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Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Germanic

By

Guus Kroonen

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Preface

This work is written as part of the *Indo-European Etymological Dictionary* project initiated by Robert S.P. Beekes and Alexander Lubotsky at Leiden University. The primary objective of the project is to compile a new etymological dictionary of the Indo-European proto-language that can replace the now outdated dictionary by Pokorny. The present monograph aims at covering the Proto-Germanic lexicon, or at least as much of the lexicon as possible.

As for most projects like these, only a limited amount of time could be reserved for it. While at the beginning of my career as a historical linguist, with a foreseeable academic life span of no longer than two years, I have been able to spend much less time and energy on the dictionary than I would have wished to. The publisher offers funding for the *Leiden Dictionary Series* as a whole, a most generous investment that enabled me to collect much of the material during my time as a PhD student at Leiden University. However, the actual text has almost completely been composed (written or rewritten) at Copenhagen University during my two year postdoc project on the "Birth of Germanic". As a result, I have been forced to drastically limit the incorporation of the scholarly literature as well as the coverage of the Germanic vocabulary, skipping well-established Proto-Germanic lexemes and systematically leaving out Germanic languages or language stages under certain circumstances. In the entries, for instance, I have cited reflexes from as many as possible dialect groups in order to create a faithful representation of the distribution of a Germanic word. Due to time limitations, not all attested forms are always included. The dictionary cannot be used, in other words, as an exhaustive overview of a particular Proto-Germanic word's reflexes in the Germanic languages, but rather attempts to establish the most important evidence on which the cited Proto-Germanic reconstruction is based. In keeping with this principle, I have for instance left out modern Icelandic forms that are identical to their Old Norse precursors. The Old Saxon attestations generally trump their direct cognates in Old Dutch and Old Low Franconian, and one will hardly ever find any Salian Frankish material. Similarly, the Middle Low German attestations are ignored when they are mirrored by any existing Middle Dutch forms. Also, the Middle English, Middle Dutch and Middle High German cognates are left out when they are "sandwiched" between etymologically identical forms in the old and modern phases of the corresponding languages. On the other hand, I have as much as possible included forms from the modern Germanic languages, such as English, German, Faroese,

Elfdalian and Dutch, but there was not enough time to add modern Frisian and the remaining Scandinavian standard languages, something that I hope to be able to make up for in the future.

Not least, the fight for time caused me to seriously consider the kind of contribution that I wished to make to my field. Certainly unable to surpass the accumulation of scholarship found in for instance Anatoly Liberman's infinitely erudite *Analytical Dictionary of English Etymology* (2008) or the truly encyclopedic *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Althochdeutschen* (1988-), I decided to focus on the implementation of some specific advances in Germanic and Indo-European Studies rather than on the reception of the individual etymologies. In particular, these advances are 1) a more rigorous implementation of the Laryngeal Theory, 2) full application of Dybo's law of pretonic shortening (before resonants), 3) an increased role for the widely neglected, but derivationally highly relevant Proto-Germanic geminates, and 4) a new treatment of the non-Indo-European elements in the lexicon, including an integral categorization of the vocabulary according to its varying shades of Indo-European-ness. This book is, in other words, not to be taken as a comprehensive Proto-Germanic lexicon, but rather as a mission statement regarding the reconstruction of Proto-Germanic. Despite all of the dictionary's obvious limitations, I thus hope to still have succeeded at making a constructive contribution to the current state of the field. Any corrections, additions and updates will in the coming years be added to the online version on Brill's website (http://iedo.brillonline.nl/dictionaries/), and – if the opportunity presents itself – be published in a second, enlarged edition.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to the editor of the series, Alexander Lubotsky, to Brill Publishers, who offered me the unique opportunity to write this dictionary, and to Jens Elmegård Rasmussen and Birgit Annette Olsen, for giving me such a warm welcome at the Copenhagen Indo-European department. I am also very much thankful to the countless friends and colleagues that proofread and commented on the dictionary, double-checked the cited forms and reconstructions, or kindly helped me with the index. These include Rolf Bremmer, Andries Brouwer, Rick Derksen, Jurgen van den Heuvel, Adam Hyllested, Stefan Jacobsson, Anders Richardt Jørgensen, Petri Kallio, Benedicte Nielsen Whitehead, Thomas Olander, Birgit Anette Olsen, Michaël Peyrot, Marijn van Putten, Bjarne Simmelkjær Sandgaard Hansen, Tijmen Pronk, Saskia Pronk-Tiethoff, Yair Sapir, Stefan Schumacher, Roland Schuhmann, Patrick Stiles, and Michiel de Vaan. My special thanks go out to Oliver Simkin, Jenne Klimp and Alexander Lubotsky, who managed to work their way through the complete dictionary once or even twice. However, as the author, I claim exclusive responsibility for all the shortcomings and faults that remain.

Symbols and Abbreviations

Language abbreviations

A	Amrum
Abkh.	Abkhaz
Aeol.	Aeolic
Akk.	Akkadian
Alb.	Albanian
Alem.	Alemannic (cf. Swi.)
Als.	Alsatian
App.	Appenzell
Arab.	Arabic
Aram.	Aramaic
Arc.	Arcadian
Arm.	Armenian
Att.	Attic
Av.	Avestan
Basq.	Basque
Bav.	Bavarian
Berb.	Berber
Bret.	Breton
BRu.	Byelorussian
Byz.	Byzantine
Car.	Carinthian
Celtib.	Celtiberian
Chuv.	Chuvash
Cimb.	Cimbrian
CLuv.	Cuneiform Luvian
Co.	Cornish
Copt.	Coptic
Crim.	Crimean
CS	Church Slavonic
Cypr.	Cypriote
Cz.	Czech
Da.	Danish
Dor.	Dorian
Du.	Dutch
E	English
EDa.	Early Modern Danish
EDu.	Early Modern Dutch
EFri.	East or Saterlandic Frisian
Elfd.	Elfdalian, Övdalian
Etr.	Etruscan
F	För
Far.	Faroese
Fi.	Finnish
Flem.	Flemish
Fr.	French
FU	Finno-Ugric
G	German
Gae.	Gaelic
Gaul.	Gaulish
Georg.	Georgian
Gm.	Germanic
Go.	Gothic
Gr.	Ancient Greek
Gutn.	Gutnish
Hall.	Halligen
Hebr.	Hebrew
Hitt.	Hittite
HLuv.	Hieroglyphic Luvian
Hom.	Homeric
Hsch.	Hesychius
Hung.	Hungarian
Icel.	Icelandic
IE	Indo-European
Ion.	Ionian
Ir.	Irish
Scot.	Scottish
It.	Italian
Khnt.	Khanty
Khot.	Khotanese
Ko.	Komi
Kurd.	Kurdish

Lac.	Laconian
Lat.	Latin
Latv.	Latvian
LG	Low German
Limb.	Limburgish
Lith.	Lithuanian
Lomb.	Lombardic; Lombard
Lorr.	Lorraine Franconian
Luv.	Luvian
Lux.	Luxembourgish
Lyc.	Lycian
Man.	Mansi
MBret.	Middle Breton
MCo.	Middle Cornish
MDu.	Middle Dutch
ME	Middle English
MG	Middle German
MHG	Middle High German
Mingr.	Mingrelian
MIr.	Middle Irish
MLat.	Middle Latin
MLG	Middle Low German
MoGr.	Modern Greek
Mong.	Mongolian
Mordv.	Mordvinic
MP	Middle Persian
MW	Middle Welsh
Myc.	Mycenaean
NFri.	North Frisian
NLat.	Neo-Latin
NP	New Persian
NPhr.	New Phrygian
Nrth.	Northumbrian
Nub.	Nubian
Nw.	Norwegian
OAv.	Old Avestan
OBret.	Old Breton
OCo.	Old Cornish
OCS	Old Church Slavonic
ODa.	Old Danish
ODu.	Old Dutch
OE	Old English
OEgypt.	Old Egyptian
OEN	Old East Norse
OFr.	Old French
OFri.	Old Frisian
OGutn.	Old Gutnish
OHG	Old High German
OIr.	Old Irish
OLat.	Old Latin
OLFra.	Old Low Franconian
OLith.	Old Lithianian
ON	Old Norse
OP	Old Persian
OPol.	Old Polish
OPru.	Old Prussian
ORu.	Old Russian
OS	Old Saxon
Osc.	Oscan
OSw.	Old Swedish
OW	Old Welsh
OWN	Old West Norse
P	Proto-
Pa.	Pali
Pal.	Palatinate
Pash.	Pashto
Phryg.	Phrygian
Piem.	Piedmontese
Pol.	Polish
Port.	Portuguese
Rhnl.	Rhinelandic
Rhntl.	Rheintal
Rom.	Romanian
Ru.	Russian
RuCS	Russian Church Slavonic
Saa.	Saami
SaaL	Lule Saami
SaaN	North Saami
Sal.	Salian
SArab.	South Arabian
Scand.	Scandinavian
Schfh.	Schaffhausen
Scot.	Scottish
SCr.	Serbian / Croatian

SCS	Serbian Church Slavonic
Sem.	Semitic
Shetl.	Shetlandic
Skt.	Sanskrit
Slov.	Slovene
Slvk.	Slovak
Sogd.	Sogdian
Sp.	Spanish
Sum.	Sumerian
Sw.	Swedish
Swab.	Swabian
Swi.	Swiss German
Tat.	Tatar
Teuth.	*Teuthonista* or Early South Guelderish
Thrac.	Thracian
ToA	Tocharian A
ToAB	Tocharian A and B
ToB	Tocharian B
Tur.	Turkish
Udm.	Udmurt
Ugar.	Ugaritic
Ukr.	Ukrainian
Umb.	Umbrian
Ven.	Venetic
Visp.	Visperterminen
VLat.	Vulgar Latin
W	Welsh
Wals.	Walser German
WFri.	West (Lauwers) Frisian
Wkh.	Wakhi
WPhal.	Westphalian
YAv.	Young Avestan
Zeal.	Zealandic

Other abbreviations

abl.	ablative
acc.	accusative
act.	active
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
all.	allative
aor.	aorist
arch.	archaic
c.	common gender
coll.	collective; colloquial
comp.	comparative
conj.	conjunction
dat.	dative
des.	desiderative
dial.	dialectal
dim.	diminutive
du.	dual
ed(s).	editor(s)
f.	feminine
fn.	footnote
gen.	genitive
imp.	imperative
impers.	impersonal
inf.	infinitive
infl.	inflected
inj.	injunctive
inst.	instrumental
intr.	intransitive
lit.	literally
loc.	locative
m.	masculine
med.	medio-passive, middle
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative
num.	numeral
obl.	oblique
obs.	obsolete
pret-.pres.	preterite-present
perf.	perfect, perfective
pl.	plural
poet.	poetic
pred.	predicative
pref.	prefix
prep.	preposition
pres.	present
pret.	preterite

pron.	pronoun, pronominal	superl.	superlative
ptc.	participle	top.	toponym, toponymic
refl.	reflexive	trans.	transitive
s.v.	strong verb; *sub voce*	v.	verb
sg.	singular	var.	variant
sgl.	singulative	voc.	vocative
subj.	subjunctive	w.v.	weak verb

Logical symbols and notations

>	turned into	~	alternating with
<	developed from	/	or, existing beside
≮	did not develop from	*...	reconstructed pro-to-form
>>	borrowed as	...*	reconstructed citation form
<<	borrowed from		
=	identical to		

Note on the Structure of the Entries

The entries in this dictionary are composed according to the following model. Every entry starts with a Proto-Germanic reconstruction. The entries are ordered on the basis of this reconstruction. The alphabetization ignores vowel length, which means that long and short vowels (e.g. **e* and **ē*) can be found in random order. The thorn (*þ*) is placed between the letters *t* and *u*. After the head word, the grammatical category is given together with a reconstruction of the Proto-Germanic meaning. Since there is no methodology for semantic reconstruction, these proto-meanings are not necessarily factual, and are merely to be taken as an indication of the author's intuition.

After the head word, the attestations in the Germanic languages are given. On the selection of these forms, see the preface. If feasible, the attestations are followed by a Pre-Germanic proto-form based on the Germanic attestations. The distribution of this etymological construct is given between brackets; its distribution may be purely Germanic (GM), non-Indo-European (NIE), Germanic/Balto-Slavic (NEUR), Germanic/Italo-Celtic (WEUR), European, i.e. with cognates in Greek or Armenian (EUR) or Indo-European (IE), i.e. when the etymology is based at least partly on cognates in the remaining languages. Obvious loanwords are recognizable by the abbreviation (LW). The extra-Germanic *comparanda* are then given after the long hyphen.

After the presentation of the material, the reader will usually find a discussion of the etymology of the word, drawing in phonetic problems or alternative etymologies. This is also where any possible internal Germanic derivations are given.

Introduction

1 The Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Germanic phonemes

1.1 Proto-Indo-European

In the present book, I have made use of the phonological system as envisioned by Beekes 1995 for all reconstructed Proto-Indo-European forms:

voiceless stops	*p*	*t*	*ḱ*	*k*	*kʷ*
voiced (glottalized?) stops	*b?*	*d*	*ǵ*	*g*	*gʷ*
voiced aspirated(?) stops	*bʰ*	*dʰ*	*ǵʰ*	*gʰ*	*gʷʰ*
fricative	*s*				
laryngeals	*h₁*	*h₂*	*h₃*		
resonants	*m*	*n*	*l*	*r*	
semivowels	*i*	*u*			
vowels	*e*	*o*	*a?*	*ē*	*ō*

Proto-Indo-European had three series of stops, whose articulation in many ways continues to be debated (cf. Kümmel 2012). I have made use of the mainstream division into plain stops, voiced stops and voiced aspirated (breathy-voiced?) stops, but if the voiced PIE stops were actually pre-glottalized, as is assumed within the Glottalic Theory, the feature of aspiration becomes abundant.

Unlike Proto-Germanic, which typically had the stress on the first root syllable of the word, Proto-Indo-European had a free tonal accent: the accent could occur on the root, the suffix or the ending, and within nominal and verbal paradigms often shifted from one syllable to another. Stress-bearing elements were the vowels, the semivowels, the resonants and the laryngeals. The latter three types of phonemes could only receive the stress when they were in vocalic position, i.e. functioned as syllable-building elements. Since the vocalization rules of these phonemes in the individual Indo-European daughter languages are often incompatible with each other, they must post-date the parent language. PIE **h₂mbʰi* adv. 'around, about', for instance, is realized as **ḫ₂ṃbʰi* in PGm. **umbi* and Skt. *abhí*, but as **ḫ₂mbʰi* in Gr. ἀμφί. Similarly, the Proto-Indo-European word **h₃bʰruH-* 'eyebrow; bridge' has no less than three different vocalizations, i.e. **ḫ₃bʰruH-* as in PGm. **brū-* and Skt. *bhrū́-*, **ḫ₃bʰruH-* as in Gr. ὀφρῦς, and **ḫ₃bʰr̥u̯H-* as in ToB *pärwā-ne* (du.). The latter example is especially informative, because it proves that the vocalization of the **r* was triggered by

the vocalization of the laryngeal in Tocharian, just as the vocalization of initial *h_2 in Greek conditioned the non-vocalization of the *m in Gr. ἀμφί. It seems evident, in other words, that the vocalization of both the laryngeals and the resonants was phonologized in the individual daughter languages. I have therefore refrained as much as possible from indicating vocalization (i.e. h_1, h_2, h_3, $m̥$, $l̥$, $n̥$, $r̥$, as well as $i̯$, $u̯$) in PIE reconstructions, as this would inevitably lead to erroneous proto-forms, and have only used them to indicate vocalizations in proto-forms underlying specific IE dialects.

1.2 Proto-Germanic

Proto-Germanic phonology differs significantly from Proto-Indo-European. It acquired a number of new vowels, both short and long, and the stress was retracted to the vowel of the first root syllable of a word. Due to a shift of the Indo-European stops, Proto-Germanic also acquired a large amount of new fricatives, both voiced and voiceless. The phonemes reconstructed as *b, *d, *g in this dictionary also at least partly appear as *$ƀ$, *$đ$, *$ǥ$ in the Germanic dialects. For instance, most languages have plosives word-initially, but *g emerges as a fricative in this position in both Saxon and Franconian. Since the distribution surfacing in the individual languages is divergent, this alternation is likely to have been subphonemic in Proto-Germanic. Another important innovation is the rise of phonemic consonant length. Due to a range of phonetically regular sound changes, Proto-Germanic acquired a geminated variant of practically any existing consonant, and this is perhaps one of the the most far-reaching phonological changes that the language went through. The resulting phoneme inventory can be summed up as follows:

voiceless (glottalized?) stops	*p*	*t*	*k*	*kw*
voiceless (glottalized?) geminates	*pp*	*tt*	*kk*	
voiceless fricatives	*f*	*þ*	*h*	*hw*
fricative geminates	*ff?*	*þþ?*	*hh?*	
sibilants	*s*	*z*		
long sibilants	*ss*	*zz?*		
voiced fricatives ~ stops	*b~ƀ*	*d~đ*	*g~ǥ*	*gw(~w)*
voiced geminates	*bb?*	*dd?*	*gg?*	
resonants	*m*	*n*	*l*	*r*
geminated resonants	*mm*	*nn*	*ll*	*rr*
glides	*j*	*w*		
geminated glides	*jj*	*ww*		
short vowels	*e*	*a*	*i*	*u*
long vowels	*ē*	*ō*	*ī*	*ū*
diphthongs	*ai*	*au*	*eu*	*ia*

2 From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Germanic

2.1 The vowels

I will here discuss the most important sources of the Proto-Germanic vowels. As mentioned above, one of the striking innovations is that Proto-Germanic acquired a lot of new vowels, both short and long, that did not yet exist in Proto-Indo-European. These vowels developed from a number of dissimilar sources, mostly combinations of vowels plus laryngeals (HV, VH), vocalized laryngeals ($\underset{\circ}{H}$) and vocalized resonants ($\underset{\circ}{R}$).

2.1.1 Short vowels

2.1.1.1 PGm. *a

PGm. *a* arose out of a merger of Pre-Gm. *o* and *a*. These vowels must nevertheless have remained distinct until after Verner's law, as PGm. *gw* from both PIE *k^w* (*$k\underset{\cup}{u}$*) and *g^{wh}* (*$g^h\underset{\cup}{u}$*) was delabialized before *j* in roots with *a* from old *o* (see §2.2.4.). Pre-Gm. *o* continues PIE *o*, *Ho* and *h_3e*.

- **aita-* m. 'ulcer, pus': OHG *eiz* m. 'abscess, boil' < **h₂oid-o-*, cf. OCS *jadъ* m. 'poison', SCr. *ȉjed* m. 'gall, poison, anger'
- **amban-* m. 'belly': OS *ambon* (m.pl.), cf. Lat. *umbō* 'boss (of a shield); protuberance' < **h₃emb^h-on-*
- **fadi-* m. 'lord': Go. *bruþ-faþs* m. 'bridegroom' < **pot-í-*, cf. Gr. πόσις, Lith. *pàts* m. 'husband'

The direct sources of PGm. *a* are PIE $*\underset{\circ}{H}$ and *h_2e*:

- **aba* adv., prep. 'from; off': Go., ON *af*, OE *of*, OHG *ab* < PIE **h₂ep-ó*, cf. Gr. ἀπό, ἄπο adv., prep. 'far away, away from'
- **bakan-* s.v. 'to bake': ON *baka*, OE *bacan*, OHG *bahhan* < **b$^h\underset{\circ}{h}_3$g-e-*, cf. Gr. φώγω 'to roast' < **b^{h}éh₃g-e-*
- **fader-* m. 'father': Go. *fadar*, ON *faðir*, OE *fæder*, OFri. *feder*, OS *fadar* < **ph₂-tér-*, cf. Skt. *pitár-*, Gr. πατήρ, gen. πατρός, Lat. *pater*, *-tris*, Olr. *athir*, *athair* m. 'father'

An important issue concerns roots with *a* < $*\underset{\circ}{H}$ that start with a resonant. It is widely assumed that the resonant rather than the laryngeal is vocalized in such roots (cf. Schaffner 2001; Müller 2007), but this is in disagreement with the facts (cf. Beekes 1988):

- **laka-* adj. 'weak': ON *lakr* < **l$\underset{\circ}{h}_2$g-o-*, cf. Gr. λαγαρός adj. 'weak'
- **lakjan-* w.v. 'to seize': OE *læccian*, cf. Gr. λάζομαι 'id.' < **l$\underset{\circ}{h}_2$g-ie-*
- **lata-* adj. 'lax, sluggish': Go. *lats*, ON *latr*, OE *læt*, OS *lat* < **l$\underset{\circ}{h}_1$d-o-*, cf. Gr. ληδεῖν 'to be slow' < **leh₁d-*

- **magra-* adj. 'slim': ON *magr*, OE *mæger*, OHG *mager* adj. 'id.' < **mḫ₂ḱ-ró-*, cf. Gr. μακρός adj. 'long'
- **mahan-* m. 'poppy': OHG *maho* m. 'id.' < **mḫ₂k-on-*, cf. Gr. μήκων 'id.' < **méh₂k-on-*
- **natja-* n. 'net': Go. *nati*, ON, OE *net*, OS *nėtti*, OHG *nezzi* < **nḫd-io-*, cf. Lat. *nōdus* m. 'node' < **noHd-o-*; OIr. *nascaid* 'to bind' < **nHd-ske-*

There are additional cases that seem to indicate that the vocalization of the laryngeals as **a* does not change when the following obstruent is a consonantal resonant. A difficulty with the given examples is that their probative force is nullified by Dybo's law, i.e. the regular shortening of pretonic long vowels before resonants. As a consequence of this law (for which see §2.1.2), the vocalization of **H* to **a* is technically unfalsifiable before resonants, because the **a* can always have developed out of unstressed **eh₂/₃*, **oH* or **ō* in this position. Nonetheless, the vocalization **H* before resonants can be ascertained on the basis of formations in which it is morphologically unlikely that the root had a full grade, such as, for instance, the PIE *no*-participles.

- **hanan-* m. 'rooster': ON *hani*, OE *hana*, OHG *hano* m. 'id.' < **ḱḫ₂n-on-*, cf. Gr. ήι-κανός 'id.' (< "morning singer")
- **harōjan-* w.v. 'to sharpen': MDu. *haren* w.v. 'to sharpen', derived from an adjective **ḱḫ₃-ro-* or **ḱoh₃-ró-*, cf. Arm. *sur* adj. 'sharp'
- **namōn-* n. 'name': Go. *namo*, ON *nafn*, OE *nama*, OHG *namo* 'id.' < **h₃nḫ₃-mén-* (less likely **h₃neh₃-mén-*), cf. Gr. ὄνομα 'name'
- **nawi-* m. 'corpse': Go. *naus*, ON *nár* < **nḫ₂u-i-*, cf. Latv. *nâve* f. 'death' < **neh₂u-ieh₂-*
- **wana-* adj. 'lacking': Go. *wans*, ON *vanr* adj. 'id.' < **h₁uḫ₂-nó-*, cf. Skt. *ūná-* 'id.' (vs. Lat. *vānus* adj. 'empty, void' < **h₁uéh₂-no-*)

PGm. **a* in a small number of words continues what looks like PIE **a*, but many of these words have a limited European distribution, and it therefore seems unwarranted to project them back into the parent language (Lubotsky 1989). In reality, they are likely to continue *Wanderwörter* or were borrowed from now extinct European languages by the individual dialects after they had acquired **a* by the vocalization of the laryngeals. This taken into account, very few potential instances of PIE **a* remain, especially in comparison to the overwhelming evidence for the vowels **e* or **o*. This alone makes it highly unlikely that Proto-Indo-European had **a* as a phoneme. But the prophecy is essentially self-fulfilling: anyone who accepts **a* for Proto-Indo-European will start seeing it everywhere:

- **baunō-* f. 'bean': ON *baun*, OE *bēan*, OS, OHG *bōna* < **bʰau-neh₂-*, cf. Lat. *faba* f. 'id.', OPru. *babo* 'id.', OCS *bobъ* m. 'id.' < **bʰabʰ-o/eh₂-*

- **gait-* f. 'goat': Go. *gaits*, ON *geit*, OE *gāt*, OS *gēt*, OHG *geiz* < **gʰaid-*, cf. Lat. *haedus* m. 'young goat-buck, kid' < **gʰaid-o-*
- **hafra-* m. 'billy goat, buck': ON *hafr*, OE *hæfer* < **káp-ro-*, cf. Gr. κάπρος m. '(wild) boar', Lat. *caper* m. 'he-goat, buck' < **kap-ro-*, OIr. *gabor*, W *gafr* 'id.' ≿ **gabro-*
- **hanipa-* m. 'hemp': ON *hanpr*, OE *hænep*, *henep*, OHG *hanaf*, *hanif* < **kanib-*, cf. Gr. κάνναβις f. 'id.' < **kannabi-*, Ru. *konopljá* f. 'id.'
- **paidō-* f. 'coat, shirt': Go. *paida*, OE *pād*, OS *pēda*, OHG *pfeit* < **bait-éh₂-*, cf. Thrac. βαίτη f. 'coat made of pelt'

2.1.1.2 PGm. **e*

The main sources of PGm. **e* are PIE **e* or **h₁e*:

- **beran-* s.v. 'to carry': Go. *bairan*, ON *bera*, OE *beran*, OFri. *bera*, OS, OHG *beran* < **bʰér-e-*, cf. Skt. *bhárati*, Gr. φέρω, Lat. *ferō*, *ferre*, OIr. *beirid* 'id.'
- **etan-* s.v. 'to eat': Go. *itan*, ON *eta*, OE, OS *etan*, OHG *ezzan* < **h₁ed-*, cf. Hitt. *ez(za)zi*, Gr. ἔδω, Lat. *ēdō*, *ēsse* 'id.'

2.1.1.3 PGm. **i*

PGm. **i* developed directly out of PIE **i*. It is sometimes assumed that it merged with **e* in Proto-Germanic if the following syllable contained *a*, but this cannot be the case: unlike **e*, **i* is never affected by *a*-breaking in Old Norse, only by *a*-mutation.

- **fiska-* m. 'fish': Go. *fisks*, ON *fiskr*, OE, OHG *fisc* m. 'id.' < **pisk-o-*, cf. Lat. *piscis* < **pisk-i-*, OIr. *íasc* < **peisko-*
- **likkōn-* w.v. 'to lick': OE *liccian*, OS *likkon*, OHG *leckōn* 'id.' < **liǵʰ-neh₂-*, cf. Lat. *lingō*, *-ere* 'id.'

A second common source for PGm **i* is PIE **e*: this vowel was raised before tautosyllabic nasals. This raising must have taken place relatively late, as it post-dated the assimilation of **-nu̯-* to **-nn-* (§2.2.5.6) as well as the assimilation of **-zm-* to **-mm-* (§2.2.5.4), which itself was posterior to Verner's law. It is further evident that it was later than the merger of **o* with **a*, as **o* would otherwise have been similarly raised to **u*.

- **finþan-* s.v. 'to find': Go. *finþan*, ON *finna*, OE *fīðan*, OHG *fìndan* < **pént-e-*, cf. Skt. *pánthās*, gen. *pathás* m. 'road, path, course' < **pont-H-*
- **bindan-* s.v. 'to bind': Go., OE, OHG *bindan*, ON *binda* < **bʰénd̥ʰ-e-*, cf. Skt. *badhnā́ti* 'id.' < **bʰn̥d̥ʰ-néh₂-*

2.1.1.4 PGm. *u

The source for PGm. *u is twofold: it developed from PIE *u and from a PIE vocalized resonant (*R̥* < *uR*). For examples of the former:

- **kula-* n. 'coal': ON *kol*, OE *col*, OHG *kol* < **ǵul-o-*, cf. OIr. *gúal* < **ǵoul-o-*
- **kustu-* m. 'choice': Go. *kustus*, ON *kostr*, OHG *kust* < **ǵus-tu-*, cf. Lat. *gustus* 'taste'

The second important source for PGm. *u consists of resonants that were vocalized between consonants:

- **fulla-* 'full': Go. *fulls*, ON *fullr*, OE *ful*, OHG *fol* adj. 'id.' < **pl̥h₁-nó-*
- **kwumþi-* 'arrival, coming': Go. *ga-qum(f)þs*, ON *-kund*, OHG *qhumft*, *chumft*, *chunft* 'id.' < **gʷm̥-ti-*, cf. Lat. *con-ventio* 'convention'
- **tunþ-* m. 'tooth': Go. *-tunþus* m. 'id.' < **h₃dn̥t-*, cf. Lat. *dēns* < **h₃dn̥t-*
- **uns* pron. 'us': Go. *uns*, ON *oss*, OE *ūs*, OHG *uns* 'id.' < **n̥s*, cf. Lat. *nōs* < **nōs*

It is important to realize that resonants were also vocalized before a laryngeal that was later lost. It is consequently incorrect to state that laryngeals are irrelevant for the reconstruction of Proto-Germanic:

- **suma-* pron. 'some': Go. *sums*, ON *sumr*, OE, OHG *sum* < **sm̥H-o-*, cf. Gr. ἁμο- 'someone'
- **ufuma-* comp. 'highest': Go. *auhuma* < **up-m̥h₂-o-*, cf. Skt. *upamá-*, YAv. *upəma-* supl. 'id.'
- **fulan-* m. 'foal': ON *foli*, OE *fola*, OHG *volo* < **pl̥H-on-*, cf. Gr. πῶλος < **pōlH-o-*
- **kuru-* adj. 'heavy': Go. *kaurus* < **gʷr̥H-u-*, cf. Lat. *grāvis*
- **furai* adv. 'before': Go. *faura*, OE *fore*, OHG *fora*, *fura* < **pr̥h₃-oi*, cf. Gr. πάρος, Skt. *puráḥ* 'id.' < **pr̥h₃-os*

2.1.2 Dybo's law

Another development involved in the creation of the PGm. short vowels is Dybo's law. It was suggested by Dybo 1961 that in Celtic, Italic and Germanic long vowels were shortened pretonically. It is incorrect, however, to speak about this law as one single development. While in Italo-Celtic any long vowel seems to have been affected, the Germanic shortening applied only to long vowels before resonants. In this position, Pre-Gm. **ā*, **ō*, **ē*, **ī* (≮ PIE **ei*) and **ū* were shortened to **a*, **e*, **i* and **u* respectively:

- **alīnō-* f. 'elbow': Go. *aleina*, ON *ǫln*, OE *eln*, OHG *elena*, *elna*, cf. Gr. ὠλένη < **h₃eHl-én-eh₂-*
- **delō-* f. 'tit': OE *delu*, OHG *tila*, cf. Gr. θηλή f. 'breast' < **dʰeh₁-l-éh₂-*

- **glana-* n. 'shine': ON *glan* < **g^{h}loh$_3$-nó-*, cf. **glōan-* s.v. 'to glow': OE *glōwan*, OS *glōian*, OHG *gluoan* < **g^{h}lóh$_3$-e-*
- **hula-* adj. 'hollow': ON *holr*, OE, OFri., OHG *hol* < **ḱuH-ló-*, cf. Lat. *cavus* adj. 'id.' < **ḱouH-o-*; Skt. *śū́na-* adj. 'lack, absence' < **ḱuH-no-*
- **stura-* adj. 'big': OSw., Elfd. *stur* < **sth$_2$u-ró-*, cf. Skt. *sthūrá-* adj. 'big, strong, thick, massy'
- **sunu-* m. 'son': Go. *sunus*, ON *sunr*, *sonr*, OE, OS *sunu*, OHG *sun(u)*, cf. Skt. *sūnú-*, Lith. *sūnùs*, OCS *synъ* m. 'id.' < **suH-nú-*
- **wira-* m. 'man': Go. *wair*, ON *verr*, OE, OS, OHG *wer*, cf. Skt. *vīrá-*, Lith. *výras*, Lat. *vir* m. 'id.' < **uiH-ró-*

In Pre-Germanic accentually mobile words, Dybo's law may have given rise to paradigmatic length alternations. It is conceivable that the difference between OHG *dūmo* 'thumb' < **þūman-* and OSw. *þumi* 'id.' < **þuman-* arose in a paradigm **túH-mōn*, gen. **tuH-mén-os*, yielding PGm. **þūmō*, **þumenaz*.

Since Dybo's law affected the PGm. word for 'egg', whose **a* through **o* developed from originally long **ō*, it is likely to have post-dated the change **ōu* > **ō* , for which see §2.1.5.

- **ajja-* n. 'egg': Go. Crim. *ada* (n.pl.), ON *egg*, OE *æg*, OS, OHG *ei* < **o$_i$ó-* < **ō$_i$ó-* < **h$_2$ōu-ió-*, cf. Gr. ᾠόν, Lat. *ōvum*, OCS *aice* n. 'id.'

2.1.3 Long vowels

2.1.3.1 PGm. **ē*

PGm. **ē* deloped out of PIE **ē* and **eh$_1$* and is usually reconstructed phonetically as [ǣ]. It yielded a close vowel *ē* in Gothic and Old Frisian, *ǣ* in Old English, and *ā* in Old Norse, Old Saxon and Old High German.

- **sēdi-* f. 'seed': Go. *seþs*, ON *sáð*, OE *sæd*, OHG *sāt* < **seh$_1$-tí-*, cf. Go. *saian*, Lith. *sė́ti* 'to sow' < **séh$_1$-e-*
- **nēþlō-* f. 'needle': Go. *neþla*, ON *nál*, OE *næþl*, OHG *nādala* < **néh$_1$-tl-eh$_2$-*, cf. **nēan-* s.v. 'to sow': OHG *nā(w)an* < **neh$_1$-*
- **kwēni-* f. 'wife, woman': Go. *qens* < **g^{w}ēn-i-*, cf. Gr. γυνή f. 'id.' < **g^{w}(o)n-eh$_2$-*

The question whether OE *ǣ* and OFri. *ē* (the latter with raising) reflects PGm. **ǣ* directly or developed secondarily out of Proto-North-West Germanic **ā* is difficult to answer. Latin loanwords such as OE *strǣt* 'street' < *strāta* are in support of the latter scenario. It has been argued that *ā* was substituted by *ǣ* in these cases because Anglo-Frisian did not have an *ā* at the time of borrowing, but there are additional indications that Anglo-Frisian raised older **ā*. A small but relatively old, i.e. at any rate Proto-Northwest-Germanic group of *n*-stems displays *ā*/*a*-ablaut in the root, cf.

OHG *krācho* m. 'crook' < **krākan-* vs. ON *kraki* m. 'id.' < **krakan-*. Since this type of ablaut was introduced analogically on the basis of *n*-stems with regular *ī/i*-ablaut, cf. OHG *rīdo*, dat. *riten* m. 'fever' < **hrīþō*, dat. **hrideni* < **kréit-ōn*, **krit-én-i* (Schaffner 2001: 549-51), it is likely that PNWGm. had **ā* rather than **ǣ*, since it thus would be more susceptible to the introduction of a pure length alternation. This **ā* must then have been raised to **ǣ* in Anglo-Frisian, and further to **ē* in Proto-Frisian, as is supported by NFri. (Wiedingharde) *krēk* m. 'hook on clothes' (Kroonen 2011: 332).

2.1.3.2 PGm. **ō*

PGm. **ō* is the result of a merger of Pre-Gmc. **ō* and **ā* from PIE **ō*, **eh₃*, **oh₁/₂/₃* and **eh₂*. Compare the following examples:

- **fōt-* m. 'foot': Go. *fotus*, ON *fótr*, OE, OFri., OS *fōt*, OHG *fuoz* < **pōd-*, cf. Gr. πούς, ποδός m. 'id.' < **pod-*, Lat. *pēs* m. 'id.' < **pĕd-*
- **ga-nōga-* adj. 'enough': Go. *ganohs*, ON *(g)nógr*, OE *genōh*, OHG *ginuog* < **kom-h₂nōǩ-o-*, cf. Skt. *ánaṭ* aor. 'reached' < **h₁e-h₂neǩ-t*
- **dōma-* m. 'decision, verdict': Go. *doms*, ON *dómr*, OE *dōm*, OHG *tuom* < **dʰoh₁-mo-*, cf. Gr. θωή 'punishment' < **dʰoh₁-eh₂-*
- **sōkjan-* w.v. 'to search': Go. *sokjan*, ON *sœkja*, OE *sǣcan*, OHG *suohhen*, cf. Lat. *sāgīre* < **seh₂ǵ-ie-*
- **mōder-* f. 'mother': ON *móðir*, OE *mōdor*, OFri. *mōder*, OS *mōdar*, OHG *muoter*, cf. **meh₂-tér-*, cf. Skt. *mātár-*, Gr. μήτηρ, Lat. *māter* f. 'id.'

A third source for PGm. **ō* is PGm. **ōu*. The details of the underlying sound change are given in §2.1.5.

2.1.3.3 PGm. **ī*

Two sources are available for PGm. **ī*, i.e. **iH* and **ei*:

- **swīna-* n. 'pig': Go. *swein*, ON *svín*, OE, OHG *swīn* < **suH-* 'sow' + the suffix **-īna-*, cf. Go. *gait-ein* n. 'little goat'
- **stīgan-* 'to ascend': Go. *steigan*, ON *stíga*, OE, OHG *stīgan* < **stéigʰ-e-*, cf. Gr. στείχω 'to go, step'

2.1.3.4 PGm. **ū*

Unlike PGm **ī*, which partly developed out of **e* + **i*, the only regular precursor of PGm. **ū* is PIE **uH*, as the sequence **eu* remains PGm. **eu*.

- **mūs-* f. 'mouse': ON *mús*, OE, OHG *mūs* < **muHs-*, cf. Gr. μῦς, Skt. *múṣ-*
- **sū-* f. 'sow': ON *sýr*, OE, OHG *sū* < **suH-*, cf. Gr. ὗς, Lat. *sūs*

Long **ū* probably also arose secondarily, i.e. in analogy to the change of PIE **ei* to PGm. **ī*. For this development, see §2.2.5.2.

2.1.4 Diphthongs

Proto-Germanic had four diphthongs: **ai*, **au*, **eu* and **ia*. The vocalic elements of these diphthongs have the same origins as their corresponding short vowels, and can be traced back to the Indo-European proto-language accordingly. Likewise, the off-glides **i* and **u* go back to PIE **i* and **u*.

2.1.4.1 PGm. **ai*

- **aida-* m. 'pyre, glow': OE *ād*, OHG *eit* < **h₂eid^{h}-o-*, cf. Gr. αἶθος 'fire', Skt. *édha-* 'firewood'
- **snaiwa-* m. 'snow': Go. *snaiws*, ON *snær*, OE *snāw*, OHG *snēo* < **snoig^{wh}-o-*, cf. OCS *sněgъ* m. 'id.'

2.1.4.2 PGm. **au*

- **auke* conj. 'then again, too': Go. *auk*, ON *auk*, *ok*, OE *ēac*, OHG *auh* < **h₂eu-ǵe*, cf. Gr. αὖ, αὖ-γε 'id.'
- **rauda-* adj. 'red': Go. *rauþs*, ON *rauðr*, OE *rēad*, OHG *rōt* < **h₁roud^{h}-o-*, cf. Gr. ἐρυθρός adj. 'id.' < **h₁rud^{h}-ro-*

2.1.4.3 PGm. **eu*

- **eudra-* n. 'udder': ON *júgr*, OFri. *jāder* < **h₁euHd^{h}-r-*, cf. Gr. οὖθαρ < **h₁ouHd^{h}-r̥*
- **keusan-* s.v. 'to try, choose': Go. *kiusan*, ON *kjósa*, OE *cēosan*, OHG *kiosan* < **ǵéus-e-*, cf. Gr. γεύομαι 'to taste'

2.1.4.4 PGm. **ia*

What is here reconstructed as **ia* is traditionally referred to as so-called **ē²*. As opposed to **ē¹* (< PIE **ē*, **eh₁*), this second **ē* has close reflexes throughout the Germanic dialects, viz. Go. *e*, ON *é*, OE *æ*, OHG *ē*, *ie*, *ia*, and is therefore generally assumed to have been a close-mid vowel [ē] in Proto-Germanic. It is especially frequent in Vulgar Latin loanwords:

- **bē²tōn-* f. 'beetroot': OE *bēte*, OHG *bieza*, cf. It. *bieta*
- **brē²fa-* m./n. 'letter': ON *bréf*, OHG *briaf*, cf. Lat. *brevis*
- **krē²ka-* m. 'Greek': Go. *Kreks*, OHG *Kriach*, cf. Lat. *Graecus*
- **mē²sa-* 'table': Go. *mes*, OE *mēse*, OHG *mias*, cf. Lat. *mēnsa*
- **rē²man-* m. 'oar': OHG *riemo*, cf. Lat. *rēmus*
- **tē²gula-* 'tile': OHG *ziagal*, cf. Lat. *tēgula*

It has been claimed that **ē²* developed out of a PIE long diphthong **ēi* such as, for instance, in **hē²r* 'here' < **ḱēir* (Streitberg 1896: §79; Prokosch 1939: 104). This development is not entirely inconceivable, although in view of the parallel change of PGm. **ōu* to **ō* (see §2.1.5) I would rather expect **ē¹* to be the outcome. In any case, a lengthened grade would be unexpected in the word 'here', since it is not attested anywhere else in the Indo-European

language family. I therefore follow Kortlandt 2006, who suggested that *$\bar{e}^2$ at least in the case of *$h\bar{e}^2r$ must be analyzed as deriving from *ia, *hi-ar consisting of the root *hi- < PIE *$ḱi$- 'this' (cf. Lith. *šis* 'this') plus a locative suffix *-ar abstracted from *$þar$ 'there' < *tor and *$hwar$ 'where' < *k^wor. This *ia obviously merged with the diphthong *ea that is found in the reduplicated preterites of the class 7 strong verbs, cf. OHG *erien* 'to plow' < *$arjan$-, pret. *iar*, *ier* < *e-ar-, whence it spread to other originally reduplicating verbs. It further seems probable that the Gothic *i*-stem gen.pl. ending -*e*, which clearly spread to the other nominal stem classes (Vendryes 1927), developed from PIE *-*ei-om* (Kortlandt 2006) through an intermediate stage *-*ea*, i.e. *$\bar{e}^2$. On the basis of this evidence, I have decided to reconstruct *$\bar{e}^2$ as *ia throughout the dictionary, also in forms whose derivation or etymology is unclear, but it is not inconceivable, for example, that OHG *sciari* and *ziari* were formed by the addition of the adjectival *r*-suffix to the roots *$skǐ$- 'to shine' and *$tǐ$- 'id.':

- *$skiari$- adj. 'bright': OHG *sciari* < *skh_1i-or-i-, cf. Go. *skeinan* s.v. 'to shine' < *$skīnan$-
- *$tiari$- adj. 'brilliant': OHG *ziari* < *diH-or-i-, cf. Skt. *dīdáya* 3sg.perf. 'shines' < *diH-$doiH$-e

In West Germanic, additional cases of secondary PGm. *$\bar{e}^2$ arose by the occasional loss of *z after *i in some cases. The evidence for this loss is patchy, and the phonetic conditioning of the loss remains unclear. Perhaps it occurred only after *i* and before dentals.

- *$liznōn$- w.v. 'to learn': OE *leornian*, OFri. *lirna*, *lerna*, OS *līnon*, OHG *lernōn* < *lis-neh_2-
- *$mizdō$- f. 'reward': Go. *mizdo*, OE *mēd*, *meord*, OFri. *mēde*, OS *mēda*, OHG *miata*
- *$waizda$- n. 'woad': OE *wād*, OFri. *wēde*, OS *wēd*, OHG *weit*

2.1.5 Osthoff's law

Unlike the Indo-Iranian languages, the European branches of the Indo-European family, including Greek, Italo-Celtic, Balto-Slavic and Germanic, did not have primary long diphthongs, i.e. *$ē$ or *$ō$ followed by a sonorant. In order to explain this difference, it has been claimed that every long vowel that stood before a sonorant followed by another consonant was shortened in Proto-Greek (Osthoff 1884: 84-5). With the help of this vowel shortening, which later became known as Osthoff's law, the difference between e.g. Skt. *Dyáus* and Gr. Ζεύς < *$diēus$ and aorists such as e.g. Gr. ἔδειξα and Av. *dāiš* < *h_1e-$dēiḱ$-s-t 'showed' can satisfactorily be explained (cf. Beekes 1995: 68; 235-6). Osthoff's law is now generally accepted for Greek

and Italo-Celtic (cf. Ringe 2006: 75), but in Germanic the situation is actually fairly complicated. Unambiguous evidence for **ēi* > **ei* > **ī* and **ēu* > **eu* is lacking, and we have to rely on long diphthongs with resonants as their off-glide:

- **fersnō-* f. 'heel': Go. *fairzna*, OHG *fersana*, cf. Gr. πτέρνη, Skt. *pā́rṣṇi-* < **tpērs-n-*
- **mimza-* n. 'meat': Go. *mimz*, cf. Skt. *māṃsá-* < **mēms-o-*
- **winda-* m. 'wind': Go. *winds*, ON *vindr*, OE, OFri., OS *wind*, OHG *wint* < **h₂uéh₁-ent-o-*, cf. Hitt. *ḫuuant-* c. 'id.' < **h₂uh₁-ent-*, Lat. *ventus* m. 'id.' < **h₂ueh₁-(e)nt-o-*, Skt. *vā́ta-* m. 'id.' < **h₂ueh₁-nt-o-*

An important issue is the outcome of PGm. **-ōu-* that arose from both Pre-Gm. **-āu-* < PIE **-eh₂u-* and **-ōu-* < PIE **-ōu-*, **-eh₃u-*, or **-oh₂/₃u-*. This long diphthong was affected by Osthoff's law in just three cases, and only in closed syllables (i.e. before two consonants) or word-finally.

- **gōman-* ~ **gauman-* m. 'gum, palate': ON *gómi*, *gómr*, OE *gōma*, OHG *guomo*, *gaumo* < **gōmō*, gen. **gaumnaz* < **ǵʰeh₂-u-mōn*, gen. **ǵʰeh₂-u-mn-os-*, cf. Lith. *gomurỹs* m. 'palate', Latv. *gāmurs* m. 'larynx, trachea' < **ǵʰeh₂-mr-*
- **nausta-* n. 'boathouse, boatshed': ON *naust* < **neh₂u-sth₂-o-*, cf. ON *nór* m. 'id.', Skt. *náu-*, Gr. ναῦς, Lat. *nāvis* < **neh₂u-*
- **ahtau* num. 'eight': Go. *ahtau*, ON *átta*, OE *eahta*, OFri. *achta*, OS, OHG *ahto* < **h₃eḱt-eh₃u*, cf. Skt. *aṣṭā́*, *aṣṭáu*, Gr. ὀκτώ, Lat. *octō* 'id.'

In open syllables, the diphthong was not shortened at all, but rather lost its labial glide (cf. Mahlow 1879: 29-34; Schmidt 1983; Streitberg 1892: 29-37). The material thus demonstrates that the intervocalic loss of laryngeals was coupled with compensatory lengthening at least before *u*. There is a large corpus of evidence for this change, of which I have given a selection here:

- **bōan-* s.v. 'to live, dwell': Go. *bauan* s./w.v. 'id.' < **bʰéh₂u-*, cf. Skt. *bhávati* 'to become, happen, come about', Gr. φύομαι 'to grow, arise, spring up, become' < **bʰéuh₂-e-*, Lith. *bū́ti*, OCS *byti* 'to be' < **bʰuh₂-* (with laryngeal metathesis)
- **dōida-* ptc. 'vexed': Go. *af-dauidai* (m.pl.) < **dʰoh₂u-i-to-*, cf. OCS *daviti* 'to suffocate', Lith. *dovýti* 'to make tired' < **dʰoh₂u-éie-*
- **fōr*, gen. **funenaz* n. 'fire': Go. *for*, gen. *funins* < **péh₂-ur*, **ph₂-un-ós*, cf. Hitt. *paḫḫur*, gen. *paḫḫuenaš* n. 'id.' < **péh₂-ur*, **ph₂-uén-(o)s*
- **lōma-* m. 'betrayal': Icel. *lómur* < **loh₁u-mo-*, cf. Go. *lewjan*, OE *lǣwan* w.v. 'to betray'

- **sōel-* n. 'sun': Go. *sauil*, ON *sól* < **séh₂-uel* (gen. **sh₂-un-ós*), cf. Gr. ἥλιος, Dor. ἀέλιος m. 'id.', Lat. *sōl*, *sōlis* m. 'id.', Lith. *sáulė* f. 'id.'
- **stōra-* adj. 'big': ON *stórr*, OE, OFri. *stōr* < **stéh₂u-ro-*, cf. Skt. *sthūrá-* adj. 'big, strong, thick, massy' < **sth₂u-ró-*, Skt. *sthávira-* adj. 'broad, thick' < **steuh₂-ro-* (with laryngeal metathesis)

The sound law also seems to have been at work in the Gothic 1du. verbal ending *-os* (cf. Schmidt 1883: 11-13; Streitberg 1896: 322), whose derivation is often considered to be problematic (cf. Boutkan 1995: 319-20). In view of the Skt. thematic ending *-āvas*, attempts have been made to derive this *-os* from **-o-ues*, but the intervocalic **u̯* would never have been lost in this position. I therefore reconstruct the ending as **-o-h₁u-es*, with the element **-h₁u̯-* as in Skt. *āvám* du. 'we two' < **n̥-h₁u-om* (which no doubt developed from **-du̯-* 'two'). The resulting **-ōwiz* then regularly lost its labial glide in Proto-Germanic times, and through **-ōiz* developed into Go. *-os*.

The material presented here is of some importance because it proves that Osthoff's law must have been posterior to the specifically Germanic loss of the labial glide. This implies that the law cannot have been identical to the parallel shortening of long diphthongs in e.g. Italo-Celtic and Greek, and must have taken place at a late stage within Germanic itself. In other words, there was no such thing as a common West-Indo-European innovation that can be brought under one umbrella. It is therefore better to consider the shortening of long diphthongs a linguistically trivial sound change that took place independently in the different Indo-European dialects at different moments in time. For more on the position of the change **-ōu-* > **-ō-* in Proto-Germanic relative chronology, see §2.2.5.7.

2.2 The consonants

The Germanic consonant system differs considerably from its Indo-European counterpart. One of the earliest changes in the Proto-Germanic consonant inventory was its *centumization*, i.e. the depalatalization of the Proto-Indo-European palatovelars **ḱ*, **ǵ*, **ǵʰ* and the subsequent merger of **ku̯*, **gu̯*, **gʰu̯* with the labiovelars **kʷ*, **gʷ*, **gʷʰ*. This development also occurred in other branches of the Indo-European family, e.g. Italo-Celtic and Tocharian. The most important, exclusively Germanic innovations are 1) the structural modification of the three series of stops known as the first and second Germanic sound shifts, and 2) the rise of consonantal length. Both developments are phonetically and chronologically complex, involving several different sound changes in often debated orders and interpretations, and can only be interpreted in a meaningful way by keeping track of the changes in the dynamics of the system as a whole. This is, in short, an overview of the most important changes that took place between Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Germanic.

2.2.1 Grimm's law

Unlike the Germanic vowels, which do not radically differ from the vocalic elements in related languages such as Italo-Celtic or Balto-Slavic, the Germanic consonantism has evolved in an entirely different direction. This *Lautstand* has become one of the most striking features of the Germanic branch, and forms a major contrast with its closest relatives. It is, in other words, what to a large extent *defines* Germanic. The relationship between the Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Germanic consonant inventories has been clarified by the discovery of Grimm's law, which in the traditional view first lenited both voiceless **p*, **t*, **k*, **kʷ* to **f*, **þ*, **h*, **hw*:

- **faiha-* adj. 'colored, colorful': OE *fāh*, OS, OHG *fēh* < **póiḱ-o-*, cf. OCS *pьstrъ* adj. 'varicolored' < **piḱ-ro-*
- **hamfa-* adj. 'maimed': Go. *hamfs*, OS *hāf*, OHG *hamf* < **kómp-o-*, cf. Lith. *kumpas* adj. 'curved' < **kmp-o-*
- **hwaþera-* pron. 'who of two?': Go. *ƕaþar*, ON *hvárr*, OE *hwæðer*, OS *hwethar*, OHG *wedar*, *hwedar* < **kʷó-ter-o-*, cf. Skt. *katará-*, Gr. πότερος 'which of two'

A consecutive stage consisted of the devoicing of the originally voiced stops **b*, **d*, **g*, **gʷ* to PGm. **p*, **t*, **k*, **kw*:

- **inkwan-* m. 'lump': Icel. *ōkkr*, *ōkkvi* m. 'lump; hillock', MDu. *enke*, *inke* m. 'small wound' < **engʷ-on-*, cf. Gr. ἀδήν, -ένος f./m. 'gland', Lat. *inguen*, *-inis* n. 'swelling on the groin; groin' < **ngʷ-en-*
- **knewa-* n. 'knee': Go. *kniu*, ON *kné*, OE *cnēo(w)*, OS *knio*, OHG *kneo* < **ǵn-eu-*, cf. Skt. *jā́nu-* n. 'id.', Gr. γόνυ n. 'knee; joint of plants' < **ǵonu-*
- **paidō-* f. 'coat, shirt': Go. *paida*, OE *pād*, OS *pēda*, OHG *pfeit*, cf. Thrac. βαίτη f. 'coat made of pelt'
- **turhta-* adj. 'bright': OE *torht*, OS *toroht*, OHG *zoraht* < **drḱ-to-*, cf. OAv. *-dərəšta-* adj. 'seen, visible'

It is further assumed that lenition also turned the PIE voiced aspirates **bʰ*, **dʰ*, **gʰ* into the voiced fricatives PGm. **b̥*, **d̥*, **g*. The fricatives often surface as plosives, especially word-initially and after *n*.

- **banda-* n. 'band, bond': ON *band*, OE *beand*, OFri. *bend*, OS *band* < **bʰondʰ-o-*, cf. YAv. *bə̊nda-* m. 'bond, fetter'
- **berga-* m./n. 'mountain': ON *bjarg*, *berg*, OE *beorg*, OFri. *berch*, OS, OHG *berg* < **bʰerǵʰ-o*, cf. Hitt. *parku-*, Arm. *barjr* adj. 'high' < **bʰrǵʰ-u-*

Accordingly, PIE **gʷʰ* (as well as **ǵʰu̯*) developed into PGm. **gw*. This phoneme is not attested as such in the actual languages, except directly after a nasal, where it was a plosive:

- **lingwa-* n. 'heather': ON *lyng*, OSw. *liung* < **leng^{wh}-o-*, cf. OCS *lǫgъ* m. 'meadow, underbrush', Ru. *lug* m. 'meadow' < **long^{wh}-o-*
- **sangwa-* m. 'song': Go. *saggws*, ON *sǫngr*, OE, OS *sang*, OFri. *song* < **song^{wh}-o-*, cf. Gr. ὁμφή f. 'divine voice, oracle, emblem' < **song^{wh}-eh$_2$-*

PGm. **gw* was delabialized under certain circumstances, especially initally before **u* and **r*:

- **guda-* n. 'god': Go. *guþ*, ON *guð*, OE, OFri., OS *god*, OHG *got* < ** g^{wh}u-tó-*, cf. OCS *gověti* 'to revere' < **g^{wh}ou-eh$_1$-*
- **gu̯nþī-* ~ **gunþjō-* f. 'wound': ON *gunnr*, *guðr*, OE *gūð*, OS *gūdea* < **g^{wh}ń-tih$_2$-*, cf. Hitt. *ku̯enzi* ~ *kunanzi* 'to kill, slay, ruin' < 3sg. **g^{wh}én-ti*, 3pl. **g^{wh}n-énti*
- **grindan-* s.v. 'to grind': OE *grindan* < **g^{wh}rénHd^{h}-e-*, cf. Lat. *frendō*, *-ere* 'to grind one's teeth' < **g^{wh}rénHd^{h}-e-*

The default outcome of PGm. **gw* seems to have been **w*, however:

- **aiwiskja-* n. 'shame, disgrace': Go. *aiwiski*, OE *æwisc* < **h$_2$eig^{wh}-isk-*, cf. Skt. *an-ehás-* adj. 'flawless' < **n̥-h$_2$eig^{wh}-os-*
- **neura/ōn-* n./m. 'kidney': ON *nýra*, OHG *nioro* < **neg^{wh}-r-on-*, cf. Lat. *nefronēs* m.pl. 'kidneys, testicles' < **neg^{wh}-r-on-*
- **snaiwa-* m. 'snow': Go. *snaiws*, ON *snær*, OE *snāw*, OS *snēo*, OHG *snē(o)* < **snoig^{wh}-o-*, cf. OCS *sněgъ*, Lith. *sniẽgas*, Latv. *snìegs* m. 'id.'
- **wambō-* f. 'womb, belly': Go. *wamba*, ON *vǫmb*, OE *wamb*, OFri. *wamme*, OHG *wamba* < **g^{wh}omb^{h}-eh$_2$-*, cf. Skt. *gabhá-* m. 'vagina' < **g^{wh}m̥b^{h}-o-*
- **warma-* adj. 'warm': ON *varmr*, OE *wearm*, OFri., OS, OHG *warm* < **g^{wh}or-mo-*, cf. Gr. θερμός adj. 'id.' < **g^{wh}er-mo-*

There is a small number of potentially convincing examples with PGm. **b* as the outcome of Pre-Gm. **g^{wh}* (Seebold 1980). The examples are too few to establish a phonetic conditioning, however, and since all instances with **b* except **bedjan-* have alternative etymologies, whereas the ones with **w* have not, it seems best to suspend the implementation of this change until further notice.

- **banjō-* f. 'wound': Go. *banja*, ON *ben*, OE *benu*, cf. OAv. *bąnaiiən* 3pl.inj. 'to make ill, afflict' < **b^{h}on-eie-* or Hitt. *ku̯enzi* ~ *kunanzi* 'to kill, slay, ruin' < 3sg. **g^{wh}én-ti*, 3pl. **g^{wh}n-énti.*
- **bedjan-* s.v. 'to ask, pray': Go. *bidjan*, ON *biðja*, OE *biddan*, OFri. *bidda*, OS *biddian*, OHG *bitten*, cf. Gr. ποθέω 'to desire, long for, miss', OIr. *guidid* 'to pray' < **g^{wh}od^{h}-éie-*

- **beran-* m. 'bear': OE *bera*, OHG *bero*, cf. Lith. *béras*, Latv. *bę̃rs* adj. 'brown' < **bhērH-o-* or Gr. θήρ, Lith. *žvėris*, OCS *zvěrь* 'wild animal' < PIE **ǵʰuēr-* (Ringe 2006: 106)

2.2.2 Verner's law

Verner's law is the law that accounts for the ultimate merger of PIE **p*, **t*, **k*, **kʷ* and **bʰ*, **dʰ*, **gʰ*, **gʷʰ* into PGm. **b*, **d*, **g*, **gw* in non-initial, unaccentuated syllables. Proto-Indo-European was an accentually mobile language. Somewhere in Proto-Germanic, i.e. after Grimm's law but before the stress was fixed to the root, Verner's law caused voicing of **f*, **þ*, **h*, **hw* and ** s* everywhere but word-initially and directly after a stressed syllable, thus merging the former four of these fricatives with **ƀ*, **đ*, **g*, **gw*.[1]

- **ahiz-* n. 'ear': OE *ēar*, *æhher*, *eher*, OHG *ahar*, *ehir* < **h₂éḱ-es-*, cf. Lat. *acus*, gen. *aceris* n. 'husk, chaff'
- **fader-* m. 'father': Go. *fadar*, ON *faðir*, OE *fæder*, OFri. *feder*, OS *fadar*, OHG *fatar* < **pḛ₂-tér-*, cf. Skt. *pitár-*, Gr. πατήρ, Lat. *pater* m. 'id.'
- **hweula-* n. 'wheel': ON *hjól*, MDu. *wiel* < **kʷe-kʷl-ó-*, cf. Skt. *cakrá-* 'id.'
- **magra-* adj. 'slim': ON *magr*, OE *mæger*, OHG *magar* < **mḛ₂ḱ-ró-*, cf. Gr. μακρός adj. 'long', Lat. *macer* adj. 'thin, lean'
- **uberi* adv., prep. 'above, over': OHG *ubar*, G *über* < **h₁upéri*, cf. Skt. *upári* adv. 'above, over, upwards'

In a number of cases, Verner's law also operated word-initially. It is generally assumed that this happened because those words predominantly occurred in clitic position and therefore had no stress.

- **ga(n)-* perf. pref.: Go. *ga-*, OE, OFri. *ge-*, OS, OHG *gi-* < **kom-*, cf. Lat. *con-*, *com-*
- **bi* prep., adv. 'by': Go. *bi*, OE, OFri., OHG *bī* < **h₁pi*, cf. Gr. ἔπι, Skt. *ápi* adv. 'on, at, by' < **h₁epi*

Verner's law more often operated regardless of morpheme boundaries. Compare, for instance, the two following doublets consisting of an archaic Verner variant beside a restored form without it:

- **mati-sahsa-* ~ **mati-zahsa-* n. 'knife': OHG *mezzisahs* ~ *mezzirahs*, (a compound of PGm. **mati-* 'food' and **sahsa-* 'knife')

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[1] It has alternatively been argued that the Verner's law preceded the fricativization of the PIE plain stops, which after the voicing process remained distinct from the old voiced consonants because the latter were glottalized (Kortlandt 1988a; 1988b; 1991).

- **ga-fesjō- ~ *ga-besjō-* f. 'chaff': OHG *ga-vissa* ~ *ga-bissa*, cf. OHG *fesa* f. 'fiber' < **fesō-*

With the help of Verner's law, the original position of the accent can sometimes be determined quite accurately in longer words with several consonants in different syllables. This is especially evident in some archaic comparatives, which, as opposed to their end-stressed positive counterparts, must have had the accent on the root syllable or – more accurately – on the antepenultimate.

- **alþizan-* comp. 'older': Go. *alþiza*, ON *ellri* < **h₂él-t-i-son-* vs. **alda-* adj. 'old': OE *eald*, OS *ald*, OHG *alt* < **h₂el-tó-*
- **junhizan-* comp. 'younger': Go. *juhiza*, ON *œri* < Pre-Gm. **i̯uHúnkison-* < **h₂i-Hn̥-ḱ-is-on-* vs. **junga-* adj. 'young': Go. *juggs*, ON *ungr* < Pre-Gm. **i̯uHunkó-* < **h₂iu-Hn̥-ḱó-*

Verner's law seems to have preceded the resolution of the hiatus caused by the loss of intervocalic laryngeals. This is, at any rate, what follows from the following cases, which must still have been trisyllabic at the time of Verner's law:

- **maizan-* comp. 'more': Go. *maiza*, ON *meiri*, OE *māra*, OFri. *māra*, *mēra*, OS, OHG *mēro* < **méh₂-is-on-*, cf. Olr. *mór* adj. 'great' < **meh₂-ro-*
- **flaizan-* comp. 'more': Go. *flaiza*, ON *fleiri* < **plóh₁-is-on-*, cf. Lat. *plūs*, *-ris* comp. 'id.' < **ploh₁-is-*
- **winda-* m. 'wind': Go. *winds*, ON *vindr*, OE, OFri., OS *wind*, OHG *wint* < **h₂uéh₁-ent-o-*, cf. Hitt. *ḫu̯ant-* c. 'id.' < **h₂uh₁-ent-*, Lat. *ventus* m. 'id.' < **h₂ueh₁-(e)nt-o-*, Skt. *vā́ta-* m. 'id.' < **h₂ueh₁-nt-o-*

Contrary to the usual reconstruction, I derive **winda-* from **h₁uéh₁-ent-o-* (with generalization of the full grade in both the root and the suffix), not from **h₂uéh₁-n̥t-o-* as continued by Skt. *vā́ta-*. The Proto-Germanic outcome of the latter ablaut variant would probably have been **wē(w)unda-*, as follows from PGm. **ju(w)unþi-* 'youth' < **h₂iu-Hn̥-ti-* and PGm. **junga-*, which is generally derived from **ju(w)unga-* with a vocalized nasal (cf. Kluge 1913: 242; Ringe 2006: 83), and may like Go. *junds* 'youth' < **ju(w)undi-* still have had a long vowel in Gothic. The general vocalization of resonants after laryngeals is also confirmed by the 1sg. subjunctive ending, cf. Go. *-jau*, which developed from PGm. **-jēu* < PIE **-ieh₁-m̥*. Also, even if **h₂uéh₁-nt-o-* did develop into Pre-Gm. **u̯énto-*, it would have given ***winþa-*, not **winda-*, and the same is actually true for the additional variant **h₂uh₁-ént-o-*. Of course, it is still possible to start from end-stressed forms **h₂ueh₁-ent-ó-* or even **h₂uh₁-ent-ó-*, but given the fact that full grades typically take the accent, as for instance in Skt. *vā́ta-*, it is more attractive to reconstruct the

word as **h₁uéh₁-ent-o-*. Interestingly, this form would suggest that Osthoff's law was posterior to both Verner's law and the monophthongization of **-eh₁e-*, which would confirm that it is a relatively late Germanic development unrelated to comparable vowel shortenings in other Indo-European languages, such as Greek and Italo-Celtic.

2.2.3 Epenthesis of **f*

It is interesting to see that, in Proto-Germanic, *m* assimilated only to a following voiceless **d*, not to fricative **þ*. The latter appears to have triggered the rise of an automatic *f* in between, probably already within Proto-Germanic itself, and it has been argued in view of Go. *anda-numt* (see below) that the sequence **-mfþ-* further developed into **-mft-* (Rasmussen 1983).

