Nid oedd fas i gywyddaid

Festskrift til

Anders Richardt Jørgensen

på 25-årsdagen den 5. juli 2002

EO

Nid oedd fas i gywyddaid

1. Dédəj tə stárə

   Dédəj tə stárə na péčə sədì,
   dɔtèj pɔsqóčə pa rájat lɛtì.
   Dédəl-di-dédəl-di-dédəl-di-dɔ̀m,
   dédəl-di-dédəl-di-dɔ̀m.

     Übers.: Der alte Großvater sitzt auf dem Ofen, / springt runter
     und geht tanzen.

2. Kèlnaca

   Qàj jɛ tò za 'na kèlnaca,
   qə néma bíweha bèrtəha.
   Šɛ mɔjà mádɛ pɔ dwà, pɔ trì,
   nɔbéna kèlnaca nì.

     Übers.: Was ist das für eine Kellnerin, / die keine weiße Schürze
     hat. / Denn meine Frau hat zwei oder drei, / die ist nicht einmal
     Kellnerin.

Indhold

3. Wə Bwácə na pwácə

1. Wə Bwácə na pwácə
an bùrhart stɔ̀i, an bùrhart stɔ̀i, an bùrhart stɔ̀i.
Hwáčè dowtè twáčè
pa təwčè wəšì, pa təwčè wəšì, pa təwčè wəšì.
|: Hèj jèj jèj, ʀepíca in fižə̀w,
swánɛ ríbɛ in pɔlènta,
tò je žíwɛš mo-o-òj. :|

2. Bábica stára
wə nɛbésa jɛ šwà, wə nɛbésa jɛ šwà, wə nɛbésa jɛ šwà,
jɛ cóqlɛ pɔzábwa
spɛt dowsèj prəšwà, spɛt dowsèj prəšwà, spɛt dowsèj prəšwà
|: Hèj jèj jèj, ʀepíca in fižə̀w,
swánɛ ríbɛ in pɔlènta,
tò je žíwɛš mo-o-òj. :|

> *Übers.*: 1. In Villach auf dem Platz / steht ein Bursche. / Drückt die Hose nach unten und schlägt die Läuse tot. / Hèj jèj jèj, Kartoffel und Bohne, / gesalzene Fisch und Polenta, / das ist mein Essen. / 2. Die alte Großmutter ist in den Himmel gekommen, / hat ihre Holzschuhe vergessen, / ist wieder nach unten gekommen.

Slowenische Kinderlieder aus dem Rosental in Kärnten

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Während meines Studienaufenthalts in Sankt Petersburg in Russland 2000-2001 hat das Schicksal es mit sich geführt, dass ich eine Sprachträgerin (1979 in Klagenfurt geboren) des kärntnerslowenischen Rosentaler Dialekts kennengelernt habe. Dabei habe ich ein paar Kinderlieder gelernt, deren Sprache meinen Freund Anders schon zu mehreren scharfsinnigen Betrachtungen angeregt hat.

Zuerst einige Bemerkungen zu der hier verwendeten Orthographie und den damit verbundenen sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten des Rosentaler Dialekts:

<h> bezeichnet im Anlaut einen *h*-Laut, im Auslaut aber einen ach-Laut. <q> bezeichnet einen Glottisverschluss. <r> wird im Kehlkopf artikuliert und entspricht somit der Aussprache desselben Phonems im kärntnerischen Deutsch. <w> wird in allen Positionen bilabial ausgesprochen.

<e o> sind geschlossene *e*- und *o*-Laute, <ɛ ɔ> die entsprechenden offenen Laute. Verbindungen von unbetontem Schwa <ə> mit Sonanten weisen eine Neigung zum Schwund des Schwa und vokalisierter Aussprache des Sonanten auf, z.B. *mə̀rzw/* oder *mə̀rzu̯* 'kalt', *qnédəl* oder *qnédl̩* 'Knödel' usw.

Der Akut <´> bezeichnet einen betonten langen Vokal, der Gravis <`> einen betonten kurzen Vokal.

Att ha levt ett kvarts sekel

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I det gamla Indien delade man in livet i olika åldrar, inte minst om man var brahman. I Grekland var barnarbete inte uppfunnet, för naturligtvis kunde unga människor, framför allt pojkar, göra sådant som att rida kapplöpning, gå och hämta vatten, underhålla de äldre och så vidare. Det sägs, att de vikingar som blev för gamla kastade sig utför klippor för att dö ärofullt.

