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To Arie

0. Elsewhere I have put forward my views on the origins of Baltic (Kortlandt 1973) and Slavic (Kortlandt 1974) accentuation. In these publications, which will henceforth simply be referred to by the year of publication, I have not taken into account the Old Prussian material. In this paper I intend to show how the latter fits into the picture. It can be demonstrated that Old Prussian shared the common Balto-Slavic accentual innovations and that its accentual system differs from the Balto-Slavic base mainly by a single progressive accent shift, which is comparable to Dybo's law in Slavic rather than to de Saussure's law in Lithuanian. I shall confine myself to the material of the *Enchiridion* because this is the only source which allows definite conclusions about the Old Prussian accentual system. Moreover, I shall abstain from the use of negative evidence, that is to say, I shall not draw any conclusions from the absence of a symbol in the text. Thus, I consider the accentuation of *deiws*, *deiwas*, *deiwan*, *deiwans* unknown. For the material I refer to Trautmann 1910.

1. It is generally assumed that the macron indicates a stressed long vowel in such forms as *mūti*, *antrā*, *twaiā*, *turīt*, and the prominent part of a stressed diphthong in forms like *rānkan*, *kaūlins*. In spite of Rysiewicz's objections, some of which will be discussed below, I adhere to this point of view. Orthographical *ij* is equivalent to *ī*, e.g. *wijrst*, *wīrst*.

Apart from the macron, the place of the stress is indicated by the presence of a double consonant, e.g. *waikammans*, *wissamans*. According to the traditional doctrine (Berneker 1896: 163, Trautmann 1910: 196f., Van Wijk 1918: 137f., Endzelin 1944: 27), a stressed short vowel is generally followed by a double consonant. This assumption does not explain the fact that double consonants are particularly frequent before stressed long vowels, cf. *semmē*, *weddē*, *billīt*, *seggīt*, *skellānts*, *dessīmts*, *stallēmai*, *turrīlai*, *epwarrīsnan*, *enwackēmai*, *auipaickēmai*, *serrīpimai*, *ettrāi*, *tickrōmai*, *dellīkans*, *isranckīsnan*, *sallūbi gennāmans*, *tennā*, *tennēison*. Considering that

it is *a priori* more probable that double consonants occur under the same conditions in word forms without a macron as they do in word forms where we can derive the place of the stress from the macron, we can formulate the following HYPOTHESIS: a double consonant indicates that the next vowel was stressed.

This hypothesis is supported by several pieces of evidence. First of all, there is a remarkable alternation between *e* and *a* before a double consonant in *wirdemmans*, *waikammans* and *gīwemmai*, *gīwammai*. The vacillation is more easily explained as the result of a pretonic neutralization than as an unmotivated alternation in the stressed syllable, cf. *tennā*, *tannā*. Secondly, it is no longer necessary to posit an *ad hoc* rule for the retraction of the stress in the isolated words *kadden*, *dabber*, which are clearly identical with Lithuanian *kadà*, *dabař* (cf. Trautmann 1910: 101). Such a retraction could neither be phonetic (because it is not general) nor morphological (because there is no model). Thirdly, the hypothesis facilitates the derivation of Old Prussian accentuation from the Balto-Slavic base, as I shall presently demonstrate.

2. On the basis of the Slavic and East Baltic evidence I assume that the following accentual developments belong to the Balto-Slavic period (cf. 1973, section 3 and 1974, chapter 1).

(1) Loss of IE accentual mobility, except for the nominal inflexion of the consonant stems.

(2) Pedersen's law: the ictus was retracted from stressed inner syllables in mobile paradigms (Pedersen 1933: 25), e.g. Lith. *dū̀kteri̇*, *pi̇emeni̇*.

(3) Barytonesis: the retraction of the ictus was analogically extended to vocalic stems in the case forms where Pedersen's law applied, e.g. Lith. *ā̀vi̇*, *sū̀nu̇*, *di̇ēvȧ*, *ži̇ēmȧ*. The stress was not retracted in the nom. pl. of the *o*-stems, which had a very distinct phonemic shape, cf. Lith. *dievaĩ*.