- **samþu-* m. 'soft': OE *sēfte*, OHG *samfti*, *semfti* < **sóm-tu-*, cf. Skt. *santya-* adj. 'belonging together' < **som-tio-*
- **tumþi-* f. 'agreement': OHG *zumft* < **dḿ-ti-*, cf. **teman-* s.v. 'to befit'
- **numþi-* f. 'taking, accepting': Go. *anda-numts*, OHG *numft* < **nḿ-ti-*, cf. **neman-* 'to take'
- **swumþi-* f. 'swamp': OHG *sunft* < **suḿ-ti-*, cf. ON *swimma*, OE, OHG *swimman* s.v. 'to swim' < **swimman-*

The epenthesis of *f* still seems to have been automatic in synchronic Gothic in view of the doublet *swumsl* ~ *swumfsl* n. 'pool' < **swum-sla-*, both variants of which occur in chapter 9 of the Gospel of John. It may follow from this that the *f* arose between *m* and *þ* at a relatively late stage, but certainly after the occlusivation of **đ* to **d* after nasals (cf. Rasmussen 1983), as there is no similar epenthesis of **b* or **ƀ*.

- **hunda-* n. 'hundred': Go., OE, OS *hund*, OHG *hunt* < **dḱmtó-*, cf. Lith. *šim̃tas* num. 'id.'
- **skandō-* f. 'ashamed': Go. *skanda*, OFri. *skonde*, OE *scand*, OHG *scanta* < **skom-téh₂-*, cf. Go. *skaman sik* w.v. 'to be ashamed' < **skamēn-*
- **sunda-* n. 'swimming; strait': ON, OE *sund* < **sum-tó-*, cf. **swumþi-* (see above)

There are two cases that reveal an originally paradigmatic Verner alternation, which makes them particularly interesting:

- **kwumþi-* ~ **k(w)undi-* f. 'arrival': Go. *ga-qumþs*, OHG *qhumft*, *kumft* < **gʷḿ-ti-* vs. **k(w)undi-* f. 'id.': ON *sam-kund* < **gʷm-tí-*[2]

[2] The labiovelar was restored on the basis of the strong verb, cf. Go. *qiman* < **kweman-*.

- **grumþu- ~ *grundu-* m. 'floor': ON *grunnr*, G Cimb. *grumf* < **gʰrḿ-tu-* vs. Go. *grundus**, OE, OFri., OS *grund*, OHG *grunt* < **gʰrm-tú-* (for the root structure **gʰrem-*, cf. ON *grandi* m. 'isthmus' < **granda-*)

When Proto-Germanic still had a mobile accent, these *ti-* and *tu*-stems probably had root-stress in the nominative, and suffix-stress in the genitive, e.g. nom. **gʰrḿ-tu-s*, gen. **gʰrm-té/óu-s*. After the Germanic sound shifts, the nominative developed into **grumfþuz*, whence G Cimb. *grumf*, while the genitive **grundauz* ultimately served as the basis for Go. *grundus* and the aforementioned West Germanic forms. ON *grunnr*, on the other hand, goes back to **grunþuz*, and appears to be a secondary variant with analogical *n* or *þ*. The fact that this analogy was possible proves that the paradigmatic Verner alternation must have remained intact until after the breaking up of Proto-Germanic and survived into Proto-Norse.

2.2.4 Delabialization before **j*

As argued under §2.2.2, Pre-Gm. **gw* was delabialized to **g* under certain circumstances, especially before **u* and **r*. Another important position in which delabialization appears to have occurred is immediately before **j*. The evidence suggests that this development was conditioned by the surrounding vocalism: delabialization is found in words where **gw* was preceded by an originally round vowel.

- **dangjan-* w.v. 'to beat': ON *dengja*, OE *dencgan* < **dʰongʷʰ-éie-*, cf. OSw. *diunga* s.v. 'to beat' < **dingwan-* < **dʰengʷʰ-e-*[3]
- **sagja-* m. 'man, hero': ON *seggr*, OE *secg* < **sokʷH-ió-*, cf. Lat. *socius* m. 'companion' < **sokʷH-io-*, Skt. *sákhā*, dat. *sákhye* m. 'id.' < **sokʷH-oi-*
- **sagjan-* w.v. 'to say, recount': ON *segja*, OE *secgan*, OFri. *sedza, sidza*, OS *seggian* < **sokʷ-éie-*, cf. Lith. *sakýti*, SCS *sočiti* 'to indicate' < **sokʷ-éie-* and Gr. ἐν(ν)έπω 'to say, recount, announce' < **h₁en-sekʷ-*
- **wulgī-*, gen. **wulgjōz* f. 'she-wolf': ON *ylgr, ylgja* < **ulkʷ-íh₂-*, **-iéh₂-s*, cf. Skt. *vṛkí-*, Lith. *vilkė* f. 'id.' (also cf. OHG *wulpa* f. 'id.' < **wulbjō-* with the labial adopted from **wulfaz* 'wolf' < **ulḱʷ-o-* prior to Verner's law)[4]

When there was originally an **a* in the root, we find the expected outcomes of PGm. **gw*:

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[3] Note that the cluster **-ngwj-* was phonotactically fine in Proto-Germanic, cf. the denominatives Go. *ga-aggwjan* w.v. 'to oppress', ON *øngva, øngja* w.v. 'to make narrow' < **angwjan-* and ON *þrøngva* s.v. 'to press, force' < **þrangwjan-*.

[4] Contrary to Rasmussen 1983 and Ringe 2006: 111, I do not think that Sievers' law has a bearing on the evolution of this word.

- **aujō-* f. 'wetland, island': ON *ey*, OE *īeg*, OHG *ouwa* < **h₂ekʷ-iéh₂-*, cf. Go. *ałva*, ON *á*, OE *ē*, OS, OHG *aha* f. 'river', Lat. *aqua* f. 'water' < **h₂ékʷ-eh₂-*
- **mawī*, gen. *maujōz* f. 'girl': Go. *mawi*, gen. *maujos*, ON *mær*, gen. *meyjar* < **magʰ-u-ieh₂-*, cf. Go. *magus*, ON *mǫgr* m. 'boy', OIr. *mug*, Corn. *maw* m. 'servant' < **magʰ-u-*

The alternation of PGm. **dangjan-* vs. **dingwan-* is especially interesting because it provides a model for the original distribution of the **g* and **w* in Go. *hneiwan*, ON *hníga*, OE, OS, OHG *hnīgan* < **hnīwan-* ~ **hnīgan-* 'to bow (down)' and the pertaining causative Go. *hnaiwjan*, ON *hneigja*, OE *hnǣgan*, OS *gi-hnēgian*, OHG *neigan*, *hneiken* < **hnaiwjan-* ~ **hnaigjan-* w.v. 'to make bow (down)'. It seems reasonable to assume that the labialization was regularly lost in the causative **hnaigjan-* < **knoigʷʰ-éie-*, but retained in the strong verb **hnīwan-* < **knéigʷʰ-e-*. In order to eliminate the root variation, Gothic generalized the **w* and Northwest-Germanic the **g*.

2.2.5 The rise of consonantal length

2.2.5.1 Assibilation of dental clusters

Unlike Germanic, Proto-Indo-European did not have long consonants. When two identical consonants collided across a morpheme boundary, the surface result was always a singulate, cf. PIE **h₁és-si* 'you are' > **h₁esi* > Skt. *ási*, Gr. ἐῖ. The only exception to this rule is when the colliding stops where dentals. The resulting dental clusters were not simplified in Proto-Indo-European, but received an automatic sibilant between the two segments, e.g. **-t-t-*, **-d-t-*, **-dʰ-t-* > **-tst-*. The outcome of this cluster, which was retained as such only in Anatolian, varies across the different Indo-European dialects, but always yielded long **-ss-* in Germanic:

- **kwessi-* f. 'consent': Go. *ga-qiss** < **gʷet-ti-*, cf. Go. *qiþan* s.v. 'to speak' < **gʷét-e-*
- **sessa-* m. 'seat': ON, OE *sess* < **sed-to-*, cf. Skt. *sátta-* ptc. 'seated', Lat. *sessus* m. 'sitting'
- **wissa-* adj. 'certain': Go. *un-wiss* ('uncertain'), ON *viss*, OE *wiss*, OFri. *wis*, OHG *gi-wis* < **uid-to-*, Skt. *vittá-* adj. 'id.', Gr. ἄιστος adj. 'unseen'
- **wissi-* f. 'joint': Go. *ga-wiss* < **(H)uedʰ-ti-*, cf. Go. *ga-widan* s.v. 'to (con)join', OIr. *feidid* 'to lead, bring together' < **(H)uédʰ-e-*

Long **s* may have been the first geminate to arise in Proto-Germanic. But as the result of a number of progressive and regressive assimilations, many others were to follow. Below is a summary of the most important ones.

2.2.5.2 Kluge's law

A central Germanic innovation giving rise to Proto-Germanic long stops is Kluge's law. According to the traditional formulation of this law, voiced **b*, **d* and **g* were geminated to **bb*, **dd* and **gg* by the assimilation of a following **n* in a stressed syllable (Kluge 1984). These geminates were then devoiced to **pp*, **tt* and **kk* together with old Proto-Indo-European **b*, **d*, **g* and **g^{w}* during stage 2 of Grimm's law.

- **budmō*, gen. **buttaz* m. 'bottom': ON *botn*, OE *botm*, OS *bodom* < **b^{h}ud^{h}-mēn*, gen. **b^{h}ud^{h}-n-ós*, cf. Gr. πυθμήν m. 'id.', Skt. *budhná-*, Lat. *fundus* m. 'id.' (with Thurneysen's law)[5]
- **hwitta-* adj. 'white': Du. *wit* < **ḱuit-nó-*, cf. Skt. *śvítna-* adj. 'white, whitish' < **ḱuit-no-*
- **þakkōn-* w.v. 'to touch, pat': E *þaccian* < **th$_2$g-néh$_2$-*, cf. Lat. *tangō*, *-ere* 'to touch' < **th$_2$g-néh$_2$-* (again with Thurneysen's law)

For obvious reasons, Kluge's law had far-reaching consequences for the *n*-stems and the *neh$_2$*-presents: these grammatical categories developed paradigms with an alternation of geminated and non-geminated roots. The different dialects often resolved this allomorphy by leveling either the voiced or the voiceless consonant, a simplification process that paradoxically enough gave rise to a more complex phonological system by creating new, secondary geminates such as **ff*, **þþ*, **hh* and **bb*, **dd*, **gg*. Although these geminates can often be shown to go back to Proto-Northwest Germanic, it is not entirely certain whether they could already have been introduced in the Proto-Germanic period (but cf. Kroonen 2011: 80-2).

- nom. **hrīþō*, gen. **hrittaz* m. 'fever': OS *hrido*, OHG *rīdo*, *rit(t)o* < nom. **kréit-ōn*, gen. **krit-n-ós*, cf. OIr. *crith*, W *cryd* 'id.' < **kri-ti/u-*
- 3sg. **lappōþi*, 3pl. *labunanþi* w.v. 'to lick up', OSw. *lapa*, OE *lapian*, EDu. *labben*, *lappen* < 3sg. **lap-néh$_2$-ti*, 3pl. **lap-n̥h$_2$-énti*, cf. Lat. *lambō*, *-ere* 'to lick', Lith. *lapènti* 'to drink greedily' (of pigs)

Kluge's law had a particularly strong impact on the verbal system. The PIE *neh$_2$*-presents, which often had iterative semantics, are an extremely productive category in Germanic. Browsing through this dictionary will reveal that practically every strong verb was accompanied by an iterative verb. In many cases, these iteratives seem to have been more primary than their pertaining strong verbs. It can be shown, at any rate, that many strong verbs were back-formed to their iteratives. When this happened, the root varation present in the iterative paradigm was typically exported to the

[5] Latin *n*-suffixes became infixed in the root, voicing any intermediate stop in the process (Thurneysen 1883).

strong verb, which as a result received a similar set of root alternants. Consider the cross-dialectal variation of the strong verb 'to suck':

- **sūgan-* ~ **sūkan-* s.v. 'to suck': ON *súga*, OE *sūgan*, *sūcan*, MDu. *sugen*, *sucen*, OHG *sūgan*, cf. Lat. *sūcus* m. 'juice' < **souḱ-o-*, OCS *sъsati* (*sъsǫ*) 'id.' < **suḱ-eh₂-*

Since the PIE root underling this verb was **seuḱ-*, not **suHǵʰ-* or **suHǵ-*, the alternation between root-final **g* and **k* must find its origin in the pertaining iterative:

- 3sg. **sukkōþi*, 3pl. **sugunanþi* w.v. 'to suck': OE *socian*, G Rhnl. *sucken*, Swi. (App.) *sugə* < 3sg. **suḱ-néh₂-ti*, 3pl. **suḱ-n̥h₂-énti*

There is an additional corollary to the frequent back-formation of strong verbs to iteratives. It seems evident that the long **ū* of strong verbs such as **sūgan-* ~ **sūkan-* arose analogically as a result of the back-formation process (Kroonen 2011: 112-7). Parallel to strong verbs in **ī*, which were accompanied by iteratives with short **i*, the **ū* of **sūgan-* ~ **sūkan-* must have arisen by the lengthening of the **u* of the iterative allomorphs **sukk-* and **sug-*. For the shortening of the **kk* after long **ū*, see §2.2.6.

2.2.5.3 Nasal assimilation by resonants

The resonants **l* and **r* (possibly also **m* and **n*) were also lengthened by the assimilation of a following **n*. Consider the following examples:

- **alla-* adj. 'all': Go. *alls* < **h₂el-nó-*, cf. Osc. *allo* (f.) 'all, entire'
- **fella-* n. 'skin': Go. *þruts-fill* n. 'leprosy' < **pel-no-*, cf. Lat. *pellis* 'id.' < **pel-ni-*
- **hulli-* f. 'hill': OE *hyl* < **kl(H)-ni-*, cf. Lat. *collis* 'id.' < **kolH-ni-*, Lith. *kálnas* m. 'id.' < **kolH-no-*
- **star(r)an-* m. 'starling': ON *stari*, Icel. *star(r)i*, MDu. *sterre*, OHG *star(o)* < **h₂stór-ōn*, gen. **h₂stor-n-ós*, cf. Lat. *sturnus* m. 'id' < **h₂stor-no-*
- **ster(r)an-* m. 'star': OE *steorra*, OFri. *stera*, OS *sterro*, OHG *sterro*, *sterno* < **h₂stér-ōn*, gen. **h₂ster-n-ós*, cf. Hitt. *ḫašter-* c. 'id.', Gr. ἀστήρ, -έρος m. 'id.' < **h₂ster-*
- **wellō-* f. 'wave': OHG *wella* < **uel-neh₂-*, cf. Ru. *volná* f. 'id.' < **ul-neh₂-*
- **wullō-* f. 'wool': Go. *wulla*, ON *ull* < **HulH-neh₂-*, cf. Skt. *ū́rṇā-* f. 'id.'

It is plausible that assimilation only occurred when the nasal was in a stressed syllable, especially since that would be parallel to the conditioning of Kluge's law. It is probably significant that the lack of gemination in the following instances with **-rn-* indeed seems to correspond to root-stress in the extra-Germanic cognates:

- **hurna-* n. 'horn': Go. *haurn*, ON, OE, OFri., OHG *horn* < **ḱrn-o-*, cf. Skt. *śṛ́ṅga-* 'horn' < **ḱrn-go-*
- **skarna-* n. 'dung': ON *skarn*, OE *scearn*, OFri. *skern* < **sḱ-or-no-*, cf. Gr. σκῶρ, gen. σκατός n. 'muck, excrement' < **sḱ-ōr*, **-nt-ós*
- **þurna-* n. 'thorn': ON, OE *þorn*, OFri. *thorn*, OHG *dorn* < **tr-no-*, cf. Skt. *tṛ́ṇa-* n. 'grass, blade of grass, herb'
- *kurna-* n. 'corn, grain; kernel': Go. *kaurn*, OE corn, ON, OS, OHG *korn* < **ǵrh₂-no-*, cf. Lat. *grānum*, Olr. *grán*, OCS *zrъno* n. 'grain'[6]

2.2.5.4 Long **m*

It is not entirely certain whether geminated **m* could arise by a parallel assimilation of **n*, as the evidence is marginal. The cluster **-mn-* usually seems to develope into **-bn-*, although it is possible that this only happened in those cases where *n* was retained due to a preceding accent. In the Proto-Germanic word for 'voice' (see below), all three possibilities seem to be represented. Apparently, this *nō*-stem continues an older ablauting *(m)n*-stem in which the nominative **stemō* alternated with a genitive **stimmaz* and a dative **stemeni*. Thematization into a *nō*-stem gave rise to several different variants. OHG *stimma*, for instance, seems to be built on the original genitive, while Go. *stibna* must continue **stebnō-* or **stibnō-*, which could have developed out of a secondary genitive **stemnaz* or **stimnaz* before the change **-mn-* > **-bn-*. OHG *stimna*, on the other hand, may have developed from yet another thematization posterior to this change.

- **stebnō-* ~ **stimnō-* ~ **stimmō-* f. 'voice': Go. *stibna*, OFri. *stemme*, OS *stemna*, OHG *stimma*, *stimna*, cf. Hitt. *ištāman-* ~ *ištamin-* c./n. 'ear', Gr. στόμα n. 'mouth' < **stom-n-*; Av. *staman-* m. 'snout' < **stem-n-*; MW *safyn* f./m. 'jawbone, mouth' < **stm̥-n-*

There further is compelling evidence for Proto-Germanic assimilation of a preceding **z*:

- **gamman-* m. 'animal stall(?)': ON *gammi* < **gazma-*(?) < ?**gʰos-mó-*(?), cf. Arm. *gom* 'fold (for cattle)'
- **immi* 1sg.pres. 'I am': Go. *im*, ON *em* (with *e* from the plural *erum*, *eruð*, *eru*) < **ezmi*, cf. Skt. *ásmi*, *ási*, *ásti* and Gr. εἰμί, εἶ, ἐστί < PIE **h₁és-mi*, **h₁ési*, **h₁és-ti*
- **kwramma-* adj. 'thawed, wet': ON *krammr* < **kwramzma-* < **gʷroms-mó-*, cf. Lith. *grim̃zti* (*grimztù*) 'to sink' < **gʷrm̥s-ske*, Ru. *grjáznut'* 'to sink into something sticky or boggy' < **gʷrm̥s-ne-*

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[6] The lack of Dybo's law in Italo-Celtic as well as the accent paradigm of Proto-Slavic **zъ̀rno* (a), cf. SCr. *zr̀no*, points to original root stress.

- **mammōn-* f. 'flesh' < **ma(m)zmōn-* < **mo(m)s-mon-*, cf. Go. *mims*, Skt. *māṃsá-* n. 'meat' < **mēmsó-*
- **þammē* dat.sg.m. 'that': Go. *þamma* < **tosmeh₁*, cf. Skt. *tásmai* dat. 'id.' < **tosmōi*

A problem is that the underlying **z* of **immi* and **þammē* does not correspond to the initial accent in the corresponding Sanskrit forms, but it seems likely that Verner's law operated in these two words simply because they often occurred in unstressed position (cf. Ringe 2006: 141). Incidentally, **immi* seems to indicate that Verner's law preceded the raising of **e* to **i* before tautosyllabic nasals. Assimilation did not affect **-sm-*, as follows from the examples below:

- **bōsma-* m. 'bosom': OE *bōsm*, OFri. *bōsem*, OHG *buosum* < **bʰeh₂ǵʰ-smo-*, cf. ON *bógr* m. 'shoulder', Skt. *bāhú-* m. 'arm, forearm, forefoot of an animal', Gr. πῆχυς m. 'forearm, arm; cubit' < **bʰeh₂ǵʰ-u-*
- **rusman-* m. 'rust': OHG *rosmo* < **h₁rudʰ-smon-*
- **þaismjan-* m. 'sourdough': OE *þæsma*, OHG *deismo* < **teh₂is-mon-*, cf. Ru. *tésto* n. 'dough', OIr. *táis*, W *toes* m. 'id.' < **teh₂is-to-*

2.2.5.5 Long **l*

Like long **m*, geminated **l* could arise by the assimilation of a preceding **z*:

- **gilla-*: Nw. dial. *gjell* m. 'interrupted rainbow' < **gizla-*, cf. Icel. *gísli* m. 'beam, ray' < **gīslan-*
- **krulla-* adj. 'curly': MDu. *crul*, MHG *krol* < **kruzla-*, cf. MHG *krūs* adj. 'id.' < **krūsa-*

Similarly, long **l* could arise by the assimilation of preceding **d*. Apparent counter-examples such as OE *īdel*, OHG *ītal* adj. 'void' < **īdla-*, may have been created with productive *l*-suffixes after the assimilation took place, or there may have been an *a-* or *e*-vowel before the *l*.

- **knulla-* m. 'lump': OE *cnoll* < **knudla-*, cf. OE *cnoda* m. 'lump' < **knudan-*
- **stalla-* m. 'standing, stall, stable': ON *stallr*, OE *steall*, OHG *stal* < **sth₂-dʰlo-* or **sth₂-tl-*, cf. Lat. *stabulum* n. 'stable'
- **strullōn-* w.v. 'to gush': MHG *strullen*, cf. OHG *stredan* s.v. 'to seethe'
- **trullōn-* w.v. 'to pace': MHG *trollen*, cf. Go. *trudan* s.v. 'to tread'

2.2.5.6 Long **n*

Long **n* primarily arose by the assimilation of a **u̯* by a preceding **n*. There are numerous examples of this change, including the following ones:

- **minna-* adj. 'small': OE *minn* < **mi-nu-o-*, cf. Lat. *minuō*, *-ere* 'to diminish' < **mi-nu-*
- **þunnu-* adj. 'thin': ON *þunnr*, OE *þynne*, OHG *dunni* < **tn̥h₂-u-*, cf. Skt. *tanú(ka)-*, OCS *тьнъкъ*, Gr. ταναός, Lat. *tenuis* adj. 'id.'
- **winnan-* s.v. 'to suffer; to labor; to gain': Go. *winnan*, ON *vinna*, OE *winnan*, OFri. *winna*, OS *winnan*, OHG *winnan* < **uénu-e-*, cf. Skt. *vanóti* 'to win, defeat, procure' < **u̯n̥-néu-*

2.2.5.7 Holtzmann's law

In a significant number of words, the PIE glides **-i̯-* and **-u̯-* emerge as PGm. **-jj-* and **-ww-*. The gemination underlying these long glides is referred to as Holtzmann's law, after its discoverer Adolf Holtzmann (1835). In synchronic Proto-Germanic, the glides appear in intervocalic position, but only after short vowels. This constraint may be due to the original conditioning of the sound law, which is generally assumed to have operated only after short vowels. It is possible, too, that long glides from this law were simply shortened after long vowels along with the resolution of all other overlong syllables (see §2.2.6). In Gothic and Old Norse, **-jj-* and **-ww-* were further occlusified to *-ggj-*, *-ggv-* and *-ddj-*, *-ggw-* respectively, a process that is generally referred to as the *Verschärfung*. It is considered to be an important Northeast Germanic isogloss, and is sometimes adduced to demonstrate a Gotho-Nordic versus a West Germanic division. Actually, it is more likely that *Verschärfung* only partly affected the Proto-Germanic dialect continuum, leaving the future West Germanic dialects untouched. Consider the following cases with PIE **-u̯-* > PGm. **-ww-*:

- **blewwan-* s.v 'to blow': Go. *bliggwan*, OHG *bliuwan* < **mléu-e-*, cf. Gr. ἁμβλύς adj. 'blunt; dim, faint' < **n̥-ml-u-*, Av. *mruta-* adj. 'crushed(?), weak' < **mlu-tó-*
- **brewwan-* s.v. 'to brew': OSw. *bryggia*, OE *brēowan*, OFri. *briouwa*, *brouwa*, OS *gi-breuwan* < **bʰréuh₁-e-*, Gr. Hsch. ἀπ-έφρυσεν aor. 'brewed' < **bʰruh₁-s-*, Lat. *de-frŭtum* n. 'must' < **-bʰruh₁-to-*
- **gruwwa-* n. 'dregs': Icel. *grugg* < **gʰruH-o-*, cf. W *gro* 'pebbles, coarse gravel'
  **sawwa-* m./n. 'juice': Icel. *söggur*, OE *sēaw*, OHG *sou* < **souo-*, Skt. *savá-* m. '(Soma) juice' < **sou-ó-*, Lith. *sulà* f. 'birch sap' < **su-l-eh₂-*
- **snawwa-* adj. 'quick': ON *snǫggr* < **snouh₁-o-*, cf. **snewan-* 'to rush' (see below)
- **snawwa-* adj. 'bald' (< 'shaved'): ON *snøggr* < **ksnou-ó-*, cf. Skt. *kṣṇáuti* 'to whet, to sharpen' < **ksnēu-*, YAv. *hu-xšnuta-* adj. 'well-sharpened' < **ksnu-to-*

The counter-examples to Holtzmann's law are numerous, and this indicates that the scope of the law was restricted by some sort of conditioning. At present, it is widely assumed that gemination occurred only by the assimilation of a laryngeal (cf. Smith 1941; Jasanoff 1978b; Rasmussen 1999 [1990]). The material, however, contains many cases with long glides in roots that are usually reconstructed without a laryngeal (see above). Moreover, many of the forms in which gemination is lacking have roots that did have a laryngeal in Proto-Indo-European.

- **hrawa-* adj. 'raw': ON *hrár*, OE *hræw*, *hreaw*, OHG *rao* < **krouh₂-o-*, cf. Skt. *krūrá-* adj. 'bloody, cruel' < **kruh₂-ró-*
- **knewa-* n. 'knee': Go. *kniu*, ON *kné*, OE *cnēo(w)*, OS *knio*, OHG *kneo* < **ǵn-eu-o-*, cf. Hitt. *genu-* ~ *ganu-* n./c. 'id.' < **ǵén-u-*, **ǵn-eu-*
- **lewan-* m. 'scythe': ON *lé*, obl. *ljá* < **leuh₁-on-*, cf. Skt. *lavítra-* n. 'sickle' < **leuh₁-tro-*
- **snewan-* s.v. 'to rush': Go. *sniwan* < **snéuH-e-*, cf. OE *snūd* m. 'rush' < **snuH-to-*[7]

A similarly unclear distribution is encountered for the words with PGm. **-jj-* from PIE **-i̯-*, but the material is far more limited, and so are the counter-examples.

- **ajuki-* adj. 'eternal': Go. *ajuk-duþs* ('eternity'), OE *ēce* < **h₂oiu-gʷh₃-i-*
- **dajjan-* w.v. 'to suckle': Go. *daddjan*, OSw. *dæggia* < **dʰh₁-oi-éie-*, cf. OCS *doiti* (*dojǫ*) 'to breast-feed, nurse'[8]
- **ejjōn* 1sg.pret. 'went': Go. *iddja*, OE *ēode* < **h₁ei-ōm*, cf. Icel. *iða*, Gr. ἴτάω, Lat. *itō*, *-āre* 'to go (here and there)' < **h₁i-t-eh₂-ie-*
- **twajjan* num.gen. 'of two': Go. *twaddje*, ON *tveggja* < **duoi-om*[9]
- **wajju-* m. 'wall': Go. *waddjus*, ON *veggr* < **uH̯₁i-u-*

In view of unambiguous cases such as **knewa-* < **ǵnéu-o-*, **sawwa-* ~ Skt. *savá-* < **sou-ó-* and **lewan-* < **léuh₁-on-*, I have decided to drop laryngeals as a factor in the rise of the long glides. With alternations such as **snewan-* 'to rush' < **snéuH-* vs. **snawwa-* 'quick' < **snouH-o-*, it seems out of the question, at any rate, that the laryngeals were the only factor at work. I have therefore chosen to adopt the more traditional formulation of Holtzmann's law by Kluge 1879: 128, who defined it as plain and simple pretonic

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[7] Note that ON *snemma* adv. 'fast' with its geminate appears to have developed from **snewmōt*, while the corresponding OE *snēome* and OS *sniumo* point to **sneumōt*.

[8] Possibly, **dajjan-* arose out of an intermediate form **dajijan-* by loss of the *i* in the second syllable (cf. Jasanoff 1978b: 85; Rasmussen 1999 [1990]: 2, 381).

[9] Rasmussen 1990: 385 reconstructs this form with the dual suffix: **duoih₁-om*.

gemination. Although this conditioning is not without exceptions either, it seems to predict the Germanic material relatively accurately. Apparent counter-examples such as **brewwan-* < **bʰréuh₁-* can for instance be accounted for by leveling in a verbal paradigm **brewan-*, pret.3sg. **brawe*, 3pl. **bruwwun*, ptc. **bruwwana-*, or by assuming influence from the pertaining iterative ON *brugga* w.v. 'to brew' < **bruwwōn-*. Most importantly, Holtzmann's law seems to have been fed by Dybo's law, which is another indication that the accent was located not on the root, but on the suffix or ending. This is especially clear in the PGm. word for 'egg':

- **ajja-* n. 'egg': Go. Crim. *ada* (n.pl.), ON *egg*, OE *æg*, OS, OHG *ei* < **h₂ōu-ió-*, cf. Gr. ᾠόν, Lat. *ōvum*, OCS *aice* n. 'id.'

If we assume that Holtzmann's law only affected pretonic glides, the Germanic form **ajja-* must go back to earlier **oi̯ó-*. This is exactly the form that is expected if the PIE form **h₂ōu-ió-* was previously modified by 1) the regular change **-ōu-* > **-ō-* and 2) Dybo's law. It follows from this chronology that Holtzmann's law was triggered by a following accent, not by the assimilation of an adjacent laryngeal.

2.2.6 Shortening of overlong syllables

One of the final sound laws leading up to the stage we reconstruct as Proto-Germanic caused the resolution of overlong syllables, i.e. syllables ending in a long vowel or diphthong plus a long consonant. In syllables like these, long stops were shortened, thus giving rise to a Proto-Germanic constraint on overlong syllables. The constraint is likely to have arisen at a relatively late stage, but it is conceivable that originally overlong syllables can be retrieved from the loanwords in the Finnic languages, which have no such phonotactic limitation (Mulder 2010). Anyhow, all geminates arisen according to the sound laws mentioned above were shortened in overlong syllables, as follows from the following examples:

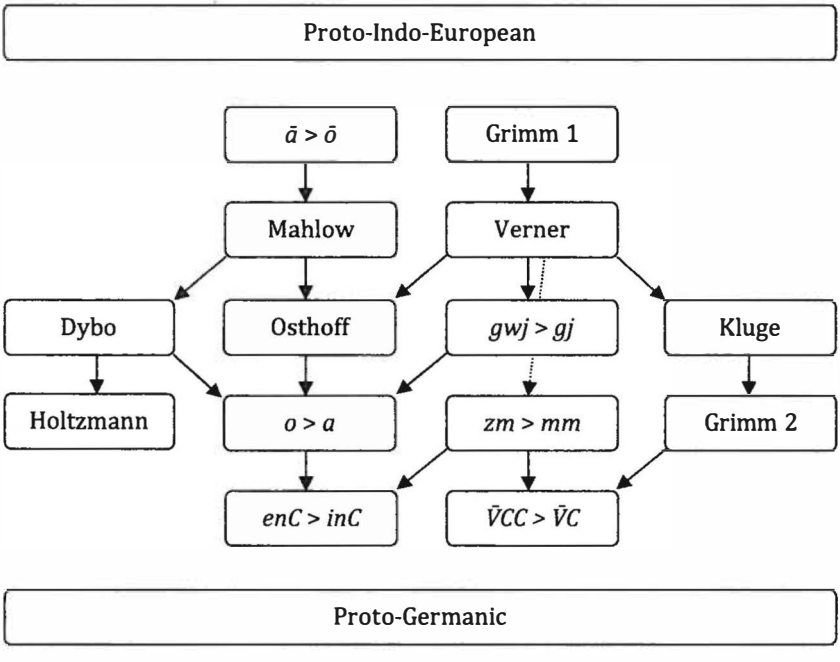
- **aila-* n. 'fire': OE *āl* < **ailla-* < **h₂eidʰ-lo-*, cf. Skt. *édha-* m. 'firewood', Gr. αἶθος m. 'firebrand'
- **blōman-* m. 'flower': Go. *bloma*, ON *blómi*, OS *blōmo*, OHG *bluomo* < **blōmman-* < **blōzman-* < **bʰleh₃-smon-*, cf. OE *blōs(t)ma* m. 'blossom' < **blōsman-* (without Verner's law)
- **deupa-* adj. 'deep': Go. *diups*, ON *djúpr*, OE *dēop*, OFri. *diāp*, OS *diop*, OHG *tiuf* < **deuppa-* < **dʰeubʰ-nó-*, cf. OIr. *domain*, W *dwfn* adj. 'deep' < **dʰubʰ-ni-*, Lith. *dubùs* adj. 'hollow, deep, spacious' < **dʰubʰ-u-*
- **dīka-* n. 'dam; ditch': OE *dīc*, OFri., OS *dīk* < **dīkka-* < **dʰeigʰ-nó-*, Gr. τοῖχος m. 'wall', Arm. *dēz* 'heap' < **dʰóigʰ-o-*

- **hwīta-* adj. 'white': Go. *ƕeits*, ON *hvítr*, OE, OS *hwīt*, OHG *wīz*, *hwīz* < **hwītta-* < **ḱueit-nó-*, cf. Skt. *śvítna-* adj. 'white, whitish' < **ḱuit-no-*, Skt. *śvetá-* adj. 'white, bright', YAv. *spaēta-* adj. 'white' < **ḱuoit-o-*
- **kīla-* m. 'wedge': OHG *kīl* < **kīlla-* < **kīdla-*, cf. G dial. *Keidel* < **kīþla-*
- **stōla-* m. 'chair': Go. *stols*, ON *stóll*, OE, OFri., OS *stōl*, OHG *stuol* < **stōlla-* < **stōdla-* < **steh₂-tló-*, cf. Lat. *ob-stāculum* n. 'obstacle'
- **tōla-* n. 'tool': ON *tól*, OE *tōl* < **tōlla-* < **tōdla-*, cf· Go. *taujan* w.v. 'to do, make'
- **wīsa-* adj. 'wise': Go. *un-weis* ('ignorant'), ON *víss*, OE, OS, OHG *wīs* < **wīssa-* < **ueid-to-*

The shortening of long consonants in overlong syllables is especially apparent in those strong verbs that adopted their root-final consonantism from their pertaining iteratives or were back-formed from them. For this effect, see §2.2.5.2.

2.3 Flowchart

The relative chronology of some of the most important sound changes given above can be schematized as follows:



A

aba prep., adv. '(away) from, off' — Go. *af* prep. 'id.', ON *af* prep., adv. 'id.', Far. *av* prep., adv. 'id.', Elfd. *åv* prep., adv. 'id.', OE *of* prep., adv. 'id.', E *of*, OFri. *of*, *af* prep., adv. 'id.', OS *af* prep. 'id.', Du. *af* adv. 'id.', OHG *aba*, *ab* prep., adv. 'id.', G *ab* prep., adv. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂ep-ó* (IE) — Hitt. *appā* adv. 'behind, afterwards; back, again, further', Skt. *ápa* adv. 'away, off', Av. *apa-* pref. 'away, from', OP *apa-* pref. 'id.', Gr. ἀπό, ἄπο adv., prep. 'far away, away from', Lat. *ab* prep. 'from, off'; Lith. *pa-* pref., OCS *po*, Ru. *po*, SCr. *po* prep. 'after, on, by, at', Alb. *pa* prep. 'without'.

An adverb and preposition representing a fossilized allative case **h₂p-ó* to an ablauting root noun **h₂ép-s*, gen. **h₂p-ós* (cf. Skt. *paś-cā́d*, Lith. *pas-kuĩ* 'after'). Like Germanic, most Indo-European languages generalized the full-grade root from the strong cases, but the regular zero-grade allative form **h₂p-ó* has been preserved by OCS *po*, Ru. *po*, SCr. *po* prep. 'after, on, by, at' < PSlav. **po* and can also be retrieved from WGm. **fanē* (q.v.).

****aban-*** m. 'man, husband' — Go. *aba* m. 'husband, man', ON *afi* m. 'grandfather; man', Far. *abbi* m. 'grandfather' (GM).

An *n*-stem that in view of the Go. gen.pl. *abne* seems to have belonged to the type of e.g. **uhsan-* 'ox' < **uksén-*. No certain Indo-European etymology. Some have compared the root **h₃ep-* 'to labor, be powerful' (cf. Lehmann 1986: 1; Johnsen 2005), for which see **afla- 1*, but it is much more likely that we are dealing with a nursery word, cf. Etr. *apa* 'father'.

****abnjan-*** w.v. 'to execute' — ON *efna* w.v. 'to perform, fulfil', Far. *evna* w.v. 'to fulfil', OE *efnan* w.v. 'to perform, execute, labor' (DRV).

This verb has often been analyzed as a derivation from the oblique stem of a PIE heteroclitic **h₂ép-r*, gen. **h₂p-n-ós-*, cf. Hitt. *ḫāppar-* n. 'business, trade' (recently Johnsen 2005), and thus as a cognate of e.g. **afla- 1* 'strength' (q.v.). This is problematic because the Hittite word is no heteroclitic, but simply an *r*-stem. I therefore rather derive the verb from **aba* 'from, off' with the same suffix **-njan-* as found in e.g. OHG *terchinen* 'to obscure, soil, defile' < **darknjan-* (see **derka-*). For a semantic parallel, cf. Du. *af* adv. 'off', pred. 'finished'.

****abra-*** adj. 'fierce' — Go. *abrs* adj. 'great, severe' ⇒ **h₃ep-ró-* (IE).

Within Germanic, the adjective appears to be related to **afla- 1* 'strength' (q.v.) as well as to the secondary *vr̥ddhi*-formation ON *æfr* adj. 'vehement' <

ōbja-, which both belong to the PIE root **h₃ep-* 'to labor'. ON *afar-*, on the other hand, is conspicuously close to MIr. *abor-*, W *afr-* 'very', which points to late Germanic-Celtic language contact. Also cf. Go. *bi-abrjan* w.v. 'to be astonished'.

abuha- adj. 'turned the wrong way' — ON *ǫfugr* adj. 'wrong, turned backwards', Far. *øvigur*, *øvugur* adj. 'backwards', Elfd. *avun* adv. 'id.', OS *aƀuh* adj. 'inverted, wicked', OHG *abuh* adj. 'wrong, bad, wicked', MHG *ebich* adj. 'wrong, evil' ⇒ **h₂epo-h₃kʷ-o-* (IE) — Skt. *ápāñc-* adj. 'located backwards, located behind, western' (with secondary nasalization), OCS *opaky* 'the other way around, behind one's back', Ru. dial. *ópak(o)* 'back, backwards', SCr. *ȍpāk* adj./adv. 'the other way around'.

Like the Sanskrit and Slavic forms, the Germanic form probably continues an old compound consisting of PIE **h₂epó* 'away from' (see **aba*) and **h₃ekʷ-* 'eye' (see **augōn-*), which in PIE could be used as an allative suffix (cf. De Vries 1962: 685). This **h₂epo-h₃kʷ-o-* was remodeled into **abuga-* on the basis of other adjectives in **-uga-*.

adesan- m. 'adze' — OE *adesa*, *eadesa* m., *adese* f. 'id.', E *adze* ⇒ **Hodʰ-es-on-* (IE) — Hitt. *ateš(ša)-* n./c. 'adze, axe, hatchet'.

An ancient Indo-European word for 'adze' or 'axe' (Čop 1955: 406-7). There are no formal irregularities that could point to a (pre-historic) *Wanderwort* (thus Puhvel 1984: 227-8; Liberman 2008: 1-3).

afera- prep., adv. 'behind, later' — Go. *afar* prep. 'after, according to', OHG *avar*, *afar* adv., conj. 'but', MHG *aver*, *aber* adv., conj. 'then again, but', G *aber* conj. 'but' ⇒ **h₂ep-ero-* (IE) — Skt. *ápara-*, Av. *apara-*, OP *apara-* adj. 'posterior, later' < **h₂ép-ero-*; Skt. *aparám*, Av. *aparəm* adv. 'later, in future' < **h₂ep-eróm*.

The comparative of the original adverb **h₂epó*, for which see **aba*. The accentual distinction between Skt. *ápara-* and *aparám* is possibly mirrored by the opposition of Go. *afar* adj. < **afera-* vs. G *aber* conj. < **aberan*.

afla- 1 n. 'strength, power' — ON *afl* n. 'id.', Far. *alv* n. 'id.', OE *afol* n. 'id.' ⇒ **h₃ep-lo-* (IE) — Hitt. *ḫāppar-* n. 'business, trade; compensation, payment, price' < **h₂ep-r-*; Skt. *ápas-* n. 'work, action', Lat. *opus*, *-eris* n. 'work' < **h₃ep-es-*.

Also cf. ON *afla* w.v. 'to gain, procure, accomplish' (whence *afli* m. 'gain; power; troops, forces'), OHG *avalōn* w.v. 'to labor' < **aflōjan-* and ON *efla* w.v. 'to perform; to strengthen' < **afljan-*. Related to **abra-* and **ōbjan-*. See also **abnjan-*.

afla- 2 m. 'hearth' — ON *afl* m. 'id.', Far. *alvur*, *alvi* m. 'fireplace; forge' (IE?) — Hitt. gen. *ḫappenaš*, loc. *ḫappeni* 'baking kiln, fire-pit, broiler (oven)'.

The Germanic and Hittite words are formally and semantically close, which makes it attractive to reconstruct an old *l/n*-stem **h₂ép-(ō)l*, gen. **h₂p-n-ós*. The Hittite word can alternatively be compared to **ufna-* 'oven', which may be an old *Wanderwort*.

after(i) prep., adv. 'behind' — ON *eftir* prep., adv. 'id.', Far. *eftir* prep., adv. 'id.', OE *æfter* prep. 'id.', E *after*, OFri. *efter* prep., adv. 'id.', Du. *achter* prep. 'id.', OHG *aftar* prep. 'id.', MHG *after* prep. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂ep-tero-* (IE) — Skt. *apatarám* adv. 'farther off', OP *apataram* adv. 'farther off, outside (of)' < **h₂epo-tero-*.

An adverbial formation to **aba* (q.v.), created with the contrastive suffix **-tero-*.

agalaitja- adj. 'licentious' — OS *agalēto* adv. 'eagerly, diligently', OHG *agaleizi* adj. 'importunate' (GM).

A haplologized compound of the elements **agla-* 'shameful' and **laitja-* (continued as G Rhnl. *leizig* adj. 'annoying; excited'). The word has formerly been analyzed as **agla- + *ait-*, but the second element is neither a word nor a suffix, which leaves the analysis unsatisfactory (cf. Lehmann 1986: 10). Also cf. Go. *aglaiti* n. 'debauchery, licentiousness, dissipation', OHG *agaleizi* n. 'eagerness, industry, importunity' < **agla-laitja-*. The sometimes adduced OE *aglǣc* n. 'oppression, distress', apparently from **aga-laikja-*, could theoretically be a folk-etymological distortion of **aglaitja-*, but is more likely to have been derived from the verb **agan-* 'to fear' (q.v.) with the suffix **-laik(j)a-*, cf. ON *-leikr*.

agan- pret.-pres. 'to fear' — Go. *ogan*, 3sg. *og* pret.-pres. 'id.' (IE) — Gr. ἄχομαι 'to grieve, lament' < **h₂égʰ-e-*; OIr. *-ágadar* 'to fear' < **h₂e-h₂ogʰ-e-*.

The Gothic verb is conjugated as a preterite-present of the reduplicating class, PGm. 3sg. **ōge*, 3pl. **ōgun* < **h₂e-h₂ogʰ-e*, **h₂e-h₂ogʰ-nt*, which is formally close to OIr. *-ágadar* < **h₂e-h₂ogʰ-* (Matasović 2009: 26). The full-grade root **ōg-* served as the basis for the Gothic infinitive form *ogan sis*, while the original zero grade survived in the petrified ptc. *un-agands* adj. 'fearless'. Also cf. **agiz-*, Go. *agei*, OHG *agī*, *egī* f. 'fear' < **agīn-*, **ōgjan-* 'to scare' and OE *ōga* m. 'terror' < **ōgan-*.

agana- n. 'bait' — ON *agn* n. 'id.', Far. *agn* n. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂eḱH-ono-* (IE) — Identical to Skt. *áśana-* n. 'food'.

A NGm. formation closely related to Skt. *áśana-*, a derivation from Skt. *aśnáti* 'to eat'. See also **aiwjan-*.

agiþō- f. 'harrow' — OE *egede* f. 'id.', OFri. *eide* f. 'id.', OS *egitha* f. 'id.', MDu. *egede, eegde, eg* f. 'id.', OHG *egida* f. 'id.', MHG *egede, egde* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ok-et-* (EUR) — OPru. *aketes*, Lith. *akėčios* f.pl. 'harrow' (with *-ė-* after *akėti* 'to harrow'); Lat. *occa* f. 'harrow' (< **otek-eh₂-*), W *oged* 'id.'.

A European word. The form **agiþō-* may be a remodeling of **ageþi-*, the equivalent of **oteki-* as found in the other languages; synchronically it looks like a derivation from **agjan-*, cf. OS *gi-eggian*, OHG *ecken* 'to harrow', with the same suffix as in OHG *erida* 'plough' < **ariþō-* and ON *sigð* 'scythe' < **segiþō-* (EWAhd: II, 958). However, the verb is attested later than the noun and could be a back-formation. No further etymology. Oss. *adæg* 'harrow', apparently metathesized from **agæd*, clearly belongs here too, but may have been borrowed from a European language. Gr. ὀξίνα f. 'harrow(?)' is unrelated, as it seems to be derived from ὀξύς adj. 'sharp, pointed'.

agiz- n. 'fear' — Go. *agis* n. 'id.', OE *ege* m. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂ég^h-es-* (IE) — Identical to Gr. ἄχος n. 'sadness, pain'.

An *s*-stem nom. **agaz*, pl. **agizō* < **h₂eg^h-os*, **h₂eg^h-es-eh₂*. The stem variant **agiz-* was generalized at an early stage (cf. Go. *agis*), and gave rise to a secondary *i*-stem **agi-* in West Germanic following the regular loss of final **-z* (cf. **luniz-* 'linchpin'). The original *s*-stem served as the basis for OHG *egisōn*, MHG, MDu. *eisen* w.v. 'to fear' < **agisōjan-*, which in turn gave OHG *agiso, egiso*, OS *egiso*, OE *egesa* m. 'fear' < **agisan-*. Related to **agan-* and **ōgjan-*.

agjō- f. 'edge, blade' — ON *egg* f. 'edge', OFri. *edze* m. 'edge, blade', OS *eggia* f. 'edge, sword', OHG *ecka, egga* f. 'edge, point, corner', G *Ecke* f. 'corner, edge' ⇒ **h₂ek̑-ieh₂-* (IE).

A *ieh₂*-stem to the PIE root **h₂ek̑-* 'sharp', for which see e.g. **ahiz-*.

ag/kkōn- f. 'magpie' — OE *age, agu* f. 'id.', WFri. *akke* c. 'id.', OHG *aga*(?) f. 'id.', MHG *age* f. 'id.' (GM).

The co-occurrence of OE *age* < **agōn-* and WFri. *akke* < **akkōn-* could point to an old *n*-stem paradigm nom. **agō*, gen. **akkaz* < **Hóg^h-ōn*, **Hog^h-n-ós*. The word further occurs in a compound with **star(r)a(n)-* in the other WGm. languages, cf. OS *agastria*, MLG *he(g)ister*, MDu. *exter, aecster*, Du. *ekster* 'id.' < **aga-str-jōn-*. OHG *agalstra, egilistra*, G *Elster*, on the other hand, was created to a diminutive **agila-*. Further note OHG *agaza* < **agatōn-*.

agla- adj. 'painful' — Go. *agls** adj. 'disgraceful' ⇒ **h₂eg^h-lo-* (IE) — Skt. *aghá-* adj. 'evil, bad, dangerous', YAv. *aγa-* adj. 'bad, evil' < **h₂og^h-o-*; Gr. ἄχνυμαι 'to grieve, lament for' < **h₂eg^h-néu-*.

An adjective possibly related to **agan-* 'to fear' and cognates. Also cf. Go. *agljan** 'to harm', Nw. *egle* 'to provoke, incite', OE *eglan* 'to trouble', ME *eilen* 'to trouble, afflict, harm', E *ail* 'to trouble' < **agljan-* and Go. *aglo* f. 'affliction'. See also **agalaitja-* and **aglu-*.

aglu- adj. 'difficult' — Go. *aglus** adj. 'difficult, toilsome', OE *egle* adj. 'difficult', E obs. *ail* adj. 'loathsome' (IE).

The original *u*-stem that is attested as Go. *aglus** resurfaces as the *ja*-stem *eg(e)le* in OE. No clear etymology, but probably related to **agla-*.

agra- m. 'flood' — OE *eagor* 'sea, flood', E *eagre* 'tidal bore', Du. *agger* c. 'sea swell during low tide' ⇒ **h₂ekʷ-ró-* (EUR).

A *ro*-stem created to the same root as found in **ahwō-* 'water'. E *acker* 'turbulent current in the sea; ripple furrow in the water' probably does not belong here, but may be identical to **akra- 1* 'field', though with a more primary meaning 'furrow'.

ahanō- ~ ***aganō-*** f. 'chaff, awns' — Go. *ahana* f. 'chaff', ON *ǫgn* f. 'id.', Far. *øgn* f. 'awn, beard of barley', Elfd. *aungen* f. 'id.', OE *ægnan* f.pl. 'awns, chaff, refuse', E *awns*, OHG *agana* f. 'chaff, awn, straw', G *Ahne* f. 'fiber from hemp or flax' ⇒ **h₂e(ǵ)-on-eh₂-* (IE) — Close to Lat. *agna* f. 'ear of grain' < **h₂é(ǵ)-e/on-eh₂-* (the absence of Thurneysen's law points to syncope, Jurgen van den Heuvel, p.c.); also cf. Gr. ἄκων, -οντος m. 'javelin, dart', OPru. *ackons* 'awn' < **h₂ek-on-*.

An *ō*-stem alternating between **ahanō-* and **aganō-* < quasi-PIE **h₂é(ǵ)-on-eh₂-* ~ **h₂e(ǵ)-ón-eh₂-*. The origin of the Verner alternation is unclear, as accentual mobility is unexpected in secondary *eh₂*-stems. It is possible, however, that the feminine developed from a neuter collective form **h₂e(ǵ)-on-eh₂-* (cf. Lat. *agna*) created to the *n*-stem **h₂e(ǵ)-on-* as supported by Gr. ἄκων. It must then be assumed that the Verner alternation was adopted from this *n*-stem, which no doubt did have an accentually mobile paradigm. See also **ahila-* ~ **agila-* and **ahiz-*.

ahila- ~ ***agila-*** m. 'awn' — OE *egl* f. 'mote', ME *eile* 'awn, prickle', OHG *ahil* m. 'awn', G dial. *Achel* f. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂eḱ-il-eh₂-* (IE) — Close to Gr. ἀκή f. 'point' < **h₂eḱ-eh₂-*.

Derived from the root **h₂eḱ-* 'sharp' (cf. **ahiz-* 'ear'). With the same semantics (but different suffixations), cf. Cz. *osina* f. 'awn' and possibly Arm. *hask* 'ear' < **h₂eḱ-* plus a velar suffix.

ahiz- n. 'ear' — Go. *ahs* n. 'id.', ON *ax* n. 'id.', Far. *aks* n. 'id.', OE *ēar*, *æhher*, *eher* n. 'id.', E *ear*, OFri. *ār* pl. 'harvest', Du. *aar* c. 'ear', OHG *ahar*, *ehir* n. 'id.',

G *Ähre* f. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂éḱ-es-* (IE) — ToA *āk*, ToB *āke* 'end', Lat. *acus*, gen. *aceris* n. 'husk, chaff'.

An *s*-stem to the root **h₂eḱ-* 'sharp'. The original paradigm **ahaz*, pl. **ahizō* < **h₂éḱ-os*, **h₂ḱ-es-eh₂* gave rise to a number of secondary stem formations, viz. Go. *ahs*, ON *ax* < **ahsa-*, OHG *ehir* < **ahiza-* and Du. *aar* < **ahaza-*. See also **ahanō-* ~ **aganō-*.

****ahjan-*** w.v. 'to think' — Go. *ahjan* w.v. 'to assume, think' (GM).

No clear etymology. The verb is obviously related to Go. *aha* m. 'mind, understanding' < **ahan-*, Go. *ahma* m. 'spirit' < **ahman-* and PGm. **ahtō-* 'attention' (q.v.), but it lacks clear extra-Gm. cognates. The connections with **augōn-* 'eye' < **h₃ekʷ-* (Osthoff 1910: 175) and Gr. ὄκνος m. 'hesitation, shrinking' (Pokorny IEW: 774) do not convince, at any rate. Theoretically, the verb could be identical to ON *æja* w.v. 'to graze' < **ahjan-* (through a meaning 'to ruminate'), but it is preferable, in my view, to reconstruct this verb as **aiwjan-* (q.v.).

****ahslō-*** f. 'shoulder, armpit' — ON *ǫxl* f. 'shoulder', Far. *øksl* f. 'id.', OE *eaxl* f. 'armpit', OS *ahsla* f. 'shoulder', OHG *ahsala*, *ahsla* f. 'id.' (IE) — Lat. *āla* f. 'armpit, wing', W *echel* f. 'axis' < **h₂eks-(i)l-eh₂-*.

Derived from PIE **h₂eḱs-i-* with an *l*-suffix, cf. **nablan-* 'navel'.

****ahsō-*** f. 'axle' — Nw. dial. *oks* f. 'tip of the hub', OE *eax* m. 'axle', MDu. *asse* f. 'id.', Du. *as* c. 'id.', OHG *ahsa* f. 'id.', G *Achse* f. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂eḱs-eh₂-* (IE) — Skt. *ákṣa-* 'axle', YAv. *aša-* 'armpit' < **h₂eḱ-so-*; OPru. *assis*, Lith. *ašìs* m. 'axle, axis', CS *osь*, Ru. *os'* f. 'id.', Lat. *axis* m. 'id.', OIr. *ais* f. 'back' (< "spine"?) < **h₂eḱs-i-*; Gr. ἄξων m. 'axle' < **h₂eḱs-on-*.

Cf. **ahslō-* and the diminutive ON *ǫxull*, Far. *aksil*, Elfd. *aksel* m. 'axle' < **ahsula-*.

****ahtau*** num. 'eight' — Go. *ahtau* num. 'id.', ON *átta* num. 'id.', Far. *átta* num. 'id.', Elfd. *åtta* num. 'id.', OE *eahta* num. 'id.', E *eight*, OFri. *achta* num. 'id.', OS *ahto* num. 'id.', Du. *acht* num. 'id.', OHG *ahto* num. 'id.', G *acht* num. 'id.' ⇒ **h₃eḱt-eh₃u* (IE) — ToA *okät*, ToB *okt*, Skt. *aṣṭā́*, *aṣṭáu*, YAv. *ašta*, Lith. *aštuonì*, Arm. *utʿ*, Alb. *tetë*, Gr. ὀκτώ, Lat. *octō*, OIr. *ocht*, W *wyth*, Bret. *eiz* num. 'eight'.

The Indo-European word for 'eight'. Originally, the numeral may have come about as a dual formation to Av. *ašti-* 'width of four fingers, palm' < **h₃eḱ-ti-* (Henning 1948: 69). The meaning of this Avestan word is not entirely certain, however. See also **ahtudan-*.

ahtō- f. 'consideration, attention' — OE *eaht, æht, eht* f. 'deliberation', MDu. *acht* f. 'attention', OHG *ahta* f. 'esteem, reflection, consideration, thought', MHG *ahte* f. 'evaluation; attention' (DRV).

Derived from **ahjan-* 'to think'. Also cf. OE *eahtian*, OS *ahton*, Du. *achten*, OHG *ahtōn*, G *achten* w.v. 'to mind, deem' < **ahtōjan-* and ON, Far. *ætla* w.v. 'to intend' < **ahtilōn-*.

ahtudan- num. 'eighth' — Go. *ahtuda* num. 'id.', ON *átti, áttandi, áttundi* num. 'id.', Far. *áttandi* num. 'id.', Elfd. *åttund* num. 'id.', OE *eahtoða* num. 'id.', E *eighth*, OFri. *achtenda, achtunda, achtanda* num. 'id.', OS *ahtodo* num. 'id.', Du. *achtste* num. 'id.', OHG *ahtodo* num. 'id.', G *achte* num. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂eḱt-h₃u-tHo-* (IE) — ToA *oktänt*, ToB *oktante* num. 'eighth' < **h₃eḱt-h₃-ntHo-*; Skt. *aṣṭamá-*, YAv. *aštəma-*, Oss. *æstæm*, Lith. *ãšmas*, OCS ***osmъ***, Ru. *vos'mój*, SCr. *ôsmī* num. 'id.' < **h₃eḱt-mHo-*; Gr. ὄγδοος, Lat. *octāvus* num. 'id.' < **h₃eḱt-h₃u-o-*.

The ordinal to **ahtau* 'eight' (q.v.).

ahurna- m. 'maple' — OHG *ahorn, ahurn, acharn* m. 'id.', G *Ahorn* m. 'id.' ⇒ **akʀ-no-* (NIE) — Lat. *acer, -eris* n. 'maple' < **ak-r-* (cf. *acernus* adj. 'made of maple'); hardly to Gr. Hsch. ἄκαστος 'maple' and ἄκαρνα 'laurel-tree'.

A European word, possibly of non-IE origin. The main form, PGm. **ahurna-*, was adopted by Slavic, cf. OCS *avor-ovъ* 'made of maple'. The Upper German form *Acher* may continue **ahra-* without a nasal, to which *Ahre* and *Ähre* are secondary feminine derivations in **-(j)ō-* (cf. OHG *voraha*, MoG *Föhre* 'pine' < **furhwjō(n)-* vs. ON *fura* < **furhwōn-*). The latter variant probably served as the source for Sw. *ära* and Da. *ære-træ*. It seems unlikely, at any rate, that these forms continue an ablauting form **ēhirōn-* through ON **æra* (thus Torp 1909: 23).

ahwō- f. 'river' — Go. *aḫva* f. 'body of water, river', ON *á* f. 'river', Far. *á* f. 'river; stream, brook', Elfd. *å* f. 'id.', OE *ēa* f. 'stream', OS *aha* f. 'water, river', OHG *aha* f. 'river', MHG *ahe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂ék^w-eh₂-* (EUR) — Identical to Lat. *aqua* f. 'water'.

A Germanic-Italic isogloss. The word has been claimed to stem from a non-IE language (Beekes 1998), but it is more likely to be a formal variant of Hitt. *ḫapa-* c. 'river', Skt. *áp-*, OAv. *ap-* f. 'water' < **h₂ep-*, Lat. *amnis* f. 'stream, river' < **h₂ep-ni-* and OIr. *ab*, *aub* f., W *afon* f. 'river' < **h₂epHon-* (with **-pH-* > **b* as in Skt. *píbati* 'to drink' < PIE **pi-ph₃-é-*). Perhaps the cluster **-pH-* developed into **-k^w-* in Germanic and Latin. See further **agra-*, **aujō-* and **ēgja-*.

aibra- adj. 'harsh' — OE *āfor* adj. 'vehement, dire, hateful', OHG *eipar, eiber, eiver* adj. 'harsh, rough' (GM).

A *ra*-stem adjective, possibly related to MHG *īfer*, G *Eifer* m. 'zeal, eagerness' < **īfra-*.

aida- m. 'pyre' — OE *ād* m. 'pyre, fire', OFri. *āde* OHG *eit* m. 'fireplace, pyre', MHG *eit* m. 'fire, oven' ⇒ **h₂eidʰ-o-* (IE) — Identical to Skt. *édha-* m. 'firewood', Gr. αἶθος m. 'firebrand', OIr. *áed* 'fire'; also cf. Gr. αἰθός adj. 'burnt'.

The word appears to continue an extension **h₂ei-dʰh₁-o-* "what is put on the fire" to the root **h₂ei-* 'to burn', cf. **aiza-* 'oar'. Also cf. OHG, MHG *eiten* w.v. 'to burn, harden with fire' < **aidjan-*.

aidja- n. 'isthmus' — ON *eið*, *eiði* n. 'id.', Far. *eiði* n. 'id.', Nw. *eid(e)* n. 'isthmus; passable valley' ⇒ **h₁oi-tio-* (DRV).

A NGm. word derived from the PIE root **h₁ei-* 'to go', for which see **idōjan-*. It is perhaps possible to start from a nominalization of a gerundive in **-tio-* meaning 'passable'.

aigan- pret.-pres. 'to own, possess' — Go. *aigan*, 3sg. *aih*, *aig*, 3pl. *aigun*, *aihun* pret.-pres. 'id.', ON *eiga*, 3sg. *á*, 3pl. *eigu* pret.-pres. 'to own, possess; to have', Far. *eiga*, 3sg. *eigur*, 3pl. *eiga* pret.-pres. 'id.', Elfd. *iega* w.v. 'to possess', OE *āgan*, 3sg. *āh*, 3pl. *āgon* pret.-pres. 'id.', E *to owe*, OFri. *āga*, 3sg. *āg*, *ēg*, 3pl. *āga*, *ēga* pret.-pres. 'to be obliged, owe, possess', OS *ēgan*, 3pl. *ēgun* pret.-pres. 'to own, possess; to have', OHG *eigan*, *heigan*, 3pl. *eigun* pret.-pres. 'to have, own, keep, receive', MHG *eigen*, *heigen* pret.-pres. 'id.' ⇒ **(h₂e-)h₂óik-*(?) (IE) — ToB *aik-* 'to known' (< "to have in mind"), Skt. *íśē*, *íṣṭē* 'to control, possess', OAv. *isē*, YAv. *ište* 3sg.med. 'to have' < **h₂e-h₂iḱ-*.

A preterite-present 3sg. **aihe*, 3pl. **aigunþ*. The lack of ablaut in this verb is unique, the expected paradigm being **aihe*, **igunþ* < **h₂óiḱ-e*, **h₂iḱ-n̥t-*. It is possible that the ablaut was removed at an early stage, but if so, the question still remains why the paradigm of only this preterite-present was leveled, while all others kept their ablaut intact right through to the modern Germanic languages. It therefore seems likely that the verb belonged to the reduplicating class with *o*-grade throughout the preterite (cf. Seebold 1970: 70). I thus reconstruct the Pre-Gm. paradigm as **h₂e-h₂óiḱ-e*, **h₂e-h₂i-ḱ-nt*, which regularly should have produced PGm. **aihe* (< **ā́ike* by Osthoff's law), **aigunþ*. See also **aigena-* and **aihti-*.

aigena- adj. 'own' — ON *eiginn* adj. 'id.', Far. *egin* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *iegen* adj. 'id.', OE *āgen* adj. 'id.', E *own*, OFri. *ăin*, *ĕin* adj. 'id.', OS *ēgan* adj. 'id.', Du. *eigen* adj. 'id.', OHG *eigan* adj. 'id.', G *eigen* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

An adjective derived from **aigan-* (q.v.), whence Go. *ga-aiginon*, *eigenen* w.v. 'to make one's own, to appropriate' < **aigenōjan-*. Also cf. Go. *aigin*, ON *eigin*, OE *āgen*, OFri. *ăin*, *ĕin*, OS *ēgan*, OHG *eigan* n. 'property'.

aiginþ- n. 'shoot, barb' — ON *eigin* n. 'new sprout of corn', Far. *egi* n. 'corn, straw; sprout, shoot; barleyfield', Nw. *eiend(e)* f./n. 'grain germ, barb', Sw. dial. *äjen(ne)* n. 'grain, insignificant thing' ⇒ *$h_2$eik-ent-(?) (IE).

Related to *aigla- 'barb' (q.v.). The exact derivation of the word is unclear. Nw. *eiend(e)* and Sw. *äjenne* probably point to ON *eigendi < *aigindja- < *$h_2$eiḱ-ent-io-(?), but ON *eigin* lacks the dental and Far. *egi* does not even show a trace of the final *n*. All these formal difficulties make the reconstruction of the original form rather problematic. A neuter participle *aiginþ- < *$h_2$eiḱ-ent? No clear extra-Germanic parallels. MW *egin* pl. 'shoots, sprouts, blades' looks like a Norse loan, but borrowing in the opposite direction cannot be excluded.

aigla- m. 'shoot' — Sw. dial. *egel*, *äjel* m. 'seed sprout' ⇒ *$h_2$eiḱ-(t)lo- (EUR) — Close to Gr. αἶκλοι m.pl. 'corners of an arrow' < *$h_2$eiḱ-(t)lo-; OPru. *ayculo* f. 'needle', CS *igla*, Ru. *iglá*, SCr. *ìgla* f. 'id.' < *h_2iḱ-tle-h_2-; also cf. Gr. αἰχμή f. 'point of a spear, spear', Lith. *iẽšmas*, *jiẽšmas* m. 'spit, broach', OPru. *aysmis* 'id.' < *$h_2$eiḱ-smo/eh$_2$-.

A Germanic-Greek isogloss derived from a root *$h_2$eiḱ- 'barb' (cf. Pokorny IEW: 15). For the semantics, cf. Far. *nál* f. 'needle; sprout, shoot, germinating seed corn' (< *nēþlō-). Related to *aiginþ- 'sprout'.

aihti- f. 'property, belongings; family' — Go. *aihts* f. 'property', ON *ætt* f. 'family', Far. *ætt* f. 'lineage, descent, family', OE *æht* f. 'possessions, property, lands', OHG *ēht* f. 'possession, goods, wealth' (DRV).

A *ti*-stem created to the root of *aigan- (q.v.). Note that the sometimes connected Ir. *icht* m. 'progeny, tribe' (quasi < *h_2iḱ-ti-) is more likely to have been derived from root *iek- 'to speak' (see *jehan-) in view of the related MW *ieith* f. 'language, nation, race' < *iek-ti-.

aihtrōjan- w.v. 'to beg' — Go. *aihtron* wv. 'id.' (GM).

Etymology uncertain: perhaps somehow derived from *aikan- 'to appropriate' (q.v.). Unrelated to Gr. οἰκτρός adj. 'miserable'.

aik- f. 'oak' — ON *eik* f. 'id.', Far. *eik* f. 'id.', Elfd. *iek* f. 'id.', OE *āc*, pl. *æc* f. 'id.', E *oak*, OS *ēk* f. 'id.', Du. *eik* c. 'id.', OHG *eih* f. 'id.', G *Eiche* f. 'id.' ⇒ *aiǵ- (EUR) — Gr. αἰγίλωψ m. 'kind of oak'; ?Lat. *aesculus* f. 'winter oak'; ?Lith. *ąžuolas*, *áižuols*, *áužuolas*, Latv. *uôzuōls*, OPru. *ansonis* 'oak'.

