LITHUANIAN akas ‘ICE-HOLE’ AND OLD PRUSSIAN accodis *‘EYE, OPENING’*

Mąziulis (1998, 62–64) reads (EV 214) accodis ‘rochloch, hole in the wall for the elimination of smoke’ as *atkadis* or *atkad’s < -*das* (nom. sg. masc.) and suggests a connection with an Old Prussian adjective *atkada-* which presupposes the verb *atked-* which can be compared with Lith. kedėti ‘to split’. On the other hand, following orthographic principles which Mąziulis himself has used for other words I have suggested a phonemicization /akutis/ (Schmalstieg 1969, 166) or, here for the first time, /akutas/.

In addition to accodis the orthographic sequence cc occurs in the following five Old Prussian words in the Elbing Vocabulary, (142) Yccroy ‘Wade, calf (of the leg)’ reconstructed by Mąziulis (1993, 20) as *ikrāi*; (329) Peccore ‘Becker, baker’ reconstructed by Mąziulis (1996, 245) as *pekārē*; (428) Stakamecczer ‘Stechmess’, stabbing knife’ reconstructed by Mąziulis (1999, 148) as *stakameseris*; (502) Paccaris ‘Rime, (boot) string, lace’ reconstructed by Mąziulis (1996, 213) as *pakaras*; (593) Buccareisis ‘Buchecker, beech-nut’ reconstructed by Mąziulis (1988, 163) as *bukareisas* or *bukareisīs*. One notes that except for (214) accodis and (428) Stakamecczer in every other case Mąziulis proposes a single consonant k for the transcription of orthographic cc.

As far as the rendering of the orthographic sequence co by ku is concerned I would point out that Mąziulis (1996, 313) reconstructs (195) Pocorto ‘Swelle, threshold’ as *pakurtā*. Likewise he reconstructs (698) Korto ‘Hayn, enclosure, fence’ as *kurtā* (1993, 244) and (405) Konagis ‘König, duke (military leader), king’ as *künegas* (1993, 242).

With regard to the rendering of /t/ by orthographic d I would point out that Mąziulis (1988, 49) wrote that the correction of (80) agins ‘ouge, eye’ into *akins* is quite possible since in Prussian writings there are cases of the confusion of voiced and voiceless consonants. One can compare also (629) sagnis ‘wurczele, root’ which Mąziulis (1997, 36) reconstructs as *saknis* and (125) lagnio ‘leber, liver’ which Mąziulis (1996, 18) reconstructs as *jaknā*. The German confusion of voiced and voiceless consonants is well known, and for those of us who think of phonemes as bundles of distinctive features the parallel between rendering /k/ by orthographic g and /t/ by orthographic d is clear.
Final -is frequently represents an etymological *-as in the Elbing Vocabulary. For example, Mažiulis (1988, 172) reconstructs (EV 13) dagis ‘summer’ as *dagas.

Following Mažiulis’ orthographic principles illustrated in the words given above (for the most part quite correct in my view) it would certainly be possible then to reconstruct for Old Prussian accodis a phonemic /akutas/ or /akutis/.