(4) Oxytonesis: the ictus shifted from an inner syllable to the end of the word in paradigms with end-stressed forms (Ebeling 1967: 580), e.g. Lith. *sū̀numi̇*, *ži̇emoṁis*.

(5) Hirt's law: the ictus was retracted if the vowel of the preceding syllable was immediately followed by a laryngeal (Illič-Svityč 1963: 80f.), e.g. Lith. *dū̀ona*, *v̇yras*, *dū̀mai*, *ṁotė*, cf. Skt. *dhā̀náh*, *v̇iráh*, *dhū̀máh*, *ṁātá*.

(6) Ebeling's law: the ictus was retracted from a final vowel or diphthong in disyllabic word forms unless the first syllable was closed by an obstruent, e.g. Lith. gen. sg. *vilko*, dat. sg. *vilkuī*, *gálvai*, 3rd sg. *něša*, *něšé*, Russ. *pílo*. The ictus was not retracted from closed syllables, e.g. Lith. nom. sg. *galvā*, gen. sg. *galvōs*, *aviēs*, gen. pl. *vilkū*, inst. pl. *vilkaīs*, Russ. *pílá* from **golHváH*, **golHvās*, **ovéiS*, **vilkóN*, **vilkóiS*, **pHiláH*. The laryngeals were still ordinary consonants in this period. For a discussion of this retraction I refer to section 1.4 of my study on Slavic accentuation (1974).

Now the question should be posed if Prussian shared these developments. This question is difficult to answer because traces of accentual mobility in the *Enchiridion* are few. Yet I think that the existing evidence confirms the above sound laws.

The mobility in *spīgsnā*, *spīgsnan* and *antrā*, *āntran* shows that Prussian shared the Balto-Slavic barytonesis as well as its prerequisite, Pedersen's law. Other pieces of evidence are *mergu* (with *-u* indicating final stress), *mērgan*, dat. pl. *mergūmans*, and *etwerpsnā*, *prakāisnan*, cf. *enkaitītai*.

If the above hypothesis about double consonants is correct, Prussian also shared the oxytonesis, cf. *wirdemmans*, *waikammans*, *wertemmai*, *gīwassi*. The combination of barytonesis and oxytonesis yielded the lateral mobility characteristic of Balto-Slavic noun inflexion.

The operation of Hirt's law in Prussian is evidenced by *wijrs*, nom. pl. *wijrai*, dat. pl. *wijrimans*, cf. Lith. *výras*, Skt. *vīrāh*, and by *mūti*, Lith. *mótė*, Skt. *mā́tī*. This law also accounts for the medial stress in *mergūmans*, Lith. *mergóms*, cf. Slovene *gorám* with a short *a*, and possibly for the non-final stress in *billisna*, *powackisna*, *enteikūsna*, cf. *etwerpsnā*.

The Balto-Slavic retraction which I have called Ebeling's law also reached the Prussian branch, as is clear from the mobility in *laikūt*, *lāiku*. The retracted stress was generalized in the paradigm, e.g. *lāikumai*, *kīrdimai*, cf. *kīrdīt*. This generalization may provide an explanation for the doublet *gīwasi*, *gīwassi*, cf. *gīwīt*, *gīwu*, *gīwammai*, Russ. *živu* (Stang 1957: 109), *živěš'*. Unfortunately, traces of accentual mobility in the noun are too scarce to offer any support for the law.

3. The Old Prussian system of accentuation is not identical to the Balto-Slavic one after the developments mentioned above. A comparison with Lithuanian shows that both languages manifest

a progressive accent shift, but not under the same conditions. On the one hand, the stress has shifted to the desinence in *semmē*, *weddē*, but not in Lith. *žėmė*, *vėdė*. On the other hand, the stress has not shifted in *āusins*, *rānkans*, as opposed to Lith. *ausis*, *rankas*. The latter examples show that de Saussure's law did not operate in Prussian, which is not surprising in view of the fact that it operated neither in Latvian (1973, section 5) nor in Slavic (Stang 1957: 15ff.) and is fairly recent in Lithuanian. I think that the available material from the *Enchiridion* is satisfactorily accounted for by the following LAW: a stressed short vowel lost the ictus to the following syllable. It is possible that the law applied to stressed short vowels in open syllables only, but sufficient evidence is lacking. The law did not apply to diphthongs.

