

Germanic **ga(-)* revisited.

Some thoughts on etymology, phonology and inherited word formations.

Etymology and the European Lexicon

14. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft

17.-22. September 2012

Copenhagen



Introduction

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vivid discussion on PGmc. **ga-* since the late 19th century

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consensus: originally **ga-* 'together, with' > perfectivity / telicity

But what about prenominal **ga-* ?

Denominative Nominal Composites

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$[*ga(-) + \text{NOMINAL} (+ \text{SUFF})]_{\text{NOMINAL}}$

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Goth.

gaskôhi n. 'pair of shoes'

gasinpa m. 'companion'

gaarbja m. 'co-heir'

gaskôhs adj. 'shod, having shoes'

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gescý n. 'pair of shoes'
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ON

glíkr adj. 'common'
granni m. 'neighbour'
gnógr adj. 'enough'
rúni m. 'intimate friend'
...

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composite adjectives with prenominal **ga-*

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composite adjectives with prenominal **ga-* => having something / some quality
~ ~ being with something / some quality

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$[*ga- + \text{NOMINAL}]_{\text{ADJ}} = \text{ADJ}_{\text{POSS}}$

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composite nouns with prenominal **ga-* => denoting persons sharing something /
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[*ga- + NOMINAL]_{ADJ} = ADJ_{POSS}

composite nouns with prenominal *ga- => denoting persons sharing something /
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Excurs: 'Person sharing X' common way of expressing 'companion'
not only within IE languages:

eg. Late Egyptian (New Kingdom, 13th - 12th century BC)
jry n wnm n 'k.w 'Gefährte des Essens (von) Brot'

(thanks to T.S. Richter for this example, cf. H.-W. Fischer-Elfert. 2004. 'Kumpan; compagnon' auf
Ägyptisch „jry n wnm n 'k.w“. in: *Göttinger Miszellen* 200. pp. 9f.)

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=> denoting things / persons being
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$[*ga- + \text{NOMINAL} (+ \text{SUFF}_{\text{COLL}})]_{\text{NOUN}} = \text{NOUN}_{\text{COLL}}$

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'being with something, some function / quality (together with others)'

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'being with something, some function / quality (together with others)'



**ga-* '(together) with'

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'being with something, some function / quality (together with others)'



**ga-* '(together) with'



cf. Lat. *co(m/n)-* :

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'being with something, some function / quality (together with others)'



*ga- '(together) with'



cf. Lat. *co(m/n)-* :

coniux f.

cognomen n.

compotor m.

concolor adj.

A 'common' Problem

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Goth. *gamains*
OHG *gimeini*
OE *gemæne*
OS *gimêni*
OFrs. *(ge)mēn*

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Goth. *gamains*
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OE *gemæne* : Lat. *communis*
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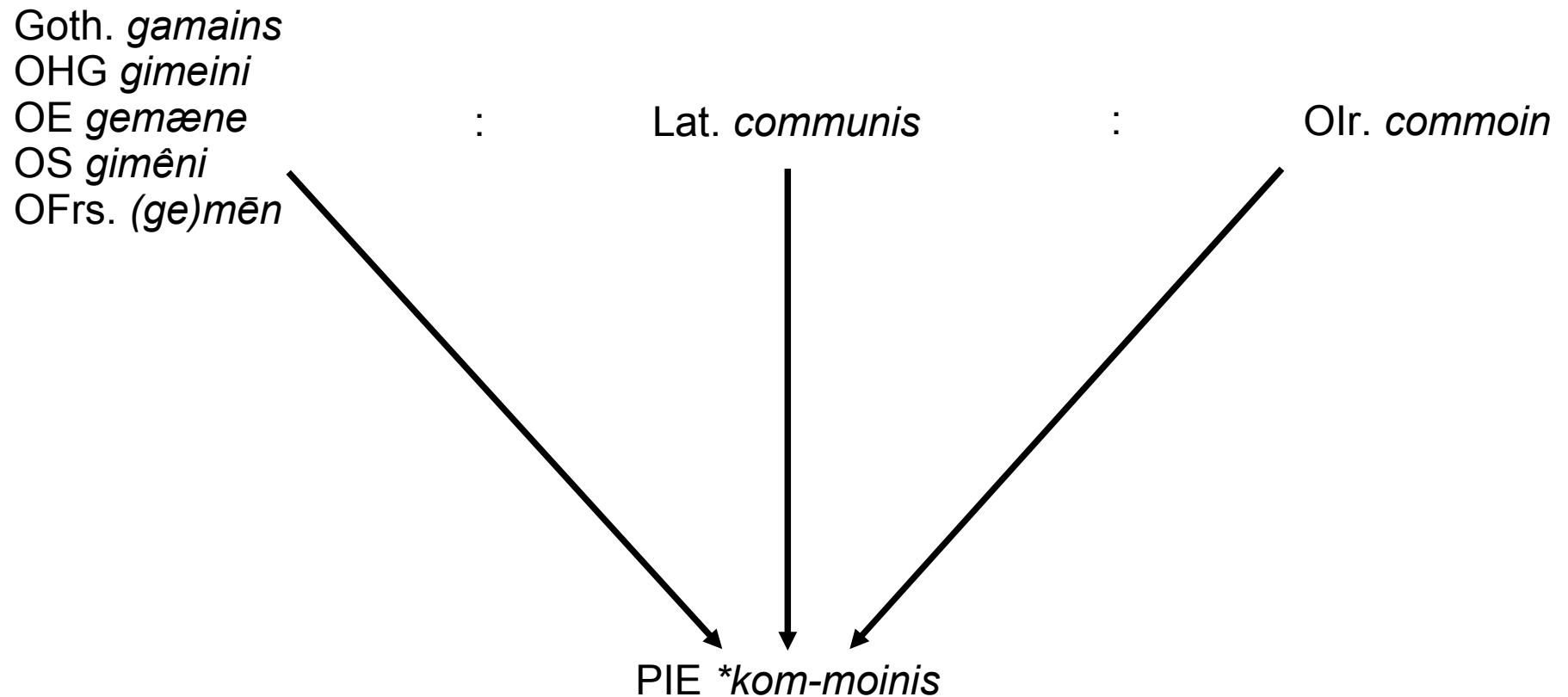
:

Lat. *communis*

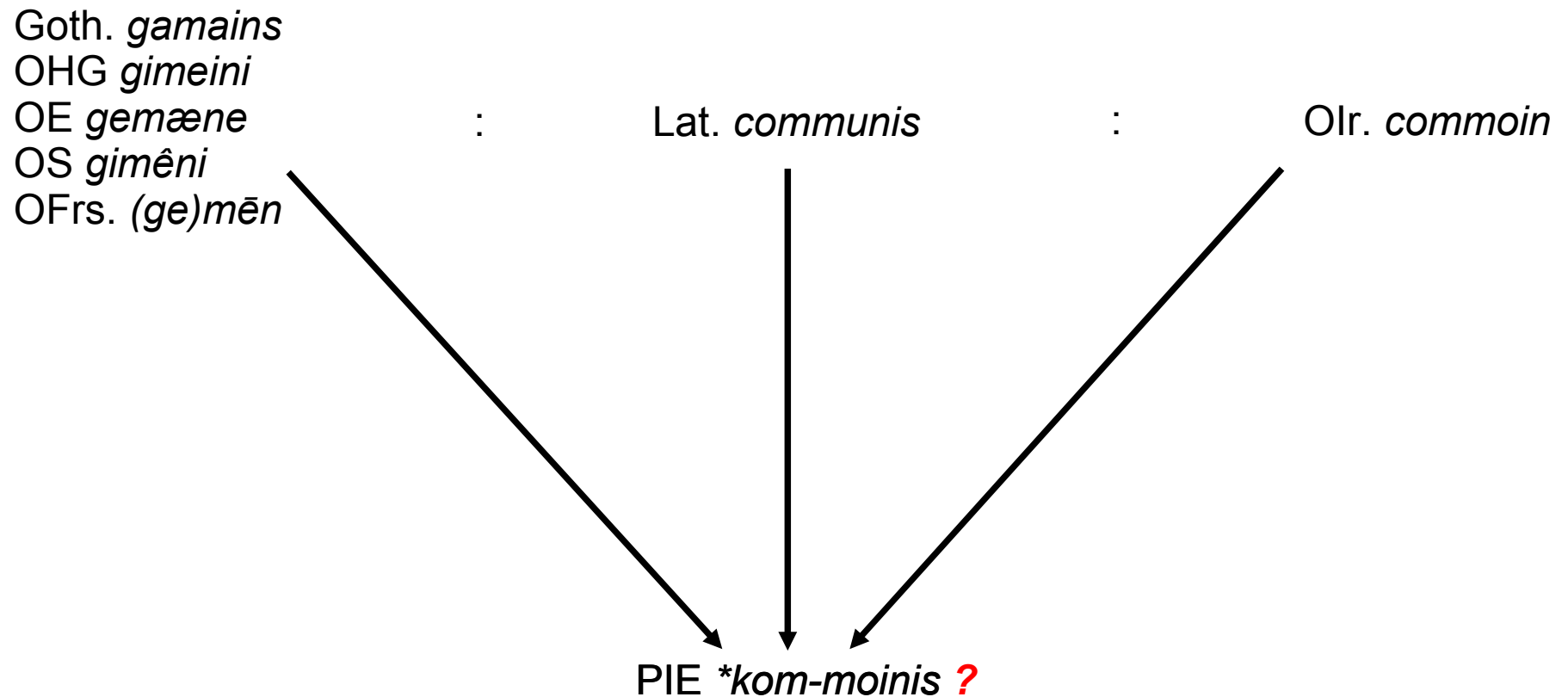
:

Olr. *commoin*

A 'common' Problem



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expected: PIE **kom* > PGmc. **ha(m)-* (Grimm's Law)

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=> PIE **kom-moinis* > PGmc. *†ha(m)-mains*

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why here PGmc. **g-* < PIE **k-*?

