

ERIC PHAMP

OLD PRUSSIAN ANCTAN

V. N. Т о р о г о в, Прусский язык: Словарь А-Д (Москва 1975), p. 91 s.v. *anctan* writes, after reciting cognate testimony for the IE, base **ong^w*- (OHG *ancho*, Umbr. *umen*, *umne*, Skt. *áñjas*) "В прусск. слове - в свете внешнего сравнения - выделяется элемент *-t(a)-* (как в лат. *unguen-t-um*, см. Specht Urspr. 51), который отмечен в ряде других слов того же значения, ср. лит. *svies-t-as*, готск. *stair-þ-r* "жир". Следовательно, для прусск. восстанавливается **ang-t-an*". But such a generalized **-t-* explains nothing; moreover the inner syntaxes of the concatenations in which these instances of **t* are found are non-comparable. The *-t-* of Latin (and of Greek) which occurs with **-(m)en-* is of disputed background, but its role in combination with **-(m)en-* is quite specific. The Gothic form is probably simply misdivided. The Lithuanian formation may well be the same as the Old Prussian.

V. M a ž i u l i s, Prūsų kalbos etimologijos žodynas 1 (A-H), Vilnius 1988, certainly gives the correct segmentation *-ta-<*-ta-<*-to-* (p. 80).

I have analyzed (Revue roumaine de linguistique 14, 1969, 489) the Romanian *unt*, Aroman *umtu* 'butter', as well as clearly related areal equivalents in Albanian, as participial in origin, and at that time I also considered *anctan* in this context. There can be no doubt that the Balkan forms are rightly regarded as nominalized participles.

But I now see that the **o-* grade thematic neuter (even if **ong^w*- is not in origin *o-* grade in Indo-European) which we find in *anctan<** *ong^w*-*to-m* cannot be the same formation as that which we have in the Balkan forms. We must have here an ancient *nomen instrumenti* exactly comparable to *dalptan*, q.v. M a ž i u l i s op. cit. 175-176, and Т о р о в 291-294 (to which the Albanian *daltë* is an important correspondence). These *o-* grade *nomina instrumenti* were always a quite separate formation from the **-tó-* participle.

OPruss. *anctan* is a precious IE formation.