Söker man efter ordet *senex* bland romerska texter, återkommer Plautus skrifter hela tiden. Han som skrev komedier, hade alltid med en eller annan gammal man som fick fylla antingen funktionen som den 'gamle och vise' eller den 'gamle och gaggige'. Det har alltid varit intressant att skriva om åldrande, för vi råkar alla ut för det.

Marcus Tullius Cicero skrev en hel bok om ålderdomen. Han låter två yngre män komma till Cato den äldre och diskutera, hur man bäst undviker en meningslös ålderdom. De säger sig vara imponerade, eftersom

> *...numquam tibi senectutem gravem esse senserim, quae plerisque senibus sic odiosa est, ut onus se Aetna gravius dicant sustinere.*

Cato svarar, att det inte är något att imponeras av, för bara man lever gott och saligt (*beate*) så blir ålderdomen lätt. Han säger till och med att vissa är så korkade, att de anklagar naturen för att komma med olycka:

> *Quo in genere est in primis senectus, quam ut adipiscantur omnes optant, eandem accusant adeptam; tanta est stultitiae inconstantia atque perversitas.*

Notes

[1] As quoted by Rasmussen (1978:111).

[2] Rasmussen's rule no. 3 (1978:96).

[3] Szemérenyi (1970:526) explains the *i*-vowel of OI *hārdⱥ* as a secondary prop-vowel.

[4] As ARJ rightfully has pointed out, Szemérényi's argument is circular: he argues that Osthoff's Law *would have* applied to this word and that it is "[...] just as indefensible to allege that Osthoff's Law operated after the loss of final dentals: φέρων does not continue *-ōnⱥ* [...]".

[5] Cf. Melchert (1994:119).

[6] For a short summary of different views, cf. Schmalstieg (1976:165). As pointed out by Schmalstieg (1974:323), the sequence of tautosyllabic long vowel plus sonant (continuing an inherited PIE long vowel) is not attested elsewhere in the Baltic languages.

[7] Stang (1975) has accepted this PIE development and has consequently abandoned his own suggestion (Stang 1966: 45f.).

[8] The concept was first introduced by Egli (1954).

[9] It is surprising that the suggested proto-form **sērⱥ* lead to a masculine inflectional pattern and not a feminine, as we would expect, cf. OPr. *menso* 'meat' which is a neuter pl. in the Elbinger Vocabulary, whereas it is clearly a feminine *ā*-stem in the Catechisms.

[10] ARJ is not happy about the fact that the sequence *-rTs* lacks parallels, as it is not given, a priori, that the cluster *rTs* develops parallel to the clusters *nTs* and *pTs*.

[11] This view is represented by Kortlandt (1985 et al.), Derksen (1996) and Rasmussen (1992).

[12] For an account of the developments in Slavic cf. Olander (2002:110) and for the Baltic system of deverbative formations cf. Larsson (forthcoming a and b).

[13] I thank ARJ for drawing my attention to the existence of the Slovene and Serbo-Croatian examples.

[14] The long vowel of the stem in, for example, Lith. *śērd-, śìrd-* must be seen in the light of Winter's Law. Stang (1966:158, 162) argued that the acute accent of Lith. *śìrd-* was secondary and adopted from the strong cases through para-digmatic leveling. The acceptance of Winter's Law makes this assumption unnecessary.

> *tenens quietus sedeat in puppi, non faciat ea quae iuvenes. At vero multo maiora et meliora facit. Non viribus aut velocitate aut celeritate corporum res magnae geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate, sententia; quibus non modo non orbari, sed etiam augeri senectus solet.*

Således är det intellektet man ska odla när man kommer upp i ålder och vara nöjd med det. Man utför så mycket med en bra hjärna, att man lätt matchar de unga och starka.

Man bör ändå inte sitta helt still, lagom med motion ska man nyttja, tycker även Cato/Cicero:

> *Potest igitur exercitatio et temperantia etiam in senectute conservare aliquid pristini roboris.*

Man ska ut och gå lite, röra lagom på sig, så man inte tar ut sig i överkant. Dock återkommer han om och om igen till den slutsats som man kan förkorta hela boken med: för att åldras med värdighet, ska man bruka hjärnan, gärna så mycket som möjligt, skriva och diskutera, gå ut och röra på kroppen så man inte stelnar och samtidigt gärna träffa andra människor, så man får nya infallsvinklar.

