

The Germanic *(i)jō*-stem declension

Origin and development



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Preface

This work completes my master thesis in the subject Comparative Germanic Linguistics at the University of Oslo, written in the period January 2004 – May 2005. For years of educating and inspiring me to develop my interest in this subject, and for having guided me through the difficult task of writing one's first work of a considerable length, I wish to thank my mentor Prof. Harald Bjarvand, Oslo.

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Abbreviations and symbols

| | | | |
|--------|-------------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|
| abl. | ablative | OD | Old Danish |
| acc. | accusative | OE | Old English |
| adj. | adjective | OF | Old Frisian |
| C | consonant | OHG | Old High German |
| cf. | <i>confer</i> , compare | OIr | Old Irish |
| D | dental | OLF | Old Low Franconian |
| dat. | dative | ON | Old Norse |
| E | ending | opt. | optative |
| e.g. | <i>exempli gratia</i> , for example | OR | Old Runic, <i>Urnordisch</i> |
| F | fricative | OS | Old Saxon |
| f. | feminine | OSw | Old Swedish |
| gen. | genitive | part. | participle |
| H | laryngeal | perf. | perfect |
| id. | <i>idem</i> , the same | PG | Proto-Germanic |
| i.e. | <i>id est</i> , that is (to say) | PIE | Proto-Indo-European |
| IE | Indo-European | pl. | plural |
| Iir. | Indo-Iranian | ppp. | perfect participle passive |
| imp. | imperative | pres. | present |
| impf. | imperfect | pret. | preterite |
| ind. | indicative | R | resonant |
| instr. | instrumental | S | suffix |
| Lith. | Lithuanian | sg. | Singular |
| loc. | locative | st. | stem(s) |
| m. | masculine | V | vowel |
| MHG | Middle High German | voc. | vocative |
| med. | medium | W | <i>wurzel</i> , root |
| n. | neuter | WG | West-Germanic |
| NG | North Germanic | WS | West Saxon |
| nom. | nominative | √ | verbal root |
| NWG | North-West Germanic | * | (re)constructed form |
| OCS | Old Church Slavic | ** | hypothetical/ungrammatical form |

0. Introduction

As the title has already revealed, this thesis will present a discussion of the so-called *(i)jō*-declension in the Germanic languages. The most classic Germanic language, Gothic, portrays two different sets of endings for this declension – one with a nom.sg. in *-i*, another with a nom.sg. in *-ja*. A rather pessimistic approach to investigations of this feature is given by Sommer 1977:23, where he opens his article with a resigned remark that “neue Beiträge zu ihrer Lösung aus dem Material heraus [...] einstweilen nicht zu erwarten sind”.

The reason for such a statement is fortunately not that a closer investigation is useless or uninteresting, but rather that the subject is quite difficult. As Sommer himself states, “das Thema [...] [ist] einer eingehendern [sic] Untersuchung würdig und bedürftig” (1977:31). This is precisely the approach this thesis will take use of, “an in-depth investigation”. In order to reach any new insight into this problem, the perspective must be diachronic, and we will therefore draw the lines from the very foundation of this declension in the parent language, PIE, to the appearance and use of this declension in the attested Old Germanic languages.

0.1 The uniqueness of the *(i)jō*-declension

0.1.1 IN GERMANIC

For those familiar with Germanic and IE linguistics, a class named the *(i)jō*-class would seemingly just be a subgroup of the larger and more common *ō*-class, when knowing that the only difference between the *(i)ja*-class and the *a*-class is that the endings of the former always are preceded by **(i)j-*. If this also is the case with the *(i)jō*-class, one might rightfully ask why a representation of it requires, or deserves, an entire thesis of its own.

The answer lies in the unexpected form of the nom.sg. of this class in many of the Old Germanic languages, particularly evident in the Gothic ending *-i* and the ON ending *-r*. These endings appear when the noun consists of a long first syllable, as in Gothic *band-i* and ON *elf-r*. None of these endings can by any means be derived from an original **-ijō*, as would be the expected origin, since the nom.sg. of the *ō*-stem undoubtedly comes from **-ō*.

0.1.2 IN OTHER IE LANGUAGES

A similar picture appears in other IE languages outside the Germanic branch. When the OIr *jō*-stem differs from the *o*-stem in ending in *-e*, *céile* “companion” – *fer* “man”, we would expect the same for the *jā*-stem. And indeed, we find words such as *soilse* “light”, but also words ending in the final consonant of the stem, such as *adaig* “night”.

In the Lith. language, the relationship between the *o*-stem and the *jō*-stem follows the same pattern as described in Germanic and OIr above. Consequently, the nom. ending of the *jō*-stem *svėčias* “stranger” differs from the *o*-stem *vilkas* “wolf” only in being preceded by an *i*. The same relationship appears between the *ā*- and *jā*-stem, where the nom. of the *ā*-st. ends in *-à*, *žiemà*

“winter”, and the *jā*-st. in *-ià*, *žinià* “news”. The nom.sg. of the latter class does not always end in *-ià*, however, since it has a couple of aberrant forms ending in *-i*, *pati* “wife”, *martì* “bride”.

0.2 The antiquity of this peculiarity

As I have tried to show above, the nom. ending appearing in the *jā*-stem¹ in Germanic, OIr and Lith. is *irregular* in the synchronic system, and thus more prone to be eradicated by analogy than to emerge by it. When an irregularity appears in the same place in several branches of the IE language family, it is *a priori* likely that this goes back on a feature in their common ancestry.

The first chapter of this thesis will therefore outline the origin of this feature in the PIE language, primarily based on the language richest in nominal categories and inflexion, Vedic.² Once the origin and the following early development is established and accounted for, chapter 2, the main part, will deal with the *(i)jō*-declension in Germanic. This chapter will elaborate on the historical development of this declension in the Old Germanic languages, both morphologically and phonologically, as well as discuss relevant adjacent issues of Germanic linguistics.

¹ Known as the *(i)jō*-stem in Germanic.

² As the *einzel sprachlich* development of the stems in question is one of the topics in IE linguistics that there still is vast disagreement upon, it will exceed the limits of a master thesis to discuss these matters in detail. I will for that reason constrict myself to short utterances and references to further literature for the other IE languages.

1. Indo-European

1.1 Preliminary remarks

As the introduction has shown, the diverging nom.sg. ending found in the *(i)jō*-class in Germanic must have its origin in the early IE language. This is because this feature is shared with other IE languages. We cannot, however, dive straight into reconstructed PIE endings on the basis of the forms found in the languages mentioned: Germanic, OIr and Lith. We must first take a close look at the more archaic IE languages, on which the classic IE linguistics is based.³ The most important language in this aspect is the language of the Veda-hymns.

1.2 Vedic

1.2.1 THE THREE VEDIC CLASSES

Before we can commence our treatment of the Vedic forms, we must establish more precisely what we are looking for. The characteristics of the *(i)jō*-class in Germanic and the *jā*-class in OIr and Lith. are: 1. The nom.sg. ends in **-ī*. 2. The oblique cases are formed with **-jā*. 3. The words belonging to this class are always feminines. With these three features as guidelines for our search, three Vedic noun categories are easily taken into consideration. The first class forms its endings with *-ī* before a consonant, *-y* before a vowel. The other is formed with *-ī* in the nom., voc. and acc.sg., and *-yā* in the other sg. cases. The third class is formed with *-yā* in all cases. All three classes contain predominantly feminines.

The first class is named after one of the words belonging to it, *vṛkīḥ* “she-wolf”. The second class is also named after its *Musterwort* (“model-word”), *dēvī* “goddess”. Hence we have the *vṛkī* and the *dēvī*-class. The third class is not named after any *Musterwort*, but for the sake of conformity, I will do so in this paper, and I will call it the *vidyā*-class after *vidyā* “knowledge”.

³ Cf. Beekes’ listing of the IE languages “in the order of their importance for the reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European [...]: 1. Indo-Iranian 2. Greek” (1995:29f.).

1.2.1.1 THE *vr̥kī-*CLASS⁴

| | Singular | Dual | Plural |
|--------|----------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Nom. | <i>vr̥kīḥ</i> | <i>vr̥kyā</i> | <i>vr̥kyāḥ</i> |
| Voc. | <i>vr̥ki</i> | <i>vr̥kyā</i> ⁵ | <i>vr̥kyāḥ</i> ⁵ |
| Acc. | <i>vr̥kyām</i> | <i>vr̥kyā</i> | <i>vr̥kyāḥ</i> |
| Dat. | <i>vr̥kyē</i> | <i>vr̥kībhyām</i> | <i>vr̥kībhyaḥ</i> |
| Gen. | <i>vr̥kyāḥ</i> | <i>vr̥kyōḥ</i> | <i>vr̥kīnām</i> |
| Loc. | <i>vr̥kī</i> | <i>vr̥kyōḥ</i> | <i>vr̥kīṣu</i> |
| Instr. | <i>vr̥kyā</i> | <i>vr̥kībhyām</i> | <i>vr̥kībhiḥ</i> |

1.2.1.1.1 ACCENT

The acute accent (´) is the marker for the original high pitch, the *udātta*.⁶ The syllable that follows the *udātta* has a falling pitch as a transition from the high pitch of the *udātta* to the lower pitch of the following syllable(s). This falling pitch is marked with the grave accent (`) and is called the *svarita*. Because the *svarita* is based on the *udātta*, the *svarita* is a dependent accent, and usually not marked.

Some words, however, do not have an *udātta* accent, and the *svarita* acquires consequently an independent nature, and gets called the *jātyasvarita*. The *udātta* is lost when it is situated on a vowel that gets changed to a semivowel before a following vowel, in other words **-ià-* (*udātta* + *svarita*) > *-yà* (*jātyasvarita*). The *jātyasvarita* appears only when it is preceded by a semivowel *y* or *v* (AG I:§246b), so a form as the acc.sg. *vr̥kyām* can by the means of internal reconstruction alone be derived from an older **vr̥kīam*. When the Vedic meter requires that these words with a semivowel plus a vowel must be read with one extra syllable,⁷ forms such as *vr̥kīam* are actually present, although not attested in writing.

⁴ Remarks to the table: 1. The Vedic forms presented in the tables are unchanged, i.e. without the external sandhi. 2. I will not give weight to whether all the listed forms are attested or not, as long as they can all be deduced with certainty from other forms. This applies to all following tables unless otherwise noted. 3. Since the abl. in all noun classes except the *a*-stem (*ásva-* “horse”) is identical with another case, it is not noted. It is identical with gen. in the sg., with dat. in the dual and pl.

⁵ The placement of the accent is not possible to decide, although most probably situated on the first syllable as all known vocatives in Vedic (Macdonell 1910:§93).

⁶ In the ṛgvedic texts, however, the *udātta* has the middle pitch, which is regarded as a later development (Macdonell 1910:77, AG I:§245b/d).

⁷ As they almost without exceptions must (Macdonell 1910:268⁵ lists two exceptions from the R̥gveda, AG III:§86b lists three).

In the *vr̥kī*-class, the accent is fixed on the *-ī*-suffix, when remembering that *-yV̇* equals *-íV̇*, the only exception being the vocatives (see footnote 5).⁸

1.2.1.1.2 USE

Words belonging to the *vr̥kī*-class are usually derived from other nouns. The suffix *-ī* is therefore a derivational suffix. The *vr̥kī*-nouns are usually f., although a few masculines occur.⁹ The f. nouns usually denote the female gender of living creatures such as animals, humans and gods,¹⁰ as well as things with the characteristics of the basic noun,¹¹ including the collective formations.¹² The nouns that the *vr̥kī*-nouns are derived from belong mostly to the thematic *a*-stem, one exception being *naptī́h* “(grand)daughter” from *nápāt-* “(grand)son” (AG II,2:§244, §247).¹³

1.2.1.2 THE *dēvī*-CLASS

| | Singular | Dual | Plural |
|--------|---------------|------------------|------------------|
| Nom. | <i>dēví</i> | <i>dēví</i> | <i>dēvíḥ</i> |
| Voc. | <i>dēvi</i> | <i>dēvi</i> | <i>dēviḥ</i> |
| Acc. | <i>dēvīm</i> | <i>dēví</i> | <i>dēvíḥ</i> |
| Dat. | <i>dēvyái</i> | <i>dēvībhyām</i> | <i>dēvībhyaḥ</i> |
| Gen. | <i>dēvyáḥ</i> | <i>dēvyóḥ</i> | <i>dēvínām</i> |
| Loc. | <i>dēvyám</i> | <i>dēvyóḥ</i> | <i>dēvíṣu</i> |
| Instr. | <i>dēvyá</i> | <i>dēvībhyām</i> | <i>dēvībhiḥ</i> |

1.2.1.2.1 ACCENT

The accent in the *dēvī*-class is fixed as in the *vr̥kī*-class. The difference is, however, that the fixation in the *dēvī*-class belongs to the word, not to the suffix. That means that even if the accent lies on the suffix in *dēví* just as in *vr̥kī́ḥ*, this is a feature that belongs to the word *dēví*, and not the

⁸ The instr.sg. form may appear as an oxytonon (with the acute accent on the last syllable). Macdonell (1910:271) shows that this “irregular” accentuation belongs to the younger Atharvaveda texts, and it is not even mentioned by AG III:§86b. Szemerényi (1996:191), however, mentions *only* the oxytone accentuation.

⁹ Macdonell (1910:269) lists 11 masculines.

¹⁰ E.g. *vr̥kī́h* “she-wolf” from *vr̥ka-* “wolf” and *arāyī-* (acc.sg. *-yām*) “evil female spirit” from *árāya-* “evil spirit” (more examples in AG II,2:§244).

¹¹ According to AG II,2:§247 these are “gleichsam als Wesen aufgefaßt”. This may apply to the plant-names listed in §247a, and maybe to words such as *aparí-* (pl.) “future” (from *ápara-* “later”), *kṛṣṇī́h* “night” (from *kṛṣṇá-* “black”) and *nadī-* (acc.sg. *-yām*) “river” (from **nada-* “roaring, thundering”) (§247b), if these last words are either personified or originally regarded as some sort of natural or divine powers. It cannot apply to formations such as *dēhí-* “mound, wall” (from *dēha-* “body, mass”) or *nāḍī́h* “flute” (from *naḍá-* “reed”). To me, these appear rather to be collective formations (which to some extent depends on what kind of flute it is), see the next footnote.

¹² Such as post-Vedic (Sāhitya-darpaṇa) *vanī-* “forest” from *vána-* “wood” (Monier-Williams 1899:917) and *tējanī-* “knotwork of reeds” (Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā) from *tējana-* “reed” (AG II,2:§247d).

¹³ According to Nussbaum 1975:159, Szemerényi 1976:402 and Mayrhofer 1996:372, this was originally a *dēvī*-noun.

suffix *ī/yā*. Other words belonging to the *dēvī*-class may have the accent fixed on another syllable, e.g. *jānitṛī* “mother”.

1.2.1.2.2 USE

The words in this class have a lot in common with the *vr̥kī*-class, in that the suffix *ī/yā* is used to derive feminines from other stems,¹⁴ but this time as a rule from consonant stems, which includes the *i*- and *u*-stems (AG II,2:§248).¹⁵ It also serves to form both verbal¹⁶ and nominal abstracts.¹⁷ But the most important function of this suffix is not derivational, but grammatical, in that it “largely supplies the f. form of words requiring inflexion in more than one gender” (Macdonell 1910:§377.I).¹⁸

¹⁴ There are seven m. *dēvī*-nouns listed by Macdonell 1910:273, five of which are proper names, however, according to AG II,2:407 “eigentlich Feminina, die auf Männer übertragen waren, wohl als verächtliche Bezeichnungen”, whereas the remaining two cannot be established as masculines with absolute certainty. *rāṣṭrī* is f. according to EWAi II:449, and *sītī* is altogether “unklar” (II:731).

¹⁵ E.g. *śunī* “female dog” from *śván-* “dog” and *avitṛī* “female helper” from *avitṛ-* “helper”. The feminines *nārī* “woman” and *dēvī* “goddess” are seemingly derived from the *a*-stems *nāra-* “man” and *dēvā-* “god”, while in fact *nārī* is derived from *nṛ-* “man” (for the *vr̥ddhi*, see Mayrhofer 1996:359³³ with literature), and from today’s communis opinio *dēvī* from *dyaúh* “heaven; god” (differently Lühr 2000a:142, Friedman 2003:9¹², 15⁵³), which is a PIE consonant stem **djéw-/diw-* (suggested already in Grundriss II,1:218. See the literature in EWAi I:744, more recently also Schaffner 1999:175¹³⁹ and Widmer 2004:109f.). The stem **djéw-/diw-* was probably a hysterokinetic *u*-stem. The original root **dēj-* is seen in Vedic *adyá* “today” < **dī-é/ó* and *sadyás* < **dī-és* “within a day” (EWAi I:65, II:694. Sergio Neri points out to me that these may have been formed with the root **dēj_h* with laryngeal loss after the *neognos*-rule). Further, the Vedic verb *√dyut* “shine”, which is considered an extension from a root **djéw-* (EWAi I:753, LIV:125) and used as an argument against a *u*-stem **dī-éw-* (Neri 2003:66) or for an original verbal root **djéw-* (Schindler 1973:149), can be a thematic denominative from **djéw-ot/*diw-t-* seen in Vedic *dyút-* “light” and Hittite *šīwatt-* “day, god” (cf. Rieken 1999:105 and Yoshida 2000:182 for the Anatolian forms).

¹⁶ *śácī* “power” from *√śak* “be powerful” and *vépī* “voice, poetry” from *√vip* “vibrate; be excited” (AG II,2:405, Monier-Williams 1899:972, 1018, 1044, 1048).

¹⁷ The nominal abstracts appear mostly in post-Vedic formations, and usually with *vr̥ddhi*, e.g. *maitṛī* “friendship” from *mitrá-* “friend” (AG II,2:§250e).

¹⁸ This includes a number of instances. It forms the f. to adjectives in *-u* (to *pr̥thú-* “broad” f.nom.sg. *pr̥thvī*), to pres. and perf. participle active (to *bhávant-* “being” f.nom.sg. *bhávantī*, to *vidvāms-* “knowing” f.nom.sg. *vidúsī*), to comparatives (to *návyāms-* “newer” f.nom.sg. *návyasī*) and to bahuvr̥hi-compounds (to *apád-* “having no foot” f.nom.sg. *apádī*).

1.2.1.3 THE *vidyā*-CLASS

| | Singular | Dual | Plural |
|--------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Nom. | <i>vidyā</i> | <i>vidyē</i> | <i>vidyāḥ</i> |
| Voc. | <i>vidyē</i> | <i>vidyē</i> | <i>vidyāḥ</i> |
| Acc. | <i>vidyām</i> | <i>vidyē</i> | <i>vidyāḥ</i> |
| Dat. | <i>vidyāyai</i> | <i>vidyābhyām</i> | <i>vidyābhyaḥ</i> |
| Gen. | <i>vidyāyāḥ</i> | <i>vidyāyōḥ</i> | <i>vidyānām</i> |
| Loc. | <i>vidyāyām</i> | <i>vidyāyōḥ</i> | <i>vidyāsu</i> |
| Instr. | <i>vidyā</i> | <i>vidyābhyām</i> | <i>vidyābhiḥ</i> |

1.2.1.3.1 ACCENT

The accent is fixed in this class as well (AG III:§56b), most commonly on the suffix (as in *vidyā-*), but also on the root (e.g. *pádyā-* “footstep”, *śáryā-* “arrow”).

1.2.1.3.2 USE

Words in the *vidyā*-class are always feminines, and the suffix *-yā* serves both a derivational and grammatical function. In derivations, they form verbal abstracts¹⁹ and nominal derivatives, including abstracts,²⁰ concretes²¹ and collectives,²² and in the grammar, they form the f. to thematic stems in *-ya*.²³ This latter function is no more than a variant of the same grammatical function served by the suffix *-ā*, which forms the f. to stems in *-a*.²⁴ The *ā*-suffix is all in all used in the very same way as the *yā*-suffix, which at least suggests that they are historically connected.²⁵

¹⁹ *sukṛtyā-* “good action” (verb $\sqrt{kṛ}$ “do”), *ityā-* “going” (verb \sqrt{i} “go”), *vidyā-* “knowledge” (verb \sqrt{vid} “know”).

²⁰ *usríyā-* “brightness” (adj. *usríya-* “bright, red”), but also concretized to “light, beam” and “cow”, which is to be understood as concretized as “the red”. Another example is *śyāvā-* “darkness” (adj. *śyāvā-* “dark”).

²¹ These concretes include the already mentioned *pádyā-* (from *pád-* “foot”) and *śáryā-*. Other examples are *pathyā* “road” (from *pánthā-/pathí-* “road, path”) and *vṛātyā-* (Brāhmaṇa) “vagrant life” (from *vṛāta-* “troop, group”) (AG II,2:§670a).

²² The examples of collectives are all from Sanskrit, e.g. *gavyā-* “cow-herd” (from *gáv-* “cow”) and *dhūmyā-* “cloud of smoke” (from *dhūmā-* “smoke”) (AG II,2:§670c). There is also a Vedic *gavyā-*, which means “desire for cows; desire for milk”, which probably has come into being from expressions like *kāmō gavyāyāḥ* “desire for “the cow”, for what belongs to the cow” through ellipsis of *kāma-*.

²³ *priyā* “beloved, dear”, f. to *priyā-*, *pítṛyā* “belonging to the father”, f. to *pítṛya-*.

²⁴ It is important to stress that this is the *grammatical* function of the suffix. The *derivational* function is served by the *-ā*-suffix (the *vṛk-*-type), as noted in 1.2.1.1.2. Just a few examples of *-ā* used to derive feminines from other nouns are found in the Vedic texts, and these are explained as being analogical from “substantivierte Feminina auf *-ā*”, such as *ághnyā-* “cow” from *ághnya-* “bull”, originally “un-slayable” (AG II,2:§140a).

²⁵ See AG II,2:§140-142 for a number of examples of derivations with *-ā*. AG (loc.cit.) does not mention any collectives per se, but they are evident in formations such as Sanskrit *tārā-* “asterism” to *tārā-* “star”, *rasā-* “mythical stream flowing the world” to *rása-* “liquid, juice” and *hímā-* “winter” from *híma-* “cold, frost” (Schmidt 1889:10, Grundriss II,1:159, EWai II:441f.).

1.3 Avestan

The Old Iranian language Avestan has a *dēvī*-class corresponding perfectly with Vedic,²⁶ and possible traces of the *vṛkī*-class in Old Avestan nom.sg. *ər²ž jīš* “right-living”, acc.pl. *yauuaējiiō* “eternally living”, but above all the m.acc.sg. *ra¹θīm*, which must be read *ra¹θiyšm* in accordance with the meter (Mayrhofer 1996:362). It also knows the *vidyā*-class, as in adj.f.nom.sg. *na¹re* “manly” < **naryā*. See Hoffmann/Forssman 1996:121, 125-128, 261 and Mayrhofer 1996 with extensive literature.

1.4 Tocharian

In Tocharian, a sequence **iH* (cf. 1.11.1) allegedly gives **ja*,²⁷ and this is not possible to separate from the developed **jā* from **ieh₂* (van Windekens II,1:103), cf. 1.11.2. This means that the *dēvī*- and *vidyā*-classes have coalesced. This new class is well established in f. formations of adjectives, while it is rarer among the nouns.²⁸ The most well-known example of a noun is the word for “queen”: Tocharian B *lāntsa* < **wlənt-ih₂*. Klingenschmitt 1994:396ff. sees the continuation of the *vṛkī*-type in the nouns with a nom.sg. in *-ye* (oblique cases *-i* and *-ai*) in Tocharian B.²⁹

1.5 Armenian

It is an issue what the outcome of **iH* is in Armenian, and if **ih₁* gives something else than **ih₂*. According to Peters 1980:132⁸⁰, IE **UH#* gives Armenian **Ua#*,³⁰ while Olsen 1999:770 claims that this is true only when the laryngeal is **h₂* or **h₃*. In either case, any independent *dēvī*- or *vṛkī*-class does not exist in Armenian, but they have joined other noun classes. According to Olsen 1999:827 the *dēvī*-type has joined the *a*-stems, such as *oroj* “lamb” < **erb^hih₂* (Olsen 1999:67), while the *vṛkī*-type has joined the *i*-stems or the *ea*-stems, e.g. *harč* “concubine” (*i*-stem) < **parikih₂s*. The *vidyā*-type is directly continued in the Armenian *ea*-stem (Olsen 1999:113f.).

1.6 Anatolian

There have been several attempts to see the suffix of the *dēvī*-type in the Hittite adjectives in *-ui* and especially the in Luvian adjectives in *-i*. These do not interchange in any familiar *i/jā*-way, so

²⁶ Old Avestan acc.sg. *vaj^vhīm*, gen.sg. *vajhuiuā*, nom.pl. *vaj^vhiš* “good”, from a *u*-stem adj. *vajhu-* (Hoffmann/Forssman 1996:126).

²⁷ Ringe 1996:22. For criticism of this view, see Lindeman 1987.

²⁸ Georges-Jean Pinault, personal communication.

²⁹ van Windekens (II,1:107f.) says that “il faut donc comparer p. ex. au type de skr. *devī* avec acc. sg. *devīm*”, without saying what this “comparaison” should imply.

³⁰ In Peters’ notation, “U” = *i, u* and “Ū” = *i, w*.

we are in any case only talking about remnants and not the type as such. It has also been attempted to see the suffix of the *vr̥k̥*-type in these forms. The question is as a whole uncertain, see the discussion in Zeilfelder 2001:208-228 with the literature of previous explanations.

1.7 Balto-Slavic

OCS has a continuation of the *dēv̥*-type in the so-called *ī/jā*-class, with a nom.sg. in *-ī*, and oblique cases in **-jā-*, e.g. gen.sg. *-(i)ję* (Vaillant II,1:96ff.). A suffix variant **-ī-*, which could come from both the *dēv̥* and the *vr̥k̥*-type, is found extended to *-ica*, e.g. *vьlčica* “she-wolf” (Arumaa III:81). And finally, the *vidyā*-type is also directly continued in the *jā*-class (Arumaa III:90f.).

As already touched upon in 0.1.2, the Baltic languages have also a continuation of the *dēv̥*-type in their similar *ī/jā*-class, with a nom.sg. in Lith. *-ī*, gen.sg. *-iōs* (Stang 1966:197). It is an old debate whether the Baltic *ē*-class has the same origin as the Latin nom.sg. *-iēs*, and if it continues the *vr̥k̥*-type.³¹ In later years, it has been more common to derive the Baltic **ē* solely from **ijā*.³² Klingenschmitt (1992:132) sees a *vr̥k̥*-type in the “baltische **-ijā-* [...] zum Beispiel lit. *aldijā*”, but regards nevertheless the phonetic cluster **-ijā-* as a “Neuerung”.

1.8 Greek

Greek has a f. noun class with a nom.sg. in *-iā* and acc.sg. in *-iāv*.³³ The other cases are not distinguishable from the common *ā*-class. There is no doubt that this class equals the Vedic *dēv̥*-type, but the forms with a short *-iā-* are debated. More controversial is the claim that Greek nouns in *-iā-* and *-iāv-* are continuants of either the *dēv̥* or the *vr̥k̥*-class (Schwyzer 1959:465, Olsen 2000). The *vidyā*-class is clearly continued in the nouns with the suffixes *-iā* and *-iāv* (Schwyzer 1959:468f.).³⁴ See further Schwyzer 1959:469f., 473ff. and Rix 1976:130ff. for these classes. For the forms with a short *-iā-*, see Grundriss II,1:212f, Beekes 1969,155ff., Peters 1980:127ff., Klein 1988:261ff., de Lamberterie 1990:491, Szemerényi 1996:192, Lindeman 1997:89f. and Neri 2003:102²⁶⁴.

³¹ Cf. Pedersen 1926:10ff., Lohmann 1932:24, Kuiper 1942:13 and Stang 1966:201ff.

³² Cf. Bammesberger 1973:39 and Lühr 1999:302ff.

³³ Under certain conditions, the *-i-* is assimilated to the preceding consonant or the vowel of the preceding syllable (Schwyzer 1959:272ff.).

³⁴ In my view, the variant *-iā* has come about in this way: A PIE *jeh₂*-stem with a long accented root, e.g. nom.sg. */*CēC(C)jeh₂/*, would by Sievers' law be */*CēC(C)ijāh₂/*, which would turn into Proto-Greek **CēC(C)ijā*. By the accentuation law of three moras, this would regularly give Greek *CēC(C)jā*. The suffix variant *-iāv* continues the PIE oxytonon */*CēC(C)ijāh₂/*. I would assume that these two types were mixed due to semantic correlations and “opposite Akzentverschiebung” (for this phenomenon, see Schaffner 2001:328ff. et passim), but this requires a more thorough scrutiny of the Greek material.

1.9 Latin

Latin probably continues the *dēvī*-type in the so-called “fifth declension”, in the words ending in a nom.sg. *-iēs*, e.g. *aciēs* “edge”. Some of these might alternate with the suffix variant *-iā*. The suffix variant *-ī* is continued in the extended suffix *-īc-* (*genetrīx* “mother” ≈ Vedic *jānitṛī* “id.”). The *vidyā*-type lives on in the unchanged suffix *-īa*. See Pedersen 1926, Leumann 1977:283ff., §274 and Klingenschmitt 1992:127ff.

1.10 Old Irish

As briefly noted in 0.1.2, OIr also continues the *dēvī*-type in their *ī/īā*-class, with a nom.sg. in *-∅* < **-ī* and oblique cases in *-i* and *-e* < **-īā*. It is somewhat disputed whether the OIr nom.pl. *-i* continues an IE **-īs*. See Lohmann 1932:32ff., Lewis/Pedersen 1937:169f., Thurneysen 1946:184ff. and Pokorny 1969:39.

1.11 Proto-Indo-European

With the basis of the portrayed declensions in the Vedic language, we will try to reconstruct the original PIE paradigms, and we will use the other IE languages for support when needed. We will also take a closer look at so-called “grundsprachliche” sound-laws. The accentual condition in the attested languages and for the PIE language will be given considerable weight, following the paradigm change that occurred in IE linguistics in the early 70’s, when the focus was moved once and for all from stem-type over to ablaut- and accent-type.³⁵

1.11.1 THE *vṛkī*-TYPE, ACCENT AND ABLAUT

The Vedic word *vṛkīḥ* and the words in that class have as we have seen an interchange between *-ī* before a consonantal ending (e.g. nom.sg. *vṛkīḥ*, instr.pl. *vṛkībhiḥ*) and *-i* (written *-y*) before a vocalic ending (e.g. acc.sg. *vṛkyām*, gen.sg. *vṛkyāḥ*). The accent reveals (see 1.2.1.1.1) that the *-ī* was accentuated in both cases, in other words with a hiatus before the vocalic endings, as in gen.sg. **vṛkiāḥ*. As we, following *communis opinio*, do not reconstruct hiatuses for PIE,³⁶ this hiatus must be considered as a secondary development. Neither does the interchange between an accented long *-ī* and an accented short *-i* make much sense unless something is done with it. The use of a laryngeal **H* explains both phenomena satisfactorily. A laryngeal in the sequence **-VHC* would be lost with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, giving **-V̄C*. The nom.sg. in *-īḥ* would then be from **-iH-s*. In the sequence **-VHV*, however, the laryngeal drops without

³⁵ See Eichner 1974:27f., Schaffner 2001:73ff. and Widmer 2004:13f. for the “Fachgeschichte”. It is universally agreed upon that the pioneer was H. Pedersen (1926).

³⁶ For the possible exception of the loc. morpheme **-i*, which seemingly is always vocalic (IG I:161), see Strunk 1989:304ff.

any quantitative effect on any of the vowels. Its only trace is the emerging hiatus **-VV*. And so, the gen.sg. **vr̥k̄ias* would be from **-iH-as*.

The accent is, as already noted in 1.2.1.1.1, always fixed on the suffix **-iH- > -i/i-*. Since this suffix has the appearance of being in the zero grade, this is somewhat unexpected. Since there are no absolute clear traces of the *vr̥k̄i-* type in other IE languages, there is little help to obtain from there.³⁷ One explanation could be that the *vr̥k̄i-* type originally followed an amphikinetic accent-type, by which the accent shifted from the root in the strong cases to the inflectional endings in the weak. We would, however, expect to find traces of an *o*-graded suffix in the strong cases,³⁸ which we do not.

| | Amphikinetic | | |
|--------------|--------------|-------|-------|
| Strong cases | W (é) | S (o) | E (∅) |
| Weak cases | W (∅) | S (∅) | E (é) |
| Locative sg. | W (∅) | S (é) | |

Hoffmann's alternative amphikinetic type with W (é) S (∅) E (∅) in the strong cases³⁹ are considered by Schaffner (2001:84ff.) and Neri (2003:35ff.) to be later developments in the daughter languages, originally belonging to other ablaut types. I do not find it satisfying to explain the *vr̥k̄i-* type by using a non-accepted variant of the amphikinetic type, especially when the *vr̥k̄i-* type actually is not inflected according to the amphikinetic type in any case.

A tempting explanation would of course be that we are dealing with an acrostatic type, with the accent fixed on the root, and with zero graded suffix and ending, with the exception of the loc.⁴⁰

| | Acrostatic | | |
|--------------|------------|-------|-------|
| Strong cases | W (ó) | S (∅) | E (∅) |
| Weak cases | W (é) | S (∅) | E (∅) |
| Locative sg. | W (?) | S (é) | |

³⁷ The suffix accentuation which must have prior to ON *ylgr* "she-wolf" and Gothic *þiwi* "maid" cannot be used, even though they are derived from original thematic *o*-stems as in Vedic (ON *ulfr* "wolf" and Gothic *þius** "servant"). The *vr̥k̄i-* type has merged with the *dēv̄i-* type and partly with the *vidyā-* type (see chapter 2), so the accent which is deductible from these words may originally come from one of the other types. The suffix accentuation is seen through the effects of Verner's law, by which a PG fricative is voiced if not immediately preceded by the accent (Verner 1877:111f., 114, Schaffner 2001:57ff.).

An original accented **iH-* suffix for the Balto-Slavic languages, as Klingenschmitt 1992:133 stipulates, is neither without alternative explanations, as Klingenschmitt (loc.cit.) admits. It is not even certain that the Balto-Slavic types in question actually continue the *vr̥k̄i-* type.

³⁸ Cf. Rix 1976:123, Schaffner 2001:81ff., Meier-Brügger 2002:219, Neri 2003:34.

³⁹ Followed by Tremblay 2003:82, "type rhizokinétique".

⁴⁰ For the acrostatic type, cf. Schaffner 2001:76, Meier-Brügger 2002:216ff., Neri 2003:21ff.

The classic example here is the word for “night”: nom.sg. **nók^w-t-s* > Gothic *nahts*, gen.sg. **nék^w-t-s* > Hittite *nekuz* (Rieken 1999:128).⁴¹ The suffix **-iH-* in the *vrk̄*-type would then regularly be in the zero grade, but must later have acquired the accent. The ablaut-grade of the root in the actual words in Vedic bear little importance, as it shows the same grade as the thematic noun it is derived from. This explanation has an accent shift as a premise, though, and I fail to see any reason or parallels for an accent shift from one static type (acrostatic) to another (mesostatic). The final possibility is therefore to simply reconstruct what we see, a non-ablating mesostatic paradigm.⁴²

| | Mesostatic | | |
|--------------|------------|-------|-------|
| Strong cases | W (∅/o) | S (é) | E (∅) |
| Weak cases | W (∅/o) | S (é) | E (∅) |
| Locative sg. | W (∅/o) | S (é) | |

As the suffix **-iH-* has no *e*-grade, we have, systematically speaking, a – S (∅) –, which in this case is possible, since the semivowel /i/ could be syllabic (and thus carry the accent) in PIE.

Another way of approaching the matter would be to claim that the **-iH-*suffix actually *did* have ablaut, but that this was leveled out in Iir. Kuiper (1942:12f.)⁴³ posits an original hysterokinetic inflection:⁴⁴

| | Hysterokinetic | | |
|--------------|----------------|-------|-------|
| Strong cases | W (∅) | S (ě) | E (∅) |
| Weak cases | W (∅) | S (∅) | E (é) |
| Locative sg. | W (∅) | S (é) | |

According to Kuiper (p. 13) then, the accentuation of the strong cases has been kept, but the suffix form in the weak cases has been generalized. Considering that Iir. is the language group that preserves suffix ablaut most loyally, I find this solution less convincing. The suffix form **-iéh-* in the nom.sg. is said to have given the Latin nom.sg. *-iēs* (IG I:133) and the Baltic *ē*-stem. Both these could be explained otherwise, though. Latin *-iēs* could have been made from the acc.sg. *-iem* (Klingenschmitt 1992:134), and the Baltic **-ē* could come from **-ijā* (see 1.7.). Kuiper (p. 12) claims that “its genitive ending is clearly characterized as [...] hysterodynamic”. The Vedic ending *-ah*, although it belongs to the hysterokinetic type as well, can not be used as a sure proof. The full graded gen.sg. ending has a wider use in all IE languages than it originally must have had, and it is futile to decide at which point a full grade ending **-es/-os* replaced the old zero grade **-s*.

⁴¹ For the root **nek^w-* < **neg^{w(h)}-*?, see Neri 2003:22 with literature.

⁴² For this type, cf. Rix 1976:123, Meier-Brügger 2002:220, Neri 2003:37f.

⁴³ Followed by Steinbauer (in IG I:133) and Mayrhofer 1996:355.

⁴⁴ For the hysterokinetic type, see Rix 1976:123, Schaffner 2001:87f., Meier-Brügger 2002:212f. and Neri 2003:31ff.

Cf. Old Avestan gen.sg. *dēng* “house” < **dam-s*,⁴⁵ Young Avestan *n̥mō* “id.” < **dm-as* (EWAi I:697), Vedic gen.sg. *ávyas* “sheep” < PIE acrostatic⁴⁶ **h₂éw-i-os* ← PIE **h₂éw-i-s*, Greek gen.sg. ποδός “foot” for an original PIE acrostatic **péd-s*. And even the mesostatic *eh₂*-stem may have had a full graded gen.sg. in **-éh₂-es*, if the Greek ending -ῆς and Lith. -ōs are considered to have a common IE source.⁴⁷ There is in other words little basis for claiming that the Vedic gen.sg. **-íah₁* in the *vr̥k̄*-type clearly continues a hysterokinetic type, since the full graded ending might have been introduced into the acro- and mesostatic types already at the PIE stage. We should consequently reconstruct, at least as a transponat of the Vedic inflection, a non-ablauting mesostatic paradigm for the *vr̥k̄*-type.⁴⁸

| Mesostatic | | | |
|--------------|-------|--------|-----------|
| Strong cases | W (-) | S (íH) | E (∅) |
| Weak cases | W (-) | S (íH) | E (∅/o/e) |
| Locative sg. | W (-) | S (íH) | |

| | Singular | Plural |
|--------|--|--|
| Nom. | <i>*w_lk^w-íH-s</i> | <i>*w_lk^w-íH-es</i> |
| Voc. | <i>*w_lk^w-íH</i> | <i>*w_lk^w-íH-es</i> |
| Acc. | <i>*w_lk^w-íH-m</i> | <i>*w_lk^w-íH-ms</i> |
| Dat. | <i>*w_lk^w-íH-ei</i> | <i>*w_lk^w-íH-b^h(i)os</i> |
| Gen. | <i>*w_lk^w-íH-os</i> | <i>*w_lk^w-íH-ōm</i> |
| Loc. | <i>*w_lk^w-íH±i</i> | <i>*w_lk^w-íH-su</i> |
| Instr. | <i>*w_lk^w-íH-oh₁/-eh₁</i> | <i>*w_lk^w-íH-b^his</i> |

Several of the endings in this paradigm call for a closer discussion. This will be done in connection with the presentation of the *dēv̄*-paradigm, as the same endings, and mainly the same problems, reappear there. The original dual endings are vividly debated among indoeuropeanists, and I will leave them out of this discussion, since I have no new insights to illuminate the problem with. For the discussion in question, see recent contributions by Malzahn 1999, 2000, Fritz 2000 and Lühr 2000b with literature.

⁴⁵ Lindeman (1997:117¹²⁴) uses this form as an argument against Szemerényi’s law, as we by this law would expect **dām* < **dēm*. The fact that Szemerényi’s law has not affected any gen.sg. in the PIE language is explained by Neri (2003:21) as due to the fact that “[l]a Lex Szemerényi ha avuto luogo prima dell’apofonia quantitativa”.

⁴⁶ Schaffner 2001:425.

⁴⁷ This is the general opinion, cf. Klingenschmitt 1992:91, Sihler 1995:269 and Neri 2003:37⁸⁹. An analogical *einzel-sprachlich* explanation is given by Rix 1976:132.

⁴⁸ Klingenschmitt (1992:133) points out that an accented non-ablauting zero-graded suffix also appears in suffixes as **-úh₂*, **-ín-*, **-íd-* and **-ít-*.

1.11.2 THE *dēvī*-TYPE, ACCENT AND ABLAUT

The word *dēvī* and the words of the same category are formed quite differently from the *vrkī*-type when it comes to suffix ablaut. While *vrkī* showed no traces of ablaut whatsoever, the *dēvī*-type has a regular change in the suffix between *-ī-* and *-yā-*. As noted in 1.2.1.2.1, these suffix variants have either always, or never, the accent, which clearly must be a secondary development.

A change between *-ī-* and *-yā-* has with the laryngeal theory been made a normal and regular ablaut change, just as **-tr-/tér-* in Vedic dat.sg. *pi-tr-é* “father”, acc.sg. *pi-tár-am*. *ī/yā* is therefore an original **iH/*jéH*. From IIr. forms alone, we cannot determine which laryngeal we are dealing with here, but since the suffix change *ī/jā* appears in almost every IE language group, the laryngeal can be classified as the *a*-coloring *h₂*, since any of the other laryngeals would have given **īē* or **īō*. It is further clear that this ablaut change between **ih₂* and **jéh₂* is the direct result of an accent movement that is no longer present in Vedic. There is, however, so much evidence in favor of such a model that it is unquestionable.

First, an exact parallel to this **ih₂/*jéh₂*-suffix is found in the athematic opt. suffix **ih₁/*jéh₁*. One of its forms has been generalized in most IE languages,⁴⁹ but the older paradigm is clearly preserved in the Old Latin 2.sg.pres. *siēs* “you would be”, 1.pl. *sīmus*, which reflects an original hysterokinetic inflection 2.sg. **h₁s-jéh₁-s-*, 1.pl. **h₁s-ih₁-més*.⁵⁰

Secondly, one can find a trace of a mobile accent in the Vedic forms loc.sg. *ásiknyām* “in the river Akesines”, but instr.sg. *asiknyá*, gen.sg. *hastinyáḥ* “she-elephant”, but nom.sg. *hastínī* (AG III:166). The best evidence, however, is to be found in Greek. Not only does Greek have a number of instances with accent change between the nom.sg. and the oblique cases (here gen.sg.); ἄγυια “street” – ἀγυιάς, ὄργυια “fathom” – ὄργυιάς,⁵¹ but also several traces of ablaut in the root: γλῶσσα “tongue”, Ionic γλάσσα. This pair might originate from an ablauting paradigm γλῶσσα – *γλασσᾶς.⁵² Further ὀρόγυια (= ὄργυια) – ὄργυιάς, which could come from *ὀρέγυια⁵³ – ὄργυιάς < **h₃régus-ih₂* – **h₃régus-jéh₂s*,⁵⁴ and finally Ἀρέπυια “Snatcher” – Ἀρπυιας < **h₂rēpus-ih₂* –

⁴⁹ For instance, **ih₁* > **ī* has been generalized in Germanic, **jéh₁* > **jē* in Vedic. Cf. Gothic 3.sg.pret.opt. *waurb-i* “it would become” as opposed to Vedic 3.sg.perf.opt.act. *vavrt-yāt* “it would turn”.

⁵⁰ Latin has generalized the apophonic variant **-mos*.

⁵¹ More examples with further literature references in Schwyzer 1959:474.

⁵² The form γλῶσσα comes regularly from **glók^hja* < **gléh₂g^h-ih₂*, while *γλασσᾶς could come from **glk^hias* < **glh₂g^h-jéh₂s* with loss of the laryngeal after the so-called “weather-rule” (Neri 2003:324). The weather-rule claims that a laryngeal was lost in the sequence *VHCRV, see Peters 1999.

⁵³ *(ó-)é-v has been assimilated to (ó-)ó-v (Schmidt 1893:347ff., GEW II:412). For other cases of this assimilation, see Schmidt 1893:344ff. and Schwyzer 1959:255f.

⁵⁴ Nussbaum 1986:147. Beekes 1969:37 reconstructs an *o*-grade **h₃róg-us-ih₂*, while Szemerényi 1964:233 explains the -ó- as an anaptyctic vowel. Rix 1970:93 thinks that none of the explanations given for the -ó- is convincing.

**h₂rpus-ǵéh₂s*.⁵⁵ One final example of root ablaut shall be mentioned, taken from Middle Welsh *blwyddyn* “year” – *eleni* “this year” < **b^hléǵdn-ih₂* – **b^hlidǵ-ǵéh₂-eǵ* (dat.sg.).⁵⁶

Thirdly, we have a few occurrences where the same formation appears in more than one IE language, but with different ablaut grade in the root. The most famous example is the equivalent δῖα “goddess” < **díḡ₁α* – *dēví* < **dajwí*. Rix (1976:165) mentions further the f.pres.part.act. ἄελασσα “readily” < **wékǵt-*, but Vedic *úsatí* < **ukǵt-*. I find it difficult to consider this interlingual evidence conclusive, since analogy within one of the languages could be just as strong an argument as is the generalization of one of the ablaut grades from an original ablauting paradigm. For instance, the root shape **diw-* in Greek δῖα must be original, but the full grade in Vedic *dēví* and Lith. *deivė* might just as easily come from the vřddhied m. *dēvá-/diēvas*.⁵⁷ The root ablaut in pres. participles is as a whole a somewhat unclear and debated issue. What is clear in this case is that the root **wek-* has been generalized in the entire pres.part. paradigm in Greek, whereas **uk-* is generalized in Vedic. The root shape in the fem. forms must therefore have been influenced from the other genders as well, and that makes it very difficult to reach any conclusions on the ablaut in the f. if treating the f. forms separately.⁵⁸

The *dēvī*-type did nevertheless undoubtedly ablaut. The fact that the suffix **ih₂/ǵéh₂* has zero grade in the strong cases (nom./voc./acc.) and full grade in the weak cases leaves only one ablauting type as a possibility, the proterokinetic one:⁵⁹

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-------|-------|
| | Proterokinetic | | |
| Strong cases | W (é) | S (∅) | E (∅) |
| Weak cases | W (∅) | S (é) | E (∅) |
| Locative sg. | W (∅) | S (é) | |

In the case of δῖα/*dēví*, this would mean:

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------|------------------------|-------|
| | Proterokinetic | | |
| Strong cases | <i>*déǵw</i> | <i>ih₂</i> | E (∅) |
| Weak cases | <i>*diw</i> | <i>ǵéh₂</i> | E (∅) |
| Locative sg. | <i>*diw</i> | <i>ǵéh₂</i> | |

⁵⁵ Kretschmer 1894:208f., Beekes 1969:35 and Rix 1970:86. For the aspiration of ʔ-, see Kretschmer, Beekes loc.cit and GEW I:151.

⁵⁶ Hamp 1980:167 and Schaffner 2004a:288ff.

⁵⁷ Cf. Harðarson 1993:165. For the Lith. diphthongs *ei/ie*, see Stang 1966:52ff.

⁵⁸ See Schaffner 2001:611ff. for discussion on the participle of this root, as well as participle ablaut generally, with extensive literature references.

⁵⁹ For the proterokinetic inflection, see Rix 1976:123, Schaffner 2001:91ff., Meier-Brügger 2002:208ff. and Neri 2003:28ff.

| | Singular | Plural |
|--------|--|---|
| Nom. | * <i>déjw-ih₂</i> | * <i>déjw-ih₂-es</i> |
| Voc. | * <i>déjw-ih₂</i> | * <i>déjw-ih₂-es</i> |
| Acc. | * <i>déjw-ih₂-m</i> | * <i>déjw-ih₂-ms</i> |
| Dat. | * <i>diw-jéh₂-ej</i> | * <i>diw-jéh₂-b^h(j)os</i> |
| Gen. | * <i>diw-jéh₂-s</i> | * <i>diw-jéh₂-ōm</i> |
| Loc. | * <i>diw-jéh₂±i</i> | * <i>diw-jéh₂-su</i> |
| Instr. | * <i>diw-ih₂-éh₁</i> | * <i>diw-jéh₂-b^his</i> |

A closer explanation and elaboration of these case endings will be presented here in connection with the paradigm for the *vṛkī*-type in 1.11.1.

1.11.3 PIE CASE ENDINGS AND PIE LAWS

1.11.3.1 Nom.sg.

The nom.sg. of both **wl̥kʷ-íH-s* and **déjw-ih₂*⁶⁰ has regularly given the Vedic forms *vṛkīḥ* and *dēví* (for the final *-ī*, however, see 1.11.3.2) with the exception that the final root consonant of *vṛkī-* has escaped palatalization to **vṛcí-* by influence from its derivational base *vṛka-*. Likewise *dēví* has most probably been influenced by the m. counterpart *dēvá-* in terms of the accent (instead of the expected **dévī*).

1.11.3.2 Voc.sg.

As already noted in 1.2.1.1, the voc. is always accented on the first syllable *when* accented at all. When the voc. does not begin a sentence, or form a sentence alone, it bears no accent (Macdonell 1910:§109.b). According to M. Fritz (apud Meier-Brügger 2002:270), this shows that the accented voc. did not have a word accent, but a sentence accent, which seems highly reasonable when we know that a finite verbal form following an accented voc. also has an accent, whereas a finite verbal form following any other accented word in a main clause has no accent. This means that an accented voc. actually is a sentence of its own, which explains why a following verb may have an accent – it does not come in second place in the sentence, but begins another sentence. E.g. *Agním iḷē* “I praise Agni”, where the verb is without accent, *úpa tvā Agnē* “to you Agni”, where the voc. is without accent, but *Ágnē juṣásva no havíḥ* “Agni, enjoy our sacrifice!”, where both the voc. and the verb have accent.⁶¹ The last sentence is really to be read as *Ágnē! Juṣásva no havíḥ!* As a voc. for natural reasons in most instances would be used in the latter way, it means that the voc. nearly always would be in pausa, i.e. followed by a pause. By the so-called Kuiper’s law, a

⁶⁰ Ramer (1996:164) posits a nom.sg. **yH₂s* > **yH₂H₂* > **-i* for the *dēvī*-type. A syllabic laryngeal in this position is phonologically impossible, and it is further unclear to me how **yH₂s* can develop to **yH₂H₂* (instead of **ias*). Improbable is also Pirart’s **-ih₂* (1990:142).

⁶¹ All the examples are taken from Macdonell 1910:105f.

laryngeal is dropped in pausa without any lengthening effect on the preceding vowel.⁶² It is important to realize that this is not a special sound law for the voc. The fact is that a laryngeal lengthens the preceding vowel *only* when followed by a consonant. This compensatory lengthening occurs in order to preserve the length of the syllable: an original *°VHCVC# would be – –. With the loss of the laryngeal, this would lead to ◡ – if the lengthening of the vowel did not keep it as – –. In a sequence *°VHVC#, however, the first syllable would already be short, and the laryngeal simply drops. This is also true for a sequence *°VH# in pausa, which suggests that it was treated as ◡ or maybe as x. As a consequence of this, the development of the nom.sg. **déjwih₂* > *dēví* must be understood as the sandhi variant before a following consonant, e.g. as in Ṛgveda 1, 48, 3 *dēví jīrá ráthānām* “the goddess driving the wagons” < **dajwíH jīHráH*. The fact that final long vowels are shortened before another vowel in Vedic suggests that the laryngeals were either there at the time of the making of the hymns, or that they had been lost so shortly before that their effect was still a part of the metrical tradition (cf. Meier-Brügger 2002:124). Historically speaking, the “long vowels” have not been shortened before vowels, but they have not suffered the same lengthening as they did in the sequence *°VHC°. A sequence such as in Ṛgveda 1, 40, 3 *dēvy ètu* “the goddess shall go”, the nom.sg. ending *-í* is short, which is due to the original constellation **dajwíH ajtu*, where the laryngeal simply dropped between **-i* and **-a-*, giving **dajwí ajtu*.⁶³

Since the different sandhi variants of the nom.sg. in Vedic strongly suggest that the laryngeal was there at some given point in the early Indian language, one can be tempted to claim that the laryngeal was there also in the voc., and that the striking agreement with the short-vocalic voc.sg. in Greek, Umbrian, OCS and Baltic is due to chance.⁶⁴ Although I would not insist strongly on it, it seems somewhat more plausible to me that an absolute final laryngeal in pausa was lost already in PIE, thereby giving the short vowel in Vedic and all the languages mentioned above.⁶⁵

1.11.3.3 Acc.sg.

The acc.sg. *vrkyàm* and *dēvím* show two completely different developments from what should be the same, since they both ended in **-iH-m* in PIE. If we do not want to explain this difference as

⁶² Kuiper 1947:210, IG I:149.

⁶³ Since the verb *√i* may have had an initial laryngeal on the strength of Vedic 3.pl.impf.act. *áyan* and Homeric Greek 3.sg.impf.act. ἴτε (Peters 1980:103ff.), one might rightfully ask why not **dajwíH Hajtu* gave **dēví ètu* (given that this verb actually did start with a laryngeal). Cowgill 1965:148 suggests that “initial laryngeals were lost before final laryngeals were”, followed by Lindeman 1997:108.

⁶⁴ See Kuiper 1961:18 and Stang 1966:199 for the forms.

⁶⁵ I find it peculiar, I must notice, that none of the works I consulted give any opinion whether Kuiper’s law is PIE or not. Meier-Brügger 2002:124 explains the continuations of **-ā* alongside **-ah₂* in the voc.sg. as *einzel sprachliche* sandhi variants of **-eh₂ V-* / **-eh₂ C-*. I find it more likely, though, that the daughter languages have reintroduced the long vowel **ā* (or the continuation of it) into the voc.sg., since it would be so heavily represented elsewhere in the paradigm.

due to the fact that two different laryngeals may have preceded the acc.sg. ending **-m*,⁶⁶ we should consider one of them regular, and the other due to analogy. According to what is known as Stang’s law, tautosyllabic **/VHm/* develops to **V̄m* instead of the “expected” **/VHm/ = *VHm̄ > *Vm̄*.⁶⁷ In the case of **/-iHm/*, though, we have clear traces of a realization **iHm̄* in Latin *-iem*, Greek *-ιαν*, Avestan *ra^hθiyēm*, Vedic *-yām*, and according to Klingenschmitt (1994:396) also in Tocharian B *kálymi*. These forms must then be explained as analogical (Klingenschmitt 1992:134). The ending **-īm* could simply reinstate the laryngeal, since it would have been present in almost any other case form of words with this suffix. By this stage, Stang’s law would not be operational, and **/-iHm/* would automatically be realized as **-iHm̄*. While this could be true for Greek as well, it is more likely that the acc.sg. *-ιαν* there is based on the nom.sg. *-ια* with addition of the acc. marker *-v* (Peters 1980:127). The old and regular ending **-iv* is generally thought to be preserved in the extended stems in *-iv-* by paradigm split, e.g. *γλωχiv-* “point” (cf. *γλωσσα* “tongue” in 1.11.2), cf. e.g. Schindler 1976a:64.⁶⁸

It seems somewhat difficult to account for the difference *vṛkyàm – dēvīm*, though. To say that an original **wṛk^wīm* put the laryngeal back in, whereas **dējwīm* did not, is of course no explanation, just a statement of the obvious. One possible explanation could be that the *dēvī*-type, because of the nom.sg. without **-s* and the weak case form **jeh₂*, was closer affiliated with the *eh₂*-stem, where Stang’s law also operated, whereas the *vṛkī*-type, because of the sigmatic nom.sg. and the anapophonic element **iH*, was closer affiliated with other consonant stems. Schematically:

| | | | |
|---------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | <i>eh₂</i> -stem | | <i>dēvī</i> -type |
| Nom.sg. | <i>*saĵn-aH</i> | | <i>*dajw-iH</i> |
| Acc.sg. | <i>*saĵn-ām</i> | | <i>*dajw-īm</i> |
| Gen.sg. | <i>*saĵn-aH-s</i> ⁶⁹ | | <i>*dajw-jaH-s</i> |
| | Root noun | Consonant stem | <i>vṛkī</i> -type |
| Nom.sg. | <i>*pād-s</i> | <i>*j^har-it-s</i> | <i>*wṛk-iH-s</i> ⁷⁰ |
| Acc.sg. | <i>*pād-m̄</i> | <i>*j^har-it-m̄</i> | <i>*wṛk-īm</i> → <i>*wṛk-iH-m̄</i> |
| Gen.sg. | <i>*pad-as</i> | <i>*j^har-it-as</i> | <i>*wṛk-iH-as</i> |

Another possibility would of course be the one mentioned at the beginning of this subchapter, that the difference is due to the fact that the suffix **iH* had a different laryngeal than **ih₂/jeh₂*. As

⁶⁶ The *dēvī*-type had a suffix ending in **-h₂*, while the quality of the laryngeal in the *vṛkī*-type is unknown.

⁶⁷ See Stang 1965:295, who himself only mentions **/eh₂m/*, and not **/VHm/* in general, and IG I:163f.

⁶⁸ As Sergio Neri points out to me, this extension is paralleled in Greek by examples such as the interrogative/indefinite pronoun *τις*, which has acquired a stem *τιν-* from the acc.sg. **τιν < *k^wim*, e.g. nom.pl. *τινες* for regular **τεις*.

⁶⁹ As touched upon in 1.11.1, it is unclear whether the gen.sg. ending in the *eh₂*-stem was **-s* or **-es/-os*.

⁷⁰ Or **wṛč-iH-*, if any regular development of the labiovelar ever existed in this word.

far as I know, there are no sure examples of Stang’s law where an $*h_1$ or $*h_3$ are involved, so we cannot exclude the possibility that we are dealing with $*ih_1$ or $*ih_3$, and that this is the explanation for the discrepancy between $vṛkyàṃ$ and $dēvyám$.

For a closer view on Stang’s law, see appendix 1.

1.11.3.4 Dat.sg.

Both $vṛkyè$ and $dēvyái$ are completely regular, $vṛkyè$ with monophthongization of the original diphthong $*-e_j$, and $dēvyái$ with a diphthong from an original long diphthong $*-yāi < *-yāai < *-yaHai < *-jéh_2-e_j$. One would expect disyllabic reading of this final diphthong, but that is not found either in Vedic or Avestan. There is only one instance of disyllabic $-iai$, but this is due to Sievers’ law (Macdonell 1910:274¹²).

1.11.3.5 Gen.sg.

As mentioned in 1.11.1, it is impossible to tell at which stage the full graded ending in $vṛkyāḥ$ was introduced. It is most likely very old. Otherwise, both $vṛkyāḥ$ and $dēvyāḥ$ are entirely regular.

1.11.3.6 Loc.sg.

The loc.sg. $vṛkī$ has the so-called *pragr̥hya*-quality, which means that the final long vowel is not shortened before another vowel (unlike $dēví$, see 1.11.3.2), e.g. Ṛgveda 9, 12, 3 *sómō gaurí ádhi sritáḥ* “soma, sitting on the buffalo”. This is satisfactorily explained by Kuiper (1947:208f.), who says that the original form must have been $*-iH-i$, “which was contracted to $vṛkī$ before a following consonant, but became $*vṛkiḥy > vṛkiy$ before a vowel”.

The other loc.sg. $dēvyám$ has probably been formed as an endingless loc. $*-jéh_2$ ⁷¹ with the later addition of the element $-ām$.⁷²

1.11.3.7 Instr.sg.

The instr.sg. of the mesostatic $vṛkī$ -class “should” have a zero graded ending $*-h_1$. But the form $vṛkyā$ points directly to a full graded form $*-iH-oh_1$ (or $*-eh_1$), just as we in the gen.sg. find a full grade instead of a zero grade, cf. 1.11.1 and 1.11.3.5.

Since the instr.sg. of the proterokinetic type had a zero-graded suffix and full-graded ending, $W(\emptyset) - S(\emptyset) - E(é)$,⁷³ we would expect a dissyllabic $*-ih_2-éh_1 > *-iHáH > -iá$, which is precisely what we find.⁷⁴

⁷¹ There is no need to speculate here if this loc. could have been formed as “one grade stronger” than the weak stem, i.e. $*-jéh_2$, since this would have yielded Vedic $-yá-$ as well. For this phenomenon, see already Schmidt 1885:308 and Grundriss II,2:174ff. with old literature. More recently Schaffner 2001:488⁶ and Neri 2003:18³¹. This phenomenon could have a phonetic explanation in Szemerényi’s law, see Schindler 1973:153 and Lipp apud Neri loc.cit.

⁷² This $-ām$ might be the same as the one that appears in the personal pronouns *ahám* “I”, *t(u)vám* “thou” etc., see Schmidt 1978:47. For recent discussion of this element, see Dunkel 2002:94ff.

1.11.3.8 Nom.pl.

The form *vṛkyàḥ* regularly continues **-iH-es*, whereas *dēvīḥ* does not, since it should develop similarly to **dēvyah*. The form *dēvīḥ* must therefore be influenced by the *ā*-stem, where both the nom.pl. and acc.pl. were *-āḥ*, i.e. nom.pl. *-āḥ*, acc.pl. *-āḥ*: nom.pl. *X*, acc.pl. *-īḥ*: *X=-īḥ*. A similar analogy has occurred in the fem. *ī*-stems, where some nouns get a nom.pl. in *-īḥ*⁷⁵ because of their acc.pl. in *-īḥ* (which in its turn is analogically made from the *ā*-stem *-āḥ* [AG III:134, 160]).⁷⁶

1.11.3.9 Voc.pl.

The voc.pl. is formally not distinct from the nom.pl., the only difference being the invariable barytone accent as in the voc.sg.

1.11.3.10 Acc.pl.

The discrepancy between *vṛkyàḥ* and *dēvīḥ* is the same as we saw in the acc.sg. **-ih₂ms* in the *dēvī*-class has regularly developed to **-īns* by Stang's law (see Appendix 1), and this to *-īḥ* by Schmidt's law.⁷⁷ *vṛkyàḥ*, however, seems to reflect **-iHms*. The possible explanations are the same as for the acc.sg.: the laryngeal or, in fact, the entire cluster **-iHms* would be analogically reinserted, e.g. on the basis of the nom.pl. **-iH-es*. Or **-iHms* could be regular if the laryngeal was **h_{1/3}*, for which we have no sure attestations that Stang's law worked on.

1.11.3.11 Dat.pl.

vṛkībhyaḥ shows the expected development of the suffix before a consonant, whereas *dēvībhyaḥ* analogically has the suffix form *-ī* for the expected **-yá*. There are many possible sources for this analogy; first, the weak pl. forms of the *vṛkī*-type could have had some influence, but it is more likely that the strong pl. forms of the *dēvī*-type (nom./voc./acc.) influenced its weak cases. The heaviest influence must nevertheless come from the *ā*-stem, with its stem marker *-ā*- spread throughout the pl. paradigm. We must not forget that the *ā*-stem surely formed the pattern that

⁷³ Schindler apud Peters 1980:244¹⁹⁸ and Hollifield 1980:45. Further Schindler > Peters apud Rasmussen 1989:186f., Nussbaum 1998:154¹⁸⁷, Schaffner 2001:576f. and Widmer 2004:59. Nussbaum (lecture) suggests that this may have been to avoid lengthened graded suffixes after Szemerényi's law (**éR-h₁* > **éR*).

⁷⁴ "überwiegend zweisilbig" (AG III:169), "in more than two-thirds of these the suffix is pronounced as a vowel *-iā*" (Macdonell 1910:274).

⁷⁵ Macdonell 1910:286, AG III:134.

⁷⁶ I find Tichy's (1993:13²⁴) explanation less convincing, where she suggests that the original nom.pl. (and acc.pl.) ending in this class was **-s*, the plural-marker for the "Genus indistinctum". Not only does it seem strange that the *dēvī*-class in its transition from collective to f. would adapt to the animate class system in the nom./acc.sg. but not in the pl., but more importantly, the pl. marker **-s* for "Genus indistinctum" (i.e. n.) has no empiric basis except for the very class it was created to explain, in other words a circular reasoning.

⁷⁷ This law has generally no name, but the discoverer is to my knowledge Johannes Schmidt 1883:340f., and thus named after him here. This law says that tautosyllabic **Vⁿ/_ms#* > **Vⁿs#*, and has been widely accepted since then.

changed the nom.pl. from **dēvyas* to *dēvīh* (see 1.11.3.8). This analogy took place already in Proto-IIr., since the corresponding forms occur in Avestan (dat.pl. *-ībiō*).

Since IIr. is the only group with an ending **-b^hios*, it has been speculated that **-b^hios* has arisen through some kind of “blending” of the original dat.pl. ending **-b^hos* and instr.pl. **-b^his* (e.g. Meier-Brügger 2002:199).⁷⁸

1.11.3.12 Gen.pl

From an IE point of view, we expect an ending **-ām* directly on the suffix. Instead, we have the familiar IIr. ending *-nām*, which appears in all stems that are synchronically vowel stems (including the semi-vowels /i, u, r/),⁷⁹ and the preceding vowel is long. Although it is somewhat disputed what the origin of *-nām* actually is,⁸⁰ it is probable that the use of *-nām* in both the *vṛkī-* and *dēvī-*type is an analogical extension due to their apparent vocalic stems.

It is still debated whether the original PIE gen.pl. ending was **-ōm*, **-om* or contained a laryngeal. If it was **-om* (a rather common belief), **-ōm* would be the contracted ending in the *o*-stems (< **-o-om*), and this variant could later spread analogically to other stems.⁸¹ **-o-om* has then been used to account for the disyllabic scansion of the ending *-ām* in Vedic and Avestan (e.g. Burrow 2001:239). This is hardly correct, however, since **-o-om* > **-ōm* would contract already in PIE, and not give disyllabic IIr. **-aam*.⁸² Hollifield 1980:25 reconstructs for that reason a gen.pl. with a laryngeal **-oHom*,⁸³ and the same does Jasanoff 2004:248. Fulc 1986:57 reconstructs **-oHm̥*, which would give the IIr. **-aam*, a sandhi variant **-oHm* to account for the common reflection **-ōm*, and **-Hom* for the transponat **-om* in Celtic and Slavic.⁸⁴ The last form would

⁷⁸ The idea that the dat.pl. originally had **-mos* and instr.pl. **-b^his* (as taught by Karl Hoffmann, see e.g. Tichy 2000:66) will remain unprovable. For the problem of Germanic and Balto-Slavic **m* versus **b^h* in the other IE languages, see lately Matzinger 2001 with literature.

⁷⁹ Avestan differs from Vedic in that the *r*-stem only shows the ending *-qm* < **-ām* (Hoffmann/Forssman 1996:152).

