πημα) „leiden“⁵. Es gibt jedoch seit den ältesten Texten zwei prominente Beispiele mit dem Suffix -άζω: ὀνομάζω „nennen“ und θαυμάζω „wundern“⁶. Sie werden in der Regel als gewöhnliche *λ*-Stämme konjugiert: Aor. ὠνόμασα, ἐθαύμασα, Pass. ὠνομάσθην, ἐθαυμάσθην, Perf. ὠνόμακα, θαύμακα, Adj. ὀνομαστός, θαυμαστός. Wir haben mit anderen Worten dieselbe Flexion wie im Falle von ἀρμόζω, aber mit dem üblichen Lautübergang **n* > *a*. Eine Erklärung könnte sein, dass ἀρμόζω von seinem Ausgangspunkt semantisch losgerissen ist, während in ὀνομάζω, θαυμάζω die Grundbedeutung von ὄνομα, θαύμα noch beibehalten ist.

Es treten jedoch Relikte einer älteren Flexion ohne stamm- auslautenden Dental auf: ὀνόμανε [H.Aphr. 290], ὀνυμαίνω [kretisch IC 2.v.7.3, 4.51.4, 4.75C.7-8], Aorist ὀνόμηνε, -ω, -ας [Hom. 15x]; θαυμαίνω [H.Herm. 407, H.Aphr. 84, Anakt. Fr. 501.11], Futurum θαυμανέοντες [Od. 8.108]⁷. Die meisten Verben auf -άζω sind von nominalen *a*-Stämmen hergeleitet: ἀπιδάζω (: πιμη) „nicht schätzen“, βιάζω (: βηη) „Gewalt anwenden, zwingen“, δικάζω (: δίκη) „Recht sprechen; entscheiden“, ἐνιάζω (: ἐνήη) „betten“. Es ist eine expansive Gruppe, die offenbar auch ὀνομάζω und θαυμάζω aufnahm. Die älteren Formen bezeugen auf jeden Fall, dass wir keine

⁵ E. Fraenkel, *Griechische Denominativa in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und Verbreitung*, Göttingen 1906; 6; E. Risch, *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache*, Berlin / New York 1973: 290.

⁶ Für andere Verben auf -άζω von Neutra auf -μα, vgl. Fraenkel, a.a.O.: 13.

⁷ M. Schwyzler, *Griech. -άζω und got. -afja*, in: *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à M. Holger Pedersen*, Kopenhagen 1937: 65 Anm. 1: „Bei Homer sonst von ὀνομάζω nur Präsenzformen, von ὀνομαίνω überhaupt Aorisformen ... Ist ὀνομαίνω als Präsens im Homertext durch -μάζω ersetzt?“

parallele Behandlung von diesen Verben und von ἀρμόζω erwarten dürfen.

3. Ich will die These vorschlagen, dass ἀρμόζω nicht direkt von ἄρμα – es hätte ja zum Ergebnis †ἀρμαίνω geführt – sondern vom denominativen Adjektiv ἀνάρμοστος „unpassend, ungeschickt“ abgeleitet worden ist. Es ist in der klassischen Literatur zwar erst bei Herodot (3.80.5) und Aristophanes (Nub. 908) belegt. Im Mykenischen gibt es aber Entsprechendes *a-na-mo-to* [KN 273], *a-na-mo-ta* [KN Sf 4465] = /*anarmost-*/.

Das Simplex *a-mo* wird auf den mykenischen Tafelchen im Sinne von „Rad“ angewendet. Da der Gegensatz, das Perfekt Partizip *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na* [Sd0402, Sd0403, Sd0404, Sd0409, Sd0413], *a-ra-ro-mo-to-me-na* [Sd0416], *a-ro-mo-te-me-na* [Sd0422], *a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-no* [Sd0401] = /*anarmotmen-*/, allerdings in Verbindung mit dem Ideogramm „Wagen ohne Räder“ auftritt, muss er einfach „ausgerüstet“ heißen und /*anarmostos-*/ einfach „unausgerüstet“ (d.h. „mit / ohne Jochstange“)⁸. Das Denominativum ist also zu einer Zeit gebildet worden, als ἄρμα noch nicht die spezialisierte Bedeutung „Rad“ (geschweige denn „Wagen“), sondern die allgemeine Bedeutung „Zusammenfügung; (Wagen-)Ausrüstung“ hatte, zu ἀραρίσκω, **h₂er-* „zusammenfügen“⁹.

⁸ M. Ventris & J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge 1973: 515. – Hierher wohl auch *a-mo-te-re* [KN X 770, Xe 6026] = /*armos-tér-*/ . Die Nomina *a-mo-te-wo* [PY Ea 421], *a-mo-te-wr-ja* [PY 235], *a-mo-te-jo-na-de* [PY 252] sind dagegen wahrscheinlich direkt von *a-mo* „Rad“ abgeleitet.

⁹ Plutarch teilt mit, dass es noch im delphischen ein ἄρμα im Sinne von „Geschlechtsverkehr“ gab (Amat. 769^b); es liegt mutmaßlich eine andere Spezialisierung des alten **h₂er-mi* „Zusammenfügung“ vor.

Ruijgh¹⁰ geht von einer Ableitung von einem hypothetischen **ar^hmolās* „homme qui s'occupe d'ajustements“ aus, die in der griechischen Sprache allerdings allein stünde: *ἀρμότης : ἀρμόζω ≠ ἵππότης „Reiter“ : ἵππεύω / ἵππάζομαι „reiten“, τοξότης „Bogenschütze“ : τοξεύω / τοξάζομαι „mit Bogen schießen“ (alle Homer +). δεσπότης „Herr“ : δεσπόζω „herrschen“ (nachhomerisch) ist dagegen eine oberflächliche Parallele; da es sich nicht um eine Ableitung auf -ότης handelt (< **dēns pōtis* „Hausherr“), ist das Verb wahrscheinlich erst in historischer Zeit entstanden.¹¹ Darüber hinaus sind die Ableitungen auf -της von deverbativen Substantiven wahrscheinlich erst spät entstanden.¹²

4. ἀνάρμοστος ist – wenn wir auf das von mir aufgeworfene Lautgesetz zurückgreifen – das erwartete Ergebnis von einem urgriechischen **n-Harmnt-los*¹³. Wir sehen, dass schon im Mykenischen zum Denominativum *anarmotos* ein Perfekt Partizipium *aramatmenos* gebildet worden ist. Ob es noch bei dieser Form geblieben war, können wir nicht wissen. Im klassischen Griechisch liegt jedenfalls ein volles Paradigma vor: Es ist jedoch bezeichnend, dass die klassischen Dialekte unterschiedliche Imperfektivstämme gebildet haben: ἀρμόττω / ἀρμόσσω in der ionisch-attischen Prosa (erster Beleg ist IG

¹⁰ C.J. Ruijgh, *À propos de a-mo-te-jo-na-de*, in: A. Bartoněk (Hrsg.), *Studia Mycenaea. Proceedings of the Mycenaean Symposium Brno 1966*, Brno 1968: 99–102.

¹¹ Der Ausgangspunkt ist vielleicht ein auf die Hymnensprache zurückgehender sigmatischer Stamm, vgl. *H.Dem.* 365 δεσπόσεισ πάντων ὅποσα ζῶει τε καὶ ἔπει (der Aorist war jedoch, wegen der Semantik des Verbs, eher selten).

¹² E. Neitzel & E.-M. Voigt, s.v. ἀρμόζω, in: *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, Göttingen 1955: I 1320.

¹³ Oder **n-Harmnt-los*, wenn man über die Aspiration Rechenschaft ablegen will. Es gibt allerdings zahlreiche Beispiele für spontane Beachung: ἐπίστωκω, ἔππος, ὄπος. Die mykenischen Wörter fangen übrigens alle mit *a* an (statt des dem klassischen *ā-* entsprechenden *a₂*).

1³.244 A.16 *harmj*όττεσθα, ca. 460 v.Chr.) und ἀρμόζω in den anderen Dialekten und in der Koine. In der archaischen Literatur ist der Aoriststamm außerdem häufiger als der Imperfektivstamm:

Il. 3.333 ἦρμοσε, 17.210 ἦρμοσε, 19.385 ἐφαρμόσσειε; Hesiod, *Op.* 76 ἐφήρμοσε; Alkman, *Fr.* 95b ἀρμόζατο; Solon, *Fr.* 36.16 ξυναρμόσας, 19 ἀρμόσας; Hipponax, *Fr.* 161 μεταρμόσας Simonides, *Epigr.* 7.25.4 ἦρμόσατο, 7.431.4 ἀρμόσαμεν; Pindar, *Ol.* 3.5 ἐναρμόξαι, *Pyth.* 3.114 ἄρμωσαν, *Nem.* 7.98 ἀρμόσας, 10.12 συναρμόξεν, *Isthm.* 1.16 ἐναρμόξαι; Aischylos, *Prom.* 309 μεθάρμωσαι, *Eum.* 495 συναρμόσει ~ *Od.* 5.162 ἀρμόξω; *Thebais* *Fr.* 4.2 ἐφαρμόξεν; Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.80 ἀρμόξοισα, 4.129 ἀρμόξοντα, 9.13 ἀρμόξοισα, 9.117 ἀρμόξων, *Nem.* 8.11 ἄρμωζον.

Außerhalb des Präsens ist der Aorist allerdings der natürlichste Aspekt für ein Verb mit dieser Semantik.

Die Variante ἀρμόζω führt im Übrigen zu den historisch falschen Formen ἀρμόδιος „zusammenpassend“ und ἀρμολογή „Zusammenfügung“. Das erstgenannte Wort beruht auf der einfachen Gleichung -όζω : -όδιος = -ύξε : -ίδιος. ἀρμολογή, das wahrscheinlich in der westgriechischen Wissenschaftssprache entstanden ist, geht ohne Zweifel auf die dorische Gewohnheit zurück, einen Velar in die *d*-Stämme einzuschleifen: IvO 16.4, 16.5 ποταρμόξαιτο (Olympia, 5. Jh.), SEG 22.336.1 ἀρμόχθεν (Olympia, 6. Jh.).

5. Die Frage ist, ob ein Denominativum wie **n-Harmnt-los* überhaupt denkbar ist. Es ist in der Tat das einzelne Beispiel für eine solche Ableitung von einem Nomen mit dem Suffix **-mn*. Es gibt jedoch andere *to*-Adjektive, die direkt von einem Nomen ohne Bezug auf einen Verbalstamm abgeleitet worden sind, z.B. ἀγέραστος (: γέρας) „ehrlös“, ἀκήδεστος (: κήδος) „unbesorgt“, ἀπύργωτος (: πύργος) „turmlos“.

Zu χάρις „Reiz, Gunst“ und θέμις „Recht“ werden ebenfalls die Adjektive ἀχάριστος „ohne Reiz“ (*Od.* 8.236; später

durch ἀχάριτος, ἄχαρις ersetzt) und ἀθέμιστος „gesetzlos“ (Homēr +; später durch ἀθέμιτος, ἄθεμις ersetzt) gebildet. χάρις, das zur Wurzel von χαίρω „sich freuen“ gehört (**ǵʰer-*), hat als Simplex außerhalb von Nominativ und Akkusativ immet *-t-* vor der Endung: χάριτος, u.s.w. Wenn die *i*-Stämme einen sekundären Dental im Stammauslaut erhalten haben, handelt es sich aber in der Regel um *-d-* (ἐλπίδος, ἔριδος, ἦριδος, u.s.w.)¹⁴. θέμις ist schon problematischer: Die Prosa hat in der Regel θεμιδ- (Herodot 2.50.2 jedoch Θέμιος), Pin-dar θεμιτ- und das Epos und das Thessalische θεμιστ- (Homer 13x, Hesiod 4x, IG 9(2).1236, SEG 27.183, 37.491). Benveniste geht eben von einem Neutrum **h₂emi* : **h₂emitos* aus¹⁵. χάρις geht möglicherweise ebenfalls auf ein ursprüngliches **k^hari* : **k^haritos* zurück. Ich will aber an dieser Stelle nicht mit diesem Problem ringen. Es reicht, dass wir es wahrscheinlich in beiden Fällen mit Stämmen zu tun haben, die auf *-t-* ausgingen.

Wir haben gegebenenfalls eine enge Parallele zum eigentlichen Gegenstand des vorliegenden Aufsatzes: Ganz wie ἀνάριστος zu ἀρμόζω führte, mag ἀχάριστος der Ausgangspunkt für χαρίζομαι „Gunst erweisen“ gewesen sein, formal ein *d*-Stamm (im westgriechischen Raum wird der Dental regelmäßig durch einen Velar ersetzt: χαρίζ- [Theokr. 5.71; kretisch IC 1.v.52.17, 1.xvi.1.16]). Das seltene Verb θεμίζω (Pin-dar, *Pyth.* 4.141 θεμισσαμένους und Hesych θεμιζέτω· μαστιγούτω, νομοθετείτω. Κρήτες) mag ebenfalls auf ἀθέμιστος beruhen.

¹⁴ Vgl. E. Schwyzler, *Griechische Grammatik*, I, München 1939: 464.

