

**Can weep lure?
An analysis of a controversial
Slavico-Germanic pair of cognates¹**

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to suggest an analysis of one controversial Slavico-Germanic group of cognates represented by Polish *wabić* and English *weep*. The analysis presents the diachronic perspective of both the semantic and the phonological development in two descending lines: the Germanic, leading to modern English; and the Slavic, leading to modern Polish. Even though, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, “outside Teutonic no certain cognates are known” (of E *weep*), the connection between the Germanic **wōþjan* and the Slavic **vabiti* is much closer than appears *prima facie*. The phonological difference between them can be explained in terms of regular sound changes. Moreover, the Gothic cognate *wopjan* has a remarkably similar, if not the same, meaning as in Old Polish and in some of the modern senses of *wabić*. Consequently, having analysed the relevant material in Old Church Slavonic, Gothic, Old Polish and Old English, it is argued that P *wabić* and E *weep* are cognate and an attempt is made at explaining which semantic and phonological changes are responsible for their differentiation.

Key words

Polish-English cognates, semantic change, Slavico-Germanic cognates, sound change

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Les pleurs peuvent-ils leurrer? Analyse d'un pair de cognats slavo-germanique controversé

Résumé

L'objectif du présent article est de proposer une analyse d'un groupe slavo-germanique des mots apparentés controversé, représenté par *wabić* polonais et *weep* anglais. L'analyse présente une approche diachronique envers le développement sémantique et phonologique des deux lignées : slave, menant au polonais contemporain, et germanique, menant à l'anglais contemporain. Bien que, selon *Oxford English Dictionary* « en dehors du groupe germanique [il n'y ait] pas de mots apparentés [de l'anglais *weep*] », la liaison entre **wōpjan* proto-germanique et **vabiti* proto-slave est plus étroite qu'il ne semble à première vue. Les différences entre les structures sonores peuvent être expliquées par les changements phonétiques réguliers. De plus, *wopjan* gotique a une signification très proche de *wabić* en vieux polonais. Suite à des études comprenant le vieux-slave liturgique, le vieux polonais, le gotique et l'ancien anglais, la thèse sur la parenté entre *wabić* polonais et *weep* anglais est confirmée. L'article propose aussi une explication des changements phonétiques et sémantiques qui ont influencé leur divergence.

Mots-clés

changements sémantiques, changements phonétiques, cognats polono-anglais, cognats slavo-germaniques

Czy płacz wabi? Analiza pewnej kontrowersyjnej słowiańsko-germańskiej pary wyrazów pokrewnych

Abstrakt

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest zaproponowanie analizy dla jednej kontrowersyjnej słowiańsko-germańskiej grupy wyrazów pokrewnych, reprezentowanej przez pol. *wabić* i ang. *weep*. Analiza ta przedstawia diachroniczną perspektywę zarówno semantycznego, jak

i fonologicznego rozwoju dwóch ścieżek: słowiańskiej, wiodącej do współczesnej polszczyzny, oraz germańskiej, prowadzącej do współczesnej angielszczyzny. Mimo że według słownika *Oxford English Dictionary*, “poza grupą germańską, nie są znane żadne pewne wyrazy pokrewne (dla ang. *weep*)”, związek między pgerm. **wōpjan* i psł. **vabiti* jest bliższy niż to się z początku wydaje. Różnice w strukturze dźwiękowej można wyjaśnić w kategoriach regularnych zmian dźwiękowych. W dodatku goc. *wopjan* ma zaskakująco zbliżone znaczenie do stpol. *wabić*. W rezultacie badań uwzględniających materiał staro-cerkiewno-słowiański, staropolski, gocki oraz staroangielski, poparta zostaje teza o pokrewieństwie pol. *wabić* i ang. *weep* oraz podjęta zostaje próba wyjaśnienia zmian fonetycznych oraz semantycznych, które wpłynęły na ich zróżnicowanie.

Słowa kluczowe

polsko-angielskie wyrazy pokrewne, słowiańsko-germańskie wyrazy pokrewne, zmiany dźwiękowe, zmiany semantyczne

1. The earliest attestations and the semantic proximity

1.1. Gothic

The earliest attestation of the words under investigation is the Gothic (henceforth Go.) form *wopjan*, whose meaning can be glossed as ‘call, call out’. The semantic field covered by Go. *wopjan* seems to be fairly wide, which will be illustrated by a selection of quotations from the Gothic Bible (Streitberg 1919²) with parallel English text from the King James version:³

John 11:28

jah þata qiþandei galaiþ jah **wopida**⁴ Marjan, swistar seinu, þiubjo qiþandei: laisareis qam jah haitiþ þuk. (And when she had so

² Quoted from the online version provided by Project Wulfila 2004, University of Antwerp, Belgium at <<http://www.wulfila.be>>.