⁸⁰ It seems fairly certain that the origin of *-nām* in IIr. is the gen.pl. of the *eh₂*-stem, where **eh₂-n-ōm* would explain the long vowel before *-nām*. Unlike most of the other stems in Vedic and Avestan, the *eh₂*-stem has invariably a gen.pl. in **-nām*. The perfect match with the WG *eh₂*-stem gen.pl. **-ōnō^m* makes it difficult to dismiss IIr. **-nām* as an analogy from the *n*-stem (cf. Devine 1969:280, 294 and Schmidt 1985:395). **-nōm* might very well be the original ending of the *eh₂*-stem. Compare also the gen.pl. ending **-sōm* in the pronouns. We will not speculate where this **-n-* comes from, for that, see Schmidt 1985:395f. with literature and Klingenschmitt 1992:94.

⁸¹ See Szemerényi 1996:165f. with literature.

⁸² I do not believe that PIE contractions led to circumflexion reflected in IIr. disyllabicity. There are, however, very few certain PIE vowel contractions from original hiatuses, if any, see Johnsen (forthcoming b).

⁸³ For Hollifield’s part, however, I do not see the gain in reconstructing this ending, as he believes in both PIE circumflex due to contraction, and that this can be seen in disyllabic scansion in IIr. (1980:passim).

⁸⁴ The common notion that OCS *-ъ* and OIr *-ō^m* must continue a PIE **-om* is probably erroneous. The OIr ending may just as well be from a shortened Celtic **-om* < **-ōm* (McCone 1996:61), and the same can be posited for Slavic (Stang 1966:185, Schmalstieg 1983:155). Jasanoff suggests that the (circumflexed) ending **-ōm* was shortened first after the development to **-ūn*; **-ōm* > **-ūn* > **-un* > *-ъ* (1983:144).

occur through alternation with **-oHm̃* through “the theory of syncope”.⁸⁵ Fulk’s reconstruction seems unnecessary complicated. As far as I can see, Hollifield’s **-oHom* would take care of all three reflections **-ỗm* (Greek, Germanic, Baltic), **-oom* (IIr.), **-ỗm* (elsewhere). The other possibility would be that the original ending is **-ỗm*, and that the disyllabicity in IIr. has some other explanation and cannot be given historical value for PIE.

1.11.3.13 *Loc.pl.*

Both classes regularly continue an ending **-su* added to the weak stem, with the same analogical **-iH-* for **-jáH-* in the *dēvī*-type as in the dat.pl. (see 1.11.3.11); **-iH-su* > **-īsu* > *-īsu* (**s* > *ṣ* after the *rukī*-rule⁸⁶). The **-s* is probably the pl. marker on the endingless loc., with a later addition of a (loc.) element **-u*.

1.11.3.14 *Instr.pl.*

Both forms are regularly developed from the stem (with **-iH-* also in the *dēvī*-type) + **-b^his*. This ending is quite likely a pluralization of the ending (originally a particle or postposition) **-b^hi* seen in Homeric Greek -φι, which is used both for the sg. and the pl.⁸⁷ See also 1.11.3.11.

1.11.4 THE *vidyā*-TYPE, ACCENT, ABLAUT AND INFLECTION

The words in the *vidyā*-class have, as noted in 1.2.3.1, a fixed accent, most commonly on the suffix, but sometimes on the root. This corresponds with the conditions in the *ā*-stem, which is generally considered to have had a mesostatic (probably also acrostatic), non-ablauting paradigm in PIE.⁸⁸ The only exception known to me is *chāyā*- “shadow” vs. Greek σκιά “id.”, which apparently reflects **skōH-ǵéh₂*⁸⁹ or **skéhH-ǵéh₂* vs. **skH-ǵéh₂*. GEW (II:731)⁹⁰ posits an original *dēvī*-paradigm **skéhH-ih₂* – **skH-ǵéh₂*. Although direct continuations of these forms would lead to aberrant paradigms (e.g. Vedic **cháyī* – **ch(i)yáḥ*), I find it difficult to justify the transition to a *ǵéh₂*-stem in both languages (which then must be assumed for Tocharian B as well),⁹¹ as they both are known to level out the root ablaut in the *dēvī*-type anyway. Why could not Vedic e.g. have **chayí* – **chayáḥ* and Greek **σκιά* – **σκιάς*? The fact that this word is not a *dēvī*-noun in any of these three languages suggests that the original paradigm was not of the *dēvī*-type either.

⁸⁵ I have, however, not been able to reach any such conclusion from his chapter “A theory of syncope in Pre-Indo-European” (p. 40-49).

⁸⁶ AG I:230ff., Macdonell 1910:47ff., Thumb/Hauschild I:305f.

⁸⁷ Rix 1976:158 believes that the *-s* comes from the dat.pl. **-b^h(i)os*.

⁸⁸ See e.g. Eichner 1974:30, Rix 1976:129, Harðarson 1987b:124, Klingenschmitt 1992:90f., Schaffner 2001:365, Meier-Brügger 2002:220, Neri 2003:37⁸⁹. Differently Beekes 1985:34ff., 1995:182f. This can, however, reflect a later (but already *grundsprachlich*) fixation of earlier kinetic paradigms, most notoriously reflected in the word for “woman”, **g^wén-h₂*, **g^wn-éh₂-s* → OIr *ben*, *mná* (Jasanoff 1989:140). For remnants of kinetic paradigms, see Rieken 1999:239ff.

⁸⁹ With *o*-grade of the root because of the mesostatic accent, cf. Schaffner 2001:365f. and Neri 2003:37.

⁹⁰ Followed by EWAI I:559 and Lühr 2000a:259.

⁹¹ Tocharian B *skiyō* “id.” also reflects **skH-ǵéh₂*, but the missing palatalization of *sk-* is somewhat of a problem, see the discussion in Ringe 1996:18f.

Rasmussen 1989:33 reconstructs rather an analogical PIE paradigm with ablaut in the root, but not in the suffix: **skáh₂jáh₂* – gen.sg. **skh₂i-áh-s*, while Neri 2003:332 simply reconstructs another formation for the Vedic form, **skh₂oi-áh₂*. This word is in any case much too uncertain to allow a PIE kinetic paradigm to be reconstructed for the *vidyā*-type.⁹² We will consequently reconstruct a non-ablating mesostatic paradigm for this class:

| | Singular | Plural |
|--------|---|--|
| Nom. | <i>*wid-jéh₂</i> | <i>*wid-jéh₂-es</i> |
| Voc. | <i>*wíd-jeh₂</i> | <i>*wíd-jeh₂-es</i> |
| Acc. | <i>*wid-jéh₂-m</i> | <i>*wid-jéh₂-ms</i> |
| Dat. | <i>*wid-jéh₂-ej</i> | <i>*wid-jéh₂-b^h(j)os</i> |
| Gen. | <i>*wid-jéh₂(o)s</i> | <i>*wid-jéh₂(n)ōm</i> |
| Loc. | <i>*wid-jéh₂±i</i> | <i>*wid-jéh₂-su</i> |
| Instr. | <i>*wid-jéh₂(o/e)h₁</i> | <i>*wid-jéh₂-b^his</i> |

1.11.4.1 Vedic paradigm

The sg. weak cases of the *vidyā*-type in Vedic match the reconstructed PIE endings rather poorly (see the paradigm in 1.2.1.3) because of the Vedic suffix form *-yāyā-* instead of the expected **-yā-* < **-jeh₂-*, and the same is the case for the *ā*-stem (*-āyā-* for **-ā-*). It has usually been claimed that this is due to contamination with the *dēvī*-type. According to Lühr (1991:179), whom I in general will follow here, the trigger for this contamination was the loc.sg., which after the addition of the particle **-ā(m)* would end in *-yām* in both types; *ā*-stem **-eh₂-i* > **-ai+ā(m)* > **-ayām*, *dēvī*-class **-jeh₂* > **-jā+ā(m)* > *-yām*. The construction of this *ā*-stem ending would then be *-a-* + *dēvī*-desinence, which would spread the suffix form **-ayā-* through the weak cases of the sg. The stem vowel **-a-* would then be lengthened to *-ā-* after the nom. and acc.sg. (Lühr loc.cit.). I might add that *-ā-* was also present throughout the dual and pl. paradigm. Lühr (1991:181f.) explains convincingly the voc.sg. in *-ē* as being analogical from the amphikinetic *i*-stem, which regularly would have a nom.sg. in *-ā* and voc.sg. in *-ē*, from **ā* < **-ō(i)* and **-aj* < **-oj* respectively. In other words, amphikinetic *i*-stem nom.sg. **-ā*, voc.sg. **-aj*: *ā*-stem nom.sg. **-ā*, voc.sg. *X*, *X* = **-aj*. The fact that **-aj-* would prevail through the weak cases in the sg. would only contribute to this analogy. For other explanations of the voc.sg. as well as the suffix form *-āyā-*, see Lühr 1991 with literature.

All the other endings have developed regularly. The acc.sg. *-yām* and the acc.pl. *-yāḥ* are from PIE **-jām* and **-jā(n)s* with Stang's law, see 1.11.3.3, 1.11.3.10 and Appendix 1. The nom.pl. *-yāḥ* is a contraction from **-jaas* < **-jeh₂-es*. We would expect disyllabic scansion of this ending in the Vedic texts, but that seems to be very rare. This is probably in analogy with the acc.pl., where no

⁹² For the apparent accent mobility of *eh₂*-stems in Balto-Slavic, see Schaffner 2001:366ff., and 376ff. for the apparent reflexes of Verner's law (showing original accent mobility) in these stems in Germanic.

such scansion should occur, and possibly also from the *a*-stem, cf. the *ā*-stem nom.pl. *-āsaḥ*, analogical from the *a*-stem (AG III:123).⁹³

1.11.5 ON THE ORIGIN OF THE *dēvī̄* AND *vṛkī̄*-TYPES

1.11.5.1 *The origin of dēvī̄*

In order to reach any sort of conclusion on what the origin of the *dēvī̄*-type might have been, we must examine both the morphology and the semantics. In the morphology, we have already seen that the type is proterokinetic. The question is if that alone can tell us anything. We know that in internal derivation the derivative uses the weak case form of the base as the strong case form. In other words the suffix form **-ih₂* in the *dēvī̄*-type could have its origin from a weak case **-ih₂* in another type. Since zero-graded weak cases appear in acrostatic, amphikinetic, hysterokinetic and possibly when we are dealing with a semivowel also in mesostatic types, we are at a dead end if we want to look for possible derivational bases. The only possible base can in any case only be the *vṛkī̄*-type, since it theoretically could have **-ih₂* in the weak cases, and it could theoretically belong to any of the types mentioned above. We will deal with this question later.

The other striking feature is the asigmatic nom.sg. in **-ih₂*.⁹⁴ It shares this feature with the f. *eh₂*-class,⁹⁵ as this originates from the n. collective. It is difficult to determine if the phonetic similarity between **-ih₂/-je₂* and **-eh₂* is due to some morphological relationship. We might in any case have some indications that the *dēvī̄*-type was a n. in its origin, whereas its origin as a n. collective is more uncertain.

⁹³ Lindeman 1997:92, following Burrow (2001:236f.), believes that both the nom. and acc.pl. were formed by adding the pl. marker *-s* to the old n. collective formation in **-eh₂*. It seems somewhat illogical to me, however, that the non-distinction between nom. and acc. should be preserved from the n. after it had become a non-n./animate class. I believe further that the animate pl. marker in the nom. at the stage when the f. *eh₂*-class was created was **-es* and not **-s*, since **-es* is used in all other consonant stems (after communis opinio also in the *o*-stem). Although this **-es* probably originated phonologically from **-s* somehow (for speculation on how, see Rasmussen 1999:31, similarly Tichy 2000:67), it is clear that the nom.pl. marker was no longer **-s* at the “animation” of the *eh₂*-class. If it was, then this “animation” must be older than the creation of nom.pl. **-es* in root nouns (and the consequence of following the common opinion of reconstructing the nom.pl. in the *o*-stem as **o-es* would be that the “animation” of the *eh₂*-stem is older than the pluralization of the *o*-stems [since **-es* in this case would have to come from the root nouns], which of course would be absurd). And if the nom.pl. of the *eh₂*-stem was **-es*, then the acc.pl. *must* have been **-ms*. The best evidence against this theory comes from Germanic and Baltic, where the difference in intonation between the nom. and acc.pl. (**-ōz/*-ōz* and **-ās/*-ās* respectively), more or less proves the proto-forms **-eh₂es / *-ā(n)s*.

As I will show elsewhere (Johnsen forthcoming b), the nom.pl. **-ōs* of the *o*-stem does not come from **o-es*.

⁹⁴ Fulk’s claim (1986:145) that Vedic *-ī̄* is a result from **-iHs* by Szemerényi’s law is wrong, since an Iir. **-iH* would not give the sandhi variant *-y V-* (see 1.11.3.2), but rather have the *pragṛhya*-quality (see 1.11.3.6).

⁹⁵ Fulk’s identical claim (see previous footnote) for the *eh₂*-class (1986:142) is wrong because an original **-ēh₂* would resist coloring of the vowel by Eichner’s law, after which a long **ē* retains its quality in the vicinity of **h₂* and possibly also **h₃* (IG I:132f., Rasmussen 1999:394ff.). Instead of seeing the reflex of **-ēH* in the IE languages, they all reflect **-aH*.

This brings us over to the semantics. As we already have seen (1.2.1.2.2), the suffix **-ih₂/-ieh₂* is mainly used to derive feminines from consonant stems, and to form the f. to the same kind of stems in the grammar. The *eh₂*-suffix performs only the latter function, where it forms the f. to thematic stems. The first function is already filled by the *vṛkī*-type. Since the f. gender as such is considered a later development in PIE, we can exclude this function in the search for the origin of the *dēvī*-type. Since the *eh₂*-stem is considered to be a n. collective in its origin, we would want to see the same for the *dēvī*-type. Although pure collectives seem to be absent in this type in Vedic, we see that the suffix can form verbal abstracts, which are closely related to collectives semantically,⁹⁶ especially in intensive and iterative verbs, e.g. “moving, running, eating”, as they are perceived as the unit of singulative acts. We must therefore admit that a collective meaning of **ih₂/-ieh₂* is possible. That it had an original function of forming feminines (semantically, not grammatically) seems unquestionable. But how can this be reconciled with its probably original n./inanimate gender?

We could leave the question hanging, since a very similar problem has not yet been resolved for the *eh₂*-stem. But unlike the *eh₂*-suffix, which by all probability was no f. suffix, only collective, the *ih₂*-suffix seems to form feminines per se. It is not unheard of that languages with a n./inanimate gender can have purely f. words in this category, cf. Norwegian *viv*, *kvende*, *kvinnfolk*, all meaning “woman”, and all being n., even though the language possesses a f. gender. But we would nevertheless expect that a suffix denoting living creatures would end up in the animate category. My tentative suggestion is that **-ih₂/-ieh₂* is neither a f. nor a collective suffix, but a diminutive. That diminutives can belong to a n./inanimate gender is well-known, cf. German *das Fräulein* “Miss”, *das Mädchen* “girl”, both formed with n. diminutive suffixes, *-lein* and *-chen*,⁹⁷ and it is obvious that diminutives can be used especially for f. creatures, as they by nature in most cases are smaller and weaker than their m. counterpart.

This could mean that the possible collective semantics obtainable from the verbal abstracts are newer developments (influenced by the *vṛkī*-type or the *eh₂*-stem?), unless PIE used this diminutive suffix to denote singulative verbal abstracts e.g. “one bite”, not “biting”, although this would be purely speculative.

The final question on how the new f. gender arose, to which the *dēvī*-type then transferred, will be left open, since it is a yet unsolved matter how this actually occurred.⁹⁸ I feel, however, that using the *dēvī*-type as the trigger of the process would facilitate the theories on this, since **ih₂/-ieh₂*

⁹⁶ Cf. Grundriss II,1:644.

⁹⁷ Cf. also the modern West Frisian two-gender system, where the diminutive suffix *-ke*, *-tsje* can be used to derive a female name from a male name. This new female name ends up in the n. category, e.g. *Piter* “Peter” ⇒ *Piterke* “Petra” (Tiersma 1985:60f.). This only applies when the derivation is contemporary – old diminutive derivations end up in the common category, e.g. *it earne Piterke* (n.) “the poor Petra”, but *dy lange Jentsje* (c.) “that tall Janine” (Jørgensen/Hoekema 1968:163).

⁹⁸ See especially Harðarson 1987a and Tichy 1993.

might have been a suffix used for making feminines all along, in contrast to the *eh₂*-suffix where people usually look for the first step.

1.11.5.2 The origin of *vṛkīḥ*

On the morphological side, we have seen that the Iir. languages, the only branch where this type is clearly separated from the *dēvī*-type, only allow us to reconstruct a mesostatic type (see 1.11.1). The full graded endings in the gen. and the instr.sg. are not sure signs of another type, since these endings are known to occur in other static types as well. Only the possible relationship with the *iē*-stems in Latin and *ē*-stems in Baltic can hint towards an original hysterokinetic type, with nom.sg. **-iēH-s*, gen.sg. **-iH-és*, after which the laryngeal must be classified as **h₁*. This could further have the perk that it could explain the absence of Stang’s law in the accusatives, since there are no sure proofs that Stang’s law operated after **h₁* (see 1.11.3.3, 1.11.3.10 and Appendix 1).⁹⁹ But since the Latin *iē*-stem and the Baltic *ē*-stem could be explained otherwise (see 1.7 and 1.9), and since the total absence of suffix ablaut in Iir. would be surprising, it is more likely that the ultimate origin is mesostatic.

Unlike the *dēvī*-type, the *vṛkī*-nouns have a sigmatic nom.sg., and since they are not only feminines, but also masculines, it is highly unlikely that they originate from a n. type.

On the semantic side, we have seen that this type forms the feminines to thematic masculines as in *vṛka-* “wolf” → *vṛkī-* “she-wolf”, and that it also forms “things with the characteristics of the basic noun” and collectives (see 1.2.1.1.2). Now, it has since long been recognized that the original meaning of the suffix **iH* is *Zugehörigkeit* (“affiliation”),¹⁰⁰ particularly evident in formations such as *rathī-* “charioteer” < “belonging to the wagon” ← *rátha-* “wagon”, *pippalī-* “fig” < “belonging to the fig-tree” ← *píppala-* “fig-tree”, and outside Vedic in OCS *sōdii* “judge” < “belonging to the court” ← *sōdъ* “court” (Lohmann 1932:63f.), Greek μέλισσα “bee” < “belonging to/affiliated with honey” ← μέλι “honey”. From this original use we can explain the seemingly f. derivations such as *vṛkīḥ*. The original meaning must have been “the creature belonging to the wolf”,¹⁰¹ which for obvious reasons would be the she-wolf, and from this the practice of using **iH* to denote the female counterpart of the m. would spread. The example *vṛka-* → *vṛkī-* is, of course, randomly chosen. We cannot see which formations were made when **iH* was strictly an affiliation-suffix and which were made after **iH* had got a f. derivation meaning, since the latter use would drag the older formations over to the f. gender, except when they had explicit m. semantics such as *rathī-* m. “charioteer” and OCS *sōdii* m. “judge”.¹⁰² The use

⁹⁹ Steinbauer’s reconstruction (IG I:133) with nom.sg. in **-iēh₂-s* is less probable. We would have to have Szemerényi’s law after a laryngeal to explain the lengthened grade, i.e. **-éHs* > **-éHH* > **-éH* + s. As far as I know, there are no certain examples where this happens.

¹⁰⁰ See e.g. Hirt Idg.Gr. III:112 and Lohmann 1932:69 with older literature.

¹⁰¹ Since the type was sigmatic and belonged to the animate class, it denoted something living, hence “creature”.

¹⁰² The beauty of *vṛkī-* is, of course, that it is a *grundsprachlich* formation, proven through the correspondents with ON *yigr* and Lith. *vilkė*.

of denoting “things with the characteristics of the basic noun”¹⁰³ is clearly a secondary development, as things belonging to something often share characteristics with that something, cf. a borderline case such as ON *ermr* “sleeve” < “with the characteristics of an arm/belonging to the arm” ← *armr* “arm”. From such cases we get formations such as *śrṅgī-* “water chestnut” < “looking like horns, having the characteristics of horns”¹⁰⁴ ← *śrṅga-* “horn”. As AG II,2:§247d notes, the collective formations are developed from the “characterizing” use, cf. a borderline case such as *dēhī-* “mound, wall” < “a gathering of mass/with the characteristics of mass” ← *dēha-* “body, mass”, and later pure collectives as *vanī-* “forest” ← *vána-* “wood”.

1.11.5.3 Relationship between *dēvī* and *vṛkīḥ*

Most scholars do not give any opinion on any possible relationship between the suffixes **iH* and **ih₂/ieh₂*. But the rather unanimous notation **ih₂* for the **iH*-suffix implies that they believe they are related, although any explanation is rarely given, cf. e.g. Lindeman 1997:71 “It is generally assumed, doubtless correctly, that the flexion seen in the Vedic type *vṛkīḥ* [...] is built on a generalized zero grade of the suffix **-yeH₂-* found in the equally old type Vedic *devī*” (see further Lindeman 1982:159 with literature).

Stempel (1994:205) has the complete opposite view, in which he sees the *dēvī*-type as developed from the *vṛkīḥ*-type after assimilation with the *eh₂*-class. In this he follows Szemerényi’s view (1996:192), but as Lindeman (1982:159⁵) has pointed out, Szemerényi’s explanation is phonologically incorrect.

Olsen (2000:402) derives the *vṛkīḥ*-type from the *dēvī*-type, by “addition of the personifying or individualizing nom.sg. ending **-s* to the collective marker **-h₂*”. A difficulty in this explanation is that it does not match the actual semantics in Vedic, where these classes are held apart. In Vedic, both classes denote predominantly f. beings, but the *vṛkīḥ*-type is used much more frequently than the *dēvī*-type for collectives.

Since the semantics reached by reconstruction is that **iH* denotes *Zugehörigkeit* and **ih₂/ieh₂* feminines, the quest for a relationship must start there. To simply *assume* that **ih₂/ieh₂* originally was collective in meaning because **(e)h₂* was, is an untenable method. Now, what is most likely; to get *Zugehörigkeitsbildungen* from feminines, or feminines from *Zugehörigkeitsbildungen*? The answer is of course the latter. This has as a premise, however, that **iH* already had acquired a f. connotation from the use in formations such as **w₂lk^w-iH-s*. Since **iH* was strictly used to thematic stems, the need could have arisen for using the same derivation for making feminines from consonant stems. By this time, the f. gender could have already arisen through the redefinition of the *eh₂*-stems, and by this secondary *Motionsbildung* with **iH* from consonant

¹⁰³ See AG II,2:383f. and Klingenschmitt 1992:128.

¹⁰⁴ I.e. the appearance of the plant’s nuts. It is also called “horn chestnut”, and cf. its Chinese name *ling ko* “spiritual horn” (Ahmad/Sing 1998).



stems, no sigmatic nom.sg. was needed, since this regularly was absent in the now f. *eh*₂-stem. Hence we would get a nom.sg. in **-iH*. If this origin from the *vṛkī*-type is correct, the biggest problem would be to explain the ablaut in the suffix, since **iH* seems to be originally anapophonic. My suggestion is that this ablaut could originate from its use as adj., which very well may be the original use, since there would be a need for f. adjectives in the three-gender system now arisen. As we know, the *dēvī*-suffix was particularly frequent in forming the f. form to adjectives in **-u*. The *u*-adjectives declined after the proterokinetic type in PIE (Schaffner 2001:513), i.e. PIE m.nom.sg. **swād-u-s* “sweet”, gen.sg. **swād-éw-s*.¹⁰⁵ By the making of the f. forms, this type could have been transferred to these, giving a proterokinetic **swād-éw-iH-s*, **swād-u-ǵéH-s*.¹⁰⁶ The pattern for this could be the f. *eh*₂-adjectives from thematic masculines, since these would always correspond in accentuation type – either both being acrostatic, or both being mesostatic. This new proterokinetic suffix alteration **iH/ǵéH* would then spread to other types, e.g. the comparative of the adjectives with the suffix **-ǵes-*, a type that probably was amphikinetic in its origin (Schaffner 2001:363).

If this explanation should be true, that the *dēvī*-suffix is derived from the *vṛkī*-suffix, the natural consequence is that the *vṛkī*-suffix **iH* must be defined as **ih*₂. Although this seems to be a possible solution, it may be just as good an explanation to determine two original and different suffixes, one **ih*₂/*ǵeh*₂, a n. feminizing suffix,¹⁰⁷ and one **iH*, an anapophonic animate *Zugehörigkeit*-suffix. What in any case strikes me as improbable, is to derive the suffix **iH* from **ih*₂/*ǵeh*₂.

1.11.5.4 **iH*, a Caland-form?

A special feature about the *iH*-suffix is that it is placed directly on the root of the basic thematic noun, and not to the stem, i.e. the root + the theme vowel. Hence from **wǵk^w-o-* we get **wǵk^w-iH-*, and not, as we really would expect, **wǵk^w-óǵiH-*. As the exact same feature appears in the Italo-Celtic *ī*-gen., where **-ī* is the gen.sg. of the m. *o*-stem, it has been assumed for a long time that this gen.sg. in **-ī* is the very same as the *Zugehörigkeit*-suffix **iH* in *vṛkī* (see e.g. Lohmann 1932:69), further supported by the fact that Tocharian A and B use *-i* as a gen.sg. ending in *o*-stem proper names and the words for “father, mother, brother, son” (Klingenschmitt 1992:99f.). We now have double proof that **iH* is set in the place of **o* to express affiliation.

Such a suffix alteration is very reminiscent of the Caland system, in which certain suffixes alternate after roots.¹⁰⁸ The most famous suffix alteration is where **i* changes with **(r)o*, e.g.

¹⁰⁵ Vedic *svādúh*, *svādóh*, Greek ἡδύς, ἡδέος.

¹⁰⁶ For the accentuation of the element preceding the suffix **ih*₂/*ǵeh*₂, see Nussbaum 1986:147 and Schaffner 2001:513. In Vedic, the *u*-suffix form **u/w* is generalized, hence f.nom.sg. *svād-v-ī*. In Greek, **ew* is generalized, e.g. f.gen.sg. ἡδ-ε-ίας.

¹⁰⁷ Perhaps being a diminutive in its ultimate origin.

¹⁰⁸ See Meißner 1998, Meier-Brügger 2002:292ff., Neri 2003:46ff. and Balles 2003:9f. with literature.

Vedic *ṛjrá-* “fast”, *ṛjī-śvan-* “with fast dogs”,¹⁰⁹ and Balles 2003:15 therefore tentatively suggests that the suffix **iH* of both the *vr̥kī-* and *dēvī-*type belongs here.

The many examples where the theme vowel **o* is replaced by **i* both in compounds, e.g. Vedic *gandhá-* “smell”, *dhūmá-gandhi-* “smelling of smoke”,¹¹⁰ and simplexes, e.g. Avestan *Zarathuštra-*, *zarathuštri-* “zarathustrian”, do probably belong to the Caland-system as well, and Schindler 1976b:351 places the *vr̥kī-*type in this latter group, followed by Mayrhofer 1996:356, according to whom a “Laryngalsuffix” has been affixed to the **i*. Whether the meaning of affiliation could be expressed by the **i* alone, or if this was brought out by the laryngeal, will be left for speculation.

It is an interesting thought that this **i* has developed phonetically from a theme vowel, as proposed by Rasmussen 1999:320f.¹¹¹ This means that the suffix **iH* can be analyzed as **e/oH*. Even though such an analysis has many complications,¹¹² it could give the answer to why this suffix is anapophonic. An original suffix form **jeH* would then have to come from **eeH*, but it seems doubtful that this constellation could give **jeH*.¹¹³ If it should be correct that **iH* has developed from **e/oH*, it could also give the answer as to why this suffix has been placed directly on the root and not to the stem. If analyzed as **e/oH*, we see that the stem is still present, and that the actual suffix is **H*, i.e. **wlk^w-o-s* → **wlk^w-e-H*. What this suffix **H* would be, will probably remain out of reach of any reconstruction.

1.11.6 ON THE ORIGIN OF THE *vidyā-*TYPE

Not much space has been given in the literature to the origin of the IE *ieh₂-*suffix. This is probably because the most possible origin was settled quite early. This is, of course, that it is the f. variant of the suffix **-jo-*.¹¹⁴ The following research has then been devoted to establish the origin of the suffix **-jo-* and the variant **-jjo-*.

It seems highly reasonable that the *vidyā-*type is nothing more than an extension of the stems in **-jo-*. In this way Vedic (*āśīr-*)*dāyā-* “das Geben (des Wunsches)” is a nomen actionis from (*śatá-*)*dāya-* “(ein hundert) gebend”, Sanskrit *bhiṣajyā* “das Heilen” from *bhiṣajya-* “heil, geheilt werden”, and *a-vidyā* “das Nicht-Wissen” from *a-vidya-* “nicht wissend”. Since the verbal root in these instances are √*dā* “give”, √*bhiṣaj* “heal” and √*vid* “know”, a reanalysis “verbal root + *yā* → nomen actionis” could arise, giving formations such as Sanskrit *śṛdhyā* “defiance” from √*śṛdh*

¹⁰⁹ See more examples in Nussbaum 1999:399 and Balles 2003:14f.

¹¹⁰ More examples in Grundriss II,1:112f.

¹¹¹ Rasmussen himself does not mention the Caland-system or the *vr̥kī-*type, only the interchange of **o* and **i* of the type *gandhá-/gandhi-*.

¹¹² The firm oxytone accent of the *vr̥kī-*type is in direct conflict with such an explanation, as the development **e/o > *i* is said to have taken place in unaccented position.

¹¹³ Differently Olsen 2000:402, who derives IE **je-* from **ee-*.

¹¹⁴ Cf. e.g. Brugmann 1889:108.

“defy” and *āsyā* “sitting” from $\sqrt{ās}$ “sit”, without requiring it to be derived from a formation with the suffix **-jō-* > *-ya-*.

In some instances, the suffix *-yā-* has probably arisen through an *ā*-extension from an *i*-stem, as in *hatyā-* “killing” from *hati-* “id.”, *kṛtyā-* “action, deed” from *kṛti-* “id.” and *ityā-* “walking” from *iti-* “id.”. The *i*-stems are with great certainty the original, since they are regularly formed *tī*-abstracts.¹¹⁵

Frisk 1966:6 doubts Brugmann’s derivation of **-jeh₂-* from **-jō-*, and cites examples where there are different abstracts in **-jeh₂-* without any corresponding adj. in **-jō-*, e.g. Greek *κακία* “badness” – *κακός* “bad” and *σοφία* “skill” – *σοφός* “skilled”. It is illogical, however, to assume that each and every occurrence of a **-jeh₂-* abstract in an IE language must have a derivational base in **-jō-* present in order for this general derivation to be correct. One must suppose that a suffix **-jeh₂-* in the course of time developed into an independent suffix, no longer requiring a corresponding **-jō-* suffix.¹¹⁶ Seebold 1972:235f. follows Frisk’s view, and claims that “der Widerspruch des Akzents [der indischen Bildungen ist] ausreichend, um diese alte Auffassung [von Brugmann] zu entkräften”. It is unclear to me, however, how the accentual conditions (which he does not mention) can prove anything about the derivational origin of the suffix *-yā-* in Vedic.

The suffix **-jō-/-jō-*, which probably is the derivational base for the *jeh₂-* suffix, shows a variety of meanings. First, it forms verbal adjectives as seen above in *-vidya-* “knowing” and *-dāya-* “giving”. According to Grundriss II,1:185,¹¹⁷ these are originally thematized *i*-stems, as in Vedic *dṛśi-* “vision” → *dṛśya-* “visible”. The widely-spread affiliation-meaning of this suffix, e.g. Greek *πάτριος*, Vedic *pítrya-*, Latin *patrius* “belonging to the father, fatherly”, Gothic *hairdeis* “belonging to the herd, shepherd” can be derived from **-iHo-*, a thematic extension of the *Zugehörigkeit*-suffix **iH-*, and/or from **-jō-*, a thematic extension from a loc. form in **-i-*, see Meier-Brügger 2004 with literature.

1.12 Summary

We have seen that the Vedic language has three different nominal classes with characteristics appearing in the Germanic *(i)jō*-declension. These are the *vṛkī*-class, the *dēvī*-class, and the *vidyā*-class, each named after one of the words adhering to its class. No other language outside the Iir. branch preserves a clear distinction between the *vṛkī*- and the *dēvī*-class, and some languages actually confuse all three.

The *vṛkī*-type forms primarily feminines from thematic *o*-stems, although the original function of the suffix in this class is to denote affiliation, not femininity. The *dēvī*-type however, forming feminines from athematic stems, seems to have the denotation of femininity as its

¹¹⁵ For the formation of *tī*-abstracts, see Schaffner 2001:436ff. with literature.

¹¹⁶ Cf. the Germanic *ō*-verbs, which synchronically can be derived from almost any kind of stem, but which originally doubtlessly were derived from the *ō*-stems (< *eh₂*-stems), cf. Krahe/Meid III:238f.

¹¹⁷ Followed by Krahe/Meid III:70.

original function. The *vidyā*-type forms primarily verbal abstracts, and seems to have been derived from thematic verbal adjectives in **-jō-*. All the types have some other uses as well; most importantly the *vṛkī*-type can form collectives and express “things with the characteristics of the basic noun”.

Both the *vṛkī* and the *vidyā*-type seem to have had originally non-ablauting mesostatic paradigms, whereas the *dēvī*-type clearly has had a proterokinetic paradigm. We have also tried to look further into the pre-history of these classes, and we examined if the *vṛkī* and the *dēvī*-type were ultimately related, i.e. that one is derived from the other. The only possible derivation, if there is any, seems to be that the *dēvī*-type is derived from the *vṛkī*-type.

2. Germanic

2.1 Preliminary remarks

Just as in every IE language outside the IIr. branch, the Germanic languages coalesce the *vrkī-* and *dēvī-*types. But the coalition takes one step further, in that the now combined *vrkī-/dēvī-*stem joins paradigm with the *īeh₂-*stem to form the declension known as the *(i)jō-*stem in Germanic. Only in the nom.sg. of this stem there seems to have been a use of both the *vrkī-/dēvī-*ending and the *vidyā-*ending.¹¹⁸ We will return more closely to the matter of the distribution of these variants when dealing with the daughter languages and when we attempt to reconstruct the PG state at the end of this chapter.

The following outlining will follow another scheme than the first chapter. Since the Germanic declension has fused the three separate stems visible in Vedic, it would be pointless to begin with an outlining of the use of the *(i)jō-*stem in Germanic. We will instead begin with an analysis of the phonology and morphology of the case endings in PG, since these can be reconstructed with some degree of certainty. The facts reached in this part will be used implicitly or explicitly in the treatment of the declension in question in the daughter languages. And finally, after it has been more clearly established how this stem has developed and been used in the daughter languages, we will finish with an analysis of the stem type and try to reach a deeper insight in the original distribution in the PG language.¹¹⁹

2.2 PG case endings

Since this section will deal with the case endings of the *(i)jō-*class, more complicated issues not directly involving the case endings as such will be left out until we will look more closely into the matters when dealing with the daughter languages. For this section, we will look at and reconstruct the endings appearing after a monosyllabic long stem, and we will limit ourselves to the three languages actually needed for reconstructing these endings; Gothic, Old WS and OHG.¹²⁰

Since this section concerns the case endings, i.e. the development in unaccented position, it must to some extent involve the Germanic *Auslautgesetze*. Basically speaking, we have three theories. The “standard view” (Boutkan 1995:109) is the so-called *quantitative theory*, where it is

¹¹⁸ The combined *vrkī-/dēvī-*type will in the following usually be called the *dēvī-*type in a Germanic context.

¹¹⁹ The abbreviations for the Gothic bible in this section follow Snædal 1998 I:XXXI, and the abbreviations for the OSw runic inscriptions follow Peterson 1994:IV.

¹²⁰ It would be possible, of course, to reconstruct all the endings based on, say, Old WS alone with the help of comparative IE linguistics. The point is, however, that ON, OLF and OF offer little help in this connection, so they are left out. OS will be taken into account for some of the endings, though.

believed that there was a difference between **ō* and **ô* in PG.¹²¹ Another theory is the *qualitative theory*, where it is denied that pre-Germanic **ā* and **ō* coalesced into PG **ō* in the unaccented syllables.¹²² This latter theory has won little support, and to avoid an unwanted size of this section, it will not be taken into account. The third theory is in essence no theory, as it mainly rejects both the quantitative and qualitative theory, and as an alternative tries to explain the different results of the endings in question individually either by explaining the outcome as a result of analogy or by a phonetic process different from the one claimed in the two other theories. The foremost advocate of this view in recent years has been D. Boutkan. In his book (1995), he also brings earlier attempts to explain the endings in question into account, which makes it the most suitable work of reference for this “third theory”.

| | PIE | PG | Gothic | Old WS | OHG |
|----------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Nom.sg. | <i>*-ī</i> | <i>*-ī</i> | <i>bandi</i> | <i>gierd</i> | <i>sunte</i> |
| Acc.sg. | <i>*-jām</i> | <i>*-ijōⁿ</i> | <i>bandja</i> | <i>gierde</i> | <i>sunte</i> |
| Dat.sg. | <i>*-jeh₂ei</i> | <i>*-ijōi</i> | <i>bandjai</i> | <i>gierde</i> | |
| Gen.sg. | <i>*-jeh₂s</i> | <i>*-ijōz</i> | <i>bandjōs</i> | <i>gierde</i> | <i>sunte</i> |
| Instr.sg. | <i>*-jeh₂h₁</i> | <i>*-ijō</i> | | | <i>suntiu</i> |
| Nom.pl. | <i>*-jeh₂es</i> | <i>*-ijōz</i> | <i>bandjōs</i> | <i>gierda</i> | <i>sunte (-o)</i> |
| Acc.pl. | <i>*-jās</i> | <i>*-ijōz</i> | <i>bandjōs</i> | <i>gierde</i> | <i>sunte (-o)</i> |
| Dat./Instr.pl. | <i>*-jeh₂mos/-mis</i> | <i>*-ijōmaz/-miz</i> | <i>bandjōm</i> | <i>gierdum</i> | <i>sunteōm</i> |
| Gen.pl. | <i>*-jeh₂(n)ōm</i> | <i>*-ij(ōn)ōⁿ</i> | <i>bandjō</i> | <i>gierda</i> | <i>sunteōno</i> |

In this table, the opposition **ō* vs. **ô* from the quantitative theory has been used for PG, but Boutkan’s explanations will also be considered when we come to the endings in questions. The reconstructed endings here for PIE and PG are in any case only transponats of the endings seen in these three Old Germanic languages. From the types we established in chapter 1, there would be no PIE paradigm with a nom.sg. in **-ī* and acc.sg. in **-jām*, and there was probably not a facultative use of **-ijōnōⁿ* and **-ijōⁿ* in the gen.pl. in PG. For a more precise presentation of the PIE endings, see 1.11.1-1.11.4. All the PG endings with the semivowel **j* show the Sievers-variant

¹²¹ There are different opinions as to what this difference reflects; either an opposition in length, where we have a two-moraic **ō* vs. a tri-moraic **ô*, or an opposition in accent, where we have an acute (stoßtonig) **ō* vs. a circumflexed (schleiftonig) **ô*. What seems most likely to me is that the distinctive factor was the circumflexed accentuation, which then led to a lengthening of the vowel, a feature that is known from other languages, e.g. modern Norwegian, where a circumflexed vowel (the so-called *second pitch*) is longer than a long acute vowel (*first pitch*). This difference in length was then an important factor in the shortening of unaccented vowels in the Germanic daughter languages, where it is obvious that the circumflexed vowels were shortened later than the acute vowels, if shortened at all.

¹²² This theory was claimed by H. Möller, M. Jellinek and N. van Wijk at the turn of the 19th century, and was recently revived by Schrijver 2003.

**ij* since the monosyllabic stem is long, see footnote 199 for literature.¹²³ Except for the nom.sg., the endings do not differ from the endings we find in the *ō*-stem (< PIE *eh₂*-st.) with the exception that the *ijō*-st. endings are preceded by an **-ij-*.

2.2.1 NOM.SG.

The Gothic ending *-i* points rather unambiguously to a PG form in **-ī*, since PG final long vowels are known to be shortened in Gothic,¹²⁴ whereas PG final short vowels are dropped.¹²⁵ There are to my knowledge no other original long final PG **-ī* 's continued in Gothic, but there are continuations of a PG final **-ī* arisen through the early loss of final **-e* and final **-D*. We have **-ī* from **-ije* in the voc.sg. of the *ija*-stem, and this has developed to Gothic *-i* (*leiki* “physician” Lk 4,23),¹²⁶ and we have *-i* < **-ī* < **-īD* in the 3.sg.pret.opt., e.g. *anabudi* “should command” (Lk 8,31).¹²⁷

¹²³ It is quite common to denote the Sievers-variant after a long stem solely as **i*. I believe that **ij* is a more probable phonetic description, mainly for two reasons. 1. The fact that a sequence **i(j)V-* (whatever the notation) gives Gothic *-ei-* (= *ī*/) and ON *-i-* when the vowel **V* is syncopated, the standard example being Gothic *hairdeis* “shepherd” vs. ON *hirðir* < **herd-ija-z*, strongly suggests that a long vowel **-ī* arose after the syncopation, which is difficult to understand if the remaining vowel was just **-i-*. **-ī* is rather the contraction of **-ij-*, possibly through a stage **-ii-*, cf. Seebold 1972:73, 84. Boutkan’s explanations (1995:206ff.) are improbable. 2. The only old Germanic language that has kept both Sievers-variants, OR, denotes the variant following a long syllable quite consistently as <ijV> (six positive cases listed by Ebenauer 1973:183). I am aware of only one exception from the older period, the dat.sg. *kunimu[n]diu* on the Tjurkō bracteate (5th century), and two from the younger period, the dat.sg. *wiwio* on the Eikeland clasp (6th century) and the dat.sg. *ARAgeu* (= /ærgiū/) on the Stentoften stone (7th century). *-mu[n]diu* might have a true diphthong *-iu*, however, and the spelling *-iu* might further have been influenced by the accented diphthong **iu*. *wiwio* might have a short first syllable, and *-io* being a notation of **-jo* (Grønvik 1987:53), and Stentoften’s *ARAgeu* could show the very same preservation of **ij* after a tectal as we see in ON (cf. Noreen 1970:§263), and thus reveal nothing of the nature of original **i(j)V-*.

¹²⁴ For PG **-ō#*, cf. the nom./acc.pl. n. *a*-st. *aurda* “words” < **wurdō*, for PG **-ē#*, cf. the pronominal m./n. dat.sg. *hwamma* “whom”, with the ending preserved in *hwammē-h* “for every” (for *-h*, see the literature in GG:§24.Anm.2.a).

¹²⁵ Cf. PG **-a#* in 1.pres.sg.ind. *wait* “know” < **waita*, PG **-e#* in 3.pres.sg.ind. *wait* < **waite* (differently Antonsen 2002:8). PG **-u#* is probably not lost in PG with **-a#* and **-e#*, first because it is preserved after a short syllable, e.g. n.nom./acc.sg. *u*-st. *faihu* “cattle” and *filu* “lot” < **fehu*, **felu* (but one cannot rule out restitution of the *-u* from the oblique cases, as it probably happened after a long syllable in *leiþu* “wine” (Lk 1,15)), and secondly because the loss of **-u#* after a long syllable ending in a sonorant, namely *tagr** “tear” < **tagru*, has not led to syllabification of the **-r* to **-ur*, something that probably occurred upon the loss of final **-e#*, as seen in 1.pl.pret.ind. *-um* < **-me* (cf. Krahe/Meid II:105). The exact original formation of *tagr** has so many uncertainties, however, that this word alone cannot be given conclusive weight (for *tagr**, see Schaffner 2001:251ff. with literature). A short final **-i* has been dropped in formations such as 3.sg.pres.ind. *ist* “is” < **esti* and dat.sg. *brōþr* “brother” < loc.sg. **brōþri*.

¹²⁶ The 2.sg.imp. of the *ija*-verb in *-ei* (*sōkei* “seek” 1K 7,27) contradicts this, as the origin of this imp. should also be **-ije*. Walde’s explanation (1900:147f.) that the ending is analogically shaped after the 2./3.sg.pres.ind. in *-eis/-eiþ* is probably correct. The ending *-ei* has then spread to the *ja*-verb as well (*nasei* “save” Mt 8,25, *bidei* “pray” Mt 6,6). A fact that suggests that this is a quite recent development in Gothic is the “imp.” 2.dual *hirjats*, 2.pl. *hirjīb* “(come) here” (Mk 1,17, 12,7). They are most probably formed from the “sg.imp.” *hiri* (Jh 11,34). It is of little importance in this connection what the origin of the formation *hiri* is (see Lehmann 1986:H66 for a discussion). The fact that the new

The OE form *gierd* without an ending supports a PG nom.sg. in **-ī*, since the possible alternatives **-ijō* and **-īz* would have given different results. **-ijō* would have yielded **-u* as in n.nom./acc.pl. *ija*-st. *rīcu* “kingdoms” < **rīkijō* and f.nom.sg.adj. *ijō*-st. *grēnu* “green” < **grōnijō*.¹²⁸ An ending **-īz*, which would be the *vīkī*-ending, would, after the loss of final **-z*, end up as OE **-e*, when compared with the m.nom.pl. *ī*-st. *lēode* “people” < **leudīz*,¹²⁹ *Engle* “Angles” < **anglīz*¹³⁰ and the n.nom./acc.sg. *ija*-st. *rīce* < **rīkī* < **rīkija* (Campbell 1959:§355.3). Another example of PG **-ī#* > OE **-∅* is the 2.sg.imp. of the *ija*-verb, e.g. *sēc* “seek” < **sōkī* (cf. footnote 126), whereas the preserved ending after a long syllable in the 3.sg.pret.opt., e.g. *wāre* “would be” < **wēzīD*, is analogical after the roots with a short syllable, where it is regularly kept, e.g. *bude* “would bid” < **budīD*.¹³¹

The OHG ending *-e* is the ending of the acc.sg. used for the nom.sg. as well, with *-e* from **-iā*.¹³²

Boutkan’s (1995:231) reconstruction PG **-ja* < **-iH* [sic] is utterly improbable, not only because of the phonetic improbability of **iH* (= **iH*) (cf. Lindeman 1997:89ff.),¹³³ but also for the alleged development of **-ja* > **-ja* (Sievers’ law) > **-ī* in Gothic (Boutkan 1995:232).¹³⁴ The absurdity is completed when he has to give up the attempt to explain the endingless OE form from **-ja*,¹³⁵ as well as keep away from the normal reconstruction **-ī* because such an ending “*must* be explained from an internal Gothic development” (my italicization) (p. 234).

dual and pl.imp. have been made means that the form *hīri* must have been conceived as a sg.imp. formation, and this requires that the 2.sg.imp. ended in **-i* at some point.

¹²⁷ See footnote 49 for PG **-iD*.

¹²⁸ Campbell 1959:147 claims that the syncope of **i* and **u* occurred simultaneously. If **u* was syncope before **i*, then **rīkiu* (with intervocalic loss of the **j*) would develop as **rīki* > **rīc*. Campbell is forgetting that **u* in this position would not suffer loss in any case, since it follows the constellation – *u* (Campbell 1959:§345). The only thing certain is that the syncope of **i* did not antedate that of **u*, as this would have given **rīkiu* > **rīku* > **rīc* (cf. Bammesberger 1990:210).

¹²⁹ The lacking umlaut in *lēode* is problematic, see Campbell 1959:§202 and Brunner 1965:79. Brunner’s explanation that it is analogical after the sg. *lēod* is clearly false, first since the sg. should have had umlaut as well, and secondly because the word most probably is an original pl., with the sg. *lēod* as a later creation (Lühr 1982:464²). Campbell’s (loc.cit.) and Hogg’s (1992:134) claim that the diphthong is “analogically” developed is no explanation as long as the analogy is not accounted for.

¹³⁰ The ending **-īz* is contracted from **-ijiz* with PG loss of unstressed **j* between vowels other than *-ijV-* where *V ≠ i* (Cowgill’s law, see Þórhallsdóttir 1993:18).

¹³¹ The root vowel without umlaut is analogical from the pret.ind. (Brunner 1965:§377).

¹³² See AhG:§118.Anm.2. For the possible length of this *-e*, see AhG:§198.Anm.4.

¹³³ That does not mean that the Greek reflex *iV* < **iH* has to be wrong, see Peters 1980:123 and Neri 2003:102²⁶⁴.

¹³⁴ Boutkan claims (p. 231) to follow Beekes 1990 here, but Beekes says nothing of the kind. He (1990:55) reconstructs **-ih₂* > **-ī* after a long syllable.

¹³⁵ It is, of course, only his own “auslautgesetze” that prevents him from doing this, as **-ja* > **-∅* after a long syllable would be regular after the accepted sound laws.

2.2.2 ACC.SG.

Gothic *-ja*, OE *-e* and OHG *-e* all regularly continue PG **-ijō̃⁷*. The intermediate stage in **(ij)ō̃* is preserved in the Gothic *ō̃*-st. *ni hveilō̃-hun* “not for a moment” Gl 2,5, protected by the enclitic *-hun* (GG:§97.Anm.2).

2.2.3 DAT.SG.

The attested endings in Gothic *-jai* and OE *-e* can regularly continue the PG dat. in **-ijō̃i*, in which the long diphthong **ō̃i* was shortened to **ai* in both pre-Gothic and NWG.¹³⁶ But it could also reflect a PG loc. in **-ijai* < PIE **-jeh₂i*. We would strictly speaking expect Gothic **-ja* in this case, since the diphthong would be in final position in a third syllable, cf. the pres.ind.med. endings in *-a* from PIE **-aj/-oi*. The form with the diphthong could easily be reinstated (or simply kept as a diphthong) analogically from the stems with a short first syllable, or from the *ō̃*-stems, where the ending **(j)ai* predominantly would be in the second syllable. I see no way of determining whether it is the dat. or the loc. that has been continued, but it is of less importance in any case.

2.2.4 GEN.SG.

The gen.sg. is an old crux in Germanic linguistics, in this connection mainly because of the OE ending *-e* vs. OHG *-e* (*ō̃*-st. *-a*).¹³⁷ The development of these endings is to a large extent dependent on the theory of the *Auslautgesetze*. We will consequently begin our discussion within the standard view of the quantitative theory before we consider Boutkan’s approach.

Within the quantitative theory, the normal reconstruction of the PG gen.sg. in the *(ij)ō̃*-st. has been **-ôz* with a circumflex (cf. e.g. Campbell 1959:§586), as this **-ôz* originally was said to be contracted from PIE **-ā-es* (Hirt Idg.Gr. III:77), or with the more modern laryngeal theory contracted from a hiatus **-aa-* after the loss of the intervocalic laryngeal in **-eh₂es*. Since this **-ôz* should give OE **-a*, another origin for the actual *-e* must be found. The most common claim is

¹³⁶ The shortening is probably not already PG, since the long diphthong **-ēi* in the loc.sg. (> dat.sg.) of the *i*-stem would not lead to Gothic *-ai* if shortened to **-ei* i PG, as this with all likelihood would give PG **-ī*. Gothic f.dat.sg. *-ai* could, true enough, be analogical from the *ō̃*-st., but OE m./f.dat.sg. *-i* (Dahl 1938:162, 173) seems to require PG **-ēi*, shortened to **-ei* and monophthongized to **-ī* in NWG. Although it cannot be proven that the PG diphthong **-ei* was monophthongized already at a PG stage, it is rather certain that it was in unaccented position, since all unaccented **e*’s are raised to **i*. Although this latter development is questioned by some, it is unquestionable when the unaccented **e* was followed by an **i* (see e.g. Boutkan 1995:83). Grønvik (1998:124) believes that the OE dat.sg. *dē̃de*, *ē̃ste* comes from PG **-ī* < PIE dat. **-ei-ei*. The OE dat.sg. in *-e* in these f. *i*-stems does not come from **-ī*, however, but is the ending of the *ō̃*-stem. The dat.sg. is in the oldest sources attested as *-æ* (Dahl 1938:173), which excludes **-ī* even as a remote possibility. PG **-ī* would further be completely apocoped in OE, as already seen above in 2.2.1.

¹³⁷ The length of the OHG *-a* of the *ō̃*-st. has been debated, since it is not attested in Notker (where it is replaced by the dat.sg. in *-o*). It is amply attested in the Benedict rule, where the *-a* in this ending is not doubled (Seiler 1874:438, Masser 2002:265ff.).

that OE *-e* is taken from the dat.sg.,¹³⁸ or even the acc.pl. (Campbell 1959:loc.cit.). The question is, however, if it is necessary to postulate a circumflected vowel for PG here. As we already have seen in 1.11.2, the gen.sg. of the proterokinetic *dēvī*-type was **-jēh₂-s*, which regularly would give a bimoraic **-ijōz* in PG. And for the *eh₂*-stem, we have seen in 1.11 (with footnote 47) that it is uncertain whether the gen.sg. of the *eh₂*-st. was **-eh₂-es* or **-eh₂-s*. It is possible, then, that the only gen.sg. of the *(ij)ō*-stem in PG was **-ōz*, and we will examine if such an ending could lead to the attested forms.

Since the traditional view for OE is that an *-e* cannot come from a pre-OE **ō* unless this was followed by a nasal,¹³⁹ a derivation **-ōz* > *-e* seems impossible, and hence the analogical explanations for this ending as seen above. It should be looked more closely into the matter of pre-OE **ōN* > *-e*, though. First, the instance where this alleged development has taken place is where the following nasal in pre-OE was a PG nasal in absolute final position, e.g. f.acc.sg. *ō*-st. *-e* < PG **-ōⁿ*, f.nom.sg. *ōn*-st. *-e* < PG **-ōⁿ*. The main reason for having this nasal in PG is because this vowel has developed differently from the final **-ō*, which was raised to **-ū* and shortened to **-u* in NWG. What this shows is that the part of the PG speech community that developed to NWG must have had at least a nasal quality of the **-ōⁿ* since this did not join **-ō* in its development to **-ū* > **-u*. Gothic does not differ between original **-ō* and **-ōⁿ*, which indicates that they coalesced early into **-ō* in East Germanic. The question is if there is any reason to preserve the nasal quality of the vowel **-ōⁿ* all through the NWG period into pre-OE. If the PG **-ōⁿ* gave a plain **-ō* in NWG and pre-OE, would this lead to something else or the same as any other final **-ō*?

The only other way to get another pre-OE final **-ō* is, of course, through the loss of a final consonant, since the original final **-ō* had changed to NWG **-u*. And the only final consonant that drops in the pre-stage of OE is **-z*. Then the ultimate question becomes if **-ōz* gives something else than **-ōⁿ*. If it does, then the conclusion must be that **-ōz* and **-ōⁿ* did not coalesce into pre-OE **ō*. If it does not, then the reason to have a preserved nasality in NWG disappears, and we can establish that vowel as NWG **-ō*.¹⁴⁰

We would have to look for other reflexes of PG **-ōz* in OE to establish if this developed differently from PG **-ōⁿ*. Within the quantitative theory, the only place this ending occurred would be the acc.pl. of the *(ij)ō*-stem, which similarly is *-e*.¹⁴¹ A closer account of the acc.pl. will of course be given in 2.2.7, but at first sight, there seems to be nothing to indicate any difference between PG **-ōz* and **-ōⁿ* in OE. The most reasonable conclusion to draw from that is that **-ōz* coalesced with the *nasalless* **-ō* < PG **-ōⁿ* to **-ō* upon the loss of final **-z*. To reach the final

¹³⁸ E.g. by Dahl 1938:133f., and Krahe/Meid II:21

¹³⁹ E.g. Campbell 1959:§331.5 and Hogg 1992:65f.

¹⁴⁰ Unless, of course, one of the other NWG languages should demand a nasal quality of the vowel, something we will look into when we arrive to these other languages.

¹⁴¹ In Old WS, the *-e* is used together with *-a*, whereas *-e* is the only ending in the acc.pl. in Anglian, Northumbrian and Old Kentish, see Brunner 1965:§252.Anm.3.

result *-e*, the **-ō* has probably been lowered to **-ā* and then shortened in final position to **-a*, after which the normal OE development **-a > -æ > -e* would follow.¹⁴² When the NWG **ō* was covered by a consonant in OE, the vowel probably retained its length (**ā*) and then shortened to /ā/ (written <ō> and <a>),¹⁴³ e.g. 1.sg.pret.ind. *fiscode* “fished” < **fiskōdō*, m.nom.sg. *heardost* “hardest” < **hardōstaz*. A similar development occurs with PG **ai*. In final position, also before **-z*, it has developed through **-ā* to *-æ > -e*, e.g. m.dat.sg. *a-st. dæge* “day” < **dagai* and f.gen.sg. *ī-st. -þrýþæ* < **þrūþaiz* (Dahl 1938:171f.),¹⁴⁴ while it ends up as <ō> and <a> when covered by a consonant, e.g. *earfoþ* “labor” < **arbaiþ*, *wulmod* “distaff” < **wullamaid-* (Campbell 1959:§336). I prefer for that reason to ascertain the development **ai > *ā* to all positions in OE, not only under accentuation (differently Campbell 1959:140 and Hogg 1992:233),¹⁴⁵ as I cannot see any reason for splitting them. The claim that **ai > e* in compounds such as *ēored* “troop” < **eh^wa-raid-* shows the alleged development of unaccented **ai* to **ā* by “early obscuration”, while the development **ai > o* is by “later obscuration” (Campbell 1959:§356) is unlikely not only because pre-OE **eh(a)-raid-* would be a lot clearer than **arb-aiþ-*,¹⁴⁶ but also for the fact that frequent by-forms *ēorod* and *earfeþ* exist.¹⁴⁷ It would be safer to regard the forms with *-e-* as coming from inflected forms with medial vowel harmony,¹⁴⁸ e.g. n.nom.sg. *earfoþ*, gen.pl. *earfeþa* → *earfeþ*, *earfeþa*.

Since one has traditionally reconstructed the gen.sg. with a circumflex, and claimed that **-ōz* should give OE *-a*, it has been common to see the original gen.sg. preserved in the formations in *-ungō* (e.g. Campbell 1959:237), which has a frequent gen.sg. in *-a* in Old WS. In the other dialects, however, the ending is *-e* as generally in the *ō*-stem (see the table in Dahl 1938:141). Also Hollifield, who wanted to derive the normal gen.sg. in *-e* from **-ōz*, sees here the regular development of PG **-ōz* (1980:44f.). This **-ōz*, he believes, is the original gen.sg. of the *ō*-st., as this originates from a contraction **-aas* < **-eh₂es* (see above). The ending **-ōz*, on the other

¹⁴² That the OE *-e* could be the regular development from a PG bimoraic **-ōz* was suggested already by Sievers (van Helten 1893:274²), and then followed by Hollifield 1980:44f. More recently also Bammesberger 1990:103 and Klingenschmitt 1992:91.

¹⁴³ This spelling depends to some extent on the dialect (see Campbell 1959:§657, §757). For a different explanation of the spellings <a>/<ō>, see Campbell 1959:§331.6 and Hogg 1992:66f.

¹⁴⁴ OE *-þrýþ* corresponds to ON *þrúðr* “power”, which is an *ijō*-st. It is originally an *ī*-st., seen through its lacking *í*-umlaut (cf. Lühr 1982:408¹ for another, but similar case) and its historical semantics (an abstract to the verbal root PIE **treh₁u-* “thrive, nurture” [EWA II:794f., Lühr 2000a:115f., LIV:647], in other words a *tí*-abstract). This form is to be reconstructed as **þrūþi-*, not **þrūdi-* (pace EWA II:794), because of the spirant in OE *-þrýþ* and OS *-þrūth* (in proper names, see Schlaug 1962:191). The form *-þryðae* in the manuscripts of *Bede’s Historia Ecclesiastica* (8th and 9th century, see Dahl 1938:4, 11f., 25f., 171) has the old use of <ð> for the medial /þ/ (Campbell 1959:23³), and is no sign of *grammatischer Wechsel*.

¹⁴⁵ Hogg’s claim (1992:233) that unstressed **ai* was monophthongized to **/a:/* in “late G[er]m[ani]c” is of course wrong, since OHG and OR show *-e* and *-ē* respectively for PG **-ai*.

¹⁴⁶ It is still unknown to etymologists what this **-aiþ-* is (see e.g. EWA I:316f.).

¹⁴⁷ The forms with *-o-* are quietly ignored by Hogg 1992:234.

¹⁴⁸ For this phenomenon, see Campbell 1959:§385, Brunner 1965:§142 and Hogg 1992:247f.

hand, originates in his view from the *(ij)ō*-st., which, as we saw above, had a PIE gen.sg. in **-ieh₂s*. The endings **-(j)ôz* and **-(j)ōz* had then interchanged with each other.

We should, however, take a closer look at the frequency of this ending together with the paradigm as a whole. As already mentioned, the ending *-a* in the gen.sg. in the *ungō*-formations is found *only* in Old WS, which in itself suggests a WS innovation. The ending *-a* is in itself used only alongside *-e* as the gen.sg. in the *ungō*-formations, and not exclusively. That alone has little importance, however, since the *-e* could easily be explained as analogical from all the other *ō*-stems. The ratio between *e:a* is 28:26 in Dahl 1938:141, and 28:24 in Cosijn II:23. The interesting fact is, however, that *-a* in no way is restricted to the gen.sg., but is used throughout the oblique sg. cases, with the ratio 19:39 for *e:a* in the acc.sg. and 104:101 in the dat.sg. (Dahl 1938:141). It could easily and correctly be argued that the uniform use of *-a* has the model from the use of *-e* in the other *ō*-stems, but it should nevertheless be stressed that there *synchronically* is no basis for saying that *-a* is the proper gen.sg. ending.¹⁴⁹

We should further pull the suffix *-ingō*- into the discussion. *-ingō*- and *-ungō*- are historically forms of the same suffix (Krahe/Meid III:209f.), the main difference in OE being that the suffix form *-ingō*- is used to form derivatives from *ja*-verbs, and *-ungō*- to form derivatives from *ō*-verbs, although they interchange some (Campbell 1959:§383). We would consequently expect these suffix variants to be declined in the same way. The difference between the formations in *-ingō*- and *-ungō*- is, however, “striking” (Dahl 1938:142). We have seen that the ratio between *e:a* in the oblique cases in the *ungō*-formations is 151:166. In the *ingō*-formations, the ratio is 54:3, which basically means that the declension is identical with the other *ō*-stems with *-e* in all the oblique sg. cases.

Since *-ingō*- and *-ungō*- both are used to form abstracts from verbs, and even interchange, the reason for their different treatment can for obvious reasons not be semantical, since *-ingō*- and *-ungō*- are semantically identical. It seems evident that the explanation should be phonetic. Dahl 1938:143, following Janko, suggests that the earlier ending **-æ* (which is preserved in dialects outside the WS area) was retracted to *-a* when following the guttural consonant in *-ung-*, but underwent the normal development to *-e* when following the (palatal) consonant in *-ing-*. The development **-æ > -a* would in this case be a simple assimilation, in which the vowel **æ* is pulled further back into the mouth when directly following a back consonant. The forms in *-unge* are “easily explained as due to influence from the *ingō*- and ordinary *ō*-stems” (Dahl 1938:143). The most extensive Old WS manuscript, *Cura pastoralis H*, which generally is considered to be very trustworthy,¹⁵⁰ has *-e* in the acc.pl. of the *(ij)ō*-st. in more than one-third of the cases. From the 20 attestations of this ending among the *ungō*-formations, then, we would

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Dahl 1938:143 “the e[arly] WS material tells directly against the assumption that in the sg. of the [*ungō*]-stems *-a* is original in the gen. only”.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Dahl 1938:130 and Hollifield 1980:43.

expect a ratio 6:14 for *e:a*, but the real ratio is 0:20, which further backs Dahl's explanation that the *-a* is a phonetic development within this class.¹⁵¹

As a conclusion in the matter of the *ungō*-formations and the regular outcome of the gen.sg. in OE, we can say with Dahl that "the e[arly] WS sg. conditions in the sg. of the [*ungō*]-stems cannot be adduced as a support of the theory concerning PG *-ōz* > OE *-a* : even if *-ōz* had regularly yielded OE *-e* (< *-æ*), the gen. sg. would no doubt have ended in *-unga*" (1938:143).

A lot of different endings have been touched upon for OE and their development from NWG. We should set them up together with phonetically similar endings in order to see if it actually adds up. If two identical NWG endings give two different results in OE, then something has to be wrong with the theory, of course. For OE, we can set up this table:

| NWG | | | OE | |
|-------|--------|------|-----|-----------------------|
| *-ō | *-ā | *-a | -æ | Acc.sg. <i>ō</i> -st. |
| *-ōz | *-ā(z) | *-a | -æ | Gen.sg. <i>ō</i> -st. |
| *-ōC | *-āC | *-āC | -āC | * <i>fiskōdō</i> |
| *-ai | *-ā | *-a | -æ | Dat.sg. <i>a</i> -st. |
| *-aiZ | *-ā(z) | *-a | -æ | Gen.sg. <i>i</i> -st. |
| *-aiC | *-āC | *-āC | -āC | * <i>arbaiþ-</i> |
| *-auz | *-ō(z) | *-o | -a | Gen.sg. <i>u</i> -st. |
| *-ô | *-ō | *-o | -a | Gen.pl. |
| *-ôz | *-ō(z) | *-o | -a | Nom.pl. <i>ō</i> -st. |

As already mentioned, the OHG gen.sg. of the *ijō*-stem is *-e*, where the *-e* is developed from an older sequence **-iǣ*. In the *ō*-stem, where the ending was not preceded by an **(i)j-*, the ending is a plain *-a*. Since this invariably is written with a single <a> in the Benedict rule (see footnote 137), it can with a great deal of certainty be established as being short. It is somewhat unclear to me how Boutkan (1995:103) reaches the conclusion that "[n]o evidence [regarding the length] can be gathered from the *ā*-stem Gs ending", and the basis for the claim in Krahe/Meid II:21 that "im Ahd. [scheint] in älterer Zeit auch die Länge (*gebā*) vorzukommen" is unknown to me.

Other occurrences of NWG **-ōz* in OHG should nevertheless be taken into account. A parallel we used also for OE was the acc.pl. of the *ō*-stem. This is also written with a single <a> in the Benedict rule, whereas Notker marks this vowel as long, and one has traditionally claimed that the full vowel continuation in some Upper German dialects shows an original long vowel, but this is firmly denied by Moulton 1941:14, 18f., who shows that a back-projection from these dialects would lead to more long final vowels in OHG than attested in Notker, the Benedict rule,

¹⁵¹ The ratio for the *ingō*-formations is 1:2. Although concurring with the *ō*-stems, the attestations are too few to draw any conclusions from.

or anywhere else. As an example, the full vowel ending in the f. and n. *n*-stems in these dialects would then require OHG **zungā* and **herzā* (1941:14ff.).¹⁵²

The second occurrence of PG **-ōz* would be the m.nom.pl. of the *a*-stem, which is written ⟨â⟩ in 17% of the cases (nom. and acc. counted together) by Notker (Moulton 1941:13⁴⁵), otherwise ⟨a⟩. No other sources in OHG suggest a long vowel here.¹⁵³ For the significance of the modern Swiss dialects, see above. Given the fact that Notker merges the nom./acc.pl. of the m. and f. in adjectives and pronouns, Wagner 1986:45f., following an old idea by van Helten (1903b:537), is probably right in assuming that the few occurrences of ⟨â⟩ comes from the nom./acc.pl. of the *ō*-st. The synchronic evidence is thus in favor of a m.nom.pl. *a*-st. in a short *-a*,¹⁵⁴ and likewise for

¹⁵² See the literature references in Moulton 1941:9ff. and AhG:§193.Anm.4 for the traditional view.