¹⁵ E. Benveniste, *Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen*, Paris 1935: 34. Auch H. Frisk, „Die Stammbildung von *themis*“, *Eranos* 48 (1950): 1-13 hält θεμιστ- für sekundär; er führt *-στ-* auf einen alten Superlativ zurück (θεμιστ-ος → θεμιστ-εύ-ω = ἄριστ-ος → ἀριστ-εύ-ω, aber auch (ἀ)θέμιστ-ος → θεμιστ-εύ-ω = πιστ-ός → πιστ-εύ-ω).

6. Der vorliegende Aufsatz behauptet keineswegs, alle Fragen zum Problemwort ἀρμόζω endgültig beantwortet zu haben. Es wurde nur eine denkbare, wenn nicht zwingende, Lösung skizziert, die auf folgenden zwei Thesen gründet:

- i. Dass der Ausgangspunkt das Denominativum **n-Hamm-tos* ist.
- ii. Dass silbisches **n*, **m* vor *r* lautgesetzlich zu *o* (statt *a*) wurde.

equivalents; the individual Balto-Fennic languages have absorbed a significant number of Russian, Swedish or German words and loan translations through different periods, while many place-names particularly in Latvia and NW Russia consist of Balto-Fennic elements; a number of Slavic and Fennic words stem from Iranian languages formerly spoken much further to the North; there has been a good deal of interchange between Slavic and Baltic; contacts between Celts and Norsemen have left their marks, and there even seems to be some Celtic loanwords in Baltic.

Some loan relations, however, are less significant, and have consequently been close to ignored in etymological research. Among these are the traces that Saami languages must have left in their neighbour tongues before modern times, above all in the Old Norse dialects¹.

2. Saami and Old Norse in cultural history

The Saami (esp. formerly: Lapp) language group consists today of 10 different languages, and despite the low number of speakers they cover almost all of Northern Scandinavia and the Kola peninsula. The two main subgroups are Western Saami (consisting of South, Ume, Pite, Lule, and North Saami, spoken mainly in Norway and Sweden) and Eastern Saami (consisting of Inari (Enare) Saami, spoken mainly in Finland, and Skolt, Akkala, Kildin, and Ter Saami, spoken mainly in Russian areas on the Kola peninsula). A detailed description of their distribution and internal relationship has been given elsewhere (most thoroughly in Sammallahti 1998: 6-38).

The Norsemen and the Saami peoples lived side by side for centuries. By the end of the Proto-Saami period (around 800 AD) they covered all of northernmost continental Europe

Saami loanwords in the Old Norse dialects

Adam Hyllested
University of Copenhagen

0. As a Baltologist, our *vedette du jour* has been obliged to devote a lot of her time to work at language contacts in Northern Europe. The purpose of this article is to convey to this field a new subfield on loan relations which has until now been almost totally disregarded, namely Old Norse vocabulary of Saami origin. It is my hope in the near future to be able to shed some light on possible Saami elements in the Baltic vocabulary as well – which is one way Jenny and I would be able to conjoin our fields of research more directly.

In the last part of the article, a new etymology is presented for a word in Jenny's native language.

1. The landscape of contacts in the area

Lexical exchange has been immense among the languages in Northern Europe: Several layers of the common Germanic and later Nordic vocabulary are ascribed to now extinct substrata, Indo-European as well as non-Indo-European; the same goes for Saami and, to a lesser extent, for the Balto-Fennic languages; Germanic (most recently specifically German) has been a keen contributor to the Baltic and Slavic lexicon, and vice versa; a very large part of the central Balto-Fennic and Saami vocabulary has a Germanic, Baltic or Slavic source; Saami has furthermore replaced bunches of everyday words with Finnish – and later Norwegian or Swedish –

¹ Later influence on neighbouring Norwegian and Swedish dialects is, on the contrary, generally acknowledged and has been thoroughly investigated, see § 4.6.

from the Kola peninsula to the Troms coast in NW Norway, and in the Middle Ages groups of Saamis migrated further south into the Scandinavian peninsula as far as Jämtland (Korhonen 1988: 265-267). Evidence of close contact between the two ethnic groups are outlined in Collinder (1953: 22-52), and recent research by Blundal (1996 and 2000) has shown that even Nordic and Saami mythology share common elements. I find it very unlikely that the Saami languages should not have left more than one or two nouns plus a pair of ethnonyms in Old Norse.

3. The research so far

In de Vries (1962), foreign elements in Old Norse are grouped according to source. In the category “Saami words that has been borrowed into Old Norse” (Einleitung, p. XL) appear only four words: The first part of the compound *nakkaskáinn* ‘animal hide for feed’ (p. 404)², the first parts of the ethnonym *Tyrffinnar* ‘Ter Saamis’ (p. 603) and the semi-ethnonym *sensveinar* ‘Saami boys’ (p. 470) respectively, and the simplex ethnonym *Bjarmar* ‘a people by the White Sea’ (p. 39). In addition (p. 462), he cites Müllenhoff’s (1906) suggestion that the ON adjective *sámr* ‘dark grey’ could stem from the Saami designation for themselves.³ Schrijver in his recent article (2003: 222-223) on common phonological development in Germanic and Saami ascribes a pair of shared words (ON *orri* ‘blackcock (male of black grouse)’ ~ North Saami *hurri* ‘do.’; ON *kyja* ‘fish stomach, roe’ and related Germanic forms ~ North Saami ‘fish sausage, roe’) to a common substrate, as he

² From North Saami *nakkka* ‘hide’ < Fi. *nakkka* ‘do.’ (< PU **nakkka*, UEW I: 311, SKES II: 364), first mentioned by Falk 1925. The variant *hnakkaskáinn* is a folk etymology influenced by *hnakkka* ‘back of the neck’.

³ On the (different) Saami origin of this word, see § 4.2.

states: “... there is no particular reason to assume that the one borrowed from the other.”⁴

Other research on contacts prior to modern times focuses exclusively on Germanic and Nordic influence on Saami, not the other way round (Qvigstad 1893; Fischer 1909; Wiklund 1911; Korhonen 1988; Koivulehto 1992; Samallahti 1998 etc.).

4. New etymologies

In the following, new suggestions for Saami loanwords in Old Norse are presented. Some of them have been given no satisfactory etymology until now, others have been given quite far-fetched explanations. 4.1.-4.5 are listed according to probability, starting with the one that I find most secure. 4.6 is placed in the end for the sake of chronology only.

4.1. ON *lund* ‘puffin’

Our safest example will be the Nordic name of the puffin, ON *lund*, Icel. *lund*, Faer. *lund*, Norn *londi*, Norw. *lunde*. As the bird is only found in the west Nordic area, the name is also exclusively West Nordic; Dan. *lunde* and the first part of Swed. *lunnefågel* (‘fågel’ ‘bird’) are borrowed from Norwegian.

Falk (1925: 136) compares Mod. Icel. *lundir* ‘white stripe in the face’ < ON *lundir* ‘flesh under the spine’, pl. of *lund* f. ‘loin, suet’ with the fact that the bird has a white bar over the bill. Neither Vries (1962: 338) nor Blöndal Magnússon (1989: 336) gives any alternative etymology. Qvigstad (1893: 225) mentions North Saami *lunndu* as a borrowing.

⁴ In my opinion, *orri* could easily be another Saami loanword. In Saami, the same word-form means both ‘blackcock (male of black grouse)’ and ‘male reindeer’ in different dialects, so the semantics is much narrower in Nordic (if we separate *orri* from the *ir-* in OHT *irvriso* ‘urochs’ which is closer to Fi. *urhos* ~ gen. *urroksen* ‘male reindeer’), and the initial *r-* in the Saami dialects where it means ‘blackcock’ poses no problem, cf. § 4.6.

A more straightforward solution could arise from looking at the other languages in the area. In North Saami, the word for ‘bird’ is *loddle*, *loddli*. Around 1000, North Saami had still not developed **-nd-* into **-dd-* (and the corresponding **-mb-* into **-bb-*), so the word would have been **londe* at the time. The loss of nasal took place from Proto-Saami to Common Western Saami, and Eastern Saami languages have preserved the old nasal plus stop/affricate clusters, e.g. Kildin Saami *лвоннит /lʷaɲnit/* and Akkala Saami *лондд /londd/* (see Sammallahhti 1998: 36 for phonemic representation of all of the Saami forms). According to Sammallahhti (p. 29), denasalization spread east across the North/Inari Saami border to Inari Saami in present Finland, and Skolt Saami and the now extinct Kemi Saami in Russia after the acquisition of Christian names and terminology probably in the late 16th or early 17th century. It did not reach Akkala Saami because this area was administratively separated from the rest of the Skolt area in the 16th century (Sammallahhti 194). The easternmost Saami languages, Ter Saami and Kola Saami, have also preserved the old nasal.

The PU form is reconstructed as **lunte* (UEW I). The Balto-Fennic proto-form **lintu* designates any kind of bird, but in all other Fenno-Ugric branches, it is primarily used for large birds such as geese, ducks and grouses (e.g. Cherenis *лудо* ‘duck, goose’, Hungarian *lúd* ‘goose’, Ostyak *лонт*, *лунт* ‘goose’, Skolt Saami (Notozero) *лодд /lodd/* ‘grey hen (female of black grouse)’. See also Lagercrantz I: 393, no. 3136).

A Saami origin of ON *lundi* is supported by facts from zoogeography and cultural history: The puffin is among the most numerous of the Northern Scandinavian birds. It lives throughout the Norwegian coast all the way up to the easternmost Kola peninsula, i.e. all along the coast of the Saami-speaking area of the period popularly known as the Viking Age, i.e. 800-1100 A.D. And, most important, birds were among the goods that the Saami peoples paid as tribute (*finn-*

skattir) to the so-called *birkarlar*, tradesmen of Finnish origin whose monopoly to collect tributes from the Saamis became statutory under the Swedish king Erik Magnusson in 1358 (Collinder 1966: 36, Korhonen 1982: 152). So it would only be natural if the Norsemen connected the puffins with the Saamis and borrowed their term for large birds in general⁵.

4.2. ON *sámr* ‘dark grey’

ON *sámr* ‘dark grey’, Mod.Icel. *sámrur*, Norw. *sám* ‘dark’; de Vries (p. 462) regards this adjective as a word of unknown origin. Schröder (1941: Inzunar-Freyr 54) presumes therefore the word to be of non-Indo-European origin. Müllenhoff (1906: 56) thinks of a borrowing from North Saami self-designation *sábmme*, stem *sám-* (pl. *sámek*) which de Vries does not find probable. The latter also notes that the word might not be exclusively Scandinavian if we have to include the OHG PN *Sámo*.

Although a connection with the ethnonym indeed seems far-fetched, Müllenhoff had not gone in the wrong direction when turning to Saami. I believe we are dealing with a different Saami word of similar phonetic shape. North Saami *sámo-* ‘dark, foggy; dark and foggy weather’ (nom.sg. *sábmme*), related to Fi. *sámea* ‘dark, dull’ is the obvious source (< PFW **sáme* ‘fog’, UEW II: 767-768, SKES IV: 1107-1108). In Saami, the word functions as both noun and adjective, but it has been borrowed into ON as an adjective and has consequently been assigned the adjectival ending, mask.nom.sg. *-r*. The only problematic element is the long vowel in ON which, however

⁵ An investigation of other names for birds from the North Sea does not provide us with further Saami etymologies; for phonological and semantic reasons, Fi. *kajona*, Inari Saami *kajjuh*, Ter Saami *kæz* /*kajeg*/ etc., all ‘seagull’ (< Proto-Uralic **kajja-ka*, UEW I: 117) are not very likely to be the source of Mod. Icel. *kjói*, Faeroese *kjígini* (< **kajmni*), No. *kæve*, *jø*, all ‘skua’ (*Lestríp*). Lockwood (1961: 38-41) regards them as onomatopoeic.

might represent the Saami *a* (formerly written *ä*), because there in some North Saami dialects is no phonemic distinction of vowel length. I do not find compensational lengthening by the loss of **-mm-* < **-bm-* very likely, partly because the geminate *-mm-* exists in ON and would be borrowed as such, partly because the form borrowed would rather have been *samo-* that appears in 7 out of 8 cases in the singular and 6 out of 8 cases in the plural.

4.3. ON *baggi* ‘plump animal; package, bundle’

A good candidate for a loanword from Western Saami is ON *baggi* ‘plump animal; package, bundle’, Norw. *bagge* ‘package, hunk; podge, young calf’, *nordbagge* ‘Norwegian pony’, Shetland Norn *bag* ‘scrotum’ and Swed. *bagge* ‘ram’ and in various insect names as the second member of compounds, e.g. *skallbagge* ‘beetle’.⁶ MEEng. *bagge*, Mod.Eng. *bag* (> Fr. *baguë*) is probably a Nordic loan.

Tamm 1890 (I: 20-21) refers a course of events where the word originally meaning ‘sack, scrotum’ has first been assigned the ram with reference to its manhood, whereafter various beetles with horned excrescences have been compared to rams. This does not at all sound unlikely when you think of compound names for beetles in e.g. Danish with *-buk* ‘billy goat, buck’ as the second member. With reference to the Norw. adj. *buggen* ‘plump, podgy’, von Friesen (1897: 97) allows for the animals to have been named directly after their shape. Others have interpreted *baggi* as an irregular variant of *pakki* ‘bundle, package’, including de Vries (p. 22) and Blöndal Magnússon (1989: 36 and 698)⁷ that has cognates in West

⁶ Almost certainly a folk etymology from Lat. *Scarabaeus*, cf. Danish *skambæse* ‘dung beetle’.