This law is reminiscent of Dybo's law for Slavic, according to which a stressed short or circumflexed vowel in a paradigm with fixed stress loses the ictus to the following syllable (Dybo 1962: 7), but it differs from the latter in two respects. First, the Prussian law applies to short vowels only. Second, it is independent of the accentual paradigm. Both laws differ from de Saussure's law in the property that the shift is independent of the intonation of the following syllable.

The form *weddē* could lead to the supposition that Ebeling's law did not operate in the Prussian branch. The inference is incorrect because in that case the retraction in *lāiku* would remain unexplained. Moreover, the form *semmē* would still require a progressive accent shift. It is simpler to assume that in *weddē* the ictus was first retracted in the Balto-Slavic period and then shifted to the ending after the dissolution of the linguistic unity.

The similarity between Dybo's law and the law formulated above leads to a remarkable similarity in the Slavic and Old Prussian accentuation patterns. Thus, *ivaiā* has the same stress as Russ. *ivojá*, where *voë* points to final accentuation as a result of Dybo's law. The same holds true for *tennā*, Russ. *oná*, *onó*. The medial stress in *gennāmans* corresponds to Russ. *žená*, acc. sg. *ženu*, with final accentuation as a result of Dybo's law. If the above hypothesis about double consonants is correct, we have to assume fixed stress on the second syllable throughout the paradigm: gen.sg. *gennas*, acc.sg. *gennan*, nom.pl. *gennai*, acc.pl. *gennans*. This is exactly the same accentuation pattern which we find in Old Russian and in the Čakavian (Novi) dialect of Serbo-Croat (cf. Stang 1957: 60). Here again the final stress in the Old Prussian forms is supported

by the variants *gannan*, *gannai*, *gannans*, which point to a weak pretonic vowel. This seems by far the most straightforward explanation of the paradigm.

It is clear that the hypothesis introduced above and the law formulated in this section mutually support each other. Thus, such forms as *buttan*, *dessimton*, *gallan*, *gemmons*, *gimmusin*, *gillin*, *kittan*, *labban*, *enmigguns*, *neggi* differ from Lith. *bùtas*, *dėšimt*, *gāla*, *gimės*, *gimusi*, *gilia*, *kita*, *lāba*, *imigės*, *nėgi* in accordance with the law, provided that the hypothesis is correct. Notice that the hypothesis was put forward without regard to the accentual system, and that the law was formulated without reference to the hypothesis. Incidentally, the final stress in *enmigguns* is supported by *ismigē*.

4. A slightly more complicated example corroborating the proposed accent shift is *widdewū*, dat. pl. *widdewūmans*, where the macron points to complete correspondence with Russ. *vdová*, acc. sg. *vdovú* with final stress in accordance with Dybo's law, and Skt. *vidhāvā*. Here the double consonant offers a problem because it does not stand immediately before the stressed vowel. I think that the solution is to be found in the strongly reducing effect of the *w* on the preceding pretonic vowel, which must have resulted in some kind of *schwa*. It is a rule that an occlusive preceding the pretonic vowel is doubled when the stressed vowel is preceded by intervocalic *w*, cf. *reddewijdkausnan*, where the long vowel marks the place of the stress, *kittewidei*, where the place of the stress can be derived from the form *ainawīdai* (= *ainawijdei*), and *pogattewinlai*, which differs from Lith. *pagatāvytī* (Polish *pogotować*) as a result of the progressive accent shift. The weakness of the pretonic vowel before *w* is reflected in the occurrence of *e* instead of the expected *a* in these examples, next to *a* in *kittawidin*, *pogattawint*. The latter word is a borrowing, which suggests that the accent shift was fairly recent, cf. *maddla* (Polish *modła*), *massi* (Polish *może*), *packai* (Polish *pokój*), *penningans*.