¹⁵³ The Benedict rule has only a single ⟨a⟩ (Seiler 1874:436). The two examples of ⟨o⟩ are generally considered to be scribal errors (AhG:§193.Anm.4). According to Grønvik 1998:90, however, these forms are the remnants of the old nom.pl. **-ōz*. That the nom.pl. of the *o*-st. continues a PIE circumflex (PIE **-ōs* < **-o-es*) is an old and no longer tenable view, since it proves difficult to ascertain such tonal differences to the parent language, see Jasanoff 2002:37 and 2004:248.

¹⁵⁴ Highly improbable to me seems the notion by Hollifield 1980:43f. that the spelling ⟨â⟩ by Notker is to denote a nasal quality, since the ending *-a* is to be derived from the acc.pl. in **-anz*. He outlines the development as **-anz* > **-āz* > **-ā*, which must be regarded as highly unlikely, as OHG does not know any assimilations of the kind **-Vⁿ/mF(-)* > **-VF(-)*, unlike Ingvaenic and NG. That the development **-Vnz* > **-Vz* probably did not take place either in OHG or Ingvaenic is shown by the dat.pl. (of all stems), since this ends in *-m* in all these languages. The ending **-mz* (seen in the Latinized *Aflims*, *Vatvims* (Krahe/Meid I:22) and OR *gestumR*, *bōrumR* (Krause 1971:118)) has apparently just dropped *-z* in this position. The fact is that there would be no additional examples to this acc.pl. of an assimilation **-Vⁿ/mF(-)* > **-VF(-)* with a voiced fricative in any NWG language (see Krogh 1996:213ff.). Cf. ON, which has both **Vns* and **Vms* > *V̄s* (Noreen 1970:168), but **-Vnz* > **-Vn(n)* and *-Vmz* > *-Vm(m)*. The acc.pl. **-anz* should as far as I can see give OHG **-an*, which has simply been ousted by the nom.pl., a syncretism that has occurred in all classes in OHG.

The frequent OS by-form in *-a* (Gallée 1993:§297.Anm.6.a) can hardly come from **-ā* < **-āz* through the Ingvaenic development **-Vⁿ/mF(-)* > **-VF(-)*, since this as seen above does not apply when F is voiced. Boutkan 1995:192 resorts to “a special development”, which per definition then is *ad hoc*. Holthausen 1921:92 traces the OS ending back to the pronominal declension, which according to Boutkan (with the wrong reference, loc.cit.) is “wrong”. It is imperative to point out, however, that this nom.pl. ending does not exist in the Heliand (with one exception in C3072, an apparent scribal error), only in the later texts and glosses. This could easily be explained as a Franconian influence, where the ending was precisely *-a* (see Krogh 1996:302 with literature).

Since a PG m.nom.pl. *a*-st. **-ōzez*/**-ōsez* is required by the OF ending *-ar* and to some extent OE *-as*, OS *-os* (van Helten 1889:282, Hollifield 1980:43, Boutkan 1995:188f.) and Lombardic *-os/-as* (Bruckner 1895:179f., differently van der Rhee 1970:20f., backing himself on Löfstedt’s (1961:235ff.) examinations that show that *-os* is the Latin acc.pl.), Boutkan 1995:193 dismisses a PG **-ōz*, which only would be required by OHG. Since **-ōz* would be the expected ending from an IE point of view, it is possible that this regular ending co-existed with a new analogical one in **-ōzez*. Even though the variants **-ōsez/-ōzez* are only required by WG, the analogy cannot be a WG innovation, since it must be prior to Verner’s law, and since a WG **-ōzez* cannot give OE *-as* as seen in the gen.sg. of the *s*-st. *calfur* “calf’s” < **kalbazez* (Brunner 1965:§289, Bammesberger 1990:209f.). This in other hand is only required when accepting the general view that all post-vocalic final **-s*’s are voiced in PG (Bammesberger 1990:40, too generally formulated by Schaffner 2001:60). If a *grammatischer Wechsel* **-ōs/-ōz* was possible (cf. Krahe/Meid I:§115), then the addition of

the gen.sg. of the \bar{o} -st.¹⁵⁵ The origin of the length in the nom./acc.pl. \bar{o} -st. in Notker will be discussed under 2.2.7.

Since no one within the quantitative theory has suggested that a circumflected $*\bar{o}z$ could regularly give a short $-a$ in OHG,¹⁵⁶ it seems to be more preferable to derive it from an acute $*\bar{o}z$, which then would correspond to the gen.sg. $-e$ in OE. If one maintains that the original gen.sg. was circumflected in PG, then the actual $-a$ would have to be analogical from the acc.sg., something which seems very difficult when we bear in mind that the ending $-a$ in the pronominal f.gen.sg. is also short, and where the f.acc.sg. as a whole is quite different from the f.gen.sg. cf. *sia*, *thea* vs. the gen.sg. *ira*, *thera*.¹⁵⁷

If the development NWG $*\bar{o}z > \text{OHG } -a$ is correct, then we have the same phenomenon as in OE, i.e. there is no difference between the outcome of PG $*\bar{o}^{\bar{n}}$ and $*\bar{o}z$, since also PG $*\bar{o}^{\bar{n}}$ ends up as OHG $-a$, as seen in the acc.sg. of the \bar{o} -st. (*geba*), and the nom.sg. of the $\bar{o}n$ -st. (*zunga*). This could be another indicator that the nasal quality of PG $*\bar{o}^{\bar{n}}$ was lost in NWG, and as a result of that fell together with $*\bar{o}z$ when this lost the final $*-z$. Even though the loss of final $*-z$ is shared with OE, it is probably not a common WG feature, as a final $*-z$ is preserved in monosyllables in OHG, but not in Ingvaemonic, seen in the personal pronoun forms OHG *mir*, *thir*, *wir*, *ir* as opposed to OE *me*, *þe*, *we*, *ge*.¹⁵⁸

$*-iz$ could be a pure WG (or Ingvaemonic depending on the value of the Lombardic ending) innovation. $*\bar{o}s$ would, however, be the only good example of non-voicing of PG final $*-s$, and has therefore little to recommend it.

It is further possible that the pre-OHG $*\bar{o}z$ actually *does* continue $*\bar{o}zez$. Since the final vowel of $*\bar{o}zez > *\bar{o}ziz$ would suffer early syncope (cf. Krahe/Meid I:129f.), the resulting form $*\bar{o}zz$ would most likely end up as $*\bar{o}z$ (which possibly could be continued in NG and Gothic as well). The required continuation of a full ending $*-iz$ for OF could easily be explained as *Systemzwang* of the same kind as we find in ON f.nom.sg. \bar{o} -st. *alin* “ell” < OR **alīnu* with retained $*-u$ as opposed to the regular loss in ON \bar{o} -st. *lygi* “lie” < OR **lugin*.

¹⁵⁵ Younger texts have also a gen.sg. in $-u$ and $-o$, which is firmly established as a younger analogy from the dat.sg. (AhG:§207.Anm.5).

¹⁵⁶ Krahe/Meid II:21 implicitly suggest that the final $-a$ has been irregularly shortened, without stating a reason for this shortening.

¹⁵⁷ That the $-a$ in the nominal gen.sg. is analogical from the nom./acc.pl. is utterly improbable.

¹⁵⁸ The common view has been that the Ingvaemonic forms continue the unstressed variant, and hence without the $*-z$, whereas OHG continues the stressed forms (see Lühr 1982:421f.). According to Lühr (1982:423), however, $*-z$ was lost only after a long vowel in WG. The difficulty with this view is that a number of lengthenings and shortenings must be adduced to reach the attested forms (loc.cit., 442f., 449). Improbable Klein 1979:438f., where $*-z$ is said to have been preserved in unaccented position as an enclitic. Since the general loss of $*-z$ in WG is precisely in unaccented position, it would be rather incomprehensible why it should be reversed here. It seems more likely to me that all final $*-z$ s were lost in Ingvaemonic, and that the few preserved final $-r$ s in OF are due to sandhi variants (“[wegen] der häufigen verbindung dieser formen mit einem folgenden encliticum”, van Helten 1889:282), whereas final $*-z$ was preserved in monosyllables in OHG. According to Lühr 1982:423, there are no traces of z -loss in monosyllables in OHG. The f. numeral *zwō*/*zwā* “two” would, if directly derived from PG **twōz*, be an example of just that (and further back her theory on z -loss after a long vowel). These forms could, however, be analogically modified after the z -less nom./acc.pl. of the \bar{o} -stem, whose endings originally were identical. The form *zwā* shows in any case that either modification after the \bar{o} -stem ending or development in unstressed position took place, since $*\bar{o}- > -\bar{a}-$ seems very

A table for the OHG developments follows below:

| PG | | OHG | |
|-------|---------|-----|-----------------------|
| *-ō | *-ā | -a | Acc.sg. <i>ō</i> -st. |
| *-ōz | *-ā(z) | -a | Gen.sg. <i>ō</i> -st. |
| *-ōC | *-ōC | -ōC | * <i>fiskōdō</i> |
| *-auz | *-au(z) | -ō | Gen.sg. <i>u</i> -st. |
| *-ô | *-ō | -o | Gen.pl. |
| *-ôz | *-ō(z) | -o | Nom.pl. <i>ō</i> -st. |

In the question of the development of final *-ōz vs. *-ôz, we should lend an eye to the endings in OS as well. The gen.sg. of the *ō*-st. there is -a, and could be directly derived from *-ōz as in OE and OHG, and it fits perfectly into the established equation OS -a = OHG -a = OE -e, cf. the lists of synchronic correspondences between the Germanic languages in Boutkan 1995:99 and Schrijver 2003:196f. The pronoun, however, ends more often in -o than in -a, as in *thero*, *iro* and the pronominal ending -aro in the adj. One could be tempted to derive this from a circumflected *-ôz, but that does not seem necessary. A thorough investigation of these endings was made by Schlüter in 1892. He discovered that the ending for the gen.sg. *ō*-st. was -a “mit wenigen Ausnahmen” (1892:164). The exceptions had either -u, -o or -e. The -e is just a variant of -a, whereas the -u comes from the dat.sg. Since the dat.sg. of the *ō*-st. also appears with the variant -o,¹⁵⁹ the -o in the gen.sg. could likewise be the ending of the dat.sg. Schlüter (1892:164) believes that the few occurrences with -o are also interpretable as gen.pl., as it is a well-known feature in the Heliand that “in den Hss. sich nicht selten sg. und pl. gegenüberstehen” (1892:168). In the gen.pl. (of all stems), however, the situation is reversed. Here the ending is -o, whereas the variant -a is “ziemlich selten” (Schlüter 1892:105).

If we then turn to the pronominal endings, the picture is somewhat different. In the f.gen.sg., the ending -o is the dominant, but -a is also frequently used, with the approximate ratio of 1:5 in the Cottonianus (C) and 1:3 in the Monacensis (M) (Schlüter 1892:167). In the gen.pl., the -a is much more frequent in the pronominal ending than in the nominal, according to Schlüter “ziemlich häufig” (he lists 21 examples, 1892:106). And in the f.dat.sg., the ending -o is heavily used in the pronouns (in C, the -u is used only in about 4% of the instances, see Schlüter 1892:179), but rarely in the *ō*-st. (1892:169f.). The picture we get from OS is thus as follows:

unlikely in accented position, cf. f.nom.sg. *kō* “cow” < **k^(w)ōz*. The loss of *-z in *zwō/zwā* could therefore have happened in unstressed position as elsewhere in OHG.

¹⁵⁹ Schlüter 1892:170, Holthausen 1921:§283.4, Gallée 1993:§307.Anm.3.

| | Nominal | Pronominal |
|-----------|---------|------------|
| F.gen.sg. | -a | -o (-a) |
| F.dat.sg. | -u | -o (-u) |
| Gen.pl. | -o | -o (-a) |

From this picture, it seems rather obvious that the three-way distinction in the nominal endings is the original, whereas the homonymy in the pronominal endings is of an innovating character. When knowing that the nominal endings concur with both the nominal and pronominal endings in OHG (-a, -u, -o) and OE (-e, †, -a), it becomes more or less assured. The question is how this rather uniform use of -o in the pronominal ending arose, phonetically or analogically?

The most evident case seems to be the f.dat.sg., where -o dominates over -u. In the disyllabic pronominal forms like *iru/theru*, the ratio of *u:o* is 15:153 in C and 109:23 in M. In the adjectives, the possessive pronouns and the pronoun *thesaru*, where the ending -u would be in the third syllable (-aru), the ratio of *u:o* is 0:167 in C and 58:92 in M (Schlüter 1892:179). From the fact that the ending in M is usually -u when following an accented syllable, but -o when following an unaccented syllable, we can conclude that the -o has arisen through a weakening process in the third syllable. Could something similar be the explanation for -a/-o?

For the f.gen.sg. *ira*, the proportion is not revealing for M. The ratio for *a:o* is 21:30. But since -u occur as well, at least some of the o's could be considered to be the original f.dat.sg. ending. Schlüter 1892:166 notices, however, that *ira* is more or less confined to the first 1000 verses of M. In this part, the ratio of *a:o* for *ira* is 18:7. A part of the answer to the distribution of the endings has apparently to do with the different copyists behind the M manuscript. In C, the ratio is 4:43. Here we have as much as 16 cases of -u, so a decent number of the 43 cases of -o could be the original dat.sg., when we bear in mind that -o was almost exclusively used as the f.dat.sg. in C. Since C was seen to generalize the weakly stressed variant to a much larger extent than M when it came to *u:o*, this may be the reason here as well. For the other disyllabic *thera*, the same pattern from the distribution *u:o* appears, in that the frequency of the first variant increases in C, here 6:9, whereas it takes the upper hand in M, here with the ratio 9:3. In the adj. and pronoun *thesara*, we would expect a majority of -o in both manuscripts if the tendency from *u:o* were to repeat itself. And true enough, the ratio of *a:o* is 0:22 in C and 2:17 in M.¹⁶⁰ It seems rather certain that the distribution of -a and -o is dependent on the position just as with -u vs. -o. What the phonetic reason behind this distribution is, is more uncertain. Schlüter (1892:167) does not see the connection between the ending and the number of preceding syllables, but believes

¹⁶⁰ For the possessive pronouns, the expected ratio 1:6 of *a:o* appears in M, but a surprising 7:0 in C. By looking at the forms in C (in Schlüter 1892:166), we see that all seven instances of -a in the possessive pronouns end in -era, while all 13 instances of -o in *thesara* end in -aro. It seems obvious to me that the difference -era/-aro here is not coincidental, but must be due to some principle of vowel harmony (or that the element -er- has a *Nebenton* as opposed to a fully unstressed element -ar-). This matter can only be concluded by a thorough investigation of the C manuscript, a task that lies well out of this paper.

(1892:108) that the interchange of *-a* and *-o* “ohne Zweifel” is due to the preceding *-r-*, a claim that seems somewhat ill-founded.

Since *-ara* and *-aro* (*-era/-ero*) would interchange in the pronominal f.gen.sg., this has probably been analogically extended to the gen.pl., where polysyllabic pronouns and adjectives in *-aro* would now would be homonymous with the f.gen.sg. The variant *-ara* in the sg. could be seen as a variant of *-aro*, and could thus be used as a variant of *-aro* in the gen.pl. as well.

As a sum-up, we see that the gen.sg. of the *ō*-st. and the pronominal f.gen.sg. after a stressed syllable is *-a*, whereas *-o* dominates as the pronominal ending after an unstressed syllable. It would be unwise to project this difference back to an acute vs. a circumflexed vowel in PG. The *-a* should rather be seen as the regular outcome of PG **-ōz*, and the *-o* as an internal OS development of this vowel after an unstressed syllable.

Since the most probable PG origin of this ending had an acute **-ōz*, then one could claim that the endings OE *-e*, OHG *-a* and OS *-a* are the regular also without any quantitative theory, since we without this theory would have no opposing circumflexed **-ôz*. This means, however, that the different outcomes of what is said to be PG **-ôz* within the quantitative theory must be explained otherwise without it. The second alternative is that these WG endings are analogical, which is the view of Boutkan.

He believes that the regular OE ending is *-a* (1995:227), and he sees this regularly preserved in the *ungō*-formation, a claim that we saw above had no real basis. The actual ending *-e* is said to come from the acc.sg.,¹⁶¹ which seems just as difficult as in OHG on the basis of the pronominal forms (f.dat.sg. *þāre*, f.acc.sg. *þā*).

For the development of **-ōz* in OHG and OS, he believes this should give *-o* (1995:226), something which is systematically reasonable, since the correspondence OE *-a* = OHG *-o* = OS *-o* is an established fact.¹⁶² The actual *-a* in both OHG and OS is then said to come from the acc.sg., an improbable analogy as already discussed above. The already mentioned difficulty of getting an analogy between the pronominal f.acc.sg. *thea* and f.gen.sg. *thera* in OHG is also present in OS, where the forms are identical. These pronominal forms are not discussed by Boutkan, and the actually occurring ending *-o* in the pronominal endings in OS is nowhere mentioned. It should in this context be pointed out that the desired correspondence OE *-a* : OHG *-o* : OS *-o* actually is not present in this ending, whereas the likewise assured correspondence OE *-e* : OHG *-a* : OS *-a* is.

To sum it up in a few words, we have seen that the OE *-e*, the OHG *-a* and the OS *-a* could be the regular developments from a PG gen.sg. **-ōz* within the quantitative theory, whereas Boutkan

¹⁶¹ This analogy is rightfully criticized by Schrijver 2003:200f.

¹⁶² Boutkan 1995:99, Schrijver 2003:196f.

relies on an analogy from the acc.sg. in all these languages, an explanation that must be judged as ill-founded.¹⁶³

2.2.5 INSTR.SG.

The OHG dat.sg. in *-iu* seems to reflect a PG instr. in **-ijō*. As we saw in 1.11.3.7, the instr.sg. of the proterokinetic *dēvī*-type had an unexpected **-ih₂éh₁* in PIE (for an expected **-jéh₂h₁*). This would give pre-Germanic **-iā* > PG **-ijō*. But since an analogically made **-jéh₂h₁* as well as a *vidyā*-ending **-jéh₂h₁* also would yield PG **-ijō*, there is no telling which ending formed the basis.¹⁶⁴

2.2.6 NOM.PL.

The PIE ending **(i)eh₂es*¹⁶⁵ would after the loss of the intervocalic laryngeal suffer vowel contraction in pre-Germanic, yielding a circumflected **(i)ās* > PG **(ij)ôz*.¹⁶⁶ We will follow the same procedure as we did with the gen.sg., i.e. commence our discussion within the quantitative theory before we turn to Boutkan's attempts to do without it.

Since it was usually considered that the original gen.sg. of the *ō*-st. was a circumflected **-ôz* and that this should give OE *-a*, the same view would, of course, be the normal one here, cf. e.g. Campbell 1959:§586 and further under 2.2.4. *-a* is also the nom.pl. ending of the *ō*- and *(i)jō*-stems in WS and Kentish, whereas the ending in Anglian and Northumbrian is *-e*. It has rather uniformly been claimed that the *-e* in these latter dialects is the original acc.pl. ending, see e.g. Brunner 1965:§252.Anm.3. Only Krahe/Meid II:21 have to my knowledge claimed that **-ôz* regularly gives Anglian *-e*, but this is not supported by any explanation. The nom. and acc.pl. are as a rule identical in OE, so an analogical leveling between these cases in the *ō*-st. as well requires no specific explanation. The source of this acc.pl. in *-e* will be discussed under 2.2.7.

¹⁶³ An attempt to derive the OHG *-a* regularly from **-ôz* without any quantitative theory is to my knowledge only attempted by Antonsen 2002:241, where he outlines the development as PG **-ôz* > NWG **-āz* > pre-OHG **-ā* > *-a*. There are several difficulties with taking Antonsen's theories into account. First, he discusses OHG only, which means that the difficulty of reaching the attested endings in the other languages is not touched upon. His method is consequently not comparative. Secondly, he simply lists phonetic laws without accounting for which endings the sequences in question belong to. It consequently becomes difficult to understand which endings he is talking about, and how one can explain why we have different results from what should be the same in his scheme. Thirdly, even if restricting ourselves to OHG only, some of his laws are directly false. As an example, the gen.sg. of the *u*-stem should by his laws (law 11+12+16+17) be OHG *-a*, while it in reality is *-ō*. When his laws are not correct even for OHG, it becomes inherently difficult to use his laws for comparative Germanic linguistics.

¹⁶⁴ According to Bammesberger 1990:104 and Klingenschmitt 1992:90f., the PG instr.sg. **-ō* in the *ō*-st. comes from the *dēvī*-type. As it is unsure whether the endings of the *eh₂*-st. were zero- or full-graded, I cannot see any evidence for this. PG **-ō* might directly continue a PIE instr. in **-eh₂h₁*.

¹⁶⁵ **-jéh₂es* would be the ending of the *vidyā*-type, *-eh₂es* the ending of the *eh₂*-stem. For the PIE ending, the Baltic circumflected **-ās* (> Lith. *žīēm-os*) and the alleged PIE nom.pl. **-eh₂s*, see 1.11.4.1.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Hollifield 1980:39f. and Jasanoff 2004:250.

The nom. and acc.pl. of the *ō*-st. in OHG is threefold. The by far most frequent ending is *-a*. Some old Alemannic texts have *-o* (the Murbacher hymns), whereas most old Alemannic texts have *-a* as the most frequent ending alongside less frequent *-o*, and the old Rheinfrancoan Isidor (8th century) has one example of *-o* (AhG:§207.Anm.6). Among the old Alemannic texts with *-a* and *-o* is the Benedict rule, where neither the *-a* nor the *-o* is marked as long (Seiler 1874:438). The late Alemannic Notker has 83 *-â* vs. 23 *-a* (Wagner 1986:45), where the $\hat{}$ is Notker's marker for a long vowel. No OHG texts make any difference between the nom.pl. and the acc.pl., at least as no one has taken notice of. The long vowel in Notker should be considered as an innovation partly for chronological reasons (since the older Benedict rule has a short *-a*), and partly for phonological reasons, as we will deal with first.

It has been claimed (e.g. Krahe/Meid I:132, II:22) that the *-â* in Notker is the regular outcome of a circumflected NWG **-ôz*. This is rather unlikely, since a final **-z* does not seem to have any effect on the development of the vowel in OHG, as seen when comparing NWG **-ī* and **-īz*. **-ī* < PG **-īʳ* would be the ending of the 1.sg.pret.opt., which in OHG ends in a short *-i*,¹⁶⁷ and **-īz*, the original athematic ending of the 2.sg.opt., has similarly a short *-i*, e.g. 2.sg.pres.ind. *wili* "thou will", *ni kuri* "noli", 2.sg.pret.ind. *wāri* "thou were".¹⁶⁸ As we saw in 2.2.4, the ending **-ôz* in the gen.sg. *ō*-st. and nom.pl. *a*-st. seems to have given an OHG short *-a* just as NWG **-ō* (e.g. *geba* acc.sg. *ō*-st.). A NWG circumflected **-ôz* should consequently yield the same result as a NWG final **-ô* < PG **-ôʳ*. This would be the ending of the gen.pl. in NWG, and this has given *-ō* in OHG. The difference **-ô* > *-o* vs. **-ôz* > *-â* must then be considered as unlikely. The origin of this long *-â* in Notker will be discussed in subchapter 2.2.7. Since we have established that a final **-z* in NWG seems to have no effect on the development of the vowel, we would expect *-o* from **-ôz*. There would consequently be phonologically justifiable to see the old Alemannic *-o* as the regular outcome of the original nom.pl. **-ôz*.

The fact that only Alemannic and Rheinfrancoan have *-o* in the nom./acc.pl. of the (*ij*)*ō*-st. could suggest that this is an innovation in this area (cf. the WS *-a* in the gen.sg.),¹⁶⁹ and not an archaic feature that has been lost in the other OHG dialects. It should nevertheless be pointed out that OHG *-o* is both the expected result of NWG **-ôz* as well as fits the equation OHG *-o* = OE *-a*. The usual claim for this *-o* is nevertheless that it comes from the adj. ending *-o*, e.g. f.nom./acc.pl. *blinto* "blind" (e.g. AhG:§207.Anm.6). This has further been claimed to be the pronominal ending, as seen in the demonstrative *theo*.¹⁷⁰ But here is where we run into trouble. I merely quote Walde's (1900:46) observation:

¹⁶⁷ The short vowel is proven by the weakening in Notker's *-e* (Wolfermann 1886:12).

¹⁶⁸ The form *kuri* and the 2.sg.pret.ind. of the strong verbs are originally the 2.sg.pret.opt, see Wolfermann 1886:11, AhG:§322.Anm.2 and Grønvik 1998:103ff.

¹⁶⁹ The South-Rheinfrancoan Otfrid seems to lack this innovation, but then again, Otfrid is a century younger than Isidor, cf. AhG:§6b.Anm.7.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. e.g. Prokosch 1939:276 and AhG:§248.Anm.9.

[...] wie kommt es, dass im n. sg. f. und n. pl. n. des Adjektivs die Anlehnung an die Pronominalform *diu* zur Übertragung von *iu* führte, *blintiu*, dagegen im n. pl. f. nur zur Übertragung von *o*, nicht *io*, aus *dio*, also *blinto* statt zu erwartendem **blintio*?

The conclusion seems unavoidable; the adj. ending *-o* can synchronically not be the pronominal ending. No matter how we see it, the ending *-o* must have a prehistory. The remaining question is whether it is a prehistoric nominal ending or pronominal ending. In order to reach a conclusion on that, we have to examine the pronoun form *theo* more closely.

Unlike the form in ON *þær*, Gothic *þōs*, Lith. *tōs* and Vedic *tās*, the OHG *theo* has a first element **pi-*, which is lowered to *the-* before a back vowel (AhG:§47, §118). The diphthong in *theo* cannot be analogical after the diphthong in the m.nom./acc.pl. *thea*, since the original form *thē* is preserved in the old OHG texts, while *theo* always appears with a diphthong (AhG:§287.Anm.1.f, h). The element **pi-* appears also in the f.nom.sg., f.acc.sg. and n.nom./acc.pl. in the forms *thiu*, *thea* and *thiu*, and these form a perfect match with OS, where the equivalent forms are *thiu*, *thea/thia* and *thiu*, and the f.nom./acc.pl. is *thea/thia*. The OHG form *theo* must therefore be of pre-OHG origin.

The next important question is whether the sequence **pi* + vowel formed a diphthong or if there was a syllable boundary between **pi-* and the vowel. The f.sg. forms are revealing in this aspect. The original endings in the nom.sg. and acc.sg. would have to be PG **-ō* and **-ōⁿ*. If these endings formed a monosyllable with the preceding **pi-*, they would be **pjō* and **pjōⁿ*. This has two difficulties. First, there is no stressed diphthong **jō* in PG. Secondly, there are no words beginning with **pj-* in PG (or Gothic), cf. Köbler 2003a:þ. This pronoun would then have two features which are not present elsewhere.

When considering a disyllabic **pi.ō* / **pi.ōⁿ* it is worth remembering the Gothic forms with *si* + vowel, i.e. the dual and pl.ind. of *wisan* “to be”. The element *si-* has been extracted from the 3.pl. *sind* by a division *si-nd*, as *-nd* is a normal Gothic 3.pl. ending, while *-ind* is not (Krahe 1967:147). With the endings *-u*, *-um* and *-up* on this element *si-*, we get *siju*, *sijum* and *sijup*, with “verhältnismäßig selten” occurrences of *sium* and *siup* (GG:§204.Anm.1).¹⁷¹ The fact that the glide *-j-* is used in most instances show that these forms were disyllabic, pronounced as *si.(j)u*, *si.(j)um*, *si.(j)up*. Prokosch’s idea of “**tjās* in Old High German” (1939:270) is consequently unlikely. If the PG forms were **pi.ō* and **pi.ōⁿ*, the vowels in the second syllable would be in an unaccented position following a short syllable. By accepted sound laws, this would give *thiu* and *thea* in OHG/OS, which is precisely what we have.

¹⁷¹ Another possibility is that Gothic *sij-* reflects the ante-vocalic **sī-* which could have been extracted from original forms as 2.sg. **sīs*, 3.sg. **sī*.

Even if, for the sake of argument, the pre-forms **piō* and **piōn* were monosyllabic, they would still have to suffer a development of the final vowel in an unaccented position, since we otherwise would expect **thiō* with the length preserved.¹⁷²

Without mentioning the form *theo* in the initial discussion, we established that the PG nom.pl. of the *ō*-st. was **-ôz*, and that **-ôz* with all likelihood should give OHG *-o*. And when *theo* is the f.nom./acc.pl. form, it is only a matter of deduction to reach the conclusion that this *-o* is the regular outcome of the ending **-ôz*. OHG *theo* is thus from NWG **pi.ôz*.

The adj. ending *-o*, which we have seen cannot be pronominal, would similarly be the regular outcome of NWG **-ôz*. It should in this connection be pointed out that the adj. ending of the f.nom./acc.pl. in all the other Germanic languages is nominal, not pronominal, so there would be neither a synchronic nor comparative support for a pronominal ending here.

Another explanation for this *-o* is presented in Hirt Hand. II:88. According to him, the PG nom./acc.pl. **pôz/*pōz* was continued in pre-OHG as **dō*. This pronoun then gave its ending to both *theo* and the adj. *blinto*. This view has certain difficulties. First, the variant **pi.ôz* must be very old, since OHG and OS correspond completely when it comes to which pronouns have an element **pi-*, and which do not. Then both **pôz/*pōz* and **pi.ôz* must have been continued in pre-OHG. At some given point, the vowel of the first gave its vowel to the latter (i.e. **-ō?*). This must then have occurred after the NWG **-ō* and **-ōz* had changed their quality in pre-OHG, since these end up as *-a* (see the table in 2.2.4.), whereas the desired outcome of this analogical **-ō* is *-o*. The analogy must therefore be in the pre-history of OHG, and not at any NWG or WG stage. This pre-OHG **thō* then changed the vowel of **thi.ǣ* (vel sim.?) to **thi.ō* (and all the other pronouns, since these end up as *sio*, *theso* etc.) as well as the f.nom./acc.pl. adj. to **blint-ō*, before it disappeared without leaving any trace in the attested OHG sources. The complete lack of a continuation of **thō* is in my view enough to judge this scenario as highly unlikely compared with a regular **pi.ôz > theo*.

The final question we will discuss for the OHG ending *-o* is if the *-o* in the *ō*-st. in old Alemannic and Isidor could be a direct continuation of the original nom.pl. ending, or if it should be regarded as the adj. ending used in the noun. To find the answer to that, we have to look at the possibility that an archaic feature would be preserved here, and not in the other dialects.

The OHG nominal system is rather conformal, but there are some archaisms that are restricted to just some of the dialects and texts. The interesting fact about these features is that these archaisms seem to appear in precisely the old Alemannic and Isidor texts (and sometimes in Bavarian texts). Good examples of that are:

- The gen.sg. of the *u*-stem, which is originally **-auz > -ō*. This is preserved in the Benedict rule, the Murbacher hymns, the St. Gallen Abrogans glossary (all Alemannic) and Isidor (AhG:§220c.Anm.3).

¹⁷² Possibly **thiū* as the continuation of the f.nom.sg. **pjō* with a development of accented final **-ō* to **-ū* (Hollifield 1979).

- The dat.sg. of the *u*-stem, originally **-ēu* > *-iu*, which is preserved in the Benedict rule, the Murbacher hymns, Isidor and the Freising paternoster (Bavarian) (AhG loc.cit.).
- The dat./gen.sg. of the *an*-stem, originally **-en-i(z)* > *-in*, preserved in Alemannic, Bavarian, Isidor and East Franconian (AhG:§221.Anm.2).
- The consonant stem nom./acc.pl. ending of *fīant* “enemy”, which would be **-īz* > **-∅*, is preserved in the Benedict rule and Isidor (AhG:§237.Anm.2).

In light of these archaisms in Alemannic and Isidor, it would in itself be nothing peculiar about yet a nominal archaism, which the *-o* of the nom./acc.pl. (*ij*)*ō*-st. could be. For the historical origin of this ending, however, it is of little importance, since its possible origin in the adj. ending *-o* has been established as being nominal.

Finally, we should once again examine the OS endings. Both the ending of the *ō*-stem, the adj. and pronoun is *-a*, with some instances in *-e*, which is just a variant of the *-a*. This *-a* can hardly correspond to the *-a* in OE and *-o* in OHG, but more likely to the OE *-e* and OHG *-a*. This ending will be discussed under 2.2.7. The word *thiod* “people”, however, has for some reason certain archaic features that are given up elsewhere. It is, for instance, the only *ō*-stem that still shows the original difference between a nom.sg. *thiod* and an acc.sg. *thioda*. The *-a* is, of course, used in the nom.sg. as well as the form without ending in the acc.sg., but the original distinction is still clear, cf. e.g. the ratio for *thiod:thioda* in M, which is 13:4 in the nom.sg. and 2:7 in the acc.sg. (Sehrt 1966:604). The nom.pl. of this word is *thiodo* in four out of six cases in C, with a possible fifth example in 2975 *elitheodo* (Schlüter 1892:188). The consistent use of *-o* here makes a scribal error rather unlikely,¹⁷³ and likewise the possibility that the *-o* could be an Anglicism, since the OE ending is *-a* or *-e*. Since an *-o* is not used as a f.nom./acc.pl. in the pronouns, adjectives or any noun paradigms, Schlüter 1892:188f. correctly narrowed it down to two possible explanations: 1. The *-o* corresponds to the OHG *-o* we discussed above. 2. It is a deliberate change from the correct *thioda*, because the copyist believed this form was the gen.pl. This second possibility has great weaknesses. First, the *-a* as a gen.pl. ending is very rare, as we noted in 2.2.4. Secondly, the copyist, although probably being English (Behaghel 1996:XX), would by all means fully understand OS and consequently not consistently misinterpret what would be the normal f.nom.pl. form *-a*.¹⁷⁴ And thirdly, it would often be syntactically impossible to change the nom.pl. with the gen.pl., something which Schlüter 1892:189 also admits. In the lack of any other explanation, the *-o* in these forms must correspond to the OHG *-o*, and further with the OE *-a*. We have unfortunately no acc.pl. of this word attested in OS, so we lack the opportunity to witness a possible distinction between the nom.pl. and the acc.pl. of the *ō*-st. in OS.

¹⁷³ Cf. Schlüter 1892:188 “An einen Schreibfehler [...] ist bei der viermaligen Wiederkehr des *-o* in demselben Worte kaum zu denken”.

¹⁷⁴ This *-a* would further coincide with the WS ending *-a*. By the writing of C in the 10th century, the WS dialect had further become the standard written language in England (cf. Campbell 1959:7ff.).

Without the quantitative theory, the nom.pl. of the \bar{o} -st. would be a plain $*\bar{o}z$, and thus be the same as the gen.sg. which we discussed in 2.2.4. As we saw there, Boutkan believed that this $*\bar{o}z$ should give OE *-a*, OHG *-o* and OS *-o*. Although it did not coincide with the actual endings there, it would agree with the quantitative theory in assuming the endings OE *-a*, OHG *-o* and OS *-o* as the regular outcome of the nom.pl. (Boutkan 1995:228f.). Within both theories, then, the OE *-e*, OHG *-a* and OS *-a* would be the original acc.pl. ending.

2.2.7 ACC.PL.

The original PIE acc.pl. $*(i)eh_2ms$ in the eh_2 - and $vidy\bar{a}$ -stem would by Stang's law and assimilation of $*-ms$ to $*-ns$ yield PIE $*\bar{a}ns$ (see Appendix 1). Already in the proto-language, the constellation $*\bar{V}n$ loses its $*n$ when followed by a tautosyllabic $*s$. This is known as Schmidt's law (see footnote 77). That this law is common PIE and not *einzel sprachlich* in Germanic and IIr. is assured through the same process in Lith., seen in the acc.pl. *-as* of the eh_2 -st. and the demonstrative *t\bar{a}s* (Stang 1966:200, 245).¹⁷⁵ We would therefore expect a PIE $*\bar{a}s > PG *\bar{o}z$.

Within the quantitative theory, this $*\bar{o}z$ would be different from the nom.pl. in $*\bar{o}z$, and we have already seen in 2.2.4 that $*\bar{o}z$ would give OE *-e*, OHG *-a* and OS *-a*. The easiest explanation would then be that the uniform use of *-e* in the nom. and acc.pl. of the $(ij)\bar{o}$ -st. in Anglian and Northumbrian and the dominating use of *-a* in OHG and OS is the original acc.pl. ending used for the nom.pl. as well, an analogy we know well from the sg. of the same stem, where the acc.sg. ending *-a* usually has replaced the nom.sg. ending.

The only Old Germanic language that actually portrays a difference between the nom. and the acc.pl. of the $(ij)\bar{o}$ -st. is Old WS, dating from the 9th century and earlier. From the three major texts *The Anglo-Saxon chronicle*, *Cura pastoralis* and *Orosius' history of the world* Dahl (1938:130) gets a ratio of 0:49 for the use of *e:a* in the nom.pl. of the $(ij)\bar{o}$ -st., but 39:117 in the acc.pl. Dahl values the manuscript *Cura pastoralis H* to be the most trustworthy of the Old WS texts (it is also the most extensive), and the ratio there is 0:26 and 33:80 respectively.¹⁷⁶ These numbers may not be overwhelming, but we have to bear in mind that this is in the transition between the older (and not attested) system with a nom.pl. in *-a* and acc.pl. in *-e* and the later WS system with *-a* in both cases. The fact that *-e* is not used at all in the nom.pl. is a sign of *-e* being original in the acc.pl. only and on its way to being ousted by the *-a*.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ It can further be shown from IIr. forms alone. The sandhi variants $-\bar{a}m\acute{s}$ and $-qs$ in the acc.pl. of the \bar{o} -stem in Vedic and Avestan prove the IIr. pre-form $*\bar{o}ns$, and the Lith. ending *-us* and OCS *-y* show its PIE origin. Since this has not changed into $*\bar{o}s > *\bar{a}s$ after Schmidt's law in IIr., this law must be older than the making of the ending $*\bar{o}ns$. And since $*\bar{o}ns$ has been shown to be PIE, then Schmidt's law has to be PIE as well. The $*\bar{o}ns (< *\bar{o}ms)$ is, of course, made by a re-addition of the ending $*-s$ to the regularly developed $*\bar{o}m < *\bar{o}ms$ by Szemerényi's law (cf. footnote 509), and this shows that Schmidt's law antedates Szemerényi's law.

¹⁷⁶ Hollifield (1980:43) incorporates the f. \acute{i} -stem endings and gets 0:42 for the nom.pl. and 42:135 for the acc.pl.

¹⁷⁷ For typological parallels of such a process, cf. the original ON dat.sg. *a*-st. in *-i*, which already in ON, and especially in Middle Norwegian, can drop its *-i* and become homonymous with the acc.sg. (Noreen 1970:§358.3). The acc.sg., however, does not end in *-i* with the ending from the dat.sg. For other examples from the Germanic languages, cf. the

WS makes no distinction between the nom./acc.pl. of the \bar{o} -st. and the f. \acute{i} -st., both having $-a$ in the nom.pl. and $-a/-e$ in the acc.pl. (see Dahl 1938:175ff.). Since $-e$ would be the regular nom.pl. of the \acute{i} -st. ($-e < *-\acute{i} < *-\bar{i} < *-\bar{i}z$, see footnote 130), it would be possible that this $-e$ first spread to the acc.pl. within the \acute{i} -st.,¹⁷⁸ and then used in the acc.pl. of the \bar{o} -st. as well. This is possible only for WS, however, since one cannot see if the $-e$ comes from $*-\bar{æ}$ or $*-\acute{i}$ (cf. Campbell 1959:§369). In the Anglian and Northumbrian dialects, where the ending is $-e$ for both the nom./acc.pl. of the \bar{o} - and \acute{i} -st., the oldest texts differ between $-\bar{æ}$ and $-\acute{i}$, and in the nom./acc.pl. \bar{o} -st., the ending is $-\bar{æ}$ (Dahl 1938:124ff.). An $-\bar{æ}$ can, of course, not come from the \acute{i} -stem. The \acute{i} -stem ending is further still preserved as an $-\acute{i}$ in some instances in these dialects, e.g. Anglian *brysti* “bristles” and Northumbrian *mehti* “powers” (Dahl 1938:175). To apply two different explanations for the same ending in the same stem for the different OE dialects is of course very uneconomical.

Even before it was firmly established that the $-e$ in the nom./acc.pl. of the $(ij)\bar{o}$ -st. was the original acc.pl., Sievers suggested that the $-e$ was regularly developed from the acute $*-\bar{o}z$ (van Helten 1893:274²). This seems to have been neglected or implicitly rejected later, when it was more common to derive this $-e$ from a PG $*-\bar{o}nz$, as it was believed that an $*\bar{o}$ had to be followed by a nasal in order to give $-e$ (see 2.2.4). Such a reconstruction was e.g. made by Dahl 1938:132, Campbell 1959:§586 and Brunner 1965:§252.Anm.3, all from a PIE $*-\bar{a}ns$. This is, however, not possible, since Germanic shows the effect of Osthoff’s law, in which a long vowel is shortened before $*-RC$, even when $*-\bar{V}RC-$ is heterosyllabic, cf. Gothic *mimz* “meat” < PIE $*m\bar{e}ms-$ (EWAi II:343f.). A PIE $*-\bar{a}ns$ should therefore give PG $*-anz$. A PG $*-\bar{o}nz$ would consequently be a PG analogy. Walde (1900:52) believes that the nasal has been analogically inserted from the following correspondence: “a. sg. *dagaⁿ* : a. pl. *dagaⁿz* = a. sg. *geb^o* : *x*”. The problem is that NG and Gothic show no traces of an acc.pl. $*-\bar{o}nz$. That $*-\bar{o}nz$ in these languages “zu Gunsten der alten Nominativform [...] wieder aufgegeben [wurde]” (1900:53) is not believable, since it is exactly NG and Gothic that keep up the general distinction between nom. and acc. most faithfully. Boutkan’s (1995:141) theory that “ $*-\bar{o}ns$ [...] merged with [...] $*-\bar{o}s$ in N[orth-]E[ast-]G[ermanic]” is entirely *ad hoc*. The analogy must be further narrowed down to being WG. A WG $*-\bar{o}nz$ would, however, lead to OHG $*-\bar{o}n$ or $*-\bar{u}n$ (cf. the gen.sg. and nom.pl. of the $\bar{o}n$ -st. in $-\bar{u}n < *-\bar{o}n(i)z$ and further footnote 154), and can thus not account for any of the endings actually found there. If anything, then, the analogy must be Ingvaemonic or pre-OE. In the Ingvaemonic languages, however, there is no distinction made between the nom. and acc.pl. of the a -stem, where the analogy is supposed to come from. The Ingvaemonic $*-\bar{o}nz$ requires further an assimilation $*-\bar{o}nz > *-\bar{o}z$ with the subsequent loss of the final $*-z$. Such an assimilation is

original OHG gen.sg. *fater* “father’s”, which is gradually replaced by *fateres* with $-es$ from the a -st., without the analogy working the other way and allowing an endless gen.sg. in the a -st. Cf. also the original Gothic dat.pl. $-um$ of the consonant stem (*mēnōþum* “months” and *bajōþum* “both”) alongside the new analogical endings $-am$ (*reikam* “rulers”) and $-im$ (*baurgim* “cities”), without $-um$ appearing as the dat.pl. in the a - or \acute{i} -stems.

¹⁷⁸ As will be argued below, a continued PG $*-inz$ would most likely give OE $*-en$. Cf. further footnote 154.

required because a remaining final **-n* would not be lost, as seen in the OE/OF/OS 3.pl.pret.ind. *-un* < NWG **-un* < PG **-unþ* and 3.pl.pres.opt. OE/OF/OS *-en* < NWG **-ain* < PG **-ainþ*. There are, however, no examples of an assimilation **Vⁿ/mZ* > **V̄Z* in Ingvaeonic (see footnote 154). We would consequently expect OE **-an*, just as the nom.pl. *ōn*-st. *-an* < **-ōn(i)z*.¹⁷⁹

The idea of an Ingvaeonic analogical **-ōnz* > *-e* has in any case so many uncertain aspects that it must be considered less plausible than a straight and regular development PG **-ōz* > *-e*, which is further backed by the identical development in the gen.sg.

Since the OHG *-o* was established (2.2.6) as the original nom.pl. ending of the *(ij)ō*-stem, it is natural to assume that the more common nominal ending *-ǎ* (*-e* in the *ijō*-st.) comes from the acc.pl. **-ōz*. The *-o* has, as we saw in 2.2.6, been preserved in the pronoun, the adj. and also in the noun in Alemannic and Isidor, while *-a* is the only noun ending in the other dialects. In this connection it is important to point out that the Alemannic Benedict rule and Isidor also have a frequent f.nom./acc.pl. *thea*, which could be the original acc.pl. form. According to AhG:§287.Anm.1.h this is the m.nom./acc.pl. used for the f., something which seems unreasonable considering that later and less archaic texts regularly use *theo* as the f.nom./acc.pl. (AhG:loc.cit.).

Since everything indicates that **-ōz* should give OHG *-ǎ*, and *-ǎ* actually seems to be the ending in OHG except for Notker, the *-ā* portrayed there must have an inner-OHG explanation, if not one specifically for Notker's Alemannic dialect in his time (since the older Alemannic Benedict rule invariably writes <a> for this ending [in addition to <o>]).

van Helten 1903a:509f. suggests that the length has been generalized from "nebentonigen" forms in order to differentiate the pl. form from the sg., a view which is unlikely not only because of the *ad hoc* view that the original length was preserved when the syllable was semi-stressed, but also for chronological reasons, since the older Alemannic Benedict rule shows no such preserved **-ā*.

Kluge 1913:146 believes that the length has been abstracted from the dat. and gen.pl. with *-ōm/-ōno*. The pattern here could be the pl. forms of the *ōn*-stems, as they have a long vowel ending *-ūn* in the nom./acc.pl. with a dat. and gen.pl. in *-ōm/-ōno*. The endings *-ōm/-ōno* are used in the pl. of the *an*-stems as well, however, without this leading the other pl. endings to lengthen its vowel.¹⁸⁰

Hollifield 1980:44 believes that the nasal quality of the vowel in the acc.pl. of the *a*-st. (cf. footnote 154) was analogically extended to the acc.pl. of the *ō*-st., and that the resulting **-ǎ* resisted shortening to *-ǎ*. The problem of explaining the short vowel in the older Benedict rule

¹⁷⁹ The only form that suggests otherwise is the Old WS acc. *duru* "door(s)", which appears in *Orosius' history of the world*. The number (sg. or pl.?) is somewhat dubious, however, see Dahl 1938:184f.

¹⁸⁰ E.g. m.nom./acc.pl. *n*-st. *gomun* "men", n.nom./acc.pl. *n*-st. *herzun* "hearts".

then presents itself anew, but it has already been shown in footnote 154 that the nasal of the ending **-anz* in the *a*-st. did not assimilate with the vowel in pre-OHG, so the analogy disappears.

The final proposal I will mention here is Wagner's (1986:46), who in my view provides a good analogical pattern for this lengthening of *-a* to *-ā*, that is the m.nom./acc.pl. of the *an*-st. vs. the f. *ōn*-st. compared with the *a*- and *ō*-st. Schematically *-un* : *-ūn* = *-a* : *X*, *X* = *-ā*. The only problem with this explanation is that the m.nom./acc.pl. in Notker is not *-un*, but *-en*.¹⁸¹ But since older Alemannic sources have *-un* (Seiler 1874:441), the analogy present in Notker could have taken place at an earlier stage when this ending still had its full vowel preserved.

Whatever the actual answer of the long vowel in Notker is, it seems rather likely to me that the original endings in the nom./acc.pl. of the (*ij*)*ō*-stem in OHG was nom. *-o*, acc. *-a* (*ijō*-stem nom. *-eo*, acc. *-e*), fully corresponding to the distribution *-a*, *-e* found in Old WS, and that the later generalization of either of the endings (depending on dialect and category (i.e. noun vs. adj.)) portrays the same merger of nom. and acc. as seen in most categories in OHG. The fact that the *ō*-st. of the noun and the adj. has gone in separate directions in most OHG dialects has a parallel in ON, where the original acc.sg. ending *-a* has been preserved in the adj., but been replaced by the dat.sg. in the noun. What this amply proves is that an adj. ending that does not concur with the noun ending does not have to be a pronominal ending, something that is often resorted to as a default explanation.

The OS ending is invariably *-a* (in addition to *-e*, of course), which is a direct continuation of **-ōz*, just as in the gen.sg. (see 2.2.4). According to Hollifield, there is an "effect of [...] nasalization [...] in Old Saxon" (1980:44) that is not particularly visible to me. From Hollifield's own counting from M (1980:153), the ratio of *e:a* in the gen.sg. *ō*-st. is 10:53, vs. 3:52 in the acc.pl. *ō*-st. This ratio apparently "proves that the analogical extension of nasalization into the *ā*-stem acc. pl. ending in pre-Old High German evidenced by Notker's spellings in *-ā* occurred in pre-Old Saxon also" (p. 154), a conclusion I believe speaks for itself.

Within the quantitative theory, then, one can straightforwardly derive the OE *-e*, OHG *-a* and OS *-a* from an acute PG **-ōz*.

Since Boutkan believes that a PG **-ōz* should give OE *-a*, OHG *-o* and OS *-o*, he has to resort to the reconstruction **-ōnz*, which we discussed above. We have already seen that this would surely not lead to OHG *-a*, since OHG does not know any assimilation of the kind **Vⁿ/_mF > *V̄F*, and there seems to be only counter-arguments to an assimilation **Vnz > *V̄z* in Ingvaemonic, since it can be proven that **Vmz > *V̄z* did not take place. Boutkan's explanations (1995:141f.) are further totally *ad hoc* and directly false. First, he assumes a "proto-form **-ōns* that merged with **-ōn* in WGm". A WG **-ōn* would never lose its final nasal, as can be proven by the 3.pl. verbal forms discussed above. Secondly, he believes that the long vowel in Notker is genuinely old, but is unable to explain it, hence "**-ōns* [...] merged with **-ōn* in WGm (apart from the length in OHG)" (1995:141). Such an "almost merger"-explanation cannot be taken into consideration.

¹⁸¹ Wolfermann 1886:53, AhG:§221.Anm.9.

2.2.8 DAT./INSTR.PL.

The ending *-m* in all the old Germanic languages goes back on **-mz*, with the sibilant/fricative preserved in the Latinized *Aflims*, *Vatvims* and OR *gestumR*, *bōrumR* (see footnote 154). The **-z* is further preserved by the normal continuation *-r* in ON *tveimr* “two” and *þrimr/þremr* “three”.¹⁸² The condition for whether OR *-mR* becomes *-m* or *-mr* in ON gives itself: *-mR* > *-m* in unaccented position,¹⁸³ *-mR* > *-mr* in accented.¹⁸⁴ The apparent exception, the ON demonstrative pronoun *þeim* “them”, has probably lost the final **-R* in unstressed position (Loewe 1918:92¹).¹⁸⁵

Gothic, which generally preserves final a **-z*, has lost the final **-z* when following **-m* in the dat.pl. and the 1.pl.pres.ind., both ending in *-m*, even when these forms are monosyllabic as in dat.pl. *twaim* “two”, *þrim* “three”, *im* “them” and *þaim* “them”. There is, however, no loss of **-z* in the nom.sg. when the stem ends in *-m*, e.g. *bagms* “tree”, *arms* “arm”, *sums* “some”. One could claim that an *-s* was added analogically here, as *-s* is the case marker for the nom.sg., but it should be pointed out that such an analogical *-s* has not been added when regularly lost after a short syllable ending in *-r*, e.g. *wair* “man”, *anþar* “other” (GG:§78.Anm.2). One should rather see a similar development as in ON, i.e. **-mz* > *-m* in unaccented syllable,¹⁸⁶ **-mz* > *-ms* in accented.¹⁸⁷ Gothic has then generalized the ending *-m* in all dat.pl., even when monosyllabic.¹⁸⁸

As we saw in footnote 154, all the WG languages have lost this final **-z* without any assimilations to the preceding sounds.

¹⁸² According to Loewe 1918:92, *tveimr* has the *-r* analogically from *þrimr*, since he wants to derive the ending *-m* in the dat. for “two” from an old dual ending (p. 91). This is partly based on the fact that the oldest Icelandic manuscripts have *tveim* vs. *þrimr* (Larsson 1891:335, 385). One of the oldest Norwegian manuscripts, AM 315 G (c. 1250, ONP Registre:441), has interestingly *tveimr* vs. *þrim*, although the attestations are very few (Holtmark 1955:632, 652). I do not know the basis for Noreen’s (1970:§445.Anm.1) claim that “Dat. heisst alt (vor c. 1200 [...]) auch *tueimr*”.

¹⁸³ According to Noreen 1970:§277.Anm.5, *-mR* assimilated to **-mm* with later shortening to *-m*, much on the basis of the ten spellings *ǫllum* “all” in the Old Norwegian manuscript AM 619 4° (see Holtmark 1955:15ff.). The equation *fram* “forwards” = Gothic *framis* (Noreen loc.cit.) is questionable, since *fram* (alongside *fram*) might correspond to Gothic *fram* instead, and Gothic *framis* to ON *fremr*. *fremr* could, however, easily be explained as an analogy. It should therefore be regarded as uncertain whether *-mR* assimilated to **-mm* or not.

¹⁸⁴ It is possible to pinpoint the loss of final **-z* to the transitional period between OR and ON, since the forms above in *-mR* are from the 7th century (Krause 1971:164, Antonsen 1975:85, Nielsen 2000:95). One could be tempted to claim that *-mR* was assimilated or dropped the final *-R* before the syncope of the vowel preceding the *-R* in forms with two syllables. Since the Stentofte stone, from which the forms with *-mR* are taken, has syncope of **a* after a long syllable (*-wolAfR* < **-wulfaz*), it would be no possibility for that, since the OR form of ON *heimr* “home” would be **haimR* at this stage. It must therefore be the accentual conditions that decide the outcome of *-mR*.

¹⁸⁵ It is interesting that *þeim* is never written with a double *-m*, even though it is monosyllabic (no such form is at least mentioned by Noreen 1970:§469.Anm.3 or the dictionaries).

¹⁸⁶ There is no need to postulate a prior assimilation of **-mz* > to **-mm* here (cf. Loewe 1918:93).

¹⁸⁷ The preserved *-mz* in the acc.sg. *mimz* “meat” (1K 8,13) has *-z* analogically from the oblique cases.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Harðarson apud Neri 2003:154. It is not possible to see whether *-s* was generalized in the nom.sg. ending in an unaccented **-m(s)*, since no such forms are attested.

The established **-mz* has with all probability lost a vowel between the two consonants. From an IE point of view, we would expect a PG instr.pl. in **-miz* and a dat.pl. in **-maz* (see 1.11.3.11 with footnote). A PG **-miz* is directly seen in the *i*-umlauted OE *twæm* “two” and *þæm* “them”, which has long been recognized. That a **-maz* most likely is seen in the *a*-umlauted ON form *þremr* “three” is rarely mentioned.¹⁸⁹ Since a short *e* does not appear elsewhere in the paradigm,¹⁹⁰ it can hardly be explained by analogy.¹⁹¹ Except for seeing that the ending **-maz* was used after **pri-* in OR and **-miz* after **twai-* and **pai-* in pre-OE, we know nothing of the distribution of these two endings elsewhere. This is mainly because the endings **-miz* and **-maz* in all polysyllabic stems most likely would lose their vowel already in PG and create a homophonous ending **-mz*.¹⁹² This homophony would, of course, greatly contribute to the syncretism of the dat. and instr.pl. in all the Germanic languages.

2.2.9 GEN.PL.

Although the original PIE ending of the gen.pl. is uncertain (see 1.11.3.12), it is invariably reconstructed as **-ǵʰ* in PG within the quantitative theory, cf. Ilr. *-aam* and Greek *-ῶν*. The circumflected nature of the vowel can be seen in the continuations in Gothic *-ō*, OE *-a* and OHG *-o* (and further OS *-o* and OF *-a*). Only the ON ending in *-a* is ambiguous, as *-a* is the continuation of both **-ǵʰ* and **-ǵʰ*.¹⁹³

As we saw in 1.11.3.12, the original gen.pl. of the *eh₂-* and *ieh₂-*st. was probably formed with an internal **-n-*. The PG ending **-ōnǵʰ* is quite consistently used as the gen.pl. of the *ō*-stem in the WG languages except for OE,¹⁹⁴ where the simple ending *-a* is more frequent (Brunner 1965:§252.Anm.4). There are no vestiges of any **-ōnǵʰ* in the *ō*-stem in NG or Gothic. The same condition appears in the (*i*)*jō*-stem, except for OE, where the ending *-ena* is hardly used at all (Brunner 1965:§257.Anm.2). It is tempting to see a trace of the original gen.pl. of the *dēvī*-stem in **-jéh₂-ǵm* > PG **(i)jǵʰ* here. This has then been the only one used in the ON and Gothic gen.pl.,

¹⁸⁹ See Ross/Berns 1992:577 and Harðarson apud Neri 2003:155⁴⁵³. Also OSw *þrem*, *þræm* (Noreen 1904:§482) and OD *þrem*, *þræm* (GdG IV:§543.3, 7, 11).

¹⁹⁰ A long *é* appears in the m.acc.pl. *þréa* (> *þrjá*). *þréa* is the only form in the Old Norwegian AM 315 F (Holtmark 1955:652) from c. 1200-25 (ONP Registre:441), cf. also OSw *þrǣ*, *þrē̄*, *þrē̄a* (Old Gutnish *þrīa* < **þrē̄a*, cf. *sīa* “to see” < **sē̄a*) and OD *þrǣ* from *þrē̄a* or **þrī̄* (cf. GdG I:§162.Anm.1).

¹⁹¹ The claim in IED:745 that the form *þremr* is “later and mod[ern]” is hardly correct, as *þræmr* appears in one of the oldest Norwegian manuscripts, AM 619 4^o (Holtmark 1955:652) from c. 1200-25 (ONP Registre:457).

¹⁹² An ending *-miz* might be attested in a Latin inscription *Saitchamimis* (cf. IEW I:892 “zu **Saiþhamjōz* “die durch Zauber ihre Gestalt ändern können”)), but it is uncertain whether the ending is to be read as *-mif* or *-ms* (see Loewe 1918:94).

¹⁹³ This very ending would of course be the only example of PG **-ǵʰ*. But since all the other Germanic languages have the same development of PG **-ǵʰ* and *-ǵʰ*, one should assume the same for ON. The continuation of PG **-ǵʰ* in ON is *-a*, as seen in classic correspondence ON *glíka* “likewise” – Gothic *galeikō* – OHG *glícho*.

¹⁹⁴ OHG *-ōno* (AhG:§207.Anm.6), OS *-ono* (Holthausen 1921:98f., Gallée 1993:§307), OF *-ena* (Steller 1928:§52.Anm.1).

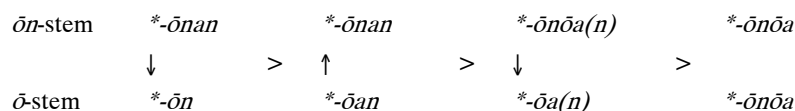
ousting the original $*-\bar{o}n\bar{o}^n$ of the eh_2 -stem and $*(ij)\bar{o}n\bar{o}^n$ of the $i\bar{e}h_2$ -stem, whereas the generalization went the other way in OHG, OS and OF, with OE as the only language showing traces of the original distribution. If we, however, conclude that there was one common $(ij)\bar{o}$ -class in PG before the branches split up, then the most probable scenario would be that the only gen.pl. of this $(ij)\bar{o}$ -stem was $*(ij)\bar{o}^n$, and that the ending with $*-\bar{o}n$ - in OHG, OS and OF are due to an analogical spread from the \bar{o} -stem.

According to Boutkan, however, the original PIE gen.pl. was $*-om$ (1995:140), which is a very uncertain reconstruction in itself (cf.1.11.3.12). A PIE $*-om$ would yield PG $*-an$, and instead of regularly contracting with the stem formant $*-eh_2-$ to PG $*-\bar{o}n$, the ending $*-an$ would be analogically kept after other consonantal stems, and then attached to $*-\bar{o}$, which would be analogically used from pre-consonantal endings within the \bar{o} -st., e.g. the dat./instr.pl. in $*-\bar{o}-maz/-miz$.¹⁹⁵ As Boutkan himself admits, however: “In the Germanic dialects, we do not find direct evidence for $*-om$ ” (1995:140). It is, of course, problematic that the basis for the analogy is nowhere present. Then there should be given a reason why the ending of the \bar{o} -st. was generalized as the gen.pl. in NWG.¹⁹⁶ And finally, this has implications for how the gen.pl. $*-\bar{o}n\bar{o}^n$ (vel sim.) in WG is to be interpreted. As we saw above, this could be the original gen.pl. of the eh_2 -stem. But if the generalized gen.pl. ending comes from an \bar{o} -stem ending $*-\bar{o}an$, then $*-\bar{o}n\bar{o}^n$ must have another origin. When rejecting an original PG gen.pl. ending $*-\bar{o}^n$, one would need so many back-and-forth-analogies between the \bar{o} - and the $\bar{o}n$ -st. in order to end up with $*-\bar{o}n\bar{o}^n$ that the theory as such should be deemed improbable.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁵ Truth be told, Boutkan does not explain it in this way, since he normally reconstructs without much explanation. My outlining is based on a benevolent reading. What he says is “[...] $*-\bar{o}an$, which can be understood as the former \bar{a} -stem ending $*-an < *-om$, before which the ‘thematic’ element $*-\bar{o}- < *-\bar{a}- < *-eh_2-$ was added in PGm [...]” (1995:140).

¹⁹⁶ As we know, Gothic has an unexplained $-\bar{e}$ in addition to $-\bar{o}$. The fact that the $-\bar{o}$ is only used in the f. “points to an origin in the feminine classes” according to Boutkan 1995:140. The $-\bar{o}$ could just as easily be explained as an analogical preservation, since the $-\bar{o}$ appears only in the $(ij)\bar{o}$ -stem, the f. n -stems and the pronouns, which are exactly the classes where a stem element $-\bar{o}$ - is used. It would then be the phonetic similarity between the stem element and the gen.pl. ending that kept the original ending here, whereas the f. stems where no such element $-\bar{o}$ - was used, the new gen.pl. ending $-\bar{e}$ was used, e.g. the f. i -, u - and consonant stems.

¹⁹⁷ Within Boutkan’s reasoning, we must have had an original $*-\bar{o}n$ in the \bar{o} -st. and $*-\bar{o}nan$ in the $\bar{o}n$ -st. Then the $*-\bar{o}n$ of the \bar{o} -st. was transformed to $*-\bar{o}an$ in analogy with $*-\bar{o}nan$ and other consonant stems. Then the $*-\bar{o}an$ of the \bar{o} -st. would influence $*-\bar{o}nan$ to become $*-\bar{o}n\bar{o}an$, which would later change to $*-\bar{o}n\bar{o}a$, which in the final step would be taken over by the \bar{o} -st. Schematically:



2.3 Gothic

The Gothic (*i*)*jō*-declension is split in two sub-groups depending on their nom.sg. ending, which is either *-i*, as seen in the paradigm in 2.2. (*bandi* “bond”), or *-ja*, e.g. *wrakja* “persecution”. The other cases are identical for both sub-groups, i.e. ending in *-j-* + the endings of the *ō*-stem, see the paradigm in 2.2. The general principle of the distribution of these two groups was early recognized as being dependent on the length of the preceding stem,¹⁹⁸ i.e. when the ending follows a stem with a short syllable, the nom.sg. is *-ja*, when it follows a stem with a long syllable, the ending is *-i*. In this connection, a short syllable in Gothic is when the stem preceding the ending *-i/-jō-* is ending in $-\check{V}C$, whereas a long is any stem ending in $-\check{V}C$ or $-VCC$.¹⁹⁹ The *bandi*-group is known as the *ijō*-stem, since the *jō*-ending would get the Sievers-variant *-ijō-* after a long syllable (see 2.2), and the *wrakja*-group as the *jō*-stem. We see then that the variants *-i* and *-ja* follows the same lines as Sievers’ law.²⁰⁰

There are two important exceptions to the rule that a stem in a short syllable is followed by a nom.sg. in *-ja*, those are *mawi* “girl” and *þiwi* “maid”. Although obviously having short syllables, *maw-* and *þiw-* are followed by the ending *-i* usually associated with the stems with a long syllable.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. Stamm 1858:303 “Weibliche Substantive mit *j* vor dem Grundvocale richten sich nach der allgemeinen Regel, wenn eine kurze Stammsilbe vorhergeht, wie *sunja*; geht aber eine lange Stammsilbe [...] vorher, so lassen sie im Nom. Sing. *j* ausfallen und schwächen *a* zu *i*.” and Meyer 1869:356f. “im Nominativ [...] blieb das auslautende **a** nur bei dem **j** vorausgehender einfacher kurzer Silbe bestehen”.

¹⁹⁹ For PG in general, a long syllable is most conveniently defined as not being short. As a main rule, we have a short syllable when the syllable nucleus, the vowel, is short, followed by (C)V. The first syllable in PG **dagōz-* “days” is consequently short, having $\check{V}.CV$; **da.gōz-*. All syllables not having $\check{V}.(C)V$ are long, such as **ban.dī* “bond”, having $-\check{V}C.C-$. The picture is more complicated when a **j* occurs in the form. If the syllable boundary is set so that the second syllable has a single consonant onset (as in **da.gōz-* and **ban.dī*), we would expect a form such as PG **banjō-* “wound” to be **ban.jō-* with a long first syllable. Sievers’ law (Sievers 1878:129ff., Schindler 1977, lately for Sievers’ law in Germanic Syrett 1998 and Harðarson 2004:547f.) shows us that this is not the case – the first syllable is short. If it was long, we would get the Sievers-variant ***banijō-*. OE *benn-* with consonant gemination and ON nom.pl. *benjar* (not **benar*) tell us that this variant did not exist (or at least did not survive). This speaks in favor of a syllable boundary **ba.ŋjō-*. In the Nordic syncopation, however, the final **-u* originating from final **-ō* in a form such as **banju* is apocopated as if following a long syllable, followed by the apocope of **i* after a short syllable to give ON *ben*. If the apocope of **u* was that of the apocope following a short syllable, we would expect the remaining **i* in **bæni* to be preserved in ON, cf. the remaining **i* in f.nom.sg.ppp. *valið* “chosen” < **validu*. This would put the syllable boundary back to the position **ban.ju*, if not all the way to **ban.j.u*. One could say that different rules of syllable boundaries were prevailing at different stages of the Old Germanic languages, and one could also say that the syncopation in Nordic has nothing to do with syllable boundaries, but is due to stress weakening as a result of the distance in time from the nucleus vowel to the next syllable vowel. Because of analogy and paradigmatic leveling at all stages of OR and ON, one can easily find forms that go against the simplified syncopation system above (can for instance m.nom.pl. *synir* “sons” and f.nom.sg. *spekt* “wisdom” be regular from **sunjuz* and **spakibu?*). For recent literature on syllable quantity in Germanic, see Birkmann 1995:181ff., Grønvik 1998:39-48, and for Nordic syncopation Birkmann 1995:167ff., Grønvik 1998:16ff. and Nielsen 2000:259ff.