⁷ Voiced geminates are quite common in Old Norse animal diminutives and pet names, and besides the fact that *baggi* denotes animals, it is known to have been used by the Swedes and Danes very early as a nickname for the Norwegians; in *Hakonar saga Hakonarsonar*

Germanic. The picture has been blurred by forms with similar form and meaning such as 1) ON *pokei* ‘bundle, purse’, OE *þacca* ‘do.’, Orkney Norn *puddy* ‘belly’ and 2) ON *puogr* ‘bundle, purse’, Goth. *puogs* /pungs/ ‘do.’⁸ So far, the origin of all forms has remained unclear.

Once again, the Saami vocabulary offers alternative etymologies to replace the old doubtful ones. In North Saami, *bagge* actually means ‘animal with a stretched skin; fat or pregnant reindeer’. It is the regular outcome of PU **pinkka* ‘stretch(ed)’ (UEW I; SKES III: 567-568 stretched), though possibly influenced semantically by North Saami *logge* ‘short fat one (person, animal or thing)’ and *bigge* ‘bump, lump, hump; swollen or expanded object’ < PFU **pujka*, **pojka* (UEW I: 404, SKES III: 641). In Balto-Fennic, the root remained as **punka* which can easily be the source of group 2) in the previous paragraph (cf. e.g. Est. *puug* ‘something chubby and protruding, clod, bump, swelling’), while the odds are that group 1) derive from a Western Saami reflex of the same root. ON *baggi* itself could be another Western Saami loanword with the original meaning ‘plump animal’ that later merged with the meanings of the phonetically similar *pakki*:¹⁰

(chapter 326) it is told that Bigger Jarl of Sweden already in 1255 commanded his men not to call the Norwegians “*bagga eða öðrum hæðyrðum*” (SAOB).

⁸ Not to mention ON *biker* ‘belly’, OE *būc* ‘do.’ with a fairly well-established IE etymology (**bheug-* ‘swell, puff out’). It cannot be excluded that some of the other forms mentioned are derivatives to variants of the same root. Still, the particularly rich representation in Germanic speaks for an origin in Northern Europe for at least a part of them (see the following paragraph).

⁹ The North Saami spelling with mediae does not necessarily represent voiced sounds as it is based on Norwegian spelling where *b, d, g* can represent unaspirated rather than voiced phoneme. It depends on the dialect whether the Saami mediae are pronounced voiced or unvoiced.

¹⁰ The two forms have merged in various languages, cf. ON *nestbaggi* ‘lunch pack’ ~ Mod. Norw. *nistepakke* ‘do.’, Eng. *package* ~ Fr. *ba-*

They cannot be Common or Eastern Saami because of the assimilation of the nasal in the sequence $-NT-$, which, as mentioned earlier, is a later development in the Western areas.

4.4. ON *kárn* ‘bird’, Norw. *korn* ‘crow’

Another possible loan from Saami is *kárn* ‘bird’ (e.g. in *jaðrakárn* ‘snipe’)¹¹, Norw. *korn* ‘crow’. It is reminiscent of Germanic **kranan-* ‘crane’, but apart from the semantics and the fact that Nordic languages display an irregular *t-* in this word (ON *trani*), four things are wrong: The stem-vowel is missing, the gender is neuter, the vowel is long, and it precedes the $-r-$. All things considered, the structure of the word looks more Fennic than Nordic. Lule Saami *kárranis*, Skolt and Ter Saami *kárnas*, Kildin Saami *kárnis*, North Saami *gárranas* all mean ‘crow’ (< PU **kVrnē* ‘raven’; UEW I: 228-229, SKES I: 135-136, Lagercrantz 1939: 269, no. 2141). The source could also be Balto-Fennic, cf. Fi. *kaarne*, *karnē* ‘raven’, but Saami seems more likely because the word does not appear in East Nordic.

The irregular vowel correspondence Saami **ā* ~ Balto-Fennic **a* ~ **ā* must be due to onomatopoeic influence which is quite common in bird’s names, cf. ON *snipa* ‘snipe’ (de Vries 525) ~ *snipa* ‘do.’ (de Vries 522), Fi. *kurppa*, (dial.) *kurna*, *kurni*, *kurnisa* ‘woodcock’ for expected \dagger *kar-* (UEW II: 676-677), and the IE words for ‘crow, raven’ (cf. Mallory & Adams 1997: 36). Another possibility is of course that the word has been onomatopoeically formed by the Norsemen themselves, and that this is the explanation of its peculiar structure.

gagge, and as their meanings overlapped, they were surely already in ON perceived as variants of one word.

¹¹ Words meaning ‘crow’ also appear in compound designations for large birds, so perhaps the meaning was ‘crow’ in ON as well.

4.5. ON *jarki*, *ilki* ‘footsole’

ON *jarki* and *ilki* both mean ‘footsole’. According to de Vries (1962: 290 and 284 resp.) they are both formed with the same suffix $-ki$ used in designations for body-parts (also in *kejalkei* ‘cheek, sledge’, pp. 310-311, and *makkei* ‘raven’, p. 376): *jarki* via an alleged **jaðrki* from *jaðarr* ‘raven’, and *ilki* from *il* ‘footsole’.

Jarki is only found in West Nordic languages: Mod. Icel. *jarki*, Faet. *jarki*, Norw. *jark*, Orkney Norn *yark*, and Shetland Norn *jark*, *jarki(n)*. The meaning of *jaðarr* is quite far away from that of the derivation, and the intermediate stage **jaðrki* is merely a reconstruction. As to *ilki*, it is today found only in Norw. *ilke(ø)*, whereas the simplex *il* has cognates in West Germanic; however, only in Nordic and OE it means ‘footsole’, whereas e.g. MLG *ill* only means ‘callous skin’. The word is etymologically unclear.

There is a possibility that none of the two words *jarki* and *ilki* are Nordic derivations. Modern North Saami *jielge* ‘footprint, track’ is probably borrowed from Finnish or some other Balto-Fennic language. The Proto-Uralic root is **jälkä* (UEW I: 91, SKES I: 129-130), almost certainly ultimately related to **jalka* ‘foot’ (UEW I: 88-89, SKES I: 113). The latter is handed over in all of the Saami languages; in certain Swedish dialects of South Saami (Snåsa, Tännäs, Röros) it has developed into *jielkie*, *jielkij* (Lagercrantz 1936: 208), and the Ter Saami form is *üine /jilke/*. However, the regular outcome of PU **a* (via Proto-Saami **uo*) in the latter language is *ä /j/*, whereas *ü /i/* stems from PU initial **(j)ä-*. Furthermore, initial **-ä* and **-a* merged into Proto-Saami **-ē*, so it is very likely that the Uralic words for ‘foot’ and ‘footprint, track’ merged into one word in Saami. This assumption is supported by the fact that **jälkä* otherwise seems to have disappeared in Saami as an inherited word.

Ter Saami alone cannot be the source of ON *ilki* as the features that defines the independent Ter Saami language had not yet occurred at the time. The unrounding of Proto-Saami **uo* only occurs in Ter Saami, not even in the closely related Kildin Saami, which means that it has to be a fairly recent development. The outcome of PU **ü* and PS **a*, however, is *i* in all of the Eastern Saami languages and even some of the Western, so if we assume that *uue* represents an earlier more widespread continuation of Proto-Saami **jalkeē* < PU **jäl/keä*, the way to ON *ilki* is short. ON *jarkei* can have been borrowed at an earlier stage when the vocalism of Eastern Saami had not yet run wild, or it could be a loan from a Balto-Fennic language.¹²

As de Vries shows, it is not at all impossible, although debatable, to derive ON *jarkei* and *ilki* from Nordic morphemes. However, it is in any case remarkable that two words with the same meaning ‘footsole’ in one language correspond to two phonetically similar words in neighbouring languages meaning ‘footprint, track’ and ‘foot’ respectively. And since the Saami words definitely go back to at least Proto-Fenno-Ugric, they cannot have been borrowed the other way round.

One question remains: Why should the Norsemen have borrowed a designation for a body-part like ‘footsole’ from Saami or Balto-Fennic? The answer is quite straightforward: the meaning at the time of the borrowing was still that of the lending language, spoken by a population of nomadic hunters. A word with the meaning ‘footprint, track’ was just as closely

¹² It must be noted, though, that no known Saami or Balto-Fennic language show neither regular development of **r* > *l* nor sporadic alternation between the two liquids (although this is known to be typologically very common). A development /*k*- > *-rk*- then must have taken place in Old Norse itself or in some unknown extinct dialect of Saami or Balto-Fennic.

connected to Saami culture (and the Nordic perception of it) as the names of various hunted animals.¹³

4.6. Sw. *amka* ‘tame duck, white duck’

Larsson (1992: 98-99) mentions that while the Swedish standard language has solely adopted Saami words for phenomena connected particularly with Saami way of life, the dialects of Northern Sweden has been significantly influenced by the local varieties of Saami, with regard to phonology as well as vocabulary. The *Vilhelmina* dialect of Western Norrland is the most heavily influenced (by the northern dialect of South Saami), followed by those of Arjeplog (by Ume Saami) and Jämtland (by the southern dialect of South Saami). According to Dahlstedt 1950 (1950: 214), the *Vilhelmina* vocabulary contains as many as 40 concrete words of Saami origin. Many are terms connected with Saami tradition and culture; however, none of these seem to have been borrowed into Old Norse proper.¹⁴

A candidate for a Saami loanword in common Swedish could be *amka* ‘tame duck, white duck’, first recorded in 1587. To my knowledge, the only serious proposal so far, though still disputed, is Rydquist’s (1850-83, V: 15, 219) that the word is most probably borrowed from a diminutive **am/ke* of MLG *ant* ‘duck’, reconstructed on the basis of Lübeck dialect *ahnk*

¹³ Cf. that the Norsemen and other European peoples at the time used the ethnonym *finnar* for the Saami peoples, most often explained as a derivation from verb *finna* ‘look for, track down’ (e.g. Karsten 1915: 230).

¹⁴ *Vilhelmina aja* ‘grandfather’ is listed in Dahlstedt 1950: 156 as a loan from Saami *ajja* ‘do; old man’, but ON *ái* ‘grandfather, forefather’ is said to be identical with *aji* ‘man’, which is of Proto-Germanic origin (de Vries p. 2-3). Besides, words of such simple structure designating parents or grandparents are typologically known to be formed in children’s language and can appear independently in any language. They should consequently only be used very carefully in the argumentation for linguistic contacts, let alone affinity.

‘duck’¹⁵. This etymology, which is followed by Kock (1887: 74-75), Tamm (1895-1905: I, 10) and Hellquist (1966), seems absolutely probable. It must also be taken into account, however, that the word does not appear in Danish at all, and that the designation is limited to tame ducks only. Both facts, I believe, speaks for a different origin. In Lule Saami, the word for ‘snow duck’ is *happjå*, corresponding to the first part of Ume Saami (Malå dialect) *appjå-lahkea* ‘tame duck’ (borrowed into Finnish dialects as *hankelas*, *hankelo*, *hankelo* ‘snow duck’). It has a well-established Uralic etymology and can not be a borrowing the other way round (PU **apjē*, UEW I: 13, SKES I: 55). Swed. *anka* is one possible representation of a Saami form *appjå* (see footnote 13), but we could also imagine an original Swed. *anga* or *ang* later transformed into *anka* under the influence of several bird’s names ending in *-ka*: *lårka* ‘lark’, *kråka* ‘crow’, *råka* ‘rook’, *siska* ‘siskin’, *alka* ‘razorbill’¹⁶.

5. Conclusion

Saami loanwords do by no means constitute a large part of the Old Norse vocabulary. The loans are limited to designations linked to Saami way of life and their contacts with the Norsemen, whereas Norse and other Nordic loans in Saami are massive. This asymmetric relationship is typical for contact between two peoples, where the borrower is technically and politically superior. However, our knowledge about the modern Saami languages as well as their earlier stages must be taken into account in the unearthing of the origins of the more obscure parts of the Old Norse thesaurus.

¹⁵ Rydquist himself speaks against the alternative suggestion that *anka* could be a contraction of an original feminine *ant-kona*, *ankona*, lit. ‘duck’s wife’ (parallel to Old Swed. *frænka* ~ *frændkona*, both ‘female relative’). See also Kock, pp. 76-77.

¹⁶ The last case would make up a compromise with Rydquist’s alternative explanation mentioned in footnote 16 (see Kock, p. 75).