Han återkommer hela tiden till de 'gamla' grekerna, som han anser ha sagt mycket gott och gjort mycket gott, även om de också hade dåliga, oanständiga vanor.

> *Bene enim maiores accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae coniunc-tionem haberet, convivium nominaverunt, melius quam Graeci, qui hoc idem tum compotationem, tum concenationem vocant, ut, quod in eo genere minimum est, id maxime probare videantur.*

Dessa stycken är ju klart Ciceros verk, för Cato själv var inte så förtjust i grekernaÉ

Nå, hur som helst uppskattar han att undervisa andra och tycker flera borde diskutera hur det verkligen är, istället för att sitta och bara gnälla! Såsom vi nu kan göra under en födelsedag, eller bara under en allmän fest, så tyckte även Cicero att man skulle samtala:

Han fortsätter med en snygg liknelse, som Jesus själv skulle varit avundsjuk på:

Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum dis nisi naturae repugnare?

Hans hela poäng är, att det är naturligt att åldras, varför man bör göra det bästa av det. Det är något som vår tids reklammakare och modemästare borde få uppläst för sig, eftersom man vid redan 25 års ålder anses ålderstigen i vissa delar av dagens samhälle. Under Ciceros egen tid, för att inte tala om under Catos tid, var en 25årig yngling på toppen av sin levnad. Han kunde väl räkna med att leva lika länge till, men sällan mer, om han inte var rik och mäktig och hade slavar som skötte hushållet. En kvinna i samma ålder var gammal.

De två ynglingarna som kommit för att lyssna till Cato ber honom nu vänligen berätta, hur man gör för att bli en lycklig, gammal man på livets väg:

Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tamquam longam aliquam viam confeceris, quam nobis quoque ingrediundum sit, istuc, quo pervenisti videre quale sit.

Jodå, det vill Cato gärna göra. Han berättar om stora män som varit åldringar när de utfört stordåd, Quintus Maximus som återtog Tarentum, Plato som ska ha dött skrivande vid 80 års ålder, Isokrates som levde till 98 års ålder och skrev sin sista bok vid 93 och så vidare.

Märk väl, att på latin ställs inte *senex* i motsats till *novus*, utan snarare till *juvenis*. Det är alltså inte fråga om något gammalt och utslitet, utan istället det som är gammalt och moget, såsom en frukt blir bättre när den är mogen.

Cato fortsätter med liknelserna, han får in det han vill säga i en jämförelse med hur man sköter ett skepp:

Nihil igitur adferunt qui in re gerenda versari senectutem negant, similesque sunt ut si qui gubernatorem in navigando nihil agere dicant, cum alii malos scandant, alii per foros cursent, alii sentinam exhauriant, ille autem clavum

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Me vero et magisteria delectant a maioribus instituta et is sermo, qui more maiorum a summo adhibetur in poculo, et pocula, sicut in Symposio Xenophontis est, minuta atque rorantia, et refrigeratio aestate et vicissim aut sol aut ignis hibernus; quae quidem etiam in Sabinis persequi soleo, conviviumque vicinorum cotidie compleo, quod ad multam noctem quam maxime possumus vario sermone producimus.

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iio-/-iiā-inflexion.[11] This assumption, however, is not necessary; the different development in this word is due to the fact that this word was originally a neuter noun and the other examples of supposedly original root nouns continued as thematic stems, e.g. Slav. **travà*, **zarà* and Lithuanian *šova̍*, *šova̍* 'bolt, hollow', *kōva̍* : *kova̍* 'hit, fight', can be argued to be secondary verbal derivations.[12]

The general transfer of the consonantal root noun inflexion to the *i*-stems is believed to have been triggered by the accusative case Sg. **-m̥* (> **-in*) / pl. **-n̥s* (> **-ins*), but since this particular word was originally a neuter noun this development was not as straightforward as in other cases. This explains why we find thematic forms next to the *i*-stems in both Baltic and Slavic, cf. Slav. *srě̍da* 'middle' next to OCS *srъdь-ce* n. 'heart', Slov. *srd* f., Skr. *sȓd* m., f. 'anger'[13] and Lith. *širdi̍s* 'heart', Lith. *šerdě̃*, Latv. *serde̍* 'Mark, Kern im Holze', next to Lith. *širdi̍s*, Latv. *sìrds*, Lith. *šerdi̍s*. The transfer to the *i*-stem/consonantal inflexion may have originated in the oblique cases where the word had consonantal endings, e.g. Gsg. **šȓd-es*.[14] Another possibility is that the original neuter noun was transferred to the *i*-stems simply because many other words for parts of the body belonged to this class already as suggested by Szemerényi (1970:531).

