INDO-EUROPEAN O-GRADE DEVERBAL THEMATICS IN SLOVENE

Eric P. Hamp

My dear friend Rado Lencek has always been insistent on the search for and presentation of adequate supporting data for linguistic formulations.* It is important, of course, for the history of the Slovene language that we assemble a sufficient documentation of every type of word formation. There is a quite separate interest, however, in gaining an appreciation of the proportionate survival of a formation after some five millennia of reconstructible history. In the case of a complex and ramified family of languages like Indo-European, moreover, there is an additional interest in tracing the survival of such a formation in one modern language of a large and diversified branch such as Slavic. Indeed it would be interesting to have comparable data for each of the Slavic languages.

From my work of recent years I have come to realize that there is yet a further need for us to redouble our efforts on the assembly of such evidential collections for Indo-European. When we consult many of the best standard handbooks, we find very brief listings of examples to support important formation types. Naturally, space is limited, a few well chosen examples go a very long way, too long a listing interrupts the exposition and obscures the point and formulation at issue, and so on. But surely, in **some** compilation we should be able to find types from all attested witnesses represented. Furthermore, we should like to have a sense of the proportionate wealth, texture, and distribution of that attestation. If we consider the IE deverbal thematics in *o*-grade (τομός 'cutting', τόμος 'a slice', τομή 'a cutting, stump') we find the categories morphologically scattered and eclectically exemplified in Brugmann (1904:332),[1] para. 409.1: Skt. *tārá-s*,[2] Gk. τορός. Skt. *ajá-s*, Gk. ἀγός, Lat. *prōd-igus*. Skt. *vāhá-s, codá-s*.[3] Gk. πομπός, ἀρωγός [:ἀρήγω 'help, aid'], κλοπός. Lat. *procus*.[4] Goth. *wraks*, OHG *warg*.[5] (There then follow two examples of instances in compounds, which need not concern us here.)[6] And then, for the recessive accented[7] and feminine,[8] (1904:343-44) para. 423.1: Skt. *jána-s, jána-m*,[9] *janā̆*, Gk. γόνος, γονή [:adj. γονός]. Skt. *srāva-s*, Gk. ῥόος, ῥοή, Lith *sravà* [: Skt. *-srava-s* 'fliessend'].[10] Gk. χρόμος, OCS *gromŭ*.[11] Gk. θόλος, Goth. *dal* n., ON *dalr*, OCS *dolŭ*.[12] The other examples in this section of Brugmann are either different derivations, agreeing only in thematic vowel, or are non-diagnostic for vocalism. The exemplification given by Brugmann for such an important and informative set of classes is really most disappointing.

Meillet, as we might expect from his masterful and laconic style, gives a compact and lucid account of this set of formations (1934:257), but still his examples are sparse, even scant, very limited in coverage, and weakly explanatory. He remarks for the barytone (τόμος) type that instances are frequent in Indo-Iranian, Balto-Slavic, and Greek, but that they are rare in Western IE. His examples for the nomina actionis are OCS *snĕgŭ*, Lith. *sniĕgas*, Goth. *snaiws*; Avest. *takō*, OCS. *tokŭ*; Gk. φόρος, λόγος, πλό(ϝ)ος, στοῖχος; and for semantically concretized instances Skt. *jámbhaḥ*, OCS. *zǫbŭ*, Lith. *žam̃bas*,[13] Gk. γόμφος. OHG *kamb*; OCS *vozŭ*, Gk. (ϝ)όχος. He gives no examples for Tocharian, Albanian, Celtic, or Armenian.[14]

For the oxytone (τομός) type, Meillet furnishes the nomina agentis (often adjectives) Gk. τομός, τροχός, λοιπός, σκοπός, ὁλκός, Skt. *varáḥ* 'prétendant', *śokáḥ* 'brillant', *ghanáḥ*[15] 'massue', Lat. *procus*.[16] For such an important and penetrating portion of the grammar of IE even Meillet was remiss in not presenting and reviewing a far more adequate

data base.