Litteratur

- Dahlstedt, Karl-Hampus, 1950: *Det svenska Vilhelminamålet. Språkgeografiska studier över ett norrländskt nybyggarmål och dess grunddialekter, 1: Allmän inledning / ord och betydelse*. A-B. Uppsala.
- Falk, Hjalmar, 1925: “Svensk ordforskning”. – *Arkiv för Nordiskt Filologiskt* 41: 113-139.
- von Friesen, Otto, 1897: *Om de germanska medagenminatorna med särskild hänsyn till de nordiska språken*. Uppsala.
- Collinder, Björn, 1953: *Lapparna*. Stockholm.
- Fischer, Frank, 1909: *Die Lehnwörter des altnordnordischen* [= *Palaestra* 85]. Berlin.
- Hellquist, Elof, 1966: *Svensk Etymologisk Ordbok, 1-2*. Lund.
- Karsten, Torsten Evert, 1915: *Germanisch-finnische Lehnwortbeziehungen*. Helsinki.
- Kock, Axel, 1887: *Undersökningar i svensk språkhistoria*. Lund.
- Koivulehto, Jorma, 1992: “Germanisch-lappische Lehnbeziehungen”. – László Honti & al. (eds): *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachen zwischen dem germanischen und dem slavischen Sprachraum*. Amsterdam / Atlanta: 85-96.
- Korhonen, Mikko, 1988: “History of the Lapp Language”. – Denis Sinor (ed.): *The Uralic languages. Description, history and foreign influence*. Leiden: 264-288.
- Korhonen, Olavi, 1982: *Samisk-finska båttermen och ortnamns-element och deras slaviska bakgrund*. Umeå.
- Lagercrantz, Eitel, 1939: *Lappischer Wortschatz, 1-2*. Helsinki.
- Larsson, Lars-Gunnar, 1992: “Gemeindelappen und Schweden”. – László Honti & al. (eds): *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachen zwischen dem germanischen und dem slavischen Sprachraum*. Amsterdam / Atlanta: 97-110.
- Lockwood, W.B., 1961: *The Faeroese Bird Names* [= *Faerensia textus & investigationes* 5]. Copenhagen.
- Magnússon, Ásgeir Blöndal, 1989: *Íslensk orðsifjabók*. Reykjavík.
- Mallory, James & Douglas Q. Adams (eds), 1997: *Encyclopedia of Indo-European culture*. London.
- Mundal, Else, 1996: “The perception of the Saami people and their religion in Old Norse sources”. – Juha Pentikäinen (ed.): *Shamanism and Northern Ecology*. Berlin & New York: 97-116.

Saami Loanwords in the Old Norse Dialects

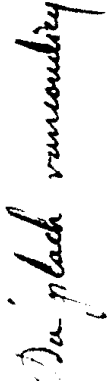
- Mundal, Else, 2000: "Coexistence of Saami and Norse Culture – reflected in and interpreted by Old Norse myths". – Geraldine Burnes & Margaret Clunies Ross (eds): *Old Norse Myths, Literature and Society. Proceedings from the 11th International Saga Conference 2-7 July 2000. University of Sydney*. Sydney: 346-355.
- Mitlenhoff, Karl, 1906: *Deutsche Altertumskunde 2. Neuer verb. abdruck besorgt durch Max Roediger mit 4 Karten von Heinrich Kiepert*. Berlin.
- Qvigstad, Just Knud, 1893: *Nordische Lehnwörter im Lappischen*. Christiania (Oslo) [= *Forhandlinger i Videnskabs-Selskabet i Christiania* 1893, 1]
- Rydgquist, Johan Er., 1850-53: *Svenska Språkets Lager, 1-6*. Stockholm.
- Sammallahti, Pekka, 1998: *The Saami Languages*. Käräsjoikka/Karasjokk. SAOB = *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*. <http://gu3.spraakdata.gu.se/saob>
- Schrijver, Peter, 2003: "Early developments of the vowel systems of North-West Germanic and Saami". – Alfred Bammesberger & Theo Vennemann (eds): *Languages in Prehistoric Europe*. Heidelberg.
- SKES = Yrjö H. Toivonen, Erkki Ikonen & Aulis J. Joki: *Suomalainen etymologinen sanakirja, 1-7*. 1958-81.
- Tamm, Fredrik, 1890-1905: *Etymologisk svensk ordbok. 1 (A-Karsk)*. 8 fascicles. Uppsala.
- UEW = Károly Rédei, 1991: *Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 1-3*. Budapest.
- de Vries, Jan, 1962: *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Leiden.
- Wiklund, K.B., 1911: "Zur kenntnis der ältesten germanischen lehnwörter im finnischen und lappischen". – *Le Monde Oriental* 5: 217-252.

zation of *-e-*”) completely and simply allow for both *-e-* and *-ae-* to be broken into *-ea-* in front of *-h*.¹ Jackson suggested that Ernault “was perhaps led astray by the spelling of lit. *V.*, in which *-eah* is found only from *-aifθ*” (Jackson 1967: 101). This is, however, a gross oversimplification of the facts, as will be shown below. To object, as Jackson does (1967: 100), that some of the points in the ALBB show diphthongization of old *-e-* in front of *-h* is not very helpful, since this may easily be secondary, due to the tendency to diphthongize *e* before any consonant (as Jackson himself admits). And even if these instances actually do represent breaking of **e > -ea-* before *-h* they clearly belong to a later stratum, being only very rarely represented in older texts and the literary language (if at all).

To begin with the counterexamples to “Ernault’s distribution”, *oheah*, *eheah*, and *meneah* are not traditional HV forms, being attested almost exclusively in Pell. and Grég.² This alone should make one suspicious about their status as belonging to literary HV. We should instead base our treatment of breaking on texts or dictionaries that present a relatively uniform norm, in order to avoid interference from sub-dialects that show unconditioned breaking of *e*.

Breaking of *e > ea* in Haut-Vannetais

Anders Richardt Jørgensen
University of Copenhagen



Da plach rumouridry

Pelletier ms. (1716) p. 1461

The phenomenon of breaking in Haut-Vannetais (HV) was dealt with briefly by d’Arbois de Jubainville (1870-1872: 92-93), who stated that *-e-* was broken to *-ea-* in the suffix *-eah* due to the following consonant *-h* (implying that there was a tendency to let *-e-* be broken in front of *-h*). This was rejected by Ernault (1896: 357-360), who claimed that *-e-* was never broken in front of *-h*. Ernault’s objection to this formulation, as usually hidden away in the comment on some only half-way relevant word (in this case under MBret. *lech* ‘place’ which does not show breaking in HV), was, that we have numerous instances of unbroken *-eh < *ex, *eθ*. The few certain cases of breaking of **-ex, *eθ* are explained away summarily “par des compromis analogiques”. On the other hand, and this point is very clear, **-at- > *-ae-* was seen as giving *-ea-* in front of *-h* as in HV *leah* ‘milk’ (*< *laθ < Lat. lacte-*), *seah* ‘thunderbolt’ (*< *saθ < *saryeθ < Lat. sagitta*), and the nominal suffix *-eah < *-atθ < *-axt-*.

The inability of Ernault to explain the few counterexamples (*oheah*, pl. *eheah* ‘husband’, *meneah* ‘monks’) led Jackson (1967: 99-101, 131) to discard Ernault’s restriction (“no diphthongi-

¹ We may contrast the above instances of breaking with the complete absence of breaking in the case of older **e/i* (examples from G&G): *béh* ‘piece’ *< LPBrit. *peθ* (MW *peθ*) *< *k^heʒdā* (OIr. *cūt* *< *k^heʒdā*), *léh* ‘place’ *< LPBrit. *lex* *< *lex-so-?* (MW *lle < *leyid̥*), *èih* ‘attention, care’ (MBret. *euez*, ModBret. *euezh*), *béh* ‘load, burden’ *< *beθ < LPBrit. *bex* (MW *beich*) *< *baskeʒor*, *bréh* ‘arm’ *< *breθ < LPBrit. *brex* (MW *breich* ‘arm’) *< Lat. brachium*, *bréh* ‘small-pox’ *< LPBrit. *brec* (MW *brech* ‘pox’) *< *briekā* (OIr. *brec* ‘spotted’), *déh* ‘yesterday’ *< LPBrit. *dex* *< *deh?* (MW *doe < *dē*) *< PCelt. *edes(i)*, *huéh* ‘six’ *< LPBrit. *srex* (MW *chue(ch)*) *< PCelt. *srex*, *huéh* ‘breath’ *< LPBrit. *sryeθ* (MW *chrythuf* ‘to blow’) *< PCelt. *sryzd̥*, *téh* ‘run away’ *< LPBrit. *tex-* (MW *tech* ‘retreat’) *< PCelt. desid. *tex-v-*, *méh* ‘disgrace’ *< LPBrit. *meθ* (MW *meth* ‘failure’), *séh* ‘dry’ *< LPBrit. *srx* (MW *sych*) *< Lat. sicut*, *néh* ‘nest’ *< LPBrit. *nθ* (MW *nyth*) *< PCelt. *nizd̥*. Grég. (121) *oheah*, *eheah*, *oahah*, *oahah*, pl. *eheeh*, *eheeh*, *eheh*, and (147) *menah*, *menh* ‘monks’ are given as belonging to Vann.

Using Châlons (1723) and Guillevic & Le Goff's (1924) as the basis we find the following examples of *-eah*, grouped according to the origin of the vocalism:

1. ***-ea-* from **-ai-***
 - *feahēin* (Châl., G&G) 'defeat, conquer' < **faiθ-* (MBret. *fæzæff*, *fæz*, ModBret. *fæzhan*).
 - *leah* (Châl., G&G) 'milk' < **laiθ* (MBret. *laez*, ModBret. *laezh*) < Lat. *lacte*.
 - *queah*, *quiah* (Châl.) 'poor, miserable' < **kaatθ*, spelled *keh* in G&G (MBret. *quæz*, ModBret. *kaezh*, ModW *caeth* 'captive') < Lat. *captiv*.
 - *séah* (Châl.), *seah* (G&G) 'strike with lightning' < **sæθ* (MBret. *sæz*, ModBret. *sæzh*, ModW *saethu* 'shoot (an arrow)') < **sæpæθ* < Lat. *sagitta*.
 - The suffix *-eah*³ (Châl.) < **-atθ* (MBret. *-ez*, ModBret. *-ezh*); spelled *-eh*⁴ in G&G.
2. ***-ea-* from **-oi-* (when the *-o-* is lost)**
 - *hineah* (Châl., G&G) 'tonight' < **he-noiθ* (MBret. *henoez*, *henoez*, *henoz*, ModBret. *henozh*) < PCelt. **-noxt-*.

³ *bélequia* 'priesthood', *bertereah* 'noise', *brediah* 'brotherhood', *bruhulereah* 'roar', *charochereah* 'creaking', *chiquereah* 'damage', *chouriquereah* 'creaking', *goannidigueah* 'weakness', *goedereah* 'bleeding, blood-letting', *gourdouzeareah* 'strife, argument, threat', *gourreimereah* 'wrestling, fight', *grondereah* 'strife, fight', *laireah* 'theft', *lasquennereah* 'act of rocking (a cradle)', *marhadoureah* 'goods', *marhateah* 'bargain, haggle', *multreareah* 'murder', *noisereah* 'noise', etc.

⁴ *truhgeh* 'misery', *tronpereh* 'fraud', *konpagueoneh* 'company', *dalledigeh*, *folleh* 'insanity', *hæreh* 'longing', *ranteleh* 'kingdom', *sorsereh* 'sorcery', *kerstèneh* 'Christianity', *kribereh* 'act of combing', etc.

- *treakh* (Châl., G&G) 'urine' < **traiθ* (MBret. *truaez*, ModBret. *truaezh*) < PCelt. **tro(n)xta-* or **tru(n)xiā* (Schrijver 1995: 222-223).

3. ***-ea-* from **-ō-***

- *peah* (Châl., G&G) 'peace' < **pōx* (MBret. *peuch*, ModBret. *peachh*) < Lat. *pāx* (apparently with **-x:s* > **-x* as if the word was inherited; cf. Jackson 1967: 131).
- *eah* (G&G) 'fear, horror' < **iθ* (MBret. *euaz*, ModBret. *euazh*).

Ad 1. This was already noted by Ernault (cf. above), although no phonetic explanation was given. It is highly probable that **-ai-* went through a stage **-εε-* (Jackson, 1967: 177), and in HV probably further to **-ε-* (subphonemically long in front of single consonants).

Ad 2. These instances were not noted by Ernault, but make perfect sense. It is a well-known fact that *-e-* is lowered in the diphthong *-oe-*. When the *-o-* is retained we find *-oe-* in HV, *-oa-* in LTK. However, in front of **-x* (< **-x;* **-θ*) we have further lowering to *-oa-* in parts of HV, e.g. *peah* 'cooked' (< **pōex* < LPBrit. **pōaθ* < PCelt. **k^hoxt-*). This allows us to posit an intermediary stage with *-oe-* (cf. Jackson, 1967: 191-192). When the first part of the diphthong is lost, as in *treakh* and *hineah*, we find that the *-e-* develops as if from **-ai-* above. This assumption is backed up by the surprising open vowel in early HV

⁵ MBret. *euaz*, MCorn *uth*, *uth* / *öθ*/, but ModW *uith* (with WBrit. **i*). The early age of SWBrit. **ō* is insured by OBret. (9th cent.) *arotriōn* gl. *atrovia*, which should be read /arōtriōn/, being the plural corresponding to MW *aruthl* 'terrible; extraordinary; marvelous' (cf. Fleuriot 1964a: 74 with a somewhat confusing analysis: /arōtriōn/?). Probably further related to OIr. *tiath* (LEIA U-11), but the details are unclear.

(e.g. Châlons) *blai* [blē] ‘year’ < **bloe*[ð] < **bload* (cf. ModBret. *bloaz*).

