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PALATOVELARS BEFORE SYLLABIC RESONANTS: ANOTHER LOOK

Elsewhere I have argued that the Proto-Indo-European palatovelars were depalatalized before syllabic **r* and nonsyllabic **r* and in Balto-Slavic also before syllabic **l̥* and before nonsyllabic **l* and **w* unless these were followed by a front vowel (1978 = 2009, 27–32), e.g. Russ. *žěltyj* ‘yellow’ < **ǵhl̥-* beside *zóloto* ‘gold’ < **ǵhol-* and *zelėnyj* ‘green’ < **ǵhel-*, Lith. *gėltas* (with secondary full grade) beside *žėlti* and *žėlias*. The depalatalized velar spread e.g. in Russ. *koróva* ‘cow’, Lith. *kárvė* beside OPr. *curwis*, acc. *kurwan* < Old Polish *karw*, Welsh *carw* ‘deer’ (with zero grade). On the other hand, the original palatovelar was restored e.g. in Lith. *šiltas* ‘warm’ beside *šáltas* ‘cold’, *širdis* beside *šėrdis* and OPr. *seyr* ‘heart’, Russ. *sėrdce* (zero grade) beside *seredína* (full grade), etc.

The development before nasal resonants is less clear because the data are limited. It appears that the palatovelar was depalatalized in OPr. *balgnan* ‘saddle’ beside *balsinis* ‘cushion’, also in Lith. *akmuō* ‘stone’ (with metathesis in Slavic *kamy*) beside the recent derivatives *āšmenys* ‘blade’ (from *aštrūs* ‘sharp’) and *rašmuō* ‘character’ (from *rašýti* ‘to write’), probably also in Slavic *gnesti* ‘to press’, *gniti* ‘to rot’, Latvian *gnīda* ‘nit’. The palatovelar was preserved in Lith. *iėšmas* ‘spit’ because this word contained a cluster **-k̥sm-*, as is clear from Gr. αἰχμή (cf. Saussure 1892, 90f.). The palatovelar was not depalatalized before syllabic nasal resonants on the evidence of Lith. *šimt̃as*, *dėšimt̃*, *pažinti*, *žinóti*, *žėnklas* (with secondary full grade), OPr. *dessim̃ts*, *tūsim̃tons*, *posinnat*, Slavic **z̥nam̃b* (cf. Kortlandt 2009, 168), with analogical restoration in *znati*, *znajō*, *znameę*, also in Latvian *znuōts* ‘son-in-law’, Lith. *žėntas* (with secondary full grade) beside *gentis* ‘family’. There evidently was some confusion between the roots indicating being family **ǵenH₁-* and being familiar **ǵenH₃-*.

Thus, it appears that the depalatalization affected palatovelars before syllabic **r* (in PIE already, e.g. Luwian *karš-* ‘cut’, Kloekhorst 2008, 455)

and **l̥* (e.g. Russ. *žěltyj*) but not before syllabic **m̥* (e.g. *šim̥tas*) and **n̥* (e.g. *pažinti*). We find both restoration of the palatovelars and analogical spread of the depalatalized velars in a considerable number of cases in Balto-Slavic, which eventually led to a productive alternation in Lithuanian (cf. Čekman 1974, 128). Some instances seem to be at variance with these rules. The preservation of the palatovelar in Slavic **zъly* ‘sister-in-law’ < **ǵl̥Hōu(s)* points to an original *e*-grade which is perhaps attested in Hesychius’ Phrygian γέλαρος (cf. Beekes 2010, 259). Slavic *svto* beside Lith. *šim̥tas* points to a secondary zero grade back vowel on the analogy of the original *o*-grade in the decades, e.g. Gr. τριᾶκοντα, Breton *tregont*, Arm. *eresun* ‘thirty’ (Trautmann 1923, 4, with loss of the nasal at stage 7.9 of Kortlandt 2011, 167f.), cf. also *o*-grade in Lith. *tūkstantis*, Slavic *tysq̣šta* beside regular zero grade in *tysq̣šta*, OPr. *tūsimtons*.

There are three instances of apparent depalatalization before syllabic **n̥*, viz. OPr. *cucan* ‘brown’, which is read **cuncan* and compared with Gr. κνηκός ‘yellowish’, and Slavic *čędo* ‘child’ and *gq̣sv* ‘goose’, which alternatively may be loanwords from Germanic. The etymology of the Prussian word is no more than a remote possibility because it requires an emendation and does not explain the *u*-vocalism. If *čędo* is a genuinely Slavic word, it cannot be separated from *štenę*, Russ. *ščenók* ‘puppy’, where the distinction between palatovelars and labiovelars was neutralized after the initial **s*- (cf. Villanueva 2009). If Slavic *konv* ‘beginning, end’, also *konv*, *iskoni* is an original consonant stem, the original palatovelar (Gr. καινός, Latin *recēns*) was depalatalized in the zero grade oblique case forms. Note that the root of the verb *načęti*, 1st sg. *načęnq̣* ‘begin’ does not occur without a prefix (Derksen 2008, 345), which is understandable if the root was nonsyllabic **kn-* because this cluster regularly yielded **n-* (cf. Vaillant 1950, 93). As for the word for ‘goose’, I have reconstructed a paradigm nom. **ǵheH₂ns*, acc. **ǵhH₂ensm̥*, gen. **ǵhH₂nsos* (1985, 119 = 2009, 56) with depalatalization of the palatovelar before the laryngeal, as in Lith. *duktė* < **dhuǵH₂tēr* (cf. also Kortlandt 2010, 38), eventually yielding Lith. *žq̣sīs*, Latvian *zūoss*, OPr. *sansy* < **-iH₂* (cf. Kortlandt 2009, 132), Slavic *gq̣sv*, also Arm. *sag* (with metathesis, perhaps borrowed as Turkish *kaz* < **gās*, cf. Pedersen 1906, 454; Kortlandt 2003, 103). Dr Tijmen Pronk points out to me that the identification of Slavic **gq̣serv* ‘gander’ with Latin *ānser* renders the possibility of a borrowing from Germanic very unlikely.

