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## INDO-EUROPEAN \*g<sup>uh</sup> IN GERMANIC

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Purpose and method: In my paper I discuss the development of IE. \*g<sup>uh</sup> in the Germanic languages, using the historical-comparative method. Results: Two regular reflexes of IE. \*g<sup>uh</sup> in Proto-Germanic (\*g and \*w) can be explained by the place of the Indo-European accent, e.g. Gmc. \*garmaz m. ‘fire dog’ (< IE. \*g<sup>uh</sup>hórmós) vs. Gmc. \*warmaz adj. ‘warm, hot’ (< IE. \*g<sup>uh</sup>hormós); Gmc. \*dagaz m. ‘day’ (< IE. \*dhog<sup>uh</sup>hós) vs. Gmc. \*snaiwaz m. ‘snow’ (< \*snóig<sup>uh</sup>hos m. ‘snow’). Conclusion: The double distribution of IE. \*g<sup>uh</sup> in Proto-Germanic, which is motivated by the primitive accent, can be described as a rule similar to *das Vernersche Gesetz*.

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### INTRODUCTION

As far as I know, there occur three reflexes of IE. \*k<sup>u</sup> in the Germanic languages:

[1] IE. \*k<sup>u</sup> > Gmc. \*hw in the initial position and medially after the stress, e.g. Gmc. \*hwalaz m. ‘a big fish; whale’ > ON. *hvalr*, Icel. *hvalur*, OE. *hwæl*, E. *whale*, OHG. (h)wal m. ‘Walfisch’, *walira* f. ‘Wels’, late MHG. *wels* (s-stem) ‘id.’ (cf. SEVILLA RODRÍGUEZ 1989: 177–180; KLUGE, SEEBOLD 1999: 872); IE. \*ék<sup>w</sup>os m. (cf. Skt. *ásvah*) ‘horse’ > Gmc. \*éhwaz m. ‘id.’ > Goth. *aiha-*, OSax. *ehu-*, OE. *eoh*, ON. *jór* ‘horse’ (DE VRIES 1977: 293; LEHMANN 1986: 15, 100; BLAŽEK 1999: 23).

[2] IE. \*k<sup>u</sup> > Gmc. \*g<sub>w</sub> > \*w or \*g in the medial position before accent, e.g. Gmc. \*tegwáz ‘slave’ > Goth. *þiwōs* m. pl. ‘slaves’, ON. *þewaR* ‘Lehnsman’, cf. OInd. *takvá-* adj. ‘quick’ (LUBOTSKY 1988: 95); Gmc. \*wulgwēz f. ‘she-wolf’ > ON. *ylgr* f. ‘id.’ (DE VRIES 1977: 677), cf. Skt. *vṛkīḥ* f. ‘she-wolf, female jackal’.

[3] IE. \*k<sup>u</sup> > Gmc. \*f in some irregular cases, e.g. Gmc. \*fīmfī ‘five’ beside Skt. *pāñca* ‘5’, Gk. Att. *πέντε* ‘id.’ (< IE. \*pénk<sup>u</sup>e), \*fīmfīaz ‘fifth’ beside Gk. *πέμπτος* ‘id.’ (< IE. \*penk<sup>u</sup>tos), \*wulfaz m. ‘wolf’ beside Skt. *vṛkaḥ* ‘id.’ (< IE. \*uḷk<sup>u</sup>os).

It is possible to demonstrate that these three reflexes can be attested in one and the same word, cf. IE. \*uk<sup>u</sup>nos m. ‘oven’ > [1] \*úhwnaz (Goth. *auhns*), [2] \*ugwnáz (OSwed. *oghn*) and [3] \*úfnaz m. ‘id.’ (ON. *ofn*, OE. *ofen*, OHG. *ofan*) (ЗАЛИВНЯК 1964: 226, No. 39.7).

