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## THE BALTIC WORD FOR 'IN'

Professor Zigmas Zinkevičius has again drawn our attention to the presence of an acute in the inessive ending *-é̜* as opposed to the absence of an acute in the preposition *į̃* 'in' (2008, cf. Stang 1966, 182). As he points out, we also find an acute in the nominal prefix *į́-*, e.g. *į́lanka* 'bay', *į́pėdinis* 'heir', *į́sūnis* 'adopted son', *ìndėvė* 'poison', as opposed to *į̃-* in *į̃linkas* 'concave', *į̃prastas* 'usual', *į̃suka* 'screws in', *iñdas* 'dish'. As Zinkevičius correctly observes, this is the same alternation as in *pókalbis* 'conversation', *prótėvis* 'ancestor', *príetėmis* 'twilight', *pérpykis* 'anger' beside *põ* 'about', *prõ* 'through', *priẽ* 'at', *peř* 'across'. He does not mention the comparable alternations in *núo-*, *nuõ-* and *są́-*, *są̃-* (e.g. in *saĩndo* 'hires', *sañdas* 'component'), nor the short prefixes *pa-*, *pra-*, *pri-*, *nu-*, *su-*. The big question is: how did these alternations originate?

The Balto-Slavic acute was a glottal stop which developed from an Indo-European laryngeal or preglottalized stop after an original short vowel or diphthong (cf. Kortlandt 1977 and 1985). It follows that *į́-*, *pó-*, *pró-*, *príe-*, *pér-*, *są́-*, *núo-* are the expected variants of *į̃* < *\*in*, *pa-*, *pra-*, *priẽ* < *\*prei*, *peř*, *saĩ-*, *\*na* (Prussian *na* 'on') before an Indo-European word-initial laryngeal or preglottalized stop, e.g. in *nèšti* 'to carry', *dúoti* 'to give', cf. Greek ἤνεγκον 'I brought', δίδωμι 'I give'. Thus, the rise of the acute in the prefixes is the same as in the reduplication syllable of *dúodu* as opposed to *dedù* 'I put', Greek τίθημι (cf. Kortlandt 1977, 323). The acute nominal prefixes are also attested in Slavic, e.g. Russian *páguba* 'ruin', *pásynok* 'stepson', *prádedy* 'ancestors', *súdoroga* 'cramp', *súmerki* 'twilight', which clearly show that the formation can be dated to the Balto-Slavic period.

Apart from the tonal difference, there is an apophonic distinction between zero grade in Lith. *į̇́-*, *pri-*, *nu-*, *su-*, also Slavic *vъ* 'in', *sъ* 'with', and full grade in Lith. *pa-*, *pra-*, *prie-*, *nuo-*, *są-*, also inessive *\*-é̜*, Latvian *ìe-* 'in' < *\*en*, Slavic *po* 'after', *pro* 'through', *pri* 'at' < *\*prei*, *na* 'on' < *\*noH*, *sǫ-* 'together' < *\*som*, *ǫ-* 'in' < *\*on-* in *ǫtrь* 'inside', *ǫtroba* 'entrails', Russian *vnutrí*, *utróba*

(cf. D e r k s e n 2008, 387). It now appears that the vowel of Lith. *nu-*, *su-* and Slavic *vъ*, *sъ* represents a secondary zero grade on the analogy of the *o*-grade in Lith. *nuo-*, *sǫ-*, Slavic *ǫ-*, *sǫ-* (cf. T r a u t m a n n 1923, 4; V a i l l a n t 1950, 173; K o r t l a n d t 2007, 10). Conversely, Prussian has introduced a secondary front vowel in the preposition *sen* 'with' beside *san-* and in the prefixes *ep-* and *et-*, East Baltic *ap-*, *at-*, Slavic *ob-*, *ot-*. This is a result of the fact that the initial vowel of Prussian *en* 'in' and *esse* 'from' represents a secondary zero grade going back to an originally pretonic reduced grade *\*i-* < *\*e-* reflected in Lith. *į*, *iš* and Slavic *vъ*, *iz* < *\*ьz* (Greek ἐν, ἐξ) whereas the regular phonetic reflex of Balto-Slavic initial *\*e-* is *a-* in Prussian, e.g. *addle* 'spruce', *alne* 'hind', *as* 'I', *asmai* 'am', *assaran* 'lake', also *an* 'in' (7×) and *assa* 'from' (6×) in the First Catechism (cf. K o r t l a n d t 2000).

It follows that the acute of the inessive ending *\*-ę́* cannot have the same origin as the acute in the nominal prefixes *į́-*, *pó-*, *pró-*, *príe-*, *pér-*, *núo-*, *są́-*. Elsewhere I have argued that the inessive was created by the addition of stressed *\*en* to the East Baltic pronominal locative forms masc. *\*tàmi*, fem. *\*tàjai*, pl. *\*tàisu* (Slavic *tomь*, *toi*, *těxъ*), yielding *\*tamę̂*, *\*taję̂*, *\*taisę̂* with glottalization from the hiatus before *\*en* (K o r t l a n d t 2005, 68). The absence of an acute tone in the stem of the pronoun (which is clear from the Serbo-Croatian evidence) explains the root stress in the forms *rañkoje* 'hand', pl. *rañkose*, *rãtuose* 'wheels', *tur̃guose* 'markets', where Saussure's law did not operate. Note that the sg. form *ratè* reflects *\*ràtę̂*, not *\*\*rataję̂* < *\*rataí en*, and must therefore have been built on the analogy of *\*tamę̂*. The earlier view "dass *butè* aus *\*butē̆* + *\*en* (*\*ę*) entstanden ist" (S t a n g 1966, 183; followed by K o r t l a n d t 1975, 49) must be rejected because the monophthongization of *\*oi* to *\*ē̆* was limited to stressed syllables (cf. K o r t l a n d t 1977, 323).

## KAIP BALTAI REIŠKĖ 'Į'

*S a n t r a u k a*

Baltų-slavų akūtas buvo glotalinis sprogstamasis priebalsis, išriedėjęs iš ide. laringalo ar preglotalizuoto sprogstamojo priebalsio, einančio po pirmykščio trumpojo balsio ar dvibalsio. Taigi *į́-* yra lauktinas *į̃*, kilusio iš *\*in* prieš ide. žodžio pradžios laringalą ar preglotalizuotą sprogstamąjį priebalsį, variantas, pvz., lie. *nèšti*, *dúoti*. Lie. *į-* reprezentuoja nulinį apofonijos laipsnį, tuo tarpu ines. *\*-ę́* ir la. *ie* 'į' < *\*en* – pamatinį laipsnį. Pr. *en* 'į'

vokalizmas rodo antrinį nulinį laipsnį, vestiną iš pirmykščio prieškirtinio silpnojo laipsnio *i- < *e, kurį atspindi lie. *į*, tuo tarpu bl.-sl. pradinio *e- reguliarus fonetinis atitikmuo yra pr. *a-*. Inesyvas susiformavo priduriant kirčiuotą *en prie r. bl. pronominalinių lokatyvo formų masc. *tàmi*, fem. *tàjai*, pl. *tàisu* (sl. *tomъ*, *toi*, *těxъ*) su glotalizacija dėl hiato prieš *en.

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