³ Downloaded from the Oxford Text Archive, <<http://ota.ahds.ac.uk>> by the authors of the Wulfila Project.

⁴ The bold (in this and all subsequent texts) is mine.

said, she went her way, and called Mary her sister secretly, saying, The Master is come, and **calleth** for thee.)

Mark 15:34

jah niundon hveilai **wopida** Iesus stibnai mikilai qipands: ailoe ailoe, lima sibakpane, þatei ist gaskeiriþ: guþ meins, guþ meins, duhve mis bilaist? (And at the ninth hour Jesus **cried** with a loud voice, saying, Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani? which is, being interpreted, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?)

Mark 15:35

jah sumai þize atstandandane gahausjandans qepun: sai, Helian **wopeip**. (And some of them that stood by, when they heard it, said, Behold, he **calleth** Elias.)

Mark 14:68

ip is afaiak qipands: ni wait, ni kann hva þu qipis. jah galaip faur gard, jah hana **wopida**. (But he denied, saying, I know not, neither understand I what thou sayest. And he went out into the porch; and the cock **crew**.)

Mark 14:72

jah anþamma sinþa hana **wopida**. jah gamunda Paitrus þata waurd, swe qaþ imma Iesus, þatei faurþize hana hrukjai twaim sinþam, inwidis mik þrim sinþam. jah dugann greitan. (And the second time the cock **crew**. And Peter called to mind the word that Jesus said unto him, Before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice. And when he thought thereon, he wept.)

The last example shows that wide as the semantic field of Go. *wopjan* was, it did not include ‘weep’, which is expressed by *greitan*. In the framework of cognitive linguistics, the cognitive model of Go. *wopjan*, which was formed on the basis of the experience of the language users, contained a certain conception of sounds and speech that were symbolized by the lexeme *wopjan*. The sounds and speech that formed one cognitive model represented by Go. *wopjan* correspond to several cognitive models in modern English that are represented by such lexemes as *call*, *cry*, *crow* but not *weep*. Consequently, it can

be inferred that the speakers of Gothic perceived these sounds ('call', 'cry', 'crow') as related, which does not mean that they had equal status in the cognitive model.

The overwhelming majority of the occurrences of Go. *wopjan* corresponds to E 'call'. This is true for twelve occurrences (Matthew 11:16, 27:47; John 11:28, 12:17, 13:13, 18:33; Luke 7:32, 8:54, 19:15; Mark 10:49 (twice), 15:35). One of them (John 13:13) can be paraphrased as 'name': *Ye **call** me Master and Lord: and ye say well; for so I am*. Four occurrences translate as 'cry': Luke 3:4 and Mark 1:3 – *The voice of one **crying** in the wilderness*; Luke 18:7 – *And shall not God avenge his own elect, which **cry** day and night unto him*; Mark 15:34 – *And at the ninth hour Jesus **cried** with a loud voice, saying, Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani?* Another two occurrences refer to the cock crowing (Mark 14:68, 14:72). These last two appear to have the sense 'crow' by extension because Matthew and John use the verb *hrukjan* 'crow'. Also Mark, in the last of the fully quoted sentences above, uses *hana hrukjai* and *hana wopida* interchangeably.

1.2. Old English and Polish

As far as the earliest attestation of Old English (OE) *wēpan* is concerned, we can already see the effect of the semantic change in the earliest texts, as the overwhelming majority of examples in the *OED* reveal contexts connected with tears, moans and cries. Also the Latin original, as in the case of the gospels, contains the verb *ploravit*:

c900 Bæda's Hist. iii. xiv. (1890) 198 *He ongon wepan hluttrum tearum.*

c1000 Ags. Gosp. Matt. xxvi. 75 *And he eode ut & weop [Vulg. ploravit] bityrlice.*

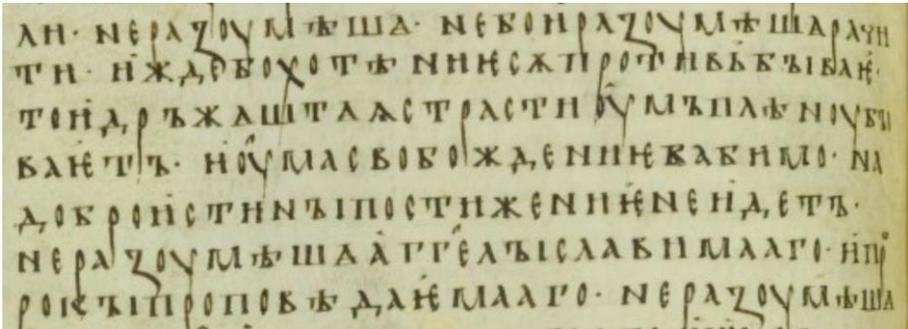
It is also worthwhile to quote the definition of E *weep* from the *OED*, which seems to refer both to people and to animals:

To manifest the combination of bodily symptoms (instinctive cries or moans, sobs, and shedding of tears) which is the natural, audible, and visible expression of painful (and sometimes of intensely pleasurable) emotion; also, and in mod. use chiefly, to shed tears (more or less silently).

