

Palatalization of velars in Old and Middle Dutch

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Palatalization of velars in Old and Middle Dutch

West Germanic **k* and **g* have been preserved as velar obstruents in Modern Dutch and in most of Old and Middle Dutch. Usually, we find a voiceless stop [k] for **k*. The reflex of **g* can have different phonetic realizations in modern dialects: in the west, it is mostly a voiceless velar or uvular, [x] or [χ], whereas in the central south and in the southeast it is pronounced as a voiced palatal [j], but as voiceless [ç] in word-final position.

In several sets of Dutch words, in particular in the coastal dialects but not only there, **k* and **g* display or seem to display palatal or sibilant reflexes, such as *j*, *tj*, or *s*. Some scholars have implied that all or many of these palatalizations of **k* and **g* are interconnected. For instance, Schönfeld & van Loey 1970: xxxiv discuss under the header of “Ingvaeoonse bestanddelen van en ingvaeonismen in het Nederlands”³⁷ the shift of *k* to *tj* (in diminutives and in some place names) or to *s* (in *smetsen*, *ceen*, *Butsegem*), the alleged shift of *ng* to *nz* (see § 9.5), and the shift of *g* to *j* in various contexts.

Some scholars cast the net even more widely, suggesting that the palatalizations of velars in Dutch are manifestations of a more general West Germanic phenomenon. Such is the take of Krogh 1996: 203–4 and van der Hoek 2010b: 88–100, 203–6. As is well known, West Germanic **k(k)* and **g(g)* regularly became dental affricates or fricatives and palatal glides in Old English and Old Frisian in the neighbourhood of front vowels or *j* (for details of the changes, see Campbell 1959: 174f. and Bremmer 2009: 23–35). Following Liberman 2007, van der Hoek 2010a, b explicitly regards the English and Frisian palatalizations as the outcome of palatal phonemes which were present in West Germanic. Dutch would have generalized the unpalatalized phonemes to a large degree, with the exception of the occasional palatalized reflexes of *k* and *g*.

Common to all previous discussions is their eclectic treatment of the available evidence. The following subsections aim to discuss the relevant topics in an exhaustive way: 1. Palatalization in clusters of dental plus velar obstruent; 2. Palatalization of word-internal **g*; 3. Palatalization in the prefix **ga-*; 4. Initial *j-* > *g-* before front vowels; 5. Loanwords and other irrelevant evidence. Note that the development of Dutch *je* and *jij* ‘you’ (ultimately reflecting Early Middle Dutch **tg*) and the rise of *gij* ‘you’ are both discussed in § 9.4.

37. “Ingvaeonic elements of and Ingvaeonisms in Dutch”.

9.1 The cluster T+K

Several different palatalizations concern a cluster of a dental obstruent plus *k* or *g*. The combination *TK*³⁸ was infrequent in Early Germanic. All instances of *TK* discussed in this section have arisen in the course of Old or Middle Dutch due to syncope of a vowel which stood between *T* and *K*. The resulting clusters have developed into a palatalized combination written as *Tj*. The first three subsections below deal with clusters of the type *Tg*, the next four with the type *Tk*.

9.1.1 Personal names in *Gard(is)*, *Roetjar*

The earliest instances of /j/ from **g* are found in personal names ending in *gard(is)* in sources from Flanders, Zealand, and Holland.³⁹ The second element (Latinized with a NOM.SG. *-gardis*) contains the feminine **gardjō(n)-* to **garda-* ‘fence, courtyard’ or the noun **gazdjō(n)-* ‘goad, stick’ (Braune & Reiffenstein 2004 § 210 Anm.5). In Flanders, the palatalized variants are frequently found after 1100, but *Idisiardis* already dates from 948 (*Idisiardis*) and there is another attestation from the eleventh century. Here is the Flemish evidence until 1253:

a. Names attested (also) with palatalized variants:

- Adalgard: *Aliarden* (GEN.; 12th c., Ghent).
- Boefgard: *Boviardis* (11th c., Ghent).
- Boudgard: *Boltiarda* (11th c., SWFla.), *Boudiardis* (12th c., Fla.).
- Edelgard: *Hetheliardis* (12th c., Ghent). With *g*: *Ethelgard(a)*.
- Frodgard: *Vorthiardis* (ca. 1183, Axel), *Vorthiardis* (1201–50, Axel).
- Hildegard: *Hildiardis* (1163, WFla., Leys 1959: 143–4). With *g*: *Hildegardis/-a*, *Hildegardus*.
- Idisgard: *Idisiardis* (948, Fla.). With *g*: *Idasgarda* (840).
- Lutgard: *Luiardis* (1221, Ghent; next to *Lugardis*), *Luiardis* (1234–35, Asper), *Lujarde* (GEN.; 1208–12, Ghent). With *g*: *Lutgardis*, *Lugardis*.
- = Lietgard: *Litiardis* (1234–35 copy from 11th c.), *Lieiardis* (idem), *Letdiart* (1201–50, Ghent), *Liardis* (12th c., Ghent), *Lijard* (12th c., Ghent), *Lieart* (1230), *Liejardis* (1236), *Lieart* (1228). With *g*: *Lietgardis*, *Ligardis*.
- Radgard: *Raiardis* (1201–50, Ghent), *Raiart* (ibidem). With *g*: *Radgert* (996–1029, Ghent).
- Ravengard: *Ravaniardis* (1234–35, Fla.).

38. Meaning **dg*, **dk*, **tg*, and **tk*. In the first subsection, 9.1.1, palatalization of **g* is also found after other consonants than **d* and **t*, which may have been a secondary development.

39. The attestations are taken from Mansion 1924: 148 (for Flanders before 1000), Tavernier-Vereecken 1968: 29–32 (Flanders 1000–1253), Schoonheim 2004: 96–100 (Holland and Zealand before 1300), and VMNW (Flanders 1200–1300).

- Sigegard: *Siardis* (12th c., Ghent), *Ziardis* (1227, *ibidem*), *Syardis* (1241, Temse), *Ziarde* (GEN.; 1234, Assenede).
 Thietgart: *Thitiarden* (GEN.; 1151–1200, Ghent). With *g*: *Thietgarda/is*.
 Wolfgard: *Wlfiardis* (11th c., SWFla.), *Wlfiardi[s]* (12th c., SWFla.), *Wlfiardis* (1125, Evergem), *Wulviardis* (1180, Oostburg).

b. Names without attested palatalized variants:

- Alfgard: *Alfgard(a)* (1234–35).
 Belegard: *Belegardis* (11th c.).
 Bergard: *Bergard* (1234–35).
 Ermengard: *Ermengardis/-a*, *Hermengarda* (from 840–77 to 13th c.).
 Folgard: *Folgarda* (840–77).
 Frethegard: *Frethegard* (11th c.).
 Hruodgard: *(H)r(u)odgarda* (from 822 to 11th c.).
 Landgarda: *Landgarda* (840–77).
 Lifgarda: *Lifgard*, *-a* (12th c., copy 1234–35).
 Osgarda: *Osgarda* (840–77).
 Ragingard: *Reingart*, *-dis* (981, 11th c., 12th c., 1130).
 Wildgard: *Wildgarth* (1230, 1234–35).

In Holland and Zealand, no palatalization is found in the period until 1200, witness *Bertgarda* ‘Brechtgard’ (1x), *Ermegardis* (1x), *Ethergarda* (1x) ‘Edelgard’, *Friesgart* (2x), *Hildegarda* (17x), *Lietgardis*, *Liutgarda* (14x), *Ratgart* (1x), *Reingerd* (1x 918–48, copy end 11th c.).

After 1200 in Holland and Zealand, and after 1253 in Flanders, the following forms show palatalization of the velar:

- Edelgard: *Eliaerden* (GEN.; 1293, Dordrecht).
 Evergard: *Euerjard* (1300, Bruges), *Evriarden* (GEN.; Bruges, 1274), *Eueriarden* (GEN.; 1279, Bruges), *Euriarden* (DAT.; 1273, Aardenburg; 1279, Bruges), *Euriarde* (DAT.; 1301–10, Bruges).⁴⁰
 Lietgard: *Lieart* (1279, Bruges), *Liejard* (1281, 1295, Bruges), *Lieiaert* (1288, Bruges), *Luiart* (1279, Ghent), *verliejaerden* (GEN.; 1285, Bruges); unpalatalized variants are more frequent, e.g. *Liegart* (Oudenaerde), *Lutgart*, *Lugart* (Brabant, Limburg), *Luitgart* (Holland).⁴¹
 Saxgard: *Saxiardis* (2x; 1264 copy end of 13th c., Egmond, see Gumbert 2008: 53).
 Sigegard: *Ziardis* (1256 Zealand 4x).
 Wolfgard: *Woluiardis* (2x; 1273, Prémontré).

40. Strikingly, this name is not attested in the Old Flemish sources up to 1253 studied by Tavernier-Vereecken.

41. VMNW has no less than six entries for this single name: *Lietgart*, *Ligardis*, *Lutene*, *Lutgardis*, *Lutgart*, *Luyart*.

In summary, palatalization of *-gardis* to *-jardis* is attested from 948 in Flanders and from the thirteenth century in Holland. The absence of Hollandish *j*-forms before 1200 may be due to the small number of texts from Holland in that period. The first member of names with palatalization is found to end in *d* or *t* (Boudgard, Dietgart, Frodgard, Lietgart/Liutgart, Ratgart), *f* (Wolfgard), *l* (Adalgard, Edelgard, Elgard), *n* (Ravengard), *r* (Evergard), *s* (Idisgard, Saksgard), and *v* (*Boviardis*). Except for *f* and *v* these are all dental consonants, but, in fact, dentals make up nearly all the consonants that can occur in this position, since a preceding *k* and *g* would assimilate completely to *-gardis*, whereas *h* would disappear. Thus, we can say that *g > j* in these names was conditioned by the contact between *-C* and *g*-. The compromise solution, viz. that palatalization started after first members in dental obstruents and then spread to other names, is conceivable, but is not explicitly supported by the earliest attestations.

The best illustration of the stages by which the phonetic process took place is given by the name Lietgard = Lutgard, which went from *-tg-/dg-* (the initial stage) to *-ti-/tj-* (palatalization) and ended as *-i-/j-* (loss of the dental stop).⁴² The palatalization in *Siardis* for *Sigardis* or *Sigegardis* must be connected with the general development of **sigi-* to *sī-* in names, and is discussed in § 9.2.1 s.v. *zege*.

The Old Dutch name **(h)ruodgēr* from **xrōpi-gaiza-*, German *Rüdiger*, is attested in Early Middle Dutch as *Rutg(h)er* mainly in and around Maastricht. In a document from Bruges dated to 1263, we find palatalization in *Roetjar van Ghistelle* 'Roetjar from Gistel'. There is no need to regard *-jar* as a reflex of Frisian *gār* 'spear' (*pace* de Vries 1942b: 134) since unstressed *e* is spelled as *a* in various Early Middle Flemish forms, in particular before *r*. An example is *vlaemscar penninghe* 'of Flemish pennies', cf. van Loey 1976: 82. Thus, *roetjar* shows the same change of *dg > dj* as the compounds in *gardis*. The second element **gaiza-* is also found with */j/* in the name *Boudiaer* < **bald-gēr* in the accounts from Amstelland in North Holland (in 1343; van der Schaar 1953: 176).

Earlier scholarship assumed that *g > j* in these names was a Romance development. Förstemann (1900: 599, 608) compares West Frankish names in *iardis* for *gardis*, and supposes that *g-* became *i-* in West Frankish from the ninth century on. Mansion (1924: 19, 270) classifies *Idisiardis* as a French name due to its change of *g* to *j* before *a*. Yet he also admits that nothing points to the said *Idisiardis* being a person of Romance descent. Indeed, Romanists now hold a different view. The Old French

42. The forms with intervocalic *g* (*Ligardis* etc.) can be explained from the Old Flemish tendency to delete the initial dental of a cluster of *d > t* plus a consonant (Tavernier-Vereecken 1968: 582), the oldest example of which dates to the 11th century, viz. *Ogerus* for *Odgerus*. Hence, **Lietgardis* could apparently become either *Lietjardis* or *Liegardis*.

names of Germanic origin have been collected by Morlet 1968. Examples of names in *-gardis* include Adalgardis (seven times with *g*, once as *Adaliardis*), Hildigardis (10x *g*, 11x *i*), Leutgardis (usually with *g*, but also 1x *Ledeardis* and 1x *Leyarda*), and Ragnegardis (7x *g*, once *Rainiardis*). The spelling with *g* is still found in a majority of cases, and Morlet (I: 16) writes that in the forms in *iardis*, the syncope of *g* can be explained by the fricative pronunciation of the Germanic *g*. In other words, she regards *g* > *j* in these names as the result of the (occasional) incorporation of the fricative pronunciation of West Frankish /*g*/ as /*j*/ by speakers of French.

There are also internal objections against ascribing the Old Dutch names in *iardis* to Romance influence. Firstly, one would expect to find French influence also in other (elements of) Dutch names, but that is not the case. Secondly, Old French influence may be contemplated for Flanders, but is less likely for the names in *iardis* from Zealand and Holland, which are further removed from the French area.⁴³

9.1.2 The prepositions *tegen* ‘against’ and *jegens* ‘towards’

Proto-Germanic **gagn(i)-* (EWAhd IV: 7–9) ‘toward, against’ yields OHG *gagan*, *gegin*, MoHG *gegen*, OS *gegin*, OFri. *jēn*, *jōn*, OE *gegn-*, *gēan-*, MoE *a-gain*, *gain-say*. The combination **gn* has regularly been palatalized to **jn* in English and Frisian; in addition, initial **ge-* has become *je-* in Old Frisian. In Old Dutch, the Leiden Willeram shows one attestation with palatalization (*iegen*) against another one without (*gegen*), whereas the text preserves *g-* in *ingegen* (5x), *ingegan* (1x), and *angegen* (1x). The Wachtendonck Psalter always preserves *g-*, viz. in the preposition *angegin* (4x), *anegeginne* (1x) and in the nouns *geginloup* ‘occursus’ and *geginuuirdi* ‘presence’. In Middle Dutch, initial *g-* is sporadically preserved, viz. in *ghegen* (Axel, East Flanders, 1251–75), *geghe* (Breda, 1269), *gheghen* (Ghent, 1372; CRM14), and in the adjective *gheghenwordighen* ‘present’ (Deventer, 1300).

In Modern Dutch, the earlier preposition is continued by *tegen* ‘against’ and *jegens* ‘towards’.⁴⁴ Both variants have their roots in the thirteenth century. All

43. Förstemann (1900: 606) also compares West Frankish names in *iaud* from WGM. **gaudus* (the element is not explained for certain, but it could be a lenited form of **gautu-*). In Old Dutch, I found only one palatalized instance in *Odiodus* (in a source from 923; Mansion 1924: 20), as against a larger number of forms with retained *g* (*Adelgot*, *Adhelgodus*, *Hilgot*, *Radgot* in Mansion 1924: 42, *Odgaudus*, *Otgotus* and others in Tavernier-Vereecken 1968: 132f., 136f.). The interpretation of *Odiodus* therefore requires a new analysis of the document in which it occurs.

44. *Jegens* arose as a variant of Early MDu. *jegen*. In the thirteenth century, *-s* is only found in Holland, Utrecht and Zealand (and twice in Ghent). The exact source of *-s* is uncertain since, in the thirteenth century, adverbial *-s* was not yet productive; cf. EWN.

etymological dictionaries of Dutch claim that *tegen* arose from *te* plus *gegen*, whereas *gegen(s)* itself is explained by *EWN* as the North Sea Germanic outcome of *gegen* with palatalization of *g- to j-, as in Dutch *jij* ‘you’ beside *gij* ‘ye’. Close scrutiny of the Early Middle Dutch evidence reveals that this explanation of *tegen* is imprecise, while that of *gegen(s)* is uncertain at best. The chronology and dialect geography of the various attestations (see Mooijaart 1992 and *VMNW*) rather suggest that *tegen* and all its variants with other dental obstruents (*tsj-*, *ts-*, *s-*, etc.) developed from the combination of *te* ‘to, at’ plus *gegen*. In Dutch, *te-gegen* almost completely replaced *gegen*. This possibility was hinted at by Mooijaart (1992: 201): “Misschien ook zijn de vormen met (palatale) *s* in *tsjegen* e.d. rechtstreeks uit *te* + *gegen* ontstaan”.⁴⁵ She finds no concrete evidence to prove this, but southeastern Dutch does provide hints in this direction, as I will show, and other dialects are not incompatible with such a scenario.

The combination *te* + *gegen* (MHG *zugegen*, *zegegen*) preserves initial g- in a few literary manuscripts from the Cleves/Guelders area. The Aiol fragments (1220–40) have twice *te gegen* versus once *thiegen*. Contemporary with these fragments is *tjegen* in the *Glossarium Bernense* (1240) from Limburg. There is also once *tgegen* versus usual *tegen* (6x) and *tegens* (33x) in the *Moraalboek* (1270–90) from the same Lower Rhine area. The internal evidence of the latter text thus confirms that *tegegen* belonged to a more archaic register. The data under review suggest the following chronological order of developments: original *te gégen* (with the main stress on the first syllable of *gegen*) became *tgegen* (loss of pretonic shwa) whence *tjegen* (palatalization) and finally *tegen* (cluster simplification).

Regional distribution between 1200 and 1300

The totality of the dialects shows an enormous spelling variation in the thirteenth century, but many variants are restricted to a specific region or set of regions.

a. Initial *t(e)geg-*:

The retention of the first g is a rare phenomenon altogether. We find sporadic cases in the Cleves/Guelders area (*te gegen* 2x in the Aiol fragments, 1220–40, *tgegen* 1x in *Moraalboek*, 1270–90) and in Flanders (once *tgehghen* in Bruges in 1279, once also in a charter from Sluis, 1320). Two documents from Monster in western Holland from 1299 have *tgeghenwordeghen* ‘present’.

b. Initial *i-* or *j-*:

ieg(h)en, *jeg(h)en* is the numerically dominant form, especially in West and East Flanders (ca. 1600 times in a variety of locations; sometimes rounded to *jog(h)en*,

45. “Maybe the forms with (palatal) *s* in *tsjegen* etc. arose directly from *te* + *gegen*.”

joeghen in Bruges), Zealand and Southwest Brabant. It is also found in Northwest Brabant, in Holland and Utrecht, and in Alden Biesen in Limburg.⁴⁶ In East Brabant it is rare (only 3x). *Ieghens* is mainly found in Holland and Zealand.

c. Initial *tie-*, *thie-*:

The combination <t(h)i->, which probably indicates biphonemic /tj-/ (though an attempt to spell an affricate /tʃ-/ cannot be excluded), is most characteristic of Holland (64x *t(h)ieghen* or *tieg(h)ens* in Chancellery documents), and, to some extent, of West Flanders (60x *t(h)ieghen*, of which 49x in Bruges). Isolated occurrences are found in East Flanders, Zealand, Antwerp, West Brabant, and Cleves/Guelders.

d. Initial *te-*:

Numerically, *t-* is most frequent in the Cleves/Guelders area (74x *tegens*, 9x *tegen*) and in Holland (42x *teghen(s)*), less so in Utrecht (9x) and Bruges (23x).

e. Initial *tsi-* and *tse-*:

These minor variants are found in Flanders, Antwerp and South Holland: *tseghen* once each in Antwerp, Ghent and Bruges, and twice in Assenede (EFla.), *tsieghen* once in Bruges and twice on the island of Putten (SHol.).

f. Initial *sc(h)-*, *ch-*:

The variants *scæg(h)en* and *scheg(h)en* are nearly only found in East Brabant (48x), but *scæghen* also once in Ghent. The variant *cheg(h)en* occurs in East Flanders (5x in Ghent, 3x in Velzeke 3x), in West Brabant (11x in Willebroek, once in Tervuren), and in Limburg (10x in Maastricht).

g. Initial *s-*, *si-*, *sci-*:

These are rare variants, all occurring in southern Dutch. *Scieg(h)en* is found in East Flanders (9x), *sieghen* twice in Bruges, and once in Ghent and East Brabant. Southwest Brabant has five times *seghen* and once *zeghen*.

h. Initial zero:

eghen (Sinaai, EFla., 1298) and *eghenwerdeghe* 'present' (Dilbeek near Brussels, 1296).

Spelling the palatalization

The development of *tj-* to *tsj-*, *ts-*, *s-*, and *t-* recalls the spelling *ts-* (maybe for [tʃ-]) in combinations of a word-initial dental stop plus etymological *j-*, such as *tsare* 'in this year' from *te jaere*, *tsaers* 'yearly' from *des jaers*, and *tsarmeer* 'in future' from *te jare meer* (Franck 1910: 110). A similar treatment affects the initial affricate in French loanwords which had [tʃ] in Old French, such as 'census' and 'charter' (Pijnenburg

46. Compare also *iegenworde* 'presence' in Gl.Bern. (1240).

et al. 1997: 94–5, 144), which were eventually adopted into the Dutch phonological system with initial /s/ or /ʃ/. Compare Early MDu. *czins*, *tsens*, *chens*, *csens*, *cens*, *sens*, *tsijns*, etc., ‘census’, leading up to MDu. *chijns*, *sijs*, MoDu. *chijs*, *cijns*. For ‘charter’, we find the Early MDu. spellings *chaertre*, *tsaertre*, *tsiaertre*, *saertre*, Early MoDu. *certer* (MoDu. *charter* has been borrowed from English in the nineteenth century). These variants perfectly match the different combinations with which the initial sound of ‘against’ was written in the thirteenth century. Just like **tgegen* has become *teg(h)en* in Holland (beside *tieghen*), Utrecht, and Cleves/Guelders, ‘census’ has initial *t*- in *thiens*, *thiins* in Holland and Utrecht in the thirteenth century, and *tins*, *tiins* in eastern dialects in CRM14. The joint evidence of *tegen* and *tijns* makes the hypothesis of Van Reenen (2014: 92, 103–4), viz. that northern Dutch *tijns* is a loanword from Low German *tins* that was independent of southern Dutch *tsijns*, less compelling (though not impossible).

Explaining jegen(s)

We must still explain *jegen(s)*, which rapidly became the most frequent form of the word in Early Middle Dutch. Since there is no general palatalization of *g*- before stressed *e* in this period in any dialect, the *j*- of *jegen(s)* has been ascribed to Ingvaemonic palatalization, which would in this case have entered the mainstream dialects. A clear case of such a development appears in the form *iegin* in the Leiden Willeram (ca. 1100), which may belong to the Frisian characteristics of the manuscript (cf. Sanders 1974: 308–12). The only reliable instance of such a general palatalization of *g*- in Dutch is found in the prefix *ge*- of participles and collectives. But here it occurs in a pretonic syllable which may have been subject to a specific phonetic reduction, and the palatalization in the prefix *-ge*- is restricted to the coastal provinces whereas initial *j*- in *jegen* is also found in Brabant and Limburg. Hence, the dialect geography speaks against a coastal Dutch development.

Franck (1910: 93) ascribes *jegen* < *gegen* to dissimilation of the first *g*- in order to avoid two consecutive fricative *g*’s. This explanation cannot be excluded, but it is not the most convincing one. Firstly, we have no other example of such a dissimilation. Secondly, and more importantly, the sporadic preservation of *gegen* across the different dialects in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, versus the attestation of *jegen* also in all dialects, would be difficult to explain under this scenario.

I therefore favour an alternative solution. *Jegen(s)* probably represents another outcome of the palatalization of *tegegen* to *t(s)jegen*, but not by way of direct phonetic change. After all, loanwords like *cijns*, *tijns* ‘census’ and *saertre* ‘charter’ never acquired initial *j*-. *Jegen* may therefore be due to metanalysis of *tjegen* as **te+jegen*, that is, the preposition *te* was analogically restored. The model for this restoration would have been provided by native forms such as *tsaers* ‘yearly’ and *tsare* ‘in this

year', which probably remained transparent combinations of *des* and *te* plus *jaar* 'year'. As a result, the primary form of the preposition was felt to be *jegen*.

It does not seem possible to provide definite proof for this scenario on the basis of the attestations. The earliest Middle Dutch text from Ghent, the bylaws of the leprosarium, written in 1236, has a single instance of *cheghen*. In the next document, likewise from Ghent (CG nr. 0004), from 1237, we find *chegen* and *iegen* side by side: eleven times *iegen* (and thrice *iegenwordech*) against four times *chegen* in exactly the same semantic and syntactic usage. Whereas *iegen* is found mainly on folios 30 to 35 of this text, *chegen* occurs only on folios 36 and 37, together with *iegen*.⁴⁷ Note the co-occurrence of both variants in the following sentence: *So wie so yemene meshandelt of mesuort. ende uan hem bedregen wert; hi sal er betren iegen den ghenen dar hi af bedregen es; dane chegen den graue* (fol. 36.15)⁴⁸. The simultaneous use of both forms would be easier to explain if *iegen* came directly from **gegen* and *chegen* from **te+jegen*, but that would still leave unexplained the concrete evidence from southeastern Dutch dialects for the change **tgegen* > *tje-gen*, and their contemporaneous use of *iegen*, *jeghen* from 1265 onward. Unless we explain the latter forms from lexical diffusion of the Flemish and Hollandish preposition in the middle of the thirteenth century (which hardly seems likely), the southeastern *j*-forms must be due to the metanalysis of *tjegen* as *te+jegen* in any case. Thus, we can either assume a separate rise of *jegen* in Flanders (via dissimilation *gegen* > *jegen*) and further east (metanalysis of *tjegen*), or we accept that the same metanalysis took place several times in different regions, viz. some time before 1237 in Flanders but not before 1240 in the southeast. The full, analytical combination *te ieg(h)en* is only attested once in 1285 in West Flemish (*Rijmbijbel*) beside more usual *tjeghen* and *teghen*.

In the form *eghen* (under point h above) there is no initial consonant at all. Since prevocalic *j*- does not normally drop, I see no other option but to ascribe *eghen* to a reanalysis of *tegen* as **te+egen*. If this is correct, it increases the likelihood of the scenario sketched above for *jegen*.

47. 0004 Ghent 1237 *chegen den graue* 36.15, *chegen den ghenen* 36.35, *chegen den graue en[de] chegen de stat* 37.6–7; *houet iegen houet* 30.27, *iegenwordech* 30.32, *iegen den graue* 31.30, *iegen den iegen dane iegen den graue* 32.16, *dire iet iegen doet* 32.32, *iegen den ghene* 32.38, *iegen den graue* 32.42, *iegen den graue* 34.5, *iegenwordech* 35.15, *iegen den ghenen* 36.15, *iegen den graue* 36.39, *iegenwordech* 37.35, *dar+iegen* 38.30.

48. 'Whoever maltreats or assaults someone and is accused by him: he must rather compensate the person by whom he was accused than [compensate] the count'.

Distribution between 1300 and 1400

The eastern dialects preserved initial *te-g-* and *tg-* longer than the western ones, as can be seen from the data of the fourteenth century. The full sequence *te-g-* occurs only once in *tegegeworge* ‘present’ (for **te-gegen-wordige*) in Susteren in East Limburg in 1354 (CRM14). Initial *tg-* is also represented in fourteenth-century documents from Utrecht (once), Drente, Overijssel, Guelders, East Brabant, and Limburg. Attestations include *tgeghenwordich* (Utrecht 1341), *tgheghen* and *tgheghenwordighen* (De Wijk, Drente, 1367), *tgeghen* (Zwolle 1344), *tgheghen* (Zutphen 1351), *tghighens* (Kampen 1375), *tgeghenwerdyghen* (Doesburg 1366), *tgeghenwoerdighen* (Laag-Keppel 1364), *tgegenwordigen* (Gemert 1394), *tgegenwordg(h)en* (Maaseik 1343, 1349), *tgegenwordicheit* (Pietersem 1367), *tgeghen* (Zoutleeuw 1373), *tgeg(h)en* (Sint-Truiden 1375, 1379), *tgegenwordigen* (Brustem 1386), and *tgegenwerdeghen* (Lummen 1392). A late instance of *tgegen* occurs in a charter by Gerart of Cleves from 1417 (Roks 2011: 37). Still, in the same documents from the same eastern regions in this same period, the predominant initial spelling in these words is <ti->. Therefore, <tg-> is probably an archaism which may already have been pronounced as *tj-*.

9.1.3 *Yerseke*

This toponym from Zeeland is a compound of **gēr* ‘pointed piece of land’ and **sikō-* ‘stream’ (van Berkel & Samplonius 2006: 513). In Old Dutch, we only find unpalatalized forms: *Gersake* (966 copy 15th c.), *Gersicha* (980 copy 15th c.), *Gersecha* (1186), *Gerseca* (1219). After 1219, all forms have a palatalized initial consonant, which could have arisen in the prepositional phrase **te Gerseke* ‘in G.’. This would become *t’Gerseke* by elision of the schwa, yielding the input *tg-* for palatalization to *tj*. The second syllable has unstressed <i> in *iersike*, *jiersike*, *yersike* (West Holland, 1299), <e> in *jerzeke*, *jerseke*, and zero in *yerske*, *jerske*, *jeerske* (Antwerpen, 1248–71).