Mažiulis (1994, 59–60; 2000, 106) disputes my (1969, 166) derivation of accodis ‘rochloch, hole in the wall for the elimination of smoke’ as a diminutive *aku- tis of *akis ‘eye’ since the latter word is of feminine gender and the Old Prussian counterpart should then be *akutē, cf. (fem.) Lith. akis ‘eye’ dim. akūtē, kārve, dim. karvūtē, (masc.) vaikas ‘child’, dim. vaikēlis, etc. I would point out now that Mažiulis (1988, 49) has also written that the Indo-European root for ‘eye’ might also supply Lith. āk-as, ak-ā ‘ice-hole’, Latv. ak-a ‘well’ and finally Lith. ak-ētis or ek-ētis (-ē, -ys), Latv. ak-ata (-e) ‘ice-hole’. Bērulis (1965, 15) writes that in many languages, not only in Indo-European languages, one frequently encounters the change of meaning ‘eye’ > ‘a hole in general; spring; pool in a marsh’. Bērulis writes further (1965, 16) that evidence for the fact that Lith. aks originally meant ‘hole’ can be found in the examples from the card catalogue of the Lithuanian Academy Dictionary (Sudmantai), Girni aką reik dabot didesne ‘one must make the hole in the mill-stone bigger’; akas ‘trikampė skylutė, pro kurią kargenis kartį varo tolyn, small triangular hole through which the pole operator pushes the pole further’ (fishing terminology). Bērulis notes that among the older dictionaries Lithuanian akas is encountered only in F. Nesselmann and F. Kuršaitis and with the notation that the word is Samogitian. Still the apparent Latvian cognate aks seems to assure at least an East Baltic source for aks and parallel *-o and *-ā stem forms are fairly common. Mažiulis (1997, 48) points out, e.g., Lith. dialect masculine lakštiņgalas ‘nightingale’ (as opposed to the standard feminine lakštiņgala). For other examples of gender change see Zinkevičius (1966, 207, 214–215, 219–220, 228–229). For an exhaustive analysis of the reasons for the phenomenon see Stundžia (1978; 1994). Therefore it seems to me that if akas actually existed in Lithuanian one could reconstruct a masculine Old Prussian noun *ak’s < *akas ‘hole, eye’, i.e., a masculine noun which could furnish the basis for */akutas/ or */akutis/. Old Prussian *ak-utas may have been derived from *ak-as just as Lith. dial. lang-ütas ‘small window’ is derived from láng-as ‘window’ (S. Ambrazas 2000, 103).

Still it seems to me also that the possibility of a suffix in -utis for a feminine noun is not completely excluded in Baltic. S. Ambrazas (2000, 103) reports from Bretkūnas’ Postilė a form mamutis which would certainly seem to be a diminutive of mama. The Lithuanian Academy Dictionary (LKŽ XVII 517) lists upils ‘river’ with either gender depending on the dialect, but defines the (masc.) diminutive
upēlis (514) as (fem.) maža upē ‘small river’. Wouldn’t gender consistency require a definition *mažas upis?

The Indo-European word for ‘eye’ (*ok*) includes the neuter Slavic oko, Old Indic ākṣi, Goth. augo, Gk. (dual) ὀξε ‘two eyes’ (< *oxje < *ok*ī+e according to Schwyzer 1939, 565), Lat. masc. oculus ‘eye’, Toch. Aak, Bek (alternating gender), Old Armenian aṅk, etc. The stems are varied in the various Indo-European languages. According to Wackernagel and Debrunner (1929/1930, 304) the origin of the i/n inflection of Old Indic ākṣi is to be found in an extension of the consonant stem by i and n. The consonant stem is retained in the Vedic nom. sg. anāk ‘blind’ < *an-ākṣ. Kazlauskas (1968, 263) quotes from Nemajūnai an apparent Lithuanian consonant stem gen. sg. akës which would seem to testify also to an original root consonant stem. The Gothic and Armenian words are -n stems, Latin oculus is an -o stem, and the Greek dual seems to reflect an -i stem to which a consonant stem ending has been added (if we are to believe Schwyzer, see above).

In his discussion of nouns with the stem suffix -s Kazlauskas (1968, 285) gives Baltic examples of such nouns which have been adapted to the etymological -o stems, Gk. ἔδοξ, -εος ‘form, image’, Lith. vėidas ‘face’; Old Indic (neuter) srotah ‘river, stream, torrent’, Lith. sriaūtas ‘stream torrent’.

Furthermore Kazlauskas suggests that mēnas ‘month’ encountered in dialects (Zietela, Lazdijai) and in the writings of Bretkūnas (dat. sg. mēnui) and Lith. akas are remnants of the nouns with the stem suffix -s.

Following the pattern of the Indo-European -s stem nouns (cf. Lat. nom. -acc. sg. gen-us, gen. sg. gen-eris, Gk. nom. -acc. sg. γέν-ος, gen. sg. γέν-εος, Attic γέν-ους < nom. sg. *gen-os, gen. sg. *gen-eses) one could reconstruct for Proto-Slavic an -s stem nom.-acc. sg. *ok-os (cf. OCS oko) and gen. sg. *ok-eses (cf. oćeše). Although the Old Church Slavic neuter oko is an -s stem in the singular it is an -i stem in the nom.-acc. dual oči (= Old Indic dual ākṣi, Avestan aši ‘both eyes’). Therefore for Slavic one would reconstruct an -i stem form *okī. Transferring these reconstructions into Proto-Baltic one would arrive at a nom.-acc. sg. *akas and a nom.-acc. dual *aki. (If we have to do with a root-consonant stem as apparently in Lithuanian dialects and in Greek one could alternatively reconstruct a nom.-acc. dual *ak-e).