Also cf. OHG *eihhila*, G *Eichel* f., Du. *eikel* c. 'acorn' < *aikilōn-. A European word with no certain IE etymology. The generally compared Gr. αἰγίλωψ 'kind of oak' could be a compound of *αἴξ and λώπη 'cork', which opens the possibility of unifying the Greek and Germanic words into a PIE root noun *aig-s. However, this root noun inflection may also be an indication that we are dealing with a non-IE item (cf. *arwīt-). This is supported by the fact

that the derivation of the word is problematic in the other languages. The derivation of Lat. *aesculus* 'kind of oak-tree' (< **aig-sculus*?) is obscure, and of the Baltic forms only the variant Lith. *áižuols* < **aiǵ-ōl* can regularly be related. Further cf. Basq. *ezkur* 'acorn' (cf. Genaust 1996: 42; differently Trask 2008: 188).

aikan- s.v. 'to make one's own(?)' — Go. *af-aikan* s.v. 'to deny, abjure', OHG *in-eihhan* s.v. 'to sacrifice; dedicate' (DRV).

The fact that Go. *aikan* and OHG *eihhan* (cf. ChWdW9: 245) are reduplicated verbs, which typically have an *o*-grade of the root, could imply a pre-Gm. formation **Hoi(ǵ)-e-*. One could then compare Latv. *aîcinât* 'to call, invite' < **Hoiǵ-n(e)h₂-* and OIr. *éigid* 'to cry' < **h₁ei(ǵ)-e-*. From the Germanic perspective, however, it is more likely that the root **aik-* continues **aikk-* (< **Hoik-n-*), and developed from the preterite-present **aigan-* 'to own' (q.v.) with a semantic shift 'to make one's own' > 'to accept' (cf. EWAhd: II, 972). This is supported by OHG *ur-eiche* adj. 'own' < **uz-aikja-* and OHG *(gi-)eihhōn* w.v. 'to claim', MHG *eichen* w.v. 'to award, to dedicate' < **aikō(ja)n-* as well as MHG *eichenen* w.v. 'to claim' < **aiknjan-* (a medio-passive factitive "to make oneself own"). Note that the comparison of OHG *eihhinōn* with the aforementioned Latv. *aîcinât* is deceptive anyway, because the Latvian ending *-inā-* is a conflation of PBalt. **-nā-* and **-in-* from PIE **-neh₂-* ~ **-n̥h₂-*, and cannot be equated with the element *-en-* of MHG *eichenen*.

aikjan- w.v. 'to irritate' — Nw. *eikja* w.v. 'to annoy, pester' ⇒ **h₂oig-éie-* (IE) — Identical to Skt. *ejayati* 'to shake'; also cf. Skt. *éjati* 'to move, stir, flutter' < **h₂eig-e-*; Gr. αἰγίς f. 'rushing storm, hurricane' < **h₂eig-i-*; OCS *igra* f. 'entertainment, dance, play' < PSl. **jьgra* < **h₂ig-reh₂-*.

A causative preserved in both Sanskrit and Germanic. Also cf. OE *ācol*, *ācul* adj. 'excited (by fear)' < **aikala-* and ON *eikinn* adj. 'wild, furious', Icel. *eikinn* adj. 'restive (of bulls)', Nw. *eikjen* adj. 'restive, stubborn', Elfd. *ietjin* adj. 'harsh, strong, sharp' < **aikina-*.

aikwernan-* ~ **īkurnan- m. 'squirrel' — ON *íkorni* m. 'id.', Far. *íkorni* m. 'id.', Elfd. *aikuonn* m. 'id.', OE *ācweorn(a)* m. 'id.', MDu. *eecoren* m. 'id.', Du. *eekhoren* c. 'id.', OHG *eihhurno*, *eihhorno* m. 'id.', G *Eichhörnchen* n. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂ei-h₂u-r* (IE) — NP *varvarah* 'squirrel' < **h₂uer-h₂uer-o-*; Lat. *vīverra* f. 'ferret' < **h₂ui-h₂uer-neh₂-*; OIr. *íaru* f. 'squirrel', Ir. *iora* 'id.' < **h₂i-h₂uer-*(?); Gael. *feòrag*, W *gwywer* 'id.' < **h₂ui-h₂uer-*; Lith. *voverẽ*, *vóveré*, Latv. *vāvere* 'id.' < **h₂ue-h₂uer-ieh₂-*; Lith. *vaiveris*, Ru. *véverica* 'id.' < **h₂uoi-h₂uer-io-* etc.

A reduplicated formation comparable to **bebura- 1* 'beaver' (q.v.) < **bʰé-bʰr*, gen. **bʰi-bʰr-ós* (Beekes 1995: 190). The Germanic word (together with Ir. *iora*?) preserved the simplest type of reduplication, **h₂éi-h₂ur*, gen.

*h_2i-h_2ur-*ós*, which resulted in a paradigm **aikwur*, **īkuraz* (for the change **-aiHu-* > PGm. **-aikw-*, cf. **taikwer-*). After the loss of initial laryngeals, the daughter languages restored the reduplication in several different ways, giving rise to a plethora of stem variants.

ailida- m. 'fire' — ON *eldr* m. 'id.', Far. *eldur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *jäld* m. 'id.', OE *ælednm.* 'fire; fire blight' (DRV).

A formation derived from **ailjan-* (OE *ælan* w.v. 'to burn') which in turn is a factitive to the noun **aila-* as implied by OE *āl* n. 'fire' < **ailla-* < **aidla-* < *h_2eid^h-lo-*, for which cf. **aida-*. W *aelwyd* f. 'fireplace' and Bret. *oelad* 'id.' were borrowed from early Anglo-Saxon.

aima- m. 'steam, smoke' — ON *eimr* m. 'fire, smoke, steam', Far. *eimur* m. 'embers', Nw. *eim* m. 'vapor, smoke, trace, semblance, inkling' ⇒ *h_1oi-mo-* (IE).

A *mo*-stem whose meaning makes it tempting to reconcile it with the root *h_2ei-* 'to burn' (see **aida-*, **aiza-*), which would imply a proto-form *h_2oi-mo-*. However, ON, Icel. *ím* n. 'dust, dirt', Far. *ím* n. 'soot', Nw. *im* n. 'thin layer (e.g. of dust, flower or soot)' < **īma-* rather implies a root *h_1ei-* with *h_1*. See also **aima-uzjön-*.

aima-uzjōn- f. 'embers' — ON *eimyrja* f. 'id.', OE *æmyrie* f. 'id.', E *embers*, MDu. *amere* f. 'id.', OHG *eimuria* f. 'id.', MHG *eimer(e)* f. 'id.' (DRV).

A compound of **aima-* 'steam, smoke' and **usjön-*, cf. ON *ysja* f. 'fire' < **Hus-ieh$_2$-*. See also **uznan-*.

aina- num. 'one' — Go. *ains* num. 'id.', ON *einn* num. 'id.', Far. *ein* num. 'id.', Elfd. *ien* num. 'id.', OE *ān* num. 'id.', E *one*, OFri. *ān*, *ēn* num. 'id.', OS *ēn* num. 'id.', Du. *een* num. 'id.', OHG *ein* num. 'id.', G *ein* num. 'id.' ⇒ **Hoi-Hn-o-* (IE) — Identical to Lat. *ūnus*, OIr. *óen*, W *un*; OPru. *ainan* acc., Lith. *víenas*, Latv. *viêns* num. 'id.'; also cf. Gr. οἰνή f. 'one (on a dice)' < **Hoi-Hn-eh$_2$-*; OCS *inъ* 'some(one), other', Ru. *inój* 'different, other' < **Hi-Hn-o-*; Skt. *éka-* 'one' < **Hoi-ko-*; Av. *aēuua-* 'id.', OP *aiva-* 'id.' < **Hoi-uo-*.

A West Indo-European numeral derived from an IE root **Hoi-*, for which cf. **aiwa/ö- 1.*

ainahan- adj. 'single' — Go. *ainaha* adj. 'id.', ON *einga* indecl. 'id.', OE *ānga*, *ænga*, *ēnga* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **Hoi-Hno-ḱo-* (DRV) — Formally close to Lat. *ūnicus* adj. 'single'.

Derived from **aina-* (q.v.).

ainalifa- num. 'eleven' — Go. *ainlif* num. 'id.', ON *ellifu* num. 'id.', Far. *ellivu* num. 'id.', Elfd. *ellåv* num. 'id.', OE *endlufon* num. 'id.', E *eleven*, OFri. *andlova*,

allewa, alva, elleva, elleve num. 'id.', OS *ēlleƀan* num. 'id.', Du. *elf* num. 'id.', OHG *einlef* num. 'id.', G *elf* num. 'id.' ⇒ **Hoi-Hno-lipo-* (NEUR) — Close to Lith. *vienuõ-lika* num. 'eleven'.

In both Germanic and Baltic, the words for 'eleven' and 'twelve' were compounds meaning "one past ten" and "two past ten". This way of counting seems to pre-date the arrival of the Indo-Europeans in Northern Europe, and may be a relic from a lost language that was spoken in this area. Note that the two branches use different roots for the element "left", which proves that the two formations were created independently. See also **twalifa-* and **līban-*.

****ainja-*** m. 'juniper' — ON *einir* m. 'id.', Far. *eini* n. 'id.' (also cf. *eini-ber* 'juniper berry'), Nw. *eine* m. 'id.', Sw. *en(e)* c. 'id.', Elfd. *ien* m., *iene* n. 'id.', Da. *ene-bær* 'id.', LG *ēn(e)ke* 'id.', G dial. *Einbeerbaum* 'id.' ⇒ **h₁oi-n-io-* (IE) — Hitt. *e̯ian-* n. 'a certain evergreen tree' < **h₁ei-n-*; Lat. *iūni-pe/irus* m. 'juniper' < **h₁oi-no-* (with unexplained *j-* and etymologically obscure second member).

A word that is likely to have been a collective formation, especially in view of the neuters Far. *eini* and Elfd. *iene*. The word is usually reconstructed as PGm. **jainja-* on the basis of the comparison with Lat. *iūni-perus*, but the West Germanic forms exclude initial **j*. If Hitt. *e̯ian-* is related (Kroonen 2011a: 32), we may reconstruct a static *n*-stem **h₁ói-n*, gen. **h₁éi-n-s*.

****airi*** adv. 'early' — ON *ár* adv. 'id.', Far. *í morgin ári* 'early in the morning', OE *ār* adv. 'before', OFri. *ēr* prep., conj. 'id.', OS *ēr* adv. 'id.', Du. *eer* conj. 'id.', OHG *ē(r)* adv., conj. 'before, earlier', MHG *ē(r)* adv. 'earlier, sooner' ⇒ **h₂ei-er-i* (IE) — Av. *aiiarə*, gen. *aiiqn* n. 'day' < **h₂ei-r/n-*; Gr. ἦρι 'in the morning' < **h₂ei-er-i*; Gr. ἠέριος adj. 'matutinal' < **h₂eier-io-*.

PGm. **airi* is identical to Gr. ἦρι, continuing the locative of an old *r/n*-stem meaning 'day' (or 'daybreak'?), cf. Av. *aiiarə*. The *e* of **ajeri* was regularly raised to **i* after **j*, and triggered the merger of **aji-* with **ai-* (cf. **aiza-* 'oar' < PIE **h₂ei-es-*). Note that ON, Icel. *árla*, Sw. *arla*, Da. *årle* adv. 'early' developed from *árliga* by some sort of syncope, cf. *fastl(ig)a* 'firmly', *framarl(ig)a* 'in a forward position', *ill(ilig)a* 'badly, hideously' and *gerla, gǫrla* 'fully', *harðla* 'very', *varla* 'hardly'.

****airinōn-*** w.v. 'to run an errand' — Go. *airinon* w.v. 'to be an emissary, to be a messenger', ON *árna* w.v. 'to intercede, to pray'. (DRV).

Derived from **airu-* 'messenger' (q.v.).

****airiz*** adv. 'earlier' — Go. *airis* adv. 'id.', ON *áðr* adv. 'before, earlier' ⇒ **h₂ei-er-is* (IE).

An adverbial comparative often derived from **árðr* < **air-þera-* (see **airí*) with dissimilation of the first *r* after the monophthongization of **ai* to *ā* (thus Torp 1909: 3). Or should we rather assume dissimilation of **āriʀ* to **āðiʀ* (before the syncope of *i*, but after the monophthongization of **ai* to **ā*)? If so, the Old Norse form must originally have been identical to Go. *airis* < **air-iz*. For similar dissimilations, cf. Go. *izwis* obl.du. 'you' vs. ON *yðr* < PN **iðwiʀ* < **iʀwiʀ* and Icel. *hleði* < **hloʀi* < **hluzan-*, for which see **hluza-*. The traditional connection with **ēdra-* 'quick' seems less attractive.

airō- f. 'oar' — ON *ár* f. 'id.', Far. *ár* f. 'id.', Elfd. *åra* f. 'id.', OE *ār* f. 'id.', E *oar* ⇒ **h₃eiH-r-eh₂-* (IE) — Hitt. *ḫišša-* c. 'carriage pole' < **h₃iH-so-*; Gr. οἴαξ, -ᾶκος m. 'handle of the rudder, rudder' < **h₃(e)iH-s-*; Skt. *īṣā́-* f. 'drawbar' < **h₃iH-s-eh₂-*; Sln. *ojȇ* n. 'thill' < **h₃eiH-es-*; Lith. *íena* f. 'rod' < **h₃eiH-n-eh₂-*.

No certain etymology. The meaning 'oar' makes connection with the verb **rōan-* 'to row' < **h₁roh₁-e-* seem attractive, but this is formally impossible. The word has more convincingly been compared to the PIE *s*-stem **h₃éiH-s*, **h₃iH-es-* as continued by the aforementioned forms. The Germanic word cannot directly be derived from this *s*-stem, however, as **aizō-* would give ON ***eir*. It must therefore be reconstructed as **HeiH-r-eh₂-*. Could it together with Lith. *íena* have split off from an old heteroclitic noun **h₃óiH-r*, gen. **h₃éiH-n-s*?

airu- m. 'messenger' — Go. *airus* m. 'id.', ON *árr* m. 'messenger, servant', Icel. *árr* m. 'id.', OE *ār* m. 'id.', OS *ēru* m. 'id.' (GM).

Also cf. Go. *airinon* w.v. 'to be an emissary, to be a messenger', ON *árna* w.v. 'to intercede, to pray' < **airinōn-*. No further etymology.

aiskō- f. 'demand' — OFri. *āske* f. 'claim', OHG *eisca* f. 'question' ⇒ **h₂ois-sk-eh₂-* (IE/NEUR) — Latv. *ieska* f. 'desire' < **h₂ois-sk-eh₂-* (whence Lith. *ieškóti* 'to look for', Latv. *iēskât* 'to look for lice'); Skt. *iccháti* 'to long for', Av. *isaiti* 'id.' < **h₂is-sk-é-*; Skt. *icchā-* f. 'wish, demand', Arm. *aycʿ* 'visit, inspection', OCS *iska* f. 'demand' < **h₂is-sk-eh₂-* (whence OCS *iskati* 'to search, seek', Ru. *iskát'* 'id.', SCr. *ìskati* 'to wish' < **h₂is-sk-eh₂-*).

An *eh₂*-stem derived from a PIE *sk*-present **h₂is-sk-é-*, cf. Skt. *iccháti* 'to long for', Av. *isaiti* 'id.'. In Germanic, it gave rise to OE *āscian* w.v. 'to question, interrogate', E *to ask*, OFri. *āskia* w.v. 'to investigate', MDu. *eiscen, ēscen* w.v. 'to demand', Du. *eisen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *eiscōn* w.v. 'to claim, demand' < **aiskōjan-*, which is derivationally parallel to Lith. *ieškóti* and Latv. *iēskât*. Also cf. OE *æsce* f. 'question, search' < **aiskjōn-*.

aisō(ja)n- w.v. 'to rush' — ON *eisa* w.v. 'to rush, dash' ⇒ **h₁ois-eh₂(-ie)-* (IE) — Skt. *íṣyati* 'to set in motion, send' < **h₁is-ie-*; Av. *fraēšiiā* 1sg.pres.act. 'to

urge' < *$h_1$eis-ie-; Skt. *eṣá-* adj. 'quick' < *$h_1$ois-o-; Lat. *īra* f. 'anger, rage' < *$h_1$eis-eh_2-.

An iterative or denominative verb without cognates in the WGm. languages.

aisōn- f. 'fireplace' — ON *eisa* f. 'embers', Nw. *eise* f. 'fire, smith's fire', MLG *ēse* f. 'forge, fireplace' ⇒ *$h_2$ois-eh_2- (IE?).

Usually derived from *$h_2$eid^h-s- (cf. *aida-* 'pyre'), but *$h_2$ei-s- would be more straightforward. Possibly related to *aiza-* 'ore' < *$h_2$ei-es- (q.v).

aista/ō- m./f. 'kiln' — OE *āst* m. 'oven', E *oast*, MLG *eiste* f. 'oast house', MDu. *eest, est* m./f. 'drying kiln', Du. *eest* c. 'oast; kiln' ⇒ *$h_2$ei-sth$_2$-o- (DRV).

Possibly a compound of the root of *aida-* 'fire' with the locational suffix *-sth$_2$-o- (for which cf. *stēn-* 'to stand'). See also *aisōn-.

aistēn- w.v. 'to respect' — Go. *aistan* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_2$eisd-eh_1-ie- (IE) — Skt. *ī́ṭṭe* 'to invoke, worship'; OAv. *išasōiṯ* 3sg.pres.opt. 'to implore' < *Hisd-s-.

A stative formation containing the root *Heisd-, which is probably an extension of *$h_2$eis- (see *aizō-), perhaps with the suffixed root *dh_3- ("to give respect"?). PIE *$h_2$eisd- is well-attested in Indo-Iranian, but the appurtenance of Gr. αἴδομαι 'to respect' is uncertain given the fact that the expected outcome of PIE *$h_2$eisd-e- would be **αἴζομαι.

aistōn- n. 'testicle' — ON *eista* n. 'id.', Far. *eista* n. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_2$oid-sth$_2$-o- (EUR) — OCS *isto* n. 'testicle', pl. 'kidneys' < *$h_2$id-sth$_2$-os-; Lith. *ìnkstas* m. 'testicle, kidney' < *$h_2$id-sth$_2$-o- (with nasal from *íščios* 'womb, entrails, interior' = *instra-); Alb. *eshke* 'kidney' < *$h_2$oid-sk-eh_2-(?).

A North Germanic word with some attractive *comparanda* in Balto-Slavic. The neuter *n*-stems were productive in Old Norse in words for body parts, which leaves the derivational base *aist(a)-. This element probably consists of the root *$h_2$eid- 'to swell' (cf. *aita-*) and a suffix *-sth$_2$-o-.

aita- m. 'ulcer' — Du. coll. *eit* 'ear wax', OHG *eiz* m. 'abcess, boil', MHG *eiz* m. 'ulcer, boil' ⇒ *$h_2$oid-o- (EUR) — Identical to OCS *jadъ*, Ru. *jad* 'poison', SCr. *ȉjed* m. 'gall, poison, anger' < *$h_2$oid-o- (or *$h_1$ed-o-?); further cf. Gr. οἰδέω 'to swell' < *$h_2$oid-éie- and Arm. *aytnum*, aor. *ayteay* 'to swell' < *$h_2$eid-.

Cf. the diminutive ON *eitill*, Far. *eitil* m. 'lymph node', OHG *eiz(z)ala* f. 'gallnut', MHG *eizel* n. 'boil' < *aitila/ō-. See also *aitra-* and *aistōn-.

aitra- n. 'poison; pus' — ON *eitr* n. 'venom, poison', Far. *eitur* n. 'id.', Elfd. *ietter* n. 'venom; pus', OE *ǎttor* n. 'poison', WFri. *atter, etter* c. 'pus', OS *ĕttar*

n. 'poison', Du. *etter* n. 'pus', OHG *eitar*, *eittar* n. 'poison, pus', MHG *eiter* n. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_2$oid-ro- (EUR) — Formally close to OCS *jadra* n.pl. 'embrace, bosom'.

A formation derived from the PIE root *$h_2$eid- 'to swell', cf. *aita-. Also cf. Sw. obs., dial. *etter* adj. 'poisonous; purulent' < *aitra-.

aiþa- m. 'oath' — Go. *aiþs* m. 'id.', ON *eiðr* m. 'id.', Far. *eiður* m. 'id.', OE *āþ* m. 'id.', E *oath*, OFri. *āth*, *ēth* m. 'id.', OS *ēth* m. 'id.', Du. *eed* c. 'id.', OHG *eid* m. 'id.', G *Eid* m. 'id.' ⇒ *Hóito- (EUR) — Identical to OIr. *oeth* m. 'oath'.

A Germanic-Celtic isogloss. Given the close formal and semantic agreement between PGm. *aiþa- and PCelt. *oito-, it is unlikely that the formation goes back to Proto-Indo-European, only to surface in two neighboring branches at the far end of the IE-speaking area. It is more probable that the word somehow arose in a shared cultural zone with similar legal traditions. Etymologically, the word is often derived from the root *$h_1$ei- 'to go', cf. Sw. *ed-gång* "oath-walk". Unrelated to Hitt. *ḫai-* 'to believe, to trust' (*pace* Puhvel 1984-: III 9-10), which is more commonly written *ḫā-* < *$h_2$$_/$$_3eh_2$$_/$$_3$- (Kloekhorst 2008: 267). See also *aiþja-.

aiþīn-* ~ *aiþōn- f. 'mother' — Go. *aiþei* f. 'id.', ON *eiða* f. 'id.', OHG *fuotar-eidī* f. 'nanny', MHG *eide* f. 'mother' ⇒ *ait-ih$_2$-(?) (GM).

A nursery word, cf. Basq. *aita* 'father'. Hardly from *aiþa- 'oath' (q.v.) in the sense of "legally acknowledged mother" (*pace* Mezger 1960: 68). The somewhat enigmatic form ON *edda* f. 'great-grandmother' could be a hypocoristic formation to *eiða*.

aiþja- adj. 'capable of taking an oath' — Go. *uf-aiþeis** adj. 'bound by an oath', OE *æðe* adj. 'qualified to swear an oath' (DRV).

The meaning of the Old English form is clearly gerundival. Usually, gerundives are created to verbs, but in this particular case, the derivational base appears to have been *aiþa- 'oath'.

aiþma- m. 'son-in-law' — OE *āðum* m. 'son-in-law; brother-in-law', OFri. *āthum*, *āthom*, *āthem* m. 'son-in-law, father-in-law', OHG *eidum*, *eidam* m. 'son-in-law', MHG *eidem* m. 'son-in-law, father-in-law' (GM).

No certain etymology. The word is often linked to *aiþa- 'oath', implying that the original meaning of the word was "son/father-in-oath". I personally prefer to derive the word from the same root as found in *aiþīn- ~ *aiþōn-, i.e. with an original meaning "relative on the mother's side". Note that the word is usually reconstructed as *aiþuma-, even though there is no compelling evidence for the *u*-vowel; Old High German, for instance, has both *eidum* and *eidam*, which means that the second vowel could be anaptyctic. The reconstruction of a suffix *-*uman*- would furthermore make little sense,

because this is the comparative suffix *-*uman*- < *-*m̥h₂-on*-, cf. **fruman*-, **ufuman*- etc.

aiwa/ō- 1 m./f. 'eternity, age' — Go. *aiws* m. 'id.', OFri. *ēwe* f. 'id.', OS *ēwa* f. 'id.', Du. *eeuw* c. 'century', OHG *ēwa* f. 'eternity' ⇒ **h₂ei-u-* (IE) — Skt. *áyu-* n. 'life, lifetime', OAv. *āiiū*, gen. *yaoš* n. 'life, lifetime, time', Lat. *aevus* m., *aevum* n. 'period of time' < **h₂ei-u-*; Gr. αἰών m./f. '(life)time, long time, eternity' < **h₂ei-u-on-* (cf. orig. loc. αἰέν 'always').

The Latin and Germanic forms both go back to thematic **h₂ei-uo-*, but the word was originally inflected as an athematic *u*-stem, nom. **h₂ói-u*, gen. **h₂i-éu-s* (cf. the Avestan paradigm). I assume that this *u*-stem served as the basis for the verbal root **Hieu-*, as evinced by ToB *yāw-* 'to ripen, mature'. See also **ajuki-* 'eternal' and **junga-* 'young'.

aiwa/ō- 2 m./f. 'law' — OE *æ*, *æw* f. 'law, religion, marriage', OFri. *ēwe*, *ē* f. 'law', OS *ēo*, *ēu* m. 'law', OHG *ēwa*, *ēa*, *ēo* f. 'law, right, will, contract', MHG *ēwe*, *ē* f. 'marriage, alliance' (IE).

Probably related to Lat. *jūs*, *jūris* n. 'law' < **Hieu-es-* and etymologically identical to **aiwa/ō- 1* (q.v.). Hardly to Lat. *aequus* 'level, equal' < **h₂eikʷo-* or to Skt. *évās* m.pl. 'conduct, habit, usage, custom' < **h₁oi-uo-*, which is derived from the root **h₁ei-* 'to go' (see **aidja-* and **idōjan-*).

aiwiska- adj. 'shameful' — MHG *eisch* adj. 'horrible' ⇒ **h₂eigʷʰ-isk-o-* (IE) — To Skt. *an-ehás-* adj. 'flawless' < **n̥-h₂eigʷʰ-os-*; unrelated to Gr. αἶσχος n. 'shame', which could be reconstructed as **h₂eigʷʰ-sk-es-*, but was actually derived from αἴδομαι 'to be ashamed' < **h₂éid-e-* (Lamberterie 1990: 835ff.).

Also cf. the derived Go. *aiwiski* n. 'shame, disgrace' < **aiwiskja-*, OE *æwisc* f. 'dishonour, disgrace, offence' < **aiwiskō-* and Go. *aiwiskon*, *ga-aiwiskon* w.v. 'to ill-treat, make ashamed' < **aiwiskōjan-*.

aiwjan- w.v. 'to graze' — ON *æja* w.v. (pret. *áða*) 'to rest, eat', Du. *eeuwen* w.v. 'to feed, graze' (GM).

Usually interpreted as a causative formation to the root **h₂ekʹH-* 'to eat', cf. Skt. *āśayati* 'to make eat' (for which cf. **agana-*), starting from a proto-form **ahjan-*. Still, the implied PIE causative **h₂okʹH-éie-* should have given PGm. **agjan-*, ON **egja*, which is not the case. The connection with Du. *eeuwen* (also cf. MDu. *eeusel* n. 'pasture') < **aiwjan-* (cf. De Vries 1962: 681) is therefore preferable.

aiza- n. 'ore, brass' — Go. *ais*, gen. *aizis* n. 'ore', ON *eir* n. 'brass, copper', Icel. *eir* n. 'brass, copper', OE *ār*, *ær* n. 'ore, brass, copper', E *ore*, OS *ēr* n. 'ore', MDu. *eer* n. 'copper, metal', OHG *ēr* n. 'ore', MHG *ēr* n. 'ore, iron' ⇒

h₂éi-es- (IE) — Skt. *áyas-*, Av. *aiiah-* n. 'metal, copper', Lat. *aes, aeris* n. 'ore' < ***h₂éi-es-*.

A thematicized *s*-stem. The Germanic form developed from **aiza-* through **ajez-* < **h₂éi-es-* with regular loss of the medial *e* after *j* (cf. **airi* 'early' and **laiza-* 'clay'). The original PIE *s*-stem **h₂éi-os*, **h₂(e)i-és-os* may have been derived from the root **h₂ei-* 'to burn', cf. **aida-* and **aisōn-*. Also cf. OE *æren*, OHG *ērīn*, G *ehern* adj. 'iron, brazen' < **aizīna-*.

aizō- f. 'respect, benevolence' — ON *eir* f. 'mercy', OE *ār* f. 'honor, dignity; kindness, mercy', OFri. *ēre* f. 'honor; tribute', Du. *eer* c. 'honor', OHG *ēra* f. 'id.', G *Ehre* f. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂ois-éh₂-* (IE).

Also cf. ON *eira* w.v. 'to spare, forgive', Far. *eira* w.v. 'to save, spare; to husband', OE *ārian* w.v. 'to respect', OFri. *āria* w.v. 'id.', OHG *ērēn, ērōn* w.v. 'to honor, adore', G *ehren* w.v. 'to honor' < **aizēn-*. Derived from the PIE root **h₂eis-*, which in extended form also occurs in **aistēn-*.

ajja- n. 'egg' — Go. Crim. *ada* n.pl. 'id.', ON *egg* n. 'id.', Far. *egg* n. 'id.', Elfd. *egg* n. 'id.', OE *æg* n. 'id.', WFri. *aai* n. 'id.', OS *ei* n. 'id.', Du. *ei* n. 'id.', OHG *ei* n. 'egg', G *Ei* n. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂ōu-ió-* (IE) — Identical to YAv. *aēm* acc. 'id.', MP *xāy-ag* 'id.', Arm. *ju* 'id.' (with unclear *j*-), Gr. ᾠόν n. 'id.', Lat. *ōvum* n. 'id.', OW *ui*, MW *wy* M. 'id.', OCS *aice*, Ru. *jajcó*, SCr. *jájce* n. 'id.' (< PSlav. **aj-ьce*).

A neuter *(i)o*-stem directly continuing the PIE word for 'egg'. The word is generally taken to have come about as a *vr̥ddhi*-formation **h₂ōu-ió-* to PIE **h₂éu-is*, gen. **h₂u-éi-s* 'bird', cf. Skt. *vís*, gen. *vés*, Lat. *avis*. Less attractive is the reconstruction as **ō-h₂u-io-* with the marginally attested preposition **ō* 'toward' (Schindler 1969). I consider the word to be crucial to establishing the relative chronology as well as the phonetic conditioning of several important Germanic sound laws. PGm. **ajja-* has been derived from the Siever's variant **ōi̯i̯o-* by Jasanoff 1978b: 85 under the assumption that Osthoff's law gave rise to an intermediate form **aija-* (Zair 2011: 292). In my view, PGm. **ajja-* rather developed from **ōuió-* by 1) regular loss of the labial glide after **ō*; 2) pretonic shortening of **ō* to **o* (Dybo's law); and 3) gemination of **-i̯-* to **-i̯i̯-* (Holtzmann's law). It follows from this chronology that Holtzmann's law was triggered by the following accent (thus already Kluge 1879: 128), and not by the assimilation of an adjacent laryngeal (Smith 1941). See also **wīa-* '(fly) egg'.

ajuki- adj. 'eternal' — Go. *ajuk-duþs* f. 'eternity', OE *æce* adj. 'eternal' ⇒ **h₂oi-u-gʷih₃-* (IE).

An old derivation from **aiwa/ō- 1* 'age' (q.v.) with a different realization of the PIE **u*. The origin of the PGm. *k*-suffix is uncertain, but with Lat. *iūgis* adj. 'constant' and Av. *yauuaē-jī-* 'living forever' < PIE **h₂ieu-gʷih₃-*, it is at-

tractive to assume that PGm. *ajuki-* continues *$h_2$oiu-g^wih_3- (< *-g^wh_3-i-*) "everliving" (Weiss 1995).

akan- 1 s.v. 'to drive' — ON *aka* s.v. 'id.', Far. *aka* s.v. 'to drive; to push, shove', Elfd. *åka* s.v. 'to drive' ⇒ *h_2éǵ-e-* (IE) — ToAB *āk-* 'to lead', Skt. *ájati* 'to drive', YAv. *azaiti* 'id.', Arm. *acem* 'id.', Gr. ἄγω 'id.', Lat. *agō* 'id.', OIr. *aigid* 'id.'.

Also cf. **akra- 1* 'field'.

akan- 2 s.v. 'to ache' — OE *acan* s.v. 'to ache', E *to ache* ⇒ *$h_{2/3}$éǵ-e-* (IE) — Skt. *ājí-* m./f. 'race, competition, fight', YAv. *āzi-* m. 'greed, desire', NP *āz* 'greed' < *$h_{2/3}$oǵ-i-.

A strong verb, possibly related to YAv. *āzi-* 'greed' < *$h_{2/3}$eǵ-i-*, which can be formally identical with OE *ece* m. 'pain' < **aki-*. No further cognates. Is the verb originally identical to **akan- 1*, cf. Nw. dial. *aka med* 'to irritate'?

akra- 1 m. 'field' — Go. *akrs* m. 'id.', ON *akr* m. 'id.', Far. *akur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *åker* m. 'uncultivated field', OE *æcer* m. 'field', OFri. *ekker*, *ēker* m. 'id.', OS *akkar* m. 'id.', Du. *akker* c. 'id.', OHG *ackar* m. 'id.', G *Acker* m. 'id.' ⇒ *h_2eǵ-ro-* (IE) — Skt. *ájra-* m. 'field', Arm. *art* m. 'id.', Gr. ἀγρός m. 'id.', Lat. *ager* m. 'id.'.

A PIE *ro*-stem to the root of **akan-* 'to drive'.

akra- 2 n.(?) 'some kind of metal' — EDu. *aecker* 'id.' ⇒ *$h_2$erǵ-ro-*(?) (IE?) — Skt. *ṛjrá-* adj. 'shining reddishly, bright-colored', Gr. ἀργός adj. 'shining white' < *h_2rǵ-ro-*; Skt. *rajatá-* n. 'silver' < *$h_2$reǵ-nt-o-*; YAv. *ərəzata-* n. 'id.', OP *ardt-* n. 'id.', Oss. *ærzæt* 'ore', Arm. *arcat'* 'silver', Lat. *argentum* n. 'id.', OIr. *argat* n. 'id.', OW *argant*, MW *ariant* 'id.' < *h_2rǵ-nt-o-*.

The word *aecker* is attested only in Early Modern Dutch in a list of metal names (Doorman 1940: 106): *Alderhande Cooper, Aecker, Iser, Stael, Blick, Messinck, ende diergelycke harde ende weecke metalen* 'All sorts of copper, *aecker*, iron, steel, sheet metal, brass, and similar hard and soft metals'. Could the word, similar to Gr. ἀργός, have been dissimilated from **arkra-* < *$h_2$erǵ-ro-* 'shining', an adjective related to the word for the PIE word for 'silver'? Or is the word rather identical to MDu. *aker*, *eker* '(metal) bucket', an old loan from Lat. *aquarium*?

akrana- n. 'tree fruit, acorn' — Go. *akran* n. 'fruit', ON *akarn* n. 'acorn', OSw. *akarn* n. 'id.', OE *æcern* n. 'id.', E *acorn*, MDu. *aker* m. 'id.', MHG *ackeran* m./n. 'acorn, beechnut', G *Eckern* n. 'acorn' (with intrusive umlaut from the plural) ⇒ *ag-r* (EUR/NIE?) — OIr. *áirne* m. 'sloe, fruit of the blackthorn, kernel', MW *eirin* pl. 'sloes, berries, plums' < PCelt. **agrn-io-*; W *aeron* coll. 'fruits, berries' < PCl. **agr-on-ā*; Lith. *úoga* 'berry' < *$h_2$og-eh$_2$-*; OCS *agoda*

'fruit', Ru. *jágoda* 'berry', SCr. *jȁgoda* 'wild strawberry, berry'; ToAB *oko* n. 'fruit, effect'.

A clear Europeanism. The Germanic word appears to contain the element *-*ana*- that can be retrieved from the semantically comparable ON *aldin*, Far. poet. *aldan*, OSw. *aldon* n. 'tree-fruit, mast' < **aldana*-, and more generally from the Swedish berry-suffix *-on*, cf. OSw. *hiupon* 'rose hip' (see **heupa/ōn*-) and *smultron* n. 'wild strawberry' (with *-on*- < *-*anu* < *-*on-eh₂*- as in W *aeron* 'fruits, berries'?). This leaves a more primary base **agr*-, which happens to be especially close to the Celtic forms, but which nevertheless remains derivationally obscure. Note that the appurtenance of ToB *oko* (see Adams 1999: 109-110) is uncertain, as it may have been derived from the PIE root **h₂eug*- 'to grow'.

akwesī- f. 'axe' — Go. *aqizi* f. 'id.', ON *øx* f. 'id.', Far. *øks* f. 'id.', Elfd. *ōkse* f. 'id.', OE *æx* f. 'id.', E *axe*, OFri. *axe* f. 'id.', OS *akus* f. 'id.', Du. *aks* c. 'id.', OHG *ackus* f. 'id.', G *Axt* f. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂egʷis-ih₂*-(?) (NIE?) — Gr. ἀξίνη f. 'axe' < **h₂egʷs-i*-; Lat. *ascia* f. 'axe, trowel' < **h₂esk-ieh₂*-(?).

The formal incongruences between Germanic, Latin and Greek are suggestive of a non-Indo-European origin (cf. Bjorvand/Lindeman 2000: 1085). If this is correct, there is room for the comparison with Akkadian *ḫaṣṣinu* 'axe' and Aram. *ḫaṣṣīnā* 'id.'. Note that the meaning of the occasionally adduced Myc. *a-qi-ja* is uncertain.

alan- s.v. 'to grow up; to rear' — Go. *alan* s.v. 'to grow on, feed on', ON *ala* s.v. 'to give birth to, nourish, support' ⇒ **h₂él-e*- (EUR) — Identical to Lat. *alere* 'to nourish', OIr. *alid* 'to feed', W *alu* 'to bear young', Bret. *halaff* 'to bear young, calve'.

A strong verb to the PIE root **h₂el*-. See also **alda*-, **aldi*-, **aljan*- and **aldra*-.

ala(n)- m. 'awl' — ON *alr* m. 'id.' (< **ala*-), Nw. *ale* m. 'thin stick to dry meat on' (< **alan*-) ⇒ **h₁oh₁-ló*-(?) (IE).

Generally assumed to be related to **ēlō*- with the same meaning, but the ablaut is problematic. Vocalic differences between two semantically similar words usually point to an ablauting paradigm in the parent language, but it is unclear how this could explain the alternation **a* ~ **ē* in this particular case. One possibility would be to reconstruct PIE **h₁éh₁l-eh₂*, gen. **h₁l̥h₁l-h₂-ós* > PGm. **ēlō*, **alaz* with regular(?) vocalization of the laryngeal between two stops, cf. **ēbanþ*- ~ **ēbund*- 'evening'. Alternatively, one could reconstruct **ala*- as an independent formation **h₁oh₁l-ó*-, assuming that the resulting form **ōló*- developed into **ala*- by pretonic shortening. See also **alasnō*-.

alasnō- f. 'awl' — MLG *alse, else(ne)* 'id.', MDu. *alsene, elsen(e), els(e)* 'id.', Du. *els* c. 'id.', OHG *alansa, alunsa* f. 'id.' (DRV).

A formation apparently created to **ala-* with the suffix **-asnō-*, cf. Go. *arhvazna* 'arrow' and *hlaiwazna* 'grave'. The Middle Germanic forms with *e*-vocalism are sometimes assumed to point to a variant **alisnō-*, but the derivationally less problematic **alasnjō-* would work, too.

albī- f. 'river' — ON *elfr* f. 'id.', Elfd. *ōve* f. 'id.', MLG *elve* 'riverbed' (GM).

Likely to be related to the name of the river Elbe.

albut- f. 'swan' — ON *ǫlpt*, gen. *alptar, elptr* f. 'id.', Icel. *álft* f. 'id.', OE *ielfetu* f. 'id.', E obs. *elk*(?) 'swan, goose', MHG *albiz, elbiz* f. 'swan' ⇒ **alb^{h}V̄d-* (NIE) — Close to Ru. *lébed'* (< PSlav. **elbedь-*) < **h$_1$elb^{h}ed^{h}-i-*, SCr. *làbūd* (< **olbǭdь*) < **h$_1$olb^{h}ond-i-*, arch. *lȅbūt* (< **elbǫtь*) m. 'swan'.

The Germanic form can be reconstructed as **albut-* with the suffix for animals that is also found in **heruta-* 'deer' and **hurnuta-/ō-* 'hornet', and is often connected to the PIE adjective **h$_2$elb^{h}-o-* 'white', cf. Lat. *albus*. The Slavic forms, on the other hand, seem to preclude that the word is an intra-Germanic coinage. They point to a set of conspicuously close, but phonetically irregular proto-forms, e.g. **h$_1$elb^{h}ed^{h}-*, **h$_1$olb^{h}ond/t-*. It has been argued, on the basis of these formal difficulties, that the word is of non-IE origin (Derksen 1999). This is corroborated by the possibility that the Slavic forms contain the suffix **-V̄d$^{(h)}$-* that is also found in other substrate words (cf. **arwīt-* 'pea') and by the fact that the Germanic word is inflected as a root noun. Also note the utterly irregular relation with SCr. *kûp* m. 'swan' < **klp-* and Lith. *gulbìs* f. 'id.', SCr. dial. *gûb* m. 'id.' < **g$^{(h)}$lb^{h}-*. There seems to be no connection, on the other hand, with Lat. *olor* m. 'swan' < **h$_1$el-ōr*; OIr. *elu* f. 'id.' < **h$_1$el-ieh$_2$-* and W *alarch*, pl. *eleirch* 'swan' < **h$_1$el-r̥-sko-*.

alda- adj. '(grown) old' — Go. *alþeis* adj. 'old' (< **alþja-*), ON *ellri* comp. 'id.', OE *eald* adj. 'id.', E *old*, OFri. *ald, auld* adj. 'id.', OS *ald* adj. 'id.', Du. *oud* adj. 'id.', OHG *alt* adj. 'id.', G *alt* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **h$_2$el-tó-* (DRV) — Lat. *altus* adj. 'high', OIr. *alt* m. 'height, cliff' < **h$_2$el-to-*; W *allt* f. 'hill' < **h$_2$el-teh$_2$-*.

An adjective continuing the original participle of the verb **alan-* 'to grow; to bring up' (q.v.). It gave rise to ON *elli*, OE *ild(e), ildu*, OS *eldi*, OHG *altī, eltī* f. '(old) age' < **alþīn-*. See also **aldi-* and **aldra-*.

aldi- f. 'age' — Go. *alþs* f. 'generation, age', ON *ǫld* f. 'age', pl. 'mankind' ⇒ **h$_2$el-tí-* (DRV).

A *ti*-stem derived from the strong verb **alan-* (q.v.).

aldō(n)- f. 'hollow (of a tree)' — ON *alda* f. 'wave, roller', Icel. *alda* f. 'wave, small land ridge', Far. *alda* f. 'wave', Nw. *alde* f. 'wave', dial. *alde, olde* 'billow, rivulet, well, (wooden) trough', Sw. dial. *ålla* 'furrow, vessel', OE *aldaht, aldot* 'trough(?), channel(?)', G Bav. *alden* 'furrow' ⇒ **Hold^{h}-eh$_2$-* (NEUR) — Lith. *eldijà, aldijà* f. 'hollowed out tree trunk, canoe', OCS *ladii, al(ъ)dii, al(ъ)dija*, Ru. *lad'já* 'boat', dial. *lód'já* 'boat, trough', SCr. dial. *lâdja* f. '(river) ship' < **Hold^{h}-ih$_2$-*, gen. **-ieh$_2$-s*.

An Indo-European word for 'boat'.

aldra- n. 'age, life(span)' — Go. *fram-aldrs** adj. 'aged', ON *aldr* m. 'id.', OE *aldor* n. 'life; age', OS *aldar* n. 'id.', MDu. *ouder* n. 'id.', OHG *altar, aldar* n. 'id.', G *Alter* n. 'id.' ⇒ **h$_2$el-tro-* (DRV) — OIr. *com-altar* m. 'joint fosterage', *mí-altar* m. 'bad fosterage'.

An instrumental formation to the verb **alan-* (q.v.).

algi- 1 m. 'elk' — ON *elgr* m. 'id.', Far. *elgur* m. 'id.' ⇒ **h$_1$ol-ḱ-i-* (IE) — Identical to ORu. *losь*, Ru. *los'*, Pol. *łoś* m. 'elk' < **h$_1$ol-ḱ-i(o)-*; further cf. Skt. *ṛ́śya-* m. 'male antelope' < **h$_1$l-ḱ-io-*.

Together with Sw. dial. *elgja, ilgja* f. 'elk cow' < **algjōn-* the word is derived from the IE word for 'deer', cf. Gr. ἔλαφος 'deer' < **h$_1$el-n̥-b^{h}o-*. The suffix **-ḱ-* is reminiscent of the **-ḱ-* of **h$_2$rt-ḱo-* 'bear', cf. Hitt. *ḫartakka-*, Skt. *ṛ́kṣa-*, Gr. ἄρκτος, Lat. *ursus*, OIr. *art*, W *arth* 'bear, warrior'. Cf. **elha(n)-*.

algi- 2 m. 'slush' — Icel. *elgur* m. 'slush, melting snow' (GM?).

The word has been connected to Lat. *algor* m. 'cold', which may reflect an *s*-stem **h$_2$elg$^{(h)}$-os-* (Lidén 1897: 66), but in spite of the fact that the PGm. form **algi-*, too, can theoretically have evolved from an *s*-stem **algiz-* (cf. **hwali-* 'whale'), it is more likely to be related to Far. *elgja* w.v. 'to pour (down the throat)' < **algjan-*. Also note that the identification of Icel. *elgur* with ON *elgr**, as found in the kennings *alþjóð elgjar galga* and *æðiveðrs elgjar*, is uncertain, as it probably means 'elk' (see **algi- 2*) in these contexts (cf. De Vries 1962: 100; Heide 2001). Related to ODu. *alk-* top. 'mud'?

algjan- w.v. 'to be nauseated' — Icel. *elgja* w.v. 'id.', Nw. *elgja* w.v. 'id.' (GM).

A verb reminiscent of **walk/gōn-* (q.v.). Also cf. WFri. *algje* w.v. 'to be disgusted' < **algōjan-*.

algōjan- w.v. 'to protect' — OE *ealgian, algian* w.v. 'to defend' ⇒ **h$_2$elk-eh$_2$-ie-*? (IE) — Skt. *rákṣati* 'to protect, guard, deal'; Gr. ἀλέξω 'to ward off, defend' < **h$_2$lék-se-*.

The Germanic verb displays *Schwebeablaut*, or, more properly, the enlarged stem **h$_2$lek-se-* shifted the ablaut slot one place to the right after the addition of the suffix (cf. **aukan-* vs. **wahsan-*).

alh- m. 'temple' — Go. *alhs*, dat. *alh* m. 'id.', OE *ealh* m. 'id.' ⇒ **alk-* (NIE) — Lith. *aĩkas* m. '(holy) grove on a hill', Latv. *ęlks* m. 'idol' (with *a* > *e* by Rozwadowski's change).

A Baltic-Germanic word with no clear IE cognates. The link with **h₂lek-* 'to ward off, defend' (cf. **algōjan-*) mentioned by Pokorny IEW: 32 is arbitrary. Given the root noun inflection, it is conceivable that the word was adopted from a local non-IE language by Germanic and Baltic after their arrival in Europe.

alīnō- f. 'forearm; cubit' — Go. *aleina* f. 'cubit, ell', ON *ǫln* f. 'forearm; cubit', Far. *alin* f. 'ell', Elfd. *aln* f. 'id.', OE *eln* f. 'id.', E *ell*, MDu. *elne*, *ellen*, *elle* f. 'forearm; cubit', Du. *el* c. 'cubit', OHG *elena*, *elna* f. 'id.', G *Elle* f. 'id.' ⇒ **Heh₃l-én-eh₂-* (IE) — Gr. ὠλένη f. 'elbow, underarm', Lat. *ulna* f. 'forearm' < **Heh₃l-én-eh₂-*; Gr. Hsch. ὠλλόν 'elbow' < **Heh₃l-n-o-*?; Gr. ὠλήν f. 'elbow', OIr. *uilen* 'angle', W *elin*, Bret. *ilin* 'id.' < **Heh₃l-én-*.

The Germanic word together with Lat. *ulna* goes back to PIE **Heh₃l-én-eh₂-* through an intermediate form **olenā-* with pretonic shortening. The suffix was later substituted by **-īnō-*. In PIE, the word was probably inflected as an amphidynamic *n*-stem, nom. **Héh₃l-ōn*, gen. **Hh₃l-n-ós*, acc. **Hh₃l-én-m*. Note that the latter case also may have given PGm. **alen-* by vocalization of the second laryngeal.

aliskōn- w.v. 'to tend to(?)' — ON *elska* w.v. 'to love', Far. *alska*, *elska* w.v. 'id.' (GM).

A derivative of **alan-* 'to grow; to rear', cf. Da. *op-elske* 'to grow (e.g. plants), to raise (cattle)' (Magnússon 1989: 152). Definitely unrelated to ON *elja* f. 'concubine' < **aljōn-* and **lustu-* 'desire' (q.v.).

alis/z- m. 'alder' — ON *ǫlr*, *alr* m. 'id.', Nw. *or*, *older* m. 'id.', OE *alor*, *aler* m. 'id.', E *alder*, MDu. *else* m. 'id.', Du. *els* c. 'id.', OHG *erila*, *elira* f. 'id.', G *Erle* f. 'id.' ⇒ **alis-* (EUR) — Lat. *alnus* f. 'alder' < **h₂els-no-*; Lith. *álksna*, Latv. *àlksna* f. 'alder thicket; marsh' < **h₂els-n-eh₂-*; Ru. *ol'xá*, SCr. dial. *jelha* f. 'alder' < **h₂elis-eh₂-*; Cz. *olše*, dial. *jelše*, SCr. *jȅlša* f. 'id.' < **h₂elis-ieh₂-* (both formations with unclear variation of PSl. *a-* and *e-*).

The Slavic forms all have a suffix **-is-*, which is parallel to MDu. *else* < **alisan-* and OHG *elira* < **alizō(n)-*. This probably means that the suffix of ON *ǫlr* and OE *alor* < **aluz-* has a secondary vowel, perhaps following an early remodeling of the word into an *s*-stem. The *s*-stem inflection is potentially also supported by the Verner alternation of Du. *els* and G *Erle*, but it is not impossible either that the word was originally inflected as a root noun. No certain IE etymology: perhaps a European substrate word (cf. Schrijver 1991: 40; De Vaan 2008: 34-5). Also cf. Icel. *elri* n. 'id.' < **aluzja-*.

alja- pron. 'someone else' — Go. *aljis** pron. 'id.' ⇒ ***h₂el-io-*** (IE) — Identical to Arm. *ayl* adj. 'other', Gr. ἄλλος adj. 'id.', Lat. *alius* 'id.', OIr. *aile*, W *eil* pron. 'id.'.

aljan- w.v. 'to make grow, rear' — Go. *aljan** w.v. 'to make grow, fatten', Nw. dial. *elja* s./w.v. 'to breed, rear' ⇒ ***h₂ol-éie-*** (DRV).

The causative to *alan- (q.v.). The strong forms occurring in Nw. *elja*, pret. *ol/alde* seem to be secondary, though a strong present *aljan- beside *alan- would be reminiscent of e.g. *veksa* 'to grow' < *wahsjan- vs. *vaksa* 'id.' < *wahsan-. It remains too small a basis for the reconstruction of a byform ***h₂el-ie-***, however.

aljana- n. 'zeal' — ON *eljan* n./f. 'endurance, energy', OE *ellen* n. 'courage', OS *ellean* n. 'courage, power', OHG *ellian, ellan* n. 'courage', MHG *ellen* n. 'zeal, courage' (IE) — Hitt. *ḫalai ~ ḫaliḫanzi* 'to set in motion' < ***h₂l-ói-ei***, ***h₂l-i-énti***; Gr. ἰάλλω 'to send off, to stretch forth' < ***h₂i-h₂l-ie-***.

A formation created with the neuter *-*ana*-suffix (cf. *akrana-), perhaps to an unattested verb *aljan-. In view of the original meaning 'zeal', I assume a connection with the aforementioned Hittite and Greek forms, but others have compared e.g. Lat. *alacer* adj. 'lively'. Also cf. ON *elta* w.v. 'to pursue' < *al-atjan-.

alkōn- f. 'auk' — ON *alka* f. 'razor-bill', Far. *álka* f. 'id.', OE *ealce* f. 'auk', E *auk* (EUR?) — To Lat. *olor* m. 'swan' < ***h₁el-or-***; OIr. *elu* 'id.' < ***h₁el-on-***; W *alarch* 'id.' < ***h₁el-r-sk-o-***?

A formation apparently derived from the root ***al(l)-*** as continued by Sw. *al-fågel* 'long-tailed duck', dial. *al* m. 'id.' < *ala- and Icel. *haf-ella, háv-ella*, Far. *ógv-ella* f. 'id.' < *alljōn- (Torp 1909: 22; Magnússon 1989: 11). For the *k*-suffix, see *balika/ōn- 'coot' and *habuka- 'hawk'. If E obs. *elk* 'swan' belongs here, too, the connection with Lat. *olor* 'swan' gains some credibility. Modern E *auk* can be analyzed as a Norse loan.

alla- adj. 'all' — Go. *alls* adj. 'all, every', ON *allr* adj. 'all, entire, whole', OE *eall* adj. 'all', OFri. *al, ol* adj. 'all', OHG *al(l)* adj. 'all, every, complete' ⇒ ***h₂el-nó-*** (EUR) — Osc. *allo* adj.f. 'whole' < ***h₂el-neh₂-***; OIr. *uile* adj. 'all', Lith. *aliaĩ* adv. 'completely' (with the adv. suffix *-aĩ*) < ***h₂ol-io-***.

The double *l* in Gm. developed out of the cluster *-ln-*, cf. *fulla- 'full'. The originally suffixless form still occurs as *ala-, cf. Go. *ala-*, ON *al-*, OE *æl-*, OS, OHG *ala-* in compounds, cf. Go. *ala-brunst* 'ὀλόκαυστον'.

aluþ- n. 'ale, beer' — ON *ǫl* n. 'beer', OE *ealoþ* n. 'ale', OS *alo-fat* n. 'ale-vat', MDu. *ale, ael* n. 'id.', MHG *al-schaf* n. 'ale vessel' ⇒ ***h₂el-u-***(?) (GM).

No generally accepted etymology for this word, which was borrowed from Germanic as e.g. Lith. *alùs*, Fi. *olut* and Oss. *æluton / ilæton*. Several suggestions: 1) to Lat. *alūmen* 'alum' starting from an original meaning "bitter drink" (cf. Pokorny IEW: 33-4); 2) to Hitt. *alwanza-* 'magic' (Polomé 1996); 3) to Skt. *aruṣá-* 'reddish', Av. *auruša-* 'bright, white' (Bjorvand 2007).

***amaitjō-** f. 'ant' — OE *æ̆mette* f. 'id.', E *ant*, MDu. *amete, emete, eemt* f. 'id.', OHG *ă̆meiza* f. 'id.', G *Ameise* f. 'id.' (DRV?).

Origin unclear. The word is usually assumed to be a compound with the root of **maitan-* 'to cut', but the form and origin of the first element is difficult to establish. One could reconstruct **uz-maitjō-* "out-cutter" in which unstressed **uz* would give PWGm. **ā*. I personally find it more attractive to connect **ēmōn- 2* 'larva'. The word may then be a haplologized compound **ēmō-maitjō-* "larva cutter". A third option is to assume a substrate word connected with Gr. μίδας 'destructive insect in beans'. The Germanic word must then be analyzed as having an *a*-prefix (cf. **arut-* 'ore') combined with a variant of the *īt*-suffix that in Greek appears as -ιδ-, -ιθ-, -ινθ- (cf. **arwīt-* 'pea' ~ Gr. ἐρέβινθος), ie. **a-m-īd-*. Uncertain.

***amazan-** m. 'bunting' — OE *omer, amore* '*scorellus* (unidentified bird)', E *yellow-hammer*, OHG *amoro* m. 'bunting', MHG *amer, amoro* m. 'bunting' (GM).

No extra-Gm. cognates. Formally compatible with **amslön-* 'blackbird' (q.v.).

***ambahta-** m. 'servant' — Go. *andbahts* m. 'servant, minister', MDu. *ambacht* m. 'servant', OHG *ambaht* m. 'servant, employee, official', MHG *ambet, amt* m. 'servant, caretaker' (LW).

A loanword from Celtic, cf. Gaul. *ambactus* 'vassal', W *amaeth* m. 'servant' < **h₂mbʰi-* 'around' (cf. **umbi*) + **h₂eǵ-to-* 'goer' (see **akan- 1*). Unlike PCelt. **rīg-* 'king' (see **rīk-*), the word entered Germanic after the great sound shifts. Also cf. ON *ambátt* f. 'bondwoman; concubine' < **ambahtō-*.

***amban-** m. 'belly' — OS *ambon* pl. 'id.', OHG *amban* 'id.' ⇒ **h₃émbʰ-on-* (IE).

An *n*-stem in *Schwebeablaut* relation to PIE **h₃nóbʰ-s*, gen. **h₃mbʰ-és* (for which see **nabō-* and **nablan-*). The OHG *na*-stem results from secondary thematization, cf. Lat. *umbō* 'boss (of a shield); protuberance' < **h₃embʰ-on-*.

***am(m)ōn-** w.v. 'to irritate' — ON *ama* w.v. 'to vex, molest', Icel. *ama* w.v. 'to trouble, vex', Far. *ama* w.v. 'to spend', Nw. *ama, amma* w.v. 'to chafe, grate; incite' ⇒ **h₃emh₃-neh₂-* (IE) — Skt. *ámīti* 'to take hold of, enforce' < **h₃émh₃-e-*; Skt. *āmáyati* 'to hurt' < **h₃omh₃-éie-*; Skt. *ámīvā-* f. 'suffering,

disease' < *h_3emh_3-ueh_2-; Lith. *ūmyti* 'to push' < *h_3mh_3-*ie*-(?); Gr. ὄμνυμι, -υμαι 'to swear' < *h_3m-$néh_3$- (with *-*neu*- replacing *-neh_3-).

The alternation of **amōn*- and **ammōn*- (Nw. *amma*) could point to an iterative 3sg. **amōþi*, 3pl. **ammumanþi* < *h_3emh_3-$néh_2$-*ti*, *h_3emh_3-nh_2-*énti*.

ampra- adj. 'sharp, sour' — ON *apr* adj. 'hard, sharp; sad', Nw. *amper* adj. 'bitter' (<< LG), MDu. *amper* adj. 'sour, bitter, harsh', Du. *amper* adv. 'barely' ⇒ **Hom-ro*- (IE) — Skt. *amla*-, *ambla*- adj. 'bitter' < **Hom-ro*-.

A Germanic-Indic isogloss. The further connection with Lat. *amārus* 'bitter' is uncertain, because its long *ā* cannot be explained from the proto-form underlying PGm. **ampra*- < **Hom-ro*- (cf. De Vaan 2008: 37). In view of Hebr. *mar* 'bitter' (cf. Lewis-Short), the word may be of Semitic origin. The connection with Skt. *āmá*-, Gr. ὠμός adj. 'raw' < *h_1oh_1m-*o*- (for which see **ēmōn 1*) as given by Pokorny IEW: 777-778 is uncertain. See also **ampra/ōn*-.

ampra/ōn- m./f. 'sorrel, dock' — OE *ampre*, *ompre* f. 'sorrel; varicose vein', OHG *ampfaro* m. 'sorrel', G *Ampfer* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_{2/3}$ém-ro- (DRV) — Skt. *amla*-, *ambla*- m. 'sorrel', Latv. *amuols* 'yellow-sorrel'.

The Germanic word seems to have been derived from **ampra*- (q.v.). In Baltic, we find a parallel formation derived from the same root, perhaps an ablauting *l*-stem nom. *$h_2$ém-ōl*, gen. *h_2m-l-ós*.

amsa- m. 'shoulder' — Go. *ams** m. 'id.', Nw. *ås* m. 'hill, ridge', Elfd. *ås* m. 'ridge' ⇒ *$h_3$ém-so- (IE) — Identical to Skt. *áṃsa*- m. 'shoulder', Oss. *wæn, won, on* / *iwonæ* 'shoulder blade', ToA *es*, ToB *āntse* m. 'shoulder' (with unexpected **a*), Arm. *us* 'id.', Gr. ὦμος m. 'shoulder, shoulder with the upper arm' < *$h_3$em-so-; Lat. *umerus* 'id.' m. < *$h_3$em-es-o-.

PGm. **amsa*- can together with e.g. Skt. *áṃsa*- be reconstructed as *h_3*e*m-so-. In view of the ablaut with Lat. *umerus* and Arm. *us*, this formation must be a thematization of a more primary *s*-stem *$h_3$ém-ōs*, gen. *h_3m-s-ós* (cf. *$h_2$éus-ōs*, *h_2us-s-ós* 'daybreak' under **austrōn*-). Note that the *m* of **amsa*- is based on the Gothic form only: ON *áss* '1) hill; 2) beam' is a merger of **amsa*- and **ansa*- (for the original nasality of the ON vowel, cf. Elfd. *ås* 'ridge', Nyström 1995).

amslōn- f. 'blackbird' — OE *ōsle* f. 'id.', E *ousle*, OHG *amsala* f. 'id.', G *Amsel* f. 'id.' ⇒ **a-msl*- (NIE) — Lat. *merula* f. 'blackbird' < **mesal-eh_2*-; W *mwyalch* f. 'id.', Bret. *moualc'h* 'id.', OCo. *moelh* 'id.' < **mesal-k-eh_2*-.

The alternation of Gm. **amsl*- vs. Italo-Celtic **mesal*- has been interpreted as pointing to a non-IE origin (Schrijver 1997). If correct, the root **mesal*- was reduced to **msl*- in Germanic by the addition of the notoriously non-IE *a*-prefix (for another word with this prefix, see **arut*- 'ore'). Alternatively, it

is possible to project the word back into Proto-Indo-European by reconstructing an amphikinetic *s*-stem **h₂ém-ōs*, **h₂ms-ós*, **h₂m-es-* (cf. **amazan-* 'bunting') plus a diminutive *l*-suffix. The limitation of the word to the European languages makes this possibility less attractive, however.

****ana*** prep., adv. 'on(to), to, by' — Go. *ana* prep. 'on, at, during, in', ON *á* prep./adv. 'on(to)', Far. *á* prep./adv. 'on, at', Elfd. *å* prep./adv. 'on', OE *on* prep./adv. 'id.', E *on*, OFri. *on, an, en, in* prep./adv. 'id.', OS *an* prep./adv. 'id.', Du. *aan* prep./adv. 'id.', OHG *ana, an* prep./adv. 'id.', G *an* prep./adv. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂enh₂* (IE) — Gr. ἀνά adv./prep. 'up along', Umb. *an-, am-* pref., OIr. *an-* pref. 'from'.

An old IE adverb and preposition. Note that the laryngeal appears to have been vocalized in word-final position. The resulting *a*-vowel was lost in the individual daughter languages, but remained in compounds, whence it was restored. For a similar restoration, see **aba*.

****anad-*** f. 'duck' — ON *ǫnd*, pl. *endr* f. 'id.', Far. *ont*, pl. *entur* f. 'id.', Elfd. *and* f. 'id.', OE *ænid, æned, ened* f. 'id.', WFri. *ein* c. 'id.', MDu. *aent, eent* m./f. 'duck', OHG *anut, enit* f. 'id.', G *Ente* f. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂énh₂-et-* (IE) — Skt. *ātí-, āt̄í-* f. 'duck', Oss. *acc* 'wild duck' (< Plr. **āti-čĭ-*), Gr. νῆσσα, Att. νῆττα f. 'id.' < **h₂nh₂-t-ih₂-*(?); Lat. *anas*, gen.sg. *-atis* f. 'duck', < **h₂enh₂-et-*; OPru. *antis* 'id.', Lith. *ántis* f. 'id.' < **h₂enh₂-t-*; CS *ǫty*, ORu. *uty*, SCr. *ǜtva* f. 'id.' < **h₂enh₂-t-u(e)h₂-*.

A root noun nom. **anaþ*, gen. **anadiz* continuing a PIE *t*-stem nom. **h₂énh₂-t*, gen. **h₂nh₂-t-és*. The daughter languages generalized different stem variants, but Latin *anat-* and Gm. **anad-* both go back to the same stem variant **h₂enh₂-et-* with two generalized full grades (on which see Beekes 1985: 63-4). Note that ON *ǫnd* in the nominative shows the effects of *u*-umlaut, which was introduced analogically in all feminine root nouns; there is no evidence for a proto-form **anud-*, as cited by e.g. Pokorny IEW: 41-2. Further note that Far. *ont* with its word-final *t* appears to be built on the nominative form **anaþ*, for which see **smeuhō-* 'smew'. The change of word-final **þ* to *t* is corroborated by Far. *vart* (beside *varð*), Nw. *vart*, Elfd. *wart*, the preterite to ON *verða* 'to become' < **werþan-*.

****anadan-*** m. 'breath; spirit' — ON *andi* m. 'breath; mind', Far. *andi* m. 'id.', Elfd. *ande* m. 'spirit', OE *anda, onda* m. 'envy, anger, zeal', ME *onde* 'breath, emotion, envy', OS *ando* m. 'offense', OHG *anado* m. 'emulation, envy', MHG *ande* m. 'hurt' ⇒ **h₂enh₁-eto-* (DRV).