²⁰⁰ Cf. Beekes 1990:56 “Les types *wrakja* et *bandi* sont distributés selon la loi de Sievers”.

Since ON, the other Germanic language that portrays a clear distinction between the *jō-* and *ijō-*stem, has the exact same two exceptions to the distribution (*máer* “girl”, *þír* “maid”, see Noreen 1970:§383.Anm.1),²⁰¹ it is likely that this is an inherited feature, and not an inner-Gothic or inner-Nordic development. A more thorough discussion of these words will be given in 2.11.2.

The distribution of *-ja/-i* is also different when the stem consists of more than one syllable. The attested nom.sg. of polysyllabic stems are *aqizi* “axe”, *lvōftuli* “boasting”, *hulundi* “cave”, *lauhmuni* “lightning”, *Saurini* “female Syrian” and *þūsundi* “thousand”. From these examples it is clear that the ending is always *-i*, even when following a short syllable in *aqizi*, *lvōftuli*, *lauhmuni*²⁰² and *Saurini*. Needless to say, this is rather surprising, but there are possible phonetic explanations, which will be put forward at some length in appendix 2.

In addition to the substantival (*i*)*jō-*stem, there is an adjectival, functioning as the f. to the (*i*)*ja-*stem. There are a handful of attestations of *jō-*stems, e.g. *niuja* “new”, whereas there is but one example of a nom.sg. of the *ijō-*stem, *wōþi* “sweet” (2KAB 2,15). Due to the correspondence with OE *wēþe* this is surely an original *ija/ijō-*adj. in Germanic (cf. Heidermanns 1993:689).

2.4 Old Norse

Together with Gothic, ON is the Germanic language that distinguishes the (*i*)*jō-*type most clearly from the other noun stems. The same division between a *jō-*stem and an *ijō-*stem based on the length of the stem is found in ON, but the difference does not confine itself to the nom.sg. as in Gothic.

2.4.1 THE *jō-*STEM

The *jō-*stem, which consists of words with a short syllable as in Gothic,²⁰³ does not differ from the *ō-*stem other than in the vocalic endings, where the *jō-*stem ending is preceded by an *-j-*:

²⁰¹ The ON equivalents to the unattested nom.sg. of *skaljō-* and *sibjō-* are also regular, i.e. *skel* “shell” and *Sif* “wife of Þór” (pl. *sifjar* “connection by marriage”), not **skelr* or **Sifr*. The same holds true for Gothic *winjō-* “meadow” = ON *vin*. *wipjō-* “crown” and *ludjō-* “face” lack counterparts in ON.

²⁰² The actual attestation of the nom.sg. reads *lauhmuni* (Lk 17,24). This does not indicate a long vowel, however, but has ⟨o⟩ for /u/, a feature which is particularly common in Lk, see Krause 1968:§55.Anm.1 and GG:§14.Anm.3. The other attestations of the stem *lauhmun-* have *-u-*.

²⁰³ There is an apparent exception *eng* “meadow”, which has a long first syllable but declines as a *jō-*st. (Noreen 1970:§382). The attested sg. forms *eng* cannot, however, be distinguished from the n. *eng* “id.” The clear f. form *enginni* with the definite article (Fritzner I:335) is ambiguous, since the base form could be *eng* (*jō-*st.) or *engi* (*ijō-*st.). The f.sg. is in any case a late creation based on the collective pl. *engjar* “id.” (Bjorvand 1994:73f.). The *jō-*st. declension (if it really existed?) could be analogical after *jō-*st. words with consonant gemination, e.g. *egg* “edge” and *dregg* “dregs”, as these synchronically would have a long first syllable. In other words sg. *egg*: pl. *eggjar*, *dregg*: *dreggjar*, *X*: *engjar*, *X* = *eng*. Somewhat differently Bjorvand loc.cit. (*eng* analogical after normal *jō-*st. as *ben* – *benjar*).

| | Sg. | | Pl. | |
|------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| | jō | ō | jō | ō |
| Nom. | <i>hel</i> | <i>gjōf</i> | <i>heljar</i> | <i>gjafar</i> |
| Acc. | <i>hel</i> | <i>gjōf</i> | <i>heljar</i> | <i>gjafar</i> |
| Dat. | <i>hel</i> | <i>gjōf</i> | <i>heljum</i> | <i>gjōfum</i> |
| Gen. | <i>heljar</i> | <i>gjafar</i> | <i>helja</i> | <i>gjafa</i> |

On a historical basis, the *jō*-st. shows *i*-umlaut if possible in all cases, whereas the *ō*-st. shows *u*-umlaut or *u*-breaking in the nom./acc./dat.sg.

The nom.sg. *ō*-st. had the PG ending **-ō*, which was shortened to **-u* in NWG. This final **-u* is preserved in OR *mīnu liubu* “my dear” (Opedal stone) and several times *lapu* “invitation, summoning?”.²⁰⁴ The nom.sg. of the *jō*-stem could theoretically reflect a *dēvī*-ending PG **halī* > NWG **halī* > ON *hel*, but since an ending **-ī* is not used in the stems with a short syllable in any of the other Germanic languages, this is in itself improbable, especially when the expected ending **haljō* > NWG **halju* regularly would give ON *hel*, first with syncopation of **u* after a long syllable, **hæli*, and finally with syncopation of **i* after a short syllable.²⁰⁵

The dat.sg. is by regular development identical with the nom.sg., since it continues the PG instr. in **-ō* for the *ō*-st. and **-jō* for the *jō*-st., see 2.2.5.

The acc.sg., on the other hand, has an unexpected endingless form. The regular development from PG **(j)ōʷ* would be NWG **(j)ō* > ON *-a*, and this ending is preserved in the f.acc.sg. of the adj., but not in the noun. The NWG **-ō* is preserved as OR *-ō* both in the noun *runō* “rune”²⁰⁶ and in the adj. *raginaku[n]dō* “divine”.²⁰⁷ The normal claim for the ON acc. without ending is that it is analogically taken from the nom.sg.,²⁰⁸ but a more likely origin for this endingless acc.sg. is the dat.sg., as will be argued later.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁴ See Krause 1971:117 and Antonsen 1975:40, 61.

²⁰⁵ For the relative chronology of these syncopations, cf. Grønvik 1987:171f. and 1998:19ff. According to Skomedal 1980:126, the syncopation of **u* after a long syllable occurs after the syncopation of **i* after a short syllable. This cannot be correct, since a form as nom./acc.pl. *ja*-st. **kunju* “genders, kin” in that case would have retained its final **-i* after the syncopation of the final **-u*. Since the actual ON form is *kyn*, this shows that the syncopation of **i* after a short syllable occurs *after* the syncopation of **u* after a long syllable: **kunju* > **kyni* > *kyn*.

²⁰⁶ On the Einang stone (4th century) and the Noleby stone (5th century), cf. Krause 1971:117 and Antonsen 1975:39, 55.

²⁰⁷ On the Noleby stone, cf. the previous footnote and Grønvik 1987:98.

²⁰⁸ E.g. Streitberg 1896:236, Hirt Handb. II:59, Krause 1948:§85.Anm., Meillet 1949:172f., Heusler 1962:64, Ranke 1967:46, Krahe/Meid II:22, Hanssen:60 and Ramat 1981:68.

²⁰⁹ Only Boutkan 1995:226 has to my knowledge claimed that OR *-ō* > ON *-ø* is a regular development. The gen.pl. ending OR *-ō* > ON *-a* speaks strongly against this, which is quietly ignored by Boutkan. The gen.pl. in *-ō* is surely attested in *arbijanō* “of the heirs” (Tune), and most probably also in *raginō* “of the gods”, *runōnō* “of the runes?” (Stentofte) and *runō* “id.?” (Björketorp), cf. Krause 1971:50, 52, 117f., 119, Antonsen 1975:45, 86f., Grønvik 1981:177, 1996:170f. and Syrett 1994:132f., 212. The 1.sg.pret.ind. OR *-ō* > ON *-a* (numerous attestations, see the list

All the other endings are quite regular developments, so they are in no need of extra attention. See otherwise 2.2 for the PG origin.

2.4.2 THE *ijō*-STEM

The *ijō*-stem, which consists of words with a long first syllable, has some features that are different from the *jō*-stem:

| | Sg. | Pl. |
|------|--------------|--------------|
| Nom. | <i>elfr</i> | <i>elfar</i> |
| Acc. | <i>elfi</i> | <i>elfar</i> |
| Dat. | <i>elfi</i> | <i>elfum</i> |
| Gen. | <i>elfar</i> | <i>elfa</i> |

2.4.2.1 *Nom.sg.*

As expected, the nom.sg. of the *ijō*-stem has a different ending than the *jō*-stem, but an ending *-r* is in any case unexpected when compared with Gothic and OE (see 2.2.1). There have been two traditional views when it comes to explaining this *-r*. The first is that the *-r* is the direct continuation of the *vrkī*-ending PG **-īz* < PIE **-iHs*,²¹⁰ the second that the *-r* is analogical from the original f. *i*-st. nom.sg. *-r*.²¹¹

The first explanation was successfully falsified already by Schmidt 1889:72, who pointed out that a pre-ending **-īs* should yield ON **-ir*, not *-r*.²¹² Grønvik 1981:205, on the other hand, resorts to a shortening of PG **-īz* to OR **-iR* > ON *-r*, which has “ingen moteksempler”, but also no parallels, as he admits, which then makes it *ad hoc* per definition. There are, however, counter-examples. First, the 2.sg.pret.opt. in PG **-īz* has given ON *-ir*. If this is not the regular development, then it must be analogical from the 2.sg.pres.opt. *-ir* < OR **-ēR*,²¹³ which of course is possible, since the 3.sg.pret.opt. *-i* is analogical from the pres. (cf. Heusler 1962:§352), as the final **-ī* should have been dropped in ON, cf. 2.sg.imp. *ja*-verb *sók* “seek” < PG **sōkī*. Secondly, the nom.pl. *i*-st. PG **-ijiz* is generally thought to have lost the **j* and suffered retraction to **-īz* already in PG (see footnote 130). Since this has ended up as *-ir* in ON, Grønvik believes that **-ijiz* was retained as such until the latter **i* was dropped “før urnordisk” (1981:204), at which stage **-īz* already had been shortened to **-iR*. The main argument, however, is that “det er helt usannsynlig at den høyfrekvente og meget karakteristiske nominativsform i dette arkaiske paradigma ikke

in Krause 1971:123) comes according to Boutkan 1995:362f. from an original perf. ending **-ōa* or an opt. **-au*. This does not help on the discrepancy OR *-ō* > ON *-ō/-a*, though, so Boutkan’s idea is consequently falsified.

²¹⁰ E.g. Hirt Handb. II:63, Krause 1948:§88.Anm., Gutenbrunner 1951:93⁴, Krahe 1967:82, Krause 1968:§130, Seebold 1972:76, 80, 1980:453, 455 and Grønvik 1981:204f.

²¹¹ E.g. GdG II:85f., Gutenbrunner 1951:93⁴, Iversen 1961:78, Heusler 1962:§214, Krahe/Meid II:24, Ramat 1981:70.

²¹² Cf. Bammesberger 1990:101 and Mayrhofer 1996:354¹².

²¹³ This OR ending must itself be analogical, however, since PG **-aiz* would give OR **-āR*, cf. **-aiz* > *-āR* in the gen.sg. of the *i*-st. (Grønvik 1998:124). The **-ē-* would then be the result of leveling within the pres.opt. paradigm, since **-ē-* uniformly would be the vowel in all the other forms.

skulle være lydrett utviklet, når dativ- og akkusativformene er det” (1981:205). By this reasoning, a f. nom.sg. form such as *hǫnd* “hand” would also be regular, since the acc.sg. *hǫnd* < OR **handu* and dat.sg. *hendi* < OR **handiju* are. We know, however, that the nom.sg. is analogical after the *ō*-st. (cf. Neri 2003:160⁴⁶³). The acc.sg. in *-i* is further not regular, but analogical, as will be argued.

Bahnick’s explanation (1973:132) “the nominative singular should have been **/heiþir/*. The */-i/* of the suffix was probably lost in analogy with other nominative forms having no vowel in the suffix” is somewhat ill-founded. A counter-example is the nom.sg. of the *ijā*-stem. This has not changed from *hirðir* to **hirðr* in analogy with e.g. the *a*-st. nom.sg. *dagr*, *i*-st. *gestr* and *u*-st. *sunr*.

The second proposal to the ON *-r* is that it comes from the original *-r* of the f. *i*-stem. The nom.sg. of the *ijō*-st. would be **-i* in OR, since a final PG **-ī* probably was shortened to **-i* in NWG just as **-ō* > **-ū* > **-u* was. The explanation of the analogy from the f. *i*-st. is usually restricted to just say that the **-R* has been affixed to this **-i*. When suggesting an analogy, however, one must simultaneously explain the reason for it.²¹⁴

As I see it, there are two main ways in which a noun ending may be changed analogically after another noun ending (in this case from another stem): 1. The new ending is being used because it is better marked for its function than the original ending.²¹⁵ 2. The new ending takes over due to paradigmatic pressure, when two paradigms already share other features.²¹⁶

To the first possibility, it is true that a nom.sg. in **-i* would be quite isolated in OR, but in fact no more isolated than most nom.sg. endings.²¹⁷ It may rather have been the apparent acc.sg. feature of the ending **-i* that triggered the change to **-iR*, since *-i* was the acc.sg. of both the m. and f. *i*-stem. Homonymy between the nom.sg. and acc.sg. across classes in OR occurred also elsewhere, though, without this leading to a reformation of the original nom.sg., cf. the nom.sg. *-u* of the *ō*-st., which would be identical with the acc.sg. *-u* of the *u*- and consonant stems.

It should further be noticed that the **-R* clearly was *unpreferred* as a nom.sg. marker in the f. nouns, since it has been dropped in the f. *u*-stems (*hǫnd*, *kinn*), the f. consonant stems (*borg*, *nátt*, *eik*), and in most f. *i*-stems (*ferð*, *byrð*). Since this is a common Nordic feature,²¹⁸ it should be regarded as a common OR development. The fact that the f. *i*-stems only rarely show *i*-umlaut but usually *u*-umlaut in ON, and with some of the same tendencies in OSw (Noreen 1904:307),

²¹⁴ Cf. Þórhallsdóttir 1997:51 “Þessi staðhæfing, að kvenkyns *i*-stofnar hafi haft *r*-endingu í nefnifalli eintölu, nægir þó ekki til að staðfesta, að *r*-ið í *ylgr* og *ermr* sé fengið frá þeim. Það þarf að gera grein fyrir því, að beygingardæmi *i*- og *ijō*-stofna hafi átt eitthvað sameiginlegt, sem réttlæti það, að *i*-stofnarnir hafi getað haft þessi áhrif.”

²¹⁵ A good example of that is the German neutral pl. *Häuser*, *Bänder*, *Gläser* etc, which originates from just a handful of *s*-stems like *Lämmer* (AhG:§197). This has spread to some masc. *i*-stems like *Würmer*, and even to consonant stems (*Männer*) and *a*-stems (*Götter*).

²¹⁶ Cf. e.g. the Gothic m. *i*-stem dat. and gen.sg. in *-a*, *-is*, taken over from the *a*-stem due to the shared endings in the nom. and acc.sg. in *-s*, *-ø*. Another type of analogy, where a word simply changes class/category to a productive class/category is not the case for the *ijō*-st. in ON, since it is not the *i*-st., but the *ō*-st. that obviously is both the biggest and most productive f. nominal stem in OR.

²¹⁷ E.g. *-aR* (only in m. *a*-stems), *-u* (fem. *ō*-stems).

²¹⁸ Cf. GdG II:§457, §462, §468 and Noreen 1904:§408, §411, §429.

indicates that the nom./acc.sg. endings *-iR/-i* started to be replaced by the *ō*-stem ending *-u* already in OR.²¹⁹

It would be improbable, of course, that the **-R* could have been added while it was being dropped in the f. *í*-st. and changed with the *-u* from the *ō*-stem. If added from the *í*-st., it must have been added while the ending *-iR* was still stable in the *í*-st. But then it would be a natural follow-up question why the ending **-iR* was preserved in the *ijō*-st. but replaced by the *ō*-st. ending in the *í*-st., especially when we bear in mind that the *ijō*-st. is a sub-group of the *ō*-st., and consequently would share all case ending in OR with it (with the exception that the *ijō*-st. endings would be preceded by **-ij-*). The *ijō*-st. should actually be more prone to get a nom.sg. ending **-iju* than the *í*-stem to get *-u*.

To the second analogy, the one due to paradigmatic pressure from homonymous endings, just a quick glance at the (reconstructed) endings will tell us that this possibility is hardly present. From a normal reconstruction of the endings, only the gen.pl. in **-ijō* would be shared by both the *ijō*- and the *í*-stem.²²⁰

Pórhallsdóttir 1997:51 sees the acc.sg. as the “hinge-form” between the *ijō*- and the *í*-stem, since they “hafi á forsögulegu stigi haft sams konar myndir í þolfalli eintölu”, i.e. **brūdi* and **armi*. I fail to see, however, how **-i* in any way could have been the acc.sg. of the *ijō*-st., so the analogy disappears.

It seems thus to be at least difficult to explain the analogical spread of **-R* from the *í*-st. to the *ijō*-st. We must, however, take the forms at face value and realize that any other origin does not seem to show itself. The actual process of this analogy must therefore be better clarified.

A big help is offered by the forms in the *ijō*-stem in the East Nordic languages. In these languages, the ending *-r* is used only in the two-membered proper names, not in simplexes.²²¹ In addition to the names where the second element is an original *ijō*-st., e.g. ON/OD/OSw *-hildir*, there appear also original *í*-stems such as (ON) *-dís(s)*,²²² *-guðr*,²²³ *-unn(r)*,²²⁴ *-þrúðr*.²²⁵ The

²¹⁹ Cf. GdG II:107 and Wessén 1927:102. The f. *í*-st. with non-umlauted *-u* show no *a*-umlaut to **-o-*, in contrast to the *ō*-st. (Wessén 1927:96f.). The relative chronology should then be that the transition from *í*-st. endings to *ō*-st. endings began after the phonemization of the *a*-umlauted **o*, but before the syncope of **i* and **u* and the phonemization of the vowels umlauted by them.

²²⁰ Originally, though, the ending **-ijō* would be regular in the *í*-stem only after a long syllable according to Sievers' law, but the ending could have been generalized as **-ijō* after Sievers' law ceased to work in OR, see Appendix 2.

²²¹ GdG II:§452, Noreen 1904:§404. The exception OD/OSw *mār* (= ON *mær* “girl”) could possibly be due to the use of *mār* as a female name, at least in Swedish, cf. OSw U861 <[...] at mai : tutor : sin [...]>, at *Møy, dōttor sin[a]* and ON *Ingi [Steinkelsson Svía-]konungr gekk at eiga þá konu, er Mær hét* (Bugge 297,3) (*Mær* was allegedly the sister of *Ingi*'s successor *Blót-Sveinn*, who revived the heathen faith in Sweden). The OSw nom.sg. *mār* is twice recorded: U29 <[...] in maR ain lifþi [...]> *en mār æin lifði* and Linköping <[...] let : kerua [...] siriþr : mar [...]> *lēt gerva [...] Si(g)riðr mār* (Jansson 1958:252f.). The Middle Swedish *maar* (appearing in the acc.sg.) may be borrowed from Middle Danish (Noreen 1904:§64.2, Hjelmqvist 1911:21, differently Hesselman 1925:213).

²²² Cf. the pl. *dísir* of the simplex *dís*.

²²³ Lühr 1982:407f.

proper names with these second elements are declined as *ijō*-stems in all the Nordic languages,²²⁶ and this suggests that they crossed over to this class at an early stage.²²⁷ This crossing-over cannot have had phonetic or paradigmatic reasons, since they would be declined exactly like simplex *i*- and *ijō*-stems. The reason for the transition is therefore *semantic*.

They have obviously been influenced by the female proper names with an *ijō*-stem as the final element, e.g. (ON) *-gerðr*, *-hildr*, *-elfr*,²²⁸ as well as by the prominent f. character of the *ijō*-class, since this class to a great extent contains words denoting living female creatures and persons.²²⁹ This is, of course, simply because this class is the continuation of the IE *vṛkī*- and *dēvī*-types where words of this kind dominated, see 1.2. and 1.11.5. It is then possible that these *i*-stem compound names got *ijō*-stem case endings at some stage, but retained their original nom. ending in *-iR*. Then the original *ijō*-stem names with a nom.sg. in **-i* got their ending extended with **-R* from these *i*-stem names:

| | <i>i</i> | <i>ijō</i> | | <i>i</i> | <i>ijō</i> |
|------|-----------------|-------------------|---|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Nom. | <i>*-gunþiR</i> | <i>*-hildi</i> | | <i>*-gunþiR</i> | <i>*-hildiR</i> |
| Acc. | <i>*-gunþi</i> | <i>*-hildiju</i> | → | <i>*-gunþiju</i> | <i>*-hildiju</i> |
| Dat. | <i>*-gunþi</i> | <i>*-hildiju</i> | | <i>*-gunþiju</i> | <i>*-hildiju</i> |
| Gen. | <i>*-gunþāR</i> | <i>*-hildijōR</i> | | <i>*-gunþāR/-ōR</i> | <i>*-hildijāR/-ōR</i> |

The next natural step would be the change of the simplex names **Fríð*, **Gerð* etc. into *Fríðr*, *Gerðr*, which then could change the simplex appellatives in the same way; **heið* (OSw *hēð*, OD *hēth*) → *heiðr*, **erm* (OSw/OD *ærm*) → *ermr* etc. The original *i*-stem simplex names such as *Gunnr* and *Prúðr* might have kept their original *-r* due to the connection with the compounded forms,²³⁰ whereas most other f. *i*-stems were analogically changed after the *ō*-stem. Some of these

²²⁴ de Vries 1962:635. It must be interpreted what he means by “< **unþiR* ”. When comparing with his practice of denoting the nom. of *ijō*-stems as “**-ið*” or “**-ī*” (104, 118, 196), it is clear that he means an original *i*-stem. The form’s lacking umlaut is in any case a clear sign of an *i*-stem.

²²⁵ See footnote 144, also Noreen 1970:§384.Anm.1 and Wessén 1927:102.

²²⁶ GdG III:§452 lists rather few female names, and only *þurkuni* of the four original *i*-stems mentioned above.

²²⁷ In OSw, the transition of compounded female names to the *ijō*-stem has gone further than in ON, cf. the *ijō*-stem-declination of the name elements *-borgh*, *-lōgh*, *-rūn* and *-var* (Noreen 1904:§404), which all are declined as *ō*-stems in ON. This is clearly an OSw innovation, since none of these are attested with the final *-r* which prevails in the runic texts (Noreen 1904:§404.1).

²²⁸ (*-*)*hildr* is surely an original *ijō*-stem (OHG dat.sg *hiltiu* [Lühr 1982:416], OE *hild* [Brunner 1965:§258.2]). (*-*)*gerðr* and *-elfr* are derived from the *a*-stems *garðr* (Schramm 1957:160) and *-alfr* (de Vries 1962:100).

²²⁹ Cf. ON *gýgr* “witch, female (mythological) giant”, *gyltr* “a sow”, *gymbr* “am ewe lamb”, *merr* “mare”, *mær* “girl, maid”, *rygr* “woman, wife”, *þý/Þír* “slave-girl/slave-girl’s name”, *ygr* “she-wolf”, in addition to simplex female names such as *Gríðr*, *Hildr*, *Ilmr*, *Rindr*, *Ýrr* (in the case of these names, however, it is difficult (except from *Hildr*) to show that they are original *ijō*-stems).

²³⁰ The original *i*-stem names in *-gunnr*, *-unnr* and *-þrúðr* might have kept the non-umlauted vowel in analogy with the simplex forms *Gunnr/gunnr* etc., when these still were *i*-stems. It is also possible, although impossible to show, that the

original *i*-stem simplex names were later fully incorporated into the *ijō*-stem (*Gunnr*, *Prúðr*) along with the belonging appellatives (*gunnr* “battle”), whereas others stayed behind as *i*-stems, e.g. *Unnr*. The continuing attractive force from the *ijō*-stem on words which explicitly expressed a f. character is shown through transitions to the *ijō*-stem such as *brúðr* “bride” (← *i*-st.) and *hind* “hind” (← *ō*-st.).²³¹

It would be inherently difficult to give a (relative) chronology of these changes in question, but we will nevertheless make some observations.

As we saw above, the transition to the *ijō*-stem must have been made while the ending *-iR* in the *i*-st. was still stable. And since the *i*-stems that crossed over to the *ō*-st. usually show *u*-umlaut, but rarely *i*-umlaut, this places both these transitions before the syncopation of both **i* and **u*. That it happened before the syncopation of **i* after a *long* syllable is a necessary assumption to facilitate the change of the nom.sg. of the *ijō*-st. from **-i* to **-iR*. Since the *ijō*-st. always had a long first syllable, the syncopation of **i* would lead to a nom.sg. in **-∅* as opposed to the *i*-st. nom.sg. in **-R* (and sometimes *-iR* after a short syllable). If the analogy occurred at this stage, it would just be an addition of **-R* to the bare stem. But since the f. *i*-stems at this point usually had gotten *ō*-st. sg. endings, i.e. a nom.sg. in *-u*, one might rightfully ask why the **-R* was not simply dropped from the compounded *i*-stem names instead of spreading to the *ijō*-st. As we have established, the analogy between the nom.sg. of the *i*- and *ijō*-stems should occur when the original *i*-st. nom.sg. ending was stable, something it hardly was after the syncopation of **i*.

Secondly, the fact that the ON equivalences to Gothic *mawi* and *þiwi* also follow the *ijō*-declension and have a final *-r*, *máer*, *Þír*, shows that their oldest OR pre-form was **mawi* and **þiwi* just like **hildi* and **gardi* onto which the **-R* was analogically affixed. If this happened *after* the syncopation of **i* after a long syllable, we would first have **mawivs*. **-hild* vs. **(-)gunnR* → **mawi* | **-hildR* | **(-)gunnR*. It seems rather incomprehensible how and why **-R* got transferred to **mawi* here, a complication that disappears when we put the analogy before the syncopation: **mawi* | **-hildi* | **(-)gunniR* → **mawi* | **-hildiR* | **(-)gunniR* → **mawiR*.²³² The possibility that the **-R* was added after the syncopation of **i* after a short syllable, i.e. **maw-R*, is utterly unlikely, since it would be difficult to explain why the other nouns with a short stem did not

original *i*-stem gen.sg. in **-āR* was kept after crossing over to the *ijō*-stem, and that the regular non-umlauted vowel here was responsible for the vowel showing throughout the paradigm (cf. Lühr 1982:408¹).

²³¹ These are only partly *ijō*-stems, though. *brúðr* has a pl. *brúðir* and *hind* has, obviously, a nom.sg. *hind*.

²³² It can similarly be shown that it had to occur before the syncopation of **u* after a long syllable, since the nom.sg. of the *jō*-stems ended in **-ju* (e.g. **bænju* “wound”, **Sibju* “Þór’s wife”). With the apocope of **-u* after a long syllable, these would end in **bæni* and **Sibi*, and it would prove very hard to explain why **mawi* and **þiwi* should retrieve the **-R* as a new nom.sg. ending, while the identically sounding **bæni* and **Sibi* did not. The answer must be that **mawi* and **þiwi* were extended with **-R* while the regular *jō*-stem nom.sg. was still **-ju*.

get a new nom. in *-r*, not only appellatives such as *ey* “island”, *nyt* “use”, but especially f. names such as *Frigg*, *Sif* and *(Borg)-ný*.²³³

It seems to me that it is not possible to set a terminus post quem for the use of **-iR* in the nom.sg. of the *ijō*-st. in OR other than it had to happen after the final **-ī* had been shortened to **-i*, a shortening that belongs to the common NWG period. Since the WG languages lose all final **-z*’s, it cannot be shown if e.g. the OE *-ø* continues **-iz* or **-i* (see 2.2.1). The phenomenon in question will therefore be placed somewhere between the early NWG stage and the middle stage of OR. According to Grønvik 1998:25, the OR syncope of **i* after a long syllable occurred in the beginning of the 6th century, which will serve as the terminus ante quem.

2.4.2.2 *Acc.sg.*

The acc.sg. in *-i* cannot be the regular development from a PG **-ijō̃*, as this should give **-a*, cf. the discussion of **-ō̃* > *-a* in 2.4.1. Any explanation of the form in *-i* is rarely given in the handbooks. Grønvik 1981:204, followed by Syrett 1994:164, believes that the *-i* is the regular continuation of the *vrk̃*-ending PIE **-ijm̃*.²³⁴ This would, true enough, give PG **-ijũ* > OR **-iju* > **-ī* > ON *-i*. Since such an ending is not present in *any* of the other Old Germanic languages,²³⁵ one should come up with strong support in order to see the ON *-i* as a regular development rather than analogical. Grønvik does not give any arguments in favor of his view, and when we consider that the acc.sg. of the *ō*-st. surely is analogical, so should the acc.sg. *-i* be.

Syrett 1994:164 briefly mentions the possibility that the OR acc.sg. was the *dēvī*-ending **-ī* < PG **-ī̃*. This would at least be more likely than a *vrk̃*-ending, as the nom.sg. of the *ijō*-st. in PG continues the *dēvī*-ending. Syrett dismisses the possibility himself because he is in the need of a f.acc.sg. in **-u* to have a source for the acc.sg. **-u* in the *ō*-st., something that a *dēvī*-ending cannot give him. A direct continuation of a *dēvī*-ending in OR is improbable for the same reasons as a *vrk̃*-ending is improbable.²³⁶

It becomes self-evident that this *-i* can be analogical from the dat.sg. only, since this is the only other case with this ending in this paradigm.²³⁷ An analogy from the nom.sg. along the lines that has been suggested for the *ō*-st. is simply not possible, as this nom.sg. with all likelihood never

²³³ Such a late analogy would further lead to dialectal problems, since the syncope of **i* and **u* after a short syllable is so late that it belongs to the early stages of the Nordic daughter languages, whereas the use of *-r* in compounded female names is common Nordic and thus most probably inherited from OR. For the syncope of **i* and **u* after a short syllable, cf. the Swedish Rök inscription (800-850, Gustavson 2003:70) where both these vowels are retained, whereas the Norwegian skaldic poem *Ragnarsdrápa* (800-850 (Indrebø 2001:70), c. 850 (North 1997:xliv)) has syncope of both.

²³⁴ His reconstruction follows Szemerényi 1996:192.

²³⁵ A PG **-ijũ* should have given Gothic **-ju* (or **-ei/-i* with early syncope of **-u*), OE **-u*, OHG **-iu*, OS **-i*.

²³⁶ We would in this case expect an acc.sg. in **-i* in all the other Germanic languages.

²³⁷ The *-i* could in theory come from an OR **-iju* that has the **-u* not from the dat.sg., but from the acc.sg. of the *ō*-st., where it in its turn comes from the nom.sg. as discussed above. Such an explanation is, however, unnecessary complicated.

had any ending that could give ON *-i*. If the original acc.sg. of the *ijō*-st. has been replaced by the dat.sg., then there is no need to postulate anything else for the *ō*-st., where the acc.sg. without ending and with *u*-umlaut reflects OR **-u* just as the dat.sg., where it is regular from an instr. in PG **-ō*. It is a clear tendency in ON that the endings of the acc.sg. and the dat.sg., if not already identical through regular developments,²³⁸ are leveled one way or the other to become identical, not only in the f., but also in the m.,²³⁹ whereas the nom.sg. and acc.sg. as a rule are kept apart. This stands in contrast to the WG languages, where the nom. and acc.sg. more often fall together because of the loss of the nom.sg. **-z*. In OHG and OS, the original nom.sg. of the *ō*-stem has been replaced by the acc.sg., precisely because of the fusion of these cases in other stems, and it is probably this event that has led comparative philologists astray to think that the same has happened in ON.

2.4.2.3 *Dat.sg.*

According to Grønvik 1981:204f., the ON dat.sg. *-i* is either from a PIE *vr̥k̥*-ending dat.sg. **-ij̥ei* or a *vr̥k̥*-ending loc.sg. **-ij̥i*. Both views are unnecessary, as the expected and regular PG instr.sg. **-ijō* (see 2.2 and 2.2.5) regularly would give ON *-i*. Any argumentation in favor of the *vr̥k̥*-endings or any explanation why these endings are not found elsewhere in Germanic is not given.

2.4.2.4 *Gen.sg.*

The ON gen.sg. in *-ar* with preceding *i*-umlaut is the regular development from OR **-ijōR*. Whether this OR gen.sg. merged with the *i*-st. gen.sg. **-āR* to a uniform **-āR* would be impossible to tell, since OR **ō* in this position was lowered to **ǎ* in any case, cf. *rūnōR* “runes” > *rūnǎR* (numerous attestations, see Antonsen 1975:92). The word *elfr* “river” has an old gen.sg. without umlaut in the place-name *Alfar-heimr* (Noreen 1970:§384.Anm.1.).²⁴⁰ Since *i*-umlaut always would be expected, as the **-ij-* follows a long syllable, the form *alfar-* can hardly be regular.

Because of the many doublets of f. *i*-stems with or without umlaut, e.g. *átt/ǣtt* “kin”, *bón/bǫn* “prayer” (see Noreen 1970:272), it is clear that the variant without umlaut must have been regular somewhere in the paradigm. One of these places would be the gen.sg., since this ended in OR **-āR* (Grønvik 1998:124). Since we have many doublets of the same word in ON, it is reasonable

²³⁸ As in the *ija*-stem, the *i*-stem (the dat. continues in my view an original instr. in PG **-ī* < **-ih₁*), the *ōn*-stem and the *īn*-stem.

²³⁹ As in the *a*-stem, the *wa*-stem, the *ja*-stem, the *u*-stem, the *(i)(j)an*-stem, the f. consonant stems, the so-called *r*-stems (*faðir*, *móðir*), in addition to the already mentioned *ō*-, *wō*-, *jō*-stems (cf. Noreen 1970:§358.3, §365.Anm.2, §367, §395.3, §399.Anm.3, §413, §419, Heusler 1962:§201.2, §203, §225, §229.1, §238). An interesting parallel is that the occurring dat. sg. *-u* of the *ō*-stems (and *wō*/*jō*-), which is of obscure origin (cf. Grønvik 1985:172ff., Syrett 1994:113ff. and Boutkan 1995:228), has influenced the acc.sg. all over again (Noreen 1970:§374, §376.Anm.2, §383.Anm.3, Heusler 1962:§212.2).

²⁴⁰ The attestations are all later than 1350, though, which often is set as the final year of the ON period in Norway (see the attestations in Fritzner I:321).

to believe that these forms once interchanged regularly within the same paradigm, e.g. nom.sg. *ætt*, gen.sg. *áttar*. We have already established the analogical influence on the *ijō*-st. from the f. *i*-st. (2.4.2.1), and it would not be strange if the regularity of non-umlauted vowel in the gen.sg. also influenced the *ijō*-stem at some stage. In other words nom.sg. *ferð* : gen.sg. **farðar*²⁴¹ = nom.sg. *elfr* : *X*, *X* = *alfar*. This analogical gen.sg. form was then used in the place-name *Alfar-heimr*, where it remained lexically frozen when the remnants of this analogy was abolished elsewhere. The form *alfar-* is consequently an example of an analogy that never managed to establish itself in the ON morphology.²⁴² The paradigmatic interchange of *ætt-áttar* did not survive either, but there are enough left-overs of the non-umlauted vowel to know that it once existed.

2.4.2.5 Other *ijō*-stem endings

All the pl. endings of the *ijō*-stem in ON are entirely regular. See 2.2 for the original PG endings. The adjectival *ijō*-stem, however, differs from the substantival. In Gothic, the only attested nom.sg. of an adjectival *ijō*-st. had the ending *-i* just as the noun (see 2.3). The ON nom.sg. of the adjectival *ijō*-st. is endingless, e.g. *væn* “promising, pretty”, and the acc.sg. has the ending *-a* (after a tectal *-ja*, e.g. *fátókja* “poor”). The nom.sg. could reflect the original *dēvī*-ending **-ī* without the addition of the **-R* as in the noun (see 2.4.2.1), whereas it cannot directly continue a nom.sg. in **-ijō*, as this would have given ON **-i*, cf. the nom./acc.pl. *ija*-st. *ríki* “kingdoms” < **ríkijō*.

Although one could equate the ON form with the Gothic in *-i* without phonological problems, it should be regarded as uncertain if this is really the case. There is no regular nom.sg. of the m. *ija*-st. adj. in ON, it ends in *-r* just as the *a*-st. instead of the expected **-ir* as in the *ija*-st. noun.²⁴³ The endingless form in the nom.sg. of the *ijō*-st. could therefore be analogical after the *ō*- and *jō*-st. adj. rather than a direct continuation of the *dēvī*-ending **-ī*. The acc.sg. in *-(j)a* is in any case the original acc.sg. **-ijōⁿ*, which was analogically ousted in the noun, see 2.4.2.2.

2.5 Old English

OE does synchronically not differ between the *jō*- and the *ijō*-stem, but they cannot be derived from the same endings, and so the division between the stems with a short syllable and the stems with a long syllable reappears in OE, although only historically.

²⁴¹ The non-umlauted *farð* is attested in the pl. *farðir*, see Noreen 1970:272.

²⁴² Some modern Norwegian dialect forms of *elfr* might suggest the continuation of a stem *alf*, though, a possibility that will be the subject of a later study.

²⁴³ Cf. Gothic *wilpeis* “wild”, ON *villr* vs. Gothic *hairdeis* “shepherd”, ON *hirðir*.

2.5.1 THE *jō*-STEM

Because of the WG consonant gemination, the OE *jō*-stem consists always of a long first syllable, e.g. *sibb* “relationship, peace” (Gothic *sibjō*-, ON pl. *sifjar*), and does not differ from the *ō*-stem in any aspects other than that the *jō*-stems exhibit *i*-umlaut.

| | <i>jō</i> | <i>ō</i> |
|---------|-------------------|------------------|
| Nom.sg. | <i>sibb</i> | <i>lār</i> |
| Acc.sg. | <i>sibbe</i> | <i>lāre</i> |
| Dat.sg. | <i>sibbe</i> | <i>lāre</i> |
| Gen.sg. | <i>sibbe</i> | <i>lāre</i> |
| Nom.pl. | <i>sibba</i> | <i>lāra</i> |
| Acc.pl. | <i>sibbe (-a)</i> | <i>lāre (-a)</i> |
| Dat.pl. | <i>sibbum</i> | <i>lārum</i> |
| Gen.pl. | <i>sibba</i> | <i>lāra</i> |

The nom.sg. without ending could therefore regularly continue a PG **-jō* just as in Gothic and ON. The NWG **sibju* would after the consonant gemination give **sibbju* in pre-OE. The exact following relative chronology seems a bit uncertain. We could either have a loss of **j* in the position **-CjV-* where *C* ≠ **r* (Brunner 1965:§177.3), i.e. **sibbju* > **sibbu*, with a following apocopation of **u* after a long syllable to *sibb*,²⁴⁴ or the apocopation of **u* could precede that of **i*, i.e. **sibbju* > **sibbi* > *sibb* (see footnote 128). What is certain is that Sievers’ law did not operate any more after the consonant gemination of **-bj-* to **-bbj-*, as this would have given pre-OE **sibbiju* > OE **sibbu*,²⁴⁵ cf. nom./acc.pl. *ija*-st. **rikiju* > *rīcu* vs. nom./acc.pl. *ja*-st. **kunju* > **kunnju* > *cynn*, see the literature references given here and further Appendix 2.

It would be theoretically possible that the original nom.sg. was a *dēvī*-ending in **-ī*, and that the expected outcome **sife*²⁴⁶ was ousted by a recreation *sibb* made from the oblique cases (Streitberg 1891:501f.). As such an explanation is both unnecessary and improbable when comparing with Gothic and ON, it has little to recommend it.

2.5.2 THE *ijō*-STEM

This class consists of words with an original long syllable, i.e. those that had a long syllable in PG. The paradigm is identical with the *jō*- and *ō*-stem. The nom.sg. *gierd* “twig” cannot continue a NWG **gazdiju*, as this would have given **gierdu*, see 2.5.1. There are additionally so many

²⁴⁴ Campbell 1959:§345, Brunner 1965:§146.

²⁴⁵ Cf. Campbell 1959:§353⁵ and Brunner 1965:§148.Anm.1.

²⁴⁶ This word would because of the OE transitions **tj* > *bb* and **-b̄* > /f/ ([v]) get an extreme difference between the nom.sg. **sife* and the oblique *sibbe*. Other words would have a smaller difference, e.g. **nyte* – *nytte* “use”, **hele* – *helle* “hell”.

examples of Sievers' law in OE that a NWG **gazdju* would be impossible. The form must either continue the same pre-form as we established for Gothic and ON, i.e. a *dēvī*-ending **-ī*,²⁴⁷ or a pre-OE analogical **-ju* with **-ju* from the *jō*-stem. The *jō*- and *ijō*-st. adjectives show that this latter possibility is very unlikely. The *ijō*-st. ends in *-u* (*wildu* “wild”, *grēnu* “green”), while the *jō*-st. ends in the geminated consonant (*nytt* “useful”, *ge-sibb* “related”). Unlike ON (see 2.4.2.5), the *ija*- and *ijō*-stem adjectives are retained as a class of its own, and the fact that the *ijō*-st. ending *-u* differs from both the *ō*- and *jō*-st. makes it improbable that it comes from anything else than **-iju*, while the *jō*-st. ending comes from **-ju*. Given the adjectival difference **-iju* <-> **-ju*, it would be peculiar if this difference was given up in the noun in favor of **-ju*, when the Sievers-variants elsewhere in OE are retained according to their origin.

Belonging to the *ijō*-st. is also the female name *Hild* as well as a greater number of second membered female names as *-hild*, *-flæd/-flēd*, (*Līc*-)*geard* (Boehler 1931:96f.) and (*Hildi*-)*līd* (op.cit. 143). Since all original *ō*-, *ijō*-, *ī*- and consonant stems decline as (*ij*)*ō*-stems when they are second members in names (Boehler 1931:247), the recognition of these *ijō*-stems is based on comparison with other Germanic languages. For an extensive listing of all the names in question, see Boehler 1931.

2.5.3 POLYSYLLABLES

In addition to the monosyllabic *jō*- and *ijō*-stems treated above, OE has a number of suffixes belonging to the (*i*)*jō*-class, and these form thus polysyllabic (*i*)*jō*-stems. These include the suffixes **-injō*- and **-isjō*-, which through their correspondence in other Germanic languages can be shown to be old (*i*)*jō*-stems.²⁴⁸

The *injō*-suffix is the infamous f. derivation suffix (so-called *Movierung*), and is accordingly used to derive a f. form from a m. base, cf. Gothic *Saur* “a Syrian” → *Saurini* “a female Syrian” and ON *áss* “a heathen god” → *ásynja* “a heathen goddess” (see Appendix 2). OE examples of the derivative use of the *injō*-suffix are *elfen* “nymph” *gyden* “goddess”, *men(n)en*, *scylcen*, *þēowen*, *þignen*, *wielen* “maid, servant” *wylfen* “she-wolf” and *wyrgen* “female beast”,²⁴⁹ and extended with the *ō*-suffix in *mynecenu* “nun” and with the *ōn*-suffix in *nefene* “niece”.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷ For the development PG **-ī* > OE *-∅*, see 2.2.1.

²⁴⁸ Cf. 2.11.1.1 and Krahe/Meid III:§112 for **-isjō*- and Appendix 2 for **-injō*-.

²⁴⁹ An apparent ghost-word is *fyxen* “vixen”. This word is noted among others by ASD:290 and Holthausen 1974:121. As can be read from ASD's references, however, the attestations are not OE, and the entry word is consequently deleted in the supplement p. 222. See further Onions 1966:984.

²⁵⁰ There is also a suffix *-en(n)* denoting verbal abstracts. These are original *ī*-stems, and have analogically joined the (*i*)*jō*-stem, probably because of the homonymous f. derivational *-en(n)*-suffix. Since the *jō*-declension of these abstracts is found only in OE, the gemination is probably analogical and not due to an original constellation **-nj*-. The gemination is also more frequently absent in these abstracts than in the *injō*-suffix, cf. Brunner 1965:§258.1 and Krahe/Meid III:117.

The suffix *-en(n)-* is sometimes written with a geminate, sometimes not. Over the course of time, geminated consonants in unaccented position were simplified in OE,²⁵¹ whereas the early use of a simple *-n* in final position could be a scribal tradition rather than a phonological simplification.²⁵²

Campbell 1959:§592.c notes that the words *gyden* and *menen* are not recorded with gemination in contrast to words as *þēowenn* and *-wyrgegn*. Since *gyden* and *menen* consist of two short syllables, it is tempting to see the effect of Dahl's law here, in which the Sievers-variant **ij* would follow two short syllables, see Appendix 2. If this **ij* followed the suffix element **-in-*, the **n* would not be geminated, since it would not be immediately followed by **j*. The variant *-en-* could thus be from **-inij-*.

There is, however, a great lack of attested forms of these derivatives with a short first syllable in OE. First, the nom.sg. forms reveal nothing, as these usually are written with a simple final consonant according to the rule above. The word *men(n)en* is rather complicated to use, since it is written both as *menen* as *mennen*, and it fluctuates between f. and n. declension. From the MCOE,²⁵³ there is one gen.pl. *menena*, whose gender one cannot see, and four gen.sg. *menenes*, all n. The more frequent form *menn-* has four forms in *mennene* vs. seven *mennen-*, whereas the seven n. forms all have *mennenes*. The word *gyden*, on the other hand, is clearer. It is attested 18 times with non-final *-n*, i.e. outside the nom.sg. of the *(i)jō*-st. or extended to the *(ij)ōn*-st. 17 of these have *gyden-*, whereas only one (*gydenne*) has a geminated *-nn-*.

Of the forms with a long first syllable, only *þēowen* and *þignen* have a decent number of attestations. *þēowen* is somewhat difficult to use as an example, since it is difficult to ascertain the length of the first syllable (cf. Campbell 1959:239²), much because the base word *þēo(w)* interchanges between *þēo-* and *þeo-* (cf. Campbell 1959:233).²⁵⁴ The forms with non-final *-n* have 12 attestations of geminated *-nn-*, 50 with *-n-*. *þignen*, being the derivative from *þegn*, has surely an original long first syllable, and the ratio of *nn:n* there is 14:33.

It is difficult to reach any conclusion when we have only two words with enough attestations and a certain origin to be used. The picture we get from these two words is nevertheless quite clear, with the ratio 1:17 vs. 14:33 for *nn:n* in *gyden* and *þignen* respectively. Before we attempt to reach any conclusion from these numbers, we should examine the corresponding frequencies in the *isjō*-suffix.

The *isjō*-suffix shows a variety of meanings, but preferentially nomina instrumenti.²⁵⁵ OE examples of this suffix are (from Campbell 1959:§592.d) *byres* “chisel”, *ciefes* “concubine”,

²⁵¹ Campbell 1959:§457, Brunner 1965:§231.4.

²⁵² Campbell 1959:§66. Differently Brunner 1965:§231.1.

²⁵³ The forms collected from the MCOE are all simplexes. In the lack of a *rückläufig* dictionary for OE, a collection of compound forms would be far from complete.

²⁵⁴ For the *i*-umlaut **þēowin-* > *þīowen-* > *þēowen-*, see Campbell 1959:§202. For the rare by-form *þīwen*, see Brunner 1965:§89.

²⁵⁵ Cf. Kluge 1926:45 and Krahe/Meid III:§112.

cnēores “race”, *forleges* “harlot”, *hægtes* “witch” and *ides* “woman”,²⁵⁶ and the *-s* is often geminated when not in final position as with *-n* above. The words *byres*, *ciefes* and *ides* have the suffix *-es* after a short syllable. *byres* is not attested outside the nom.sg. *ides*, on the other hand, has 46 attestations with non-final *-s*, and all 46 are written with a simple *-s*. *ides* is, however, not an original *(i)jō*-st., but either an *i*-st. or a consonant stem, as can be seen when comparing with OS dat.sg. *idīs*, nom.pl. *idisi* (Gallée 1993:220) and OHG dat.sg. *itīs*, nom.pl. *idisi* (AhG:§240.Anm.1).²⁵⁷ The grouping of *ides* among the *(i)jō*-st. by Campbell 1959:§592.d is due to the fact that the word ends in *-es*, whereas the actual declension has no specific *jō*-st. characteristics, and should be grouped among the *ō*-st. (as done by Brunner 1965:§254.2). The final word with a short first syllable, *ciefes*, is attested nine times with non-final *-s*, and eight of these have a simple *-s*. *ciefes* is surely an original *(i)jō*-st., as seen in OHG nom./acc.sg. and nom.pl. *kebesē*, with *-e* < **-iǎ* (see 2.2.1).²⁵⁸

Of the words with a long first syllable, *hægtes* and especially *cnēores* are amply attested. There are 11 attestations of *hægtes* with non-final *-s*, and they all have a geminated *-ss*. *cnēores* has two examples of simple medial *-s* against 200 odd attestations with *-ss*.²⁵⁹

Although one could desire more attestations for the *isjō*-suffix as well, the ratio 1:8 for *ciefes* and 11:0/c200:2 for *hægtes/cnēores* for the distribution *ss:s* seems together with 1:7 for *gyden* and 14:33 for *pignen* for the distribution *nn:n* to give a clear idea that the geminated consonant is original when following the constellation *- u*, but not when following *u u*, which, of course, is exactly what we would expect from Dahl’s law. This law predicts the Sievers-variant **-ij-* when following *u u*, after which we would not get consonant gemination, as this happens only when the consonant is immediately followed by **j* (see Appendix 2), hence **gudin-ij-ō-* > *gydene* and **kabis-ij-ō-* > *ciefese*. After *- u*, the Sievers-variant **j* would occur, with the consequent gemination of the preceding consonant, hence **peginn-j-ō-* > *pīnenne* and **hag(a)tis-j-ō-* > *hægtesse*.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ *lynes* “linchpin” is declined as an *a*-st., but is an original *(i)jō*-st. according to Campbell 1959:238, although it is an *a*-st. in OS as well (nom.pl. *lunisas/lunisos*), see Wadstein 1899:111 and G V:47. The OHG *lunis* is noted as m. by Starck/Wells 1990:389, but the twice recorded *lunis* does not reveal its gender. The lacking ending *-a* does not point to an *(ij)ō*-st., however. The last two attestations by Starck/Wells loc.cit. are obviously OS (G IV:245, G V:47). For the OE forms with *-s* (not *-es*), see Campbell 1959:§592.a and Krahe/Meid III:§112, and Campbell 1959:143² for *æx/æcus* “axe”.

²⁵⁷ Since also original *i*-stems occasionally appear with no ending in the dat.sg. (Holthausen 1921:§299, AhG:§218.Anm.2), the forms *idis/itīs* are not a sure proof of an original consonant stem (cf. Franck 1909:200, differently Eichner/Nedoma 2001:30ff.).

²⁵⁸ For the attestations, see Starck/Wells 1990:324.

²⁵⁹ According to Dahl 1938:153 (following Kluge and Thiele), *cnēores* is not an original *jō*-st., but an *i*-st. in **-runsiz*, and the geminated *-ss* is said to be analogical from the suffix *-niss/-ness*. This is difficult to evaluate, of course, since *cnēores* has no sure etymology, cf. Campbell 1959:§592.d and Holthausen 1974:262.

²⁶⁰ OE *hægtes*, OHG *hāzus/hāzis* is of unknown origin, see Pfeifer 1993:539 and Kluge 1995:373 for a discussion. The first element is probably **haga-*, so that the original WG formation was **hagatis-/hagatus-*. The connecting vowel

That Dahl's law applied to the suffix **-injō* was suggested by Dahl himself (1938:79), but he lists only one example *Birene-feld* vs. one counter-example, which is the *gydenne* mentioned above. He claims, however, that the original distribution of *-n-* after a short syllable and *-nn-* after a long had been analogically extended to the stems in **-ni-*, where he notes that “in e[arly] OE [there is] a tendency to use *-n-* after a short root-syllable, but *-nn-* after a long one in inflected forms”.

2.5.3.1 The nom.sg.

Since the *injō*-suffix shows ablaut that is easily deductible to the proterokinetic type, the suffix was originally a *dēvī*-suffix with a nom.sg. in **-inī* and an oblique suffix form **-unjō-*, see Appendix 2. Since OE continues the original *dēvī*-ending **-ī* in the nom.sg. of the monosyllabic stems, we could assume that they did so in the *injō*-suffix as well. This would regularly give NWG **gudini* > OE *gyden* with apocopation of the vowel after two short syllables, as in nom./acc.pl. *a-st.* *weorod* “troops” < **werodu* (see Appendix 2). After the constellation – ◡, however, as in **begnini*, we would expect the final vowel to be preserved, cf. nom./acc.pl. *a-st.* *hēafodu* “heads” < **haubudu*. One should point out that a nom.sg. in *-e* does occur, and this original ending could be the reason why the *injō*-st. quite often are declined as *(ij)ōn*-stems with oblique forms in *-an*, since *-e* would be the regular nom.sg. of the *(ij)ōn*-st. as well.²⁶¹ The most frequent nom.sg. ending *-ø* could be a simple analogy after other *(ij)ō*-stems, since they all regularly would have no ending (**sibbjū* > *sibb*, **gazdi* > *gierd*, **gudini* > *gyden*). The same explanation would apply to the *isjō*-suffix.

If the original nom.sg. in **-ī* had been replaced with **-(i)ju*, an original **begninju* would regularly give **pigninn* > *pignen*. After two short syllables, however, the regular ending would have been *-u*: *gydenu* < **gudiniju* as in nom./acc.pl. *ija-st.* *rīcu* < **rīkiju*. The ending *-u* occurs occasionally (Brunner 1965:§258.Anm.2), but this *-u* could also come from the *ō*-st., where this would be regular after a short syllable (and after – ◡), cf. e.g. the *ō*-st. *egenu* “chaff”. A nom.sg. ending *-u* seems to be lacking in the *isjō*-suffix other than in the Northumbrian *cnēoresu* noted by Brunner 1965:§258.Anm.6.

2.5.4 THE ADJECTIVE

As already mentioned in 2.5.2, the *ijō*-st. adjectives have a nom.sg. in *-u* (*wildu*), whereas the *jō*-st. have an endingless nom.sg. (*nytt*) and agree with the monosyllabic *ō*-st. (*blind*). As noted above, the *-u* can be regular from **-iju* only, and not from the *dēvī*-ending **-ī*. That this *-u* could have been analogically attached from the *ō*-st. with a short syllable (e.g. *hwatu* “active”) or one long + one short syllable (e.g. *hāl(i)gu* “holy”) seems unlikely given the fact that this *-u* is only very rarely

**-a-* is lost in OE (Campbell 1959:§341). Even if the first syllable *hægt-* is to be dissolved into two original short, it would have no bearing on the phonetics, as ◡◡ would be equivalent to – ◡, i.e. **hagatisjō-*. See further Appendix 2.

²⁶¹ If the nom.sg. in *-e* which led to the *(ij)ōn*-st. declension was leveled from the oblique cases in *-e*, one would perhaps expect other *ō*-stems to get an analogical nom.sg. in *-e* as well, which they to my knowledge do not.

analogically used in the monosyllabic *ō*-st. with a long syllable.²⁶² There would, of course, be no reason for an analogical ending *-u* being more prone to occur on the *ijō*-stems **clān*²⁶³ “clean” and **māer*²⁶⁴ “famous” than on the *ō*-stem *fæst*²⁶⁵ “firm”. The form in *-u* must therefore come from an original **-iju*. We have consequently a dichotomy between the *ijō*-st. adj. ending **-iju* and *ijō*-st. noun ending **-i*, a disagreement we did not have in Gothic, where they both ended in *-i*. A closer discussion of the PG origin will appear in 2.11.1.2.

2.6 Old High German

OHG does not differ between the stems with a short first syllable, the *jō*-st., and a long first syllable, the *ijō*-st., neither synchronically (as Gothic and ON) nor historically (as OE). There are two reasons why these stems are not distinguished in OHG. First, OHG shows the same outcome of PG **-CjV-* and **-CijV-*, that is OHG *-CiV-/-CeV-*, with later loss of the *<i/e>* (AhG:§118).²⁶⁶ When the following vowel was OHG *ǣ*, the sequence **-jǣ-* resulted in *-e*, see 2.2.1. This would give an interchange of forms with *-e* and *-eō-* in the OHG paradigm, see 2.2. Both the *jō*- and *ijō*-st.

²⁶² Brunner 1965:§295.Anm.1 notes only *þwēoru* “queer”. According to the MCOE, this form appears only in the translation of Latin *natio/generatio praua et peruersa*, which is translated with *cneoris ðweoru & forcerredu x 2, cneorys þruru þwuru & forterrydu* [sic] and *cneoriss þwuru & forcyrryd*. Since the attested form is used in this expression only, it may have been influenced by the following *for-cierredu*, where the *-u* is regularly preserved after *~u*. More importantly, however, it is highly questionable if the first syllable in *þweor-* is long. The length has supposedly developed by compensatory lengthening upon the loss of *-h-*, i.e. **þweorhV- > þwēorV-*. This lengthening is seen only in the OE meter, since place names always reveal an original short vowel (Campbell 1959:104¹, Brunner 1965:§218. Dietz 1970, on the other hand, claims to see the effect of lengthening in some proper names). In the meter, however, both forms with and without such lengthenings occur (Sievers 1893:§77a, Campbell 1959:§240). Amos 1980:37ff. counts 35 instances with lengthening vs. 34 without. It should in this aspect be stressed that “a word with compensatory lengthening after loss of *h* cannot be metrically distinguished from its predecessor with *h*” (Amos 1980:31), which means that the poem, the line or the phrase may have been formed when the *-h-* was still there. The fact that some poems have both the lengthening and the “non-lengthening” may have a number of alternative explanations other than an analogical spread of the short diphthong from the forms with final *-h*, e.g. copy errors (i.e. the *Vorlage* had *-h-*), metrical tradition vs. synchrony (i.e. words with original *-h-* could by tradition form a long position in the meter). The first syllable in *þweoru* may have been short, and may have its *-u* not by regular preservation after a short syllable, as Brunner 1965:§218.Anm.1 thinks, since the loss of *-h-* in this position postdates the *u*-syncopation (see Amos 1980:20, 31, 33), but by analogy along the pattern f.acc.sg. *tile* : f.nom.pl. *tila* : f.nom.sg. weak *tile* : f.nom.sg. *tilu* = *þweore* : *þweora* : *þweore* : *x*, *x* = *þweoru*, an analogy that was made possible because both *til-* and *þweor-* were short syllables. Similarly for the n.nom.pl. *þweoru* in *þweoru bēop on gerihte*, translating Latin *erunt prava in directa* (ASD:1083). The true phonetic nature of the vowel before velar+*h* in OE is in any case a much disputed matter, see Hogg 1992:173 with references.

²⁶³ ASD:380 *ge-clāno heart[an?]*, translating Latin *pura cordis*.

²⁶⁴ Beowulf 2016 *māeru cwēn* (Grein 1974:446).

²⁶⁵ ASD:267 *sēo burh wæs fæst*.

²⁶⁶ OHG (especially Upper German) is further the only language that shows consonant gemination after a long syllable, a position where we in PG would have **-ij-*. For a purely analogical explanation of the OHG gemination after a long syllable, see van Helten 1896:438. See further literature and discussion in AhG:§96.

would then have sg. oblique and pl. cases in *-e*, *-eǫ*, e.g. *jō*-st. acc.sg. *nuzze* “use” and *ijō*-st. acc.sg. *sunte* “sin”.

The other reason is that the nom.sg., the case where these stems are clearly distinguished in other Germanic languages such as Gothic and ON, is analogically replaced by the acc.sg., which, as we just saw, is identical in both stems.

This is the overall picture in OHG, but there are some forms that do not exhibit a nom.sg. in *-e* or (younger) *-ea/-ia*. Before we commence this discussion, we should look closer into the OHG phonetics to see what the expected outcome of an ending **-i* or **(i)ju* would be.

2.6.1 NWG **-i*, **-ju* AND **-iju* IN OHG

AhG:§209.Anm.2 claims that “Dem N.Sg. [der (i)jō-Stämme] kommt lautgesetzlich keine Endung zu, da die jō-Stämme durch die westgerm. Konsonantendopplung [...] langsilbig geworden waren [...]” We will consequently investigate if **-i*, **-ju* or **-iju* could give an endingless form in OHG.

2.6.1.1 NWG **-i*

The PG *dēvī*-ending **-ī* would be shortened to **-i* in NWG along the same lines as PG **-ō* becomes NWG **-u*, cf. Hollifield 1980:169. This **-i* would be preserved after a short syllable, as seen in e.g. 3.sg.pres.ind. *wili* “will” < NWG **wili* < PG **welīD*, n.nom./acc.sg. *i*-st. *meri* “sea” < PG **mari* (Darms 1978:159), but lost after a long syllable, even when originally followed by a NWG **-z* or PG **-n*, e.g. m.nom.sg. *i*-st. *gast* < **gastiz*, acc.sg. *gast* < NWG **gasti* < PG **gastīⁿ*. The preserved final *-i* after a long syllable in the 3.sg.pret.opt. *wāri* “would be” and in the 2.sg.imp. *suohi* “seek!” is analogical after the regularly kept *-i* after a short syllable, e.g. *zugi* “would pull” < PG **tugiD* and *neri* “save!” < PG **nazi* < **nazije*.²⁶⁷

A *dēvī*-ending **-ī* would then, if regularly developed, give OHG *-i* after a short syllable, and *-∅* after a long.

2.6.1.2 NWG **-ju*

The NWG ending **-ju* would be the regular form following a short syllable, and it would be rather frequent in e.g. the n.nom./acc.pl. *ja*-st. and 1.sg.pres.ind. of the *ja*-verbs. The OHG n.nom./acc.pl. *ja*-st. is generally *-i* (*kunni* “families, races”), but an ending *-iu* appears sporadically in Alemannic sources (AhG:§198.Anm.5), whereas *-iu* (> *-u*)²⁶⁸ is the general ending in East Franconian.²⁶⁹

Both these endings are in contrast to what we saw in OE (see 2.5.1). where **-ju* > *-∅*. One of the possible ways in which **-ju* could become *-∅* there was a loss of **j* in the constellation

²⁶⁷ Cf. the situation in OE in 2.2.1, where the 3.sg.pret.opt. in *-e* was generalized from the roots with a short syllable, whereas the distinction is kept in the 2.sg.imp. *sēc* “seek!” vs. *nerē* “save!”.

²⁶⁸ For *-iu* > *-u*, see AhG:§118.Anm.1 and §305.Anm.2.

²⁶⁹ In Tatian (9th century, AhG:§6a.Anm.4), the ending *-iu/-u* is used 32 times vs. 7 in *-i*, when the *ja*- and *ija*-stems are counted together. For the stems with a short syllable, there are 8 with *-iu/-u* vs. 3 with *-i* (Sievers 1960:§7b). In the East Franconian Würzburg glosses, only *-iu/-u* is attested (see Franck 1909:177). Other Franconian sources have *-i*, e.g. in Isidor.

*-CjV- before the syncopation of *u. In OHG, however, the *j is retained in this position when the following vowel is retained as well, cf. OHG n.dat.sg. *kunnie* vs. OE *cynne* < NWG **kunjai* (AhG:§198.Anm.3). The other possibility in OE was that the syncopation of *u preceded that of *i. In order for the -i to be preserved in OHG, however, the relative chronology could have been reversed, giving 1. **kunju* 2. **kunju* 3. *i*-syncope 4. *u*-syncope *kunni*.

One other instance of NWG *-ju which ends up as OHG -i is the so-called uninflected f.nom.sg. of the jō-adj., e.g. G IV:81 *nūlente ... niui* “nouales” and G I:188 *mitti naht* “media nox”.²⁷⁰ The other instances of NWG *-ju have yielded OHG -iu (> -u). These include the dat.sg. of the jō-st., e.g. *helliu* “hell” (see 2.2.5), and the 1.pres.ind. of the ja-verbs, e.g. *hukkiu* “I think” and *pittiu* “I bid”.

There are no cases in which the NWG *-ju has been completely lost, and it would be methodologically unsound to assume that a non-existing ending *-∅ is the regular outcome, whereas both -iu and -i are analogical. Which one of the latter that is the regular will be discussed in the following chapter.

2.6.1.3 NWG *-iju

The ending *-iju would be the original Sievers-variant following a long syllable, and would be present in the same categories as *-ju above when following one long syllable or two short (see Appendix 2). There are no differences when it comes to the distribution of the forms in OHG from NWG *-ju and *-iju. We consequently have -i as the ending in the n.nom./acc.pl. *ija*-st. except for East Franconian and a handful of attestations in Alemannic where the ending is -iu (> -u). The “uninflected” nom.sg. of the adjectival jō-stem ends in -i, e.g. *vesti* “solid” (AW III:765), whereas the remaining forms end in -iu, i.e. dat.sg. *ijō*-st. *diubiu* “theft” and 1.pres.ind. *ija*-verb *wāniū* “I hope”.

The question remains how NWG *-ju/*-iju > OHG -i/-iu is to be interpreted. As we saw above in 2.6.1.2, the ending -i could be explained as regular. The ending -iu must consequently be analogical. For the categories where only the variant -iu appears, such an explanation lies at hand. The -u could simply have been attached from the ō-stems and the a-verbs, where the -u would regularly be kept after a short syllable, e.g. ō-st. *gebu* “gift” and a-verb *gibu* “I give”. This -u has been generalized in both the ō-st. and the a-verbs so that it would appear after a long syllable as well, and the ending -u would be such a strong marker for these functions that it easily could be leveled to the closely related jō-st. and ja-verbs.