Elmar SEEBOLD (1967; 1980) finds, by analogy, three continuations of IE. *\*g<sup>h</sup>* in Common Germanic: *\*g-* (e.g. *\*gūnþiō* f. ‘fight’), *\*w-* (e.g. *\*warmaz* adj. ‘warm’) and *\*b-* (e.g. *\*bedjan* ‘bitten’, as if from IE. *\*g<sup>h</sup>hedh-* ‘bitten, begehren’)<sup>1</sup>. If *\*b-*, as well as *\*f-*, is the result of an irregular development, then the regular distribution of the reflexes *\*g-/ \*w-* (both from IE. *\*g<sup>h</sup>*) should be explained by analogy to the continuation of IE. *\*k<sup>h</sup>*. The alternation between West Germanic *\*baumaz* m. ‘tree, trunk’ (OE. *beam*, OSax. *bom*, OHG. *boum*) and North Germanic *\*bagmaz* m. ‘id.’ (Goth. *bagms*, OIcel. *baðmr*, OSved. *bagn*; ЗАЛИЗНЯК 1964: 226, No. 39.1), analogical to *\*úhwnaz / \*ugwnáz / \*úfnaz*, clearly demonstrates that this distribution must be connected most likely with the position of the Indo-European and Proto-Germanic stress.

In the following survey of the material I shall attempt to include those examples, for which a reconstruction with *\*g<sup>h</sup>* seems reasonably well founded and which possess some accentually valuable equivalents in other Indo-European languages, especially in Sanskrit, Greek and Balto-Slavic.

## 1. REFLEXES OF IE. *\*g<sup>h</sup>* IN THE INITIAL POSITION

In my opinion, there are only two different reflexes of IE. *\*g<sup>h</sup>* in the initial position, namely Gmc. *\*g* and *\*w*. These two reflexes occur in some related pairs of the Germanic words, e.g. *\*garmaz* m. ‘fire dog’ vs. *\*warmaz* adj. ‘warm, hot’ (both from IE. *\*g<sup>h</sup>hormos*), OIcel. *gandr* adj. ‘monster, magic’, also m. ‘wand’ vs. Dan. dial. *vann*, E. *wand* ‘magic staff’, Goth. *wandus* ‘rod, twig’, OIcel. *vöndr* m. ‘id.’ (from Gmc. *\*gandaz* adj. ‘monster, magic’ next to Gmc. *\*wandaz / \*wanduz* m. ‘wand, magic staff’). Taking into account these Germanic facts MARKEY (1980: 287) suggested “an apparently arbitrary alternation of *g-/w-* as reflexes initially before *a*”. In my opinion, the observed alternation is not “arbitrary”, but it is caused by a regular continuation of the Proto-Germanic variation of the original Indo-European accent. Examples discussed below seem relevant both from the etymological point of view and the accentological one.

## 2. EVIDENCE FOR IE. *\*g<sup>h</sup>* > GMC. *\*g*

2.1. Gmc. *\*garmaz* m. ‘fire dog’ (cf. OIcel. *garmr* m. ‘hound of Hell, fire dog’, only in skaldic usage; Far. *garmur* ‘dog’, etc.) < IE. *\*g<sup>h</sup>hormos* m. ‘the fiery one’ (whence ‘dog of hell’). This term seems to reflect an oppositional accentuation to the Germanic adjective *\*warmáz* < IE. *\*g<sup>h</sup>hormós* (see No. 3.1.). The same accentological opposition between a proper name and a corresponding appellation may be found in most Indo-European lan-

<sup>1</sup> SPEIRS (1978: 1) notes that “the reflexes of PIE *\*g<sup>h</sup>* in Germanic are still a matter of controversy”. RINGE (2006: 105–116) adopts some SEEBOLD’s solutions, stressing that he has “tried to use only relatively certain examples as evidence”. According to him, PIE. *\*g<sup>h</sup>* became Gmc. *\*b* in the initial position, expect “when it had already been delabialized by a following *\*u*”. However, examples for this development are rare and highly uncertain, as stressed by POLOMÉ (1987: 306–307) and RINGE (2006: 106). In my opinion, Gmc. *\*b-* appears to represent an irregular reflex of IE. *\*g<sup>h</sup>*, as well as Gmc. *\*f* (or *\*b*) seems an unexpected continuation of IE. *\*k<sup>h</sup>*, see also МАКАЕВ (1962: 26). Most recently JOHNSEN (2007) has followed Seebold’s way of thinking, which seems unfruitful.

guages, e.g. Gk. PN Φαίδρος vs. adjective φαιδρός ‘clear, brilliant’, Gk. PN Φριζός vs. adjective φριζός ‘standing on end, bristling’.