Ad 3. Already Ernault (1896: 226) noted that what corresponds to MBret. *euç* ‘horror’ and *peuch* ‘peace’ shows an identical diphthongization in HV. He seemed to think that V *eah* and *peah* derived from **eoax* and **peax* from earlier **ið* and **þix*, the reason for the attested *-ea-* (not *-e-* as expected) being the once present rounding of the vowel. However, a much simpler solution presents itself:

In all three instances of *-eah* we can posit a prestage **-ēx*. For 1. and 2. this is uncontroversial, but for 3. (**-ō-*) this is less so. However, as I believe to have shown elsewhere, Châlons’ dictionary preserves a difference between **ō* and **e* in open syllables (where the vowels are long). This can be exemplified by *prîêt* ‘spouse’ (< **prîid* < Lat. *prīvātū*), *sulêr* ‘hay-loft’ (< **sülör* < Lat. *sōlāriū*) as opposed to *-é-* from **-e-*. Thus **ō* appears as /*ε*/ when long while **e* gives /*e*/ under the same circumstances.

Thus we can solve the problem if we assume that **ō* was unrounded to **ε* even when long. The rule of breaking of **e* > *ea* / ___*x* in HV can now be stated quite precisely: **ε* > *ea* / ___*x* (the vowel will automatically be long, since *x* cannot be the first member in a consonant cluster). Thus **þix* [pœ:x] ‘peace’ gave **þēx* by the regular unrounding of **ō* and then *peah* with breaking in front of *-x*.

To return to Jackson’s statement (1967: 101) — that the spelling *-eah* just happens to have been generalized in the suffix **-aeθ* — this could theoretically be the correct explanation for the attested distribution (if it was at all accurate) but as we have seen, Lit. V presents other cases with *-eah* (and G&G does not even spell *-eah* in the case of the suffix **-aeθ*). Are we really to believe that HV by some amazing coincidence happened to diphthongize **þex* ‘peace’ and **ēx* ‘horror’ (inciden-

tally from **þix* and **ið*), but not **þex* ‘piece’, **lex* ‘place’, **nex* ‘nest’ etc. (from **peθ*, **lex*, **uθ*).

Summing up, the HV literary language still shows traces of the open quality of LPBrit. **ɔ* (< PCelt. **ā*). This is seen in front of **-x* and **-θ* where we find *-ea-* from **ō* (< **ɔ*), but *-e-* from **e* (< **e*, **ɔ* mainly).

References

- ALBB = Pierre Le Roux (ed.), 1977: *Atlas Linguistique de la Basse-Bretagne*. Paris / Rennes.
- Châl. = Pierre de Châlons, 1723: *Dictionnaire Breton-François du diocèse de Vannes*, Vannes.
- D’Arbois de Jubainville, H., 1870-1872: “Étude phonétique sur le dialecte breton de Vannes”. – *Revue Celtique* 1: 85-105, 211-221.
- Ernault, Émile, 1896: *Glossaire moyen-breton*, II. Paris.
- Grég. = P.F. Grégoire de Rostrenen, 1834: *Dictionnaire Français-Celtique on Français-Breton*. Guingamp.
- Guillevic & Le Goff (G&G) = A. Guillevic & P. Le Goff, 1924: *Vocabulaire Breton-Français et Français-Breton du dialecte de Vannes*. Vannes.
- Jackson, Kenneth Hurlstone, 1967: *A Historical Phonology of Breton*. Dublin.
- Pell. = Dom Le Pelletier, 1752: *Dictionnaire de la Langue bretonne*. Delaguette.
- Schrijver, Peter, 1995: *Studies in British Celtic Historical Phonology*. Amsterdam / Atlanta.

tives cannot reflect a zero-grade root $*C\check{u}R\text{-}\check{s}\acute{e}e/\acute{o}$. It is therefore often claimed that these iteratives are secondary formations (cf. Melchert 1994: 168, Oettinger 1992: 218, Kimball 1999: 249). The common opinion is that in these forms the full-grade stem $C\check{u}eR$ has been used, which would yield attested $C\check{u}aR\check{s}\acute{e}i$.

If we look into the origin of the $\text{-}\check{s}\acute{e}i$ -iteratives, however, we must conclude that this is an odd assumption. The Hittite iteratives in $\text{-}\check{s}\acute{e}i$ - developed out of the PIE verb formations with the $\text{-}\check{s}\acute{e}e/\acute{o}$ -suffix. In PIE, this suffix is always added to the zero-grade of the verb root (e.g. PIE $*g^m m\text{-}\check{s}\acute{e}e$ - ‘to go’ > Gk. $\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omega$, Skt. $g\acute{a}cchati$, Av. $jasaiti$; PIE $*pr\acute{e}\text{-}\check{s}\acute{e}e$ - ‘to ask’ > Skt. $pr\acute{c}h\acute{a}ti$, Arm. $har\acute{i}$; Lat. $posc\acute{o}$, OHG $forxc\acute{o}n$). This practice can be observed in Hittite as well (e.g. $\check{z}ik\acute{e}e$ - (iter. from $d\acute{a}i$ - ‘to put’) < $*d^h h\text{-}\check{s}\acute{e}e$; $app\check{e}\check{s}\acute{e}i$ - (iter. from $ep\check{p}$ - / app - ‘to take’) < $*h\check{p}\text{-}\check{s}\acute{e}e$). Moreover, on a synchronic level in Hittite we still observe that $\text{-}\check{s}\acute{e}i$ -iteratives are formed of the weak stem.²

Besides these more general observations, we should also look at the paradigms of the verbs themselves. If we look into the paradigm of $kenen$ - ‘to kill’ on a synchronic level, we find three different stems: $keue(n)$ -, $kun-$ and $kuua(n)$ -. The stems $kenen$ - and $kun-$ are common throughout the paradigm, whereas $kuuan-$ can be found in the iterative only. The same goes for the stems $kuuar$ - and $kuuakuuar$ -. They occur in the iterative only. As in the paradigms of these verbs no other forms with a stem $C\check{u}aR$ - are available in analogy to which these iteratives could have been reshaped, the concept of a secondary origin of these forms cannot be correct.³ I conclude that these itera-

² That is why we find besides $kuuaraski$ - and $kuuakuuaraski$ - also the iteratives $kenaski$ -, $kunaski$ - and $kuuakunaski$ -, $kukkenaski$ -. These are recent forms build on the synchronic weak stems $kun-$ and $kuuakun-$. Indeed would a form $*g^m h\check{e}r\text{-}\check{s}\acute{e}e/\acute{o}$ - by normal soundlaws lead to $keua(n)\check{s}\acute{e}i$ -, but the same goes for e.g. 2sg.pres. $*g^m h\check{e}r\text{-}\acute{s}i$ and 3sg.pres. $*g^m h\check{e}r\text{-}\acute{s}i$, which should have given $**keua(n)\acute{s}i$ and $**kuuan\acute{s}i$. Instead we find $ken\acute{s}i$ and $kuen\acute{s}i$ in which the $\text{-}e$ - was analogically restored. If

The Hittite syllabification of PIE $*C\check{u}R$

Alwin Kloekhorst
Leiden University

On the occasion of the 30th birthday of my friend Jenny Larsson I would like to discuss here the very appropriate Hittite forms $kuuaski$ - ‘to kill’, $kuuaraski$ - ‘to cut’ and $kuuakuuaraski$ - ‘to mutilate’.

It is generally thought that a PIE sequence $*C\check{u}R$ syllabifies as Hitt. $C\check{u}R$ in all circumstances, cf. Melchert 1994: 55, Kimball 1999: 249. Indeed we find many examples that support this assumption: Hitt. $kuranz\acute{i}$ ‘they cut’ < $*k^m r\text{-}\acute{e}nti$, $kuuanz\acute{i}$ ‘they kill’ < $*g^m h\text{-}\acute{e}nti$ and $kukurwant-$ ‘slandering’ < $*k^m\text{-}k^m r\text{-}ont-$.

There are, nevertheless, some forms that seem to show a development $*C\check{u}R >$ Hitt. $C\check{u}aR$ -, viz. $kuuaski$ - (iter. of $kenen$ -/ kun - ‘to kill’), $kuuaraski$ - (iter. of $kuen$ -/ kun - ‘to cut’) and $kuuakuuaraski$ - (iter. of $kuu(k)ur$ - ‘to mutilate’). On the basis of these examples, Oettinger (1979: 119) states that a sequence $*C\check{u}RC$ (before consonant) yields Hitt. $C\check{u}aRC$. He retracts this view, however, in 1992: 218 on the basis of e.g. Melchert 1984: 52, who explicitly states that “a sequence $*C\check{u}RC$ does not syllabify as $*C\check{u}RC$ (> Hitt. $C\check{u}aRC$), but as $C\check{u}RC$ ”. His examples seem convincing, e.g. Hitt. $hurki$ - ‘wheel’ < $*h\check{u}rg\text{-}i$.

If indeed all instances of $*C\check{u}R$ (before vowel as well as consonant) syllabify as Hitt. $C\check{u}R$, the above-mentioned itera-

¹ Including $*K^mR$.

tives (C₁uR₁ski-) must be archaic and show a genuine syllabification C₁uR₁ski- from *C₁uR-ské/ó-: ku₁as₁ki- < *g^mh₁-ské/ó-, ku₁aras₁ki- < *k^mr-ské/ó- and ku₁aku₁aras₁ki- < *k^mo-k^mrs-ské/ó-.

How do these forms relate then to the common outcome C₁uR- < *C₁uR-? In my view, we cannot deny that PIE *C₁uR₁ and *C₁uR₁CV both syllabify as Hitt. C₁uR₁ and C₁uR₁CV (e.g. ku₁an₁zi < *g^mh₁-éni, ku₁ku₁ras₁nt- < *k^mv-k^mrs-ont), but the PIE sequence *C₁uR₁CC (thus with two consonants following *C₁uR) is syllabified as Hitt. C₁uR₁CC (written C₁u₁aR₁CC).⁴ At first glance this may seem like an odd distribution, but it fits in well, e.g., with the established developments *eR₁CV > Hitt. eR₁CV, whereas *eR₁CC > Hitt. aR₁CC (cf. Melchert 1994: 136-7).

There is, however, one verb in which we seem to find that *C₁uR₁CC developed to Hitt. C₁uR₁CC, viz. *guls-* ‘to carve, to engrave’ (e.g. 1sg.pres. *gulsmi* (*gul-as-mi*), 3sg.pres. *gulszi* (*gul-as-zi*). This verb is generally derived from PIE *k^mels- ‘to carve’ (Gk. *τέλον* ‘furrow’, Skt. *karṣati* ‘to plow’), so 3sg.pres. *gulszi* seems to reflect *k^mlsti. This is strange, of course, as *mi*-verbs in general reflect *e/∅*-ablaut. The original paradigm of *k^mels- therefore must have been *k^mels-ti : *k^ml₁-énti. The 3pl.pres. regularly gave Hitt. *gulsanz₁*, the stem of which must have spread throughout the paradigm, replacing original ***kuelszi* by *gulszi*. This *gul-* was the regular syllabification of *k^ml₁- before vowel in the 3pl., so the existence of the forms *gulsmi* and *gulszi* are not contradictory to the regular development *C₁uR₁CC > C₁uR₁CC as unraveled above.!

the iterative indeed was secondarily formed as *g^men-ské/ó-, I do not understand why this form would not have been reshaped to ***ku₁e(n)₁ski-* either.

⁴ The same probably goes for the iterative *u₁an₁zke-* of *uen-* ‘to fuck’ (**u₁l₁-ské/ó-*).

References

- Kimball, S.E., 1999: *Hittite Historical Phonology*. Innsbruck.
 Melchert, H.C., 1984: *Studies in Hittite Historical Phonology*. Göttingen.
 Melchert, H.C., 1994: *Anatolian Historical Phonology*. Amsterdam / Atlanta.
 Oettinger, N., 1979: *Die Stammbildung des hethitischen Verbums*. Nürnberg.
 Oettinger, N., 1992: “Die hethitischen Verbalstämme”. – O. Carruba (ed.), *Per una grammatica ittita*. Pavia: 213-52.

Dybo's law. I shall try to make plausible that the word does not contradict this sound law, but rather that the proto-form usually given in etymological dictionaries must be corrected. In this way, the taking into account of the word's accentuation and of Dybo's law enables us to be more precise in our reconstruction of the proto-form of the word.

Various IE languages present a great number of different words with the structure $*b^hVl-$ and a meaning identical with or close to 'white'. However, none of them can be exactly matched with Slavic $*b\acute{e}l\acute{s}$. I do not intend to treat these non-Slavic words here. My only purpose is to give – on the basis of the internally reconstructed pre-Slavic form – an IE reconstruction that accounts not only for the word's segmental, but also for its prosodic development in Slavic. For an analysis of the whole word family, the interested reader is referred to Pokorný's or Trubačev's treatments of the material.⁵

2. Let us first have a look at the Slavic material which justifies a Common Slavic reconstruction $*b\acute{e}l\acute{s}$ with a.p. *b*.⁶

- East Slavic: Russian *béljij* (*bél, belá, bélb, bélyj*); Ukrainian *bilij*; Belarusian *bély*;
- West Slavic: Czech *bílý*; Slovak *biely*; Upper Sorbian *běły*; Lower Sorbian *běły*; Polish *biały*, dial. (Małopolska) *biały*;⁸ Slovencian *bjáuli*.
- South Slavic: Štokavian *běli* (*běo, běla, bělo, běli*); Čakavian *běli* (*běl, bēlā, bēlō*); Slovenian *běli* (*běl, běla, bělo, bēlō*); Old Church Slavonic *běls*; Bulgarian *bjáel*; Macedonian *bel*.