Derived from **anan-* 'to breathe' (q.v). Also cf. ON *ǫnd* f. 'breath; mind, soul', Far. *ond* f. 'breath; breeze' < **anadō-*, the denominal verb **anadōjan-* as continued by ON *anda* w.v. 'to breathe', OHG *anadōn, antōn* w.v. 'to strive, rail against', MHG *anden* w.v. 'to avenge', refl. 'to hurt', G *ahnden* w.v. 'to

punish, avenge', and the tertiary OFri. *ondema, omma* m. 'breath' < **an(a)dman-* (for the loss of internasal *-d-*, cf. OFri. *mundman, momman* m. 'guardian'). With a prefix, cf. ON *ørendi, erendi* n. 'breathing pause' < **uz-andja-* and OE *oroð* n. 'breath' < **uz-anþa-*.

anan- s.v. 'to breathe' — Go. *us-anan* s.v. 'to breathe out' ⇒ **h₂énh₁-e-* (IE) — Skt. *ániti* 'to breathe', OIr. *anaid* 'to wait' < **h₂enh₂-*; further cf. ToB *ānāsk-* 'to inhale' < **h₂nh₁-ske-*; Ru. *von'* f. 'stench' < **h₂enh₁-i-* (with unexpected *v*); OIr *anál* f. 'breath', W *anadyl* f. 'id.' < **h₂enh₁-tl-eh₂-*.

An originally athematic verb preserved only by Gothic, Old Irish and Sanskrit. Also cf. ON *ørendi, erendi* n. 'breathing pause' < **uz-andja-* and OE *oroð* n. 'breath' < **uz-anþa-*, whence OE *ēðian* w.v. 'to breathe' < **anþjan-*. See further **anadan-* and **unsti-*.

andiz adv. 'earlier, rather' — ON *enn* adv. 'rather, than; again', Far. *enn* adv. 'id.', OE *end* adj. 'formerly, of old', OHG *enti* adv. 'earlier' ⇒ **h₂ent-is* (IE).

An adverbial comparative to the root **h₂ent-* 'front', for which cf. **andja-* 'end' and **anþja-* 'forehead'.

andja- m. 'end, extreme' — Go. *andeis* m. 'end, extremity', ON *endir* m. 'end', OE *ende* m. 'end, back', E *end*, OFri. *e(i)nda* m. 'end, verdict', OS *endi* m. 'beginning, end, aim', Du. *eind* n. 'end', OHG *anti, enti* m./n. 'end, edge, front', MHG *ente, ende* m./n. 'end, direction', G *Ende* n. 'end' ⇒ **h₂ent-ió-* (IE) — Close to Skt. *ántya-* adj. 'located at the end', Gr. ἀντίος adj. 'set against, opposed to' < **h₂ent-io-* and Skt. *ánta-* m. 'end, border, edge' < **h₂ent-o-*.

A pan-Germanic *ja*-stem. The oldest languages point to a masculine formation; in the West Germanic dialects, the word became neuter at a late stage.

andla- m.(?) 'saltmarsh grass' — OFri. *ondul, andel* 'id.', LG *andel* 'id.' (GM).

An originally Frisian word without a certain etymology. The comparison with Skt. *ándhas-* n. 'sprout of the Soma-plant' (= PFU **ant₃*, cf. Komi *od* 'spring greens, germ, sprout'), Gr. ἄνθος n. 'flower' < **h₂end^h-os-* (cf. Schwenter 1951: 244) is semantically weak.

andura- m. 'snow-shoe, skid(?)' — ON *ǫndurr* m. 'id.', Nw. *onder* f. 'the shorter ski of two', Elfd. *andur* m. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁ond^h-ur-* (IE) — Gr. ἐνθεῖν 'to come, go' < **h₁(e)nd^h-*; Skt. *ádhvan-*, OAv. *aduuan-*, YAv. *aδβan-* m. 'road' < **h₁nd^h-uon-*.

A Nordic word probably derived from the PIE root **h₁end^h-* 'to go' with the heteroclitic *ur/n*-suffix. Also cf. ON *andri* and Icel. *andra* w.v. 'to wander, go fast, ski', both with syncopated **u*, cf. Fi. *antura* 'sole'.

angan- m. 'curve; neck' — Go. **hals-agga* m. 'neck', ON *angi* m. 'tip, jag', Far. *angi* m. 'vertebral process; cog, tooth, prong', Nw. dial. *ang-boge* m. 'id.', OHG *ango* m. 'hinge, cardinal point; prickle', G Swab. *hals-anke* f. 'neck' ⇒ **h₂enk-ón-* (IE) — Gr. ἀγκών m. 'curve, elbow' < **h₂enk-on-*; Skt. *aṅká-* m. 'hook, clamp', Gr. ὄγκος n. 'hook', Gr. ὄγκος adj. 'curved' < **h₂onk-o-*.

An *n*-stem of considerable antiquity, probably formed to an adjective **h₂onk-ó-*. See also **angra- 1*.

angaza- m. 'worry' — ON *angr* m. 'grief', Far. *angur* m. 'repentance, remorse', poet. 'anxiety, worry' ⇒ **h₂émǵʰ-os-o-* (IE) — Skt. *áṃhas-* n. 'distress, trouble', YAv. *ązah-* n. 'anxiety, narrowness', Lat. *angor* m. 'suffocation, anxiety' < **h₂emǵʰ-es-*.

The Germanic form seems to be a thematization of an older *s*-stem **h₂émǵʰ-os*, gen. **h₂emǵʰ-és-os* related to **angwu-*. Also cf. Elfd. *aungger* adj. 'sorry' < **angaza-*.

angra- 1 m. 'lowland, meadow' — ON *angr* m. 'bay', MDu. *anger* m. 'meadow, enclosed piece of land', OHG *angar* m. 'uncultivated meadow', MHG *anger* m. 'grassland' ⇒ **h₂enk-ró-* (EUR) — Lat. *ancrae* f.pl. 'valley, gorge' < **h₂enk-reh₂-*.

With Lat. *ancrae*, the Germanic form can be reconstructed as **angra-*. In view of Gr. ἄγκος n. 'valley', it is alternatively possible to assume a proto-form **angaza-* < **h₂enk-os-o-*, i.e. a thematicized *s*-stem. See also **angan-*.

angra- 2 m. 'weevil' — OHG *angar* m. 'corn weevil', G *Engerling* 'cockchafer grub' ⇒ **h₂engʷʰ-ro-* (NEUR) — Ru. *úgor'*, SCr. *ùgor* m. 'eel', OPru. *angurgis* m. 'id.', Lith. *ungurỹs* m. 'id.' < **h₂engʷʰ-r̥-io-*.

A North-European word probably related to **unkan-* 'snake' (q.v.).

angula- m. 'hook, tip' — ON *ǫngull* m. 'angle, hook', OE *ongel* m. 'fishing-rod', E *angle*, MLG *angel* m. 'prickle, sting; hinge', OHG *angul* m. 'fishing-rod, prick, hook' ⇒ **h₂enk-ul-ó-* (IE).

See **angan-*, **anhula-* and **anhulō-*.

angwu- adj. 'narrow' — Go. *aggwus* adj. 'id.', ON *øngr* adj. 'id.', OE *enge* adj. 'id.', OFri. *enge* adj. 'id.', WFri. *eang* adj. 'afraid', EFri. *ong* adj. 'id.', MDu. *enghe* adj. 'narrow', Du. *eng* adj. 'scary; narrow', OHG *angi*, *engi* adj. 'narrow', G *eng* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂emǵʰ-u-* (IE) — Skt. *aṃhú-* adj. 'narrow', MP *hnzwg* adj. 'id.', Arm. *anj-uk* adj. 'narrow; difficult', OCS *ǫzъkъ*, Ru. *úzkij*, SCr. *ùzak* adj. 'narrow', OIr. *cumung*, W *cyfyng* adj. 'id.' < **(kom-)h₂emǵʰ-u-*.

An old *u*-stem to the root **h₂emǵʰ-*, cf. Hitt. *ḫamanki* ~ *ḫaminkanzi* 'to tie, betroth' < **h₂m-ón-ǵʰ-ei*, **h₂m-n-ǵʰ-énti*; Gr. ἄγχω 'to tie up, to strangle', Lat. *angō* 'to throttle, to choke, to strangle' < **h₂éngʰ-e-*. Also cf. OHG *angust*, G

Angst f. 'fear' < **angusti-* and the factitive Go. *ga-aggwjan* w.v. 'to oppress, constrain, cramp', ON *øngja, øngva* w.v. 'to make narrow', MDu. *engen* w.b. 'to make narrow' < **angwjan-*.

anhula- m. 'shoot, tip' — ON *ǫ́ll, áll* m. 'shoot' ⇒ **h₂énk-ul-o-* (IE) — Gr. ἀγκύλος adj. 'curved, bent'.
See **angan-*, **angula-* and **anhulō-*.

anhulō- f. 'strap' — ON *ǫ́l, ál* f. 'belt, strip', Far. *ál* f. 'strap, belt; stretch', OE *ōl-þwang* 'halter, snare, strap' ⇒ **h₂enk-ul-eh₂-* (IE) — Gr. ἀγκύλη f. 'belt'.
See **angan-*, **anhula-* and **angula-*.

ankjōn- f. 'ankle' — ON *ekkja* f. 'heel', OHG *ancha, encha* f. 'ankle' ⇒ **h₂eng-ieh₂-* (DRV).
See **ankula-*.

ankōn- w.v. 'to complain' — MLG *anken* w.v. 'to moan, grunt' ⇒ **h₃enh₃-*(?) (IE?) — Hitt. *ḫannai* ~ *ḫannanzi* 'to sue, judge' < **h₃e-h₃nóh₃-ei*, **h₃e-h₃nh₃-énti* (Kloekhorst 2008: 282/5); Gr. ὄνομαι 'to blame, to treat scornfully' < **h₃énh₃-e-*.
If MLG *anken* has a secondary *k*-suffix (cf. OE *bi-stealcian* 'to stalk' < **stalkōn-* vs. **stelan-* 'to stalk; steal'), it may contain the PIE root **h₃enh₃-* 'to blame'. Icel. *anka* 'to irritate, bother', Far. *anka* 'to groan, moan', Nw., Da. *anke* 'to complain; appeal (to a higher court)' were borrowed from Low German (cf. Magnússon 1989: 20-1).

ankula- m. 'ankle' — ON *ǫkla, ǫkkla* n., *ǫkli* m. 'id.', Far. *økil* m. 'id.', Elfd. *okkel* m. 'id.', OFri. *ankel* m./n. 'id.', MDu. *ankel* m. 'id.', Du. *enkel* c. 'id.', OHG *enchil* m. 'id.', G *Enkel* m. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂eng-ul-* (IE) — Skt. *aṅgúri-* f. 'finger, toe', Oss. *æng^{w}ylʒ* / *ængulʒæ* m. 'finger' < **h₂eng-ul-i-*.
The Germanic forms in **-ula-* are particularly close to Skt. *aṅgúri-*, which contains a similar suffix. In German and Dutch, the suffix was apparently replaced by **-ila-*. It seems less likely, at any rate, that OHG *enchil* directly corresponds to Skt. *aṅgúri-* through **ängüli-* (with chain umlaut). See also **ankjōn-*.

ankwan- m. 'butter' — OHG *ancho* m. 'id.', MHG *anke* m. 'id.' ⇒ **h₃ng^{w}-n-* (IE) — Lat. *unguen* n. 'fat, grease', Olr. *imb* n. 'butter', MW *ymenyn* m. 'id.' (with *yn*-suffix) < **h₃ng^{w}-n-*.
A proterodynamic *n*-stem **h₃éng^{w}-n*, gen. **h₃ng^{w}-én-s* created to a verbal root, cf. the Skt. *n*-present *anákti*, 3pl. *añjánti* 'to anoint, smear' < **h₃n̥-né-g^{w}-ti*, **h₃n̥-n-g^{w}-énti*.

ansa- m. 'beam' — Go. *ans* m. 'wooden beam', ON *áss* m. 'thick pole, beam, yard of a sail', Far. *ásur* m. 'lath; axle, shaft; post', Nw. *ås* m. 'axle, beam, hill, ridge (of a hill)', Elfd. *guov-ås* m. 'joist', MHG *ans-boum* m. 'beam' (GM).

Of unclear origin. The alleged link with Skt. *ánas-*, Lat. *onus* n. 'load' < **h₃en-os-* is doubtful because the required intermediate meaning "carrier beam" is unattested. It has been suggested that ON *áss* is identical to **amsa-* 'shoulder' (q.v.) < **h₃em-os-*, but the two words are kept distinct in Gothic. The connection with Lat. *asser* m. 'wooden beam' (Petersson 1921: 19) is phonologically impossible. Also cf. Fi. *ansas* 'beam'.

ansjō- f. 'handle, ring, eyelet' — ON *æs* f. 'thread-hole in a shoe', Far. *æs* f. 'id.', WFri. *oes* c. 'eyelet', MLG *ose* f. 'ring-shaped handle' ⇒ **h₂ens-ieh₂* (IE) — Gr. ἡνία n.pl. 'reins, bridles' < **h₂ens-ih₂-*; Lat. *ānsa* f. 'handle, loop' < **h₂ens-h₂-*; Olr. *éis(s)i* m.pl. 'reins' < **h₂ens-io-*; OPru. *ansis* 'hook', Latv. *ùoss*, *uôss* f. 'ear (of a jug)' < **h₂ens-i-*; Lith. *qsà* f. 'ear (of a jug), button-hole', Latv. *ùosa* f. 'handle, ear, eyelet' < **h₂ens-eh₂-*.

An old *ieh₂*-stem.

ansti- f. 'love, favor' — Go. *ansts* f. 'beneficence, grace', ON *ást* f. 'love, affection', Far. *ást* f. 'id.', OE *ēst* m./f. 'favor, consent, grace', OFri. *evēst* 'envy', OS *anst* f. 'grace', OHG *anst* f. 'thanks, favour, grace' ⇒ **h₃enh₂-sti-* (DRV).

A *sti*-formation to the preterite-present **unnan-* (q.v.).

ansu- m. 'god' — ON *áss*, *óss*, pl. *æsir* m. 'id.', OE *ōs* m. 'id.', OS *ās*, *ōs* m. 'id.', OHG *ans(i)-* prop. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂ems-u-* (IE) — Close to Hitt. *ḫassu-* c. 'king', OAv. *ahu-*, YAv. *aŋhu-* m. 'lord' < **h₂ms-u-*; also cf. Skt. *ásura-*, Av. *ahura-* m. 'god, lord' < **h₂msu-ro-*.

Also cf. Jordanes *anses* (pl.) 'demigods'. An ancient Indo-European word ultimately related to Hitt. *ḫāsi* ~ *ḫassanzi* 'to give birth, to beget', which in view of CLuv. *ḫamsa/i-* c. 'grandchild' must be reconstructed as **h₂ems-* (Kloekhorst 2008: 293).

anþara- adj./num. 'the other (of two), the second' — Go. *anþar* num. 'id.', ON *annarr* pron./num. 'id.', Far. *annar* pron./num. 'id.', OE *ōðer* adj./num. 'id.', E *other*, OFri. *ōther* adj./num. 'id.', OS *ōthar*, *āthar*, *andar* adj. 'other', Du. *ander* adj. 'id.', OHG *andar* adj. 'id.', G *andere* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂en-tero-* (IE) — Skt. *ántara-* adj. 'distant, different, other', YAv. *aṇtara-* adj. 'other, second', Oss. *ændær* adj. 'other' < **h₂en-tero-*; OPru. *antars*, *anters*, Lith. *añtras*, dial. *añtaras*, Latv. *ùotrs* num. 'second'.

A pronoun and adjective as well as the ordinal pertaining to **twa-* 'two' (q.v.).

anþja- n. 'forehead' — ON *enni* n. 'forehead; steep crag', Far. *enni* n. 'forehead, brow; sharp projection on a steep mountain side', Nw. dial. *enne, enna* n. 'id.', OSw. *ænne* n. 'id.', Elfd. *enne* n. 'id.', OHG *andi, endi* n. 'id.', MHG *e(i)nde* n. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_2$énti-o-* (IE) — Lith. *añtis* m. 'bosom' < *$h_2$ent-io-*; Lat. *antiae* f.pl. 'forelocks' < *$h_2$ent-ieh$_2$-*.

Created to the original root noun *$h_2$ént-s*, loc. *$h_2$ent-i* 'forehead, front', cf. Hitt. *ḫanza*, loc. *ḫante* 'id.' (with restoration of *ḫanze* to *ḫante*). Note that Nw. dial. *enna* was incorporated into the class of neuter *n*-stems denoting body parts. See further **andja-* and **umbi*.

anþō- ~ *andō- f. 'antechamber' — ON *ǫnn, ǫnd* f. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_2$enHt-h$_2$-* (IE) — Skt. *átā-* f.pl. 'door-frame, door-posts', YAv. *aϑā-huua* loc.pl. 'house' (< *āϑā-*), Arm. *dr-and* (*d^hur-*) 'porch, threshold', Lat. *antae* f.pl. 'square pilasters' < *H(e)nHt-(e)h$_2$-*; YAv. *qiϑiiā-* f.pl. 'door-post' < *$h_2$enHt-ieh$_2$-*.

An ablauting *h_2*-stem, nom. *$h_2$énHt-h$_2$*, gen. *h_2nHt-h$_2$-ós* (Beekes *apud* De Vaan 2003: 136). The Verner alternation proves that the accentual mobility, which was originally coupled with the IE ablaut alternation, was still intact in PGm. Since the root *$h_2$enHt-* is too long to be primary, it is possible to think that the word arose as a collective form of a neuter *t*-stem created to the preposition *$h_2$enh$_2$* 'on', viz. *$h_2$enh$_2$-t-h$_2$*. Another possibility is to reconstruct a compound of the same preposition with the root *$h_2$et(H)-* (LIV^2: 273), cf. Skt. *átati* 'to go'.

apaldra/ō- m./f. 'apple-tree' — ON *apaldr* m. 'id.', Far. *apaldur* m. 'id.', OE *apuldre* f. 'id.', OHG *apfoltra* f. 'id.', G *apfalter, affalter* f. 'id.' (DRV).

A dendronym created to **apla-* with the tree-suffix **-dra-*.

apan- m. 'monkey, ape' — ON *api* m. 'id.', Far. *apa* f. 'id.', Sw. *apa* c. 'id.', OE *apa* m. 'id.', E *ape*, OS *apo* m. 'id.', Du. *aap* c. 'id.', OHG *affo* m. 'id.', G *Affe* m. 'id.' ⇒ **Hab-on-* (NIE).

The word has irregular comparanda in related and unrelated languages, which suggest a non-Indo-European origin, cf. Skt. *kapí-* 'monkey', Gr. κῆπος 'long-tailed monkey', Hsch. ἀβράνας (= ἀββάνας?) 'Κελτοὶ τοὺς κερκοπιθήκους', Hebr. *qōf*, Akk. *uqūpu, iqūpu, aqūpu*, Copt. *sapi*, OEgypt. *gfj* 'monkey, vel sim.' (cf. Witzel 2001: 44). The lack of an initial velar in Germanic suggests that the word was adopted as *$h_2$eb-* or *$h_3$eb-* at a relatively early stage.

apla- m. 'apple' — Go. Crim. *apel* 'id.', OE *æpl, appel* m. 'id.', E *apple*, OS *appul* m. 'id.', Du. *appel* c. 'id.', OHG *apful, apfel* m. 'id.', G *Apfel* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_2$éb-ol-* (EUR) — OIr. *ubull* n. 'id.', W *afal* m. 'id.' < *$h_2$eb-l-*; Lith. *obuolỹs*, (dial.) *óbuolas* m. 'id.', Latv. *âbuõls*, dial. *âbuls* m. 'apple, clover

(wood-sorrel?)', OPru. *woble, wabelcke* 'apple' < *$h_2eb-(ō)l$-; OCS *ablъko* n., Ru. *jábloko* n., SCr. *jäbuka* f. 'id.' < *$h_2eb-l-k$-.

The West Germanic forms point to a form **apla-* (or **apli-* in view of the plural OHG *epfili*, G *Äpfel*). Nordic has a secondary neuter formation *epli*, continuing **aplja-*, but it also offers proof for an ablauting form **apal-* as supported by **apaldra/ō-* 'apple-tree' and **apala-grēwa-* 'dapple-gray', cf. ON *apal-grár*, OS *apul-grē* adj. 'id.', OHG *apfel-grā*, G *apfel-grau*. Together, the ablauting variants **apla-* and **apal-* appear to support the reconstruction of a Proto-Indo-European *l*-stem nom. *$h_2eb-ōl$*, gen. *$h_2eb-l-os$*, acc. *$h_2eb-ol-m$*, which looks rather archaic. There are some important linguistic indications, however, that the word for 'apple' did not belong to the oldest layer of the Indo-European proto-language (Markey 1988). The word is 1) limited to the West Indo-European languages; 2) it contains the phoneme **b*, which was marginal in PIE; and 3) it bears some resemblance to the South European word for 'apple', viz. Gr. μῆλον, Lat. *mālum* < *meh_2l-om*. This may be an indication that the word entered the Indo-European continuum some time after its disintegration. Within Germanic, also compare Icel. *epill* m. 'pancreas, lymph gland' < **apila-*.

****aran- 1*** m. 'eagle' — Go. *ara* m. 'id.', ON *ari*, *ǫrn* m. 'id.', Da. *ørn* c. 'id.' (>> Far. *ørn* f.), OE *earn* m. 'id.', Du. *arend* c. 'id.', OHG *aro*, *arn* m. 'id.', MHG *are*, *ar* m. 'id.', G *Aar* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_3ér-on$*- (IE) — Identical to Hitt. *ḫāran-* c. 'eagle'; further cf. Gr. ὄρνις m./f. 'bird' < *$h_3(e)r-ni$-; Lith. *erēlis*, Latv. *ẽrglis* m. 'eagle' (with *a* > *e* by Rozwadowsky's change), OPru. *arelie* 'id.' < *$h_3er-el-io$-; OCS *orьlъ*, Ru. *orël*, SCr. *òrao* m. 'id.' < *$h_3er-l-i$-; formally problematic: OIr. *irar*, *ilar*, W *eryr* 'id.' < **eriro-*.

An old *n*-stem *$h_3ér-ōn$*, *$h_3(e)r-n-ós$* that is preserved as such only in Hittite and Germanic. In Nordic, the acc.pl. **arnuns* < *$h_3ér-n-n̥s$* gave rise to a split-off stem **arnu-*, which is fully parallel to the *u*-stem PN **kattu-* vs. PGm. **kattōn-* 'cat' (q.v.). OE *earn*, OHG *arn* and Du. *arend* continue thematicized **arna-*.

****aran- 2*** m. 'phalanx bone(?)' — OSw. *are* m. 'part of the thumb, phalanx(?)' ⇒ *h_2erh_2-on*-(?) (IE?).

The word is a hapax in Old Swedish, which renders its status uncertain. Formally and semantically, however, it is compatible with the root of **arma- 1* 'arm' (q.v.).

****arba-*** m./n. 'working animal, worker(?)' — ON *arfr* m. 'ox' ⇒ *h_3orb^h-o*- (IE) — Arm. *orb* 'orphan', OCS *rabъ*, ORu. *robъ*, SCr. *rȍb* m. 'servant, slave'; Lat *orbus* adj. 'deprived of, childless, orphaned'; Gr. ὀρφανός m. 'orphan', adj. 'orphaned'.

The Germanic continuant of the IE word *h_3orb^h-o-, which - among other things - denoted the status of 'orphan'. In view of the Slavic meaning 'servant', it seems that this status implied forced labor (PGm. *arbaidi-) for the benefit of the caretakers. This may also explain the Old Norse meaning 'cattle'. In Indo-European culture, the *h_3orb^hos may have been a captive in the service of an alien clan. This makes sense, at any rate, in view of the semantically more primitive Hitt. *ḫarp-* 'to separate and reassociate oneself, to change sides'. See also *arbja-, *arma- and *urba-.

arbaidi- f. 'toil, labor' — Go. *arbaiþs* f. 'id.', ON *erfiði* n. 'trouble, toil, labor', OE *earfoð* f. 'hardship, trouble', OS *arbēd, arabid* f. 'id.', ODu. *arvit* 'id.', OHG *arabeit* f. 'id.', G *Arbeit* f. 'id.' (DRV?).

A *ti*-stem probably created to an unattested stative verb *arbēn-, which in turn may have been derived from *arba- (q.v.). The formation *arbaidi- points to a suffix *-oi-ti-, which in turn seems to imply derivation from an *i*-present 3sg. *arbaiþi, 3pl. *arbjinþi < *-ói-ti, *-i-énti. Also cf. the neuter collective ON *erfiði*, OE *earfeðe*, OS *arbēdi* n. 'toil, labor' < *arbaidja-.

arbja- n. 'inheritance' — ON *arfr* m. 'inheritance, patrimony' (< *arba-), OE *ierfe* n. 'inheritance', OFri. *erve* n. 'id.', OS *erƀi* n. 'id.', OHG *arbi, erbi* n. 'id.', G *Erbe* n. 'id.' ⇒ *h_3orb^h-io- (IE?) — OIr. *orbe* n. 'inheritance' < *h_3orb^h-io-.

A Germanic-Celtic isogloss *h_3orb^h-io-, possibly a late juridical innovation in a shared European cultural sphere. The meaning 'inheritance' may have developed from 'to pass over', cf. Hitt. *ḫarp-* 'to associate (someone) with, to combine, to join together', for which see *arba- 'working animal'. The alternative etymological link with OIr. *erbaid* 'to entrust, commit' < *h_1erb^h-eh_2-, which could imply that Germanic *arba- and Celtic *orbo- continue *h_1orb^h-o- (cf. Matasović 2009: 299), is less attractive. See further *urba-.

arbjan- m. 'heir' — Go. *arbja* m. 'id.', OE *ierfe* m. 'id.', OFri. *erva* m. 'id.', MDu. *erve* m. 'id.', OHG *arbeo, erbeo* m. 'id.', G *Erbe* m. 'id.' ⇒ *h_3orb^h-ion- (DRV) — OIr. *orb* m. 'heir, inheritor' < *h_3orb^h-o-.

A personifying *n*-stem derived from *arbja- (q.v.).

arduga- adj. 'steep' — ON *ǫrðugr* adj. 'id.', Far. *ørdugur* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *h_3erd^hu-ko- (IE) — Skt. *ūrdhvá-* adj. 'tending upwards, upright, high', YAv. *ərəδβa-, ərəduua-* adj. 'risen, upright, erect', Gr. ὀρθός adj. 'set upright', Lat. *arduus* adj. 'high, steep', OIr. *ard* adj. 'high' < *h_3rd^huo-.

Probably an old compound of the root *h_3er- 'to rise' and the root *d^hh_1- 'to put'. The appurtenance of the Germanic word is beyond doubt, but, unlike the other languages, it offers proof of a full-grade root. This may point to an ablauting *u*-stem *$h_3érd^h$-u-s, gen. *h_3rd^h-u-ós. For the *k*-suffix, cf. other

archaic *u*-stems such as PGm. **þunnu-* 'thin' (q.v.) vs. Skt. *tanú(ka)-* < **tnh₂-u(-ko)-*.

arfan-(?) m. 'chickweed' — ON *arfi* m. 'id.', Far. *arvi* m. 'id.', Nw. *arve* m. 'id.', OE *earfan* m.pl. 'id.', LG *arf* 'id.', Du. *erf* f. 'id.' (GM).

The word is often assumed to be a loanword from Lat. *ervum* n. 'cultivated vetch', but as the Germanic forms consistently mean 'chickweed', the semantic match remains imperfect. For another word for 'chickweed', cf. **meurja-*.

arga- adj. 'unmanly' — ON *argr* adj. 'unmanly, cowardly; lewd', Far. *argur* adj. 'wicked; greedy; infuriated', OE *earg* adj. 'cowardly, timid', OFri. *erch* adj. 'evil, wrong', MLG *arch* adj. 'angry, evil', MDu. *arch, erch* adj. 'bad, evil, worthless', Du. *erg* adj. 'bad', OHG *arg, arag* adj. 'greedy, cowardly' ⇒ **h₃orǵʰ-o-* (IE) — Lith. *eržùs*, dial. *aržùs* adj. 'ardent, voluptuous, stubborn' (with *a* > *e* by Rozwadowski's change) < **h₃orǵʰ-u-*; Ru. *ërzat'* 'to fidget'; Hitt. *arkari, ārki* 'to mount, cover, copulate' < **h₃(o)rǵʰ-* (with loss of initial **h₃* in front of **r* and **o*).

An Indo-European adjective derived from the root **h₃erǵʰ-* 'to copulate'.

arhwō- f. 'arrow' — ON *ǫr* f. 'id.', Far. *ørv* f. 'id.', OE *earh* f. 'id.', E *arrow* ⇒ **h₂erk-uh₂-* (EUR) — Lat. *arcus* m. 'bow, arch' < **h₂erk-u-*.

The NWGm. forms can theoretically be derived from an **uh₂-*stem **h₂érk-uh₂*, gen. **h₂erk-uéh₂-s* > **arhū*, gen. **arwōz* > ON *ǫr*, gen. *ǫrvar*. Go. *arhv-azna* f. 'arrow' has a different suffix, for which cf. **alasnō-* 'awl'.

arjan- s.v. 'to plow' — Go. *arjan** s.v.(?) 'id.', ON *erja* w.v. 'id.', OE *erian* w.v. 'id.', OFri. *era, ara* w.v. 'id.', OHG *erien, erren* pret. *iar* 'id.', MHG *ern* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂erh₃-ie-* (IE) — Gr. ἀρόω 'to plow, plant', Lat. *arō, -āre* 'id.', OIr. *airid* 'id.', Lith. *árti* (*ariù*), Latv. *art* 'id.', OCS *orati*, Ru. dial. *orát'* (*orjú*), SCr. *òrati* 'id.' < **h₂erh₃-ie-*.

Most of the verbal forms point to an old PIE *ie*-present **h₂erh₃-ie-*, which in spite of its exclusively European distribution must be an old formation. A different verb is Hitt. *ḫarrai* ~ *ḫarranzi* 'to grind, splinter up, crush' < **h₂órh₃-ei, *h₂rh₃-énti*, which was connected by Kloekhorst 2008: 300, who assumed a primary meaning 'to crush'. Since this meaning developed into 'to plow' only in the non-Anatolian languages, it provides evidence for the claim that the Anatolians split off from Proto-Indo-European before they became acquainted with the agricultural technique of plowing. The primary meaning can possibly also be retrieved, however, from Icel. *arða* f. 'bump, particle' if from **h₂erh₃-teh₂-*. See also **arþra-*.

arma- 1 m. 'arm' — Go. *arms* m. 'id.', ON *armr* m. 'id.', OE *earm* m. 'id.', E *arm*, OFri. *erm* m. 'id.', OS *arm* m. 'id.', Du. *arm* c. 'id.', OHG *aram* m. 'id.', G *Arm* m. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂erH-m-* (IE) — Skt. *īrmá-* m. 'foreleg, shoulder (joint)', YAv. *arəmō-* 'arm', Oss. *arm* / *armæ* 'arm, thill', Arm. *armukn* 'elbow' (= *arm-mukn* "arm-muscle"), Latv. *iẽrmi* pl. 'legs', OPru. *irmo* 'arm, shoulder', Lat. *rāmus* m. 'branch' < **h₂rH-mo-*; Lat. *armus* m. 'arm, shoulder' < **h₂erH-mo-*; OCS *ramo*; Ru. arch. *ramená* pl. 'shoulders', SCr. *rȁme* n. 'shoulder' < **h₂erH-mn-* (the *mn*-stems are productive in Slav. names for body parts, see **eudra-* ~ **ūdra-*).

An old ablauting *m*-stem: nom. **h₂érh₂-m*, gen. **h₂rh₂-m-és*. The isolated inflection of the Gothic word as an *i*-stem rather than an *a*-stem may be a reflection of this archaic paradigm. Also cf. ON *ermr*, Far. *erma*, *ermi* f. 'sleeve' < **armī-*, **armjō-* < **h₂erm-i(e)h₂-*. Related to **aran- 2*.

****arma- 2*** adj. 'miserable, pitiful, poor' — Go. *arms* adj. 'id.', ON *armr* adj. 'id.', Far. *armur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *arm* adj. 'id.', OFri. *erm* adj. 'id.', OS *arm* adj. 'id.', Du. *arm* adj. 'id.', OHG *aram* adj. 'id.', G *arm* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **h₃orbʰ-mo-* (IE/DRV).

By comparing Hitt. *erman-* n. 'sickness, illness', Skt. *arman-* n. 'eye-ailment' < **h₁ér-mn-* (cf. **arwiz-* 'scar') and Skt. *an-armán-* adj. 'invulnerable' < **n-h₁ér-men-* and, the Gm. word can be reconstructed as **h₁or-mo-*. The traditional derivation of the word as **h₃orbʰ-mo-* (with loss of **b* before *m*) is more attractive, however, as ON *aumr*, Far. *eymur* adj. 'miserable, poor; sensitive' points to a PN variant **aumaʀ* that was dissimilated from **arƀmʀ*. For a similar dissimilation, cf. ON *haustr* 'autumn' < **harbista-*. See also **arba-*.

****árnja-*** adj. 'serious' — Go. *arniba* adv. 'certain, securely', ON *ern* adj. 'brisk, vigorous' (IE) — Av. *arənu-* 'battle' < **Her-nu-*.

Also cf. OE *eornest* n. 'seriousness', E *earnest*, OHG *ernust*, *ernist*, G *Ernst* m. 'strife, seriousness' < **ernusta-*.

****arsa-*** m. 'arse' — ON *ars*, *rass* m. 'id.', OE *ears* m. 'id.', OFri. *ers* m. 'id.', OS *ars* m. 'id.', Du. *aars* c. 'id.', OHG *ars* m. 'id.', G *Arsch* m. 'id.' (with *-rs-* > *-rš-* ad in *Barsch* < **barsa-*) ⇒ **h₁ors-o-* (IE) — Hitt. *ārra-* c. 'arse, anus', Gr. ὄρρος m. 'rump, arse', Arm. *oṙ* 'rump, back' < **h₁ors-o-*; Olr. *err* f. 'point, spike; end, tail' < **h₁ers-eh₂-*.

The appurtenance of Olr. *err* is uncertain, because *o*-stems in Proto-Indo-European did not have paradigmatic root ablaut. The reconstruction of a more primary *s*-stem **h₁érs-os*, **h₁rs-és-s* does not solve much either, because *s*-stems did not have *o*-grade roots in their paradigm. The Celtic *e*-grade is possibly paralleled, however, by MDu. *ers*, *eers* (Franck 1949: 6), which can hardly have developed from **arsa-*.

artō(n)- f. 'wagtail?' — ON *arta* f. 'a species of teal, garganey' (also cf. *ertla* f. 'wagtail' < **artilōn-*), Icel. *urt, ōrt* f. 'teal', Sw. *årta* 'garganey', Elfd. *arta* f. '(Baikal) teal', OE *earte* f. 'pied wagtail' (NIE?) — ?Gr. ἐρῳδιός (with secondary *iota subscriptum*), ἐρωδιός, ῥωδιώς, ἀρωδιός m. 'heron' < **h₁/₂roHd-io-*, ?Lat. *ardea* f. 'id.' < **h₂er(H)d-eh₂-*, ?SCr. *róda* f. 'stork' < **Hrodʰ-eh₂-*(?).

Uncertain etymology. The sound correspondences in the alleged cognates are highly irregular, and hamper the reconstruction of a PIE word, e.g. **Hérh₃d-h₂*, gen. **Hrh₃d-h₂-ós*. It is possible that the word was borrowed from a Pre-IE language in Europe. Perhaps the initial *a-* of PGm. **artō(n)-* can be explained as the substrate prefix also found in e.g. **amslōn-* 'blackbird' (q.v.).

arþōn- f. 'crupper?' — Nw. *arde, ore* m./f. 'steel ring to fasten the saddle with', OSw. *arþa* f. 'crupper', Elfd. *arda* f. 'ring on a harness' ⇒ **h₂er-teh₂-*(?) (IE).

The word can be related to PIE **h₂er-* 'to fit together'. Or perhaps rather to **arþra-* 'plow'?

arþra- m. 'scratch plow' — Go. *ardrs* m. 'plow', ON *arðr* m. 'id.', OSw. *arþer* n. 'id.', Sw. *årder* n. 'id.', MHG *arl* f. 'plowshare' ⇒ **h₂erh₃-tro-* (IE) — Identical to Arm. *(h)arawr* 'plow', Gr. ἄροτρον n. 'id.', Lat. *arātrum* n. 'id.', OIr. *arathar* n./m. 'id.', W *aradr* 'id.', Lith. *árklas* m., Latv. *arkls* m. 'id.', OCS *ralo*, Ru. *rálo*, Pol. *radło*, SCr. *ràlo* n. 'id.' (with dissimilation of **-tro-* to **-tlo-*).

Formed to the root of **arjan-* with the instrumental suffix **-tro-*, variant of **-dʰro-*. It is to be noted that ON *arðr* is ambiguous regarding the dental, **þ* and **d* having merged into *ð* in this position. Cf. with a different suffix MHG *arl* m. 'small plow'.

arundja- n. 'errand' — ON *ørendi, erendi, eyrendi* n. 'errand, message, business', Far. *ørindi* n. 'id.', OE *ærende* n. 'id.', E *errand*, WFri. *eernje* w.v. 'to talk' (< OFri. **erendia*, cf. Brandsma 1936: 68), OS *ārundi* n. 'errand', WPhal. *êren, æren* f. 'id.', OHG *ārunti* n. 'id.' (DRV).

The reconstruction of the word is problematic, because the different languages point to different proto-forms that cannot be reconciled with each other nor with the supposedly obvious cognate **airu-* 'messenger' (q.v.). OE *ærende*, OS *ārundi*, OHG *ārunti* (also cf. WPhal. *æren* with *ā* from fronted WGm. **ā*) point to **ērundja-* with PGm. **ē*, while ON *erindi* and *ørindi* imply a form **arundja-* with **a*. Since the latter reconstruction is also substantiated by OCS *orǫdije* n. 'business, affair', a Germanic loanword, it has the greatest probability of dating back to PGm. The derivation of the variant ON *eyrendi*, which theoretically could be derived from **airundja-*, is uncertain, although it is formally reconcilable with the aforementioned **airu-*.

arut- m. 'ore' — ODu. *arut* m. 'id.', OHG *aruz*, *ariz* m., *aruzi*, *arizi* n. 'id.', MHG *eriz(e)*, *erz(e)* n. 'id.', G *Erz* n. 'id.' ⇒ **arud-* (NIE) — Lat. *raudus*, *rūdus* m. 'lump of ore' < **raud-* (**-d^h-* would have given **-b-* after **u*, cf. Lat. *ūber* 'udder').

A root noun **arut-*, possibly also to be identified in ON *ørtog*, *ertog* f. 'monetary unit' (< **arut-taugō-*). It gave rise to a neuter **arutja-*, cf. OHG *aruzzi*, *arizzi*, MHG *erize*, *erze*, G *Erz*. The word is likely to be of non-IE origin in view of the alternation of Pre-Gm. **arud-* with Lat. *raud-* and the similarities with Sum. *urud(u)* 'copper'. For the notoriously non-IE *a*-prefix, which in Germanic reduced the root vocalism from **au* to **u*, cf. **amslōn-* 'blackbird' and **sturja/ōn-* 'sturgeon'). An additional indication of a non-IE origin is the root noun inflection of the word, for which cf. **alis/z-* 'alder', **arwīt-* 'pea', **gait-* 'goat', **wisund-* 'bison', etc.

****arwa-*** adj. 'ready, fast' — Go. *arwjo* adv. 'ready', ON *ǫrr* adj. 'quick, generous', OE *earu* adj. 'quick, ready, prepared', OS *aru* adj. 'ready' ⇒ **$h_{2/3}$er-uo-* (IE) — Close to ToA *ārwar*, ToB *ārwer* adj. 'ready' < PTo. **arwer* < **$h_{2/3}$er-ur-* and Av. *auruuaṇt-* adj. 'quick'; YAv. *auruua-* adj. 'quick, courageous' < **$h_{2/3}$er-uent-*.

Given the vacillation of the meaning between 'ready' and 'quick' both within and outside Germanic, the word can be derived from the root **$h_2$er-* 'to order, arrange, fit' or from **$h_3$er-* 'to set in motion'. Although **arwa-* straightforwardly seems to continue **$h_{2/3}$er-uo-*, it may have started off as a (heteroclitic?) verbal adjective, e.g. **$h_{2/3}$ér-ur*, gen. **$h_{2/3}$r-unt-ós*. See also **garwjan-*.

****arwīt-*** f. 'pea' — ON *ertr* pl. 'id.', Far. *ertur*, pl. *ertrar* f. 'id.', Elfd. *ert* f. 'id.', OS *erit* f. 'id.', Du. *erwt* c. 'id.', OHG *arawīz*, *araweiz* f. 'id.', G *Erbse* f. 'id.' ⇒ **arw-īd-* (NIE) — Gr. ὄροβος m. 'bitter vetch' < **orobo-*; Lat. *ervum* n. 'id.' < **eruo-*; Gr. ἐρέβινθος m. 'chick-pea' < **ereb-īd-*.

In view of the irregular correspondences with Gr. ὄροβος 'bitter vetch' and ἐρέβινθος 'chick-pea' (note the Pre-Greek suffix **-īd-*), the word must have been adopted from an agricultural language that was spoken in Europe before the arrival of the Indo-Europeans. A non-Indo-European origin is supported by the fact that the word is inflected as a root noun, for which cf. **arut-* 'ore'. Note that Pre-IE **b* surfaces as **w* also in **baunō-* 'bean' (q.v.).

****arwiz-*** n. 'scar' — ON *ørr* n. 'id.', Far. *arr*, poet. *err* n. 'id.', Elfd. *er* n. 'id.', MLG *(n)are* 'scar', MDu. *nerwe* f. 'id.', Du. *nerf* c. 'grain', OHG *narwo* m., *narwa* f. 'scar', G *Narbe*, dial. *Arbe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **$h_{2/3}$eru-es-* (IE) — Skt. *áruṣ-* n. 'wound' < **$h_{2/3}$eru-s-*.

An old *s*-stem **arwaz*, gen. **arwizaz* continuing PIE **h₂/₃éru-s*, gen. **h₂/₃ru-és-s*. The Nordic forms go back to a secondary stem **arwiz-* (cf. Fi. *arpi*, gen. *arven*). In West Germanic, the word was remodeled into an *n*-stem **arwa/ōn-* which acquired an unetymological *n* due to metanalysis.

asjōn- f. 'soapstone' — ON *esja* f. 'soapstone', Nw. *esje* f. 'soapstone; embers', OSw. *æsia*, *æssia* f. 'smith's fire', Sw. dial. *ässje* 'embers', Da. *esse* 'smith's fire', OHG *essa* f. 'forge, melting-oven' (GM).

Soapstone has high latent heat retention, and the Vikings therefore used to put large blocks of it around the fire so that they could radiate back the heat after the fire had gone out (Rapp 2009: 125). Soapstone was also used for pottery and casting molds because of its softness and heat resistence. Both of these uses may explain the semantic overlap of 'soapstone', 'fireplace' and 'embers'. Note that the correlation with **askōn-* 'ashes' (q.v.) is uncertain.

aska- m. 'ash' — ON *askr* m. 'id.', Far. *ask* f. 'id.', Elfd. *ask* m. 'id.', OE *æsc* m. 'id.', E *ash*, ODu. *aska* f. 'id.', MDu. *asch*, *esche* f. 'id.', Du. *es* c. 'id.', OHG *asc* m. 'id.', G *Esche* f. 'id.' ⇒ **Hh₃-es-ko-* (EUR) — Close to Alb. *ah*, Geg. *hah* m. 'beech' and Arm. *hacʻi* 'ash-tree' < **(H)h₃es-k-*; further cf. Lith. *úosis*, Latv. *uôsis*, OPru. *woasis* m. 'ash-tree' < **Heh₃-s-io-*; Ru. *jásen'*, SCr. *jȁsēn* m. 'id.' < **Heh₃-s-en-*; Lat. *ornus* 'kind of ash-tree', MIr. *onn* 'pine tree, furze-bush', MW *onn* coll. 'ash-tree' < **Hh₃-es-no-*; OIr. *uinnius* f. 'id.' < **Hh₃-es-n-ieh₂-*.

A European tree name. The cross-dialectal stem alternation of **Heh₃-s-* and **Hh₃-s-* could point to an old *s*-stem **Héh₃-s*, **Hh₃-és-s*.

askōn- f. 'ashes' — Go. *azgo* f. 'ashes', ON *aska* f. 'ashes', OE *æsce*, *asce*, *axe* f. 'ashes', WFri. *ask(e)* 'ashes', NFri. *eesk* 'ashes', Du. *as* c. 'ashes', OHG *aska* f. 'ashes, dust' ⇒ **h₂ed-dʰgʷʰ-eh₂-*(?) (IE?) — To Arm. *ačiwn* 'ashes' < **h₂h₁s-g-i-*?

There is no clear solution to the anomalous discrepancy of EGm. **azgōn-* and NWGm. **askōn-*. The proposal to derive both these variants from **astagōn-* > **astgōn-* (Osthoff 1888: 396-9) must be rejected, such syncope being irregular in Gothic. It is also not likely that the form with **ǵʰ* is mirrored by Arm. *azazim* 'to dry out' (*pace* Meillet 1908: 357). Possibly, the Germanic root continues an assibilated form **adᶻdʰgʰ-*, which theoretically could yield both **azgʷʰ-* and **azgʷ-*. The origin of this element would still remain obscure, but perhaps we are dealing with some sort of compound, e.g. of the roots **h₂ed-* 'to desiccate' (cf. Hitt. *ḫāti* ~ *ḫatanzi** 'to dry up' < **h₂ód-ei*, **h₂d-énti* (Kloekhorst 2008: 328-30) and Gr. ἄζω 'to dry' < **h₂d-ie-*) and **dʰegʷʰ-* 'to burn' (cf. ToAB *tsäk-* 'id.', Skt. *dáhati* 'id.', Lith. *dègti* 'to burn, light').

aspō- ~ *apsō- f. 'aspen' — ON *ǫsp* f. 'id.', OE *æsp, æps* f. 'id.', E *aspen*, OHG *aspa* f. 'id.', G *Espe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **aps-* (NIE) — Latv. *apse*, OPru. *abse* f. 'id.' < **ap-s-ieh₂-*; Lith. *ẽpušė*, dial. *ãpušė* f. 'id.' < **ap-us-ieh₂-*; Cz. dial. *osa*; Pol. *osa* f. 'id.' < **ap-s-eh₂-*; Ru. *osína* f. 'id.' < **ap-s-iHn-eh₂-*; SCr. *jèsika, jàsika* f. 'id.' < **ap-s-iH-keh₂-*(?).

A word with a "Boreal" distribution with representatives in both European and Turkic languages, cf. Teleut *apsak*, Siberian Tat. *ausak, apsak*, Chuv. *ăwăs*, Kazan Tat. *usak*. Also cf. the metathesized Proto-Finnic **šapa* 'id.' as evinced by Fi. *haapa* and SaaN *suppi*. The distribution of the word thus matches the geographical distribution of the tree itself.

at prep. 'at, to' — Go. *at* prep. 'at', ON *at* prep. 'towards, against; at', Far. *at* prep. 'by, at, to, in', Elfd. *að* prep. 'to', OE *æt* prep. 'at', E *at*, OFri. *et, it* prep 'in, at, from', OS *at* prep. 'at, with', OHG *az, ez, iz* prep. 'to, at, in' ⇒ **h₂ed* (IE) — NPhr. αδ prep. 'to, at', Lat. *ad* prep. 'to, up to, into'; Osc. *ad-*, Umb. *ař-, -ař*, Olr. *ad-*, W *ad-*.

atiska- n.(?) 'grainfield' — Go. *atisk* n.(?) 'id.', MDu. *esc* m. 'collective field', OHG *ezzisc* n. 'seed', G *Esch* n./m. 'seeding field' (IE) — ?Hitt. *ḫātar* 'unknown foodstuff' (Watkins 1975); YAv. *āδū.frāδana-* 'abounding in grain'; Arm. *hat* 'grain, seed; piece, fragment, section' Lat. *ador, -ŏris* n. 'coarse grain, spelt, barley' < **h₂ed-(o)r-*.

A derivative from an old PIE word for 'spelt' or another type of cereal, perhaps an adjective in elliptic use, e.g. **atiska felþa* 'grainfield'.

atjan- 1 w.v. 'to incite' — ON *etja* w.v. 'to incite, make fight; to contend against', OFri. *ūt-etta* w.v. 'to exact payment', OHG *an-azzen* w.v. 'to incite, provoke' ⇒ **h₃od-éie-* (IE) — Arm. *ateam* 'to hate' < **h₃od-*; Lat. *ōdi* 'id.' < **h₃e-h₃(o)d-*.

A causative formation to the PIE root **h₃ed-* 'to be sharp', which is also found in e.g. **tanþ- ~ *tunþ-* 'tooth'. Also cf. ON *atall* adj. 'fierce', OE *atol* adj. 'terrible' < **atala-*.

atjan- 2 w.v. 'to make eat' — ON *etja* w.v. 'id.', OFri. *etta* w.v. 'to graze, pasture', MDu. *etten* w.v. 'id.', OHG *azzen, ezzen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁od-éie-* (IE).

The causative to **etan-* (q.v.).

attan- m. 'father' — Go. *atta* m. 'id.', ON *atti* m. 'id.', OHG *atto* m. 'forefather', MHG *atte* m. '(fore)father', G Wals. *atto* m. 'father' ⇒ **atta* (IE) — Hitt. *atta-* c. 'father', Gr. ἄττα voc. 'id.', Lat. *atta* m. 'id.', Alb. *at* m. 'id.' < **atta*; OCS *otьcь*, Ru. *otéc*, SCr. *òtac* m. 'id.' < **at-uko-*; Olr. *aite* m. 'foster-father' < **attio-*.

A cross-linguistically uniform nursery word. Also cf. **aban-*.

aþala- n. 'nature' — ON *aðal* n. 'nature, disposition', Nw. *al* m. 'pith (of trees), essence', OS *athal* n. 'noble clan', OHG *adal* m./n. 'nobility, race' ⇒ *$h_{2/3}$et-olo- (GM).

One often compares ToA *ātāl* m. 'man', but the semantic shift to 'nature, inheritance, nobility' is not convincing. Perhaps the meaning of Nw. *al* 'pith' is primary. See also *aþulja- and *ōþala-.

aþlan-* ~ *adlan- m. 'liquid manure' — Nw. *åle*, *ale* m. 'id.', OE *adel(a)* m. 'mud, dirt', NFri. *ethel* 'liquid manure', MDu. *ad(d)el* 'id.' (var. *iddel* << Fri. **edel*), G Bav. *adel* 'id.' (GM).

Probably related to Icel. *eðja* f. 'mud' < *aþjōn- or *adjōn- (Magnússon 1989: 2), cf. Icel. *aða*, Far. *øða* f. 'horse mussel'. In spite of the absence of cognates outside Germanic, the word cannot be too recent in view of the Verner variation of NFri. *ethel* and Bav. *adel* < *aþla(n)- vs. OE *adel(a)* < *adla(n)-. Nw. dial. *åle*, *ale* < ON **aðli* also points to *aþlan-, as *adlan-* would have given **alli*. Metathesis occurred in Du. *aal(t)*, as in *naald* 'needle' < *nēþlō-. Note the divergent meaning of OHG *adel* m. 'ulcer' (Riecke 2004: 279).

aþna- n. 'year' — Go. *aþn(s)** m./n. 'period of the year, season' ⇒ *$h_2$ét-no- (EUR) — Lat. *annus* m. 'year', Osk. *aceneis* gen. 'id.', Umb. *acnu* acc. 'id.' < PSab. *akno- < *$h_2$et-no-.

In Lat. *annus*, the nasal geminate can be the product of assimilation of a *t* by a following *n*, cf. Lat. *penna* f. 'wing, feather' < *pet(h_2)-neh$_2$-. This allows for the connection with Go. *aþn(s)**. The accent must have been on the first syllable, because end stress would have triggered Kluge's law, giving PGm. **atta-*.

aþulja- adj. 'noble' — OE *æðele* adj. 'id.', OFri. *ethele* adj. 'id.', OS *athali*, *etheli* adj. 'id.', Du. *edel* adj. 'id.', OHG *edili* adj. 'id.', G *edel* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_{2/3}$et-$_{\underline{l}}$-io- (DRV).

An adjective derived from *aþala-. Also cf. ON *eðli*, *øðli* n. 'nature' < *aþulja-.

auda- m. 'riches' — Go. *auda-hafts* adj. 'fortunate', ON *auðr* m. 'wealth', Icel. *auðr* m. 'wealth', OS *ōd* n. 'id.', MHG *klein-ōt* n. 'jewel, gem', G *Kleinod* n. 'id.' ⇒ *Heu-d^{h}h$_1$-o- (IE).

Related to *audana- (q.v.). Also cf. Go. *audags* 'blessed', ON *auðigr* 'rich', OE *ēadig* 'happy, rich', OS *ōdag* 'id.', OHG *ōtag* adj. 'id.' < *audaga- and OE *ēad* adj. 'rich' < *auda-.

audana- adj. 'granted' — ON *auðinn* adj. 'granted, ordained', OE *ēaden* adj. 'id.', OS *ōdan* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **Héu-d^{h}h$_1$-e-* (IE) — Lat. *ūber* adj. 'rich, abundant, plentiful' < **Houd^{h}-ri-*.

The original participle of a lost verb **audan-* 'to grant'. This verb can be compared to Lat. *ūber* (Sihler 1995: 353) and to Lith. *áusti* (*áudžiu*) 'to weave' < **He-Hu-d^{h}-*, both of which are *d^{h}h$_1$*-extensions of the root **Heu-* 'to weave', cf. the *i*-present Skt. *váyati* 'id.' < **Hu-éi-e-* and the pertaining 3pl. perfect *ūvur* < **Hu-h$_2$u-ɾ*. The semantic shift from 'to weave' to 'blessed' can be understood from the fact that, in Germanic and Indo-European mythology, fates were woven by certain goddesses (cf. Gr. Μοῖραι 'the Fates'). See also **auda-*.

augjan- w.v. 'to bring to attention' — Go. *at-augjan* w.v. 'to show', ON *eygja* w.v. 'to furnish with a loop; to look', Nw. *øygje* w.v. 'to see', OS *ōgan* w.v. 'to show', OHG *ōcken* w.v. 'to show' (DRV).

A *jan*-verb created to **augōn-* 'eye'. Nw. *øygne* w.v. 'to watch' and *ougenen* w.v. 'to show' < **augenjan-* appear to be created to the weak stem.

augōn- n. 'eye' — Go. *augo* n. 'id.', ON *auga* n. 'id.', Far. *eyga* n. 'id.', Elfd. *oga* n. 'id.', OE *ēage* n. 'id.', E *eye*, OFri. *āge* n. 'id.', OS *ōga* n. 'id.', Du. *oog* n. 'id.', OHG *ouga* n. 'id.', G *Auge* n. 'id.' ⇒ **h$_3$ok^{w}-n-* (IE) — Skt. *ákṣi-* n. 'eye', YAv. *aši* n.du. 'eye' < **h$_3$ok^{w}-s-*; ToA *ak*, ToB *ek** m. 'id.' < **h$_3$ok^{w}-*; Gr. ὄσσε n.du. 'both eyes' < **h$_3$ok^{w}-ih$_1$*; Arm. *akn* 'eye; source' < **h$_3$ok^{w}-, ač^{ʿ}-k^{ʿ}* pl. 'eyes' < **h$_3$ok^{w}-ih$_1$*; Alb. *sy* m. 'id.' < **h$_3$ok^{w}-ih$_1$*; Lat. *oculus* m. 'eye' < **h$_3$ok^{w}-elo-*; Lith. *akìs* f. 'id.', Latv. *acs* f. 'id.', OPru. *ackis* 'id.' < **h$_3$ok^{w}-*; OCS *oko* n. 'id.', Ru. *óko*, *óči* pl. 'id.', SCr. *ȍko* n., *ȍči* f.pl. 'id.' < **h$_3$ok^{w}-os*, du. **h$_3$ok^{w}-ih$_1$*.

Indo-European had a root noun **h$_3$ók^{w}-s*, gen. *h$_3$(o)k^{w}-és* (cf. Lith. dial. *ákės*). The acc. **h$_3$ok^{w}-m* served as the source for the *i*-stem in Baltic (*-im* < **-ɱ*) and the *n*-stem in Armenian. The word had no plural **h$_3$ok^{w}-es*, only a dual **h$_3$ok^{w}-ih$_1$*, a form that can be retrieved from many Indo-European dialects, e.g. Gr. ὄσσε. In Germanic, the word was incorporated into the class of *n*-stems denoting body parts. As a result, the diphthong **au* can be explained as analogical to **auzōn-* 'ear' (q.v.). It has also been claimed, however, that this diphthong arose as a contamination of two different root forms, viz. **aw-* and **ag-* (cf. Schaffner 2001: 581), that might have arisen within the same paradigm as a result of Verner's law, e.g. loc. **aweni* < **h$_3$ok^{w}-én-i* vs. du. **agī*(?) < **h$_3$ok^{w}-ih$_1$* (for the loss of the labialization, cf. **sagja- 1* 'man, warrior' < **sok^{w}-ió-*). This is more doubtful, however. See further **augjan-*.

aujō- f. 'wetland, island' — ON *ey* f. 'island', Far. *oyggj* f. 'id.', Elfd. *ä* f. 'id.', OE *īeg* f. 'id.', MDu. *ooi*, *ouwe* f. 'island in a river, wetland', OHG *ouwa* f. 'island, meadow', G *Aue* f. 'meadow' ⇒ **h$_2$ek^{w}-iéh$_2$-* (EUR).

A *jō*-stem derived from ***ahwō-*** (q.v.).

aukan- s.v. 'to grow' — Go. *aukan* s.v. 'to increase, multiply', ON *auka* s.v. 'id.', Far. *eyka* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *oka* w.v. 'id.', OE *ēacian* w.v. 'id.', OFri. *āka* s.v. 'id.', OS *ōkian* s./w.v. 'to propagate', OHG *ouhhōn* w.v. 'to add' ⇒ ***h₂éug-e-*** (IE) — Lith. *áugti* (*áugu*) 'to grow' < ***h₂éug-e-***; Lat. *augēre* 'to increase, augment' < ***h₂eug-eie-*** (a secondary causative formation).

An Indo-European verb. Cf. with *Schwebeablaut* PGm. ***wahs(j)an-*** < ***h₂uóǵ-s-***. Note that the addition of the *s*-suffix seems to have pushed the ablaut slot one position to the right.

auke conj., adv. 'and; again, but' — Go. *auk* conj. 'furthermore, but, since', ON *auk*, *ok* adv. 'besides', OE *ēac* prep. 'with, besides', ME *ēk* conj. 'also', OFri. *āk*, *ēk* adv., conj. 'too, even; but, however', OS *ōk* adv. 'also, but', Du. *ook* adv., conj. 'too; also', OHG *ouh* adv., conj. 'also, even', G *auch* adv., conj. 'id.' ⇒ ***h₂eu-ǵe*** (IE) — Gr. αὖ, αὖγε 'again', Lat. *aut* 'or', *autem* 'but'.

A conjunction continuing PIE ***h₂eu*** plus the emphatic particle ***ǵe***, which in Gm. also occurs in e.g. the accusative ***mike*** of ***eka*** 'I' (q.v.).

aula- ~ ***eula(n)-*** m. 'stalk (of angelica)' — ON *jóli* m. 'id.', Icel. *hvann-jóli*, *njóli* m. 'id.', Far. *jólur*, *-jóli* m. 'id.', Nw. *aul*, *jol* m. 'id.' ⇒ ***h₂eul-o-*** (IE) — Hitt. *auli-* c. 'tube-shaped organ in the neck, throat(?), windpipe(?)' < ***h₂oul-i-***; Gr. αὐλός m. 'reed, flute', Lith. *aūlas* m. 'leg of a boot, pipe in a mill' < ***h₂eul-o-***; OPru. *aulis* 'shinbone', Lith. *aulỹs*, Ru. *úlej* 'beehive' < ***h₂eul-io-***; Latv. *aũle* f. 'leg of a boot' < ***h₂eul-ieh₂-***.

The appurtenance of PGm. ***aula-*** to the forms in the other IE languages is unproblematic, but the *e*-grade ON *jóli*, Far. *jólur* < ***eula(n)-*** cannot regularly be derived from ***h₂eul-on-***: as the root started with ***h₂***, it must either continue ***h₂ēul-*** with a lengthened grade or represent a secondary *e*-grade that arose within Germanic itself, e.g. as a late ***vr̥ddhi***-formation (Kimball: 1994: 14) or due to secondary ablaut (Kroonen 2011a: 197-8). A zero grade may be present in Icel. *heimula*, *heimylja*, Far. *hømilia*, Nw. *høymole*, dial. *heimole* 'sorrel', Swi. *heimele* 'Good King Henry' < ***haima-ul(j)ōn-*** (cf. Kolb 1957: 76; Magnússon 1989: 316).

aura- m. 'mud, sand, sediment' — ON *aurr* m. 'wet clay, mud', Far. *eyrur* m. 'coarse sand, gravel', OE *ēar* 'earth; sea' (WEUR?).

No clear etymology. It is close to ***ūra-*** 'ferriferous sand' (q.v.), which is often taken to be related to OIr. *ú(i)r* 'earth; clay'. Note that both OE *ēar* and OIr. *úr* occur as names of Runic and Ogham signs respectively. Alternatively, ON *aurr* as well as the derived ON *eyrr* f. 'shoal' < ***aurī-*** can in view of OE *ēar* 'sea' be derived from ***ouh₁-ro-***, for which cf. ***u(w)ur-*** 'drizzle' < ***uh₁-r̥-***. The position of the *o*-grade would then be unexpected, however.

ausan- s.v. 'to scoop' — ON *ausa* s.v. 'to sprinkle, pour', Far. *oysa* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *äsa* w.v. 'id.', WFri. *eazje* w.v. 'to pour, rain', ODu. *osen* w.v. 'to scoop out, make empty', Du. *hozen* w.v. 'to scoop; to rain', MHG *ōsen, œsen* w.v. 'to scoop out, make empty' ⇒ **h₂éus-e-* (WEUR) — Lat. *haurio, -īre* 'to draw, scoop up' < **h₂eus-ie-* (with hypercorrect *h*?).

The originally reduplicated verb **ausan-* is only preserved as such in Icelandic. In the other languages, it seems to have been replaced by **ausjan-*, cf. Far. *oysa*, Elfd. *äsa*, MHG *œsen*. Also cf. ON *austr* m., Far. *eystur* m./n. '(scooping of) backwash' < **h₂eus-tro-*.

austera- adv. 'east, eastwards' — ON *austr* adv. 'id.', Far. *eystur* adv. 'id.', Elfd. *oster* adv. 'id.', OE *ēast* adv. 'id.', E *east*, OFri. *āster* adv. 'id.', OS *ōstar* adv. 'id.', MDu. *ooster* adv. 'id.', OHG *ōstar* adv. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂eus-tero-* (IE) — Lat. *auster* m. 'south wind; south' < **h₂eus-tero-*; YAv. *ušastara-* adj. 'eastern' < **h₂us-es-tero-*.

An adverb created to the PIE word for 'dawn' (see **austrōn-*) with the contrastive **tero-*suffix. Also cf. **nurþera-*, **sunþera-* and **westera-*.

austrōn- f. 'Easter' — OE *ēastre* f. 'spring goddess', pl. 'Easter', OHG *ōstara* f. 'Easter', MHG *ōster(n)* f. 'id.', G *Ostern* f.pl. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂eus-reh₂-* (IE) — Close to Lith. *aušrà* f. 'dawn' < **h₂eus-reh₂-*; also cf. Skt. *uṣás-* f. 'id.', OAv. *ušå*, YAv. acc. *ušåŋhəm, ušąm* f. 'id.' < **h₂us-e/os-*; Gr. ἠώς, Att. ἕως f. 'id.' < **h₂eus-os-*; Arm. *ayg* 'id.' < PIE loc. **h₂eus-s-i-*; Lat. *aurora* f. 'id.' < **h₂eus-ōs-eh₂-*.

The Indo-European word for 'dawn' was an *s*-stem, viz. nom. **h₂éus-ōs*, gen. **h₂us-s-ós*. Germanic and Baltic replaced this formation with a form in **-reh₂-*, cf. Skt. *usrā́-* f. 'dawn, morning' < **h₂us-reh₂-*. Also cf. **austera-*.

auþja- adj. 'empty, void, desolate' — Go. *auþs, auþeis* adj. 'id.', ON *auðr* adj. 'id.' (< **auþa-*), Far. *eyður* adj. 'id.', NFri. F-A *ias*, Ha. *iä* adj. 'id.', OHG *ōdi* adj. 'empty, deserted', MHG *œde* adj. 'empty, barren', G *öde* adj. 'empty' ⇒ **h₂eu-tio-* (IE) — Gr. αὔσιος adj. 'idle'.

The formation seems to be a Germanic-Greek isogloss. It may belong to the etymological cluster of **wana- 1* adj. 'lacking' < **u̯h₁-n-o-*, but the order of the laryngeal and the labial is reversed. Also cf. the factitive ON *eyða*, OE *īeðan*, OHG *ōden*, MHG *œden* w.v. 'to clear' < **auþjan-*.

auþu- adj. 'easy' — ON *auð-* pref. 'id.', Far. *eyð-* pref. 'id.', OE *īeðe* adj. 'id.', OS *ōthi* adj. 'id.', MDu. *ode* adj. 'id.', OHG *ōdi* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂eu-tu-* (IE) — Skt. *ávati* 'to help, protect', Av. *auuaiti* 'to care, help', OIr. *con-ói* 'to protect' < **h₂éuH-e-*; Gr. ἑνηής adj. 'mild' < **h₁en-h₂ēuH-es-*; Lat. *avēre* 'to be well' < **h₂euH-eh₁-*.

Also cf. Run. *auja* 'wellness' and Go. *awi-liuþ* 'thanks'.

auzōn- n. 'ear' — Go. *auso* n. 'id.', ON *eyra* n. 'id.', Far. *oyra* n. 'id.', Elfd. *ära* n. 'id.', OE *ēare* n. 'id.', E *ear*, OFri. *āre* n. 'id.', OS *ōra* n. 'id.', Du. *oor* n. 'id.', OHG *ōra* n. 'ear', G *Ohr* n. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂e/ous-n-* (IE) — Av. *uši* du. 'ear', OPru. *āusins* acc.pl. 'id.', Lith. *ausìs* f. 'id.', OCS *uxo* n. 'id.' < **h₂eus-os-*, Alb. *vesh*, Gr. οὖς, οὔατος n. 'id.' < **h₂ous*, **h₂ous-nt-os*; Lat. *auris* f. 'id.', Olr. *áu*, *aue* 'id.' < **h₂eus-*.

