

A Non-Brugmannian Approach to the Historical Development of the Germanic Copula : How is the Suppletion to be Explained?

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A Non-Brugmannian Approach to the Historical Development of the Germanic Copula: How is the Suppletion to be Explained?*

Toshiya Tanaka

1. Introduction: Peculiarity of the Germanic Copula

In this paper I should like to deal with a problem of the Germanic copula, especially to approach the problem of how the suppletion observed in the Germanic copula historically developed. Prokosch (1939: 219ff.) observes that the Germanic copula consists of three or four Proto-Indo-European (PIE) roots, i.e., **es-*, **wes-*, **bheu-* and possibly **er-*. This is made clear by observing or comparing the copular paradigms in major Germanic dialects, given in (1)-(3):

(1) West Germanic

a. Old English (cf. Brunner 1965: 352ff.; etc.)

		Indicative	Optative/Subjunctive	
Pres. sg.	1	eom	(bēo)	
	2	eart	bist	sīe (sī, sȳ) bīo, bēo
	3	is	bið	
pl.		sint	bīoð	sīen (sīn, sȳn) bīon, bēon
		sindon, -un	bēoð	
Pret. sg.	1	wæs		
	2	wære		wære
	3	wæs		
	pl.	wæron		wæren
		Imperative	Infinitive	
sg.	bīo, bēo	wes	bīon, bēon, wesan	
pl.	bīoð, bēoð	wesað		

b. Old Saxon (cf. Gallée 1993: 269f.; Helfenstein 1870: 505; etc.)

		Indicative	Optative
Pres. sg.	1	bium/n	sī
	2	bis(t)	sīs
	3	is(t)	sī, wese

	pl. 1	sind	
	2	sindu/on	sîn
	3	sundon	
Pret. sg.	1	was	wâri
	2	wâri	wârîs
	3	was	wâri
	pl. 1,2,3	wârûn	1,2,3 wârîn

	Imperative	Infinitive
sg.	2 wis, wes	wesan, wesen
pl.	2 wesað, wesat	

c. Old High German (cf. Braune & Eggers 1987: 302f.; Sonderegger 1987: 224; Helfenstein 1870: 505; etc.)

		Indicative	Optative
Pres. sg.	1	bim, bin	sī
	2	bist	sīs, sīst
	3	ist	sī
	pl. 1	birum, birun	(sīm), sîn
	2	birut	sīt (sînt N)
	3	sint	sîn
Pret. sg.	1	was	wâri
	2	wâri	wârîs
	3	was	wâri
	pl. 1	wârûm	wârimēs
	2	wârut	wârît
	3	wârûn	wârîn

	Imperative	Infinitive
sg.	wis, bis	wësan, (sîn)
pl.	wëset, sît	

(2) North Germanic

Old Norse (cf. Gordon 1957: 308; etc.)

		Indicative	Optative
Pres. sg.	1	em	sé
	2	ert	sér
	3	er	sé
pl.	1	erum	sém
	2	erue	sée

	3	sundon	sé
Pret. sg.	1	var	væra
	2	vart	værir
	3	var	væri
pl.	1	vārum	værim
	2	vāvue	værie
	3	vāru	væri
		Imperative	Infinitive
		ver, verie	vera

(3) East Germanic

Gothic (cf. Braune & Ebbinghaus 1981: 129f.; Helfenstein 1870: 505; etc.)

		Indicative	Optative
Pres. sg.	1	im	sijau
	2	is	sijais
	3	ist	sijai
du.	1	siju	—
	2	—	—
pl.	1	sijum	sijaima
	2	siju	sijais
	3	sint	sijaina
Pret. sg.	1	was	wēs̄jau
	2	wast	wēseis
	3	was	wēsi
pl.	1	wēsum	wēseima
	2	wēsut	wēseit
	3	wēsun	wēseina

Infinitive wisan

Various differences can be found among the dialects, but these paradigms show a crucial similarity. That is, the PIE root **es-* is used in the indicative present and the root **wes-* in the indicative preterite. This type of suppletion is not found in the copular paradigm of the other Indo-European branches. In this paper I should like to discuss what kind of mechanism or motivation there was when the Germanic dialect developed the paradigm of the copula to form this type of suppletion. West Germanic shows a further peculiarity, i.e., the root **bheu-* is used in the indicative present. As

an Old English peculiarity, furthermore, we can observe that the PIE root **er-* is possibly employed in the second singular indicative present. These points are beyond the scope of this paper, and I should like to leave a detailed analysis of them for my future research. The discussion below concentrates on the problem of the suppletion by **es-* and **wes-*.