Still today, a half century later, the picture remains the same. Adolf Erhart (1982:121) gives seven sets with a few examples each, largely repeating Meillet, except that the types are ill sorted out. Simenschy and Ivănescu (1981:272-73) simply reproduce Meillet's inventory.

Let us now repair that lacuna within Slavic and present the documentation for Slovene in its true proportions. The following collection rests on an attentive reading of Pleteršnik. This type of formation survives, it is seen, in a remarkably rich array. So far as possible, I pair each thematic derivative with a synchronic cognate or base form. Derivatives registered in Vondrák's comparative grammar are marked with ●.[17] It must be remembered that Winter's lengthening (even in cases lacking clear external cognates), liquid metathesis, and nasalization must be reckoned with. The present list is basically restricted to masculine *o-stems, i.e., *ŭ*-primaries.[18]

●*blęsk* 'glare' :: *blískati (se)*, *bólskati* 'flash lightning' (OCS *blĭsnǫti*)

●*blǫ̂d* 'error' (OCS *blǫdŭ* ἀσωτία) :: *blésti* 'talk nonsense' (OCS *blęsti*)

   bǫ̂d 'das Stechen (an illness)' :: *bósti, bǫdati, bodálǫ* 'dagger'

●*bòj bója* 'battle' :: *bíti bîjem*

●*zbôr zbóra* 'assembly' (SCr. *zbôr zbòra*, OCS *sŭborŭ* συνέδριον) :: *zbráti zbérem*

●*brȏd* 'ford' :: *brésti, bredénje, brêdnja* 'wading'

●*bròj brója* 'number' :: *bríti* 'shave' ← 'cut'

   bûd 'Aufmunterung' :: *budíti*

●*cvȇt* 'blossom' (OCS *cvĕtŭ*) :: *cvésti*, OCS *cvĭtǫ*

●*razdòr razdóra* 'disunion' (OCS *razdorŭ* σχίσμα) :: *razdręti razdérem* 'take apart'

●*dûh dûha* 'breath' [: *dúha* 'Geruch'] :: *díhati* 'breathe', *díšati* 'smell good, emit a smell'

●*gnȏj gnojâ* 'dung' :: *gníti*

●*gòn góna* 'the chase' :: *góniti, gnáti žénem*

   gòr góra 'manure heap, pile' (← *'spontaneous heat') :: *goręti, žâr*

●*gròb gróba* 'grave' (SCr. *gròb gròba*, OCS *grobŭ* τάφος) :: *grébsti* 'dig'

●*grȏm* 'thunder' (SCr. *grȏm gròma*, OCS *gromŭ*) :: *grmęti*

●*pogrǫ́ziti* 'dip' (OCS *pogrǫzŭ* 'immersio') :: -*gręzniti* (OCS -*gręznǫti*)

●*hòd hóda* ~ *hǫ̂d hodâ* 'walk' :: *hóditi, šèl*

   kȃd 'smoke' ← *kodo- :: *čȃd, čadíti* 'make dust' ← *kedo-

●*sklàd skláda* 'synthesis, composition' :: *s-klásti* :: *priklàd, prikláda*

●*pókoj pokója* 'peace' (OCS *po-kojĭ*) :: *počíti* (OCS *po-čiti*)

   kòl kóla 'stake' :: *kláti, kǫ́ljem*

●*zákon zakóna* 'law' (OCS *za-konŭ* νόμος) :: *začęti* (OCS *za-čęti*)

●*kràt kráta* 'time, Mal' (OCS *kratŭ*) :: *načŕtati* (OCS *nȃ-črŭtati*)

●*kròv króva* 'roof' :: *kriti* 'cover'

●*krùh krúha* 'bread' :: *kŕhati*

●*po-lòg pológa* (= OCS *prĕ-logŭ*), *lóga* 'deposit; evening attention to and provision for animals', *po-lǫ́ga* 'deposit', (Gk. λόχος 'lair', Toch.A *lake*, Toch.B *leke* 'bed') :: *loga* 'lair'