The Balto-Slavic thematic forms call for a different explanation. From the stem of the N/Asg. **šȇrd* a thematisized form **šerd-ā* was a possibility (thematization was possible because the original paradigm did not have an Asg. in **-m̥*). This **šerd(i)ā* is continued in Slavic *srě̍da* and with the same ablaut grade, we find Latv. *serde̍* f. 'Mark, Kern im Holze', Lith. *šerdě̃*, and with zero-grade Lith. *širdě̃*. Without drawing any far-fetched conclusions, it should be mentioned that **-iio-/*-iiā*-stem formations to this root are common in the Indo-European dialects, cf. Gk. καρδία, Hitt. Gsg. *kardiiaš* and OIr. *cride*. As has been shown in this article, we are still far from being able to understand all aspects of the heart, and luckily, there are still enough riddles left to keep us busy for a long time.

3) *sirs| < *sirts| < *sírd(i)s[10] 'Herz'
4) encops| I 'begraben' < *enkopts| < *enkaptas

The expected nominative form *sirs| forms the base for the oblique cases, e.g. Gsg. sīr-as| (Cat.). However, even if we accept this development, we are still left with several problems. First, we would expect to find traces of the final -s of the reconstructed nominative form. Smoczyński (2000:101) lists some Old Prussian words with parallel lack of final -s, cf. semen EV256 'somen', camnel| GrA 41 'pferdt' etc. However, most examples are from Grunau's Vocabulary, and often with parallels in the EV with the s| kept intact, cf. comatten| GrG 87, GrA77 (next to komaters| in the Elbinger Vocabulary) and rikie GrA5 (next to rikis| EV 404 and rickies| GrG 9). Also the enigmatic writing <ey> of the nominative continues to puzzle us. Smoczyński (2000:101) suggests that it may reflect a lowering of original i| > e| or it may be the result of a diphthongization of the original i. In this way a coherent Old Prussian paradigm can be reconstructed.

I admit that the details of the Old Prussian paradigm(s?) still need to be worked out properly, but I think that Smoczyński has pointed out a direction for us to follow: it is not advisable to stick to the assumption that the Old Prussian seyn| represents a PIE extreme archaism, but we must instead start in the other end, i.e., from the actual Old Prussian (and East Baltic) material and focus on the system that these nouns are part of.

3.

In Baltic (and Slavic), original root nouns are generally continued as *i*-stems with consonantal endings in certain case-forms. However, the word for the 'heart' does not follow this otherwise regular pattern and forms like Slav. srěda| and Lith. śerdě, śirda| and Latv. seŕde| are sometimes quoted as proof that the Balto-Slavic developments of root nouns is irregular; they are said to prove that root nouns sometimes enter the *i*-stem/consonantal inflexion and sometimes the simple thematic or

*śārdi|) is explained by the assumption the laryngeal has been preserved in sandhi| variants,[3] whereas it has been lost in Gk. κῆρ.

Szemerényi (1970:522) reconstructs a pre-PIE development starting from a PIE neuter NAsg. *ḱerd, which subsequently becomes assimilated to *ḱern| and with compensatory lengthening leads to the PIE form *ḱēr. With this form Szemerényi explains Gk. NAsg. κῆρ, Hitt. NAsg. ki-ir|/kēr/ (Gsg. kardiyaš, D-Lsg. kardi) and OPr. seyn| EV. A closer look at the arguments presented by Szemerényi, however, reveals a few weak points. For instance, one of the main arguments for the reconstruction of a proto-form without the final *d| is Gk. κῆρ without the expected shortening to *κερ via Osthoff's Law. This, however is a weak argument, since we have no possibility to know at what stage Greek lost its final dental and, at least theoretically, it is possible that the dental was lost before| Osthoff's Law applied.[4] However, Hittite does not regularly loose a word-final dental, and thus the Hittite form ŠÀ-ir[5] is the single valid argument in favor of the suggested reconstruction, since the OPr. form seyn| is better explained within the Old Prussian language itself, as we shall see.

2.