2. Approaches thus far made

2.1 Major Handbooks on Germanic

Concerning the relevant suppletion, traditional handbooks have given no adequate explanation. Streitberg (1963: 316f.), for example, makes no mention of the suppletion in the Germanic copula. Helfenstein (1870: 501f.), Prokosch (1939: 219ff.), Krahe and Meid (1969: II.139ff.), Bammesberger (1986: 119ff.) do make mention of the suppletion, but none of them attempts a principled explanation of the phenomenon at issue. Hirt (1931-34: II. 182), on the other hand, presents a unique, but insufficient view. The preterite paradigm is made up of the perfect forms of **wes-* 'stay', and according to him, this is a prefixed form of **es-*. In other words, the relevant suppletion is to be ascribed to the unprefixated form in the present and the form characterised by the movable *w* in the preterite (cf. Hirt 1931-34: I. 143). Even if this is a correct assumption, a problem will remain. What kind of motivation was there to create the relevant suppletion? Namely, we may ask why the prefixed form was chosen for the preterite and the unprefixated form for the present. Moreover, I am sceptical of the view based on the movable *w*, and below I should like to approach our problem in the light of the more widely accepted view that the roots **es-* and **wes-* are independent roots with different meanings.

Among the handbooks on Germanic, Ramat (1981: 176) seems to be the one which furnishes a promising idea:

The suppletion of the roots reflects the ancient aspectual opposition: consider the Latin *sum* (root **es/s-*) versus *fuī* (root **bhū-*). The root **es-* had a durative value while the root **bhū-* had a momentary value. Compare the oppositions between Gk. *eimī* (present) and *éphyn* (aorist), between OInd. *āsmi* and *ābhūvam*. It is characteristic of Germanic that both of these two roots appear in the present and thus form a new opposition with the root **wes-*. [My translation: T.T.]

It is suggested here that the suppletive paradigm of the Germanic copula is somehow reflective of the original aspectual difference between the relevant roots. However, it remains unclear what kind of lexical aspect the root **wes-* originally expressed and how this root was incorporated into the preterite paradigm of the Germanic copula. In

Section 4 below we shall attempt to elucidate these points.

2.2 Benveniste (1971)

Although he does not deal with the problem of the suppletion in the Germanic copula, Benveniste (1971: 131ff.) makes an important contribution to elucidating the development of the Indo-European copula. He claims that the meaning of PIE **es-* should not be described as ‘to be’ but rather ‘to have existence, to occur in reality’. (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 164). This is because the nominal sentence without a copula (‘X Y’) is typically used in Indo-European where we would say ‘X is Y’ in Present-day English (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 131). This seems to be a correct observation and we may consider that the Indo-European copula developed from an existential verb. As Munro (1977) illustrates, the development from existential to copula is also attested in some non-Indo-European languages as well.

Another important idea provided by Benveniste is that the verb **es-* must have had a pre-stage before developing the existential meaning. He states:

We must insist upon the necessity for rejecting every implication of a lexical “to be” in the analysis of the nominal sentence, and of reforming the habits of translation imposed by the different structure of modern Western languages. One can start a strict interpretation of the nominal sentence only by freeing oneself from that servitude and by recognizing the verb *esti* in Indo-European as a verb just like the others. It is such, not only in that it bears all the morphological marks of its class and that it serves the same syntactic function but because it must have had a definite lexical meaning before falling — at the end of the long historical development — to the rank of “copula”. It is no longer possible to attain this meaning directly, but the fact that **bhu-* ‘to put forth, to grow’ furnished part of the forms of **es-* gives an inkling of it. (Benveniste 1971: 138)

Here specification of the original, lexical meaning of **es-* is lain aside, but we shall approach this issue in Section 4 below.