The dictionary of Polish (Dubisz 2008: 331) also includes reference to animals in the definition of *P wabić*: “to call another animal, emitting a characteristic sound or smell: *the male lures the female with cooing and puffing out the throat*”.⁵

1.3. Old Church Slavonic

The Old Church Slavonic (henceforth OCS) cognate *vabimo* is glossed by Derksen (2008: 511) as ‘being lured’. It is attested only in Codex Suprasliensis in folio 334 or 167v,⁶ in line 3033206⁷ and translates Greek *ἀνδραποδιζειν* ‘to enslave’. The original fragment containing the word is quoted below: first, the reproduction of the manuscript, and below, the transcript together with parallel Greek text:⁸



⁵ The translation is mine. The original text: “przyzywać drugie zwierzę, wydając charakterystyczny głos lub wydzielając charakterystyczny zapach: *Samiec wabi samiczkę gruchaniem i nadymaniem gardła*”.

⁶ <<http://suprasliensis.obdurodon.org/pages/supr167v.html>>.

⁷ Corpus Cyrillo-Methodianum Helsingiense: An Electronic Corpus of Old Church Slavonic Texts. Based on Sergey Severyanov’s edition, available at: <<http://www.helsinki.fi/slaavilaiset/ccmh/SUPR.TXT>>.

⁸ <<http://suprasliensis.obdurodon.org/pages/supr167v.html>>.

3. ли· не разоумѣша· не бо ѡ разоумѣша разоумѣ-
 ρωσαν. Οὐκ ἔγνωσαν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπιγνῶναι ἠβουλήθησαν·
4. ти· ѡжде бо хоуѣниѣ сѡпротивѣ бѣиваѣ·
 ἔνθα δὲ βούλησις ἀντιπράττεται
5. то ѡ дрѣжашиа страсти ѡумѣ плѣноу бѣи-
 και τοῦ κατασχόντος παθήματος ἢ γνώμη λάφυρον γίνε-
6. ваѣтъ· ѡ ѡума свобождениѣ вабимо· на
 ται και τὸ τῆς διανοίας ἐλεύθερον ἀνδραποδιζόμενον πρὸς
7. добро ѡстинѣ постижениѣ не ѡдетъ·
 τὴν εὐγενῆ τῆς ἀληθείας κατάληψιν οὐκ ἀνάγεται.
8. не разоумѣша ἀγγελѣи славиааго· ѡ пр^о-
 Οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὸν ὑπ' ἀγγέλων δορυφορούμενον και ὑπὸ τῶν προ-
9. роκѣи проповѣдаѣааго· не разоумѣша
 φητῶν κηρυττόμενον. Οὐκ ἔγνωσαν

The form of the verb *ВАБИМО* is the present passive participle and the phrase to which it refers: *оума свобождениѣ* means ‘the liberation of the mind’. The meaning ‘the liberation of the mind is called’ actually makes better sense than ‘the liberation of the mind is enslaved/lured’, although it should be emphasized that the verb *ВАБИМО* is attested only once in Old Church Slavonic and the context does not determine what the precise meaning of the word was. Therefore, we cannot exclude approximate translation.

1.4. Old Polish

What makes the connection between Slavic and Germanic more salient is one of the senses found among others in Polish: ‘to call an animal with its name’, which is often used in modern Polish in questions about the name of a dog: *Jak się wabi?* ‘What’s it called?’

The sense ‘call’ appears to have been more common in older periods in the history of Polish, attested as early as in *Kazania świętokrzyskie* (the Holy Cross Sermons), which is the oldest extant prose text in the Polish language, dating probably from

the late 13th or the early 14th century. In the opening lines of the sermon on the occasions of St Catherine's Day (the only complete sermon), we can find the verb *wabić* as many as three times, the first is the declined present participle, and the remaining two contain the prefix *po-*.

@ stands for a nasal vowel

^ stands for an abbreviated nasal consonant

~ signals an abbreviation of the following letters

\ precedes a single raised or superscript letter

\ \ precedes a sequence of raised or superscript letters

è, ì, ù replace (e)\, (i)\, (u)\

`n, `r, `t replace (n)\, (r)\, (t)\

& stands for 7 (et)

301 (S)urge p~rop~era amica m(e)a & ue^i Ta sloua pise m@d`ri
salo(mon) . as@

302 slo(ua) si(na) bo(ze)\ \go t@to s(u@)t@ d\euic@ katèrin@
vslau@c`ro(la) . neb\es(ke)\ \go **vab@**

303 **cego** . vstan p`ra(ui) . pospeys@ milut/cka m(oia) ypoydy (.)
yzmouil

304 sin bo\ \zi sloua uelmy zna(meni)\ \ta . gimis casd@ dus@
zbosn@ pobu

305 da pon@cha y **pouaba** . pobucha . reca vstan [pon@](cha)

306 rek@ ta . pospeys@ . **pouaba** reca . y poydy . (y)[moui sin
bozi]

307 vstan .