Other examples of the interchange between *a* and *e* are found before *l*, *m*, *n* in the first pretonic syllable, e.g. *e* instead of *a* in *kelsāi* (next to *kaltzā*), *dellīks* (cf. Lith. *dalỹkas*), *wesselingi* (with double *s* before the weak vowel, cf. *wissawidei*), *wissemukin* (cf. Lith. *móka*), *wirdemmans*, *giwemmai*, and *a* instead of *e* in *gannan* (next to *gennan*), *waldūns* (next to *weldūnai*), cf. Trautmann 1910: 100 f., 105. Examples of the interchange in posttonic syllables are nom. pl. *kaulei* (with retraction according to Hirt's law, cf. Latvian *kaūls*, Greek *kaulós*),

ainawijdei (next to *ainawīdai*), and the vocatives *deiwa* (next to *deiwe*) and *tāwa* (next to *tawe*).

Apart from *widdewū*, there are a few other cases where the macron and the double consonant do not point to the same accentuation, e.g. *aūpallai*, *pērgimmans*. Though it is generally assumed that the macron in the former word is a misprint, it is equally possible that these words contained two accent frames, cf. Dutch *áfvallen*. The same solution is possible for *prēipīrstans* and *buttantāws*. The macron in *aucktimmiskū* must be a misprint, cf. *deiwātisku*, *kanxtisku* (with initial stress, as in *kānxtin*), *labbisku* (with progressive accent shift), *perōnisku*, *seilisku* (cf. *nosēilis*).

A final category to be discussed here are the verbs in *-int*, e.g. *mukinna*, *mukinnons*, *mukinnimai*, *isrankinna*, *ersinnimai*, *ersinnati*, *waidinna*, *powaidinnei*, which have final accentuation in accordance with the proposed law, cf. Lith. *mokina*. There are a few verbs with retracted stress in this category, e.g. *dīlinai*, *poswāigstinai*, *podrūktinai*, *sātuinei*. This type must originally have arisen as a result of Hirt's law. I think that the long vowel in the verb forms *kūmpinna* and *skijstinnons* regularly marks the place of the stress, whereas the double *n* has simply been taken from the orthography of the (very frequent) end-stressed type, cf. Lith. *skaiština*.

5. Since Prussian has not shared the East Baltic monophthongization (Van Wijk 1918: 65), it is reasonable to assume that it has not shared the development of metatony either (cf. 1973, sections 4–6). The only clear example of metatony in Old Prussian is the suffix *-ings*, which corresponds to Lith. *-ingas*, e.g. *wertings*, Lith. *vertingas* (cf. Bezenberger 1907: 81 ff., Van Wijk 1924). The falling intonation of the suffix can be explained if we start from the case where the stem preceding the suffix contained a short vowel which regularly lost the ictus to the following syllable. It is probable that the progressive accent shift, like Dybo's law, yielded a falling intonation on a newly accented long vowel or diphthong. The intonation was then generalized as a characteristic of the suffix.

If this explanation is correct, we need no longer assume a misprint in the forms *podingan*, *pogālbenikan*, cf. Lith. *dīnga* (if this form is older than *dīn̄ga*), *pagālbininkas*. The falling intonation may simply be due to the progressive accent shift. The accentuation of *enwāngiskan* may have arisen by the analogical spread of the type, cf. Lith. *vėngti*. No such explanation seems possible for the verbal forms *pogāunai* (cf. *pogawūt*, Lith. *pagāuti*) and *aulāut* (cf.

aulauūsins, Lith. *liáuūis*), though there is a type of compound verb with initial stress in Serbo-Croat (*slōmīm*, *nālomīm*, as opposed to *lōmīm*) and there are traces of an accentual difference between verbs with and without a prefix in Old Prussian, e.g. *auƿaickēmai*, *ƿaikemmai*.

It remains striking that all word forms with a circumflex in Old Prussian corresponding to an acute in Lithuanian are stressed on the second syllable, and that there are no forms with an acute in the former language corresponding to a circumflex in the latter. As an alternative solution, one could suggest that the intonation was neutralized in non-initial syllables.