2.3 Shields (1992)

Shields (1992: 53ff.) presents a unique idea on the development of the Indo-European copula. He proposes that the verb **esti* developed from the PIE demonstrative or deictic pronoun *(*e*)*s* ‘that’. This type of development, i.e., from a pronoun referring to a topic to copula, is typologically attested (cf. Li and Tompson 1977; Benveniste 1971: 164–6), but this view does not seem to me very convincing. One of the reasons is that the verb at issue exclusively shows the athematic present conjugation, which suggests its archaism, whereas the development of the copula is best considered to be relatively recent. In other words, if **esti* was created as a copula from a pronoun,

it would be more natural that the verb showed a thematic, or some other more recent type of, conjugation. In Section 4, I shall attempt to offer a different proposal from Shields’.

2. 4 Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995)

Like Benveniste (1971) and Shields (1992), Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995) do not directly treat the problem of the Germanic copula, but their idea is worthy to be touched upon here. They consider PIE was a language of the active type, whose verbal system had a binary structure, i.e., consisted of the active and the inactive classes of verbs (*op. cit.*, 233ff. and 254ff.). According to them, the verbal system is characterised by doublet lexemes and by a clear morphological difference. In (4) the examples of doublets given by them are reproduced (*op. cit.*, 256):

(4) *-m(i) series (active)	*-Ha series (inactive)
PIE *es- ‘be’	PIE *bhuH- ‘be’
PIE *ses- ‘lie, sleep’	PIE *khei- ‘lie’
PIE *sthaH- ‘stand’	PIE *or- ‘stand, stand up’

The active counterparts are characterised by the ending *-m/-s/-t or *-mi/-si/-ti for the 1st, 2nd, 3rd person singular, while the inactive counterparts by the ending *-Ha/ -t(h)Ha/-e.

One of the problems of their proposal, in terms of our concern, is that their discussion sounds as if the original meaning of PIE *es- and *bhuH- were ‘be’, now irrespective of the active/inactive semantic distinction. This is strange in considering that such a lexical, or more definite, meaning as ‘grow’ can be assigned to the root *bheu- or *bhuH- (cf. Pokorny 1989: 146). And also, as claimed by Benveniste (1971: 138) (cf. 2.2 above), there is no reason to deny that PIE *es- once had a more definite, lexical meaning as well as other ancient Indo-European verbs. As discussed in Section 3 below, I can accept their assumption that PIE was an active language, whose verbal system consisted of active and inactive verbs, but it does not seem to me that their proposal on the relationship between PIE *es- and *bheuH- supplies a crucial key directly leading to a solution to the problem of the Germanic copula¹.

3. Reconstruction Model

Before proceeding to the section where I propose my own view, I should like to clarify what reconstruction model my approach is to be grounded upon.

3.1 Why a Non-Brugmannian Approach ?

The traditional Brugmannian reconstruction model takes it for granted that PIE

had a similar verbal structure to that of Old Indic or Greek, which is furnished with a full array of tenses, moods and aspects, cf. Drinka (1995: 1). But this model does not seem to me to be capable of providing a natural, convincing explanation of the development of the Germanic copula. Concerning the root **es-* (or the Indic root *as-*), Vedic shows the perfect morphology, *āsa*, *āsitha-*, *āsa* (< **e-os-*), as well as the present conjugation, *āsmi*, *āsi*, *āsti* (< **es-*). Due to this fact, it is possible to deem that Germanic once had a stem **os-* > **as-* for the perfect or preterite conjugation. But if this is true, why was it lost to **was-*? It does not seem that there are any phonological or other reasons to cause **as-* to be completely lost in Germanic. Furthermore, it seems difficult to explain why Greek *lost* the perfect conjugation of *εἶμι*. For these and other reasons, it seems safer to consider that the verb from **es-* was originally a praesens tantum (cf. Pokorny 1989: 340; Bammesberger 1986: 119f.). I believe that a non-Brugmannian approach, positing that unlike those in Greek and Aryan, PIE verbs did *not* have a rich conjugation for tenses, moods and aspects, gives a more credible account of the suppletion in the Germanic copula. Despite Szemerényi's (1989: 328) negative conviction that "it is obviously impossible to infer restrictions of the contents of certain verbal roots from the suppletive relationships [my translation: T.T.]", I believe that the suppletive relationship between **es-* and **wes-* in the Germanic copula enables us to infer something about their original characteristics.

