

Frederik KORTLANDT

Leiden University

THE BALTO-SLAVIC WORD FOR ‘CRANE’ AND ITS COGNATES

Abstract. Balto-Slavic **gerHōu*, obl. **gerHu-* from Indo-European **đerH₂ōu*, **grH₂u-* beside **đerH₂-H₁ēn*, **grH₂-H₁n-* reflected in other languages.

Keywords: Balto-Slavic; Indo-European; etymology; crane.

On the basis of Lith. *gėrvė*, Latvian *dzērve*, Prussian *gerwe*, Czech *žeráv*, Serbo-Croatian *žērāv*, and Latin *grūs* I reconstruct Balto-Slavic **gerHōu*, obl. **gerHu-*, from Indo-European **đerH₂ōu*, with depalatalization before **r* in **grH₂u-* (cf. Meillet 1894; Steensland 1973), with laryngeal metathesis in Latin *grūs* (cf. Schrijver 1991, 246). Gąsiorowski objects (2013, 57) that the metathesis is unexpected after a syllabic segment. The objection is invalid, as is clear from Vedic *grīṣmá-* ‘summer, hot season’ < **g^wriH₂-* < **g^wrH₂-i-*, *agrú-* ‘virgin, unmarried woman’ < **ng^wruH₂-* < **ng^wrH₂-uH₂-*, Greek βρῆθος ‘heavy, oppressive’ < **g^wrH₂-i-* (Lubotsky 2011, 110¹⁵). Baltic created a nom. sg. form in *-ē on the basis of the oblique cases of consonant stems, e.g. Lith. *žėmė*, *ùpė*, *sáulė*, *gìlė*, *mùsė*, *pelė*, *gėrvė*, OPr. *semmē*, *ape*, *saule*, *gile*, *muso*, *peles*, *gerwe* (cf. Kortlandt 2018).

Czech *žeráv* and Serbo-Croatian *žērāv* show the expected long reflex of posttonic **ō* in Slavic. The stressed short vowel in Slovene *žerjāv* and S/Cr. *žerav* was evidently taken from the regular acute suffix *-avb*, cf. Slovene *lokāv*, *rjāv*, S/Cr. *lùkav*, ‘shrewed’, *řđav* ‘bad’. The S/Cr. variant *ždrāl* reflects **žǝrāv*, with **žb-* < **že-* in the end-stressed forms (cf. Kortlandt 1985b). Contrary to Gąsiorowski’s claim, there is no evidence for such forms as ***žerāv* (a) or ***žerāvjb* (b) beside the only correct form **žērāv* (c), which continues the original acc. sg. form of Balto-Slavic **gerHōu*. Gąsiorowski’s objection that the expected acc. sg. ending would be *-ōm (2013, 57) is invalid because the attested form (Old Russian *žeravb* < *-ōim) was evidently

adapted to the vocalism of the nom. sg. form. His misunderstanding of the Slavic material (“a hard-to-explain non-acute vowel in the second syllable” of S/Cr. *žěrāv* and “there is a neoacute [...] in Cz. *žeráv*” because “the old circumflex yields a short vowel” in Czech) is clearly the result of Jasanoff’s misleading theories (on which see Kortlandt 2004; 2005; 2009). There is no evidence for Gąsiorowski’s reconstruction of a compound **gerH₂ó-H₂au-* from which Lith. *gėrvė* and Latin *grūs* are derived by haplogy and irregular synscopes.

Elsewhere (1985a, 121) I have drawn attention to the coexistence of derivatives in **-u-* and **-Hn-*, e.g. Lith. *šiřvas* ‘grey’, *muřvas* ‘reddish’ beside Russian *sérna* ‘roe deer’, Latvian *mėřns* ‘black’, Prussian *sirwis*, Greek *μέλας*, also Lith. *vařnas* ‘raven’ (for **vařvas*) beside *várna* ‘crow’, Latin *corvus*, *cornix*. In the word family of ‘crane’ we similarly find Latin *grūs* < **grH₂us* beside Greek *γέρανος*, *γέρον* < **đerH₂-H₁(ē)n(os)*, Middle Welsh *garan* < **g(e)rH₂-H₁(e)n(os)* (cf. Schrijver 1995, 79f.), Old English *cran*, Middle High German *kran* < **grH₂-H₁n(os)* with vocalization of the suffixal laryngeal, perhaps vocalization of the radical laryngeal in Old Saxon *krōn* (cf. Kroonen 2011, 307f.). The expected cognates of Greek *γέρον*, *γέρανος* and Latin *grūs* in Armenian are **ker*, **keřn* (with restoration of the initial velar) and **krūh* (before the metathesis at stage PA 15 of Kortlandt 2003, 31), acc. sg. **kruk* < **gruH₂m* (with oralization of the laryngeal, cf. Kortlandt 2003, 57f.). If **keřn* was reanalyzed as the acc. sg. form of a monosyllable **keř* (with analogical lengthened grade), the attested form *křunk* < **kiřuk* (with metathesis, cf. Gąsiorowski 2013, 62) may be a contamination of the two words.

BALTŪ-SLAVŪ ‘GERVĖ’ IR ATITIKMENYS

Santrauka

Bl.-sl. **gerHōu*, obl. **gerHu-* kildintinas iš ide. **đerH₂ōu*, **grH₂u-*, egzistavusio greta **đerH₂-H₁ēn*, **grH₂-H₁n-*, aptinkamo kitose kalbose.

REFERENCES

- Gašiorowski, Piotr 2013, *Gruit grus*: The Indo-European names of the crane, *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 18, 51–68.
- Kortlandt, Frederik 1985a, Long vowels in Balto-Slavic, *Baltistica* 21(2), 112–124.
- Kortlandt, Frederik 1985b, On reduced vowels in Slavic, *Zbornik za Filologiju i Lingvistiku* 27–28, 367–368.
- Kortlandt, Frederik 2003, *Armeniaca: Comparative notes*, Ann Arbor: Caravan Books.
- Kortlandt, Frederik 2004, Balto-Slavic accentuation: Some news travels slowly, *Baltistica* 39(1), 13–17.
- Kortlandt, Frederik 2005, Noises and nuisances in Balto-Slavic and Indo-European linguistics, *Baltistica* 40(1), 9–11.
- Kortlandt, Frederik 2009, All's well that ends well, *Baltistica* 44(1), 59–63.
- Kortlandt, Frederik 2018 (in press), Proto-Baltic?, *Baltistica* 53(2).
- Kroonen, Guus 2011, *The Proto-Germanic n-stems*, Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Lubotsky, Alexander 2011, The origin of Sanskrit roots of the type *sīv-* 'to sew', *dīv-* 'to play dice', with an appendix on Vedic *i*-perfects, in Stephanie W. Jamieson, H. Craig Melchert, Brent Vine (eds.), *Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Indo-European Conference, November 5th–6th, 2010*, Bremen: Hempen, 105–126.
- Meillet, Antoine 1894, De quelques difficultés de la théorie des gutturales indo-européennes, *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 8, 277–304.
- Schrijver, Peter 1991, *The reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European laryngeals in Latin*, Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Schrijver, Peter 1995, *Studies in British Celtic historical phonology*, Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Steenland, Lars 1973, *Die Distribution der urindogermanischen sogenannten Gutturale*, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Frederik KORTLANDT
Cobetstraat 24
NL-2313 KC Leiden
The Netherlands
[f.kortlandt@hum.leidenuniv.nl]