6. Though Prussian did not share the monophthongization and the development of metatony in the East Baltic languages, it did share the shortening of long diphthongs and the rise of phonemic pitch, which may have taken place more or less independently, as in Slavic. The broken intonation which resulted from the loss of the laryngeals (1973, section 4) developed into a rising tone, as it is happening in East Latvian dialects. The other long vowels and diphthongs became falling *per oppositionem*. There is no trace of tonal oppositions in unstressed syllables.

Note. Old Prussian *semmē* and Lithuanian *žēmė* suggest that this word goes back to a Balto-Slavic *ē*-stem. Indeed, the final accentuation of Russ. *zemljá*, acc. sg. *zemljú* (Illič-Svityč 1963: 108) indicates that the word was still an *ē*-stem at the time when Van Wijk's law operated (cf. 1974, section 3.5). If the word had been a *jā*-stem at that time, the stress would have been retracted as a result of Stang's law (1974, section 3.6), cf. Russ. *vólja*, Lith. *valià*. The same holds true for Russ. *mežá*, acc. sg. *mežú*, Lith. *mėdė* (Illič-Svityč 1963: 106).

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Glossary

ainawīdai gleich, *anters* ander, *aucktimmiskū* Obrigkeit, *aulāut* sterben, *auƿaickēmai* abdringen, *aūpallai* finde, *āusins* Ohren, *billit* sagen, *billisna* Sprüche, *buttan* Haus, *buttantāws* Hausvater, *dabber* noch, *deius* Gott, *deiwūtiskū* Seligkeit, *dellīks* Artikel, *dessimton* zehn, *dessimts* zehnter, *dīlīnai*

wirkt, *enkaītītai* angefochten, *enmigguns* geschlafen, *enteikūsna* Ordnung, *enwackēmai* rufen an, *enwāngiskan* endlich, *epwarrīsan* Sieg, *ersinnat* erkennen, *ettrāi* antworten, *etwērpnsā* Vergebung, *gallan* Tod, *gemmons* geboren, *gennan* Weib, *gillin* tief, *giwīt* leben, *ismigē* entschlief, *isrankinna* erlöst, *isrankīsnan* Erlösung, *kadden* wenn, *kaltzā* lauten, *kānatin* Zucht, *kanatisku* Zucht, *kaulan* Bein, *kirdīt* hören, *kittan* ander, *kittawidin* anders, *kūmpinna* hindert, *labs* gut, *labbisku* Güte, *laikūt* leisten, *maddla* Bitte, *massi* kann, *mergu* Magd, *mukint* lehren, *mūti* Mutter, *neggi* auch nicht, *nosēilis* Geist, *paikemmai* trügen, *packai* Frieden, *penningans* Geld, *pērgimmans* Kreaturen, *perōnisku* gemein, *podingan* Gefallen, *podrūktinai* bestätige, *pogalbenix* Heiland, *pogattawint* bereiten, *pogaūt* empfangen, *poswāigstinai* erleuchte, *powaidinnei* bedeutet, *powackīsnā* Aufbietung, *prakāisnan* Schweiß, *prēpīrstans* Ringe, *rānkan* Hand, *reddewijdikausanan* falsch Zeugnis, *sallūbi* gennāmans Ehefrauen, *sātuinei* sättigst, *seggīt* tun, *seilisku* Andacht, *semmē* Erde, *serrīpimai* erfahren, *skellānts* schuldig, *skijstinnons* gereinigt, *spigsnā* Bad, *stallīt* stehen, *tāws* Vater, *tennā* sie, *tickrōmai* gerecht, *turīt* haben, *twais* dein, *waidinna* zeigen, *waix* Knecht, *waldūns* Erbe, *wertemmai* schwören, *wertings* würdig, *wesselingi* fröhlich, *west* führen, *widdewū* Witwe, *wijrs* Mann, *wīrds* Wort, *wīrst* wird, *wissa* all, *wissemukin* allmächtig, *wissawidei* allesamt.

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