The OPr. Nom. seyn| is listed in the Elbinger Vocabulary as word nr. 124 in the meaning 'heart' [hercze]. The orthographic variant <ey> for /ē/ is unparalleled in the EV, and the theories concerning the reading of this sequence differ.[6] A priori, the suggestion that Old Prussian has kept an archaic PIE Nom./Acc.-form intact raises some suspicion. We must keep in mind that the nominative form seyn| is only attested in the Elbinger Vocabulary, and hence only once in the Old Prussian corpus. In the Catechisms some oblique cases of the word are attested. Here the word is masculine and belongs to the *a*-stem inflexion: Gsg. sīras| III. 59,32; Dsg. sīru| III. 71,29; Asg. sijran| III. 43,28, sīran| III. 61,1; Apl. sirans| III. 51,4 'heart'. This inflexion does not have the same archaic character as alleged for the nominative case. It is

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Finn – ét eller to navne?

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I Nordeuropa forekommer tilsyneladende to mandsnavne *Finn*, et nordisk og et keltisk. Det nordiske, der på middelalderens Island også eksisterede som kvindenavn, *Finna*, ved siden af mandsnavnet *Finnr*, er ifølge håndbøgerne identisk med folkebetegnelsen *finne*. Kun i østnordisk gik denne benævnelse imidlertid på de østersøfinske stammer (vore dages finner, estere etc.); på vestnordisk refererede navnet mest til samerne (lapperne), jf. *Finnmarken* om den norske del af Lapland, mens finnerne selv blev kaldt *kvæner*, en betegnelse, der i dag er forbeholdt det finske mindretal i Norge.

Personnavnet skal ifølge Adrian Room ikke nødvendigvis forstås som 'en person af finsk slægt', men måske snarere som 'klog som en finne', fordi disse folkeslag var berømte for deres trolddomskunster. Denne egenskab kunne i lige så høj grad hæftes på samerne, og hvis navnet er fællesnordisk, refererer det måske til begge folkeslag under ét. Hos bl.a. historieskriverne Jordanes og Adam af Bremen omtales et folk *Scrithefingi* 'skridfinner' i det nordlige Skandinavien. 1. led sigter til nordisk *skríða* 'stå på ski, bevæge sig i krumninger eller med bøjede ben', og det er uvist, om der er tale om samer eller finner.

Folkenavnet *finner* anses oftest for at komme af det germanske ord for en sporjæger, *finþnan-*, der er afledt af verbet *finde*, germansk *finþana-*. Adrian Room anfører dog, at det kan være et forsøg på en direkte oversættelse af det finske navn for Finland, *Suomi*, eftersom 'fiskeskæl' på finsk hedder *suomu*[1], og det gamle germanske ord for det samme kan have været *finna-*; en sådan rekonstrueret betydning

gud *Lugos*, svarende til den Gud, Cæsar forbandt med Merkur og anbragte øverst i det galliske hierarki. Også hans navn betyder nemlig 'den lysende, den strålende' og indgår som første led i bynavnene Laon og Lyon (< *Lug-duon* 'Lugos' borg', latiniseret *Lugudunum*) i Frankrig, Leiden i Holland og Legnica i Polen samt i det romersk-britiske navn for den nordengelske by Carlisle, *Luguvalium* eller *Luguvallum* (< *Lug-walos* 'stærk som Lugos, stærk i kraft af Lugos'). Vindobona skulle altså ifølge denne teori være 'byen indviet til guden Vindos', dvs. Lugos.

Det nordiske og det keltiske navn tilhører to kulturområder, der har været i intensiv kontakt med hinanden. Det keltiske *Finn* indgår i stednavnet *Fingall*, fra irsk *finn-gaill* 'de hvide fremmede', nemlig de formodentlig norske vikinger, der grundlagde Dublin i 841, og som i 852 besejrede *dubh-gaill* (*Dougall*), hvoraf flertallet kom fra Danmark. C.M. Yonge henfører det nordiske navn til det irske *Fionn*, og ifølge Ronan Coghlan er det islandske pigenavn *Finna* dannet heraf.

Det keltiske heltenavn, der måske oprindelig var et gudenavn, fremstår i mine øjne som en absolut sandsynlig kandidat som kilde til det enslydende nordiske navn. I så fald er forbindelsen til finnerne en senere tolkning. Eller måske skal man regne med, at det nordiske navn har to oprindelser; det er ikke usædvanligt, at et personnavn er resultatet af et sammenfald mellem to eller flere oprindelige personnavne (fx *Ida, Nanna* og *Kamille*), ikke mindst når et eller flere af dem er kortformer.