An analogical explanation for the n.nom./acc.pl. *(i)ja*-st. in -iu seems less clear. What has been the standard explanation in AhG is that the -iu comes from the pronominal adj. ending -iu (AhG:§198.Anm.5). The pattern for this analogy can only be the *(i)ja*-stem adj., where the “uninflected” nom./acc.sg. ends in -i, and the “inflected” nom./acc.pl. in -iu. In other words nom./acc.sg. *festi*: nom./acc.pl. *festiu* = *kunni*: X, X = *kunniū*. The exact same pattern exists in

²⁷⁰ These were the only attestations I could find that at least seemed *fairly* certain.

the *a*-stem, with nom./acc.sg. *blint*, nom./acc.pl. *blintiu* vs. nom./acc.sg. *wort*. The nom./acc.pl. of the n. *a*-stem is invariably without ending, however, *wort*, even though the need to differentiate the pl. from the sg. would be just as pressing as for the *(i)ja*-st.²⁷¹

Walde 1900:76¹ and Franck 1909:177 believe on the other hand that the ending *-iu* is the original. Walde equals this to the OE rules of syncope, according to which the final **-u* would be preserved in the nom./acc.pl. *ija*-st., since the **-u* would follow the sequence $- \upsilon$ (see 2.5.1). This means that OHG *-iu* would be original in the *ija*-st. only, and then generalized to the *ja*-st. (see the frequency in footnote 269) in the same way as the regular ending $-\emptyset$ in the n. *a*-st. following a long syllable was generalized at the expense of **-u* that would follow a short syllable. The reason why the ending that would follow a long syllable was generalized instead of the ending *-u* vs. $-\emptyset$ could be due to frequency, since long root syllables were more frequent than short root syllables (cf. footnote 579). The usual ending *-i* in the other dialects would then be analogical from the nom./acc.sg., since the sg. and pl. cases regularly were identical in the *a*-stems.

The instances of a uniform *-iu* in the *(i)jō*-st. and *(i)ja*-verbs would then be even less in need of an explanation, since *-iu* would be regular when following a long syllable. The *-i* in the “uninflected” nom.sg. of the *ijō*-st. adj. would be an easy understandable analogy, since the corresponding “uninflected” forms in both the m. and the n. end in *-i*. The similarity between all three genders would get its pattern from the more frequent *a/ō*-st. adj., where they all end in $-\emptyset$. It should further be pointed out that the expected ending according to Walde’s theory would be *-iu*, which would coincide with the “inflected” f.nom.sg. Since the “uninflected” and “inflected” sg. forms are used in the same syntactic environments (AhG:§247), it would be impossible to ascertain that the “uninflected” form in *-iu* has been obliterated by the analogical form in *-i*, since we cannot determine whether an attestation in *-iu* is the “uninflected” or the “inflected” form.

We have consequently two theories on the outcome of NWG **-iju* in OHG. One says that it would give *-i* just as NWG **-ju*, the other that **-iju* would give *-iu* similarly to OE. The first theory cannot be said to have any definite perks to it, whereas the main argument against it would be that the analogical origin of the *-iu* in the *(i)ja*-st. is not very persuasive, since we really would expect the same analogy to appear in the *a*-stem. The theory that NWG **-iju* gave *-iu* has its perks in that the phonological development is irreproachable and that it would account for more cases than the first theory could. The analogical *-i* has further better explanations than the *-iu* according to the

²⁷¹ A possibly stronger connection between the adjectival and the substantival *(i)ja*-declension than between the *a*-declensions could be due to the fact that also the m.nom.pl. would be identical in both categories in the *ija*-stems, where they would end in *-e* (< **-ai* and **-ia*). The *-e* is, however, only very rarely present in the East Franconian sources in the noun; Franck 1909:177 lists one case from the Würzburg glosses and three from the scribe γ in Tatian (Sievers 1960:§103d), and they are all from the suffix *-āri* (Trier 1464 has also two attestations of a nom.pl. in *-are*, but this manuscript has traditionally not been classified as East Franconian, see Bergmann 1973:104). In the adj., the normal ending in the Würzburg glosses is *-a*, not *-e* (Franck 1909:209), and *-a* is also frequent in Tatian, especially by scribe γ (Sievers 1960:§107). That the connection between the n. *(i)ja*-st. adj. and noun was aided by the m. stem seems therefore rather dubious for East Franconian.

first theory would have. The biggest drawback is the dialectal distribution of this supposedly regular *-iu*. East Franconian and Alemannic do not share any other isoglosses as far as I know. This would, however, in any case be expected, since East Franconian and Alemannic were geographically separated by Rheinfrancoan. A shared feature between East Franconian and Alemannic could then be an archaism, whereas the ending *-i* in Isidor (Rheinfrancoan) and Bavarian could be a newer analogy. As noted above, it is easier to explain an analogical *-i* than an analogical *-iu*, and it becomes even more difficult to claim that *-iu* is analogical when this explanation must be used independently for both East Franconian and Alemannic.²⁷²

2.6.1.4 Conclusion

From the examinations above it should be clear that only a *dēvī*-ending NWG **-i* following a long syllable would regularly yield a nom.sg. without ending in OHG. NWG **-ju* would most probably give *-i*, whereas it is more uncertain whether NWG **-iju* gave *-i* or *-iu*. The notion in AhG:§209.Anm.2 that “Dem N.Sg. [der (*i*)*jō*-Stämme] kommt lautgesetzlich keine Endung zu, da die *jō*-Stämme durch die westgerm. Konsonantendopplung [...] langsilbig geworden waren [...]” is consequently wrong, since it presupposes that the final stem consonant was geminated before **(i)ju* followed by the complete loss of **(i)ju*. The OHG forms with a nom.sg. in *-∅* must therefore either be reformations of an original **(i)ju* or a direct continuation of **-i*.

2.6.2 DERIVATIONS IN *-injō*-/*-unjō*-

The most notorious OHG (*i*)*jō*-stem without an ending in the nom.sg. is the derived f. with the *injō*-suffix (see 2.5.3), and this is the one usually quoted in the handbooks as the continuant of the *dēvī*-ending PG **-ī* (e.g. Krahe/Meid II:25).²⁷³ The declension bears close resemblance to OE.

²⁷² That the sporadic Alemannic *-iu* is not due to East Franconian influence is made likely by the fact that the n. diminutives in *-in* have a nom./acc.pl. in *-iu* in Alemannic, but not in East Franconian. This Alemannic *-iu* is probably an analogical creation based on the nom./acc.sg. in *-ī*, an ending which in East Franconian is *-in*. The pattern for the analogy would be from the (*i*)*ja*-st.: nom./acc.sg. *rīhi* : nom./acc.pl. *rīhiu* = *kussī* : X, X = *kussiu*. This pattern would only be present if the ending *-iu* in the n.nom./acc.pl. (*i*)*ja*-st. actually was a part of the Alemannic language. For the forms in question, see AhG:§196.Anm.3 with literature.

²⁷³ Words with this *injō*-suffix are *lupin* “whore”, *(-)grāfin* “countess”, *affin* “(she-)monkey”, *māgin* “female relative”, *forasagin* “prophetess”, *kuningin* “queen”, *wuogin* “wine-vessel” (nom.pl. <uoginne>, 8th century), *herizogin*, *-zohin* “duchess”, *elhin* “cow moose”, *huormachin* “female pander”, *trachin* “female dragon”, *brekkin* “bitch”, *bāgalin* “fighting woman”, *friudilin* “concubine”, *esilin* “she-donkey”, *mūlin* “she-mule”, *dāmin* “doe”, *mānin* “moon” (feminized after Latin *luna*?), *(gom)mannin* “woman”, *swanin* “she-swan”, *henin* “hen” (see Darms 1978:123ff.), *lioīn/lewin* “lioness”, *wulpin* “she-wolf”, *arin* “she-eagle”, *birin* “she-bear”, *spizzerin/muzerin* “shrewmouse”, *fuhsin* “vixen”, *fiantin* “female enemy”, *friuntin* “girlfriend”, *wisuntin* “cow buffalo”, *ēwartin* “priestess”, *festin* “fortification”, *gestin* “female guest”, *wuostin* “desert”, *(-)gutin* “goddess”, *trūtin* “female friend”, *pfāwin* “peahen”, *genōzin* “female comrade”, *skelkin* “maid” and finally *-ārin*/*-erin* denoting a female nomen agentis (m. *-āri*). With the *unjō*-suffix *wirtun* “housewife”, *mistun* “dung-hill”, *birtun* “pious present” and *lungun* “lung”. Some of these formations (such as *fuhsin* and *skelkin*) seem to be MHG, however, although usually listed in OHG grammars and dictionaries. For the proper names in *-in* and *-un*, see AhG:§211. Some of the formations listed as *injō*-st. by Schatz

The nom.sg. ends in *-in*, whereas all the other cases have a double medial *-nn-*, i.e. nom.sg. *gutin* “goddess”, acc.pl. *gutinna* (Graff IV:153f.).²⁷⁴

The cases outside the nom.sg. show quite consistently a double *-nn-*, which has originated through the WG consonant gemination before **j*. The most probable conclusion we can draw from that is that either was the variant following the constellation – ◡ generalized at some stage prior to OHG or Dahl’s law was nullified early enough to give **j* in all instances in pre-OHG and cause gemination in all the formations with the *injō*-suffix. For the suffix variant **-unjō-*, see Appendix 2.

2.6.2.1 The nom.sg.

Since we saw above that a NWG **(i)ju* never gives an endingless form, we can easily dismiss Prokosch’ idea (1939:245) that a nom.sg. **-injō* regularly gave *-in*. The more common idea is that OHG *-in* continues a PG **-inī* > NWG **-ini*, e.g. Krahe/Meid II:25. According to the communis opinio, however, a short **i* following a short syllable is retained in OHG,²⁷⁵ by which rule we would expect OHG **-ini*. In OE, the final **-i* would regularly be lost when following two short syllables (2.5.3.1), but this rule of apocoptation is not known in OHG, or has at least left no sure vestiges. If we want to maintain the view that OHG *-in* continues the *dēvī*-ending PG **-inī*, then a special condition must be resorted to in order to explain the total loss of the final vowel.

Hollifield 1980:171 has a rule for WG (i.e. not NWG) stipulating “syncope of short vowels following an unaccented syllable where not prevented by analogy”. His examples are the loss of **i* and **u* in the third syllable of the *n*-stems (1980:167). These vowels were short already in PG, however, and were probably lost already then, at least the **i* in final position (the dat.sg.) and before **-z* (the gen.sg./nom.pl.).²⁷⁶ He gives no examples of an analogically kept WG short vowel, but considering that OE preserves a final NWG **-u* when following – ◡ (see Appendix 2), this *-u* must be analogical according to his rule. There are, however, no cogent reasons to stipulate this WG rule. There is a parallel to the loss of a final vowel in the third syllable in OHG itself, that is in the m.acc.sg. of the adj., ending invariably in *-an* (AhG:§248.Anm.2). This ending can on

1927:§337 seem to be *ōn*-st.; *lang(w)inna* “porch; gutter” (cf. Starck/Wells 1990:360) and *louginna/louguna* “gudgeon” (G II:367,14,15), whereas *skugin(n)a* “hut” is an *ōn*-st. except for St. Gallen 184 <scugin> (G III:628,10), possibly an analogy after the *injō*-stems.

²⁷⁴ There are also cases where the nom.sg. ends in a double *-nn-*, and instances where the other cases have a simple medial *-n-* (cf. e.g. the attestations of *affin* “(she-)monkey” in AW I:34), but these formations are generally younger and are due to generalization of the double *-nn-* and merger with the *injō*-stems (AhG:§211).

²⁷⁵ See e.g. AhG:§217 and Krahe/Meid I:§121.

²⁷⁶ The PG loss of **i* in this position is seen by the Gothic dat.pl. cons-st. in *-um* (< **-miz* < **-miz*) and the transition of Nordic *n*-stems to *nu*-stems (dat.pl. *-num* < **-numz* < **-nmiz* < **-miz*), see Johnsen (forthcoming a). Hollifield cannot agree to a loss of **i* already in PG, since the resulting **-anz* (m.gen.sg./nom.pl. *n*-st.) in his view would lose its nasal in all the WG languages. For this view, see footnote 154.

comparative grounds be established as PG **-anōⁿ*,²⁷⁷ and since the final vowel in OE *-ne* < *-næ* is never lost (and with syncopation of the **a* in **-anōⁿ*), it seems rather certain that the final vowel was long also in WG, probably an **-ā*. The loss of this vowel is consequently an internal OHG affair. Although the exact development cannot be established, it is at least probable that the final vowel suffered early shortening before it fell. We have thus a certain case of **ǫ.x.V* > **ǫ.x.∅* in OHG, and there is no fundamental reason why this could not have been the case in the nom.sg. of the *injō-/unjō*-stems as well. What is particularly interesting in that aspect is that both the nom.sg. of these stems and the m.acc.sg. of the adj. could have lost the final vowel after an unaccented syllable which in both cases is *-Ǫn*.²⁷⁸ Whether this is due to coincidence or some kind of phonetic “rule” will be left open.²⁷⁹

There might be another and maybe simpler solution to the endless nom.sg. of these stems. Although it is an issue whether the WG consonant gemination is older than the syncopation of **a* (see Grønvik 1998:99ff. with literature), it is certainly older than the syncopation of **i* and **u*. With an original *dēvī*-ending NWG **i* in the nom.sg., the pre-OHG paradigm of the OHG

²⁷⁷ Cf. OR *-ō*, Gothic *-a* and OE *-e*, all the regular continuations of PG **-ōⁿ*. The OR form appears in *mīninō* “mine” (Kjølevik stone). The expected form would be **mīnanō* as in Gothic *meinana*. The ending *-inō* is explained by Antonsen 1975:50 to come from the pronoun *hinō* (attested on the Strøm whetstone). Krause 1971:108 resorts to an “ungewöhnliche Schwächung”.

²⁷⁸ The final vowel has also been lost in the pronominal m.acc.sg. *then* etc. This could either be from direct influence from the adj. ending, or, as seems more likely, it was lost in the same condition as the adj. ending, i.e. after an unaccented vowel. For the unstressed use of the pronouns, see e.g. AhG:§287.Anm.2. The possibility that OHG continues another form than the other Germanic languages (see EWA II:594), i.e. an IE **tom*, is utterly small not only because of the unlikelihood and unnecessary of having several PG forms but also for the fact that **tom* would lose its final nasal. The OHG preposition *in* would be no counter-evidence of that (differently EWA II:594), since this probably continues a PIE **eni* (just as in Celtic, see Thurneysen 1946:521 and Lühr 2000a:51) with the loss of **-i* after an unstressed syllable.

²⁷⁹ Another instance where the final vowel seemed to have dropped independently in OHG is in the abl. (and occasionally loc.) functioning adverbs in *-an*, e.g. *aftan* “from behind”, *hīnan* “from (t)here”, *sundan* “from the south” and *untan* “fas (Lat.)”. In OS, these adverbs end in both *-an* and *-ana*, which obviously is due to the same rule that applies to the m.acc.sg. of the adj., where *-an* follows a long syllable, and *-ana* a short (Gallée 1993:§344.Anm.4). We would consequently get OS *hinana* “from here”, *nīthana* “from below”, *obana* “from above” and *innan* “inside”, *ōstan* “from the east”, *sūthan* “from the south”. The variants *-an* and *-ana* interchange somewhat, however, just as in the adj. ending. The traditional derivation of this vocalic ending is from an instr. in **-ē*, see EWA II:523f. The OHG ending has quite frequently the final vowel present, e.g. *obana*, *nīdana* “below” and *sundana*. This could, however, be analogical from *danana* “from there”, which exists alongside *danan* “id.” and has its final *-a* from the synonym *dana*, where the final vowel is regularly kept since it follows a stressed syllable. What complicates the picture is the OE state of affairs, where these adverbs have both *-an* and *-ane* (Brunner 1965:§321,Anm.1). There are no sure vestiges of the OS rule mentioned above in OE, so it would be *ad hoc* to apply it just to explain these adverbs. The fact that Northumbrian drops the final *-n* in these adverbs shows at least that the variant without the final vowel could be relatively old in OE. What makes a discussion about the regular outcome of these adverbs in the Germanic languages difficult is that there is no firm consensus on the PG forms that allegedly had a final **-ē*, i.e. these adverbs and the 3.sg. weak pret.ind. (see e.g. Syrett 1994:246ff.).

kuningin “queen” would be as follows after the consonant gemination, but before the syncope of **i* and **u*:

| | Sg. | Pl. |
|--------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Nom. | <i>*kuning-ini</i> | <i>*kuning-innjō</i> |
| Acc. | <i>*kuning-innjā</i> | <i>*kuning-innjā</i> |
| Instr. | <i>*kuning-innju</i> | <i>*kuning-innjōm</i> |
| Gen. | <i>*kuning-innjā</i> | <i>*kuning-innjō</i> |

At this stage, it would be a highly understandable analogy to introduce the gemination **-nn-* also to the nom.sg., so that we would get a new nom.sg. **kuninginni*. Since this would occur before the syncope of **i*, the form would initially suffer a regular syncope of this vowel after a long syllable, and then the gemination **-nn* would be simplified in final position (AhG:§93) to give the attested *kuningin*.

Although this latter explanation is easier than the first, it should be pointed out that the striking parallel with the apocopyation of the final vowel in the adjectival m.acc.sg. might speak in favor of the first explanation. Although one cannot exclude the possibility that the final vowel was dropped already in WG according to Hollifield’s rule, there are at least two well-founded alternative explanations which would apply to (pre-)OHG alone.

2.6.3 FEMALE NAMES

There is a great number of female names in OHG without any ending in the nom.sg. These names are composite names where the latter part of the name adheres to the *(i)jō*-declension. An extensive list of these name elements is given in AhG:§210.Anm.5. These names are not often attested outside the nom.sg., since they usually appear in name listings in a non-syntactical environment.²⁸⁰ When an oblique case is attested, it is usually the gen.sg., used to further specify the identity of another person (e.g. son/daughter of ... , from the house of ...). The gen.sg. of the name element *-birg*, for instance, appears as *-birga*, which sufficiently shows the *(ij)ō*-declension.²⁸¹ Their adherence to the *(i)jō*-st. can be established from historical and comparative methods.

First, the *i*-umlaut in the element *-birg* shows that there must have been an umlauting factor that could distinguish it from the female name element *-berga* *ō*-st., something which hardly could point anywhere else than to an *ijō*-st. Secondly, many of these name elements in OHG correspond to name elements in other Germanic languages, where they are declined as *ijō*-stems, e.g. OHG *-hilt* = OE *-hild*, ON *-hildir*, OHG *-frīt* = ON/OD *-fríðr*.²⁸²

²⁸⁰ For an illustrative example, see the facsimile in Sonderegger 2003:76.

²⁸¹ I have not been able to retrieve any oblique cases which unambiguously show the *(i)jō*-declension as opposed to the *ō*-declension.

²⁸² Noreen 1970:§384, GdG III:§452.a.

One important remnant of the original nom.sg. in **-i* could be seen in the oldest Latin renderings of West Franconian names. Here, the final member of the *ijō*-st. names is rendered with a Latin *-is*, whereas the *ō*-st. names have a nom.sg. in *-a*, as in *Rothildis* (= OHG *Hruodhilt*), *Adalgardis* (= OHG *Adalgeri*) as opposed to *Ainberga*, *Adalsada* (Jud apud Schramm 1957:123).

Since virtually all the female names with an endingless nom.sg. have a final member consisting of a long syllable, the development NWG **-i* > *-∅* would be both phonologically regular and morphologically expected, since we have seen in the other Germanic languages that the *dēvī*-ending PG **-ī* usually follows a long syllable. There are three name elements that do not consist of one long syllable. One is *-birin*, which is the same as the simplex *birin* “she-bear” mentioned in 2.6.2.1.²⁸³ The two others are *-niu* and *-thiu*, which both will be treated in the following.

2.6.3.1 Female names in *-i*

AhG:§211.Anm.3a draws the attention to some Upper German female names in *-ni*, originating in “eine nicht gesicherte Suffixform *-njō-*”, e.g. *Hrōdni* and *Adalni*. AhG refers only to Schatz 1899 and 1935, where this explanation comes from. Walde (apud Schatz 1899:44) claims that the original nom.sg. **Hrōpnī* changed to **Hrōpnjō* after the acc.sg. **Hrōpnjōn*, and that **Hrōpnjō* “regelmäßig zu **Hrōpni* führen musste”. As discussed above in 2.6.1.3, however, it is highly possible that the regular outcome of pre-OHG **-iju* (which should be the phonetic realization after a long syllable as **Hrōpn-*) would be **-iu*, not **-i*.

That aside, I find it methodologically untenable to create an entire new suffix **-njō-* solely in order to explain these names, and to separate them from the practically identical names *Ruotniu* and *Adalniu* (Förstemann 1900:176, 912). It would be tempting to see the regular outcome of **-iju* in these forms (> *-iu*), but it is sounder to compare them further with names such as *Hruadniwi* (Förstemann 1900:912). That *-ni* and *-niu* originate in *-niwi* was explained already by Grimm 1852:431f.,²⁸⁴ an explanation that was rejected by Schatz 1899:43 on the basis that the form *Adalniu* appears in the same manuscript as *Adalni*, and that the form *Adalniu* “zeigt, dass *niu* als zweites glied ganz so entwickelt ist wie *-diu*”. It is not entirely clear to me what he implies by this, but in any case, that two different forms of a name appear in one and the same manuscript could have a number of reasons, and there are certain examples where this is the case,²⁸⁵ so that the possibility of this happening needs not be questioned. By the reference to *-diu* (*-thiu*) is probably meant the fact that *-thiu* does not appear to have been reduced to **-thi*.²⁸⁶ In contrast

²⁸³ Cf. the m. counter-part *bero*, which is also used as the second part in personal names.

²⁸⁴ Followed by Förstemann 1900:1160 and Kaufmann 1968:267f., who further believed that <ni> denoted *-nī* from contraction following the loss of intervocalic *-w-*. Grimm 1852:431 interprets <ni> as *-nī* due to a development *-iu* > *-ī*.

²⁸⁵ There are e.g. numerous examples of this from the Old and Middle Norwegian diplomas. Only a few illustrative examples will be given here: DN I,1057 <Biern>, <Bion>, DN II,282 <Asskil>, <Asskiæl>, DN III,996 <Tostein>, <Torstein>, DN IX,307 <Torgius>, <Torgiuls>, DN XI,260 <Asmundh Arneson>, <Asmondh Onneson>.

²⁸⁶ Förstemann 1900:690 has one example of <Godesti> for *Gotesdiu*.

to *-ni(wi)*, however, *thiu* is also an appellative simplex denoting a female person (“maid”), and this simplex could easily have prevented a further weakening to **-thi*. The names in *-thiu* usually have a m. counterpart in *-theo/-thio*.²⁸⁷ If this last element should be weakened to **-thi*, the gender differentiation would either disappear or become blurry, which in itself could prevent the fuller forms in *-thiu/-theo* to be weakened. Finally, it seems as if the element *-diu* in these names was very transparent, since it has been used to form a new name such as *Gotesdiu* “God’s handmaid”, where the declined form of the first element *gotes* (gen.sg.) suggests a young age.

In 1935, Schatz’ argument against Grimm is that the *-w-* of *-niwi* does not appear in the conjugated forms of the names in *-i*, e.g. *Adalnia* (1935:§38). As Kaufmann 1968:268 cunningly points out, Schatz has himself shown that the medial *-i-* in these names was kept long after the original *-i- < *(i)j-* was lost, and that the *-i-* in these names consequently had a syllabic pronunciation.²⁸⁸ The best way to account for this syllabic pronunciation would of course be that it is the remaining *-ni-* from **-niw-*.

The original element *-niwi* needs nevertheless to be further clarified. Latin renderings of the names with this element show an ending *-a*, *Marconivia*, *Theodonivia* etc.²⁸⁹ It would probably be erroneous to read an old Germanic ending **-niwju* here, as the *-a* probably is a Latin addition to the original element *-niwi*, as also Grimm 1852:430 preferred to take it. An original ending **-niwju* would further require the WG consonant gemination to **-niwwju*,²⁹⁰ which should develop into OHG *-niuwī*, cf. the adj. *niuwī* “new” < NWG **niwja-/*niwju*. There are many attestations with a graphic <uu> in these names: <Otniuui>, <Fridiniuui>, <Gerniuui>, <Hildiniuui> and many others, but I could not locate a single one with a triple <uuu>, which after all is the most frequent representation of an OHG *-uw-* (AhG:§111). Although there is some inconsistency in the OHG manuscripts on how to render /u/, /w/ and /uw/ (cf. Simmler 1974:105ff.), the complete absence of writings in <uuu> among these names does suggest that the form of the last member is *-niwi*, and not **-niuwī*.²⁹¹ Grimm 1852:431 says that “niuwī ist selten”, but he does not give any examples of names with this form.

²⁸⁷ The m. **theo/thio* is not attested as a substantive simplex in OHG, only as the second member of names (as above) and as the first member of compounds: *theoheit*, *theomuotī* “humbleness”. In Notker, however, there is an adj. simplex *deo** “unfree” (m.nom.pl. *tewe*). It would be fair to ascertain that its use in these circumstances makes it probable that **theo* is either not attested by chance, or that it relatively late was ousted by words as *ambaht*, *thegan*, *theonōstman*, *kneht*, *lid* and *skalk*. According to EWA II:674, the first element in *theomuotī* is the adj. *theo**, not the noun. For the other view, see the literature there.

²⁸⁸ Cf. Schatz 1907:§111d: “Es ist auch möglich, daß Formen wie *Adalnia* zu *Adalni* mit silbischem *i* gesprochen wurden; denn sie kommen auch im 10. Jahrh. vor, also zu einer Zeit, in der *jschon* längst geschwunden war”.

²⁸⁹ Grimm 1852:429, Schramm 1957:165.

²⁹⁰ That the WG consonant gemination also occurred after **w* is seen most clearly in the original sequence **-awj-*, where the gemination of the **w* to **-awwj-* led to a diphthongation of **-aw-* to OHG *-au-/ou-*, e.g. *frouwen* “rejoice” > MHG *vrouwen* (see the attestations in MW III:415f.). For the by-forms OHG *frewen*, MHG *vrōuwen*, see AhG:§114, MhG:§41.Anm.7.

²⁹¹ Compare the frequent use of <uuu> in the adj. *niuwī* listed by Graff II:1110f.

Since the *-w-* in *-niwi* does not seem to have been geminated, a reasonable way of explaining this would be that the nom.sg. originally had the same ending NWG **-ij* just as in the names with a long syllable in their second composite member, as seen in 2.6.3. An original NWG **-niwi* could regularly have given the OHG *-niwi* with the preservation of **-i* after a short syllable, cf. the discussion above in 2.6.2.1.²⁹² The by-form in *-niu* may have two different explanations.

First, it could simply be a phonetic reduction from *-niwi* to *-niu*, without having any parallels among the appellatives or following any particular “rule”. It is a well known fact that names are prone to heavier reduction than normal appellatives, cf. e.g. East Norwegian /²ræusi:/ “Red-side”, a cow’s name < **Rauðsíða* (Hoff 1946:36⁵) vs. /²utsi:e/ “an outside” < **útsíða* and /²spebær/, a place name < *Spjótabergr* vs. /²fʁo:bærj/ “hill without trees”²⁹³ < **fláberg*.²⁹⁴ A parallel within the OHG name corpus could be *-wini* > *-win*.²⁹⁵

The second possibility is that *-niu* is a reflection of an older variant **-niuw* < **-niuwi*. Since we believe that the element *-niwi* is an original (*i*)*jō*-st., the oblique cases would have the phonetic sequence **-niwj-*, where we regularly should get consonant gemination to **-niwwj-* > **-niuw-* (see above). This geminated consonant could then have been introduced into the nom.sg. before the syncope of **-i*, and thus give **-niwi* → **-niuwi* > **-niuw*, where the **-i* would drop, following a long syllable. A final **-iuw* is regularly simplified to *-iu* (AhG:§108.Anm.3), cf. e.g. n.nom.sg. *spriu* “chaff”, nom.pl. *spriuwir* (AhG:§204.Anm.3).

2.6.4 *thiu* “MAID”

OHG *thiu* “maid” has a nom.sg. without an ending, and the oblique sg. and pl. cases are declined according to the *i*-st. in the oldest sources,²⁹⁶ but according to the *ō*-st. in later sources

²⁹² It is interesting that the retained *-i* after a short unaccented syllable here could be “regular” in the sense that it would drop if it followed *-ŷn-*, but not when the consonant following the short vowel was not an *n*, see the discussion in 2.6.2.1 for the possibility of such a phonetic rule. If following Hollifield’s rule (see 2.6.2.1), then the *-i* would either have to be analogical (from the adj. *niuwi*?) or simply have another origin than NWG **-niwi*.

²⁹³ From *Setelarkivet – Norsk ordbok* <http://www.dok.hf.uio.no/perl/search/search.cgi?appid=8&tabid=436>.

²⁹⁴ Cf. Bach I,1:§19 “Es ist [...] nicht zu bezweifeln, daß das Namengut sich leichter als die Appellativa der sog. „lautgesetzlichen“ Entwicklung entzieht” and Krogh 1996:186 “Von den altgermanischen Namenkomposita [...] darf man vermuten, daß ihre ursprünglich appellativischen Kompositionsglieder für den Sprecher nach und nach ihren Bezug zum Normalwortschatz einbüßten und, weil etymologisch undurchsichtig, besonders anfällig für phonische Veränderungen wurden, die in entsprechenden appellativischen Komposita nicht eingetreten wären [...], und es konnte in den Kompositionsgliedern unter anderem zu phonischen Reduktions- und Verstümmelungserscheinungen kommen, die bei den entsprechenden Appellativa nicht zu beobachten waren oder dort jedenfalls weit seltener begegneten”. An extreme case of phonetic shortening in a proper name is East Norwegian /uʃ/ < *Ólafsson*.

²⁹⁵ Since the ending *-i* here follows the discussed sequence *-ŷn-* (see footnote 292), it is possible that the variant in *-win* is the phonetically regular, and that *-wini* has *-i* from the simplex appellative *wini* (similarly Bach I,1:§75). Kaufmann 1968:405 follows Schröder 1923:286 and explains the retention of the *-i* in *-wini* as due to an “Akzentverschiebung”.

²⁹⁶ E.g. in Tatian 4,5 gen.sg. <sinero thiui> (Sievers 1960:18) and dat.sg./gen.sg. in Otfrid III 10,30 <thiuui> (Kelle I:167).

(AhG:§210.Anm.4).²⁹⁷ There are two aspects that allow us to ascertain the *i*-st. declension as an OHG innovation. First, this word is an (*i*)*jō*-st. in both Gothic and ON, as seen above in 2.3, and secondly, the apparent consonant gemination in the oblique cases, e.g. dat.sg. *thiuwi* (written <uuu>), tells us that the ending once contained the geminating factor **j*, which hardly is reconcilable with anything but an *jō*-st.

The nom.sg. *thiu* cannot be a regular development from NWG **þiwju*, as this would have given **þiwwju* > **thiuwi* just as NWG n.nom./acc.pl. **kunju* gave OHG *kunni*. Since the nom.sg. of the monosyllabic *jō*-st. with a short first syllable elsewhere in OHG has gotten the original acc.sg. as the nom.sg., we would really expect a nom.sg. **thiuw(i)a*/**thiuwe*.

Since the nom.sg. of this word follows the *ijō*-st. in both Gothic (*þiw-i*) and ON (*þí-r*), we could assume that the same was the case in pre-OHG, and that the ending consequently was the *dēvī*-ending **-i*. Since this ending would directly follow the stem **þiw-*, we would not get consonant gemination, and it is firmly established that a pre-OHG form **þiwi* with a short first syllable should regularly retain the final **-i* and give OHG **thiwi* (cf. 2.6.1.1). The actual form *thiu* must then be a recreation of the original form, but a recreation that did not follow the normal line, which would be to analogically use the acc.sg. for the nom.sg.

Since what we know is that the *dēvī*-ending was used in the nom.sg. in both Gothic and ON, it would be futile to assume the other possibility **-ju* for OHG, since this in any case is not continued. We will consequently ascertain **þiwi* as the most likely pre-OHG form. To reach the attested form *thiu*, we could use the same explanation as we posited for the name element *-niu* < *-niwi* and possibly for the derivations in *-in* and *-un*, that is that the geminated consonant that developed regularly in the oblique cases was introduced into the nom.sg. before the syncopation of **i* after a long syllable. Although this at first glance would seem like a satisfying solution, the fact that *thiu* is declined as an *i*-st. in the oldest sources suggests that this cannot have been the case. If the analogical introduction of the geminated consonant with the following syncopation of **i* really did occur, then there would be no reason to assume a different treatment of *thiu* to that of the names in *-birg*, *-hilt*, *-niu* or the derivations in *-in*, *-un*. Since *thiu* is an *i*-st. whereas the other still are (*i*)*jō*-stems, there must be another factor involved.

If we do not consider an intrusion of the gemination in the nom.sg., then the nom.sg. should be kept as **thiwi*, and with oblique cases in *thiuw-*. It is a well-known fact, however, that the OHG *i*-stems with a short first syllable usually drop the final *-i* in analogy with the stems with a long first syllable, since they would be more frequent.²⁹⁸ There are numerous examples of this from the m.

²⁹⁷ E.g. the nom.pl. <diuuu> in Notker (but both the gen.sg. and nom.pl. are attested with *i*-st. declension in Notker <(-)diuuue>). See further Graff V:89.

²⁹⁸ A contributing factor to this process (which did not occur in the other WG languages) is in my view the OHG sound-shift of the voiceless plosives to *long* fricatives (**p* > *ff*, **t* > *ʒʒ*, **k* > *ch*). Since this occurred before the vowel syncopation, it would greatly reduce the number of short stems in OHG, which meant that the few short stems remaining more easily could adapt to the more frequent declension of the stems with a long syllable. This also explains why OHG is the only WG languages without **-u* as the n.nom./acc.pl. of the *a*-st. If we stick to the *i*-st., the following

i-st., but also from the f. *i*-st., e.g. *ou* “sheep”²⁹⁹ and *stat* “place”, whereas the regular nom.sg. in *-i* seems to be kept only in the secondary f. formations *kuri* “choice”³⁰⁰ and *turi* “door”.³⁰¹ If we then imagine an early state of OHG where the *-i* had not yet been lost, we would have **ewi* and **steti* as well as **thiwi*. It would be understandable if the word **thiwi* because of the ending **-i* would be interpreted as an *i*-st. and accordingly declined as one. That this is a somewhat late analogy is seen by the preservation of the gemination in the oblique and pl. cases, in other words that the analogy postdates the gemination. It should also occur after the loss of **-i* after a long syllable, since the other (*i*)*jō*-stems with a long preceding syllable mentioned above do not cross over to the *i*-st. When **ewi* etc. then lost the final **-i*, the only expected scenario would be that **thiwi* lost it as well, since it synchronically already was an *i*-st., thereby giving the attested *i*-st. declension nom.sg. *thiu*, gen.sg. *thiuwi*.³⁰²

2.6.5 OTHER (*i*)*jō*-STEMS

2.6.5.1 *hāzus* “witch”

According to Franck 1909:§139, the OHG *hazus* “witch” is an (*i*)*jō*-st. with the “organische Form des Nom.”. Although it is rather enigmatic to me what he means by that, it is clear from the context that he sees the original continuation of the *dēvī*-ending **-i* here. The attestations of this word are nom.sg. ⟨hazus⟩/⟨hazsus⟩ (3), ⟨hazis⟩/⟨hazzis⟩ (4), ⟨hazes⟩, ⟨hazez⟩, ⟨hazasa⟩, ⟨hasezze⟩, nom.pl. ⟨hazusi⟩, ⟨hazusa⟩, ⟨hazissa⟩, ⟨hazisa⟩, ⟨hazzisa⟩, ⟨hazessa⟩, ⟨hazesas⟩, ⟨hazzesas⟩, acc.pl.

cases shows that this process was quite numerous: 1. With **-V̆pi > *-V̆fi > -V̆f*: MHG *sluf* “slipping/stealing away”, OHG *huf* (f.) “hip”, *scaf* (f.) “nature, character” 2. With **-V̆ti > *-V̆zzi > -V̆z*: *biz* “bite”, *sliz* “slit”, *guz* “gush”, *maz* (m./n.) “food”, *skuz* “shot”. 3. With **-V̆ki > *-V̆chi > -V̆h*: *slih* “secret path”, *strih* “line”, *bruḥ* “breach”, *stih* “stitch”, *gi-rih* “revenge”, *bah* “creek”. Cf. the fact that none of the *i*-st. with a preserved final *-i* shows this sound-shift: *tuni* “noise”, *kuri* “choice”, *-quimi*, *wini* “friend”, *quiti* “statement”, *hugi* “mind”, *turi* “door” (see footnote 301), *muni*.

²⁹⁹ According to AhG:§219.Anm.3 “auch fälschlich als *awi*, *ewi* angesetzt”. The reason is probably that the surely attested nom.sg. ⟨évvi⟩ appears in a manuscript that is predominantly OS (Codex Düsseldorf F1, cf. Bergmann 1973:14).

³⁰⁰ *kuri* is originally m. as in OE *cyre*, OF *kere* and OS *self-kur(r)i*. The OS hapax is obviously attested in the acc.sg.: ⟨vuan thiū (*t*)^{un}ga folgod thena selfkur(r)ⁱ thes muodes⟩ “Lingua enim sequitur mentis arbitrium” (Wadstein 1899:15,21). Wadstein 1899:217 interprets it as dat.sg., probably because it follows the verb *folgon*, but this is in evident conflict with the use of the m.acc.sg. pronoun *thena*.

³⁰¹ The form *turi* is the original consonant st. pl. form reinterpreted as sg. In the older OHG sources, the attestations are usually in the pl., where they decline as a normal *u*-st. (it is a *u*-st. also in the other WG languages, cf. Griepentrog 1995:123ff., who nevertheless has another interpretation of the OHG forms (1995:132ff.)). For transitions between the *u*- and *i*-st., cf. *quiti* “womb” (Gothic *qīpus**, ON *kviðr* *u*-st.) and *hugu* “mind”, once *hugi* (AhG:§220c.Anm.4, *i*-st. in ON, OS, OE and OF).

³⁰² According to Schmidt 1889:71, the *i*-st. declension “[ist] erst eingetreten [...], nachdem der nom. *thiu* durch verlust des einst auslautenden *i* das aussehen eines *i*-nominativ gewonnen hatte”, something which appears illogical to me, as the **-i* regularly should have been kept. It is precisely the *i*-st. declension *before* the loss of the **-i* that can best account for the later loss of it.

⟨hazisa⟩, dat.pl. ⟨hezesusun⟩ (= /hezessun/?), gen.pl. ⟨hazisson⟩, ⟨hazisso⟩, ⟨hagazussun⟩ (AW IV:600, 759).

From this list it is rather obvious that the nom.sg. should be rendered as *hǎzus/hǎzis*. The pl. cases have *ō*-st. endings with one exception (⟨hazusi⟩), and the *-s-* is sometimes written double (in five or six cases), sometimes not (seven). This double *-ss-* cannot, of course, come from nowhere, so it must be considered to be the original. If *hǎzus* was a regular *ō*-st., it would be quite extraordinary that the nom.sg. is without ending instead of what would be the normal *ō*-st. ending, i.e. *hǎzussa* (cf. ⟨hazasa⟩ above). If it was an *(i)jō*-st., however, it would be exactly parallel to the derivations in *-injō/-unjō-* as outlined in 2.6.2, and further amply explain the geminated *-ss-* in the pl. cases. Since the OE equivalent *hægtes* was seen to be a likely *(i)jō*-st. there (2.5.3), it would be a fair conclusion that OHG *hǎzus* in fact is an *(i)jō*-st., both synchronically and historically. The explanation for the endingless nom.sg. would, of course, be the same as for *-in*, *-un* in the other f. derivatives.

2.6.5.2 *thūsunt* “thousand”

Another form with Franck’s “organic” nom.sg. is *thusunt* “thousand” (1909:§139). By regular development, the original nom.sg. ending would drop if this was **-i* (*(i)jō*-st.), **-iz* (*i*-st.) or **-u* (*ō*-st.). The nom.sg. *thūsunt* is thus little revealing. Since an original sequence **-nd(i)j-* in the oblique cases would not lead to consonant gemination either, the only way to see an *(i)jō*-st. declension in OHG would be by endings *-e* < **-iǎ* and *-iu*, *-eō(-)*. Since these endings do not exist (Graff V:231) along with the fact that none of the other NWG languages shows any *(i)jō*-st. characteristics in this word,³⁰³ it is probable that **pūsund-* was not an *(i)jō*-st. in NWG. For the etymology of *thūsund*, see EWA II:890ff.

2.6.5.3 NWG **nipt-* “niece”

Franck’s final example of the “organic” nom.sg. is *nift* “niece”. This word is attested three times before the 11th century, all in the nom.sg., and all as ⟨nift⟩.³⁰⁴ There is an additional attestation from the 12th century, from the Schlettstadt Ms. 7 (G IV:612), with the form ⟨nifta⟩ (⟨Priuigna nifta⟩). It then reappears in the 18th century as *nifte* (Grimm VII:845) before it is replaced by the Lower German form *Nichte*. The early modern German form offers no help in the interpretation of the OHG forms, since the original f. *i*-stems can acquire a new nom.sg. in *-e* (FhG:§M16.Anm.1). The late OHG (or early MHG) *nifta* is obviously an *ō*- or *ōn*-st., whereas the older *nift* could belong to a number of categories, although an *i*-st. would seem most likely, since

³⁰³ Cf. e.g. OE *pūsend* without the “double umlaut” to **pūsend* which would have occurred from an original **pūsundī-/*pūsund(i)j-* (cf. Campbell 1959:§203, Brunner 1965:§95.Anm.2 and Hogg 1992:124).

³⁰⁴ G II:370,46 ⟨Neptis, filia nepotis. nift⟩ in München, BSB. Clm 18375 (9th century, Bierbrauer 1990:122), G II:375,12 id. Wien (Vindob.) 114 (10th century, G IV:627) and G III:425,7 ⟨Priuigna nift⟩ in St. Gallen 299 (9th/10th century, G IV:449). All attestations are Upper German (either Alemannic or Bavarian), see Bergmann 1973 passim.

this is the class to which most f. words with no nom.sg. ending belong. The lack of oblique and pl. case attestations prevents us from establishing this.

In the other Germanic languages, this word appears in different forms. It is not attested in OS, but appears in Middle Low German as an $\bar{o}n$ -st. *nifte** (acc.sg. *nyften*, MNW III:187) and as an $\bar{o}(n)$ -st. *nichte* (MNW III:184). The Middle Dutch *nifte/nichte* is also declined as an $\bar{o}(n)$ -st., but the occasional nom.sg. *nift/nicht* (MNLW IV:2379f.) seems to reflect an \acute{i} -st.³⁰⁵ The OE attestations nom.sg. *nift/nifte* and acc./dat.sg. *nifte* (ASD:719f.) do not allow us to reach any conclusion on the original declension apart from the obvious fact that the nom.sg. *nifte* with its $\bar{o}n$ -st. declension cannot be original. Nom.sg. *nift*, acc./dat.sg. *nifte* must then be either an $(ij)\bar{o}$ -st. or an \acute{i} -st. OF *nift* is attested 14 times, the cases being nom.sg. *nift* (2), *nifte*, acc.sg. *nifte*, nom.pl. *nifta* (3), *nifte*, *niften* (2), dat.pl. *niftum*, *niften* (2) and gen.pl. *niftena*.³⁰⁶ The clear $\bar{o}n$ -st. forms nom.pl. *niften* and gen.pl. *niftena* belong to *Excerpta legum*, a late West-Frisian document.³⁰⁷ The forms in the oldest East-Frisian manuscripts³⁰⁸ nom.sg. *nift*, nom.pl. *nifta* (3) clearly show that the word is either an \bar{o} - or an \acute{i} -st. The ON *nipt* is attested only in poetry, and consequently with a variety of meanings, but always denoting a woman. It is attested 12 times, nine in the nom.sg. as $(-)\textit{nipt}$,³⁰⁹ twice in the acc.sg. as *nipt* (Jónsson A I:659,5) and *nipti* (Gering 1903:733), and once in the gen.sg. (?) as *niptar*.³¹⁰ Nom.sg. *nipt* is either an \bar{o} -st. or an \acute{i} -st., and so is the acc.sg. *nipt*, whereas *nipti* can only be an $ij\bar{o}$ -st. *niptar* could belong to any of these stems. The ten attestations of *nipt* without the ending *-r* in the nom.sg. and *-i* in the acc.sg. assure to my mind that this is *not* an $ij\bar{o}$ -st. in ON. The acc.sg. *nipti* is easily explainable as being the same analogy that affected *brúðr* and *hind* to partially go as $ij\bar{o}$ -stems (see 2.4.2.1).

Since the vowel of the root in the NWG **nift-* originally was an **e* (see the etymology in EWAi II:11f.), the word cannot have been a PG \bar{o} -st., since we in that case would not get the \acute{i} -umlaut from **neft-* to **nift-*. The only possibilities are therefore an \acute{i} -st. or an $ij\bar{o}$ -st. The Middle Low German could with its $\bar{o}(n)$ -stem declension continue an original $ij\bar{o}$ -st., whereas OE and OF cannot reveal if it is originally an $ij\bar{o}$ - or \acute{i} -st. there. We are then left with ON, OHG and Middle Dutch. ON *nipt* points directly to an \acute{i} -st., and the same do OHG and Middle Dutch *nift*. The last two languages cannot distinguish between an original nom.sg. with a $d\acute{e}v\bar{r}$ -ending **-i* and an \acute{i} -st.

³⁰⁵ According to Franck 1910:§183, the occasional endingless nom./acc.sg. of the \bar{o} -st. reflects the original nom.sg. ending (in NWG **-u*). But since Middle Dutch partly merges the \acute{i} -st. endings with the \bar{o} -st., the nom./acc.sg. \bar{o} -st. *wijs*, *stont* (and *nift*?) could also be analogical from the \acute{i} -st., where an ending regularly lacked in the nom./acc.sg.

³⁰⁶ See the attestations in von Richthofen 1840:951.

³⁰⁷ *Excerpta legum* exists in the manuscripts Codex Roorda (from 1495, Köbler 2003b:XVIII, “aus dem ende des 15. jh.’s”, Steller 1928:4), Codex Aysma (Köbler p. XVI: c. 1500, Steller: “aus dem 15./16. jh.”) and Codex Parisiensis (Köbler p. XVII: 15th/16th century, not mentioned by Steller). It is unclear to me, however, in which of these manuscripts the forms *niften(a)* are present, if not in all of them.

³⁰⁸ Rüstring Ms. (1300/1327), Hunsingo Ms. (Steller 1928:4: 1250-1300, Köbler 2003b:XVII: 14th century), Brokmer Ms. (1276/1345).

³⁰⁹ Jónsson A I:37,9, 43,24, 478,3, 509,17, 652,2b, 688,3, A II:114,24 (misspelt <nípr> in AM 45°), Gering 1903:733 (2).

³¹⁰ Jónsson A I:274,30. Jónsson B I:253 calls the line in which *niptar* is “uforstålig”.

ending **-iz*, though, but *nift* would be quite unique in both languages if they continue an *ijō*-st. nom.sg. **-i* > *-∅* instead of the analogical acc.sg. used in the nom. Since ON, the only language of the three which distinguishes the nom.sg. of the *i*-st. and the *ijō*-st. (see 2.4.2.1), clearly shows an *i*-st., we can safely conclude that we are dealing with a NWG *i*-st. **nipti-*. To reconstruct an *ijō*-st. based on the Middle Low German forms would be too ill-founded. Due to the lack of attestations in Gothic, we cannot know if the NWG *i*-st. continues a PG *i*-st.

2.6.5.4 *lihlawi* “scar”

Schatz 1907:§111.c notes that the *ijō*-st. *lihloi* “scar” has a nom.sg. in *-i*. He does not state what he believes this *-i* is. It is attested seven times, all in the nom.sg.: *lihlaoa*,³¹¹ *lihlauui*,³¹² *lihlloi*,³¹³ *lihla* (2),³¹⁴ *lilewe*,³¹⁵ *lilewi*.³¹⁶ The forms in *-a* are obviously an *ō*-st., whereas the forms in *-i* in my view cannot be anything else than an *īn*-st. The Middle Low German *lyc(k)-*, *li(e)ck-lawe(n)*, *-laen*, *-lauwen* (MNW II:697) without umlaut in the second member *-lawe*³¹⁷ points to an original OS *ō*-st. **liklawa*, and there is no particular reason why we would not posit the same for OHG, with a later transition to the *īn*-st. For parallels to a transition *ō*-st. > *īn*-st., see AhG:§208.Anm.3.³¹⁸

2.6.5.5 Abstracts in *-nissa*

According to AhG:§210, the abstract nouns in *-nissa* belong to the (*ij*)*ō*-st. There is to my knowledge but one example of an (*ij*)*ō*-st. ending among these nouns in OHG, the Würzburg 28 gloss *uncamotnisse* “disagreement” (G II:335,14) from the 8th century (Köbler 2005:778). This part of the manuscript is obviously written with a Bavarian hand, as seen through the Upper German sound-shift **g* > *k* (<c>) (cf. AhG:§88c). It translates the Latin *dissensionē*, and it is of little importance to the OHG form if it translates a nom.pl. *dissensiones* or a corrected gen.sg. *dissensionis*, as both the gen.sg. and nom.pl. of the (*ij*)*ō*-st. would have **-iā* > *-e*.³¹⁹ This suffix

³¹¹ G I:88,4: Bavarian, from Paris 7640, 8th century (Graff I:LIX), 8th/9th century (G IV:595), 9th century (Köbler 2005:503).

³¹² G I:89,4: Alemannic, from St. Gallen 911, 8th century (Köbler 2005:644f.).

³¹³ G I:89,4: Bavarian, from Wien Codex 162, 9th century (Köbler 2005:703).

³¹⁴ G II:372,7: Bavarian, from München 18375, 10th century (Köbler 2005:413). G II:376,38: Upper German, possibly Bavarian (Bergmann 1973:105), from Wien Codex 114, 10th century (Köbler 2005:701).

³¹⁵ G III:256,20: Upper German, from Graz 859, 13th century (Köbler 2005:149).

³¹⁶ G IV:258,3: from Rome 288, 12th century (Köbler 2005:547). The language in this manuscript seems to be mixed (Köbler 2005:548f.). Due to the correspondence to the other attestations of this word, it would be likely that *lilewi* here is an Upper German form.

³¹⁷ Cf. the umlaut in the suffixes *-āri* > *-er(e)* and *-nussi* > *-nüsse* (Lasch 1974:§213).

³¹⁸ The OHG forms are consequently *lihlawā* and *lihlawī* > MHG *lilewi*. The vowel in *-law-* is short, and belongs to the same root as OHG *lō* < **lawā-* “cortex, rind”, ultimately PIE **√lewH* “cut, loosen” (LIV:417). The original meaning of *lihlawā* < **leika-lawō* is then “body-cut”.

³¹⁹ The nom.pl. *-e* would, of course, be the original acc.pl. for what would be the regular nom.pl., i.e. *-eo*, see the discussion in 2.2.6/2.2.7.

(and its similar variants) is elsewhere in Bavarian treated rather unvaryingly as an *īn*-st. (Schatz 1907:§115), in Franconian mostly as a n. *ja*-st., but also as a f. *ō*- and *īn*-st. (Franck 1909:§154.2). Since this suffix originally is a m. *u*-st.,³²⁰ neither of these can be original, and the NWG form of this suffix can only be settled by comparison with the other NWG languages.

The suffix is totally lacking in all the Nordic languages, whereas the OF cannot distinguish between f. *ō*-, *-(i)jō*- and *īn*-stems,³²¹ but they offer at least some information by being strictly f. The OE formations in *-ness*, *-niss* are usually grouped with the *(i)jō*-st., which of course there is no synchronic reason for. It is interesting that these formations alternatively have a nom.sg. in *-e* already in the oldest sources,³²² but the total lack of a case ending in *-i* in the non-WS sources does not permit us to see the direct continuation of an *īn*-st. here.³²³ The *īn*-st. as a whole has not survived in OE, but has blended with the *ō*-st.³²⁴ (which further in the cases where consonant gemination or *i*-umlaut do not occur cannot be separated from the *(i)jō*- and *i*-st.). From the OS corpus, I have been able to locate 29 attestations of this suffix (with its variants). Of these, three are unambiguous *(i)jō*-stems: acc.sg. <forlegarnissia>,³²⁵ nom.sg. <godlicnissea>³²⁶ and acc.sg. <hethinussia>.³²⁷ Nine are unambiguous *īn*-stems: dat.sg. <grimnússi>,³²⁸ nom.sg. <thiu idal(n)ussi>,³³⁰ dat.sg. <unuuerdnussi>,³³¹ dat.sg. <farlegarnessi>,³³² dat.sg. <forlegarnissi>,³³³ dat.sg. <farlegarnessi>,³³⁴ dat.sg. <efnissi>,³³⁵ nom.sg. <thiu gilicnissi>³³⁶ and nom.sg. <thiu gelicnessi>.³³⁷ 16 are somewhat ambiguous in that the nom./acc.sg. in *-i* could be both a f. *īn*-st. and a n. *(i)ja*-st.,³³⁸

³²⁰ Cf. Gothic *-inassus* and further Kluge 1926:71f. and Neri 2003:306ff.

³²¹ Cf. Steller 1928:§52 and van Helten 1970:§165β, §195.

³²² Cf. Dahl 1938:148, Campbell 1959:§592f and Brunner 1965:§258.Anm.1.

³²³ For the attestations, see Dahl 1938:148ff. The sg. and nom./acc.pl. cases in WS *-e* < **-i* could isolated have been regular by the rule that a final nasal drops after **r*, cf. Campbell 1959:§473.

³²⁴ Cf. Campbell 1959:§589.7 and Brunner 1965:§280.

³²⁵ C3270.

³²⁶ M2085.

³²⁷ Düsseldorf D2, Wadstein 1899:17,5. From the 10th century (Köbler 2005:92).

³²⁸ A rare n.dat.sg. *(i)ja*-st. in *-i* is attested in the Heliand, but not in any other sources (Holthausen 1921:§275.4, Gallée 1993:§301.Anm.3). The Heliand dat.sg. in *-i* in the following instances could therefore theoretically be n., although the likelihood of that is rather small.

³²⁹ Düsseldorf F1, Wadstein 1899:97,29. From the 10th century (Köbler 2005:93).

³³⁰ The lost Dessau manuscript, Wadstein 1899:15,16. From the 10th century (Köbler 2005:82).

³³¹ Warsaw 6748, Krogmann 1950:52,Ps.29,v.5. From the 10th century (Köbler 2005:698).

³³² M3843.

³³³ C3852.

³³⁴ M3852.

³³⁵ C4852 (Sievers 1935:535).

³³⁶ C3826.

³³⁷ M3826.

³³⁸ Nom.sg. <guodlicnissi>, C2085. Acc.sg. <astandanussi>, M. Freher 1610, altwestfälische Taufgelöbnis, 18 (Foerste 1950:91), from the 10th century (Köbler 2005:130). Nom.sg. <béthvnganussi>, Düsseldorf F1 (Wadstein 1899:101,23). Nom.sg. <dogalnussi>, Düsseldorf F1 (Wadstein 1899:99,14). Acc.sg. <grimnussi>, Essen (1899:59,42), from c. 800

similarly for the acc.pl. in *-i*,³³⁹ whereas the dat.sg. in *-(i)e* could be a f. *(ij)jō*-st. or a n. *(i)ja*-st.³⁴⁰ The dat.pl. in *-iun/-ion*³⁴¹ and gen.pl. in *-ie*³⁴² could belong to any of these stems. The final attestation nom.sg. <froinesse> from Kassel 2° 60 (G I:722,7) reveals absolutely nothing, since <e> is the only vowel in final position in this manuscript.³⁴³ Four additional glosses may or may not be OS, and can consequently not be added to the list.³⁴⁴

When bearing in mind that the only gender that is certainly attested is the f., both by nom./acc.sg. in *-ia* and by the pronoun *thiu*, and that words with this suffix are f. in the other Ingvaenic languages, it is more or less certain that the gender in the cases listed above is f., and not n. We have as a result thereof 18 cases of an *īn*-st. versus six of an *(ij)jō*-st., whereas the remaining five cases are ambiguous. When we know that the *īn*-st. is prone to analogically receive *ijjō*-st. case endings,³⁴⁵ there is actually nothing that speaks against the assumption that the suffix *-nissi/-nussi* as a whole belongs to the *īn*-st. in OS.

Since a common innovation in OS and Bavarian would be utterly unlikely, the only reasonable conclusion would be that the declension as *īn*-stems in these languages reflects the condition in (N)WG. The fluctuating declension as *ō*-st., *īn*-st., *ja*-st. and once as *ijjō*-st. in OHG is consequently a later development there, and there is thus far from sufficient evidence to claim that the suffix *-nissa* (with variants) is an *ijjō*-st. in OHG, both synchronically and historically.

2.6.6 PRE-OHG NOM.SG. **-i* VS. **-iju/ijā*

Unlike the languages dealt with before, i.e. Gothic, ON and OE, OHG does not preserve the original PG ending **-ī* save in a few instances, being mostly replaced by the acc.sg. in **(i)jōⁿ* > *-e*. The natural question would then be why the NWG **-i* was preserved in some instances, while in others not. The NWG **-i* has been continued in these instances: women's names, derivations in *-in* and *-un*, *thiu* "maid", *hāzuz* "witch", and possibly, but not likely, in *nift* "niece". Of the 45

(Köbler 2005:121). Nom.sg. <stanknussi>, Düsseldorf B80 (Wadstein 1899:65¹⁶), from the 10th century (Köbler 2005:90). Nom.sg. <unsuarnussi>, Essen (Wadstein 1899:61,2). Acc.sg. <farlegarnessi>, M3270.

³³⁹ Acc.pl. <dogalnússi>, Düsseldorf B80 (Wadstein 1899:98,11).

³⁴⁰ <farlegarnisse>, C3843. <gilicnesse>, C987. <gilicnissime>, M987. For a dat.sg. in *-(i)e* in the *(ij)jō*-st., see Gallée 1993:§307.Anm.3, §309.Anm.5. The examples are rather few.

³⁴¹ <hethinussion>, M. Freher 1610, altwestfälische Taufgelöbnis, 5 (Foerste 1950:90). <dogalnussion>, Düsseldorf F1 (Wadstein 1899:99,38). <thiusternusiu>, Warsaw 6748 (Krogmann 1950:55,Ps.111,v.4).

³⁴² <dagolnuss(ie)> Düsseldorf B80 (Wadstein 1899:64,10). It is unclear to me what Wadstein's rendering with parenthesis exactly means.

³⁴³ The interlinear glosses in this manuscript date probably to the 11th/12th century (Köbler 2005:197), which explains the occurred vowel weakening.

³⁴⁴ These are the nom.sg. <heithfnisse> (=/heīðenisse/) and <hf thk nkss> (=/heðinissa/) from Brüssel 9987-91 (G II:573,45-46), "wahrscheinlich altsächsisch" (Köbler 2005:69). The glosses <forradan^{nessi}> (G II:321,17) in the otherwise Upper German Karlsruhe CXI (Bergmann 1973:39) and <forandannessi> (leaf 110, G II:321,18) in the apparent Upper German St. Gallen 141 (cf. leaf 109 <kiflos> and leaf 110 <muothplinti> with **g* > *k*, **d* > *t(h)* and **b* > *p*) can hardly be Upper German because of the lacking sound shift **d* > *t*, but could be Franconian just as well as OS.

³⁴⁵ Holthausen 1921:§293.Anm.2, Gallée 1993:§311.Anm.2.

derivations in *-in* and *-un* listed in footnote 273, 36 denote the f. sex of a human or an animal, six do not, whereas the last three might be deliberate feminizations.³⁴⁶ It is quite clear, then, that the nom. ending **-i* has been continued in the nouns designating a female being, whereas it has been replaced by the acc.sg. in the others. The conclusion we can draw from this is that the declension pattern nom.sg. **-i*, oblique/pl. cases **(i)jō-* was felt to be a specific marker for femininity in pre-OHG, a situation that is very reminiscent of the state in ON, where words not originally belonging to the *jō*-st. receive characteristic *jō*-st. endings such as the nom.sg. in *-r* and acc./dat.sg. in *-i* simply because of their lexical meaning, i.e. when they denote female beings.³⁴⁷

2.6.7 THE ADJECTIVE

The f.nom.sg. of the *(i)jō*-st. adj. follows another path than the noun. Whereas the substantival *(i)jō*-st. ends in either *-e* (← acc.sg. *-e* < **-jō*), *-i* (only *-niwi* < **-i*) or *-∅* (< **-i*), the adj. has a nom.sg. in *-i* and *-iu*. It is common to ascertain the *-i* as the “uninflected” form and the *-iu* as the “inflected”, but due to the uncertainty of what the regular phonetic outcome of NWG **-iju* would be in OHG, and further that *-i* and *-iu* are not syntactically possible to separate, this cannot be shown or proven. Since it was attempted to show in 2.6.1.3 that *-iu* is the more likely outcome of **-iju*, we would claim that the so-called “inflected” form *-iu* actually portrays the regular “uninflected” (i.e. the nominal) ending, whereas the ending *-i* has arisen from analogy, both within the *ija/jō*-st. adj. itself, since *-i* would be the regular outcome both in the m. and the n. (see further 2.6.1.3 for this analogy), and from the *ja/jō*-st., where *-i* would be the regular “uninflected” ending from NWG **-ju* (see 2.6.1.2). The difference between the *ja/jō*- and *ija/jō*-st. would be obliterated from the WG consonant gemination, which then would help trigger the analogy from the *ja/jō*-st. to the *ija/jō*-st., e.g. f.nom.sg. **midju* “middle” > **middju* > **mittju* > *mitti* vs. **mildju* “generous” > **miltju* > *miltiu* → *milti*. If we put up what would be the regular outcome of the adj. endings in OHG, it becomes very clear that this analogy hardly need further justification:

³⁴⁶ *mānin* “moon” and *spizzerin/muzerin* “shrewmouse”.

³⁴⁷ Examples of this are *brūd̄r* “bride”, *hind* “hind”, *dīs(s)* “goddess”, *nipt* “kinswoman”, which all have acc.sg. in *-i*, and additionally the compounded female names. See 2.4.2.1 and 2.6.5.2.3

| | | | |
|---------------------|----------------|---------------|-------------------|
| | | masculine | |
| uninflected nom.sg. | <i>blint</i> | <i>mitti</i> | <i>milti</i> |
| inflected nom.sg. | <i>blintēr</i> | <i>mittēr</i> | <i>miltēr</i> |
| | | neuter | |
| uninflected nom.sg. | <i>blint</i> | <i>mitti</i> | <i>milti</i> |
| inflected nom.sg. | <i>blintaz</i> | <i>mittaz</i> | <i>miltaz</i> |
| | | feminine | |
| uninflected nom.sg. | <i>blint</i> | <i>mitti</i> | (*) <i>miltiu</i> |
| inflected nom.sg. | <i>blintiu</i> | <i>mittiu</i> | <i>miltiu</i> |

Then with an analogical pressure both from above (from the m. and the n.) as well as from the f. *jō*-st. (as *mitti*), (*)*miltiu* would receive an “uninflected” form *milti*.

What in any case is certain is that the OHG *jō*-st. nom.sg. in *-i* and *-iu* does not continue a *dēvī*-ending **-ī* as was the case in Gothic, but not in ON or OE. It thus corresponds fully with the state in OE, where the f.nom.sg. in *-u* continues a NWG **-iju*, not **-i*, although the noun portrays a clear continuation of a *dēvī*-ending NWG **-i*.

2.7 Old Saxon

The OS declension is by and large a mirror image to that of OHG. No distinction is made between the *jō*- and *ijō*-st., which has the same reasons as in OHG (see 2.6). First, the continuations of **CjV* and **CijV* are identical when the vowel *V* is preserved, i.e. *CiV/CeV* (Holthausen 1921:§172).³⁴⁸ Secondly, the nom.sg., where a difference between the **i* and **ij* would manifest itself, is replaced by the acc.sg. (Gallée 1993:§309.Anm.1). As in OHG, however, there are some instances where the nom.sg. does not end in the usual *-ea/-ia* (< acc.sg.), and these will be more closely accounted for.

As with OHG, we should first try to establish the most likely outcome of NWG **-i*, **-ju* and **-iju* in OS, as these would be the possible pre-OS endings in the nom.sg. of the (*i*)*jō*-st.

2.7.1 NWG **-i*, **-ju* AND **-iju* IN OS

2.7.1.1 NWG **-i*

Precisely as in OHG (see 2.6.1.1), the final NWG **-i* would be regularly preserved after a short syllable, but lost after a long. Examples of the regularly preserved final **-i* are 3.sg.pres.ind. *wili* “will” < NWG **wili* and m.acc.sg. *i*-st. *hugi* “mind” < NWG **hugi*. Examples of the loss of **-i*

³⁴⁸ This *ϕ* is generally well preserved in OS, but is prone to suffer loss already in the Heliand, especially after a long syllable, see Holthausen 1921:§173.

after a long syllable: f.acc.sg. *i*-st. *dād* “deed” < NWG **dādi*, 3.sg.pres.ind. *ist* “is” < NWG **isti*. The preserved final *-i* after a long syllable in the 3.sg.pret.opt. *wāri* “would be” and in the 2.sg.imp. *sōki* “seek!” is analogical along the same lines as in OHG, see 2.6.1.1. A *dēvī*-ending NWG **-i* would then, if regularly developed, give OS *-i* after a short syllable, and *-∅* after a long.

2.7.1.2 NWG **-ju*

The NWG ending **-ju* would regularly appear after a short syllable in e.g. the n.nom./acc.pl. *ja*-st. and in the 1.sg.pres.ind. of the *ja*-verbs. In OS, the ending of the first appears generally as *-i*, to which there is one exception, the M1186 *nettiu* “nets”.³⁴⁹ The 1.sg.pres.ind. is to my knowledge *-iu* (> *-u*) without exceptions, cf. Holthausen 1921:§402 and Gallée 1993:§379.Anm.1.

It is self-evident that the ending *-iu* in the verb could be analogical from the general strong verb 1.sg.pres.ind. ending *-u*.³⁵⁰ The *-iu* in *nettiu* is on the other hand more difficult to explain by analogy. It could in theory be from the pronouns n.nom./acc.pl. *thiu*,³⁵¹ *siu* “they/those”, but such an analogy from this pronoun lacks parallels elsewhere in OS. The ending should rather be seen as an analogy from the n. *a*-st. with a short first syllable, e.g. n.acc.pl. *fatu* “vessels”, since these stems would share the stem structure in the nom./acc.sg., where they both would end in *-VC*, e.g. *fat – net** (M2630 *fisknet*).³⁵² It should be noted that the M1186 *nettiu* is directly followed by such an *a*-st., namely *neglitskipu* “nail-ships” (*nettiu endi neglitskipu*), which by anticipation could have led the scribe to write *-u* also on the pl. of *net**, since both words belong to virtually the same category.

The f.nom.sg. of the *jō*-adj. is not attested,³⁵³ whereas the n.nom./acc.pl. of the *ja*-adj. is attested once with the ending *-i*, in the Oxford Bodleian Library Auct. F 1 16 manuscript from the

³⁴⁹ Holthausen 1921:§275.5, Sievers 1935:85, Sehr 1966:409, Gallée 1993:§301.Anm.4, Behaghel 1996:48.

³⁵⁰ This *-u* would, of course, only be regular when it follows a short syllable. The uniform use of *-u* regardless the length of the preceding syllable is due to analogy, cf. Holthausen 1921:§402.Anm.2.

³⁵¹ Gallée’s claim (1993:§366.Anm.9) that the variant *thiu* does not exist in M is clearly erroneous. Sehr 1966:590 lists seven cases, one of which, however, is an emendation from <that> (Sievers 1935:49).