A neuter belonging to the wider set of Germanic *n*-stems denoting body parts. The forms from the different Indo-European languages point to an originally static *s*-stem, nom. **h₂óus-s*, gen. **h₂éus-s*, du. **h₂us-ih₁*. It was created to the verbal root **h₂eu-* 'to perceive' attested as Hitt. *aušzi* ~ *uu̯anzi* 'to see, look' < **h₂óu-ei*, **h₂u-énti* (Kloekhorst 2008: 227-9) and Gr. ἀΐω 'to perceive, hear' < **h₂eu-ie-*. It further seems probable that Skt. *āvíṣ*, Av. *āuuiš* 'evidently', PGm. **awiz* 'openly' < **h₂ou-is* belongs here, too.

awadī- f. 'eiderduck' — ON *æðr* f. 'id.', Far. *æður* f. 'id.', Nw. *ær-fugl*, dial. *ær*, *æd* 'id.', Sw. *åda* 'id.' (NIE?).

A feminine formation that just like Sw. *åda* was derived from an unattested masculine base ON **áðr*, cf. Sw. dial. *åd* < **aw(V)da-* (the female bird was economically more important because it provided the commercially valuable eiderdown). The word is somehow connected with SaaN *hávda*, SaaL *ávdda* 'eider' < PSaa. **ávda*, which proves that the NGm. root was **aw(V)d-* rather than **ād-*. This obliterates the received etymological links with Skt. *ātī̆-* f. 'aquatic bird' (Pokorny IEW: 41-42). No further etymology. The Saami word could be a Norse loan (Strathmann 2008: 2, 108-9 fn.), but it is also conceivable that both NGm. and Saami borrowed the term from a lost Scandinavian language (Aikio 2004). The comparison with PIE **h₂eui-* 'bird' (Collinder 1932: 215) at any rate does not convince. E *eider*, G *Eider*, Du. *eider-eend*, Sw. *ejder*, Da. *edder-fugl* all go back to Icel. *æður*.

awala/ō- m./f. 'awl' — ON *soð-áll* m. 'meat awl', OE *awul* f. 'flesh-hook', ME *a(u)l* 'awl, spike, quill', E *awl* ⇒ **h₂eḱuolo-* (EUR) — W *ebill* m. 'piercer, pin'.

A Germanic-Celtic isogloss usually derived from the root **h₂eḱ-* 'sharp'. The derivation of the suffix (**-uol-*?) is obscure, however. Note that, in Old English, the word appears to have merged with **ala(n)-* 'awl' (q.v.).

awa/ōn- m./f. 'grandparent' — Go. *awo* f. 'grandmother', ON *ái* m. 'great-grandfather' ⇒ **h₂euh₂-on-* (IE) — Hitt. *ḫuḫḫa-* c. 'grandfather' < **h₂uh₂-o-*; CLuv. *ḫūḫa-* c. 'id.', Arm. *haw* 'id.', Lat. *avus* m. 'id.' < **h₂euh₂-o-*; Olr. *aue*, *ua*, *ó* m. 'descendant, grandchild', MW *ewythr* 'maternal uncle', Lith. *avýnas* m. 'maternal uncle', OPru. *awis* 'uncle', Ru. *uj* (gen. *úja*) m. 'maternal uncle', SCr. *ȕj-āk* m. 'id.' < **h₂euh₂-io-*.

An Indo-European kinship term. On the basis of the Anatolian stem alternation, Kloekhorst 2008: 352 reconstructs a root noun *$h_2$éuh_2-s, gen. *h_2uh_2-ós. The Germanic forms must then be secondary *n*-stems.

***awi-** f. 'ewe' — ON *ær* f. 'id.', Far. *ær* f. 'id.', OE *ēow* f. 'id.', E *ewe*, OFri. *ei* f. 'id.', MDu. *ooi(e)*, *ouw(e)* f. 'id.', Du. *ooi* f. 'id.', OHG *ouwi*, *ou* f. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_3$éu-i- (IE) — Hitt. *ḫāu̯i-*, CLuv. *ḫāu̯i-*, Lyc. *χawa-* c. 'sheep', ToB *āuw*, *āw* f. 'ewe' (with unexpected vocalism), Skt. *ávi-* (gen. *ávyaḥ*) m./f. 'sheep, ram', Arm. *hoviw* 'shepherd' (< *$h_3$eui-peh$_2$-), Gr. ὄϊς, ὄϊος and οἰός m./f. 'sheep', Lat. *ovis* f. 'id.', Olr. *oí* m. 'id.', Lith. *avìs*, Latv. *avs* f. 'id.'.

The original paradigm, which on the basis of Skt. *áviṣ*, gen. *ávyaḥ* can safely be reconstructed as *$h_3$éu-i-s, gen. *h_3(e)u-i-ós, must have been preservèd by Germanic as *awiz, gen. *aujaz in view of the alternation of MDu. *ouwe* < *awi- and *ooie* < *auj-. ON *ær* < *awīz points to remodeling into an *ih_2-stem. See also *awidja-.

***awidja-** n. 'flock of sheep' — Go. *aweþi* n. 'id.', OE *eowde*, *eowede* n. 'id.', OHG *ouwiti*, *ewiti* n. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_3$eui-d^{h}h$_1$-io- (IE) — Lith. *avìdė* 'sheepfold', ?Arm. *awdi-k^c* coll. 'sheep' < *Houi-d^{h}h$_1$-i(e)h$_2$-.

A formation derived from PGm. *awi- 'sheep' with the PGm. suffix *-*dja*- for herds, cf. *kudja-. Go. *aweþi* is usually emended to *awiþi* to reconcile the form with WGm. *awidja-. Its *-þ-* arose from *-đ-* by voice dissimilation against the *w* (Thurneysen's law in Gothic).

***awist(r)a-** n. 'sheepfold' — Go. *awistr* n. 'id.', OE *ēowestre* f. 'id.', OFri. *ēstra*, *ēster* m./f. 'fenced place for milking', OHG *ewist*, *ouwist* m. 'sheepfold' ⇒ *heui-sth$_2$-o- (DRV).

Derived from *awi- 'sheep' (q.v.) with the suffix *-*st(r)a*-, for which cf. *naust(r)a- 'boathouse'.

***awiz** adv. 'obvious' — OE *ēawis* adj. 'apparent' (< *awi-wissa-), OHG *awi-zoraht* adj. 'evident' (< *awi-turhta-) ⇒ *$h_2$éu-is (IE) — Skt. *āvíṣ* adv. 'evidently, before the eyes', Av. *āuuiš* adv. 'id.' < *$h_2$ou-is / *$h_2$eh$_2$u-is (for the suffix, cf. Skt. *bahíṣ* adv. 'outside'); Lith. *ovyje* adv. 'in reality' < *$h_2$eh$_2$u-i-; OCS *(j)avě* adj. 'manifestly, openly', SCr. *javi* adj. 'id.' < *$h_2$eh$_2$u-oi (note that Lith. and Slav. remodeled the original suffix on the basis of synchronic locative endings).

The Germanic element is usually connected to PIE *$h_3$ek^w- 'eye' (see *augōn-), but I would like to propose a link with Skt. *āvíṣ* and OCS *(j)avě*, which are formally and semantically close. The short vowel of PGm. *awiz as opposed to the long vowel found elsewhere could point to Dybo's law of pretonic shortening: PIE *Heh$_2$u-ís > *āuís > PGm. *awiz. However, an originally short vowel variant is extant in Gr. αἰσθάνομαι 'to perceive', Lat.

audīre 'to hear' < **h₂euis-dʰh₁-* (cf. Rasmussen 1987: §18). In PIE, the word seems to be derived from a root **h₂eu-* 'to perceive', for which see **auzōn-* 'ear'. Also cf. OE *ēawan*, OFri. *āwia* w.v. 'to show' < **awōjan-*.

azani- f. 'harvest' — Go. *asans* f. 'id.', ON *ǫnn* f. 'id.', OSw. *ann* f. 'id.', Elfd. *ann-tiđ* f. 'id.', OHG *aran* m. 'harvest', MHG *erne* f. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁os-on-i-* (IE) — Gr. ὀπώρα f. 'end of the summer' < **-h₁os-r-eh₂-*; OPru. *assanis* 'autumn' < **h₁e/os-oni-*; CS *esenь*, Ru. *ósen'*, SCr. *jȅsēn* < **h₁e/os-eni-*.

A PIE static *r/n*-stem, nom. **h₁ós-r*, gen. **h₁és-n-s*. The PIE word was borrowed as Finno-Volgaic **kesä*, cf. Fi. *kesä*, Mordv. *kize* 'summer' (cf. Koivulehto 1991: 36). Further cf. OS *asna* f. 'tax' < **asanō-*.

B

ba- num. 'both' — Go. *bai*, acc. *bans*, gen. *baddje*, n. *ba* num. 'id.', ON *báðir*, acc. *báða*, f. *báðar*, n. *bæði*, gen. *beggja*, dat. *báðum* num. 'id.', Far. *báðir*, f. *báðar*, n. *bæði*, gen. *beggja*, dat. *báðum* num. 'id.', Elfd. *båðer*, n. *båðų* num. 'id.', OE *bēgen* m. (with secondary ending from 'two': *bēgen twēgen*, lit. 'both two'), *bā (þā)* f., *bū* n. 'id.', E *both*, OFri. *bēthe* num. 'id.', OS *bē-thia*, *-e* m./f., *bē-thiu* n. 'id.', Du. *beide* num. 'id.', OHG *bei dē* num. 'id.', G *beide* num. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰo-* (IE) — Skt. *ubhá-* (*ubhā́*, *ubháu* m., *ubhé* f.), OAv. *uba-* (*ubē* f.), OP *ubā* m. 'both' < **u-bʰo-*; Lith. *abù* m., *abì* f., OCS *oba* m., *obě* f./n., Ru. *óba* m., *óbe* f., SCr. *ȍba* m., *ȍbje* m. 'id.' < **h₁o-bʰo-*; ToA *āmpi*, *āmpuk*, ToB *antapi*, *āṃtpi* 'id.', Gr. ἄμφω 'id.', Lat. *ambō* m., *-ae* f. 'id.' < **h₂(e)nt-bʰo-* (Jasanoff 1977).

The original PGm. paradigm was **bai*, acc. **bans* m., **bōz*, **bōns* f., **bō* n. with the original dual endings (PIE **bʰoh₁*) replaced by the usual pronominal plural endings. The gen. **bajjan*, for instance, was created on the basis of the m.pl. form by adding the gen.pl. ending (**bhoi-óm*), just as the gen. of **twa-* 'two' (q.v.), i.e. **twajjan-*, was created to **twai* < **duoi*. Note that this plural form similarly supplanted the PIE dual **duoh₁*.

badja- n. 'bed, bedding' — Go. *badi* n. 'bed, pallet', ON *beðr* m. 'bolster, bedding', Far. poet. *beður* m. 'bed', Nw. *bed* n. 'flower bed', OE *bed* n. 'bed', E *bed*, ODu. *beddi* n. 'id.', Du. *bed* n. 'id.', OHG *betti* n. 'id.', G *Bett* n. 'bed', *Beet* n. 'flower bed' ⇒ **bʰodʰ-io-* (IE) — Hitt. *paddai* ~ *paddanzi* 'to dig' < **bʰodʰ-ói-ei*, **bʰodʰ-i-énti*; ToA *pātar* 'they ploughed' < **bʰodʰ-*; Lat. *fodiō*, *-ere* 'to pierce; to dig' < **bʰodʰ-ie-*; OCS *bosti* (*bodǫ*) < **bʰodʰ-*; Lith. *badýti* 'to poke', Latv. *badît* 'to butt, prick' < **bʰodʰ-eie-*; Lith. *bèsti* (*bedù*) 'to stick, drive (into), dig', Latv. *best* 'to dig, bury' < **bʰedʰ-*.

A neuter *ja*-stem to the PIE root **bʰedʰ-* 'to poke, dig'.

badōjan- w.v. 'to frighten' — Nw. *bada* w.v. 'to weigh down, press; to knead', OS *undar-badon* w.v. 'to frighten' (IE) — Close to Lith. *bādas* m. 'famine' < *b^hod^h-o-; also cf. Skt. *bā́dhate* 'to press, trouble, oppose' < *$b^hód^h$-e-; Skt. *bā́dh-* f. 'distress', YAv. *auui.bāδ(a)-* 'id.', OCS *běda* 'distress, need, necessity', Ru. *bedá* 'misfortune, trouble', SCr. *bijèda* f. 'grief, misfortune', Lith. *bėdà* f. 'distress, worry' < *$b^hēd^h$-.

A verb derived from the noun **bada-*, cf. Nw. *bad* n. 'effort, trouble, fear', EDa. *bad* n. 'damage, destruction; fight'. The Norse word may have been borrowed into Middle English, so as to give rise to the hitherto unetymologized E *bad*.

badwō- f. 'battle' — ON poet. *bǫð*, gen. *-var* f. 'id.', OE *beado* f. 'id.', OS *badu-* 'id.', OHG *batu-* 'id.' ⇒ *b^hod^h-ueh$_2$- (WEUR) — Identical to MIr. *bodb*, *badb* m./f. 'war-god(dess); scald-crow', OBret. *bodou* 'heron' < *b^hod^h-uo/eh$_2$-.

A Celtic-Germanic isogloss.

bagma- m. 'beam, tree' — Go. *bagms* m. 'tree', ON *baðmr* m. 'tree; beam', OSw. *baghn* n. 'tree trunk', OE *bēam* m. 'tree, pillar, beam, post', E *beam*, OFri. *bām* m. 'tree; pole', OS *bōm* m. 'id.', Du. *boom* c. 'id.', OHG *boum* m. 'id.', G *Baum* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$b^hh_2ǵ^h$-mo- (IE).

The widely spread idea that this word continues **bawwma-* (with **-ww-* > **-ggw-* by NEGm. *Verschärfung*), and was derived from PIE *b^hh_2u- 'to grow' (see **bōan-* ~ **būan-*), is flawed (*pace* Johansson 1891: 224-5; Pokorny IEW: 146-50; Magnússon 1989: 35), because the original meaning was 'beam' rather than 'tree', cf. Sw. dial. *bagne* 'branch'. It is more plausible that the word is related to **bōgu-* 'shoulder, upper arm' (q.v.) < PIE *$b^heh_2ǵ^h$-u-, which shows a similar semantic scope, cf. OE *bōg* m. 'shoulder, arm; branch', E *bough* 'larger limb or offshoot of a tree'. For another parallel semantic development, cf. PGm. **arma-* 'arm' (q.v.) < **h$_2$er-mo-* vs. Lat. *rāmus* m. 'branch' < **h$_2$rh$_2$-mo-*. Note that, as a result of the labial environment, the *-g-* developed into *-w-* in WGm., and into *-ð-* in Old Norse (cf. ON *fjǫgur* n. 'four' < **fedur-ō*). For a discussion of other existing views, see Mankov 2007.

baidjan- w.v. 'to force, demand' — Go. *baidjan* w.v. 'to force', ON *beiða* w.v. 'to ask, request', Far. *beiða* w.v. 'to request, demand; to trouble', OE *bædan* w.v. 'to demand; to force', OHG *beitten* w.v. 'id.', MHG *beiten* w.v. 'to wait' ⇒ *b^hoid^h-éie- (EUR).

The causative to **bīdan-* 'to wait' (q.v). The meaning 'to force' is problaby more primitive than the meanings of e.g. Gr. πείθομαι 'to trust, rely, obey, be persuaded', Lat. *fīdō, -ere* 'to trust', which seem to have evolved in medio-passive use ('to be persuaded' > 'to confide in').

baina- n. 'bone, leg' — ON *bein* n. 'id.', OE *bān* n. 'bone', E *bone*, OFri. *bēn* n. 'bone; leg', OS *bēn* n. 'id.', Du. *been* n. 'id.', OHG *bein* n. 'id.', G *Bein* n. 'id.' (IE?).

Unrelated to OIr. *benaid* 'to hew' in the sense of 'chopped off bone' (Hamp 1985), but derived from ON *beinn* adj. 'straight' < **baina-* (De Vries 1962: 30). No further etymology. If the original meaning of the root was 'beam (ray; post)', it is possible that the word belongs to the root **b^{h}eh$_2$-* 'to shine' (for which see **bōnjan-*), cf. PGm. **strēlō-* 'ray; arrow'. The underlying form would then be **b^{h}h$_2$-oi-no-*, a *no*-formation to an *i*-present **b^{h}h$_2$-ei-*, for which cf. Far. *bína*, Nw. *bina* w.v. 'to stare' < **bīnēn-*. Unrelated to Nw. dial. *buna* f. 'bone' < **bunōn-* (*pace* Bugge 1899: 459).

baira- m. 'boar' — OE *bār* m. 'id.', E *boar*, OS *bēr* m. 'id.', Du. *beer* c. 'id.', OHG *bēr* m. 'id.' (WEUR/NIE) — MW *baed*, W *baedd* m. 'boar', OCorn. *bahet* '*aper, verres*'.

A Germanic-Celtic isogloss. The Germanic word has been reconstructed as both **baira-* and **baiza-*, but the former is preferable in view of the hypocorism ON *val-bassi*, OSw. *basse*, *val-basse* m. 'boar' < **barsi*, which is more likely to have been created to ON **bárr* < **baira-* than to **beirr* < **baiza-*. The origin of the word is uncertain. In view of the irregular correspondence with the British forms, which point to Proto-Brit. **basio-* or **baðio-*, the word is unlikely to be of Indo-European provenance (Schrijver 1997: 304). According to Polomé 1986: 80: "It is ... obvious that we are dealing with a term of the pre-Indo-European population of the area". If this is true, both the Celtic and Germanic words must have been adopted from an extinct European language that was spoken in Europe prior to the arrival of the Indo-Europeans.

baita- n. 'boat' — ON *beit* n. 'id.', OE *bāt* m. 'id.', E *boat*, MDu. *beitel* m. 'small boat' (< **baitila-*) (DRV).

Given the potential link with the verb **bītan-*, it is possible that **baita-* originally denoted a small boat made of a tree hollowed out like a trough, cf. the Ru. loanword *bat* 'dugout'. OE or OFri. *bāt* was the source of ON *bátr* and G *Boot*, Du. *boot*.

baka- n. 'back' — ON *bak* n. 'id.', Far. *bak* n. 'id.', OE *bæc* n. 'id.', E *back*, OFri. *bek* m. 'id.', OS *bak* n. 'id.' ⇒ **b^{h}og-o-* (GM).

Borrowed into Slavic as OCS *bokъ* m. 'side'. Also cf. OHG *bahho*, MHG *bache*, MDu. *bake* m. 'bacon' < **bakan-*.

bakja- m. 'creek' — ON *bekkr* m. 'id.', Far. *bekkur* m. 'id.', OE *bece* m. 'id.', OS *beki* m. 'id.', Du. *beek* c. 'id.', OHG *bah* m. 'id.', G *Bach* m. 'id.' ⇒ **b^{h}og-io-* (EUR) — ORu. *bagъno* 'mud, marsh', Ru. *bagnó* n. 'swamp', Ukr. *bahnó* 'marsh,

mud' < *b^hog-*no*-; perhaps also here: OIr. *búal* f. 'water; bathing, healing, cure' < *b^hog-*l*-eh_2-(?).

The Slavic forms have also been compared to Du. *bagger* 'mud' < **bag-ra*- (Franck 1949: 27-8; Derksen 2008: 33), and would then have to be reconstructed as *$b^hōg^h$-*no*-. The connection of Skt. *bhaṅga*- m. 'breaking; wave', Lith. *bangà* f. 'wave' < *b^ho-*n*-*g*-*o*/eh_2- should probably be abandoned, as these formations belong to a root meaning 'to break', cf. Skt. *bhanákti* 'id.'.

bak(k)an- s.v. 'to bake, fry' — OE *bacan* s.v. 'to bake', E *to bake*, MDu. *backen* s./w.v. 'to bake', Du. *bakken* s./w.v. 'id.', OHG *bahhan*, *backan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *bachen*, *backen* s.v. 'id.', G *backen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *b^hh_3g-*e*- (DRV/EUR) — Gr. φώγω 'to roast, fry' < *$b^héh_3g$-*e*-.

A zero-grade strong verb apparently derived from PIE *$b^hh_{\underline{3}}g$-*é*-. The dialectal vacillation between **bakan*- and **bakkan*- may be due to contamination with the iterative **bak(k)ōn*- < *b^hh_3g-*neh*$_2$-, with which the strong verb merged in several dialects. It is also conceivable that the strong verb was back-formed to the iterative. Less likely is the view that the geminate arose from a presentic *n*-suffix (thus Braune 1891: 346, fn. 4).

bak(k)ōn- w.v. 'to bake, fry' — ON *baka* w.v. 'to bake; to warm; to rub', Far. *baka* w.v. 'to bake; to warm the udder of a cow', Elfd. *båkå* w.v. 'to bake, fry', OHG *backōn* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *b^hh_3g-*néh*$_2$- (EUR).

The iterative to **bak(k)an*- (q.v.).

balgi- m. 'skin bag' — Go. *balgs* m. 'leather bag, bag made of skin', ON *belgr* m. 'skin; skin bag; bellows', Elfd. *bōg* m. 'bag, skin bag', OE *belig* m. 'bag; bellows', E *belly*, *bellows*, OFri. *blēs-balch* m. 'bellows', WFri. *bealch* c. 'trunk, belly; bulge', MDu. *balch* m. 'bellows', Du. *blaas-balg* c. 'id.', OHG *balg* m. 'skin, tube, pod', G *Balg* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$b^holǵ^h$-*i*- (IE) — Skt. *barhíṣ*- n. 'bundle of straw', Av. *barəziš*- n. 'pad, pillow' < *$b^holǵ^h$-*is*-; OPru. *balsinis* 'pillow' < *$b^holǵ^h$-*ino*-; SCr. *blàzina* f. 'pillow, bolster' < *$b^holǵ^h$-*in*-eh_2-; with depalatalization before *n*, cf. OPru. *balgnan*, Lith. *baĩnas* (OLith. *balgnas*) 'saddle' < *$b^holǵ^h$-*no*-.

An *i*-stem related to **belgan*- 'to swell' (q.v.). With another root vowel, cf. Far. *bjølgur* m. 'animal skin; bellows; paunch' < **belgu*-, whence Far. *bjølga* w.v. 'to puff out, bulge'. Perhaps further related to **bulgjan*- ~ **bulkjan*- 'to bellow'.

balgjan- w.v. 'to make swell, make angry' — ON *belgja* w.v. 'to inflate', OE *ā-belgan* w.v. 'to anger, to irritate', OS *belgian* w.v. 'id.', OHG *gi-belgen* w.v. 'to irritate' ⇒ *$b^holǵ^h$-*eie*- (IE).

The causative to **belgan*- (q.v.).

balika/ōn- m./f. 'coot' — OS *beliko* m. 'id.', OHG *belihha* f. 'id.', MHG *belche* f. 'id.', G *Bölch, Belche* f. 'id.' (NIE) — Lat. *fulica* f. 'id.'.

A word usually compared to Lat. *fulica* on the assumption that it can be traced back to *$*b^hol-ik/g-eh_2$-*. The suffixations of the two formations do not match, however, and are likely to be secondary in both languages. This leaves the element *$*b^hol$-*, which has been identified as the root *$*b^holH$-* 'white' (for which see *$*bēla$-*) in view of the white spot on the bird's bill, cf. G *Blässhuhn* and the derivation of Gr. φαληρίς f. 'coot' from Gr. Hsch. φαλός 'light' < *$*b^hlH$-o-*. However, Lat. *fulica* actually points to *$*b^hul$-* rather than *$*b^hol$-*. This additional formal discrepancy makes it unlikely that we are dealing with an Indo-European word.

ballan- m. 'ball' — ON *bǫllr* m. 'ball', Far. *bøllur* m. 'lump, clump; something rolled up', Sw. *boll* m. 'ball', E *ball*, MDu. *bal* m. 'ball (of the foot)', Du. *bal* c. 'id.', OHG *ballo, bal* m. 'ball', G *Ball, Ballen* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$*b^hol-on$-* (EUR) — Gr. φαλλός m. 'penis' < *$*b^hl-no$-; Lat. *follis* m. 'bag, sack; ball, testicle' < *$*b^hol-ni$-; OIr. *ball* m. 'member, penis', W *balleg* 'sack, purse' < *$*b^hl-no$-.

An old *n*-stem, nom. *$*balō$, gen. *$*ballaz$ < *$*b^hól-ōn$, *$*b^hl-n-ós$, probably derived from an unattested PIE verbal root *$*b^hel$-* 'to swell up'. NGm. *$*ballu$-* split off from the original acc.pl. *$*balluns$ < *$*b^hol-n-ńs$, cf. ON *ǫrn* 'eagle' < *$*arnu$-* vs. PGm. *$*aran$-* *1* (q.v.). See also *$*bellōn$-* and *$*bullan$-*.

baltja- m./n. 'belt' — ON *belti* n. 'id.', OE *belt* m. 'id.', E *belt*, OHG *balz* m. 'belt, neck-chain' (LW).

A NWGm. loanword from Lat. *balteus*, pl. *baltea* 'girdle, belt'. A loanword of similar antiquity is *$*kāsja$-* 'cheese', for which see under *$*jŭsta$-*.

balþ/da- adj. 'brave' — Go. *balþs** adj. 'bold, frank', ON *ballr* adj. 'dangerous, dire', OE *beald* adj. 'brave', E *bold*, OFri. *balde* adv. 'soon', MDu. *boude* adj. 'bold, brave', Du. *boud* adj. 'frank, daring', OHG *bald* adj. 'bold, strong, intense', G *bald* adv. 'soon' (GM).

Also cf. the factitive Go. *balþjan* 'to dare', Icel. *bella* 'to dare, carry out', Nw. *bella* 'to cope', Elfd. *bella* w.v. 'to be able to' < *$*balþjan$-* and the Verner variant OE *bieldan* 'to incite' < *$*baldjan$-*.

balwa- n. 'evil' — ON *bǫl* n. 'misfortune', OE *bealo* n. 'evil', E *bale*, OS *balo* n. 'id.', OHG *balo* m./n. 'evil, harm, disease' (NEUR) — OCS *bolь* m. 'sick person', Ru. *bol'* m. 'pain', SCr. *bôl* m. 'pain, illness' < *$*b^hol(H)-i$-*.

A noun derived from the adjective *$*balwa$-*, cf. Go. *balwa-wesei* f. 'malice', OE *bealo* adj. 'evil, destructive', whence also Go. *balwjan* w.v. 'to torment', ON *bølva* w.v. 'to damn'.

banda- n. 'band, bond' — ON *band* n. 'binding; band, cord; bond', Far. *band* n. 'string', Elfd. *band* n. 'id.', OE *beand* m. 'band, bond', E *band*, OFri. *bend* m. 'id.', OS *band* n. 'id.', Du. *band* c. 'band; tire' ⇒ *b^hond^h-o- (DRV) — YAv. *baṇda-* m. 'bond, fetter' < *b^hond^h-o-.

An *a*-stem derived from the strong verb **bindan-* (q.v.).

bandī- f. 'bond, fetter' — Go. *bandi* f. 'id.', OE *bend* f. 'id.', OFri. *be(i)nde* f. 'id.', MDu. *bende* f. 'id.' (DRV).

An *ih₂*-stem derived from **bindan-* (q.v.).

bandjan- w.v. 'to bend (a bow)' — ON *benda* w.v. 'to bend', OE *bendan* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *b^hond^h-éie- (IE) — Identical to YAv. *baṇdaiieiti* 'to bind'.

The causative to **bindan-* (q.v.).

bandwjan- w.v. 'to give a sign, beckon' — Go. *bandwjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *benda* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A factitive to Go. *bandwo* f. 'sign' < *b^honh_2-tuéh_2-, which was created to the root of **bannan-* with the *tuh₂*-suffix.

banjō- f. 'wound' — Go. *banja* f. 'id.', ON *ben* f. 'id.', Far. *ben* f. 'wound; cut', OE *benu* f. 'id.', OS *beni-wunda* f. 'id.' ⇒ *b^hon-ih₂- (IE) — OAv. *bąnaiiən* 3pl.inj. 'to make ill, afflict' < *b^hon-eie-.

A word related to or simply derived from ON *bani*, OE *bana*, OFri. *bona*, OHG *bano* m. 'death, bringer of death, bane, killer' < **banan-* < *b^hon-on-. The derivation of these forms from the PIE root *g^{wh}en- 'to kill' is semantically apt, but in spite of Seebold 1967, it is unlikely that *g^{wh} developed into **b* here or anywhere else in Germanic (cf. Markey 1980: 290).

bankan- m. 'elevation' — ON *bakki* m. 'hill, slope', Far. *bakki* m. 'slope, cliff, (river or fog) bank', Elfd. *bokke* m. 'slope; hill' (NEUR?) — Lith. *bangà* f. 'multitude', Latv. dial. *buôga* f. 'grove, multitude, crowd' < *b^hong-eh_2-.

Related to **banki-* (q.v). Cf. with another stem formant Far. *bøkkur* m. 'lump, hillock, tuft' < **banku-*, a formation that probably split off from the original acc.pl. **bankuns* < *b^hong-n-ŕs. A zero-grade variant may be extant in Du. *bonk* c. 'lump' < **bunkan-* and Nw. dial. *bunka* f. 'pile, lump' < **bunkōn-*, but these forms appear to be more closely related to Icel. *bunga* f. 'bump, elevation', Far. *bunga* f. 'raising on a level base, bulge', Nw. dial. *bunga* f. 'bump' < **bungōn-*.

banki- m. 'bench' — ON *bekkr* m. 'bench', Far. *bekkur* m. 'thwart; bench', Elfd. *baink* m. 'bench', OE *benc* f. 'id.', E *bench*, OFri. *bank*, *benk* m./f. 'id.', OS *bank* m. 'id.', Du. *bank* c. 'id.', OHG *banc* m. 'id.', G *Bank* m. 'id.' (NEUR).

Usually connected to **bankan-* 'slope, cliff', possibly through an intermediate meaning 'elevation'.

bannan- s.v. 'to command, summon' — ON *banna* w.v. 'to forbid, prohibit; to curse', Far. *banna* w.v. 'to curse; to swear (an oath), to vow', OE *bannan, bonnan* s.v. 'to summon', OFri. *bonna, banna* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *bannen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *bannan* s.v. 'to ban, order, summon' ⇒ **bʰó-n-h₂-e-* (IE) — Skt. *bhánati* 'to speak' < **bʰénh₂-e-*; Gr. φημί 'to say, explain, argue', Lat. *fārī* 'to speak, say' (cf. *fābula* f. 'talk, rumour; story, tale' < **bʰeh₂-dʰlo-*), Arm. *bam* 'to speak, say' < **bʰeh₂-*; RuCS *bajati* 'to tell fables', SCr. *bȁjati* 'to practise sorcery, exorcize' < **bʰeh₂-ie-*.

An *o*-grade intensive verb that in view of its geminate **-nn-* appears to have been created to a thematicized *nu*-present **bʰe-nu-e-*. This formation may have replaced the *n*-present **bʰe-n-h₂-* that is perhaps also supported by Skt. *bhánati*. See also **bōni-*.

bans(t)a- m. 'cowshed' — Go. *bansts* m. 'barn', ON *báss* m. 'stall in a cow-barn', Far. *básur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *bą̊s* n. 'id.', OE *bōsig* 'cowshed', E *boosy*, OFri. *bōs* 'cow-barn', MDu. *banst, baenst* m. 'round basket made of straw or reed', Du. dial. *boes* c. 'id.', MHG *banse* m./f. 'shelter, lean-to', G *Banse* m./f. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰondʰ-sth₂-o-* (NEUR?/IE?) — To Lith. *bandà* f. 'cattle' < **bʰondʰ-eh₂-*?

The material contains evidence for two different forms, **bansa-* and **bansta-*, which may both have been derived from an element **band-* 'cattle'. The former simply continues **bʰondʰ-to-* with a *to*-suffix. The latter probably contains the *st*-suffix (< **sth₂-* 'to stand') which is also found in e.g. OHG *ouwist* m. 'sheepfold' < **awista-* (see **awist(r)a-*) and ON *naust* 'boathouse' < **naust(r)a-*. The word is unrelated to the formally identical OFri. *bōst* 'marriage' (whence *bōstigia* w.v. 'to marry'), which was derived from the strong verb **bindan-* 'to bind'.

bariz-* ~ *barza- n. 'barley' — ON *barr* n. 'id.', OE *bere* m. 'id.', E *barley*, NFri. *berre* 'id.' ⇒ **bʰar-es-* (EUR) — Alb. *bar* 'grass', Lat. *far, -rris* n. 'husked wheat, emmer; grain, flour', < **bʰar-s-*; OCS *brašьno* n. 'food', ORu. *borošьno* n. '(farinaceous) food', SCr. *brȁšno* n. 'flour, food' < **bʰar-s-ino-*.

Also cf. Go. *barizeins* adj. 'made of barley'. The stem alternation of **bariz-* (Gothic, Old English) and **barza-* (Old Norse) points to a primary *s*-stem nom. **baraz*, gen. **barizaz* that was thematicized in two different ways. Note that the original meaning must have been 'awn', in view of ON *barr* n. 'acicular leaves, needles of the fir or pine' < **barza-*, cf. Far. *egi* n. 'corn, straw; sprout, shoot; barleyfield' under **aiginþ-*. See also **barsa-* and **brazda-*.

barjan- w.v. 'to fight' — ON *berja* w.v. 'to beat, strike', Far. *berja* w.v. 'to bear, strike; to knock, hammer; to smash', Elfd. *berra-s* w.v. 'to resist', OE *bered* ptc. 'vexed, oppressed, crushed', OHG *berjan* w.v. 'to hit, knock', MHG *berjen, bern* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰorH-ie-* (EUR) — OCS *brati (sę)* 'to fight', Ru. *borót'* (*borjú*) 'to overpower, throw to the ground', *boróť'sja* 'to fight' < **bʰorH-ie-*; Lith. *bárti* (*barù*), Latv. *bãrt* 'to scold', refl. 'to quarrel' < **bʰorH-e-*; Lat. *feriō, -īre* 'to strike' < **bʰerH-ie-*; Olr. *barae* f. 'anger, hostility' < **bʰrH-en-*.

An *o*-grade *ie*-present. The meaning 'to fight' in reflexive uses of the verb seems to be a Balto-Slavo-Germanic isogloss. The link with Lat. *forō, -āre* 'to bore through, pierce' and PGm. **burōjan-* < **bʰrH-eh₂-ie-* is more uncertain because of the semantic difference.

barkjan- w.v. 'to roar' — Icel. *berkja* s.v. 'to boast' ⇒ **bʰorg-éie-* (NEUR?).

The causative to **berkan-* and **burkōn-*. The appurtenant ON, Icel., Far. *barki* m. 'throat, larynx' < **barkan-* is often directly linked to Gr. φάρυγξ m./f. 'pharynx', φάραγξ f. 'crevice' and Lat. *frūmen* n. 'larynx, throat' (cf. De Vries 1962: 26), but this etymology poses critical formal problems. Moreover, the Germanic *n*-stem is a relatively young deverbal formation that cannot simply be projected back into the Indo-European parent language. See also **kragan-*.

barku- m. 'bark' — ON *bǫrkr* m. 'id.', Icel. *börkur* m. 'bark, rind', Far. *børkur* m. 'bark; skin on milk', WPhal. *bark* 'id.' ⇒ **bʰorh₁ǵ-* (IE) — Alb. *barmë* f. 'bast' < **bʰorh₁ǵ-mo-*.

Closely related to Far. *bark* n. 'tanning material; bark', Nw. *bark* n. 'lye from bark'. The *u*-stem **barku-* has no parallel outside Germanic and may have split off from the acc.pl. **barkuns* < **bʰorǵ-ns* of a root noun **bʰérHǵ-s* 'birch, birch bark'. The same root noun may have served as the source for the related zero-grade formation MLG *borke* f. 'bark' < **burkō-*. Related to **berkō-* 'birch-tree' and **berhta-* 'bright'.

barna- n. 'child' — Go. *barn* n. 'id.', ON *barn* n. 'id.', OE *bearn* n. 'id.', OFri. *bern* n. 'id.', WFri. *bern, barn* n. 'id.', OS *barn* n. 'id.', OHG *barn* n. 'id.', MHG *barn* n. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰor-no-* (DRV).

A derivation from the PIE root **bʰer-* 'to carry', for which see **beran- 1.*

barsa- m. 'pike, bass' — OE *bears, bærs* m. 'id.', E *bass*, WFri. *bears* c. 'id.', MDu. *barse, baerse* m. 'id.', Du. *baars* c. 'id.', OHG *bars* m. 'id.', G *Barsch* m. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰors-o-* (WEUR?).

A fish named after its prickly dorsal fin, cf. ON *barr* m. 'pine needle' < **barza-*. The WGm. *o*-grade **barsa-* is accompanied by a Nordic zero-grade formation in a compound with ON *ǫgr* m. 'sea-bass', cf. e.g. OSw. *agh-borre*, ODa. *ag-borræ*, Da. *aborre* < **aga-burzan-*. Related to **brazda-*?

baruga- m. 'barrow' — ON *bǫrgr* m. 'castrated boar', OE *bearg*, *bearh* m. 'id.', E *barrow*, Du. *barg* c. 'id.'., OHG *barug* m. 'id.', MHG *barc* m. 'id.' ⇒ *b^horu-ḱo-* (NEUR) — CS *bravъ* m. 'small lifestock', Ru. *bórov* m. 'hog, castrated boar', SCr. *brâv* m. 'sheep, *dial.* hog, castrated boar' < *b^horu-.

A Germanic-Slavic isogloss. The Germanic suffixation is paralleled by *$elha(n)$- 'elk', *$selha$- 'seal' and - on a deeper level - by PIE *h_2rt-ḱo- 'bear', cf. Hitt. *ḫartakka-*, Skt. *ṛkṣa-*, Gr. ἄρκτος, Lat. *ursus*, Olr. *art*, W *arth*.

barwa- m. 'grove(?)' — ON *bǫrr* m. 'unknown dendronym', OE *bearu* m. 'grove', OHG *bara-wāri* m. 'forest keeper; priest' ⇒ *b^hor-uo-* (NEUR) — RuCS *borъ* m. 'pine-tree, pine forest', Ru. *bor* m. 'coniferous forest', SCr. *bôr* m. 'pine-tree' < *b^hor-u-.

A Germanic-Slavic isogloss.

barzda- m. 'edge, brim; beard' — Go. Crim. *bars* 'id.', ON *barð* n. 'brim, prow; beard', Far. *barð* n. 'stern; promontory', Nw. *bard* m. 'edge, side', OE *beard* m. 'beard', E *beard*, OFri. *berd* m. 'id.', Du. *baard* c. 'id.', OHG *bart* m. 'id.', G *Bart* m. 'id.' ⇒ *b^horzd^h-o-* (WEUR) — OCS *brada* f. 'beard', Ru. *borodá* f. 'beard, chin', SCr. *bráda* f. 'id.' < * *$b^hor(z?)d^h$-eh_2-*; Lith. *barzdà* f. 'id.' < *b^horzd^h-eh_2-*.

Within Germanic, the word appears to be closely related to *$brezda$-*, *$brazda$- and *$burzda$- 'tip; edge; board', which makes it plausible that the meaning 'beard' developed from 'prickle' (cf. Olr. *brot* m. 'id.' < *b^hrozd^h-o-*). The question that thus arises is whether the Balto-Slavic forms could have been borrowed from PGm. *$barzda$-*. This indeed seems to be confirmed by the fact that the ablaut slot of *$barzda$- must be analogical after the zero grade *$burzda$-, *$brazda$- being the expected outcome of the full-grade form *b^hrosd^h-o-* underlying Olr. *brot* (cf. Kroonen 2011a: 150). Lat. *barba* f. 'beard', which probably reflects PIt. *$barθa$*, could be from Germanic as well; the regular outcome of *b^horzd^h-eh_2- would at any rate be **$forba$*.

basja- ~ ***bazja-*** n. 'berry' — Go. *basi* n. 'id.', ON *ber* n. 'id.', Far. *ber* n. 'id.', Elfd. *ber* n. 'id.', OE *berige* f. 'berry, grape', E *berry*, OS *beri* n. 'id.', MDu. *bes*, *besie* f. 'berry, grape; bunch of grapes', Du. *bes* c. 'berry', OHG *beri* n. 'berry, grape', G *Beere* f. 'berry' (WEUR?).

A *ja*-stem that in view of the Verner alternation of e.g. Du. *bes* vs. G *Beere*, E *berry* was probably inflected as sg. *$basjan$*, pl. *$bazjō$*. Related to Nw. *bas* n./m., *base* m. 'shrub' and WPhal. *base* f. 'leafstalk; petiole' < *$basō(n)$-*. No further etymology. Some have compared Olr. *basc* adj. 'red' in view of the related OE *basu* adj. 'purple' < *$baswa$-*. The color name, however, was conversely derived from the noun with the productive *wa-suffix. Perhaps more plausible is the link with Lat. *fascis* m. 'bundle, faggot' and its potential cognates Olr. *basc* m. 'necklace', W *beich* 'burden', Bret. *bec'h* 'load' <

*b^hask-i(o)-. There can be no connection, on the other hand, with Lat. *bācula* f. 'small berry', cf. *bacci-fer* adj. 'having berries'.

basta- m. 'bast' — ON *bast* n. 'bast, inner bark; string', OE *bæst* n./m.? 'id.', E *bast*, Du. *bast* c. 'id.', OHG *bast* m. 'bast, rope', G *Bast* m. 'bast' (GM).

Also cf. the lengthened grade form MHG *buost* m./n. 'rope made of bast', G Rhnl. *Bust* f. 'nut shell', Du. dial. *boest* f. 'husk' < *$b\bar{o}sta/\bar{o}$-. No further etymology; hardly to Lat. *fascis* 'bundle'.

batiz adv. 'better' — Go. *batis* adv. 'id.', ON *betr* adv. 'id.', Far. *betur* adv. 'id.', OE *bet* adv. 'id.', OS *bat* adv. 'id.', MDu. *bet* adv. 'id.', OHG *baz* adv. 'id.' ⇒ *b^hHd-is* (IE) — Skt. *bhadrá-* adj. 'auspicious, happy, pleasant', YAv. *hu-baδra-* adj. 'very happy' < *b^hoHd-ro- (with loss of *H* in front of *-dr-* as per Lubotsky 1981).

The adverb to the comparative of *$g\bar{o}da$- 'good'. Also cf. ON *bati* m. 'improvement', OFri. *bata* m. 'advantage', Du. *baat* c. 'profit' < *batan-. Ablauting with *$b\bar{o}t\bar{o}$-.

baþa- n. 'bath' — ON *bað* n. 'id.', Far. *bað* n. 'id.', Elfd. *bað* n. 'id.', OE *bæþ* n. 'id.', E *bath*, OFri. *beth* n. 'id.', OS *bath* n. 'id.', Du. *bad* n. 'id.', OHG *bad* n. 'id.', G *Bad* n. 'id.' ⇒ *$b^h\acute{i}_1$-to-(?) (GM).

A zero-grade *to*-formation to an exclusively Germanic root *b^heh_1-, cf. the related OHG *bāwan*, *bāen* s.v.(?), G *bähen* w.v. 'to foment', Bav., Alem. 'to toast' < *$b\bar{e}an$- (with secondary *j* in the hiatus). The derivation of this verb from *$g^{wh}r$-eh_1-*ie-* (see **warma-*) with "irregular loss" of the *r* is to be rejected. Also cf. Elfd. *beða* w.v. 'to well, gush; to weld', EDu. *betten* w.v. 'to warm up', Du. *betten* w.v. 'to moisturize' < *baþjan-.

baugjan- w.v. 'to (make) bend' — ON *beygja* w.v. 'id.', Far. *boyggja* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. OE *bīegan* w.v. 'id.', OS *bōgian* w.v. 'id.', OHG *bougen* w.v. 'id.', G *beugen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *b^hough-éie- (IE).

The causative to *beugan- ~ *$b\bar{u}gan$- (q.v.).

baunō- f. 'bean' — ON *baun* f. 'id.', OE *bēan* f. 'id.', E *bean*, OS *bōna* f. 'id.', Du. *boon* c. 'id.', OHG *bōna* f. 'id.', G *Bohne* f. 'id.' ⇒ *$b^hau(-neh_2)$- (EUR/NIE) — Lat. *faba* f. 'bean', OPru. *babo* 'id.', OCS *bobъ*, Ru. *bob*, SCr. *bȍb* m. 'id.', < *b^hab^h-o/eh_2- and Gr. φακός m. 'lentil', Alb. *bathë* 'bean' < *b^hak-o/eh_2-; also cf. Gr. ἄφακος, ἀφάκη 'vetch'.

The Germanic form is derived from *b^hau-n-eh_2-, whose root is close to, but formally irreconcilable with both *b^hab^h- and *b^hak- as evidenced by the other comparanda. These formal discrepancies suggest that we are dealing with a non-IE word borrowed from a European language belonging to a deeply agricultural culture.

bausa- adj. 'evil' — Nw. *baus* adj. 'proud', OFri. *bās** adj. 'obscene', OS *gi-bōsi* adj. 'vain', ODu. *bōsi* adj. 'evil, wicked', Du. *boos* adj. 'angry; evil', OHG *bōsi* adj. 'weak, useless', G *böse* adj. 'wicked, evil, mean' ⇒ *b^houHs-o- (NEUR) — Ru. *búxnut'* 'to swell up' < *b^hou(H)s-; Kash. *bucha* f. 'pride, haughtiness' < *b^hou(H)s-eh$_2$-.

An adjective derived from a marginally attested root *b^heuHs- with a meaning 'to swell' (whence 'to rage, be angry, evil'). Also cf. MHG *būs* m. 'abundance' < *būsa-.

bautan- s.v. 'to beat' — ON *bauta* w.v. 'to beat; to chase', OE *bēatan* s.v. 'to beat, strike', E *to beat*, MDu. *boten* s.v. 'to hit, beat', OHG *bōzan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *bōzen* s./w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *b^hóud-e-(?) (GM?) — Lat. *-fūtō, -āre* 'to strike' < *b^hou-t-eh$_2$-ie-; Mlr. *búailid* 'to beat, strike' (a denominal verb from an instrumental formation *b^hou-d^{h}lo-?); Alb. *butë* adj. 'tender' < *b^hu-to-.

The root of this verb, an *o*-grade intensive, is usually reconstructed as *b^heud- (cf. Gordon 2011, who assumes a root *b^heu- with a *d*-suffix). It is likely, however, that *bautan- continues Pre-Gm. *bauttan- with a geminate adopted from the appurtenant iterative *butt/dōn- (q.v.) < *b^hut-néh$_2$- or *b^hud^h-néh$_2$-. Influence from this iterative is also seen in MHG *biezen* ~ *būzen* s.v. 'to hit', which in view of the *eu ~ *ū alternation may represent a secondary back-formation. As a result, the original root-final consonant cannot be identified as *d, but only as *t or *d^h.

baza- adj. 'naked, visible' — ON *berr* adj. 'id.', Far. *berur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *ber* adj. 'id.', OE *bær* adj. 'id.', E *bare*, OFri. *ber* adj. 'id.', OS *bar* adj. 'id.', Du. *barre-voets* adv. 'barefoot', OHG *bar* adj. 'naked, bare; pure; public', G *bar* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *b^hos-ó- (IE) — Lith. *bāsas*, Latv. *bass* adj. 'barefoot', CS *bosъ*, Ru. *bosój*, SCr. *bȍs* adj. 'id.' < *b^hos-o-; Arm. *bok* adj. 'id.' < *b^hoso-g^{w}h$_2$-o- ("going naked", a compound with the PIE root *g^{w}eh$_2$- 'to go').

The Indo-European word for 'bare, barefoot'.

bebura- 1 m. 'beaver' — ON *bjórr* m. 'id.', Elfd. *biuor* m. 'id.', OE *beofor* m. 'id.', E *beaver*, OS *biƀar, biƀor* m. 'id.', Du. *bever* c. 'id.', OHG *bibar, bibur* m. 'id.', G *Biber* m. 'id.' ⇒ *b^he-b^{h}r- (IE) — YAv. *baβra-* m. 'beaver', Lat. *fiber, feber* m. 'id.'; Bret. *beuer* 'id.'; OPru. *bebrus*, Lith. *bēbras, bebrùs, bābras*, Latv. *bẹ̃brs, bebris* m. 'id.'; CS *bebrъ, bobrъ*, Ru. *bobr*, SCr. *dȁbar* m. 'id.'.

An animal name generally assumed to have been derived from an adjective preserved as Skt. *babhrú-* '(reddish) brown' < *b^heb^h-ru-. Since, however, *u*-stem adjectives denoting color names were productive in Proto-Indo-European, I assume derivation in the opposite direction. In my view, the original paradigm is to be reconstructed as nom. *b^hé-b^{h}r, gen. *b^hi-b^{h}r-ós (cf. Beekes 1995: 265). The thematic forms YAv. *baβra-*, Lat. *fiber*, Lith. *bēbras* and CS *bebrъ* continue the nominative form, as does the

Germanic base **bebur-* (with vocalization of the *r*). The *u*-stems OPru. *bebrus* and Lith. *bebrùs* etc. are probably secondary.

bebura- 2 m. 'piece of skin, cloth(?)' — ON *bjórr* m. 'triangular cut off piece of skin; land; front wall, party wall', Far. *bjóri* m. 'patch, strip, slip', Nw. *bjor(e)* m. 'wedge-shaped patch', Sw. *bjur-ås* 'cross-beams supporting the thatch of a roof', Gutn. *bjaur* 'stern post' (GM).

Although the word can straightforwardly be reconstructed as **beura-* (cf. ON *bjórr* 'beer' < **beura-*), it is usually derived from **bebura-* (cf. ON *bjórr* 'beaver' < **bebura- 1*) in view of the potential link with Lat. *fibra* f. 'fiber' (cf. De Vries 1962: 40; Magnússon 1989: 60). This link is uncertain in view of the irregular variant Lat. *fimbriae* f.pl. 'fringe on a garment' (cf. De Vaan 2008: 217), but I would nevertheless like to adduce Far. *bjarva* w.v. 'to mend, patch; to wrap' in support of it. This clearly denominal verb obviously developed from **beburōjan-* through metathesis of an unattested ON **bjafra*. Note that EFri. *bjuure* f. 'bed tick, pillow-case, bag', which theoretically can be brought up in support of the alternative proto-form **beurōn-*, is actually a loanword from Fr. *bure* 'homespun' (Löfstedt 1931: 132) < VLat. *burra* f. 'wool, shaggy garment', cf. EDu. *buer* 'tick, ticking'.

bedjan- s.v. 'to ask, beg, pray' — Go. *bidjan* s.v. 'id.', ON *biðja* s.v. 'id.', Far. *biðja* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *biða* s.v. 'id.', OE *biddan* s.v. 'id.', E *to bid*, OFri. *bidda* w.v. 'to ask, bid, order', OS *biddian* w.v. 'to ask', Du. *bidden* s.v. 'to pray', OHG *bitten* s.v. 'to ask; to pray', G *bitten* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰedʰ-ie-* (IE?).

Etymology debated. In view of the causative **baidjan-*, it has been suggested that **bedjan-* arose from **bidjan-* in analogy to **legjan-* 'to lie' and **setjan-* 'to sit'. The meaning 'to ask' would then have developed from a more primitive 'to expect'. Since the merger of **e* and **i* required for the reinterpretation of **bidjan-* as **bedjan-* happened in East and West Germanic independently, however, this solution cannot be maintained. The alternative link with Gr. ποθέω 'to desire, long for, miss' and OIr. *guidid* 'to pray' < **gʷʰodʰ-éie-* is more attractive, but hinges on the controversial development of PIE **gʷʰ* to PGm. **b* (Seebold 1970). Further cf. ON *kné-beðr* 'hassock', OS *kneo-beda* 'prayer', which has sometimes been equated with Skt. *jñu-bádh-* adj. 'bending the knee'.

bēla- n. '(bon)fire, (funeral) pyre' — ON *bál* n. 'fire; pyre', Far. *bál* n. '(bon)fire', OE *bǣl* n. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰélH-o-* (IE?) — OCS *bělъ*, Ru. *bélyj*, SCr. *bȉo*, *bȅo* adj. 'white' < **bʰēlH-o-*; Lith. *bālas* adj. 'white', Latv. *bàls* adj. 'pale' < **bʰolH-o-*.

An etymology left uncertain by the semantic difference between 'pyre' and 'white'.

belgan- s.v. 'to swell' — ON *bolginn* ptc. 'swollen', OE *belgan* s.v. 'to swell with anger', OFri. *for-bolgen* ptc. 'angry', OS *ar-belgan* s.v. 'to move to anger', EDu. *ver-bolgen* adj. 'angered', OHG *belgan* s.v. 'to be or grow angry', MHG *belgen* s.v. 'to swell (up)', refl. 'to become angry' ⇒ *b^hélǵ^h-e- (IE) — Comparable to OIr. *bolgaid* 'to swell' < *b^holǵ^h-eh$_2$-ie-; Ru. *bólozen'* m. 'callus, bump' < *b^holǵ^h-nio-.

A strong verb with derivatives that have cognates throughout the IE languages, for which see *balgi- 'skin bag'. Also cf. *bulgjōn- and the causative *balgjan- (q.v.).

belkan-* ~ *balkan-* ~ *bulkan- m. 'beam' — ON *bjalki* m. 'id.', *bǫlkr* m. 'id.', OE *balca* m. 'beam, bank, ridge', E *balk*, OFri. *balka* m. 'roof beam, rafter', MLG *balke* m. 'beam, hayloft, ceiling', Du. *balk* c. 'beam, bar', OHG *balko* m. 'plank, winepress, part of a ship', G *Balken* m. 'beam, bar' ⇒ *b^hélǵ^h-on- (NEUR) — Ru. dial. *bólozno* n. 'thick board' < *b^holǵ^h-ino-; Lith. *balžíenas*, Latv. *bàlziẽns* m. 'cross-beam' < *b^holǵ^h-eiH-no-.

An ablauting *n*-stem with generalization of the geminate that arose from the sequence *-ǵ^h-n- in the genitive (Kroonen 2011a: 148-149). The original paradigmatic distribution of the roots *belk- and *balk- is revealed by the closely related ON *bǫlkr*, Icel. *bálkur* m. 'partition, section', Far. *bólkur* m. 'section; small flock', Nw. *bolk*, pl. *belker* m. 'section; bulkhead', OSw. *balker*, *bolker* m. 'beam; section' < *balku-, which split off from the original acc.pl. *balk(k)uns < *b^holǵ^h-n-ńs. The zero grade can be retrieved from OE *bolca* m. 'gangway, duckboard', OHG *bolko* m. 'gangboard' < *bulkan-, which was created on the basis of the gen. *bulk(k)az < *b^hl̥ǵ^h-n-ós. Outside Germanic, the word is clearly related to Ru. *bólozno* and Lith. *balžíenas*, which point to a root *b^holǵ^h- (not *b^holǵ- in view of Winter's law). These cognates, in turn, can in spite of the diverging semantics hardly be separated from e.g. OPru. *balsinis* 'pillow' and SCr. *blàzina* f. 'pillow, bolster' as mentioned under *balgi- 'skin bag'.

bellan- s.v. 'to roar, bark' — Icel. *bjalla* w.v. 'to chatter; to croak', OE *bellan* s.v. 'to bellow, roar, bark', MDu. *bellen* w.v. 'to bark', OHG *bellan* s.v. 'to bark, resound', MHG *bellen* s.v. 'to bark', G *bellen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A strong verb that in view of the double *l* appears to have been back-formed from the pertaining iterative *bullōn- (q.v.) < *b^hlh$_1$-néh$_2$- (there is consequently no need to assume gemination by the laryngeal as per Lühr 1976: 77). The original present is represented by *blējan- 'to bleat' (q.v.) < *b^hleh$_1$-ie-.

bellōn- f. 'knoll(?)' — Icel. *bjalla* f. 'hill', Sw. *fota-bjälle* n. 'heel' (EUR).

Ablauting with *ballan- (q.v.).

belunōn- ~ *bulmōn- f. 'henbane' — OSw. *bulma* f. 'id.', Sw. *bolma, bolm-ört* 'id.', ODa. *bylne* 'id.', EDa. *bølme, bulme* 'id.', Da. *bulme-urt* 'id.', OE *beolone* f. 'id.', OS *bilina* f. 'id.', MDu. *belne* f. 'id.' ⇒ *b^hel-uon-(?) (EUR) — W *bela, bele* 'henbane' < *b^hel-es-eh_2-; RuCS *belenъ* m., Ru. *belená* f. < *b^hel-en-o/eh_2-; SCr. *bûn* m. 'id.' < *b^hl-no-.

Also cf. OE *beolonan sæd*, MDu. *belne-saet*, MLG *billen-saat* 'henbane seed'. The opposition of OE *beolone* vs. OSw. *bulma* could point to an ablauting *un*-stem, *belwō*, gen. *bulwunaz < *$b^hél$-uōn, *b^hl-un-ós. The *m* of the Scandinavian forms must then be secondary, cf. Da. *bulne* ~ *bulme* 'to swell up' = ODa. *bulnæ*, ON *bolgna* (see *belgan-). The Slavic forms, on the other hand, rather point to an ablauting *n*-stem (cf. Schrijver 1999b), e.g. nom. *$b^hél$-ōn, gen. *b^hl-n-ós. OHG *bilisa*, G *Bilsen-kraut* together with Romance forms such as Sp. *belesa* 'plumbago' were adopted from Celtic *belisa, as continued by W *bela* (Schrijver l.c.).

benuta- m. 'bentgrass' — OE *beonet* m. 'id.', E *bent*, OFri. *benet* 'id.(?)', OWFri. *bjint* c./n. 'id.', EFri. *bjunt* n. 'id.', OHG *binuz* m. 'id.', MHG *binez, binz* m. 'id.', G *Binse* f. 'id.' (GM/NIE).

It is possible that Nw. *bunt* m. 'tufted grass (*Aira caespitosa*)' is related, and if so, it represents an ablauting form *bunuta- that would point to a root *$b^h(e)nH$- with a laryngeal. The root has no extra-Gm. cognates, however, and can in view of the irregular correspondence with MLG *bēse*, MDu. *bies(e)* f., Du. *bies* c. 'bulrush, sedge' < *beusō-(?) be analyzed as a word of non-IE origin.

beran- 1 s.v. 'to bear, carry, give birth' — Go. *bairan* s.v. 'to bear, bring; to endure, suffer; to give birth', ON *bera* s.v. 'to bear, carry; to wear; to produce, yield', Elfd. *bjärå* s.v. 'id.', OE *beran* s.v. 'id.', E *to bear*, OFri. *bera* s.v. 'to carry; to give birth', OS *beran* s.v. 'to bear, possess', Du. *baren* w.v. 'to give birth', OHG *beran* s.v. 'to bear, produce, bring forth, render', G *ge-bähren* s.v. 'to bear, give birth' ⇒ *$b^hér$-e- (IE) — ToAB *pär-* 'to bring, carry', Skt. *bhárati* 'to carry, bear, bring, maintain', Av. *baraitī* 'to bring', Arm. *berem* 'to bring, bear, give fruit', Alb. *bie* 'to bear, carry', Gr. φέρω, Lat. *ferō, ferre* 'to carry, take', OIr. *beirid* 'to carry', OW *beryt*, MBret. *beraff* 'to flow', OCS *bьrati* 'to gather, select', Ru. *brat'* (*berú*) 'to take', SCr. *brȁti* 'to gather'.

An old PIE thematic verb. See also *barna-, *bēri-, *bērō-, *buri- and *burjan-.

beran- 2 m. 'bear' — OSw. *Biari* prop. 'id.', OE *bera* m. 'id.', MDu. *bere* m. 'id.', Du. *beer* c. 'id.', OHG *bero* m. 'id.', G *Bär* m. 'id.' ⇒ *b^herH-on- (NEUR).

The PGm. word was inflected as an *n*-stem. In Nordic, it was replaced by the *u*-stem *bernu-, cf. ON *bjǫrn*, Far. *bjørn* (f.), Elfd. *byönn*, which split off from the acc.pl. case *bernuns < *b^her-n-ńs. Other secondary derivations are

ON *bera* f. 'she-bear' < **berōn-* and ON *birna* f. 'id.' < **bernjōn-*. OHG *Berri* 'Keeper of the Bear (*arctophylax*)' seems to point to an ablauting form **barja-*, to which one may compare ON *bassi* m. 'bear' < **barsan-*(?), a variant of ON *bersi* < **bersan-*, cf. EDu. *bers, bors* 'id.'.

Outside Germanic, the word is usually compared to Lith. *béras*, Latv. *bẽrs* adj. 'brown' < **bʰērH-o-*, assuming that the Gm. word started out as a tabooistic formation meaning 'the brown one'. Another possibility is to derive PGm. **beran-* from PIE **ǵʰuēr-* 'wild animal' as represented by Gr. θήρ, Lith. *žvėris*, OCS *zvěrь* m. 'wild animal' (Ringe 2006: 106), but this explanation depends on the controversial change of PIE **gʷʰ* (or **ǵʰu-*) to PGm. **b* (cf. **banjō-*). The sometimes compared OCS *brъlogъ* m., Ru. *berlóga* f., SCr. *brlog* m. 'puddle, den' cannot be related: either the element **bъr-* was borrowed from Gm. **ber-*, or the word was created to the Slavic formation continued by SCr. *brljati* 'to dabble' with the suffix *-og-* (cf. Skok 1971: 214).

berga- m./n. 'mountain' — ON *bjarg, berg* n. 'id.', OE *beorg* m. 'id.', E *barrow*, OFri. *berch* m. 'id.', OS *berg* m. 'id.', Du. *berg* c. 'id.', OHG *berg, berag* m. 'id.', G *Berg* m. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰerǵʰ-o-* (IE) — Olr. *bri* f. 'hill, plain' < **bʰrǵʰ-eh₂-*; Arm. *barjr* adj. 'high', Hitt. *parku-* adj. 'id.' < **bʰrǵʰ-u-*; Skt. *bṛhánt-*, Av. *bərəz(ant)-* adj. 'high' < **bʰrǵʰ-ent-*.

Also cf. Go. *bairgahei* f. 'mountainous area' < **berg-ah-īn-*.

bergan- s.v. 'to keep (safe)' — Go. *bairgan* s.v. 'to preserve, protect, keep', ON *bjarga* w.v. 'to save, help', OE *beorgan* s.v. 'to spare', Du. *bergen* s.v. 'to hide; to salvage', OHG *bergan* s.v. 'to protect, hide', G *bergen* s.v. 'to contain, retrieve, salvage' ⇒ **bʰérgʰ-e-* (EUR) — OCS *brěšti* (*brěgǫ*) 'to care' < **bʰérgʰ-e-*; Lith. *bìrginti* 'to save' < **bʰrgʰ-néh₂-*; Olr. *commairge* f. 'protection, security' < **ḱom-bʰorgʰ-ieh₂-*.

In view of the apparent etymological link with **berga-* 'mountain', the original meaning of the verb can be reconstructed as 'to take to high ground', whence 'to keep safe', cf. **burgjan-* and **burg-*. This is implausible, however, since the unpalatalized velars of OCS *brěšti* (*brěgǫ*) 'to care' and Lith. *bìrginti* point to a root **bʰergʰ-* 'to safeguard' that was unidentical to PIE **bʰerǵʰ-* 'high'. The link with the Balto-Slavic forms can consequently only be maintained by assuming that they were adopted from Germanic.

berhta- adj. 'bright' — Go. *bairhts* adj. 'bright, clear, manifest, evident', ON *bjartr* adj. 'bright, shining; illustrious', OE *beorht* adj. 'bright', E *bright*, OS *berht* adj. 'shining', OHG *beraht* adj. 'bright, shining', MHG *berht* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰerh₁ǵ-to-* (IE) — Identical to W *berth* adj. 'beautiful' < **bʰerh₁ǵ-to-*; also Alb. *bardhē* adj. 'white' < **bʰorh₁ǵ-o-* (not **bʰrǵ-o-*, *pace* Huld 1984: 40).

The derivational base of Go. *bairhtjan*, ON *birta*, OE *ge-bierhtan* 'to shine, make bright' < **berhtjan-*. In Germanic, the root also occurs without a suffix, e.g. in Nw. *bjerk* adj. 'bright' < **berka-* < **bʰerh₁ǵ-o-* and in **brōka-* (q.v.).

bēri- adj. 'portable' — ON *bærr* adj. 'due, entitled to', Far. *-bærur* adj. 'capable of bearing' (DRV) — Skt. *bhāryá-* adj. 'to be borne, to be nourished' < **bʰēr-io-*.

A *vr̥ddhi*-gerundive to **beran- 1* (q.v.).

berkan- s.v. 'to roar' — OE *beorcan* s.v. 'to make a sharp explosive sound, bark', E *to bark* ⇒ **bʰerg-e-* (NEUR?) — To Lith. *burgéti* 'to sputter; grumble', Latv. *burgžêt* 'to purr' < **bʰrg-eh₁-* (Pokorny IEW: 138-139)?

Also cf. **burkōn-* and **barkjan-*.

berkō- f. 'birch-tree' — ON *bjǫrk* f. 'id.', OE *beorc* f. 'id.', E *birch*, Du. *berk* c. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰerh₁ǵ-eh₂-* (IE) — Skt. *bhūrjá-* m. 'kind of birch', Oss. *bærz* / *bærzæ* 'birch' < **bʰrh₁ǵ-o-*; Lith. *béržas* m. 'id.', SCr. *brẽza* f. 'id.' < **bʰerh₁ǵ-o/eh₂-*.