Noter

[1] I denne forbindelse er det relevant at tilføje, at Suomi etymologisk ikke hænger sammen med *suomu*; man har villet kæde landets navn sammen med ordet *suo* 'sump', men det mest sandsynlige er nok, at det er identisk med folkenavnet samer (nordsamisk *Sábmi*) og navnet på den finske landsdel Häme (< *šäme*), lånt på forskellige tidspunkter og af forskellige vandringsveje fra det baltiske ord for land, *žeme*.

slår i hvert fald bro mellem dansk *finne* i betydningen 'fiskefinne' på den ene side samt tysk *Finne* 'byld, vabel' og svensk *finne* 'filipens' på den anden.

I hvad der ligner et helt utroligt sammenfald, fortælles i en irsk myte, hvordan den store helt Finn McCool – hvis navn ellers tillægges en helt anden oprindelse – tilbereder visdommens laks, hvis skind ikke må ødelægges. Der opstår en blære på fiskens skind, som Finn presser ned, hvorved han brænder sin finger. Han stikker derpå fingeren i munden for at mildne smerten og opdager derved de profetiske evner, som laksen siges at give den, der spiser den (efter John McInnes).

Det irske mandsnavn, der alternativt kan staves *Fynn* eller *Fionn*, betyder 'strålende, ren, klar, hvid'. Den oldirske form var *find*, men allerede i sen oldirsk tid udviklede *-nd-* sig til *-nn-*. Og *Finn* blev ifølge Holger Pedersen i oldirsk brugt som kortform af navne som *Findbarr* (latin *Finbarrus*). Søen *Loch-finne* i Donegal er ifølge Patrick Weston Joyce opkaldt efter en kvinde, *Finna*, fra en lokal legende, svarende til det moderne *Fiona*.

Det tilsvarende walisiske ord *gwynn* (fem. *gwenn*), der også kan betyde 'hellig' og 'lykkelig', forekommer i pigenavnet *Gwendolyn*, egl. '(som har en) smuk (eller hvid eller hellig) bue eller ring'; i *Winnie*, en kortform af *Winifred*, som kommer af walisisk *gwenfrewi* 'hellig forsoning', senere påvirket af oldengelsk *wynn* 'glæde' og *frith* 'fred'; og i dyrebetegnelsen *pingvin*, fra walisisk *Pengwyn* 'hvidhovedet, den med de snedække klippetoppe', egl. navnet på øen Penguin Island ud for Newfoundland.

Den urkeltiske form af adjektivet var **windos*, som er bevaret i det fastlandskeltiske navn på Østrigs hovedstad Wien, *Vindobona* 'den hvide by, den smukke by'. Som det fremføres af Ronan Coghlan, behøver navnet ikke at referere direkte til byens karakter. Ronan Coghlan nævner, at Finn McCool undertiden forbindes med en anden helt, Lugh Lamhfhada ('af den lange arm', et klannavn), der i legenderne kommer til Irland fra den anden side af havet. Og ifølge John McInnes kan Finn muligvis identificeres med den fastlandskeltiske

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obvious that the Old Prussian inflexion differs from the other Baltic and Slavic languages where the original **d* is kept intact, cf. Lith. *širdìs*, Latv. *sirds*, OCS *srъdь-ce* 'heart', Slov. *srd* 'anger'.

Szemerényi (1970:521) chooses to regard the once-attested form in the Elbinger Vocabulary as an archaism,[7] whereas the forms from the Catechisms must accordingly be an inner-Baltic innovation where the oblique forms have been influenced by the inherited N/Asg.-stem. The EV-form *seyr* is analyzed as a neuter noun, but the forms in the Catechisms are clearly masculine. In order to explain the masculine forms, Szemerényi applies the theory of Gelenkheteroklisme[8] where the new, analogical, form must be based on an inherited part of the paradigm. He finds that the only form that meets this requirement is the postulated original plural **sērā*, which he accordingly takes to have replaced the expected **sērdā* (or **serdā*, **sirdā*) from PIE neuter NApl. **ḱerd-ā* (extended with the thematic neuter plural ending **-ā* (**-ah₂*)).[9]