(Kortlandt 2001)

In view of the fact that it is *sin bozi* 'son of God', who *wabi* and *powabia*, it seems to be more adequate to gloss the sense of *wabić* as 'call' rather than 'lure'. This meaning is remarkably similar to the meaning of Go. *wopjan*, illustrated above, which makes the etymological connection between the two more conspicuous.

In spite of this, however, it would be inappropriate to conclude that the semantic change responsible for the emergence of the sense 'lure' occurred only in the recent history of Polish. The arguments against such a conclusion come from several

Slavic languages, which exhibit cognates with the sense ‘lure’: Czech *vábiti* ‘lure’, Slovakian *vábit’* ‘lure’, Russian *vábit’* ‘lure, decoy’, Serbo-Croatian *vábiti* ‘lure, attract’, 1sg. *vâbim*; Slovene *vábiti* ‘lure, invite’, 1sg. *vâbim*, OCS *vabimo* ‘being lured’.⁹ It seems highly unlikely that the semantic change from ‘call’ to ‘lure’ occurred independently in all these languages. It appears to be more plausible that the meaning ‘lure’ already developed in Proto-Slavic (PSl) but remained marginal as part of the polysemy of PSl **vabiti*. Still it is remarkable that Polish seemed to preserve the earlier meaning much longer.

Also the Dictionary of Old Polish (Nitsch, Klemensiewicz and Urbańczyk 1953-2002, vol. X: 32) defines *wabić* using several verbs including ‘summon’ and ‘call’,¹⁰ as well as the Latin ‘vocare’ and illustrates the use with the following examples:

1423 MPKJ II 301, *Yze Stanek Woythka wabil ku sgedzenj, a Woythek ne chczal gicz.*

1424 Kościan nr 1239, *Jaco Wanczencz... nass nye wabył ku obliczanv do[p]bythka, kedy nam nass dobythek wypuszczal.*

1426 KsMaz II nr 2358, *Iacom ya nye syepal Pyotra w sędze silø, alem gi wabil do swathcow.*

The examples above and the glosses demonstrate that the semantic field of Old Polish (henceforth OP) *wabić* was much wider than in modern Polish. They also show remarkable areas of overlap between Go. and OP, especially in the sense ‘call’.

2. Reconstructions

2.1. Proto-Germanic

On the basis of Go. *wopjan* ‘call out’, Old Norse *œpa* ‘cry, scream, shout’, OE *wēpan*, Old High German *wuofan* ‘bewail’, *wuoffen* ‘whine’, Old Saxon *wōpian* ‘to bewail’ and Old Frisian

⁹ The forms are quoted from Derksen (2008: 511-12).

¹⁰ The original text: *namawiać do przyjścia (do kogoś lub czegoś), zachęcać do czegoś, przywoływać, wzywać, vocare (ad aliquem vel aliquid), arcessere, appellare.*

wēpa ‘to shout, to cry aloud’, the Proto-Germanic **wōpjan* does not seem surprising. Yet Go. *wopjan* is a weak verb (Lehmann 1986: 409) as opposed to the remaining cognates (except for ON *œpa* and OHG *wuoffen*). Probably because of these three weak verbs, Orel (2003: 470) lists two entries for PGmc **wōpjanan*. Yet Kroonen (2013) does not have such an entry. He derives OE *wōpan* (which seems to be a misprint) and OHG *wuoffan* from **wōpan-*; and Go. *wopjan*, ON *œpa* from **wōpjan-*, both at the entry **hrōpan-* (Kroonen 2013: 249).

OE *ē* results from regressive vowel harmony (or umlaut), which was caused by **j* in the following syllable, whose presence is attested in Gothic *wopjan*. (Old) High German *ff* is the effect of the Second Consonant Shift and is an example of regular sound correspondence when the consonant appears after vowels (cf. OE *scip* vs. OHG *scif* > G *Schiff*; OE *slæp* vs. OHG *slâf* > G *Schlaf*).

2.2. Proto-Slavic

Czech *vábiti* ‘lure’, Slovakian *vábit’* ‘lure’, Russian *vábit’* ‘lure, decoy’, Serbo-Croatian. *vábiti* ‘lure, attract’, 1sg. *vábim*; Slovene *vábiti* ‘lure, invite’, 1sg. *vábim*, OCS *vabimo* ‘being lured’ lead to PSl. **vabiti*. The West and South Slavic evidence points to Accent Paradigm (b) and therefore to a lengthened grade of the root (Derksen 2008: 511-12).

