ЯL

ON *jóð* n. 'new born child, descendant'

Daniel Kölligan
Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg

Abstract

It is argued that ON *jóð* 'child, descendant', Gmc. **eṷð/þa-*, is related to the root PIE **h₁eṷh₁/₃-* 'to give milk, to suck', either as a substantivized verbal adjective **h₁éṷh₁/₃-to-* 'nourished, fed' comparable to **ǵenh₁to-* 'child' (Germ. *Kind*) regarding the word formation, or as a noun **h₁eṷh₁/₃dʰo-* based on the root shape **h₁eṷh₁/₃dʰ-* underlying Gr. οὔθαρ, Lat. *ūber* 'udder', etc.

KEYWORDS: Old Norse, etymology, vṛddhi, substantivization

1. *Status quaestionis*

Earlier etymological proposals for ON *jóð* 'child' have proved unsatisfactory on the formal and semantic level: as the discussion will show (section 2), the Gmc. evidence does not allow connections with words in other languages continuing PIE **d* such as Greek ὑδρία 'water vessel', and a link with words meaning 'to feel' and 'delicate' (Lith. *jaũsti*, *jautrùs*) is neither semantically compelling nor corroborated by further material in other languages. After a review of the Germanic evidence (section 1), the paper attempts to connect the word with the PIE root **h₁eṷh₁/₃-* 'to (breast-)feed, give milk' and a possibly enlarged variant **h₁eṷh₁/₃dʰ-* (section 3). If correct, the Old Norse form might provide further indirect evidence for this verbal root.

2. *Old Norse* jóð *and cognates*

The Old Norse neuter noun *jóð* 'new born child, descendant' oc-
curs, e.g., in the *Rígsþula* and the *Atlamál* of the poetic Edda, cf.[1]

(1) *Jóþ ól Edda,*
       jósu vatni,
       ... hétu Þrǽl.
       'Edda gave birth to a *son*,
       they sprinkled him with water,
       ... they called him Thrᴂll.'   *Rigsþula* 7

(2) *Jóþ ól Amma,*
       jósu vatni,
       ... kǫlluþu Karl.
       'Amma gave birth to a *son*,
       they sprinkled him with water,
       ... they called him Karl.'   *Rigsþula* 11

(3) *Sǽll es hverr síþan,*
       es slík getr fóþa
       jóþ at afreki,
       sem es ól Gjúki.
       'He shall be very happy afterwards,
       who gets to father
       offspring as gallant
       as the one that Gjuki begot.'   *Atlamál* 99

Jóð also occurs in the compound *jóð-ungr* 'young' (Sigurðarkviða
3.37), in the adjective *jóðligr* 'blooming, thriving like a baby' and the
PN *Jóðgeirr, -bjǫrn, -arr, -hildr*[2]. It is usually connected with a Gmc.
protoform **eu̯þa-/*eu̯ða-* assumed to occur also in a number of Ger-
manic personal and tribal names (*Iuthungi, Eudusii*)[3] which have been

---

[1] Cf. also Gᴇʀɪɴɢ (1903: 538).
[2] Cf. Vʀɪᴇs (1977: 292).
[3] Cf. Nᴇᴜᴍᴀɴɴ (1989), who argues that *Eudusii* could mean 'zur Jungmannschaft
gehörend', 'belonging to the young warriors', and Nᴇᴜᴍᴀɴɴ (2000).

discussed in detail by Wagner (2013): regarding the quality of the fricative, ON *jóð* is ambiguous due to the neutralization of the voicing distinction in intervocalic position in Old Norse, and also Runic *Iuþing-aR* on the stone of Reistad (Norway, ca. 450-500 CE)[4], which is usually assumed to belong to the same root, may show an early spelling of the voiced fricative as <þ>[5]. In contrast to this, OHG *Eodo* (*n*-stem, Freising a. 824), *Eodunc* (between 758 and 804/6), *Eodolt/Hiodolt*, and probably also Goth. **Iuþareiks* in Lat. *Eutharicus* (Theoderic's son-in-law), presuppose **eu̯þa-* 'child, descendant', while OHG *Eoto/(H)Ioto* and *Eotheri* go back to **eu̯ða-*. The same variation occurs in OHG *Iud* and *Iudo* (in the *Reichenauer Verbrüderungsbuch*, 9th c.) from **iuþi-* – since *u*-stems are not productive, a form **iuþu-* seems unlikely – with *Umlaut* from **éu̯þ-i-*, beside which a form **eu̯ð-í-* is presupposed by OHG (*H*)*Iuto*, quasi **eu̯ð-ōn*.