9.1.4 The diminutive suffix *-eken* > *-(e)tje*

The diminutive suffix of Modern Dutch has five different allomorphs, viz. *-je* (e.g., *pot-je* ‘little jar’, *hoef-je* ‘little hoof’), *-tje* (*zaal-tje* ‘little hall’, *been-tje* ‘little leg’), *-etje* (*kamm-etje* ‘little comb’, *pinn-etje* ‘little pin’), *-pje* (*bloem-pje* ‘little flower’), and *-kje* (*koninkje* to *koning* ‘king’), cf. ANS s.v. ‘Verkleinwoord’. The exact distribution is complex, and some nouns have two different diminutives (*kipje* vs. *kippetje* to *kip* ‘chicken’). The spelling *tj* suggests a biphonemic combination of *t* plus *j*, but phonetically (and, some have argued, also phonemically) we are dealing with a palatal

stop [c]. In the dialects, additional allomorphs occur which, moreover, often have a different distribution from their standard counterparts; see Pée 1936. For instance, a typical distribution in the southern dialects of Brabant and Limburg would be the following: the allomorph $-(c)ə$ after *t*, *d*, *n* (*t* and *d* merging with the palatal stop); $-kə$ after *r*, *l*, *s*, vowels, and labials; and $-skə$ after velars.⁴⁹ Dialects in which *i*-mutation is a productive morphological process show *i*-mutation of back vowels in the stem of diminutives.

The oldest form of this suffix (which, in Old and Early Middle Dutch, competed with other diminutive suffixes such as *-lijn*, *-sijn*, *-elkijn*) in Middle Dutch is *-ekin*, *-ekiin* /-əkīn/ from PGm. **-kīna*-. It is clear, therefore, that the modern dialects and the standard language show either the preservation of **k* (in dialectal *-ke*, *-ske*), or its palatalization to /c/ or /j/. Scholarly discussion has centred around the phonetic path and the geographic spread of the palatalization.

According to an older theory proposed in the 1920s by Kloeke (1923, 1925), and adopted among others by Schönfeld & van Loey, it was the front vowel character of the following Old Dutch **i* which caused the palatalization of *k*; a preceding *t* would have been an additional factor in this process. The change would have started in (North) Holland, as this is where the oldest written attestations of a change from *k* to *ki* and then *tg* or *tj* are found, from the fourteenth century onwards. The resultant palatal stop /c/ then spread from Holland to the east and south due to the economic and political dominance of Holland after 1600.

Kloeke's theory was immediately called into question by de Vries (1925, 1927, 1928) and by Kern (1929: 54, 68–74), who drew attention to dialectal data from other areas than Holland, which also show a relatively early palatalization. Early enough, that is, to render their origin from lexical diffusion from Holland doubtful. De Vries and Kern argue that palatalization was due to the contact of *k* with a preceding *t* or *d*. For instance, **hōdekīn* 'little hat' > *hoetken* > *hoetgen* > *hoetje*.

There are two reasons why the objections against Kloeke's theory are cogent. Firstly, long /i:/ does not cause palatalization of *k* or *g* in any other Dutch word. Secondly, the distribution of diminutive allomorphs in the Dutch dialects shows that *k* was not palatalized under all circumstances (as one would expect if a following /i:/ was the cause). Rather, it is only after *t*, *d*, *n* that we find palatalization in most dialects. This points in the direction of stem-final dentals as the locus for the palatalization. In Kloeke's defense, one may note that the full scale of the dialect distribution was not widely known before Pée's monograph of 1936.

49. After a stem-final velar, an extra *s* was apparently added to keep the *k*-suffix distinguishable (Marynissen 1974).

Van der Hoek 2009 follows Kloeke's explanation of the palatalization being caused by **ī*, but at the same time, he acknowledges a multi-regional origin of the change. He thinks that "at one time the language had an extensive system of palatalized consonants" (p. 71). The restriction of palatalization to the diminutives would be due to the concomitant vowel shortening, but van der Hoek does not explain what the causal link would be. In fact, the historical record shows that vowel shortening lags behind the first stages of palatalization by some centuries. Although it is quite likely that Dutch had allophonically palatalized velars before front vowels (the data on **g* point in this direction), this does not help to explain the attested distribution of the diminutive suffix. Palatalization of *k* before **i* or **ī* is not otherwise found in Dutch, whereas there are several good indications that dental-velar clusters were prone to yield palatalized outcomes.⁵⁰

In her 1998 article on the history of the diminutive suffixes in southern Dutch dialects after 1200, Marynissen definitely proves the correctness of de Vries' theory. The palatalization of *-t/d-ke > -tje* must be regarded as a polygenetic change, which had (at least) four different centres of innovation in Dutch. Marynissen bases her investigation on the two toponyms 'street' and 'field', which end in dental stops and are widely attested in local records of all periods. This allows her to follow in detail the path of palatalization of the final consonant of these two nouns from 1200 to the present. The evidence shows that the palatalization can be regarded as an independent development in each region, which happened (or surfaced in the sources) at different moments in different regions in Late Middle or Early Modern Dutch. Taking into account Marynissen's results, we must distinguish at least four different core areas of palatalization:

1. (North) Holland. Here, palatalizing spellings are found from the end of the thirteenth century, particularly in personal names. The evidence is discussed in some detail by van der Schaar 1953: 189–202, who distinguishes four groups of spellings (besides original *-kijn*, *-kin*, *-ken*). I cite them in their probable chronological order:
 - a. *kiaen*, found particularly in South Holland in the fourteenth century: *Drutekiaen* (Leiden 1319), *Gosekiaens* (Leiden 1335), *Boudekiaens* (Leiden 1344), *Rogghesiaens* (Leiden 1358), *Foykiaen* (Leiden 1370), *een eruekiaen* 'a small property' (Leiden 1380), *Hertekiaen* (Delfport), *Claes Ossenkiaenssoon*

50. Van der Hoek has misunderstood Kern 1929, to whom he ascribes the claim that "the single consonant **k/* changes into a consonant cluster **tʰx/*". Yet Kern explains his view at length on p. 68, concluding: "Dat een groep /tk'/ of /t'k'/ zich haast onvermijdelijk weldra tot /t'x'/ > /t'/ moest ontwikkelen, behoeft geen betoog." ["It goes without saying that a group /tk'/ or /t'k'/ soon almost inevitably had to develop into /t'x'/ > /t'/"]

(1323 Zealand). The actual pronunciation is uncertain. If we assume that *k* still represents [k], *i* indicates palatality, and if *ae* renders a lower vowel than *e* or schwa, we may conjecture *-[kʰæ(:)n]* or *-[cæ(:)n]*.

- b. *kajen* (with anaptyxis of *a* from **-kjen?*): *Ludikajen*, *Clais Dumikajen*, *Romikaïen uyt Oesterland*, *Diddikajen*, *Bonikaïen*, *Heynikajes* (GEN.), all in a count's document from 1319 with names from West-Friesland; *Ghizikaïen* ('Gijsken', 1322, probably from Westland in South Holland). Since this variant occurs only in two documents from 1319 and 1322, both from the administration of the Count of Holland, it seems likely that *-kajen* is a personal variant from a single scribe.
 - c. *tiaen* and *iaen*, in which <ae> may indicate a low front vowel /æ:/. These are found particularly in North Holland. Most words are spelt with a dental obstruent, as in the names *Calletiaen* (13th c.), *Wittetiaen*, *Heynetiaen*, *Doedetiaen*, *Coppeciaens* (Haarlem 1347), *Foeytiaen* (Haarlem 1361), and in appellatives such as *lappetiaen* 'little piece', *vennetiaen* 'little lake', *endetiaen* 'little end', *sticketiaen* 'little piece'. Spellings with only <j> are *Abbejaen* and *Dirckiaen*.
 - d. *tgi(i)n*, particularly in sources from southeastern North Holland after 1340: *keteltgin* 'small kettle', *stiertgin* 'little bull', *broedertgiin* 'little brother', and many names: *Hughetgin* (Weesp), *Lammetgin* (Edam), *Ghisetgiin* (Amsterdam), etc. In South Holland, we find *-tgen* after 1380, as the chronological successor of *-kiaen*: *Ghijstgens* (Delft 1382), *Soytgens* (Leiden 1399), *Snoeytgen*, *Doedetgen* (Den Haag 1397). The palatal pronunciation of *tg* as [tʃ] or [c] is secured by the spelling of *sinte ponstgens dach* 'Sint Pontian's day' (Haarlem 1399, and others), since Pontian is usually spelled *Ponciaen* or *Pontiaen*. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, *-tge(n)* becomes very frequent in documents from Holland, later followed up by *tje* (after 1600) and *ie* (by vocalization).
2. Northeastern Dutch. Groningen shows the development of *-kijn*, *-ken* in the fourteenth century to *-giijn*, *-gin*, *-gen* in first part of sixteenth century, e.g. in *ffantghen* 'little banner'. In Drente we find *Reyntyen* 'Reineke' (1447), cf. de Vries 1925.
 3. Southern Flemish. One of the earliest attestations is *straettijn* 'little street' (Wervik 1414), with *tt* indicating palatalization (Marynissen 1998: 256). From the sixteenth century onwards the palatalization seems to have become established in southern West Flanders and southwestern Brabant, and it soon spreads beyond. The oldest forms in East Flanders are 1530 *stretien*, 1540 *straetjen*.
 4. Limburg and southeastern Brabant. Palatalization is first attested in the fifteenth century: 1436 *straetghen* 'little street' (Vechmaal), 1447 *straetgen* (Maaseik), 1479 *straethen* (Diest). Its northward spread can be followed in the documents

if we look at personal names with a diminutive suffix, which can occur both as a first name (*Liesbetken*) and as a surname (*Steynkens*). In towns such as Neeroeteren in 1461 (Segers 2003) and Sittard until 1450 (Wethlij 2004), *-ken* is still the only attested suffix after names ending in *t* or *d*. In North Limburg, *-ken* changes into written *-gen* fairly abruptly in the first half of the sixteenth century, as in Kessel-Eik (1516),⁵¹ Sevenum (by 1530), Oirlo (1550) and Venray (1570), cf. de Vaan 2012c. The precise pronunciation of the combination *tg* is not known: it may have been an affricate [tʃ], but we also find the spellings *ti* and *ty* in the same period (e.g., in Oirlo *Geritye* 1551, *Baertien* 1562). There is reason to believe that *tg(h)* was a standardized spelling for the affricate or sibilant in diminutives in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

We may conclude that the diminutive suffix provides abundant evidence for palatalization in the cluster *tk* in Middle and Early Modern Dutch.⁵² Since the oldest form of the suffix was *-ekīn*, later also *-eken*, syncope of the schwa which stood between the dental consonant of the base and the *k* of the suffix was a preliminary condition for the palatalization. The regional differences in the chronology of this syncope must be part of the explanation for the regional differences in the date of the rise of palatalization.

9.1.5 *Kortgene*

This town on the island of North Beveland is a compound of *kort* ‘short’ and *kene* ‘small stream’ < PGm. **kinan-*. The oldest attestations are from the thirteenth century: *Cortkeen* (1247), *Kortekine* (1271), *kortekene*, *kortekiene* (WHol. 1299), *Coirtkene* (1333); cf. van Berkel & Samplonius 2006: 245 and VMNW. In 1347 we first find *Cortgene* with *g*, and in 1605 *Corthiene* with the first explicit spelling which indicates /j/. The name is presently pronounced as [kərtʰɛn]. The development of *tg* after the syncope of word-internal schwa shows that it was the contact between *t* and *k* which caused the palatalization of the velar stop.

51. *Lietgen van Eijck*, see <http://www.loegiesen.nl>.

52. As Jarich Hoekstra reminds me, there is independent evidence for the same development in North Frisian (Fering-Öömrang), where *tk* and *dk* have also become *tj*, e.g., *fōtj* ‘little foot’ (**fōtik*), *hōntji* ‘little dog’ (**hundikīn*), *eetj* ‘vinegar’ (**etik*), *pretji* ‘preach’ (**predikia*), *letj* ‘little’ (**litik*) (Hofmann 1961: 8).

9.1.6 *edik* ‘vinegar’

Besides modern *azijn*, which was borrowed from French, Dutch has *edik* ‘vinegar’, which corresponds by and large with MoHG *Essig*, OHG *ezzih*, MLG *et(t)ik*, *etek*, *atik*, ODu. *etige* (DAT.SG. Wachtendonck Psalter). This word was borrowed at an early date from Latin *acētum* (EWAhd I: 1190–1). OS *ecid* and OE *eced* retain the original order of *k* and *t* as in the Latin word, but other West Germanic dialects acquired the word with metathesis of *k* and *t* as a masculine *a*-stem **atika-* (whence OHG, MoHG *Essig*) or, with Romance lenition *t* > *d*, as **adika-*. In Early Middle Dutch, the noun is found as *edek* (in the west) or *etek* (in Cleves/Guelders), DAT. *edeke*, GEN. *eteks*. Loss of intervocalic *d* explains the subsequent form *EEK* at the end of the Middle Dutch period. After the seventeenth century, *edik/EEK* disappear from the written language.

In some southern dialects, the word has remained alive until the present day. Map 58 in Roukens 1937 II (and the comment in 1937 I: 302–4) and the relevant maps in van de Kerckhove 1949, Weijnen 1965b, *WLD*, and *WBD* show monosyllabic *EEK* /e:k/, *AEK* /ɛ:k/ in large parts of Limburg and in northeastern Brabant. Disyllabic forms with a palatal affricate or stop *aetje* /ɛ:cə/ or *aetsje* /ɛ:tʃə/ occur in some towns in the east of Belgian Limburg and the south of Dutch Limburg.⁵³ Goossens 1968: 15 compares the geography of the preforms **adika-* in northern Riparian and Cleves/Guelders as against **atika-* in Riparian proper. He proposes that northern Limburgian *EEK* goes back to earlier *edek*, whereas southern Limburgian *aet(s)je* represents **etek*. Although the parallelism between northern **d* and southern **t* would support this solution, it leaves the second syllable of *aet(s)je* unexplained. This form can be explained from **edke* or **etke*, that is, as the result of syncope from earlier **edeke* or **eteke*. These must represent the originally trisyllabic forms of the oblique cases, which apparently became dissociated from the nominative and accusative singular. This speaks in favour of an original paradigm **edek*, **edeke* > *AEK*, *aetje*, in which the variants *AEK* and *aetje* became so dissimilar that the generalization of one of these two forms as the single form for ‘vinegar’ is trivial. If South Limburg had had **etek*, **eteke*, we would expect strong *aet(s)ek* (as in Riparian) and weak *aet(s)je*, and *aet(s)ek* would have had more chances to survive.

53. Due to their ending, they could be interpreted as diminutives, as for instance in Bree (Dupont 1922: 44).

9.2 Palatalization of word-internal *g to (*)j

In about fifty different Dutch lexemes, the combination of a short vowel plus *g* has yielded a diphthong *ei* (MDu. MoDu. /ei/) or *ij* (MDu. /i:/ > MoDu. /ei/). Sometimes the whole Dutch area has palatalization, sometimes all dialects preserve *g*. In many other lexemes, some dialects keep *g* and some palatalize it. The handbooks offer different generalizations for these changes. Schönfeld & van Loey 1970 § 64 propose two rules: 1. **agi* and **egi* > **egi* > *eg'i* (= palatalized *g*) > **eje* > *ei*; 2. **igi* > *ēge*. A third change of **egC* > *ei* is regarded as a more sporadic development. Van Bree (1987: 87f.) adopts the same changes 1 and 3 for **agi* and **eg(i)*, but cautions that not all dialects behave in the same way. Unlike Schönfeld & van Loey, van Bree claims that **igi* also becomes *ei*, adducing MDu. *leit* 'lies' < **ligiþ* as an example. Franck (1910: 107) surmises that "Germ. *eg* is vielleicht nur vor Konsonant zu *ei* geworden" and "Beim Umlaut scheint dagegen *egi* zu *ei* geworden zu sein. Aber wann *egi ei* wird und wann es erhalten bleibt, erhellt nicht (*ei* nur in Silben auf die unbetonte Silbe und dann Nebenton folgte?)".⁵⁴ Van Loon (2014: 187–8) separates the development of Old Dutch -*egi*-, -*igi*- > -*ei*-, which is also found in Middle High German (where -*igi*- becomes -*ī*- and -*egi*- becomes -*ei*-, cf. Paul, Klein, Solms & Wegera 2007: 137), from the vocalisation of *g* to *j* after a palatal vowel and before a consonant, found in Anglo-Frisian and western Dutch.

Most scholars thus distinguish between two separate developments with different geographic scope, but the precise conditions governing these changes remain unclear, as does the place of these changes in the relative chronology of Dutch sound changes. Some other changes are also relevant to this topic, including (1) fricativization of *g*, (2) Old Dutch fortition, i.e., the alternation of voiced and voiceless fricatives before *l*, *n*, *r*, as in Dutch *tegel* vs. *tichel* 'tile', *gavel* vs. *gaffel* 'fork', (3) lengthening of short vowels in open syllable, (4) syncope of word-internal unstressed vowels. All of these changes took place at different moments in different parts of the Dutch linguistic area. Finally, inner-paradigmatic alternations must be taken into account. For instance, WGm. **regna*- would give Old Dutch NOM.ACC. **regan* but GEN.DAT. **regn*-, yielding different conditions for many of the changes just listed.

In the scholarly literature on Old Saxon and Middle Low German, the issue is treated in a somewhat different fashion. Gallée (1993: 50) notes the occurrence of forms such as *Meginrickesdorf* and *Egilbertus* (Westphalia, 980), with preserved *g*, next to palatalization in *Meynburghun* (Corvey), and of *Regin*- next to *Rein*- in

54. A similar rule of only preconsonantal palatalization was tentatively formulated by Mansion (1924: 270) but rejected immediately by himself on the grounds that the intervocalic spelling <g> could sometimes indicate /j/. Our MDu. and MoDu. evidence proves the reality of /g/ for most of the relevant forms.

other personal names. Gallée also remarks that *ei*, *ai* are more frequent in the eleventh century than in the tenth. On p. 74 and 170–2, he considers a development *agi* > *egi* > *aji* > *ei*. In the personal names of the Werden charters (between 793 and 848; Blok 1960, Bohn 1931, Tiefenbach 1997: 195f.), we can see the changes of *egi* > *ei* and *igi* > *ii* happening before our eyes. Since other names with a disyllabic first member ending in a consonant do not generally show syncope of the second vowel in this period (compare names in *Beren*-, *Irmin*-, *Idis*-, *Mathal*-, *Wandil*-, *Warin*-), nor do names with an *u*- or *jō*-stem as their first member (*Frithu*-, *Hathu*-, *Hildi*-), the shift *egi* > *ei* cannot be due to a general vowel syncope. We must rather assume that *egi* was pronounced as [eji], in which the consonant further developed into *j*; apparently, there was hardly any audible difference between, e.g., *Rejin*- and *Rein*-. Tiefenbach (1984: 329) shows that *egi* > *ei* is almost regular in the ninth to eleventh-century names from Essen (1984: 144, 170), whereas in Xanten (1984: 64, 94) and Cologne (1984: 236, 262) the palatalization of *g* is only starting in this period. The relevant names from Tiefenbach's material have as their first member *Egil*-/ *Eil*- (**agila*-), *Megin*-/ *Mein*- (**magina*-), *Regin*-/ *Rein*-/ *RaIn*-/ *Rem*- (**ragina*-) and *Sigi*-/ *Si*- (**sigi*-), which are all discussed below. Thus, Essen and Werden both show an early, ninth-century date of the palatalization, which then spread westwards. Note that word-initial **Ag*i-C- shows early syncope without palatalization: *Egibertus*, *Egburg*, *Ecdagus* in Xanten, *Ekbertus*, *Ekbrand*, *ekhild* in Essen, *egbertus*, *Ecuuinus* in Cologne. Possibly, these names were influenced by the first member *Eggi*-, *Ek*- from **agjō*- (thus Tiefenbach 1984: 340). The second member *-dag* is never found as *-dei* in Essen, but the number of relevant tokens is small.

For Middle Low German, Lasch (1914: 83f.) posits a development of *egi* + *dental* via *eg* + *dental* to *ey* + *dental*, in which syncope precedes palatalization. When syncope did not occur, she continues, *egi* underwent lengthening to *ēge* and *g* remained: modern Soest dialect *iāžə* (< **ēgedede*) versus Ostphalian *eyde* (< **egde*) 'harrow'.

9.2.1 The evidence

The relevant evidence from all periods of Dutch is presented in alphabetical order according to the Modern Dutch entry. The focus will be on the etymology and the extent to which palatalization is attested chronologically and geographically.

1. *breidel* 'bridle' < **bregdila*-. Attested with *ei* in all dialects from 1200 onwards, both in the noun and in the verb 'to bridle'. Modern dialects have *breidel*, *breyel*, *breil*, Modern Low German *breidel*. Derived from **bregdan*, see the next entry.
2. *breien* 'to knit' < **bregdan*-. MDu. *breyden*, *breyen* (Fla. Hol. 15th c.), in modern dialects of Groningen *bra(a)iden* 'to knit' (Molema 1895).

3. *brein* 'brain' < **bragna*- (MLG *bregen*, *bragen* n.). Late MDu. *brein* (Fla., 1517–18), *bragen* (Hol., 1450–70, NE-Dutch, 16th c.), *braghenpanne* 'brain-pan' (Groningen, ca. 1440), *breghe* 'brains' (*Teuthonista*, 1477). The Early Modern Dutch form is *breyne*, *brijne* (Hollandish, according to Kiliaan 1599). In the seventeenth century, *brein* is found especially in Hollandish sources. Thus, we roughly find the retention of *a* and *g* in the east as against the development to *ei* in Holland and Flanders, although *ag* is also attested in Holland. This points to an alternating paradigm with NOM.ACC. *bragen* < **bragn* but oblique *brein*- from **bragnV*-. The form *bregen* is explained by EWN as due to a North Sea Germanic fronting of **a* to *e*, but its eastern location in Cleves/Guelders contradicts this. The vowel *e* may have been analogically introduced into the strong case forms from oblique GEN. **bregnes*, DAT. **bregne*.
4. *degel*, *diggel* 'platen, shard' (MLG *degel*, *deygel* 'cauldron', OHG *tegel*, MHG *tegel*, *tigel*, MoHG *Tiegel*). In literary Early Modern Dutch, there is variation between *deghe* 'platen' (1567), 'cauldron, meltingpot' ("Saxon and Sicambrian" according to Kiliaan) and *diggel* 'pottery, shard' (attested from 1614). No forms in *ei* are attested. The variation between *degel* and *diggel* goes back to Old Dutch: the former results from open syllable lengthening of **dig*- or **deg*-, whereas the latter has preserved the short vowel in a closed syllable.

There is no agreement on whether *degel* reflects a Latin loanword or an inherited formation. Since Latin *tegula* was borrowed into West Germanic as **tigula*- m./n., as shown by Dutch *tegel* 'tile' (see below) and German *Ziegel*, and since Dutch *degel* means the same, I favour the view that all of these words reflect Latin *tegula*. The failure of *degel* to adopt the female gender of the Latin word may point to a somewhat later date of borrowing than in the case of *tegel*. Seebold (2011: 917) explains *d*- in MLG *degel* as resulting from "Umsetzung hochdeutscher Formen in niederdeutsche", but that does not explain the *i*-vocalism nor the geminate *gg* of Dutch. A possible solution is that, either in the donor language (Romance) or in the recipient dialects, Latin *tegula* had a variant **degula* or **digula*. There is no evidence for voicing in Gallo-Romance, but the difference in aspiration of obstruents (unaspirated in Gallo-Romance, often aspirated in Germanic) might have caused the incorporation of *t*- as Germanic *d*-. Alternatively, the Latin word may have been connected folk-etymologically with the Germanic verb **digan* 'to knead' (Go. *digan* 'to model from clay'), since tiles were made of clay. Unfortunately, there is no evidence that the verb survived in Germanic languages other than Gothic.

5. *degen* 'hero, thane' < **þegna*-. Palatalization is first attested in the Old Ghent personal names from around 1000: *Thegenlandus* (829), *Theinardus* (996–1029), *Tegehere*, *Tegenbertus*, *Teingerus* (996–1029). Later we also find *Theinbertus* (12th c.), *Thegenbold* beside *Theinboldus* (12th c.), *Theinardus*, *Deinard* (1120, 13th

c.), *Deinilth* (12th c.), *Theinothus* (12th c.) > *Deynoot*, and *Thegenwalus* (12th c.); see Mansion 1924: 169 and Tavernier-Vereecken 1968: 74f. In the thirteenth century, we find the West Flemish name *Deynen* (GEN.SG.; 1283) versus South Hollandish *Deghen* (Dordrecht, 1286). The Middle Dutch appellative *deg(h)en* ‘thane’, plural *degene*, is found from West Flanders to Cleves/Guelders. It appears that *degen* was the usual form for the appellative in all dialects, whereas *dein-* is restricted to Flemish personal names after 1000. The same distinction appears in Low German, where *Thein-* is first attested in the eleventh century. Whereas the appellative is OS *thegan*, MLG *degen* ‘thane’, the names include *Theganradus* (Werden, 799), *Thegenhard* (Corvey, 1130), *Thegenhard* (Neuenheerse, 1163), *Thegenhardus* (count of Altena, 1183/96), *Thegenradus* (Halberstadt, 1193), *Theinrad* (Helmstedt, 11th c.), see Schlaug 1955: 82.

6. MDu. *deger* ‘thick’ < **digra-*. It occurs in *tiegere* ‘entirely’ in Cleves/Guelders (1201–25) and as *deg(h)er* ‘completely’ in Hollandish and in eastern Dutch dialects from the fifteenth century onwards. The last Dutch attestations of *deger* are from the seventeenth century but in Low German it survives into the modern dialects. Modern Dutch *degelijk* ‘solid, sound’ is derived from *deger*, as shown by the oldest form *degerlec* ‘entirely’ (WBrab., 1291–1300). The word soon lost its *r*, probably by analogy with the noun *deghe* > *deeg* ‘growth, health’. The suggestion in EWN s.v. *degelijk*, viz. that *degerlijk* with *r* goes back to the feminine genitive of the noun, must be refuted. The southeastern variant *tiegere* points to lengthening of an original **i*, not **e*, and this matches the evidence of the other Germanic languages: ON *digr* ADJ. ‘thick’, OFri. ADV. *digere*, *diger*, *deger* ‘precisely, exactly’, Gothic *digrei* ‘fullness’, from PGM. **digra-* (Kroonen 2013: 95).
7. *-Dei* in personal names < **daga-* ‘day’. The element *-dei* occurs as a second member in personal names from Zeeland and adjacent coastal provinces. The most frequent is *Everdei(us)* with ca. 125 attestations from 1085 onwards, especially from Zeeland and Zeeuws Flanders, though it is also sporadically attested in Holland (a late instance is *Jan Everdey*, Hoorn, 1475). Other names containing *-dei* are MDu. *Dokedey* (Ghent, 1315); ODu. *Fikerdey* (1130–61, Benningfort, NH?), MDu. *Fekerdei*, *Vekeldei* (12x, between 1285 and 1512 in Dordrecht and Amstelland; in 1524 *Henricus Fijkerdoy* in Abcoude); MDu. and Early MoDu. *Fokedey* (WFla.), *Foukedei* (Calais, 1298);⁵⁵ *Laverdei* (EFla., 15th c.); ODu. *Liefdei* (Ghent, 12th c.); ODu. *Osdei* ‘Ansdag’ (Fla., 11th–12th c.).

55. Since <ou> can stand for /o./ (the dot indicating a half-long vowel) in the Calais documents of the late 13th century, maybe *Foukedei* can be explained from rounding of **Feke(r)dei* (compare Calais *van den Woughe* to *weg* ‘road’) rather than from **Folkdag* as proposed by Gysseling & Bougard 1963: 38.

The same second member is also found with vowel fronting in Low German: Old Saxon *dagus*, *-dac*, beside *-deg*, *-dech* (Schlaug 1962 *passim*, Schlaug 1955 *passim*, Gallée 1993: 45). In fact, the personal names in *dag* seem to have been more widely spread in Low German than in Old Dutch.