2.2. Gmc. \**gadja* n. ‘Sinn’ (cf. OIcel. *geð* n. ‘mind, mood, spirits’, also ‘wits, disposition’, Norw. *gjed*, Dan. dial. *gied*; DE VRIES 1977: 159; POLOMÉ 1987: 305, 308) < IE. \**g<sup>h</sup>hódhjom* < IE. \**g<sup>h</sup>hedh-* ‘bitten, begehren, wünschen’ (POKORNY 1959: 488; LIV 2001: 217), cf. Greek πόθος m. ‘longing after, yearning, fond desire, regret’. See also OIr. *guide* f. ‘prayer’ (< Celtic \**godjā*) and Gk. ἐπι-ποθία f. ‘a longing after’ (< IE. \**g<sup>h</sup>hódhijā* with a retraction of the stress). An oppositional oxytone accent is seen in Gk. ποθή f. ‘fond desire, longing, want’.

2.3. Gmc. \**gelda* n. ‘payment’ (cf. Goth. *gild* n. ‘tax’, OIcel. *gjald* n. ‘payment, recompense, punishment’; OE. *gyld*, *gield* ‘payment, service, substitute, sacrifice’; OFris. *jeld* ‘Kaufpreis’; OSax. *geld* n. ‘Vergeltung, Lohn’; OHG. *gelt* m. or n. ‘payment, reward, sacrifice’, G. *Geld* n.; ЗАЛИЗНЯК 1963: 140, No. 4.24; LEHMANN 1986: 155; KLUGE, SEEBOLD 1999: 309) < IE. \**g<sup>h</sup>hédh-o-m* n. ‘payment’ (see POKORNY 1959: 436), cf. Gk. τέλθος n. (*es*-stem) ‘debt, payment due’ (< \**ἑέλθος* and IE. \**g<sup>h</sup>hédh-os-* n.).

2.4. Gmc. \**gúnþiz* f. ‘fight, combat’ (cf. OIcel. *gunnr*, *guðr* f. ‘fight, killing’, OE. *gūð* ‘combat’, OHG. *gund-fano* ‘battle-flag’; DE VRIES 1977: 195; POLOMÉ 1987: 308; RINGE 2006: 92) < IE. \**g<sup>h</sup>hṛtis* f. (*i*-stem) ‘fight, killing’, cf. Lith. *gintis* f. ‘defence, fighting’ (2 AP appears in dialects, 4 AP in the literary Lithuanian). A Sanskrit equivalent is attested with no stress: *hatih* f. (*i*-stem) ‘striking, a stroke or blow; killing, destroying, destruction’ (MONIER-WILLIAMS 1999: 1287), though POKORNY (1959: 492) under the heading \**g<sup>h</sup>hen-* ‘schlagen’ gives a form with the oxytone stress *hatih* f. ‘das Schlagen, Schlag, Multiplikation’. The barytone stress is firmly reconstructed after the Germanic data (the preservation of \**þ* after stress according to Verner’s law).

2.5. Gmc. \**gúnþjō* f. ‘fight’ (cf. OSax. *gūðea* f. ‘Kampf, Schlacht’; DE VRIES 1977: 195) < IE. \**g<sup>h</sup>hṛtjā* f. (*ā*-stem), cf. Skt. *hatyā-* f. ‘killing, slaying, slaughter’ (MONIER-WILLIAMS 1999: 1287).<sup>2</sup> The original barytonesis can be reconstructed on the basis of the Germanic lexical material.

### 3. POSSIBLE EVIDENCE FOR IE. \*g<sup>h</sup> > GMC. \*w

3.1. Gmc. \**warmaz* adj. ‘warm’ (cf. OIcel. *varmr* adj. ‘warm’, Norw., Swed. and Dan. *varm*, OE. *wearm*, E. *warm*; OSax. *warm*, OHG. and G. *warm* ‘id.’; DE VRIES 1977: 646) < IE. \**g<sup>h</sup>hormós* adj. ‘hot, warm’, cf. Skt. *gharmáḥ* m. ‘glot, heat’ (LUBOTSKY 1988: 89), Pashto *γarmá* f. ‘noon, heat of the sun’, also ‘sun’ in some dialects (ДЫБЮ 1974: 81, 83; MORGENSTIERNE 2003: 32); Greek θερμός adj. ‘hot, warm’, θερμόν n. ‘heat’, θερμά n. pl. *o*-stem ‘hot baths’ (< IE. \**g<sup>h</sup>hermós* adj. ‘hot, warm’ < IE. \**g<sup>h</sup>her-* ‘to warm’; POKORNY 1959: 493–495; LIV 2001: 228–229). Other related terms (e.g. Lat. *formus* adj. ‘warm, hot’, Toch. B *śarme* ‘id.’) are accentologically irrelevant.