2.3. Proto-Indo-European

According to Derksen (2008: 511f.), on the basis of West and South Slavic evidence, we may reconstruct **uōb-* (with loss of **ʔ* after a long vowel in BSl. **uōʔb-* from Winter’s law?). If the East Slavic accentuation is old, however, the root may have been **ueh₂b-* or **ueh₃b-*.

The reconstructions of the Proto-Indo-European (henceforth PIE) form and meaning, available in Watkins (2011: 97), Borys (2005: 675), Mann (1984/87: 1483), Pokorny (2002 [1959]: 1109), and Mallory and Adams (2006: 355), have the following

shapes. The differences are mainly due to the variety of conventions and the different theoretical proclivities of the authors:

Watkins:	PIE <i>*wāb-</i> ‘to cry, scream’ (suffixed form <i>*wāb-eyo</i>)
Pokorny, Boryś:	PIE <i>*uāb-</i> ‘rufen, schreien, wehklagen’
Mann:	PIE <i>*uābjō-</i> ‘shout, call’
Mallory and Adams:	PIE <i>*wehab-</i> ‘cry, scream’

Even though the reconstructed forms are found in some¹¹ dictionaries of PIE, it is not without doubt that the common etymon is postulated for PIE. One reason for this is that it is attested only in two Indo-European branches. Another problem stems from the highly unusual bilabial voiced plosive, which favours assumptions of dialectal forms (cf. Lehmann 1986: 409). Important as these problems are for the assertion of the PIE origin, they are quite secondary for the purpose of the current investigation as long as a common origin can be established. Whether it was as early as PIE or in later common proto-languages, before finally Balto-Slavic and Germanic became differentiated, is of secondary consideration. If the word goes back to a younger proto-language than PIE, then the reconstructions with **ā* may be more accurate and justifiable than those with **eh₂* (or **eh_a*), even if we assume that there was no **ā* in PIE.

3. Semantic change

The semantic proximity between Go. *wopjan* and OP *wabić*, in contrast to the oldest senses in Old English, indicates that the main semantic change responsible for the difference between P *wabić* and E *weep* must have occurred in two steps: (a) in the descending line from Proto-Germanic (PGmc) **wōpjan* ‘call’ to OE *wēpan* ‘shed tears’, and (b) the Slavic change from ‘call’ to ‘lure’.

¹¹ The word is not listed by Rix (2001).

In order to be more precise about the time of the semantic shift, let us compare the glosses of the Germanic cognates: Go. *wopjan* ‘call out’, Old Norse *æpa* ‘cry, scream, shout’, Old High German *wuofan* ‘bewail’; *wuoffen* ‘whine’, Old Saxon *wōpian* ‘to bewail’, Old Frisian *wēpa* ‘to shout, to cry aloud’. From this juxtaposition, it seems that the sense ‘cry’ started to appear in North-West Germanic, but the examples from the Gothic Bible quoted in section 1.1 demonstrate that Go. *wopjan*, was also used to refer to the last cries of Jesus on the cross. Possibly, the meaning ‘cry’ was not a coded meaning in Gothic. In Levinson’s (2000) terminology, it seems adequate to analyse this stage of semantic development as utterance-type meaning, which consists in generalized invited inferences. For Old Norse *æpa*, the OED includes only the senses ‘to scream, shout’, but the famous Icelandic-English Dictionary (Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874) besides these two, also has ‘cry’. If we assume the following line of descent: PGmc > North-West Gmc > West Gmc > Ingvaemonic > Anglo-Frisian > Old English > Modern English, we can also see the gradual highlighting of the semantic features connected with crying and the gradual eclipsing of the spoken element.

It is not easy to capture the semantic change demonstrated by P *wabić* / E *weep* in terms of the traditional categories of narrowing, broadening, metaphoric and metonymic extensions. Some elements of all four can be detected on the way from ‘shout, call’ to E *weep* ‘shed tears’; the least adequate seems to be broadening: (1) in terms of narrowing: some of the calls and shouts were accompanied by shedding tears and eventually the word *weep* became reanalysed in this narrower sense; (2) broadening – although it is possible to shed tears without calling, which suggests extension, the range of referents covered by E *weep* is not really wider because it does not include most of the prototypical screams or calls, (3) metaphoric extension – the sound of weeping may resemble calling (and also the purpose of both may be the same), so there is some relation of similarity; hence, ‘call’ may have become the metaphor of ‘weep’, (4) metonymic extension – there is also the

relation of contiguity – because emitting the sound, which is part of calling and crying may have begun to be interpreted as crying and weeping itself.