3.2 PIE as an Active Language

The following remarks by Lehmann (1974: 139) gives a fairly clear image of the PIE verbal system from a non-Brugmannian perspective:

In PIE, tense and time of the action were not indicated by means of verbal affixes. Indications of the time of the action were given by means of particles or adverbs or were implicit in the aspects of the verb form.

This type of reconstruction of the PIE verbal system is typologically supportable, cf. Comrie (1976: 83f). Treading in the footsteps of Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1984), Lehmann (1992: 107ff. & 169ff.; 1993: 208ff.) presents a more definite picture of the parent language, i.e., that PIE or Pre-Indo-European was an active language. According to him, various peculiarities in the reconstructed PIE, unexplained in the traditional framework, are residues of the active-type language structure. What is directly relevant to our concern is the assumption that the PIE verbal system consisted of active and inactive verbs, cf. 2.4 above. But a more minute classification of verbs seems to be necessary in order to give a substantial account of the development of the Germanic copular paradigm.

Kurzová (1993: 118) proposes the system given in (5) for PIE verbs²:

(5) diathetic classes:	active		inactive
	(denoting an action)		(denoting non-action)
aspectual subclasses:			
	imperfective	perfective	process state
	present	aorist	medium perfect
N.B. active verb:	subject = agent		
inactive verb:	subject ≠ agent		

Here, subclassifications are given to both the active and the inactive classes. Active verbs are subclassified into two types, according to whether the relevant verb denotes an imperfective (durative) Aktionsart or a perfective (momentary) Aktionsart. Active verbs with an imperfective (durative) Aktionsart are supposed to be the precursor of Indo-European presents and those with a perfective (momentary) Aktionsart the forerunner of Indo-European aorists. In respect of inactive verbs, they are also subclassified into two types, according to whether the verb at issue expresses a process or a state. These are considered to be the predecessors of Indo-European middles and perfects. (And also, note that Kurzová's framework presents an intelligible definition concerning the basic distinction between the active and the inactive. Active verbs are defined as requiring an agentive subject and denoting an agentive action, while inactive verbs as requiring a non-agentive subject and denoting something non-agentive.) Kurzová (1993: 116) illustrates the four types of verbs at issue by giving the examples in (6):

(6)

a. active verbs — aorist-present — actions

	OInd aorist	OInd present
	'go' (< *g ^w ā-)	'strike, kill' (< *g ^w hēn-)
1sg. -m	a-gā-m	han-m-i
2sg. -s	a-gā-ḥ < -s	haṃ-s-i
3sg. -t	a-gā-t	han-t-i

b. inactive verbs — perfecto-medium — state, processes

	Gk perfect	Hitt middle	Lat perfect
	(< *woid-)	'sit' (< *ēš-)	(< *woid-)
1sg. -a < -h ₂ e	οἶδα	eš-ha-hari	vīd-ī < -h ₂ e-i
2sg. -tha < -th ₂ e	οἶσθα	eš-ta-ri	vīd-is-tī < -th ₂ e-i
3sg. -e/-o	οἶδε	eš-a-(ri)	vīd-i-t < -e-i-t

(6a) raises two examples of active verbs. By the first example, it is meant that a PIE

verb from the root **g^wā-* ‘go’ must have been an active-momentary verb and that a root aorist form is attested in, say, the corresponding Old Indic verb. The second example shows a verb from **g^wh^{en}-* ‘smash’ was once an active-durative verb and that the athematic root present is observed in the Old Indic counterpart. (6b) gives examples of inactive verbs. As represented by Greek perfect-present *οἶδα* and its Latin counterpart *vīd-ī*, the PIE verb **woid-* is considered to be an inactive-stative verb ‘be in the state of seeing’ or ‘know’. The PIE verb from **z̥s-*, on the other hand, is interpreted as an inactive, process-denoting verb, ‘be in the process of sitting’. The Hittite medium tantum *eš -ha-hari* reflects this verb.