●*lȏj* 'tallow' (OCS *lojĭ*) :: *líti* (OCS *lĭjati*)

●*lǫ̂k* 'bow' :: *lęcati* 'bend', *lękniti*

lòm lǫ́ma 'break, fracture', *polòm polóma* :: *lómiti, lémež* 'ploughshare'

●*mòr mǫ́ra, pomòr pomǫ́ra* 'death, pestilence' :: *mrę́ti mr(j)em* (: *umòr* 'murderer')

●*mrȃk mrȃka* 'darkening' :: *mŕkati*

●*mràz mráza* 'cold, frost' :: *mŕzniti*

pád páda 'fall' ← **podo-* :: *pasti pádati*[19]

●*plǫ̑t plǫ̑ta* 'wattle' :: *plésti*

●*prȃh prȃha* 'dust' :: *pŕhati* 'stieben', *pršę́ti* 'drizzle'

●*sóprog soprǫ́ga* 'spouse' (: OCS *sŭprǫgŭ*) :: *vprę́či vprę́žem, vprégati* 'einspannen', OCS *prę̨gǫ* (*v-* 'ein-')

pȗh pȗha 'a blast' :: *pháti phäm/pšèm* 'push'

●*ròj rója* 'swarm' (: *izrojíti* 'swarm', OCS *iz(d)rojĭ*) :: *ríniti* 'push' (OCS *rinǫti*)

●*ròv róva* 'ditch' :: *ríti rȋjem* 'dig'

sȃd sȃda 'fruit, Ansatz, garden bed' ← **sodo-* :: *sędę́ti, sésti*

skòk, skǫ́ka 'a jump' (: SCr. *Skok* 'a jumper') :: *skóčiti*

●*slȗh* 'hearing' :: *slíšati*

●*smrȃd smrȃda* 'a stench' (Russ. *smórod*, SCr. *smrad*) :: *smrdę́ti*

●*zásov zasóva* 'bolt, bar', *zásova* f. :: *suváti, súniti*

●*srȃb, svrȃb* 'scab' (OCS *svrabŭ*) :: *srbę́ti* 'itch' (OCS *svrĭběti*)

●*strǫ̑j* 'machine' :: *stŕniti* 'put together'

●*ostròv ostróva* 'island' :: *strúja, strújati, strújiti, strúmen*

●*stȗd* 'disgust' (OCS *studŭ*) :: *stȋd* 'shame', OCS *styděti sę*

●*tę̑sk* 'press (agent)' :: *tískati*

tlàk tláka 'trodden/packed floor; pressure' :: *tlę́či tólčem* 'hit'

●*tòk tǫ́ka* 'flow, stream' (Lith. *tākas* 'river bed') :: *téči téčem* 'run'

●*tràp trápa* 'dunce' (:OCS *utrapŭ* ἔκστασις) :: *trpę́ti* 'suffer' (:OCS *u-trĭnǫti -trĭpěti*; Lith. *tir̃pti* 'melt', perhaps)

●*trǫ̑s* 'earthquake' (OCS *trǫsŭ* σεισμός) :: *trę̑s, trę́sti* (OCS *tręsǫ*)

vlȃk 'train', *vláka* f. 'pulling, sled' :: *vlę́či* 'pull' (Lith. *valkà* :: *vil̃kti*)

●*vòd vóda* 'Führung' (: Lith. *vãdas* 'Führer'), *prevòd prevóda* 'conduct, transfer, translation' :: *vésti védem*

●*po-vǫ̑j* 'swaddling band' (OCS *po-vojĭ*) :: *víti* 'wind'

●*vǫ̑z vǫ̑za* 'wagon' :: *vóziti, vę́sti vę́zem* 'sticken'

●*vǫ́za* f. = *vę̑z* 'bond' (: OCS *sŭ-ǫzŭ* σύνδεσμος) :: *vǫ́že* 'rope', *vózel* 'knot', *vę́zati vę́žem* 'bind'[20]