A 'common' Problem

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pro:

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Bugge 1887, 1888

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„Ge scheint in dieser collectiven Bedeutung mit dem Lat. co, con und cum aus Einer Quelle herzufließen [...]“

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- if primary stress on third syllable
or further to the right
=> Verner's Law in word-initial syllables

PIE **kom-moinis* not oxytone

but: derivatives like **kommoinī* > *gamainī*

**kommoníyeti* > *gamainîp*

**kommoinijón* > *gamainjan*

with Verner's Law in initial syllable

=> analogically for *gamains*

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**ga-* unstressed

=> perhaps voiced like unstressed OE *p* > NE *ð*

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ON vowel-loss => unstressed
but most probably secondary

=> analogy to unstressed verbal prefix

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simplex words, compounds : stressed on initial syllable
preverbal *ga-* rather procliticon => unstressed
(like other 'verbal prefixes')

prenominal *ga-* : proclitic => unstressed

„Under the circumstances, however, it would appear much more likely that Go. ga- was always unstressed, regardless of the part of speech in which it occurred.“

fortis or lenis realization due to stronger or weaker articulation, that is more or less stressed articulation

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PIE **kom* in the Gmc. languages always proclitic
=> always unstressed => Verner's Law
(as evidenced by **kom-* > **gan-* > *ga-*)

ham-edii either variant without Verner's Law
or loan from a non-Germanic source (e.g. Celtic)

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prenominal *ga*- stressed

but: many deverbative *ga*-nominals with unstressed *ga*-
=> analogically prenominal *ga*- instead of ^(*)*ham*-

or: unattested *-ga*- basis for analogy

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Gmc. *ga-* < PIE **kom*: generalization of unstressed preverb

(+ examples for other cases with effects of Verner's Law in procilitics)

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“The conditions which permit the prefix ga-, commonly linked with Latin co-, still puzzle people”

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**kom* > *ga-* in unstressed syllable

just like Got. *dis-*, *du-* < **t-*

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(argues that those words said to prove prenominal stressed *ga-* are based on wrong assumptions)

=> *ga-* always proclitic => always unstressed
=> Verner's Law

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"if one assumes that ga- was grammaticalized fairly early, and was thus generally unstressed as a prefix, the voicing of the velar fricative might have arisen due to a later lenition not associated with Verner's Law per se."

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contra:

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contra:

Bezzenberger 1873 : 70-72
Meillet 1896/97
Wiedemann 1906 : 215f.
Brugmann : 1911
Kluge/Mitzka 1957 : 236f.

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ga- < PIE **gho-* (or *go-*)

> PGmc. **ka-* > proclitic **ga-*

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ga- < PIE *ǵ(h)ô

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pro:

ga- < PIE **ǵhō-*
semantics problematic
=> **ǵhō-* local meaning (cf. OCS *za* 'behind')

but: Lat. *cum* originally 'near, iuxta'
=> *ga-* ≠ *cum*

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Giaccalone Ramat 1970

Bammesberger 1981

Lühr 1982 : 381 FN 5, 386 esp. FN 4

Collinge 1985 : 207

Lehmann 1986 : 133

(Pfeifer 1989 : 511)

(Dunkel 1990 : 119f.)

Quinlin 1991

Davis 2000

Boutkan/Siebinga 2005 : 81f.

Ringe 2008 (2006) : 165

Lloyd et al. 2009 : 202-204

A 'common' Problem

pro:

Adelung 1775 : 437

Bugge 1887, 1888

Wood 1910

Delbrück 1900

“ga- im Ablaut zu PIE *go-“

Bennett 1968a,b, 1970

Giacalone Ramat 1976

Bammesberger 1981

Lühr 1982 : 381 FN 5, 386 esp. FN 4

Collinge 1985 : 207

Lehmann 1986 : 133

(Pfeifer 1989 : 511)

(Dunkel 1990 : 119f.)

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Ringe 2008 (2006) : 165

Lloyd et al. 2009 : 202-204

contra:

Bezenberger 1873 : 70-72

Meillet 1896/97

Wiedemann 1906 : 215f.

Brugmann : 1911

Kluge/Mitzka 1957 : 236f.

A 'common' Problem

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common opinion: PGmc. **ga-* < PIE **kom*

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Goth. *gamains* etc. : Lat. *communis* : OIr. *commoin*

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Goth. *gamains* etc. : Lat. *communis* : Olr. *commoin*
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[PREP + NOMINAL]_{NOMINAL}

A 'common' Problem

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Goth. *gamains* etc. : Lat. *communis* : OIr. *commoin*
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[PREP + NOMINAL]_{NOMINAL}

=> that type of word formation was existent in PIE, already

(cf. Meier-Brügger 2000 : 274, Fortson 2004 : 123, Lindner 2011 : 33f.)

Nominal P/N-Composites in the IE Languages

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Gr. σύν-δουλος, συμ-πολίτης, ὑπερ-θύριον, μετ-αίτιος

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Ol. *a-pútra-*, *ánti-mitra-*, *sam-yuj-*

Olr. *com-arbe*, Gaul. *exs-ops*

The End.

Thank You.

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