

# IJDL

International Journal of  
Diachronic Linguistics and  
Linguistic Reconstruction

12<sup>th</sup> Volume  
2·2015

---

**|peniope|**  
München

IJDL - International Journal of Diachronic Linguistics and Linguistic Reconstruction  
is edited by Eugen Hill, Martin Kümmel and Stefan Schumacher.

Address of editorial office:  
Institut für Sprachwissenschaft (Indogermanistik)  
Universität Wien  
Sensengasse 3a  
1090 Wien  
Austria

Editorial Board:  
Andreas Willi, Oxford  
Daniel Petit, Paris  
Peter Schrijver, Utrecht  
Brent Vine, Los Angeles  
Rex Wallace, Amherst  
Jenny Larsson, Stockholm  
Peter-Arnold Mumm, München  
David Stifter, Maynooth  
Claus Schönig, Berlin

IJDL is published semi-annually in June and December. Annual subscription rate is 44 Euro including VAT, excluding shipping costs. Please order at your bookseller or at the publisher: Verlag Anja Urbanek, Straubinger Str. 30g, 80687 München, Germany, tel +49-(0)89-88 98 89 01, fax +49-(0)89-88 98 89 02, [anja@peniopo.de](mailto:anja@peniopo.de).

|peniopo| Verlag Anja Urbanek  
[www.peniopo.de](http://www.peniopo.de)  
© 2016 Verlag Anja Urbanek, Straubinger Str. 30g, 80687 München  
editors-in-chief: Eugen Hill, Martin Kümmel, Stefan Schumacher (address see above)  
printing and binding: Bookstation GmbH, Gutenbergstr. 5, 85646 Anzing  
Printed in Germany • ISSN 1614-5291

## Contents

A Note on Proto-Norse <i>ek</i> and Kuiper's Law .....	83
<i>Daniel Kölligan</i>	
What Is the Greek Counterpart of (Proto-)Indo-Iranian $(*)t^h$ ? .....	89
<i>Filip De Decker</i>	
Tibetan $*-as > -os$ .....	165
<i>Nathan W. Hill</i>	
Review of Byrd, Andrew Miles. <i>The Indo-European Syllable</i> . Leiden–Boston: Brill. 2015. ....	177
Götz Keydana	



## A Note on Proto-Norse *ek* and Kuiper's Law\*

by Daniel Kölligan

**Abstract:** The paper argues that Proto-Norse *ek* 'I', which is usually explained as deriving from  $*(h_1)e\acute{g}(h_2)$ , may go back to PIE  $*(h_1)e\acute{g}(h_2)oH\#$  which lost its word-final laryngeal *in pausa* (»Kuiper's law«).

**Keywords:** Proto-Norse, Germanic, Proto-Indo-European, personal pronouns, Kuiper's law

1 As is well known, one of the forms of the nominative singular of the pronoun of the first person, PIE  $*(h_1)e\acute{g}(h_2)óm$ ,<sup>1</sup> is continued in Gmc.  $*eka(n) >$  Goth. *ik*, Proto-Norse (Runic) enclitic *eka/ika*, and with »breaking« due to following /a/ Old Swed. *iak* <  $*eka$ .<sup>2</sup> Since PIE  $*(h_1)e\acute{g}(h_2)ō$  (Gk.  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}$ , Lat. *ego*, Ven. *ego* etc.) would result in Goth.  $^{\dagger}ika$  (cf. 1sg. prs. ind. act. *nima* 'I take' <  $*-ō$ ) and Old Norse  $^{\dagger}iok$  (cf. *iōrb* 'earth' <  $*erpu$ , *bōrn* 'children' <  $*barnu$ ), it seems unlikely that this form is directly continued in these languages.<sup>3</sup> Proto-Norse also shows a form *ek* which by this reasoning cannot continue a form in  $*-ō$  nor one in  $*-om$ , if one assumes that breaking was a regular process and that *ek* was not influenced

---

\* I would like to thank E. Hill (Cologne) and the anonymous reviewers for their helpful remarks.

<sup>1</sup>  $*-h_2-$  because of the aspiration seen in Ved. *ahám* (cf. also Dunkel 2014: 200 with fn. 7), which some scholars take to be analogical after the dat. *mahyám* (e.g. Rasmussen 1999: 219 fn. 9, Lühr 2000: 10).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g. Noreen (1904: 388), Dunkel (2014: 199 fn. 4), Lloyd et al. (1988–: V.29–34).

