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**PGerm. *breust-/*brust- ‘breast’
and possible reflexes of nominal dual in Germanic languages**

PIE dual endings of nouns (Fortson 2004: 105):

1) $*-e < *-h_1$ in athematic masc. and fem. nouns, e.g. Gr. πόδε, μητέρε; Sanskr. $-ā$ and $-au$ in athematic masc. and fem. nouns were probably taken from the thematic masculine dual PIE $*-ō$ (Brugmann 1892: 645).

2) $*-ī < *-i-h_1$ in athematic neuter nouns (Sansk. *čakṣuṣī* ‘two eyes’, OSl. очи, оуши).

3) $*-ō < *-o-h_1$ and $*ōu$ in thematic masc. nouns, e.g. Gr. λύκω, Sanskr. *priyā́*, of *priyáḥ* ‘beloved’, Sanskr. *dvā́*, *dvau* ‘two’, OSl. ραβα).

4) $*-oi < *-o-ī$ in thematic neuter nouns, e.g. Sanskr. $-e$ in *priyé*, *dvé*, OSl. ѿελѣ; in Greek, $-ω$ in the neuter is taken from masc.

5) $*-āi < *-ā-ī$ in $ā$ -stems, e.g. Sanskr. $-e$ in *dve*, OSl. жеѿѣ; in Greek, $-αι$ became a plural ending under the influence of masc. pl. with $-οι$; $-ā$ in *ἡμέρā* (dual) is due to the influence of $-ω$ in the masculine (Brugmann 1892: 643).

6) $*-ī$ in i -stems, Sanskr. *munī*, *rātrī*, OSl. ѿошѿѣ.

7) $*-ū$ in masculine and feminine u -stems, Sanskr. *tarū*, *dhenū*, $*-ī$ in neuter u -stems, Ved. *urv-ī́* of *uru-* ‘broad’ (Macdonnel 1910: 297).

Goth. *brusts* τὸ στῆθος, feminine athematic, plurale tantum, occurred only in acc.pl.: *motareis... sloh in brusts seinos ...ἔτυπτεν τὸ στῆθος αὐτοῦ*, Luke 18:13

Neuter thematic forms: OE *brēost* n., OIcel. *brjóst* n., Sw. *bröst* n., etc.

Compare ‘door’:

OIcel. *dyrr* feminine athematic, pl. tantum, PGerm. **dur-iz*.

OE *duru* fem. u-stem, PGerm. **dur-ō*.

Goth. *daur* neuter thematic, PGerm. **dur-o-*.

Neuter thematic form of “door” and “breast” originates from the dual in $-ō$ which was perceived as a thematic neuter plural, because nom.-acc. dual. $*dur-ō =$ nom.-acc. pl. $*dur-ō$.

Feminine u-stem is also due to the dual in $-ō$ reanalysed as a nom. sing. of a feminine $ō$ -stem.

Proto-Germanic paradigm:

Dual

**dur-ō* → Goth. *daur* n., OE *duru* f. u-stem

**breust-ō* → OIcel. *brjóst* n.

**dur-ī* → OHG *turi* f. i-stem

Plural (fem.)

**dur-iz* (PIE *-e-s) > OIcel. *dyrr* f. pl.

**breust-iz* > Goth. *brusts* f. pl.

Cf. Kluge 1882: 510; Kahle 1887: 38; Wagner 1956; Griepentrog 1995; Kroonen 2013: 110.

As for the full and zero grades in PGerm. **breust-* and **brust-*, cf. Ved. *dvārah* (**dhyōr-*, nom. pl.) and *duráh* (acc. pl., **dhur-*).

-t in **breust-* may have been caused by an association with another proterokinetic noun, “heart”: PIE **k'érd* nom., **k'rd-ós* gen. (PGerm. **hertōn-* n.).

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