³⁵² One would preferably want this *-u* to be analogically present in some n. *a*-st. with a long first syllable as well. The examples of this are quite dubious. Gallée 1993:§297.Anm.6b lists *etto*, *maldra* and *spreitha*. *etto* from the Strasbourg glosses (C IV 15, 10th-11th century? [Wadstein 1899:151], 8th-11th century [Köbler 2005:664]) is, however, probably not a n.pl. form, but an adverb **efto* (cf. Wadstein 1899:181 and Köbler 2000 sub *eft*, *efto* and *etto*). The form *maldra* appears in the Werden Urbar B (Düsseldorf A 89), a text edited and published in Kötzschke 1906, a book that I have not succeeded in obtaining. According to Gallée 1993:6, the manuscript dates from between the 9th and 11th century. The form *spreitha*, appearing in the 10th century manuscript Leipzig Rep. I 36b (G II:723, Köbler 2005:248) seems at first sight not be OS because of the preserved diphthong *-ei-*, which is monophthongized to *-ē-* in all of OS (Krogh 1996:280). Since the diphthong **au* also is preserved in this manuscript as *-ou-*, <lpxffrpsc> = *louf-frosk* (G II:723,6) “leaf-frog”, *lougā* “lye” (G II:723,40), it should be clear that this is not written in OS, but in some other dialect, somewhat ambiguously classified as “altniederdeutsch” (Köbler 2005:248) and “niederdeutsch” (Bergmann 1973:49).

³⁵³ The gloss <frechiu^{fregchiu}> in the Düsseldorf Heinrich-Heine Institut F 1 from the 10th century (Köbler 2005:93) is written by the so-called Middle Franconian “fine hand” (Wadstein 1899:90,29, Köbler 2005:94). The Franconian origin is further seen by the sound shift **frok-* > *frech-*. This gloss is thus not OS.

10th/11th century (Köbler 2005:469), *thunni* “thin”. As there is but one example here, this should not be given any conclusive weight.

It seems nevertheless as if *-i* is the regular outcome of NWG **-ju* in OS, and that the verbal ending *-iu* and the once attested *-iu* in the n.nom./acc.pl. are analogical from the corresponding categories without the **j* preceding the vowel, i.e. the *a*-verb and *a*-st. If *-iu* was to be the regular continuation of NWG **-ju*, then the ending **-ju* would have to change into **-iju* following the gemination of the preceding consonant. If not, then the **-u* would have to be lost in the syncope of **u* which took place in pre-OS, cf. e.g. n.nom./acc.pl. *a*-st. **wordu* > *word*, f.nom.sg. *u*-st. **handuz* > *hand*. This would seem to imply that Sievers’ law was still operative after the consonant gemination, e.g. **natju* > **nættju* > **nættiju* > *nettiu*. This would, however, leave the forms in *-i* virtually unexplained, as the n.nom./acc.pl. *ja*-st. in *-i* cannot be analogical from the nom./acc.sg., since this ends in the bare stem.³⁵⁴ It cannot be analogical from the n.nom./acc.pl. of the *ija*-st. either, since this by the latter theory must regularly have *-iu*. The notion that NWG **-ju* gave OS *-i* is all in all the more preferable.

2.7.1.3 NWG **-iju*

The NWG ending **-iju* would regularly follow one long or two short syllables, and would be present in the exact same categories as the NWG **-ju* discussed above. The ending of the 1.sg.pres.ind. of the *ija*-verb is of course always *-iu* (> *-u*) just as when following one short syllable as seen above. In the n.nom./acc.pl. of the *ija*-st., the ending is *-i*,³⁵⁵ but with one exception according to Gallée 1993:§301.Anm.4, the Leiden Voss. lat. q. 51 (10th century, Köbler 2005:241) <dunuengiu> “temples”. This manuscript is not OS, however, but OHG,³⁵⁶ and it is unclear to me why Gallée has included this example.³⁵⁷

The f.nom.sg. and n.nom./acc.pl. of the *ijō/ija*-adj. end both in *-i*. The f.nom.sg. endings *-ie* and *-iu* listed in Gallée’s paradigm (1993:§346) do not exist. The n.nom./acc.pl. has a handful of attestations in *-ea* and *-ia* (see Gallée 1993:§346.Anm.6), which obviously is the original m.nom.pl. ending. The word *bēthe(a)* “both”, which generally follows the *ijō/ija*-declension (Holthausen 1921:§379) has a n.nom./acc.pl. in *bēthiu*, which does not reflect the *ija*-st. ending, but is the demonstrative pronoun *thiu* enclitically on the original pronoun **bai* > *bē*- “both”.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁴ This nom./acc.sg., e.g. *-net*, arose from the apocopy of the final *-i*, i.e. *-net* < **nætti*. Whether the form **nætti* has regularly developed from the NWG **natja* or has an analogical gemination from the oblique cases is disputed, see Dal 1971:65ff., Krogh 1996:288ff. and Grønvik 1998:99ff.

³⁵⁵ Holthausen 1921:95ff., Gallée 1993:§301.

³⁵⁶ Bergmann 1973:48, Köbler 2005:241.

³⁵⁷ The n.pl. *stukkīe* “pieces” (Wadstein 1899:41,33) in Münster Msc. VII, 1316a (11th/12th century, Köbler 2005:460) is probably not a reflection of an older **stukkīu*, but rather a weakening of *stukkī* to *stukke* with the medial ⟨i⟩ as a marker for the palatal *k*, cf. Krogh 1996:209.

³⁵⁸ Cf. Holthausen 1921:§379. For the OS attestations, see Sehrt 1966:42. For the etymology and historical development of PG **bai pai* “both”, see EWA I:513f.

The adj. and noun seen together, it seems as if *-i* is the outcome of NWG **-iju* as well. The verbal ending *-iu* is easily explainable as an analogy from the frequent strong verbs. Although it would be desirable to claim that the regular outcome of **-iju* should be *-iu* as in OE (further developed to *-u*) and OHG, the OS material does simply not allow us to reach such a conclusion. That **-iu* in the substantival *ija-st.* and the adjectival *ijō/ija-st.* was analogically ousted by the ending *-i* from the *ja-* and *jō/ja-st.* is highly possible, of course, but it will remain a pure speculation.

2.7.1.4 Conclusion

From the treatment of the OS phonetic development above, a *dēvī*-ending PG **-ī* should be preserved as *-i* after a short syllable in OS, but lost after a long syllable. The other endings in question, NWG **-ju* and **-iju*, seem both to give OS *-i*. We should consequently expect either *-∅* or *-i* in the nom.sg. when this case ending has not been ousted by the acc.sg. in *-ea/-ia*.

2.7.2 DERIVATIONS IN *-injō/-unjō-*

The f. formations with the suffix *-injō/-unjō-* are well attested in OS,³⁵⁹ and OS is the language that most clearly show the original *jō-st.*, since the suffix portrays both the geminated *-nn-* < **-nj-* as well as the **j > i/e*. The oblique case forms have thus *-innea/-inniu/-unnea* etc. (see Gallée 1993:§309). What interests us the most, however, is the nom.sg. Although there are many attestations of this suffix in the Heliand, there are no nom.sg. Especially valuable for these nom.sg. are therefore the rich onomastic attestations of this element, since the OS prose and glossary sources as a whole are younger and more influenced by OHG (especially Franconian) than the Heliand. The attestations of the nom.sg. with the element *-injō/-unjō-* show almost exclusively an ending *-in/-un*,³⁶⁰ so there should be no question about the genuine OS regularity of this ending.

³⁵⁹ The following words are attested (the nom.sg. is here normalized as *-in* and *-un*): *burthin* “burden”, *fastun* “fasting”, *wōstun/wōstin* “desert”, *hengin* “hanging”, *wurgarin* “suffocater”, *makerin* “bridewoman, matchmaker” and *hīmakirin* “id.; procuress”. For the many proper names in *-in*, see the following footnote. The once attested *budin* “butt” is a loan from Middle Latin *butina* (AhG:§211.Anm.3c, EWA II:480) and hence not an original *jō-st.*, but the nom.sg. *budin* (Wadstein 1899:87) suggests that it has joined the *injō*-formations. It must be emphasized, however, that this manuscript (Karlsruhe St. Peter perg. 87) is a mixture of glosses from a number of German dialects (cf. Köbler 2005:189), so it might not be OS. The f. gender is assured through Middle Low German examples such as “eyne bodde” (acc.sg.), “midt eyner bodden” (dat.sg.) (read /bōdde(n)/) and “in einer būdden” (dat.sg.), see MNW I:371. The glosses <brekin> “bitch” (G IV:211,19) and <suin arm> “natrix” (= *swimmarin*?) (G IV:206,6) in Trier Hs 61 might just as well, if not rather, be Middle Franconian, cf. Köbler 2000:B,63, 2005:681f. and the reservations in Holthausen 1954:V. The dat.sg. *lungandian* “lung” (Wadstein 1899:113,17) in Oxford Bodleian Library Auct. F 1 16 is an unclear formation, but probably an extended *jōn-st.* **lungannia*, cf. Gallée 1993:§335.Anm.3.

³⁶⁰ The non-onomastic attestations are <hīmakirin>, <vrgarin>, Düsseldorf Heinrich-Heine-Institut F 1 (Wadstein 1899:94,27 – 97,31), from the 10th century (Köbler 2005:93) and <makerin>, Oxford Bodleian Library Auct. F 1 16 (Wadstein 1899:113,33), from the 10th (Köbler 2005:469) or 11th (Krogh 1996:133) century. For the onomastic attestations, we will limit them to the ones from the 10th century or before. All the references are to the pages in

A discussion on how such an endingless nom.sg. could arise was already given in 2.6.2.1 in connection with the OHG forms, and one of the possibilities argued there could surely be the case in OS as well, i.e. that the geminated consonant *-nn-* was introduced into the nom.sg. before the syncope of **i* after a long syllable, by which syncope the ending would regularly develop as **-inni* > **-inn* > *-in* with simplification of the final geminated consonant.³⁶¹ The loss of a final vowel after an unstressed sequence *-Vn-* seemed, however, to be an inner-OHG development, which consequently should not be used to explain the OS forms. As was pointed out in footnote 279, though, OS knows a rule after which the ending *-ana*, which appears both in the m.acc.sg. of the adj. and in the adverbs discussed in footnote 279, is shortened to *-an* when it follows one long or two short syllables, but retained as *-ana* when following a short syllable (Gallée 1993:§344.Anm.4). It should consequently not be ruled out that the nom.sg. in *-in* and *-un* are generalized from the cases where this ending follows the sequences – and ∪∪, e.g. **burđini* > *burthin**, **wōstuni* > *wōstun**, **Sahsini* > *Sassin*. That this was the generalized variant must in that case be a case of frequency. The only attested formation in *-in/-un* in OS that follows a short syllable is *(-)birin*, after which we possibly should expect a full ending *-i* or *-e*.³⁶²

2.7.3 FEMALE NAMES

The female name elements **-gardijō-*, **-haiþijō-*, **-hildijō-* and **-lindijō-*, which we fairly certain can establish as original PG *ijō-st.* due to their continuations in the daughter languages,³⁶³ are amply attested in OS as *-gard/-gerd*, *-hēth*,³⁶⁴ *-hild* and *-lind* along many other f. name elements whose original declension is more uncertain, e.g. *-swīth*, *-thrūth*,³⁶⁵ *-wīs*. Just as the name element *-birin*, these *ijō-st.* have an endingless nom.sg., which probably reflects the actual OS form with apocoptation of the final **-i* following a long syllable. These nom.sg. are with all likelihood the direct continuations of a *dēvī-*ending PG **-īj* just as in the other NWG languages.

Schlaug 1962. Further references to the actual editions of the manuscripts with the following names can be found there. *Birina* [sic!] (59) *Adalbirin*, *Adelbrin* (48), *Filbirin* (83), *Gerbirin* (92), *Habrin* (111), *Meinbirin*, *Meinberin* (132), *Osbirin*, *Ospirin*, *Osbrin* (139), *Reinbirin* (144), *Siberin* (151), *Felhin* (83), *Frenkin* (87), *Hessin* (100), *Sassin* (149), *Swawin* (154), *Walīn*, *Welhin* (170), *Retun*, *Redun* (143), <Wanldun = *Waldun* (169). For the younger OS (so-called “spätaltsächsisch”) names, see Schlaug 1955.

³⁶¹ Cf. Holthausen 1921:§46 and Ramat 1969:§52.4.

³⁶² It is interesting that the once attested un-compounded proper name *Birina* is precisely attested with a vocalic ending and with a simple *n*. It is more likely, though, that the *-a* is the Latin nom.sg. attached to an OS **Birin*, cf. Schlaug 1962:12 “Im Nom. Erscheinen für beide Genera entweder die unflektierte Form, oder es wird mechanisch eine lat. Endung angehängt, *Liudger* und *Liudgerus*, fem. *Athalburg*, *-burga* oder *-burgis*”. What Schlaug calls “die unflektierte Form” is of course the genuine OS nom.sg.

³⁶³ For these name elements, see Schramm 1957:160ff.

³⁶⁴ Also *-heid* (Schlaug 1962:50 sub *Athalheid*), which obviously must be of non-Saxon origin.

³⁶⁵ Probably an *ī-st.* (cf. footnote 144). According to Schramm 1957:167, the appellative is an *ī-st.*, but the proper name an *ijō-st.*

These names are very rarely written in an oblique case, and when they are, they are usually declined with the proper Latin ending (Schlaug 1962:12). Any direct synchronic evidence for an *jō*-st. declension is thus not possible to obtain. The frequent variant *-gerd* of *-gard*³⁶⁶ could suggest an *i*-umlaut which would occur in the oblique cases by the medial **-i-* (e.g. dat.sg. **-gerdiu*), but is because of the conditioned OS fronting of NWG **a* to *e* ambiguous.³⁶⁷

The element **-niwjō-* is very poorly attested in OS. The only sure case is *Adalniu* (Schlaug 1962:51) and more doubtfully *Iniv* (i.e. *Inniu?*) (Schlaug 1962:120). There does not seem to be any attestations in later OS, cf. Schlaug 1955. An OS hapax does not allow us to do any well-founded speculation on the possible development **-niwi* > *-niu*.³⁶⁸ For the OHG *-niwi/-niu/-ni*, see 2.6.3.1.

2.7.4 OTHER (*i*)*jō*-STEMS

2.7.4.1 NWG **haljō-* “hell”

The NWG **haljō-* is attested in all the Germanic languages as a regular *jō*-st., cf. Gothic *halja**,³⁶⁹ ON *hel*, OHG *helle*, OE *hel*, OF *hille* and OLF *hella**,³⁷⁰ see Lühr 2000a:240 for the etymology. The OS attestations are as follows:

Acc.sg. <hellea> (4),³⁷¹ <hella>,³⁷² <hellie>,³⁷³ f.acc.sg. <hell> (3),³⁷⁴ <hel>,³⁷⁵ m.acc.sg. <hell> (3),³⁷⁶ <hel> (2),³⁷⁷ dat.sg. <helliū> (6),³⁷⁸ <helli>,³⁷⁹ <hella>,³⁸⁰ f.dat.sg. <helliū> (5),³⁸¹ <hell> (3),³⁸² gen.sg. <helli>,³⁸³ <hella> (2),³⁸⁴ <hellea>,³⁸⁵ <hella> (3),³⁸⁶ <hellie> (4),³⁸⁷ <helleo> (2),³⁸⁸ f.gen.sg. <helliun>,³⁸⁹

³⁶⁶ Numerously attested in the nom.sg., in which case most names are written, but also attested in the dat.sg. in *pro conjuge Hrodgerde* (Schlaug 1962:113), probably with the Latin dat./abl. ending *-e*.

³⁶⁷ According to Krogh 1996:147f., one of the conditions is a preceding or following liquid. The vowel in *-gard* > *-gerd* might have been fronted by a following *r*, a phenomenon also known from later Saxon, cf. Lasch 1974:§77.

³⁶⁸ For the phonetic reduction in composite names in OS, cf. Krogh 1996:186, partly quoted in footnote 294.

³⁶⁹ Voc.sg. *halja*, acc.sg. *halja*, dat.sg. *haljai* (Snædal II:361).

³⁷⁰ Acc./dat.sg. *hellon*, see 2.8.1

³⁷¹ CM898, CM1038.

³⁷² C4430.

³⁷³ M4430.

³⁷⁴ Genesis 2 (Behaghel 1996:241), M3400, C4446.

³⁷⁵ M4446.

³⁷⁶ C2511, C3357, C3400.

³⁷⁷ M2511, M3357.

³⁷⁸ Krogmann 1950:51,Ps.29,v.3, M1778, CM3384, CM4922.

³⁷⁹ Genesis 79 (Behaghel 1996:246). Cf. Holthausen 1921:§285.Anm.1 and Sehart 1966:241.

³⁸⁰ C1778.

³⁸¹ CM3364, CM3370, M3605.

³⁸² CM3388, C3605.

³⁸³ Krogmann 1950:56,Ps.114,v.3.

³⁸⁴ C1275, C1500.

³⁸⁵ C945.

nom.pl. <hellia>,³⁹⁰ <hellie>.³⁹¹ As the first member of a compound, the form is invariably *helli-*, cf. Sehrt 1966:247 and Köbler 2000:449f.

From this list it is rather obvious that the most common declension in OS is the *jō*-declension, so there should be no doubt that this is an inherited and directly continued feature in OS. All non-*jō*-st. case endings are consequently later innovations. If we remove the clear *jō*-st. cases from the list, we get f./m.acc.sg. *hel(l)* (f.)dat.sg. *hell, helli*, (f.)gen.sg. *helli, helliun*. The form *helliun* is just an *n*-st. extension from the original *jō*-st., and I see no particular reason to put any importance to the fact that the acc.sg. sporadically appears as a m. The claim that the m. form declines as an *a*-st. (Schlüter 1892:183) has no basis, since an endingless acc.sg. with a long first syllable is the regular form in the m. *ja-*, *i-*, *u-* and consonant stem as well. The remaining forms acc.sg. *hel(l)*, dat.sg. *hell, helli* and gen.sg. *helli* is clearly declined as a f. *i*-st.³⁹² This is also the only declension apart from the *jō*-declension that appears outside the Heliand. The fact that no analogical non-umlauted forms appear (i.e. acc./dat.sg. **hall*)³⁹³ suggests that the transition to the *i*-st. is relatively late. It has been common to claim³⁹⁴ that the acc. and dat.sg. form *hel(l)* originates from the nom.sg., where it supposedly is the regular development from NWG **halju*. This claim has basically arisen through a false equation with OE, where the nom.sg. *hel* has regularly developed through specific OE phonetic laws (see 2.5.1) – laws that do not operate in OS. As seen in 2.7.1.2, the OS continuation of NWG **ju* is *-i*, never *-∅*. The only thing particular about the word **haljō-* in OS is therefore that it has partly crossed over to the *i*-st. A similar transaction is seen in the NWG **sagja-* “man, follower”, which in OS declines as a m. *i*-st.³⁹⁵

2.7.4.2 NWG **piwjō-* “maid”

As we have already seen in 2.3, 2.4.2.1 and 2.6.4, the PG **beg^wjō*³⁹⁶ had a *dēvī*-type nom.sg. that would give NWG nom.sg. **piwi*. The OS attestations are:

³⁸⁶ C2081, M2601, C5433.

³⁸⁷ M1275, M2639, M3072, M5169.

³⁸⁸ M2081, M2145.

³⁸⁹ C5429.

³⁹⁰ C3078.

³⁹¹ M3078.

³⁹² Gallée’s comments (1993:§309.Anm.4) that “Gen. 79 zeig[t] einfluss der *i*-deklination” and “C 3605 ha[t] das kasussuffix verloren” only confuse the actual state.

³⁹³ Cf. f.dat.sg. *giweldi* vs. *giwald* “power” (Sehrt 1966:195).

³⁹⁴ Cf. Schlüter 1892:183, Holthausen 1921:§285.Anm.1, Prokosch 1939:245 and Gallée 1993:§309.Anm.2.

³⁹⁵ Nom.pl. CMS678 <seggi> (S = The Straubing manuscript, cf. Behagel 1996:XXIff. and Köbler 2005:306f.).

³⁹⁶ On the nature of this stem’s PG phonetics, see 2.11.2.

Nom.sg. <thiuuuu>,³⁹⁷ <thiu>,³⁹⁸ <thiui>,³⁹⁹ <thiuu>,⁴⁰⁰ gen.sg. <thiuun>,⁴⁰¹ <thi> (2).⁴⁰² The gen.sg. <thiuun> is an *n*-st. extension of little importance, and so could the nom.sg. <thiuuuu> be, both appearing in C. The latter could, of course, be a *jō*-st. nom.sg. with the usual acc.sg. for the nom.sg. The triple <uuu> is worth noticing, since it is a strong indication that the original *jō*-st. had gemination of the **w* when followed by **j*; **piwjō*- > **piwwjō*- > *thiuwa*.⁴⁰³ The nom.sg. <thiui> must be read as *thiwi*, as *w* sometimes is written with a single <u>, especially in C (Holthausen 1921:§163.Anm.), where this form appears. An intervocalic <u> represents normally a *b/f* (i.e. [β] or [v]) (Gallée 1993:161ff.), but since there etymologically are no grounds for having an **b* or **f* in this word, this is impossible in this example.

A fact that has not been recognized in the grammars or dictionaries is that the nom.sg. *thiwi*-gen.sg. *thī* constitute a f. *i*-st. paradigm with a short stem syllable. The main reason is probably that the gen.sg. <thi> usually has been regarded as an error.⁴⁰⁴ There does not seem to be anything in the manuscripts themselves that indicates an omission of <uu(u)a> (vel sim.),⁴⁰⁵ and when the discovery of the Lublin psalm fragments with its first edition in 1923 (Köbler 2005:698f.) confirmed the gen.sg. <thi> from the Heliand, it should no longer be considered an error. To assume the exact same omission of the same word in two different manuscripts is little appealing.

The phonetics is explained by van Helten 1895:190, who equals the Heliand form with the M1430 <nigean> “renew” (C1430 <niuuan>) and the Freckenhorst tax list <nigemo> “new” (Münster Msc. VII, 1316a, Wadstein 1899:40,32), where he sees the effect of “Synkope des zwischen zwei *i* stehenden *w*”. In certain case and temporal forms **niwi*- would syncopate to **nī*- and give the basis for the forms with <nig-> mentioned above.⁴⁰⁶ Gallée 1993:§107.Anm.

³⁹⁷ C285. Schlüter 1892:183, 259, Sehrt 1966:607 and Köbler 2000:987 read <thiuuuu>, Sievers 1935:22 and Gallée 1993:§309.Anm.2 <thiuua>, all without comments, though. It seems reasonable that the rendering *thiuua* is an interpretation of the written <thiuuuu>, although this cannot be established without seeing the manuscript with one’s own eyes.

³⁹⁸ M285.

³⁹⁹ C4956.

⁴⁰⁰ M4956.

⁴⁰¹ C5027.

⁴⁰² M5027, Krogmann 1950:58,Ps.115,v.6.

⁴⁰³ Rooth 1979:46⁸⁶ believes that there was no gemination of **-ijw-* in OS, and interprets the three attestations of the adj. <niu-> “new” in the Heliand as *nīw-*, partly because “im Heliand drückt die Schreibung *uu* [...] *w* aus”. Any comment to the form <thiuuuu> or the word as a whole is not offered.

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. Sievers 1876:71, where the M5027 <thi> is classified as a “schreibfehler”, and Krogmann 1950:58, who attempts to amend <thi> to *thi[uun]* or *thi[uue]*.

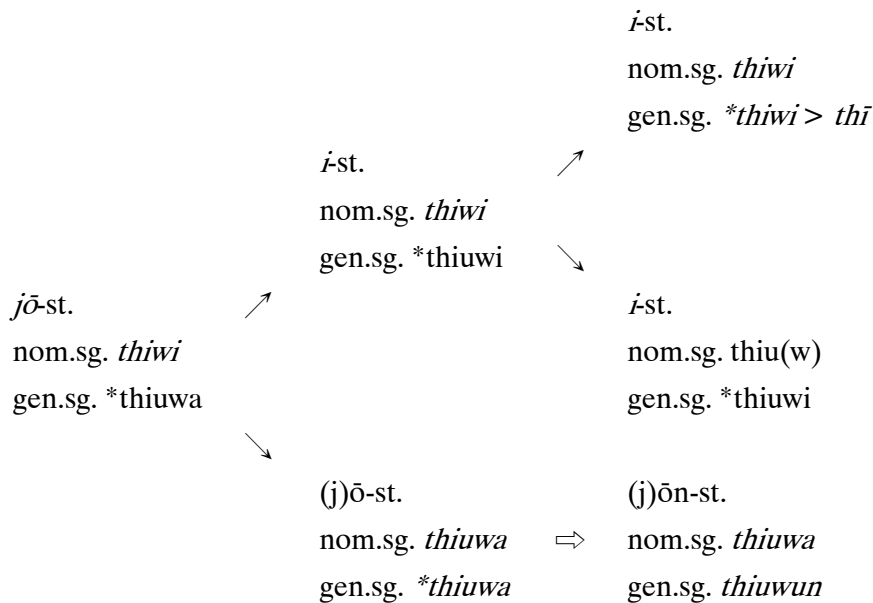
⁴⁰⁵ Sievers 1935:343 does not indicate any gap after this word, and as Krogmann 1950:50 explains, “Undeutliche Buchstaben und Wörter sind in runde, ergänzte in eckige Klammern gesetzt worden”.

⁴⁰⁶ E.g. 3.sg.pret.ind. **niwida* > **nīda* and m./n.nom.sg. **niwi* > **nī*. The latter can only be correct, of course, if the consonant gemination postdates the syncopation of **a* (cf. Dal 1971:65ff. and Krogh 1996:288ff. Differently Grønvik 1998:99ff.). The graphic <g> denotes a hiatus-filling glide *j* next to a palatal vowel, cf. Holthausen 1921:§173.Anm.3.

added a number of onomastic examples where the adj. *nī* “new” appeared,⁴⁰⁷ and van Helten’s theory seems to have gotten the final proof with the discovery of the Lublin psalm fragments. We consequently have a paradigm nom.sg. *thiwi*– gen.sg. *thī* < **thiwi*, declining exactly like e.g. the f. *ī*-st. *stedi* “place”.

The other nom.sg. <thiu> and <thiuu> do not reveal to which stem they belong. They are most likely either a *(j)ō*-st. with an endingless nom.sg.⁴⁰⁸ or an *ī*-st. with a long first syllable, and hence without the ending *-ī*. To make a long syllable, it would have to have a stem *thiuw-*, which easily could have been extrapolated from the oblique cases where the gemination regularly would occur (van Helten 1892:302). A nom.sg. **thiuw* would then regularly simplify the auslaut to *thiu* (cf. Holthausen 1921:§169). The form <thiuu> could be read as *thiuw* with a reinstated sequence *-uw* from the oblique cases, although the reinstatement could be purely graphical, not phonetic. To read <thiuu> as *thiw* would serve no purpose, as *iu* is a falling diphthong in OS (cf. Holthausen 1921:§45). *thiu* and *thiw* would then be only two different ways of writing the same.

Since the *(j)ōn*-st. <thiuun>, *(j)ō(n)*-st. <thiuuua> and the gemination *-uw-* all require an original *jō*-st., it is certain that this PG *jō*-st. is continued as such in OS. Given the nom.sg. ending *-ī* along with the fact that the syllable *thiw-* in <thiui> has not suffered gemination and thus must be short, the NWG nom.sg. **þiwi* has also been directly continued in OS. The attested OS forms are consequently the result of multiple paradigm splits:



⁴⁰⁷ E.g. *Nihēm* and *Nihūs*. See also Dal 1971:67⁴.

⁴⁰⁸ Such endingless nom.sg. are attested in OS in *thiod* (see 2.2.6), *tharf* (Schlüter 1892:183), and possibly *winding* (Holthausen 1921:§283.2). The OHG form is sometimes *winting*, sometimes *wintinga* (cf. Starck/Wells 1990:735). That the runic names *mīs* and *nōn* (Rome Bibliotheca Vaticana, fol. 266, Gallée 1894:260) are f. (Gallée 1993:§307.Anm.1) is based solely on their Latin origin. *mias* is m. or n. in OHG (attested three times in the Benedict rule, Masser 2002:321), and *nōn* is n. in OE and ON. Original endingless nom.sg. used in the acc.sg. are *half* (Sehrt 1966:215), C5802 *hwīl* and *thiod* (see above).

The only unsure element in this development is if the nom.sg. *thiu(w)* is the nom.sg. to an *i*-st. or a (*j*)*ō*-st., as discussed above. This resembles to some extent what we found in OHG (see 2.6.4), the main difference being that the nom.sg. *thiwi* was not attested there. This OS nom.sg. serves thus as the “missing link” in the OHG development. The reason why *thiwi* was analogically ousted before the written sources in OHG but not in OS is basically because the short *i*-stems in OHG were analogically changed after the *i*-st. with a long syllable, whereas the distinction between these stems were kept in OS.⁴⁰⁹

2.7.4.3 *heri* “crowd”

The OS word *heri* “crowd” is listed as a m. *ja*-st. and a f. *jō*-st. by Gallée 1993:§302, §309. It is attested 26 times in the Heliand: nom.sg. ⟨heri⟩ (2),⁴¹⁰ m.nom.sg. ⟨heri⟩,⁴¹¹ f.nom.sg. ⟨heri⟩ (5),⁴¹² acc.sg. ⟨heri⟩ (2),⁴¹³ m.acc.sg. ⟨heri⟩,⁴¹⁴ f.acc.sg. ⟨heri⟩ (4),⁴¹⁵ f.dat.sg. ⟨heri⟩ (6),⁴¹⁶ ⟨heriu⟩,⁴¹⁷ gen.sg. ⟨heries⟩ (2).⁴¹⁸ The C4126-7 ⟨thar Iudeono uuas heri huand mahal endi hobitstedi⟩ vs. M4126-7 ⟨thar Iudeono uuas hereo endi handmahal endi hobidstedi⟩ is obviously corrupted. I prefer Sievers’ and Behaghel’s (1996:147) reading *heri endi handmahal* as nom.sg.⁴¹⁹ The final word in C5668 has been read differently; Sievers (1935:373,16) and Behaghel (1996:198) read ⟨hier⟩ “here”, Holthausen (1921:§97.Anm.) and Sehart (1966:251) read ⟨hier⟩. Any solution cannot be given here without viewing the manuscript oneself.

The word is overwhelmingly f., and from the four positive m. cases, three appear in M. Being older than C, this is in correspondence with the fact that the word is originally a m. *ja*-st. (cf. e.g. Lühr 2000a:186). The f.nom./acc./dat.sg. *heri* could either be an *i*-st. or an *īn*-st. The M1972 f.dat.sg. ⟨heriu⟩ seems to suggest an *īn*-st., since *jō*-st. endings are prone to occur there (Gallée 1993:§311).⁴²⁰ The OS *heri* is consequently a m. *ja*-st. and a f. *i*- or *īn*-st. There is hardly any basis to claim that this word is a f. *jō*-st.⁴²¹

⁴⁰⁹ That this was a stable state of affairs in OS is seen through its continuation in Middle Low German, cf. Lasch §365.Anm.1 and §380.Anm.

⁴¹⁰ CM5057.

⁴¹¹ M2001.

⁴¹² C2001, CM4926, C5413, C5423.

⁴¹³ CM4320.

⁴¹⁴ M2014.

⁴¹⁵ CM1898, C2014, C5409.

⁴¹⁶ C1972, CM3526, C5470, C5476, C5876.

⁴¹⁷ M1972.

⁴¹⁸ CM3693.

⁴¹⁹ Holthausen 1920:340 prefers to read ⟨heries handmahal⟩.

⁴²⁰ A dat.sg. *-iu* in the f. *i*-st. does not occur in the Heliand, only in later sources (Holthausen 1921:§292.Anm., Gallée 1993:§316.Anm.).

⁴²¹ Kauffmann 1887:349 decided that most of the f. forms for metrical reasons should be read with a long vowel *hēri*. Holthausen 1888:375 agreed, and suggested that *hēri* was another word all together, namely the adj. abstract to *hēr* “noble”. This has been followed in all grammars and dictionaries since (Holthausen 1921:§276.Anm.1, 1954:33, Sehart

2.7.4.4 WG **raþjō*- “speech, account”

The WG word **raþjō*- exists also in Gothic as a *jōn*-st. *raþjō*,⁴²² and is with all likelihood of common heritage with the Latin *ratio* (cf. Kluge 1995:673). The word appears twice in the Heliand (CM2611) in the dat.sg. <rethiu> “account” and once in Düsseldorf Heinrich-Heine-Institut F 1 (10th century, Köbler 2005:93) in the nom.sg. <réthi> “speech” (translating Latin *ōrātiō*) (Wadstein 1899:96,36). This has made Gallée 1993:§309 list *rethi* as a “[k]urzsilbig[...] *jō*-st[a]mm[...]” alongside *thiwi* and *heri* discussed above. OS does not geminate an original **p* (cf. footnote 540), and the WG nom.sg. **raþju* would after the apocoptation of the final **-u* regularly give OS *rethi* (cf. 2.7.1.2). Considering that *-i* would be the phonetic regular ending regardless of a preceding consonant gemination (2.7.1.2), one would need good arguments in order to claim that the original ending is preserved here, but not in the other *jō*-st. As we saw above, the form *thiwi* does not reflect a NWG nom.sg. **-ju*, and *heri* is a late transition from the *ja*-st. to the *in*-st.

There is a verb *rethion** made from the same root in OS, attested twice in the Heliand (CM5211) with the meaning “speak”.⁴²³ There is every reason to believe that the gloss <réthi> is a verbal abstract from this verb, and that it thus is an *in*-st., formed along the same pattern as e.g. *hrōri* “movement” (M4337) from *hrōrien* “move” (M4099), possibly spontaneously in analogy with the Latin *ōrātiō* ⇔ *ōrāre* (as *agitātiō* “movement” ⇔ *agitāre* “move”). The same formation appears in the Franconian Frankfurt Ms. Barth. 64 (9th century, Köbler 2005:128) <redi> “discussion” (G II:147,70), which means that Franconian influence is another possibility.⁴²⁴

The OS *rethi* “speech” does consequently not reflect the original nom.sg. **raþju* or any *dēvī*-formation, which would be unparalleled in the Germanic languages. It is rather a later analogical *in*-st. abstract from the verb *rethion** “speak”.

2.7.4.5 Abstracts in *-nissia*

The OS abstracts in *-nissia*/*-nussi*/*-nissi*/*-nessi* were treated in 2.6.5.5, where it was shown that they were not *jō*-stems, but *in*-stems.

2.7.5 THE ADJECTIVE

As mentioned in 2.7.1.2, there is no attested f.nom.sg. *jō*-st. adj., whereas the f.nom.sg. of the *ijō*-st. adj. end in *-i* (2.7.1.3). This must continue a NWG ending **-iju*, as a *dēvī*-ending **-i* would suffer apocoptation after a long syllable (cf. 2.7.1.1). The OS agrees consequently with OHG and

1966:251, Gallée 1993:§302.Anm.3, Behaghel 1996 passim, Köbler 2000:456), but Specht showed sufficiently in 1933 (134ff.) that this view for metrical and semantical reasons, as well as for the consequent inconsistency with M, is untenable.

⁴²² “number” Jh 6,10, RmA 9,27, “account” Lk 16,2, RmC 14,12, FIB 4,15? (translating οὐδεμία μοι ἐκκλησία ἐκοινωνήσεν εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήμψεως).

⁴²³ *he with waldand Krist rethiode an them rakude* “he spoke to the lord Christ in the temple”.

⁴²⁴ This word is elsewhere in OHG amply attested as a *jō*-st., cf. Köbler 1993 sub *reda*.

OE in continuing a f.nom.sg. ending **-iju* in the *ijō*-st. adj. in spite of the fact that the noun shows clear remnants of a *dēvī*-ending **-i*.

2.8 Old Low Franconian

2.8.1 APPELLATIVES

The by far richest and most important attestation of the OLF language is transmitted to us in its eastern variant in the Wachtendonck psalms and in the Lipsius glosses, which are a list of words extracted from the original Wachtendonck Psalms by Justus Lipsius.⁴²⁵ The OLF psalms are preserved in a 17th century copy (Berlin Diez 4° 90), probably a copy of Lipsius' copy of the psalms, or maybe a fragment of Lipsius' copy itself (Quak 1975:6). The original psalms were presumably written in the 9th century (Köbler 2005:32). The Lipsius glosses exist in two different lists, one of which is printed in Lipsius' letter compilation from 1602 (reprinted in Quak 1973:39ff.), the other in Leiden Ms. Lips. 53, not written by Lipsius himself, but with his margin remarks.⁴²⁶ Seven of the 14 glosses from a lost 9th century manuscript, originally in Roth's possession, are taken from Wachtendonck psalm 55, and constitute the final testimony of these psalms.⁴²⁷

Another source for OFL is the Leiden Williram, preserved in an 11th century manuscript (Leiden B.P.L. 130). The Germanic text in this manuscript represents, however, "einen vollständigen Mischdialekt" between OHG/MHG and OLF, presumably in its northern variant, and this makes "[e]ine sichere Zuordnung aller Laute zum Althochdeutschen/Mittelhochdeutschen einerseits bzw. zum Altniederfränkischen/Altniederdeutschen [anderseits] [...] kaum möglich" (Köbler 2005:229f.). For a nearer investigation of the language in this manuscript, see van Helten 1897 and Sanders 1974.⁴²⁸

The definition of this language is usually in the negative, in that it lacks the typical Ingvaenic and High German features (cf. van Helten 1971:§4). In regard to our investigation of the *(i)jō*-st., OLF is of extremely little value. The *(i)jō*-st. shows absolutely no characteristics as opposed to the *ō*-st., and this has in its turn completely merged with the *ōn*-st. to form a uniform paradigm. Original *(i)jō*-stems can only be recognized through *i*-umlaut or by consonant gemination. Examples of this from the Wachtendonck psalms are gen.sg. *thiuuon* "ancillae" (Leiden

⁴²⁵ van Helten 1971:1, Quak 1981:1.

⁴²⁶ van Helten 1971:2, Quak 1973:53.

⁴²⁷ See Köbler 2005:577. The glosses are listed in G IV:685.

⁴²⁸ van Helten 1897:437f. erroneously classifies the Williram text as "mittelfränkisch", as he fails to acknowledge the amount of mixing from the High German *Vorlage* with the Low Franconian dialect of the scribe, cf. Sanders 1974:305.

115,16),⁴²⁹ *uuostinnon* “deserti” (Berlin 64,13)⁴³⁰ and acc./dat.sg. *an hellon* “in infernum” (Berlin 54,16).⁴³¹

Middle Dutch, which is the continuation of OLF (but probably from its western variants), shows similarly no special characteristics of the *(ij)jō*-st. In the words of Franck 1910:§182:

Die Flexion der *jō*-St. unterscheidet sich nicht von der der *ō*-St. Kennlich sind die ersteren zum Teil am Umlaut oder an der verschärften Konsonanz; *jō*-St. sin z. B. *garde* oder *gerde*, *sonde*, *helle*, *brugge* oder *brigghe*, *cribbe*, *minne*, *hitte* (*hette*), *nichte* (*nifte*) und die Fem. auf *-inne*.

Franck 1910:§183 notes that *coninghin* “queen” occurs as nom.sg. in some texts. Whether this is a direct continuation of a OLF nom.sg. form in *-in* (cf. 2.8.2) is difficult to tell, but in my view probably not the case, since the nom.sg. of the *(ij)ō(n)*-st. appellative in OLF invariably ends in *-a* (van Helten 1971:156). As mentioned in footnote 305, the endingless forms in the nom./acc.sg. of the *(ij)ō*-st. in Middle Dutch could be from the *ī*-st. The form *coningin* could thus be explained as a part of the same analogy. Another possibility is that the final *-e* of *coninginne* has been apocopated, since apocopation of a final *-e* occurs when it follows a semi- or unstressed syllable (Franck 1910:24). This is anyhow usually not the case with the derivations in *-inne*, where the fuller form usually prevails (Franck 1910:§183).

2.8.2 FEMALE NAMES

The only trace of the ending **-ī* in Low Franconian is found in female names in the Xanten obituary, recorded in the manuscript Münster Hs 101 from the 11th century (Tiefenbach 1984:48). The *injō*-suffix is attested twice in *-berin* and once in *-birin* and *Freinkin*, all without an ending (op.cit. 62, 65), and similarly are the certain *ijō*-stems *-gard* (21 attestations, op.cit. 89), *-hild* (18 attestations, once *-hilda*, op.cit. 60), *-lind* (11 attestations, op.cit. 61), *-hēt[h]/-hīt[h]* (six attestations, once *-hētha* and once *-hēthe*, op.cit. 72) and *-flīt*.⁴³² Also with a nom.sg. ending *-∅* are *-swīth/-swīht/-swīt/-swind* (14 attestations, op.cit. 95) and *-thrūd* (three times, op.cit. 86), but their adherence to the *ijō*-st. is more uncertain, cf. 2.7.3. Especially interesting is the name *Adalduu* (?). As Tiefenbach 1984:70 notes:

Ein besonderes Problem stellt der Name *Adalduu* 27/XI dar, der in der Lesung nicht völlig sicher ist. Offenbar hat zuerst *Adaluu* gestanden. Dann ist *d* zwischen *l* und *u* unter Benutzung der ersten *u*-Haste hineinkorrigiert worden. Somit könnte auch *Adaldui* gelesen werden, zumal die ursprünglichen *-ui* am Wortende in ihren Proportionen unverändert sind. Der von Schriftbild her ebenfalls möglichen Lesung *-duu* ist aber vielleicht aus namenphilologischen Erwägungen der Vorzug zu geben, da ein *ī* sich in dieser Position in Namen lautgesetzlich nicht halten konnte.

⁴²⁹ The name refers to the manuscript, the number to the psalm.

⁴³⁰ But cf. dat.sg. *uustinon* “deserto” (Berlin 67,8) without gemination.

⁴³¹ For the question of acc. or dat. following the preposition *an*, see van Helten 1971:26⁴.

⁴³² One attestation, cf. Tiefenbach 1984:67. For the *ijō*-st. declension of this element, cf. Schramm 1957:159f.

Tiefenbach's notion that a final **-j* would have to drop in this position seems rather uncertain to me, however. It has admittedly been apocopated after a short syllable in *-win(us)* (op.cit. 60), but not after a short syllable in *-heri* (14 attestations, op.cit. 64),⁴³³ so I do not see any phonological reasons to avoid a reading *-diwi*. As Tiefenbach (1984:70) in any case suggests, however, "wäre ein analogischer Anschluß an das parallele Appellativ [**thiwi*] denkbar".

Interesting for the historical interpretation of the names above are the attestations of final name elements that belong to the *ō*-st. They are generally much fewer and poorer attested, but it is nevertheless interesting to notice that after a short syllable, both the attestations show a full ending *-a* (in *-geua*, Tiefenbach 1984:62). After a long syllable, both the regular apocopated ending (*-lōg*, *-berg* op.cit. 62, 93) and an analogical *-a* (*-berga*, op.cit. 62) occur. Due to the low number of attestations together with the possibility that the *-a* could be a Latinization, these cannot be given any conclusive weight, though.

2.9 Old Frisian

In OF, the state is somewhat similar to that of OLF, but not progressed to the same state of merging, as the *ōn*-st. is usually kept separated from the *ō*-st. by the sg. oblique case ending *-a* vs. *-e*,⁴³⁴ and even better in Old West Frisian by the nom./acc.pl. ending with *-n* in the *ōn*-st., an ending that is much rarer is Old East Frisian.⁴³⁵

The (*i*)*jō*-st. on the other hand, the subject of our investigation, cannot be separated from the *ō*-st. other than by the umlauted root vowel and consonant gemination. Original *jō*-st. are e.g. *bregge* "bridge", *egge* "edge",⁴³⁶ *hille* "hell", *minne* "love",⁴³⁷ *sinne* "crime" and *wretze/wreek(e)* "revenge"(acc.sg.). Original *ijō*-st. are *bende* "fetter, bond", *hēr* "hire", *ierde* "crop", *sende* "sin", *skenzie* "jug"⁴³⁸ and *stiure* (dat.sg.) "helm". There are occasional nom.sg. without ending, e.g. *bend*, *eg* and *hēr*. But these appear just as often in the oblique sg. cases, e.g. acc./dat.sg. *eg/ig*, dat.sg. *hel*, acc./dat.sg. *hēr*, acc.sg. *wreek*. For the apocopation of final *-e* in OF, see van Helten

⁴³³ Tiefenbach notes also *-her(e)* with four attestations, but does not reveal how many of these have *-here* and how many *-her*.

⁴³⁴ Quite frequently, however, *-e* appears for the normal *-a*, as well as *-a* for *-e*. Sometimes the expected vocalic ending has been completely apocopated. For an extensive listing of such cases, see van Helten 1970:49ff, 138ff., 152ff.

⁴³⁵ Steller 1928:§60.Anm.2. The cases with a final *-n* in Old East Frisian are listed in van Helten 1970:§192.

⁴³⁶ For the first Emsigo dat.sg. *edse* (Richthofen 1840:699), see van Helten 1970:§139.

⁴³⁷ Traditionally derived from **minjō* < **minþjō*- with loss of a dental between **n* and **j* (see e.g. Grundriss I,2:707f. and Lühr 1988:343), a rule that seems very questionable, as the preservation of the dental is said to have occurred before **i*, hence nom.sg. **sundī* ≥ OHG *sunte*, OF *sende*, but gen.sg. **sundjōz* > **sunjōz* > OE *synne*, ON *synjar*, Gothic *sunjōs*, OF *sinne* (nom.sg.). After a long syllable, however, there would not be a **j* following the dental, but a **i* through Sievers' law. Since the effects of Sievers' law and the difference between **j* and **ij* are visible in OE, OR and ON, there cannot have been any "revocation" of the Sievers-variant **ij* to **j* in PG before the rule of dental loss. I see no reason why **minjō*- could not have been the PG form, as a verbal abstract in **-jeh₂* from the verbal root **√men*.

⁴³⁸ Also a nom.sg. *schansa* in the third Emsigo (van Helten 1970:§168α, not noted by Richthofen 1840).

1970:49ff. This does not allow us to do any well-founded speculation if the endless nom.sg. are the continuations of original **-ju*, **-iju* and **-i*. It would seem reasonable that **-ju* and **-i* were present in pre-OF just as in pre-OE, though, but the more progressive state of analogy between the stems with a short syllable and with a long syllable, as well as between the sg. cases, and probably also with the *i*-st., makes the basis for seeing a great amount of regular outcomes in OF too uncertain.⁴³⁹

The *injō/unjō*-suffix exists in OF as well, of course, and I have been able to locate six cases. These are *bernthe** “burden”,⁴⁴⁰ *Fresinne* “Frisian woman”,⁴⁴¹ *lungene** “lung”,⁴⁴² *ofstigenne* “descending”,⁴⁴³ *upstigenne* “mounting”,⁴⁴⁴ and *wostene/westene** “desert”.⁴⁴⁵ The word *lendene** “loin” is not formed with this suffix.⁴⁴⁶ For the simplification of the gemination *-nn-* > *-n-* in unstressed position, see van Helten 1970:121.

Since there in any case is no doubt that the suffix with which these words are formed originally belonged to the *jō*-st.,⁴⁴⁷ we will concentrate on the nom.sg. ending in OF, as this is of greatest interest. The nom.sg. is attested three times as *Fresinne* and *-stiginne* (2), all belonging to the rather young East Frisian Fivelgo manuscript from the first half of the 15th century.⁴⁴⁸ These nom.sg. have the normal *ō*-st. nom.sg. in *-e* ← acc.sg. The acc.sg. *lungen* is from the East Frisian

⁴³⁹ van Helten 1970:§168 lists a number of endless nom.sg. following one long or two short syllables in the *ō*-st., but there are more following one short syllable than he mentions, e.g. *fer* “journey”, *klag* “complaint”, *sek* “case” and *weir* “ware”.

⁴⁴⁰ Dat.sg. *bernde*, *bernte*, *bernthe*, *berne* < **berthen(n)e* < **burþinjō*- (van Helten 1970:§106). The attestations in Richthofen 1840:627.

⁴⁴¹ Nom.sg. *Fresinne* (Sjölin II:33), dat.sg. *Fresinna* (Sjölin loc.cit., van Helten 1970:§168γ), gen.pl. *Fresina* (Hoekstra 1950:187).

⁴⁴² Acc.sg. *lungen*, gen.pl. *lungene* (2) (Richthofen 1840:913).

⁴⁴³ Nom.sg. *ofstigenne* (Sjölin II:68).

⁴⁴⁴ Nom.sg. *vp stigenne* (Sjölin II:103). Although the verbal abstract meaning resembles the formations in *-ene* (f. *i*-st.) more than an original *injō*-st., the gemination alongside the semantic parallel in OS dat.sg. *henginnia* “hanging” (C5433) seems to ascertain *-stiginne* as an OF *injō*-st. For the f. verbal abstracts in *-ene* see Ahlsson 1960:10ff. and van Helten 1970:§176.

⁴⁴⁵ Dat.sg. *wostene* (4), *westene* (3) (Richthofen 1840:1160), *westenia* (Sjölin II:110). According to Köbler 2003b (sub *wēstene*), there are only six attestations, but there are apparently at least eight. The difference in the root vowel between an *ō* and an unlauded *ē* must be due to the continuation of both the variants **wōstunjō*- and *wōstinjō*- as we find clearly in OS (see Appendix 2). According to van Helten 1970:§168γ, the form *westenia* is to be read as *wēstena* or *wēstenne*, as an original **(i)j* is altogether lost in OF after a consonant other than *r* (van Helten 1970:§91β).

⁴⁴⁶ Pace van Helten 1970:136. The OE pl. *lendenu/lendena* appears as a pure *ō*- and n. *a*-st. OHG *lentī(n)* (the *i* is not marked as long in the Benedict rule [dentj] Masser 1997:141,18] and not used by Notker) is obviously a recreation of the original *ō*-st. **lentina*, cf. e.g. *lugina* “lie” → *lugī(n)*. The sometimes quoted OS simplex *lending* does not exist. The only attestation is the Berlin Ms. Lat. 8° 73 compound <ldindinbred> “loin” (G III:686,67). The OF attestations dat.pl. *lendum*, acc.pl. *lenderna* seem only to back the notion that we have a WG formation **landinō*-. For the medial *-r-*, see van Helten 1970:§94.

⁴⁴⁷ See e.g. 2.5.3, 2.6.2 and Appendix 2.

⁴⁴⁸ Steller 1928:3, Köbler 2003b:XVII.

third Emsing manuscript from about the same time as the Fivelgo Ms.⁴⁴⁹ This form could in theory reflect an original nom.sg. **lungen* with a direct continuation of a *dēvī*-ending NWG **-uni*, but the fact that apocopation of a final *-e* appears in the oblique sg. cases of *(ij)ō*-st. prevents us from legitimately make such a claim. The *injō/unjō*-formations can thus not be separated from the normal *(ij)ō*-declension.

Due to the complete merger of *ō*- and *(ij)ō*-st. in OF, the characteristic nom.sg. in **-ī* has left no sure traces in the OF declension. There are nevertheless many recognizable *(ij)ō*-st. in OF, seen clearly through the consonant gemination and the *i*-umlaut of the root vowel.

2.10 Summary

We have seen that the PG *(ij)ō*-st. is well attested with its many characteristics in all the Germanic daughter languages. The continuations can be split in two sub-groups based mainly on their nom.sg. form. One group has the *dēvī*-ending PG **-ī*, whereas the other shows the *vidyā*-ending PG **-(ij)ō*.

Gothic has by far the widest distribution of the *dēvī*-ending. As PG **-ī* regularly gives *-i* there as opposed to **-(ij)ō > -ja*, there is never any doubt which of the endings that is continued. Gothic has the *dēvī*-ending in all substantival and adjectival *(ij)ō*-stems that were not monosyllabic short stems as well as in the monosyllabic short *mawi* and *þiwi*.

Although ON completely apocopates both PG **-ī* and **-jō*, one can see the continuations of the *dēvī*-ending in that it has had an addition of an ending **-R*. The *dēvī*-ending in ON is thus *-r*. This is used in all monosyllabic long stems as well as in the monosyllabic short *már* and *þír*. There has additionally been a wide spread of the *dēvī*-ending in compounded female names, an analogy also seen in the other Nordic languages. The adj. could theoretically continue **-ī* when following a long syllable, but has more probably the analogical *(j)ō*-st. ending *-ø*. There is no trace of any ending **-ijō* either in the noun or the adj. The infrequent ON polysyllables show no clear traces of a *dēvī*-ending **-ī*.

OE apocopates both **-jō* and **-ī*, but retains **-ijō* as *-u*. The ending **-jō* causes a gemination of the preceding consonant, something which also occurs in the oblique cases by the stem suffix form **-jō*-. The uniform nom.sg. *-ø* continues thus **-jō* in the *jō*-st. and **-ī* in the *ijō*-st. The *ijō*-st. adj., on the other hand, ends in *-u* and must continue **-ijō*-. The frequent lack of consonant gemination in the nouns with a polysyllabic sequence \cup suggests a suffix form **-ijō*-. The nom.sg. of the polysyllables with the suffixes *-injō/-unjō/-isjō/-usjō*- seems to continue a *dēvī*-ending **-ī*, although an ending **-(ij)ō* with analogical leveling cannot be excluded.

OHG has generally replaced the nom.sg. with the acc.sg. **-jō* would be reflected as *-i*, **-ijō* most likely as *-iu*, whereas **-ī* is apocopated after a long syllable. The replacement of the nom.sg. by the acc.sg. has not taken place in certain instances. The derivational suffixes *-injō/-unjō/-isjō*-

⁴⁴⁹ Steller 1928:3, Köbler 2003b:XVII.

/-usjō- form their nom.sg. without any ending, which with great probability continues a *dēvī*-ending **-ī*. The many female names adhering to the *ijō*-st. with an endingless nom.sg. are the regular outcome of an ending **-ī*. This *dēvī*-ending is preserved after a short syllable in the name element *-niwi* and indirectly in the *i*-st. declension of *thiu*. The adj. continues only **-jō* and **-ijō*.

OS displays more or less the same picture as OHG. The acc.sg. has replaced the nom.sg. in most instances, but the original *dēvī*-ending **-ī* can be seen in *thiwi*, whereas it has been apocopated in the *injō/unjō*-suffix and in the composite female names. The *ijō*-st. adj. in *-i* continues **-ijō*, as **-ī* would have suffered complete apocotation.

OLF and OF have no sure continuations of a *dēvī*-ending **-ī* among the appellatives, and both replace the original nom.sg. with the acc.sg. OLF seems nevertheless to continue an original **-ī* in the proper names. The original (*i*)*jō*-stems among the appellatives can be recognized through the *i*-umlaut and consonant gemination only.

2.11 Proto-Germanic

2.11.1 THE PG TRANSPONAT

If we create a PG system as a bare transponat of the state we find in the daughter languages as described in 2.10, the *dēvī*-ending would at a maximum appear in the following cases:

1. Monosyllabic long stems, including female names (Gothic, ON, OE, OHG, OS, OLF)
2. *injō/unjō*-stems (Gothic, OE, OHG, OS)
3. **peg^wjō-* (Gothic, ON, OHG, OS)
4. **mag^wjō-* (Gothic, ON)
5. *isjō/usjō*-stems (OE, OHG)
6. *ijō*-st. adj. (Gothic)
7. Polysyllables (Gothic)

It is self-evident that the certainty of a common PG *dēvī*-ending decreases as we move down the list, since the daughter languages that continue this hypothetical PG ending become fewer and fewer. The first four classes in the list should be considered as positively having a PG *dēvī*-ending **-ī*, the first three by the number of daughter languages that continue such a state, and the fourth by portraying the same phonetic and syllable structure as well as the same semantic derivation as number three. Before discussing the PG distribution of the PIE endings, we must therefore try to establish whether the last three cases on the list actually contain a PG *dēvī*-ending.

2.11.1.1 *isjō/usjō*-st.

As we saw in 2.5.3, the *isjō/usjō*-suffix shows a variety of meanings, but preferentially nomina instrumenti. The adherence to the *jō*-st. is ascertained by the regular gemination of the *s* (OE *hægtess-*, OHG *hāziss-*) as well as by characteristic *jō*-st. endings (OHG *kebese* < **-iā*).⁴⁵⁰ This

⁴⁵⁰ This OHG word could regularly lack gemination of the *s* by Dahl's law, as in OE *ciefese*, cf. 2.5.3.

suffix has probably had voiced counterparts **-izjō-/*-uzjō-* by Verner’s law, clearly seen in Gothic *aqizi* “ax” and *jukuzi* “yoke”, and the correspondences with other Germanic forms such as OHG *akkus*⁴⁵¹ (with the unvoiced variant) and OE *gycer* “acre”⁴⁵² assure this as an original PG feature. The Gothic nom.sg. *aqizi* does not in itself prove an original PG *dēvī*-ending for this suffix, first by the fact that the two syllables of the stem are short and thus make the equivalence to one long syllable,⁴⁵³ after which the *dēvī*-ending was always used, and secondly because Gothic always use the ending *-ī* in the nom.sg. of polysyllables.

More revealing is the *grammatischer Wechsel* **-isjō-/*-usjō-* vs. **-izjō-/*-uzjō-*. Original *īeh₂*-stems did not have a kinetic accent which could give the rise to a *grammatischer Wechsel* (Schaffner 2001:365). The *dēvī*-type, on the other hand, is originally proterokinetic (see 1.11.2). If the *dēvī*-suffix **ih₂/īeh₂* followed an original *s*-st. such as PIE **(H)jéwǵ-os* “yoke”,⁴⁵⁴ we would regularly get a nom.sg. **(H)jūǵ-és-ih₂* vs. a gen.sg. **(H)jūǵ-s-īeh₂-s*. As the latter would give **(H)jūksjēh₂s* > PG **jūhsijōz*, the *s*-suffix could receive an analogical *u*-graded zero grade⁴⁵⁵ in the earliest PG to maintain the structure of the root, by which we would get nom.sg. **jukisī* – gen.sg. **jukuzijōz* → **jukuzī* – **jukuzijōz*. In the case of *aqizi*, a pre-Germanic **ag^w-és-ih₂* – **ag^w-s-īeh₂*⁴⁵⁶ could similarly at some stage create an *s*-suffix form **-us-* to form a paradigm PG **ak^wisī* – **ak^wuzijōz* → **ak^wizī* – **ak^wizijōz* (Gothic),⁴⁵⁷ **ak^wisī* – **ak^wisijōz* / **-usijōz* (NWG).⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵¹ The OHG form declines as a f. consonant stem (AhG:§240.Anm.2).

⁴⁵² The word is a hapax. Stem and gender is therefore unknown (cf. Bammesberger 1965:416). The meaning must be secondary to “yoke”, probably through a use “the amount of land plowed (with the help of a yoke) within a certain amount of time”, cf. ON *rǫst* “mile” < “the distance one can walk before having to take a rest”.

⁴⁵³ This is backed by the fact that the ON *ǫx* declines as an *ijō*-st. with an acc./dat.sg. *ǫxi*.

⁴⁵⁴ Greek ζέωγος. Cf. Krahe/Meid III:§112.

⁴⁵⁵ For this phenomenon, see Bammesberger 1990:209.

⁴⁵⁶ Vel sim. The word has no sure etymology, cf. EWA I:43f.

⁴⁵⁷ Only the nom.sg. *aqizi* Lk 3,9 is attested.

⁴⁵⁸ OS f.dat.sg. <acus> (Wadstein 1899:97,19). OHG nom.sg. <ackes> (G II:234,55, Karlsruhe Aug. CCXX, 9th century, Köbler 2005:182) < **akwis-* with gemination of **kw* < **k^w* (AhG:§96.c) [this gemination does not prove an original biphonemic sequence **kw*, cf. OHG *nakkot* “naked” (multiple attestations, e.g. Tatian 185,12 <naccot>) < **nawkad-* < **nak^wad-*, where the PIE root has a monophonemic **g^w* (cf. Vedic *nagná-* “id.” with *g* < **g^w* (EWAi II:5f.)) and *ga-sehhan* (Graff VI:114,116) < **sehwan-* < **seh^wan-*, where the PIE root has a monophonemic **h^w* (even if it is uncertain whether the root is **√sek^w* “follow” or **√s-h₃ek^w* “see”, cf. Seebold 1970:388)] and <ákus> (Otfrid I 23,51) < **akus-* < **ak^wus-* with delabialization of **k^w* before **u*. The regular variants are then mixed to give <acchus> (G III:650,41, Wien Cod. 1757, 11th/12th century, G IV:643) and <ákis> (G III:122,8, Trier 1124/2058, 13th century, Köbler 2005:688). Forms with an <í> in the suffix are amply attested from the 12th century forward, but not before. This is probably coincidental, as most of the attestations are rather late. The ON *ǫx/ǫx* can continue both **ak^wusijō-* and **ak^wisijō-*. The variant *ǫx* cannot continue a form **akuz-* as claimed in EWA I:43, as this would have given ON **ǫkr-/ǫkr-*. For the fluctuation between *ǫ* and *ø* when both *u-* and *i*-umlaut is involved, see Noreen 1970:§77.7. For the OE *æx/æces/acas*, see Campbell 1959:143².

Other clear *jō*-extensions from original *s*-stems are OHG <chilburra> “lamb”⁴⁵⁹ from *kalb* “calf” (AhG:§197) and OHG f.nom.pl. <nicchessa>⁴⁶⁰ “nymphs” from m./n. *nihhus* “crocodile” (Krahe/Meid III:§112).⁴⁶¹

Due to the existence of variants arisen through Verner’s law together with the fact that these suffixes belong to the (*i*)*jō*-st. in all the Germanic languages makes it probable that the original paradigm was of the proterokinetic *dēvī*-type, and hence with the original nom.sg. in **-ī*.⁴⁶²

2.11.1.2 The adjective

As seen in footnote 18 and in 1.11.5.3, the suffix *ih₂/jeh₂* was used in the adj. classes to form the f. from *u*- and consonant stems. That the latter was also the case in pre-Germanic is seen by the *n*-st. extension in the pres.part. and comparatives in Gothic and ON to form an *īn*-st., c.f. e.g. Vedic *bhāvantī* “being”, Greek λύουσα “loosing” vs. Gothic *standandei*, ON *standandi* “standing” and Vedic *návyasī* “newer” vs. Gothic *minnizeī*, ON *minnri* “less”.⁴⁶³

The Germanic (*i*)*jō*-st. adj., however, is not the f. to a m. *u*- or consonant stem, but to a m. (*i*)*ja*-st. In all other IE languages, the f. to a m. *jō*-st. adj. is a *jeh₂*-st., the so-called *vidyā*-type (see further 1.2.1.3). This is also unambiguously the state in the WG languages, where the *dēvī*-type nevertheless existed in the noun. The PG f.nom.sg. of the *jō*-st. adj. was consequently **-ijō*, not **-ī*. The Gothic *-ī* must be an analogy from the substantival *jō*-st. declension (Sommer 1977:36).

⁴⁵⁹ G I:271,6, Oxford Jun. 25 folio 87, 8th/9th century (Köbler 2005:472) and Graff IV:392, Karlsruhe Aug. IC, 8th/9th century (Köbler 2005:171), both with the Alemannic (Bergmann 1973:38, 84) gemination **rj > rr* (AhG:§118.Anm.3).

⁴⁶⁰ Notker I,735,29 (Sehrt/Legner 1955:329).

⁴⁶¹ According to Schaffner 2001:609, the *jō*-st. *nikkessa** represents the original f.perf.part.act. *dēvī*-st. nom.sg. **(ne-)nig^w-wés-ih₂*- gen.sg. **(ne-)nig^w-us-jéh₂-s* to the root *√neig^w* “wash, bathe”.

⁴⁶² An *ih₂/jeh₂*-extension to *s*-st. does not seem to occur outside Germanic, which could mean that it is an early Germanic innovation. Another explanation to the Germanic suffix **-usjō-/uzjō-* is that it corresponds to the Vedic *dēvī*-extension to *us*-stems as *ulkuṣī-* “meteor”, *rópuṣī-* “pain”, *táruṣī-* “victorious battle” etc. (AG II,2:§317). In an article draft handed to me by S. Schaffner it is argued that these Vedic and Germanic types correspond to the Greek formations in *-υια* discussed in 1.11.2. The Germanic formations in **-isjō-/izjō-* must then be explained otherwise, and the interchange between the forms with **i* and **u* be of a later analogical origin.

⁴⁶³ The original distribution can be found by comparing Gothic with the WG languages. The substantivized pres.part. declines as a consonant stem in the m. (GG:§115, AhG:§236, Gallée 1993:§338, Brunner 1965:§286) and as an *jō*-st. in the f. (GG:§98d), a reflection of the original PIE and PG pres.part. declension. In the adjectival pres.part., the WG languages decline the m. as an *ija*-st. adj. and the f. as an *jō*-st. adj. (AhG:§257, Gallée 1993:§351, Brunner 1965:§305), where the m. *ija*-st. declension is analogical from the normal adj. pattern, where the m. to a f. *jō*-st. is an *ija*-st. In the comparative, Gothic (and ON) declines the m. as an *an*-st. and the f. as an *īn*-st. (GG:§136), while in the WG languages, the f. is an *ōn*-st. (AhG:§262, Gallée 1993:§358, Brunner 1965:§308). The WG state is analogical from the weak adj. declension, where the f. to a m. *an*-st. is an *ōn*-st. The Gothic and ON pres.part. *an/īn*-st. declension is thus analogical from the comparative. The PG state is consequently as follows: m.pres.part. const-st., f.pres.part. *jō*-st., m.comp. *an*-st., f.comp. *īn*-st.

2.11.1.3 Polysyllables

The Germanic polysyllables form with the *injō-/unjō-* or *isjō-/usjō-/izjō-/uzjō-* suffix a nom.sg. in **-ī*. This would also be the case in polysyllables where the ending would follow one long unaccented syllable or two short syllables, as these would be equivalent to one long stressed syllable, i.e. a normal *ijō*-st. From the remaining (*i*)*jō*-st. polysyllables, the ones with a syllabic sequence – ū, we have two cases in Gothic with the nom.sg. *dēvī*-ending *-i*: *lvōftuli* “boasting” and *lauhmuni* “lightning”. They are treated at length in Appendix 2, where it is shown that they represent a Gothic innovation, and that these types did not have an original *dēvī*-ending **-ih₂* > **-ī*. Polysyllables as such did consequently not have a *dēvī*-type nom.sg. **-ī* in PG.