The main problem with these attempts is that we end up in a difficult situation in trying to establish a common Balto-Slavic paradigm for this word. Even a Proto-Baltic paradigm proves difficult to reconstruct, due to the apparent differences between the East-Baltic examples and Old Prussian. If the ill-supported theory that Old Prussian continues an archaic PIE form **ḱēr* is put aside, we may toy with the thought that the West Baltic forms actually continue the well-attested East Baltic stem **sird-/*šērd-*. Smoczyński (2000:101) has presented the idea that the Old Prussian cluster *CTs* was regularly simplified by the loss of the dental stop. This assumption is based mainly on four examples from the Catechisms:

1) *syndens* II, *sīdans*, *sīdons* III pres. ptc. 'sitzend' < **sindans* < **sinda-nt-s*
1a) *gewineis* EV 191 'Knecht' < **gewinens* < **gewinents* if analyzed as a pres. ptc. to the verb *gewinna* 'sie arbeiten'
2) *ᵒsins* 'seiend' < **ᵒsints* < **ᵒsents* < **ᵒsants* < **ᵒsantis* 'seiend'

Understanding the Heart – Work in Progress

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The ideas presented in this article have arisen in the many heart to heart talks I have recently had with the honoree [ARJ]. The reconstruction of the word for the heart and its manifold developments in the PIE languages is a work in progress and the aim of this short article is mainly to give a state of the art report of the recent progress that has been made and to pinpoint the areas where work is still needed.

1.

One of the main problems concerning the reconstruction of the word for 'heart' is the shape of the nominative case. Starting with the singular case, the previous theories can be summed up as follows. In order to explain the long vowel of the nominative singular case Schindler[1] has suggested that an extra **-d* was attached to the stem in early PIE (**ḱerd-d*) in analogy with other body parts showing the same additional **-d*, e.g. **i̯ēkʷ-r̥-(d)* 'liver' (cf. OI *yákr̥-t*, Av. *yākarə*) and **h₃ékʷ-d* > **h₃ókʷm̥* 'eye' (cf. Gk. ὀφθαλμός), etc. In this way, the long vowel can be explained by the compensatory lengthening that arose when the two final consonants were simplified: **ḱérd-d* > PIE **ḱérd*.

Rasmussen (p.c.) reconstructs the word for 'heart' as a collective noun. Thus, a PIE N/A **ḱērd-ə₂* (< **ḱérd-h₂*, where **-h₂* is the collective ending, in front of which the root vowel was lengthened) is reconstructed.[2] In this way, OI *hārd* (which replaces an expected

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Proto-Germanic *$bag(w)ma$- 'tree, beam'

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Several attempts have been made to explain the Proto-Germanic (PGm.) etymon for 'tree, beam'. I mention *$bawwəma$- (Van Wijk 1912), *$bawma$- (Kluge 1999), *$bargma$- (Hamp 1986), *$baʀɣma$- / *$baʀɣma$- (Davids 1999) and *$babma$- (Kuiper 1995). Its inner-Germanic cognates show some irregular sound change and, as a result of this, no generally accepted etymology has been established. The main problem lies in some deviant Scandinavian forms. Old Norse gives us *baðmr* 'tree' next to *barmr* 'bosom, lap' and *faðmr* 'embrace, bosom, lap'. Moreover, Old Swedish *bagn* m. 'tree trunk' (Dahlgren: 45) at first sight does not lead us any closer to a common proto-form.

The West-Germanic evidence, however, does not necessarily create any difficulties. Compare OHG *boum* 'tree', OS *bôm* 'tree', OE *bēam* 'tree, beam', OFri. *bām* 'tree'. These forms straightforwardly go back to PGm. *$bauma$-, but we may also consider *$baugma$- as pointed out by PGm. *$draugma$- 'dream' (> OE *drēam*, OHG *troum*, OS *drôm*, OFri. *drām* = PIE *d^hroug^h-mo-) and PGm. *$taugma$- 'bridle' (> OE *tēam*, OHG *zoum*, OFri. *tām* = PIE *$douk$-mó-). Further on, *$bagma$- might be possible as well. Because this would be the only etymon with a cluster -*gm*-, it would not be unnatural if it became *$bau(g)ma$- or *$bagwma$- in West Germanic before the labial 'm'. The reconstruction *$bagma$- seems to be corroborated by Nordic in the following way.

