In his recent discussion of the vestjysk stød, Harry Perridon rejects my view that glottalization is ancient in Germanic (2006, 45). It may therefore be useful to specify the source of our disagreement.

According to the view which I have put forward on a number of occasions (e.g. 2003a, 2003b, 2007b), the absence of voicedness in Danish stops was inherited from Proto-Germanic, where fortes stops were preglottalized and lenes stops were plain voiceless. Proto-Germanic geminates had largely arisen from Kluge’s law (cf. now Kortlandt 2007a). Other geminates arose from \(^*\)jH- and \(^*\)wH- (cf. Kortlandt 1988, 356), e.g. \(\text{tueggia} ‘\text{of two}', \text{høggua} ‘\text{to hew}\), also from velar stops before \(^*\)j and \(^*\)w, e.g. \(\text{leggia} ‘\text{to lay}', \text{bekkr} ‘\text{brook}', \text{røkkr} ‘\text{dark}\), further in sequences of nasal plus fortis stop, e.g. \(\text{drekkka} ‘\text{to drink}\), and as a result of the syncope, e.g. \(\text{leidda} ‘\text{I led}‘ < \text{*laididdo} [laititõ] and \(\text{latta} ‘\text{I hindered}‘ < \text{*latidō} [la7titõ]. Thus, we have an opposition between \(\ddagger\), \(\ddagger\), \(\ddagger\), \(\ddagger\) and \(\ddagger\). This system was simplified along different lines in the separate languages.

The rise of voicedness in postvocalic simple obstruents can probably be dated to the 12th century, when the distinction between \(\ddagger\) and \(\ddagger\) was introduced (cf. Haugen 1976, 195, Kortlandt 2003b, 73). In Danish, the lenition affected not only fricatives and lenes stops, but also intervocalic and word-final \(p, t, k\), which lost their glottalization and became simple voiceless stops. Word-initial \(p, t, k\) had become aspirates \(\ddagger\), \(\ddagger\), \(\ddagger\) at an earlier stage already, perhaps in the 7th century. As a result of the lenition, the corresponding geminates \(\ddagger\), \(\ddagger\), \(\ddagger\) lost their distinctive length and became simple \(?, ?, ?\). The voiced fricatives were further lenited to semivowels \(w\), \(j\) and the voiced stops to fricatives \(v [\ddagger], th/dh [\ddagger], gh [\ddagger]\) in the 13th century and later to semivowels \(w\), \(j\) in the central dialects (cf. Haugen 1976, 205). The remaining geminates \(\ddagger\) [\(\ddagger\)], \(\ddagger\) [\(\ddagger\)], \(\ddagger\) [\(\ddagger\)] were shortened intervocally and became \(?, ?, ?\) word-finally, where original \(p, t, k\) had lost their glottalization. The original glottalization of intervocalic \(t [\ddagger]\) in \(\ddagger\text{jåtôkr} ‘\text{poor}\) was preserved in Danish \(\ddagger\text{fattig}\) because the word was still a compound at the time of the lenition.
Harry Perridon assumes that the vestjysk stød arose from glottal reinforcement of unaspirated stops after the Jylland apocope in the 14th century (2006, 46-48). His argumentation is based on the Stockholm manuscript C37 of *Jyske Lov* from around 1280, which has numerous examples of apocopated forms, e.g. *fyllægh* 'to follow', *sald* 'sold', but none of the weakening of postvocalic *p, t, k*, while we find vestjysk stød e.g. in *kjøv?d* 'bought', *bruw?d* 'used’, Danish *købte, brugte*. The argumentation does not hold because these words evidently continue *keypta* [käü?pta], *brükta* [brü?kta], cf. German *kaufen, brauchen*. Like the Proto-Germanic geminate *tt*, the original clusters *pt* and *kt* preserved the glottal closure of the unreleased stop, e.g. in *fæm?d* 'fifth’, *o?d* 'eight’, *næ?dø* 'nights’, Danish *femte, otte, nætter*. Moreover, the suffixed article, which dates perhaps from the 11th century and was generalized in the 14th century, has no influence on the presence or absence of vestjysk stød, e.g. in Himmerland *sdork* 'stork’, *sdorkøn* 'the stork’, *ker?g* 'church’, *ker?gøn* 'the church’, Danish *stork, kirke* (cf. Ringgaard 1960, 49), which shows that the vestjysk stød is older. Contrary to Perridon’s statement (fn. 10), my theory does account for the difference beween sg. *storkøn* and pl. *stor?gøn*, where *t* and *k* stand for non-glottalized stops, because final *k* had lost its glottalization before the univerbation with the suffixed article and before the apocope in the plural form.

It is clear that the vestjysk stød must be older than the Jylland apocope because it is also found in the northeastern part of the vestfynsk dialects, where the apocope did not take place. Gunnar Hansson has drawn attention to the fact that vestjysk stød is found in original monosyllables and polysyllables alike in the most remote and isolated villages on the island of Als (2001, 166). We must conclude that outside these archaic dialects the vestjysk stød was lost in monosyllables, as was the case with preglottalization in Newcastle English. There is simply no evidence for glottal reinforcement of unaspirated stops.

While I claim that preglottalization is ancient and that non-initial aspiration is recent, Perridon maintains the contrary. Since Jul Nielsen "found that in the dialects of the Bjerre district in SE Jutland all final stops are fully aspirated and all medial stops unaspirated" and Ejsing "writes that all medial and final stops, be they preglottalised or not, are unaspirated (pronounced as a stop after *s*) in the dialect of Salling (NW Jutland)" (thus Perridon 2006, 47), my view that the latter dialect