8. *dweil* 'towel' < PGm. **pwagilō-* (EWAhd II: 909–11; OIc. *þvegill* m.). Apart from this preform in **g* there also existed a variant **pwaxilō-*, which had probably introduced voiceless **x* from the strong verb **pwaxan* (thus Schaffner 2001: 413), yielding OHG *dwehila*, MoHG *Zwehle*, MLG *dwēle*, *dweile*. Whereas Low German *dwēle* must contain **x*, the form *dweile* could also go back to **g* (see Schaffner 2001: 412). In Middle Dutch, only forms which continue PGm. **x* are attested. In western dialects it is *dwale*, in eastern dialects mostly *dwele* (f.), see MNW s.v. *dwale*.⁵⁶ *Dwaal* remains in use in the written language until the seventeenth century. Forms containing **g* are only attested after 1500, viz. *dweyl* (Junius, 1567), MoDu. *dweil*. Kiliaan (1599) still views *dweyl* as a Flemish word. Thus, *dweil* is a typical coastal form. The modern West Flemish variant *dwegel* retains, or has restored, *g* (MDu. ptc. *ghedweghen*) and has masculine gender (de Bo 1892: 285). A masculine preform **pwagila-* could explain the retention of *g* (viz. from the Old Dutch disyllabic NOM.ACC.SG.), and would be an exact cognate of OIc. *þvegill*.
9. MDu. *egede*, *eeghde* 'harrow' < **agipō-* (EWAhd II: 958). Early MDu. *egede* (Limburg, 1240), *egheden* (WBrab., 1275, 1292), *edemakere* 'harrowmaker' (EFla., 1276–1300), toponym *Egt-bampt* (Limburg), Late MDu. PL. *eeghden* (Antwerp, 1330), DAT.SG. *eyde* (Zealand). Kiliaan (1599) has *eeghde* = *egghe* 'harrow', the latter word being the precursor of MoDu. *eg*. Modern dialectal *eid(e)* and the derived verb *eiden* are found in Flanders, Zealand, North Holland and Groningen.

Thus, palatalization surfaces relatively late in the sources and is restricted to coastal dialects, including Groningen. East Flemish *ede-makere* is ambiguous: it could reflect **egede* with intervocalic syncope of *g*, but it might also go back to **eide* and show the Flemish monophthongization of **ei* as in *leden* 'to lead' < *leiden*. Since *egede* was trisyllabic, regional differences in the preference for syncope (to **egde*) or apocope (to **eged*), for which see Marynissen 1995, may lie behind the presence or absence of *ei*.

56. The entries *dwale* for 'gausape' and 'manutergium' in the Limburgian *Glossarium Bernense* from 1240 are difficult to derive from **pwahilō-* because of the apparent lack of *i*-mutation which would be expected to yield *e* in these dialects. Therefore, this *dwale* either goes back to a variant **pwahlō-* (cf. Got. *þwahl* n. 'bath, baptism', OHG *dwahal* 'bath') or it has introduced /a:/ from the verb *dwan* /dwa:n/.

10. *echel* ‘leech’ < **egalō(n)*- (OS *egela*, MLG *egel(e)*, *eyle*, *īle*, OHG *egala*, MoHG *Egel*, OFri. *il*). The noun occurs in Old Dutch in the toponym *Decchelpule*, *Dekelpole* ‘The Leech Pool’. With gemination of the voiced velar we find Early MDu. *eggele*, *eggle* ‘leech’ (Limburg, 1240), the surname *Eggchel* (Bruges, 1295), and the personal name *Egghelin* (WFla., 1297). Late Middle Dutch sources have the plural *echelen* (Hol., 1477) and the compound *watereg(h)el* (*Teuthonista*, 1477). The first forms with palatalization are found in Hollandish *ylen* (1450–70, 1485) and *bloetijl* ‘blood-leech’ (1465–85). Early Modern Dutch has a voiceless fricative in *echel* (in Dodonaeus and other, Hollandish sources), *ecchel*, *acchel* (Kil.) ‘leech’, *ecchel* (Kil.) ‘liver disease with sheep’, but palatalization to /i:/ in *iile* ‘leech’ (attributed to Guelders by Kiliaan), *yle* (Cats, 1618), *yl* (Hexham). Modern dialect forms with palatalization are found in North Holland (*ijl(e)*) and South Holland (*īlən* on Goeree).

The gemination in *eggel*, *echel* arose after syncope of the medial vowel in *egele*. The monophthong /i:/ of Low German and of western Dutch dialects points to a preform **igle* < **iglō* < **igilō* < **egilō(n)*-, with suffixal *-*il*- instead of *-*al*-. The suffix change might be due to analogical influence of **egila*- ‘hedgehog’ on **egalō(n)*- ‘leech’.

11. *egedis* ‘lizard’ < **ag^wi-þahs(j)ōn*- or **ag^wi-þehsōn*- (EWAhd II: 959–61; OHG *egidehsa*, once *ei*- already in the ninth century; MHG *egedehse*, *eidehse*, OS *egithassa*, MLG *egedis*, *eygdisse*, OE *ādexe*). Relevant variants in Dutch include Early MDu. *egedis* (Limburg 1240), Late MDu. *egetisse* (Hol. 1450–70), *aftisse* (*Gl. Haarl.*, 1440–50), *haghetissen* PL. (Fla. 1351–1400), **hectissen* PL. (Brab., 1514). Early Modern Dutch are *haechdisse* (Vorstermanbijbel, 1528) and *egdisse*, *eechdisse* (Plantin, 1573). Kiliaan (1599) gives several variants for ‘lizard’, of which he calls *aketisse* Flemish, which agrees with later evidence (de Bo 1892 has *snaketisse*). He guesses that *heydisse* may be called that way ‘because it lives in uncultivated and arid places’, which is an obvious folk etymology on *heide* ‘heath’. Other variants in Early Modern Dutch are *echdisse* (Oudaan, 1661), *egghediss*’ (de Brune, 1657), *echtissen* (Middelburg, 1623), *egdisse* (*Statenbijbel*, 1688). A modern dialect form with palatalization is South Hollandish *eidas*, also *eindas*.

The coastal Dutch forms in (h)a- must be due to folk etymology with *haag* ‘hedge’, and those in he- with *heg(ge)* ‘hedge’. The form *aftisse* looks like a hypercorrect Hollandish form of **agtisse*, since Hollandish often retained *ft* which changed to *cht* further east and south. Where the High German instances of *ei*- can easily be explained from g-palatalization, the late appearance of *heydisse* and Hol. *eidas* (which has folk etymology with *das* ‘badger’) makes the same assumption uncertain for Dutch. We have to assume that the forms in (h)ei- were pronounced but unwritten for several centuries until 1599, or that the change *egC*- > *eiC*- could still happen in the Early Modern Dutch period.

12. *egel* ‘hedgehog’ < **egila*-. Early MDu. *igel* (Limburg 1240, 1270–90), *ygel* (EBrab., 1276–1300), *egel*, GEN. *eghels* (WFla., 1287), and the toponym *Eghelsveken* (WBrab.). The usual form in Modern Dutch is *egel*, though Vondel once has *echel* (1617). For the modern dialects, see *TNZN* 1.10: as far as no heteronyms apply, most dialects have *egel* but Limburgian presupposes *igel*.

The fricative *g* is preserved everywhere. The raising of the stressed vowel to /i:/ in southeastern dialects corresponds to the vowel of the Old Germanic languages and suggests **i* in the second syllable, as in Limburgian *hiemel* ‘heaven’ < **ximila*-, etc. (see Goossens 1988: 70–1, *FAND* II: 60–1). Unlike in *egel* ‘leech’, there are hardly forms with gemination from **egl*-. The absence of gemination and the absence of *g*-palatalization both suggest that *g* and *l* were not in contact in the relevant period for palatalization, contrary to the case of **egilō(n)*- ‘leech’. Hence, for ‘hedgehog’ we may assume that the disyllabic West Germanic NOM. ACC. **egil* determined the outcome.

13. *-ei* versus *-egge*, *-igge* < **-igjōn*-. A suffix to derive feminine agent nouns from masculine persons and from verbs. All lexemes with this suffix which occur in the thirteenth century are Flemish, mainly from Bruges and Calais, but also from Ghent and from Maerlant’s *Rijmbijbel*. They have the form *-igge* with short *i* and geminate /g:/.⁵⁷ Examples are *cammighen* ‘female combers’, *kelre wardigghen* ‘cellar keepsters’, *meesterigge* ‘mistress’, *viscoighhighe* ‘female fish-monger’. The form *-igge* remains typical of Flemish throughout the Middle Dutch period. In the few formations attested outside Flemish, the suffix also takes the shapes *-egge* (in *diefegge* ‘female thief’ and *dwaesegge* ‘female fool’, attested mainly in Holland but also in Groningen and Fryslân) and *-ege* (in *dieveghe*, *dwaeseghe* ‘female fool’, and *loperge* ‘girl on heat’). Suffixal *-ege* is indistinguishable from (inflected forms of) the productive adjectival suffix *-ig*, viz. *-ige* or *-ege*. In the modern standard language, *dievegge* ‘female thief’ is the only surviving noun with this suffix.⁵⁸ It ceased to be productive after the sixteenth century outside West Flemish.

The most likely etymology of the suffix is WGM. **-agjōn*- or **-igjōn*-, but it is only reflected in Dutch and Old English (e.g., OE *scernicge* ‘actress’, *sealticge* ‘dancer’). It seems likely that it was used to build substantivized feminines to the productive adjectival suffix of appurtenance **-ixa*-, **-iga*- (Krahe & Meid 1969: 197). The original formation may therefore have been an *ī/jō*-stem, with NOM.SG. **-agī*, oblique **-agjō*-. This means that *-ege*, with single *g*, could

57. A few forms spell *-ighe* but they alternate with *-igge* in texts from the same place.

58. Nowadays the suffix is stressed (similar to other feminine formations in *-in*, *-es*), but until Early Modern Dutch the stress resided on the stem.

continue original **-igō-*, the feminine of **-iga-*. This is actually what MNW assumes for *dievegge*, which it explains as original **dievige* ‘the female thievish one’. In contrast, *-igge* and Old English *-icge* could represent **-ig-jō-*. For *-egge*, Schönfeld & van Loey (1970 § 178) suggest that it is a contamination of *-ege* (which they explain from Vulgar Latin *-iga*) with *-igge*. This is possible, but, alternatively, *-egge* might be due to local lowering of unstressed short *i* to *e*.

Now we come to the forms with palatalization. Van Loon (2014: 187) explains *-ei* as the result of palatalization of **-eg* in absolute auslaut, as in the personal names in *-Dei*. Yet in view of Flemish *clappeghe* beside general trisyllabic *klappeye* in the sixteenth century, the change of *g > j* seems to have been intervocalic. The evidence is restricted to three lexemes. The highest number of tokens with *-ei* (and *-ay*) is found for Early MoDu. *clappeye*, MoDu. *klappei* ‘garrulous woman’: it is a current word in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in literary works in Holland until the eighteenth century. Forms with *-g-* are found in (West) Flemish, viz. Everaert *clappeghe* (1523), modern dialects *klappege*, *klappeie* (de Bo 1892). An adjective *klappig*, *klappich* ‘garrulous’ is attested in Plantin (1573) and in some seventeenth-century authors from Flanders and Holland. This may have been the source of *klappei* in Holland.

The second word is MoDu. *labbei* ‘garrulous woman’. It is attested in northern Dutch from the middle of the seventeenth century (*labbey* in Baardt in 1645, *labeyen* in Van Effen in 1732) and is derived from *labben* ‘to talk, chatter’. Since *labbei* means the same as *klappei* but its attestation is much more restricted and starts more than half a century later, it can be argued that *labbei* was modeled on *klappei*.

The third noun is *kladdei* ‘filthy woman’ (after 1800), which is attested so late that it could easily be a recent formation on the model of *klappei*. Still, since the adjective *kladdig* ‘filthy’ is attested from 1600 onward, and only in Hollandish sources, it is conceivable that *kladdei* represents a local development of *kladdig*.

If we are indeed witnessing a change of *-ege* to *-eie* in Flemish (and Hollandish?), the conditioning remains to be explained. After all, the suffix *-ig* is very frequent, and does not normally palatalize its *g*. Maybe the velar fricative was lenited more strongly in suffixal *-ege*, between two unstressed vowels, than elsewhere. The development would then be comparable to prefixal *ge- > je-* in Flemish (§ 9.3). It may not be a coincidence that the palatalization has only surfaced in these pejorative, probably low-register, female nouns.

14. *Eiericus* (Ghent, 12th c., early 13th c.) = *Egericus* (Ghent, 12th c.) and *(H)eggerik*. The first member contains PGm. **agjō-* ‘edge of a sword’ (OS *eggia*, OE *ecg*, MDu. *(h)egge*, *ecke*, MoHG *Ecke*). Whereas the name *(H)eggerik* shows the *j*-gemination of the simplex *egge* < **agjō-*, *Egericus* and *Eiericus* presuppose a

first member **agī-* which continues the original Proto-Germanic nominative singular in *-ī* of the *ī/jō-*stems.⁵⁹ For *Eiericus*, Tavernier-Vereecken (1968: 587) assumes that *i* represents a palatal spirant, not a palatal glide.

15. *Eil-* < **agila-* in names from East Flanders: ODu. *Eilbertus*, *Eilboldus*, *Eilbodo*, *Eilfridus*, *Eilolfus* (all from Ghent, 11th c.). The adjective **agila-* does not survive as a simplex in Dutch. In Old Saxon, *Eilbold* first appears in the Werden documents in 816/817 (Blok 1960, nr. 34 = xxxviii), also in Essen, and later in Xanten. The Old Germanic names suggest a preform **agila-*, cf. Förstemann 1900: 27–36, but the etymology is uncertain. Proto-Germanic **agla-* ‘painful’ or **aglu-* ‘difficult’ (Kroonen 2013: 4–5) are no good semantic matches, and would not normally have yielded a first member *Agil-* but **Agal-*. Possibly, **agila-* was derived from **agan-* ‘to fear’, in the sense of ‘fearful’.
16. *eisen*, *ijzen* ‘to be afraid’ < **agisōn-*. In Old Dutch, the verb is not attested but the noun (**agis-an-*) and adjective (**agis-līk-*) are. The Wachtendonck Psalter (10th c.) retains *g* in all cases except one: NOM. *egisso* ‘fear’, GEN. *egesin*, ADV. *egisliko* ‘terrible’ (all in glosses to the WPs.), GEN.SG. *egislikes* (WPs. 65.05), but so *eiselika thing* (WPs. 65.03). In the Middle Franconian Rhyming Bible (1150–1200), one form retains *egis-* and another one has palatalization to *eis-*: NOM.PL. *égisliche* but NOM.SG.m. *eislich*. Finally, the Leiden Willeram has NOM. SG.F. *egeslich* (3x). In Early Middle Dutch, the noun has disappeared. The verb is always found with palatalization: *eisen* ‘to be afraid’ (Limburg, 1240), *eysen* (EBrab., 1276–1300), *eysde* (WFla., 1285). Similarly *ei-* in *eyselike* and other derivatives. After 1500, the verb is mostly spelled as *ijs/zen*. There are no traces of *g* in Middle or Modern Dutch.
17. *ekster* ‘magpie’ < **agistrjōn-* F. (see van Wijk 1914: 214–5 for the reconstruction). The closest cognates are OS *agastria*, *agistra*, MLG *egester*, OHG *agistra*, *agestra*, MHG *ageraster*, *agrest*, *egerst*. In High German dialects, these forms are continued in Alemannic *ägerst(e)*, cf. EWAhd I: 85f. The basic noun was OHG *aga*, OE *agu* < **agō-* ‘magpie’. Many of the German forms with an *l*-suffix also display palatalization of *g*: OHG *agalstra*, MHG *ailster*, *egelstere*, MLG *elster* (< **eilster* < **agil-*), MoHG *Elster* < **aglistrjōn-* (EWAhd I: 72f., 79f., Eickmans 1986: 171–3).

Dutch has no forms with a palatalized reflex of **g*. Early MDu. *egestre* (Limburg 1240) reflects **agi-*. *Hicstre* ‘jay’ in the same vocabulary has taken analogical *h-* from putative **heher* (OE *higora*, MHG *heher*, MoHG *Häher* ‘jay,

59. Cf. Bammesberger 1990: 100–102, Ringe 2006: 269. Other onomastic evidence for the erst-while suffix variation between *-ī-* and *-jō-* in compound names includes OHG *Egghart* beside *Egihart*, *Sunnihilt* beside *Suniperht* (**sunjō-* ‘truth’), and *Brunnhilt* beside *Brunihilt* (**brunjō-* ‘breastplate’), cf. Braune & Reiffenstein 2004 § 62.

magpie'), and its *i* may be due to analogy with another word (*hicken* 'to peck?'); cf. Westphalian *hiakster* (Sarauw 1921: 391), MLG *hegester*. The western forms with /a:/, such as *aecstren* GEN.SG. (WFla., 1287), *aestre* (Flanders, 1390–1400), *aexter* (Holland, 14th c.), have no *i*-mutation. They go back to a preform with **a* in the second syllable or are based on the simplex **agō*-. The forms from Late Middle Dutch and Modern Dutch generally confirm the distinction between western *a(a)* and eastern *e(e)*, with this stipulation that the *e*-form was also native to Brabant. As *ekster*, it has become the literary standard. In modern dialects, *aakster* and variants are frequent in West Flanders and northern East Flanders, *ekster* in southern East Flanders and Zeeuws Flanders (WVD III.126). Other dialect forms are *èester* in eastern Limburgian, *egerst* in central Limburgian, and *aster* in Groningen.

18. *Fegernodus* (Ghent, 948, 11th c., 12th c.); *Vegeticus* (Ghent, 11th c.), *Vegeticus* (1098), *Veieric* (1306–07), *Feyerick* (modern family name, Ghent). The first member contains the adjective **fagra*- (OHG *fagar*, OS *fagar*, MoE *fair* 'beautiful'). The raised reflex *e* from **a* in the first syllable is irregular in Dutch, and might point to Ingvaemonic speech according to Mansion (1924: 116). The rare change of intervocalic *g* to (still intervocalic) *j* in *Veieric*, *Feyerick* may be linked to this coastal Dutch phenomenon.
19. *Frigelingeheem* (966), later *Frilingim* (Ghent, 11th c.), see Mansion 1924: 28, 269. The toponym is possibly identical to the first element in modern *Vrijlegem-hoek* in West Flanders. *Fri*- /fri:-/ would then show a change of **igi*/*e* to *i* in the eleventh century.
20. *heinen* 'to fence' < **hegenen* < **xaginōn*- and *hegen* 'to fence' < **xagōn*-. The reflexes of the latter verb always have *g* in Dutch. MDu. *heghen* 'to fence' and derivatives are found in northeastern Dutch. In the Early Modern period, *heghen* 'to protect, guard' also turns up in Flanders, Holland, and Zealand, while Kiliaan (1599) has *verhegen* 'to improve', as do modern eastern dialects of Twente and Achterhoek. Compare MLG *heghen*, the usual form, but *heynen* 'to defend' in a charter from 1345 from Oldenburg.

The reflexes of **xaginōn*- fall into two categories. Brabant and Flanders favour *g*, witness *heghenen* 'to furnish, clean, decorate' (Kiliaan; de Brune), *vereghenen* 'to tidy up' (Bruges), *beheghenen* 'to harm' (Everaert, Bruges), *ontheghenen* (van Ghistele, Antwerp). Guide Gezelle (WFla., 19th c.) has *afhegenen* 'to stake out'. The meaning 'tidy up' is related to 'fence off'. Holland and Zealand show palatalized reflexes of the verb in the meaning 'to fence', compare MDu. *heinen* (Delft, 1299), *beheijnen* (Gouda, ca. 1340; Goudriaan et al. 2000: 25), *heyninge* 'fence' (various places), Kiliaan *heyninck* 'fence'. In the seventeenth century we find the verbs *omheinen* and *beheynen* in texts from the same region.

The difference between Flemish *hegenen* and Hollandish *heinen* is conspicuous. It could be due to different patterns of syncope, but it goes against the usual geographic relationship as seen in Hollandish *regen* vs. Flemish *rein* ‘rain’. Possibly, *g* in *hegenen* could be restored on the model of *hegen*, where the context for palatalization was not given.

21. *jegen(s)* ‘against’ < **gagin*, **gagna/i*. See § 9.1.2 above for the attestations and the reflexes of initial **g*-. In Old Dutch, the word-internal *g* is retained throughout. The same goes for all appellatives in thirteenth-century Dutch. An exception occurs among the Flemish names attested in French documents from Calais from 1296 and 1298, where three persons have the family name *Ghei(n)mar* (Gysseling & Bougard 1963: 39). The editors explain the name as **Gagin-mār*, with the element **gagin*- as also found in some other Old Germanic names (Förstemann 1900: 564f.). If this etymology is correct, we might explain the palatalization as a case of *gn* > *jn* in a polysyllabic word (cf. the names in *Mein*- and *Rein*- discussed below), whereas *g* stayed in disyllabic *gegen* and in *jegen*.

In the Wachtendonck Psalter, ODu. *geginwirdi* ‘conspectus’ is usually attested as *geginuuardi* or *gegenuuardi*. The deviant forms *gaienuuerde* and *gainu-ueierde* in glosses to Psalms 5.9 and 9.26 are interpreted by de Grauwe 1979–82 I: 171–3 as Middle Franconian forms left from the *Vorlage* of the text. In view of the frequent absence of *i*-mutation in the OHG forms of this noun (*gagenwurti*, *gaginwurti*, etc., see the attestations in de Grauwe, loc.cit.), this seems the most likely solution.

22. *kegel* ‘cone, skittle’ < **kagila*-. This noun is always attested with preserved *g*. In Old Dutch, there are five instances of a personal name *Kegel*, *Keghel* (EFla., 12th c.), while in the thirteenth century, *keghel* is attested in South Holland, East Flanders and West Brabant. Kiliaan (1599) mentions *keghel* as ‘cone, post, etc.’, and another word *keghel* as an antiquated Hollandish word for ‘boulder’ and as a Flemish variant for ‘icicle’. We find *kegel* in all of Modern Dutch. See nr. 24 *keilen* for the derived verb.
23. *kei* ‘stone, boulder’ < **kagi*. The presence of **g* in West Germanic is established by the cognate noun *kegge* ‘wedge’ (Early MDu. NOM.SG. *kigghe*, GEN.SG. [*s*]*ceggen*) from **kagjō*-, and by the fact that *kegel* < **kagila*- means both ‘cone’ and ‘boulder’ and can formally be a derivative of **kagi*. *Kei* and *kegge* can go back to a Proto-Germanic *ī/jō*-stem with NOM. **kagī*, GEN. **kagjōs*. In Dutch, all forms of **kagi* have palatalized *g* to *j*, probably yielding **kegi* or **kege* and then *keie*. The oldest form is the toponym *Keidyc* (Fla., 1153). Next, it occurs in the names *Paulus Keyacker* ‘stone-field’ (1272), *Hanninus Keie* (1281; Debrabandere 2003), and in the appellative *keyen* PL. (Brab., 14th c.). Early Modern Dutch has *keye*, Modern Dutch *kei(e)*.

24. *keilen* ‘throw’ < **kagilōn*-. The oldest meaning is ‘to play a game (of skittles)’, which shows that the verb was derived from *kegel* ‘cone, skittle’: MDu. *keylen* ‘a certain game’ and *keylbane* ‘skittle alley, bowling alley’ in the Statutes of Leiden, *keegelen of keylen* ‘to bowl’ (Utrecht, 1640). The more general meaning ‘to throw’ surfaces in the seventeenth century. Most or all Early Modern attestations of this verb are from the coastal provinces, and nearly all show palatalization.
25. *kregel* ‘touchy, prickly’ < **krigila*- ‘stubborn’ (see Kroonen 2013: 304 for the original meaning of the verb **krīgan* ‘to be stubborn’), cognate with MLG *crighel*, *kregel* ‘alert, mobile’. Early MDu. *kregel* (WBrab., 1265) with /i/ or /i:/, Late MDu. *eincregel* (*Teuthonista*, 1477), Early MoDu. *krijghel* ‘touchy’ (Kiliaan, 1599; with introduction of the vowel of the verb *krijgen*), *kregel* (Coster, 1619). Modern *kregel* is mainly found in northern Dutch sources but also in Flemish and Brabantish. No palatalization is ever attested in this adjective in Dutch.
26. *leger* ‘lair, army’ < **legra*-. The noun may be hidden in the Old Dutch toponym *Legurlo* (Veluwe, 855 copy 891–910). Middle Dutch *legher* can mean ‘position’ (e.g., *te lants leghere* ‘as long as the land lies’), and then ‘lair, army camp, army’, which is the meaning of MoDu. *leger*. No palatalization attested.
27. *leggen* ‘to lay’ < WGm. **lagjan*-. Due to *j*-gemination, *gg* arose in the infinitive, the 1SG., 1PL. and 3PL. present indicative, and in the present subjunctive. Thus, in order to determine the extent of *g*-palatalization in this verb we must study the 2SG., 3SG. and 2PL. present, the preterite, and the past participle. The survey will be restricted to the Old and Early Middle Dutch periods, since paradigmatic leveling renders the original situation opaque in later centuries. In Old Dutch, the present is only attested in the 2PL. imperative *umbeleged* ‘put around’ and *underleged* ‘put below’ in the Leiden Willeram. The preterite occurs as 3SG. *legede*, 3PL. *legete* in the Middle Franconian Rhyming Bible, and the participle as *geleget* in the *LW*. Thus, *g* is preserved everywhere, and in all these forms it is in intervocalic position.

There is more variation in the Early Middle Dutch period. Table 17 provides a survey of the attested forms. It shows that *g* is preserved in the two forms which occur of the 2SG. pres., and in all 3SG. and 2PL. pres. forms, with the exception of once *leit* ‘lays’ and once *leidi* ‘lays he’ in the works of Van Maerlant, who wrote in West Flemish. In the preterite, however, all dialects show *ei* except for the southeastern area, which has *leged(e)* and *belachten*, found in literary sources (*Tristant* and *Moraalboek*; *belachten* once in the Aiol fragments). In the participle, there is more variation: *g* is generally preserved Holland and Brabant, and partly in Cleves/Guelders and in West Flanders, but palatalization to *ei* is found in most of the Flemish forms, including one from Zealand, and in Cleves/Guelders.

This distribution gives the impression that *g* was generally retained when it was followed by a vowel in Old Dutch, viz. in the present inflection and in (many forms of) the participle. The nearly exceptionless palatalization in the preterite would seem to contradict this assumption, since the Cleves/Guelders forms show a vowel after *g*. Yet a different treatment of the preterite from the present and the participle would correspond with a similar split in the data for Old Saxon *leggian*. In Old Saxon, we find a suffixless preterite *lagda*, *lagdun*, once *legda*, in ms. C of the Heliand, and *legda*, once *ledda*, in ms. M; the participle is generally *gilegid* (Gallée 1993: 263). We can hypothesize that *lei-* in the Dutch preterite matches the absence of a suffix vowel in the Old Saxon preterite (ending *-da*, not *-ida*), whereas the retention of *g* in the Early Middle Dutch participle (partly) and the 3SG.PRES. (generally) would correspond with the presence of a vowel between *g* and *t/d* in Old Saxon. In the past participle, the variation between *eg* and *ei* may be explained by the existence of paradigmatic alternations which depended on the exact form of the ending, that is, preservation of *g* in **ga-lagid* but palatalization in **ga-lagd-* (cf. Gallée 1993: 251). In short, the variation in Early Middle Dutch could be the result of paradigmatic alternation between unsyncope (> *geleged*) and syncope (> *geleid*) preforms. As we will see below, a comparable situation pertains to *zeggen* 'to say'.

The West Flemish forms *leit* 'he lays' from the late thirteenth century might foreshadow the levelling taking place in the following centuries (van Bree 1969). But since one of the three attested forms is *leidi* 'lays he', with the enclitic personal pronoun attached to the verb, one could also explain *leit* as having arisen in trisyllabic combinations of verb plus enclitic pronoun, with syncope of the middle vowel followed by palatalization of *g*: **liget *hī* 'lies-he' > **leget-ī* > **leg'ti* > *leiti*. In that case, the development to *leit/d-i* would be comparable with that of the participle *geleit*.

28. *liggen* 'to lie' < WGM. **legjan* << PGM. **leg-i-* (Kortlandt 1990: 8). In view of the strong preterite and participle, only the present sg. forms **ligis* and **ligip* (OS *ligid* 'lies') and 2PL. **ligip* are relevant for our investigation. Since the verbs *leggen* and *liggen* have often influenced each other or even merged, it seems advisable to restrict the initial investigation to the same period as with *liggen*, that is, to Old and Early Middle Dutch. Unfortunately, the 2SG. and 2PL. are not attested before 1300, which leaves only the 3SG. Mooijaart (1992: 188) discusses the forms 'lays' and 'lies' together, because in principle they have the same etymological form: *du leges, hi leget*. But although her decision can be defended on graphemic grounds, the present paradigms of both verbs did not completely overlap in all dialects (the stem vowel was different, **ā* vs. **e*) and their preterite and past participle remained completely distinct. Therefore, the inner-paradigmatic analogies affecting *leggen* and *liggen* may have been quite different, which justifies a separate discussion of both verbs.