⁵ Pokorný 1959, 1: 118–120; Trubačev 1974, 2: 79–81.

⁶ For the accentuation cf. Illič-Svityč 1963: 141; Vaillant 1950–1977, 2: 609; Dybo 1981: 103, 108, 110; Zaliznjak 1985: 136.

⁷ The endstressed forms being the older ones, cf. Bulaxovs'kyj 1948: 194–195; Kiparsky 1962: 270.

⁸ Polish dialect quoted from Kucała 1957: 49, 67; Slovencian quoted from Lorentz 1908–1912, 1: 36.

The role of accentuation in etymology: The case of Slavic $*b\acute{e}l\acute{s}$ 'white'

Thomas Olander
University of Copenhagen

1. In a long footnote to his *Vergleichende Grammatik der baltischen Sprachen* from 1966, Chr. S. Stang criticises the idea that the Common Slavic immobile accent paradigms (a.p. *a* and *b*) are in complementary distribution, and that this distribution is due to a phonetic stress advancement from a non-acute syllable to the following syllable.¹ This sound law, later known as "Dybo's law",² had been put forward a few years earlier by V.A. Dybo and V.M. Illič-Svityč³ and was based on the findings of Stang himself in his *Slavonic accentuation* from 1957.

I shall not go into a discussion of the part of Stang's criticism of Dybo's law that is directed against the claim that the advancement of stress had a morphological constraint, i.e. that it did not affect words with mobile stress (a.p. *c*). Neither shall I try to explain the stress of *i*-presents of the type 1.sg. $*pláčŭ$, 3.sg. $*pláčitb$ 'pay' and 1.sg. $*travijŭ$, 3.sg. $*travitb$ 'waste', in Stang's opinion also contradicting Dybo's law.⁴

The present paper is only concerned with Stang's mention of Common Slavic $*b\acute{e}l\acute{s}$ 'white' (a.p. *b*) as a counterexample to

¹ Stang 1966: 288–289, fn. 2.

² Some authors prefer the name "Illič-Svityč's law", cf. Collinge 1985: 31–33.

³ Dybo 1962: 7; Dybo & Illič-Svityč 1963: 80.

⁴ Mathiassen 1983: 110 adds some further apparent counterexamples to Dybo's law, with which we shall not be concerned here.

As can be seen from above, all Slavic languages point unanimously towards a Common Slavic reconstruction **bělŭ* with a.p. *b*.

3. The further etymology of **bělŭ*, however, is less certain. Not taking into consideration the accentuation, two possible pre-Slavic reconstructions would give the historical forms – **bělu* and **bajlu*.

The proponents of the former of these reconstructions either take pre-Slavic **bělu* to be the reflex of a lengthened grade of an IE root **b^hel-*⁹ or to be a derivation with the suffix **-lo-* of an IE root “**b^hē-*”, an *e*-grade variant of IE “**b^hē-*”, ‘shine’.¹⁰ According to Dybo’s law, however, roots containing a pre-Slavic long monophthong should have a.p. *a* (or *ɔ*), but as we have seen all Slavic languages point to a.p. *b*.¹¹ This is the reason why Stang mentions this word as a counterexample to Dybo’s law.¹²

The possibility of the **ē* of **bělŭ* reflecting a pre-Slavic diphthong **aj* was proposed already by Ign. Kozlovskij in

1888,¹³ but the proponents of a diphthongal origin of the **ē* run into phonological problems. Since a diphthong is not supported by other IE languages, they are forced to assume an unparalleled metathesis of **bajlo-* to **bajlo-* in a prestage of Slavic.

4. The phonological, morphological and prosodic problems with the etymologies mentioned in the previous section are solved if we assume an IE *ilo*-adjective built to the root **b^hh₂-* ‘shine’, i.e. IE **b^hh₂-ilo-* (or **b^hh₂-ih₂-* if we assume an underlying *e*-grade, but cf. the following paragraph). This would develop into pre-Slavic **bajlu* yielding (by Dybo’s law and monophthongisation) Common Slavic **bělŭ*.

A striking parallel, both derivationally and semantically, to this formation is the Common Slavic adjective **světlŭ* ‘bright’, reflecting pre-Slavic **svaitilu* < IE **kwai₁-ilo-*. As to the accentuation of this word, the Slavic languages provide contradictory evidence, South Slavic pointing to a.p. *b*, but East and West Slavic pointing to a.p. *ɔ*.¹⁴

5. What I have tried to show in the previous sections is that the accentuation of words that seemingly contradict Dybo’s law might in fact provide the key to a better reconstruction of these words. In the case treated in this paper, the effort to take seriously the prosodic element of Common Slavic **bělŭ* ‘white’ led us to an IE etymology, **b^hh₂-ilo-*, which happened to have a neat derivational parallel in Common Slavic **světlŭ* ‘bright’ from IE **kwai₁-ilo-*.

¹³ Kozlovskij 1888: 394-395; Preobraženskij 1910-1949: 60; Machek 1971: 54; cf. the comments on this reconstruction in Trubačev 1974, 2: 79-80.

¹⁴ Bulaxovskij 1948: 194-195 assumes an original a.p. *b* for **světlŭ* (cf. also Kiparsky 1962: 355); Dybo 1981: 111, 118, on the other hand, reconstructs a.p. *ɔ* for this word.

⁹ E.g. Pokorny 1959, 1: 119; Frisk 1960-1972, 2: 989; Trubačev 1974, 2: 80; Sadnik & Aitzemüller 1975, 1: 128: “Dieses [i.e. **bělŭ*] wird zumeist als Dehnstufe einer Wz. **b^hhel-* aufgefaßt [...]; weniger wahrscheinlich liegt *l*-Ableitung von **b^hē-* vor, ablauteud zu **b^hā-*/**b^hō-*”; Havlová 1989, 1: 61.

¹⁰ Berneker 1913, 1: 55-56; Vaillant 1950-1977, 2: 609, 4: 245; Fraenkel 1962-1965, 1: 32; Scholz 1966: 60-61; Skok 1971-1974, 1: 152. I use quotation marks for non-laryngealistic reconstructions. In a laryngealistic approach the root is **b^hh₂-* (see LIV 54-55 for the material), and only a reconstruction of a long-grade form **b^hh₂-* would correspond to “**b^hē-*”.

¹¹ The unexpected accentuation of the word is mentioned by Trubačev 1974, 2: 79-80.

¹² Stang 1966: 288-289, fn. 2, implicitly takes **bělŭ* to have a monophthongal root vowel, but he does not discuss the morphological structure of the word.

Literature

- Berneker, Erich, 1913: *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 1*. Heidelberg. Вулахов'с'к'и, Л.А., 1948: *Русский литературный язык первой половины XIX века*. Киев. (Quoted after: *Издание второе, исправленное*, 1954.) Collinge, N.E., 1985: *The laws of Indo-European*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia. (= *Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science, series П/35*.) Дубо, V.A., 1962: "О реконструкции ударения в праславянском глаголе." – *Вопросы славянского языкознания* 6: 3-27. Дубо, V.A., 1981: *Славянская акцентология*. Москва. Дубо, V.A. & V.M. Шііć-Svitić, 1963: "К истории славянской системы акцентуационных парадигм". – *Славянское языкознание. Доклады советской делегации. V международный съезд славистов (София, сентябрь 1963)*. Москва: 70-87. Fraenkel, E., 1962-1965: *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 1-2*. Heidelberg / Göttingen. Frisk, Hjalmar, 1960-1972: *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 1-3*. Heidelberg. Навіоvа, Ева (ed.), 1989-: *Етимологічній словник язика старословенського, 1-1*. Прага. Шііć-Svitić, V.M., 1963: *Именная акцентуация в балтийском и славянском*. Москва. Kiparsky, V., 1962: *Der Wortaccent der russischen Schriftsprache*. Heidelberg. Kozlovskij, Ign., 1888: "Zur Geschichte des slavischen Consonantismus". – *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 11: 383-395. Kucata, Marian, 1957: *Porównawczy słownik trzech wsi małopolskich*. Wrocław. (= *Polska Akademia Nauk. Komitet Językoznawczy. Prace Językoznawcze* 11.) LIV = Helmut Rix (ed.), 1998: *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben*. Wiesbaden. Lorentz, Friedrich, 1908-1912: *Slowinisches Wörterbuch, 1-2*. St. Petersburg. Machek, Václav: 1971: *Etimologický slovník jazyka českého*. Praha. (Quoted after: *Fotozpráva podle 3. vydání z roku 1971*, Praha 1997.) Mathiasen, T., 1983: "Сколько было в прабалтийском основных типов словесного ударения – два или три?". – *Baltistica* 19/2: 108-113.

- Pokorny, Julius, 1959: *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 1-2*. Tübingen / Basel. (Quoted after: 3. Auflage, 1994.) Preobraženskij, A., 1910-1949: *Этимологический словарь русского языка, 1-3*. Москва. (Quoted after: A.G. Preobraženskij, *Etymological dictionary of the Russian language*, New York 1951.) Sadnik, Linda & Rudolf Aitzemüller, 1975-: *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen*. Wiesbaden. Scholz, Friedrich, 1966: *Slavische Etymologie. Eine Anleitung zur Benutzung etymologischer Wörterbücher*. Wiesbaden. (= *Slavistische Studienbücher* 3.) Skok, Petar, 1971-1974: *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika, 1-4*. Zagreb. Slawski, F., 1974-: *Słownik prastoniński, 1-1*. Wrocław / Warszawa / Kraków / Gdańsk. Stang, Chr. S., 1957: *Slavonic accentuation*. Oslo. (Quoted after: 2. ed., 1965.) Stang, Chr. S., 1966: *Vergleichende Grammatik der baltischen Sprachen*. Oslo / Bergen / Tromsø. Trubačev, O.N. (ed.), 1974-: *Этимологический словарь славянских языков. Праславянский лексический фонд, 1-1*. Москва. Vaillant, André, 1950-1977: *Grammaire comparée des langues slaves, 1. Phonétique; 2/1. Morphologie (Flexion nominale); 2/2. Morphologie (Flexion pronominale); 3. Le verbe; 4. La formation des noms; 5. La syntaxe*. Lyon / Paris (= *Collection "Les Langues du Monde"*. Série Grammaire, philologie, littérature 6; 11; 12.) Zaliznjak, A.A., 1985: *От праславянской акцентуации к русской*. Москва.

Matters of linguistic distribution: Tocharian B *wesēña* ~ *wesēño* ‘voice’ and *pest* ~ *päst* ‘after, away’

Michaël Peyrot
Leiden University

A major task of a linguist is to describe the distribution of variant forms in language. This may concern the distribution between the absence and presence of a composition vowel in Lithuanian compounds (Larsson 2002: 222-227), or it may much more basically concern the distribution of the English forms *walks*, *walk*, *walked*. It turns out that *walks* and *walk* express the non-progressive present of 3sg. and non-3sg. subjects respectively, and that *walked* is used for a past tense. In other words, describing a language is principally an answer to the question: when is which form used? If one were asked to describe the distribution of the forms *walk* and *woloké*, however, the obvious answer is that they belong to the different language varieties English and Tocharian B.¹

Most likely nobody ever bothered about the distribution of the Tocharian and the English forms, but in other cases one may overlook the possibility of a distribution based on different language varieties rather than different linguistic contexts within one variety. An example of this is Thomas’s effort to explain the distribution between the Tocharian B gerund fpl. *-llona* and the rarer alternate form *-lyana* as a confusion of adjectival and substantival flexion types, considering Tocharian

¹ By quoting this example I do not insist on a genetic relation between these words.

B a homogeneous language variety (1952: 39, 51). Winter later demonstrated that the forms in *-lyana* have a notable distribution: they all occur in texts written in the ‘eastern’ dialect (1955: 224).² Winter did not offer an explanation for this distribution, but with his remark he completed this little paragraph of the description of Tocharian B.

Stumpf (1990) interpreted Winter’s western, central and eastern dialects as representing at least the cores of subsequent linguistic stages: Winter’s western dialect is in many aspects more archaic than the central dialect which in turn is more archaic than the eastern dialect. Stumpf introduced the characterisations IA-IB, IC and II for these respective stages.³ He thus offered an explanation for the distribution of *-llona* and *-lyana*: *-llona* is the original form which by analogy with the nominal flexion was changed into *-lyana* (1990: 94).⁴

In this squib article I am concerned with two similar problems. The first is that in the Tocharian B noun class VI,3aß (Npl. *-añ*, Oblpl. *-am*, Oblsg. *-ai*, palatal final of the stem) some words have two forms for the Nsg. (Krause and Thomas 1960: 135). These words are: *prešya* ~ *prešyo* ‘time’, *weršya* ~ *weršyo* ‘assembly’, *wesēña* ~ *wesēño* ‘voice’ and *kaikauñä* ~ *kaikauñō* ‘joy’.⁵ I checked the distribution of these double forms and it seems that they too have a particular distribution, albeit of a different type than *-llona* :: *-lyana*. The material is scanty, but in IA-IB texts one finds exclusively the Nsg. forms

² Thomas apparently did not agree with Winter’s solution: ‘Diese Formen beruhen wohl eher auf Vermischung mit der Substantivflexion [...] als auf dialektischem Unterschied, wie W. WINTER [...] meint.’ (Krause and Thomas 1960: 148)

³ It seems that the spoken language at the beginning of the seventh century was of the most developed (II) type (Stumpf 1990: chapter 4, Pinault 1987: 130-132, Schmidt 1986).