3. *Grammatischer Wechsel*

The variation **eu̯þa/i-* / **eu̯ða/i-* seems to favour an interpretation as *grammatischer Wechsel* of a single paradigm with an originally mobile accent. This is impossible in the case of the *a*-stem and unlikely for the *i*-stem, since there do not seem to be similar cases in Germanic. It seems more likely that there is a derivational relationship between the two forms[6]. If **-ða-* continues the suffix PIE **-tó-* forming verbal adjectives, **éu̯þa-* could derive from a form **uðá-* in the same way as OHG *kind* goes back to Gmc. **kenþa-*, virtually from **ǵénh₁to-*, beside the zero-grade oxytone adjective **ǵn̥h₁tó-* found, e.g., in ON *regin-kunnr* 'of divine descent' < **kunþa-*. The root **ǵenh₁-* may also provide a parallel for the unexpected full-grade in the oxytone form, if OS *kind* goes back to **kenða-* < **ǵenh₁tó-*. The identical OFr. form is certainly borrowed from High German, as it lacks the expected

---

[4] Cf. Krause (1971: 159); Bammesberger (1996); Eythórsson (1999).
[5] Cf. *faþur* on the stone from Skåän, Södermanland, Sweden, dated between 375-570. Cf. https://app.raa.se/open/runor/inscription?id=2c6c108c-851b-4cd6-a140-675afaa098f4.
[6] Cf. also the discussion in Neumann (1989: 619).

palatalization of the velar stop as, e.g., in OFr. *szin*(*bake*), OE *cinn* vs OHG *kinni* 'chin'. Schaffner (2001: 235-238) and *EWAhd* 5.515 discuss this question without a final decision, and the former points out a possible parallel case in Ved. *márta-* m. 'mortal, man' < **mérto-*, Av. *marəta-* 'id.' if from **martá-* < **mertó-* (for **márta-* one would expect Av. ***maṣa-*). He further assumes that the oxytone accent in such full-grade forms could be caused by analogy to zero-grade verbal adjectives in *-tó-* substantivized as such, e.g., ON *kundr* m. 'son' < **kunđa-* < **ǵn̥h₁tó-*, whence also **ǵenh₁tó-*. In any case, derivational accent shift and Verner variation was productive in Germanic, and forms such as Gmc. **staþa-* m. n. 'river bank, beach' < **stá₂to-* beside **stađa-* 'standing, stable' < **sta₂tó-*, might have provided a basis for an adjective **eu̯đa-* beside a noun **eu̯þa-*, although it is usually assumed that the derivation works in the opposite direction[7]. Since the discussion has shown that the Gmc. forms contain either **-þ-* or **-đ-*, etyma with PIE **d* are excluded. Hence, the old explanation which connects ON *jóđ* with Lat. *ŭter* 'leather bag' and *uterus* 'womb, belly' is impossible[8]: the former probably belongs to OIr. *otre* 'goatskin bottle' and Gk. ὑδρία 'water vessel', the latter to Skt. *udára-* n. 'belly', Gk. ὕδερος 'dropsy', ὑστέρα 'womb' (< **ud-terā*) and Lith. *vĕderas* 'sausage; intestines, stomach', OCS *vĕdro* n. 'barrel'[9]. As an alternative, Magnússon (2008: s.v. *jóđ*) proposes a link with Lith. *jaũsti* 'to feel, perceive', *jautrùs* 'emotional, delicate, subtle' which is not compelling semantically and lacks further corroborating data.

4. *PIE roots*

If, as pointed out above, **eu̯þa-* continues an earlier form derived from a verbal adjective, a possible root to connect it with might be PIE **h₁eu̯h₁/₃-* 'to give milk, suckle' assumed by Melchert (1986) for

---

[7] Note also oxytone Gmc. **i̯ungá-* 'young' (in contrast, e.g., to the comparative form **i̯únχizan-*).

[8] Cf., e.g., Much (1893: 206-207) and Schönfeld (1911: 81).

[9] On the Latin development of **-dr-* > *-tr-* whence *utero-* cf. de Vaan (2008: 647).

