

Eric P. HAMP

University of Chicago

LATV. *dēgun-s* AND THREE DIFFERENT *-n* TERMINATIONS *

Latv. *dēgun-s* (with a rare *-un-* suffix: Endzelīns 1971, 106; Būga RR II 213: the sole word in Latvian with this suffix), *dēguon-s* (dial.) ‘nose’ must be ‘runner’, ‘dribbler’, as suggested in Karulis (206: “tas, kas tek”). Surely we have here an agentive suffix, cf. Alb. *gjarpër*, Geg. *gjarpën* ‘snake’ < **sērp-(e)n-* “creeper, crawler” Hamp 1994/5, Gk. *δράκων* Hamp 1998, 57, Arm. *ezn* ‘ox’ < “endurer” Hamp 1986, Skt. *vr̥ṣan* ‘breeder, bull’, *takṣan*, Gk. *τέκτων* ‘craftsman’.

This suffix must have merged, at least in Baltic (perhaps also in Greek, with its ω), with **-l̥ʷ(o)n-*; thus **H₃(l̥ʷ)* would have imparted voicing to the adjacent consonantism: cf. **-len-*, **H₂ap-H₃()n-* (to OPr. *ape*, Lith. *ùpė* ‘river’), **peik-* (**l̥ʷ-n-*) Hamp 2004, 64; 1988; 1994a; Karl Hoffmann followed by Hamp 1970, 1; 1974. Hence **t(e)k̥ʷ-l̥ʷ(o)n-* > **d(e)g̥ʷ-()n-* is eminently reasonable for *dēgu(o)ns*, in which voicing could have spread through the base in the zero grade. In fact, at an early time, the stem in zero-grade would have been suitable for the weak cases of the paradigm, and the syntactic “weak” cases of the noun ‘nose, Lith. *nósis* (= Latv. *nāss* ‘nostril’) **nVH_as-* could well have offered the class of easiest and most effective entry to a suppletive colloquial stem. That is, in this instance colloquial **dg̥ʷn-* would simply replace **nH_as-* → *nə̌s-* ~ *ṇs-* > Baltic **íns-* which would not have seemed a transparent *Schwundstufe*.

Perhaps also we may reckon with **-n-* < IE oblique heteroclit (Hamp 1994b) < pre-Indo-Hittite oblique (v. Welsh *llydan* ‘broad’ Hamp 2002a; 1997, 259; 2002b).

REFERENCES

- Būga RR – K. Būga, Rinktiniai raštai, I–III, sudarė Z. Zinkevičius, Vilnius, 1958–1961.
Endzelīns J., 1971, Jānis Endzelīns’ Comparative Phonology and Morphology of the Baltic Languages, translated by W. R. Schmalstieg and B. Jēgers, The Hague-Paris.

* I would like to thank Steven Young for his assistance with essential and erudite Baltic references in this article and for his patience in difficult days.

- H a m p E. P., 1970, Indo-European ‘young’, – Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, LXXXIV, 1.
- H a m p E. P., 1972, Palaic *ha-a-ap-na-as* ‘river’, – Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, XXX, 35–38.
- H a m p E. P., 1974, Vannetais *iouank, iaouank, ievank*, – Lochlann, VI, 118–121.
- H a m p E. P., 1986, *Ezn* ‘ox’, – Annual of Armenian Linguistics, VII, 63–64.
- H a m p E. P., 1988, Morphological interpretations, – Studia Celtica, XXII–XXIII, 7–9.
- H a m p E. P., 1994a, Addenda ad LINGUISTICA XXVIII, 1988, 141–157, – Linguistica (Ljubljana), XXXIV (2), 127–128.
- H a m p E. P., 1994b, The Indo-European heteroclitics, – Indogermanica et Caucasica: Festschrift für Karl Horst Schmidt zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. by R. Bielmeier and R. Stempel, Berlin, New York, 35–40.
- H a m p E. P., 1994/5, Gegërishtjagjarpën, toskërishtjagjarpër, – Studime (Akademia e Shkencave dhe e Arteve e Kosovës, Prishtinë), I, 199–201.
- H a m p E. P., 1997, CDIAL 13073 *Sakthán-*, Nom. *Sákthi*, – Indo-Iranian Journal, XL, 259.
- H a m p E. P., 1998, *ῥόαρον*, – Glotta, LXXIV, 57.
- H a m p E. P., 2002a, Welsh *llydan*, – Studia Celtica, XXXVI, 149–150.
- H a m p E. P., 2002b, Indic-Nuristani *sákth-i/án-*, *cuṭti-* and Albanian *sup*, – Linguistica (Ljubljana), XLII, 3–4.
- H a m p E. P., 2004, IE **peik-* and Baltic **peik-*, – Studies in Baltic and Indo-European Linguistics, ed. by P. Baldi and P. U. Dini, Amsterdam, Philadelphia, 63–65.
- K a r u l i s K., 2001, Latviešu etimoloģijas vārdnīca (2nd printing), Rīga.

Eric P. HAMP
University of Chicago
Department of linguistics
1010 East 59th Street
Chicago, IL 60637, USA