Table 17. The 13th-century forms of *leggen* (incl. compound verbs) as per CG. The numbers refer to the tokens attested in the corpus

	2SG.PRES.	3SG.PRESENT	2PL.PRES., IPT.	preterite	participle
WFla.	–	<i>leget</i> 5 <i>legghet</i> 35 <i>leeget</i> 1 <i>legt</i> 1 <i>leec-</i> 1 <i>leit</i> 2, <i>leidi</i> 'lays he' 1	–	<i>leide</i> , <i>-leiden</i> passim <i>leedde</i> 1 <i>lede</i> 2 <i>leden</i> 1	<i>g(h)eleg(h)et</i> 7 <i>yleghet</i> 1 <i>ghelecht</i> 1 <i>gheleit/d</i> 32 <i>beleit</i> 1 <i>ghelet</i> 1
EFla.	–	<i>legghet</i> 1 <i>leeget</i> 4	<i>leeget</i> 1	<i>leide</i> 5 <i>leiden</i> 2 <i>leedde</i> 1	<i>gheleit</i> 4 <i>geleid</i> 1 <i>gheleed</i> 1
WBrab.	<i>legs</i> 1	<i>leget</i> 1 <i>opleget</i> 1 <i>leeget</i> 7 <i>leeght</i> 1	<i>legt</i> 4 <i>legget</i> 2	<i>leide</i> <i>leiden</i> passim	<i>geleget</i> 12 <i>g(h)eleget</i> 20 <i>gheleit</i> 1
EBrab.	–	–	–	<i>leide</i> passim	<i>geleght</i> 1
NBrab.	–	–	–	–	<i>ghelegghet</i> 4
Cleves/ Guelders	<i>leges</i> 1	–	<i>lechet</i> 1	<i>belachten</i> 1 <i>oplegede</i> 1 <i>legede</i> 2 <i>leged ic</i> 1	<i>gelagt</i> 1 <i>geleget</i> 1 <i>gelegt</i> 2 <i>geleit/d</i> 3
Holland	–	<i>legghet</i> 1 <i>leeght</i> 1	–	<i>leide</i> 2 <i>leyden</i> 1	<i>ghelegghet</i> 5 <i>vte ghileghet</i> 1 <i>verlegghet</i> 1
Zealand	–	–	–	–	<i>vtgheleit</i> 1

In Old Dutch, the Leiden Willeram has the forms *ligad*, *lighet*, *liget* (all once) 'lies' and *analigat* 'concerns'. Table 18 shows the distribution of forms in Early Middle Dutch. The oldest form in Flanders, Brabant, Zealand and Holland is clearly *leg(h)et* with an open syllable; syncope leads to *leeght*, *leecht* and other variants. As Mooijaart notes, syncope is more frequent in East Flanders and Brabant, though it is also found elsewhere. In Limburg, the stressed vowel is usually *i* rather than *e*, and the form <ligt> can in principle have a long vowel or a short one (in the latter case, it could have adopted it from the infinitive and 1SG., 1PL., 3PL., or it escaped open syllable lengthening). In some forms, e.g. *leet* in West Brabant, *g* may have been syncopated (van Loey 1976: 105). Forms with a short vowel (*legghet*) show the influence of the 1SG. and 13PL. forms with gemination.

Table 18. The 13th-century forms of *ligt* ‘lies’ as per CG. The numbers refer to the tokens attested in the corpus

	3SG. PRES. with <i>g</i> or <i>ch</i>	3SG. PRES. without <i>g</i> or <i>ch</i>
WFla.	<i>leget</i> 14, <i>legghet</i> 445, <i>ghelegghet</i> 1 <i>leeght</i> 3, <i>leecht</i> 2 <i>legghet</i> 1, <i>lecg(h)et</i> 1, <i>legt</i> 21, <i>leght</i> 6 <i>leighet</i> 1, <i>leicht</i> 2, <i>leight</i> 1 <i>licht</i> 2, <i>lich</i> 2, <i>lig</i> 1	<i>leit</i> 23, <i>leet</i> 1
EFla.	<i>leget</i> 17, <i>legghet</i> 249 <i>leeght</i> 8, <i>leecht</i> 10, <i>leegd</i> 2 <i>legghet</i> 15 <i>leg(h)t</i> 25, <i>legth</i> 2, <i>lecht</i> 5, <i>lecgd</i> 1	<i>leid</i> 5 (Oudenaerde), <i>leit</i> 97 (67 in Oudenaerde, 19 in Petegem, 1 in Geraardsbergen)
WBrab.	<i>geleget</i> 12 <i>leeght</i> 4, <i>leecht</i> 8 <i>legt</i> 16, <i>leg(h)t</i> 5, <i>gelegt</i> 2	<i>leiet</i> (Dilbeek 1296) <i>leit</i> 3 <i>leet</i> 3 (St-Genesius-Rode)
EBrab.	<i>leg(h)t</i> 5, <i>geleght</i> 1	<i>leit</i> 2 (Leeftaal)
NBrab.	<i>legt</i> 4	<i>leit</i> 2
Limburg	<i>leget</i> 1, <i>legt</i> 1, <i>ligit</i> 4 <i>ligt</i> 398, <i>light</i> 1, <i>liech</i> 2	<i>leit</i> 1, <i>leid</i> 1
Cleves/Guelders	<i>legit</i> 1, <i>ligit</i> 1, <i>leig</i> 1	
Holland	<i>leeght</i> 1, <i>lecgghet</i> 1, <i>leght</i> 1	<i>leit</i> 2
Zeeland	<i>legghet</i> 3, <i>leghd</i> 1	

The form *leit* is a (small) minority form everywhere, except for the East Flemish town of Oudenaerde. Here, *leit* is much more frequent than *legghet*, *leecht*. Nearly all these verb forms occur in the document CG nr. 1040 which collects the rents of the hospital of Oudenaerde. It is dated to 1291 but not all entries are from the same date or hand. The forms occurring in CG 1040 are *leit* (several dozens), *leid* (5x in one document) *leget* 2x, *legghet* 2x, *leecht* 4x, *leeght* 1x. The last two forms are in entries actually belonging to the fourteenth century. Thus, *leit* may belong to the dialect of one or more specific scribes.

Van Loey (1980: 58) assumes that the forms in *-ei-* have resulted from a development of *ege* > *ei*, but this is contradicted by the outcome *ege* > *ēge* > *leget*, *leecht*; note that both forms (with *ei* and with *g/ch*) can be found in the same places. In CRM14, 3s. *leit* ‘lies’ gains in relative frequency and is found in all regions of Dutch (beside *legghet*, which is found, e.g., in Groningen, Holland, Utrecht, Brabant, Zeeland, Flanders and Limburg, and *leeg(h)t* in Brabant). The fact that 13th-century *leit* is found in all major dialects, but everywhere as a minority form, could suggest the following solution. Regular ODu. *liget*

became early western and central MDu. *leget* > *leegt*. With inverted word order, and with a pronoun attached in enclitic position, syncope in a trisyllabic form would apply, hence **liget* **hī* > *leget-ī* > *leg'ti* 'he lies'. In the latter form, the development to *leit-i* in Late Old Dutch would be comparable with the participle of 'to lay'. The variant *leit* would then have been generalized in the fourteenth century from inverted clauses.

29. *Leie* 'Lys', river name in Flanders. The oldest attested form is *Legia* (694 copy 941 to 11th c.), which is followed up by *Leia* (821 copy 941 to 1223), *Leie* (838 copy 941) and by the Romance outcome *Lis*, *Lisia*, *Lisa* (11th c.) which confirms an original sequence **gj*. Early MDu. *Leie* is attested as *leye* or *leie*, twice as *loye*, in West and East Flemish.

Usually, PGM. **gj* develops into a geminate **ggj* and then becomes Dutch *gg*, as in MDu. *brugge* < **brugjō* 'bridge'. This suggests that *Legia* > *Leia* did not contain consonantal **j* but vocalic [i], due to a date of borrowing of this hydronym after the rise of PGM. **gj* or possibly to the influence of a paradigmatic variant **legī* in an original *īljō*-stem.

30. *meid* 'young woman, maiden, maid' < **magabi-*. Old Dutch *magath*, *magathe* (DAT.SG., LW) and *maget* (NOM. and DAT.SG., MRB) retain *g*. The same is true for thirteenth-century Dutch, where the southeastern dialects show *i*-mutation of the stressed vowel to *e(e)*, viz. in DAT.PL. *meeghden*, *meghden* (EBrab.), whereas all other dialects retain unmutated *a(a)*, viz. in *maghet*, *maghede*, *magt*, *maeght*, PL. *magheden*, in *magit* (Cleves/Guelders), and in the diminutives *mage-diin*, *magedine* (WBrab.), *maghedekin* (WFla.). The few Early Middle Dutch attestations from Holland and Zealand also have no *i*-mutation: *magheden* (PL.; 2x Kloosterzande in Zealand, 6x Hol.), *maghet* (2x EHoll.), *maghen* (2x Dordrecht). The evidence from CG also shows that syncope of the second vowel was spreading in the thirteenth century. Similarly, **maga/id-dōm* 'maidenhood' results in *magitum* (Cleves/Guelders, 1201–25), *magedum* (Limburg, 1240), and with syncope in *maeghdomlec* 'maidenly' (EBrab.).

In Late Middle Dutch, forms with *ei* surface in northern coastal Dutch dialects: *meyt* (Delft, 1488), *eenen cleenen meytken* (DAT.; Holl.). In 1599, Kiliaan attributes *meyd* to Friesland, Guelders and Holland; *meyt* is further found in *Utrechts Placaatboek* (1571), and in the Hollandish literature of the seventeenth century (even as *mayt* in Hooft). The time and regions where *maghet* and *meid* first appear imply that, in spite of the form *magit* in the southeastern romance *Floyris ende Blantseflur* (1201–25), Dutch *meid* does not reflect **agi-* > **egi-* > **eji-* > *-ei-* as held by Schönfeld & van Loey 1970: 77 and EWN. In fact, the second syllable contained *a* in western Old Dutch. Rather, *meid* developed in or around Holland from **magd-* which had arisen in polysyllabic forms such

as the oblique singular and the plural paradigm. The rise of *ei* presupposes syncope of schwa in such forms. It is striking that *ei* only appears at the very end of the Middle Dutch period. In contrast, *ei* appears much earlier and geographically more widespread in *meisen* and *meisje*, to which we turn now.

31. *meisen* 'young girl'. The diphthong is found from the earliest attestations onwards, and the spellings with <c> in 1236 and with occasional <ss> in later texts point to voiceless /s/: *meicin*, *meisin* (Ghent, 1236), *meisijn* (EFla., 1290), *een maysen kint* (1315). Early MoDu. *meysen* is found quite generally in Holland, Zealand and Flanders, but also in Brabant (Lindemans 1954: 265); Kiliaan has *meysden*, *meysen*. Voiceless *s* suggests a preform **meid-sin* > *meissin*. All early forms stem from coastal Dutch, where we also first find *g*-palatalization in the simplex *meid* in the fifteenth century (see nr. 30 above). Thus, *meissin* goes back to **meidsin* < **magdsin*- < **magad-sin*- (Lindemans 1954: 264, Schönfeld & van Loey 1970: 228). The length of the derivative explains why syncope and hence *g*-palatalization affected this word a few centuries before the simplex *meid*.

The diphthong *ei* develops via *ai* into *aa* in several modern dialects. An early example is *maasen*, PL. *maasens* (Biestkens, *De Klucht van Claas Kloet*, 1619) in Amsterdam. In South Brabant, the diminutive *masken* (first attestation: *maesken* 1766, Brussels) is widespread in the twentieth century. According to Lindemans 1954: 265f., *meisen* > *masen* arose in Brussels, at the earliest around 1600, and *masken* is its local diminutive. From there it spread to the surrounding area.

32. *meiskin*, *meisje* 'little girl'. Early MDu. *meiskin* and *meisken* in West Flemish, and *meiskijn* also occurs in other Hollandish and Flemish sources before 1500. The complete absence of forms in *d* makes the etymology **magid-skin*- (Lindemans 1954: 264) unlikely, even though it cannot be completely excluded. Since suffixation of *-kijn* is regular after words ending in *s*, *meis-kijn* could be a conscious remake on the basis of *meisin*, after **meidsin* > *meissin* had become morphologically opaque in Middle Dutch when *-sin* died out as a diminutive suffix.

The form *meisken* is still quite general in all of southern Early Modern Dutch; later it was replaced by *meisje* on the basis of Hollandish. In Holland, *meisje* makes its first appearance in 1600. It may be due to a replacement of the suffix *-ke* by the productive diminutive *-je*, or it may have arisen as a backformation to *meissen*, *maassen*, which looked like plural forms to a singular **meis*, **maas*. The presence of *d* in Kiliaan's *meyd-sken* is problematic in that *-sken* is normally only added to velar-final stems; from *meid*, the regular southern Dutch diminutive would be *meidje*. Hence, *meydsken* looks like a remake of earlier MDu. *meisken*.

33. *Mein-* in personal names < **magina-* ‘force, power’. Examples from the Old Ghent documents are *Meinburg* (11th c.+), *Meingaudus* (994, Tournai), *Meinger* (941–55), *Meinardus* (11th c.+), *Meinnelda* (1234–35), *Meinsendis* (early 12th c.), *Megesuindis* (1108–18) beside *Meinswindis* (11th c.), *Meinoldus* (12th c.), *Meinzo* (11th c.+); cf. Tavernier-Vereecken 1968. In Old Saxon, *Mein-* for earlier *Megin-* is attested from the early ninth century onwards, cf. Schlaug 1962: 131–3. Spellings with *g* still occur in the oldest Werden charters (e.g. *Meginleuus* 797, *Meginulfus* 799) and in some other documents, but must soon have become an archaizing feature (Schlaug 1955: 127).
34. *peil* ‘level’ < **pagila-*. From this noun was derived a verb *peilen* ‘to measure’. In Middle and Early Modern Dutch, there is a clear geographic distinction between palatalization in coastal dialects and the retention of *g* in Brabant and eastern dialects. For instance, we find MDu. *peil*, *ghepeilen* ‘to measure’, *wijnpeylder* ‘who measures the wine’ in Holland, Early MoDu. *peylen* ‘to measure’, *peyl* ‘measure, level’ in Holland, and *peyl* ‘task’, *peylen* ‘to give a task’ in Flanders. We have *peil(en)* *passim* in Hollandish sources from the seventeenth century on, but MDu. *pegel*, Kiliaan *peghel* ‘measure, level’, also ‘pint’ in Saxon and Guelrish, as well as *peghele* ‘to measure’ and *peghele* ‘who measures’. In the modern standard, *peil* ‘level’ and *pegel* ‘level mark’ coexist with semantic differentiation.
35. *Pendrecht* < *Pagin-drecht*. A toponym in South Holland (now a part of Rotterdam), attested as ODu. *Paindrech* (1105–20 copy ca. 1420), *Pahindreht* (1114–20), *Pagindreht*, *Paindreht* (1167), *Paindreht* (1169), *Peydreth* (1199); MDu. *Paindreht* (1313, 1323, 1329) beside *Peendrecht* (1324) in the count’s administration of Holland.

The first member may be identical with MLG and eastern MDu. *page* ‘horse’, an *n*-stem (van Berkel & Samplonius 2006: 361), in which case this is the most westerly attestation of that noun. The twelfth-century attestations suggest original **Pagin-dreht* which developed into *Paindreht* (assuming *h* in *Pahindreht* to be a hiatus) and unattested **Peindreht*. The name then either lost or did not spell the nasal (*Peydreth*) or monophthongized the diphthong and shortened it before the consonant cluster (*Peendrecht* > *Pendrecht*).

- 36a. *regel* f. ‘rule, line’ < **regulō-* from Lat. *rēgula* (OHG *regula*, *regile*, MoHG *Regel*, OE *regol*). Early MDu. *regle* (Limburg, 1240), *reghele* ‘ruler; regimen, canon’, in Late Middle Dutch usually *regel(e)* but also *regule*.
- 36b. Late MDu. *reggele* ‘row’.
- 36c. Late MDu. *righele* (Ghent, 1380) ‘cross-bars’, *rigelen* (northeastern Dutch) ‘shelves’. Early MoDu. *rijcghele*, *rijghel*, variant *richel* (Kiliaan, 1573, 1599), *rychelen* (PL.; 1688), StDu. *richel* ‘ledge’; also *verrigelen* ‘to tax’ (16th c., North Holland).

The three variants *a*, *b* and *c* are given according to the different stressed vowels in Middle Dutch, viz. /e:/, /ɛ/ and /i:/. There is some uncertainty in the dictionaries about whether all these words go back to Latin *regula* 'rule', and by which path. Some variants have been claimed to reflect a separate Proto-Germanic word **rigala-* which partly merged with *regula*. I follow the reasoning of Franck & van Wijk (1912 s.v. *regel*) and of EWN, viz. that all the attested meanings can be derived from Latin *regula* and that there is no need to assume two different etyma. The semantic differentiation between 'rule', 'row', 'shelves', etc. can be understood on the basis of the explanation put forward by Franck & van Wijk.

Thus, 36a *regel* probably shows the effect of the learned word *regula* which caused the restoration of *g* at several moments in history. The form 36b *reggele* must have arisen from **regle* by means of fortition of *g* before *l*, and thus stands very close to the form of 36a. In 36c, the long *ī* of *richel* can be explained from Latin *ē* having been adopted as *ī* by the Germanic vowel system. This adoption is typical of the earliest layer of Latin loanwords with *ē*, such as Dutch *krijt* 'chalk' and *ijken* 'to check': at that period, there was no other long vowel phoneme corresponding to Latin *ē*. Syncope in trisyllabic forms would have yielded **rīglen* in Late Old Dutch, whence with fricative fortition *rijchel* and, with concomitant vowel shortening before the cluster /xl/, the variant *richel* /rixəl/. One could alternatively explain *richel* from an original short **i* in **rigulō-*, as in the case of *tichel* 'tile' < **tigulō-* < Lat. *tegula*, but contrary to what is found for 'tile', there are no early Eastern Dutch attestations of /i/ in the first syllable (though compare OHG *rigil*, MoHG *Riegel* < **rigila-*). The western location of the attestations of *richel*, and the fact that they do not appear before Kiliaan, suggest that they go back to earlier **rīgl-*.

No forms in *reil(-)* are attested; WFle. *reile* 'lath' is regarded as a loanword from French *reille* by WNT.

37. *regen*, *rein* 'rain' < **regna-*, *regenen* 'to rain' < **regnōn-* or **regnjan-*. Old Dutch has *regan* (NOM.SG., WPs. and LW) and *regin* (ACC.SG., WPs.). In Early Middle Dutch, *g* is retained in southern and eastern dialects: *reg(h)en* (Limburg, Cleves/Guelders, Brabant, EFla.), *regenwater* (Limburg, 1240), and in the verb *regenen/reggenen* (from Limburg to East Flanders). West Flemish sources from the thirteenth century vacillate between *eg* and *ei*. In the verb, *rein-* (12x) is the only attested form. In the noun, *rein-* occurs in the genitive and dative singular (*reins*, *reine*) and also in fifty percent of the NOM.ACC. forms (*rein* 8x) and in the compound *reinwater* (3x), as against *reghen* (7x), *reghene* (1x), and *reghenboghen* 'rainbow'. A possible interpretation of this variation is that the disyllabic form *regen* remained unchanged, whereas polysyllabic forms such as GEN.SG. **regenes*, 3SG.PRES. **regenet*, PRET. **regenede* underwent syncope and *egn* became *ein*. We also find *rein*, *reen* in Late Middle Flemish, and Kiliaan (1599) ascribes *reyn* and the verb *reynen* to Flanders and Guelders.

38. *Reinhard*, *Reinaert* < **ragin-hard*-. The noun **ragin*- ‘counsel, decision; fate’ occurs very frequently as the first element of personal names. Whereas *g* is always found palatalized in *Reinhard*, some of the other Old Dutch names preserve *g* in old attestations, for instance *Regenbaldus* (12th c.) beside *Reinboldus* (1034–58; 12th c.), *Reiboldi* (1201–50); *Regenfridus* (838) beside *Reinfridus* (996–1029), *Reynfridus* (1124), *Reinfridus* (1162), etc. (from the 11th c.); *Regemarus* (12th c.) beside *Reimarus* (12th c.), cf. Tavernier-Vereecken 1968: 58–61. By comparison, in Old Saxon, *Reinbrat* first appears in an 833 document (copy 901–55) from Werden (Blok 1960: 202, nr. 46), although the same name is spelled as *Reginberti* in the list of witnesses at the end of the document. *Rein*- and *Rayn*- are also frequently found in the personal names from the ninth century of the *Traditiones Corbeienses*, which are preserved in an eleventh-century copy (Schlaug 1962: 144–7). Thus, the change of *Regin*- > *Rein*- can be dated contemporaneously with that of *Megin*- > *Mein*-.
39. ODu. *sigil* in the Latin text *porcos tempore glandinis quod sigil uocant pascendos introducant* ‘they let the pigs in to let them eat in the time of the acorns, which they call *sigil*’. This is an unedited fragment from the Gysseling collection, dated to around 1131 and without known provenance (ONW s.v. *sigil*¹). The gloss *sigil* seems to refer to the acorn harvest, and accordingly a connection with ODu. *sigan*, MoD *zigen* ‘to collapse, fall down, descend’ has been proposed. The word could represent a deverbal *l*-adjective **sig-ila*- or **sīg-ila*-. If this etymology is correct, it would show that *g* was retained between to *i*-vowels at this stage of Old Dutch. Since we know nothing about the history of the text fragment, it is possible that *sigil* was copied from an earlier source; hence 1131 is only a terminus post quem non.
40. *steil* ‘steep’ < **staig-la*- (Seebold 1970: 466) or **staigula*- (Heidermanns 1993: 541f.). The adjective is derived from the verb *stijgen* < **stigan*-, cognate forms being OHG *steigal*, MHG *steigel*, and OE **stægle*. The *g* is lost in all Dutch descendants (Middle and Modern Dutch *steil*) and in most of Low German (usually MLG *steil* but also *stegel*). The Germanic reconstruction is not completely clear: as noted by Heidermanns, adjectives in **-la*- suffixed to the root in the PGm. *a*-grade are rare. The more usual form of the suffix is **-ula*-, but then the root usually takes the zero grade. Hence, Heidermanns suggests that **staigla*- might be a contamination of **staigra*- ‘steep’ with **stikla*- ‘reaching up’. The existence of an adjective **staigra*- is shown indirectly in Dutch by its derived noun, MoDu. *steiger*, ODu. *stēger*, Early MDu. *steigher*, *stegher* ‘ladder, stairs’ < **staig-rō*-. Hence, for *steil* a preform **staigla*- seems more likely than **staigula*-.
41. *tegel*, *tichel* ‘tile’ < **tigulō*- < Lat. *tegula* and MDu. *tigele*, *tiechle* < **tēgulō*- < Lat. *tēgula*. The various reflexes show that two different Latin words were borrowed, viz. the older variant *tēgula* and a more recent variant *tegula*. The latter probably introduced the short root vowel of the verb *tegere* ‘to cover’. The long

ē is reflected in the OHG diphthongs *ia*, *ie* (OHG *ziegala*, *ziagal*), in OS *tēgala*, and in Middle Dutch spellings with *ie* (and probably also those with *tig-*). The short vowel appears in OE *tigele*, ON *tigl*, and is continued in Middle Dutch as /e:/ (from lengthening and lowering in open syllable), southeastern /i:/, and before *ch* as short /ɪ/. In Old Dutch, the noun is only attested in two toponyms, viz. *Tieglon* (1100), *de Tigele* (1195) 'Tegelen' in Limburg, and *Tigelrodo* (866 copy 18th c.), *Tigelrotha* (868 copy 18th c.), *Tithelrode* (1036 copy 1051–1100), *Tilroda* (1187), *Tilrode* (1206) 'Tielrode' in East Flanders. The latter name seems to lose its intervocalic *g* between 1036 and 1187; this is reminiscent of other sequences in **-igV-*, especially *ijl* 'leech'.

For the Middle Dutch period it is difficult to get a reliable geographic picture of the different variants with *e/ie/i* and *g/ch*. The fortition before *l* in *tichel* is not attested before 1350, and may be due to syncope in forms which in the thirteenth century still had *g*. Kiliaan (1599) seems to regard *tichel(steen)* 'tile' as the normal (that is, Brabantish) word, whereas he ascribes *teghel(steen)* to Saxon, Sicambrian (= Guelrish), Hollandish and Flemish. Compare the Middle Low German variants *teg(h)el*, *teigel*, western MLG *tichel*. No variant **teil* is attested.

42. *teil* 'trough' F. < **tigulō* < Lat. *tegula*. One Old Dutch form is attested in *thelen* (ACC.PL., 1199). Next comes the surname *Teil* (1284–95, WFla.) and Late Middle Dutch *teelen* (PL., 1441, Sluis in Flanders), *teele* in Flanders, Brabant, Zealand next to *teilen*. Kiliaan (1599) has *teyle* as his normal form, and *teele* as Flemish variant. In modern dialects, according to WNT, Zealand, Flanders and Twente have *teel(e)*, elsewhere we find *teil(e)* 'trough, bowl'.

This noun presents palatalization of *g* in all dialects, and a further change of *ei* to *ee* in Flanders and Twente. No forms preserving *g* are attested. The close connection with *degel*, *diggel*, originally 'pan, cauldron' obliges us to assume that *teil*, too, was borrowed from Latin *tegula*. Franck & van Wijk 1912 suggest that the general shift to *ei* in *teil* as opposed to the retention of *g* in *tegel* 'tile' was due to the semantic isolation of the meaning 'trough' of *teil*, whereas *tegel* retained the meaning of *tegula* and may have been reborrowed several times. In any case, the general loss of *g* in *teil* throughout Dutch and Low German renders an earlier stage **tegl-* very likely. The difference in vocalism with *degel*, *diggel* (see nr. 4 above) can be due to the same cause: fem. **tigulō-* would have become ODu. **tigl-* by syncope in most of its forms, unlike *degel* < **digl* < **digla-*.

43. *teil* 'tail' < **tagla-* (Got. *tagl*, OE *tægl*, OHG *zagal*, NHG *Zagel* 'tail'). In Early Modern Dutch we find *teil* with Frisian authors (Spranhuysen 1634, Hilarides 1695) and with Jacob Westerbaen from Holland (ca. 1650). In modern dialects of West Flanders (de Bo 1892, though unmentioned in WVD) and Zealand

(*teil*, *têele* ‘tail’ in WZD), *teil* is only attested in fixed, alliterating expressions, such as *van top tot teyl* ‘from tip to toe’, *over top en teil* ‘top over tail’, *met top en teil* ‘completely’, *teil noch top* ‘not at all’. In Groningen, the plural *tails* refers to a panicle of oats, and in North Holland, *teil* means the long, dried-out stalk of certain grasses.

It is striking that **tagla-* has palatalized reflexes in all coastal dialects, unlike *nagel* ‘nail’ < **nagla-*, where palatalization of *g* is only found in Frisian. Possibly, the appurtenance of *nagel* to the core vocabulary led to its introduction from the high-prestige, non-palatalizing varieties (Brabant, East Flanders) into all coastal dialects. The word *tagel*, however, was already replaced by *staart* in the inland dialects at the start of the Middle Dutch period, which would explain why *teil* could survive in specialized meanings in the coastal dialects.

44. *Teylingen* a toponym in South Holland. Found in Old Dutch as *Taglingi* (9th c. copy 11th c.) and *Teilinc* (end 12th c.?). Between 1200 and 1300, there are 69 attestations of the place-name, 29 of which have initial *T(h)ei/yl-* against 40 with *T(h)el-*. As there is no evidence for an original vowel between **g* and **l*, we may assume that *Teil-* directly reflects **Taglingja-*, a derivative of **tagla-* ‘tail’.
45. *vlegel* ‘flail’ < **flagila-*. The form *vlegel* with preserved *g* is at home in the inland dialects of Dutch but also occurs in Flemish and Hollandish. The earliest Middle Dutch forms are *vleghel* (Fla., 1380–1425), *vlegel* (Fla., 1351), and dative *vleigele* (Hol./Fla./Brab., 1390–1410). In Early Modern Dutch, the eastern and Brabantish vocabularies all have *vlegel*, but *vlegel* also occurs in texts from Holland. The palatalized form *vleil* is found especially in Flanders and Zeeland, thus in Middle Dutch plurals *vleyle* (Zeeland), *vleylen* (Bruges), and in modern West Flemish *vlei(e)l*, *vlei*.
46. *Weinebrugge*, a West Flemish toponym and the former name of St.-Michiels (near Bruges). The earliest attestations are *UWeinebrugge* (962 copy ca. 1050, 1038), *UUai[ne]brugge* (964), *UUanebrugge* (966), *UUeinabriga* (1089), *Weinabrigga* (1089), *Weinbrigga* (1089). The name has been interpreted as containing **wagna-* ‘cart, wagon’, see Leys 1961, who points to the toponym *Weynbritse*, *Wymbritse* (a regular reflex of **wagna-brugjō* in Frisian) in south-western Fryslân, which was Dutchified to *Waghenbrugge* in the fourteenth century. The disadvantage of this explanation is that ‘wagon’ normally retains its *g* in all periods and dialects of Dutch: ODu. *Uuaganuuenga* (838, kop. 1091–1100; unlocalized place on the Veluwe), Early MDu. *wag(h)en*, etc. Also the connecting vowel in *Wein-e-brugge*, *Wan-e-brugge* is difficult to explain from a masculine first member **wagna-*.