3.2. Gmc. \**wada* n. ‘ford’ (cf. OIcel. *vað* n. ‘ford, a shallow place in water’, Norw., Swed., Dan. *wad*; OE. *wæd* ‘water, sea’; OHG. *wat* ‘ford’; DE VRIES 1977: 637) < IE. \**g<sup>h</sup>[h]adhóm*

<sup>2</sup> POKORNY (1959: 492) gives the accented form *hatyā́* (spät!) ‘Tötung’, which is not attested in the literary sources. See also LUBOTSKY (1988). However, SEEBOLD (1967: 105) refers to the Vedic compound *muṣṭi-hatyā́* f. ‘Faustkampf’.

n. 'ford', cf. Skt. *gādhām* n. 'ford, shoal'. See also Lat. *vādum* n. 'shallow, shoal, ford'. The terms in question derive from the Proto-Indo-European root *\*g<sup>u</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-* 'to go' (POKORNY 1959: 463–464; LIV 2001: 205) accompanied by the determinative *\*-dh-*. The verbal root (PIE.) *\*g<sup>u</sup>eh<sub>2</sub>-dh-* is perfectly attested in Lat. *vādō* and Skt. *gādhām*, whereas the Proto-Indo-European variant *\*g<sup>u</sup>h<sub>2</sub>-e-dh-* is seen in Germanic *\*wada* and Latin *vādum*. It is obvious that the initial phoneme *\*w-* of the Germanic forms derives from the secondary phoneme *\*g<sup>u</sup>h-*, created from PIE. *\*g<sup>u</sup>* by influence of the laryngeal *\*h<sub>2</sub>*.

3.3. Gmc. *\*wahasaz* adj. 'pointed' (cf. OHG. *wahs* adj. 'scharf, spitzig') < IE. *\*g<sup>u</sup>hoksós* or *\*g<sup>h</sup>uoksós* adj. 'id.', cf. Greek φοξός adj. 'pointed, peaked in head' (so SEEBOLD 1967: 111, 1980: 473–474 after FICK 1891: 348). All the Greek (and Indo-European) adjectives ending with *-so-* show the oxytone stress, e.g. Gk. καμπός adj. 'crooked, bent', φριξός adj. 'standing on end, bristling' (CHANTRAINE 1968–1977: 1221–1222).

3.4. Gmc. *\*wība* n. 'woman, wife' (cf. OIcel. *víf* n. 'woman, weif, lady'; OE. *wīf*, E. *wife*; OSax. *wīf*; OHG. *wīb*, G. *Weib* n.; ЗАЛИЗНЯК 1963: 145, No. 4.78; DE VRIES 1977: 661; KLUGE & SEEBOLD 1999: 879) < IE. *\*g<sup>u</sup>hīpóm* n. 'shame', cf. Toch. A *kip*, B *kwipe* 'shame, pudenda' (HILMARSSON 1996: 208–211). The original oxytone accent is confirmed by Verner's law (IE. *\*p* > Gmc. *\*b* before stress).

3.5. Gmc. *\*wambō* f. 'belly' (cf. Goth. *wamba* f. 'womb, belly'; OIcel. *vomb*; OE. *wamb*, E. *womb*; OFris., MLG. *wamme*; OHG. *wambo*; G. dial. *Wamme*, *Wampe*; ЗАЛИЗНЯК 1963: 148, No. 7.19; SEEBOLD 1980: 470–471; LEHMANN 1986: 393; KLUGE & SEEBOLD 1999: 874) < IE. *\*g<sup>u</sup>hombhǎ* f. 'belly, womb, vulva', cf. Skt. *gabháḥ* m. 'vulva' (MONIER-WILLIAMS 1999: 346), as if from IE. *\*g<sup>u</sup>hṛbhós* m. 'id.'.