<sup>3</sup> OHG *ihhā* (MHG *iche*), etc., is likely to be a new formation with the emphatic particle  $-ā$  also used in imperatives such as *hōrā* <  $*hōri-ā$  'Listen!', cf. Lloyd et al. (1988–: I.1–2), Ringe (2006: 137).

analogically by enclitic *ekalika*.<sup>4</sup> The customary solution is to assume a simpler preform  $*(h_1)eĝ(h_2)$ <sup>5</sup> which may be supported by Lith. *aš* < $*(h_1)eĕ(h_2)$  which apparently does not allow the assumption of an ending  $*-ō$  or  $*-om$ , and probably Hitt. *uk*, if this has taken its initial vowel from  $*tū$  ‘you’.<sup>6</sup>

2 However, a different explanation is possible for Proto-Norse *ek*, if we take into account that the stressed nominative forms of the personal pronouns in PIE only surfaced under focus, e.g. when used as a one-word sentence in reply to a question of the type Pl. *Euthphr.* 6d/e ῥῆ οὐ μνημονεύεις; ‘Or don’t you remember?’ — Ἐγώγωγε ‘I do.’, i.e. in *pausa*.<sup>7</sup> Now *ek* is precisely the stressed variant of the pronoun in sentence initial position, e.g. in *ek irilaR* ... ‘I, master of runes, ...’<sup>8</sup>, *ek unwodR* ‘I, the one without (inspired) rage’ (Gårdlösa),<sup>9</sup> as opposed to enclitic  $-(e/i)ka$ , e.g. in *Hariuha haitika* ‘I am called H.’<sup>10</sup> That the position in *pausa* entails a special phonetic treatment of words ending in a laryngeal has been shown by Kuiper (1955): word-final laryngeal may have disappeared already in the proto-language yielding doublets with and without  $*-H$ , a variation

<sup>4</sup> Variants with and without “breaking” such as Oicel. *fell* / *fiáll* are probably due to analogical levelling.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Schmidt (1978: 24–28), Seebold (1984: 22), Dunkel (2006: 685 fn. 28). Nielsen (1998: 547, 2000: 158) explains *ek* as the original form and *ik* (OE *ic*, OHG *ih*, OS *ik* [beside *ek*], etc.) as its unaccented variant, cf. in this sense also Lühr (2000: 10). If one assumes Gmc.  $*-H\# > -a\#$  in  $*(h_1)eĝ(h_2) > *eka$ , one might expect a development as in OSw. *iak*. The variation in prepositions / preverbs like Gmc.  $*ana$  (OHG *an/ana*, Goth. *ana*) ~ Gk.  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$  ( $*h_2en\acute{h}_2?$ ), is unexplained, cf. Lloyd et al. (1988-: I.7): »Eine befriedigende Erklärung für die germ. Formen mit auslautendem *a*, wie ahd. *aba*, andfrk. *aua*, gibt es nicht.« Probably these are sandhi variants like Goth. *and-* in verbs vs *and/anda-* in nouns. Cf. also Müller (2007: 185–191).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Melchert (1983: 155–156), and Hoffner & Melchert (2008: 132, also p. 134) on the alleged variant *ú-ga*, *ú-uq-qa* which is rather to be understood as *uk* + clitic ‘and’ or ‘but’. Nom. 2 Sg. *zík* is probably from  $*tū(-)$ , cf. Melchert (1994: 84). Some scholars add ORuss. *ja* etc. as evidence for  $*(h_1)eĝ(h_2)$ , cf. e.g. Dunkel (2014: 199).

<sup>7</sup> Note also the retraction of the accent in Att.  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\gamma\epsilon$ .

<sup>8</sup> Attested 8×, cf. Krause (1971: 142), Düwel (2001: 12).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. also Seebold (1984: 20–21).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Krause (1971: 162). This distribution of *ek* and  $-eka$  is likely to be an inner-Germanic (or even inner-Proto-Norse) innovation.

reflected in the daughter languages in forms with short and long final vowels. In a few instances, the short vowel forms have escaped analogical leveling, e.g. in the vocatives of the *\*eh<sub>2</sub>*-stems, OCS *ženo* < *\*g<sup>w</sup>ena#* < *\*g<sup>w</sup>enah<sub>2</sub>#*, Gk. *νύμφᾶ*, Umbr. *Tursa*, etc.<sup>11</sup>

**3** The pausa-form variant of *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)eġ(h<sub>2</sub>)oH#* may thus have been *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)eġ(h<sub>2</sub>)o#* which resulted in Germanic *\*eka*. Word-final short vowels were lost early in the Germanic languages, cf. Proto-N. gen. sg. *Godagas* 'of GodagR' < *\*-oso* [Valsfjord, ca. 400 AD], Gk. *ἄπό* : Gmc. *\*āba* > Goth. *af*, OHG *ab*, etc.,<sup>12</sup> hence one may assume that *\*eka* gave *\*ek* by regular sound change and was preserved as such in Proto-Norse *ek*.<sup>13</sup>

**4** The Germanic forms would thus not necessarily imply the reconstruction of a short form *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)eġ(h<sub>2</sub>)*, and the basis for its reconstruction may be yet a bit smaller than is usually assumed. If one maintains that for some reason breaking did not occur in *\*eka(n)*, Proto-Norse *ek* might continue both *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)eġ(h<sub>2</sub>)oH#*, as outlined here, and *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)eġ(h<sub>2</sub>)om*.