2.11.1.4 Conclusion

The *isjō-/usjō-* suffix is mainly because of their unquestionable relationship with the voiced variant **izjō-/uzjō-* to be considered as an original *dēvī*-st. with a nom.sg. in **-ī*. The *dēvī*-ending in the Gothic adj. and polysyllables is on the other hand a Gothic innovation and cannot be ascribed a PG age. The *dēvī*-ending **-ī* was consequently present in these cases in PG:

1. Monosyllabic long stems, including female names
2. *injō-/unjō-* stems
3. *isjō-/usjō-/izjō-/uzjō-* stems
4. **mag^wjō-* and **peg^wjō-*

2.11.2 **mag^wjō-* AND **peg^wjō-*

From the list above, these two words would be the only PG monosyllables with a short stem with the nom.sg. in **-ī*. As it always has been recognized that the ending **-ī* is natural in the *ijō*-st. with a long stem syllable and that the distribution of **-ī* and **-jō* is connected with Sievers' law,⁴⁶⁴ there have been sporadic attempts to fit these two words into the *ijō*-st. by claiming that their first syllable in *CV^g*- was a long one due to a biphonemic sequence **g^w*, not a monophonemic **g^w*.⁴⁶⁵ It is unknown to me that anyone has tried to claim the contrary.

Etymologically speaking, the word **mag^wjō-* may originally have had a biphonemic **g^hw*, since it is a regular *dēvī*-derivation from the *u*-st. **maguz* “boy” < **mag^hus* (for the etymology, see Lühr 2000a:289). As can be clearly seen in IIr., *dēvī*-extensions from *u*-stems lead to a biphonemic sequence *Cw*, e.g. Vedic *yahú-*, Avestan *yazu-* “young, youthful” → *yahvī-*, *yezuuī-* < **jag^hu-*, **jag^hwiH-* (EWAi II:407). The question is, however, if it was biphonemic in PG.

The word **peg^wjō-*, on the other hand, is derived from an *a*-st. **peg^waz* “servant”. The root **peg^w-* had a PIE monophonemic **k^w* as seen in e.g. Vedic *√tak* “rush” (not **√taśv* < **tekw*), cf. EWAi I:610 and LIV:620f. It cannot be shown, however, that a PIE monophonemic **k^w* was

⁴⁶⁴ Cf. 2.3 and Beekes 1990:56 “Les types *wrakja* et *bandi* sont distributés selon la loi de Sievers”.

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. e.g. Hirt Handb. II:62, Prokosch 1939:245, Schramm 1957:167 and Bammesberger 1990:115.

continued as a monophonemic $*g^w$ in PG when voiced by Verner's law,⁴⁶⁶ but neither can the claim that a monophonemic $*k^w$ developed to a biphonemic $*gw$. As the followers of the theory that $*peg^wjō-$ had to have a long first syllable believe that an original monophonemic labiovelar was continued as such in PG, they must somehow create a biphonemic $*gw$ out of this form. The most common way of doing that has been to equal the PG $*peg^wa-/peg^wjō-$ with the Vedic adj. *takvá-* (of debated meaning, EWAi I:610), and thus claim a PG *wa-st.* $*peg^w wa- \rightarrow *peg^w wijō-$, possibly with a delabialization of $*g^w$ to $*g$ before $*w$ (EWA II:663). This would lead to a PIE formation $*tek^w wó-$ ⁴⁶⁷ with the peculiar sequence $*k^w w$, a sequence that admittedly could be possible over morpheme boundaries (although I know of no sure PIE examples), but surely forbidden in roots.⁴⁶⁸ The Vedic *takvá-* is, however, easily explainable as a Vedic or Iir. thematic extension from the adj. *táku-* (also of obscure meaning, EWAi I:610) or as a *va*-extension from the verbal root \sqrt{tak} long after the PIE $*k^w$ had been delabialized in Iir. The attempt to derive $*peg^wjō-$ from a *u-st.* $*tek^{(w)}u-$ as in $*mag^wjō-$ to save the biphonemic $*gw$ (IEW I:1059) remains strictly hypothetical as long as there exists no *u-st.* in Germanic (EWA II:694 “weniger wahrscheinlich”). The correspondence in accent between PG $*peg^w á-$ and Vedic *takvá-* means nothing, since an oxytone accentuation is the regular in thematic nomen agentis extensions from verbal roots ($*\sqrt{tek^w} \rightarrow *tek^w ós > PG *peg^w az$), cf. Schaffner 2001:96 with literature.

Any attempt to show that $*mag^wjō-$ and $*peg^wjō-$ had an original biphonemic $*gw$ on etymological grounds is consequently inconclusive and should be abandoned. With that disappears the only reasonable argument in favor of a PG $*magwijō-$ and $*pegwijō-$. The only argument left would be that they had to have a biphonemic $*gw$ in order to get a *dēvī*-ending $*-ī$, which of course would be a circular reasoning. It will still be attempted to show in the following that even this circular reasoning is wrong, in order to effectively dismiss the notion that the *dēvī*-ending had to follow a long syllable.

⁴⁶⁶ This is because Sievers' law in Germanic is younger than the development PG $*g^w/gw > *g/w$. The consonant gemination of $*g^w j > gg$ proves therefore nothing, as the labial element had disappeared before Sievers' law required that the $*g$ be followed by $*j$. This is shown by the PG infinitive *sagjan-* “say”. Since it originally was formed with the iterative suffix PIE *-éje-* to the root $\sqrt{sek^w}$ “say” (LIV:526), the oldest PG form must have been $*sah^w éjan-$. After Verner's law, the fixation of the accent on the first syllable, the development $*ag^w e > *age$, and the development of unstressed $*-ej- > *-ij-$, Sievers' law sets in and changes $*sagijjan-$ to $*sagjan-$, which ultimately yields the gemination in OE *secgan* and OS *seggean* “to say”. To the matter of $*ag^w e > *age$: the word *sagjan-* “say” is a very important word in the discussion of the development of PG $*g^w$. The fact that *sagjan-* originates from $*sag^w éjan-$ and not $*sag^w jan-$ has not been recognized in this debate. Since PG $*ag^w i$ gives *awi* (as will be shown), the development $*g^w > *g$ must have taken place before the raising of unstressed $*ej$ to $*ij$. Although PG $*g^w j$ correctly yields $*gj$, the $*g^w$ in $*sag^w éjan-$ cannot have been de-labialized after Sievers' law, since this law as mentioned is younger than the development of $*g^w > *g/w$, as will be shown in the following by an additional example.

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. Schaffner 2001:167³⁰⁷, 2004b:516.

⁴⁶⁸ This may be because the phoneme $*k^w$ itself has arisen from a biphonemic $*kw$. Note that there is no labial palatal $**k^w$, but a sequence $*k^w$, and no sequence $**kw$, but a labial velar $*k^w$. As Szemerényi 1996:67 notes, “the few examples of *kv-* in the satem languages are probably innovations”.

2.11.3 PG **awjō-* “ISLAND”

The PG **awjō-* is attested in ON *ey* (OD/OSw *ǫ*, Old Gutnish *oy*), OE *īeg/ēg/īg*, OHG *-ouwia* (frequent in place names, see Graff I:504),⁴⁶⁹ OS (*Ard*)-*ōia* (Holthausen 1954:4), OF *ei-(land)* and Gothic nom.pl. (*Geped*)-*ōjōs* (Jordanes XVII:96).⁴⁷⁰ The reoccurring meaning in these languages is “island”, but it has additional meanings as “peninsula; land by the water, land by the river”, cf. MW II/1:454 and Fritzner I:354f. It has since the very beginning been correctly understood as a derivation from PG **ah^wō* “water”, e.g. in 1854 by Grimm I:601. The word must therefore have had an original labiovelar **g^w*. As most etymological dictionaries used to be rather imprecise and inconsistent in their notion of **g^w* vs. **g^w* and **i* vs. **j* vs. **j*, we will pay no notice to the older reconstructions in this aspect, other than dismiss the notion that the nom.sg. originally was **a(g)wī*, as sometimes quoted in older literature.⁴⁷¹ The only reason for this is, as admitted in NDEW II:1415, to make it similar in formation with **mag^wjō-*. Since the only words in Gothic that have the *dēvī-*ending after a short stressed syllable are the exact same as in ON, the ON form *ey* (not **ǣr*) shows sufficiently that the PG perform was not **ag^wī*.

Since the equivalence OE *secg*, OS *segg*, ON *seggr* “man, warrior” = Latin *socius* “fellow, ally” < **sok^wjós* is just as strong as the etymology of **awjō-*, it is obvious that the PG paradigm cannot have been nom.sg. **ag^wjō* – gen.sg. **ag^wjōz*, as this should have given OE **ecg*, ON **egg* just as PG **sag^wja-* gave *secg/seggr*. The fact that the suffix vowel was **ō* in the case of **awjō-* plays no part, cf. OE *ecg*, ON *egg* “edge” < **agjō*. Since Seebold 1967 believes that **ag^wj* should give **awj*, he suggests (p. 131) “daß hier [i.e. *sag^wja-*] das labiale Element auch einmal (nicht lautgesetzlich) ausgedrängt werden konnte”, which in essence is the same as a giving up to explain the discrepancy. As Darms 1978:451 correctly notes, the development of **g^w* before **i* and **j* is the direct opposite of what Seebold 1967 claims. ON *seggr* is therefore regular from PG **sag^wja-*, whereas he follows his teacher Karl Hoffmann in reconstructing the PG stem for ON *ey* as **agwījō-*, without explaining this form further. His notation *gw* is of little importance, as he also writes **sagwjaz*. Seebold has then apparently changed position, and reconstructs **agwījō* in Kluge 1995:61 (the notation *gw* is of little significance here as well, as he always writes PG **g^w* and **h^w*). EWA I:101, 518 still reconstructs **a(q)w-j-ō* vs. **sagwja-*.

Bammesberger 1990:113 has also the correct view on the development of PG **g^w*, and in order to reach the stem **awj-*, he reconstructs a PIE nom.sg. **ak^w-ih* > PG **awī* vs. the oblique case **ak^w-y(ə)-* > **agj-*, in other words the *dēvī ih₂/jeh₂-*suffix. Since this nom.sg. is not continued in the daughter languages (e.g. OE **ewe*, ON **ǣr*), he claims that “[d]er Nominativ **aw-ī* wurde zu **aw-jō* umgestaltet”. Since the ending **-ī* only appeared after a long syllable in PG, this

⁴⁶⁹ As simplex attested as nom.sg.(?) <o^vva> (G V:65,23) and dat.sg.(?) <o ua> (G V:520,4).

⁴⁷⁰ “Gepidae [...] dum Spesis provincia commanerent in insulam Visclae amnis vadibus circumactam, quam patrio sermone dicebant Gepedios.” The rendering <o> for Wulfila-Gothic <au> is used to denote the Gothic monophthong *ō* = <au> (GG:§24).

⁴⁷¹ E.g. Torp 1919:885, Hellquist 1939:1452 and Jóhannesson 1956:15.

leveling did not take place in Gothic *biwi* and *mawi*, since they originally had a long syllable **pegw-ī* and **magw-ī*. “[Sie] entsprechen also der Regel” (1990:130¹⁸⁵). But since **ag^w*- at the time of the leveling from the oblique cases had already changed to **aw-*, then the same must have been the case with **pegw-* and **magw-*. They would consequently all have the same sequence (C)Vw- and have formed a short syllable. If so, then it would be impossible to explain why the leveling occurred in **ag^wjō-*, but not in **peg^wjō-* and **mag^wjō-*. To assume a nom.sg. **ag^wī* is therefore a dead-end.

In order to understand the original derivation, we should examine the semantics more closely. From the meanings “island, peninsula, land by water/river”, it is clear that the original PG meaning was “land by/at/in water”. This is no abstract, collective, possessive or f. to the base **ah^wō*, so assuming an original PIE *dēvī-* or *vidyā-* type here is semantically inappropriate. We should instead see the original meaning as “adhering to the water, belonging to the water”, in other words the affiliation *iH*-suffix. To reconstruct a PIE *vṛkī-* type **(H)ak^w-iH-s* does not lead us to the Germanic form, however, since the *vṛkī-* form would have yielded a Germanic *dēvī-* type⁴⁷² with a nom.sg. **ag^wī* which we already have abolished.

What we have is a substantivized f. thematized *iH*-derivational adj., i.e. PIE or pre-Germanic adj. **(H)ak^w-iH-o-* “what belongs to water”,⁴⁷³ to which the f. would be **(H)ak^w-iH-eh₂*.⁴⁷⁴ By ellipsis of the noun in a pre-Germanic cluster such as **(H)erteh₂ (H)ak^wiHeh₂* “watery land”, the adj. could be substantivized in this meaning,⁴⁷⁵ and we would have a pre-Germanic noun **(H)ak^wiHeh₂* “watery land, land by/at/in water, water-land”. This would by laryngeal loss give pre-Germanic **ak^wiā*, and finally Germanic **ah^wiō*. We can tell by the voicing of the fricative that the accent was either on the **i* or the **ō*, but I see no way of positively deciding which one of them. The post-Verner form would in any case be **ag^wiō*. Since the development of a pre-Verner **g^w* and a post-Verner **h^w* > **g^w* cannot be separated in Germanic,⁴⁷⁶ it follows that the split PG **g^w* > **g/w* postdates Verner’s law.

This **ag^wiō* would in all forms have **ag^w* directly followed by **i*, which, as already stated, regularly gives PG **awi-*. After this development of **g^w* to **w*, the Germanic Sievers’ law sets in and changes (by the converse of Sievers’ law) the stem **awiō-* to **awjō-*, since the vowel **i* would follow a short syllable. This PG **awjō-* then regularly gives the attested forms in the daughter languages. The example **sag^wéjan-* “say” in footnote 466 showed that Sievers’ law operated when

⁴⁷² Cf. the original *vṛkī-* types **wṛk^w-iH-s* ≥ ON *ylgr* “she-wolf” and **mork-iH-s* ≥ ON *merr* “mare”, both being derived from PIE *o*-stems.

⁴⁷³ For the PIE suffix **-iH-o-*, see 1.11.6.

⁴⁷⁴ This is apparently also the view of Lühr 2000a:44, where she concisely writes “vorurgerm. **(h₂)ak^wījah₂*, eigtl. ‘zum Wasser Gehöriges’”.

⁴⁷⁵ For this phenomenon, see Schaffner 2001:328ff. with numerous examples.

⁴⁷⁶ Cf. e.g. Gothic *siuns* “form” < PG **seuniz* < **seg^wniz* < **seh^wniz* < PIE **sek^wnis* (Lühr 2000a:286) and OE *ēanian* “yeen” < PG **aunōjan-* < **ag^wnōjan-* < PIE **(H)ag^wh₂n-* (IEW I:9, Onions 1966:1019) with the same development of PG **g^w* and **g^w* < **h^w*.

the split of $*g^w$ to $*g/w$ had occurred. This example shows that Sievers' law could not have operated until this split had been completed, as this would have given PG $*ag^w iō > *ag^w jō > *agjō$. To claim that the labiovelar was biphonemic $*gw$ to get a long vowel and a regular Sievers-variant $*agwijō$ serves no purpose, since the example *sag^wéjan-* shows that Sievers' law also operated *after* the split of g^w to $*g/w$, which then would give $*agwijō > *awijō > *awjō$, which then would have to give us $*mawjō-$ and $*bewjō-$ with a short syllable as well. And if Sievers' law operated after the split $*g^w > *g/w$, then one cannot use any "original long syllable" or "Sievers" argument to maintain the claim that the nom.sg. *mawi* and *þiwi* in Gothic have the regular *dēvī*-ending *-i* after a long syllable, since the syllable in all forms was unambiguously short at the time of Sievers' law in Germanic.

We have already shown that it is not possible to show by etymology that $*mag^w jō-$ and $*peg^w jō-$ had a long first syllable through a biphonemic $*gw$. The use of the word $*awjō- < *ag^w iō-$ together with Sievers' law shows that this claim is actually phonologically impossible in PG. We will now present an example that will show that it simply is not the case that the *dēvī*-ending could follow a monosyllable only when this was long.

2.11.4 PG $*gabīn-$ "RICHES"

The Germanic *īn*-stems that are present in all the daughter languages present a Germanic innovation, since such stems do not exist in other IE languages. There are two solid arguments in favor of the theory that the *īn*-st. is a Germanic *n*-extension from an original *dēvī*-type. First, it would be entirely correspondent with the (likewise innovating) Germanic *ōn*-st., since this is surely extended from original *ō*-st., e.g. Gothic *widuwō* "widow" vs. the *eh₂*-st. in Vedic *vidhāvā-*, OIr *fedb*, and Gothic *tuggō* "tongue" vs. the *eh₂*-st. in Old Latin *dīngua*.⁴⁷⁷ Secondly, we have *īn*-stems in the continuations of ascertained PIE *dēvī*-stems, as already outlined in 2.11.1.2.⁴⁷⁸

These *īn*-stems are used to form abstracts, especially from adjectives, but also from nouns (Krahe/Meid III:101). Their formation is very straight-forward. They are formed with the nominal root (i.e. without the stem suffix) with the addition of the stem suffix $*-īn-$ without any ablaut, e.g. Gothic *diup-ei* "depth" from *diup-* "deep" and ON *fisk-i* "fishing" from *fisk-* "fish".⁴⁷⁹ Since this was the normal way to form adj. abstracts in PG, it has stayed productive in some of the daughter languages, e.g. ON *gleð-i* "gladness" to *gleð-* "glad", where the productiveness can be seen by the irregular *i*-umlaut in *gleði*, which because of its short syllable should not have been umlauted (cf. Skomedal 1980:122). The *i*-umlaut is analogical from regular cases as *ergi* "unmanliness" from *argr* "unmanly". In order to find cases that cannot be dismissed as later formations, one must find

⁴⁷⁷ Harðarson 1989:84. Further Schmidt 1889:111, Bammesberger 1990:171 and Jasanoff 2002:41. See Krahe/Meid III:102 and Bammesberger 1990:180 for the *n*-extension from *dēvī*-stems.

⁴⁷⁸ For the older view, that PG $*-īn$ was part of a PIE ablauting *jen*-suffix, see Grundriss II,1:317, rejected by Mezger 1946:349f. and Krahe/Meid III:103.

⁴⁷⁹ The ON *fiski* is not derived from the verb *fiskja* "fish", since this is no primary verb, but itself formed from the noun *fiskr*.

īn-stems that either are not adj. or nominal abstracts or are not formed from simply adding **-īn* to the derivative base.

A word that satisfies both these demands is Gothic *gabei*, with multiple attestations and translating Greek *πλοῦτος* “riches”.⁴⁸⁰ It is no adj. or nominal abstract simply because there are no Germanic adjectives or nouns with a root **gab-*. That the formation is of a PG age is seen through its equivalence with the OHG hapax dat.pl. *⟨kepm⟩* (G II:332,50) from the Bavarian München Clm 14747 (9th century, Köbler 2005:393), translating *opibus* “property, riches”. Despite the “unexplained formation” (Lehmann 1986:G5) it has, as Lehmann notes, generally been related to **geban-* “give”, obviously from the *o*-grade **gab-*. To derive an *īn*-st. from a verb seems to be unique to this example in Germanic,⁴⁸¹ and that is probably why it has been attempted to derive it from a non-attested adj. Gothic **gafs* “rich” (see Lehmann 1986:G5 with reference) which, of course, is a mere construct.

The way of derivation in this PG *īn*-st., i.e. from the *o*-grade of a primary verb, is so unique that it cannot be dismissed as a result of a productive formation as the other *īn*-stems. Additionally we have the semantics. The verbal root **geban-* in the Germanic languages means invariably “give” (Seebold 1970:217f.), and an abstract from such a meaning should mean “giving” or “gift”, not “possession, riches”. We know, however, that the PIE root **√g^heb^h* apparently meant “take, grip”, cf. Latin *habeō* “I have, I possess”, OIr. *gaibid* “grasps, takes possession of” (DIL:353), Vedic *gābhasti-* “hand” (EWAi I:463), Lith. *gabšùs* “greedy” (Fraenkel I:126) etc. (see further IEW I:407ff.).⁴⁸² The PG meaning “give” is thus secondary, cf. a similar case in PG **fanhan-* “take, catch” > ON *fá* “get; give” (Fritzner I:362f.). If we then consider PG **gabīn-* to have been derived from the original meaning “take, grip” of the verbal root, then the meaning “riches, possession” causes no semantical problems. Since “give” is the only meaning of this verb in the daughter languages, and since the *n*-st. extension is a Germanic innovation, it follows that

⁴⁸⁰ In RmA 11,15, the expression *gabei fairhvus* translates *καταλλαγή κόσμου* “reconciliation of the world”. Wulfila has probably known the non-Christian use of *καταλλαγή*, which is “profit, agio” (LS:899), a meaning very close to *πλοῦτος*, and therefore chosen to use *gabei* metaphorically in the same way as the Greek used *καταλλαγή*. He could possibly also have been influenced by another expression that he just wrote in verse 11,12, *gabei fairhvau*, translating *πλοῦτος κόσμου*.

⁴⁸¹ Krahe/Meid III:103 mentions two other examples, the Gothic *wrēkei** “persecution” from **wrekan-* and the OHG *bruzzi* “perishableness” from **breutan-* “break”. Gothic *wrēkei** is, however, most likely regularly derived from the adj. **wrēki(ja)-* (ON *rēkr*), cf. Darms 1978:469 and Heidermanns 1993:696. OHG *bruzzi* is attested only twice in Otfrid (IV,5,44 *⟨brūzi⟩* and V,12,24 *⟨brūzzi⟩*) and might be an Otfrid-creation from the adj. *bruzzig** “perishable” (hapax, Otfrid II,12,33 *⟨brūzigen⟩* m.dat.sg.), cf. e.g. Otfrid’s *sunti* “sin” (IV,1,53) from *suntig* “sinful” vs. normal OHG *sunte/suntea*. *bruzzig* might in its turn be an OHG creation of NWG **brutila-* (ON *garð-brytill* “fence-breaker”, Middle English *brütel* “breakable, brittle” (MED:96)) as OHG *luzzig* “little” from WG **lūt(t)ila-*. The WG verbal abstract *īn*-stems are, of course, original *īni*-stems, cf. Krahe/Meid III:117f.

⁴⁸² The attempt in LIV:193, 195 to split this into two synonymous roots only to explain the *a*-vocalism in Italo-Celtic has no grounds. *a*-vocalism in Italo-Celtic is a reoccurring phenomenon that in itself does not allow us to create new roots (cf. IG II:243ff. for this phenomenon).

PG **gabīn-* is extended from an original *dēvī-*derivation PG **gabī* < PIE **g^hob^h-ih₂* from the verbal root **√g^heb^h*.⁴⁸³ The use of the *dēvī-*suffix to form abstracts from roots had clearly developed in PIE, cf. the Vedic examples in footnote 16, chapter 1.11.5.1 and other IE examples such as Latin *maciēs* “meagerness” from **√mak^h* “thin”⁴⁸⁴ (IEW I:699), Greek *σχιζα* “splinter” from **√sk^heid* “split” (IEW I:920, LIV:547) and Tocharian B *yokiye* “thirst” from **√h₁eg^{wh}* “drink”.⁴⁸⁵ The existence of this PG **gabī* ⇔ **gabīn-* shows that there was no restriction in PG to have the *dēvī-*ending after a short syllable, and the very reason for finding special explanations as to why **mag^wjō-* and **peg^wjō-* had the *dēvī-*ending then disappears.⁴⁸⁶

2.11.5 THE DISTRIBUTION OF **-ī* AND **(i)jō*

Since the traditional belief has been that the ending **-ī* only could follow when the preceding syllable was long, it has been common to conclude that **-ī* was the only nom.sg. ending following a long syllable (Bammesberger 1990:100). Since it has been shown in the preceding sections that **-ī* also could follow a short syllable, the question arises if not the stems with a long syllable could have a nom.sg. in **-ijō*. That this was the case with the *ijō*-st. adj. has already been shown in 2.11.1.2. Since ON and Gothic are the languages that both preserve the **-ī* after a short syllable as well as retain the original nom.sg. ending (unlike OHG, OS, OLF and OF which change it with the acc.sg.), these would be the best places to look for a PG nom.sg. in **-ijō*.

There is only one way of directly proving the existence of a PG **-ijō*, and that is to see its continuation in the stems with a long syllable in the daughter languages (as we e.g. did with the OE adj. vs. the noun). To disprove it seems impossible, as the method would be a negative one,

⁴⁸³ There is a possibility, however, that the PIE root had an *a*-vocalism (cf. e.g. IEW I:407 and Seebold 1970:217f.). The *dēvī-*derivation would in that case be from this “*a*-grade”: **g^hab^h-ih₂*.

⁴⁸⁴ The *a* could possibly come from a zero-graded **mh₂k^h* with non-vocalization of an initial **m* (see Appendix 1).

⁴⁸⁵ S. Schaffner (article draft), LIV:231.

⁴⁸⁶ The PG adj. **gabīgaz* “rich; mighty” (Gothic *gabeigs* “rich”, OE m.acc.sg. *gifine* “comptem” (ASD Supplement:464), ON *gōfugr* “noble” [I cannot confirm the alleged OHG *kepic* “rich”, only the extended noun *kepigi* “opulentia” (G II:272,27)]) is probably derived from the *dēvī-*base PG **gabī-*, as *ga*-derivations from *n*-stems seem to be somewhat rare. The ON *gōfugr* is of course no counter-argument, since the adj. element *-ug-* has been productive and taken over for older forms in **-aga-* and **-īga-* (Krahe/Meid III:191). To derive **gabīgaz* from non-existing PG nouns **gabi-/gaba-/gabō-* (Grundriss II,1:489) has little to recommend it. For the Gothic variant *gabigs*, see Lehmann 1986:G5 with references. The OHG dictionary word *filugebi* “effusio” (Starck/Wells 1990:152, Köbler 1993) is a very unsure reading. It appears as a hapax in the Bavarian München Clm 6277 (9th century, Köbler 2005:344), but is read as *uiligali* by both Graff II:114 and Steinmeyer (G II:165,51) with the comment “[...] *nicht deutlich. uiligali*] a *unsicher*”. This scribe writes PG **g* as *g* (165,55 *gismahe*), but **b* as *p* (165,46 *paldo*), from which we would expect *gapi*/*gepi*. Although it is understandable to have difficulties to differ between a blurry *l* and a blurry *b*, the same can hardly be said for *l* and *p*. If it nevertheless is the root **geb-* that lies behind here, we might want to read either *filugābi* as a substantivized adj. **filugābi* “generous” ⇔ “giving much” (cf. *filu-sprāhhi* “talkative, boasting” ⇔ “talking much”), or *filugebi* as a substantivized bahuvrīhi-adj. **filugebi* “generous” ⇔ “he whose gifts are many” (cf. *luzzilmuoti* “despondent” ⇔ “he whose heart/spirit is small”) with an analogical non-umlauted *e* from the base noun *geba* “gift” (for this phenomenon, see Schatz 1927:§7). For the substantivization of such adjectives, cf. *dankbāri* “thankfulness” (G I:776,17) from *dankbāri* “thankful” ⇔ “carrying thanks” (G I:532,13).

i.e. “what we do not find has not existed”, which of course is untenable. Needless to say now, there are no continuations of **-ijō* after a long syllable either in ON or Gothic, or in any of the other WG languages. This is nevertheless easy to understand as an analogy, as the ending **-ī* would be present in all the original *vrkī-* and *dēvī-*types and could have spread from them to the *vidyā-*type. The analogical spread of *-ī* in Gothic has already been shown, as it appears both in the adj. and in *lvōftulī* and *lauhmuni*. Another way of increasing the likelihood that PG **-ijō* was not used after a long syllable would be to find clear instances of *vidyā-*types with the *dēvī-*ending in the daughter languages. This has already been shown for Gothic, but those are better explained as Gothic innovations, and not as the result of PG developments (cf. 2.11.1.2, 2.11.1.3).

The main function of the *vidyā-*type is to form verbal abstracts, e.g. Gothic *wrakja* “persecution” from *wrikan** “persecute”, *brakja* “fight, struggle” (EfAB 6,12) from *brikan** “break, fight” (Seebold 1970:133) and further in 1.2.1.3.2, 1.11.6. The *dēvī-*suffix could be used in this function as well, as we saw in *gabei* in 2.11.4, so a verbal abstract with a long stem syllable and a *dēvī-*ending as e.g. ON *veiðr* “hunting” cannot be used as evidence against a PG nom.sg. in **-ijō*.

The *vidyā-*type was in its origin derivations from *jō*-adjectives, so a Germanic *ijō*-st. from a *jja*-st. adj. should be considered to be an original *vidyā-*type. A clear case is OHG *sunte* “vice, sin”, derived from a PG or pre-Germanic **sntjō-* “true”,⁴⁸⁷ cf. Vedic *satyá-* “id.”,⁴⁸⁸ but there are apparently no cases in Gothic and only dubious in ON.⁴⁸⁹ The only way to reach any insight in this matter is to look for extensions from original *vidyā-*types, as we did with *gabei*.

We saw in 1.11.6 that there were several clear cases in Vedic where *vidyā-*types were *ā*-extensions to original *tī*-abstracts. This extension is not unique to Vedic or Iir., cf. e.g. Greek *θυσία* “offering”, (*ἀνδρο*)-*κτασία* “murder (of men)” (Grundriss II,1:635) and Latin *grātia* “favor, kindness” alongside the older *i*-st. pl. *grātēs*. Also in Germanic there are clear examples of such extensions, which therefore must be considered to be original *vidyā-*types, not *dēvī-*types. Such Germanic (*i*)*jō*-stems are e.g. Gothic *wasti** “garment, dress” (numerous attestations outside the nom.sg.) from the verbal root **√wes* “dress, be dressed”, OHG *gusse* “flood”⁴⁹⁰ from **√g^hew* “pour” and the WG **raþjō* “account” (2.7.4.4) from **√reh₁* “count”,⁴⁹¹ cf. Krahe/Meid III:§121.

⁴⁸⁷ Cf. the Gothic adverb *sunjaba* “really” (1PB 2,13).

⁴⁸⁸ Differently Seebold 1969:25, 45; Gothic *sunja*, OHG *sunte* ≤ PIE **sntī*.

⁴⁸⁹ *festr* “rope; hold; marrying”, but the PG base **fasta-* is most likely an *a*-st. (cf. Heidermanns 1993:192). Similarly *fyllr* “fullness” from **fulna-* (cf. Heidermanns 1993:220).

⁴⁹⁰ G I:81,34, 282,39. The 81,34 <cusse> is not an n. (*ija*-st. (as in Starck/Wells 1990:245), since the Bavarian Wien Cod. 162 (c. 820/830, Köbler 2005:703) frequently uses the original ending *-e* in the nom.sg. of the (*i*)*jō*-st., cf. 25,21 <raorre>, 25,22 <rorre>, 105,22 <uutte>, 210,4 <mutte>, 225,8 <uueide> and 246,17 <unsippe> (Schatz 1907:§111.a).

⁴⁹¹ IEW I:59, LIV:499.

Another such case is ON *byrðr* “burden” (OSw *byrþ**, OD acc.sg. *byrthi*), as this is an original *ti*-abstract from **√b^her* “carry”.⁴⁹² This is semantically and morphologically distinguished from the f. *i*-st. *byrð* “birth; kin”, which ultimately represents an unextended prefixed *ti*-abstract with the regular loss of the prefix in ON. The latter *ti*-abstract is well represented in the Germanic languages, cf. Gothic *ga-baurþs** “birth; race”, OE *ge-byrd* “birth; family”,⁴⁹³ OS *gi-burd*, OHG *gi-burt*,⁴⁹⁴ OF *berth(e)/berd(e)*.⁴⁹⁵ The word for “burden” is not an *ijō*-st. in the other Germanic branches, but extended all over again, and appears as an *īn*-st. in both Gothic acc.sg. *baurþein* (GLAB 6,5) “burden” and OHG *burdī* “id.” (cf. AW I:1521f.). Since this rare and unproductive (above all in Gothic) way of forming an *īn*-st. in this word exists in both Gothic and OHG, it must be of PG age.⁴⁹⁶ The stem suffix **-īn-* is a sure vestige of a nom.sg. in **-ī-*, which thus followed in PG after a long syllable also in the *vidyā*-type.

⁴⁹² I fail to see why *byrðr* and its Germanic cognates should be extended from an old participle form **bur-da-* (Kluge 1995:145) or **bur-þa-* (Casaretto 2004:64⁴⁰, GG:§113.Anm.3).

⁴⁹³ ASD Supplement:113 has but one example of an unprefixed *byrd*.

⁴⁹⁴ There are only two attestations of an unprefixed *burt* (AW I:1557).

⁴⁹⁵ The prefix **ga-* is generally apocopated in OF, cf. van Helten 1970:§82a.

⁴⁹⁶ The Ingvaenic languages have changed this word into an *injō*-st., cf. OE *byrðen*, OS C2572 dat.pl. *burthinnion*, OF *bernthē** (see 2.9). Given the PG age of the *īn*-st. **burþīn-*, it should be asked if not the Nordic forms are a later creation, e.g. through the identical ending *-i* in the acc./dat.sg. of both the *ijō*- and *īn*-st. (Bjorvand/Lindeman 2000:125). The ON *byrðr* is attested in the nom.sg. and in the oblique cases in the oldest Icelandic manuscripts (Larsson 1891:42), the oldest Norwegian manuscripts (Holtsmark 1955:77) and in skaldic poetry (Egilsson 1966:72) with an unambiguous *ijō*-st. declension. The OD acc.sg. *byrthi* (GdG III:88) dates from a 13th century Scanian manuscript (AM 28 8°), whereas the nom.sg. *byr(d)e* noted in GdG III:88 and Kalkar I:312 is considerably younger (15th/16th century) and could have the *-e* from the oblique cases (cf. *ermæ* “sleeve” (ON *ermr*), *øxe* “ax”, GdG III:89). Lund’s (1877:21) quotation “hæstæ byrthæ” from *Erik sællandske lov* (AM 455 12°, c. 1300, GdG I:35) is erroneous for *hæstæ byrthæn* with the definite article as Lund’s source Thorsen 1852:128 has. The case is the acc.sg. (“tha a han af at taka hæstæ bürthæn”, Thorsen loc.cit.). Lund’s other attestations are all with the definite article and thus ambiguous. The OD material is therefore inconclusive. In OSw, the nom.sg. is not attested (with the reservation that SGL XI has not been available to me), but the nom.sg. *byrþ** can be seen indirectly through the acc./dat.sg. *byrþ* with the analogical nom.sg. ending *-ø* (Noreen 1904:§404.2): SGL I:296 “wildi eygh ættir sins faðþurs döðþæ. þa byrð .a. sic bindæ”, SGL IV:96 “Taker man byrþi (B. han byrð) oc a bac lægger”, SGL V:51 “iak ær [meþ] barni oc byrd bonda mins”, SGL X:70 “barne ok byrþ” (also in SGL XI), Ög31 <[...] ukitRi : an ua : burþ> *ökætri hann vā byrð* (differently Salberger 1990:12, 16: <burþ> = *bröðor*). The acc./dat.sg. *byrþi* is amply attested. From the late 14th century onwards (Middle Swedish), Söderwall I:167 lists three cases of *byrþ* “burden”, of which one is in the nom.sg. (Stephens I:54,18) and two in the acc.sg. (Stephens III:282,8, Klemming II:337,9), and *byrþe* “id”, of which two seems to be in the nom.sg. (Klemming 1860:3,16 and *mirrams byrdhe* translating *fasciculus myrrhæ* (Söderwall loc.cit.)). The Old Gutnish *byrþ* “burden” is unambiguously an *ijō*-st.: SGL VII:17 “Þa en maþr riþr oc raiþr burþj (B. Byrdj) [...]. Ef hann sielfr [...] lajþir miþ byrþi þa ir byrþ þaun tyc schielum”. Since ON, Old Gutnish and the OSw acc./dat.sg. *byrþ* all point to an *ijō*-st., there is nothing to recommend a different interpretation of the OD acc.sg. *byrthi* and OSw acc./dat.sg. *byrþi*. The Middle Danish and Middle Swedish nom.sg. *byr(d)e/byrþe* is a result of a later leveling. Since we from this material can reconstruct an OR **burþijō-*, the Nordic *ijō*-st. cannot have been secondarily declined after this stem paradigm due to homonymous endings with the *īn*-st., since these endings at the OR stage were still quite different.

This word **burpīn-* is of course a strike of luck, since an *n*-st. extension from an original *-ī/-ijō-*paradigm by no means must lead to an *īn*-st. It could just as well have led to an *ijōn*-st., cf. e.g. *n*-st. extensions from original PG *dēvī*-stems as OE *mīere* “mare” (ON *merr* ≤ **marhī*),⁴⁹⁷ OHG *holz-muoia* “forest witch, monster”⁴⁹⁸ (to **mag^wī*) and ON *dyrgja* “she-dwarf” < **durgijōn*.⁴⁹⁹ For other, but often less sure examples, see Krahe/Meid III:98f.

2.11.6 THE MERGER OF THE *vṛkī-* AND *dēvī-*TYPE

It has been treated as a fact in the preceding chapters that the *vṛkī-* and *dēvī-*types had merged at some indeterminable point either in pre-Germanic or prior to most events in PG. This is mostly based on the fact that there are no morphological vestiges of a *vṛkī-*type whatsoever in the Germanic daughter languages, only semantical, which in return are quite clear, not only in *f*. derivations from *o*-st. as *þiwi* (Gothic), *ylgr* (ON) and *merr* (ON), but also in *Zugehörigkeitsbildungen* as *ermr* “sleeve” (ON) ← “what belongs to the arm” and especially collectives as *bandi* “shackle, bond” (Gothic) ← **banda-* “band, bond”, *eyrr* “gravelly bank” ← *aurr* “gravel”, *mórr* “(swamp) land” (ON) ← **mōra-* “moor”. Also the meaning “with the characteristics of the basic noun” discussed in 1.11.5.2 seems to appear in *reyðr* “the fish *salmo alpinus*” (ON) ← *rauðr* “red” (cf. German *Rotfisch* “id.”). It is, however, difficult to draw the line between the different *vṛkī-*derivations, as they basically have sprung out of one original use (cf. 1.11.5.2).

The merger of the *vṛkī-* and *dēvī-*type has partly occurred through some important “hinge-forms”, i.e. paradigmatic endings that were shared by both types. These were the acc.sg. in **-īm*, the instr.sg. in **-iH-eH*, the nom.pl. in **-iH-es* and the acc.pl. in **-īs*,⁵⁰⁰ but maybe more importantly by the fact that their main function had become the same, i.e. to derive feminines from *m*. bases, which probably was the reason why they merged in Sanskrit as well. A fact that suggests that the *vṛkī-*type had gotten *dēvī-*endings very early is that the development **g^w* > **g/w* (see 2.11.3) must postdate it.

The original *vṛkī-*word **w_lk^wiH-* has gotten a *-g-* in ON (*ylgr*), which cannot be explained by analogy, as the *m*. counterpart is *ulfr* with an *-f-*. As a PG **g^w* develops to **g* before a **j*, but to **w* before an **i*, it follows that the PG root **w_lg^w-* had to be followed by **j* in at least some cases in order to become the attested *ylg-*. If the *vṛkī-*type as such still had existed at this point, however,

⁴⁹⁷ The notion that OHG *merhe* is an *ijōn*-st. (cf. e.g. AhG:§226) has no basis. It is attested only in the nom.sg., and the attestations might as well be of the *ijō*-st. (e.g. G III:10,18-19 <marhe>, G III:355,71 <merhe>, G III:367,23 <mere>, G III:443,19 <merhe>, G III:450,19 <Meria>, G III:668,70 <merhe>, G IV:57,29 <merehe>, <Merhe>, <merhe>).

⁴⁹⁸ The *jōn*-st. is seen through attestations such as nom.sg. <holzmuoia> (G I:609,16-19) vs. gen.sg. <holzmuun> (G II:694,69) and <hozmūun> (G III:189,35).

⁴⁹⁹ The zero grade **durg-* vs. the full grade **dwerga-* (> ON *dvergr*, OHG *zwergr*, OE *dweorg* etc.) hints strongly towards an original *dēvī-* or *vṛkī-*st. **d^hwérg^h-ih₂/*d^hurg^híéh₂-* or **d^hurg^h-iH-*, and not to a late NWG or ON derivation from *dvergr*.

⁵⁰⁰ The reconstructed forms are written in a form that reflects the state when the three laryngeals had coalesced into one in pre-Germanic, and with the premise that the acc.sg./pl. of the *vṛkī-*st. also suffered Stang’s law, see the discussion in 1.11.3.3, 1.11.3.10 and Appendix 1.

all cases would be followed by an **i*, which unequivocally should give **w_lwi-*. The development **w_lg^w-* > **wulg-* requires therefore *dēvī*-endings with the suffix form **-jēh₂-*.

2.11.7 THE FUSION OF THE *dēvī*- AND *vidyā*-TYPE

Since everything suggests that the original *vidyā*-types had a nom.sg. in **-ī* already in PG, it follows that these two types must have merged to a combined *ijō*-st. paradigm. This did not occur after a short syllable, though, where the distinction between an original *vidyā* nom.sg. **-jō* and a *dēvī* nom.sg. **-ī* was upheld and continued in the daughter languages, as seen in the words *biwi* and *mawī*.

The merger between the *dēvī*- and *vidyā*-type occurred through certain hinge-forms. There were a number of these already before any leveling took place, due to the fact that the weak case suffix form **-jēh₂-* of the *dēvī*-type was identical with the anapophonic stem suffix **-jeh₂-* of the *vidyā*-type. Surely identical were then the dat.sg. in **-jēh₂-ej*, the loc.sg. in **-jēh₂±i*, the dat.pl. in **-jēh₂-mos* and the instr.pl. in **-jēh₂-mis*. The gen.sg. in **-jēh₂-s* was probably identical for both types (cf. 2.2.4), and so would the instr.sg. be after the loss of the laryngeals (2.2.5). The acc.pl. had become a weak case in PG (Johnsen forthcoming a), so the *dēvī*-type would regularly be identical with the *vidyā*-type also in that case. The expected full grade **-ih₂-es* > PG **-īz* in the nom.pl. is not found in any of the daughter languages. A decisive factor in the ousting of this form could have been that this would be identical with the *ī*-st. nom.pl., a peculiarity repaired by taking over the *vidyā*-ending **-jeh₂-es* > **-jôz*. The suffix **-jeh₂-* would as mentioned be the weak case suffix form of the *dēvī*-suffix, and the use of a zero graded suffix in the nom.pl. has parallels in PG, cf. the nom.pl. **fad-r-ez* “fathers” (Tremblay 2003:§5.5) and **uhs-n-ez* “bulls” (Johnsen forthcoming a), so it might be that **-ih₂-es* was exchanged for **-jeh₂-es* already before it would coalesce with the *ī*-st. nom.pl. ending.

The acc.sg. in the languages represents directly a PG **-ijōⁿ*, not the expected **-īⁿ*. By the fact that the *dēvī*- and *vidyā*-type now would share most endings both in the sg. and in the pl., it requires no further reasoning why this also occurred in the acc.sg. The only thing worthy of an explicit explanation is the retention of the nom.sg. in **-ī*. As Beekes 1990:50 claims:

“Il est improbable que l'accusatif soit remplacé par la forme du type dominant, tandis que le nominatif n'ait pas été remplacé, c'est-à-dire que le *-ī* du nominatif n'ait pas été remplacé par *-jōⁿ*”

An important premise for Beekes' claim is, however, that the *vidyā*-type was *dominant*, a claim that has no basis. From the attested *ijō*-st. words in the Germanic languages, there is nothing to suggest that the *vidyā*-type was particularly more frequent than the *dēvī*-type, if more frequent at all. A generalization of the weak suffix variant in one stem does not require that another stem with an identical suffix in any way dominated over the first stem. Beekes' solution for the nom.sg. in **-ī* vs. the acc.sg. in **-ijōⁿ* rests on highly idiosyncratic views of the original PIE hysterokinetic paradigm, a discussion that will not be brought up here. Suffice to say is that Beekes' system gives no room for any PG or PIE *vidyā*-type at all, a consequence Beekes does not address further

(1990:54). In his view, the *vidyā*-type simply is the *vṛkī*-type, but then it becomes inherently difficult to explain why the IE branches with two of the three types in question here show the *vidyā*-type vs. the *dēvī*-type with the incorporation of the *vṛkī*-type semantics, instead of showing a combined *vidyā/vṛkī*-type on one side vs. the *dēvī*-type on the other side. From this consequence alone I feel confident to reject Beekes' theory.

To have an aberrant PG nom.sg. has nevertheless its parallels, especially with an asigmatic long-vocalic nom.sg. as we have in **-ī*, cf. the m.nom.sg. *n*-st. **-ō* vs. **-an/-en/-n-* + desinence in the other cases, and the m./f.nom.sg. **-ēr* and **-ōr* vs. **-er/-ar/-r-* + desinence in the other cases in the nouns of relationship (cf. Tremblay 2003:§5.5). The fact that the **-ī* was used in the *vidyā*-type as well could simply be a matter of frequency, i.e. that the combined *vṛkī/dēvī*-type outnumbered the *vidyā*-type. Since this appears to have happened only when the preceding syllable was long, it must nevertheless have had something to do with Sievers' law. After this law had kicked in, the suffix **-jō-* would change to **-ijō-* after a long syllable. At this stage, it would be possible to analyze a case form as e.g. the instr.pl. **-ijōmiz* as **-ī-ō-miz* with **-ij-* as the antevocalic variant of **-ī* (cf. Schramm 1957:127). The nom.sg. would then be analyzed as the *ijō*-suffix without the final element **-ō-*, possibly in the same way as the nom.sg. of the *an*-st. **-ō* was analyzed as the *n*-suffix without the final element **-n-*. Since such an analysis of the nom.sg. would be applicable to the *vidyā*-type as well as to the *dēvī*-type, this could have facilitated the analogical intrusion of the *dēvī*-ending **-ī* into the *vidyā*-st. with a long syllable.

2.11.8 SUMMARY

We have seen in this chapter that the PG use of the *dēvī*-ending **-ī* followed morphological, historical and phonetic principles. The morphological principle is simply that the nom.sg. ending **-ī* was used in certain suffixes, namely the derivational suffix **-injō-/unjō-* and the suffix **-isjō-* with its many ablaut- and Verner-variants. The historical principle is that the *dēvī*-ending was preserved in words which were regular *dēvī*-derivations in pre-Germanic. This applies to the feminines **mag^wjō-* and **peg^wjō-*, but also to the extended verbal abstract **gabīn-*. The phonetic principle is the principle that in earlier descriptions of the Germanic *(i)jō*-st. has been given decisive importance, but which actually has the weakest support. The claim has been that **-ī* could not follow a short syllable, and always followed a long syllable. The first claim has been sufficiently falsified, but the latter claim seems to find support in the extended *īn*-st. **burpīn-*, which with high probability is derived from an older *vidyā*-type as seen in Nordic *byrð(r)*. In the adj., however, the PG nom.sg. ending following a long syllable was **-ijō*, which shows that the phonetic sequence alone could not decide the use of **-ī* over **-ijō* in the noun. Both a higher frequency of **-ī* vs. **-ijō* as well as an analytical view of **-ī* as a possible way of forming a nom.sg. from a suffix form **-ijō-* are possible contributing reasons for the analogical use of **-ī*.

3. Conclusion

The Germanic *(i)jō*-st. has a three-fold origin in the PIE language: 1. The *vrk̄*-type. 2. The *dēv̄*-type. 3. The *vidyā*-type. The Vedic names of these types have been chosen because the Iir. languages are the only languages where all three types are clearly separated, both morphologically and semantically.

The *vrk̄*-type is in Vedic mainly used to derive feminines from thematic m. bases, but also to form collectives and derivations denoting the characteristics of the base noun. Particularly worth noticing is its use as *Zugehörigkeitsbildungen*, a use that is indifferent to gender, cf. the classic *rathī́*-m. “charioteer” derived from *rátha*- “wagon” vs. *píppalī́*-f. “fig” derived from *píppala*- “fig-tree”. Its use as an affiliation-suffix can be shown to be the original, further backed by the use of *-ī* to form the gen.sg. in several IE branches. The *vrk̄*-type has not survived as a distinctive morphological class either in Germanic or in the other IE branches, but the clear vestiges of *Zugehörigkeitsbildungen* in many of these branches ensure its original use also outside Iir. The original accent class of this type lies in darkness due to the very fact that its morphology only survives in Iir. This branch does not allow any other reconstruction than a static type, but an original hysterokinetic type has often been reconstructed on the basis of possible traces in other IE branches.

The *dēv̄*-type is in Vedic also used to derive feminines from masculines, but here from athematic bases. This function is particularly important in its grammatical function where the athematic stem adjectives are formed with the *dēv̄*-suffix in the f. Both these functions are found in so many IE branches with the same characteristics as in Vedic that its PIE origin is unquestionable. From the clear ablauting nature of the *dēv̄*-suffix we can easily classify the original accent class to have been proterokinetic. Although it is usually assumed a close relationship between the *vrk̄*- and the *dēv̄*-type, this cannot be shown with any certainty and will remain rather speculative. Its strict f. gender together with the fact that its nom.sg. is asigmatic strongly suggests an origin in the PIE inanimate category, a peculiarity that we suggested be solved by applying an original diminutive meaning to the *dēv̄*-suffix.

The *vidyā*-type serves the same functions in both Iir. and in the IE branches where it is clearly preserved. That is to form verbal and sometimes adj. abstracts and to form the grammatical f. to thematic bases in **-jō-*. The original derivational base for the abstracts is with great certainty verbal adjectives in **-jō-*, something which means that the *vidyā*-type is no more than the PIE *eh₂*-st. with a preceding **-j-*.

The Germanic *(i)jō*-st. is in all cases but one the equivalence to the *vidyā*-type, i.e. an *ō*-st. (in Germanic terms) with a preceding **-(i)j-*. The exception is the nom.sg., which ends in both **-(i)jō* and **-ī*. The latter is the direct continuation of the asigmatic nom.sg. of the *dēv̄*-type. The attempts to locate original *vrk̄*-type endings in ON have been unsuccessful – the *vrk̄*-type had probably merged with the *dēv̄*-type already in pre-Germanic.

The distribution of **-ī* vs. **(i)jō* in Germanic follows certain principles. One of these is simply that the *dēvī*-type nom.sg. in **-ī* has been directly continued from original *dēvī*-stems, a fact that has been surprisingly little acknowledged. This is especially true for the suffixes **-en-* and **-es-*, which can be seen to have been *dēvī*-formations partly through their apocopated nom.sg. ending in WG, and partly through their proterokinetic ablaut pattern, something which has led to the suffix variants **-un-*, **-us-*, **-iz-* and **-uz-*. The most evident original *dēvī*-stems are those which denote a f. being, usually with the derivative base present in the same language, as e.g. Gothic *mawī*– *magus*, *þiwi*– *þius**, ON *ylgr*– *ulfr*, *merr*– *marr*.

The most common principle adhered to in historical Germanic linguistics for the distribution of **-ī* vs. **(i)jō* has been that their use is decided solely from phonetics. After a long syllable, the variant **-ī* was used, whereas **-jō* was used when the preceding syllable was short. It can, however, be shown from both internal Germanic reconstruction as well as from comparative IE linguistics that the nom.sg. of the *ijō*-st. adj. was **-ijō*, and that the Gothic *-i* represents an innovation. The unquestionable use of the ending **-ī* after a short syllable in **mag^wjō-* and **peg^wjō-* has been attempted explained away by applying a biphonemic nature to the PG **g^w* in these words, an explanation that partly relies on an uncertain etymology, but that more importantly is inconsistent with other PG instances of **g^w* together with Sievers' law. A use of PG **-ī* after a short syllable not containing any labiovelar occurs probably also in the name element **-niwī* and in the extended stem **gabī-n-*. Any use of an analogical nom.sg. **-jō* in an original *dēvī*-formation with a stem consisting of a short syllable cannot be located.

After a long syllable, the ending **-ijō* is as mentioned used in the adj. In the noun, however, the PG *n*-st. extension **burþī-n-* suggests that a *dēvī*-ending could be used analogically in an original *vidyā*-type, as the unextended **burþijō-* probably was. This analogy rests not on syllable length alone, though. Both higher frequency of the ending **-ī* among the nouns as well as a synchronic interpretation of **-ī* as a possible nom.sg. of a suffix **-ijō-* (but not **-jō-*) could be contributing factors to this analogy.

The nom.sg. **-ī* has been continued in all Germanic daughter languages, but to different extents. The widest distribution is found in Gothic, where the ending *-i* is analogically used both in the *ijō*-st. adj. (*wōþi*) and in all polysyllables (*hvōftuli*, *þūsundi*) in addition to the inherited use of *-i* in the nominal *dēvī*-formations following a short syllable (*mawī*, *þiwi*), a long syllable (*bandi*, *haiþi** etc.), in the *es*-suffix (*aqizi*, *jukuzi**), in the *en*-suffix (*Saurini*) and in compounds (*-gardi*, *-tundi**). Only the Germanic female names are not attested with this ending, since such names are not attested at all.⁵⁰¹

An ending **-ī* would be apocopated in ON, but the non-continuation of **-ijō* is a sure vestige of an original **-ī*, which at some point in OR was extended with an ending **-R* from the *ī*-st., an analogy that probably originated in the female names. All the Nordic languages, and especially OSw, have extended the *ijō*-st. declension in these names to include other stems as well. ON has

⁵⁰¹ For the East Germanic female *ijō*-st. names, cf. Schramm, 1957:158ff.

also preserved the ending **-ī[+R]* in the *es*-suffix (*∅x*) and in the short stems *máer*, *Þír*, but not in the *en*-suffix, since this only exists in the extended variant *-ynja*.

OE would also apocopate the ending **-ī*, but its continuation is shown by the discrepancy with the adj. ending *-u*, which continues **-ijō*. The ending **-ī* was also used in female names, whereas the apocopated ending following the words with the suffixes *-en-* and *-es-* is somewhat ambiguous in that some of them would be regular from **-jō* and some from **-ī*.

OS and OHG portray more or less the same state in this question. The original nom.sg. ending has generally been replaced by the acc.sg. in *-e* (OHG) and *-ea* (OS), but some remnants of a nom.sg. in **-ī* can still be found. Both languages have an endingless nom.sg. in the female names and after the suffixes *-in-* and *-un-*, in OHG also after *-is-/us-* (*hǎzis*). The endingless nom.sg. in the suffixes could either be by a regular apocopation of the final vowel in this position, or by apocopation of **-i* following a long syllable after a leveling of the geminated stem consonant **n/s* into the nom.sg. The ending **-ī* is retained after a short syllable in OHG *-niwi* and OS *thiwi*, and indirectly seen by the *i*-st. declension of *thiu* in OHG.

OLF shows no remnants of the ending **-ī* in the appellatives, whereas the ending *-∅* among the female names reveals an original **-ī* also here. The ending might be preserved after a short syllable in the name *-diwi* (?). OF has only dubious traces of an original **-ī* in some original *(i)jō*-st. with an apocopated ending. Since such apocopated endings occur in all sg. cases in OF, it is not possible to draw any well-founded conclusion in this matter.

Appendix 1: Stang's law

The so-called Stang's law was in its essence "created" in order to explain the highly irregular accusatives of IE **g^wóws* "bull, cow" and **dǵéws* "sky" as they appear in e.g. Vedic *gám* (sg.), *gáḥ* (pl.), *dyám* (sg.) and Greek βῶν (sg.), βοῦς (pl.), Ζῆν (sg.), instead of regular **gávam*, **gávaḥ*, **dyávam*, βόα, βόας, *Ζεα. These forms show that we must reconstruct the acc. as **g^wóm*, **g^wó(n)s* and **dǵém*. Since these forms are irregular and shared by more than one language group, it has long been recognized that these must belong to PIE. The question has been how they arose. Brugmann believed in "Schwund des zweiten Componenten von [...] *u*-Diphthongen vor auslautendem *m*" (Grundriss I,1:203), while the acc.pl. was formed analogically from the acc.sg. (Grundriss II,2:230). This was generally followed (see e.g. still Krahe I:62), while Kuiper (1942:69) added that the long diphthong **ēw* must have come from the nom.

Hirt (Idg.Gr. II:39) inferred early, however, that the expected acc.sg. would be **dǵeuṃ* and **g^wówm*,⁵⁰² which regularly gave Latin *Iovem* and *bovem*. Unlike Kuiper, however, he tries to explain the forms with a long vowel as developments from the regular accusatives. According to him, these forms were monosyllabic before a following vowel, and this syllable reduction led to a (compensatory) lengthening with the following loss of the final element **w* of the diphthong.

Szemerényi rejects that a lengthened grade in the nom.sg. could be sigmatic, and so the long first element of the diphthong must be analogical from the acc.sg. (1956:196ff.). The acc.sg. **g^wóm*, **dǵém* are therefore in his view regularly developed from regular full graded **g^wowm*, **dǵewm*, which would have a consonantal final **-m* in sandhi before a following vowel.⁵⁰³ This sandhi variant was then generalized. And in the sequence **Vwm*, the **m* "absorbed" the **w* with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (p. 197).

Szemerényi's view was largely followed by Stang (1965), but further developed in that he claims that sonants simply were consonantal "[a]près les diphtongues" (p. 293), and that the acc.pl. **g^wóns* was regularly developed from **g^wouns*, whereas Szemerényi (1956:200) and his predecessors (Grundriss II,2:230, Hirt Idg.Gr. II:73) viewed this as analogical from the acc.sg. Hirt and Szemerényi were, of course, forced to do this, as they saw the consonantal **-m* in the acc.sg. as a sandhi variant, whereas the **n* (or more correctly **m*) in the acc.pl. could have no sandhi variants, since it always was followed by **s*. Stang (p. 295) adds the accusatives of the *eh₂*-stem to the picture, and claims that the acc.sg. **-aH₂m* and the acc.pl. **-aH₂ns* regularly developed to **-ām* and **-āns*, "le schwa [i.e. the laryngeal] fonctionnant comme une sonante".

The final piece to the puzzle was laid by Schindler (1973), when he more thoroughly explained the phonetics of these accusatives. In his view (153f.), the endings **-wm* (sg.) and **-wms* (pl.) were assimilated to **-mm* and **-mms*, which then were simplified with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel in accordance with Szemerényi's law. As to the syllabicity of

⁵⁰² The inconsistency in notation (*-euṃ* vs. *-ówm*) can not be intentional.

⁵⁰³ This is exactly what Hirt (Idg.Gr. II:39) said as well, without being acknowledged by Szemerényi.

the second sonorant, he says that “[es] sich nicht angeben [läßt] [...]. Zumindest was /m/ betrifft, dürfen wir jedoch vermuten, daß es ursprünglich in postsonantischer Stellung unsilbisch realisiert wurde”.

It is clear that Brugmann’s original explanation was more of a description and a statement of what seems to be obvious. As we know, however, lengthened graded acc.sg. are quite unheard of, so Hirt was methodically correct in positing **dǵéw̄m* and **g^wów̄m* by internal reconstruction. His claim that the sandhi variant before vowels was *monosyllabic*, though, should not be accepted just like that. Would not a sequence **g^wów̄m éweǵd̄m* “I saw a bull” be realized as **g^wów.mé.weǵ.d̄m*? Where, and how, would a monosyllabic **g^wówm* *V-* emerge? His claim that both sandhi variants lived on to the daughter languages is unacceptable (cf. Stang 1965:295), as is the notion that the “syllable loss” led to vowel lengthening.

Kuiper’s idea that the long diphthong was taken over from the nom.sg. is of course possible, but where is the *raison d’être* for this analogy? One would say on the contrary, a difference between lengthened graded nom.sg. and full graded acc.sg. is a *normal* ablaut pattern in PIE. Hence should deviance from this have a phonological reason, not yet touched by analogy.

Szemerényi was therefore right in using Hirt’s reasoning of explaining the acc.sg. as regular developments. His refusal of lengthened graded sigmatic nom.sg. is, however, too bombastic. He admits that some root nouns ending in stops have both lengthened grade and an ending *-s*, but that does not concern the nouns in question, since they end in a sonant (p. 190). Nouns ending in sonants do, as we know, have **VRs* > **V̄R* by Szemerényi’s law, but the daughter languages sometimes put the **-s* back on.⁵⁰⁴ I would not exclude the possibility that both **dǵéw-* and **g^wów-* had regular nom.sg. in **dǵéw* and **g^wów*,⁵⁰⁵ to which an analogical **-s* was added (Neri 2003:66). Since Latin and Greek have Osthoff’s law, the forms *diūs* and Ζεύς can reflect both **d(i)ǵéws* and **d(i)ǵéws*, and Szemerényi takes the long diphthong to be an IIr. innovation (p. 198f.). The Hittite nom.sg. *šī-i-ú-uš* and *šī-ú-uš* probably reflects a form with a long diphthong,⁵⁰⁶ though, so it seems to be a PIE innovation.

Szemerényi apparently sees the problem of making the sandhi variant with a consonantal **-m* to a monosyllable, but he claims that “it is safe to assume that, for reasons of paradigmatic harmony, the syllabication **dyeum* **g^woum* would be preferred and generalized” (p. 197). It is unclear to me where the paradigmatic harmony in this is. I would say on the contrary, the acc. **dǵéw̄m* and **g^wów̄m* would rather be preferable, as other root nouns are declined in this way, e.g. *h₂nér̄m* “man” and **pód̄m* “foot”. It is further not clear to me what Szemerényi means that the

⁵⁰⁴ Cf. e.g. Latin *vātēs* “soothsayer” < **wātē+s* < **-éǵ* < **-éǵs* and Hittite *haraš* “eagle” < **hórō+s* < **h₃érōn* < **h₃érons*.

⁵⁰⁵ Pace Schindler 1973:156.

⁵⁰⁶ Rieken 1999:35f. and Kimball 1999:229. Melchert 1994:150 thinks it is too uncertain to tell for sure. Alwin Kloekhorst informs me (p.c.) that “the *-ú-* in *si-i-ú-us* and *si-ú-us* does not denote a long *u* (*siu:s*), but is just the way of spelling a diphthong *-iw-* instead of a two-vowel combination *-iu-*. In that light, the plene spelling of *-i-* can denote a long *i*. So, I would interpret *si-i-ú-us* as [si:ws]”.

**m* “absorbed” the **w*. One would think he means that **w* assimilates to **m* (as Schindler postulated), but he explicitly refuses this possibility later (1996:182) as “phonetically incredible”, although I fail to see what is so incredible about it (see also Schindler 1973:154²⁴). The only interpretation available would then be that the **w* disappeared in this position before **m*.

Stang takes a huge step forwards when he states that the consonantal feature of **m* in this position is regular, although he exaggerates this law as “les sonants peuvent fonctionner [...] comme consonnes [...] [a]près les diphtongues” (p. 293). He is nevertheless the first who manages to explain the acc.pl. **g^wóns* as regular, and additionally the accusatives of the *eh₂*-stem, although he in the latter case is clearly wrong when stating that the laryngeal functions “comme une sonante” (p. 295), a fact that Lindeman strongly points out (1997:92). This should, however, not be used as an argument against Stang’s law, as Lindeman does, only against Stang’s formulation of this part of it.

Lindeman (1967) went against Stang’s theory because he would not accept the development **-eum/*-oum > *-ēm/*-ōm* in PIE (p. 134), which would apply to Hirt’s and Szemerényi’s explanations as well. Unlike Kuiper, however, he offers an explanation for the analogical intrusion of the long diphthong from the nom.sg., namely from root nouns with the structure **CeH*, which, true enough, “ont [...] une *structure phonique* identique à celle rencontrée dans nos noms-racines en ‘diphtongue’” (p. 134). He uses **steh₂*- as an example. First, however, it is rather unlikely that there would be any lengthened grade in laryngeal morphemes in the nom.sg. (cf. Strunk 1989:309), so I doubt the reconstruction **stéh₂-s*. But that aside, the main problem is the alleged development of the acc.sg. **/stéh₂-m/* to **st(h)ám* (p. 135). If we do not accept Stang’s claim that **-m* would be consonantal in this position, something Lindeman explicitly has stated that he does not (1997:92), then **/stéh₂-m/* must be realized as **[stáh₂m]*. And since an intervocalic laryngeal is not dropped already in PIE,⁵⁰⁷ this form would remain in this way for a long time, and not give any basis for any analogically made **djéwm*, **g^wówm*. The only way we could get the desired form **stám* would be to accept Stang’s law, but then we have no reason to explain away **djém* or **g^wóm*, as Stang’s law make them regular. Lindeman’s analogy fails therefore on its premises.

Schindler’s (1973) closer account of Stang’s law is highly convincing. Both the assimilation of **-wm(-)* to **-mm(-)* as well as the following compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel are unproblematic. For the assimilation, see Schindler p. 154²⁴, and the development **-Vmm > *-V̄m* is neatly proven by the Hittite paradigm of *tekan* “earth”. The PIE strong case forms can be reconstructed as nom.sg. **d^hég^hom-s*, acc.sg. **d^hég^hom-m*. By Szemerényi’s law, the nom.sg. would change into **d^hég^hōm*, and when accepting Schindler’s claim that **/m/* after a sonant was consonantal, so would the acc.sg. The nom. and acc. would then be homophonous, and since homophony between nom. and acc.sg. is a characteristic of the n., this word has become a n. in Hittite.

⁵⁰⁷ See e.g. Kuiper 1947:208 and Jasanoff 2004:247f.

Schindler correctly limits Stang's rule of non-syllabification of IE sonants to apply to */m/ "in postsonantischer Stellung" (p. 154). The proofs of this rule are easily found in the acc.sg. of the acrostatic and proterokinetic *i*- and *u*-stems, as these end in **-im* and **-um* instead of the "expected"⁵⁰⁸ **-im̥* and **-um̥* (see also Schindler 1977:57).⁵⁰⁹

Schindler does not mention the case of **-h₂m*. It seems somewhat difficult to understand why **m* should be consonantal after a sonant and **h₂*, and it does not become any easier as long as we do not know the exact phonetic quality of this laryngeal. Two often adduced values are [x] and [ɣ]. If we, for the sake of argument, adduce the value [ɣ] to **h₂*, a phonetic explanation is not far-fetched. The voiced velar fricative [ɣ] is phonetically so close to what theoretically would be a semi-vocalic sonant (a velar approximant [w]), that it might have behaved accordingly in this position, i.e. led to a consonantal pronunciation of a following tautosyllabic **-m*. One could also speculate that if **h₂* had the value [x], that it could retrieve an allophonic voiced variant [ɣ] or [w] between a vowel and an **m* in a tautosyllable. A further necessity would be to reason the assimilation **h₂m* > **mm*, which seems to be phonetically less plausible than **wm* > **mm*. A sure example where this assimilation has occurred is found in Old Norwegian *Aghmundr/Ogmundr* [ɔymundr] > *Ammundr/Ommundr*⁵¹⁰ > Norwegian dialect *ammon/åmmond*.⁵¹¹ Cf. also OIr *ám* "moving" < **aγua* (Thurneysen 1946:79, rejected by Vendryes A-64).⁵¹²

I must emphasize, however, that any phonetic explanation of tautosyllabic **/h₂m/ = *h₂m > *mm* remains speculative, as long as the exact phonetic value of **h₂* is unknown (which it most likely forever will be). My suggestion above is therefore only tentative. However, one should take the forms at face value and accept that tautosyllabic **Vh₂m* seemingly gives **V̄m*. As the "irregular" syllabification of */m/ after a resonant is unquestionable, and the Stang-Schindler-Szemerényi development of tautosyllabic **Vwm* to **V̄m* is beyond reasonable doubt, it would be a paradox to reject the same for **h₂* when we do not know what **h₂* is.