ONW interprets *Weinebrugge* together with West Flemish *Weinenduna* ‘Wenduinen’, *Weineuelt* ‘Winneveld’, and *Uuainau* ‘Weginooi’ as containing **wëgina-* ‘slanted’. The semantics of the latter three toponyms clearly seems in

favour of a first member meaning 'slanted' rather than 'wagon'. Though 'bridge of wagons' seems a possible meaning for *Weinebrugge*, 'slanted bridge' seems possible too. No final decision can be made.

47. *zege* 'victory' < **sigi-* or **sigu-*. After the loss of final *-z, the PGm. *s*-stem **segiz-* (Kroonen 2013: 430) went over to the *i*-stems or, less often, to the *u*-stems (as in OHG *sigu*), suggesting an original suffix alternation *-iz-/-az-/-uz-, cf. Casaretto 2004: 555–6. In compound names most of the evidence points to **sigi-* (OS *Sigi-*) but OHG also shows **sigu-* (*Sigobold*), see Braune & Reiffenstein 2004 § 220c. The appellative 'victory' is never found with palatalization of *g*: Early MDu. *sige* (Limburg 1240), *seghe* (WFla., WBrab.), MDu. *seghe*, MoDu. *zege*.

In compound names in Old and Early Middle Dutch the *g* has often disappeared. The Old Ghent documents show names in *Sige-* alternating with *Si-*: *Sigeburgis* beside *Siborch* (11th c.+), *Sigefridus* beside *Sifridus* (11th c.+), *Sigebertus* beside *Sibertus* (11th c.), and *Sigardus*, *Segardus* (10th c.) 'Sigegard', female *Sigarde* (1234–35, Fla.), *Siardis* (12th c.), *Ziardis* (1227), GEN. *Ziarde* (1234), NOM. *Syardis* (1241), cf. Tavernier-Vereecken 1968: 31, 83. In Egmond in North Holland, the male witnesses *Sibold* and *Sifridus* and female *Sigerda* 'Sige-Garda' (Oppermann 1933: 77, 79) have no *g*; maybe the names *Sibod-* and *Siwird-* attested in toponyms (12th c.) belong here too. Of course, in Egmond we may be dealing with Frisian names, compare Quak 2012a: 92. In the thirteenth century, we find **sigi-brand-* as *Sibrando*, *Sybrand* with /i/, as shown by MoDu. *Sijbrand*. The chronological co-occurrence of variants in *Sige-* and *Si-* suggests that *g* became *j*, followed by contraction of **Sije-* to *Si-*. This may be supported by the Old Saxon data, which are more numerous in the ninth and tenth centuries than Old Dutch. For instance, document nr. 39 from Blok 1960 (a Werden charter from 819, copy 901–950) contains the first attestation with palatalization: *signum Siiard* 'the signature of Sigihard'. At the same time, in the main text of this document, the Latinized form *ego Sigihard tradidi* is found. See Schlaug 1962: 150–2 for other Old Saxon attestations in *Si-* with loss of *g* from the ninth century.

The name *Sege* from **sigi-harja-* represents a somewhat different case, as it is the only name in **sigi-* to retain its *g* throughout Dutch; compare Old Ghent *Sigerus* (1098+), *Segere* (13th c.), etc. Apparently, *h* was lost in this compound, and the second and third syllable contracted before *g* could merge with *j*: **Sigi-harja-* > **Sigi-erja* = **Sigerja* > **Sigere*. In Xanten, the names *Sigeheri* and *Siger* are attested before 1045 (Tiefenbach 1984: 380).

48. *zegel* 'stamp' < **sigila-* N. < Lat. *sigillum*. Intervocalic -ig- is retained in Old Dutch, as shown by the Leiden Willeram: *insighela* 'in-stamp' (DAT.SG.), *besigelad*, -t (ADJ. NOM.SG.M.), *besigaladen* (DAT.SG.M.) 'sealed'. Similarly, *g* is preserved after 1200: Early MDu. *sigel* (Limburg, with regular lengthened /i:/ in this dialect),

elsewhere *zege*l, *zeigel* (with lengthening to /e:/), cf. Berteloot 1984a, Map 87. No variants of the type **seil*- are found in Middle or Modern Dutch.

49. *zegenen* 'to bless' < **segnōn*, borrowed from Lat. *signāre*. Old Dutch *gesegonot* 'blessed' (Middle Franconian Rhyming Bible) retains *g*. After 1200, palatalization to *ei* is found in Flanders, as opposed to the retention of *eg* (and fortition to *sech*-) in the other dialects: Early MDu. preterite *seinde* (10x WFla., 2x EFla.), present *seine*, *seinen*, *seint* (all 2x WFla.), as against ptc. *sechhende*, *segghende* 'blessing' (both 2x WBrab.), inf. *segghenes* (EBrab.), noun *seghghennynghen* (EBrab.). Later Middle Dutch texts also show *seinen* in Flanders but *seghenen*, *sechenen* elsewhere. This opposition is explicitly recognized by Kiliaan (1599) and can be found in modern dialects: *zeinen* in Flanders, *zechenen* in Brabant and Limburg. The pervasive reflexes *ei* and *ech* in Early Middle Dutch confirm that we must base our reconstruction on the contact between *g* and *n* (as in OS *segnon*, OE *segnian*), the *o* of ODu. *gesegonot* and the *a* of OHG *segonon* being anaptyctic vowels. The expansion of modern *zegenen* may be due to the support of the noun *zegen* (which is first attested in the sixteenth century).
50. *zeggen* 'to say' < **sagian*-. The *g* is preserved in all Old Dutch forms: *sagen* and *sagon*, ptc. *gesaget*, *gesagot*, pret. *sagete*, *sagode*, etc. Early Middle Dutch normally has the variant *seide* in all preterite forms, with the exception of *seg(h)ede* in sources from Limburg and Holland. In the fourteenth century, according to CRM14, *seg(h)ede* is typically found in northeastern Dutch, further only *wi seggheden* (Utrecht, 1333), *hi seghede* (Alkmaar, 1348), *sij zegeden* (Den Bosch, 1382).

In the past participle, *-ei-* is the rule in the thirteenth century in West and East Flanders, in adjacent Mechelen and Duffel, and in the Cleves/Guelders region, and *-ei-* is also found in Utrecht and Holland. South and East Brabant and Limburg usually have *gheseg(e)t*. This picture is confirmed by CRM14: the participle is *gheseit* 'said', *vor(e)seit* 'aforementioned' in all regions except for northeastern *gheseget*. More sporadic traces of *g* are clustered in North Brabant (e.g., *vorghesegde* Helmond 1316, *voregheseget* Waalwijk 1304, *gheseget* Den Bosch 1338, *onweders/zeghet* Breda 1354, 1380), and southwest of Antwerp (*vorsegh*t Rupelmonde 1335, 1359, *onverzeghet* Dendermonde 1328). West Limburg often has *(ghe)seet* with intervocalic *g*-loss. An isolated relic form is *voersegheden* 'aforementioned' in Egmond (North Holland) in 1336.

The 3SG.PRES. normally retains *g* in Early Middle Dutch *seg(h)et*, *segt*, *segghet*. Sporadically, *ei* occurs in Flemish, viz. in *ontseit-si* 'she refuses' (*Rijmbijbel*, 1285), *wederseit* 'contradicts' (2x in Ghent, 1237, versus 1x *weder seghet* in the same text), *wederseit* (Bruges, 1281; WFla., 1287). In the 2SG.PRES., where *seges*, *segs* are the usual forms, we find once *du seits* (*Wisselau*, WBrab., 1291–1300) and thrice *du seids* (*Rijmbijbel*, WFla., 1285). In CRM14 the 3SG. present is not very frequent. Retention of *g* appears to have been the rule in East Flanders,

Brabant and Limburg, whereas South Holland shows *seit* ‘says’, a form that is sporadically also found in Brabant (Tongerlo 1311, Sint-Pieters-Leeuw 1313, 1325, Zoutleeuw 1393). There are only two disyllabic forms in the whole corpus, in West Brabant (*zeghet* in Dendermonde 1328 and Merchtem 1343). More usually we find *seg(h)t*, or, with syncope of *g*, *seet* in Limburg (Hasselt, Diepenbeek).

For the modern dialects, van Bree (1969, 1971) has investigated the distribution of variants for the past participle, which concur to a large degree with the Middle Dutch data. In Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and Flanders, the vowel matches that of the reflex of WGM. **ai*, which means that we can equate the forms *zeit*, *-zait*, *-zoit*, *-zæt* in those dialects with MDu. *gheseit*. There is a clear isogloss (van Bree 1971: 351) between this western area with *ei* and the inland dialects of Brabant and southern Guelders where the vowel of the participle matches the reflex of WGM. **e* in open syllable, continuing MDu. *geseget*.

A synoptic look at the three verbs *leggen*, *liggen* and *zeggen* may be useful, see Table 19. The distribution of Early MDu. *sei-* and *seg-* is pretty much the same as with *lei-* and *leg-* in ‘to lay’: *ei* occurs in most dialects in the preterite, and in the coastal dialects and the Cleves/Guelders area also in the participle. In contrast, *ei* only appears sporadically in the 3sg. of the present. In his analysis, van Bree (1971: 347) does not decide between preforms **gisagid* or **gisegd* << **gisagd* for the coastal form in *ei*, but the Old Saxon data show that the match between grammatical form and phonetic development is much the same as for *leggen* ‘to lay’. In Old Saxon, the preterite participle is *gesagda* in Heliand ms. M, *gisagda* in C, V 1327, and the preterite 1+3 sg. is *sagda* (CVP), *sagde* (in M, but also *sagda*), 2sg. *sagdas*, plural *sagdun*, optative *sagdi*, *-n* (Gallée 1993: 267). If we assume that Old Dutch had similar verb forms as Old Saxon and Ripuarian, the prevailing *ei* in the Dutch preterite and the western *ei* in the past participle can be explained from suffixless forms where *g* and *d* were in contact (similarly Frings 1967: 336). We may assume that the preterite had become **segda* in Old Dutch on analogy of the present stem; compare the existence of *legda* in ms. M of the Old Saxon Heliand.

In Old Saxon, the 3sg.pres. is *sagit* in Heliand C, *sagid* in the Prudence glosses, *sagad* in Heliand M, and *sagat* in Genesis. This suggests that MDu. *seg(h)et* is the regular phonetic reflex of **sagit*; the rare variant *seit* must be due to a special cause. We cannot explain attested 3sg. *seits*, *seit* as analogical to the preterite, since the forms are (nearly) homonymous with the preterite 2sg. and 3sg. *seid(e)s*, *seid(e)*. Thus, the solution may be the same as we have proposed for 3sg. *leit* ‘lies’ next to *leghet*, *legt*. Whereas the regular development of **sagit* led to *seghet*, it may have become *seit* in combination with a following enclitic pronoun: **sagit *hī* > **sag’tī* > *seidi*. This would fit the earliest Flemish

attestations of *seit* ‘says’, and the alternation between *weder seghet* and *wederseit* in Ghent 1237 and the forms *wederseitse* and *ontseitsi* in van Maerlant’s West Flemish, very well.

Table 19. *g*-forms of *liggen*, *leggen* and *zeggen*

	Early Middle Dutch	Old Dutch	Old Saxon
to lay’			
3SG.PRES.	<i>leget</i>	–	–
3SG.PRET.	<i>leide</i>	<i>legede</i>	<i>lagda, legda</i>
PTC.	<i>ghelegt / gheleit</i>	<i>geleget</i> (LW)	<i>gilegid</i>
to lie’			
3SG.PRES.	<i>leghet</i> , more rarely <i>leit</i>	<i>lighet</i> (LW)	<i>ligit</i>
to say’			
3SG.PRES.	<i>seget</i> , rarely <i>seit</i>	<i>saget</i> (MRB)	<i>sagit, sagad</i>
3SG.PRET.	<i>seide</i>	<i>sagode</i> (LW)	<i>sagda</i>
PTC.	<i>gheseit</i> (W, Center), <i>ghesege(e)t</i> (E)	<i>gesagot</i> (LW)	<i>gesagda, gisagda</i>

51. *zeil* ‘sail’ < **segla-*. The *g* is preserved in the Old Dutch gloss *segilgerden* ‘sail-rods’ and in the plural *segle* ‘sails’ in the *Glossarium Bernense* (Limburg, 1240). The other thirteenth-century tokens are all from the western dialects and all have palatalization: *seil* (12x Hol. and WFla.), *seilsteen* (WFla.), and the verb *seilen* ‘to sail’ (1x WBrab., 6x WFla.). The dictionary *Teuthonista* (1477) mentions both *segel* and *seil*. To Kiliaan (1599), *seyl* ‘cloth, sail’, *seylen* ‘to sail’ is the accepted variant, whilst he terms *seghel* an antiquated word for *seyl*. The noun is a neuter noun from the thirteenth century onwards in Dutch, as is MLG *segel*, *seil*. However, High German *segel* is masculine right up to the seventeenth century, when it becomes neuter under the influence of Low German (thus Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*). Possibly, the gender difference between High and Low German was originally semantically motivated, the masculine indicating an individual sail whereas the neuter referred to canvas as a the material (cf. Leiss 1997, Froschauer 2003). In Old English, *segl* is attested as a masculine in the singular, but both as a masculine and a neuter in the plural.
52. *zeine* ‘fishing net’ < Latin *sagēna*. In Middle and Modern Dutch, *g* is generally retained in most dialects except for Flemish and Hollandish: Early MDu. *see-gene* (Limburg 1240), DAT.SG. *seeghen*, *segenen* and NOM.PL. *seghene* (WBrab., 1291–1300), DAT.PL. *seghen* (NBrab., 1286), Late Middle Dutch has *seghen* in most sources. With palatalization we find PL. *seinen* (Ghent, 1433), dative *ter zeyn* ‘with a fishing net’ (Hol., 1514). Kiliaan (1599) has *seghene*, *saghene*, *seyne* ‘holl. fris.’, and *seyne*, *seyn-net*, *seygene* ‘fishing net’. Modern western dialects

have *sain* in Groningen (Molema 1895; this may be a Frisian loan), and West Flemish *seine*, *senne* (de Bo). Frisian also show palatalization: OWFri. *seine*, *sein*, MoWFri. *seine*.

53. *zeis* 'scythe' < **sagisnō*-. The change to *ei* can be observed in (nearly) all dialects, and forms with retained *g* are unknown. The noun displays a lot of variation in Dutch dialects, but most of it is due to a limited number of phonetic and morphological changes. The attested forms in Late Middle Dutch are *seysene* (Fla., 1350), *een seysene*, *seysine*, dimin. *seysenken*, *seysels* (PL.; WFla.); *seysen* (*Teuthonista*, 1477); *seysen* (northeastern Dutch, 1410–30), *zeynnen* (PL.; Hol.), *seynen* (Frisian statutes). Kiliaan (1599) lists *seyssen*, *seynsen*, *seyssel*, and he regards *seyne* as specifically "holl. fris. sicamb."; furthermore he gives *sende*. Nearly all modern dialects display (a reflex of) *ei*, compare the map in TNZN 1.13. The first syllable is mostly *zeis*-, *zèès*-, whereas metathesis to *-*ns*- is attested in a few areas: *zeinse*, *zeinze* in western Zeeuws Flanders, *zen* in Kennemerland (but *zaans* on Marken), *zein*, *zain* in Waterland, West-Friesland and Texel, *ze-nze* on Urk, *zende*, *zinde*, *zeinde* in northwestern Overijssel, Stellingwerwen and southern Drente, and *seine* and *saine* in Fryslân. See van Vessel 1956 for further details.

The attested variation can be explained along the following lines. The pre-form **sagis-nō*- led to MDu. *seisen(e)*, in which the suffix *-en* could be replaced by *-el* or (in some modern dialects) by *-em*. MoDu. *zeis* is a backformation provoked by a reinterpretation of *zeisen* as a plural in *-en*. The inherited form was competing with a metathesized form **saginsō* from an early stage on (Old Dutch or earlier), which led to an outcome *seynse*. The same metathesis is responsible for MoHG *Sense*. From *seynse*, the second *s* could be dropped analogically (because it was seen as a suffix) which yielded *zeynnen*, *seyne*. Dialectal *zende*, *zeinde* arose through the addition of a different suffix.

54. *zijl* 'canal'. Possibly this noun reflects the same **sigila*- or **sīgila*- seen in ODu. *sigil* 'acorn harvest' in nr. 39 above, derived from to the verb **sīgan*- 'to collapse, fall down, descend'. But *zijl* could also reflect the preforms **sig-la*- or **sīg-la*-. All the evidence comes from coastal Dutch, beginning with the toponym *Sigeldriht* (SHol.; 1101–50) 'Zijldrecht'. Early Middle Dutch has the m. DAT.SG. *sile*, ACC. *siil*, *zijl* (4x Hol., 1x eastern Dutch). After 1300 it also occurs as a feminine *zile*. Kiliaan (1599) defines *sijle*, *sille* as Hollandish and Frisian. In Modern Dutch, the noun is found in the toponym *Zijl* 'canal'.

9.2.2 Summary and discussion

In order to assess the value of the evidence under review I will analyse it according to six different phonetic contexts in which Old Dutch *g stood before any syncope of internal vowels took place: (a) word-internal *-VgC-, (b) word-internal *-VgC- alternating with *-VgV- (e.g. in masculine *la-* and *na-* stems), (c) word-internal *-VgV- in simplexes in all forms of the paradigm (e.g. in *ila-* stems, in feminine *ulō-* stems), (d) word-internal *-Vgi- in compounds, (e) word-final *-Vgi(V), and (f) word-final *-Vg#. Tables 20 to 25 specify whether the relevant forms have (1) palatalization in all forms, in all dialects (ALL), (2) never palatalization in any dialect (NONE), (3) palatalization in some dialects (SOME).

The evidence in Table 20 shows that gC always palatalized into jC across all dialects of Dutch. True, the evidence for the following consonant is restricted to *d* and *l*, and the preceding vowel is mostly *e* or at least it could be. In **tagla-* we have a certain case of **ag*, but here the palatalization is restricted to coastal Dutch. The verb *zeinen/segghenen* has -*gn-* but the exact reason for the partial absence of palatalization is unclear. Maybe *g* was restored in the dialects that have *segghenen*, or *gn* palatalized regularly only in coastal Dutch.

Table 20. The evidence from word-internal *-VgC-

All	Some
<i>breidel</i> (* <i>bregdila-</i>) ‘bridle’	<i>zeinen</i> (CDu.) / <i>segghenen</i> (* <i>segnōn-</i>) ‘to bless’
<i>breien</i> (* <i>bregdan-</i>) ‘to knit’	
<i>leide</i> (* <i>lagd-</i> or * <i>legd-</i>) ‘laid’ (pret.)’	
<i>zeide</i> (* <i>sagd-</i> or * <i>segd-</i>) ‘said’	
<i>steil</i> (* <i>staigla-</i>) ‘steep’	
<i>teil, Teilingen</i> (CDu.) (* <i>tagla-</i>) ‘tail’	

Table 21. The evidence from word-internal *-VgC- alternating with *-VgV-

None	Some
<i>deger</i> (* <i>digra-</i>) ‘thick’	<i>brein</i> (CDu.) / <i>bregen, bragen</i> (* <i>bragna-</i>) ‘brain’
<i>leger</i> (* <i>legra-</i>) ‘lair’	<i>dein</i> (Fle.) / <i>degen</i> (* <i>pegna-</i>) ‘thane’
	<i>rein</i> (Fle.) / <i>regen</i> (* <i>regna-</i>) ‘rain’
	<i>zeil</i> (CDu.) / <i>segel</i> (* <i>segla-</i>) ‘sail’

The evidence in Table 21 concerns stems in *-la-*, *-na-* and *-ra-*, which would have a paradigmatic alternation between, e.g., NOM.ACC. **segal* versus GEN.SG. **segles*, DAT. SG. **seglo* in Old Dutch. Hence, there were varying conditions for the palatalization of *g*. The two *ra-* stems never show palatalization, which may be due to the phonetics of *r*. The other four stems show occasional (*rein*) or regular palatalization to *ei* in coastal

dialects versus the retention of *g* elsewhere. It is likely that, at least in coastal Dutch, an alternation between variants with *g* and with palatalization arose (e.g., between **segel* and **seil-*), which was leveled in the favour of the *ei*-forms. For non-coastal dialects, the existence of a similar alternation cannot be defended on the basis of Table 21.

Table 22, however, implies just such an alternation. Disyllabic stems in *-*ula-* or *-*ila-*, which would have had a vowel in between *g* and *l* at all times during Old Dutch (e.g., **kegel*, **kegeles*), generally retain *g*, as do the preposition *jegen(s)* and the noun *zege*. An exception is *vleil*. The retention in *regel* and *tegel* may be due to restoration of *g* from the Latin source word. By contrast, words of three or more syllables in Middle Dutch (which includes the stems in *ulō-* and *-*ilō-*, which yield MDu. NOM.ACC.SG. *-ele*) tend to show palatalization of *g*. Among this latter group, there are two subtypes: *g* is always palatalized in *eizen*, *meisen*, *teil* and *zeis*, whereas the other words show palatalization in coastal Dutch but not in the dialects of the interior. This points to syncope of word-internal schwa as a condition for the palatalization. In words such as **egison* and **magadsin*, syncope apparently happened in all dialects. In feminine *-u/ilō-*stems, the Early Middle Dutch paradigm would have been, e.g., NOM.ACC. **tegele*, GEN.DAT. **tegelen*, both offering a possible environment for *e*-syncope (as opposed to the m.n. *u/ila-*stems). The alternations between *leget* and *leit* 'lies', and between *geleged* and *geleid* 'laid', also suggest that the length of the word (here maybe governed by the occurrence of enclitic pronouns) influenced the rise of *ei*. The fact that most *ei*-forms occur in coastal Dutch needs to be explained in connection with regional tendencies regarding syncope of unstressed vowels.

Table 23 collects the palatalizations in compound names in *-e/ige-*, *-e/igi-*. Here, palatalization is found in the west (Ghent) and east (Ripuarian, Old Saxon) from the ninth or tenth century on. Since syncope does not otherwise occur in names with a disyllabic first member, and since there is no written evidence for a stage **egC*, it appears that *g* phonetically became *j* so that **egi* (and **ege* as in *Thegen-* > *Thein-*) was interpreted as *ei*. The early date of palatalization in names as compared to appellatives suggests that the prosodic characteristics of the names may have been instrumental in bringing about the change. The names were compounds with a primary and a secondary accent and an unstressed vowel in between (e.g. **Ēngil-brāht*). In such a structure, the intermediate vowel could be reduced more than in trisyllabic simplex forms of the type **ēngilu* (DAT.SG.). This explanation of the type *Thein-*, *Eil-* is supported by the retention of *g* in *Sigheheri* > *Segere*. Here, the loss of *h* and the subsequent contraction changed the rhythmic structure of the name: instead of a compound with a main accent and a secondary one, as **Sígi-hàri* would have been, it became a single-membered name with a single accent, **Ségere*. Ascribing the earliest layer of palatalization to the rhythmic structure of words is also supported by the oldest appellative form to show palatalization, viz. WPs. *eiselika* vs. *egislikes* (confirmed by MRB *eislich*): as is well known, the suffix *-*lik*-retained secondary accentuation for a long time.

Table 22. The evidence from word-internal *-VgV- in simplexes

All	None	Some
<i>eizen</i> ‘be afraid’ (* <i>agisōjan</i> -)	<i>degel</i> , <i>diggel</i> (* <i>digula</i> -) ‘platen, shard’	<i>dweil</i> (CDu.) / <i>dwegel</i> (* <i>pwagilō</i> - / -a-?) ‘towel’
<i>meisen</i> (* <i>magad-sin</i> -) ‘maiden’	<i>egel</i> (* <i>egila</i> -) ‘hedgehog’	<i>eide</i> (CDu.) / <i>egede</i> (* <i>agipō</i> -) ‘harrow’
<i>teil</i> (* <i>tigulō</i> -) ‘trough’	<i>ekster</i> (* <i>aga/istrjōn</i> -) ‘magpie’	<i>heydisse</i> (CDu.?) / <i>egedis</i> (* <i>ag^wi-pahs(j)</i> - <i>ōn</i> -) ‘lizard’
<i>zeis</i> (* <i>sagisnō</i> -) ‘scythe’	<i>jegen(s)</i> (* <i>gagin</i>) ‘toward’	<i>ijl</i> (CDu.) / <i>echel</i> (* <i>egilō</i> -/* <i>egalō</i> -) ‘leech’
<i>zijl</i> (* <i>sig(i)la</i> -) ‘canal’	<i>kegel</i> (* <i>kagila</i> -) ‘cone’	<i>heinen</i> (CDu.) / <i>hegenen</i> (* <i>xaginōn</i> -) ‘to fence’
	<i>kregel</i> (* <i>krigila</i> -) ‘touchy’	<i>keilen</i> (CDu.) / <i>kegelen</i> (* <i>kagilōn</i> -) ‘to throw’
	<i>regel</i> , <i>reggele</i> (* <i>rigulō</i> -) ‘rule’	<i>geleid</i> (passim) / <i>geleged</i> (* <i>lagid</i> -) ‘laid’
	<i>rigel</i> , <i>richel</i> (* <i>rīgulō</i> -) ‘cross-bar’	<i>leit</i> (passim) / <i>leget</i> (* <i>legit</i>) ‘lies’
	<i>tegel</i> , <i>tichel</i> (* <i>tigulō</i> -) ‘tile’	<i>meid</i> (CDu.) / <i>maagd</i> (* <i>magapi</i> -) ‘maid’
	<i>zegel</i> (* <i>sigila</i> -) ‘seal’	<i>peil(en)</i> (CDu.) / <i>pegel(en)</i> (* <i>pagila</i> -) ‘level’, ‘to measure’
	<i>zege</i> (* <i>sigu</i> -) ‘victory’	<i>vleil</i> (CDu.) / <i>vlegel</i> (* <i>flagila</i> -) ‘flail’ <i>gezeid</i> / <i>gezeged</i> (* <i>sag(i)d</i>) ‘said’ <i>seit</i> (CDu.) / <i>seget</i> (* <i>sagit</i>) ‘says’ <i>seine</i> (CDu.) / <i>seegen</i> (* <i>saginō</i> -) ‘net’

Table 23. The evidence from word-internal *-Vgi- in compounds

All	Some
<i>Eil</i> - (Fle.) / <i>Egil</i> - (Rip.) (* <i>agil</i> -)	<i>egislikes</i> but <i>eiselika</i>
<i>Mein</i> - (Fle. OS) / <i>Megen</i> - (* <i>magin</i> -)	
<i>Rein</i> - (Fle. OS) / <i>Regen</i> - (* <i>ragin</i> -)	
<i>Sij</i> - (passim) / <i>Sege</i> - (* <i>sigi</i> -)	
<i>Thein</i> - (Fle., OS) / <i>Thege/an</i> - (* <i>pegna</i> -)	
<i>Frilingim</i> (< <i>Frigel</i> -) 11th c. Fla.	
<i>Pendrecht</i> (< * <i>Pagin</i> -) Hol.	
<i>Tilroda</i> < <i>Tigelroda</i> 11th/12th c. Flanders	
<i>Gheinmar</i> (Fle.) < * <i>Gagin</i> -?	

Word-final *-*ag* yields -*ei* in absolute auslaut in coastal Dutch in the names in -*Dei*, in *kei*, and maybe in the suffix -*eie* (Table 25).

An outcome **igC* > /i:C/ is attested in *ijl(e)* ‘leech’, *sile*, *sijle* ‘canal’ and the personal names in *Si-*, *Sij-*; and possibly also in *Frilingim* in *Tilroda*. On the other hand, **igi* yields *ege* in *kregel*, *tegel*, *zege* and *zege*. This means that the palatalization of *g* to yield *ij* took place before short **i* plus retained *g* was lowered to *eg* in open syllable in Late Old Dutch. The spelling <ij> is clearly secondary in *ijzen* ‘to be afraid’ for earlier *eisen*, and probably also in Hollandish *brijne* next to *breyne* (Flemish, Frisian *brein*).

To sum up, we cannot postulate a single sound law to account for all the evidence. The palatalized forms in Tables 23 and 20 exclude each other as to their context, whereas Tables 23 and 22 have a similar context but happened at different times. The forms in Tables 20, 21 and 22 might ultimately have the same phonetic conditions for palatalization (viz. preconsonantal position of *g*) but there are differences in the dialect geography between them. Like the existing handbooks (most closely to our findings is van Loon 2014: 187–88), we must therefore differentiate between a change affecting *egiC* in Old Dutch, and a later palatalization of *g* directly before a consonant. The latter is found more frequently in coastal Dutch dialects, but it is unclear whether this is due to different phonetics of *g* or to a different frequency of word-internal syncope of schwa.