Also cf. - with a different suffix - OE *birce*, OHG *bircha*, *birihha*, G *Birke* f. 'id.' < **berkjō(n)-*. Related to **barku-* 'bark' and **berhta-* 'bright' (the bark of the birch-tree is whitish in color).

bērō- f. 'bier' — OE *bār*, *bær* f. 'id.', E *bier*, OFri. *bēre* f. 'id.', OS *bāra* f. 'id.', Du. *baar* c. 'id.', OHG *bāra* f. 'id.', G *Bahre* f. 'id.' (DRV).

A lengthened grade *ō*-stem derived from the strong verb **beran- 1* (q.v.).

beudan- s.v. 'to command; to offer' — Go. *biudan* s.v. 'id.', ON *bjóða* s.v. 'to offer; to invite', Far. *bjóða* s.v. 'to offer; to invite; to command', Elfd. *biuoða* s.v. 'to offer; to assist', OE *bēodan* s.v. 'to bid; to command, order', E *to bid*, OS *biodan* s.v. 'to offer', Du. *bieden* s.v. 'id.', OHG *biotan* s.v. 'id.', G *bieten* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰéudʰ-e-* (IE) — ToA *potā-*, B *pautā-* 'to honor, flatter', Skt. *bódhati* 'to perceive, notice', YAv. *baoδaiti* 'to pay attention', Gr. πεύθω 'to give notice' < **bʰéudʰ-e-*; OCS *bljusti* 'to watch, guard', Ru. *bljustí* (*bljudú*) 'id.', SCr. *blj̀usti* 'id.' < **bʰéudʰ-*; Gr. πυνθάνομαι 'to find out, inquire', Lith. *bùsti* (*bundù*) 'to awake, wake up' < * *bʰu-n-dʰ-*.

A strong verb of IE origin. See also **buda-* and **budan-*.

beugan- ~ ***būgan-*** s.v. 'to bow, bend' — Go. *biugan* s.v. 'id.', ON *bjúga* s.v. 'id.', Far. *bogin* adj. 'bent', OE *būgan* s.v. 'to bend', E *to bow*, MDu. *bugen* s.v. 'id.', Du. *buigen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *biogan* s.v. 'to bend, swing', G *biegen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰéugʰ-e-* (IE) — Ru. *bgat'* 'to bend' < **bʰugʰ-eh₂-ie-*; Ru. *bugór* m. 'hillock', Latv. *baũgurs* m. 'hill' < **bʰougʰ-ro-*; and with metathesis Lith. *gùbti* (*gumbù*), Latv. *gubt* 'to bend, curve' < **gʰu-m-bʰ-e-*; RuCS *gъ(b)nuti*, Ru.

gnut' (*gnu*) 'to bend', SCr. *gànuti* 'to move' < **g^{h}ub^{h}-neu-*; appurtenance uncertain: Skt. *bhujáti* 'to bend, shove' < **b^{h}ug-é-*.

The Germanic verb just like some Balto-Slavic forms points to a root **b^{h}eug^{h}-*. It appears in metathesized form in Lith. *gùbti*, RuCS *gъb(b)nuti*, and also in PGm. **gubēn-* 'to cower' (q.v.). Skt. *bhujáti* points to an unexplained root variant **b^{h}eug-*. See also **baugjan-*, **bugan-* and **bukk/gōn-*.

****beura-*** n. 'beer' — ON *bjórr* m. 'id.', Far. *bjór* n. 'id.', OE *bēor* n. 'id.', E *beer*, MDu. *bier* n. 'id.', Du. *bier* n. 'id.', OHG *bior* n. 'id.', G *Bier* n. 'id.' ⇒ **b^{h}reuH-ro-* (DRV).

Etymology debated. Some have compared Sw. *buska* 'newly brewed beer' (cf. Pokorny IEW: 98-102), but the implied proto-form **beuza-* cannot be maintained, as it would have given ON ***býrr* by ʀ-mutation. It can be contended that ON *bjórr* was adopted from Old English, but in view of the formal regularity of the sound correspondences as well as the borrowing of the word as Olr. *béoir* and SaaN *biev'ra*, this seems unlikely. Not very attractive either is the idea that the word started out as a West Germanic monastic loanword from Lat. *biber* 'drink' (Kluge/Mitzka 1975). In my view, the best possible explanation is to assume dissimilation of the first *r* in a PGm. form **breura-* (Osthoff 1882: 555), because this formation can straightforwardly be derived from the verb **brewwan-* 'to brew' with a *ro*-suffix, cf. Gr. βρῦτος or βρῦτον 'fermented liquor made from barley, beer'. It is furthermore conceivable that this *ro*-stem continues an older heteroclitic formation **b^{h}reuH-ur*.

****beusta-*** m. 'beestings' — OE *bēost* m. 'id.', E *beestings*, WFri. *bjist* c. 'id.', NFri. Hall. *biaost* n. 'id.', MDu. *biest* f., Du. *biest* c. 'id.', OHG *biost* m. 'id.', G *Biest* m. 'id.' (GM).

The original form and etymology of the word are uncertain. In view of ?OFra. gl. *biastr*, G Pal. *Briester* and Swi. *briešt*, it is possible to assume that the original form was **breustra-*, and that this form was dissimilated into both **breusta-* and **beustra-*. This **breustra-* can then be connected to MHG *briustern* w.v. 'to swell up', which was compared by MHW: 357-8 to **breusta-* 'breast' (q.v.). However, the assumption of a two-way dissimilation is still unable to account for the common form **beusta-*, which has no *r* at all. Are we dealing with some kind of compound, e.g. **bi-justa-*, the second element being **jŭsta-* 'cheese' (q.v.)? Uncertain. The potentially related Icel. *á-brystir*, *-brestir*, *-bristir* f.pl. 'dish made from beestings' has been derived from ON *bresta* s.v. 'to break' < **brestan-* (Magnússon 1989: 2). Icel. *broddr* m. 'beestings' seems to be unrelated, as it may be identical to *broddr* 'spike, tip; beginning' < **bruzda-* in the sense of 'first milk' (Magnússon 19899: 83). Unclear is the position of Nw. *budde* f. 'beestings; fluid from a

pregnant cow's teat; cheese made of beestings; newlyborn lamb or calf' < **buzdōn-*.

bewwa- n. 'yield; barley' — ON *bygg* n. 'barley', Far. *bygg* n. 'id.', Elfd. *begg-* 'id.', OE *bēow* n. 'id.', OS *beu* n.(?) 'harvest' ⇒ **bʰeuh₂-o-* (DRV).

An *a*-stem related to **bōan-* ~ **būan-* (q.v.). Note that Elfd. *begg* proves that the root vowel was **e* rather than **i*.

***bīan-*(?)** s.v.(?) 'to forsee(?), worry(?)' — Far. *bíggja* w.v. 'to herald, announce', Nw. *bjå* w.v. 'to tremble; to warn, predict something bad; to care about; to be of use' ⇒ **bʰéiH-e-*(?) (IE) — Skt. *bháyate* 'to be afraid' < **bʰéiH-e-*; OPru. *biātwei*, Lith. *bijóti(s)*, Latv. *bîtiês* 'to fear, to be scared' < **bʰiH-ie-*; OCS *bojati sę*, Ru. *bojat'sja*, SCr. *bòjati se* 'to fear, be afraid' < **bʰoiH-eh₂-*; Lith. *baisùs*, Latv. *baîss* adj. 'terrible' < **bʰoiH-s-u-*; OCS *běsъ*, Ru. *bes*, SCr. *bȉjes* m. 'demon' < **bʰoiH-so-*.

The verb has received no IE etymology so far, but given the Norwegian meanings 'to shiver' and 'to worry', it is likely to contain the IE root **bʰeiH-* 'to fear'. This was originally a perfective verb, cf. Skt. *bibhāya* 'is afraid' < **bʰi-bʰoiH-e* (also cf. **bibēn-*). Far. *bíggja* and Nw. *bjå* are weak verbs and may continue **bĭ̄(j)ēn-* or **bĭ̄(j)ōn-* (cf. Lith. *bijóti* < **bʰiH-eh₂-*). Given the late attestation of the two verbs, however, it cannot be excluded that the verb originally was strong, continuing **bīan-* < **bʰéiH-e-*, cf. Skt. *bháyate*.

bibēn- w.v. 'to tremble' — ON *bifa* w.v. 'id.', Far. *biva* w.v. 'id.', OE *beofian* w.v. 'id.', OFri. *beva* w.v. 'id.', OS *bebon* w.v. 'id.', Du. *beven* w.v. 'id.', OHG *bibēn* w.v. 'id.', G *beben* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰi-bʰoih₂-* (IE).

A stative verb based on a PIE reduplicated perfect **bʰe-bʰoiH-* (Narten 1981: 10) to the root **bʰeiH-*, for which see **bīan-*(?). Just like Skt. *bibhéti*, which was created to Skt. *bibhāya* 'is afraid', the PGm. stem **bebai-* seems to have given rise to a class 3 weak verb (Kümmel 2000: 338). For a similar scenario, cf. **gīgēn-* and **rīrēn-*.

bīdan- s.v. 'to wait' — Go. *beidan* s.v. 'to await, look for', ON *bíða* s.v. 'to wait for; to suffer, undergo', Far. *bíða* s.v. 'to wait', Elfd. *baiða* s.v. 'id.', OE *bīdan* s.v. 'to wait, remain', E *to bide*, OFri. *bīdia* w.v. 'id.', OS *bīdan* s.v. 'to wait, stay, expect', MDu. *biden* s.v. 'to wait', OHG *bītan* s.v. 'to wait, anticipate, hope', MHG *bīten* s.v. 'to await' ⇒ **bʰéidʰ-e-* (EUR) — Gr. πείθομαι 'to trust, rely, obey, be persuaded', Lat. *fīdō, -ere* 'to trust' < **bʰéidʰ-e-*; Alb. *bindem* 'to be convinced, believe' < **bʰi-n-dʰ-*.

A European verb. The Germanic meaning 'to wait' probably developed from 'to suffer', cf. ON *bíða* with both meanings. With a more primitive meaning, cf. **baidjan-* 'to force'.

bi(j)ēn- w.v. 'to hit' — Icel. *bjá* w.v. 'to fight, struggle' ⇒ **bʰiH-eh₁-ie-* (EUR) — OIr. *benaid* 'to strike, hit', MW *kymynu* 'to hit, cut down', MBret. *benaff* 'to cut' < **bʰiH-neh₂-*; OCS *biti*, Ru. *bit'* (*b'ju*) 'to beat', SCr. *bȉti* 'to beat, kill'; Ru. *bítva*, SCr. *bȉtva* f. 'battle' < **bʰiH-tueh₂-*; OCS *uboi* m. 'murder', Ru. *boj* m. 'battle, fight, beating', SCr. *bôj* m. 'battle, war' < **bʰoiH-o-*.

I reconstruct Icel. *bjá* as **bi(j)ēn-* in view of the similar development of PGm. < **fi(j)ēn-* (q.v.) to ON *fjá* 'to hate'. This reconstruction enables us to derive the verb from the PIE root **bʰeiH-* 'to hit'. The derivation from **bewōn-* (Magnússon 1989: 58) is less attractive.

bila- adj. 'equal, even' — OS *bile-wit* adj. 'ambidextrous', MDu. *bil-lijc* adv. 'reasonable, right', Du. *bil-lijk* adv. 'id.', OHG *bil-līh* adv. 'id.', MHG *un-bil* adj. 'unappropriated, injust' ⇒ **bʰi-lo-*(?) (EUR) — Gr. φίλος adj. 'friendly, dear; related, own', OIr. *bil* adj. 'good' < **bʰi-lo-*.

The original meaning of the word seems to have been '(one's) equal, even', cf. ON *Billingr* (name of a mythical dwarf or giant), Elfd. *bilingg* m. 'twin' and Elfd. *bila* w.v. 'to plane' (= 'to make even'?). This further follows from OS *bilithi*, ODu. *bilithe*, Du. *beeld*, OHG *biladi*, *biledi*, G *Bild* n. 'image, likeness' < WGm. **bil-eþja-*.

bilōn- w.v. 'to give way' — ON *bila* w.v. 'to give way; to fail', Icel. *bila* w.v. 'to fail, break down, give out', Far. *bila* w.v. 'to be missing; to fail, betray, let down; to err', Nw. *bila* w.v. 'to yield, give way, fail, lack', Sw. *bila* w.v. 'to run out, come to an end', Du. arch., dial. *belen* w.v. 'to pull out (from an agreement), to resile' (IE?).

(E)Du. *be(e)len* (Plantijn 1573: *beel zijn* 'se repentir d'un marché, marriage, et semblable'), has not yet received an etymology, but since Nordic *bila* appears to have had a primary meaning 'to give way, to fail', there are no semantic objections against connecting it. No certain extra-Gm. etymology; perhaps to be compared to Lith. *bailùs*, Latv. *baîls* adj. 'afraid' < **bʰoih₂-l-u-*, for which cf. **bīan-*.

bindan- s.v. 'to bind' — Go. *bindan* s.v. 'id.', ON *binda* s.v. 'id.', OE *bindan* s.v. 'id.', E *to bind*, OFri. *binda* s.v. 'id.', OS *bindan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *binden* s.v. 'id.', OHG *bintan* s.v. 'id.', G *binden* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰénd-e-* (IE) — Skt. *badhnáti* 'to bind, tie, fix' < **bʰnd-néh₂-*; Av. *basta-*, OP *basta-* ptc. 'bound' < **bʰnd-to-*; Gr. πεῖσμα n. 'rope, cable' < **bʰend-s-men-*.

A strong verb of IE origin. See further **banda-*, **bandjan-*, **bandī-*, **bans(t)a-* and **bunda-*.

bīōn- f. 'bee' — ON *býi* n., *býi-fluga* f. 'id.', Far. *býi-fluga* f. 'id.', Nw. *bie* f. 'id.', Elfd. *bia* f. 'id.' (for expected **baja*), OE *bēo* f. 'id.', E *bee*, OHG *bīa* f., *bīan* m. 'id.', MHG *bīe*, *bīn* m. 'id.', G *Biene* f. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰéi-on-* (EUR) — Lat. *fūcus* m.

'drone' < *b^hoi-ko-; OIr. *bech* 'id.', W *begegyr* 'bee' < *b^hi-ko-; OCS *bьcela*, Ru. *pčelá*, SCr. *pčèla* f. 'bee' < *b^hi-k-el-eh$_2$-; Lith. *bìtė*, *bitìs* f. 'bee', OPru. *bitte* 'id.' < *bi-ti(-eh$_2$)-.

A European word. The oldest formation was probably an ablauting *n*-stem nom. *bīō, gen. *binaz* in view of the co-occurrence of the full-grade stems OHG *bīa*, OE *bēo*, Nw. *bie* on the one hand, and the zero grade variants OHG *bian* < *biana- and MHG *bin*, G *Biene* < *binan- (MHG *bini* n. 'id.' continues a diminutive *bin-īn-) on the other (cf. Lühr 2000: 98). The vowel and gender of ON *býr* are analogical to the semantically adjacent *mý* n. 'mosquito' < *mūja- (see *muwī-), cf. the parallelism of Icel. *býfluga* 'bee' and *mýfluga* 'midge' (Kroonen 2011a: 228-231).

bīsōn- f. 'wind' — Du. Flem. *bijs* f. 'rain shower, hail storm', OHG *bīsa* f. 'storm', MHG *bise* f. 'id.' (DRV).

Probably a derivation from the verb *bisōn- (q.v.).

bisōn- w.v. 'to run around (of cattle chased by insects)' — OSw. *bisa* w.v. 'id.', Sw. *besa* w.v. 'id.', Du. Flem. *biezen* w.v. 'to run around (of cattle)', OHG *bisōn* w.v. 'id.', MHG *bisen* w.v. 'id.', G *biesen* w.v. 'id.' (IE?).

A NWGm. word for frenzying of cattle. Perhaps the same root extension of the root *b^heih$_2$- 'to fear' (for which see *bīan-) as found in Skt. *bhīṣáyate* 'to be startled' < *b^hih$_2$-s-eie-. Also cf. *bīsōn-.

bītan- s.v. 'to bite, be sharp' — Go. *beitan* s.v. 'id.', ON *bíta* s.v. 'id.', Far. *bíta* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *baita* s.v. 'id.', OE *bītan* s.v. 'id.', E *to bite*, OFri. *bīta* s.v. 'id.', OS *bītan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *bijten* s.v. 'id.', OHG *bīzan* s.v. 'id.', G *beißen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ *b^héid-e- (IE) — Skt. *bhinátti* 'to split, break, destroy, cut up', Lat. *findō*, *-ere* 'to split, cleave' < 3sg. *b^hi-n-éd-ti*, 3pl. *b^hi-n-d-énti*; YAv. *astō.bid-* 'who breaks a bone', Khot. *bid-/bista-* 'to pierce'; Gr. φείδομαι 'to spare, save, refrain from' (< 'to separate oneself from').

An old IE verb. Also cf. *baita-, *bitan-, *bitra- and *bīþla-.

bitan- m. 'bite; little bit, fragment' — ON *biti* m. 'id.', OE *bita* m. 'id.', E *bit*, MDu. *bete* m. 'id.', Du. *beet* c. 'id.', OHG *bizzo* m. 'id.', G *Bissen* m. 'id.' (DRV).

A zero-grade *n*-stem derived from *bītan- (q.v.).

bitlan- m. 'beetle' — Da. *bille* c. 'id.', OE *bitela* m. 'id.' (GM).

Da. *bille* can be derived from ON *bitli* (cf. Falk/Torp 1960: 73) and may thus be identical to OE *bitela* < *bitlan-. This formation is thought to have been derived from *bītan- 'to pierce, bite'. The alternative is to connect Da. *bille* to Icel. *bjalla* f. 'bug' (< *bellōn-?), but the origin of the latter is uncertain.

bitra- adj. 'bitter, sharp' — ON *bitr* adj. 'biting, sharp; bitter', Far. poet. *bitur* adj. 'sharp, keen', Elfd. *bitter* adj. 'bitter; angry', OE *bitor, bitter, bittor* adj. 'bitter', E *bitter*, OS *bittar* adj. 'id.', Du. *bitter* adj. 'id.', OHG *bittar* adj. 'bitter, harsh, spicy', G *bitter* adj. 'bitter' (DRV).

A *ra*-stem created to **bītan-* (q.v.). The *o*-grade of Go. *baitrs* adj. 'bitter' is remarkable, as *ro*-stems usually take the zero grade. It is substantiated, however, by ON *-beitr* in *slíðr-beitr* adj. 'sharp as a razor'. Also cf. OE *bitela* adj. 'biting' < **bitala-*.

bīþla- m. 'axe' — ON *bíldr* m. 'axe', MDu. *bijl* f./n. 'id.', Du. *bijl* c. 'id.', OHG *bīhal* n. 'id.', G *Beil* n. 'id.' (DRV).

An instrumental noun derived from **bītan-* (q.v.).

blada- n. 'leaf, blade' — ON *blað* n. 'id.', Far. *blað* n. 'id.', Elfd. *blað* n. 'id.', OE *blæd* f. 'cup, bowl', OFri. *-bleth* n. 'surface', OS *blad* n. 'leaf', Du. *blad* n. 'leaf; surface', OHG *blat* n. 'leaf; sheet', G *Blatt* n. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from the strong verb **blōan-* 'to bloom', quasi PIE **$b^{h}lh_{1}$-tó-*; as this proto-form would regularly develop into PGm. **bulda-*, the formation must have been created at a late stage, i.e. within Germanic itself. For an archaic meaning, cf. MDu. *blad* n. 'yield, profit, interest'.

blahjōn- f. 'cloth' — ON *blæja* f. 'fine colored cloth; cover of a bed; burial sheet', OHG *blaha* f. 'coarse linen', G *Blache, Blahe, Plane* f. 'id.' (GM).

ON *blæja* (the spelling *blægja* is probably hypercorrect) presupposes a form **blahjōn-*, which is corroborated by the North Frisian form *bleix* < OFri. **blehhe* (Löfstedt 1928-1931: 241). EDa. *blā*, pl. *blār*, Da. *blår* 'waste material when hemp or flax is processed' has been compared to G *Blahe*, as if continuing **blahōn-*, but the variant *Blache* (with *-ch-* < *-hh-*) proves that the German word, too, must be reconstructed as **blahjōn-* (with *j*-gemination but blocking of the umlaut before *-h-* as in *lachen* < **hlahjan-*). No further etymology: unrelated to Lat. *floccus* m. 'tuft of wool'.

blaika- adj. 'pale' — ON *bleikr* adj. 'id.', OE *blāc* adj. 'id.', OS *blēk* adj. 'id.', Du. *bleek* adj. 'id.', OHG *bleih* adj. 'id.', G *bleich* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

An *o*-grade adj. created to the strong verb **blīkan-* (q.v.).

blaita- adj. 'pale' — OE *blāt* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **b^{h}loid-o-* (NEUR) — Identical to OCS *blěďъ*, Ru. *bledój*, SCr. *blȉjed* adj. 'pale'.

Cf. OHG *blizza* f. 'bluish discoloration' < **blit-jō-*. Reminiscent of **blaika-* with the same meaning.

blandan- s.v. 'to mix, mingle' — Go. *blandan (sik)* 'to mix, mingle', ON *blanda* s.v. 'to blend, mix', OE *blandan, blondan* w.v. 'id.', OHG *blantan* s.v.

'id.' ⇒ *$b^hlónd^h$-e- (NEUR) — OCS *blęsti* 'to chatter, talk nonsense', SCr. *blesti* 'to talk nonsense, blaspheme' < *$b^hlénd^h$-e-, Lith. *blę̃sti* (*blendžiù*) 'to sleep, stir flour into soup, talk nonsense, become cloudy' < *b^hlend^h-ie-.

An *o*-grade intensive verb. The original meaning was 'to blend', whence 'to make murky' and 'to be blind' (see **blinda-*).

blanka- adj. 'colorless(?)' — ON *blakkr* adj. 'black, dun-colored', Elfd. *blokk* adj. 'pale', Du. *blank* adj. 'white, transparent; inundated', OHG *blanc* adj. 'shining, white', G *blank* adj. 'shiny, sheer' (DRV).

An adjective created to the poorly attested strong verb **blinkan-*, cf. Du. *blinken* s.v. 'to shine', G Pal. *blinken* s./w.v. 'to blink; to shine', a secondary nasalized variant of **blīkan-* (q.v.). Note that Elfd. *blokk* instead of ***blakk* proves that the Nordic form continues **blanka-* rather than **blakka-*. The Germanic adjective spread to Romance, cf. VLat. *blancus*, Italian *bianco*, Spanish *blanco*, Fr. *blanc*, and from there into English as *blank* 'empty'. English must originally have had the native adjective, however, in view of OE *blanca* m. 'grey horse' < **blankan-* (cf. Far. *Blakkur* 'name of a dog'). Also cf. ON *blekkja* w.v. 'to deceive', ME *blenchen* w.v. 'to jerk, twist, to flinch; to wink; to shine', E *to blench*, *blink*, MDu. *blenken*, *blinken* w.v. 'to shine' < **blankjan-*.

blauta- adj. 'soft' — ON *blautr* adj. 'soft, weak; wet, soaked', Far. *bleytur* adj. 'soft, tender, sensitive', Elfd. *blot* adj. 'soft', OE *blēat* adj. 'miserable', OFri. *blāt* adj. 'poor; naked', Du. *bloot* adj. 'naked', OHG *blōz* adj. 'naked', G *bloß* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *b^hloudh_2-o- (IE) — Gr. φλυδάω 'to be soft, weak' < *b^hludh_2-ie-; Gr. φλυδαρός adj. 'weak' < *b^hludh_2-ro-.

An *o*-grade adjective to a Germanic and Greek root *b^hleudh_2-. It served as the basis for the inchoative ON *blotna*, Elfd. *blottn* w.v. 'to become weak' < **blutnan-*. Further cf. G obs. *Blutz* m. 'naked body' < **bluttu-* and Du. *blut* adj. 'broke' < **blut(t)ja-*.

blauþu- adj. 'soft, weak, timid' — ON *blauðr* adj. 'id.', OE *blēaþ* adj. 'id.', OHG *blōdi* adj. 'lazy, timid', G *blöde* adj. 'dumb, witless' ⇒ **mlóu-tu-* (IE) — Gr. ἀμβλύς adj. 'blunt; dim, faint' < **n̥-ml-u-*; Av. *mruta-* adj. 'crushed(?), weak' < **mlu-to-*.

A *tu*-stem related to **blewwan-* (q.v.). Also cf. the factitive Go. *blauþjan* w.v. 'to weaken, defeat'.

blēan- s.v. 'to blow' — OE *blāwan* s.v. 'id.', E *to blow*, OFri. *bliā(n)* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *blaeyen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *blāen* w./s.v. 'id.', MHG *blæjen* w.v. (ptc. *geblæt* / *geblān*) 'to blow; to smelt', G *blähen* w.v. 'to swell, distend' ⇒ *$b^hléh_1$-e- (WEUR) — Lat. *flō*, *flāre* 'to blow' < *b^hlh_1-.

The combination of PGm. **blēan-* < **bʰleh₁-* and Lat. *flāre* < **bʰlh₁-* points to an originally athematic verb 3sg. **bʰléh₁-ti*, 3pl. **bʰlh₁-énti*. Related to **blēsan-*.

blējan- w.v. 'to bleat' — E obs. *to blea* 'id.', MLG *blēen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *blāen* w.v.(?) 'id.', MHG *blæjen, plēhen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰleh₁-ie-* (EUR) — Lat. *fleō, flēre* 'to cry, weep', Latv. *blêt* (*blêju*) 'to bleat'; RuCS *blějati*, Ru. *bléjat'* 'to bleat', dial. 'to cry' < **bʰleh₁-ie-*.

Also cf. the frequentative OE *blǣgettan, blætan*, OHG *blāzen*, MHG *blāzen*, MLG *blāten*, MDu. *blaten, bleten*, Du. *blaten* w.v. 'to bleat' < **blēatjan-*, whence e.g. OHG *blāzunga* f. 'bleating'. There is no compelling reason to reconstruct a Pre-Gm. extended root **bʰleh₁-d-*, as has sometimes been assumed.

blēsan- s.v. 'to blow' — Go. *uf-blesan* s.v. 'to blow up', ON *blása* s.v. 'to blow', Far. *blása* s./w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *blåsa* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *blasen* s.v. 'id.', Du. *blazen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *blāsan* s.v. 'id.', G *blasen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰléh₁-s-e-* (WEUR).

A strong verb based on the sigmatic aorist **bʰléh₁-s-* of the root **bʰleh₁-* (Kortlandt 2011: 147), for which see **blēan-*. Also cf. **blēstu-*.

blēstu- m. 'blowing, blast' — ON *blástr*, dat. *blæsti* m. 'blast, blowing, breathing', Far. *blástur, blóstur* m. 'breathing; wind; windy weather', Elfd. *bläst* m. 'blast, gust', OE *blǣst* m. 'blast', E *blast*, OHG *blāst* m. 'breath', MHG *blāst* m. 'breath, blow' ⇒ **bʰleh₁-s-tu-* (DRV).

A *tu*-stem derived from the strong verb **blēsan-* (q.v.).

blēwa- adj. 'blue' — ON *blár* adj. 'blue, livid, black', Far. *bláur* adj. 'blue; dark', Elfd. *blå* adj. 'blue', OE *blāw* adj. 'id.', E Scot. *blae* adj. 'blackish; livid, pale', OFri. *blāw* adj. 'id.', Du. *blauw* adj. 'id.', OHG *blāo* adj. 'blue, dark, grey', G *blau* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰléh₁-uo-* (EUR) — Lat. *flāvus* adj. 'blond', OIr. *blá* adj. 'yellow', W *blaw* adj. 'grey' < **bʰlh₁-uo-*.

Lat. *flāvus* taken at face value points to **bʰlH-uo-* or **bʰleh₂-uo-*, the latter of which is in contradiction with the PGm. **blēwa-* < **bʰléh₁-uo-*. It has been claimed that the laryngeal in the sequence **-eh₃-uo-* was delabialized, so as to merge with **h₂* in Italo-Celtic and with **h₁* in Germanic (Schrijver 1991: 298-301). In Germanic, however, the evidence for this delabialization is extremely limited, consisting only of the uncertain cases **grēwa-* and **knēwa-* (for which see **knawa-*). I therefore reconstruct an ablauting *u*-stem **bʰléh₁-u-s*, gen. **bʰlh₁-uó-s* to account for both the Germanic and Italo-Celtic forms. For another ablauting *u*-stem, see **gelwa-* ~ **gulu-* 'yellow'.

blewwan- s.v. 'to beat (up), blow' — Go. *bliggwan* s.v. 'id.', E *to blow*, MDu. *blouwen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *bliuwan* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **mléu-e-*(?) (IE?) — Gr. ἁμβλύς adj. 'blunt; dim, faint' < **n̥-ml-u-*; Av. *mruta-* adj. 'crushed(?), weak' < **mlu-to-*.

A strong verb, usually derived from an exclusively Germanic root **bʰleuH-* (cf. Seebold 1970: 120-1; LIV²: 90). It is alternatively possible to reconstruct the verb as **mléu-e-*. See also **blauþu-*.

blīkan- s.v. 'to shine' — OE *blīcan* s.v. 'to shine, glitter', OFri. *blīka* s.v. 'to be visible', OS *blīkan* s.v. 'to shine', Du. *blijken* s.v. 'to appear', MHG *blīchen* s.v. 'to shine' ⇒ **bʰléiǵ-e-* (NEUR) — OCS *bliskati sę, bliscati sę* 'to sparkle, shine', Ru. *blistát'* 'to shine', SCr. *blȉskati, blìstati (se)* 'id.' < **bliǵ-ske-*; Lith. *blyškėti, blizgėti* 'to shine' < **bliǵ-sk-eh₁-*.

Also cf. ON *blíkja* w.v. 'to shine' < **blīkjan-*, **blaika-* and **blanka-*.

blinda- adj. 'blind' — Go. *blinds* adj. 'id.', ON *blindr* adj. 'id.', OE *blind* adj. 'id.', OFri. *blind* adj. 'id.', OS *blind* adj. 'id.', Du. *blind* adj. 'id.', OHG *blint* adj. 'id.', G *blind* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from **blandan-*.

blīþa- adj. 'mild, kind' — Go. *bleiþs** adj. 'merciful', ON *blíðr* adj. 'gentle, friendly; pleasant', OE *blīðe* adj. 'joyful, glad', E *blithe*, OS *blīthi* adj. 'joyful, happy', Du. *blij* adj. 'id.', OHG *blīdi* adj. 'id.' (GM?).

No certain etymology: possibly related to **blīwa- 1* if the original meaning was 'bright'. Also cf. OE *blīþs*, E *bliss*, OE *blīdsea* f. 'joy' < **blīþisō-*.

blīwa- 1 n. 'color, hue' — OE *blēo* n. 'color, hue, complexion', ME *blē* 'color, hue; appearance, guise', OFri. *blī* n.(?) 'complexion', OS *blī* n. 'color', MDu. *blie* n. 'complexion' ⇒ **bʰloi-uo-* (NEUR) — Lith. *blaivýtis* (*blaivaũs*) 'to become bright, clear up' < **bʰloi-u-éie-*.

Unrelated to **blīwa- 2* 'lead'.

blīwa- 2 n. 'lead' — ON *blý* n. 'id.', Far. *blýggj* n. 'id.', OS *blī* n. 'id.', OHG *blīo* n. 'id.', G *Blei* n. 'id.' ⇒ **mlīuo-* (NIE).

A non-IE *Wanderwort* reminiscent of Myc. *mo-ri-wo-do-*, Gr. μόλυβδος, μόλιβος, βόλιμος m. 'lead' and Lat. *plumbum* 'id.'. The Greek forms, with their interchange of initial μ and β, are highly irregular and must be analyzed as borrowings from a Pre-IE source, e.g. **molü(m)bd-*. It therefore seems likely that PGm. **blīwa-*, too, goes back to a non-IE proto-form **mlīuo-* with initial *m*.

blōan- s.v. 'to bloom, flourish' — OE *blōwan* s.v. 'id.', OFri. *bloia* s.v. 'id.', OS *blōian* s.v. 'id.', Du. *bloeien* w.v. 'id.', OHG *bluoen* s.v. 'id.', G *blühen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒

*$b^hléh_3$-e- (WEUR) — Lat. *flōs, flōris* m. 'flower' < *b^hleh_3-os-; OIr. *bláth*, MW *blawd* m. 'flower' < *$b^hl(e)h_3$-tu-.

A verb only attested in Germanic. The laryngeal of the underlying root has been identified as *h_3 in view of OIr. *bláth* and PGm. *blōman-* (Schrijver 1991: 131). Indeed, PGm. *blōman-* is likely to contain an *e*-grade in view of the original *mn*-suffix. OE *blæd* m.(?) 'flower, blossom, fruit' has contrarily been adduced to reconstruct a formation *blēdu- < *b^hleh_1-tú- with h_1, but it is more likely that this form represents a variant of the *ti*-stem *blēd* m./f. 'id.' (for which see *blōdi-). It therefore seems safe to reconstruct the Germanic strong verb as *$b^hléh_3$-e- rather than an *o*-graded *$b^hlóh_1$-e-.

blōda- n. 'blood' — Go. *bloþ* n. 'id.', ON *blóð* n. 'id.', Elfd. *bluoð* n. 'id.', OE *blōd* n. 'id.', E *blood*, OFri. *blōd* n. 'id.', MDu. *bloet* n. 'blood; blushing', Du. *bloed* n. 'id.', OHG *bluot* n. 'id.', G *Blut* n. 'id.' (DRV).

A neuter collective created to either *blēan- 'to blow' or *blōan- 'to flower'. The latter connection is based on the idea that the color of the blood served as the *Benennungsmotiv* (cf. MDu. *bloet* n. 'blushing'), the former on the assumption of a semantic primitive 'to gush' (cf. EWAhd: II, 212). Alternatively, it is possible to start from a meaning 'life' derived from 'breath', cf. OHG *blāt* m. 'blowing', OE *blæd* m. 'breath, spirit, life' < *blēda-.

blōdi- f. 'bloom' — OE *blēd* f. 'shoot, branch, flower, fruit', OHG *bluot* f. 'blossom, blossoming', G *Blüte* f. 'id.' ⇒ *b^hleh_3-tí- (DRV).

A *ti*-stem derived from the root *b^hleh_3-, for which see *blōan-.

blōman- m. 'flower' — Go. *bloma* m. 'id.', ON *blómi* m. 'id.', Far. *blómi* m., *blóma* f. 'flower, bloom', Elfd. *bljomme* m. 'id.', OS *blōmo* m. 'id.', Du. *bloem* c. 'id.', OHG *bluomo* m., *bluoma* f. 'id.', MHG *bluome* m./f. 'id.', G *Blume* f. 'id.' ⇒ *b^hleh_3-mon- (DRV).

Apparently an *mn*-stem derived from the strong verb *blōan- (q.v.). It is possible, too, to derive *blōman- from *blōmman- < *blōzman-, which would be a Verner variant of the Ingvaeonic formation OE *blōs(t)ma* m. 'blossom', MLG *blōsem, blossem* m. 'id.', MDu. *bloesem* m. 'id.', Du. *bloesem* c. 'blossom' < *blōsman-.

blōtan- s.v. 'to sacrifice' — Go. *blotan* 'to serve, worship', ON *blóta* s.v. 'to worship; to sacrifice', OE *blōtan* s.v. 'to sacrifice', OHG *blōzan* s./w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *$b^hlóh_2$d-e-(?) (NEUR?) — Lat. *flāmen* m. 'priest' < *b^hleh_2(d/g)-men-.

The traditional connection with *flāmen* m. 'priest' (cf. Pokorny IEW: 154) is possible, but uncertain because it is impossible to see whether the root of the Lat. word was *flā-, *flād- or *flăg-. In view of the potentially archaic semantics of the loanword Fi. *luote* 'enchantment', it is possible to alternatively connect e.g. Lith. *blódėti*, Latv. *blādêt* 'to babble, ramble' <

*$b^h leh_2d$-eh_1-, assuming a primary meaning 'invocation'. Within Germanic, also cf. OHG *bluostar* n. 'sacrifice' < *blōstra- and the derivation Go. -*blostreis* m. 'worshipper' < *blōstrja-.

***bōan- ~ *būan-** s.v. 'to live, dwell' — Go. *bauan* s./w.v. 'id.', ON *búa* s.v. 'to live; to prepare, fix', Far. *búgva* s./w.v. 'id.', OE *būan*, *būgan* s.v. 'to live, dwell', OS *būan* w.v. 'id.', Du. *bouwen* w.v. 'to build', OHG *bū(w)an*, *bū(w)en* s./w.v. 'to live, dwell; to build', G *bauen* w.v. 'to build' ⇒ *$b^h éh_2u$- (IE) — Skt. *bhávati* 'to become, happen, come about', OAv. *bauuaiti* 3sg.pres. 'to become' < *$b^h éuh_2$-*e*-; Gr. φύομαι 'to grow, arise, spring up, become', Lith. *bū́ti*, Latv. *bût* 'to be', OCS *byti*, Ru. *byt'* (*búdu*), SCr. *bȉti* 'id.' < *$b^h uh_2$-*e*-; Lat. *fuī* 'to become' < *$b^h uh_2$-; OIr. *biid* 'is wont to be', OW *bez*, *bit* 'to be' < *$b^h h_2u$-*ie*- (cf. McCone 1991: 122; Zair 2009); Alb. *bij* 'to sprout, grow out'(?).

The etymological cluster belonging to this verb is difficult to analyze formally (cf. Seebold 1970: 127), but in all likelihood, the difference between *būan- and *bōan- is simply to be explained as resulting from an ablauting paradigm, e.g. a root present 3sg. *$b^h éh_2u$-*ti*, pl. *$b^h h_2u$-*énti*. The full-grade root *$b^h eh_2u$- should through *bōw- regularly have given *bō- by the loss of *u* after *ō in open syllables (cf. e.g. *nō- 'ship' < *neh_2u-), while *bū- developed from *$b^h h_2u$- by laryngeal metathesis (cf. *būra-). See also *bewwa- and *buwwēn-.

***bōgu-** m. 'shoulder, upper arm' — ON *bógr* m. 'shoulder', Elfd. *buog* m. 'id.', OE *bōg* m. 'shoulder, arm, branch', E *bow*, Du. *boeg* c. 'bow', OHG *buog* m. 'shoulder, hip, bow', G *Bug* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$b^h eh_2ǵ^h$-*u*- (IE) — Identical to ToA *poke*, ToB *poko* 'arm', Skt. *bāhú-* m. 'arm, forearm, forefoot of an animal', YAv. *bāzu-* m. 'arm', NP *bāzū* 'id.', Oss. *bazyg* / *bazug* 'id.', Gr. πῆχυς, Dor., Aeol. πᾶχυς m. 'forearm, arm; cubit'.

A *u*-stem related to *bōsma- 'bosom' and *bagma- 'beam; tree' (q.v.). Also cf. ON *bœgsl*, Icel. *bægsl*, Far. *bøksl* n. '(front) flipper of a whale' < *bōg-isla-.

***bōk-** f. 'book' — ON *bók*, pl. *bœkr* f. 'id.', Far. *bók*, pl. *bøkr* f. 'id.', Elfd. *buok*, pl. *byōker* f. 'id.', OE *bōc*, pl. *bēc* f. 'id.', E *book*, OFri. *bōk* f. 'id.' (DRV).

Also cf. Go. *boka* f. 'letter', OHG *buoh* m./n./f. 'book, script, scripture, letter', *Buch* n. 'book', OS *bōk* n. 'book, tablet', Du. *boek* n. 'book', OFri. *bōk* f./n. 'id.' < *bōka/ō-. Related to *bōk(j)ō- 'beech' (q.v.); it is generally assumed that the first scriptures consisted of wooden tablets (cf. OS *bōk*), cf. Tacitus (*Germania* 10): *Virgam frugiferae arboris decisam in surculos amputant, eosque notis quibusdam discretos super candidam vestem temere ac fortuite spargunt.*

***bōk(j)ō-** f. 'beech' — ON *bók* f. 'id.', Far. *bók* f. 'id.', OE *bōc*, *bēce* f. 'id.', E *beech*, OS *bōka* f. 'id.', Du. *beuk* c. 'id.', OHG *buohha* f. 'id.', G *Buche* f. 'id.' ⇒

*$b^heh_2(ǵ)$-eh_2- (EUR) — Gr. φηγός, Dor. φαγός f. 'oak', Lat. *fāgus* f. 'beech', Gaul. **bāgos* 'id.' (in French toponyms) < *$b^heh_2(ǵ)$-o-.

An old IE tree name. Most Germanic forms straightforwardly point to PGm. **bōk*-. Icel. *beyki* n. 'beech', a collective formation, has been interpreted as continuing **baukja*-, apparently with a *-u-* in its root, but it is more likely that *beyki* [peikɪ] is an irregular continuant of ON **bœki* (cf. *bœki-skógr* 'beech forest'), a form directly continued by Icel. *bæki* (cf. Magnússon 1989: 53). Du. *beuk* does not go back to a PGm. form with **u* either, but was borrowed from the eastern dialects that were affected by umlaut of PGm. **ō* to *ō̄*. Any direct connection to Ru. *boz* 'elder', allegedly continuing PIE *$b^huǵ^h$-o-, must therefore be rejected, not least in view of the mismatch between Pre-Gm. *$ǵ$ and Pre-Slav. *$ǵ^h$.

bōni- f. 'request, prayer' — ON *bœn* f. 'id.', Far. *bøn* f. 'id.', Elfd. *byōn* f. 'id.', OE *bōn* f. 'id.' ⇒ *$b^héh_2$-ni- (EUR/DRV) — Arm. *ban* 'word, speech; matter, thing' < *b^heh_2-ni-.

A Germanic-Armenian isogloss (Olsen 1999: 79) derived from the root of **bannan*- (q.v.) with a *ni*-suffix.

bōnjan- w.v. 'to decorate' — OE *bōnian* w.v. 'to ornament', MDu. *boenen* w.v. 'to polish', Du. *boenen* w.v. 'id.', MHG *büenen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *b^heh_2- (IE) — Skt. *bhā́ti* 'to shine, be bright', YAv. *fra-uuāiti* 'id.', Oss. *ivajyn* 'to become pale' < *b^heh_2-; Gr. φαίνω 'to show, make visible, bring to light' < *b^hh_2-n-ie-.

The verb looks like a factitive of an adjective **bōna*- < *b^hoh_2-no-, which is possibly attested as MDu. *boen* adj. 'fit, good, pretty', and has an exact parallel in OIr. *bán* adj. 'white'. Derived from the PIE root *b^heh_2- 'to shine'. Related to Far. *bína*, Nw. *bina* w.v. 'to stare' < *b^hh_2-i-n-eh_1-?

bōsma- m. 'bosom' — OE *bōsm* m. 'id.', E *bosom*, OFri. *bōsem* m. 'id.', MDu. *boesem*, *bosem* m. 'id.', Du. *boezem* c. 'id.', OHG *buosum* m. 'bosom, lap', G *Busen* m. 'id.' (DRV).

A collective(?) derived from **bōgu*- 'shoulder, upper arm'.

bōtō- f. 'improvement' — Go. *bota* f. 'advantage, benefit', ON *bót* f. 'improvement; compensation; patch', Far. *bót* f. 'id.', Elfd. *buot* f. 'cure, remedy; fine', OE *bōt* f. 'help; remedy', OFri. *bōte* f. 'recovery; compensation, fine', OS *bōta* f. 'healing; penitence', Du. *boete* c. 'penitence; fine', OHG *buoz* f. 'id.', G *Buße* f. 'id.' ⇒ *b^hoHd-eh_2- (DRV).

An *ō*-stem derived from the root **bat*-, for which see **batiz* 'better'. Also cf. Go. *botjan* 'to help', ON *bœta* 'to repair, compensate', OE *bētan*, OFri. *bēta*, OS *bōtian*, OHG *buozen*, G *büßen* w.v. 'to improve, compensate' < **bōtjan*-.

bragna- m. 'brain' — OE *brægen* n. 'id.', OFri. *brein* n. 'id.', MLG *bragen, bregen* n. 'id.', MDu. *bragen, brein* n. 'id.', Du. *brein* n. 'id.' ⇒ **mrógʰ-no-* (IE) — Gr. βρεχμός m. 'front part of the head' < **mregʰ-mo-*; Skt. *mastr̥han-* m. 'brain', YAv. *mastərəγan-* m. 'id.', MP *mastarg, masturg* 'brains' < **most-(m)rgʰ-e/on-* (Lubotsky 2008a).

An IE word preserved only in the Ingvaeonic area. The development of **bragna-* to Du. *brein, -ei-* usually being a contraction of *-eg(i)-* rather than *-ag-*, could point to a Frisianism. Frisian influence may similarly account for the *e* of MLG *bregen*, although it has been claimed on the basis of this form that PGm. had a stem variant **bragina-* (Lühr 1988: 332). Both **bragna-* and **bragina-* are explicable from an IE ablauting consonant stem, e.g. a static neuter nom. **mrégʰ-mn*, gen. **mróǵʰ-mn-s*, loc. **mroǵʰ-mén-i*. The *e*-grade would then have been preserved by Gr. βρεχμός. For the loss of the *m* in Germanic, cf. **budman-* ~ **buttaz* 'bottom'.

braida- adj. 'broad' — Go. *braiþs* adj. 'id.', ON *breiðr* adj. 'id.', Far. *breiður* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *brieð* adj. 'id.', OE *brād* adj. 'id.', E *broad*, OFri. *brēd* adj. 'id.', OS *brēd* adj. 'id.', Du. *breed* adj. 'id.', OHG *breit* adj. 'id.', G *breit* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰroidʰ-o-*(?) (GM).

A Germanic word without any clear cognates in other IE languages. Perhaps to Lith. *beřti* (*beriù*) 'to strew, distribute' < **bʰer-e-* (cf. Heidermanns 1993: 137): if so, **braida-* would have to be a *to*-participle to an (unattested) *i*-present **bʰr-oi-*. Rather to a disappeared strong verb **brīdan-*? Cf. OHG *breta* f. 'palm of the hand' < **bridō-*.

brakka- adj. 'briny, brackish' — MLG *brack* adj. 'id.', Du. *brak* adj. 'id.' (whence E *brack, brackish*) (GM).

An adjective related to **brōka- 2* 'swamp'. No further cognates. OIr. *brén*, MW *braen* adj. 'putrid, foul' < PCelt. **bragno-* does not belong here, but to the PIE root **bʰrh₁g-* 'to smell' (see under **brakkan-*). The often compared Gr. βραγός 'swamp' is a Hesychian gloss that in combination with the irregular variant βράχος m. 'shallow water' cannot possibly be derived from a PIE proto-form **mrg-o-*. This leaves us with an exclusively Germanic word.

brakka(n)- m. 'sleuth dog' — MDu. *bracke* m. 'id.', Du. *brak* c. 'id.', OHG *bracko* m. 'id.', G *Bracke* m. 'id.' (LW?) — Lat. *fragrō, -āre* 'to smell strongly' (derived from an adj. **bʰrh₁g-ro-*?); MIr. *brén* adj. 'putrid, foul', MW *braen*, MoB *brein* adj. 'putrid, corrupt' < **bʰrh₁g-no-*.

No existing etymology: the word may be connected with PCelt. **brokko-*, cf. OIr. *brocc* 'badger', an animal with a strong sense of smell. In view of the animal's strong odor, the word has been linked to MHG *bræhen* w.v. 'to smell', which when reconstructed as PGm. **brēkjan-*, can be compared to Lat. *fragrō, -āre* 'to smell strongly' (derived from an adj. **bʰrh₁g-ro-*?) and

MIr. *brén* adj. 'putrid, foul', MW *braen*, Bret. *brein* 'putrid, corrupt' < *b^hrh_1g-no-* (De Vaan 2008: 238-9). MHG *brǽhen*, however, may also continue **brējan-* (with unetymological *h* in hiatus position) from older **brēan-* (q.v.). Finally, there is the formal similarity with **rak(k)an-* 'dog', which has not yet been satisfactorily accounted for.

brakkōn-(?) f. 'pants' — Elfd. *brakka* f. 'id.', EDa. *brakker* pl. 'lower leg covers', OE *braccas* m.pl. 'breeches' (< **brakka-*(?)) (GM?).

Usually assumed to be a loanword from Lat. *bracca*, which developed from Lat. *brāca* 'breeches', an originally Gaulish word connected with PGm. **brōk-*. The attestation in (East) Nordic is peculiar, however, and seems to imply a Germanic origin.

brannjan- w.v. 'to make burn' — Go. *brannjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *brenna* w.v. 'id.', OE *bærnan* w.v. 'id.', OHG *brennen* w.v. 'id.', G *brennen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

The causative to **brinnan-* (q.v.).

branta- adj. 'steep' — ON *brattr* adj. 'steep; sudden', OE *brant, bront* adj. 'high, deep, steep, difficult' ⇒ **b^hrond-o-*(?) (WEUR?).

No certain etymology: perhaps to W *brynn* m. 'heap, mound' if from **b^hrendo-*. The alternative is to link the cluster to OIr. *do-eprinn* 'to gush, pour out' < **b^hre-n-d-* and MIr. *bruinnid* 'to spring, flow, rush' < **b^hrond-éie*, which would require a semantic shift from 'skewed, slanting' to 'pour' in Celtic. Also cf. ON *bretta* w.v. 'to turn upwards', OSw. *brænta* w.v. 'to bend back, bend upwards' < **brantjan-*.

brauda- n. 'bread' — ON *brauð* n. 'id.', OE *brēad* n. 'id.', E *bread*, OFri. *brād* n. 'id.', OS *brōd* n. 'id.', Du. *brood* n. 'id.', OHG *brōt* n. 'id.', G *Brot* n. 'id.' ⇒ **b^hrouh_1-tó-* (DRV).

A *to*-stem derived from **brewwan-* 'to brew' (q.v.).

brazda- n. 'edge, brim' — Icel. *bradd* n. 'edge', Nw. *bradd* m. 'shore, side', Elfd. *bradd* m. 'edge', OE *breard* m. 'brim, margin', OHG *brart* 'edge', MHG *brart* m. 'edge, board' ⇒ **b^hrozd^h-o-* (WEUR).

An *o*-grade formation related to **brezda-* and **burzda-* (q.v.). It is cognate with OIr. *brot* m. 'goad, spike' < **b^hrozd^h-o-*, which was probably not borrowed from ON *broddr* < **bruzda-* (Greene 1972: 70). A secondary formation is represented by **barzda-* 'edge; beard' which in view of the position of the ablaut slot must have been created on the basis of the zero grade **burzda-* (q.v.).

brēan- s.v. 'to fume, smell' — MHG *brǽhen* w.v. 'to smell' ⇒ **$b^hréh_1$-e-* (GM).

A marginally attested verb. It has a weak conjugation in MHG, but was probably originally strong in view of the broader tendency of strong "hiatus verbs" to move to the weak *jan*-class. A strong conjugation is also supported by the derivatives OE *brǣþ* m. 'breath' < **brēþi-* and OHG *brādam*, G *Brodem* m. 'haze, vapor, breath' < **brēþma-*. See further **brōan-*.

****brekan-*** s.v. 'to break' — Go. *brikan* s.v. 'id.', OE *brecan* s.v. 'id.', E *to break*, OFri. *breka* s.v. 'id.', OS *brekan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *breken* s.v. 'id.', OHG *brehhan* s.v. 'id.', G *brechen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰrég-e-* (WEUR).

A strong verb closely related to the iterative **bruk(k)ōn-*, which may be etymologically identical to Lat. *frangō* 'to break' < **bʰrg-néh₂-*. There must also have been an *o*-grade intensive verb **brakan-* in view of OE *bracan*, pret. *brōc*. It probably served as the basis for **brōk-* 'breeches' (q.v.).

****breman-* ~ **brimman-*** s.v. 'to drone, hum' — OHG *breman* s.v. 'id.', MHG *bremen*, *brimmen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰrém-e-* (IE) — MP *bl'm-* 'to cry, weep', Lat. *fremō*, *-ere* 'to drone, roar', W *brefu* 'to roar' < **bʰrém-e-*.

A strong verb derived from a Proto-Indo-European onomatopoetic root **bʰrem-*. MHG *bremen* preserves the original form of the verb, while *brimman* appears to have been influenced by the iterative **brummōn-* (q.v.). See further **bremisa/ōn-*.

****bremisa/ōn-*** m./f. 'gadfly' — OE *brēosa*, *brīosa* m., *brimse* f. 'id.', ME *brēse*, *brimse* 'gadfly; locust', OS *brimissa* f. 'gadfly', MLG *bromese* f. 'id.', MDu. *breemse*, *bremse* f. 'gadfly; locust; beetle', Du. *brems* c. 'gadfly' (DRV).

Derived from the more primary **breman-*, cf. OS, OHG *bremo* m. 'id.', an *n*-stem created to the strong verb **breman-* ~ **brimman-* (q.v.). OE *brēosa* / *brīosa*, which previously has been derived from **breusan-*, probably developed from **bremisan-*, just as OE *þīestre* adj. 'darkness' developed from **þemestrja-* (see under **þemestra-*). This development (see Gąsiorowski 2012) implies a form **briūs-* with loss of the *m* before *s* after the syncope of the medial vowel. Also cf. ODu. *bremmia*, MDu. *brem* f. 'gadfly' and MLG *bromete* f. 'id.' < **bremutō(n)-* (with the same suffixation as e.g. **hurnuta/ō-* 'hornet').

****brestan-*** s.v. 'to break, burst' — ON *bresta* s.v. 'id.', Far. *bresta* s.v. 'to break, collapse, strike', OE *berstan* s.v. 'to burst', E *to burst*, OFri. *bersta* s.v. 'to break; to disappear', OS *brestan* s.v. 'to burst, break', Du. *barsten* w.v. 'id.', OHG *brestan* s.v. 'to burst, tear; to lack', G *bersten* s.v. 'to crack' ⇒ **bʰrést-e-* (WEUR?) — To OIr. *brissid* 'to break; to defeat'?

A strong verb to an obscure Pre-Gm. root **bʰrest-*. Also cf. the inchoative Elfd. *brussn* w.v. 'to break' < **brustnan-* and the derived *u*-stem **brustu-*.

breusta- n. 'breast, chest' — ON *brjóst* n. 'id.', OE *brēost* n. 'id.', E *breast*, OFri. *briast* n. 'id.', OS *briost* n. 'id.' ⇒ *b^hreus-sth$_2$-o-* (EUR) — OIr. *brúasach* adj. 'big-bellied' < PCelt. **brous-t-āko-* < *b^hreus-t-*; Ru. *brjúxo* n. 'belly, paunch' < *b^hreus-o-*; OIr. *brú*, gen. *bronn* f., MW *bru* m. 'womb, belly', MW *bron* f. < *b^hrus-on-*; OIr. *bruinne* m. 'breast, bosom, chest' < *b^hrus-n-io-*.

In (unclear) ablaut relation with the root noun **brust-* (q.v.). Given the largely complementary dialectal distribution with the latter word, it is likely that both formations split off from a single PGm. paradigm. It is unclear, however, how this paradigm should be reconstructed.

breutan- s.v. 'to break (open), bud' — ON *brjóta* s.v. 'to break, break open; to destroy', Far. *bróta* s.v. 'to break; to infringe; to offend', Elfd. *briuota* s.v. 'to break', OE *brēotan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *briezen* s.v. 'to break open, to bud, swell up' (DRV?).

A strong verb possibly back-formed to the iterative **brut(t)ōn-* (q.v.). Closely related to OE *brēatan* s.v. 'to break, kill', continuing an *o*-grade iterative-intensive verb **brautan-*. For a similar parallelism of a class 2 with a class 7 strong verb, cf. **beutan-* ~ **būtan-* vs. **bautan-* and **brekan-* vs. **brakan-*.

brēwō- f. 'eyebrow' — ON *brá*, *brá* f. 'eyelid', Icel. *brá* f. 'eyelid; eyelash', Far. *brá* f. 'eyelash', OS *brāwa* f. 'eyelid', MDu. *brauwe* f. 'eyebrow; edge', Du. *wenk-brauw* c. 'eyebrow', OHG *brāwa* f. 'id.', G *Augen-braue* f. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_3b^hrēuH$-o/eh$_2$-* (IE).

Also cf. OHG *wint-brāwa*, OS *wint-brāwa*, MDu. *wint-brauwe* 'eyebrow; eyelid', Du. *wimper* 'eyelash' < **winda-brēwō-* (for the first element, cf. Gr. ἴονθος m. 'young, downy hair' < **ui-uond^h-o-*) and the closely related OE *bræw*, *brēaw* m. 'eyelid', OFri. *āch-brē* n. 'eyebrow; eyelid' < **brēwa-*. In PIE, the word may have been in paradigmatic relation with the zero-grade formation **brū-* 'bridge; eyebrow' (q.v.), e.g. nom. **$h_3b^hréuH$-s*, gen. **h_3b^hruH-ós* (Beekes 1995: 190).

brewwan- s.v. 'to brew' — ON *brugginn* ptc. 'id.', Far. *bryggja* w.v. 'id.', OSw. *bryggia* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *bryddja* w.v. 'id.', OE *brēowan* s.v. 'id.', E *to brew*, OFri. *briouwa*, *brouwa* s.v. 'id.', OS *gi-breuwan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *brouwen* s./w.v. 'id.', MHG *briuwen*, *brūwen* s.v. 'id.', G *brauen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *$b^hréuh_1$-e-* (EUR) — Gr. Hsch. ἀπ-έφρυσεν aor. 'brewed' < *b^hruh_1-s-*; Lat. *de-frŭtum* n. 'must' < **-b^hruh_1-to-*.

A strong verb to the PIE root *b^hreuh_1-* 'to boil, brew' (cf. LIV^2: 96). The weak verb ON, Icel., Elfd. *brugga* appears to continue a secondary iterative **bruwwōn-*. See also **brauda-*, **brunnan-* and **beura-*.

brezda- n. 'side, edge; board' — Far. *breddi* m. 'edge, side', Nw. *bredd* m. 'id.', OSw. *brædder* m. 'id.', OHG *bret* n. 'board', G *Brett* n. 'id.' ⇒ *b^hrezd^h-o- (WEUR).

A full-grade formation to *burzda- (q.v.). The loss of the *z in OHG *bret* is irregular, but may be due to dissimilation in the plural OHG *brertira < *brezd-izō. ME *bred* 'board, tablet' can be a loanword from Old Norse *breddr* as presupposed by the OSw. and Far. forms. Du. *berd* 'board' does not belong here, but represents a dialectal form of *bord* < *burzda-.

brinda(n)- m. 'elk' — Elfd. *brinde* m. 'id.', Nw. *bringe* m. 'male elk' (GM).

Unrelated to Messap. βρένδον 'deer' < *b^hrend^h-(?) as given by Hesychius or to OPru. *braydis*, Latv. *briêdis* 'elk' < *braidi- (*pace* Pokorny IEW: 168-9). In view of Elfd. *brunda* w.v. 'to rut' and the Nw. Sunnmøre context *elgen hev alt teke til å brunda* 'the elk has started rutting' < *brundōjan-, it is evident that the word started out as a late North Germanic deverbal formation that has nothing to do with the extra-Germanic look-alikes mentioned above. It is rather cognate with Nw. *brund* m. 'rut; male elk' < *brunda-, which was derived from *breman- ~ *brimman - 'to drone, roar' (q.v.), cf. MHG *brunft*, G *Brunst* f. 'rut' < *brumþi-.

bringan- s.v. 'to bring' — Go. *briggan* w.v. 'id.', OE *bringan* w.v. 'id.', E *to bring*, OFri. *bringa* w.v. 'id.', OS *bringan* w.v. 'id.', Du. *brengen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *bringan* w.v. 'id.', G *bringen* w.v. 'id.' (IE?).

A verb of obscure origin. Perhaps it can be analyzed as a conflation of the PIE roots *b^her- 'to carry' and *h_2enk- 'to arrive', arisen from a suppletive paradigm, cf. Gr. φέρω, aor. ἤνεγκα < *h_1ne-h_1nk-, cf. OCS *nesti*, Ru. *nestí* (*nesù*), SCr. *nèsti* 'to carry' < *h_1nek-, cf. MW *he-bryngaf* 'to bring' < *-b^hrenk- < *b^hr- + *$h_{1/2}nk$- (Matasović 2009: 76). Alternatively, it is possible to analyze the perfective *ga-bringan (cf. OE *ge-bringan*, OS *gi-bringan*) as a remodeling of *kom-pro-$h_1énk$-, cf. OIr. *ro-ic*, W *rynghu* 'to meet' < *pro-$h_1(e)nk$-. The initial *b < PIE *p would then have to be explained by Verner's law.

brinka- m. 'edge' — ON *brekka* f. 'slope' (< *brinkōn-), ME *brinke, brenke* 'seashore; rim, edge; margin, end, boundary', E *brink*, MLG *brink* m. 'hill, edge, shore', MDu. *brinc* m. 'edge, grass verge; stretch of grass; market', Du. *brink* c. 'village square, green' ⇒ *b^hrong-o- (IE) — ToA *prañk*, ToB *preñke* 'island' < *b^hrong-o-.

A Germanic-Tocharian isogloss.

brinnan- s.v. 'to burn' — Go. *brinnan* s.v. 'id.', ON *brinna, brenna* s.v. 'id.', Far. *brenna* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *brinna*, pres. *briđ* s.v. 'id.', OE *beornan* s.v. 'id.', E *to burn*, OFri. *berna* w.v. 'id.', OS *brinnan* s.v. 'id.', OHG *brinnan* s.v. 'id.' ⇒

*$b^hré$-n-$u̯h_1$-e- (IE) — OIr. *do-bruinn* 'to flow, trickle' < *b^hru-n-h_1-ie-; Lat. *ferveō, -ere* 'to be hot; to boil' < * $b^hérų̆h_1$-e-.

An *n*-present to the root *b^hreuh_1- 'to boil, brew'. See also *brewwan-, *brunnan- and *beura-.

brōan- s.v. 'to singe' — MDu. *broeyen* w.v. 'id.', Du. *broeien* w.v. 'to be brewing', MHG *brüejen* w.v. 'to singe', G *brühen* w.v. 'to boil, brew' ⇒ *$b^hróh_1$-e- (GM).

An *o*-grade intensive verb related to *brēan- (q.v.). Also cf. OE *brōd* f. 'brood', MHG *bruot* f. 'heat; incubation' < *brōdi-.

brōk- f. 'loin-cloth, breeches; rump(?)' — ON *brōk* f. 'leg of a pair of breeches', pl. *brœkr* 'breeches', Far. *brók* f. 'id.', pl. *brøkur* 'pants', Elfd. *bruok*, pl. *bryōker* f. 'shorts; diapers', OE *brōc* f. 'behind, breech', pl. 'breeches', E *breech(es)*, OFri. *brēk* f. 'pants', Du. *broek* c. 'id.', OHG *bruoh* f. 'id.' (GM?) — To Lat. *suffrāgō, -inis* n. 'joint in the hind leg of a quadruped; sucker shoot' < *-b^hrg-en-?

Etymology disputed. Within Germanic, the word can have been derived from an *o*-grade intensive to *brekan-, viz. OE *bracan* s.v. 'to break, bruise' < *brakan-, but only if the original meaning was 'behind' (i.e. "area where the legs split"). This meaning does allow for the well-known etymological connection with Lat. *suffrāgō*, but the exact derivation of this (late) Latin word is problematic (cf. De Vaan 2008: 597-8). The position of Gaul. *brāca, implied by Latin *brācae, braccae* (for which see *brakkōn-) is unclear: it may have been borrowed from Germanic in view of the root-final *k, but borrowing in the opposite direction has, too, been suggested (Griepentrog 1995: 89). The inflection of the Germanic word as a root noun could be a confirmation of that, as old loanwords were absorbed by this category more frequently (cf. *arwīt- 'pea').

brōka- 1 n. 'spot, speckle(?)' — Nw. *brok* m. 'young (speckled) salmon', Sw. dial. *brok* 'spot; spotted animal' ⇒ *$b^hroh_1ǵ$-o- (IE) — Skt. *bhrā́jati* 'to shine, to beam, to sparkle', YAv. *brāzaiti* 'to shine' < *$b^hréh_1ǵ$-e-; Lith. *brėkšti* (*brėkšta*) 'to dawn' < *$b^hreh_1ǵ$-ske-; OCS *pro-brĕzgъ*, Ru. dial. *brezg*, Sln. *brę̑sk* m. 'dawn' < *$b^hreh_1ǵ$-sk-o-.

A Nordic word related to *berhta-. Also cf. OSw. *brōkōter* (Sw. *brokig*), Da. *broget* adj. 'variegated' < *brōk-uhta-.

brōka- 2 m. 'swamp' — OE *brōc* m. 'id.', E *brook*, MLG *brōk* n. 'wet pasture', MDu. *broec* m. 'marsh', Du. *broek* n. 'id.', OHG *bruoh* n. 'swamp', MHG *bruoch* n. 'id.' (DRV).

Probably a *vr̥ddhi*-derivation to the adjective **brakka-* 'brackish' (q.v.); the geminate of this adjective was regularly shortened in the overlong syllable **brōkk-*.

brōþer- m. 'brother' — Go. *broþar* m. 'id.', ON *bróðir*, pl. *bræðr* m. 'id.', Far. *bróðir*, pl. *brøður* m. 'id.', Elfd. *bruoðer*, pl. *bryōðrer* m. 'id.', OE *brōðor* m. 'id.', E *brother*, OFri. *brōther* m. 'id.', OS *brōthar* m. 'id.', Du. *broer* c. 'id.', OHG *bruodar* m. 'id.', G *Bruder* m. 'id.' ⇒ **b*ʰ*reh₂-ter-* (IE) — ToA *pracar*, ToB *procer* 'brother', Skt. *bhrā́tar-*, Av. *brātar-* m. 'id.', Arm. *ełbayr* 'id.', Gr. Att. φρᾰ́τηρ, Dor. φρᾱτήρ m. 'member of a brotherhood', Phryg. βρατερε dat.sg. 'brother', Lat. *frāter* m. 'id.', OIr. *bráthair*, W *brawd* m. 'id.', OPru. *brāti*, *brote*, Lith. *brólis*, Latv. *brālis* 'id.', OCS *bratrъ*, *bratъ* m. 'id.'.