Further examples for the development of IE. *\*g<sup>u</sup>h-* to Gmc. *\*w-* are disputable etymologically and uncertain accentologically. Gmc. *\*wōþiaz* adj. 'pleasant, sweet' (Goth. *dauns wōþi* 'sweet smell', OE. *wēðe* adj. 'sweet, pleasant', OHG. *wuodi* adj. 'sweet, mild', OIcel. *óðri* 'better'; SEEBOLD 1967: 110, POLOMÉ 1987: 309) appears to be related to the Greek gloss φώτιον · προσφιλές, ἡδύ ('pleasant, sweet'), which is attested in the Hesychian glossary (VI cent. AD). The gloss in question is given without ethnic reference, thus it is uncertain whether initial φ- represents a dialectal rendering of the Greek digamma (like in Pamphylian) or a regular Greek reflex of IE. *\*bh* or perhaps IE. *\*g<sup>u</sup>h*. Theoretically, the suggested Greek-Germanic isogloss, which seems impeccable from the semantic and accentual point of view, could derive from IE. *\*g<sup>u</sup>hótiios* or *\*g<sup>h</sup>uótiios*, but I would prefer a reading of the letter φ- as a Pamphylian rendering of Common Greek *\*f-* (cf. Gk. Pamph. φίκατι 'twenty' < Gk. *\*Fίκατι* < IE. *\*u̯íkṛti* '20'). In this case an alternative derivation from IE. *\*u̯ótiios* adj. 'pleasant, sweet' is highly probable, whereas a root connection with OInd. (RV) *vāmáh* adj. 'lovely, dear, pleasant, agreeable, fair, beautiful, splendid, noble' (as if from IE. *\*u̯ō-mó-s*) cannot be excluded (cf. DE VRIES 1977: 684).

To the best knowledge of mine, the Germanic languages demonstrate two regular reflexes of IE. *\*g<sup>u</sup>h* in the medial position, namely *-g-* (see 4.1–6) and *-w-* (see 5.1–4). In other words, the same distribution is attested in the Germanic languages both initially and medially. It is obvious that the twofold Germanic development of IE. *\*g<sup>u</sup>h* had to be determined by position of the Proto-Germanic (Indo-European) accent.

4. POSSIBLE EVIDENCE FOR -g<sup>h</sup>- > GMC. -g-

4.1. Gmc. \*dagaz m. 'day' (cf. Goth. *dags*, OIcel. *dagr*, E. *day*, OSax. *dag*, OHG. *tag*, G. *Tag* 'day'; ЗАЛИЗНЯК 1963: 130, No. 1.12; DE VRIES 1977: 71–72; LEHMANN 1986: 86) < IE. \*dhog<sup>h</sup>hós m. 'hot weather', cf. Lith. *dāgas* m. 'heat of day, harvest' 4 AP (ILLICH-SVITYCH 1979: 30, Sect. 10), Skt. *ni-dāgháh* m. 'heat, warmth; the hot season (May and June), summer; internal heat' (MONIER-WILLIAMS 1999: 548). The Indo-European appellative is a derivative from the root \*dheg<sup>h</sup>- 'to burn, to warm' (POKORNY 1959: 240; WATKINS 1970: 1512; LIV 2001: 133–134).

4.2. Gmc. \*sangaz m. (o-stem) 'song' (cf. OIcel. *sǫngr* m. 'song, music, melody, priest's poem', OE. *sang*, E. *song*, OSax. *sang*, OHG. *sang*, cf. Gothic *saggws* m. i-stem 'Gesang'; ЗАЛИЗНЯК 1964: 188, No. 26.26; DE VRIES 1977: 578) < IE. \*song<sup>h</sup>hós m. 'voice, sound, song', cf. Greek ὀμφή f. 'voice, sound' (< IE. \*song<sup>h</sup>hǎ f. 'id.').

4.3. Gmc. \*angaz m. (o-stem) 'smell' (cf. OIcel. *anгр* m. 'Duft, Geruch'; DE VRIES 1977: 10) < IE. \*ong<sup>h</sup>hós, cf. Gk. dial. ὀμφή f. 'smell' (< IE. \*ong<sup>h</sup>hǎ f. 'id.'). The same root \*ong<sup>h</sup>- may be found in Common Slavic \*oĉhъ m. 'smell' (cf. Pol. *węch* 'sense of smell') (< \*ong<sup>h</sup>-só-) and \*oĉhati vb. 'to smell' (cf. Pol. *węchać* 'to smell') (an extension on -s- from the Indo-European root \*ong<sup>h</sup>-).