3.3 A Test for the Original (Sub-)Class

Under the framework so far reviewed, it may be expected that morphological traits of a verb will to some extent help us to infer its original status. As also suggested in (6), such non-secondary, very ancient forms as athematic root presents, root aorists, perfect-presents and media tantum may provide keys in inferring the original status of a verb. A similar idea is also suggested by Krahe & Meid (1969: III. 231f.). The aorist of the Greek *γιν-(γ)νῶ-σκ-ω* ‘get knowledge of’ is *ἔ-γνῶ-ν*. This aorist is an older form than the present *γιν-(γ)νῶ-σκ-ω*, since the former is composed of an augment plus a root injunctive, which is considered to be very archaic (cf. Bammesberger 1986: 19f.), and the latter is a form extended by the iterative element *-sk-* and reduplication. In our framework, the original status of this verb is interpreted as an active-momentary verb. The meaning ‘get knowledge of’ seems in accordance with this interpretation. For further details of this kind of tests, see Tanaka (in preparation: Chapter 2).

4. Proposed Explanation

Now I would like to propose my own view on how the Germanic copula developed from the roots, **es-* and **wes-*, in terms of the framework given in the preceding section.

4.1 PIE **es-*

As claimed in 2.2 above, it is reasonable to consider that **es-* must have originally had a more concrete lexical meaning than ‘be’ or ‘exist’. As a morphological trait of this verb, it is important to note that athematic presents are observed in many of the Indo-European dialects and that there is little or no evidence that they are secondarily created forms. Under our framework, this suggests that originally **es-* was an active-durative verb. Now I would like to propose that the meaning ‘sit and occupy (a place)’ should be ascribed to the PIE verb **es-mi/-si/-ti*. There are some pieces of supporting evidence for this.

First, as delineated in (7), two other forms with meanings related to 'sit' are derivable from the root **es-*. If Benveniste's (1935: 147ff.) root theory may be assumed here, **sed-* is decomposable into the Type II stem from the root **h₁es-* plus a determinative **-d-*. The other form **ēs-* is interpretable as the root **h₁es-* plus a laryngeal infix at 'Position 2', in the sense of Karstien's (1971) infixation theory.

(7)

- a. **sed-* < **h₁s-ed-* (Type II stem from the root **h₁es-* plus a determinative **-d-*, in the sense of Benveniste 1935: 147ff.)
 an active, punctual/perfective verb, 'sit down' (?), cf. Pokorny (1989: 884), Porzig (1954: 91), etc.
 OInd. *sad-* (*sāditi, āsadat, Pf. sasāda, ...*) 'sit', Lat. *sedeo* 'sit', etc.
- b. **ēs-* 'sit' or 'be in the process of sitting' < **h₁e-H-s-* (position 2 infixation, in the sense of Karstien 1971; see also Cowgill 1979: 36)
 Only media tantum, OInd. *āste*, Hitt. *eša(ri)* 'he sits', etc. cf. Pokorny (1989: 342f.)

(Relatedness between **es-* and **ēs-* is not a new idea, see, for instance, Brugmann 1895: § 494.) The derivability of **sed-* and **ēs-* from **es-*, or their relatibility, seems to be in support of the proposal that the original meaning of **es-* was something related to 'sit'. The manner of action of the verbal meaning can be altered through the derivational process, such as addition of a determinative or infixation, but I do not go into details of this point here.

Furthermore, the idea that **sed-* and **ēs-* derived from **es-* seems to gain support from Kuryłowicz's fourth law of analogy:

When a form undergoes differentiation as a consequence of a morphological change, the new form corresponds to its primary function and the original form is reserved for the secondary function (Kuryłowicz 1949; tr. by Anderson 1988: 358)

Although conterexamples may possibly be found (cf. Hock 1991: 225ff.), this law is considered to hold up best among his six laws of analogy, cf. Hock (1986: 234). While the basic form **es-* lost the original meaning 'sit', the newer forms **sed-* and **ēs-* preserved it into historical, dialectal periods. This is in accordance with the prediction made by Kuryłowicz's law.