**5** A similar explanation may account for the variation between long and short vowel forms in the nominative of the pronoun of the 2sg. (: Lat. *tū*, OCS *ty*, OPr. *tou*, etc., vs. Lith. *tù*,<sup>14</sup> Latv. *tu*, Gk. *σύ*, etc.), if we assume a pre-form *\*tuH* with a pausa variant *\*tu*.

<sup>11</sup> As against Umbr. nom. sg. f. *mutu* / *muta* < *\*-ā*, whereas the Lat. nom. sg. *-ā* probably continues the vocative, cf. Weiss (2009: 232). Note also the Attic type *πολίτης*, voc. (ῶ) *πολιτᾶ*, vs. *νεανίας*, voc. (ῶ) *νεανιᾶ*.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Krause (1971: 29), Düwel (2001: 34–35), Ringe (2006: 116–117). For a discussion on the gen. sg. of the *a*-stems in Gmc. and especially Proto-Norse cf. Nielsen (1998: 542–543).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *in nuce* already Sihler (1995: 369) (who, however, seems to assume only one pre-form for Germanic): »So the Gmc. pronoun is perhaps from *\*eġoH* after all, if the final laryngeal was lost without lengthening.« See also Katz (1999: 21–23).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. N.-W. Žemait. *tò* < *\*tū* as per Stang (1966: 247).

Daniel Kölligan  
 Institut für Linguistik  
 Abteilung Historisch-Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft  
 Universität zu Köln  
 50923 Köln  
 Deutschland  
 d.koelligan@uni-koeln.de

## References

- Dunkel, George E. 2006. Latin *egomet* and *tute*. In Bombi, Raffaella, Guido Cifoletti & Fabiana Fusco (eds.). *Studi linguistici in onore di Roberto Gusmani*. Alessandria: Edizioni del'Orso. 677–692.
- Dunkel, George E. 2014. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Partikeln und Pronominalstämme. Band II: Lexikon*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Düwel, Klaus. 2001. *Runenkunde*. Stuttgart: Metzler.
- Hoffner, Harry A. & H. Craig Melchert. 2008. *A Grammar of the Hittite Language*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.
- Katz, Joshua T. 1999. *Topics in Indo-European Personal Pronouns*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Univ. Microfilms Internat.
- Krause, Wolfgang. 1971. *Die Sprache der urnordischen Runeninschriften*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Kuiper, Franciscus B. J. 1955. *Shortening of Final Vowels in the Rigveda. Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeling Letterkunde N.R., 18, 11*. Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitg. Maatschappij.
- Lloyd, Albert L., Otto Springer, Karen K. Purdy & Rosemarie Lühr. 1988–. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Althochdeutschen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Lühr, Rosemarie. 2000. *Die Gedichte des Skalden Egill*. Dettelbach: Röhl.
- Melchert, H. Craig. 1983. The second singular personal pronoun in Anatolian. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 42. 151–165.
- Melchert, H. Craig. 1994. *Anatolian Historical Phonology*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Müller, Stefan. 2007. *Zum Germanischen aus laryngalthoeretischer Sicht: mit einer Einführung in die Grundlagen der Laryngalthoerie*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Nielsen, Hans F. 1998. The linguistic status of the early Runic inscriptions of Scandinavia. In Düwel, Klaus (Hg.). *Runeninschriften als Quellen interdisziplinärer Forschung. Abhandlungen des Vierten Internationalen Symposiums über Runen*



- und Runeninschriften in Göttingen vom 4. – 9. August 1995*. Berlin: de Gruyter. 539–555.
- Nielsen, Hans F. 2000. *The Early Runic Language of Scandinavia. Studies in Germanic dialect geography*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Noreen, Adolf G. 1904. *Altschwedische grammatik, mit einschluss des altgutnischen*. Halle: M. Niemeyer.
- Rasmussen, Jens E. 1999. *Selected Papers on Indo-European Linguistics. With a section on comparative Eskimo linguistics*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- Ringe, Donald A. 2006. *A Linguistic History of English. Volume I. From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Germanic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schmidt, Gernot. 1978. *Stamm- und Flexionsbildung der indogermanischen Personalpronomina*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Seebold, Elmar. 1984. *Das System der Personalpronomina in den frühgermanischen Sprachen: sein Aufbau und seine Herkunft*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Sihler, Andrew L. 1995. *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Stang, Christian S. 1966. *Vergleichende Grammatik der baltischen Sprachen*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Weiss, Michael. 2009. *Outline of the Historical and Comparative Grammar of Latin*. Ann Arbor: Beech Stave Press.

