

APPENDIX D

SHORTENING OF PRETONIC LONG VOWELS IN GERMANIC

In his article about the shortening of pretonic length discussed in the preceding appendix (1961a) Dybo points to the same phenomenon in the Germanic languages, where it took place under different conditions. He adduces a list of 16 items where a pretonic long vowel before an intervocalic resonant was shortened, e.g. Goth. *wair*, ON. *verr*, OHG. *wer*, Skt. *viráh*. It follows from this example that the shortening was posterior to the loss of the laryngeals, cf. also Goth. *qius*, *sunus*, Skt. *jiváh*, *sūnúh*. Besides, Dybo adduces 17 items with a long vowel before an intervocalic resonant corresponding to barytona in other IE languages, e.g. ON. *súrr*, OHG. *sūr*, Latv. *sūrs*, SCr. *sīr*. In oxytona the long vowel was preserved before an obstruent, e.g. OHG. *fluot*, Gr. *plōtós*.

Dybo also draws attention to traces of barytonesis in the *to*-participle, e.g. OHG. *kund*. The same indication is found in the preterit *kunda*. Dybo's attempt to connect the accentuation of these forms with the Italo-Celtic and Balto-Slavic phenomena is not convincing (cf. Illič-Svityč 1962:68f.). It would seem more appropriate to assume a generalization of barytonesis in the old perfect, cf. the recessive stress in Ru. *mogú*, *móžeš'*. Thus, I do not think that the Germanic evidence helps clarify the accentual opposition suggested for the *to*-participle by the material from other IE languages.