For any of the other laryngeals, there are no good examples of Stang's law operating that cannot be explained equally well by analogy (cf. Lindeman 1989). One could use the accusatives

⁵⁰⁸ Expected after the generally accepted rules of syllabification by Schindler 1977:56.

⁵⁰⁹ This rule has also worked in the acc.pl. of the same types (possibly also the hysterokinetic type, as this type analogically got a zero graded suffix), but not directly seen in the frequently reconstructed endings **-ins*, **-uns*. They do not come directly from **-ims* and **-ums*, since these developed to **-im̥*, **-um̥* according to Szemerényi's law. By an analogical addition (from the post-consonantal variant **-ms̥*) of the **-s* to **-im̥s*, **-um̥s* > **-ins*, **-uns*, we get the attested endings by regular sound changes (e.g. Vedic *-in̄* vs. Gothic *-ins*). But the fact that Szemerényi's law has operated in these endings shows that the **-m-* before the final **-s* was consonantal, and therefore that Stang's law is older than Szemerényi's law (hence we do not need to speculate (Rieken 1999:35¹⁵³) whether the Anatolian branch left the IE community before Stang's law came into being, since Szemerényi's law has left its traces there).

⁵¹⁰ Hægstad II,2,1:139, Seip 1955:169.

⁵¹¹ Hægstad II,2,1:143, Hoff 1946:198.

⁵¹² Latin **gm* > *mm* (*flamma* LEW I:513) and Greek γμ > μμ (*σῆγμα* > *σῆμμα* Schwyzler 1959:215) have probably gone from a plosive /g/ to assimilation through [ŋ].

of the *vrk̄*-declension as an argument in favor of Stang’s law applying for **h₂* only, but since the laryngeal in the suffix **iH* is unknown, any reasoning would be circular.

One important thing that remains is to account for the irregular syllabification of **/m/* in the positions in question. It is not only after a sonorant that **/m/* lacks its expected syllabic variant, but also after the so-called *asno*-rule, where the **m* in the zero graded *men*-suffix, cf. Vedic *ásnaḥ* “stone” (R̥gveda 10, 27, 15), gen.sg. to *ásman-*, is not syllabified to **ṃn*,⁵¹³ but rather kept consonantal. Either the **m* or the **n* is then lost in the three-consonant cluster (*m*: **h₂^ekm̄nés* > **h₂^eknés*,⁵¹⁴ **b^hud^hmnó-* “ground” > **b^hud^hnó* > Vedic *budhná-*, Latin *fundus* vs. Greek *πυθμῆν* < **b^hud^hmén-* (EWAi II:228f.). *n*: *cāksmá-* “zum Himmelsauge in Beziehung stehend” vs. Avestan *čāšman-* “eye”,⁵¹⁵ **ṃh₁ṃh₃mnos* “nameless” > Greek (ἄ)νόνημος⁵¹⁶).

Another position where the expected syllabification of **/m/* is absent, is in initial position before another resonant (Schindler 1977:56), cf. Latin *brevis* “short” < **mrég^h-w-*,⁵¹⁷ Avestan *mraoṭ* “speaks” < **mlēwH-t*,⁵¹⁸ Greek *βλίπτω* “gather honey” < **mlit̄ō*, *μνήμα* “memory” < **mnéh₂m̄*.⁵¹⁹ When the **/m/* preceded a non-resonant initially, a secondary zero grade was usually created with a vowel, often **a*, in between, e.g. **ms-ǵé/ó-* > **mas-ǵé/ó-* > Greek *μαίωμα* “touch, try”, **mt-né-h₂-* > **mat-né-h₂-* → Latin *mandō* “chew” (LIV 443⁴). An apparent exception to this latter “rule” is the continuations of the zero grade **mǵh₂-* in Greek *ἄγα-* “very” and Latin *ingēns* “huge”, which in spite of their good etymology are rejected by some (e.g. for Latin VWIS:258, questioned by Schrijver 1991:484,⁵²⁰ and for Greek Anttila 2000:28ff., 44ff., 79ff. et passim).⁵²¹

My point here will be that this is a special quality of the PIE **/m/* and not, say, of another resonant like PIE **/n/*, and I will try to give examples that will be able to show this.

A syllabic **n* in final position is notoriously rare in PIE. One certain case of it is the n.nom./acc.sg. of the *men*-stem, ending in **-m̄n*. Since we are looking for instances where **/n/* differs from **/m/*, though, this ending is somewhat useless, since the **n* follows an **m*. Additionally, if something strange would happen to the **n*, it could very easily be reinstated after the oblique cases. Another case, although less certain, is the numeral “nine”, if from **néwn̄*,⁵²² and this has precisely the “Stang-cluster” we are looking for. If this behaved like **-Vwm*, we would expect to get **néwn* > **nén*. Needless to say, we find no such thing, in contrast to the direct

⁵¹³ See Schmidt 1895:121, Schindler 1977:57, Darms 1978:14ff., IG I:159 and Rasmussen 1989:186ff.

⁵¹⁴ Amphikinetic according to Schaffner 2001:90.

⁵¹⁵ Darms 1978:16, Nussbaum 1986:278.

⁵¹⁶ Darms 1978:15, Nussbaum 1986:279, Rasmussen 1989:188f.

⁵¹⁷ IG I:158, EWAi II:364f.

⁵¹⁸ 3.sg.pres. injunctive (Hoffmann/Forssman 1996:201). IG I:158, EWAi II:236, LIV 446.

⁵¹⁹ IG I:158, EWAi II:385, LIV 447.

⁵²⁰ The zero grade **mǵh₂-* has elsewhere in Latin always gotten a secondary zero grade **m^ǵg-*, in e.g. *magnus* “big”, *magis* “more”, *maiestās* “greatness”, *Maius* “the great god” etc.

⁵²¹ Vedic *abhí*, OHG *umbí* must because of Greek *ἀμφί* and Latin *ambi* have had an initial laryngeal **h₂*.

⁵²² Whether the anlaut of this numeral had a laryngeal and/or ablaut does not concern us here.

continuations of **néwŋ* in Vedic *náva* and Greek *-νέα*. Now, it is an issue whether “nine” is be reconstructed as **néwŋ* or **néwŋm*⁵²³ (or indeed if there was any opposition between PIE **-/n#*/ and **-/m#*/ at all),⁵²⁴ because of contradicting forms such as Latin *nōnus* “ninth” versus Tocharian B *ñumka* “ninety”. I cannot add much to the arguments on either side,⁵²⁵ expect from stressing that the discrepancy that would arise between **djéwm* > **djēm* and **néwm* > **néwŋm* is of vital importance to determine the pre-form of “nine”.⁵²⁶ I do not believe that an indeclinable numeral can escape a sound-law in analogy from another (or two other) indeclinable numeral(s) (**dékm̥*, *septm̥*) when the same sound-law works on declinable forms whose stems would be under pressure from other cases (acc.sg. **gʷó-m* vs. nom.pl. **gʷów-es*, acc.sg. **djé-m* vs. voc.sg. **djew-*), and whose endings from a multitude of other stems with similar ablaut types (e.g. **pód-m̥*, **pód-m̥s* and **h₂nér-m̥*).⁵²⁷ Although I realize the danger of arguing in a circular way here, I believe that the total absence of Stang-forms for “nine” should be added to the argument of reconstructing **néwŋ*, and simultaneously show that **-Vwn* is unaffected by Stang’s law as apposed to **-Vwm*.

Since Stang’s law is not a law for final position, but for certain clusters in *tautosyllables*, it would be justifiable to look for examples of **Vwn* and **Vh₂n* in internal tautosyllabic syllables. We can find a tautosyllabic sequence **Vwn* in the derivatives of the numeral “nine”, such as Vedic *navatí-* “90” and Gothic *niunda* “ninth”, pointing to **newŋtí-* and **newŋtó-* respectively.⁵²⁸ We do not find any traces of Stang-variants, which in these cases would have given **nāntí-*, **ninda*. These forms cannot be considered conclusive, though, since their forms could be influenced by the numeral forms *náva* and *niun*.

⁵²³ See Szemerényi 1960:171ff. who goes for **néwŋm*, recently followed by Blažek 1999:195.

⁵²⁴ Gauthiot 1913:158ff, recently followed by Boutkan 1995:52f., Nassivera 2000:60⁹ and Haug 2002:112⁴⁴. This notion is in my view clearly false. For example, the addition of the local (‘hic et nunc’) participle **-i* to certain forms ending in a nasal (N) shows that final **-m* and **-n* were distinguished in PIE: secondary ending 1.sg. **-N* + **i* → primary ending **-m̥i* while pre-/postposition **eN* “in” + **i* → **eni* “id.” (for continuations of **en*/**eni*, see Lühr 2000a:51).

⁵²⁵ E.g. is Latin *nōnus* said to be assimilated from **nōmus* (de Saussure 1879:30), whereas Tocharian B has *ñumka* with *-m-* from the analogical **newŋm* ← **dékm̥*, as apposed to Tocharian A *ñuñka* (Winter 1992:122). I feel the need, however, to add *one* comment against Blažek, who claims that the IIr. ordinals (among others) are “serious arguments supporting the reconstruction of final **-m̥*” (1999:195). I would say on the contrary. The Vedic *navamā-* “ninth” could theoretically reflect both **newŋmó-* and **newŋm̥mó-*. The latter, however, should by the converse of Sievers-Edgerton’s law give **newmó-*. Although the converse of this law is an issue in itself, it is clear that **newŋm̥mó-* for IIr. causes more problems than it solves (in fact, it does not solve any), whereas **newŋmó-* actually does not cause any trouble at all.

⁵²⁶ This point has gone unnoticed by in the discussions of this numeral, with the exception of Haug 2002:112⁴⁴, who implies that **newm* has escaped Stang’s law in analogy with “*dekm* [sic] et *septm*”.

⁵²⁷ We would perhaps expect **h₂nér̥m* here, but **-rm* would hardly assimilate to **-mm*, and it could consequently be realized as **h₂nér̥m̥* at a later stage.

⁵²⁸ Because the **n* in this position, as opposed to **m*, has been syllabified, the cluster is, of course, no longer tautosyllabic. Pace Blažek 1999:193, “Old Icelandic *niund*” (or rather *níund*) “body of nine” cannot regularly continue **newŋtí-*, as this should have given **nýnd* (possibly **njónd*), cf. *sýn/sjón* “vision” < late PG **sewni-*.

Any revealing cases of tautosyllabic **Vh₂n* are much harder to find. I can only think of athematic 3.pl. and participles of verbs like **steh₂-* “(let) stand”. But still, for 3.pl. **^osteh₂nt(i)* to occur, the accent must be acrostatic, which it in this case certainly was not. For the participles, the original accent is still more or less unsolved, and it would probably be analogically reshuffled anyway, if the cluster **steh₂nt#* would lead to something too deviant.

There are many examples of **ŋ-* initially. I have not found any before another resonant (but neither any examples of consonantal **n-* before resonant), with the exception of the privative prefix **ŋ-* (Vedic *á-marta-* “immortal”, Greek ἄ-(F)οινός “without wine”, Gothic *un-riurs** “imperishable”). Examples of **ŋ-* before non-resonants are **ŋs* “us” > Gothic *uns*, **ŋsme* “id.” > Avestan *əhmā*, Lesbian ἄμμε, **ŋtér* “among, between” > OHG *untar*, Latin *inter*, **ŋsí-* “sword” > Vedic *así-*, Latin *ēnsis*.⁵²⁹

To bring the matter to a conclusion, what I have tried to emphasize here is that the crucial element in what is known to be called Stang’s law is the phoneme **/m/*, which in several positions acts more like an obstruent than a semivocalic resonant.⁵³⁰ What Stang’s law does is to sort out those instances in which this **/m/* assimilates with the preceding sound.⁵³¹ What follows is basically the same as Szemerényi’s law; simplification of the geminate with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

Doric acc.pl. βῶς

The Doric acc.pl. βῶς is frequently just quoted in a listing of the Stang-forms, and either implicitly or explicitly equaled with Vedic *gáḥ* and Avestan *gā*. Any closer account of the Doric form is as far as I can see always absent, and no one states where this Doric form appears, not even Schwyzer 1959:577.⁵³² It is probable, however, that the first link in the chain of citing βῶς as a Stang-form is Schmidt 1881:19 with a reference to Theocritus VIII, 48, where it unambiguously appears as an acc.pl. (τὰς βῶς βόσκων), and without any manuscript variants (Gow 1952 I:70). The question is what we can deduce from this Doric form.

It is clear that Theocritus does not differ between original long Pre-Greek **ō*, the contraction of **oa*, and original **ōns* (Monteil 1968:29, 34). And even though Idyll VIII is considered to be

⁵²⁹ *ēnsis* with vowel lengthening before *-ns* (Leumann 1977:112).

⁵³⁰ Examining the lenition in Scots Gaelic, Rogers concludes that “**/m/* behaves phonologically like an obstruent, patterning with */b, p, k, g/* and not with other nasals” (1980:223) and suggests to classify **/m/* as [– Sonorant] (p. 230). For Arabic root structures, Ferguson (1975:186) states that “the **/m/* belongs to the labial set of restricted cooccurrence */b f m/*, but the **/n/* belongs not with the dental-alveolar obstruents but with the liquids */l r/*”. For other examples of the obstruent nature of **/m/*, see Rogers 1980:229f.

⁵³¹ These instances are: 1) After **w* 2) After **h₂*. Several attempts have been made to let Stang’s law operate after **i* as well (Hirt Handb. II:185, Rasmussen 1989:139, Haug 2000:182 and 2002:116). Although this seems highly possible, the examples are less certain than for the other two. Further, Lindeman’s (1989) use of **h₂weh₁ŋto-* “wind” to prove Stang’s law wrong is invalid, since it does not contain any of the required elements (neither **w*, **h₂* (**i*?) nor **m*).

⁵³² And it is not even mentioned by LS:326.

pseudo-Theocritus, the writer of this poem does not differ from Theocritus in this aspect. Since Doric βῶς then does not unambiguously reveal its original form, one could question why this form is preferred to Homeric Greek βοῦς, which in fact cannot continue anything but **g^wōns*.⁵³³ The answer is of course the desire to see an archaism in Doric, since it theoretically can continue **g^wōs* and then match the Vedic and Avestan form. There are two reasons why this should be abandoned. First, it is uneconomical to reconstruct one form for Doric and one for Homeric and the other Greek dialects when in fact there is nothing that prevents us from having the same proto-form for them all. Secondly, Doric βῶς < **g^wōs* would be the *only* vestige of “Schmidt’s law” in Greek (cf. footnote 77), whereas it has been analogically reversed in other forms. That an **n* has been analogically put back in in Theocritus’ Doric as well, is seen in his use of the acc.pl. endings -ᾶς and -ᾷς in the *ā*-stem (Monteil 1968:37), since both these endings must continue **-āns* with an analogically inserted **-n-*.

I would thus reconstruct a common Proto-Greek acc.pl. **g^wōns*, unambiguously continued in Homeric βοῦς. This form as well shows the effect of Stang’s law, since the absence of which would have given Proto-Greek **g^wow-ns* and a regular Greek form βόας.⁵³⁴

⁵³³ An original **oa* would most likely have given ω as in Doric (Chantraine 1958:35).

⁵³⁴ βόας appears in Homer as well, but is easily explained as an analogical creation from the nom.pl. βόες. To explain βοῦς as analogically made from the acc.sg. βοῦν (Chantraine 1958:226) is futile, since this is originally βῶν (admitted also by Chantraine loc.cit. “il faudrait peut-être poser partout βῶν”).

Appendix 2: Sievers' law in Germanic polysyllables

As seen in 2.3, the polysyllabic *(i)jō*-stems in Gothic follow the monosyllabic stems with a long first syllable when it comes to the ending: *-i* in the polysyllables and the monosyllables with a long syllable, *-ja* elsewhere. We would, of course, expect *-ja* in the polysyllables when the syllable preceding the ending was short, but this is obviously not the case, as seen in *aqizi*, *lvōftuli*, *lauhmuni* and *Saurini*. One could try to find an explanation of this in the prehistory and development of the *(i)jō*-stem in PIE and PG, but comparison with similar features elsewhere in Germanic makes this unnecessary.

In other formations in Gothic, we see clearly that it is the Sievers-variant **-ij-* that is continued in polysyllables, also when following a short syllable. First we have the m. *ja-* and *ija-*stems, where the *ja*-st. has a nom.sg. in *-jis*, e.g. *harjis* “army”,⁵³⁵ but the *ija*-st. a nom.sg. in *-eis*, e.g. *hairdeis* “shepherd” < **herdijaz* (cf. footnote 123). The polysyllabic *ragineis* “counselor” with a short syllable *-in-* seems to continue a **raginijaz*. Secondly we have the *ja-* and *ija-*verbs, where the difference between the types is seen in the 2./3.sg. and 2.pl.pres.ind. A *ja*-verb like *taujan* “do” has a 3.sg. *taujid* < **taujid(i)*, whereas an *ija*-verb like *dailjan* “divide” has 3.sg. *daileiþ* < **dailijid(i)*. The polysyllabic *mikiljan* “praise” has a 3.sg. *mikileid*, and seems to reflect **mikilijid(i)*.

Within the Gothic language, this rule can be further narrowed down. There are polysyllables where the continuation of the Sievers-variant **-j-* appears, e.g. *gaqiujiþ* “gives life to” and *ganasjiþ* “saves”. The difference between these formations and the others above is of course that the first syllable of the verbs in *ga-* is not accented, but stands in proclisis. This is indicated by the fact that other clitics can be placed in between *ga-* and the verb, e.g. *ga-u-laubjats* (Mt 9,28), *ga-u-hva-sēhvi* (Mk 8,23), and further by the Gothic word division *ga swalt* (see GG:§217a.Anm.2). The examples *gaqiujiþ* and *ganasjiþ* have therefore the ending *-ji-* after the main accent, and not after an unaccented syllable. The rule in Gothic would consequently be: “Where ending variants dependent on preceding syllable length appear, the variant appearing after an accented long syllable is also used after an unaccented syllable”.

The explanation for these forms lies at hand when comparing them with certain OE formations. As is generally accepted, the OE rules of syncope and apocope say that a short vowel **i/u* is lost when it follows any long syllable *or* two short syllables,⁵³⁶ the classic examples being n.pl. *word* “words” < **wordu* and *weorod* “troops” < **werodu*. When the vowel follows one long + one short syllable, however, the vowel is retained just as it is when following

⁵³⁵ The ending *-jis* is probably analogical for a regular **-is* < **-jaz*, cf. Krause 1968:§124 “Der N. Sg. m. *harjis* ist dagegen eine Analogiebildung nach dem Muster der *ia*-Stämme: N. *harjis* : G. *harjis* wie N. *hairdeis* : G. *hairdeis*”. Seebold (1972:74) tries to derive *harjis* regularly from **harjaz* and from PIE **-ijos*, which I do not think has much to recommend it.

⁵³⁶ See Campbell 1959:§345, Brunner 1965:§149 and Hogg 1992:227.

only one short syllable, e.g. *hēafodu* “heads” < **haubudu* and *fatu* “vessels” < **fatu*. From this we get the OE rule that a short vowel **i/u* is lost after – and ∪x, whereas it is retained after ∪ and – ∪.

Certain OE *ja*-stems as *byrele* “cup-bearer”, *merece* “smallage” and *hemeþe* “shirt” have traditionally been odd formations, since they lack the WG consonant gemination and have an ending *-e* after a short syllable (cf. Campbell 1959:§579.3). Dahl 1938:77ff. notes that the ending *-e* would be inexplicable unless developed from **-ija-*. As Erdmann 1972:411 explains, the preserved final *-e* cannot come from an original short **i*, since this would have been lost after the rules of apocoptation, since it follows ∪∪. Since the preserved *-e* following a long syllable is known to go back to an earlier **-ī* arisen through the loss of **-a* in the Sievers-variant **-ija*, e.g. *ende* “end” < pre-OE **andija*, the conclusion must be that also the *-e* of *hemeþe* goes back on an earlier **-ī* < **-ija*. With establishing the Sievers-variant **-ij-* after two short syllables, we automatically get the explanation why these OE forms do not have consonant gemination, as this gemination occurred only when immediately followed by **j*, which it consequently did not in the formation **hamiþija-*.⁵³⁷

Dahl 1938:77ff., who to my knowledge was the first to recognize that the Sievers-variant **-ij-* followed both one long and two short syllables, did not compare this finding with forms outside OE. Erdmann 1972:412, however, compares this phenomenon with the one seen in the Gothic formations listed above, and finds that all the attested forms of *(i)ja*-stems and *(i)ja*-verbs where any difference between original **j* and **ij* can be seen have *-ei-* when following –, ∪ – and ∪∪, and *-ji-* when following ∪. By chance, we have none of the necessary forms attested to see what follows – ∪.⁵³⁸

There are even more indications that Dahl’s theory is correct. First, it is seen that the equivalence between two short syllables and one long appears in OE both when it comes to

⁵³⁷ According to Lühr 1982:388ff., the constellation **-ija/ō-* underwent a “Lautwandel” to **-ja/ō-*, a change that did not affect **-iju-*. This is resorted to in order to explain the gemination in the two OE words *ōretta* “fighter” and *ǣrette* “ant”, which because of their etymology have an original long medial syllable in **-ai-* (see Lühr loc.cit. for the etymologies). The forms quoted above without such a gemination contradict this theory. The double *-tt-* in *ōretta* has other analogical explanations, which also Lühr loc.cit. admits (cf. further Dahl 1938:81). Lühr 1982:389 is right in claiming that *ǣmette* cannot have the gemination analogically from the verbs in *-ettan*. Dahl loc.cit. notes, however, that “forms with *-t-* [...] are not uncommon in the case of *ǣmette*”. Instead of resorting to a different development between **-ija/ō-* and **-iju* in OE just to explain *ǣmette*, I would explain this form as an analogy from other animal names such as *hyrnette* “hornet” and *iellette* “swan”.

⁵³⁸ The suffix <-areis> has quite likely a long *-ā-*, and would not fall under this category. Erdmann’s conclusion (1972:412) that the vowel must be long because it is followed by *-eis* and not **(j)is* is circular, since these are the only attested forms with a *possible* sequence – ∪ at all in Gothic (all the attestations with this suffix have a long first syllable). The vowel in this suffix is short in ON and Ingvaemonic, but these languages are known to shorten vowels in unaccented position, unlike OHG and Gothic. And when OHG has a long *-ā-* in the suffix *-āri* (AhG:§200.Anm.1), it is likely that Gothic has it as well, especially when considered that the vowel is long in Latin *-ārius*, where the Germanic suffix comes from.

Sievers-variants and apocopation of a final short vowel, two phenomena that are separated by such a long period of time that they cannot be considered to be the same. They are rather two different effects of the same tendency to equal two short syllables with one long.

The effect of this Dahl's law is clearly seen also in OS. A *ja*-verb like *tellian* "tell" has consonant gemination of **l*, whereas the *ja*-st. *athali* "nobility" has not, and with preserved final *-i*,⁵³⁹ which indicates an origin **apalija-* with **-ij-* after two short syllables,⁵⁴⁰ just as in OE *æpele* (Dahl 1938:77). Similarly, we know that the m.acc.sg. of the adj. ends in *-an* and *-(a)na*, and that the variant *-an* follows – and ∪∪, e.g. *allan* "all" and *mikilan* "big", whereas *-(a)na* follows ∪ and –∪, e.g. *quikana* "living" and *hēlagna* "holy" (Gallée 1993:§344.Anm.4). That this too is an effect of the same tendency and not a direct continuation of the system outlined above is seen by two facts. First, the final vowel *-a*, which is lost when *-ana* follows – and ∪∪, comes from a PG **-ōʰ*, and would not be shortened until the prehistory of the separate daughter languages (cf. footnote 277). Secondly, the ending *-an(-)* does itself constitute a short syllable, after which the vowel *-a* may be lost. When counting in this syllable, we see that the ending *-a* is lost when following – ∪ and ∪∪∪, but retained after ∪∪ and – ∪∪, not at all corresponding with the rules seen above. The similarity limits itself to the fact that – and ∪∪ are treated likewise.

Important evidence comes also from the Germanic meter. In the OE meter, the arsis is easily filled by a long syllable, but not by one short syllable. If the arsis lies on a short syllable, this alone cannot carry the necessary weight to fill an arsis, and this is remedied by bringing the next syllable into the arsis. This is known as resolution, where one long syllable is "resolved" into two short. In the OE meter, then, a long syllable is equal to two short.⁵⁴¹ A couple of examples of this taken from *De consolatione philosophiae*:⁵⁴²

⁵³⁹ The final **-i* is dropped after an accented short syllable with gemination, e.g. *bed* "bed" (instr.sg. *beddiu*), and following the original constellation – ∪, e.g. *inwid* "malice" (gen.sg. *inwiddies*). For the exception *kunni* "gender, kin" see Dal 1971:71ff. and Nielsen 1994:203ff.

⁵⁴⁰ The OS equivalent to OE *hemeþe*, *hemithi* (nom.sg., gloss to *camisa*, see Wadstein 1899:82), is hardly a proof of lack of gemination because of a following **-ij-*, since OS to my knowledge does not geminate **þ*, cf. m.nom.sg. *n-st. ruthio* "staghound" vs. OE *ryþpa* "id". OHG seems to show forms both with and without gemination of **þ*, as in *smiththa/smidda/smitta* "smithy" (AhG:§167.Anm.10) vs. *rudio* "staghound" > German *Rüde* (but apparently geminated in a modern dialect form *rütt(e)*, see Kluge 1995:695). The OS *smitha* could possibly be OHG, see Köbler 2000:835.

⁵⁴¹ In the OE meter, resolution can also be made by one short + one unaccented syllable of any length (∪ x), but investigations of the resolutions in Beowulf show that resolution there is much more common for the sequence ∪∪ than for ∪ –, and that resolution often lacks when contemporary ∪∪ can be shown to be an original **∪ –* (see Schulte 2004:13ff.), indicating that the original OE resolution is ∪∪ for –, and not ∪x for –.

⁵⁴² The examples are taken from Obst/Schleburg 2004:120f., 132. For the phenomenon of resolution in OE, see recently Schulte 2004:12ff. with literature.

súnnan on súmera ˊ x x ˘ ˘ x

vs.

fíndan on férhte ˊ x x ˊ x

ymbútan híne x ˊ x ˘ ˘

vs.

ymbútan hít x ˊ x ˊ

Similar resolutions are also found in ON. In the meter *dróttkvætt*, the first strong position of Sievers' type A is represented by one long syllable, but this is frequently resolved into two short (or ˘ x), cf. the example from *Bersöglisvísur*.⁵⁴³

6, 6 *hafa, es landa krafðir* ˘ ˘ x ˊ x ˊ x

vs.

1, 1 *vask með gram þeims gumnum* ˊ x ˊ x ˊ x

We also have resolution in the Eddic meter *ljóðahátt*, where the end of the third line in each half-strophe ends in either ˊ or ˘ ˘ (or ˘ x), whereas an end ˊ x is avoided and is extremely rare, cf. the example from *Hávamál*.⁵⁴⁴

30, 3 *þótt til kynnis komi* ˘ x ˘ x ˘ ˘

vs.

32, 6 *órir gestr við gest* ˘ x ˘ x ˊ

The evidence is overwhelming that there is a phonetic reality behind the fact that the Sievers-variant **ij* follows ˘ ˘, as this is equivalent to one long syllable ˊ.⁵⁴⁵ Since the distribution of the Gothic (*ij*)-stem words to either the *ijō*-st. or *jō*-st. is dependent on syllable length as with the Sievers-variants (see 2.3), we should see the placement of the polysyllabic *ijō*-stem words in connection with the rules outline above.

Erdmann 1972 did not take the Gothic *ijō*-st. into account when examining the Gothic treatment of Sievers' law in polysyllables. If he did, he would have seen that the facts there do not entirely fit with his theory. What is certain is that the polysyllabic *aqizi*, *hulundi*, *Saurini* and

⁵⁴³ For Sievers' type A, cf. Árnason 1991:94, and op.cit. 128ff. for resolution in *dróttkvætt*.

⁵⁴⁴ The examples are taken from Árnason 1991:53.

⁵⁴⁵ The same phenomenon is visible in Latin, where the *je/o*-presents with a short root is conjugated in the third conjugation, e.g. *capere* "take", *fugere* "flee" < **kap-je-zí*, **pug-je-zí*, whereas the roots with one long syllable or long/short + short syllable follow the fourth conjugation, e.g. *sentire* "feel" < **sent-ije-zi* and *sepelire* "bury" < **sepel-ije-zi*. Particularly revealing is the dichotomy *parere* "bear" vs. *re-perire* "find again" < **par-je-zí*, **re-par-ije-zi* (cf. Leumann 1977:543 and Meiser 1998:§127.2).

būsundi are regular, as the ending follows either $\cup\cup$ or $\cup-$. The two attestations *hvōftuli* and *lauhmuni*, however, have $- \cup$, where we should expect the ending *-ja* as after one short syllable. There are as I can see three possible explanations for this:

1. *hvōftuli* and *lauhmuni* could have an original ending **-ī* that has been preserved in spite of their phonetic structure, just as *mawī* and *piwī*. *hvōftuli* “pride, boasting, rejoicing” is derived from the verb *hvōpan* “boast” with an IE *tel*-suffix. The Gothic form *-tul-* must have originated in a pre-consonantal position, which would be the oblique cases in **-tj-īeh₂*. This proves that it cannot be a Gothic creation, but at latest a PG. The fact that the *-p-* in the root *hvōp-* shows up as *-f-* before the suffix shows that the word is of pre-Germanic origin, as IE **bt* assimilates to **pt* and shifts to PG **ft* by Grimm’s law.⁵⁴⁶ Since the IE suffix **-tel-* denotes nomen agentis, while the thematized **-tlo-* expresses the nomen instrumenti,⁵⁴⁷ it seems most likely that the Germanic **-tjō-* is secondarily derived from the thematized **-tlo-*, since “pride, rejoicing” can be understood as “with what one boasts”, but in no way as “a boaster”, or, since it is an *ijō*-st., “a female boaster”. There are some examples in Sanskrit where a *vṛkī-*suffix *-trī-* is derived from nomen instrumenti in *-tra-* without altering the meaning, e.g. *śas-trī-* “knife” ← *śas-tra-* “id.”. We cannot see if this suffix continues **-tlo-* or **-tro-*, though. The fact that the meaning is not altered and that the examples seem to be few (see AG II,2:707) might suggest an internal development there, and thus have no connection with the Germanic **-tjō-*.⁵⁴⁸ There are Germanic examples of a suffix **-blija-/dlija-*, however, obviously extended from an original **-pla-/dla-* < IE **-tlo-*, since these variants appear in the same constructions, cf. OHG *driskubli* “threshold” < **preskudlija-* vs. ON *preskōldr* “id.” < **preskudla-*.⁵⁴⁹ Since an extension **-tjō-* does not seem to appear outside Germanic, it seems likely to me that PG **hwōf-tjō-* has been either femininized from an earlier form in **-tjō-*, or directly extended from an earlier *f.* in **-tlō-*.

lauhmuni “lightning” is another formation with a double suffix, from the zero grade of the suffix **-men-* + **-īeh₂*, giving PG **-mñjō-* > Gothic *-munjō-*. Any *f.* noun-extension of the *men*-suffix with **iH/ih₂/īeh₂* is not known to me in the other IE languages.⁵⁵⁰ Once again we have a variant **-mñja-* in Germanic, which to my knowledge has no equivalence in the other IE branches. PG **-mñja-* is then probably an *einzel-sprachlich* extension of the thematized suffix **-mno-*. The basis for the formation here is PG **leuhman-* “light, beam”, from which a

⁵⁴⁶ It should be pointed out that PG **hwōp-* has no etymology, so an IE form in **-b-* is not assured, see Seebold 1970:285 and Lehmann 1986:H18.

⁵⁴⁷ See Krahe/Meid III:187 and Risch 1974:41.

⁵⁴⁸ There is one possible Greek example of **-tel-īeh₂* in $\omega\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}$ “wound”. This is, however, much too uncertain. The suffix might really be **-elīeh₂* (cf. Schwyzler 1959:532f. and GEW II:1153).

⁵⁴⁹ The OHG *driskubli* has suffered dissimilation from **-ðl-* to **-bl-*, whereas the ON *presk(j)ōldr* has metathesis from **-dl-* to **-ld-* and influence on the vocalism and declension from *skjōldr* “shield”, see EWA II:787ff. for details and literature.

⁵⁵⁰ The Latin *īeh₂*-stem *calumnia* “false accusation” is according to Leumann 1977:322 “morphologisch ganz unsicher”. According to LEW I:143, it is formed from a pres.part. in **-mnos*.

**lauhmna-* “lightning” could have been made, further extended to **lauhmnjō-*, directly continued in both Gothic and Middle English *lēvene* “lightning” (cf. Schaffner 2001:557). It seems fairly certain in this case that the PG suffix **-mnjō-* is a Germanic extension and does not continue any original *dēvi-* or *vṛkī-* suffix.⁵⁵¹

For both *lvōftulī* and *lauhmuni* there cannot be found any evidence that suggests that these words were originally formed with a *dēvi-/vṛkī-* ending **-ī* kept in Gothic. The evidence suggests rather that these suffixes were formed secondarily in PG with an ending **-jō*. The first possible explanation for the ending *-ī* in these two words should consequently be abandoned.

2. Another possibility for the ending *-ī* in *lvōftulī* and *lauhmuni* could be that the rule that the ending following $- \upsilon$ should be the same as the one following υ simply did not apply anymore. We could have had a redefinition of the rule at some stage in the evolution of the Gothic language, leading to a new rule saying that the ending following $- \acute{}$ also follows \acute{x} x, i.e. any polysyllabic word. To judge from the examples in the *(i)jō-* stem, this is the synchronic rule in Gothic, but the unfortunate lack of attestations outside this stem of what follows $- \upsilon$ makes it too uncertain to set up such a rule for Gothic.

3. We could also have an analogy internally in the Gothic *(i)jō-* stem. One crucial word in this context would be *Saurini* “female Syrian”. Since the suffix *-injō-* is extensively used in the WG languages in the same function as seen here (to derive feminines from masculines, in this case *Saur* “Syrian”), it would be safe to assume that it was a frequent suffix in Gothic as well, further supported by the fact that *Saurini* must be a recent formation in Gothic, proving the productivity of the suffix.

We would accordingly expect the suffix *-injō-* to follow both long and short syllables. Only the fact that Gothic is poorer attested than the other languages prevents us from seeing formations such as **warginjō-* “female criminal”.⁵⁵² If the regularly developments took place, we would expect the words with a long first syllable to end up as **warginja*, while the ones with a short first syllable would have *-ī*, *Saurini*, **apini* “monkey”.⁵⁵³ Since the suffix *-injō-* would be a frequent and productive element, it is rather unlikely that this would alternate between **-inja* and *-ini*

⁵⁵¹ Another problem would be to explain the different forms of the suffix in Gothic and Middle English. The English form continues a PG **-umnijō-*, whereas the Gothic continues **-munjō-*. It is obvious that have arisen “auf verschiedener Vokalisation der Nasale” (Krahe/Meid III:130), but the question remains why. It is clear that a PG **-mnjō-* should be realized as **-mnjō-* (for the rules of syllabification, see Schindler 1977:56) and not **-mjō-*. If we, however, consider that an original formation in **-mna-* would have a syllabic **m* (**-mna-*), it is possible that this syllabification was analogically kept with the extension to **-mnjō-*, which was then realized as **-mjō-* > **-umnijō-*, whereas the variant **-mnjō-* represents the “correct” reshuffling of the syllabification. An analogical syllabification in PG is possible, since the automatic syllabification was disturbed elsewhere in PG by laryngeal loss (e.g. PIE **g^wrh₂ús* > PG **k^wruz* > Gothic *kaurus**) or analogy (e.g. **beran-*: **brana-* after **brekan-*: **brkana-*).

⁵⁵² Cf. OE *wyrgan* “female beast” and ON *vargynja* “she-wolf”.

⁵⁵³ OHG *affin*, ON *apynja*.

depending on the preceding syllable.⁵⁵⁴ The ultimate preference for *-ini* could be due to a higher frequency of *-ini* than **-inja*, or maybe because an ending *-i* was already known to derive a f. from a m., something that would be synchronically obvious in *þiwa*-“servant” → *þiwi*“maid”.

It is not certain, however, that there existed any suffix variant **-inja* in the nom.sg. at all. The *-injō*-suffix is an original *dēvī*-suffix (see the following sub-chapter), and would have a nom.sg. in **-inī* > Gothic *-ini* regardless of the length of the preceding syllables. Only an analogical creation of PG **-injō* depending on the syllable structure would yield a Gothic **-inja*.

One way or the other, it seems likely that formations such as **wargini* occurred in Gothic, and the rule saying that the ending following *u* should also follow *-u* would thus be shattered, at least within the (*i*)*jō*-stem. At this stage, we would have the ending *-i* after *--* (*þūsundi*, *fraistubni**), *uu* (*aqizi*, *Saurini*, *jukuzi**), *u -* (*hulundi*, *frijōndi**) and now also *-u* (**wargini*, **skalkini*⁵⁵⁵). Considering now that the polysyllabic nouns with *-i* would overwhelmingly outnumber the ones in *-ja*, it is no wonder that the few remaining with **-u -ja* would change to *-i*, and thus change **hvōftulja* and **lauhmunja* to *hvōftuli* and *lauhmuni*.

ON *-ynja*, *-ir*, *-nir*

ON *-ynja*

As seen above in footnote 552 and 553, the ON variant of the suffix **-injō* as it appears in Gothic and WG is *-ynja*, which clearly reflects **-unjōn*. This form is clearly an extension of **-unjō*, cf. e.g. Krahe/Meid III:120. The question is how **-unjō* and **-injō* are related. That these reconstructable forms **-unjō* and **-injō* reflects an ablaut variation **-ŋ-jō* vs. **-en-jō* seems rather obvious, and the change between **-ŋ-* and **-en-* in the suffix points to an original paradigmatic accent shift, which fits best with a proterokinetic paradigm:

| | Proterokinetic ⁵⁵⁶ | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Strong cases | W (∅) | S (é) | S (∅) | E (∅) |
| Weak cases | W (∅) | S (∅) | S (é) | E (∅) |

Since a proterokinetic type is not known, at best highly dubious, for the *ieh₂*-stem (see 1.11.4), we can conclude that this suffix belonged to the *dēvī*-type, which we have established as a proterokinetic type (see 1.11.2). This would give the following endings in PG:

⁵⁵⁴ The productivity of the suffix makes such an alternation unlikely, since the syllable length in Gothic has become synchronically irrelevant, seen by analogies such as n.gen.sg. *ja*-st. *reikjis* “kingdom” with *-jis* after the stems with a short syllable (*un-witjis* “foolishness”), and 2.sg.imp. *jan*-verbs *nasei* “save” with *-ei* after the stems with a long syllable (*sōkei* “seek”), cf. footnote 126.

⁵⁵⁵ Cf. OE *sciencen* “female servant”, MHG *schelkinne* “id.”.

⁵⁵⁶ For this accentuation when there is a double suffix, see footnote 106.

| | | | |
|---------------|---------|---|---------|
| Nom.sg. | *-én-ī | > | *-inī |
| Oblique cases | *-ŋ-jǫ- | > | *-unjō- |

Such a paradigm would, of course, easily be split into two variants, one with nom.sg. in *-inī and oblique cases in *-injō-, and one with a nom.sg. in either *-unjō or *-unī and oblique cases in *-unjō-. The fact that both variants have been preserved in OS even when following the same root, C2803 *wōstunnia* vs. C935 *wōstinnia*, suggests that there either was a facultative use of the variants *-injō- and *-unjō-, or that the split between the two suffix variants is so late that it belongs to the prehistory of the separate daughter languages.

What is certain is that the only attestation in Gothic continues *-inī, whereas ON continues only *-unjō-n-. There are, however, only three formations with *-unjōn in ON, *apynja* “(she-)monkey”, *ásynja* “heathen goddess” and *vargynja* “she-wolf”. This shows that the suffix fell early out of use in OR. The normal f. suffix in ON is *-ōn and *-jōn, and this explains why the original suffix form *-unjō was extended with the *n. Given the unproductive and limited use of *-unjōn in ON, it is a suitable place to look for traces of Sievers-variants in polysyllables.

We must first establish what OR *-unjōn- and *-unijōn- would give in ON. We know that the Sievers-variant *-j- is retained before a back vowel in ON, cf. **wanjan* “accustom” > *venja*, **brunjōn-* “coat of mail” > *brynja*. The Sievers-variant *-ij-, however, is altogether lost unless it follows a tectal, although it is somewhat debated what actually took place here phonetically,⁵⁵⁷ e.g. **kwānijan* “marry” > *kvæna*, but **bulgijōn-* “wave” > *bylgja*. Any prediction of what *-unjōn- and *-unijōn- should give would be that *-unjōn- gives *-ynja* and *-unijōn- > *-yna*. One could interfere that a sequence “i-umlauted vowel + short consonant + back vowel” would be very “unnatural” for ON, since such a sequence should regularly have an internal *-j-* after a fully stressed syllable, e.g. *dynja* “thunder”. Such an argument cannot be entirely valid, however, since the same argument could be used for the basic alternation of *-j- and *-ij- after an unstressed short syllable. The variant *-ij- would then never be used after an unstressed short syllable because it was not after a stressed short syllable. We know from the examples in OE and Gothic that this is not true. Secondly, a sequence of “i-umlauted vowel + short consonant + back vowel” is possible in ON, cf. the 1.sg.pret.opt. *skyta* “I would have shot”, *krypa* “I would have crawled” etc., where the *-a* has been generalized from the roots with a long syllable and from the pres.opt. The fact that such an analogy could take place shows that it was not “forbidden” to have such a sequence of phonemes in ON.

ásynja and *vargynja* have regularly *-ynja*, since they follow a long first syllable, i.e. – ʊ. *apynja*, on the other hand, “should” have had **-yna*, since the ending follows ʊʊ. There are then two possibilities how this could be explained. It could on the one hand be a post-OR analogy, where an **-yna* was changed into *-ynja* on the basis of the words *ásynja* and *vargynja*. Since the element *-ynja* is relatively rare and unproductive, we would rather expect to see some regular

⁵⁵⁷ See Heusler 1962:§141.Anm.1, Noreen 1970:§263 and Seebold 1972:82f.

developments rather than complete leveling. On the semantic side, we should also bear in mind that *apynja* in contrast to *ásynja* and *vargynja* usually denotes the creature in general, not only the female (see Fritzner I:65). Since a regular **apyna* would be formally and semantically different from *ásynja* and *vargynja*, a late analogy between these words seems less likely.

The OSw form *apinja* corresponds fully with the ON form, and is as far as I know the only remnant of the suffix **-unjōn* in OSw. The OSw and ON forms seen together indicate thus strongly a common OR form **apunjōn* without any reflex of Dahl's law.⁵⁵⁸

We have two other words which by all means ended in OR **-unjō*, these are *fjörgyn* "land, earth; Þór's mother" and *hlóðyn* "id.", both with gen.sg. in *-jar* (Fritzner I:434). It seems as if the element **-unjō* here is not the f. derivational suffix, although it is uncertain what the exact etymology is.⁵⁵⁹ If these had OR **-ijō-*, we would expect a nom.sg. **fjörgynr*, as the *ijō*-stems in ON have a nom.sg. in *-r*, and a gen.sg. in **-ynar*, see above. Since *fjörgyn* and *hlóðyn* have the structure – ʊ, they have regularly a continuation of the variant **-j-* and not **-ij-*, regardless of whether Dahl's law existed in OR or not.

From the polysyllables with the suffix **-unjō(n)*, we have only the word *apynja* to show the possible lack of Dahl's law in OR. There are words in ON, however, which seem to continue a Sievers-variant **-ij-* after a short syllable. These are the rather large group of words with the ending *-nir* and *-ir*, and a closer account of these words will be given here.

ON -nir, -ir

The suffix *-nir* is used in about 100 words in ON (Ebenbauer 1973:181), and belongs to the m. *ija*-stem. The words with this suffix denote sometimes a nomen agentis, e.g. *elg-viðnir* "moose-killer" > "bear" and *raufnir* "tearer" > "sword", but they are more often derived from nouns and adjectives, and it can sometimes be difficult to see if these were original nomen agentis, since the meaning of the words is often obscure, due to the fact that these words "tilhører den mytisk-dikteriske sfære og har preg av opprinnelig å være dannet som kjenninger eller *heiti*" (Grønvik 1976:149f.).

⁵⁵⁸ The OD forms *æbin* "monkey? squirrel?" from *Kong Valdemars jordebog* (c. 1320, with the Zealandish voicing of intervocalic *p* (GdG II:§284, §285)) and *epin* "monkey" from *Flensborg Stadsret* (c. 1300, Jutlandish) (cf. Lund 1877:29, 171) could reflect the unextended suffix **-unjō*. Since the forms have *i*-umlaut, it could theoretically reflect **apinjō* as well, but *epin* could have had a later umlaut from the later developed medial front vowel in **apyn* < **apunjō*, cf. <eskiR> from the Klemensker stone 2 (c. 950-1025, Moltke 1985:184, 530) = *Æsgir* < **Āsgæir* < **-gaiRaR* (GdG I:121), ON *Ásgeirr*. *epin/æbin* is, however, generally considered to be a loan from Low German **āpin* (Kristensen 1906:51, GdG II:80), and similarly *æbenne* (Kalkar IV:953) from *Mandevilles Rejse* (1459) (Marita Nielsen, p.c.) – in the latter case from Middle Low German **apinna/*āpinne* vel.sim. (cf. Middle Dutch *apinne*, MNLW I:191).

⁵⁵⁹ The correctness of **-unjō* for *fjörgyn* is assured through Gothic *fairguni* "mountain (range)" (*ja*-stem) and OHG *Fergunna*, *Firgunnea* "name of a mountain chain", see Lehmann 1986:F11, Lühr 2000a:72 and Schaffner 2001:193f. for etymology. For *hlóðyn*, see de Vries 1962:239 and Torp 1974:12, 17.

Since the root onto which the suffix *-nir* is placed only rarely shows *i*-umlaut, the suffix must have been preceded by a back vowel. If no vowel preceded, the suffix form would have been **-nijaR*, after which we definitely would expect umlaut. I see no reason to question the common explanation that the *-n-* comes from the *n*-stem, with another suffix **(i)j-* attached to it, see e.g. Grønvik 1976:150.⁵⁶⁰ Since a vowel seems to have been syncopated without yielding umlaut, the suffix must have been **-an-(i)ja-*, which seems reasonable considering that **-an-* would be the normal form of the *n*-suffix in OR.⁵⁶¹

Ebenbauer, on the other hand, believes that **-an(i)ja-*, too, would give *i*-umlaut (1973:188), and resorts to “die enge Zugehörigkeit der *nir*-Bildungen zu ihrem Ausgangspunkt” (1973:191) in order to explain why it lacks. The notion that **-an(i)ja-* would give umlaut after the syncopation of the first **a* is based on Kock’s theory of a later second period of *i*-umlaut (see Noreen 1970:§66), but Ebenbauer gives no examples to support this notion. Noreen, on the other hand, gives a couple of examples that seem to support this, e.g. n.nom./acc.sg. *ija*-st. *øðli* “patrimony” < **øðli* < **aðulia* (1970:§63.8) and 3.sg.pret.opt. *velði* “would choose” < **walði* < **waliðī* (1970:§66.Ann.2). According to Skomedal 1980:134, however, an **i/j* in a third syllable causes umlaut in the first syllable when the medial vowel is **ī*, **u* or **e* (i.e. a front vowel), but not when the medial vowel is **ō* or **a* (a back vowel). According to this view, then, *øðli* would be from (**øðli* <)⁵⁶² **æðulī* < **æpylī* < **apulija* as opposed to 3.sg.pret.opt. *kallaði* “would call” < **kallōdī* (1980:134).⁵⁶³ In this way, *raufnir* could regularly lack *i*-umlaut from **raub-/rauf-an-(i)jaR*.

Secondly, it seems unreasonable that a regular *i*-umlaut would be prevented “[um] die enge Zugehörigkeit der *nir*-Bildungen zu ihrem Ausgangspunkt zu betonen” (1973:191), since the *i*-umlaut itself was a very meaningful way of deriving one word from another in ON, clearly seen in late formations such as *krýna* “to crown”, based on the word *krúna* “a crown”, which is a loan-word from Middle Low German.⁵⁶⁴ The pattern comes from regular pairs such as *hýsa* “to house” – *hús* “a house”. It would be obvious for an ON speaker that *flygi* “insects, bies”, *flygill* “wing” as well as *flog* “flight” had to do with *fljúga* “to fly”. That *-flognir* “flyer” should resist *i*-umlaut because of its basis **flugan-* seems improbable given that **-flygnir* would be no less transparent than *-flognir*.

⁵⁶⁰ For other and previous explanations, see the references in Ebenbauer 1973:185 and Grønvik 1976:180³³.

⁵⁶¹ The form *-an-* was probably used in the gen.pl. of the *ōn*-stem as well, cf. the gen.pl. *arbijanō* “of the heirs” on the Tune stone, a form that might be f. (Syrett 1994:212, Nielsen 2000:86). I do not believe that a medial **-ōn-* was shortened to **-an-* in OR (differently Skomedal 1980:125), cf. f.gen.sg. *i*-st. *skipanar* “order” < **skipōnāR/-ōR* (cf. Harðarson 1989:88f.). See further Johnsen (forthcoming a).

⁵⁶² According to Noreen 1970:§77.7 the *u*-umlauted **æ* developed to *ø* through an open **ø*, rejected by Benediktsson 1963:419f.

⁵⁶³ It should be pointed out, however, that the latter example is quite different in that the medial vowel is not syncopated, which means that one would not expect umlaut after Kock’s theory either.

⁵⁶⁴ Torp 1919:329, de Vries 1962:332.

Grønvik 1976:150 explains (probably correctly) the few forms with *i*-umlaut as having it in accordance with the derivative base (cf. Ebenbauer’s view), but does not resort to the same principle when it comes to the few forms with *u*-umlaut, since “[e]n liten gruppe isolerte ord har imidlertid en *u*-omlyd eller *u*-brytning som ikke [...] så lett kan forklares som overtatt fra et grunnord”. But since the derivative base for these few words is unknown, it can hardly be justifiable to create a suffix variant “-*unja*-” in order to explain them.⁵⁶⁵ This would only be a correct method if a known base was without *u*-umlaut.⁵⁶⁶

Ebenbauer 1973:183, obviously unaware of Dahl’s findings, notes that after **-an-* “nicht **-iaz*, bzw. **-ijaz* sondern nur **-jaz* erwartet [wird]”, and he cautiously classifies a further development to *-nir* as “fraglich”.⁵⁶⁷ By using Dahl’s law, we could easily explain the suffix *-nir* as being the generalized variant **-ijaR* that would follow two short syllables, e.g. **fluganijaR* > *flognir*, **dwalanijaR* > *dvalnir*, **skuranijaR* > *skornir* etc. The question is, however, if the easiest explanation necessarily is the correct one. There are other formations in OR and ON that should be taken into consideration when dealing with the continuation of **(i)j-*.

In ON, there are some cases of an irregularly preserved *-i-* after a short syllable, as in the n. denominatives like *ill-gresi* “weed” from *gras* “grass” and *greni* “pine timber” from *grøn* “pine”, some m. *(i)ja*-stems both with umlaut, e.g. *Ymir*, *Gymir*, and without, e.g. *Glafir*, *Kvasir*, and the endings *-i* and *-ir* in the *u*-st., e.g. *syni* (dat.sg.), *synir* (nom.pl.). All of these could be explained as ON analogies and generalizations, were it not for the OR attestations of *-ija-* after a short syllable. After a long syllable, only *-ija* occurs, whereas there are six cases of *-ija-* and three of *-ja-* after a short syllable (see Seebold 1972:88f.).

The n. denominatives *-gresi* etc. were early explained as being analogical from the ones with a long first syllable such as *espi* “aspen wood” from *osp* “aspen” (see Grønvik 1976:181). The question is, however, when the analogy occurred. Was it ON *greni* ← *espi*, pre-ON **grænī* ← **æspī* or OR **granija* ← **aspija*? One would be inclined to believe that it had to be either ON or after the apocoptation of **a*, since **j* and **ij* should be automatically distributed after Sievers’ law. In the *u*-stems with a short syllable, the analogy after the stems with a long syllable can hardly be ON, since that requires an original **syn* (dat.sg.) and **synr* (nom.pl.), of which there are no traces.⁵⁶⁸ The analogy must therefore have occurred either after the apocoptation of **u*, **synī(R)* ← **firpī(R)*, or in OR, **suniju(R)* ← **firpiju(R)*. If these analogies were to occur after the

⁵⁶⁵ Grønvik 1976:150 lists *rognir* “name of Óðinn” as one of these. Since the stem **ragin-* is known in Gothic, OE, OS, OHG and OR (see Lehmann 1986:R2), whereas **ragan-* and **ragun-* are not, it would be untenable to create **ragun-* just to explain this word. *rognir* should in my view be regarded as a later creation from *rogn* “gods, divinities”.

⁵⁶⁶ Grønvik 1976:150 explains the element **-un-* as ablauting with the **-an-* for the *an-* and *ōn-* stems. The *n*-suffix would, however, never obtain the form **-un-*, only **-an-*, **-in-* and **-n-*. For details, see Johnsen (forthcoming a).

⁵⁶⁷ Grønvik 1976:158, on the other hand, jumps straightly from **-anjaR* to **-niR* without explanation.

⁵⁶⁸ In OSw, however, there are two examples of a dat.sg. without ending and with *i*-umlaut, *lōt* “part” and *syn* (Noreen 1904:§412.3). These are probably analogical after the *i*-st., however, cf. also GdG III:131. There are no examples of a nom.pl. in **-r*, which happens to coincide with the fact that the *i*-st. does not have a pl. in **-r* either.

syncopation of **a* and **u*, i.e. a substitution of **i* with **ī*, we must seek another explanation for the OR forms with *-ija-* after a short syllable.

Krause's explanation of the forms *-warijaR* (3), *prawijan*, *gudija* and *harija* as ““inkorrekte[...]” Schreibungen” (1971:94) leads us nowhere, whereas Seebold 1972:89 sees an inherited opposition between **j* and **ij* after a short syllable, something which is hardly necessary. Springer (1975:173), apparently unaware of Dahl's findings, claims that the Sievers-variant **-ij-* originally followed *any* unstressed syllable, and that this is the answer behind the three forms *-warijaR*, as they appear in compounds. One problem is that *-harjaR* also appears in a compound, here with *j*. This is then explained as being analogical from the simplex **harjaR* (1975:173). The consequence of such an analogy is, however, that the phonetic law saying that **-ij-* should follow any unstressed syllable is not synchronically available at this stage, when an analogy could reverse it. He must further find other explanations for the simplexes *prawijan*, *gudija* and *harija*. He claims (1975:177) that after the loss of **-ij-* (or **-i-* in his terms) after a long syllable, the **j* would be in no opposition to **ij*, and could hence be written ⟨j⟩ or ⟨ij⟩. Apart from having to use more explanations to make it add up, the theory faces chronological problems, since the form *prawijan*⁵⁶⁹ is older than *pirbijaR*,⁵⁷⁰ where *-ij-* after a long syllable is still preserved. Syrett 1994:186 is in my view correct in rejecting Seebold's attempt to see inherited features in these forms, and rather treat it as an OR phenomenon. His idea (1994:186f.) is that the *-i-* is an epenthetic vowel,⁵⁷¹ although he notices himself that epenthetic vowels in OR appear as *-a-* elsewhere. It must further mean that there is no connection between the spelling ⟨ij⟩ after a short syllable in OR and the unexpected *-i* after a short syllable in ON.

Since the ON continuations of the OR forms with *-ij-* after a short syllable appear as regular *ja*-stems or *-verbs*,⁵⁷² the most reasonable conclusion is that there is no phonetic reality behind the spelling ⟨ij⟩ in *-warijaR*, *prawijan*, *gudija* and *harija* – they are a graphic phenomenon. Another reason why these writings have caused trouble is that it is commonly believed that OR before the syncope still had Sievers' law (e.g. Voyles 1992:71), after which we would expect only *-j-* after a short syllable.

But what is the evidence to support that Sievers' law was operative in OR? The fact that the ON forms in *almost* all cases show the reflex of **-j-* after a short syllable, but **-ij-* after a long syllable, proves nothing else than that Sievers' law once was operative, and that the original distribution of **-j-* and **-ij-* has been preserved. It is a fallacy, however, to claim that the preservation of an original distribution according to a phonetic law is the same as that law still being operative.

⁵⁶⁹ From the Kalleby stone, c. 400 (Krause 1966 I:140, Antonsen 1975:42, Springer 1975:169).

⁵⁷⁰ From the Barmen stone, 400-450 (Krause 1966 I:146, Antonsen 1975:48), 450-500 (Springer 1975:169).

⁵⁷¹ Followed by Harðarson 2004:549.

⁵⁷² *-warijaR* ≥ ON *-veri* (gen.sg. *-verja*), *prawijan* > ON *preyja*, *harija* > ON *-heri* (gen.sg. *-herja*). *gudija* is not continued in ON, which shows the reflex of an *an-st. godi* “preast, leader”.

A modern parallel to such a situation would be the development of ON / in my local East Norwegian dialect. Already in late ON, this was split into two variants: one lateral [l] and one retroflex flap [ɾ]. The distribution of these were determined by certain laws, e.g. the [ɾ] could not be in initial position, not after the vowels /e/, /i/, /y/, not after a dental stop etc. One position where the flap normally would occur is in the position -Vk/V-, e.g. /okɾe/ “ankle”, /tækɾe/ “to fiddle”, /fø:kɾe/ “apron”, /sikɾe/ “to drool” etc. At a point in history, however, the flap [ɾ] ceased to be used productively, and all *new* words in the language would use the lateral variant. This is why loan-words such as /ekle/ “gross” (pl.) and /sykle/ “to cycle” are in conflict with the rule above. What this shows is that the original distribution of [l] and [ɾ] has been preserved, although it can be shown that the original rule ceased to exist a long time ago.⁵⁷³

A strong indication that Sievers’ law was not operative in OR is found in the continuations of the OR consonant gemination. When immediately followed by *j, an OR *g and *k was geminated as in WG (cf. Noreen 1970:§279.1). The continuations of the words where this gemination occurred behave like other normal ON stems with an original short first syllable. If Sievers’ law still operated when *-gj-/-kj- was geminated to *-ggj-/-kkj-, we would expect that they ended up as *-ggij-/-kkij-, which they evidently did not. Cf. e.g. the n. *ja*-st. *skegg* “beard” < *skagja- and *sigg* “rind” < *segja-, which behave quite differently from the n. *ija*-st. with an original double tectal as e.g. *stykki* “piece” < *stukkija-. Cf. further the original *ja*-st. *seggr* “man” (see 2.11.3) < *sagja-, which has ended up as an *i*-st. in ON.⁵⁷⁴ This is probably because this word (as well as other *ja*-st. in ON)⁵⁷⁵ had the appearance of an *i*-st. in OR after the syncope of *a, i.e. nom.sg. *sagjaR > *saggjaR > *saggiR = *i*-st. (e.g. -gastiR). If Sievers’ law had operated, it should have yielded *saggjaR > *saggijaR > *saggiR and ended up as an ON *ija*-st. *seggir as e.g. *hnekkir* “rebuff; stopper” < *hnakkijaR.

Another indication of the discontinuation of Sievers’ law can be seen by the loss of *h* in OR. After a consonant (i.e. *r* and *l*), the vowel of the preceding syllable is not lengthened.⁵⁷⁶ If the preceding syllable had the sequence *-VCh-, the loss of the *h would then change the syllable from long to short (> *-VC-). From the OR inscriptions, it can be seen that the loss of *h* after *r* occurs before the syncope of *a* (which is the first of all the OR syncopations), whereas the loss after *l* is considerably younger.⁵⁷⁷ From the OR *marhijō- “mare”, we would expect it to become

⁵⁷³ In the case of [ɾ] vs. [l], the [ɾ] has very recently regained productivity, as seen in new English loan-words such as /takɾe/ (but old people say /takle/) “tackle” and /båvɾe/ “bowl” (vs. an older loan-word as /jæ(:)vla/ “bloody”). The [ɾ] can nevertheless only be used in the positions allowed by the original law.

⁵⁷⁴ Nom.pl. *seggir*, acc.pl. *seggi* (Gering 1903:890).

⁵⁷⁵ Cf. e.g. ON m *i*-st. *legg* “leg” (nom.pl. *leggir*, acc.pl. *leggi*) vs. OSw m. *ja*-st. *læggr* (nom.pl. *læggiar*, acc.pl. *læggi*) < *lagja- (Lombardic *lagi*).

⁵⁷⁶ Cf. e.g. *fjor* “life” < *ferhwa-, *snara* “snare” < *snarhōn-, *fela* “hide” < *felhan-, *selr* “seal” < *selha- (Noreen 1970:§124.2).

⁵⁷⁷ For the loss of *h* in -rh-, cf. the Tune stone <[...] worahto [...]> wor^hhtō (c. 400, Krause 1971:169, Antonsen 1975:44) vs. the By stone <[...] erilaR hroRaR [...]> wor^hte [...] (c. 550-600, Krause 1971:142, c. 500-550, Antonsen 1975:80) and the Tjurkö bracteate <wurte [...] heldaR [...]> (c. 500, Antonsen 1975:79), where the last two not yet have suffered

**marjō-* after the loss of **h* if Sievers' law still operated. A form as the gen.sg. **marjōR* would then yield ON **merjar* just as m.nom.pl. **harjōR* "armies" > *herjar*. The actual ON form *merar*⁵⁷⁸ shows that the OR form was **marijōR* with the total loss of **-ij-* as in **fōrijan* "lead" > *fóra*.

If we bear in mind that Sievers' law probably did not exist anymore in OR, this could help us to understand the OR and ON forms in question better. Since **-j-* and **-ij-* to a great extent would be used in suffixes and endings, it is reasonable to assume that the speakers could separate this element from the root or stem it was affixed to, as in **krab-ō-* "demand" – **krab-jan* "make a demand" vs. **dōm-a-* "verdict" – **dōm-ijan* "make a verdict". Both before and after the dissolution of Sievers' law, such a suffix would most likely be conceived as *one*, but with two phonetic realizations. The question is whether the underlying form (the phonemic form) was /j/ or /ij/. Since the majority of the OR attestations has *-ija-* after a short syllable, where the ON continuations show that the pronunciation with all likelihood was *-ja-*, that itself is a strong indication that the underlying form of this and similar suffixes was /ij(a)/, not /j(a)/. The reason for /ij(a)/ being the underlying form could simply be that short syllables were less frequent than long syllables,⁵⁷⁹ after which the variant *-ij(a)-* would be used. That the underlying and not the surface form breaks through in the writing is an easily understandable psychological phenomenon.

The dichotomies **skagg-ja-* vs. **stukk-ija-* which arose by the consonant gemination and **mar-ijōR* vs. **har-jōR* by the loss of *h* show that the variants **-ja-* and **-ija-* no longer were automatic phonetic variants, but that they had reached a phonemic status. When new formations with such a suffix were made in OR, either one of these could in theory be used. And since we know that the double suffix in **-an-(i)ja-R* > ON *-nir* is present only in ON, not even in the other old Nordic languages,⁵⁸⁰ this suffixation must be somewhat late, and could therefore postdate Sievers' law in OR. Considering that **-ija-* would be the most frequent variant of the suffix and that /ija/ would be the old underlying form of both **-ja-* and **-ija-*, I would assume that when /ija/ was placed on the stem **X-an-*, it would automatically give **X-an-ija-R*, regardless the length of the initial syllable **X*.

If we then turn to the ON *ja*-stems in *-ir*, they become less mysterious than originally thought. These words are not old inherited words either, but consist mainly of proper mythical names just as the words in *-nir*. Since similar names with a long first syllable exist, e.g. *Grettir*, *Skárir*, *Ágir*,

syncopation of *a*. The *h* in *-lh-* is preserved even in late OR, cf. the Tjurkö bracteate <[...] walhakurne [...]>, the Björketorp stone <[...] fAlAhAk [...]> *fa^hh^a-k* (ON *fal-k*) (c. 650-700, Krause 1971:140, c. 600-650, Antonsen 1975:87) and the Stentofthen stone <[...] felAhekA [...]> *fe^hh-eka* (contemporary with Björketorp, Krause 1971:164, Antonsen 1975:85).

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. Fritzner II:681 and Egilsson 1966:404.

⁵⁷⁹ Garmann (2003:101) counts the syllables in Old East Norwegian diplomas from the year 1390 and finds that long syllables outnumber short syllables with the ratio of 4:1.

⁵⁸⁰ "vielleicht mit Ausnahme von *Fjǫlnir*, das neben Odin auch einen Ynglingenkönig von Uppsala bezeichnet" (Ebenbauer 1973:185). *Fjǫlnir* would in any case be regular after Dahl's law, from **felunijaR*, see Skomedal 1980:134 for the phonetics.

the element **-ija-* could easily have been used to form new names with a short first syllable, and the suffix form would be **-ija-* since Sievers' law no longer operated. In this way names like *Brimir*, *Gimir*, *Gymir*, *Hymir* could be regular developments from OR **BrimijaR*, **GimijaR* etc. The forms without *i*-umlaut, such as *Glasir* and *Kvasir*, could have been formed after the *i*-umlaut ceased to be a phonetic rule, since the suffix *-ir* "auch in aisl. Zeit noch produktiv war, was wohl nicht zu bestreiten ist" (Ebenbauer 1973:174), which is backed by the fact that several of the words in *-ir* seem to be late extensions from *n*-stems, e.g. *Prasi* → *Prasir*, *Gusi* → *Gusir* (Grønvik 1976:181).

If we then return to the n. denominatives in *-i* (*-gresi*, *greni*), a OR reconstruction **grasija*/**granija* would be no less likely than a late OR **græsi*/*græni*. At what point these denominatives actually were created is not possible to determine. The same would apply to the dat.sg. and nom.pl. of the *u*-stem, where these end in *-i* and *-ir* respectively after a short syllable, as in *syni*/*synir*. They could be analogically reformed already at an OR stage, after Sievers' law no longer operated, or after the syncopation of **u*.

The question is, then, if there are any traces of Dahl's law in ON at all, since there is an adequate alternative explanation for the formations in *-nir*. A form that clearly shows a remnant of Dahl's law has actually been mentioned already, that is *øðli* "patrimony", a n. *ija*-stem. The preservation of the final *-i* shows that this must have been long, since an OR **apulja* would have led to **apuli* (*a*-syncope) > **æpul* (*i*-syncope) > **øðul* with a preserved medial vowel, cf. *óðal* "nature, allodium" < **ōpala* and *hǫfuð* "head" < **habuda*. The OR preform must therefore have been **apulija*, with **-ij-* after two short syllables, and its correspondence with the OS *athali* and OE *æpele* "noble" shows that both the word and the Dahl-feature is inherited. It is quite likely, however, that Dahl's law disappeared together with Sievers' law at an early stage in OR, something which allowed **j* after two short syllables as in **apunjōn-* > *apynja*.

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