●*izvrȃg* 'Das Auswerfen' (OCS *iz-vragŭ* ἔκτρωμα) :: *izvréči* 'extrude' (: OCS *vrěšti*)

●*vrȃt vráta* 'neck' :: *vŕniti, vrtę́ti* 'drehen', *vreténo*

●*povràz povráza* 'binding, rope (*agent)' (OCS *po-vrazŭ* 'Lappen') :: *povrę́slo* 'sheaf-band' (: OCS *vrĭzǫ vrěsti*)

●*znǫ̑j* 'heat' (OCS *znojĭ*) :: *znǫ́titi* 'heat up'[21]

●*po-zòj po-zója* 'dragon' :: *zíniti* 'yawn' (OCS *zějǫ*)

●*zòr zóra* 'glare, dawn, power of sight' :: *zrę́ti zrèm*

●*zòv zóva* 'shout' :: *zváti zóvem*

●*zvǫ̑k* 'noise' (Russ., Cz. *zvuk*) :: zvę́kniti (OCS *zvęk/nǫti*), *zvèk zvę́ka* (: Lith *žvangùlis* '(horse) bell')[22]

Finally, we find some derivatives unmatched by a synchronic cognate or base form:

bòr bóra 'battle'

● *glād glāda* 'hunger' :: OCS *žlĭděti*, SCr. *žúdjeti*

● *glās glāsa* 'voice'

● *hlād* 'coolness' (OCS *xladŭ*)

● *lēp* 'glue, bird lime' (OCS *lěpŭ* 'viscum') :: OCS *lĭpěti* 'adhaerere', Gk. λίπος,
   λιπαρός, Pre-Hellenic ἀλείφω

● *lòv lóva* 'hunt' (→ loviti) :: *lǫ́va* 'Fang', *polòv* 'Abfang'
   odmòr odmóra 'rest' :: Lat. *mora* 'delay', SCr. *odmor* 'rest', *umor* 'fatigue'
   pâz 'attention' (probably)

● *ròk róka* 'terminus' :: SCr. *rôk ròka/rȍka*

● *slòj slója* 'layer' :: Cz. *sloj*

● *snȇg snęgâ* 'snow'[23] :: Lith. *sniñga* 'snows'

● *stòg stóga* 'haystack pole' :: OCS *stogŭ*
   trâk trāka 'band, ribbon' :: Lat. *torqueō*?

● *obèt obéta* 'vow' (OCS *obětŭ* εὐχή) *-větŭ*

● *oblâk* 'cloud' (OCS *ob-lakŭ*) :: OCS *vlěkǫ*

● *vòj vója* 'leader; army'

● *vrȇg* 'devil' :: OCS *vragŭ* 'enemy', Lith. *vaȓgas* 'hardship'

● *zǫb zǫba* 'tooth'[24]

● *zrak* 'air' (OCS *zrakŭ* εἶδος) :: OCS *zrĭcalo* 'mirror'

● *zvǫn zvǫna* 'bell' :: Alb. Geg *zâ*, def. *zâni*, Tosk. *zë*, def. *zëri* '(the) voice',
   Toch. B *kene* 'melody'.

<div align="right">University of Chicago</div>

NOTES

*   This paper was written for *Lubi Slovenci. A Festschrift to Honor Rado L. Lencek on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* [= *Slovene Studies* 9/1-2] but by some quirk of the international mail service did not survive transit between Yugoslavia and Alberta, and its publication was postponed.

1. For the most part, to save space, glosses in these citations are suppressed.

2. A valuable and well-chosen example, since it incorporates Brugmann's Law, the lengthening attesting to *o before sonant in open syllable. See my discussion of Skt. *kālá-ḥ* 'time', which matches Slavic *kolo* 'wheel', Hamp 1982b; length in *vāhá-* is unjustified.