My reconstruction of the word for ‘goose’ as **ǵheH₂ns*, **ǵhH₂ensm̥*, **ǵhH₂nsos* is strongly reminiscent of the apophonic alternation in the Proto-

Indo-European *nt*-participle, e.g. **H₁esnts*, **H₁sentm̥*, **H₁sntos* ‘being’, **H₁eints*, **H₁ientm̥*, **H₁intos* ‘going’ (cf. Kortlandt 2010, 120, 135, 339), which is partly preserved in Old Prussian and Old Lithuanian (cf. Kortlandt 2009, 298f.). The alternation between fricative and stop in *goose* and *gander*, OE *ganot*, OHG *ganazzo*, *ganzo*, Plinius *ganta*, also Lith. *gañdras* ‘stork’, OPr. *gandams* = **gandarus* (see Pokorny 1959, 412 for the data) is also found in the word for ‘moon, month’ **meH₁ns* beside **meH₁nōt*, Gr. μήν, μείς, Latin *mēnsis* beside OHG *mānōd*, Lith. *mėnuo*, acc. *mėnesį*, and in the perfect participle, where we find Gr. masc. εἰδότε-, fem. ἰδυῖα < **-us-iH₂* ‘knowing’, Slavic *-bši*, Vedic *-úṣī* beside neuter *-vát*, Gothic *weitwod-* ‘witness’ beside *berusjos* ‘parents’. I have argued that this alternation originated from a sound law **ti* > **si* which separated Indo-European from Uralic (Kortlandt 2010, 397). It follows that the words for ‘goose’ and ‘month’ can be identified with the original *nt*-participles of the verbs **gheH₂-* ‘yawn’ and **meH₁-* ‘measure’. The vocalism of Lith. *mėnuo* < **meH₁nōt* and *mėnesį* < **meH₁nesm̥* for earlier **meH₁nt(s)*, loc. **mH₁ensi* is evidently based on the regular hysterodynamic paradigm of the consonant stems.

It has been argued that in Albanian and Armenian, too, the palatovelars were depalatalized before (syllabic and nonsyllabic) resonants (e.g. Hamp 1960; Kortlandt 2003, 10–19, 57–74), e.g. Arm. *kaxc’*, *kat’n* ‘milk’ < **głkts*, acc. *głktm̥*, *anic* ‘nit’ < **(k)oníds*, gen. **(k)nidós*, Gr. γάλα, κόνις, gen. γάλακτος, κονίδος, Latvian *gnīda*. In Armenian, there was no depalatalization before syllabic nasals, e.g. *tasn* ‘ten’ < **dek̥mt*, *k’san* ‘twenty’ < **dwidk̥mti* (cf. Kortlandt 2003, 100). In Albanian, however, the verb *gjej*, *gjënj* ‘find’, like *qell* ‘bring’ and *qeth* ‘cut’, points to depalatalization in the zero grade form, cf. Gr. χανδάνω, κέλομαι, κείρω. Since the reflex of the palatovelar was lost in Alb. *dhjetë* ‘ten’, we may also assume depalatalization before the syllabic resonant in **dek̥mt*, as opposed to *djathtë* ‘right’, Slavic *desnъ* < **deksn-* (cf. Kortlandt 2010, 321; also Demiraj 1997, 163). We thus arrive at the following relative chronology:

1. Depalatalization before syllabic **r̥* (Proto-Indo-European),
2. Depalatalization before syllabic **l̥* (Balto-Slavic, Albanian, Armenian),
- 3a. Rise of an epenthetic vowel before syllabic nasals (Balto-Slavic, Armenian),
- 3b. Depalatalization before syllabic nasals (Albanian),
4. Rise of an epenthetic vowel before syllabic nasals (Albanian).

MINKŠTIEJI GOMURINIAI PRIEBALSIAI PRIEŠ SKIEMENINIUS SONANTUS: KITAS POŽIŪRIS

Santrauka

Straipsnyje siūloma tokia ide. minkštųjų gomurinių priebalsių raidos santykinė chronologija:

- 1) depalatalizacija prieš skiemeninį *r̥ (ide.);
- 2) depalatalizacija prieš skiemeninį *l̥ (bl.-sl., alb., arm.);
- 3a) epentetinio balsio atsiradimas prieš skiemeninius nosinius sonantus (bl.-sl., arm.);
- 3b) depalatalizacija prieš skiemeninius nosinius sonantus (alb.);
- 4) epentetinio balsio atsiradimas prieš skiemeninius nosinius sonantus (alb.).

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