

WINTER'S LAW AGAIN

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Since I discussed the scholarly literature on Winter's law twenty years ago (1988), several important articles on the subject have appeared (Young 1990, Campanile 1994, Matasović 1995, Derksen 2002, Dybo 2002, Patri 2005, Derksen 2007). As the law evidently continues to be controversial, it is important to look into the nature of the evidence and counter-evidence which is adduced. It appears that doubts about Winter's law are largely the result of four types of misunderstanding.

First of all, Winter's law yielded glottalization of a preceding syllabic nucleus, not lengthening of a preceding vowel, contrary to what is still maintained by Campanile ("allungamento", 1994: 349), Matasović ("lengthening", 1995: 61) and Patri ("allongement", 2005: 269). The glottalization merged with the glottalic reflex of the Indo-European laryngeals and remained distinct from vocalic length in Balto-Slavic. At a later stage, glottalization could yield short or long vowels in the separate languages, e.g. short *o* in Polish *krowa* 'cow' but long **ō* in the Upper Sorbian cognate *kruwa* < *krōwa* (cf. Kortlandt 1985: 123, 2006a: 361), similarly Polish *śłodki* 'sweet' but Upper Sorbian *ślōdki* with an acute from Winter's law (cf. Stang 1966: 161, Young 1990: 146). Glottalization was preserved in Russian at the time of the earliest Latvian borrowings, as Steven Young has shown at last year's conference in Copenhagen (cf. Kortlandt 2006b in fine). It has been preserved up to the present day in conservative varieties of Latvian, e.g. *pēds* 'footstep', *nuōgs* 'naked', as in British English *foot* and *naked*.

Secondly, Winter's law did not operate if there was an intervening *-s-, e.g. in Lith. *lizdas* 'nest', Latin *nīdus* < **nisdos*, with the zero grade of the root **sed-* 'sit'. As I pointed out earlier (1988: 394), I think that the Slavic word *xoditi* 'to walk' was formed on the basis of a Balto-Slavic reduplicated present **sizd-*, cf. Vedic *śīdati* 'sits', Latin *sīdō* 'sit down', which is reflected in the Slavic stem form *šbd-* 'went'. The derivation is comparable to that of Lith. *statyti* 'to put', *stāto* 'puts' from an original present 3rd sg. **stastāti*, 3rd pl. **stastinti* (cf. Kortlandt 1989b: 108). The absence of an acute from Winter's law in Slavic *xoditi* is thus comparable to the absence of length from Lachmann's law in Latin *-sessus* 'sitten' for original *-ssus* < **sdtos* (cf. Kortlandt 2007: 88, 122). The hypothesis that the Slavic deverbal noun *xodō* is a borrowing from Iranian (most recently Dybo 2002: 479) is semantically implausible and leaves the stem form *šbd-* unexplained.

Another clear example where Winter's law was blocked by an intervening *-s- is Lith. *mazgóti* 'to wash', Vedic *májjati* 'sinks', Latin *mergō* 'plunge' < *-sg- (see Dybo 2002: 480-485 for more examples). According to Dybo (2002: 485-495), Winter's law was also blocked by a following *-s-, e.g. in Slavic *loza* 'vine', Lith. *lazdà* 'stick', Prussian *laxde* 'hazel' < *-gzd- and in Lith. *blizgėti* 'to shine' < *-gsk-. Note that an early (Indo-European) loss of glottalization in stops before *-s- explains the absence of an acute from Winter's law in Slavic *osb* and Lith. *ašis* 'axle, axis', which Dybo does not mention, and the absence of length from Lachmann's law in the Latin cognate *axis* as well as in *tussis* 'cough', which seems to be at variance with the regular operation of the law in the inflected forms *adāxim* 'may have driven' < *-ǵs- and *tūsus* 'beaten' < *-dt- (cf. Strunk 1976: 27f., Kortlandt 2007: 88f.). These etymologies remain doubtful, however. Another cluster which evidently blocked Winter's law is found in Lith. *duktė* 'daughter', Old Church Slavic *došti* < *-gH₂t-, where glottalization was also lost in Vedic *duhitā* and Avestan *dugādā*.