3. This is a poor example for the vocalism, as the palatalized *c-* shows. The vocalism of ἀγός can now be appreciated in light of laryngeal theory, as it could not in Brugmann's time; the Latin vowel-reduction, of course, obscures *prōdigus*.

4. This solitary mention is an excellent example, but would be greatly clarified with the addition of a few comparanda, e.g. *preces, poscō*.

5. These Germanic examples are deficient and unclear as illustrations. It happens that we are not over-endowed with good clear Germanic reflexes of this formation, but there certainly are some. Adjectives furnish one source: Goth. *rauþs*, ON. *rauðr*, OE *rēad* (→ *red*), OS *rōd*, OHG *rōt*, Lat. (dialect or borrowed) *rūfus*, Lith. *raũdas*, SCr. *rud*, OIr. *ruad*, Breton *ruz* :: ON *roðra* f. 'blood', Gk. ἐρεύθω, OCS *rŭděti sę*. Goth. *þarb* (neut.), ON *þarfr* 'necessary, useful'. ON *deigr* 'soft'. A good noun is ON *svanr*, OE OS OHG *swan* *'the one making a sound' :: OIr. *seinnid* 'plays (music), sounds', pret. *sephain* ← *su̯e-su̯on-e*. Ideally we should like a Germanic example showing Verner's Law, to indicate the original place of the accent; unfortunately those capable of reflecting this are not at all plentiful. An instance surely accessible to Brugmann is ON *haugr* 'hill' :: Goth. *hauhs*, OE *hēah* (→ *high*), ON *hár* (with leveled vocalism), i.e. *hauhás : háuhas*; the verbal nature of this root *keuk⁽ʷ⁾ is confirmed by Goth. *hiuhma* ← *kéuk-mon-*.

6. Notably lacking in these examples are specimens from Baltic and Slavic; we cannot of course fault Brugmann for failing to include Tocharian. An excellent set for our purpose is OCS *zǫbŭ* 'tooth', Albanian Geg *dhâmb*, Tosk *dhëmb*, Toch.B *keme*, A *kam*, Eng. *comb* :: OCS *zębetŭ*, Alb. *dhemb dhimbet* 'hurts', Skt. *jámbhate, jámbha-* (with secondarily shifted accent). See also my discussion of Pol. *łęgi*, OCS *lǫkŭ*, Lith. *lankùs*, (Hamp 1985a)—where, at the end of the discussion, τόμος should be corrected to τομός—and further on this type in Hamp 1984.

7. Direct Slavic evidence on this type is difficult and elusive; see my remarks in Hamp 1981.

8. For a broad exemplification of this type as attested in the branches of IE see my collection in Hamp 1982a: 165-66; see also my analysis of *cęsta*, Hamp 1983: 60-61.

9. Brugmann's Law (see note 2) is unreliable for this class in Indo-Iranian, and subject to analogy; this was a seṭ root, hence with a closed syllable, and should have yielded a short *a*. For the meanings of *jána-* 'human being' see Zimmer 1986.

10. On this productive IE compounding situation see Hamp 1985b.

11. It will be our task to enrich this class of examples. For an example with Winter's lengthening, cf. SCr. *trâg*, see Hamp 1981.

12. Some good Germanic examples are Goth. *saggws*, ON *sǫngr*, WGmc. *sang* :: ON *syngva*. Goth *faihs*, OE *fāh*, Skt. *péśa-*, Avestan *paesō-* :: Gk. ποικίλος. OHG. *lōh* 'bush', Lat. *lūcus*. Besides ON *reið* fem. 'journey, wagon' :: *ríða* 'to ride', we find Goth. *þarba*, ON *þǫrf* 'need', OE *ðearf*, OHG *darba* :: ON *ðarfr* 'useful'; and OE *dēafu* 'deafness' :: *dēaf*.

13. We will not argue here the problems of exactness, adequacy, and descent of Meillet's separate examples in light of modern knowledge.

14. The loss of distinctive word accent in an IE branch could, of course, well have deflected and disrupted such derivational paradigms; yet cf. the survival of Toch. B *plewe* 'vessel', *leke* 'bed'.