My proposal implies that a semantic change from 'sit (and occupy a place)' to 'exist' took place in **es-*. This type of meaning change can be observed widely. The basic actions of a human being, such as 'sit', 'stand', 'lie', are liable to be used as an existential. Consider the examples in (8) from English:

- (8) Existential *sit, stand, lie* (cf. Palmer 1988: 71; etc.)
- a. Her house *sits* at the foot of the hill.
 - b. The statue *stands* in the middle of the square.
 - c. Los Angeles *lies on* the west coast of the United States.

This tendency is also observable in other languages as well, cf. Buck (1949: 635f.).

In sum, I would like to propose that **es-* suffered a series of semantic bleaching described in (9):

- (9) Semantic Bleaching of **es-*
- a. Stage 1: '(voluntarily) sit and occupy (a place)'
 - b. Stage 2: '(actually) exist'
 - c. Stage 3: 'be' (copula, auxiliary)

4.2 PIE **wes-*

As far as PIE **wes-* is concerned, such meanings as 'stay', 'dwell', 'pass the night' have traditionally been assigned to this root, but this subsection attempts to reconsider the original meaning of the PIE verb from this root in the light of our theoretical framework.

(10) gathers up materials related to this root in major Indo-European dialects:

- (10) PIE **wes-* 'to stay, dwell, pass the night' (Watkins 1985: 78; Pokorny 1989: 1170f.)

OInd. *vāsati* 'stay, dwell, pass/spend the night', cf. Av. *vaṣhaiti* 'dwell, stay'

Gk. ἄ (F) εσα 'remained' < **-wes-ṃ*, an athematic root aorist, always with νύκτα 'night', cf. Lehmann (1986: 405) (cf. *ἄεω not in use; pres. ἀεσκω 'sleep', Liddell & Scott 1968: 29)

OIr. *fō(a)id* < **woseti* 'spend the night', *fess, feiss* 'f. sleep'

Lat. *Vesta*, goddess of the hearth

Gk. ἐστία 'hearth', ἄστυ 'city'

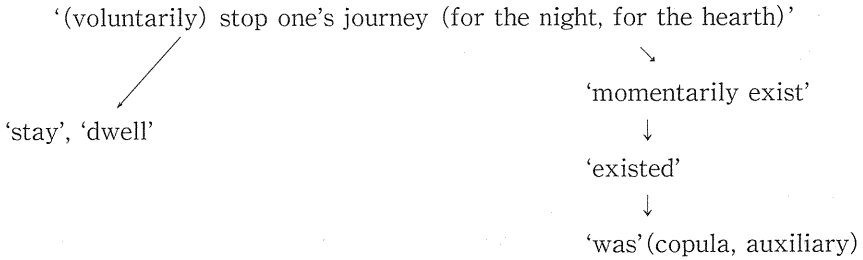
Hitt. *hues-* 'live, be/stay alive'

No archaic verbal morphology such as athematic root presents, perfect-presents and media tantum can be found among the related verbs but only Greek root aorist ἄ (F) εσα 'remained' (< **-wes-ṃ*) counts as this. This is important from the viewpoint of our theoretical framework. Due to this, it is inferred that the original status of the verb from **wes-* was an active-momentary verb. I would like to propose that this verb originally denoted a momentary or perfective action, 'stop one's journey (for the night, for the hearth, etc.)', from which the meaning 'stay' or 'dwell', attested in corresponding verbs in dialects, is readily derivable. From the

supposed original meaning, another meaning could develop. If one stopped one's journey at a certain place, it would imply that one stayed at least for a moment at the place or that one existed for a moment at the place. As the aspectual opposition, linearity versus punctuality, can match the opposition, simultaneousness versus anteriority (cf. Kuryłowicz 1964: 34; see also Lehmann 1993: 176f.), this would constitute the basis for the meaning 'existed'. I shall return to this point in 4.3 below.