The Indo-European word for 'brother'.

brū- f. 'bridge' — ON *brú* f. 'id.', Far. *brúgv* f. 'bridge; quay; heap, pile; eyebrow', Nw. *bru* f. 'bridge', dial. 'edge; eyebrow', OE *brū* f. 'eyebrow', E *brow* ⇒ **h₃b*ʰ*ruH-* (IE) — ToB *pärwā-ne* du. 'eyebrow', Skt. *bhrū́-* f. '(eye)brow', YAv. *bruuaṯbiiąm* dat.du. 'id.', MP *brūg* 'id.', Oss. *ærfyg* / *ærfug* 'id.', Gr. ὀφρῦς f. 'id.'; Lith. *bruvìs* f. 'id.'; OCS *brъvь* f. 'id.'.

A zero-grade root noun, perhaps originally the same word as **brēwō-* (q.v.). See also **bru(w)ī-* ~ **brujjō-*.

brūdi- f. 'bride' — Go. *bruþs* f. 'id.', ON *brúðr* f. 'id.', Far. *brúður* f. 'id.', Elfd. *brauðe* f. 'id.', OE *brȳd* f. 'id.', E *bride*, OFri. *breid* f. 'id.', OS *brūd* f. 'id.', Du. *bruid* c. 'id.', OHG *brūt* f. 'id.', G *Braut* f. 'id.' (GM).

No certain etymology. The reconstruction as **mruH-tí-* "who is spoken for" (Hirt 1897: 234) is based on the erroneous derivation of Skt. *brávīti*, *bruvánti* 'to say' from PIE **mr(e)uH-* rather than **ml(e)uH-*, cf. Ru. *mólvit'*, Cz. *mluviti* 'to say'. I am tempted to assume a correlation with ON *brúða* 'bundle of flax', Icel. *brúða* f. 'doll, puppet' < **brūdōn-* and Nw. *brugde* f. 'bundle, tuft' < **bruwwVþōn-*, both from a Pre-Gm. root **b*ʰ*ruH-*. The *ti*-suffix can then be compared to the one of **magaþi-* 'girl' (q.v.).

bruki- m./f. 'breach' — OE *bryce* f. 'id.', E *breach*, OFri. *breke* m./f. 'id.', MDu. *broke* f. 'id.', Du. *breuk* c. 'id.', OHG *bruh* m. 'id.', G *Bruch* m. 'id.' (DRV).

An *i*-stem derived from **brekan-* (q.v.).

bruk(k)ōn- w.v. 'to break, crumble' — Nw. *broka* w.v. 'to break, bite, tear', MDu. *brocken*, *broken* w.v. 'to bend, break', MHG *er-brochen* w.v. 'to crush, squash' (WEUR) — Lat. *frangō*, *-ere* 'to break' < **b*ʰ*rg-neh₂-* (< **frag-n-* with Thurneysen's law).

The iterative to **brekan-* (q.v.), probably to be equated with Lat. *frangō* (if from **bʰrg-neh₂-*). Also cf. OHG *brocko*, G *Brocken* m. 'chunk, crumb' < **brukkan-*.

brummōn- w.v. 'to drone, hum' — Du. *brommen* w.v. 'id.', MHG *brummen* w.v. 'id.', G *brummen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰrm-néh₂-* (IE).

The iterative to **breman-* ~ **brimman-* (q.v.).

brunjōn- f. 'breastplate' — Go. *brunjo* f. 'id.', ON *brynja* f. 'coat of mail', OE *byrne* f. 'id.', OS *brunnia* f. 'id.', OHG *brunja*, *brunna* f. 'id.', G *Brünne* f. 'id.' (LW).

Suspected to be a loanword from Celtic, perhaps from a pre-form of OIr. *bruinne* m. 'breast' < **bʰrus-n-io-*, for which see **breusta-*.

brunna(n)- m. 'well, spring' — Go. *brunna* m. 'id.', ON *brunnr* m. 'id.', OE *brunna*, *burna* m. 'id.', OS *brunno* m. 'id.', Du. *bron* c. 'id.', OHG *brunno* m. 'id.', G *Brunnen* m. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰreh₁u-r/n-* (IE) — Gr. φρέαρ, -ατος n. 'well', Arm. *aɫbewr*, *aɫbiwr*, gen. *aɫber* 'fountain, spring' < **bʰréh₁u-r*, **bʰrh₁u-n(t)-ós*.

An *n*-stem continuing a PIE heteroclitic nom. **bʰréh₁u-r-*, gen. **bʰrh₁u-én-s / *bʰrh₁u-n-ós*. The second genitive is postulated on the basis of the PGm. root **brun-*, which developed from **bʰruh₁-n-ós* by Dybo's law of pretonic shortening. The geminated root **brunn-* may have arisen by the generalization of the obl. stem **brun-* and the subsequent addition of a secondary *n*-suffix. See also **brewwan-*.

bruska- m. 'shrub' — Nw. *brusk* m. 'shrub, undergrowth' (NEUR).

E *brush* < ME *brusche* was adopted from OFr. *brosse*, *broce*, *broche*, which in turn must be a loanword from WGm. **bruska-*. Thus, the PGm. origin of the word seems firmly established. Outside Germanic, the only known potential cognate is Lith. *brūzgai* m.pl. 'underbrush' (Torp 1909: 282), but the exact derivation of this word is uncertain: from **bʰrusgo-*?

brust- f. 'breast, chest' — Go. *brusts* f. 'id.', OFri. *brust*, *burst* n. 'id.', OS *brust* f. 'id.', MLG *borst* f. 'id.', Du. *borst* c. 'id.', OHG *brust* f. 'id.', G *Brust* f. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰrus-sth₂-o-* (EUR).

A root noun closely related to **breusta-* (q.v.) with the same meaning. In the older literature, a link with MHG *briustern* 'to swell up' is usually assumed, but this is probably a frequentative to a strong verb **breusan-* (cf. OE *brīesan* w.v. 'to break' < **brausjan-*) through a meaning 'to break open, to bud'.

brustu- m. 'fissure' — OHG *brust* m. 'burst, rip', MHG *brust* m. 'id.' (DRV).

A *u*-stem derived from the strong verb ***brestan-*** 'to break, burst' (q.v.). Also cf. OS *brustian* w.v. 'to bud' < ***brustjan-***.

brut(t)ōn- w.v. 'to bud' — MHG *brozzen* w.v. 'id.', G Als. *brossen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ ***b^hrd-néh$_2$-*** (WEUR) — To Lat. *frōns, -ondis* f. 'foliage, leaves' < ***b^hrod-ni-*** (with Thurneysen's law).

The iterative to ***breutan-*** 'to break, bud' (q.v.), originally conjugated as 3sg. ***bruttōþi***, 3pl. ***brutunanþi***. The Pre-Gm. root seems to have been ***b^hrud-***, but in view of the potential Latin cognate, the *u* is likely to have arisen secondarily in an iterative derived from a strong verb ***bretan-*** (< ***b^hréd-e-***). The resulting ***brut(t)ōn-*** may in turn have given rise to ***breutan-*** by back-formation.

bru(w)ī- ~ brujjō- f. 'bridge' — ON *bryggja* f. 'pier, quay; bridge', Far. *bryggja* f. 'wharf, quay; bridge of a ship', Elfd. *bryddja* f. 'dock', OE *brycg, bricg* f. 'bridge', E *bridge*, OFri. *bregge* f. 'bridge; arch', OS *bruggia* f. 'bridge', Du. *brug* c. 'id.', OHG *brucka* f. 'id.', G *Brücke* f. 'id.' ⇒ ***h_3b^hruH-ih$_2$-*** (IE).

An old *ih*$_2$-stem related to the root noun ***brū-*** (q.v.). The original paradigm ***h_3b^hruH-íh$_2$***, gen. ***h_3b^hruH-iéh$_2$-s*** regularly developed into PGm. ***bru(w)ī***, gen. ***brujjōz*** under the influence of Dybo's law (pretonic shortening) and Holtzmann's law (pretonic gemination of ***-i̯-*** and ***-u̯-***). The genitive root was generalized in the NGm. paradigm, thus giving rise to ON *bryggja* < ***brujjōn-***. In WGm., the ***w*** that arose in the hiatus of the nom. ***bruī*** became velarized (cf. OHG *jugund* 'youth' < ***juwunþi-***). The resulting root ***brug-*** then spread to the genitive, thus giving rise to the required stem ***brugjō-*** (Kroonen 2011b: 158-159).

bruzda- m. 'spike' — ON *broddr* m. 'id.', Far. *broddur* m. 'thorn, prickle; spike', Elfd. *brudd* m. 'shoot, sprout', OE *brord* m. 'point; grass shoot', OHG *brort* m. 'spear; edge' (WEUR).

A zero-grade variant of ***brazda-*** (q.v.).

buda- n. 'offer' — ON *boð* n. 'id.', OE *bod* n. 'command; message', OFri. *bod* n. 'command; announcement', Du. *bod* n. 'bid', OHG *bot* n. 'authoritative pronouncement' (DRV).

Derived from the strong verb ***beudan-*** (q.v.). Also cf. OE *ge-bod*, OS *gi-bod*, Du. *ge-bod*, G *Ge-bot* n. 'command, commandment' from the perfective ***ga-beudan-***.

budan- m. 'messenger' — ON *boði* m. 'id.', OE *boda* m. 'id.', OFri. *boda* m. 'id.', OS *bodo* m. 'id.', Du. *bode* c. 'id.', OHG *boto* m. 'id.', G *Bote* m. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from the strong verb ***beudan-*** (q.v.).

budman- ~ *buttman- m. 'bottom' — ON *botn* m. 'id.', Far. *botnur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *buottn* m. 'id.', OE *botm* m. 'id.', E *bottom*, OS *bodom* m. 'id.', Du. *bodem* c. 'id.', OHG *bodam* m. 'id.', G *Boden* m. 'id.' ⇒ *b^hud^h-mén-* (IE) — Gr. πυθμήν m. 'bottom, depth, root' < *b^hud^h-mén-*; Skt. *budhná-* m. 'bottom', Lat. *fundus* m. 'id.', MIr. *bond* 'foot sole' < *b^hud^h-nó-*.

An old hysterokinetic *mn*-stem nom. *b^hud^h-mḗn*, gen. *b^hud^h-mn-ós*. In the genitive, the *m* was dissimilated at the Proto-Indo-European stage, which resulted in Skt. *budhná-*, Lat. *fundus* (with Thurneysen's law), and PGm. **buttaz* (Kluge 1884; Kroonen 2006). The resulting paradigm **budmē*, **buttaz* gave rise to multiple stem variants, i.e. OS *bodom* < **budma-*, OE *botm* < **buttma-* and ON *botn* < **buttna-*. The PIE root *b^hud^h-* itself seems to have been metathesized from *d^hub^h-*, for which cf. **deupa-* 'deep'.

bugan- m. 'bow' — Go. Crim. *boga* 'id.', ON *bogi* m. 'id.', Elfd. *bugi* m. 'id.', OE *boga* m. 'id.', E *bow*, OFri. *boga* m. 'id.', OS *bogo* m. 'id.', Du. *boog* c. 'id.', OHG *bogo* m. 'id.', G *Bogen* m. 'id.' (DRV).

An *n*-stem derived from **beugan-* ~ **būgan-* (q.v.).

bugjan- w.v. 'to buy' — Go. *bugjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *byggja* w.v. 'to get married; to lend out, let out', OE *bycgan* w.v. 'to buy', E *to buy*, OS *buggian* w.v. 'to buy, pay' ⇒ *b^hug^h-ie-* (GM).

No clear etymology (cf. Lehmann 1986: 84). In spite of the formal similarities, probably unrelated to **beugan-* 'to bend'.

bugōn- w.v. 'to brag(?)' — OE *bogian*, *boian* w.v. 'to boast', OFri. *bāgia* w.v. 'id.', MDu. *bogen* w.v. 'id.', Du. *bogen op* w.v. 'id.' (GM).

No etymology: perhaps related to Nw. *bauka* w.v. 'to plow through, rush forth, roar', Da. *bøge* w.v. 'to roar' < **baukōn-* (< Pre-Gm. **baukk-*?). The connection with OIr. *bocaid* 'to move, shake, brandish', refl. 'to boast' < **bukkā-* is uncertain, the origin of this verb being obscure as well.

bukka(n)- m. 'billy-goat' — ON *bokkr*, *bukkr* m. 'id.', *bokki* m. 'fellow', Far. *bukkur* m. 'billy-goat', Elfd. *bukk* m. 'id.', OE *bucc* m. 'roebuck', *bucca* m. 'billy-goat', E *buck*, MDu. *boc* m. 'id.', Du. *bok* c. 'id.', OHG *bock* m. 'id.', G *Bock* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$b^hu\acute{g}$-on-* (IE) — Av. *būza-* m. 'goat, buck', P *buz* 'id.' < *$b^hu\acute{g}$-o-*.

Most of the evidence points to a thematic form **bukka-*, but in view of the gemination of the final consonant it seems likely that the word was originally inflected as an *n*-stem, viz. **bukō*, gen. **bukkaz* < *$b^hu\acute{g}$-ōn*, *$b^hu\acute{g}$-n-ós*. OIr. *boc*, W *bwch* m. 'billy-goat' must in view of the geminate have been borrowed from Germanic.

bukk/gōn- w.v. 'to bend' — Far. *boga*, *buga*, *bukka* w.v. 'to bend, curve', Nw. *boga* w.v. 'to bend, swing', *bukka* w.v. 'to nod', OFri. *bukkia* w.v. 'to bend down', MHG *bocken* w.v. 'to alight' ⇒ *b^hug^h-$néh_2$- (IE).

The iterative to *beugan- ~ *būgan- (q.v.). Also cf. Swi. Visp. *bikku* w.v. 'to bend, turn' < *bugjan-.

bulgjan-* ~ *bulkjan- w.v. 'to bellow' — OE *bylgian* w.v. 'id.', E *to bellow*, MDu. *bulgen* w.v. 'to cough, rattle', Du. *bulken* w.v. 'to bellow' ⇒ *$b^hl^{(}g^{)h}$-*ie-* (GM).

Related to OE *bealcan* w.v. 'to utter; to belch', MDu. *balken* w.v. 'to bellow', Du. *balken* w.v. 'to bray, hee-haw' < *balkōn- and MDu. *belken* w.v. 'to bellow', E *to belch* < *balkjan-. The *g* of OE *bylgian* and MDu. *bulgen* must be old, which implies that the *k* of the other forms arose under the influence of a related iterative *bulkōn- < *$b^hl^{(}g^{)h}$-$néh_2$-, cf. MDu. *bolken* w.v. 'to bellow'. Further related to the cluster of *balgi- in the sense of 'belly'?

bulgjōn- f. 'wave; bag' — ON *bylgja* f. 'wave', Far. *bylgja* f. 'id.', E *billow*, MLG *bulge* f. 'wave; hide', MHG *bulge* f. 'wave; leather bag' (DRV).

A zero-grade formation (quasi PIE *$b^hl^{(}g^{)h}$-ieh_2-) to *belgan- 'to swell' and *balgi- 'skin bag'. The word was taken over by the Romans, cf. Lat. *bulga* 'leather knapsack', and it seems likely that the continuant OFr. *boulge*, *bouge* was the source of ME *bulge* 'leather bag, wallet; hump', E *bulge*. As the meaning 'protuberance' is reminiscent of *belgan-, however, it is possible that *bulge* at least partly continues a native word, i.e. OE *bylge*. E *billow* is usually taken to be a Norse loanword. Further cf. MDu. *bulgen* w.v. 'to swell up' < *bulgjan- and the derived *bulge* m. 'blister, tumor; entrails of a dead animal' < *bulgjan-.

bullan- 'ball' — ON *bolli* m. 'cup', Far. *bolli* m. 'cup, bowl; head; ball', OE *bolla* m. 'bowl', OFri. *bolla* m. 'type of (round?) bread', MDu. *bolle* m. 'sphere, round object', Du. *bol* c. 'id.', OHG *bolla* f. 'bud; bowl' (EUR).

Ablauting with *ballan- (q.v.).

bul(l)an- m. 'bull' — ON *boli* m. 'id.', OE *bula* m. 'id.', E *bull*, MLG *bulle* m. 'id.', MDu. *bul(le)* m. 'id.', Du. *bul* c. 'id.' ⇒ *b^hl-*én-* (EUR?/DRV?) — Gr. φαλλός m. 'penis' < *b^hl-no-; Lat. *follis* m. 'bag, sack; ball, testicle' < *b^hol-ni-; OIr. *ball* m. 'member, penis', W *balleg* 'sack, purse' < *b^hl-no-.

An *n*-stem alternating between *bulan- and *bullan-, thus pointing to a paradigm with consonant gradation, nom. *bulō, gen. *bullaz. Analogically to other hysterokinetic male animal names, e.g. *uhsan- 'ox' and *urzan- 'capercaillie', the Pre-Germanic paradigm may be reconstructed as *b^hl-én*, *b^hl-n-ós*, assuming that the vocalized *l* was generalized throughout the paradigm. The formation seems to have been derived from a PIE word for

'testicle', cf. ON *bǫllr* m. 'testicle' and OE *bealloc* m. 'id.' < **ballaka-*, for which see **ballan-*.

bullōn- w.v. 'to roar, howl' — Icel. *bulla* w.v. 'to bubble; to talk nonsense', Far. *bulla* w.v. 'to gush, bubble; to chatter, babble', MDu. *bullen* w.v. 'to bubble up', OHG *bullōn* w.v. 'to howl, bark, roar', MHG *bullen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰlh₁-néh₂-* (EUR) — Lat. *fleō, flēre* 'to cry, weep', Latv. *blêt* (*blêju*) 'to bleat'; RuCS *blějati*, Ru. *bléjat'* 'to bleat, *dial.* to cry' < **bʰleh₁-ie-*.

An iterative synchronically belonging to **bellan-* (q.v.). This verb may be secondary, however, replacing a more primitive **blējan-*.

bulstra(n)- m. 'bolster, pillow' — ON *bolstr* m. 'id.', OE *bolster* n. 'id.', Du. *bolster* 'husk', OHG *bolstar* m. 'cushion', G *Polster* m. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰolǵʰ-stro-* (DRV?).

A formation created to the same root as found in **balgi-* (q.v.).

bultōn- w.v. 'to roll, turn over' — Far. *bólta* w.v. 'to turn over, overturn, tumble', G *bolzen* w.v. 'to kick around (a ball)' ⇒ **bʰld-néh₂-* (NEUR) — Formally identical to Lith. *bìldinti* 'to rumble' < **bʰld-néh₂-*; further cf. Lith. *bélsti* (*béldžiu*) 'to knock, poke' < **bʰeld-ie-* and Lith. *báldyti* (*baldà*) 'to rumble' < **bʰold-éie-*.

An old iterative formation closely related to the *o*-grade variant G *balzen* w.v. 'to croon; to perform a courtship display' < **baltōn-* < **bʰold-néh₂-*, which is semantically close to Nw. *bolt* m. 'male cat or bird; bragger', *Bolze* m. 'male cat' < **bulta(n)-*. There is evidence for a meaning 'to kick over, make roll', cf. ON *bolti* m. 'ball', Far. *boltur, bóltur* m. 'id.' < **bulta(n)-*, but this may have developed out of an older 'to hit, bump', cf. OE *bolt* m. 'bolt, arrow', MLG *bolte(n)* m. 'id.', Du. *bout* c. 'peg', OHG *bolz* m. 'bullet, bolt, peg', G *Bolz(en)* m. 'cross-bow bolt' < **bulta(n)-* and MLG *ane-belte*, MDu. *ane-belt, aen-belt*, Du. *aambeeld* n. 'anvil' < **ana-baltja-*.

bunda- m. 'binding' — OS *gi-bund* n. 'bundle', Du. *bond* c. 'league', MHG *bunt* m./n. 'fetter; bundle', G *Bund* m. 'league; bundle' (DRV).

A zero-grade neuter derived from **bindan-* (q.v.).

būra- n. 'cabin, hut' — ON *búr* n. 'women's apartment; pantry; storehouse', OE *būr* m. 'hut, chamber', E *bower*, OS *būr* n. 'chamber, dwelling', OHG *būr* m. 'dwelling; cage', G *Bauer* m. '(bird)cage' ⇒ **bʰuh₂-ro-* (IE).

Related to **bōan-* ~ **būan-* (q.v.).

burdi- f. 'birth' — Go. *ga-baurþs* f. 'id.', ON *burðr* m. 'birth; foetus', OE *(ge-)byrd* f. 'birth', E *birth*, OFri. *berde* f. 'birth; foetus', OS *gi-burd* f. 'birth, descent', Du. *ge-boorte* c. 'birth', OHG *gi-burt* f. 'id.', G *Ge-burt* f. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰr-tí-*

(DRV/IE) — Identical to Skt. *bhṛtí-* f. 'carrying, sustenance, livelihood, food', Av. *bərəti-* f. 'carrying', Lat. *fors, -tis* f. 'chance, luck'; also cf. OIr. *brith, breth* f. 'carrying, judgement' < **bʰr-t-eh₂-* and MW *bryd* m. 'thought, mind, intent, aim', Co. *brys* 'thought' < **bʰr-tu-*.

A *ti*-stem created to the root of **beran- 1*.

burg- f. 'fortified place, town' — Go. *baurgs* f. 'id.', ON *borg* f. 'town; citadel; small hill', Far. *borg* f. 'castle; town', OE *burg* f. 'city', E *borough*, OFri. *burch, burich* m. 'castle; city', OS *burg* f. 'id.', OHG *burg* f. 'id.', MHG *burc* f. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰr(ǵ)h-* (IE).

A root noun related to either **berga-* 'mountain' < **bʰerǵʰ-o-* or **bergan-* 'to keep safe' < **bʰérgʰ-e-*; the formal as well as the semantic properties of the word allow for both of these etymologies.

burgjan- w.v. 'to hide(?)' — ON *byrgja* w.v. 'to close, shut', OE *byrian* w.v. 'to bury', E *to bury* ⇒ **bʰrgʰ-ie-* (EUR).

A zero-grade *ie*-present related to **bergan-* (q.v.). Also cf. OE *byrga*, OS *burgio*, OHG *burigo*, G *Bürge* m. 'surety' < **burgjan-*.

buri- m. 'son' — Go. *baur* m. 'id.', ON poet. *burr* m. 'id.', OE *byre* m. 'son, child' (DRV).

An *i*-stem to the strong verb **beran- 1* (q.v.).

burjan- w.v. 'to raise; to come to pass' — ON *byrja* w.v. 'to start', OE *ge-byrian* w.v. 'id.', OFri. *bera* w.v. 'to raise, collect', OS *gi-burian* w.v. 'to happen', Du. *beuren* w.v. 'to collect money', *ge-beuren* w.v. 'to happen', OHG *burren* w.v. 'to raise', *gi-burren* w.v. 'to happen', MHG *bürn* w.v. 'id.', G *ge-bühren* w.v. 'to collect charges' ⇒ **bʰr-ie-* (IE).

A zero-grade *ie*-present related to **beran- 1*.

burkōn- w.v. 'to roar' — Nw. *borka* w.v. 'to boast', OE *borcian* w.v. 'to bark' ⇒ **bʰrg-néh₂-* (NEUR?).

The iterative to **berkan-* (q.v.).

burōjan- w.v. 'to bore' — ON *bora* w.v. 'id.', OE *borian* w.v. 'id.', E *to bore*, OS *boron* w.v. 'id.', Du. *boren* w.v. 'id.', OHG *borōn* w.v. 'id.', G *bohren* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **bʰr(H)-eh₂-ie-* (WEUR) — Identical to Lat. *forō, -āre* 'to bore through, pierce'.

A denominal verb derived from **burō-*, cf. OHG *bora* f. 'bore', or from **bura-* as in OE, MLG *bor* n. 'id.'. The suffixation of OE *byris* f.(?) 'graving-iron, file' < **burisō-* is comparable to that of OE *lynis* m. 'axletree' < **lunisa-* (for which see **luniz-*). Related to **barjan-*?

burzda- n. 'board' — Go. *fotu-baurd* n. 'footstool', ON *borð* n. 'board, plank, table', Far. *borð* n. 'id.', OE *bord* n. 'board, table', OFri. *bord* m./n.? 'id.', Du. *bord* n. 'plate, plank' ⇒ *b^hrzd^h-o-* (WEUR).

Related to **brezda-* and **brazda-* (q.v.). There is no trace of the PGm. **z* because it was assimilated by the preceding *r* in Gothic as well as in NWGm. (after the rhotacism). It was preserved, however, in the secondary zero-grade form **bruzda-*, cf. ON *broddr* m. 'tip, edge, shoot', OHG *brort* m. 'point, margin'. Apparently, the original zero grade was remodeled on the basis of the closely related full-grade forms in this formation (cf. Kroonen 2011a: 149ff).

butt/dōn- w.v. 'to shove' — Nw. *butta* w.v. 'to hit, shove', OFri. *del-boddia* w.v. 'to knock down', MDu. *botten* w.v. 'to bump, hit', G Als. *butzen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *b^hud^h-néh$_2$-* (GM).

The iterative to **bautan-* (q.v.).

buwwēn- w.v. 'to dwell; to form, build' — ON *byggva*, *byggja* w.v. 'id.', Far. *byggja* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *byddja* w.v. 'id.', OE *bogian*, *bug(i)an* w.v. 'to inhabit', OFri. *bogian* w.v. 'to dwell' ⇒ *b^huh_2-éh$_1$-* (IE).

The NGm. forms point to a *jan*-verb closely related to **bōan-* ~ **būan-* (q.v.). The formation cannot be derived from **bewwjan-* (*pace* Pokorny IEW: 146-50; Magnússon 1989: 69), as this would have given Elfd. ***begga*. As a result, the verb can safely be reconstructed as **buwwjan-* or - in view of the WGm. forms - perhaps rather as a stative **buwwēn-* < *b^hh_2u-éh$_1$-*. Note that the formation may have gone through an intermediate stage **būwé-*, which by 1) Dybo's law and 2) Holtzmann's law would have regularly produced **buwwēn-*.

D

daban- s.v. 'to fit' — Go. *ga-daban* s.v. 'to happen, be suitable, be appertinent to' ⇒ *$d^hób^h$-e-* (NEUR) — OCS *dobrъ* adj. 'good' < *d^hob^h-ro-*; OCS *doba* f. 'opportunity' < *d^hob^h-eh$_2$-*; Lith. *dabnùs* adj. 'gracious' < *d^hob^h-nu-*; hardly to Lat. *faber* 'craftsman' in view of the *a*-vocalism.

An *o*-grade present to a Germanic-Balto-Slavic root *d^heb^h-* 'to fit'. The appurtenance of Hitt. *tapešni* 'in the act' (Puhvel 2008: 64) is less certain.

daga- m. 'day' — Go. *dags* m. 'id.', ON *dagr* m. 'id.', Far. *dagur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *dag* m. 'id.', OE *dæg* m. 'id.', E *day*, OFri. *dei* m. 'id.', OS *dag* m. 'id.', Du. *dag* c. 'id.', OHG *tac* m. 'id.', G *Tag* m. 'day' ⇒ *$d^hóǵ^h$-o-* (IE).

A thematic noun related to **dōgera-* ~ **dōgena-* (q.v.). Also cf. the *vṛddhi*-adjective **-dōga-* as in Go. *fidur-dogs* 'lasting four days' and *ahtau-dogs* 'eight days old'.

daiga- m. 'dough' — Go. *daigs* m. 'id.', ON *deigr* m. 'id.', Far. *deiggj* n. 'id.', Elfd. *dieg* m. 'id.', OE *dāh* m. 'id.', E *dough*, MDu. *deech* n. 'id.', Du. *deeg* n. 'id.', OHG *teig* m. 'id.', G *Teig* m. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰoiǵʰ-o-* (DRV) — ORu. *děža* f. 'dough trough' < **dʰoiǵʰ-ieh₂-*.

Derived from the strong verb **dǐgan-* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *deigr*, Far. poet. *deigur*, MHG *teic*, MDu. *deech* adj. 'soft, weak' < **daiga-*.

daila- n. 'share, part' — OE *dāl* n. 'id.', E *dole*, OFri. *dēl* m./n. 'id.', Du. *deel* n. 'id.', OHG *teil* m./n. 'id.', G *Teil* m. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰ(h₁)oi-lo-*(?) (NEUR) — RuCS *dělъ* m. 'part', Ru. dial. *del* 'division, section', SCr. *dȉjel* m. 'part, mountain'.

A Germanic/Balto-Slavic isogloss. Theoretically, **daila-* can be derived from **dʰh₁-oi-lo-*, i.e. a derivative of the root **dʰeh₁-* 'to put', cf. Hitt. *dāi* ~ *tianzi* 'to put' < **dʰh₁-ói-ei*, **dʰh₁-i-énti*, but the formation has no direct parallels in any other IE language. OIr. *dál* and OW *daul* 'share, part' appear to have been adopted from OE *dāl*. Within Germanic, further cf. Go. *dails* f. 'part, share', OE *dǽl* m. 'id.', E *deal* < **daili-* and the factitive Go. *dailjan*, ON *deila*, OE *dǽlan*, E *to deal*, OFri. *dēla*, OS *dēlian*, Du. *delen* 'to share' < **dailjan-*.

dajjan- w.v. 'to suckle' — Go. *daddjan* w.v. 'id.', OSw. *dæggia* w.v. 'id.', OHG *taen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰh₁-oi-éie-* (IE) — OCS *doiti* (*dojǫ*) 'to breast-feed, nurse', Ru. *doít'* (*dojú*) 'to milk', SCr. *dòjiti* 'to breast-feed, suckle, give milk' < **dʰh₁-oi-éie-*.

Both the strong verb **dīan-* and the causative **dajjan-* point to a PIE *i*-present **dʰh₁-éi-ti*, **dʰh₁-i-énti*. The causative **dʰh₁-oi-éie-* developed into PGm. **dajjan-* with a geminate *-jj-*. This geminate may have arisen as the result of Holtzmann's law (pretonic *Verschärfung*), but it is conceivable, too, that it arose out of an intermediate form **dajijan-* by loss of the *i* in the second syllable (cf. Jasanoff 1978a: 85; Rasmussen 1991: 1, 381). OHG *tāan* 'to suckle' may continue the derivationally more primitive **dēan-* < **dʰéh₁-e-*.

dala- m. 'valley' — Go. *dal(s)* m./n. 'id.', ON *dalr* m. 'id.', Far. *dalur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *dal* m. 'id.', OE *dæl* n. 'id.', E *dale*, OS *dal* n. 'id.', Du. *dal* n. 'id.', OHG *tal* n. 'id.', G *Tal* n. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰolh₂-o-* (EUR) — Ru. obs. *dol* m. 'valley; ditch', SCr. *dô* m. 'valley, dale' < **dʰolh₂-o-*; MW *dol* f. 'meadow, dale' < **dʰolh₂-eh₂-*; Gr. θαλάμη 'den, lair' < **dʰlh₂-em-eh₂-*.

A European *o*-stem that in view of the possible connection with Gr. θαλάμη can be derived from a root **dʰelh₂-*. See also **dōljō-* and **dula-*.

dampa- m. 'vapor' — ME *damp* 'fire damp', MDu. *damp* m. 'vapor, fog', Du. *damp* c. 'id.', MHG *tampf, dampf* m. 'id.', G *Dampf* m. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from **dimban-* ~ **dimpan-* (q.v.). Nw. *damb* n. 'dust' was created from the same verb, but retained the original consonantism. Also cf. E *damp* adj. 'humid' < **dampa-*.

dangjan- w.v. 'to beat' — ON *dengja* w.v. 'to beat, to hammer', Far. *deingja* w.v. 'to beat, strike; to fling, throw; to hang about', Elfd. *daindja* w.v. 'to hit, bear', OE *dencgan* w.v. 'to knock', MHG *tengen* w.v. 'to hit, knock, hammer' ⇒ **dʰongʷʰ-éie-* (GM).

An iterative-intensive causative to **dingwan-* (q.v.). The delabialization of the velar was triggered by the combination of a preceding round vowel and a following *j*-suffix (cf. **sagja- 1* 'man, hero' < **sokʷH-ió-*). Also cf. OHG *tangal* m. 'hammer' < **dangala-*.

dank/gōn- w.v. 'to beat' — Icel. *danga* w.v. 'to beat, hit', Nw. *dakka* w.v. 'to slap', Sw. dial. *danka* w.v. 'to hit' ⇒ **dʰongʷʰ-néh₂-* (GM).

The iterative to **dingwan-* (q.v.). There are additional traces of a zero-grade variant **dung/kōn-*, cf. Icel., Far., Nw. *dunka* 'to beat, thump, knock': the *n* should have been assimilated in the West Norse forms continuing **dankōn-* and **dunkōn-*, but may have been restored under the influence of the ungeminated formations **dingwan-* and **dangjan-* (q.v.).

dapp/bōn- 1 w.v. 'to become heavy, sink, deteriorate' — Nw. *dabba* w.v. 'to fade, decrease, deteriorate (esp. of sight)', *dapa* w.v. 'to fade; become downcast' ⇒ **dʰobʰ-néh₂-* (NEUR) — RuCS *debelyj* adj. 'fat', Ru. *debélyj* adj. 'plump, corpulent', SCr. *dèbeo* adj. 'fat' < **dʰebʰ-lo-*; OCS *doblъ* adj. 'strong', Ru. *dóblij* adj. 'valiant', Latv. *dabļš* adj. 'strong, lush' < **dʰobʰ-l-io-*.

An iterative to a Germanic-Balto-Slavic root **dʰebʰ-* 'heavy'. Also cf. Nw. *davre* w.v. 'to decrease, to diminish' and perhaps also OHG *debben* w.v. 'to depress' (whence OHG *tabī* f. 'numbness'). The iterative served as the derivational base of **dapra-* (q.v.).

dapp/bōn- 2 w.v. 'to beat' — Nw. *dabba* w.v. 'to beat, kick', ME *dabben* w.v. 'to strike', E *to dab*, G Pal. *tapfen*, *tappen* w.v. 'to grope' ⇒ **dʰh₂bʰ-néh₂-* (NEUR) — Lith. *dóbti* (*dóbiu*) 'to beat, kill', Latv. *dâbt* 'to strike, beat' < **dʰeh₂bʰ-ie-*.

An iterative 3sg. **dappōþi*, 3pl. **dabunanþi* < **dʰh₂bʰ-néh₂-ti*, **dʰh₂bʰ-nh₂-énti* to the Germanic-Baltic root **dʰeh₂bʰ-* (cf. Pokorny IEW: 233). With secondary full-grade and geminate, cf. MHG *tāpe*, Swi. (App.) *tɔɔppə*, Visp. *daappo* m. 'paw, hand' < **dēbban-* (Kroonen 2011a: 327). Unrelated to **tabjan-* (q.v.).

dapra- adj. 'heavy' — ON *dapr* adj. 'downcast, sad', Icel. *dapur* adj. 'sad', *sjón-dapur* 'blind', Nw. *daper* adj. 'shy, weak, with young', MLG *dapper* adj. 'heavy', MDu. *dapper* 'stout, strong', Du. *dapper* 'brave', G *tapfer* adj. 'brave, stout' (DRV) — RuCS *debelyj* adj. 'fat', Ru. *debélyj* adj. 'plump, corpulent', SCr. *dèbeo* adj. 'fat' < **dʰebʰ-lo-*; OCS *doblь* adj. 'strong', Ru. *dóblij* adj. 'valiant', Latv. *dabļš* adj. 'strong, lush' < **dʰobʰ-l-io-*.

This adjective is usually directly compared to the aforementioned forms in Slavic, but the underlying root **dʰebʰ-* can only be reconciled with PGm. **dapra-* by assuming that it was derived from **dapōn-*, an analogical variant belonging to the iterative **dapp/bōn-* 'to become heavy' (q.v.) < **dʰobʰ-néh₂-*. The original meaning 'heavy' split into both 'depressed' and 'bold'. In Nordic, the root **dap-* further became associated with eyesight deterioration, cf. Icel. *depra* f. 'weakening eyesight' < **daprjōn-* and Icel. *depl* n. 'drooping of the eyes' < **daplja-*. See also **dōbnan-*.

darbja- adj. 'hostile' — OFri. *derve* adj. 'fierce, severe', OS *derbi* adj. 'powerful, hostile, bad', MLG *derve* adj. 'bad' (DRV).

A *ja*-stem adjective derived from **derban-* 'to perish' or the pertaining causative **darbjan-* (q.v.).

darbjan- w.v. 'to destroy' — MLG *derven* w.v. 'to shrink, wither, spoil', MHG *ver-derben* w.v. 'to ruin, kill' ⇒ **dʰorHbʰ-éie-* (NEUR).

The causative of **derban-* (q.v.).

darjan- w.v. 'to hurt' — OE *derian* w.v. 'id.', OFri. *dera* w.v. 'id.', OS *derian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *deren* w.v. 'id.', OHG *terjen, terren* w.v. 'id.', MHG *teren, tern* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰorh₃-éie-* (NEUR) — Lith. *dùrti* (*duriù*) 'to stab, prick, ache', Latv. *duŕt* 'to stab, prick' **dʰrh₃-* (with **h₃* in view of the vocalization **-r̥-* > **-ur-*).

A Germanic-Baltic root. Also cf. OE *daru* f. 'damage, injury', OHG *tara* f. 'injury' < **darō-* < **dʰorh₃-eh₂-*.

darran- m. 'hinge' — Nw. *darre* m. 'hinge; vertebra' ⇒ **dʰor-on-* (IE) — Gr. θαιρός m. 'pivot of a door, axle of a chariot' < **dʰr-io-*.

An *n*-stem **darō, *darraz* < **dʰór-ōn, *dʰr-n-ós*. Also cf. ON *dǫrr* m. 'spear' < **darru-*, which continues the original acc.pl. **darruns* < **dʰor-n-ń̥s*, and - with a zero grade of the root - Icel. *dorra* f. 'piece of wood, stick' < **durrōn-*. Together, all these forms point to a hysterokinetic *n*-stem *dʰór-ēn*, gen. **dʰr-n-ós*, acc.pl. **dʰor-n-ń̥s*. This formation is likely to be related to Gr. θαιρός < **dʰr̥-io-* (the alternative reconstruction **dʰu̯r̥-io-* is based on the uncertain connection with θύρα f. 'door' < **dʰur-h₂-*).

dauba- adj. 'deaf; sluggish; numb' — Go. *daubs* adj. 'id.', ON *daufr* adj. 'id.', Far. *deyvur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *dov* adj. 'id.', OE *dēaf* adj. 'id.', E *deaf*, OFri. *dāf* adj.

'id.', Du. *doof* adj. 'id.', OHG *toub* adj. 'id.', G *taub* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰoubʰ-o-* (EUR) — Gr. τυφλός adj. 'blind, dark, blocked, clogged' < **dʰubʰ-lo-*; OIr. *dub*, OW *dub*, W *du* adj. 'id.' < **dʰubʰ-u-*; MIr. *dobur* adj. 'black, unclean' < **dʰubʰ-ro-*.

A thematic adjective related to **duba-* (q.v.).

****dauda-*** adj. 'dead' — Go. *dauþs* adj. 'id.', ON *dauðr* adj. 'id.', OE *dēad* adj. 'id.', E *dead*, OFri. *dāth* adj. 'id.', OS *dōd* adj. 'id.', Du. *dood* adj. 'id.', OHG *tōt* adj. 'id.', G *tot* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰou(H)-tó-* (DRV).

The original past participle of **daujan-* 'to die' (q.v.).

****daugjan-*** w.v. 'to endure' — OE *ge-dīegan* w.v. 'id.', OS *ā-dōgian* w.v. 'to withstand' ⇒ **dʰougʰ-eie-* (DRV).

Given the meaning, the verb probably represents an intensive formation rather than a causative. Related to **dugan-* (q.v.).

****daujan-*** s.v. 'to die' — ON *deyja* s.v. 'id.', Far. *doyggja* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *dää* s.v. 'id.', OE *dīegan* s.v. 'id.', E *to die*, OS *dōian* w.v. 'id.', OHG *touwen*, *tewen* w.v. 'id.', MHG *touwen*, *tōuwen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰouh₂/₃-ié-* (IE) — Hitt. *tuḫḫuszi* 'to end' < **dʰuh₂/₃-s-*; Lat. *fūnus* n. 'funeral' < **dʰuh₂/₃-n-es-*(?).

An originally strong verb **daujan-*, pret. 3sg. **dōe* (ON *dó*, Elfd. *duo*), 3pl. **dōunþ* (ON *dóu*), ptc. **dawe/ana-* (ON *dáinn*) < **dʰou(H)-ie-*. LIV²: 123 reconstructs a causative, but this formation cannot be reconciled with the strong conjugation in Nordic. I therefore start from an *o*-grade intensive verb with a presentic *ie*-suffix. Within Germanic, it is cognate with Go. *diwans** adj. 'mortal' < **dewana-*, possibly an old participle to an unattested strong verb **dewan-*, and further to **dauda-* 'dead' and **dauþu-* 'death' (q.v.). On the Proto-Indo-European level, the formation has been compared to the root **dʰeu-* 'to run, rush', cf. Skt. *dhávate*, Gr. θέω 'to run' and **dʰueh₂-* 'to blow, smoke, be misty', see **du(w)ēn-* (cf. Seebold 1970: 148; LIV²: l.c.), but I find it preferable to assume a link with Hitt. *tuḫḫuszi* 'to end' < **dʰuh₂/₃-s-*. Apparently, Hittite preserved the basic meaning of the word, while in Germanic, it euphemistically became associated with dying.

****dauma-*** m. 'vapor' — Far. *deymur* m. 'strong smell', MDu. *doom* m. 'mist, haze', OHG *tuom* m. 'vapor, haze, fume', MHG *tuom* m. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰouh₂-mo-* (IE) — Close to Skt. *dhūmá-* m. 'smoke, vapor', Lat. *fūmus* m. 'smoke', Lith. *dū́mai* m.pl. 'id.', OCS *dymъ* m. 'id.' < **dʰuh₂-mo-*.

An *o*-grade *mo*-stem to the root **dʰuh₂-* 'to smoke'. See also **dauna-* and **dawwa/ō-*.

****dauna-*** m. 'smell' — ON *daunn* m. 'id.', OSw. *døn* m./n. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰouh₂-no-* (IE).

A *no*-stem derived from the root *d^huh_2- 'to blow, smoke, be misty', for which see *dauma- and *dawwa/ō-. Also cf. Go. *dauns*, gen. *-ais* f. 'id.' < *dauni- and Elfd. *dena* w.v. 'to smell (bad)' < *daunjan-.

***daupjan-** w.v. 'to dip' — Go. *daupjan* w.v. 'immerse, baptize', ON *deypa* w.v. 'to dip; to baptize', Far. *doypa* w.v. 'to baptize', OFri. *dēpa* w.v. 'id.', OS *dōpian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *dopen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *toufen* w.v. 'id.', G *taufen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A causative created either to the strong verb *dūban- (q.v.) or - more probably - directly to the iterative *dupp/bōn- (q.v.) < *d^hub^h-neh_2-. See also *deupa-.

***dauþu-** m. 'death' — Go. *dauþus* m. 'id.', ON *dauðr*, gen. *-ar* m. 'id.', OE *dēaþ* m. 'id.', E *death*, OFri. *dāth* m. 'id.', OS *dōð* m. 'id.', Du. *dood* c. 'id.', OHG *tōt* m. 'id.', G *Tod* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$d^hóu(H)$-tu- (DRV).

A *tu*-stem created to *daujan- (q.v.).

***dauzan-** m. 'fool' — MLG *dōre* m. 'id.', MHG *tōre* m. 'id.' ⇒ *d^hous-on- (EUR) — For the ablaut, cf. Lith. *daũsios* f.pl. 'air' < *d^hous-ieh_2-.

Related to *dwēsa- (q.v.), with *Schwebeablaut* as in Baltic.

***dawēn-** w.v. 'to marvel' — ON *dá* w.v. 'to admire' ⇒ *d^hh_2u-eh_1- (EUR) — Gr. θαῦμα n. 'wonder, astonishment' < *d^heh_2u-mn- (but cf. the irregular alternants θῶμα and θῶυμα).

A Germanic-Greek isogloss. Also cf. ON *dá* n. 'trance, senseless state' < *dawa- and Far. *dáni* m. 'wonder'.

***dawwa/ō-** m./f. 'dew' — ON *dǫgg* f. 'id.', Far. *døgg* f. 'id.', Elfd. *dagg* f. 'id.', OE *dēaw* m. 'id.', E *dew*, OFri. *daw* n. 'id.', ODu. *dou* m. 'id.', Du. *dauw* c. 'id.', OHG *tou* m./n. 'id.', G *Tau* m. 'id.' ⇒ *d^houh_2-o/eh_2- (IE) — Lith. *dujà* f. 'drizzle, mist' < *d^huh_2-ieh_2-.

An *ō*-stem derived from the PIE root *d^huh_2- 'to smoke, haze', for which see *dauma- and *du(w)ēn-.

***dazēn-** w.v. 'to be numbed(?)' — OE *darian* w.v. 'to lie motionless, be appalled', ME *daren* w.v. 'to stay in one place, remain quiet; to lurk; to be motionless, inactive; to hesitate', MDu. *be-daren* w.v. 'to control oneself', Du. *be-daren* w.v. 'to settle, calm down', Flem. *ver-daren* w.v. 'to be appalled' (GM).

A stative verb that can theoretically be related to Skt. *dhāráyati* 'to hold, support' < *d^hor-éie- and Arm. *dadarem* 'to settle (of wind)' < *d^ho-d^hor- (thus Pokorny IEW: 252-5). It is preferable, however, to reconstruct the verb as *dazēn- rather than *darēn-, and derive it from *daza-, an adjective apparently in Verner alternation with MDu. *daes* 'foolish', Du. *daas* 'dizzy,

'id.', Du. *doof* adj. 'id.', OHG *toub* adj. 'id.', G *taub* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *$d^h oub^h$-o-* (EUR) — Gr. τυφλός adj. 'blind, dark, blocked, clogged' < *$d^h ub^h$-lo-*; OIr. *dub*, OW *dub*, W *du* adj. 'id.' < *$d^h ub^h$-u-*; MIr. *dobur* adj. 'black, unclean' < *$d^h ub^h$-ro-*.

A thematic adjective related to **duba-* (q.v.).

dauda- adj. 'dead' — Go. *dauþs* adj. 'id.', ON *dauðr* adj. 'id.', OE *dēad* adj. 'id.', E *dead*, OFri. *dāth* adj. 'id.', OS *dōd* adj. 'id.', Du. *dood* adj. 'id.', OHG *tōt* adj. 'id.', G *tot* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *$d^h ou(H)$-tó-* (DRV).

The original past participle of **daujan-* 'to die' (q.v.).

daugjan- w.v. 'to endure' — OE *ge-dīegan* w.v. 'id.', OS *ā-dōgian* w.v. 'to withstand' ⇒ *$d^h ough$-eie-* (DRV).

Given the meaning, the verb probably represents an intensive formation rather than a causative. Related to **dugan-* (q.v.).

daujan- s.v. 'to die' — ON *deyja* s.v. 'id.', Far. *doyggja* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *däa* s.v. 'id.', OE *dīegan* s.v. 'id.', E *to die*, OS *dōian* w.v. 'id.', OHG *touwen*, *tewen* w.v. 'id.', MHG *touwen*, *tōuwen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *$d^h ouh_{2/3}$-ié-* (IE) — Hitt. *tuḫḫuški* 'to end' < *$d^h uh_{2/3}$-s-*; Lat. *fūnus* n. 'funeral' < *$d^h uh_{2/3}$-n-es-*(?).

An originally strong verb **daujan-*, pret. 3sg. **dōe* (ON *dó*, Elfd. *duo*), 3pl. **dōunþ* (ON *dóu*), ptc. **dawe/ana-* (ON *dáinn*) < *$d^h ou(H)$-ie-*. LIV²: 123 reconstructs a causative, but this formation cannot be reconciled with the strong conjugation in Nordic. I therefore start from an *o*-grade intensive verb with a presentic *ie*-suffix. Within Germanic, it is cognate with Go. *diwans** adj. 'mortal' < **dewana-*, possibly an old participle to an unattested strong verb **dewan-*, and further to **dauda-* 'dead' and **dauþu-* 'death' (q.v.). On the Proto-Indo-European level, the formation has been compared to the root *$d^h eu$-* 'to run, rush', cf. Skt. *dhávate*, Gr. θέω 'to run' and *$d^h ueh_2$-* 'to blow, smoke, be misty', see **du(w)ēn-* (cf. Seebold 1970: 148; LIV²: l.c.), but I find it preferable to assume a link with Hitt. *tuḫḫuški* 'to end' < *$d^h uh_{2/3}$-s-*. Apparently, Hittite preserved the basic meaning of the word, while in Germanic, it euphemistically became associated with dying.

dauma- m. 'vapor' — Far. *deymur* m. 'strong smell', MDu. *doom* m. 'mist, haze', OHG *tuom* m. 'vapor, haze, fume', MHG *tuom* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$d^h ouh_2$-mo-* (IE) — Close to Skt. *dhūmá-* m. 'smoke, vapor', Lat. *fūmus* m. 'smoke', Lith. *dū́mai* m.pl. 'id.', OCS *dymъ* m. 'id.' < *$d^h uh_2$-mo-*.

An *o*-grade *mo*-stem to the root *$d^h uh_2$-* 'to smoke'. See also **dauna-* and **dawwa/ō-*.

dauna- m. 'smell' — ON *daunn* m. 'id.', OSw. *døn* m./n. 'id.' ⇒ *$d^h ouh_2$-no-* (IE).

A *no*-stem derived from the root *d^huh_2- 'to blow, smoke, be misty', for which see *dauma- and *dawwa/ō-. Also cf. Go. *dauns*, gen. *-ais* f. 'id.' < *dauni- and Elfd. *dena* w.v. 'to smell (bad)' < *daunjan-.

daupjan- w.v. 'to dip' — Go. *daupjan* w.v. 'immerse, baptize', ON *deypa* w.v. 'to dip; to baptize', Far. *doypa* w.v. 'to baptize', OFri. *dēpa* w.v. 'id.', OS *dōpian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *dopen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *toufen* w.v. 'id.', G *taufen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A causative created either to the strong verb *dūban- (q.v.) or - more probably - directly to the iterative *dupp/bōn- (q.v.) < *d^hub^h-neh_2-. See also *deupa-.

dauþu- m. 'death' — Go. *dauþus* m. 'id.', ON *dauðr*, gen. *-ar* m. 'id.', OE *dēaþ* m. 'id.', E *death*, OFri. *dāth* m. 'id.', OS *dōð* m. 'id.', Du. *dood* c. 'id.', OHG *tōt* m. 'id.', G *Tod* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$d^hóu(H)$-tu- (DRV).

A *tu*-stem created to *daujan- (q.v.).

dauzan- m. 'fool' — MLG *dōre* m. 'id.', MHG *tōre* m. 'id.' ⇒ *d^hous-on- (EUR) — For the ablaut, cf. Lith. *daũsios* f.pl. 'air' < *d^hous-ieh_2-.

Related to *dwēsa- (q.v.), with *Schwebeablaut* as in Baltic.

dawēn- w.v. 'to marvel' — ON *dá* w.v. 'to admire' ⇒ *d^hh_2u-eh_1- (EUR) — Gr. θαῦμα n. 'wonder, astonishment' < *d^heh_2u-mn- (but cf. the irregular alternants θῶμα and θῶυμα).

A Germanic-Greek isogloss. Also cf. ON *dá* n. 'trance, senseless state' < *dawa- and Far. *dáni* m. 'wonder'.

dawwa/ō- m./f. 'dew' — ON *dǫgg* f. 'id.', Far. *døgg* f. 'id.', Elfd. *dagg* f. 'id.', OE *dēaw* m. 'id.', E *dew*, OFri. *daw* n. 'id.', ODu. *dou* m. 'id.', Du. *dauw* c. 'id.', OHG *tou* m./n. 'id.', G *Tau* m. 'id.' ⇒ *d^houh_2-o/eh_2- (IE) — Lith. *dujà* f. 'drizzle, mist' < *d^huh_2-ieh_2-.

An *ō*-stem derived from the PIE root *d^huh_2- 'to smoke, haze', for which see *dauma- and *du(w)ēn-.

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confused, excited' < **dasa-* and ON *dasa-sk*, Nw. *dase* w.v. 'to become weary, exhausted' (cf. E *to daze* 'to benumb, stun; to be stupefied' < **dasōjan-*). In ablaut with **dusēn-* (q.v.).

dēan- s.v. 'to suckle' — OHG *tāan, tāen* w.v. 'id.', G Cimb. *taien* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰéh₁-e-* (IE).

An originally strong verb to the PIE root **dʰeh₁-*. This root is more frequently found in the extension **dʰh₁-ei-*, for which cf. **dīan-* and **dajjan-*. For a form without this extension, see **delō-*.

dēdi- f. 'deed, action' — Go. *ga-deþs* f. 'id.', ON *dáð* f. 'id.', Far. *dáð* f. 'id.', Elfd. *dåð* f. 'id.', OE *dæd* f. 'id.', E *deed*, OFri. *dēde* f. 'id.', WFri. *died* c. 'id.', OS *dād* f. 'id.', Du. *daad* c. 'id.', MHG *tāt* f. 'deed, action, thing' ⇒ **dʰeh₁-tí-* (IE) — OCS *blago-dětь* 'good deed' < **dʰeh₁-ti-*; Gr. θέσις 'placement', Skt. *-dhiti-* 'id.' < **dʰh₁-ti-*.

A *ti*-stem derived from the root **dʰeh₁-*, for which see **dōn-*.

delban- s.v. 'to dig, delve' — OE *delfan* s.v. 'id.', OS *bi-delƀan* s.v. 'to bury', Du. *delven* s.v. 'to mine', OHG *bi-telban* s.v. 'to bury', MHG *telben, delben* s.v. 'to dig' ⇒ **dʰelbʰ-e-* (NEUR) — RuCS *dъlbsti, dlъbsti* 'to scoop, chisel', SCr. *dúpsti* 'id.' < **dʰlbʰ-*; OPru. *dalptan* 'drift punch', OCS *dlato* n. 'chisel', Ru. *dolotó* n. 'id.' < **dʰolbʰ-to-*; Latv. *dalba* f. 'pole' < **dʰolbʰ-eh₂-*.

A European root. Also cf. MLG *delf* n. 'grave', OE *ge-delf* n. 'ditch' < **delba-* and MDu. *delve* f. 'ditch' < **delbō-*.

dēli- adj. 'easily to deal with(?)' — ON *dæll* adj. 'gentle, easy to deal with', Nw. dial. *dæl* adj. 'easy-going, good to talk to', Elfd. *däl* adj. 'trustworthy' (GM).

A *vṛddhi*-gerundive without any etymology. The connection with OCS *dělo* n. 'work' < **dʰeh₁-lo-* and the root **dʰeh₁-* 'to put, do' in general (cf. Torp 1909: 198) cannot be maintained. The Germanic material rather points to an unattested strong verb **delan-* < **dʰél-e-*.

deli-* ~ *delja- m. 'dill' — OE *dile, dyle* m. 'id.', E *dill*, OS *dilli* m. 'id.', Du. *dille* c. 'id.', OHG *tilli* m. 'id.', MHG *tille, tülle* m. 'id.' (GM).

The material offers evidence for both an *i*-stem (OE *dile*) and a *ja*-stem (OS *dilli*, OHG *tilli*). Perhaps the forms with rounded vowels (OE *dyle*, MHG *tülle*) can be adduced to reconstruct an additional ablauting pair **duli-* ~ **dulja-*. If so, the original paradigm probably had ablaut of the root, viz. nom. **deliz*, gen. **duljaz* < **dʰél-i-s*, **dʰl-i-ós*.

delō- f. 'nipple' — OE *delu* f. 'id.', OHG *tila* f. 'id.' ⇒ *d^heh_1-l-éh$_2$- (IE) — Gr. θηλή f. 'breast' < *d^heh_1-l-éh$_2$- (cf. Lat. *fēlō*, *-āre* 'to suck' < *d^heh_1-l-eh$_2$-ie-); OIr. *del* 'nipple' < *d^heh_1-l-ó-.

A word that by pretonic shortening (Dybo's law) regularly developed from *d^heh_1-l-éh$_2$-, the exact same formation underlying Gr. θηλή. Also cf. Sw. dial. *del* < *dela-, which, in turn, is formally identical to OIr. *del* < *d^heh_1-ló-. See also *dīan- and *dajjan-.

denra- m. 'hollow hand' — OHG *tenar* m., *tenara* f. 'id.', MHG *tener* m. 'id.' ⇒ *d^hen-r- (IE) — YAv. *danarə* n. 'handful', Gr. θέναρ, -αρος 'palm of the hand'.

One of the Indo-European words for the 'palm of the hand'. Also here belongs OHG *dreno* m. 'sole of the foot', Lomb. *treno* 'lower arm' < *drenan-. Riecke 2004: 2, 251 calls the origin of this word uncertain, but it may have metathesized from *d^hn-er- at an early stage. The implied paradigm would then be nom. *$d^hén$-r, gen. *d^hn-ér-s, possibly continuing an older heteroclitic *$d^hén$-r, gen. *d^hn-én-s.

derba- adj. 'brave' — ON *djarfr* adj. 'bold, daring', OE *deorf* adj. 'valiant', OS *derƀi* adj. 'powerful' ⇒ *d^herb^h-o- (DRV).

Derived from *derban- (q.v.). Also cf. the factitive ON, Icel. *dirfa* w.v. 'to make bold', Nw. *dirva-st* w.v. 'to venture, dare' < *derbjan-, ON *dirfð* f. 'boldness' < *derbiƥo- and Nw. *dirna*, *dyrna* w.v. 'to grow strong, recover from illness' < *derbnjan-.

derban- s.v. 'to perish' — OE *deorfan* s.v. 'to labor, perish', MLG *vor-derven* s.v. 'to perish', MDu. *be-derven* s.v. 'to be damaged; to perish', Du. *be-derven* w.v. 'to spoil; to go bad', MHG *ver-derben*, *-terben* s.v. 'to be killed, to die' ⇒ *$d^hérHb^h$-e- (NEUR) — Lith. *dìrbti* (*dìrbu*) 'to work', *dir̂bt* 'to walk fast, to toil' < *d^hrHb^h-; Lith. *dárbas* m. 'work', Latv. *dar̂bs* m. 'work, deed' < *d^horHb^h-o-.

A strong verb to a European root *d^herHb^h-. For the semantics, cf. Gr. κάμνω 'to work' vs. οἱ καμόντες 'the dead'. See also *derba- and *darbjan-.

derka- adj. 'dark' — OE *deorc* adj. 'id.', E *dark* ⇒ *d^herg-o- (IE) — ToA *tärkär*, ToB *tarkär* 'cloud' < *d^hrg-ru-; Lith. *dargà* f. 'bad, rainy weather' < *d^horg-eh$_2$-; Lith. *dérgti* (*dérgiù*) 'to sleet, make dirty, soil, slander, defile, spoil'; ?OIr. *derg* adj. 'red' < *derg-o-.

Also cf. OHG *terchinen*, MHG *terken* w.v. 'to obscure, soil, defile' < *darknjan-, possibly a causative-inchoative 'to make go dark'.

deuhtra- n. 'grandchild' — MHG *diehter*, *tiehter* n. 'id.', G Bav. *Tichter* n. 'id.' ⇒ *d^heugh_2-tro- (DRV).

A uniquely Germanic formation that represents an unparalleled full-grade formation to **duhter-* < PIE **dʰugh₂-ter-* 'daughter'. It is likely to be a *vṛddhi*-derivation comparable to **swēgura-* 'son-in-law' < **suēḱuro-* (Szemerényi 1977: 52-3), the neuter gender correlating with the meaning 'grandchild'. Note that Lyc. *kbatra-* may represent a different full grade **dʰuegh₂-tr-* (Kloekhorst 2008: 902-903).

deupa- adj. 'deep' — Go. *diups* adj. 'id.', ON *djúpr* adj. 'id.', Far. *djúpur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *diuop* adj. 'id.', OE *dēop* adj. 'id.', E *deep*, OFri. *diāp* adj. 'id.', OS *diop* adj. 'id.', Du. *diep* adj. 'id.', OHG *tiuf* adj. 'id.', G *tief* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰeubʰ-nó-* (DRV) — ToA *tpär*, ToB *tapre* adj. 'high' < **dʰubʰ-ro-*; OIr. *domain* adj. 'deep', W *dwfn* adj. 'id.' < **dʰubʰ-ni-*; Lith. *dubùs* adj. 'hollow, deep, spacious' < **dʰubʰ-u-*.

An adjective closely related to the verbal complex of **dūban-* and **daupjan-* (q.v.). Since this formation is derivationally parallel to e.g. **seuka-* 'ill' (see **seukan-*) and other full-grade adjectives created to strong verbs, it is possible to postulate a verb **dūpan-*, a variant of the aforementioned strong verb **dūban-*. Both variants can be explained as back-formations to the iterative **dupp/bōn-* (q.v.). Alternatively, **deupa-* can be derived from a pre-Gm. formation **dʰeubʰ-nó-* (with Kluge's law and shortening of geminates in overlong syllables). It would then be derivationally parallel to e.g. **hwīta-* ~ **hwitta-* 'white'. Note that the PIE root **dʰeubʰ-* occurs in metathesized form in **budman-* ~ **buttman-* 'bottom' (q.v.).

deurja- adj. 'precious, valuable, expensive' — ON *dýrr* adj. 'id.', Far. *dýrur* adj. 'id.', OE *dīere, dēore* adj. 'id.', E *dear*, OFri. *diure* adj. 'id.', OS *diuri* adj. 'id.', Du. *duur* adj. 'id.', OHG *tiuri* adj. 'id.', G *teuer* adj. 'id.' (GM).

No accepted etymology. The adjective looks like a *vṛddhi*-gerundive "mournable" to MHG *be-tūren* w.v. 'to cost, have difficulties with', G *be-dauern* w.v. 'to regret, be sorry', ME *douren* 'to grieve, suffer' < **dūrēn-*. It has been assumed that this verb was derived from an unattested PWGm. adjective **dūra-*, a hypothetical loanword from Lat. *dūrus* adj. 'tough, hard'. It is possible too, however, that the verb is etymologically identical to OHG *trūrēn*, MHG *trūren*, G *trauern* w.v. 'to mourn, be sad' < **drūrēn-* through dissimilation of the first *r*. PGm. **deurja-* may then likewise continue dissimilated **dreurja-* or even **dreuzja-*.

deuza- n. '(wild) animal' — Go. *dius* n. 'id.', ON *dýr* n. 'id.', Far. *djór* n. 'id.', Elfd. *diuor* n. 'id.', OE *dēor* n. 'id.', E *deer*, OFri. *diār, diēr* n. 'id.', OS *dior* n. 'id.', ODu. *dier* n. 'id.', Du. *dier* n. 'id.', OHG *tior* n. 'id.', G *Tier* n. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰeus-ó-* (EUR).

Closely interlinked with OE *dēor* adj. 'wild, bold, brave' < **deuza-*. The original meaning of the root was 'to lose one's senses', whence 'to be wild'. See **dusēn-*.

dīan- s.v. 'to suck' — OSw. *dīa* s.v. 'id.', MHG *tīen* w.v. 'to suck, suckle' ⇒ **dʰh₁-éi-e-* (IE) — Skt. *dháyati* 'to suck, drink mother's milk', Oss. *dæjyn* / *dæjun* 'to suck' < **dʰh₁-eie-*; OIr. *denaid*, W *dynu* 'id.' < **dʰh₁i-neh₂-*.

An *i*-present to the primary PIE root **dʰeh₁-* 'to suck, suckle', cf. Gr. θῆσθαι 'to suck', Latv. *dêt* 'id.', for which see **dēan-*. In Germanic, the *i*-suffix is further found in e.g. **dajjan-* and Elfd. *dise* f. 'nipple' < **disōn-* < **dʰh₁i-s-*.

dǐgan- s.v. 'to knead' — Go. *digan* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰéigʰ-* (IE) — ToA *tsekā-*, ToB *tsik-* 'to form', Skt. *-degdhi* 'to smear, anoint', YAv. *pairi.daēzaiiąn* 3pl.caus.subj. 'to embank, construct', Arm. *dizanem* 'to pile up' < **dʰéigʰ-*; Lat. *fingō*, *-ere* 'to form, fashion', OIr. *dingid* 'to knead, form; suppress' < **dʰi-n-gʰ-e-*.

A strong verb that in view of the zero grade of Go. *digands** is likely to continue a PIE root present 3sg. **dʰéigʰ-ti*, 3pl. **dʰigʰ-énti* (cf. LIV², s.v. **dʰeigʰ-*). See also **daiga-* and **dīka-*.

digra- adj. 'big' — ON *digr* adj. 'big, stout; thick; deep', Far. *digur* adj. 'thick, heavy, stout; rich (of milk)', Elfd. *diger* adj. 'thick, coarse', MDu. *deger* adv. 'completely', MHG *tigere*, *tiger* adv. 'id.' (DRV).

An adjective apparently continuing **dʰi(ǵ)ʰ-ro-*. It may have been derived from **dǐgan-* 'to knead' (q.v.), which would imply a more primary meaning 'well-formed'.

dīka- n. 'dam; ditch' — OE *dīc* m. 'dike, ditch', E *dike*, *ditch*, OFri. *dīk* m. 'dike; road', OS *dīk* m. 'pond', Du. *dijk* c. 'dam', MHG *tīch* m. 'pond, swamp, channel', G *Teich* m. 'pond, pool' ⇒ **dʰeigʰ-nó-* (IE) — Gr. τοῖχος m. 'wall', Arm. *dēz* 'heap' < **dʰóigʰ-o-*; SCr. *zîd* m. 'stone wall', OPru. *seydis* 'wall' < **dʰeigʰ-* (with metathesis).