Thirdly, the distinctive opposition between voiceless, voiced (glottalized) and voiced "aspirated" stops was neutralized before *-n-, which became infix, as Thurneysen realized 125 years ago (1883), e.g. Latin *pandō* 'spread' < *-t-, *pingō* 'paint' < *-k-, *mungō* 'wipe' < *-k-, but Greek *pítnēmi*, Vedic *pimśāti*, *muñcāti* with restoration of the voiceless stop, similarly Latin *unda* 'wave' < *undnā < *udnā (Thurneysen 1883: 303). The latter word is identical with Slavic *voda* 'water', where *un was lowered to *on at stage 5.10 of my chronology (1989a: 47) and the infix nasal was dissimilated before the nasal suffix, which is preserved in the derivative *povonb* beside *povodb* and in the East Baltic cognates (cf. Kortlandt 1979: 61). The same lowering and loss of the infix nasal is found in Slavic *ognjb* 'fire', Lith. *ugnis*, OLith. *ungnis* (ibidem and Dybo 2002: 498). The infixation of the nasal suffix explains the rise of nasal presents such as Latin *vincō* 'conquer', Vedic *yunākti* 'joins', Hittite *harnikzi*, *harninkanzi* 'make disappear', where the intermediate stage is still represented in Greek *khandánō* 'contain', *lanthánō* 'escape notice'. As a rule, Baltic generalized the infix and Slavic the suffix in the nasal presents. There is a nice parallel of the phonetic development in the Old Spanish imperative *dandos* < *dandnos* < *dadnos* 'give us' (Poema del Cid, cf. Cornu 1880: 95), cf. also Latin *agnus* [ɲ] 'lamb', *somnus* 'sleep' < *-pn-, inscriptional spellings such as *ingnes* 'fire', *congnatus* 'related' (Allen 1970: 23), and Greek *amnós* 'lamb' < *-g^wn-, *prāgma* [ɲm] 'deed' (Allen 1974: 35f.).

In the case of Lith. *sėgti* 'to attach' and Vedic *sájati* 'hangs', it is important that the absence of a radical nasal is limited to Baltic while the other languages point unambiguously to an original root *seng-, as is clear from the perfect *sasánja*, the passive aorist *ásañji*, German *Senkel* 'lace', Polish *sięgać* 'to reach', Czech *sahati*, Serbo-Croatian *sězati* with an acute from Winter's law, but loss of the acute before the nasal suffix in Czech *sáhnouti*, Serbo-Croatian *ségnuti*. We must therefore accept that the absence of the radical nasal from Lith. *sėgti* is secondary, as it is in *ugnis* for earlier *ungnis* and in Slavic *ognjb* and *voda* beside Lith. *vanduō* and Latin

unda (see Dybo 2002: 498-502 for more examples). Dybo's view that Winter's law was also blocked by a following *-r- (2002: 496f.) cannot be correct in view of Lith. *údra* 'otter', Slavic *vydra* (a) and *vědro* (b) 'bucket'. In the latter word, pretonic glottalization was lost phonetically at stage 5.3 of my chronology (1989a: 46) and length was preserved because the accent was retracted before the rise of the new timbre distinctions at stage 7.13 (cf. Derksen 2004), though the expected short reflex of the original pretonic long vowel seems to have been preserved in Czech *vědro* and Serbo-Croatian *vjèdro* beside *vijèdro*, Slovene *vědro*. Slavic *dobrŏ* 'good' must be separated from Latin *faber* 'artificer' (cf. Schrijver 1991: 102) and Lith. *gaidrùs* (4), *giēdras* 'clear' probably took its circumflex from *gaisas* 'glow', *gaisras* 'fire', Latvian *gāiss* 'air', *gāisma* 'light', *gāišs* 'light (adj.)' (cf. Derksen 1996: 223) while *šķidrs* 'liquid (adj.)' resulted from a recent Latvian shortening (cf. Derksen 2007). For the short vowel in the zero grade *CRi/uC-, where glottalization was evidently lost at an early stage, e.g. in Lith. *ligà* 'disease', Slavic *rŏzati* 'to neigh', cf. Greek *olígos* 'little', *ereúgomai* 'bellow', I refer to Dybo (2002: 503-505).