(11) sums up my proposal in this subsection:

(11) Semantic Changes of **wes-*



4.3 The Development of the Copular Paradigm in Germanic

Issues concerning the suppletion in an adjectival declension are totally beyond the scope of this paper, but I would like to discuss our problem in parallel with the development of the suppletive paradigm of an adjective for ‘good’, for this would make it more feasible to understand the nature of the relevant phenomenon. (12) is my proposed schema of the development of the Germanic copular paradigm:

(12) pre-Germanic Structural Change

a. Stage I: Lexical Parallelism

**es-ti*: **wes-t* ‘exist’ (presential vs. preterital nuance)
 (due to semantic bleaching, cf. [9] and [11] above)
**ghōdh-*: **bhod-* ‘(be) good’ (weak vs. strong connotation)

b. Stage II: Paradigmatization

**es-ti* (pres.): **wos-e* (pret.)
**ghōdh-* (pos.): **bhod-jōs-* (comp.)
 (due to the paradigmatic influence)

⇒ Go. *ist*: *was* OE *is*: *wæs*

gōþs: *batiza* *gōd-*: *bet(e)ra*, *bettra*

(gen. *gōdis*)

(12a) represents a stage at a period not long after Germanic split off from the parent language (Stage I). At this stage, there was no verbal conjugation for tenses or aspects, and different lexical items could be used to express the difference

between the presential and the preterital nuance of a verbal meaning. Thus, as far as the existential meaning is concerned, the presential nuance tended to be expressed by a durative or imperfective verb **es-ti* and the preterital nuance by a momentary or perfective verb, **wes-t*. Similarly, at this stage, adjectives were not furnished with a declension for degrees (as well as in PIE, cf. Lehmann 1990: 10), and different lexical items, **ghōdh-* and **bhod-*, were presumably used in highlighting the difference which is in modern languages expressed by the difference in degree, *good* and *better*. In other words, **ghōdh-* and **bhod-* must have had slightly different meanings or connotations, ‘good but not out of the ordinary’ for the former and ‘very, especially good’ for the latter. (If we may assume that many of the original active characteristics were still retained in the language at this stage, **ghōdh-* and **bhod-* were not adjectives in a strict sense, but were inactive verbs, *ghōdh-a/-tha/-e*, and **bhod-a/-tha/-e*. There was no verb as a copula, ‘be’.)

Some time after this stage, the structural change which may be called ‘paradigmatisation’ (cf. Kurzová 1993: passim) took place in the language. This is Stage II, represented by (12b). This stage is characterised by several successive changes: part of the former inactive verbs were reinterpreted as adjectives and acquired their declensions apart from verbs, the category of copula was needed and created, verbs newly created their own conjugations for tenses due to the structural change from the active-inactive to the nominative-accusative, etc. As far as the existential verb and the newly emerging copula are concerned, the opposition between **es-ti* and **wes-t*, which was based on the difference in nuance between presential and preterital, is now reinterpreted as the difference in tense, and the verb **wes-t* acquires a new verbal morphology characteristic of the Germanic preterite, i.e., the *o*-grade stem plus the ‘perfect’ endings, hence **wos-a/-tha/-e*³. This paradigm, **es-ti* for the present and **wos-e* for the preterite, comes to be used as a copula as well, to the extent that the existential verb is liable to be reinterpreted as a copula, cf. 2.2 above. Similarly, the former opposition between **ghōdh-* and **bhod-*, with the weak and strong connotations of the meaning ‘be good’, are now built into the new adjectival paradigm. The strong connotation in **bhod-* leads to its reinterpretation as the comparative degree, and this causes its form to be extended by the suffix **-jōs-* (> **-jōs-* > **-is-*; cf. Prokosch 1939: 265), which is a morphological marker of the comparative degree in the new adjectival paradigm. This stage constitutes the basis of the verbal and adjectival paradigms which survived into the historical, dialectal periods, see the relevant suppletive paradigms in Gothic and Old English given in (12).

5. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to make a new proposal on the mechanism of the development of the Germanic copula. My idea is summed up in (12). In our

discussion above, however, other roots constituting the (West) Germanic copula such as **bheuH-* and **er-* have been lain aside. Analysis of them is left to my future study, but I would like to add something of its prospect here. Variety of roots for the Germanic copula, it seems to me, all the more suggest that the category of copula had not yet been firmly established at the Proto-Germanic period. There were several lexical items that could have the existential meaning as a result of semantic bleaching, and these later constituted part of the copular paradigm. Presumably, East and North Germanic suffered some kind of morphological levelling removing **bheuH-*, **er-* and possibly other roots from the paradigm at issue and thereby constituted a simpler paradigm than those attested in West Germanic dialects.

Notes

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1. Moreover, I am doubtful of the view that PIE **bheuH-* was an inactive verb, as well as of Ramat's (1981: 176) opinion that it had a momentary Aktionsart, cf. 2.1 above. Instead, I regard it as an active verb with a durative manner of action. In this paper, however, I shall not enter into any more details of this point.

2. Kurzová (1993: 15ff.) denies that the language structure of PIE was an active language, while admitting an active-inactive verbal system for PIE. But this is not directly pertinent to our present discussion.

3. Of course, the verb **wes-t* remains unchanged outside the opposition or lexical parallelism at issue, as a verb for 'stay, dwell' (and it later suffers thematization along with the other strong verbs).

As other instances of acquiring the shape of an *o*-grade stem with the 'perfect' endings due to the paradigmaticization, we could present the following ones:

(i) pre-Gmc. ⇒	Go.	Cf. Gk.	Lat.
<i>*bher-ō</i>	baira 'I bear'	<i>φέρω</i>	ferō
<i>*bhor-a</i>	bar 'I bore'	<i>ἐνήνοχα</i>	tulī
			(cf. Austefjord 1979: 214)
<i>*gwem-ṃ</i> → <i>-ō</i>	qima 'I come'		
(thematization)			
<i>*gwom-a</i>	qam 'I came'		

This was enabled by the situation that quite a number of state-denoting inactive verbs were still retained as a productive category at the pre-Germanic period. For

details of this point, see Tanaka (in preparation).

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ゲルマン語繫辞の歴史的発達に関する 非ブルークマン的アプローチ： 補充法をいかに説明するか

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ゲルマン語における繫辞 (copula) のシステムには、他の印欧語の語派には見られない特徴がある。直接法において、現在時制では *es- という語根が用いられるのに対して過去時制では *wes- という語根が用いられるという補充法 (suppletion) が見られるのが、その特徴である。ゲルマン語諸方言においてなぜこのような補充法が見られるのかという問題に対し、従来の印欧語／ゲルマン語比較言語学研究では十分な説明がなされていない。本稿の目的は、そのような補充法が歴史的にどのように形成されるに至ったものかという問題について、説明を与えることをこころみることである。

本稿では印欧祖語の再建モデルとして、近年のいわゆる「非ブルークマン的」なモデルのうち、Lehmann (1993) や Kurzová (1993) が提案した仮説を採用する。その枠組みの元で、*es- および *wes- という語根から派生した動詞が印欧語祖語でどのような特徴があったかを考察し、その観点からゲルマン語の繫辞のシステムが発展して行ったプロセスを明らかにしようとするものである。

N.B. 本稿は、1997年8月10日より16日まで Heinrich Heine Universität, Düsseldorf にて開催された第13回国際歴史言語学会 (13th International Conference on Historical Linguistics) において口頭発表した原稿に加筆、訂正を加えたものである。この発表の時点では Kenneth Shields Jr., "On the Origin of Dialectal Ablaut Patterns of the Present Active Indicative of IE *es- 'To Be'", *Historische Sprachforschung* 110/2 (1997) を目にすることができず、その論考によって指摘されている、印欧諸語において *es- による繫辞が通常のアブラウトのパターンに従っていないという特徴について、本稿では十分な考察が行われていない。この点に関する考察は、今後の課題としたいと思う。