Searching for the explanation of why and how the meaning may have changed from ‘call’ to ‘weep’, we can use an approach based on reanalysis (Fortson 2005), like in the case of E *bead* < OE *gebed* ‘prayer’. Reanalysis is said to arise from ambiguous context (Jespersen 1921: 175-177). In order to envisage such an ambiguous context, let us think of a baby crying. In such a context, the etymon of E *weep* may easily have been reanalyzed, as the crying of an infant is often interpreted as calling. Therefore, if, at a certain stage of development (say PGmc **wōppjan* ‘call’), the word was used with reference to a baby crying in the sense ‘the baby is calling’ it may have started to be understood as ‘the baby is crying’. Gothic preserves the earlier meaning ‘call’, but generalizes invited inferences ‘cry’. The North-West Gmc languages eclipsed the sense ‘call’ and highlighted the sense ‘cry’, making it a coded meaning.

Similarly, the semantic shift from ‘shout, call’ to Modern Polish *wabić* ‘lure’ can be analysed using several traditional categories, the least adequate again seems to be broadening: 1) narrowing – not all calls aim at luring, 2) broadening – although it is possible to lure without calling, which suggests extension, the range of referents covered by P *wabić* is not really wider because it does not include most of the prototypical cries, screams or calls, 3) metaphoric extension – luring is as if calling (the purpose may be the same) so there is the relation of similarity – ‘call’ became the metaphor of ‘lure’, 4) metonymic extension – there is also the relation of contiguity – this is because once the semantic change was under way, the sense ‘call’, which was part of ‘lure’, may have started to represent the whole of ‘lure’, which is typical of metonymic extensions.

In terms of the Aristotelian categorisation (cf. Taylor 2003: 22-24) based on the distinction between the essence and the accident, we can notice a semantic shift: what used to be es-

sential in the common ancestor language, namely ‘emitting the sound’, is now accidental, if more prominent in English. In modern use, E *weep* contrasts with E *cry* in terms of loudness, with E *weep* chiefly meaning ‘to shed tears’. In Slavic cognates, no sound needs to be emitted for luring to occur, but the sound may accompany. In other words, sound used to be the essential, defining feature of PIE **uāb-*, and remains such in Germanic, but in the course of time became an accidental feature, especially in Slavic. There is probably the last vestige of the presence of sound, and even speech, as the essential features in one of the Polish senses (Dubisz 2008: 331): *nazywać zwierzę nadanym mu imieniem; także: przywoływać zwierzę jego imieniem: Psa wabiono Reks* (to call an animal with its name: the dog was called Rex).

Using the model developed by Kleparski (1996, 1997), the change of meaning from ‘call’ into ‘lure’ can be accounted for in terms of a highlighting of some values and an eclipsing of others. If we assume that the P *wabić* ‘lure’ goes back to the meaning ‘call’, which is in keeping with the definition from the dictionary of Old Polish, quoted above, we might distinguish the following components in the original meaning: to SAY something (usually in a loud voice) in order to SUMMON someone or ATTRACT someone’s attention. The value which must have been highlighted in Slavic is ATTRACT, which became focused so much that it developed into TEMPT, LURE, whereas the value which has become eclipsed is connected with SAYing, and, in some senses eclipsing goes so far as to eliminate emitting any sound, as in the Polish: *wabić kogoś zalotnym uśmiechem* ‘to lure someone with a flirtatious smile’.

4. Phonological change

The difference in the sound structure between P *wabić* and E *weep* can be explained with regard to the following sound changes:

- (1) PIE **u* [w] > Polish /v/
- (2) PIE **b* > PGmc **p*
- (3a) PIE (**eh*₂, **eh*₃, **ō* >) **ā* > PS1 **a*
- (3b) PIE (**eh*₂ >) **ā* > PGmc **ō* > OE *ē* (by i-Umlaut) > EModE /i:/
(by the Great Vowel Shift)

The first of these sound changes can be illustrated with many Polish-English cognates in which E preserves the PIE *[w], whereas P shows the effect of the change from **u* [w] to /v/. NB The P letter <w> is pronounced as the voiced labiovelar fricative /v/. The Slavic forms come from Derksen (2008) and the Germanic forms from Kroonen (2013). Yet the cognacy of the words in each set is rarely doubted, the differences in the reconstructed forms are mainly either due to different conventions or because of different apophonic grades:

1. P *wilk*, Cz. *vlk*, Ru. *volk*, OCS *vlьkъ* < PS1 **v̥l̥kъ* < PIE **ulkw-o-*
E *wolf* < OE *wulf*, Go. *wulfs* < PGmc **wulfa-* < PIE **ulkw-o-*
2. P *woda*, Cz. *voda*, Ru. *vodá*, OCS *voda* < PS1 **vodà* < PIE **uod-*
r/n-
E *water* < OE *wæter*, OS *watar*, Go. *wato* < PGmc **watar* < PIE **uod-r/n-*
3. P *widowa*, Cz. *vdova*, Ru. *vdová*, OCS *vьdova*, *vьdovica* < PS1 **vьdowà* < PIE **h₁ui-d^hh₁-(e)u-o/eh₂-*
E *widow* < OE *widuwe*, *widewe* < PGmc **widuwō* < PIE **h₁ui-d^hh₁-uh₂-*
4. P *wetna*, Cz. *vlna*, Ru. *vólna*, OCS *vlьna* < PS1 **vьlna* < PIE **Hulh₁-néh₂-*
E *wool* < OE *wul(l)* < PGmc **wullō-* < PIE **Hulh₁-néh₂-*
5. P *wola*, Cz. *vůle*, Ru. *vólja*, OCS *volja* < PS1 **vòlja* < PIE **uol(H)-(e)ih₁*
E *will* < OE *willa* < PGmc **wiljōn*, **weljan-* < PIE **uelh₁-ion-*
6. P *wosk*, Cz. *vosk*, Ru. *vosk*, OCS *voskъ* < PS1 **voskъ* < PIE **uóks-ko-m?*
E *wax* < OE *wæx*, *weax* < PGmc **wahsa-* < PIE **uóks-o-*

Similarly:

7. P *wabić*, Cz. *vábiti*, Ru. *vábit'*, OCS *vabimo* 'being lured' < PSI **vabiti* < PIE **ueh₂b-* (**uōb-*, **ueh₃b-*)
 E *weep* < OE *wēpan*, Go. *wopjan* < PGmc **wōpjan* < PIE **ueh₂b-eyo-*

In contrast to many reconstructions which use PSI **v* (e.g. Derksen 2008, Boryś 2005), the change of PIE **u* [w] > Polish [v] cannot have occurred as early as Proto-Slavic as some Slavic languages still preserve the glide, for example Sorbian and East Ukrainian, and some display alternations [w/v], e.g. Standard Ukrainian, Southern Russian. For details, see Stieber (2005 [1979]: 86-87). The precise distribution of the reflexes of Proto-Slavic **w* in modern languages is discussed in Cyran and Nilsson (1998), who define the reasons for as well as the results of the shift in the framework of Government Phonology. They also pay attention to the alternations, such as the Polish [v/f] ([f] in e.g. *twój* [tfuj] 'your', *słów* [swuf] 'words, gen.pl.' or *ławka* [wafka] 'bench').

The next change of PIE **b* > PGmc **p*, which belongs to Grimm's Law, has so few examples that some Indo-Europeanists doubt whether **b* existed in the PIE phonological system. There are, however, some serious arguments in defense of PIE **b*, which are based, for example, on the integration of prehistoric Semitic loanwords into pre-Germanic (Vennemann 2006). With regard to the Germanic *apple* word, the author argues that "since the word appears with *b* in Balto-Slavic and Celtic (and probably in a Latin place name), it is safe to assume that it was borrowed with *+b* into pre-Germanic, too, and thus to instantiate the shift of **b* to *+p*" (Vennemann 2006: 140).

The Polish-English cognates in which Polish preserves the controversial PIE **b* and English shows the effect of Grimm's Law (PIE **b* > PGmc **p*) include the following cases:

1. P *jablko*, OP *jabło*, Cz. *jablko*, *jabło*, Ru. *jábloko*, OCS *ablъko* < PSI **ablъko*, **ablō* < PIE **h₂eb-l-k-*
E *apple* < OE *æppel* < PGmc **ap(a)laz* < PIE **h₂eb-ol-*
2. E *scrape* < OE *scrapian* ‘to scratch’, ON *skrapa* ‘to scrape, to clatter’, MDu. *schrapen*, MHG *schraffen* < PGmc **skrapòjanan:* ← PIE **skrob-*
P *skrobać*, Cz. dial. *škrobat*, Slovene *škróbatì*, Belorussian *skrobat’* < PSI **skrobati* ← PIE **skrob-*
3. P *slaby*, Cz. *slabý*, Ru. *slábyj*, OCS *slabъ* < PSI **slàbъ* < PIE **slob-o-*
E *sleep* < OE *slēp* (n.), *slēpan* (v.), Go. *sleps* (n.), *slepan* (v.) “ult. connexions are doubtful” (Onions 1966: 834) < PGmc **slēpan*, **slēpaz* ← PIE **slēb-*, ‘be weak, sleep’ a hypothetical base **slē-* contracted from **sleh₁-*
4. P *wabić*, Ru. *vábit’*, OCS *vabimo* < PSI **vabiti* ← PIE **ueh₂b-* (**uōb-*, **ueh₃b-*)
E *weep* < OE *wēpan*, Go. *wopjan* < PGmc **wōpjan* ← PIE **ueh₂b-eyo-*

Furthermore, the change of PIE **b* > PGmc **p* can also be substantiated with Latin contrasting with English: e.g. L *labium* / E *lip*. There is also a possibility that the *b* sound should be interpreted as an extension (Lehmann 1986: 409), or an enlargement from the root **weh₂* [wa:] expressing a sound of lament. Polomé (1999: 135) juxtaposes it with OE *wā* (E *woe*), Go. *wai*, and OHG *wē*, which appears to be phonologically problematic because OE *ā* derives from the diphthong **ai*.