4.4. Gmc. \*wagjaz m. 'wedge' (OIcel. *vegr* m. 'Keil'; OE. *wecg*, E. *wedge*; OSax. *veggi*, OHG. *weggi*, *wecki* m. 'wedge'; ЗАЛИЗНЯК 1964: 214, No. 31.14; SEEBOLD 1967: 128–129; DE VRIES 1977: 650) < IE. \*uog<sup>h</sup>híos, cf. Lith. *vāgis* m. 'wedge' (4 AP in the dialects, but a secondary 2 AP occurs in the standard language), Latvian *vadzis* m. 'wedge' (FRAENKEL 1962–1965: 1179). The nominal root \*ueg<sup>h</sup>- ~ \*uog<sup>h</sup>- is attested in Greek (Hesychian) ὀρνίς f. 'ploughshare; plough' (< IE. \*uog<sup>h</sup>-ní-s), Lat. *vōmer* n. (es-stem) 'ploughshare' and perhaps in Old Irish *fecc* 'tooth' (as if from Celtic \*vegnā f. and IE. \*ueg<sup>h</sup>-nā-).

4.5. Gmc. \*tungōn f. (n-stem) 'tongue' (Goth. *tuggō*, OIcel. *tunga*, OE. *tunge*, E. *tongue*, OSax. *tunga*, OHG. *zunga*, G. *Zunge* f. 'tongue'; ЗАЛИЗНЯК 1963: 156, No. 14.15) < PGmc. \*tung<sup>w</sup>ō f. (ō-stem, remodelled later as an ōn-stem) < IE. \*d<sup>h</sup>ǵ<sup>h</sup>h<sup>ǎ</sup> f. 'tongue' (RINGE 2006: 81, 90–91). The oxytonesis is confirmed by OInd. *jihvǎ* f. 'tongue' (MONIER-WILLIAMS 1999: 422; LUBOTSKY 1988: 103). Other related terms (e.g. OLat. *dingua*, Lat. *lingua* f. 'tongue', Avest. *hizū-* and *hizuvā-* f. 'id.') are accentologically irrelevant.

4.6. Gmc. \*lungraz adj. 'swift' (cf. OSax. *lungar* 'powerful', OE. *lungre* adv. 'quickly, soon'; RINGE 2006: 91, 92) < PIE. \*h<sub>1</sub>lǵ<sup>h</sup>hrós adj. 'light (in weight)', cf. Gk. ἐλαφρός adj. 'light, nimble'. All the adjectives which end with the suffix \*-ro- demonstrate the oxytone stress.

5. POSSIBLE EVIDENCE FOR -g<sup>h</sup>- > GMC. -w-

5.1. Gmc. \*snaiwaz m. 'snow' (cf. Gothic *snaiws*, ON. *snaer*, OE. *snaw*, E. *snow*; OSax. *sneo*, OHG. *sne(o)*, G. *Schnee*; ЗАЛИЗНЯК 1964: 189, No. 29.31) < IE. \*snóig<sup>h</sup>hós m. 'snow' (RINGE 2006: 107; NIL 2008: 622–625), cf. Skt. *snéha-* m. 'Schleim, Klebrigkeit' (MAY-RHOFFER 1996: 772); PSI. \*sněgъ (gen. \*sněga) AP a 'snow' (cf. Pol. *śnieg*; SC. *snēz*, *snēza*; Slovenian *snēg*; Russ. *снег*, *снѣга*; DERKSEN 2008: 457); Latv. *sniegs*, Lith. *sniegas* 'snow'

2 AP in a north-western Žemaitis dialect, but 4 AP (of secondary origin) is more usual in the dialects and in the standard language (ILLICH-SVITYCH 1979: 102, Sect. 44).

5.2. Gmc. *\*sarwaz* m. 'roach, *Rutilus rutilus* L.' (cf. OSwed. *sarv*, Swed. *sarv*, *sarf*) < IE. *\*sōrgʰhos* m. 'a kind of fish', cf. Greek (Herodianus) ὄρροϛ m. 'a sea-fish'. See also Russ. *copóza* f. 'roach' (< PSI. *\*sorga* f. and IE. *\*sorgʰhā* f. 'a kind of fish').