15. Note that this otherwise fine example fails, however, to show the outcome of Brugmann's Law; see note 2.

16. See note 4.

17. I have also collated Franz Miklosich's pioneering *Vergleichende Grammatik* (1875). The excellent *Słownik prasłowiański* (Sławski 1974: 58-59) largely abbreviates but clarifies Vondrák.

18. This little list may be viewed as a contribution to an eventual revision of Rado's eminently useful *Structure and History of the Slovene Language* (Lencek 1982), for which we are all so grateful.

19. Cf. note 11.

20. Cf. Hamp 1987.

21. The relation here is not completely clear.

22. *napòj* 'drink for cattle', OCS *na-pojĭ* :: *píti* is omitted from the list: it cannot be of IE date, since the root is *peĝʷi*, so-called *pōi-*.

23. Cf. Meillet's list, quoted in my third paragraph.

24. Cf. Meillet's list and note 6.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brugmann, Karl. 1904. *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Strassburg.

Erhart, Adolf. 1982. *Indo-evropské jazyky. Srovnávaci fonologie a morfologie*. Prague: Academia.

Hamp, Eric P. 1981. "On the columnar accent of Slavic postverbals in *-ā*," *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku* 24/1: 170-71.

-------. 1982a. "Thwaite," 160-66 in John Anderson, ed., *Language Form and Linguistic Variation: Papers Dedicated to Angus McIntosh*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

-------. 1982b. "2. *kālá-ḥ* 'time'," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 24: 39.

-------. 1983. "Srbohrvaško *cȅsta*, slovensko *cęsta*," *Slavistična revija* 31: 60-61.

-------. 1984. "On the development of oxytone *o*- grade adjectives to *ŭ*- stems", *Baltistica* 20: 141-42.

-------. 1985a. "Ad Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego," *Rocznik Sławystyczny* 45: 82-83.

-------. 1985b. "Some archaic Greek compounds," *American Journal of Philology* 106: 222-225.

-------. 1987. "On the history of *ǫže, ǫz-, vęz-*," *Linguistique Balkanique* 30: 131-32.

Lencek, Rado. 1982. *Structure and History of the Slovene Language*. Columbus OH: Slavica.

Meillet, Antoine. 1934. *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes*. Paris: Hachette, 7th ed.; 8th ed., 1937.

Miklosich, Franz. 1875. *Vergleichende Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen. II, Stammbil*

dungslehre. Vienna: Braumüller.

Pleteršnik, Maks. 1894. *Slovensko-nemški slovar*, 2 vols. Ljubljana: Knezoškofijstvo. [Repr., Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1974].

Simenschy, Theofil, & Gheorge Ivănescu. 1981. *Gramatica comparată a limbilor indoeuropene*. Bucharest: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică.

Sławski, Franciszek, et al., eds. 1974. *Słownik prasłowiański, I*. Wrocław: Polska Akademia Nauk.

Vondrák, Václav. 1906-08. *Vergleichende slawische Grammatik*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Zimmer, Stefan. 1986. "On a special meaning of *jána* in the Rgveda," *Indo-Iranian Journal* 29: 109-15.

POVZETEK

INDOEVROPSKE IZPELJANKE IZ GLAGOLOV Z o-JEVSKIM PREVOJEM V SLOVENŠČINI

Avtorju gre za inventarizacijo besedotvornega gradiva modernih jezikov in opazarja na pomanjkanje podatkov, ki bi lahko ilustrirali indoevropsko stanje. Tako na primer standardni učbeniki, stari in novi, operirajo le s skromnimi in nereprezentativnimi seznami te vrste. Da bi prispeval k izpolnitvi te praznine, avtor objavlja seznam vseh indoevropskih izpeljank iz glagolov z o-jevskim prevojem, kar jih je našel v Pleteršnikovem slovarju. Kjer koli je to mogoče, za vsako tematsko izpeljanko daje tudi sorodno sodobno ali osnovno obliko.