⁴ I myself do not see why other adjectival classes with fpl. *-ana* could not have favoured this change.

⁵ In this paper I will not pay attention to spelling alternations that are of no relevance to the phenomenon under discussion.

in *-a* and in II texts exclusively the Nsg. forms in *-o*, whereas in IC texts both can be found.⁶ If Stumpf was right with his hypothesis that these text types represent different linguistic stages, this leads to the conclusion that of these double forms the nominatives in *-a* are original and that those in *-o* have been created analogically.

The analogical model that motivated this change is easily found: class VI,3aβ has exactly the same characteristics as VI,3aβ, except for the final of the stem which is not palatalised. In this latter class there is no such variation between nominatives: they all end in *-o*. The direction of this analogical change can be seen as a justification of the classification of nouns by their plural endings – apparently in the mind of the speakers of Tocharian B these were, at least in this case, real categories.

As my counting was restricted to nouns of class VI,3aβ with a double Nsg., the natural question arises what happened to the other nouns of the same class. If the above scenario is right, one would naturally expect that all nouns that shared the relevant characteristics ended up with a Nsg. in *-a*, because the Nsg. in *-a* only became more isolated. However, it cannot be stated a priori that all nouns of this class from the beginning had a Nsg. in *-a*, it could well be that there were already some

⁶ Unfortunately in Stumpf (1990) nowhere an overview of his new classification is given. I give the attestations I found for these Nsg. (between brackets I give the text type and the page where Stumpf indicated the type of that text): *preśya* B27b7 (IC, 139); *preśyo* B289b1 (II, not classified by Stumpf, but see Winter 1955: 222, where it is in group III of the eastern dialect); *werśya* B409b2 (according to Winter west I, broken line); *werśyo*? (cited by Thomas and Krause 1960: 135, but I could find no examples); *wesēña* B214b5 (IB~IC, 114), B571b4 (Winter's west-VI), B85b5 (IC, 139), B183a3 (IC, 141), B589b6 (IC, 141); *wesēño* B199b5 (II, 122); *katkaunña* B275b2 (IA, 141, ending not certain) B119a6 (IB, 141), B119b1 (IB, 141, ending not certain), B14a4 (IC, 139), B78a2 (IC, 139); *katkaunño* B601b5 (this seems a standard IC text).

nouns in *-o* that favoured the change of the nouns in *-a* to nouns in *-o*. Such a word could be *skéjyo* ‘shadow’, because this has a Nsg. in *-o* and it is attested in a IA text: B255a3.⁷

For some other nouns we could hypothesise on the basis of a formation very similar to one of the nouns with two Nsg. forms, that they too had these double forms, but that these are simply not attested. This could be true of *läk_oksauñä* ‘brilliance’ (parallel to *katkaunña*) and of *šemoñña* (parallel to *wesēña*) which both are not attested in II texts.⁸ (Of Oblsg. *wseññai* ‘place’ not even a Nsg. is known, but it could belong here.) About the Oblsg. forms *atiñai* ‘grass’ *ploryai*, an instrument, and Oblpl. *pañyam* ‘wall’ too few is known for a statement. It could be that in the pair *menyo* ‘he-tiger’ and *menya* ‘she-tiger’ the latter stayed stable because of the gender motivation (cf. *oikolmo* ‘he-elephant’ and *oikolma* ‘she-elephant’ in class VI,3aα). Both *šewarya* ‘liane’ and *peñyo* ‘splendour’ could fit in the analogical development, but for *šewarya* I found only one attestation and for *peñyo* no attestations at all.⁹

The second problem is of the same kind, but it has some rather difficult complications. As Hackstein saw, the Tocharian B adverbs *pest* and *päst* ‘after, away’ have a striking distribution (1997: 45-46).¹⁰ According to him, *pest* and *päst* are syn-

⁷ In Sieg and Siegling's edition (1953: 156) this word is transcribed as <skiy[o]>, but the picture of the manuscript seems to give an unambiguous reading <skiyō>, at least not <skiyā>. As we do not have the pl. of *skéjyo*, it is also possible that this in fact was a word of class VI,2aβ, where among words with Nsg. *-o* :: Oblsg. *-ai* we also find palatalised variants, such as *pyāpyo* :: *pyāpyai* ‘flower’. Other occurrences are: B25b5 (IC, 141) and in the text parallel to B255: B254a1.

⁸ I found the following attestations: *läk_oksauñä* B135a6 (IA, 131), B154b2 (Hoernle, a IC text), B158b3 (IC, 141), B311a3 (Winter's west-I), B562.4 (IC, 141); *šemoñña* B73b3 (IC, 139), B154a3 (Hoernle, a IC text).

⁹ *šewarya* is attested in B11a8 (IC, 139).

¹⁰ In this article I am not concerned with the variant *päs*, because I consider this matter settled by Winter (1955) and Stumpf (1990: 65

onymous and ‘verwendungsgleich’ (they both occur in the construction *pest/päst ri(n)* ‘to leave behind’), but vary on dialectal and stylistic levels: all occurrences of *pest* are in western texts and in metrical passages. Then he etymologises these words as related on a Proto-Indo-European level, that is to say, they reflect an old difference in Proto-Indo-European *-o-* and *-e-* vocalism (1997: 47).¹¹ He further analyses *postām* (mostly ‘after’ as a derivation of *pest*).

Four arguments, though none of them decisive, make this theory unattractive. Firstly, this theory gives no explanation whatsoever for the distribution: *pest* would be just accidentally restricted to the western dialect. Secondly, the expected outcome of Proto-Indo-European **pest-* is **päst* instead of *päst*, (cf. *pis* ‘5’ < PToch. **pāiśā* < PIE **pénk^{ne}e*), but it should be admitted that if these words were really variants from the proto-language onwards, the **p-* of the proto-form of *päst* probably would have been levelled out against the **p-* of the proto-form of *pest*. Thirdly, *päst* is exclusively unaccented (Hackstein 1997: 47) whereas its proto-form is precisely the accented variant of the two (see note 11). (Whether *pest*, with the unaccented proto-form, is accented or not, can of course not be seen because of the vowel *-e-*, which does not change under the accent.) Fourthly, Hackstein needs a proto-form with Proto-Indo-European *-e-* vocalism that is not attested in other languages. It is true that there are parallel pairs with both *-e-* and *-o-* vocalism (cf. Gk. *ὀπι-* ~ *ἐπι-*), but apart from the word under discussion these pairs are not found in Tocharian.

When the attestations of *pest* are contrasted with Stumpff’s classification, it is striking that all forms occur in texts form

and passim). The attestations of *pest* are: B133b3, B133b4, B135a2, B273a5, B273b1, B275b5, B285a4, B295a5, B514a8. I restricted my counting to the Berlin texts.

¹¹ He reconstructs **po-nth₂u-* and **pe-nth₂u-* respectively.

the oldest phase: IA.¹² Moreover, it seems that in these texts there are no occurrences of *päst*. This would then lead to the conclusion that *pest* might be the older variant of exactly the same word, and that *päst* developed somehow out of *pest* in Tocharian B times. This second possibility comfortably eliminates all four of the above objections, but inevitably leads to the question: *how* could *pest* become *päst*? I assume that we have here a phonetic development, although a sound law *e > ä* is not well established.¹³ This could be an example of an exceptional reduction due to the particle-like status of this adverb.

Still, it cannot be excluded that Hackstein is right. This is because in the case of the double nominatives in *-a* and *-o*, it is easy to identify these forms as variants of the same word. Moreover, a rather credible analogical model is ready at hand to explain the development, so that even few forms suffice to make the idea probable. The second case is different – there it is more difficult to show that the forms are real variants of one word *pest/päst* and to explain the change of *pest* to *päst* the assumption of an irregular sound development is needed. However, in the word class of *pest/päst* irregular sound change is not necessarily irregular language change, and so these two small examples give in my view further support to Stumpff’s theory and Stumpff’s theory in return gives a neat explanation for these variant forms of Tocharian B with a distribution that was up to now not well understood.

¹² I gathered from pages 54, 73, 78, 107, 112, 131, 141, 115 of Stumpff (1990) that at least B133-147, B224-227, B228-230, B245, B255, B273-275, B282-283, B295, B338-344, B365, B514-515 belong to IA.

¹³ Of course the phonetic shape of words can change under analogical pressure too (cf. Lith. *liežūniš*), but I can think of no model.

References:

- Hackstein, O., 1997: "Präverb, Post- und Präposition im Tocharischen: Ein Beitrag zur Rekonstruktion urindogermanischer Syntax". – *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* 7: 35-60.
- Krause, W. & W. Thomas, 1960: *Tocharisches Elementarbuch, Band I*. Heidelberg.
- Larsson, J.H., 2002: "Nominal compounds in the Baltic languages". – *Transactions of the Philological Society* 100: 2, 203-231.
- Pinault, G.-J., 1987: "Épigraphie koutchéenne, I. Laissez-passer de caravanes, II. Graffites et inscriptions". – *Sites divers de la région de Koutcha, Épigraphie koutchéenne*. Paris: 59-196 with plates.
- Schmidt, K.T., 1986: "Bemerkungen zur westtocharischen Umgangssprache". – *o-pe-ro-si, Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag*. Berlin / New York: 635-649.
- Sieg, E. & W. Siegling, 1953: *Tocharische Sprachreste, Sprache B, Heft 2, Fragmente Nr. 71-633*. Göttingen.
- Stumpf, P., 1990: *Die Erscheinungsformen des Westtocharischen, Ihre Beziehungen zueinander und ihre Funktionen*. (= TIES Supplementary Series 2). Reykjavík.
- Thomas, W., 1952: *Die tocharischen Verbaladjektive auf -i. Eine syntaktische Untersuchung*. (= *Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientalforschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 9*)
- Winter, W., 1955: "A linguistic classification of 'Tocharian' B texts". – *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 75: 216-225.

used as a written language from about 1200 AD onwards. There is probably an additional reason, which is not mentioned explicitly in the etymological dictionaries: the first attestation is found as *done* in the work ‘Der Minnen Loep’ (‘The Course of Love’). This was written by Dirc Potter, who was a clerk at the Dutch-Bavarian court in The Hague, and who has consciously (but inconsistently) germanized his language in some of his works in order to comply with the German fashion which apparently ruled at the Bavarian court’s court at that time. These germanizing elements² (some of which are hypercorrections, which show that Dirc Potter did not fully master the German language) have been known in the Dutch scholarly literature at least since 1889. We can now see why the idea that *done* was a German loanword must have seemed attractive to earlier scholars.

The 1412 attestation *done* in ‘Der Minnen Loep’ appears in the following contexts: *Hi sprac in truetliken done* ‘He spoke in a sad voice’ and *Hi riep in yammerliken done* ‘He called in a wailing tone.’ The Middle Dutch Dictionary gives two basic meanings for *done*: 1. ‘tone, voice, sound’, 2. ‘melody, song’ (only attested as a diminutive). In the 1477 vocabulary known as ‘Teuthonista’, we find *done* glossed as ‘sound, noise’, but not as ‘melody’. The spelling of single *o* in open syllable often represents the phoneme /ø:/ in Middle Dutch, but the MiD diminutive *doonkeēn* shows that we must assume a real back vowel in *done* /do:nə/. At the end of the 16th century, the large vocabulary of Kilian acknowledges both *done* and *deune*, with a variety of meanings: ‘sound, tone; action; game, joke; trembling, shaking; din, noise’. From the 17th century onwards, we only find the unlauded form *deun*, with regular apocope of final schwa. Its basic meanings are: 1. ‘air, tune’ (usually in the diminutive form *deuntyje*), 2. ‘joke’.

² These have now been studied in depth by de Haan 1999: 59–79.

Birthday tune¹

Michiel de Vaan
Leiden University

In the past, I have more than once written articles and book chapters which one might call pessimistic or minimalist: I tried to show that certain alleged Avestan words did not exist (e.g. *gauru-*) or that their value for the reconstruction of earlier linguistic stages had been overrated by earlier scholars (e.g. regarding the alleged existence of a *vi-*construction in Avestan). Today, however, I will look on the bright side of life, celebrating the return of the Dutch word for ‘tune’ to the inherited stock of Proto-Indo-European.

The word to which I am referring is Modern Dutch *deun* /dɔn/ ‘air, tune’. In most of the etymological dictionaries, its Middle Dutch predecessor *done* is explained as a loanword from Middle High German *dōn*, plural *dōne*, cf. Franck-van Wijk 1912: 113, van der Meer 1927: 214, de Vries 1971: 113, de Vries-de Tollenaere 2000 s.v. *deun*. The only exception is Vercoullie 1925: 63, who gives no etymology at all. The reason why all dictionaries but one assume foreign origin for *deun* is the fact that its first attestation dates from 1412. This is relatively late for Middle Dutch, which starts to be commonly

¹ Since this is a congratulatory volume without any scientific pretensions, I will contribute an etymology which will be published in the new Dutch Etymological Dictionary, of which the letter *A* and *B* are in the process of being printed. All references to what I am going to say below should be made to that dictionary instead.

