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

Mažiulis (1998, 62–64) reads (EV 214) *accodis* ‘rochloch, hole in the wall for the elimination of smoke’ as \**atkadīs* 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 Mažiulis 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 Mažiulis (1993, 20) as \**ikrāi*; (329) *Peccore* ‘Becker, baker’ reconstructed by Mažiulis (1996, 245) as \**pekārē*; (428) *Stakamecczer* ‘Stechmess’, stabbing knife’ reconstructed by Mažiulis (1999, 148) as \**stakameserīs*; (502) *Paccaris* ‘Rime, (boot) string, lace’ reconstructed by Mažiulis (1996, 213) as \**pakaras*; (593) *Buccareisis* ‘Buchecker, beech-nut’ reconstructed by Mažiulis (1988, 163) as \**bukareisas* or \**bukareisīs*. One notes that except for (214) *accodis* and (428) *Stakamecczer* in every other case Mažiulis 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 Mažiulis (1996, 313) reconstructs (195) *Pocorto* ‘Swell, threshold’ as \**pakurtā*. Likewise he reconstructs (698) *Korto* ‘Hayn, enclosure, fence’ as \**kurtā* (1993, 244) and (405) *Konagis* ‘Köning, duke (military leader), king’ as \**kūnegas* (1993, 242).

With regard to the rendering of /t/ by orthographic *d* I would point out that Mažiulis (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* ‘wurzele, root’ which Mažiulis (1997, 36) reconstructs as \**saknis* and (125) *lagno* ‘leber, liver’ which Mažiulis (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 *\*akutis* 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. *akūtė*, *kárvė*, dim. *karvūtė*, (masc.) *vaikas* ‘child’, dim. *vaikėlis*, 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-à* ‘ice-hole’, Latv. *ak-a* ‘well’ and finally Lith. *ak-etis* or *ek-etis* (*-ė*, *-ys*), Latv. *ak-ata* (*-e*) ‘ice-hole’. Bērtulis (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’. Bērtulis writes further (1965, 16) that evidence for the fact that Lith. *aka(s)* originally meant ‘hole’ can be found in the examples from the card catalogue of the Lithuanian Academy Dictionary (Sudmantai), *Girną 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). Bērtulis 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 *aka* seems to assure at least an East Baltic source for *aka(s)* and parallel *\*-o* and *\*-ā* stem forms are fairly common. Mažiulis (1997, 48) points out, e. g., Lith. dialect masculine *lakštinėgalas* ‘nightingale’ (as opposed to the standard feminine *lakštinėgala*). 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. *langūtas* ‘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 *upis* ‘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<sup>w</sup>-*) includes the neuter Slavic *oko*, Old Indic *akṣi*, Goth. *augo*, Gk. (dual) ὄσσε ‘two eyes’ (< *\*οκ<sup>w</sup>je* < *\*ok<sup>w</sup>i+e* according to Schwyz er 1939, 565), Lat. masc. *oculus* ‘eye’, Toch. *Aak*, *Bek* (alternating gender), Old Armenian *akn*, 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 *akṣi* 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. *anák* ‘blind’ < *\*an-akṣ*. Kazlauskas (1968, 263) quotes from Nemajūnai an apparent Lithuanian consonant stem gen. sg. *akès* 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 Schwyz er, 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. *φείδος*, *-εος* ‘form, image’, Lith. *vėidas* ‘face’; Old Indic (neuter) *srotah* ‘river, stream, torrent’, Lith. *sriaūtas* ‘stream torrent’<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore Kazlauskas suggests that *mėnas* ‘month’ encountered in dialects (Zietela, Lazdijai) and in the writings of Bretkūnas (dat. sg. *mėnui*) 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. *očese*). 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 *akṣī*, 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 *\*akī*. (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 *\*akī* (or

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<sup>1</sup> 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 *mėnas*, *vėidas* and *sriaũtas* 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., *město* ‘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. *āk-as* with the gen. sg. *\*āk-o*, dat. sg. *\*āk-ui*, etc.

Kazlauskas (1968, 263) writes that there is also dialect evidence that *ausis* ‘ear’ may have originally been a consonant stem noun. He quotes a gen. sg. *ausès* and a nom. pl. *aūses* (Linkmenys, Skapiškis, Leipalingis and elsewhere) and writes that the gen. pl. *ausĩ* is known in Bretkūnas 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 *\*akī* or [consonant stem] *\*ak-e* ‘two eyes’ (like *\*ausī* 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 *ākas* 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’ (Walde-Hofmann 1954, 201).

My conclusion is that the original Lithuanian word for ‘eye’ was *ākas* (= 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 *akī* (= Slavic *oči*) the word *ākas* 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 *okno* and English *window* < Old Norse *vindauga* < *vindr* ‘wind’ plus *auga* ‘eye’ is obvious<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> I should like to thank herewith Prof. Saulius Ambrazas for advice and assistance in writing this article, although he is in no way responsible for any errors which may remain and for the opinions expressed here.

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

### Santrauka

Iškelta prielaida, kad pr. *accodis* (E 214) 'dūmalaidė, aukštinis' fonemizuotinas kaip /akutis/ ar /akutas/ ir vestinas iš pr. žodžio, giminiško lie. tarm. *akas* 'eketė'. Ir *akas*, ir *akis* tikriausiai išvesti iš pirmąsios 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 priebalsinis kamienas ir suteikta moteriškoji giminė.

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