Hitt. *uu̯a-* interpreted as an agent noun $*h_1ou̯h_{1/3}-\acute{o}$- 'nurse, nourishing mother'[10]. If ON *jóð* goes back to this $*eu̯þa$-, its transposed antecedent would have the form $*h_1éu̯h_{1/3}-to$- 'suckling, breastfed', derived in the same way as Gmc. **kinþa-* 'child' from PIE $*\acute{g}enh_1$[11]:

$*\acute{g}n̥h_1t\acute{o}$- 'born'	→ $*\acute{g}\acute{e}nh_1to$- 'child'	> Gmc. $*kinþa^n$
$*h_1uh_{1/3}t\acute{o}$- 'suckled'	→ $*h_1éu̯h_{1/3}to$- 'child'	> Gmc. $*eu̯þa^n$

Since, as shown by **kinþa-*, this is apparently a productive process in Germanic, an early Germanic derivation from the verbal adjective $*(H)uHð\acute{a}$- → $*(H)\acute{e}u̯Hþa$- may be conceivable. However, extra-Germanic data opens up another possibility: as discussed by Vine & Yokoyama (2010), the PIE word for 'udder' found in Germanic OE *ūder*, OHG *ūtar* (< **ūdra-*) and ON *júgr* (< **eu̯dur*)[12], and further Skt. *ū́dhar-/-an-* ($*HuHd^b$-), Gk. οὖθαρ ($*Hou̯d^b$-) and Lat. *ūber*, i.e., PIE $*H(e/o)uHd^b$-*r/n*-, is likely to derive from a root $*Heu̯Hd^b$- found in dialectal Russ. *údit'* 'to ripen (of grain); to swell up with liquid'[13] which could continue a C*o*C-*éi̯e/o*-formation transposable as $*Hou̯Hd^b$-*éi̯e/o*-. Beside this, Vine & Yokoyama (2010) have drawn attention to a dialectal Russian form 3PL *udut* which may go back to the primary simple thematic form $*h_1euh_{1/3}d^b$-*onti*. If so, *udut* might be a direct trace of the primary verb underlying the PIE word for 'udder'. Vine & Yokoyama (2010) further assume that this root could be the result of a univerbation of $*h_1euh_{1/3}$- with $*d^beh_1$- 'to put'. Given that this putative base root probably meant 'give milk, suckle, excrete liquid', one might even speculate that the complex form $*h_1euh_{1/3}-d^b$- goes back to a *dvandva*-compound with $*d^beh_1(i̯)$- 'to suckle', i.e., $*h_1euh_{1/3}-d^b(h_1[i̯])$- 'to nurse-suckle', or a verbal governing compound, if the first member was a root noun 'milk, nourish-

---

[10] Attested only in the Soldier's Song in the Puḫanu-chronicle. Various other proposals for its interpretation have been made, *inter alia* 'son', 'forefather', 'grandfather', cf. Kloekhorst (2008: 934-935).

[11] Cf. on this type of word-formation Schaffner (2001: 334-335).

[12] Cf. Kroonen (2013: 120).

[13] Cf. Даль (1909: s.v.): «о зернѣ, … наливаться, толстѣть, набирать тѣло» ('about grain, … to ripen/become juicy, to become fat, to gain in body').

ment', i.e., 'to milk-feed' or 'to put milk'[14]. For the Germanic forms presupposing *$eu̯ða$-, this could imply a PIE *transponat* *$h_1eu̯h_{1/3}d^bo$-. A neuter of the type ἔργον (PIE *$u̯érǵ$-o-) probably meant 'suckled being, nursling' (Germ. *Säugling*) that could be the substantivization of an adjective *$h_1eu̯h_{1/3}d^b$-$ó$- 'fed, nursed' in the sense of Nussbaum (2017). Since the more complex root *$h_1eu̯h_{1/3}d^b$- is better attested in general, but Germanic *$eu̯þa$- is irreconcilable with it, one may either assume that Germanic inherited both *$h_1eu̯h_{1/3}$- and *$h_1eu̯h_{1/3}d^b$- or that it only inherited the simpler variant and that, as discussed above, *$eu̯ða$- is an inner-Germanic creation. In any case, if the etymology proposed here is correct, it would provide further data for a PIE root *$h_1eu̯h_{1/3}$- 'to swell up with liquid, excrete liquid, give milk'.

