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Author: Pronk-Tiethoff, Saskia Elisabeth

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The Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic
Origin and accentuation

Saskia Pronk-Tiethoff

**The Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic
Origin and accentuation**

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Promotores: Prof. dr. F.H.H. Kortlandt
Prof. dr. A.M. Lubotsky

Promotiecommissie: Prof. dr. R.H. Bremmer
Prof. dr. G. Holzer (Universitat Wien)
Prof. dr. A. Quak
Prof. dr. J. Schaeken

Voor Thera, in herinnering

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PREFACE

Vsaka beseda [postane] kulturnozgodovinski dokument šele takrat, ko je zadovoljivo in vsestransko preiskana [...]. (ESSlov. 1: vii)

France Bezljaj

The subject of Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic has enjoyed great scholarly interest over the past two centuries, not only from Slavists, but also from Germanicists and scholars from adjoining fields. Apart from the monographs that were published on the area under discussion in the course of the 20th century (Mladenov 1908, Stender-Petersen 1927, Kiparsky 1934 and Martynov 1963), scholars have touched upon the subject in numerous handbooks and articles.

Research into the Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic has been complicated by the fact that every scholar works with his own corpus of loanwords, and it is often not made clear how the corpus was compiled. The absence of a defined, indisputable corpus of loanwords makes it difficult to investigate phonological, morphological or accentological developments or the semantic layering of the loanwords. When I started my research on the accentuation of the Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic, I felt it therefore necessary to review all (or almost all) possible Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic. The aim of this work had become twofold. On the one hand, this dissertation intends to provide an updated overview of the words that are to be regarded as Proto-Slavic loanwords from Germanic. On the other hand, it investigates the loanwords from the viewpoint of their accentuation in Proto-Slavic. In the field of Slavic accentology, much progress has been made since Christian Stang published *Slavonic accentuation* in 1957, but the accentuation of the Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic has not thoroughly and conclusively been investigated since the late 1950's. The present work aims to fill this gap and investigates the accentuation of the Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic within the framework set by the works of Leiden Slavists and Indo-Europeanists.

It is thanks to the inspiring classes of Willem Vermeer and Jos Schaeken of the Department of Slavic Languages and Cultures at Leiden University that my interest in Slavic historical linguistics was awakened. When I attended Willem Vermeer's fascinating, but extremely complicated lectures on Balto-Slavic historical accentology, I could not have imagined that I would ever write on an accentological subject myself.

The basis for this dissertation was laid in the master thesis that I wrote at the Department of Comparative Indo-European Linguistics at Leiden University,

and my dissertation has benefited from the comments and suggestions by Frits Kortlandt, Guus Kroonen and Luzius Thöny on this master thesis. I am grateful to my supervisors, Sasha Lubotsky and Frits Kortlandt, not only for their supervision and commitment, but also for stimulating me to take up writing this dissertation in the first place.

I wrote my dissertation as an external PhD candidate of the *Leiden University Centre for Linguistics* and I thank the LUCL for the assistance and incidental financial support I received. I would not have been able to devote myself fulltime to the writing of this dissertation without the generous financial support of the *Hrvatska zaklada za znanost*. When I moved to Croatia in December 2009, I was warmly welcomed at the *Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje* and my gratitude therefore goes to my colleagues at the Institute, in particular to Dunja Brozović Rončević, and my (former) roommates Ivana Klinčić, Vladimira Rezo, Mirna Furdek and Ana Ostroški Anić. At the *Staroslavenski institut* in Zagreb, I received help in identifying a number of Croatian and Serbian Church Slavic forms. I spent many agreeable hours with my friend and colleague Maja Rupnik Matasović, talking not only about the way the originally Latin loanwords ended up in Proto-Slavic, but about many non-dissertation related subjects as well.

This book is dedicated to the memory of my brave best friend Thera Giezen, who always stood behind me with her wonderful friendship; she is very much missed. My parents and brother Maurits have supported me along the way with their love and enthusiasm. Most of all, I am grateful to my dear family, Tijmen, Cathelijne and Jacob, who gave me the confidence to finish this book and always made it a pleasure to go home in the evening and give the fascinating questions regarding the Germanic loanwords in Proto-Slavic a rest.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS OF LANGUAGES

Alb.	Albanian	Kash.	Kashubian
Arm.	Armenian	Lang.	Langobardic (Lombardic)
Av.	Avestan	Lat.	Latin
Bav.	Bavarian German	Latv.	Latvian
Bg.	Bulgarian	LS	Lower Sorbian
BSl.	Balto-Slavic	M-	Middle
Čak.	Čakavian	MBg.	Middle Bulgarian
Cr.	Croatian	MDu.	Middle Dutch
Cr.CS	Croatian Church Slavic	MHG	Middle High German
Crn.	Montenegrin	MLG	Middle Low German
CS	Church Slavic	MW	Middle Welsh
Cz.	Czech	N	Norse
Dan.	Danish	NFri.	(New) Frisian
Du.	Dutch	NWGmc.	Northwest Germanic
E	English	O-	Old
EGmc.	East Germanic	OCS	Old Church Slavic
Fin.	Finnish	OCr.	Old Croatian
Fr.	French	OCz.	Old Czech
G	German	ODu.	Old Dutch
Gaul.	Gaulish	OE	Old English
Goth.	Gothic	OFr.	Old French
Gr.	Ancient Greek	OFri.	Old Frisian
Hg.	Hungarian	OHG	Old High German
Hitt.	Hittite	OIr.	Old Irish
Hsch.	Hesychius	OLF	Old Low Franconian
Ic.	Icelandic	OLG	Old Low German
Ir.	Irish	ON	Old Norse
It.	Italian	OP	Old Polish
Kajk.	Kajkavian	OPr.	Old Prussian

OR	Old Russian	S/Cr.	Serbian/Croatian (cf. §1.2.2.4)
OS	Old Saxon	SCS	Serbian Church Slavic
OW	Old Welsh	Skt.	Sanskrit
P	Polish	Slk.	Slovak
P-	Proto-	Slnc.	Slovincian
PCelt.	Proto-Celtic	Slov.	Slovene
PGmc.	Proto-Germanic	Sp.	Spanish
Phryg.	Phrygian	Supr.	Codex Suprasliensis
PIE	Proto-Indo-European	Sw.	Swedish
Plb.	Polabian	Toch. A/B	Tocharian A/B
Prt.	Portugese	Ukr.	Ukrainian
PSl.	Proto-Slavic	US	Upper Sorbian
R	Russian	VLat.	Vulgar Latin
RCS	Russian Church Slavic	W	Welsh
Rom.	Romance	WGmc.	West Germanic
S	Serbian		

LINGUISTIC ABBREVIATIONS

1/2/3	1st /2nd /3rd person	L	locative
A	accusative	lit.	literally
adj.	adjective	m.	masculine
adv.	adverb	N	nominative
AP	accent paradigm	n.	neuter
arch.	archaic	obs.	obsolete
D	dative	pej.	pejorative
dial.	dialectal	pl.	plural
f.	feminine	sg.	singular
G	genitive	V	vocative
I	instrumental		

SYMBOLS

*	reconstructed form
<	developed from
>	developed into
C	consonant
H	laryngeal
N	nasal
R	resonant
V	vowel