The Old Norse and Old Swedish forms both seem to be products of specific cluster modifications. In ON *baðmr* the consonantal group -*gmr* changed into -*ðmr*, possibly under the influence of ON

faðmʀ 'embrace, bosom, lap'. Surely, the originally following dental 'r' also played a role in reshaping this cluster. As a sequence of *r…n* often changes into *ð…n* in Old Norse,[1] we find *ættbarmʀ* besides *ættbaðmr*, of which both *barmʀ* 'bosom' (< *barma-*[2] ~ Gr. φορμός) and *baðmr* 'tree' were semantically plausible compounds with *ætt* 'kin'. In Old Swedish every final 'm' after consonants changed into 'n', which gives us *bagn*.[3] As a result, Nordic indicates a PGm. form *bagma-*. (Also Kuiper 1995: 84.)

Given the meaning 'pole, beam', which is found in all branches of Germanic, connection with the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) root *$b^heh_2\acute{g}^h$* is no less than plausible,[4] and obviously, the meaning 'tree' is secondary (Eng. *beam*). The fact that this root is found with a *u*-suffix elsewhere in the family may also be in favour of this etymology: Skt. *bāhú-* 'arm, paw', Gr. πῆχυς, πᾶχυς 'elbow, underarm', LAv. *bāzu* 'arm', ToA *poke* 'arm', ToB *pokai* 'arm' < *$b^heh_2\acute{g}^h$-u-*. As to the sound changes, one could think of Proto-Germanic having misinterpreted PIE *-$\acute{g}^hu$-* as *-g^{wh}-* at a certain point of time, then adding the widely spread *m*-suffix. This would yield PGm. *bagwma-*, and explain the diphthong *au* in West Germanic, while in Gothic and Nordic the labialisation was lost.

A phonological and morphological more convincing reconstruction, however, is without any doubt PGm. *bagma-*. This preferable form is exactly matching Go. *bagms*, while PGm. *bagwma-* rather would have to come out as **baums*.[5] With respect to word formation, *bagma-* reflects the normal Indo-European morphological procedure of adding *-mo* to a root instead of placing it after another suffix *-u*. Now the proto-form can be reconstructed as *$b^hh_2\acute{g}^h$-mo-*.

Kuiper, by the way, also reconstructs *bagmʀ* for Nordic and Gothic, but in order to tie this form to West Germanic *bauma-*, he suggests an additional form *babma-* for Proto-Germanic. This seems improbable to me, since *b^hab^h+na-* (substratum layer A1) became *baunō-* 'bean' with 'au' right away, even though *babna-* would have

been fine Proto-Germanic. As a consequence, *b^hab^h+ma-* should have become *bauma-* as well.[6] This is not what we find.

Reasonably, the seemingly abnormal developments in Germanic should rather not be given too much weight. PGm. *bagwma-* and especially *bagma-* may be acceptable outcomes of the original proto-form. Note also that the connection with the PIE root *$b^h(e)h_2\acute{g}^h$* is appropriate, since this root is also attested in ON *bógr* 'arm, shoulder, bow' (< PGm. *bōg-* < *$b^heh_2\acute{g}^h$-*).

In the light of Kortlandt's (1997) convincing substratum based etymology of Latin *cabō, caballus* 'horse' and Slavic *kobyla* (from an unknown Indo-European language with *kab^h* from *$h_1 eku$-*) the reconstruction of PGm. *bab-* (< *b^hab^h-* < *b^hag^hw-* from *b^heh_2u-* 'to grow') looks plausible, but neither gives us the exact form *bag(w)ma-* or an attested verbal root. Therefore, there is little against PGm. *bagma-* as being inherited from Proto-Indo-European. The cluster modifications in Nordic may be complicating, but should be looked upon as late innovations without far-reaching consequences for the deeper level on which Proto-Germanic is situated.

Notes

[1] Compare *yðr* 'to you' (dat./acc.pl.) = Go. *izwis* < *isw-eso*? (to PIE *ius-*).

[2] Proposed *bazma-* would have become ON **berma-* due to *z*-mutation, if not the 'z' would be assimilated to the 'm': **bammr*.

[3] Compare the already mentioned Old Norse *faðmʀ* developing into MoSw. *famn* (and not **fagn*). Here the cluster *-ðm-* merged with *-fn-* (and regularly developed into *-mn-* in Swedish).

[4] "Verfehlt" by Th. v. Grienberger in Feist (1923: 54).

[5] Compare for example *siun* 'sight, image' < PGm. *segwni-* < PIE *sek^w-ní-*.

[6] In fact, one would rather expect to find **bauma-* : **babna-*, because 'b^h' probably becomes 'u' more easily before a labial than a dental resonant.

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