

## Root extensions and root compounds, $d^h$ -presents and univerbations of syntagms with PIE $*d^heh_1$ - 'put' (and $*deh_3$ - 'give', $*sed$ - 'sit', $*steh_2$ - 'stand' respectively) in Germanic and Indo-European

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Recent etymological analyses of several Germanic lexemes (Kroonen 2013, s.v.) point towards the existence of univerbations involving formative elements related to the PIE roots  $*d^heh_1$ - 'set' and  $*steh_2$ - 'stand', cf.:

- PGmc. *aista*-/*ō*- m./f. 'kiln' (OE *āst*, MLG *eiste*) < PIE  $*h_2eid^h-sth_2-o-$
- PGmc.  $*awist(r)a$ - n. 'sheep pen' (Goth. *awistr*, OHG *ewist*, *ouwist*) < PIE  $*h_2eui-sth_2(r)o-$
- PGmc.  $*naust(r)a$ - n. 'boathouse, boatshed' (ON *naust*) < PIE  $*neh_2u-sth_2-(r)o-$
- PGmc.  $*aida$ - m. 'pyre' (OE *ād*, OHG *eit*) < PIE  $*h_2ei-d^hh_1-o-$
- PGmc.  $*awidja$ - n. 'flock of sheep' (Goth. *awēþi*, OHG *ouwiti*, *ewiti*) < PIE  $*h_3eui-d^hh_1-io-$
- PGmc.  $*kudja$ - n. 'herd' (OFris. *kedde*, OHG *kutti*) < PIE  $*g^wh_3-u-d^hh_1-io-$

The given list is not comprehensive, and there are also further examples involving the roots  $*deh_3$ - 'give' and  $*sed$ - 'sit'. A similar word formation type has been identified in Celtic (see Matasović 2009, s.v.):

- PCelt.  $*eni-stī$ - 'island' (OIr. *inis*, MW *ynys*) < PIE  $*(h_1)eni-sth_2-ih_2-$  'that which stands in water'
- PCelt.  $*frostō$ - 'height, hill' (Mir. *ros*, MW *ros*) < PIE  $*pro-sth_2-o-$  'protruding'
- PCelt.  $*bardō$ - 'poet' (Mir. *bard*, MW *bardd*) <  $*g^wrH-d^hh_1-o-$  'praise maker'
- PCelt.  $*ordo/ā$ - 'hammer' (OIr. *ord*, MW *orth*) < PIE  $*h_3erg-d^hh_1-o-$  'maker of destruction'.

Neither are the presented etymologies new, cf. Matasović (2009), Kroonen (2013), nor is this methodological approach of "univerbation etymologies" a novel one: univerbations of another type ("preverb + root -> neoroot", e.g. Goth. *fraisan* < PIE  $*pro-h_2is-$ , Goth. *fallan* < PIE  $*po-h_3lh_1-$ ) have previously been argued for by various scholars (Praust 2005, Neri 2007, Scheungraber 2017, 2018), cf. Kroonen (2013, s.v. *fallan*-, *fanhan*-, *fargjan*-). However, the question arises as to how these formations came about historically. The question of whether we are dealing with root contaminations (as, for example, suggested by Brugmann (1901, 150-158) for Gmc.  $*bringan$ - 'bring', involving the roots of the suppletive verbs Greek  $φέρω$  and  $ἵνεκα$ ), or with root extensions (an overinflationary term used by Pokorny's IEW, among others) or more or less productive suffixes (as suggested by Kroonen s.v. *aista*-), or last but not least with root compounds (cf. Scarlata 1999) or univerbations of older syntagms (as suggested here), is nothing more than quibbling over words if we do not understand the principles of the underlying derivational or compositional morphological processes. This inconsistency in terminology is in part due to the ambiguous historical development of the lexemes and not solely attributable to the different schools of thought. For instance, in one and the same dictionary, there is both talk of  $*d^hh_1$ -extensions (Kroonen 2013, s.v. *aida*-) and of univerbations with the derivative  $*d^hh_1-o-$  (Kroonen 2013, s.v. *wīda*-) whereas the element  $*sth_2-o-$  is labeled as a "locational suffix" (Kroonen 2013, s.v. *aista*-). The historical development of such univerbated formations has not yet been considered in a methodologically clean and orderly way, neither for the individual IE languages (apart from Vedic Sanskrit) nor for PIE. In my talk, I will try to shed light on the morphological and semantical origins and derivational mechanisms of those formations in a historical-comparative way, with a special focus on the Germanic evidence. In my presentation, I will focus on the Gmc. evidence for univerbations with  $*d^hh_1$ - 'set',  $*dh_3$ - 'give',  $*sd$ - 'sit' and  $*sth_2$ - 'stand', but the discussion will also touch on the most recent account on the PIE  $d^h$ -presents (cf. Rothstein-Dowden 2023) and their potential continuations in Germanic, as well as on the Gmc. verbs  $*rōdjan$ -,  $*redan$ -,  $*waldan$ -,  $*faldan$ -,  $*haldan$ -,  $*spaldan$ -,  $*skaldan$ -,  $*staldan$ -.

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