Following the Slavic model (and keeping in mind the aforementioned comparison of akas with Slavic oko by Kazlauskas [1968, 285]) I propose then that a single Proto-Baltic paradigm with nom.-acc. sg. *akas and a nom.-acc. dual *aki (or

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1 S. Ambrazas (1993, 67) considers sraūtas and cognates to be a derivative in *-to-. As far as the meaning is concerned, it certainly would seem to be a nominalized adjective formation (‘flowing’ > ‘stream’). The various opinions on this matter are discussed briefly in Wackernagel and Debrunner (1954, 615-616).
ak-e) was split into two paradigms, with the original *-s stem *akas passing completely to the etymological *-o stem declension (and at the same time changing to the masculine gender, like mënas, véidas and sriaútas mentioned above by Kazlauskas). This would be similar to the Slavic *-s stem oko which passed to the *-o stem declension (in the singular, at least), although it retained its original neuter gender, since there was an *-o stem neuter class with the nom. sg. ending in *-o (e.g., mësto ‘place’). The *-o stem declension of Russ. ok-o with the gen. sg. ok-a, dat sg. ok-u, etc., would be comparable to Lith. ėk-as with the gen. sg. *ēk-o, dat. sg. *ēk-ui, etc.

Kazlauskas (1968, 263) writes that there is also dialectal evidence that ausis ‘ear’ may have originally been a consonant stem noun. He quotes a gen. sg. ausìs and a nom. pl. ausës (Linkmenys, Skapiškis, Leipalingis and elsewhere) and writes that the gen. pl. ausì is known in Bretkinas and widely used in the standard language and dialects. In any case under the influence of the fem. ausis ‘ear’ (cf. also Lat. [fem.] auris ‘id.’) the commonly used dual *akë or [consonant stem] *ak-e ‘two eyes’ (like *ausì or [consonant stem] *aus-e ‘two ears’) acquired the feminine gender and passed completely to the *-i stem (or root consonant stem) category. The more specialized meaning ‘hole’ was retained by ėkas whereas the general function ‘eye’ was retained in akis, although it also through a natural semantic process acquired meanings similar to ‘hole’. The influence of ausis explains the feminine gender of akis which, on the basis of other Indo-European languages, as we have seen above, is not to be expected.

One can compare the influence of the word for ‘ear’ on the word for ‘eye’ in Germanic, cf. Goth. augo ‘eye’ in which the initial diphthong may have been instituted by analogy with auso ‘ear’ (Feist 1939, 65). There is also the possibility that Avestan aši ‘both eyes’ was remodeled from *axši on the basis of uši ‘both ears’ (Wallede-Hofmann 1954, 201).

My conclusion is that the original Lithuanian word for ‘eye’ was ėkas (= Slavic oko, which originally corresponded to the neuter gender of other Indo-European languages). Under the influence of the etymological *-i stem nom.-acc. dual akì (= Slavic oči) the word ėkas with the meaning ‘eye’ was replaced by a new nominative akis. The feminine gender was introduced under the influence of ausis ‘ear’. There is also no reason to abandon my etymology of accodis as meaning ‘hole, small eye’. The parallel with Slavic okíno and English window < Old Norse vindauga < vindr ‘wind’ plus auga ‘eye’ is obvious.

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LIE. akas 'EKETĖ' IR PR. accodis 'AKIS; ANGA, SKYLĖ'

Santrauka

Iškelta prielaida, kad pr. accodis (E 214) 'dūmalaidė, aukštinis' fonemizuotinas kaip /akutis/ ar /aku-
tas/ ir vestinas iš pr. žodžio, giminiško lie. tarm. akas 'eketė'. Ir akas, ir akils tikriausiai išvesti iš pir-
mykštės paradigmos, kurios nom. sg. buvo akas (= sl. oko), o nom.-acc. du. – *akī (= sl. oči) arba
*aKe. Veikiant nom.-acc. du. *ausī arba *ause 'dvi ausys', daiktavardžiui akis buvo apibendrintas i
arba priebalisnis kamienas ir suteikta moteriškoji giminė.

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