Table 24. The evidence from word-internal **-Vgi(V)*

All

Leie (941) < *Legia* river

kei (**kagi*) ‘stone’

Table 25. The evidence from word-final **-Vg(V)#*

-Dei (CDu.) // *dag* (**daga-*) ‘day’

-eie < *-ege* F. agent noun

In chronological order, we can posit the following developments:

1. Old Dutch and Old Saxon **egi* developed into *ei* and **igi* into *ī* at an early stage in compound names, from 800 in Old Saxon.
2. The sequence Late ODu. **egC* regularly palatalized into Early MDu. *eiC*. If it occurred throughout the paradigm, palatalization is found in all dialects (*breien*, *leide*, etc.). If **egC* arose only in some forms of the paradigm, generally only the western Dutch dialects generalized *ei* (at least, before *l* and *n*).
3. The sequences **a/e/igVC* in Late Old Dutch could be subject to syncope of the unstressed vowel in Early Middle Dutch if they were followed by one or more syllables. When syncope occurred, the result could be palatalization to *ei* (before obstruents and resonants) or fortition of the fricative to a geminate *gg* or

ch (before *l, n* only). The result *ei* cannot be called “palatalization of *g* before *i*” since the unstressed vowel would have become schwa before 1200, and since *magad-* did not contain **i* in the second syllable. Palatalization to *ei* is more frequent in western dialects, though there are exceptions which occur across all dialects (e.g., *geleid*).

4. Palatalization of word-final *-a/e/ig* is sporadically found in western dialects (*-Dei, -eie*).

It seems likely that the phonemic shift of **g* to *j* after palatal vowels was caused by the merger with */j/* in the diphthong */ei/*, since we find general retention of */g/* after **ī* (*zijgen, krijgen*) and after the diphthong **ai* (*dreigen* ‘to threaten’, *eigen* ‘own’, *reiger* ‘heron’, *weigeren* ‘to refuse’). In other words, ODu. */g/* had an allophone [ɣ] near palatal vowels, but it shifted to */j/* only if it combined into another, already existing phonemic combination (compare van der Hoek 2010a: 5). This claim is supported by the retention of *g* in **-egr-*, **-agr-*, matching the fact that the sequence */eir/* did not exist in Old or Middle Dutch.

Among the alternating forms in Tables 21 and 22, there is a clear preponderance of palatalized forms in coastal Dutch dialects. This could be due to a different date of the word-internal syncope which created the cluster *gC*, to a different direction of paradigmatic leveling in the west than in the east, or to the different phonetics of */g/*. Since *ei* arose in words such as *zeis* and *zeide* in all dialects, it seems difficult to maintain that there was a decisive phonetic difference between western and eastern */g/*. There are some indications for different dialectal behaviour as regards the syncope of schwa in Early Middle Dutch. In trisyllabic word forms, Flemish sometimes has syncope where central Dutch dialects show apocope, e.g. in the DAT.SG. *segele* ‘seal’ giving *segle* versus *segel*, see Marynissen 1995: 100. It can be hypothesized that coastal Dutch more often applied syncope (*regenet* > *regnet*) whereas eastern Dutch preferred apocope or the syncope of the post-posttonic schwa (> *regent*), and that this ultimately led to a higher proportion of *ei*-forms in the west. It remains unclear why coastal Dutch would have preferred syncope. A more extensive investigation of syncope patterns in Old and Early Middle Dutch is required to clarify this point.

The reflex *teil* of **tagla-* ‘tail’ is striking in view of retained *g* in *nagel* ‘nail’ < **nagla-*, *hagel* ‘hail’ < **xagla-*, dial. *gagel* ‘gums, palate’ (Kiliaan *gaghel*) and *wagen* ‘car’ < **wagna-*. Possibly, the latter words represent the Franconian forms which were adopted by the speakers of coastal dialects when they shifted from Proto-Frisian to Franconian. We may then hypothesize that *teil* ‘tail’ was not replaced because its Franconian counterpart was the different lexeme MDu. *stert*, MoDu. *staart*.

9.3 The prefix *ge-/ (j)e-* < **ga-*

In Dutch lexemes, the sequences **ge-* and **gi-* are regularly written with <g(h)-> in Early Middle Dutch and realized with /y-/ in the modern standard if the vowel is stressed: MDu. *g(h)e(e)rne* ‘readily’, *g(h)even* ‘to give’, *g(h)elt* ‘money; infertile’, *g(h)esteren*, *g(h)isteren* ‘yesterday’, etc. The velar is also preserved in the sequence **gai-* which can yield *gee-* or *gei-*, as in *geest* ‘spirit, ghost’ and *geit* ‘goat’.

The only exception is the perfective and collective prefix PGm. **ga-*, which was palatalized in some of the western Dutch sources but is generally *ge-* in southern and southeastern Dutch. Which intermediate stages between **ga-* and the palatalized forms must we reconstruct for the different dialects, and how can we explain the geographic distribution of variants?

The use of **ga-* in Proto-Germanic depended on the semantics and pragmatics of the word, which means that **ga-* was an optional prefix. Verbs which already had another prefix, such as **bī-* or **fra-*, did not add **ga-*. This optionality partly explains the vacillation in its usage in later times.

In the Old Dutch Leiden Willeram, nearly all past participles take *ge-*, with the exception of *fundan* ‘found’, *cuman* ‘come’, and *worthan* ‘become’. The latter are also frequently found as *ge-*-less participles in later Dutch dialects (Weijnen 1976: 287). Some of the LW forms without *ge-* translate participles of the High German original that did have *ge-* (cf. Sanders 1974: 167): *the ther iugethet sint* ‘who are rejuvenated (there)’, *thaz branda siluer* ‘the purified silver’, *thiu uzera rinda ... in wine drunchan dualm machot* ‘the outer rind (...), drunk in wine, makes dizzy’, *gelich then scorenen scaphan* ‘like the shorn sheep’, *thero scorenon scapho* ‘of the shorn sheep’, *also ther wurzedo win* ‘like flavoured wine’. Except for *iugethet*, these participles are used as adjectives, and one might even take *iugethet* as an adjective, since *iugethen* (for OHG *iugên* of the *Vorlage*) denotes a process rather than an action. It might be the case that the Dutch translator of the Willeram consciously omitted *ge-* in these attributive participles. Sanders (1974: 169) implies that the translator’s prefixless participle has resulted from Anglo-Frisian palatalization: “Da für die frühe Zeit *ge-*-Abfall nur für das Friesisch-Nordholländische vorausgesetzt werden darf, liegt hier ein starkes Argument für Egmonder Herkunft der Handschrift.”⁶⁰ This view is not compelling. The syntactic similarity of the *ge-*-less forms in the Leiden Willeram points in the direction of a functional rather than a phonetic reason for the absence of *ge-*. Quite possibly, *ge-* was never generalized in the past participle in the dialect of the western Dutch scribe.

60. ‘Because procope of *ge-* can only be posited for Frisian-North Hollandic at this early period, this provides a strong argument for the manuscript originating from Egmond.’

There is one palatalized form in Leiden Willeram 51.13, viz. *iegiuan* ‘given’ (the original has *gegeban*), as against usual *ge-* (e.g. *gegiuon* 69.16). Sanders (1974: 168) concludes that the western Dutch copyist had the three prefix variants *ge-*, *ie-* and *zero* in his morphological system; but if *ie-* is an indicator of the genuine speech of the translator, he may have used only *ie-* versus *zero*. In that case, we can surmise that he pronounced written *ge-* of the model as *je-*, which shows up in writing only once in *iegiuan*. This conclusion is supported by the single occurrence of the preposition *iegen* for *egin* ‘against’ in the same text.

The other larger Old Dutch sources spell the prefix **ga-* as *ge-* throughout (MRB), or with *ge-* next to *gi-* (WPs.). Among the toponyms from before 1200, only Southwest-Flemish *Steniewerka*, *Stenieuuerka* ‘Steengewerck’ (= MDu. *steen ghewerke* ‘a stone construction’) shows *je-*.

The thirteenth century has been studied in detail by Berteloot (1984a, Map 145) and Mooijaart (1992: 184, 266ff.). Here, *i-* as opposed to *ghe-* is restricted to West Flanders and a single token in eastern Zeeuws Flanders. There are various ways of spelling the prefix, mainly as *i-*, *hi-*, *j-* or *y-*, which all seem to indicate /i/. Less frequent, but probably more archaic, is the spelling *ie-* for /je-/ or /jə-/ , as in *ie-waschen* ‘washed’ (Bruges, 1284). This variant is found more commonly in southwestern Flanders: *ieloven* ‘believe’ (Veurne, 1298), *jeconreit* ‘ready’ (Calais, 1253), *jemete* ‘gemet’ (Oudenburg, 1282). These forms suggest that the first step in the development was the palatalization of *ge-* to *je-*, later followed by contraction of *je-* to *i-* in most varieties. Still, *g(h)e-* remains the preferred written form in Flanders. Palatalized variants surface most frequently in documents from Bruges, especially in the participle. In the noun *gemet*, a toponym indicating a measure of land, *i-* occurs more widely in West Flanders. Other evidence for palatalization includes *jbanne* ‘banned’, *jwaerne* ‘to vouchsafe’, *ystade*, *jstade* ‘steady’, *hiheleke* ‘wholly’, *ymene* ‘mean’, *ylic* ‘equal’, *ywande*, *ijwande* ‘cloth; loom’ (van Haverbeke 1955: 73f.), *yslachte* ‘race, species’, *ynouch* ‘enough’. In inlaut of compounds we find palatalization in *landimarc* (= *lande ymaerke*) ‘border’ and *ja(e)r(h)itide* ‘season’ (MoDu. *getijde*).

The rise of the reflex *i-* is usually explained by the following chain of phonetic changes: **ge-* > **gi-* > *ji-* > *i-* (e.g., Hol 1941: 263, Schönfeld & van Loey 1970 § 136). The intermediate stage **gi-* is hypothetical, as we find written evidence in Flanders only for *ge-*, *je-* and *i-*. Of course, the spelling *gi-* is common in the Wachtendonk Psalter and in Old Saxon sources; but for coastal Dutch, the forms of the Leidener Willeram and the earliest toponyms (with *ie-*) rather suggest a development *ge-* > *je-* > *i-*. An intermediate stage **ji-* is conceivable but unattested in our sources.

Palatalization is also normally found in the verb **ga-unnan* ‘to grant, concede, award’, German *gönnen*. All Early Middle Dutch forms have initial *j-* (1sg.+3sg. *ian*, PL. *jonnen*, PRET. *ionde*, *jonste*), and all are attested in Holland or Flanders. They show a development from **ge-onnen* via **je-onnen* to *jonnen*. In the same period, the verb

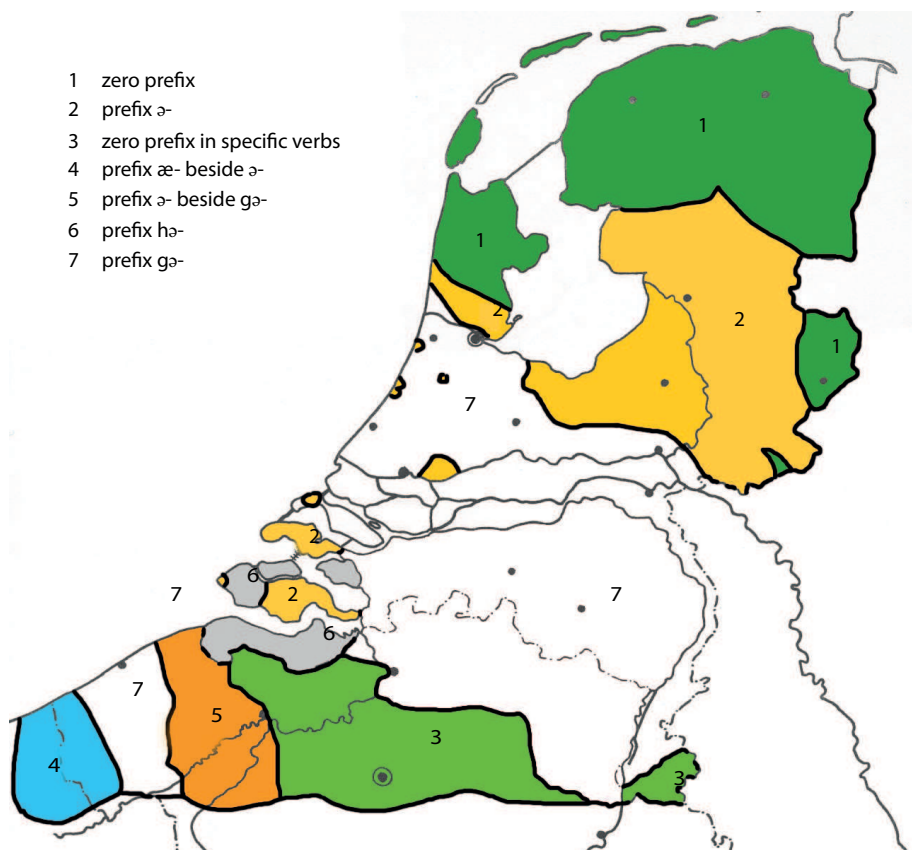
is still attested without a prefix as SG. *an*, PL. *onnen*, and twice with a past participle *gheonnet* in West Holland / Northwest Brabant. In fourteenth-century Dutch, however, uncontracted *ghe-onnen* (inf. *gheonnen*, 2PL. *geont*, 3SG.+GEN. *ghean-s*) has become frequent. Since *jonnen* is the original reflex of PGm. **ga-unnan*, *ghe-onnen* arose from the analogical addition of *ghe-* to *onnen*. Soon, *gheonnen* underwent vowel contraction, so that we find 3SG. *gan* for instance with Willem van Hildegasberch around 1400. In the east, where *ge-* did not normally palatalize to *je-*, the verb forms of *gonnen* may represent original **ga-unn-* with vowel contraction.

Unconditioned fronting of **u* caused the change of western *gonnen* into *gunnen*. In the seventeenth century, *gunnen* has already generalized the weak preterite (*gan* >> *gunde*). In Holland, *jonnen* and *gunnen* occur side by side, with the latter replacing the former in general usage. In Flanders, *jonnen* has remained a current word.

In Old Germanic, perfective and stative verbs normally formed their past participle without the prefix **ga-*. In Early Middle Dutch this situation is still valid for all dialects, for example with the verbs *blijven* ‘to remain’, *brenge* ‘to bring’, *komen* ‘to come’, *lijden* ‘to go, pass’, *vinden* ‘to find’, *worden* ‘to become’. As appears from Mooijaart’s map (1992: 266), the addition of *ghe-* to these participles started in Holland but *ghe-* did not spread beyond that region in the thirteenth century. In the twentieth century, the prefixless use with these verbs was restricted to parts of southern Dutch.

Map 6 displays seven of the main forms of the participial prefix StDu. *ge-* in Dutch and Frisian dialects as spoken in the early twentieth century.⁶¹ A zero prefix (nr. 1) appears in a large area comprising North Holland, Fryslân, Groningen and most of Drente, as well as in Twente and around Aalten in the Achterhoek. Directly to the south of this area, the prefix has the form *ə-* (nr. 2), among others, in the Zaanstreek of North Holland, and in a central-eastern area from eastern Utrecht across Gelderland and Overijssel to southwestern Drente. The same prefix *ə-* appears in a few coastal villages of South Holland, on the islands of Goeree and Schouwen-Duiveland and in Zuid-Beveland in Zeeland. Finally, *ə-* also occurs in the western part of East Flanders (nr. 5) where it competes with *gə-*. In French Flanders and southwestern West Flanders (nr. 4), the prefix is realized as a low front vowel *æ-* (next to *ə-*). In most of East Flanders, in South Brabant and in relic areas in southern Limburg (nr. 3), the prefix is *gə-* but in a restricted number of (originally perfective) verbs, the participle does not take a prefix. The central Dutch area (nr. 7) and parts of West Flanders have only the Standard Dutch form *gə-*. Of course, this has local phonetic variants, of which the map only indicates the Zeelandish areas where initial *g-* is pronounced as *h-* (nr. 6).

61. The original map is online at www.meertens.knaw.nl/kaartenbank/kaart/dialectkaart.html?id=14325.



Map 6. Simplified representation of the map “ge- in voltooid deelwoord” in *TNZN* vol. 2, Map 9.

Hol (1941) shows that sources from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century display a much wider original spread of *ə-* in rural Holland as well as in the towns. Therefore, there used to be a large *ə-*-area in Early Modern Dutch which stretched from Zeeland to North Holland. Some forms with *e-* can already be found in Middle Dutch: *niet vroed enoech* ‘not wise enough’ (SHol., 1322; cited by MNW). The Flemish areas with *ə-* and *æ-* could be directly connected, though this has yet to be established.

It is striking that the medieval variant *i-* has completely disappeared from Flanders in the twentieth century. Hol (1941: 265) assumes that MDu. *i-* had been lowered to [ɪ]- in Flanders and was then further lowered to [ɛ-] or [æ-], if not [ə-]. A parallel for this reduction would be initial *bi-* > *be-* in unstressed position.

In his reaction to Hol’s article, Verdenius (1942) points out that there is evidence for a zero prefix in South Holland in the Late Middle Ages with other verbs

than the usual perfective and stative ones, citing forms such as *wonnen* ‘won’, *reden* ‘driven’, *cust* ‘kissed’, and *maect* ‘made’ with Willem van Hildegasberch, *sweghen* ‘remained silent’, *slaghen* ‘hit’, and *spaert* ‘saved’ with Dirc Potter, and others. However, the instances in van Hildegasberch’s poems are almost certainly determined by the metre, since they co-occur with *ghewonnen*, *ghereden*, *ghecust*, *ghemaect*. For North Holland, Verdenius argues that the zero prefix area could be found immediately north of Amsterdam in the seventeenth century, that is, further south than was the case in the twentieth century. For more on the Middle Dutch prefixless participles, see Pijnenburg 1982 and Berteloot 2004.

These observations lead me to reconstruct the following scenario. A zero prefix in all past participles once existed in all of Zealand and Holland in the Middle Ages. It was gradually ousted and now only remains in the north of North Holland. It is conceivable that the original coastal Dutch dialects had a contextually determined alternation between (**ge-* > **je-* >) *ə-* and zero, which may have depended on the syntax (predicative versus attributive participles) or on the phonetic environment. In fact, so much is suggested by the Leiden Willeram (ca. 1100), where attributive participles can take a zero prefix. Some dialects would have generalized zero and others *ə-*, before the inland variant *ge-* was adopted. At a later stage, prefixless participles were replaced with *ə-*, and, at a more recent stage (from the Late Middle Ages on), with *gə-*. It must be stressed, however, that this scenario remains tentative due to the lack of data.

In Flanders, *ə-* was the phonetic successor of *i-*, and in Holland, as in Flanders, *jonnen* attests to the original palatalization of unstressed **ga-* to **jə-*. This suggests that all modern dialects which now have *ə-* (Flanders, Zealand, Holland, possibly also Overijssel and Gelderland) went through a stage with unstressed **ge-* > **jə-* > **i-*. In that case, the absence of written *i-* or *e-* in Middle Dutch sources from Holland is striking, though it must be noted that, even in Flanders itself, *g(h)e-* is the preferred spelling of the morphologically transparent words, whereas *i-* is mainly found in lexicalized formations such as *gemet*, a specific, regionally used land measure (Mooijaart 1992: 186–7). In any case, an alternative explanation for the modern prefix *ə-* is hard to find. There is no general loss of prevocalic *g-*.

A brief comparison with Frisian is in order. In Proto-Frisian, short **a* was fronted to **æ* unless in front of nasal and a restricted number of consonant clusters. Also excluded were some unstressed words, such as *was* ‘was’ (Bremmer 2009: 29). WGM. **g* became /*j*/ before and after front unrounded vowels, including **æ*,⁶² whereas it remained a velar stop in most other positions. Unstressed **ga-* also seems to have undergone vowel fronting, judging by Runic Frisian *ji-* in *jibaeda* ‘prosperity’

62. But excluding PFri. **æ* from WGM. **ai* before an *i*-mutation factor, cf. de Vaan 2011a.

(OS *gibada*) in the Westeremden B inscription (ca. 750–800 CE). I quote Bremmer (2009: 86) on the main line of development: “The perfective prefix **ie-* (< **ga-*, **gi*) has usually been reduced to *e-* or *i-* in Old East Frisian texts, or has disappeared altogether. This process has proceeded even further in Old West Frisian, and all Modern Frisian varieties (West, East and North) have no such prefix before past participles any longer nor does it appear before any other inherited verbal form. However, under the influence of Middle Low German and Middle Dutch, the prefix is regularly found as *ge-* or *ghe-*.” Examples of the retained prefix in Old Frisian are *edēn* ‘done’, *eskepin* ‘created’, *enōch* ‘enough’. Word-internal position is more likely to retain *e-/i-* in Old Frisian, viz. when **ga-* is preceded by another prefix: *unidēld* ‘undivided’, *unebern* ‘unborn’, *unewis* ‘uncertain’ (Bremmer 2009: 37).

Thus, unstressed **ga-* yielded Old Frisian *e-* via **je-*, which looks very much like the Middle Dutch outcome *je-* > *i-*. This supports the theoretical possibility that the western Dutch reflexes were part of a larger areal phenomenon (affecting Proto-Frisian and western Old Dutch), or arose by a language shift from Proto-Frisian to Old Franconian as a phonetic substrate feature.

9.4 Initial *j-* > *g-*

A change of word-initial *j-* to *g-* is found in all lexemes which had initial (stressed) **je-*, **ji-* or **jī-* at the Old Dutch stage.⁶³ There are no Dutch forms in *j-* from original **je-*, **ji-* or **jī-*.

9.4.1 The evidence

1. *geden* ‘to weed’.

The Proto-Germanic verb **jedan-* (OS *gedan*, OHG *jetan* beside *getan*, MoHG *jäten*, cf. Seebold 1970: 286, Kroonen 2013: 272) is reflected twice in Old Dutch. The Leiden Willeram has *getan*, where the *t* probably stems from the original High German version *iétan*. The Prudentius glosses (951–1000, from the border of Guelders and Westphalia) have *gegedenen*, DAT.PL. of the past participle. Early Middle Dutch only yields *geden* ‘to hoe’ and *gede* ‘hoe’ in Limburgian (1240). All

63. MoDu. *geur* ‘scent’ has sometimes been adduced as representing a preform **juzi-*. It is found in Brabant as *ghoere* (1265–70), *goere* (1276–1300), later also *gure* (1300–50), *guere* (1375–1400). It has been connected with German *gären* < OHG *jesan*, *gesan* with PGm. **j-*. Yet *geur* has also been connected with the adjective *goor* ‘muddy, filthy’ and the noun *goor* ‘mud’ (OE *gor*) which continue PGm. **g-* (OE *gyre* ‘manure’ < **gurwja-*). The etymology being unclear, I leave *geur* out of the discussion.

subsequent Middle Dutch attestations are also southeastern, viz. *geden* 'to weed' in the *Limburgse Sermoenen* (ca. 1300) and *gheden* 'to weed' and *ghede* 'tool for weeding' in *Teuthonista* (1477). In western Dutch, the verb appears to have been lost. This distribution is confirmed by modern dialectology, which shows that most Dutch dialects use *wieden* and only parts of Limburg have *geden*. In Germany, initial *g-* instead of *j-* is very widely attested in historical documents from the Cleves/Guelders area through Ripuarian and Moselle Franconian to Mainz, as well as further east and south (Koivulehto 1971: 75–99, 164, 166).

2. *gene* 'yon'.

The demonstrative pronoun MDu. *g(h)ene* m.f., *ghent*, *ghint* n. 'yon' (Gothic *jains*, OHG *jener*) shows some variation in the root vocalism, in particular the well-known rounding to /ø(:)/ in Flemish *gone*, *goen* (Berteloot 1984a, Map 89). The Dutch forms, as well as German *jener*, continue PGm. **jen-* with lengthening in open syllable (see EWN s.v. *gene*). The pronoun is combined with demonstrative pronouns in StDu. *diegene*, *datgene*, also *de-*, *hetgene*, but the simplex *gene* survives as a demonstrative in locative expressions in onomastics in southeastern Dutch (Jongen 1970). No forms in initial *j-* are attested in Dutch outside Ripuarian, where every *g-* has become *j-*.

For adverbial PGm. **jendr-* 'yonder' (Got. *jaindre*, *jainpro*, OS *gendra*), we find Early Middle Dutch *g(h)inder* in all dialects. Another derivative is Early MDu. *g(h)ens*, *g(h)ins* (WBrab., WFla.) 'to yonder side', *gontswaer* 'to the other side' (Bruges 1281), MoDu. *ginds*. No forms with *j-* have been preserved.

3. *gij* and *jij* 'you'.

The second person plural nominative of the personal pronoun, PGm. **jūz* 'you', was replaced by **jiz* in West Germanic. In Dutch dialects, the change of *j-* to *g-* yielded the forms *gi*, *gij*. The oblique form **iu* retains *j-* in StDu. DAT.ACC. SG. *jou*, *j-*.

In Old Dutch, *gi* is found in the Blood Spell from northern Guelders (1000–50) and twice in the Wachtendonck Psalter (*gi slapit* 'you sleep' and *uuanitgi* 'think you') in ms. I, next to once *ir* in ms. A. The form *gi* never appears in the Leiden Willeram or the Middle Franconian Rhyming Bible, which have High German *ir*. The Old Saxon 2PL. *gi*, *ge* and 2DU. *git* have a *g-* which must phonetically have been close to /j-/ (Gallée 1993: 167), but Goossens 1994: 163 argues that it must represent a real /g-/ since we still find *g-* in modern Westphalian dialects.

In Early Middle Dutch, the usual form is *g(h)i* in the whole Dutch area, with the exception of southeastern *gir*. Inversion of the finite verb and the pronoun normally produces voicing of the final dental of the verb form plus a reduction of the pronoun to *-i*. For instance, *gevet gi* 'give-you' becomes *ghevedi* (van Loey 1976: 34).

In southern Dutch dialects, stressed *gij* has remained the form of this pronoun until today; the unstressed subject form *ge* of modern dialects is a later development.

In Holland, a different form *jij* /jei/, enclitic *je*, prevails in modern dialects. The oldest attestation of *jij* is found in a language guide from 1550: *hier zalmen oac notéren hoe dat men zommighe lieden vind die zegghen iy of jy voor ghy* 'here it will also be noted how some people are found who say *iy* or *jy* for *ghy*' (Lambrecht, *Nederlandsche spellinghe*). In literary texts, *jij* starts to appear in the early seventeenth century when rendering colloquial speech from Holland, as in Hoofft's *Warenar* (1617). Enclitic *je*, however, is attested much earlier, viz. from the fourteenth century on: *Onrecht hebje* 'you are wrong', *Wil ye horen, ghi scepenen* 'Will you listen, you aldermen' (Aardenburg, 1300–50).

These data are open to different explanations and have been the subject of vivid discussions in the past (cf. Verdenius 1924, Muller 1926, Verdenius 1930, van Haeringen 1938: 204, Devos 1986, Goossens 1994: 39–63). Traditionally, it was assumed that *jij* and *je* are coastal Dutch forms which directly reflect **jī*; they would simply have escaped the change of *j-* to *g-* which we find further south and east (Muller 1926). Their almost complete absence from Middle Dutch would be due to their colloquial status as opposed to written *g(h)i*. Verdenius (1924) was the first to object to this view, and a modified version of his own solution has now become standard (see Devos 1986, Goossens 1994: 39–63). Verdenius assumes that the *j*-forms developed from *gi*, with palatalization of the final dental of the 2PL. verb ending: **gevet-gi* > *geved'i*. Such a palatal dental would either have developed into a cluster [dʒ] which was phonetically reduced to *j*, or it would have been reanalysed as *t/d + j*.

This theory accounts better for the historical attestation of the *j*-forms and for the modern dialectal distribution of the variants of *ge/je*. As to the historical sources, the traditional theory (viz. that *jij*, *je* directly reflect WGm. **j-*) does not explain the absence of *j*-pronouns from Early Middle Dutch, nor why two centuries elapsed between the first appearance of enclitic *je* (14th c.) and tonic *jij* (16th c.). The traditional theory also does not explain why *g*-forms are found deep within modern *j*-territory in West Flanders (Devos 1986: 178f.), or why the final dental of the verb ending has disappeared in inverse sequences of the type West Flemish *gaje* 'go-you' (Verdenius 1924, Devos 1986: 74).

Thus, enclitic *-je* must have been the Middle Dutch product of *gi* after a dental stop, where a cluster **tg* arose much like in the names in *Gardis* and like **tk* in the diminutives in *-tken*. The *j*-pronoun was then extended to tonic preverbal position, in the same way that colloquial and dialectal *me* 'we' reflects enclitic *me* which arose from *we* after a preceding labial obstruent (Devos 1986: 179). What still needs to be explained is the restriction of *j*-forms to the coastal Dutch area (including southwestern Brabant for the type 'go-you'). This restriction might be linked to the occurrence of palatalization (traditionally called *mouillering* in Dutch linguistics) of dental clusters in parts of Brabant and Limburg; see Devos 1986: 181f. for the relation with *je* and *ge*, and Keymeulen 1993, Taeldeman 1993, Goossens 1993 for

the palatalization of dentals in general. The *d'* in *gad'i* 'go-you' was apparently depalatalized in many dialects in Brabant, yielding *gade*, where palatalized dentals were normal allophones of the dental stops and resonants. In the west, however, such palatal allophones did not normally occur (in any case, not before the diminutives in *-tje* arose), which may explain why western dialects were more prone to resolve *gad'i* as *ga(d)+ji* > *-je*.