Fourthly, pretonic clusters of stop plus *-n- yielded voiceless geminates in Germanic (cf. Lühr 1988, Kortlandt 1991), which merged with the original glottalized stops under various conditions. As a result, the original stop cannot usually be reconstructed on the basis of a Germanic voiceless stop. A case in point is Lith. *angis* (4) 'snake', where Balto-Slavic, Indo-Iranian, Greek, Armenian and Germanic all point to a voiced aspirate but Old High German *unc* and *unke* have a voiceless stop (cf. Dybo 2002: 470-473). Similarly, the original stops of Slavic *kobŏ* 'augury', *stogŏ* 'heap', *kogŏtŏ* 'claw' cannot be determined on the basis of Old Norse *happ* 'good luck', *stakkr* 'haystack', *staki* 'pole', *haki* 'hook' (cf. Dybo 2002: 477f.). This eliminates not only these but also other counter-examples to Winter's law cited by Matasović (1995: 66): Slavic *debelŏ* 'fat', Lith. *gegužė* 'cuckoo', *dubùs* 'deep'. No conclusions can be based on Lith. *klegėti* 'to cackle', *lėbeda* 'rag' (Campanile 1994: 348), Slavic *sloboda* 'freedom' (Matasović l.c., cf. Kortlandt 2003: 255), Lith. *kadà* 'when', *tadà* 'then', Slavic **edinŏ*, **edbnŏ* 'one' (cf. Derksen 2002: 11f.).

While Campanile lists 13 examples of Winter's law and 10 counter-examples beside 9 instances of an unexpected acute and Matasović lists 25 examples and 20 exceptions, Patri claims 5 examples and 19 counter-examples without mentioning that Dybo lists 142 examples and 71 exceptions. Against this background, Patri's remark (2005: 284) that Dybo "ne paraît pas avoir remarqué" four of his far-fetched counter-examples sounds highly peculiar. His extensive bibliography (138 entries pour épater le bourgeois) does not make up for his misrepresentation of earlier views and his quite inadequate discussion of the data. His only original counter-example Slavic *strŏgati* 'to scrape' is not necessarily cognate with Greek *streúgomai* 'am exhausted' and would belong to Dybo's category of zero grade *CRi/uC- from which the author lists "some stems (not all!)" (2002: 503). The Slavic pronoun *to* 'that' < **tod* (Matasović 1995: 65) lost its final stop before the operation of Winter's law (stages 3.7 and 4.3 of Kortlandt 1989a: 44f.). I agree with

Dybo (2002: 478-480) that *bogv* ‘god’ and *koza* ‘goat’ are loan words and think that the same holds true for *sedblo* ‘saddle’ < ‘seat’, Gothic *sitls* (cf. Winter 1978: 440). Lith. *pādas* ‘sole’ and Slavic *podv* ‘floor’ cannot be separated from Lith. *iñdas* ‘dish’, *priēdas* ‘addition’, etc. and must therefore be derived from **pod^hH₁o-* (cf. Winter 1978: 439, Kortlandt 1988: 393). For Slavic *igo* (c) ‘yoke’, where the acute was lost as a result of Meillet’s law (stage 5.4 of Kortlandt 1989a: 46), I refer to Derksen (2003: 98). For Lith. *vedys* beside *vedys* ‘bridegroom’ we have to start from **H₁ued-* beside **ued^h-*, as is clear from Greek *ēedna* ‘dowry’, Old English *weotuma* (cf. Beekes 1969: 58f., Winter 1978: 444). Lith. *smagūs* ‘heavy’ (Matasović 1995: 65) cannot be separated from *smagūs* ‘pleasant, cheerful, merry, lively’ and has nothing to do with Greek *mógos* ‘toil, trouble, distress’. Thus, we are left with no real counter-examples to Winter’s law if only the early (Indo-European) loss of glottalization is taken into account and mistaken etymologies are removed from the data.

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