The difference between the vowels in the pair of cognates P *wabić*, E *weep* can be explained with reference to the merger of the late PIE **ā* and PIE **ō* as well as two typical vocalic changes in the history of English: i-Umlaut and the Great Vowel Shift.

The merger of long non-high back vowels – late-PIE **ā* and late-PIE **ō* shows different effects in Slavic than in Germanic. In Proto-Germanic, the result is PGmc **ō*, whereas in Proto-Slavic, the result is PSI **a*. This sound change can be substantiated with the following examples. *Nota bene*, most occur-

es of late-PIE **ā* can be derived from **eh*₂, which makes some Indo-Europeanists question the existence of PIE **ā*.

1. P *matka*, OCS *mati* ← PS1 **māti* < PIE **méh*₂-*ter*-
E *mother* < OE *mōdor* < PGmc **mōdar*- < PIE **meh*₂-*tér*-
2. P *paść*, Ru. *pastí*, 1sg. *pasú*, OCS *pasti*, 1sg. *pašø* < PS1 **pasti*
← PIE **peh*₂*s*-
E *food* < OE *fōda* < PGmc **fōd*- < PIE **peh*₂*t*-
3. P *brat*, Ru. *brat*, OCS *bratrъ*, *bratъ* < PS1 **brātrъ*, *brātъ* < PIE
**b^hreh*₂-*tr*-
E *brother* < OE *brōpor* < PGmc **brōpar* < PIE **b^hreh*₂-*ter*-
4. P *wabić*, Ru. *vábit'*, OCS *vabimo* < PS1 **vabiti* ← PIE **ueh*₂*b*-
(**uōb*-, **ueh*₃*b*-)
E *weep* < OE *wēpan*, Go. *wopjan* < PGmc **wōpjan* ← PIE
**ueh*₂*b*-*eyo*-

As a result of the two mergers, we have the contrast between PGmc **ō* (Go. *wopjan*¹² < PGmc **wōpjan*) and PS1 **a* (P *wabić*, Cz. *vábiti*, Ru. *vábit'* < PS1 **vabiti*). Next, in prehistoric Old English, **ō* underwent i-mutation, and changed into OE *ē* under the influence of the high front vowel (or semivowel) in the following syllable (for an outline cf. Hogg 1992: 121-138, or Lass 1994: 59-71). In other words, what happened can be understood as regressive vowel harmony because the back vowel **ō* became assimilated to the front **j*. There are many further examples, which show similar vocalic developments, such as: Go. *fodjan*, OE *fēdan* > E *feed*; Go. *sokjan*, OE *sēcan* > E *seek*; Go. *domjan*, OE *dēman* > E *deem* to name but a few.

In the 15th century, the Middle English long vowel /e:/ succumbed to the Great Vowel Shift (for an outline cf. Lass 1999: 72-85), which is responsible for the Modern quality /i:/ in the present-day E *weep*. The vowel in the past and past participle forms *wept*, having undergone pre-cluster shortening, remained impervious to the charm of the Great Vowel Shift and survives intact. Further examples include *keep/kept*, *bleed/bled*, *feed/fed*, *sleep/slept*, to name but a few.

¹² There is no need to apply a macron above Go. *o* because Gothic did not have a short *o*.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that the reconstruction of both the form and the meaning of the common etymon for P *wabić* and E *weep* is based on a comparison and should be approached with care. Similarly, all attempts at understanding and accounting for the semantic and phonological developments at these early stages are hypothetical.

There are several arguments in favour of the cognacy however. Firstly, P *wabić* has cognates in many Slavic languages, including OCS, and E *weep* is attested in many Germanic languages, including Gothic; the phonological differences between them reflect regular sound correspondences. Secondly, there is semantic proximity between Go. *wopjan* ‘call’ and Old P *wabić* ‘call’ as well as one of the senses of Modern P *wabić*, present in *Jak się ten pies wabi?* ‘What’s this dog called?’ Thirdly, the phonological differences P *wabić* and E *weep* can be explained in terms of regular sound changes.

By and large, P *wabić* and E *weep* seem to belong to those cognates which appear prima facie semantically unrelated, like P *syty* and E *sad* or P *początek* ‘beginning’ and P *koniec* ‘end’. In addition to this, however, not only do they turn out to have a common origin, but they also indicate a connection which characterised the perception of our ancestors.

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