The stressed form *jij* is (originally?) restricted to the dialects of Holland and is first attested in 1550. It may well have arisen next to *je* on the model of stressed *mij* next to enclitic *me* 'me', *zij* next to *ze* 'she', and *wij* next to *we* 'we'; thus *EWN*. Note also that *j-* in oblique *jou* is spread more widely in Middle Dutch (and mainly in Holland and Zeeland), and its *j-* probably has a phonetic origin from WGM. **iu*. A Hollandish late medieval paradigm NOM. *gī*, enc. *je*, DAT.ACC. *ju*, *jou*, enc. *je* would have provided enough paradigmatic pressure to replace the nominative *gī* by *jī*.

The oblique form WGM. **iu* (German *euch*) was used in Old and Middle Dutch only for the plural: ODu. *reslāt alla iu* 'he destroys you all' (WPs.); Early MDu. *wie doen ju te wetene* 'we are letting you (PL.) know' (1274), *vie doen jou allen tewetene* 'we are letting all of you know' (1282). After 1500, *jou* is also found in the singular. As Lambrecht (1550) puts it: *iou ghebrūken de Hollanders ende mear ander als zy zegghen Ic hebt iou ghegheven voor ic hebt ù gheghéven* 'jou is used by the Hollandish and others too when they say: *ik heb het jou gegeven*, instead of: *ik heb het u gegeven*'.

WGM. **iu* was syllabified either as /ju/ or as /iu/ depending on the dialect; compare Goossens 1994: 64–71. In Middle Dutch, these further developed as *ju* > *jou* next to *iu* > *u*. The modern standard language retains both forms but has redistributed their functions: *jou* is the singular form and *u* the polite plural (French *vous*). The same formal variation is found in the possessive adjective 'your': ODu. *iuwa*, MDu. *ju(w)*, *jou(w)* versus *u(w)*, *ou(w)*, MoDu. *jouw* 'your' (sg.) vs. *uw* 'your' (polite PL.). In Early Middle Dutch, *juw(e)* is found in a minority of cases and only in western Holland (*ju*, *juwer*, *iu*) and Flanders (*juwe*, *juwer*, *jue*, *juen*, *iu*, *ive*, *iven*, once *iouwe*). Most dialects have *uwe*, *uwen*, but in the Cleves/Guelders area we also find *íwe*, *íwen*.

We may conclude as follows for *gij* and *jij*. The inherited pronoun **jī(r)* developed initial *g-* in all dialects in all syntactic positions. Together with the final dental of the verb form, the inverted pronoun developed into a palatalized dental cluster, whence a new pronoun *je* was metanalysed in western Dutch, partly stretching inland towards southern Brabant. The oblique personal and the possessive pronoun **iu(wa)* became *ju(we)* in coastal Dutch but *u(we)* further inland. In Holland, the combination of subject *-je* and oblique and possessive *jou(w)*, *je* led to the analogical replacement of *gī* by *jī* > *jij*, which first surfaces in writing in the sixteenth century.

4. *gist* ‘yeast’.

Proto-Germanic **jesta-* (ON *jöstr*, OE *giest*, MoE *yeast*, MHG *jest*, *gest*) yields MDu. *gest* (NE-Dutch, 1300–50), *ghest* (Holland, Brabant, Cleves/Guelders) beside *gist* (Brabant), *onderghist* (Fla., 1426–60). Raising of *e* to *i* before *st* occurs in several other Middle Dutch words (*gisteren* ‘yesterday’, *nist* ‘nest’, *nistelen* ‘to nest’) and confirms that *gest* was the original form. After 1600 we usually find *gist* in written sources, but see *Meertens Kaartenbank*⁶⁴ for the dialect situation in the twentieth century. The change *j-* > *g-* also appears in many of the German forms.

5. *gicht* ‘arthritis’.

This variant of StDu. *jicht* is found in Middle Dutch and in some of the modern dialects. For its original **j-* compare OFri. *jecht* ‘arthritis’, OHG *firgihtig*, MHG *vergiht(e)* ‘paralysed’, MLG *gycht*, MoHG *Gicht* ‘arthritis’. Some scholars have derived the word from *jicht* ‘confession’, as ‘an illness caused by a spell’, but I agree with EWN that this is semantically unconvincing (*pace* Weijnen/Ficq-Weijnen 1995: 115f.). A possible, though admittedly shaky alternative etymology could be to connect **jixti-* ‘arthritis’ to PGm. **jeka(n)-* ‘ice’, which belongs to a PIE root **jeg-* for ‘ice’ also found in Celtic and Hittite (see Kroonen 2013: 273). Since cold weather typically worsens the pain of arthritis, ‘coldness’ would make a good naming motivation. Also, the painful feeling of arthritis may simply have been called ‘cold’.

The Middle Franconian Rhyming Bible has the past participle *uer gihtigot* ‘lamed’ with word-initial *g-*. Early Middle Dutch displays once *gicht* (Cleves/Guelders, 1253), whereas a number of early West Flemish forms have a rounded vowel /y/: the noun *iucht*, the adjective *iuchtic*, *iuchtegh* and the abstract *ivchtichede* next to *jechtechede* (both in van Maerlant). A verbal form is the past participle *veriucht* ‘in pains’. The meaning of these forms seems not to be ‘lameness’ but ‘(torturing) pain’, ‘very painful’. In Late Middle Dutch, we find *gicht* (Holland 15th c., Limburg, NE-Dutch) and *iechte* (Flanders, 1405); the latter form could continue earlier *jucht* with unrounding.

Kiliaan (1599) knows both *ghichte*, which he calls German and Sicambrian, and *iechte*, which he says equals *gichte*. In the course of the seventeenth century, the written language develops a preference for *jicht*, which seems to be native to Holland at that time. We may conclude that *j-* is native to Flanders, Holland (though in the fifteenth century, only <gh-> is found there), and possibly also to Brabant. The occurrence of *j-* in Brabant is confirmed by modern Limburgian dialects, which show a clear-cut isogloss between western *jicht*, in Belgian Limburg, and eastern *gicht*.

64. www.meertens.knaw.nl/kaartenbank/kaart/dialectkaart.html?id=26473.

The rounded vowel of *jucht* is not fully explained. Rounding of /e/ to /ø/ next to a velar consonant is well known for Flemish (e.g., *degone* ‘degenē’, *joghen* ‘jegen’, see van Haverbeke 1955: 40f., Mooijaart 1992: 118), but rounding of short /i/ is not. One might assume that Flemish first lowered *jicht* to *jecht* and then rounded the stressed vowel to *jucht*. In support of this possibility, note **plixti*- ‘plight, duty’, MoDu. *plicht*, which mostly gave Early MDu. *plecht* in Flanders and Brabant (van Loey 1976: 18) but also *plucht* in Flanders. The preponderance of <u> in thirteenth-century Flanders, however, is unexpected for such a scenario. Franck (1910: 63) proposes that *jucht* analogically adopted the rounded vowel of the verb ‘to itch’, West Flemish *jukken*, Standard Dutch *jeuken* (see § 15.3.2), and the noun MDu. *jucte*, *joocte*, MoDu. *jeukte* ‘itch’.

6. MDu. *ghien* ‘to confess’, *biecht* ‘confession’.

Proto-Germanic **jexan* ‘to announce, declare, acknowledge’ (OS *gehan*, MLG *gēn*, OHG *jehan*, MHG *jehen*, *gehen*, OFri. *ia*) is attested in Old Dutch as *iehen* (MRB), 3sg. *giet* (WPs. glosses), and 3pl. *iehent* (LW). The compound verb **bī-jexan* appears as *begian* (WPs.) and 3s. *beget* ‘worships’ (MRB). Its derivative **bī-jixti*- ‘confession’ (OHG *bijih*t, *bīgiht*, MHG *bīgiht*, *bihte*, *begiht*, MoHG *Beichte*) occurs once in the Wachtendonck Psalter as *begihte*. Thus, Old Dutch has *j-* > *g-* especially before the vowel *i* (assuming that 3s. *beget* reflects **-giēt*), whereas *j-* has remained before *e*.

After 1200, the simplex verb is attested in 3s.pres.sb. *ghied* (Zealand, 1254), in the weak past participle *gheghiet* (Zealand, 1300), and in the infinitive *ghien* (WFla., 1287). *Ghiën* is also the usual form of this verb after 1300. Initial *g-* is also predominant in the Middle Dutch compound verb, the oldest forms of which are *begien*, *begin* (Limburg, 1240). In the thirteenth century, all twenty-six tokens of this verb are from Cleves/Guelders, Limburg, and West Brabant. In the fourteenth century, *begien* is additionally found in the Flemish *Reinaert*. *Verghiën* ‘to declare’ (MHG *vergehen*, *verjehen*) is only found in Holland and Utrecht before 1300, but in subsequent centuries it also occurs in northeastern Dutch (data: CRM14 and MNW).⁶⁵

The usual Middle Dutch form of the simplex abstract is *ghicht(e)* f. ‘confession’, with the derived verb *ghichten* ‘to declare’ and the adjective *ghichtich* ‘stating; acknowledged’. At all stages, *j-* variants are found beside *g-*. In the southwest and the northeast, *j-* seems to be particularly frequent: a variant *yechte* appears in Groningen, and Ghent provides the verb *yechten* and the nouns *ychtebrieve* ‘letter of acknowledgement’, *ychte dagh*, *yechte dagh* ‘statement day’. As in the case of Flemish *plecht* (see nr. 5 above), it is possible that *yechte* directly continues earlier *jichte*. *Ychtig* is also found after 1400 in Drente and Groningen. Plantin (1573) gives the verb as *jychten* or *iychten*, whereas Kiliaan (1599) only mentions *ghichten*

65. Possibly, then, *be-ghiën* and *ver-ghiën* were complementarily distributed in terms of their dialect geography.

as occurring in Frisia and Guelders. The geographic distribution of *g/j-* and *-e/i-* allows for the hypothesis that *jechte* stood beside *gichte*, that is, that *g-* only arose before *i*. That would match the Old Dutch distribution of *gi-* versus *je-* observed above (both for ‘arthritis’ and ‘confession’), but it would be contradicted by the development of *ge-* in the words ‘yeast’, ‘yon’ and ‘to weed’. This dilemma could be solved by adopting Franck’s proposal (1910: 93) that *jicht* and *jichte* were retained in order to avoid a sequence *gh_ch* with two velar fricatives.

The nouns *bijgte* ‘confession’ and *bijgtete* ‘confessor’ (Limburg, 1240) show a contraction of **bī-jixte* to **bixte* which predated the rise of *g*. This contraction is confirmed by other dialects: Ghent *biichte(n)*, *bijchte* next to EFla. *biechte(n)*, WFla. *bijchte* next to *biechte*. West Brabant has *bichte* next to East Brabant *biechte*, and in Holland only *biechte* is attested. The form *biechte* must be due to phonetic retention or analogical restoration of the hiatus between **bi-* and **jixte*. The early contraction of **bī-jixte* to **bixte* implies that the form *begihte* in the Wachtendonck Psalter was built on the model of *be-gian*.

7. *gier* ‘yeast; liquid manure’.

A PGm. noun **jēzō-* (to the root **jes-* ‘to seethe, ferment’) is reflected in MLG *gare* ‘manure, yeast’ and Danish *gær* ‘yeast’, but OE *gyru* ‘manure’ (< **jeru-*) and OFri. *jere* ‘manure’, MoWF *jarre* presuppose **jerō-* with a short vowel (cf. Bremmer 2012: 134). The oldest Middle Dutch forms are *ghier* (1343–46, Holland), *eir* (/e:r/, North Holland, 1415), and *yer* (/i:r/, North Holland, 1531), see Pols 1885–1888 II: 354/119, 381/2. In the early twentieth century, this word for ‘manure’ was native only to northern dialects. It had the forms *gier* (South Holland, Utrecht), *ier* (North Holland), and *jier*, *jiere*, *jirre* (Groningen), cf. TNZN Map 1.7.

The geographic restriction of *gier* and its variants to Holland and Groningen points to a borrowing from the previous frisophone inhabitants of the coastal areas. In such borrowings, the vowel *ie* in Holland is often a reflex of Old Frisian long *ē* (cf. de Vaan 2010, Versloot 2012), but that would be in conflict with the short *e* attested in Frisian itself. Bremmer (2012: 134) proposes a new explanation for Hollandish *ie*. Since it is often the result of a regular local raising of earlier **ē* of various sources, he posits a preform **jēr* for North Holland which did not have its long vowel from Frisian, but acquired it due to lengthening of short **e* before *r* in medieval Hollandish. Other instances of the same change *er* > *ēr* > *īr* may be StDu. *vieren* ‘to loosen (rope)’, compare *veer* next to *verre* ‘far’, and the expression *op een kier* ‘ajar’ to *keer* ‘turn’, MDu. *kerre*. This is an attractive solution for the discrepancy between Frisian short *e* and Hollandish *ie*. In fact, the form *eir* from 1415 directly contains the intermediate stage (**jēr* >) *ēr*. Initial *j-* was strengthened to *g-* in Holland (note that the combination /jī-/ would have been alien to the dialect), but in North Holland, it was lost. Heeroma’s attempt (1942b: 63–71) to explain *g-* in Hollandish *gier* from a prefix *ge-* is unconvincing.

8. MDu. *ghiemant* ‘someone; no-one’.

Dutch *iemand* ‘someone’ has the regular reflex *ie-* from WGm. **eo-*, compare OFri. *ammon*, ēman, OS *eoman*, ODu. *ieman* (Leiden Willeram), Early MDu. *ieman(t)*, *iman(t)*, *iemen(t)*. The Middle Dutch variant *g(h)ieman(t)*, Early MoDu. *giement* (1644; Heeroma 1942a: 62), may be compared with initial *j-* or *g-* in MLG *jum-mant*, *jummende*, *gemant*, *gemants*. Since initial *g-* must have developed from *j-*, this presupposes an earlier, Old Dutch **jeman* rather than the usual **iəman*. A similar variation is found between Dutch *ieder* /idər/ and German *jeder* ‘every’ from *ieweder* < *eohwedar*. The syllabification *je-* is more frequent in German than in Dutch. Still, Dutch forms showing only *je-* are attested in Early MoDu. *jegelijk* ‘each’ (MoHG *jeglich*) < **eo-galika-* and *jegewelc* ‘each’ < **eo-ga-hwelika-*

Most of the Middle Dutch attestations of *g(h)eman(t)* ‘someone’ hail from Groningen, Drente, Fryslân, and Overijssel, but *g(h)ieman(t)* also occurs in (northern) Hollandish and even in Flemish sources. The origin of *g-* and the semantics of the word have been satisfactorily explained by van Haeringen (1938: 207–9). He argues that **jeman* phonetically yielded *gēman*, whereas the variant *gieman* would have resulted from contamination with *ieman*.

9. Dialectal *gier* ‘udder’.

Two different but cognate preforms for ‘udder’ are continued in the Germanic languages: (1) PGm. **ūdra-* m., in OS *ūder*, MLG *uder*, OHG *ūtar(o)*, OFri. *ūder*, MoWF *oer* (‘teat’), OE *ūder*, MoE *udder*. (2) PGm. **eudra-* n., in OIc. *júr*, *júgr* n., MoIc. *júfur*, *júgur*, OS DAT.PL. *gederun*, MLG *jeder*, MoWF *jaar* n., MoCNFri. *jååder*, *jåder*, *jaoder* (Sjölin 2006: 87) ‘udder’. In order to explain the co-occurrence of these two preforms, Kroonen (2011: 157ff., 2013: 120) reconstructs a Proto-Germanic neuter noun with ablauting paradigm, NOM.ACC.SG. **eudur*, GEN.SG. **ūdras*. The preform **eudur* is reflected in Scandinavian, Frisian, Low German, eastern Dutch and Riparian German. The form in initial **ū-* is found, roughly speaking, in English, in southern and central Dutch, and in High German.

The number of Dutch medieval attestations of ‘udder’ is extremely small, so that it will be best to start from the twentieth-century dialect situation as mapped and discussed in detail by Heeroma 1936, Map 13 of the *Taalatlas van Oost-Nederland en aangrenzende gebieden*, and Heeroma 1960: 55. Heeroma’s analysis is a good starting point but his expansionist theories must be modified on a number of points, as was already argued by van Haeringen (1937).

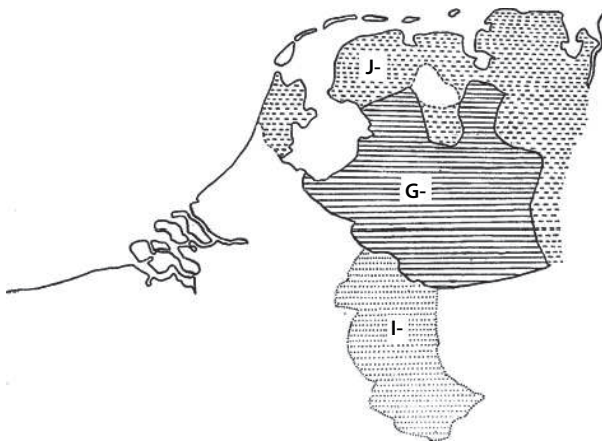
The main Modern West Frisian variant is *jaar*, to which correspond *joar* in Groningen and *jaar* in North Holland. In combination with the North Frisian cited above, we must reconstruct Old Frisian **jāder* (Spenter 1968: 212). In North Holland, there are some attestations of a form *jadder* in the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries, e.g., in the writings of Vondel. In northwestern Low German, between Emden and Norden, *jadder* is still found. Departing from PGm. **eudr*-, the regular development led to OFri. **jāder*, whence with *d*-syncope *jaar*, or, with shortening of the long vowel before *dr*, to *jadder*. This implies that the dialects of North Holland and Groningen have adopted the word for ‘udder’ from their Frisian substrate. Nearly the same northern coastal area uses a neuter *uur* /y.r/ (North Holland, Groningen) or *oer* /u.ər/ (Fryslân) for the ‘teat’ of a cow’s udder; in northeastern Overijssel this is referred to as *uder*, *utter*. It follows that PGm. **ūder*- also survived in these northern provinces, and that semantic specialization took place: **eudr*- or the corresponding substrate word from Frisian referred to the whole udder but **ūder*- to the teats (Heeroma 1936: 125). This differentiation seems to go back at least to the time when Frisian was still spoken in North Holland.

An early attestation of *j*- is found in Kiliaan (1599), who calls *ieder* Saxon, that is, German. In modern dialects, initial *j*- outside Frisian is found in Groningen, Drente and in northern Low German. In Groningen, *jidder* ‘the udder of a slaughtered animal’ corresponds to *jidder* and *judder* ‘udder’ in adjacent Low German. The short vowels have developed from *jēder* just like *jadder* was shortened from *jāder*. In central Drente we find *judder* and in southeastern Drente *juur*, which Heeroma (1936: 121) explains as contaminations, viz. from *jidder* with *udder* and from *jidder* with *uur*. In view of their limited distribution on the border between several larger dialect areas, this explanation is conceivable. Initial *j*- also surfaces further south, in East Westphalian *jeier* (around Paderborn), which suggests that *j*- once prevailed in all of Low German.

Initial *g*- is found in a large compact area in central and eastern Dutch: *geer* in northern Utrecht, the Veluwe and in Twente, *gier* in the intermediate areas from Drente to the Rhine, *gedder* along the Vecht, *gidder* along the Eems. It occurs more sporadically in eastern Münsterland and very rarely in southern Westphalia. The etymological explanation by Heeroma (1936: 126) from a prefix **ga*- is certainly wrong, because *g*- must reflect earlier *j*-. It does appear probable, as Heeroma (1960: 50) suggests, that the *g*-area has arisen *en bloc* within an earlier *j*-area, that is, *geder* < **jeder* < **ieder* < **eudr*. In Middle Low German we already find *geider*, *geder*. Heeroma posits an original Westphalian focus area from which **geder* spread to the west and northwest; that is possible, but our data do not allow dismissal of the alternative possibility of a local development *j*- > *g*- in Gelderland and Overijssel. There is a relic area with *ier* along the Vecht which may originally have been contiguous with the large Rhenish-Riparian area stretching from Cleves to the Eifel where we find *eder*, *ier*, *eer* and variants, cf. *RhWB* II: 215–7). Pace Heeroma (1936: 127), Rhenish *eer* and *ier* are best understood as regular reflexes of **eudr*. This distribution suggests that all of eastern Dutch and western Westphalian once had **eudr* >

codr* > **ieder*/eeder*, which then developed into **jeder* in the intermediate area which later acquired *g*-. The Ripuarian nouns in *ee*- and *ie*- usually have neuter gender as opposed to the continuants of **ūdr*-, which are mostly masculine. It is possible that this difference is old and confirms the paradigm split suggested by Kroonen: the NOM.ACC. SG. **eudr* remained neuter, whereas **ūdr*- from the oblique case forms became masculine.



Map 7. Simplified representation of the initial consonant of ‘udder’ in Westerlanders Frisian, northern and eastern Dutch and northwestern Low German. Source: Heeroma 1942b: 72.

Western South Holland, Zeeland, and West Flanders have *elder* or (rarely) *ulder*. It is likely that this variant was originally used in all of Flanders and maybe also in all of Holland. *Elder* is also found in central England, next to *ewer* in the north, showing that **eldur* and **eudur* must have coexisted already at the Anglo-Frisian stage (if western Dutch borrowed it from Proto-Frisian) or in West Germanic (if it was inherited in Franconian, too). Kroonen (2011) explains **eldur* as the result of *u*-dissimilation in **eudur*, which seems the best proposal so far.

Finally, reflexes of **ūdra*- (Sauerland *nūr*, *nuder*), or *i*-mutated **ūdir* (see Kroonen 2011, who explains the *i*-mutation from the original locative) are found in central southern Dutch as MDu. *uder*, Early MoDu. *uder*, *uyder*, Modern Dutch *uier*. In the dialects of Flanders and Brabant, the difference between **ū* without and with *i*-mutation has been obliterated by later developments. Most of the Limburgian dialects continue an *i*-mutated form **ūder*, usually with a long vowel or diphthong, but in southeastern Limburg it is *udder* with shortening before *dr*. In Belgian Limburg, however, we also find *ouwer*, with unmutated **ū*-, and the same form also occurs sporadically in southeastern Limburg.

10. Limburgian *get* ‘something’.

Almost all of eastern Limburgian south of the Uerdinger Line (the *ik/ich*-isogloss), including the Meuse Valley in Belgian Limburg, uses the adverb *get* ‘something’ where Standard Dutch has *iets* /its/. The first attestation of *get* which I found is *ghet*, given as a variant of *iet* in *Teuthonista* (1477). Next, *get* is attested in 1640 by Jacob Kritzraedt for the dialect of Gangelt, and in a witness report from Stokkem from ca. 1660 (published in Fagot 1956). *Get* goes back to **jet*, a dialectal form of Middle Dutch *iet* ‘something’, earlier *iewet*, from Old Dutch *iowiht*; compare OS and OHG *êo-*, *eowiht*. Within Dutch, Limburg is isolated in its acquisition of *g-*, but initial /j-/ is quite frequent in Middle Dutch. In the thirteenth century, we find *iet*, *yet* and *jet* in Holland (once *ijt*), mainly (*h*)*iet* in West Flanders (next to *yet*, *jet*, once *hiewet*, once *jeet*), *iet* and *it* in West Brabant (7x *iwent*), mainly *yet* in East Brabant, twice *it* in Limburg and once in Cleves, and *iet* in Cleves/Guelders. The spellings <yet>, <jet> and <iet> are ambiguous, their pronunciation could be either [iət] or [jet].

The type *jet* is also found in all of Ripuarian Franconian from the Uerdinger Line to the Eifel in Germany; compare the hand-drawn map in the *Sprachatlas der Rheinprovinz*, accessible at the website of the Digital Wenker Atlas, www.regional-sprache.de. Unfortunately, the map does not tell us which Ripuarian dialects have *g-*, though *Rheinisches Wörterbuch* mentions some sporadic occurrences. Of course, initial *g-* has become *j-* in many Ripuarian dialects (Aachen, Cologne, etc.), making it impossible to judge whether *jet* in such dialects has gone through a stage *get*.

11. *Gulik* ‘Julich’.

The town of Julich (German *Jülich*, from Latin *Juliācum*) is situated about 25 km northeast of Aachen. Its usual name in Middle Dutch is *G(h)uli(c)k* /ɣy.lɪk/, attested mainly in surnames. In Germany, modern surnames mostly have the form *Jülicher*, but *Gülicher* also occurs, especially in Aachen and east of Cologne. In the Netherlands, *van Gulik* is the most frequent form of the surname, found all over the country without a clear preponderance in one area. The name *Guliker* is concentrated in Nijkerk on the Veluwe, whereas *Gulikers* is mainly found in South Limburg. The form *Julicher* is found in Roermond and surroundings and is probably due to recent migration from across the state border.

9.4.2 Summary

In conclusion, we can state that WGm. **je-*, **ji-*, **jī-* have yielded *ge-*, *gi-*, *gī-* in all dialects, with the single exception of *jicht(e)* in which the retention of *j-* may be due to the following *ch*. West Germanic **eo-* has sometimes developed into *ie-* > *je-*, which could also become *ge-*. The last change shows that the rise of *g-* from *j-* must (at least for these words) post-date the resyllabification of the Late Old Dutch diphthong *ie* /*ie/* to /*je/* in word-initial position. Table 26 provides a summary.

The change of *j-* to *g-* before high front vowels could be interpreted as a dissimilation between *j-* and the next vowel. In articulatory terms, the pronunciation of *j* before a high (front) vowel is usually accompanied by more friction than before low vowels, as the tongue is lowered sooner in the latter case. Since initial *g-* was palatal(ized) before front vowels in many varieties of Dutch and German, it may be argued that the change of *je/i-* > *ge/i-* actually implies the identification of the fricative allophone of /*j-*/ with the voiced palatal fricative present in original *ge-*, *gi-*. This articulatory solution makes Franck's (1910: 93) explanation for the preservation of *j-* in *jicht(e)* even more plausible, viz. that it was caused by the avoidance of an initial syllable *[*jɪç-*] with a (palatalized) velar fricative in both onset and coda.

Table 26. Results of initial *j-* > *g-*

	WGm.	Area with <i>g-</i> :
WGm. * <i>j-</i> :		
<i>geden</i> 'to weed'	* <i>jedan</i>	ODu.; SE Dutch (not attested elsewhere)
<i>gen, gene</i> 'yon'	* <i>jena-</i>	all of Dutch
<i>gij</i> 'thou'	* <i>jiz</i>	all of Dutch (<i>je</i> and <i>jij</i> from reanalysis: * <i>gevet-gi</i> > <i>geved'i</i> , analysed as <i>t/d</i> + <i>j</i>)
<i>gest, gist</i> 'yeast'	* <i>jesta-</i>	all of Dutch
<i>gicht</i> 'arthritis'	* <i>jixti-</i>	all of Dutch (<i>j-</i> in Fla.)
<i>giĕn</i> 'to confess', <i>gichte</i> 'confession'	* <i>jexan</i> , * <i>jixti-</i>	all of Dutch; <i>yechte</i> in SW and NE, <i>bijgte</i> < * <i>bī-jixti-</i>
<i>Gulik</i> 'Julich'	<i>Juliācum</i>	all of Dutch
Frisian loan:		
<i>gier</i> 'manure'	–	Holland, Utrecht (< OFri. <i>jere</i>)
WGm. * <i>eo-</i> :		
<i>g(i)eman(t)</i> 'someone'	* <i>eoman</i>	NE-Dutch, Hol., Fla.
<i>gier, geer</i> 'udder'	* <i>eodur</i>	<i>g-</i> in central eastern Dutch, within a <i>j-</i> -area
<i>get</i> 'something'	* <i>eowixt</i>	eastern Limburgian (MDu. <i>jet/iet</i>)

I adopt the viewpoint that PGm. **g* was a voiced stop which developed into a fricative in many West-Germanic dialects in different positions (Frings 1967), in spite of the position adopted by most scholars, viz. that Proto-(West-)Germanic had a voiced fricative in most positions (compare Moulton 1954: 24, Ringe 2006: 215). In anlaut, van Loon (2014: 197) assumes that fricativization in Dutch took place in the eleventh century, together with the voicing of initial *f*- > *v*- and *s*- > *z*- which created other voiced fricatives in word-initial position. This yields a probable date *ante quem non* for the identification of *j*- before front vowels with *g*-, although the occurrence of *g*- already in the Wachtendonck Psalter (10th c.) suggests a slightly earlier date. The fricative character of *g* and its allophonic distribution were shared by Old Saxon (Gallée 1993: 167–72), and, according to some scholars, by early Old English (Campbell 1959: 21, Minkova 2003: 113–20, Dietz 2006: 29–150).

