Indo-European Myths of the [WOMAN/WIFE – of the FIRE-Deity]: the Etymology of Old Norse Sigyn Riccardo Ginevra

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The Old Norse theonym **Sigyn**, name of the wife of the god Loki, is often explained as a compound of $sig(r)^{\circ}$ 'victory' and *°vin 'girl-friend' (de Vries, s.v.; Simek, s.v.), showing the same development as e.g. *Bjorg*°yn < *Bjorg*°vin 'Bergen (Norway)' (Noreen 1923:165). **Loki**'s original character is unclear (cf. Liberman 1992:106ff), but Scandinavian folklore (cf. Dumézil 1959:51) and Loki's depiction on a hearthstone (cf. Madsen 1990) seem to point to his role as a **fire-deity**.

The aim of this paper is to make the case for ON *Sigyn* as the reflex of an **-unjō-* derivative built on PGm **siga-* 'trickling (liquid)', on formal (A), semantic (B) and mythological (C) grounds.

(A) The expected outcome of $*Sig^{\circ}vin$ is *Sygvin (Noreen 1923:165). Some Old Norse compounded man's names show a second element $^{\circ}vinr$ 'friend' (PGm $*^{\circ}weni$ -, cf. de Vries, s.v.), but there are no attested motional counterparts with $*^{\circ}yn$ from $*^{\circ}vin$ (PGm $*^{\circ}wenj\bar{o}$ -), nor is a motional simplex *vin (vs. masc. vinr) attested. In fact, a second element $^{\circ}yn$ (the outcome of $^{\circ}vin$ 'meadow' < PGm $*wenj\bar{o}$ -, cf. de Vries, s.v.) is exclusively attested in toponyms (cf. Jánsson 1951). The Old Norse theonym *Sigyn* should be analysed as a derivative built with the Proto-Germanic pertinentive suffix $*-unj\bar{o}$ - (cf. Meid 1967:119-22), which also occurs in the theonym *Fjorgyn* 'Earth' (PGm $*fergunj\bar{o}$ -, cf. ON fjor 'life' < PGm $*ferh^{w}a$ -); the theonym *Sigyn* may be the *lautgesetzlich* outcome of $*Sigunj\bar{o}$ -.

(B) Although a connection with ON sig(r) 'victory' is possible, an interpretation of Sigyn (*Sigunjō-) as a derivative of PGm *siga- 'a sinking, dripping, trickling (liquid)' (whence ON sig 'sinking', ModNorw sig 'trickling water') would closely match the single act performed by Sigyn according to the myth: when Loki is imprisoned and tortured (Gylf 50), Sigyn "holds a dish under the venomdrops [sc. falling on Loki's face]; whenever the dish becomes full, she goes and pours away the venom" (heldr mundlaugu undir eitrdropa, en bá er full er munnlaugin, bá gengr hon ok slær út eitrinu).

(C) The narrative of *Gylf* 50 has a parallel in the only mythical act ascribed to the wife of the Indian fire-god Agni, Svāhā ('Oblation'): each time they had intercourse (*MBh* 3.214.7-15), she "held the semen virile in her hands" (*śukram jagrāha pāninā*) and "threw that semen into a golden lake" (*prāksipat kāñcane kuņde śukram*). Another parallel is the Roman legend of Tuccia (Dion. Hal. Ant. 2.69), priestess of the fire-goddess Vesta, who, having been accused of *incestus*, "drew up water from the river in a sieve, and carrying it as far as the Forum, poured it out at the feet of the pontiffs" (*ἀρυσαμένην* ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καινῷ κοσκίνῷ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐνέγκασαν παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἰεροφαντῶν ἐξερᾶσαι τὸ ὕδωρ). These parallels point to the possibility of an IE myth in which a [WOMAN/WIFE] belonging to the [FIRE-DEITY] was said to [COLLECT] and [POUR] a [LIQUID] of some sort, and lend support to the etymology of Loki's wife *Sigyn* as PGm **Sigunjō*- 'the one of the trickling (*sc.* liquid)'.

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