

The outcome of PIE $*-\check{e}i(C)\#$ and $*-\check{e}u(C)\#$ in Germanic

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Material (with my interpretation of PIE > PGm. forms)

Relevant material (possibly reflecting PIE $*-\check{e}i$ and $*-\check{e}u$):

	PIE	PGm.	Goth.	RN/ON	OE	OS	OHG
I-gen.sg.	$-\check{e}i-s$	-aiz	qenais	vetter-ges Norw. Alfer-	bēnæ/e = <i>dat.sg.</i>	= <i>dat.sg.</i>	= <i>dat.sg.</i>
I-dat.sg.	$-\check{e}i(-\check{e}i)$	-ai	qenai D?	winai? D? brúþe D?	bēnæ/e D?	-	-
I-loc.sg.	$-\check{e}i$ $-\check{e}i ???$	$-\check{e}i > -\bar{i}$ -ai	- qenai D?	- winai? D? brúþe D?	wini D bēnæ/e D?	stedī D	ensti D
U-gen.sg.	$-\check{e}u-s$	-auz	sunaus	magor sonar	sunā	sunō	fridō
U-dat.sg.	$-\check{e}u(-\check{e}i)$	-au	sunau D?	hakuþo D? asau? D?	sunā/o/u D?	sunō/u D?	-
U-loc.sg.	$-\check{e}u$ $-\check{e}u ???$	$-\check{e}u > -iu$ -au	- sunau D?	mAgiu D -mudiu D syne D hakuþo D? asau? D?	- sunā/o/u D?	- sunō/u D?	sitiu/ī
U-voc.sg.	-u $-\check{e}u$	-u -au	sunu sunau	= <i>nom.sg.</i>	= <i>nom.sg.</i>	= <i>nom.sg.</i>	= <i>nom.sg.</i>

In addition, maybe Antonsen's I-dat./loc.sg. RN **fapai** (Charnay Clasp, 550-600 AD), but this inscription is poorly understood in almost every regard and can hardly count for evidence neither for nor against the assumption provided in this table.

Alternative endings arisen from interparadigmatic analogy:

- Goth.: Masculine i-stems in the singular in general (← o-stems), i.e. gen.sg. *-is*, dat.sg. *-a*, voc.sg. $-\emptyset$.
- ON: I-gen.sg. *-s* (← o-stems), *-ar* (← \bar{a} - and/or u-stems); I-dat.sg. $-\emptyset$ (← \bar{a} -stems), *-o* (← \bar{a} -stems; subsidiary ending); U-gen.sg. *-s* (← o-stems), U-dat.sg. $-\emptyset$ (← U-acc.sg.).
- OE: I-gen.sg. *-is*, *-es* (← o-stems); I-dat.sg. $-\emptyset$ (only Northumbrian, ← old I-instr.sg. $*-\bar{i}$ or C-instr.sg. $*-i?$); U-gen.sg. *-es* (← o-stems), *-e* (← \bar{a} -stems), $-\emptyset$ (with heavy roots; possibly analogy from the corresponding dative); U-dat.sg. *-e* (← o- or \bar{a} -stems), $-\emptyset$ (with heavy roots; possibly U-instr.sg. used as a dative).
- OS: I-gen.sg. $-\emptyset$ (← C-stems), *-(i)æs* (← io-stems); I-dat.sg. $-\emptyset$ (← C-stems), *-(i)æ* (← io-stems), *-iu* (← $i\bar{a}$ -stems); U-gen.sg. *-æs* (← o-stems), *-(i)æs* (← io-stems); U-dat.sg. *-æ* (← o-stems), *-(i)æ* (← io-stems), *-i* (← i-stems), $-\emptyset$ (with heavy roots; possibly U-instr.sg. used as a dative).
- OHG: I-gen.sg. *-es* (← o-stems), $-\emptyset$ (← C-stems); I-dat.sg. *-e* (← o-stems), $-\emptyset$ (← C-stems); U-gen.sg. *-es* (← o-stems); U-dat.sg. *-e* (← o-stems), $-\emptyset$ (only in *hant*; possibly U-instr.sg. used as a dative).

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Besides, the nom.pl. of the u-stems is quite interesting:

	PIE	PGm.	Goth.	RN/ON	OE	OS	OHG
U-nom.pl.	-eu-es	-ewiz	sunjus	syner	sunā	sūni	siti

Material to be left out of consideration (reflecting PIE *-ōi/-āi and *-ōu/-āu or other constellations):

	PIE	PGm.	Goth.	RN/ON	OE	OS	OHG
O-dat.sg.	-ōi	-ai	-	ha(n)hai ride dege	dægæ/e	dagæ	tage
O-loc.sg.	-oi̯	-æ ?	ūta (daga D ?)	uti úte	ūte	ūtæ	ūz(z)e
O-nom.du	-ō(u)	-au	ahtau	átta	eahta	ahto	ahto
O-nom.pl. (str.adj.)	-oi̯	-ai ?	blindai	-arjoste-z blinde-r	blinde	blindæ	blinte
Ā-dat.sg.	-eh ₂ -ei̯	-ai	gibai	-	giefæ/e	gebæ	-
Ipv.3.sg.	-e-tu →	-adau ?	nimadau	-	-	-	-
Ipv.3.pl.	-o-ntu →	-andau ?	habandau	-	-	-	-
Opt.1.sg.	-oi̯(h ₁)-m	-ai ^N	(nimau)	(nema)	nime	nimæ	neme
Opt.2.sg.	-oi̯(h ₁)-s	-aiz	nimais	nemer	nime	(nimæs ?)	(nemēs ?)
Opt.3.sg.	-oi̯(h ₁)-t	-aiþ ?	nimai	neme	nime	nimæ	neme
Opt.3.pl.	-oi̯(h ₁)-nt	-ain	nimain-a	neme	nimen	nimæn	nemēn
Passive	-oi̯	-æ ?	haitada	haite heite	hätte	-	-
Opt.pass.	?	-au ?	haitaidau	-	-	-	-

Conclusion

Summary of the phonological development from PIE to PGm. and the individual Germ. languages:

PIE	PGm.	Goth.	RN/ON	OE	OS	OHG
*-ei̯ / _(C)#	*-ai	-ai	-ai > -e	-æ > -e	-	-
*-eu̯ / _(C)#	*-au	-au	-au/-o > -a	-a > -o/-u	-o/-u	-ō
*-ēi̯ / _(C)#	*-ei > *-ī	-	-	-i	-i	-i
*-ēu̯ / _(C)#	*-eu > *-iu	-	-iu > -e	-	-	-iu > -i
*-oi̯ / _(C)#	*-aiC# / *-æ# ?	-aiC# / -a#	-ai/-e > -e	-e	-æ	-ēC# / -e#
*-ou̯ / _(C)#	-	-	-	-	-	-
*-ōi̯ / _(C)#	*-ai	-ai	-e > -e	-æ > -e	-æ	-e
*-ōu̯ / _(C)#	*-au	-au	-a	-a	-o	-o