5.3. Gmc. *\*rawiz-* n. (*es*-stem) 'reed' and *\*rawizaz* m. (secondary *o*-stem) 'id.' (cf. Goth. *raus* n., ON. *reyr* n., OHG. *ror* n., MLG *ror*; also ON. *reyrr* m. *a*-stem 'reed', OHG. *rorra* f. *jō*-stem 'id.'). DE VRIES 1977: 443, LEHMANN 1986: 282 < PIE. *\*h<sub>3</sub>rógʰhes-* n. (*es*-stem) 'reed', cf. Gk. ὄροφοϛ n. (*es*-stem) 'reed used for thatching houses' (< \*ὄρόφοϛ). A related form is seen in Slavic *\*rogozjb* 'reed' (< IE. *\*h<sub>3</sub>rógʰh-*).

5.4. Gmc. *\*newran-* n. or m. (*n*-stem) 'kidney' (Oícel. *nýra* n., OSwed. *niure*, ME. *nere*, MLG. *nere*, OHG. *nioro* m.; ЗАЛИЗНЯК 1964: 217, No. 32.21; SEEBOLD 1967: 117; DE VRIES 1977: 413) < IE. *\*négʰhron-* (POKORNY 1959: 318), cf. Praeneste Latin *nefrōnes* m. pl., Lanuvian *nebrundines* 'kidneys' (MULLER 1926: 285–286). The *n*-stem neuters are always barytone both in Sanskrit and Greek (LUBOTSKY 1988: 108, 147; RISCH 1974: 59–62). Thus by an accentological analogy the Germanic appellation *neurán-* (representing a neuter, cf. Oícel. *nýra* n. 'kidney') had to possess originally the barytone stress (IE. *\*négʰhron-*). The *o*-stem appellation, attested in Gk. νεφρός m. 'kidney', usually in pl. 'kidneys' (< IE. *\*negʰhrós*), presents an oppositional accentuation.

At present I can find only these 20 items. For other, but accentually or etymologically irrelevant, examples, see SEEBOLD (1967: 105–130; 1980: 450–484) and POLOMÉ (1987: 303–310).

On the basis of the above-mentioned lexical material it should be concluded that the initial IE. *\*gʰh-* yields Gmc. *\*g-* in the position before accent, *\*w-* elsewhere. In the medial position the continuants of IE. *\*gʰh* show the same distribution (i.e. *-g-* before accent, *-w-* elsewhere).

The development of IE. *\*gʰh* appear to be analogous to the development of the Indo-European voiceless consonants in Germanic (e.g. IE. *\*k* yields Gmc. *\*h* initially, but both *\*h* and *\*g* in the intervocal position). The last process is explained by the so called Verner's law (see COLLINGE 1985: 203–216). It seems highly probable that the double reflexes of IE. *\*gʰh* were caused by a phonological rule similar to Verner's law (G. *das Vernersche Gesetz*).

## CONCLUSIONS

The above analysis of the Germanic lexical material shows clearly that the double representation of IE. *\*gʰh* in Proto-Germanic is determined by position of the Indo-European and Proto-Germanic stress. Generally, if one compares the Germanic forms and their Indo-European prototypes from the view-point of Indo-European accentuation, it is easy to prove that IE. *\*gʰh* is reflected as Gmc. *\*g* before stress (see No. 2.1–5; 4.1–6) and Gmc. *\*w* elsewhere (see No. 3.1–5; 5.1–4).

## ABBREVIATIONS

adj. – adjective, cf. – confer (compare), e.g. – exempli gratia, f. – feminine, id. – idem, m. – masculine, n. – neuter; No. – number, pl. – plural, PN – personal name, Sect. – section.  
 Languages: Att. – Attic (Greek), Dan. – Danish, E. – English, Far. – Faroese, G. – German, Gk. – Greek, Gmc. – Germanic, Goth. – Gothic, Gk. – Greek, Icel. – Icelandic, IE. – Indo-European, Lat. – Latin, MHG. – Middle High German, MLG. – Middle Low German, Norw. – Norwegian, OE. – Old English, OFris. – Old Frisian, OHG. – Old High German, Olcel. – Old Icelandic, Olnd. – Old Indic, OIr. – Old Irish, ON. – Old Nordic, OSax. – Old Saxon, OSwed. – Old Swedish, PSl. – Proto-Slavic, Russ. – Russian, Skt. – Sanskrit, Swed. – Swedish, Toch. A – East Tocharian, Toch. B. – West Tocharian or Kuchean.

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