There are several reasons to doubt the German provenance of *MiD done*, *MoD deun*. Firstly, the comparison of *MLG dōne* ‘sound, tune’, *MLG dōn* ‘sound, tune; word; echo’, *MHG dōn* ‘tone, sound; noise; melody, song; cry’, *OHG tuni* ‘sigh’, *OE dnyre*, *ON dnyr* ‘din, noise’ allows us to reconstruct a Proto-Germanic noun **dunni-* (m.) ‘din, noise’. This preform would yield *MoD deun* by regular phonetic development, compare *heup* ‘hip’ < *PGm. *hupi-* or *deur* ‘door’ < **duri-*.³ Short **u* underwent *i*-mutation to **i*, which was subsequently lengthened and lowered to /*o*:/ in open syllable in the Middle Dutch period. In *MoD*, vowel length has disappeared as a phonologically relevant feature. The Germanic word may go back to *PIE*, if the connection with *Skt. dhūni-* m. ‘rustling, roaring’ (*RV+*) and *dhvani-* ‘noise, thunder’ (*AV+*) is correct. In that case, we may reconstruct a *PIE* etymon **d^huni-* ‘booming, roaring’, possibly an onomatopoeic formation (cf. *EW/Aia* I: 801).

Secondly, the first attestation of *done* may be more than 200 years after the start of a full written transmission of Middle Dutch, but it would not be difficult to find words, inherited from *PGm.*, which are only first attested in the sixteenth century. The colloquial meaning of *done* may have some share in this.

³ The back vowel in *done* is typical of western Dutch dialects, although there is no agreement as to the reason why *i*-mutation of short **u* is sometimes absent in western Dutch (from which the standard language also derives). For our purposes it suffices to observe that *done* fits the pattern of other words such as *molen* ‘mill’ (German *Mühle*) and *voor* ‘for’ (German *für*), where the back vowel has survived in the standard language. Most of the texts in which *MiD done* is found are from Holland and Flanders, that is, from western Dutch. Later on, the front vowel variant from the east and south started to oust the forms with a back vowel; this has happened e.g. in *steevel* ‘key’ (older western Dutch *stotel*, German *Schlüssel*), and, apparently, also in our word *deun*.

Thirdly, *PGm. *duni* ‘din, noise’ has probably provided the derivational basis for the *PGm.* verb **dunjan*, which we can reconstruct on the basis of cognate forms such as *ON dnyja* ‘to boom, thunder’, *OE dnytan* ‘to rumble’, *OS dunida* ‘trembled’, *MHG dīnen*, *dunen* ‘to boom’, *dānen* ‘to sing, sound’. This verb is also attested in Dutch, and, in contradistinction to the noun, we already find it in the earliest Middle Dutch texts: *deunen*, *donen* ‘to sound, boom’ (1261+), *MoD deunen*. The vowel lengthening is regular only in open syllable: *PGm. *dunian* would normally yield Dutch **dunnen* /*dēnən*/. Hence, the noun on which this verb is based must have been present in the language, its later attestation being due to chance circumstances.

Fourthly, the *MHG* word *dōn*, of which the Dutch word would be a borrowing, is attested without *i*-mutation in the singular in all instances according to the *MHG* dictionary. Therefore, the theory of borrowing does not explain the un-lauted vowel in Dutch *deun*. In order to save the German origin, one might propose that the Dutch word was borrowed from different *MHG* dialects which did have umlaut in the singular. This possibility cannot be ruled out, but it is not a straightforward scenario anymore.

I therefore propose that the earliest attested form and meaning of Dutch *done* ‘sound, noise’ have been inherited from *PGm.* The original meaning was preserved in the derived verb *donen*, *deunen*. The semantic shift to ‘air, tune’ and to ‘joke’ follows the usual direction from a more abstract to a more concrete meaning. Dutch ‘air, tune’ seems to have developed specifically from the diminutive: ‘little sound’ > ‘tune’.

Birthday tune

References

- Franck, J. & N. van Wijk, 1912: *Etymologisch Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal*, tweede druk. 's-Gravenhage.
- de Haan, C., 1999: *Dichten in Sijl. Duitse kleding in Middel nederlandse Teksten*. Amsterdam.
- van der Meer, M.J., 1927: *Historische Grammatik der niederländischen Sprache, I. Band: Einleitung und Lautlehre*. Heidelberg.
- Vercoullie, J., 1925: *Beknopt Etymologisch Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, derde verbeterde en zeer vermeerderde uitgave. Gent.
- de Vries, J., 1971: *Nederlands Etymologisch Woordenboek*. Leiden.
- de Vries, J. & F. de Tollenaere: *Etymologisch Woordenboek*²¹. Utrecht.

Problem

In der populärwissenschaftlichen Literatur findet sich bei der Darstellung der Entsprechung zu hdt. [ɛʁ] (orthographisch <er>) oft die Bemerkung, daß dies zwar in Vorsilben bln. als [ɛ] („a“) erscheint, im ON *Berlin* und seinen Ableitungen aber ausnahmsweise nicht.² Ob hier wirklich eine Ausnahme vorliegt, sollen diese Zeilen versuchen zu klären.³

Suche nach Parallelen

Der Name *Berlin* stellt sich in seiner phonetischen Form in eine Reihe mit anderen (wohl allesamt ursprünglich slavischen⁴) ONN in der Region.

Vgl. *Templin* [tɛmpl̩i:n]
Ketzin [kɛt̩si:n]
Stechlin [stɛç̩li:n]
*Köstrin*⁵ [kɔɛst̩ri:n]⁶.

Alle diese Namen zeigen Kurzvokal in der ersten Silbe und enden auf [i:n]⁷. Die Suche nach identischen lautlichen Umgebungen in Gestalt weiterer Zweisilber mit Endbetonung und [ɛ] in der ersten Silbe gestaltet sich nun recht schwierig. Noch am ehesten vergleichbar sind *mots phonétiques* (bzw. *Komposita*)

² Vgl. Thonicke, p.18.

³ Wer wollte, könnte natürlich eine ‚Regel‘ formulieren, die etwa lauten könnte: „Manchmal erscheint [ɛʁ] als [ɛ], manchmal nicht“ (in dem Sinne wie eben von einer ‚Ausnahme‘ die Rede ist); eine genauere Untersuchung kann hier aber durchaus detailliertere Aussprachebedingungen herausarbeiten. Eine nichtstandardisierte Varietät ist ja nicht allein deswegen schon völlig regellos, weil sie über keine Standard verfügt.

⁴ Schildt & Schmidt, p.309.

⁵ Vgl. auch noch *Berzín* [bɛnt̩si:n].

⁶ Auch in Ableitungen wird hier der erste Vokal nicht zu [ɛ] (z.B. in Adjektiven wie *Zechliner* [t̩sɛç̩li:nɛ] vom ON *Zechlin* [t̩sɛç̩li:n]).

⁷ Namen auf *-im* [im] sind dagegen initialbetont: *Parchim* [pɑ:çim] *Barnim* [bɑ:nim].

Warum *balinern* Berliner nicht?

Falco Weber
Freie Universität Berlin

Für Jenny zum 18-10-3.

Einführung

Zu den hervorsteckendsten Merkmalen des Berlinischen gehört die Realisierung von standardsprachlichem¹ [ɛʁ] im unbetonten Auslaut als [ɛ].

Vgl. *Wasser* [vasɛ]
weiter [vɛtɛ]
immer [ʔymɛ]

Auch in vortoniger Anlautsilbe erscheint hdt. [ɛʁ] als bln. [ɛ].

Vgl. *erfahren* [ɛʔfɑ:n]
Verein [fɛʔa:n]
bernen [pɛʔnɛs]
Zerfall [tsɛʔfal]

¹ Die standardsprachlichen Formen kennzeichne ich mit der Abkürzung *hdt.* (hochdeutsch), berlinische mit *bln.* Schriftsprachliche Orthographien setze ich kursiv. Realisierungen erscheinen in eckigen Klammern, womit allerdings nicht gesagt werden soll, daß sich für das Berlinische nicht auch – wie für das Hochdeutsche – ein Phonemsystem aufstellen läßt. Dieses oder eine adäquate Orthographie des Berlinischen zu entwickeln ist nicht Gegenstand dieser Zeilen. Bisweilen stellt die hdt. Form nicht die genaue (lautliche) Entsprechung der bln. dar. Die Begriffe ‚Hochdeutsch‘ und ‚Standard‘ werden hier quasi synonym benutzt und nicht weiter problematisiert.

mit mehr als zwei Silben, die hdt. [ɛʁ] und Betonung auf der zweiten Silbe zeigen wie etwa

die Interjektion *herrjeh!* [hɛʁjɛ:],
das Kosewort *Herzliebchen* [hɛʁtsli:pçɔn] oder
der Name der Märchenfigur *Zwerg Nase* [tsvɛʁçna:zə].

Hier ist hdt. wie bln. in der ersten Silbe [ɛ] ausgeschlossen. Ebendiese Aussage trifft auf die ONN und ihren Ableitungen zu und paßt wunderbar zum Befund für die Wortsippe *Berlin, berlinisch, Berliner, berlinern* usw., wo [ɐ] nie bezeugt ist.

Da das Berlinische natürlich keinen Standard kennt, ist es vielfältigen Interferenzen unterworfen. Im Rahmen einer Vermeidungsstrategie gegenüber „zu berlinisch“ erscheinenden Formen neigen SprecherInnen dazu, [ɛ] „überdeutlich“ als [ɛ] und [ɐ] als [ɛɐ]/[ɛʁ]⁸ auszusprechen, letzteres vor allem, wenn es wortinitial steht. Eine hyperkorrekte Aussprache von beispielsweise *erlaubt* [Pɛʁl@opt] als [Pɛʁl@opt]/[Pɛʁl@opt] ist hier mithin kein brauchbares Argument, weil die Formen verschiedenen Stilebenen angehören. Immerhin bleibt zu konstatieren, daß eine Form mit bln. [ɐ] die hyperkorrekte Variante [ɛɐ]/[ɛʁ] haben kann; der Umkehrschluß gilt jedoch nicht.⁹

Fazit

Es muß im Berlinischen davon ausgegangen werden, daß vortoniges hdt. [ɛʁ] zwar bln. als [ɐ] erscheint, [ɛʁ] dagegen nicht. Die Form *Berlin* [bɛʁli:n] ist demnach auch im Berlini-

⁸ Wer „korrekter“ sprechen will, wird natürlich auch versuchen, die [ɛ]-Vokalisierung bzw. zu vermeiden, deswegen schreibe ich hier zwei Varianten.

⁹ Nicht zu jeder hyperkorrekten Form mit [ɛɐ]/[ɛʁ] gibt es eine mit [ɐ]. Die Untersuchung, ob letztere möglich ist oder nicht, deutet sich vielleicht als erfolgversprechendes Analyseverfahren an. Fehlt die Möglichkeit, muß es sich um lautlich andere Bedingungen handeln, wie sie ja in den unterschiedlichen hdt. Entsprechungen ([ɛʁ] vs. [ɛʁ]) tatsächlich vorliegen.

schen völlig regelmäßig. Die Regel ist also dahingehend zu präzisieren, daß vortonigem (bzw. generell unbetontem) hdt. <er> dann bln. [ɐ] entspricht, wenn es hdt. [ɛʁ] lautet; hdt. [ɛʁ] dagegen bleibt vorerst auch bln. [ɛʁ], und entwickelt sich dann im Zuge der Vokalisierung von postvokalischem [ɐ] zu einem [ɐ]-Diphthong, der sich problemlos ins System der anderen (<Neo'->)Diphthonge¹⁰ einfügt.

Weiterführende Literatur (in völlig unvollständiger Auswahl)

- Dittmar, Norbert & Peter Schlobinski (Hgg.), 1988: *Wandlungen einer Stadtsprache. Berlinisch in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.* (= *Wissenschaft und Stadt* 5). Berlin.
- Kiaulehn, Walthor, 1985¹⁰: *Der richtige Berliner in Wörtern und Redensarten.* München.
- Lasch, Agatha, 1928: *Berlinisch. Eine berlinische Sprachgeschichte.* Berlin. [n.v.]
- Schildt, Joachim & Hartmut Schmidt (Hgg.), 1992²: *Berlinisch. Geschichtliche Einführung in die Sprache einer Stadt.* Berlin.
- Schlobinski, Peter & Uwe Blank, 1985: *Sprachbetrachtung. Berlinisch. Ein Arbeitsbuch für den Deutschunterricht ab der 10. Klasse.* Berlin.
- Thonicke, Frank, 1978: *Berlinern verboten?* Berlin.

¹⁰ Postvokalisches tautosyllabisches [ɐ] < [ɐ] bildet mit geschlossenen (<langen>) Vokalen fallende Diphthonge, schwindet jedoch hinter manchen Kurzvokalen ([ʊ], [ɔ], [ɪ/ʏ]) unter Ersatzdehnung sowie nach [ɑ]. Vgl. *Tor* [tɔɐ], *wir* [vɪɐ], *arm* [ʁɑm] vs. *Turm* [tʊm], *morden* [mɔ:dn], *viertzig* [fʏ:tsɪç]. Nach den Kurzvokalen [ɛ] und [œ] bleibt [ɐ] erhalten: *fertig* [fɛʁtɪç], *nörgeln* [nœʁlɪn].