9.5 Recent Frisian loans in North Holland and Groningen and other irrelevant evidence

Various coastal Dutch words in *s* or *z* which (seem to) correspond with inland Dutch words in *g* or *k* have been claimed to show palatalization of velars. A very extensive collection was presented by Kieft 1945, but Schönfeld & van Loey 1970 also acknowledge a number of forms. As I will argue below, many forms must be interpreted differently, in particular the Flemish evidence. In North Holland and Groningen, Frisian was spoken into the Late Middle Ages, which is why more palatalized forms appear there. Their possibly recent (that is, Late Medieval) adoption in the coastal dialects disqualifies them as evidence for language contact between Proto-Frisian and Old Franconian in the Early Middle Ages. I will not deal with the evidence from Groningen, as the number of palatalized forms is much higher. The shift from Frisian to northeastern Dutch dialect was relatively recent in Groningen (in the 1400s). For collections and discussion of the evidence from Groningen, see Heeroma 1951b, Heeroma & Naarding 1961, Feenstra 1998: 61–78, Niebaum 2001: 439–40. For a research overview of Groningen speech in the Middle Ages, see Reker 2002: 63–71.

9.5.1 Not restricted to coastal Dutch

Three forms have a wider distribution. Dutch *lenzen* ‘to sail before the wind with little sail’ was interpreted by Kieft (1945: 179) as a derivative from a putative noun **lenze* ‘length’ < **langin-*, compare German *Länge* ‘length’. It is just a guess, however, that *lenzen* would have anything to do with sailing ‘lengthwise’. The earliest attestation of the verb as *lenssen*, *lentsen* ‘to make loose’ in 1599 (Kiliaan) points in a different direction, viz. to a derivation from the adjective *lens* ‘slow, weak’ (see EWN s.v. *lens* 2, and *lenzen* in WNT).

West Flemish *meuzie* ‘midge, mosquito’ was mentioned by Kieft (1945: 179) as a possible instance of palatalization of **g* before **j*, since Dutch *mug* ‘midge’ goes back to WGM. **mugjō-*. However, the sibilant in *meuzie* was not originally restricted to Flemish, and there is no trace of an original velar consonant in this word. We can therefore be certain that *meuzie* had *s* all along and does not represent the same etymon as *mug*. All of southern and western Dutch displays forms of the type /mø.ziə/, compare Early MDu. *moesie* (West Limburg, 1291–1300), plur. *muesien* and *messien* (both WFla.), Early MoDu. *meuziën* (Ghent, 1566), *meusie*, *mosie* ‘midge’ (Kiliaan, 1599). Van Ginneken et al. (1938: 336) provide a map of the distribution of *me(u)zie* versus *mug* in modern southern dialects. The former appears in the southern half of East Flanders and in adjacent parts of eastern West Flanders and southwestern Brabant. A more detailed map is offered by WVD, ‘Land- en waterfauna’, p. 153. The type *meuzie* is now found in the south of West and East Flanders, and cognate forms such as *meus/meuze*, *muis* and unrounded *mees* surface in southwestern Brabant. With an additional suffix, *meuzik* appears in a few places in the northwest of North Brabant.

Dutch *smetsen* ‘to smack one’s lips, tuck in’ is regarded by Kieft (1945: 177) and, with more hesitation, by Schönfeld & van Loey (1970: 240), as a palatalized reflex of **smakjan*; compare with geminate *kk* and a similar meaning MDu. *smecken* (1539 Brabant), dialectal Dutch *smekken*. With *ts* the verb is attested in Kiliaan (1599) and in a number of Early Modern literary sources. The oldest forms in *ts* are found in Brabant and Holland, not in Flanders. This makes it likely that *smetsen* belongs to MDu. *smetten* ‘to stain, make dirty’ (compare *smette* ‘stain’), with the *s*-suffix that is sometimes found in expressive or frequentative verbs, as discussed by Schönfeld & van Loey (1970: 239f.). Well-known examples of this type are *kretsen*, *kratsen* to *kretten* ‘to scratch’ and *splitsen* to *splitten* ‘to split’. *Smetsen* is used for ‘tucking in’ on food, ‘to binge’, which evokes the image of ‘messaging about’ (to *smetten*).

9.5.2 *s* for *k* in North Holland

We find a small but reliable number of palatalized forms in North Holland. As this area shifted from Frisian to Franconian around 1200, and as most traces appear in toponymy, we are surely dealing with Frisian loanwords into the Hollandish dialect (see van Bree 2012).

Beseeuwen ‘to be bewildered, faint’ was mentioned by Kieft 1945: 173 as a palatalized variant of Early MoDu. *bekeeuwen* ‘to faint’, to Dutch *keeuwen*, *kieuwen* ‘to gasp for air (of fish); to chew’, which has *k*- also in North Holland. The prefixed verb is known from all over North Holland as *beseeuwen*, *bezeeuwen* ‘to swoon’ (Boekenoogen 2004: 46, Karsten 1931–34 II: 200, Pannekeet 1984: 37). Yet in Modern West Frisian, the corresponding verb is *besauwe* ‘to be amazed’, with *s*- which cannot represent old *k*-. Hence, the etymology proposed by Boekenoogen for *beseeuwen*, viz. derivation from the word for ‘sea’, is more likely; compare also Holl. *verzeeuwd* ‘seasick’.

Sermen ‘to moan, groan’. Dutch *kermen* from *karmen*- ‘to moan’ is found as *sermen* in North Holland (Boekenoogen 2004: 467, Pannekeet 1984: 300). For the palatalized reflex, compare MoE *chirm*, and MoWF *tsjirmje*, dial. also *kjirmje*, *tjirmje*, *tsjirmje* < Anglo-Frisian **kærm*-. Nowhere in Frisian do we find the reflex *ts*- or *s*-, and even *tsj*- seems to be a recent development from *tj*-. Thus, the North Holland form must either go back to a now extinct dialect in which the palatalization had proceeded further than in Modern Westerlauwers Frisian, or it is due to the adaptation of Frisian *tj*- as Dutch *s*-.

Tseen, *sjaan*, *sien* ‘chine’. The noun *kene* ‘small stream’ < PGm. **kinan*- (OE *cinu*, -*an* ‘crack, fissure’, ME *chyne*, MoE *chine*) is attested with *k*- in all Dutch toponyms which contain this noun: ODu. *Kinlosun* (9th c.), *Chinnelosara gemerchi*, *Westerkinloson*, etc., and modern *Keent* in Brabant, *Keen* near Zevenbergen and Klundert (NBr.), *Kortgene* in Zeeland from *Kortekine*, *Keenwatering* (Delfland), *Grote Keinse*, *Kleine Keinse* near Schagen in North Holland, etc.; see Muller 1936: 40, de Cock 1980, Miedema 1972, 1980a. An exception carrying *s*- is *Polder de Sien* in Uitgeest, south of Amsterdam.

The latter form corresponds to the appellatives in *s*- or *ts*- as found on the islands off the coast of North Holland: Wieringen *sjaan* ‘small gulley for drainage’, Texel *tseen*, Terschelling *sien*. They seem to show the same palatalization as in the Frisian toponym *’t Sein* (from *kein*) but may alternatively represent relicts of OFri. *ûtsiane*, *ûtsione* ‘water course, outlet’ (Miedema 1972, Buma 1982). This interpretation implies that North Holland *Kin-losun* and *Keinse* have Franconian rather than Frisian phonemics, a conclusion supported by the reflex <o> rather than <a> from **au* in *Kinlosun*. See below on *Keinse*.

Beets. The village of *Beets* (1481 *Beets*, 1494 *Beetsch*), southwest of Hoorn, represents the Frisian development of *beek* ‘brooklet, stream’ (WGm. **baki*) to *Beets* as it is found in Fryslân too.

9.5.3 *s* and *j* for *g* in North Holland

Kallens(oog), *Callantsoog*. *Kallens-* contains the place-name suffix *-*ingja-*. Old attestations are *Callinge* (1083 falsum 12th c.), *Kallinge* (1125–30 copy 14th c.), and *Calense* (1396). From the survey by Gildemacher (2008: 101–44) of all medieval and later attestations from Fryslân, it is clear that spellings of this name in *ns*, *nz* only start to appear in the fourteenth century, all older attestations retaining <ing>. The attested forms of North Holland *Kallens* comply with this date. Probably, the earlier spellings with <ing> were already pronounced with a palatalized velar.

Keinse is the name of an inhabited mound near Schagen in North Holland. Older forms are 1319 *bi der Kaense*, 1388 *twischen den Oghe ende der Kaynse*, 1557 *de Groote Keyns*. Miedema (1980a: 211) reconstructs earlier **Kenenze* from **Kiningja-*. Possibly, *Keinse* was a hybrid formation, with the Franconian stem **kene* and the Frisian suffix *-enze*.

Lanis is a regional variant of *lanings* (Pannekeet 1984: 199, Boekenoogen 2004: 291), the plural of *laning* ‘board, flooring’. The ending *-is* is not due to palatalization, but to (dissimilatory?) loss of the nasal in *-ings*.

Wadwaai (below Wognum) contains the noun *-*weg* ‘way’. The palatalization of word-final *-g* is irregular in Franconian but normal in Frisian, compare OFri. *wei* ‘way’.

There is no indication for a Frisian origin of *zeunis* ‘pigs’ trough’ (Pannekeet 1984: 414, Boekenoogen 2004: 619, Weijnen 2003: 428). The forms *sony* (*Teuthonista*, 1477) and *suenie*, both probably for /sø:ni/, with a plural in *n*, are attested from Late Middle Dutch onwards. Kiliaan mentions *suenie* for the regions Holland and Guelders. Other variants are *zeuning*, attested in 17th-century authors from Holland, and *zeunis* in North Holland. Map 1.11 of *TNZN* provides the dialectal variants for the earlier twentieth century. We find *zeunis* in northern North Holland, *zeunie* in Zaanstreek and Waterland, and *zeuning* in a large central area which includes the northeastern half of South Holland, the whole province of Utrecht plus the Gooi, and the Rhine/Lek area. A single attestation of *zeunings* is found in the north of North Holland. A smaller area with a short vowel, in *zunnie* and *zunnië*, appears between Arnhem and Zutphen and around Doetinchem in Gelderland. Thus, whatever the exact etymology of this noun (to **swōnō-* ‘expiation’, **swōnjan-* ‘to expiate, offer’? the connection with OE *sunor* ‘herd (of pigs)’ is formally difficult and semantically as well), *zeunie* and *zunnie* must be regarded as the oldest forms, which changed to *zeun-ing* by suffix replacement. The *s*-form *zeunis* is best explained from a plural *zeunings*.

9.5.4 Flanders

Two Flemish toponyms probably show Romance palatalization. *Semmerzake* is located in East Flanders, south of Ghent. The oldest, Romance spellings of the initial sequence have <ci>: *Cimbarsaca* (815 copy 941), *Cimbresac* (977), *Cimbresacra* (988 falsum ca. 1000), *Cimbersaca* (995 copy mid 11th c., 1148), *Cimmarsaca* (1088). From 1100, the vowel appears as <e> and we find alternative spellings for the initial consonant: *Cemmersaca* (1110), *Cembersaca* (1123), *Schemessake* (1101 copy 1176–1200), *Scemersake* (1101 copy 1176–1200), *Semmersake* (1163 copy 12th c.), *Tsemmersake* (1163 copy 12th c.), *Semblersake* (1169 copy 12th c.), etc.; see Gysseling 1960a, Tavernier-Vereecken 1968: 497, Besse 1997: 489–90. The lowering of *i* is frequently found in Late Old and Early Middle Flemish, cf. *temberman* < *timberman* ‘carpenter’, *Grendberga* < *Grindberga*. Whereas an initial sound [ts-] could in theory reflect an early palatalization of the Proto-Frisian type, it seems much more likely, considering the geographic area, that we are looking at a Gallo-Romance name which was incorporated into Old Flemish. Mansion (1924: 126, 217f.) suspects that *Semmerzake* continues an originally Celtic name in *-āko-, as found in other southern Dutch names in -aken. Gysseling (1960a: 909) suggested deriving **Cimbrasiacum* from a Roman personal name **Cimbrasius*, but such a name is unattested. Another toponym which may have the same etymology is *Cambresèque*, south of Calais in France. It is attested in 1087 as *Kimbreseca*, *Cabresecque* (Besse 1997: 490).

Serskamp is another place-name from East Flanders. The oldest form is *Cerscamp* (1148 copy end 13th c.); other earlier spellings are *Scerskamp* and *Scherskamp* (1242), *Cerschamp* (1246), *Serscamp* (1265 and 1352), *Sarskamp* (1384), *Tsheerscamp* (1398), *Cierskamp* (14th c.), *Cheerscamp* (1432), *Tseercamp* (1545), *Serscamp* (1572); later generally *Cherskamp* (Tavernier-Vereecken 1968: 498). The modern dialectal pronunciation is [ʃe.əskam]. The spelling variants clearly point to a palatal affricate or fricative in Early Middle Dutch; a similar variation is found in some French loanwords, such as MDu. *tsaerter*, *chaertre* ‘charter’ (see § 9.1.2). The older explanation as ‘cherry-camp’, with an assimilated form of MDu. *kerse* ‘cherry’ from Latin *cerēsia*, is problematic because ‘cherry’ is not otherwise found with palatalization in Dutch, Frisian or German (*kers*, *Kirsche*). Hence, *Serskamp* cannot date back to the Roman period (as per Debrabandere et al. 2010: 224). If it does contain the word for ‘cherry’, *Serskamp* could be a Gallo-Romance settlement called ‘Cherryfield’, founded during the Middle Ages.

None of the other Flemish forms for which palatalization of a velar has been claimed can be maintained. The word *beek* ‘brook’ < **baki*, genitive **bakjas*, as a second element of toponyms, is sometimes found with a spelling <ch> or <s> which suggests palatalization: *Borsebeche* (1220) ‘Borsbeke’, *Nerebache* (966 copy

15th c.) ‘Meerbeke’, *Albeche* ‘Aalbeke’ (WFla., 1175), *Bichengem* (1107) ‘Bekegem’, *Harlebecche* (1186) ‘Harelbeke’. There can be little doubt that these are French spellings reflecting the Gallo-Romance palatalization of **baki*, as found in place-names in French *-baix*, such as *Roubaix*.

Kieft (1945: 175) draws the attention to West Flemish *blessen* ‘to debark a tree; to look threateningly, show the white of the eye; to bark (of a dog)’. This corresponds to Early MoDu. *blecken* (1599), Du. *blekken* or *blikken* from PGm. **blakjan-* ‘to bleach’. In fact, the same West Flemish dictionary (de Bo 1892: 146–8) which aduces *blessen* also has *blekken* as the more usual variant of the verb. This makes an explanation of *blessen* from an early palatalization implausible. The noun *blesse*⁶⁶ can refer both to a ‘debarked place on a tree’, a ‘bald patch on a man’s head’ and to a ‘blaze’ on the forehead of a horse or cow. The latter meaning is the usual one for Early MoDu. *blesse*, StDu. *bles*. The same word also occurs as an adjective in MDu. *bles*, *blese* ‘having a blaze’. Dutch *bles* and *blek* both have the meaning ‘blaze’ and ‘the white of the eye’. Hence, it seems likely that the verb *blekken* ‘to bleach’ and the noun *blesse* ‘blaze’ have influenced each other in Flemish, giving rise to a verb *blessen* with the meanings of the noun *blesse*. The closely related dialects of Zealand (WZD 106–8) show the more original distribution, with *kk* in the verb and *s* in the noun: *blekken* ‘to shine; show one’s teeth (of a dog)’, *blikken* ‘to shine up; mark a tree’ next to *blis kicken* ‘to look scared (showing the white of the eye)’, and *blis(se)* ‘blaze’ on a horse’s head.

The town name of *Bruges* is attested in Old Dutch both with the Dutch development of **bruggjō-* to /brygge-/, as in *Bruggas* (840–75, on Carolingian coins), *Bruggis* (11th c.), *in porto Bruggensi* (ca. 1010), and with retention of *j-* and later the rise of an assibilated cluster in *Bruccia* (840–75, coins), *Bruciam*, *Brucciam* (892 copy 11th c.), *in Brutgis vico* (end of 9th c. copy 941), *Bruzzias* (1051–1100 copy 13th c.), *Brutgensis* (1111–15). We can safely regard the second group of forms as reflecting the French pronunciation, as was already concluded by Tavernier-Vereecken 1968: 364.⁶⁷ In view of the international fame of Bruges, the continued transmission of the name in the nearby Gallo-Romance area is not surprising. Note that none of the other Old Flemish place names in *brug* ‘bridge’ show any sign of palatalization.

66. Possibly, the earliest attestation in Dutch is the name *Johannes Blesse* in Calais, 1298 (Gys seling & Bougard 1963: 17).

67. “elk spoor van zulk een assiblatie (...) wordt slechts aangetroffen in M[iddel]lat[ijnse] teksten, geschreven in Noord-Frankrijk of in Vlaanderen. Derhalve lijkt het vooralsnog aangewezen die geassibileerde vormen voor Frans te houden, speciaal Fra. leestaalvormen.” [“every trace of such an assibilation (...) is only attested in Middle Latin texts, written in Northern France or Flanders. Hence we are for the time being bound to regard those assibilated forms as French, in particular, as forms from French written language.”]

The locality of *Butsegem* in West Flanders, close to the Hainaut border, is found twice as *Bucingehem* (965 falsum 990–1035; 966). Probably, <c> is to be read as [ts]. Another place-name with the same anthroponym is *Bussenghem* (1227) in East Flanders, which has secondarily developed a voiced /z/ in the modern pronunciation. It has been suggested (Schönfeld & van Loey 1970: xxix, Tavernier-Vereecken 1968: 211) that *Bucingehem* can be compared to English *Buckingham* and that it would show palatalization of a hypochoristic name **Bukkan-* in Flemish. Yet Mansion (1924: 33, 94) regards *Bucingehem* as a derivative of a hypochoristic name **Butsa* < **bud-san-*, with the *s*-suffix added to a stem in a dental. This name is attested as Old Dutch *Bozo* (Liège 1080, cop. ca. 1700) and indirectly in its derivatives *Bozelini* (Sint-Truiden, 1006–23 copy ca. 1250), *Buzimanni* (GEN.; Douai?, 1067), see Marynissen 1986: 82. Mansion's etymology seems preferable over an isolated case of palatalization.

A noun **friskinga-* 'young piece of cattle, piglet, lamb' (MDu. *versching*, OHG *frisking*) is attested once in the Old Ghent documents as ACC.SG. *frisingiam* (801–900 copy 941). The spelling with single *s*- instead of *sc* or *sk* leads Mansion (1924: 179) to assume French influence on the spelling of *frisingiam* because the cluster *sk* is normally retained in Old Dutch; compare Old French *frésange*. We do find a graphic representation of the cluster /sk/ in all other fifteen Old Dutch attestations. It follows that the ending *-giam* may also reflect the French pronunciation of the word, and cannot be counted as evidence for Dutch palatalization.

The form *geldindas* 'castrated ram' (801–900 copy 941) stands for NOM.ACC. PL. **geldingas*, as proven by the NOM.PL. *geldingi* (801–900 copy 1060); it is derived from *gelt* 'unfertile'. Schönfeld & van Loey regard *-nd-* as the reflex of a palatalization of *-ng-*, but Mansion (1924: 163) simply assumes that *d* in *geldindas* is a mistake for *g*.

Krensen, *krinsen* (also written and pronounced with *z*) means 'to winnow grain', 'to clean grain by passing it through the winnow'. The word is used figuratively for 'to wriggle the body for pain, cold or itch' in various dialects, among which is Flemish (see WNT s.v. *krensen* and *krenselen*). The same meanings 'to winnow' and 'to wriggle' are attested for the frequentative *krinselen*, *krenselen*. Hence, this verb has nothing to do with *kringen* 'to turn' or palatalization of *g*. Debrabandere (2011: 214) derives *krensen* and variants from Old French *crincier* 'to winnow', which is much more attractive.

The verb *ve(i)nzen* 'to smoulder' is adduced by Kieft (1945: 179), de Tollenaere (1957) and Schönfeld & van Loey (1970: 240, with hesitation) as a possible case of palatalization. The verb is restricted to Flanders. Modern dialects show several forms: *venzen*, *veizen*, *vinzen*, *vunzen*, *veuzen*. The forms with a nasal are the more original ones, as they are already found in the sixteenth century: *veinsen* (Lambrecht 1562), *venzen* (1567), *geveinsd* (1568). The diphthong *ei* represents a regular development of *e* before *n* plus a dental obstruent. *Vunzen* has rounding

after *v*, whereas in *veizen* and *veuzen*, the nasal was lost. In my view, *venzen* is best explained from an *s*-verb **veng-sen* to **veng-* ‘to kindle’, compare MHG *vengen* ‘to kindle’ < **fangjan-*, as opposed to MHG *fenken* < **fankjan-*, MDu. *ontfenken* ‘to ignite’, southern Dutch *vinken* ‘to smoulder’ with *k* (Kroonen 2013: 127). On Dutch, and in particular West Flemish presents in *s-*, see van Loey 1958.

9.6 Summary and conclusions

It turns out that we can distinguish between two main groups of evidence: changes due to palatalization in a *TK*-cluster, and changes which involve the phonetics and phonemics of /*g*/ and /*j*/. There is no independent palatalization of **k* other than in the clusters *dk*, *tk*.

- a. The palatalization in *TK* can be viewed as the direct and trivial result of cluster simplification. It is not confined to coastal Dutch, nor was it caused by the quality of the vowel following the velar consonant.

The earliest forms concern *dg* > *dj* in the Old Dutch names in *Gard(is)* which are restricted to coastal Dutch (in Flanders from 948, in Holland and Zealand evidenced after 1200). In the thirteenth century, the combination *te gegen* ‘against’ has developed to *tjegen* (palatalization) whence finally *tegen* by cluster simplification. This happened in various dialects across the Low Countries. A different result of *tegegen* was *jegen*, which, at least in eastern dialects, came about by metanalysis of the intermediate stage *tjegen* as consisting of *te+jegen*. The same metanalysis may have happened in Flanders independently and a little earlier (shortly after 1200), unless Flemish *jegen* arose from a dissimilation of the first *g-* in original *gegen*. Another palatalization of *g* after dentals led to the rise of *je* and *jij* ‘you’. Unstressed *je* developed in the fourteenth century from 2PL. *gi* ‘you’ in inverted combinations with the corresponding verb form ending in *-t*, e.g. **gevet-gi* ‘you give’ > *geved’i*. The palatalized dental developed into a cluster [dʒ] which was phonetically reduced to *j* or was reanalysed as *t/d + j*. Stressed *jij* first appears in 1550 and was probably formed by analogy with *me*, *mij* ‘me’, *we*, *wij* ‘we’. The *j*-forms are restricted to coastal Dutch (including southwestern Brabant), which may be due to the contemporaneous existence of palatalized allophones of the dental stops in Brabant and Limburg versus their absence in the west.

The origin of the diminutive suffix *-tje* from palatalization in clusters *dk* and *tk* has been proven by Marynissen (1998). Palatalization happened in different regions across the Low Countries independently between the thirteenth and the sixteenth century. Partly, these differences may have been caused by different timing of syncope of the (first) schwa in the suffix *-ekin* > *-eken*. The syncope of

an unstressed schwa was also the condition for the palatalization found in the place-name *Kortgene* and for southern Limburgian *aetje* ‘vinegar’ from *edeke*.

- b. A number of developments, all of which are also found in parts of Low and/or High German, affect West Germanic *g. They presuppose its status as a voiced velar fricative [ɣ], at least in anlaut and inlaut. It may also be assumed that /g/ had a palatal allophone [j] before *i*, *e* and a velar allophone [ɣ] before *a*, *o*, *u*. It is likely that the palatal [j] also occurred between *i*, *e*, *a* and a consonant or an unstressed vowel.

In word-internal position, there are four different contexts in which palatalization to *j* took place. 1. The oldest change (from 800) is that of Old Dutch and Old Saxon **egi* to *ei* and of **igi* into *ī* in compound names. Probably, between two front vowels, [j] phonetically became [j], and [ej] and [iji] were interpreted as /ei/ and /ī/. 2. A subsequent change of **egC* to *eiC* was regular in all Early Middle Dutch dialects (*breien* ‘to knit’, *seide* ‘said’, etc.). In paradigms with an alternation between Old Dutch **egR* and **egeR*, the result *eiR* appears to have been generalized only in western Dutch dialects. 3. Words which had **a/e/igeC* throughout the paradigm in Late Old Dutch could syncopate the unstressed vowel if it was followed by one or more syllables. When syncope took place, palatalization to *eiC* occurred more frequently in western dialects than in the east (e.g. *eide* vs. *egede* ‘harrow’, *heinen* vs. *hegenen* ‘to fence’), though some exceptions with *ei* are also found in the east. 4. A few words show palatalization of word-final -g in western dialects (*kei*, -*Dei*, -*eie*).

In all of these cases, we may assume that original [ɛj] merged with the already existing combination /ej/. There was no discernable difference in phonetics between western and eastern Dutch, and for the oldest developments (nr. 1 and 2 above), eastern and western Dutch provide an equal amount of evidence. We do find that coastal Dutch more often generalized *eiR* from alternating paradigms (nr. 2), more often syncopated the middle syllable of trisyllabic forms, leading to *eiC* (nr. 3), and is the only region to show palatalization of word-final -Vg (nr. 4). The first two differences have their origin in different syncope patterns or in different morphological preferences, whereas only the last one might show an older, possibly Frisian/Franconian dialect difference.

In word-initial position, g- is usually retained in Dutch before front vowels. The only exception is the unstressed prefix *ga- in past participles and collective nouns. In Early Middle Dutch, this appears as ye- or i- in part of West Flemish. In modern dialects, initial ɶ- occurs in Flanders, Zealand, Holland, and in parts of Overijssel and Gelderland. Probably, these areas experienced a shift of *ge- > *je- > *i- > ɶ-. The initial shift of g- to j- was either dialect-internal, and motivated by the phonetics of unstressed [je-], or it was due to the language contact process between Proto-Frisian and Franconian in the coastal area.

The mirror image of the change from **g* to *j* is the exceptionless change of word-initial **j-* to *g-* before stressed **i*, **ī* or **e* at the Old Dutch stage. This fricativization occurred in all dialects. *J-* has also become *g-* in one Frisian loanword in Holland and Utrecht (*gier*) and in a few words in which the diphthong **eo-* did not become Early Middle Dutch *ie-* but *(*)je-*. The change of *je/i-* > *ge/i-* can be interpreted as the identification of the (more) fricative allophone of /j-/ before front vowels with the voiced palatal fricative [j] in original *ge-*, *gi-*.

The general conclusion of this section is that, on chronological and geographical grounds, few of the reviewed palatalizations qualify as (influenced by) Proto-Frisian or can be linked to the difference between western and eastern Dutch, see Table 27. As a result, the Dutch palatalizations do not have any bearing on the subgrouping of West Germanic.⁶⁸ Only the sporadic palatalization of word-final *-Vg*, and possibly the palatalization in the prefix *ge-*, might result from the Frisian-Franconian language contact in western Dutch.

Table 27. Summary of the consonant phenomena reviewed in Chapter 9

Change	Coastal vs. inland Dutch	Status in coastal Dutch
palatalization in <i>TK</i> -clusters	no	internal development
<i>g > j</i> before <i>i, e, C</i>	no	internal development
<i>-Vg > -Vj</i>	yes	imposition from PFri.?
<i>*j- > g-</i> before <i>i, ī, e</i>	no	internal development
<i>*ga- > je-</i>	partly	imposition from PFri.?

A second conclusion is that there is no meaningful way to connect the palatalizations of *g* with the modern distribution of its allophones. As is well known, Modern Dutch has for the phonemes /g/ and /x/ the voiceless allophones uvular [χ] or pharyngeal [ħ] in western and northern dialects (mostly the same pronunciation indistinctly for both phonemes), versus palatal voiced [j] and voiceless [ç], respectively, in the south and southeast. If anything, the indiscriminate palatalization of *g* before a consonant in both western and eastern dialects as well as the general fricativization of *j-* before front vowels in all dialects, point to all dialects having a palatal allophone before front vowels up to Early Middle Dutch. That includes western and northern dialects which now typically have a uvular allophone. It follows that the modern distribution of allophones is due to a reorganization of the original, vowel-conditioned distribution per region: the west generalized the

68. An indirect connection of the Dutch palatalizations of *g* with similar events in Frisian and English remains a possibility if one assumes that Anglo-Frisian merely phonologized fronted West Germanic allophones earlier and much more pervasively than did Dutch and German.

velar allophone (which became pharyngeal in parts of Flanders and Zealand, and uvular in parts of Holland and the northeast), the southeast generalized the palatal pronunciation (Goeman 1998: 217). Our data imply that this redistribution of allophones post-dates the Early Middle Dutch stage.