*$h_1eu̯h_{1/3}$- : *$h_1uh_{1/3}$-$tó$- (→ *$h_1éu̯h_{1/3}to$-) > Gmc. *$HuHðá$- → *$Héu̯þa$-/$Heu̯ðá$-
*$h_1eu̯h_{1/3}d^b(eh_1$-$²)$: *$h_1eu̯h_{1/3}d^bo$- > Gmc. *$Heu̯ða$-

Daniel Kölligan
Institut für Altertumswissenschaften
Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg
daniel.koelligan@uni-wuerzburg.de

References

BAMMESBERGER, A. (1996), *Die Runeninschrift auf dem Stein von Reistad*, in «Historische Sprachforschung» 109, pp. 117-126.

EWAhd = LLOYD, A. L., SPRINGER, O. & LÜHR, R. (1988-2017, eds.), *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Althochdeutschen*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

EYTHÓRSSON, TH. (1999), *The Runic Inscription on the Reistad Stone: The Earliest Landnámabók*, in BAMMESBERGER, A. & WAXENBERGER, G. (eds.), *Pforzen und Bergakker: neue Untersuchungen zu Runeninschriften*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 189-202.

GERING, H. (1903), *Vollständiges Wörterbuch zu den Liedern der Edda*, Halle a. S., Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses.

---

[14] On the question whether the apparent homonyms PIE *$d^beh_1(i̯)$- 'to put' and 'to suckle' are ultimately the same root cf. DE VAAN (2019).

Kloekhorst, A. (2008), *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*, Leiden, Brill.

Krause, W. (1971), *Die Sprache der urnordischen Runeninschriften*, Heidelberg, Winter.

Magnússon, Á. B. (2008), *Íslensk orðsifjabók*, Reykjavik, Orðabók Háskólans.

Melchert, H. C. (1986), *Hittite* uwaš *and Congeners*, in «Indogermanische Forschungen» 91, pp. 102-115.

Much, R. P. (1893), *Goten und Ingvaeonen*, in «Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur» 17, pp. 178-221.

Neumann, G. (1989), *Eudusii*, in Beck, H., Jankuhn, H., Ranke, K. & Wenskus, R. (eds.), *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, vol. VII: *Einfache Formen – Eugippius*, Berlin - New York, de Gruyter, pp. 617-620.

Neumann, G. (2000), *Juthungen. § 1. Der Name*, in Beck, H., Jankuhn, H., Ranke, K. & Wenskus, R. (eds.), *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*. vol. XVI: *Jadwingen – Kleindichtung*, Berlin - New York, de Gruyter, pp. 141-142.

Nussbaum, A. J. (2017), *Agentive and other derivatives of ʹτομός-type’ nouns*, in Le Feuvre, C., Petit, D. & Pinault, G.-J. (eds.), *Verbal Adjectives and Participles in Indo-European Languages. Proceedings of the Conference of the Society for Indo-European Studies (Indogermanische Gesellschaft), Paris, 24th to 26th September 2014 = Adjectifs verbaux et participes dans les langues indo-européennes*, Bremen, Hempen Verlag, pp. 233-266.

Schaffner, St. (2001), *Das Vernersche Gesetz und der innerparadigmatische grammatische Wechsel des Urgermanischen im Nominalbereich*, Innsbruck, Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck.

Schönfeld, M. (1911), *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen*, Heidelberg, Winter.

de Vaan, M. (2008), *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages*, Leiden, Brill.

——— (2019), *On the homonymy of ʹput’ and ʹsuck’ in Proto-Indo-European*, in «Indo-European Linguistics» 7.1, pp. 176-193.

Vine, B. & Yokoyama, O. T. (2010), *PIE *(h₁)euh₁-dʰ- ʹexcrete liquid’ and Russian dialectal* udut *(3 pl.)*, in Nikolaeva, T. M. (ed.), *Issledovaniiä po lingvistike i semiotike: sbornik stateǐ k iūbileiū Viach.Vs. Ivanova*, Moscow: Iazyki slavianskikh kulʹtur, pp. 191-196.

de Vries, J. (1977), *Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Leiden, Brill.

Wagner, N. (2013), *Ungeklärte Kurznamen im althochdeutschen Personennamenbestand*, in «Beiträge zur Namenforschung» 48.1, pp. 1-94.

Даль, В. (1909), *Толковый словарь живого великорусскаго языка*, С.-Петербург-Москва, М.О. Вольф.