A formation continuing Pre-Gm. **dīkka-* < **dʰeigʰ-nó-* (with Kluge's law and geminate shortening in overlong syllables). Also cf. ON, Icel., Far. *díki* n. 'swamp, puddle', Elfd. *daitje* n. 'dike' < **dīkja-*. Related to **dǐgan-* (q.v.).

dīkan- s.v. 'to try(?)' — MLG *diken* w.v. 'to atone', MDu. *diken* s.v.(?) 'to try(?)', MHG *tīchen* s./w.v. 'to get started; to try; to deal with; to undergo; to seep' ⇒ **dʰéig-e-* (IE?) — To Gr. θιγγάνω 'to touch, handle, injure, harm' < **dʰi-n-g-nH-e-*?

No certain etymology. Within Germanic, the verb appears to be closely related to the iterative **dik(k)ōn-*, cf. Icel. *dika* 'to run', Far. *dika* 'to strike, hit, come at speed', Nw. *dika* 'to run, wander around; get moving', Sw. dial.

dikka 'to run'. The meaning of especially the Faroese verb could point to an etymological connection with Gr. θιγγάνω.

dimban-* ~ **dimpan- s.v. 'to fog' — Nw. *demba* s.v. 'to smoke' (with unclear *e*), Elfd. *dimba* s.v. 'id.', MHG *dimpfen* s.v. 'to smoke, steam' ⇒ **dʰémbʰ-e-* (IE).

A strong verb continuing PIE **dʰémbʰ-e-*: the variant **dimpan-* is secondary, and was influenced by the iterative **dumpōn-* (q.v.). The root **dʰembʰ-* probably has a *Schwebeablaut* variant in **nebala-* < **dʰnebʰ-ol-eh₂-*. See further **dampa-* and **dumbōn-*.

dimma- adj. 'dark' — ON *dimmr* adj. 'id.', OE *dimm* adj. 'id.', E *dim*, OFri. *dim* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰem(H)-nó-* / **dʰémbʰ-no-* (IE?/WEUR?) — To MIr. *deime* f. 'darkness' < **dʰem(H)-ieh₂-*?

An adjective with two possible etymologies. One option is to connect MIr. *deime*, and reconstruct **dʰem(H)-nó-*. The alternative is to reconstruct the adjective as **dimbna-* < **dʰémbʰ-no-* (for which cf. **dimban- ~ *dimpan-*), something that seems to be supported by OHG *timber* adj. 'dark' < **dʰembʰ-ro-*. This adjective can also be derived from **dʰem(H)-ro-*, however, as this form would result in PGm. **timbra-* as well by epenthesis. This would imply a link with MIr. *deime* after all.

dingwan- s.v. 'to beat' — OSw. *diunga* s.v. 'id.', ME *dingen* s.v. 'id.', MHG *tingelen* w.v. 'to knock, hammer' ⇒ **dʰéngʷʰ-e-* (GM).

A strong verb, probably of onomatopoetic origin. See also **dangjan-* and **dank/gōn-*.

dinkwa- adj. 'dark' — ON *døkkr* / *dǫkkr* adj. 'id.', Icel. *døkkur* adj. 'id.', Far. *døkkur* adj. 'dull; dim, dark', Nw. *dokk*, *døkk* adj. 'dark', OSw. *dionker*, *diunker* adj. 'id.', OFri. *diunk* adj. 'dark' ⇒ **dʰengʷ-o-* (IE) — Hitt. *dankui-* ~ *dankuu̯ai-* 'black, dark' < **dʰ(e/o)ngʷ-(o)i-*.

ON *døkkr* may continue either **dankwja-* or **dinkwa-*. The latter option seems preferable in view of OSw. *diunker* and OFri. *diunk*, which both show (independent) *u*-infection of *-i-* before labiovelars. However, PGm. **dankwja-* should probably have given Icel. **dekkur* (with *e* < ON *ø*, cf. Icel. *dekkja* w.v. 'to make dark') rather than *dōkkur*, a form directly pointing to ON *dǫkkr* < **dankwa-* (Heidermanns 1993: 146). Did both forms occur side by side? See also **dunkla-* ~ **dunkra-* with a zero grade of the root.

dīsi- f. 'lady, fairy, goddess' — ON *dís* f. 'woman, girl; fairy, nymph; goddess', Far. *dís* f. 'goddess, nymph', Nw. *dis* f. 'goddess', OE *ides* f. 'woman', OS *idis* f. 'wife, woman', OHG *itis* f. 'woman' (GM).

An etymologically problematic word. Some have compared OCS *děva* f. 'lady' < *d^hh_1-oi-ueh$_2$-, apparently derived from the stem *d^hh_1-oi- 'to suckle' (see *dīan-). This suggestion is perhaps supported by Elfd. *disa* w.v. 'to suckle' (whence *dise* f. 'nipple'?), although the origin of the *s*-suffix remains unclear. Within Germanic, *dīsi- can alternatively be linked to *edis- (q.v.), but this would imply that the word is of non-Indo-European origin.

***dōbi-** adj. 'suited, fit' — Go. *ga-dobs* adj. 'id.', OE *ge-dēfe* adj. 'fit; mild' (DRV).
A *vṛddhi*-adjective to the strong verb *daban- (q.v.).

***dōbnan-** w.v. 'to become dull, numb' — Go. *af-dobnan* w.v. 'to become numb, hold one's peace' (DRV).
An inchoative verb implying an unattested adjective *dōba-. This adjective appears to contain a *vṛddhi*-variant of the root also found in e.g. Icel. *dafna* w.v. 'to grow weak; to become numb'. See further under *dapra-.

***dōgera-** ~ ***dōgena-** n. 'a full day, twenty-four hours' — ON *dœgr*, *dœgn* n. 'id.', Far. *-dœgur* n. 'id.' (cf. *javn-dœgur* 'equinox'), Nw. *døger*, *døgn* n. 'id.', Elfd. *dyōngen* n. 'id.', Da. *døgn* n. 'id.', OE *dōgor*, *dōger* n. 'id.' ⇒ *$d^hǒǵ^h$-r/n- (IE) — Skt. *áhar*, gen. *áhnas*, loc. *áhan*, *áhani* n. 'day', OAv. *asnąm* gen.pl. 'id.'; YAv. *asni* loc.sg. 'id.'.
The PIE word for 'day' was a heteroclitic noun, possibly to be reconstructed as nom. *$d^hóǵ^h$-r, gen. *$d^héǵ^h$-n-s, loc. *d^hg^h-én-i. The Germanic forms with *r*, e.g. ON *dœgr*, OE *dōger*, cannot be derived from an *s*-stem *dōgaz- or *dōgiz- < *$d^hōǵ^h$-e/os- (Pokorny IEW: 7), as it would be artificial to separate them from the semantically identical forms with *n* (cf. ON *dœgn*). I therefore prefer to reconstruct PGm. *dōger- and *dōgen- (for the *i*-mutation in *dœgn* and *dœgr*, cf. ON *fýrr* 'fire' under *fōr ~ *fun-), and maintain the link with the Indo-European heteroclitic. In early Indo-Iranian, this formation lost its initial dental, possibly in the locative *d^hg^h-én-i, where the root had a zero grade. See also *daga-.

***dōjan-** w.v. 'to exhaust' — Go. *af-dauiþs* ptc. 'exhausted' ⇒ *$d^hōu(H)$-éie- (IE) — OCS *daviti* 'to suffocate', Ru. *davít'* (*davljú*) 'to press (upon), suffocate, crush', SCr. *dáviti* 'to suffocate, strangle' < *$d^hōu(H)$-eie-.
The verb is often analyzed as a causative to *daujan- 'to die', but it seems more likely that it was created to the root *d^hueh_2- 'to smoke' (see *dauma-) in view of the meaning of OCS *daviti* etc. Note that the root-final *u was regularly lost after PGm. *ō.

***dōka-** n. 'canvas, cloth' — OFri. *dōk*, *dēk* m. 'id.', MDu. *doec* m./n. 'id.', Du. *doek* c./n. 'id.', OHG *tuoh* m./n. 'id.', G *Tuch* n. 'id.' (GM).

A WGm. word: ON *dókr*, *dúkr* was borrowed from Old Frisian or Old Low German in spite of the presence of the umlauted derivatives ON, Icel. *dýki*, Nw. *dyke* n. 'piece of cloth' < **dūkja-* and Far. *dýkja* w.v. 'to spread a sail out to dry' < **dūkjan-*. No clear etymology: the connection with Skt. *dhvajá-* m. 'banner' < **dʰueg-o-* is impossible in view of the implied root **dʰueg-*. Within Germanic, I compare OHG *tacka*, G *Dacke* f. 'mat', which may continue **dakkōn-*; PGm. **dōka-* would then be some kind of *vṛddhi*-formation continuing Pre-PGm. **dōkka-*. The umlaut of OFri. *dēch* (Second Emsing Codex), however, points to an original root-noun.

dōljō- f. 'depression' — ON *dœl* f. 'small valley', MDu. *doele* f. 'ditch', OHG *tuolla* f. 'pit, hollow' (EUR).

A lengthened grade formation related to **dala-* 'valley' (q.v.). With the same vowel, cf. ON *dœll* m. 'valley-dweller' < **dōli-*.

dōma- m. 'verdict, evaluation' — Go. *doms* m. 'insight, esteem', ON *dómr* m. 'opinion, judgment, sentence', OE *dōm* m. 'id.', E *doom*, OFri. *dōm* m. 'id.', OS *dōm* m. 'id.', Du. *doem* m. 'doom', OHG *tuom* m./n. 'judgement, power, situation' ⇒ **dʰóh₁-mo-* (DRV).

A *mo*-stem created to the PIE root **dʰeh₁-*, for which see **dōn-* and **dēdi-*. It gave rise to the factitive Go. *domjan*, ON *dœma*, OE *dēman*, OFri. *dēma*, OS *ā-dōmian*, OHG *tuommen* w.v. 'to judge, sentence' < **dōmjan-*.

dōn- irr.v. 'to do' — OE *dōn* irr.v. 'id.', E *to do*, OFri. *dwā*, *dwān* irr.v. 'id.', WFri. *dwaan* irr.v. 'id.', OS *dōn* irr.v. 'id.', Du. *doen* irr.v. 'id.', OHG *tuon* irr.v. 'id.', G *tun* irr.v. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰóh₁-e-* (IE).

An athematic verb apparently continuing Pre-Gm. 3sg. **dʰóh₁-ti*, 3pl. **dʰh₁-énti*. The *o*-grade of this verb is only found in Germanic, and may be parallel to that of e.g. **gangan-* ~ **gungan-* 'to go' (q.v.). In the other IE languages, we find a reduplicated present with *e*-grade of the root, cf. Skt. *dádhāti* 'to put, place, make, produce', Gr. τίθημι 'to put, place', Lith. *dė́ti* (*dedù*) 'to lay, put' etc. < 3sg. **dʰi-dʰéh₁-ti*, 3pl. **dʰé-dʰh₁-enti*. See also **dēdi-* and **dōma-*.

draban- s.v. 'to hew' — Go. *ga-draban* s.v. 'to chip, hew out' ⇒ **dʰróbʰ-e-* (NEUR) — OCS *drobiti* (*drobljǫ*) 'to crumble, chop, break' < **dʰrobʰ-eie-*.

An *o*-grade present to a Germanic-Slavic root, the source of the iteratives **drapp/bōn-* and **drupp/bōn- 1.* These iteratives, in turn, gave rise to the secondary strong verb **drepan-*.

drabiz- n. 'dregs' — ON *draf* n. 'draff, husks', Far. *drav* n. 'draff; thin beer; rain', ODu. *draf* 'draff', Du. *draf* c./n. 'id.', OHG *trebir* n.pl. 'id.', G *Treber* n.pl. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰrobʰ-es-* (EUR) — Gr. τρέφω 'to raise, nourish; to curdle, coagulate,

harden' < *$d^hréb^h$-e-; Gr. τροφός 'nourishing' < *d^hrob^h-o-; Gr. τρόφις 'fat, big' < *d^hrob^h-i-.

An *s*-stem nom. **drabaz*, pl. **drabizō*. ON *drafli* as well as Gr. τρέφω 'to curdle' and Gr. τροφαλίς f. 'fresh cheese' point to a shared meaning 'to clutter', whence 'to curdle'. This allows us to set up a PIE root *d^hreb^h-. Ir. *draoib* 'mire' is likely to be a loanword from English, cf. OE *drabbe* 'dregs'. See also **drōbu-*.

dragan- s.v. 'to draw, pull, carry' — ON *draga* s.v. 'id.', Far. *draga* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *dråga* s.v. 'id.', OE *dragan* s.v. 'id.', E *to draw*, OFri. *drega* s.v. 'id.', OS *dragan* s.v. 'to carry, bring', Du. *dragen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *tragan* s.v. 'id.', G *tragen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *$d^hróg^h$-e- (GM).

An *o*-grade intensive verb. No clear etymology. The usually compared Gr. τρέχω 'to run' is more likely to be related to **þragjan-* 'to run' (q.v.). The alternative *comparanda* Ru. *doróga* f. 'road, journey', SCr. *drȁga* f. 'valley' < *$d^{(h)}$org-eh$_2$- and Ru. *doróžiti* 'to hollow out' < *$d^{(h)}$org-eie- have roots ending in a voiced (glottalized?) stop, and therefore cannot be related either. The remaining option, the link with Lat. *trahō, -ere* 'to pull, haul', is impossible in view of the initial *t*. See further **durgō-* and **druggōn-*.

dragjō- f. 'dregs' — ON *dregg* f. 'dregs, lees, yeast', Far. *drøgg* f. 'scum, dregs, draff, sediment' ⇒ *d^hragh-ieh$_2$- (EUR) — OLith. *dragės*, OPru. *dragios* f.pl. 'yeast', Latv. *dradži* f. 'remains of cooked fat', OCS *droždьje* f.pl. 'yeast' < *d^hragh-ieh$_2$-; Alb. *dra* m. 'sediment, dregs; sweepings, dirt' < *d^hragh-o-(?).

A Germanic and Balto-Slavic *ieh*$_2$-stem. Lat. *fracēs* f. 'fragments of olive pulp left after pressing' does not belong here, and may have been back-formed to Lat. *frangō* 'to break', for which see **bruk(k)ōn-*.

drahtu- m. 'pull' — ON *dráttr* m. 'pull; hesitation', Far. *dráttur* m. 'pulling', ME *draht* 'id.', E *draught*, MDu. *dracht* f. 'carrying; dress', Du. *dracht* c. 'id.', MHG *tracht* f. 'id.', G *Tracht* f. 'id.' ⇒ *d^hrog^h-tu- (DRV).

A *tu*-stem created to **dragan-* (q.v.). In West Germanic, the word was remodeled into a *ti*-stem.

draibō- f. 'driving, drift' — ON *dreif* f. 'scattering', OE *drāf* f. 'driving; flock, herd', E *drove* (DRV).

An *ō*-stem derived from **drīban-* 'to drive, be adrift' (q.v.). Also cf. ON *dreifa* w.v. 'to scatter, bedabble', which probably continues a causative *draibjan- < *d^hroib^h-éie-.

dranga- m. 'post' — ON *drangr* m. '(detached) pillar of rock', Far. *drangi, -ur* m. 'high projecting rock (in the sea)', Nw. *drange* m. 'id.' ⇒ *d^hrong^h-o- (IE) — Identical to Lith. *drañgas* m. 'pole', OCS *drǫgъ* m. 'id.', SCr. *drûg* m.

'rail'; further cf. Skt. *dṛ́ṃhati*, Av. *drəṇjaiti* 'to fasten' < **dʰr-n-gʰ-e-* and MIr. *dringid* 'to climb' < **dʰré-n-gʰe-*.

Related to ON *drengr* m. 'boy; stick', Far. *drongur* m. '(unmarried) man' < **drangi-* and Nw. *dronk* f. 'stick, post' < **drankō-* (continuing **dʰrongʰ-n-éh₂-* by Kluge's law). The verb ON *drengja* w.v. 'to fasten' is semantically close to the aforementioned Indo-Iranian verbs, and thus indicates a PIE origin.

drankjan- w.v. 'to let drink; to drench' — Go. *dragkjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *drekkja* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *drettja* w.v. 'to drench; to ret', OE *drencan* w.v. 'to drench, make drunk', E *to drench*, OFri. *drenza*, *drinza* w.v. 'to drown', MDu. *drenken* w.v. 'to soak; to let drink', Du. *drenken* w.v. 'id.', OHG *trenken* w.v. 'id.', G *tränken* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰro-n-g-éie-* (NEUR).

The causative to **drinkan-* (q.v.).

drapp/bōn- w.v. 'to hit' — Nw. *drabba* w.v. 'to give a blow', OSw. *drabba* w.v. 'to hit, meet', ODa. *drabe* w.v. 'to kill' ⇒ **dʰrobʰ-néh₂-* (NEUR).

An *o*-grade iterative to **draban-* (q.v.).

drauga- m. 'ghost' — ON *draugr* m. 'id.', Far. poet. *dreygur* m. 'corpse; ghost, apparition' ⇒ **dʰrougʰ-o-* (IE) — MIr. *aur-ddrach* 'ghost' < **dʰrougʰ-o-*; YAv. *draoγa-* m. 'lie', OP *drauga-* m. 'lie, treason, felony', MP *drō* 'lie, deceit' < **dʰrougʰ-o-*.

Related to **dreugan-* (q.v.).

draugja- ~ *drūgja- ~ *drukknu- adj. 'dry' — OE *drȳge* adj. 'id.', E *dry*, OFri. *drūch* adj. 'id.', WFri. *droech* adj. 'id.', EFri. *druuch* adj. 'id.', NFri. *druuge* adj. 'id.', OS *drukno*, *drokno* adj. 'id.', MLG *drōge* adj. 'dry, infertile', MDu. *droeghe* adj. 'id.', Du. *droog* adj. 'id.', OHG *trockan*, *truckan* adj. 'id.', G *trocken* adj. 'id.' (IE?) — Perhaps related to to Skt. *druhila-* adj. 'rough' < **dʰrugʰ-*.

An adjective whose PGm. reconstruction is problematic because of the co-occurrence of at least four different formations, i.e. 1) **drūgja-* (OE *drȳge*); 2) **drūga-* (OFri. *drūch*); 3) **draugja-* (MDu. *droge*); and 4) **drukkna-* (OS *drocno*, OHG *trockan*). The correlation between the different formations is unclear. The proto-form **drukkna-* contains a geminated root **drukk-* from **dʰrugʰ-n-*, and in view of the alternating forms ending in **g*, Lühr 1988: 336-7 posited an *n*-stem adjective nom. **drugō*, gen. **drukkaz* < **dʰrugʰ-ōn*, **dʰrugʰ-n-ós*. The ablaut of **drūgja-* and **draugja-* still remains unexplained, however. For the long vowel of OE *drȳge*, also cf. OE *drūgian* w.v. 'to be dry' and OE *drūgoð* m. 'drought' < **drūgōþa-*.

drauma- m. 'dream' — ON *draumr* m. 'id.', Far. *dreymur* adj. 'id.', OE *drēam* m. 'id.', E *dream*, OFri. *drām* m. 'id.', OS *drōm* m. 'id.', Du. *droom* c. 'id.', OHG *troum* m. 'id.', G *Traum* m. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰrougʰ-mo-* (DRV).

Continuing **draugma-*, a *mo*-stem derived from the strong verb **dreugan-* (q.v.). The noun gave rise to the oblique subject factitive **draumjan-* 'to dream', cf. ON *dreyma*, OE *drīeman*, Du. *dromen*, G *träumen*.

draupjan- w.v. 'to make drip' — ON *dreypa* w.v. 'id.', OE *drīepan* w.v. 'id.', OHG *troufen* w.v. 'id.', MHG *troufen*, *trōufen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

The causative to the secondary strong verb **dreupan-* ~ **drūpan-* (q.v.).

drauzjan- w.v. 'to make fall' — MHG *trōren* w.v. 'to drip, ooze, shed' ⇒ **dʰrouHs-éie-* (NEUR).

The causative to **dreusan-* (q.v.).

drēkō- f. 'streak' — ON *drák* f. 'id.', Nw. *dråk*, pl. *dræker* f. 'id.' (DRV?).

A North Germanic *ō*-stem (the root noun inflection of Nw. *dråk* is secondary). It is unrelated to Skt. *dhrā́ji-*, *dhrā́jí-* f. 'draught of air, wind', which continues **dʰrog-i-* with **o* rather than **ē*. In all likelihood, **drēkō-* was derived from **dragan-* 'to draw, pull' (q.v.) in the same way that OFri. *slēk* m. 'blow' < **slēka-* was created to **slahan-* 'to hit' (q.v.). The underlying form must then be reconstructed with a Pre-Gm. geminate: **drēkkō-*.

drenan- m. 'drone' — OS *dreno* m. 'id.', Du. Limb. *drene* c. 'id.', OHG *treno* m. 'id.', MHG *trene*, *tren* m. 'id.', G Swi. Jaun *trɛnə* m. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰr-en-* (EUR) — Gr. τενθρήνη, τενθρηδών 'wasp', Lac. θρώναξ 'drone' < **dʰen-dʰr-ēn-* / **dʰr-ōn-*(?); Lith. *trānas* m. 'drone'; Latv. *trans* m. 'id.' < **trono-*; SCS *trutъ* 'wasp', SCr. *trût* 'drone' < **tronto-*; Ru. *trúten'* m. 'drone, parasite' < **tront-nio-*.

A word with a complicated prehistory. The aforementioned forms point to a proto-form **drenan-*, which can easily have been created on the basis of a hysterokinetic *n*-stem **dʰr-én*, acc. **dʰr-én-m*. The origin of MLG *drone*, *drane*, MDu. *darne*, *dorne*, Du. *dar*, E *drone* < **drunan-* is not so straightforward, however, although they can perhaps be explained as (secondary?) zero-grades. Even more problematic are OS gl. *drăn* and OE gl. *drăn*, *drӕ̆n*, which continue either **dran-* (< **dʰr-on-*) or **drēn-* < **dʰr-ēn-*. Note, however, that none of these forms would result in E *drone*. Can there furthermore be a link with OE *dora* m. 'bumble-bee' < **duran-*? There are many remaining problems, not least the initial consonant of the Balto-Slavic forms.

drepan- s.v. 'to hit' — ON *drepa* s.v. 'to stike, beat, knock; to kill, slay', OE *drepan* s.v. 'to strike', MLG *drepen* s.v. 'to hit', MDu. *drepen* s./w.v. 'to hit, strike', OHG *treffan* s.v. 'to hit', G *treffen* s.v. 'to hit, touch' (DRV).

A back-formation to the iterative **drupp/bōn- 1*, a zero-grade variant of **drapp/bōn-* (q.v.). As both iteratives were derived from the strong verb **draban-* 'to hew' < **dʰróbʰ-e-*, the strong verb **drepan-* cannot be used to

reconstruct a Pre-Gm. formation *$d^hréb$-*e*- with root-final *b, as is traditionally assumed (cf. LIV²: 153). The late, internally-Germanic origin of the *p further speaks against the assumption of a non-Indo-European loanword (*pace* Laker et al. 2003).

dreuga- adj. 'enduring' — ON *drjúgr* adj. 'substantial, lasting, ample', Far. *drúgvur* adj. 'long-lasting, adequate', Elfd. *driuog* adj. 'laborious; disparaging', WFri. *dreech* adj. 'strong, enduring, long-lasting', NFri. F-A *drech* adj. 'enduring; stocky, fat' ⇒ *d^hreug^h-*o*- (DRV).

An adjective derived from the strong verb *dreugan- *2* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *drýgja* w.v. 'to commit, perpetrate, carry out; to make to go far' < *dreugjan-.

dreugan- 1 s.v. 'to mislead' — MHG *triegen* s.v. 'to deceive, betray' ⇒ *$d^hréug^h$-*e*- (IE) — Skt. *drúhyati* 'to deceit', Av. *družaiti* 'to lie' < *d^hrug^h-*ie*-; Skt. *dróha-* m. 'insult, betrayal' < *d^hroug^h-*o*-.

A strong verb with a clear IE etymology. See also *drauga- and *drauma-.

dreugan- 2 s.v. 'to do a duty(?)' — Go. *driugan* s.v. 'id.', OE *drēogan* s.v. 'to do, work; to endure, suffer', ME *drīen* s.v. 'to perform; to experience; to put up with, endure' ⇒ *$d^hréug^h$-*e*- (NEUR) — Lith. *draũgas* m. 'friend', OCS *drugъ* m. 'id.' < *d^hrough^h-*o*-.

A strong verb with a root that in view of the Baltic forms (formally close to OE *ge-drēag* 'host' < **ga-drauga-*) may have designated an activity associated with someone's military or clan affiliation. See also *dreuga- and *druhti-.

dreupan-* ~ *drūpan- s.v. 'to droop; to drip' — ON *drjúpa* s.v. 'to drip, drop; to droop with the head', OE *drēopan* s.v. 'to drip', E *to drip*, OFri. *driāpa* s.v. 'id.', OS *driopan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *druipen* s.v. 'to drip; to ooze', OHG *triufan* s.v. 'id.', G *triefen* s.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A back-formation to the iterative *drupp/bōn- *2* < *d^hrb^h-*néh₂*-. There is no reason to postulate a PIE *d^hreub- (*pace* Pokorny IEW: 274-5) on the basis of the Germanic evidence, as both the radical *$\breve{u}$ and the root-final *p arose as a result of intra-Gm. derivational processes: in reality, the Pre-Gm. root was *d^hreb^h-. This means that the often mentioned connection with OIr. *drúcht* m. 'dew', allegedly from *$d^hrūb$-*tu*- (De Vries 1962: 84; Matasović 2011: 12) cannot be maintained.

dreusan- w.v. 'to fall' — Go. *driusan* s.v. 'to fall down', Nw. *drjosa* s.v. 'id.', OE *drēosan* s.v. 'to rush, fall, perish', OS *driosan* s.v. 'to fall' ⇒ *$d^hréuHs$-*e*- (NEUR).

A strong verb related to *drūsēn- ~ *drūzēn- (q.v.). See also *drauzjan-.

drīban- s.v. 'to drive' — Go. *dreiban* s.v. 'id.', ON *drífa* s.v. 'to drift, drive like spray or snow; to crowd, throng, rush; to perform', Far. *dríva* s.v. 'to chase; to hit, strike; to press, force; to be carried or blow away', Elfd. *draiva* s.v. 'to drive; to fell; to pour, spray, flush', OE *drīfan* s.v. 'to drive, force, pursue', E *to drive*, OFri. *drīva* s.v. 'id.', OS *drīban* s.v. 'id.', Du. *drijven* s.v. 'to drive; to float', OHG *trīban* s.v. 'to drive', G *treiben* s.v. 'to drive; to operate' ⇒ **d^{h}réib^{h}-e-* (WEUR) — Ir. *drip* 'bustle', Gael. *drip* 'hurry, confusion' < PCelt. **drippi-* < **d^{h}rib^{h}-ni-*(?).

In view of the semantics of ON *drífa* 'to drive (of snow)' as well as *drífa* f. 'fall of snow, snowdrift' < **drībōn-* it is attractive to connect Lith. *dribti* 'to fall', but "die Bedeutungsbrücke ist ... sehr schmal" (Seebold 1970: 163). More importantly, *dribti* is likely to have a secondary zero-grade in *-i-* (see **drupp/bōn- 2*) in view of Lith. *drẽbti* (*drebiù*) 'to throw, spatter with mud/dirt, to fall in thick flakes (of snow)'. The connection with Ir., Gael. *drip* is therefore preferable, although the required development of PIE **-b^{h}-n-* into PCelt. **-pp-* remains controversial. See also **draibō-*, **drib(b)ōn-* and **drifti-*.

****drib(b)ōn-*** w.v. 'to push little by little' — Nw. *dribba* w.v. 'to shove, push', E obs. *to drib* 'to lead one little by little into something', *to dribble* 'to keep (the ball) moving', Du. *dribbelen* w.v. 'to walk quickly (with small steps)', OHG *tribōn* w.v. 'to drive, push' ⇒ **d^{h}rib^{h}-néh$_{2}$-* (WEUR).

The iterative to **drīban-* (q.v.). For the semantics, cf. EDu. *driven* s.v. 'to move (to and fro), run'.

****drifti-*** f. 'driving' — ON *drift* f. 'snowdrift', ME *drift* 'driving of cattle to pasture; drove; running; falling of rain or snow, snowdrift', MDu. *drift* f. 'fervor, urge; herd; district', EDu. *drift* c. 'urge, instinct', MHG *trift* f. 'pasture, herd', G *Trift* f. 'id.' ⇒ **d^{h}rib^{h}-ti-* (DRV).

An old *ti*-stem created to the root of **drīban-* (q.v.).

****drinkan-*** s.v. 'to drink' — Go. *drigkan* s.v. 'id.', ON *drekka* s.v. 'id.', Far. *drekka* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *drikka* s.v. 'id.', OE *drincan* s.v. 'id.', E *to drink*, OFri. *drinka* s.v. 'id.', OS *drinkan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *drinken* s.v. 'id.', OHG *trinkan* s.v. 'id.', G *trinken* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **d^{h}ré-n-g-e-* (NEUR) — Lith. *drégti* 'to become moist' < **d^{h}reg-* (also cf. *drégnas* adj. 'humid, wet' < **d^{h}reg-no-*).

The Germanic verb contains a nasalized variant of the root **d^{h}reg-* as found in Baltic. Also cf. the lexicalized ptc. ON *drukkinn*, Far. *drukkin*, OE *druncan*, (M)Du. *dronken*, OHG *trunkan* adj. 'inebriated', whence Go. *drugkanei*, ON *drukkni*, OHG *trunkenī* f. 'drunkenness'.

****drita-*** n. 'shit, dirt' — ON *drit* n. 'id.', OE *drit* n. 'dirt', E *dirt* (DRV).

Also cf. MDu. *dreet* m. 'fart', WPhal. *driət* m. 'shit' < **driti-*, a similar derivation from the strong verb **drītan-*.

drītan- s.v. 'to shit' — ON *díta* s.v. 'to shit (esp. of birds)', Far. *díta* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *draita* s.v. 'id.', OE *ge-drītan* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *driten* s./w.v. 'id.' (NEUR?) — Perhaps to Ru. dial. *dristát'*, SCr. *drískati, dríćkati* 'to have diarrhea' < **d^{h}reid-ske-*(?).

No good etymology. One usually compares the aforementioned Slavic forms, but the reconstruction of the root-final *d* is uncertain: are we dealing with an internally Germanic *Reimbildung* to **skītan-*? Another possibility is to connect Lith. *tríedžiu* 'to have diarrhea' < **treid^h-ie-* and *trìdė* f. 'diarrhea' < **trid^h-ieh$_2$-* under the assumption of metathesis: if correct, the Germanic strong verb must have been back-formed to an iterative **drittōn-* < **d^{h}rit-neh$_2$-*, cf. WFri. *drittelje* 'to have diarrhea'. See also **drita-*.

drōbu- adj. 'turbid; troubled' — OE *drōf* adj. 'turbid; troubled', OS *drōbi* adj. 'cloudy, sad', Du. *droef* adj. 'id.', OHG *truobi* adj. 'turbid, dark, confused', MHG *trüebe* adj. 'dim, gloomy' (EUR).

A *u*-stem (remodeled into a *ja*-stem in continental Germanic) related to **drabiz-* (q.v.). Also cf. Go. *drobjan* 'to stir up', OE *ge-drēfan* 'to stir up, make turbid; to trouble', OS *gi-drōbian* 'to sadden', OHG *truoben* 'to dim, blur', G *trüben* 'id.' < **drōbjan-* and Go. *drobnan* w.v. 'to become agitated'.

druga- n. 'deceit' — NFri. *drōch* 'dream', OS *gi-drog* n. 'illusion', MDu. *ge-droch* n. 'deceit; apparition, ghost', OHG *gi-trog* n. 'id.', MHG *ge-troc, troc* m. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from **dreugan-* (q.v.). Formally and semantically close to Skt. *drúh-* m. 'deceit, malice; demon' < **d^{h}rug^h-*.

druggōn- w.v. 'to pull, drag' — Nw. *drugga* w.v. 'to walk bowed down', ME *druggen, droggen* w.v. 'to labor, toil', E dial. *to drug* 'to pull forcibly' (DRV).

The iterative to **dragan-*, continuing quasi-PIE **d^{h}rg^h-néh$_2$-* with a secondary zero grade. Also cf. Icel. *drogi* m. 'idler, lazy person' < **drugan-* and - with a different vowel - Nw. *dragga* w.v. 'to trudge along' < **draggōn-*.

druhti- f. 'host, retinue' — Go. *drauhti-witoþ* 'military service', ON *drótt* f. 'household, people; host of the king's men, bodyguard of a king', OE *dryht* f. 'people, multitude, army', OFri. *drecht* f.(?) 'wedding entourage', OS *druht-folk* 'army', MHG *truht* f. 'troop, squad, platoon', G *truht* f. 'troop, squad, platoon' ⇒ **d^{h}rug^h-ti-* (DRV).

A *ti*-stem to the strong verb **dreugan- 2.* Also cf. Go. *ga-drauhts* m. 'soldier' < **ga-druhta-* and ON *dróttinn*, OE *dryhten*, OFri. *drochten*, OS *drohtin*, OHG *truhtin, trohtin* 'lord, king, God' < **druhtana-*.

drunki- m. 'drink' — ON *drykkr* m. 'drink, drinking; draught', Far. *drykkur* m. 'drink', Elfd. *drykk* m. 'id.', OE *dryncc* m. 'drink; draught', E *drink*, MDu. *dronc* m. 'drinking', Du. *dronk* c. 'id.', OHG *trunk* m. 'id.', G *Trunk* m. 'id.' (DRV).

An *i*-stem derived from **drinkan-* (q.v.).

drupp/bōn- 1 w.v. 'to hit' — Nw. *drubba* w.v. 'to give a blow', E dial. *drub* 'to thresh, beat, bang' ⇒ **dʰrbʰ-néh₂-* (NEUR).

A zero-grade iterative to **draban-* (q.v). It gave rise to the strong verb **drepan-* (q.v.).

drupp/bōn- 2 w.v. 'to drip, droop; to drop' — Nw. *drubba* w.v. 'to walk with a stoop, to fall over', MDu. *druppen* w.v. 'to sag, drip', Du. dial. *drubben* w.v. 'to hang one's head, be downcast' ⇒ **dʰrbʰ-néh₂-* (NEUR) — Lith. *drìbti* (*drim̃ba*) 'to drop, fall down, lie down, become flaccid' < **dʰrbʰ-* (with *-ri-* representing a secondary zero grade).

An old iterative. The pertaining strong verb **dreupan-* ~ **drūpan-* must given the (shortened) geminates and the **eu* ~ **ū* alternation be a back-formation to this iterative (cf. **greupan-* ~ **grūpan-* vs. **grupp/bōn-*). This means that the position of the zero grade in this iterative is likely to be of secondary origin, something that is also implied by the potential link with Lith. *drìbti*. Nw. *drabba* w.v. 'to overflow' can theoretically be derived from an *o*-grade iterative **dʰrobʰ-néh₂-*, but its meaning is somewhat dissimilar. Further cf. ON *dropi*, OE *dropa*, OS *dropo*, OHG *tropfo*, *troffo*, G *Tropfen* m. 'drop' < **drup(p)an-*.

****drūsēn-*** w.v. 'to fall asleep' — OE *drūsian* w.v. 'to become slow', E *to drowse* ⇒ **dʰruHs-eh₁-*(?) (NEUR) — Ru. *dryxnut'* 'to sleep' < **druHs-ne-*.

A stative close to Ru. *dryxnut'*. Although the PSl. **y* may have been created secondarily to a PSl. root **drъs-*, the Germanic verb seems to confirm the existence of a root **dʰruHs-* with a laryngeal.

****duba-*** adj. 'dull' — Du. *dof* adj. 'matt', MHG *top* adj. 'crazy' ⇒ **dʰubʰ-o-* (EUR).

Also cf. OE *dofian* w.v. 'to rage', OHG *topēn*, *topōn* w.v. 'to be crazy' < **dubēn-* and ON *dofna* w.v. 'to become weak' < **dubnan-*. Related to **ḍauba-* (q.v.).

****dūban-*** s.v. 'to dive' — ON *dúfa* w.v. 'id.', Nw. *duva* w.v. 'to squat', OSw. *dūva* w.v. 'to squat, bob', OE *dūfan* s.v. 'to dive', MLG *be-dūven* s.v. 'to become overwhelmed, become covered', MDu. *be-duven* s.v. 'to dip' (DRV).

A strong verb that appears to have been derived from the iterative **dupp/bōn-* (q.v.) in view of the fact that the expected PIE formation **dʰéubʰ-e-* would have become ***deuban-* in Germanic. See also **deupa-*.

dubila- m. 'peg, pin, dowel' — MLG *dōvel* m. 'id.', Du. *deuvel* c. 'id.', MHG *tübel* m. 'id.', G *Dübel* m. 'id.' (EUR) — Gr. Hsch. τύφοι 'wedges' < **dʰubʰ-o-*.

Also cf. OHG *gi-tubili* n. 'peg, pin' < **ga-dubilja-*, MLG *dovicke* m. 'dowel-pin', Du. *deuvik* c. 'dowel-pin' < **dubikan-* and Nw. dial. *dobbe* m./f. 'fastening stick in a river', G Tyr. *tuppe* 'big piece of wood' < **dubban-*.

dūbōn- f. 'dove' — Go. *hraiwa-dubo* f. 'id.', ON *dúfa* f. 'id.', Far. *dúgva* f. 'id.', Elfd. *dauva* f. 'id.', E *dove*, OS *dūba* f. 'id.', Du. *duif* c. 'id.', OHG *tūba* f. 'id.', G *Taube* f. 'id.' (DRV).

A bird name probably derived from **dūban-* 'to dive' (q.v.). Also cf. MHG *tūber*, G *Tauber*, MDu. *duver*, Du. *doffer* 'male dove' < **dūbazan-*. For the suffix of the latter formation, see **ganazan-* 'gander' and **katazan-* 'tomcat'.

dud(i)ran- m. 'egg yolk' — WFri. *djerre, djirre* c. 'id.', OS *dodro* m. 'id.', MLG *dod(d)er, dōder, dōdder* n.(?) 'id.', MDu. *doder, dodre* m./f. 'id.', Du. *dooier* c. 'id.', OHG *totoro* m. 'id.', G *Dotter* m. 'id.' (GM?).

The West Germanic languages point to **dudran-* (whence also OE *dydring* m. 'yolk') alongside more restricted **dudiran-*, cf. WFri. *djerre*, MLG *dōder, dōdder*. The latter is the source of Icel. *dōddur* (cf. Magnússon 1989: 143). No certain etymology. It is unclear whether the word can be connected to Skt. *dudhitá-* adj. 'dark' (Schindler 1967). ToB *tute* 'yellow' continues **dʰuh₁-to-* (Adams 1999: 301) and therefore must be unrelated. See also **dudra/ōn-*.

dudra/ōn- m./f. 'dodder(?), camelina(?)' — Icel. *hár-doðra, akur-doðra* 'id.', Sw. *dådra* c. 'id.', ME *doder* 'flax dodder', E *dodder*, MLG *doder, dodder* m. 'id.', Du. *dodder* m. 'id.', MHG *toter* m. 'wild rocket, field rocket' (NEUR?).

The word appears in two different variants: WGm. **dudra-* meaning 'dodder', a parasitic plant, and Nordic **dudrōn-* 'camelina, false flax'. The word has no certain etymology, but may belong to Far. *doddur* m. 'tuft of hair, topknot, forelock', Du. *dot* c. 'tangle, tuft' < **duddan-*, which have been compared to Latv. *duža* f. 'tuft' < **dʰudʰ-ieh₂-*(?) and Gr. θύσανος m. 'tassels, fringe' (but cf. Beekes 2010: 566-7). The comparison with **dud(i)ran-* 'egg yolk' (q.v.) is unconvincing in spite of the fact that dodder has yellow or orange stems.

dugan- pret.-pres. 'to be fit, avail' — Go. *daug* 3sg.pres. 'id.', ON *duga* w.v. 'id.', OE *dugan* pret.-pres. 'id.', OFri. *duga* pret.-pres. 'id.', OS *dugan* pret.-pres. 'id.', Du. *deugen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *tugan* pret.-pres. 'id.', G *taugen* w.v.

'id.' ⇒ *d^hug^h- (IE) — Skt. *dógdhi* 'to milk; to give milk', NP *dōxtan* 'id.', Oss. *ducyn* / *docun* 'id.' < *d^heug^h-; Gr. τυγχάνω 'to succeed, hit upon; to meet, get together, happen to be' < *d^hu-n-g^h-nh_2-; Lith. *daũg*, Latv. *daũdz* adj. 'much, many' < *d^houg^h-i-.

A preterite-present Go. *daug*, OE *dēah*, *dugon*, OS *dōg*, *dugun*, OHG *toug*, *tugun* < 3sg. **dauge*, 3pl. **dugunþ* < *d^houg^h-e, *d^hug^h-nt. The original conjugation as a perfect (present) is corroborated by Lith. *daũg*, Latv. *daũdz*. See also **dugunþi-*, **daugjan-* and **dukkōn-*.

dugunþi- f. 'valor' — OE *duguð* f. 'manhood; glory, advantage; multitude', OFri. *duged* f. 'virtue', ODu. *dugeth* f. 'id.', Du. *deugd* c. 'id.', OHG *tugund*, *-ind* f. 'id.', G *Tugend* f. 'id.' (DRV).

A derivation to **dugan-* with the suffix **-unþi-* (for which cf. **ju(w)unþi-*).

duhter- f. 'daughter' — Go. *dauhtar* f. 'id.', ON *dóttir* f. 'id.', Far. *dóttir* f. 'id.', Elfd. *duotter* f. 'id.', OE *dohtor*, *dohter* f. 'id.', E *daughter*, OFri. *dochter* f. 'id.', OS *dohtar* f. 'id.', Du. *dochter* c. 'id.', OHG *tohter* f. 'id.', G *Tochter* f. 'id.' ⇒ *d^hugh_2-ter- (IE) — Skt. *duhitár-*, Av. *dugədar-*, ToA *ckācar*, ToB *tkācer*, Gr. θυγάτηρ, Arm. *dustr*, Lith. *duktẽ*, OCS *dъšti* < *d^hugh_2-ter-.

The Indo-European word for 'daughter'. Related to **deuhtra-* (q.v.).

dūjan- w.v. 'to tremble' — ON *dýja* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *$d^hú$H-ie- (IE) — Identical to Gr. θύω 'to dash, rush'; further compare Skt. *dhūnóti* 'to shake, agitate; to blow on a fire' (for older **dhūnấti* < *d^huH-$néh_2$-?) and Skt. *dhuváti* 'to throw down, shake down' < *d^huH-é-.

An apparently old *ie*-present closely related to Gr. θύω. Also cf. ON *dý*, Far. *dýggj* n. 'bog, marsh' < **dūja-* and OSw. *dyi*, Elfd. *dōe* m. 'dirt' < **dujan-*.

dūkan- s.v. 'to duck' — ME *douken* w.v. 'to dive, plunge, immerse', E *to duck*, MDu. *duken* s.v. 'to dive; to duck, cower', Du. *duiken* s.v. 'to dive', OHG *in-tūhhan* s.v. 'to immerse', G *tauchen* w.v. 'to dive, plunge' (DRV).

A strong verb derived from the iterative **dukkōn-* (q.v.). Also cf. OE *dūce*, E *duck* < **dūkōn-*.

dukkōn- w.v. 'to duck' — EDu. *docken* w.v. 'to dive, tumble', MHG *tocken* w.v. 'to immerse' ⇒ *d^hug^h-$néh_2$-(?) (IE?).

Also cf. MHG *tucken*, *tücken*, G *ducken*, MDu. *ducken* w.v. 'to cower, duck' < **dukkjan-*. The verb has no accepted extra-Gm. etymology, but by reconstructing it as *d^hug^h-$néh_2$-, it is possible to connect it to PIE *d^heug^h-. This root is attested with the meaning 'to be fit' in Greek and Germanic (see **dugan-*), but it is not unlikely that it originally denoted 'to fall', and that this developed into 'to happen, coincide, be fit' at a later stage (cf. G *Zu-fall* 'coincidence'). See also **dūkan-*.

dula- adj. 'foolish, crazy' — MHG *tol* adj. 'foolish, nonsensical' ⇒ *d^hul-o- (EUR) — Latv. *duls* adj. 'furious' < *d^hul-o-; Olr. *dall*, W *dall* adj. 'blind' < *d^hul-no-.

A zero-grade formation related to *dwelan- 'to err'. Hence also ON *dylja* w.v. 'to keep uninformed' < *duljan-.

dulga- adj. 'debt' — Go. *dulgs* m. 'id.' ⇒ *d^hlg^h-o- (EUR) — OCS *dlъgъ*, Ru. *dolg*, SCr. *dûg* m. 'debt'; OIr. *dligid* 'to owe, be entitled to' < *d^hlg^h-e-; OIr. *dligedn.* 'duty' < *d^hlg^h-eto-.

The word appears to have a European distribution, but the OCS forms may have been borrowed from Germanic. No further etymology; the appurtenance of ON *dolg* n. 'enemy', OE *dolg*, OFri. *dolg*, *dulg*, OHG *tolg* n. 'wound' < *dulga- is possible, but uncertain.

dulō- f. 'cluster or bunch of grapes' — OHG *tola* f. 'id.' ⇒ *d^hh_2l-eh$_2$- (EUR) — Gr. θάλλω 'to flourish', Alb. *dal* 'to sprout' < *d^hh_2l-n-; Arm. *dalar* adj. 'green' < *d^hh_2l-ro-; MW *deillyau* 'to emanate, proceed, come about' < *d^hh_2l-n-; perhaps also Alb. *dal* 'to flow out, exit; to grow'.

dulō- f. 'ditch' — WFri. *dôle* c. 'puddle, pool', OHG *tola* f. 'ditch', MHG *tole* f. 'id.' ⇒ *d^hlh_2-eh$_2$- (EUR).

A zero-grade formation related to *dala- (q.v.).

dulþi- f. 'festival, celebration' — Go. *dulþs* f. 'id.', OHG *tuld* f. 'id.', MHG *tult*, *dult* f. 'id.' (GM).

No certain etymology: probably unrelated to Gr. θαλία f. 'abundance', pl. 'festival', which is derived from θάλλω 'to flourish' < *d^hlH-n-. Despite the vague semantics, there may be a link with *dwelan- 'to stay, dwell' (Grienberger 1900: 60).

dumba- adj. 'dumb' — Go. *dumbs* adj. 'dumb, mute', ON *dumbr* adj. 'id.', Far. *dumbur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *dumm* adj. 'dumb', OE *dumb* adj. 'id.', E *dumb*, OFri. *dumb* adj. 'id.', OS *dumb* adj. 'id.', Du. *dom* adj. 'id.', OHG *tumb* adj. 'id.', G *dumm* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from *dimban- ~ *dimpan- (q.v.): the original meaning was 'hazy', cf. Nw. *dum* adj. 'dumb; soft, mute; unclear'.

dumbōn- f. 'fog, haze' — ON *dumba* f. 'dust, cloud of dust, mist', Elfd. *dumba* f. 'fog, haze' (DRV).

A zero-grade formation derived from the strong verb *dimban- ~ *dimpan- (q.v.).

dumpōn- w.v. 'to suffocate(?)' — MDu. *ver-dompen* w.v. 'to suffocate' ⇒ *$*d^hmb^h-néh_2-$* (IE).

The iterative to **dimban-* ~ **dimpan-* (q.v.). There is no connection with Lith. *dùmpti* (*dùmpiu*) 'to blow with bellows' (quasi PIE *$*d^hmHp-$*), which is likely to have arisen secondarily from Lith. *dùmti* (*dumiù*) 'id.' < *$*d^hmH-ie-$*, cf. *dùmplės* 'bellows' < *$*dmH-l-ieh_2-$*.

dūna- m. 'down (of a bird)' — ON *dúnn* m. 'id.', Far. *dún* n. 'id.', OSw. *dūn* n. 'id.', Elfd. *daungen* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$*d^huh_2-no-$* (IE).

A Nordic word that was borrowed into West Germanic, cf. MLG *dūne*, G *Daune*, ME *doune*, E *down*. Elfd. *daungen* has secondary *ŋ* as in *kraungen* f. 'crown' < ON *krúna* (<< Lat. *corōna*). Related to **dauma-* and **dauna-* (q.v.).

dunga- m./f. 'dung' — OE *dung* m. 'id.', E *dung*, OFri. *dung* m. 'id.', OS *dung* m. 'id.', G *Dung* m. 'id.' (GM).

An *a*-stem related to **dungōn-* (q.v.). Also cf. Elfd. *dyndja*, OFri. *denga*, EDu. *dungen*, OHG *tungen*, G *düngen* w.v. 'to fertilize' < **dungjan-*, ON *dyngja* f. 'dunghill; lady's bower' < **dungjōn-* and OE *dung*, *ding* f. 'cellar, groundhouse', OHG, MHG *tunc* m./f. 'id.' < **dungi-*.

dungōn- w.v. 'to cover(?), pour over(?)' — Far. *dunga* w.v. 'to pile up; to snow heavily', Sw. *dunga* w.v. 'to get soaked', obs. 'to rain, pour down', MLG *dungen* w.v. 'to irrigate' ⇒ *$*d^hng^h-néh_2-$* (NEUR) — Lith. *deñgti* (*dengiù*) 'to cover' < *$*d^heng^h-ie-$*; Lith. *dangà* f. 'cover', RuCS *dugá* f. 'arch, curve', SCr. *dúga* f. 'rainbow' < *$*d^hong^h-eh_2-$*; Lith. *dangùs* 'heaven' < *$*d^hong^h-u-$*.

The verb **dungōn-* probably continues an iterative **dunkōþi*, **dungunanþi* < *$*d^hng^h-néh_2-$*, cf. Nw. dial. *dokk* f. 'cover (e.g. of snow)' < **dunkō-*. In view of the Balto-Slavic evidence, the original meaning of the root *$*d^heng^h-$* seems to have been 'to cover' and - in a meteorological sense - 'to be overcast'. See also **dunga-* 'dung'.

dunkla-* ~ *dunkra- adj. 'dark' — OS *dunkar* adj. 'id.', Du. *donker* adj. 'id.', OHG *tunkal* adj. 'id.', G *dunkel* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *$*d^hng^w-lo-$* (IE).

A zero-grade adjective related to **dinkwa-* (q.v.).

dunsta- n.(?) 'powder, dust(?)' — OE *dūst* n. 'id.', E *dust*, WFri. *dúst* n./c. 'dandruff; chaff', MLG *dust* m. 'chaff, husk, dust', MDu. *donst*, *dunst*, *dust* m.? 'fluff, pollen' ⇒ *$*d^huns-to-$* (IE) — ToB *tänts-* 'to scatter' < *$*d^huns-$*; Skt. *dhváṃsati* 'to fall to dust, perish' < *$*d^huéns-e-$*.

A *to*-stem to the PIE root *$*d^huens-$*.

dupp/bōn- w.v. 'to dip' — Nw. *duppa*, *dubba* w.v. 'to dip; to duck; to nod', Elfd. *duppa* w.v. 'id.', MDu. *doppen* w.v. 'to dip' ⇒ *$*d^hub^h-néh_2-$* (IE).

An iterative formation, probably serving as the derivational base of **deupa-* and **daupjan-* (q.v.). Also cf. OE *dyppan* w.v. 'to dip', LG *düppen* < **duppjan-* and MDu. *dubben* w.v. 'to submerge' < **dubjan-*.

****dura-*** n. 'gate, (single) door' — Go. *daur* n. 'id.', OE *dor* n. 'id.', E *door*, OS *dor*, *dur* n. 'id.', ODu. *duri* f. 'door', Du. *deur* 'door', OHG *tor* n. 'id.', G *Tor* n. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰur-o-* (IE).

The original neuter singular whose dual **dʰur-ih₁* 'double door' may have served as the basis for the *i*-stem **durī-* (q.v.). Also cf. Go. *auga-dauro* n. 'window', OFri. *andern* n. 'id.' < **aug(n)a-durōn-*.

****durgō-*** f. 'fishing-line' — ON *dorg* f. 'trailing-line', Far. *dorg*, pl. *dergur* f. 'short fishing-line' ⇒ **dʰrgʰ-eh₂-* (DRV?).

Also cf. the factitive ON *dyrgja* w.v. 'to take with a hand-line' < **durgjan-*. Related to **dragan-*?

****durī-*** f.pl. 'door' — ON *dyrr* f./n.pl. 'id.', Far. *dyr* f.pl. 'id.', Elfd. *dörer* f.pl. 'id.', OS *duri* f. 'id.', MDu. *dore* f. 'id.', Du. *deur* c. 'id.', OHG *turi* f.pl., G *Tür* f. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰur-ih₁* (IE) — Gr. θύρα f. 'door, doorleaf', Arm. *dur-kʿ* pl. 'door', Lith. *dùrys*, dial. *dùres* m.pl. 'id.', Latv. *d(v)uris* m.pl. 'id.', OPru. *dauris* 'gate', OCS *dvьrь*, Ru. *dver'*, SCr. *dvâr* f. 'door' < **dʰur-*; Skt. *dvā́rā*, *dvā́rau* du. 'id.', Alb. *derë* f. 'id.' < **dʰuōr-*; ToB *twere* m. 'id.', Lith. *dvāras* m. 'estate, village', Lat. *forēs* f.pl. 'door'; OIr. *dorus* m. 'id.', W *dor* 'id.', Latv. *dvars* m. 'gate'; OCS *dvorъ*, Ru. *dvor*, SCr. *dvôr* m. 'court, courtyard' < **dʰuor-o-*.

Most forms point to a (plural) *i*-stem, which in view of the neuter gender of ON *dyrr* is likely to have been based on the old dual **dʰur-ih₁* of **dura-* 'single door, gate' < **dʰur-o-*. OE *duru*, OFri. *dore*, OHG *tura* f. 'door', on the other hand, goes back to **durō-*, which is formally identical to Gr. θύρα.

****durrōn-*** f. 'stick' — Icel. *dorra* f. 'piece of wood, stick' ⇒ **dʰr-on-* (IE) — Gr. θαιρός m. 'pivot of a door, axle of a chariot' < **dʰr-io-*.

A zero-grade *n*-stem related to the semantically similar Nw. *darre* < **dʰor-ōn*, **dʰor-n-ós* (see **darran-*). The co-occurrence of these *n*-stems may point to an originally ablauting paradigm **dʰór-ēn*, gen. **dʰr-n-ós*, acc.pl. **dʰor-n-ń̥s* > **darēn*, **durraz*, **darruns*. The derivation from Icel. *darra* w.v. 'to swing, vibrate' is unlikely, at any rate, since this verb is etymologically identical to *daðra* < **dadrōn-*.

****dursti-*** f. 'courage' — OE *dyrst*, *ge-dyrst* f. 'tribulation', OHG *gi-turst* f. 'courage, audacity', MHG *turst*, *ge-turst* f. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰrs-ti-* (IE).

A *ti*-stem to the preterite-present **durzan-* (q.v.).

durzan- pret.-pres. 'to dare, be brave' — Go. *ga-daursan* pret.-pres. 'id.', OE *durran* s.v. 'id.', OS *gi-durran* pret.-pres. 'id.', ODu. *durran* pret.-pres. 'id.', Du. *dorst* pret. 'id.', OHG *turran, gi-turran* pret.-pres. 'id.', MHG *turren, ge-turren* pret.-pres. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰors-* ~ **dʰrs-* (IE) — Skt. *dadhárṣa* 3sg.perf. 'is bold' < **dʰórs-e*; Gr. θάρσος, Aeol. θέρσος n. 'courage' < **dʰérs-os*, gen. **dʰrs-s-ós* (whence θαρσέω, θαρρέω 'to be brave'); Lith. *drįsti* (*drįstù*) 'to become bold' < **dʰr-n-s-ske-*; Lith. *drąsùs* adj. 'brave' < **dʰro-n-s-u-*.

A preterite-present PGm. 3sg. **darse*, 3pl. **durzunþ* < **dʰórs-e*, **dʰrs-ńt*. See also **dursti-*.

dusēn- w.v. 'to slumber' — E *to doze*, MHG *dosen* w.v. 'to keep oneself quiet, slumber' ⇒ **dʰús-eh₁-ie-* (EUR) — Lat. *furō, -ere* 'to be mad, rave' < **dʰus-e-*; Lith. *dùsti* (*dūstù*) 'to suffocate', Latv. *dust* 'to gasp' < **dʰus-ske-*; OCS *duxъ* m. 'breath', Lith. *dùsas* m. 'short breath, asthma' < **dʰus-o-*.

A stative verb. Its original meaning seems to have been 'to lose one's senses', whence 'to fall asleep', 'to be wild', and 'to go mad'. Apparently, the Indo-Europeans assumed that the spirit (i.e. 'breath') left the body during sleep. See also **dwēsa-*, **dauzan-* and **deuza-*.

duska- 1 m. 'drizzle(?)' — Nw. *dusk* n. 'drizzling rain', Sw. dial. *dusk* m. 'light rain' (NEUR) — OCS *dъždь*, Ru. *dožd'* (*doždjá*), SCr. *dâžd* m. 'rain' < **dusg-io-*.

A Germanic-Slavic isogloss. The derivation of PSlav. **dъždžь* from **dus-diu-* "bad-sky" (Vaillant 1927) is less evident, as the prefix **dus-* (see **tuz-*) otherwise does not occur in Slavic.

duska- 2 adj. 'dark' — OE *dox, dux* adj. 'sallow', E *dusk* 'twilight' ⇒ **dʰus-ko-* (EUR) — Identical to Lat. *fuscus* 'dark-colored, dusky'; also cf. Lat. *furvus* 'id.' < **dʰus-uo-* (with the *uo*-suffix for chromonyms).

Also cf. Far. *ill-duskutur* adj. 'with mixed and bad colors' < **dusk-uhta-*; OHG *fir-tuskōn* w.v. 'to confuse', OE *doxian* w.v. 'to become dark' < **duskōjan-*, G *Tusche* f. 'ink' and - with a different suffix - OE *dosen* adj. 'chestnut', OHG *tusin* 'brown' < **dʰús-no-* (cf. OIr. *donn* adj. 'dun, brown; light'). The original meaning may have been 'to obscure', which is compatible with the etymological cluster of **dusēn-*.

du(w)ēn- w.v. 'to be misty(?), windy(?)' — Nw. dial. *duva* w.v. 'to blow softly' and Elfd. *duvå* w.v. 'to drizzle' ⇒ **dʰuh₂-eh₁-* (IE).

An old stative formation related to **dauma-* and **dawwa/ō-* (q.v.).

dwaljan- w.v. 'to delay, hinder' — ON *dvelja* w.v. 'to delay, tarry', Far. *dvølja* w.v. 'to delay; to hesitate, wait', OE *dwelian* w.v. 'to lead astray', E *to dwell*, OS *bi-dwellian* w.v. 'to delay, hinder', MDu. *dwellen* w.v. 'to lead

astray', OHG *twaljen* w.v. 'to delay; to wait, stay', MHG *twellen, twelen, dwellen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰuolH-éie-* (EUR).

A formation that probably unifies the causative to **dwelan-* (q.v.) and the factitive to **dwala-*, cf. Go. *dwals* adj. 'foolish'.

****dwelan-*** s.v. 'to err' — OE *ge-dwolen* ptc. 'wrong', EFri. *dwylje* w.v. 'to rave; to roam', OS *for-dwelan* s.v. 'to neglect, fail', ODu. *dwelon* s.v. 'to fail, err', OHG *gi-twelan* s.v. 'to be stunned, tarry, fall asleep' ⇒ **dʰuélH-e-* (EUR).

A strong verb to the root **dʰuelH-*, which is otherwise only attested in Baltic and Celtic (see under **dula-*). Related to **dwaljan-*.

****dwerga-*** m. 'dwarf' — ON *dvergr* m. 'dwarf; short pillars which support the beams and rafters in a house', Far. *dvørgur* m. 'dwarf', OSw. *dværgher* m. 'id.', Elfd. *dyörg* m. 'spider; deathwatch beetle; wrinkle, crease', OE *dweorg, dweorh* m. 'dwarf', E *dwarf*, MDu. *dwerch* m. 'monster, dwarf, giant', Du. *dwerg* c. 'dwarf', OHG *twerc* m. 'id.', G *Zwerg* m. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰuérgʰ-o-* (GM).

An etymologically debated word. Some have compared Skt. *dhváras-* n. 'demon' < **dʰuer-o-* and Lith. *dvãsas* 'spirit' < **dʰuos-o-* (cf. MHG *ge-twās* 'ghost'), but these linkages are extremely doubtful given the formal dissimilarities. I therefore assume that the word was derived from the strong verb **dwergan-* attested as MHG *zwergen* s.v. 'to squeeze, press'. The meanings 'pillar' and 'staff' in Nordic are believed by some to refer to the pagan belief that dwarfs carried the firmament (cf. Simek 2006: 504). Also cf. ON *dyrgja* f. 'female dwarf' < **durgī-* / **dwergī-* and Icel. *durgur* m. 'boor, lout' < **durga-*.

****dwergan-*** s.v. 'to squeeze, press' — MHG *zwergen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰuérgʰ-e-* (GM).

No extra-Gm. cognates, but there may be a link with **dwerga-* 'dwarf' (q.v.).

****dwēsa-*** adj. 'foolish' — OE *dwæs* adj. 'id.', OFri. *dwēs* adj. 'id.', MLG *dwās* adj. 'id.', MDu. *dwaes* adj. 'id.', Du. *dwaas* adj. 'id.', MHG *twās* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰuēs-o-* (EUR) — Lith. *dvãsas* m. 'breath, soul, sickly person' < **dʰuos-o-*; Lith. *dvasià* f. 'breath, spirit, soul' < **dʰuos-ieh₂-*.

Also cf. MHG *ge-twās*, MDu. *ge-dwaes* n. 'foolishness, ghost' (with a similar meaning to MHG *tuster* m. 'ghost' < **dus-tra-*). See also **dusēn-*.

****dwīnan-*** s.v. 'to diminish' — ON *dvína* w.v. 'id.', Far. *dvína* w.v. 'to yield, give way; to diminish', OE *dwīnan* s.v. 'to dwindle', ME *dwinen* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *dwinen* s.v. 'to disappear, dwindle, pine away', Du. *ver-dwijnen* s.v. 'to disappear' ⇒ **dʰgʷʰéi-ne-* (IE) — Skt. *kṣiṇấti, kṣiṇóti* 'to destroy, corrupt, ruin' < **dʰgʷʰi-neh₂-* / *-neu-*; Gr. φθίνω 'to decline, decay, perish; to cause to de-

cline, consume, destroy' < *$d^hg^{wh}i$-*nu-e*-; Lat. *situs*, -*ūs* m. 'neglect, disuse, rot' < *$d^hg^{wh}i$-*tu*-.

An *n*-present to the root *$d^hg^{wh}ei$-, cf. Nw. *dvå* w.v. 'to abate' < **dwīan*-, cf. Skt. *kṣáyati* 'to destroy' < *$d^hg^{wh}éi$-*e*-. A slightly different formation is ON *dvena*, *dvina* w.v. 'to dwindle, cease, subside' < **dwinōn*- < *$d^hg^{wh}i$-*neh₂*-, which unlike the factitive Skt. *kṣiṇáti* appears to be an (intransitive) iterative. The Germanic reflexes of this verbal formation show a remarkable alternation between **dwīnan*-, **swīnan*-, **þwīnan*- and perhaps also **kwīnan*-: apparently, the outcome of the initial cluster *d^hg^{wh}- was unstable in Germanic.

E

ēbanþ- ~ *ēbund- m. 'evening' — ON *aftann*, *eftann* m. 'id.', Far. *aftan* m. 'id.', Elfd. *otn* m. 'early supper' (< ON **ǫftunn*?), OE *æfen* m. 'evening', E *eve*, OFri. *ēwend*, *iōwen(d)*, *iouwend*, *iōn(d)*, *ioun(d)* m. 'id.', WFri. *jûn* c. 'id.', EFri. *āiwend* m. 'id.', OS *āband* m. 'id.', ODu. *āvont* m. 'id.', Du. *avond* c. 'id.', OHG *āband*, *ābund* c. 'id.', G *Abend* m. 'id.' ⇒ *h_1eh_1pt-*ont*- (IE?).

An etymologically and derivationally problematic word. The suffix has a clear parallel in Hitt. *išpant*- c. 'night' (see **westera*-), and indeed, the alternation of **anþ/da*- vs. **unþ/da*- points to an accentually mobile consonant stem. It remains unclear, however, how the paradigm must be reconstructed, especially in view of the difficult root alternation of Nordic **aft*- vs. West Germanic **ēb*-. I am inclined to follow Hamp (*apud* EWAhd: I, 11), and reconstruct it as nom. *$h_1éh_1pt$-*ont*, gen. *$h_1\underline{h}_1pt$-*nt-ós*. This reconstruction has two advantages. First, the root **ēb*- can be explained by *t*-dissimilation in a secondary genitive *h_1eh_1pt-*nt-ós* (cf. **sebunþ/dan*- 'seventh' < **septm-tHó*-, Brugmann 1895: 376). Second, the predominantly Nordic root **aft*- can be accounted for as having developed from *$h_1\underline{h}_1pt$-, i.e. with regular vocalization of the laryngeal between stops. The etymology of the word nevertheless remains unclear: the comparison with **afteri* < *h_2ep-*tero*- is semantically sound (cf. *æften-tīd* 'evening' < "after-tide"), but formally impossible in view of the initial laryngeal.

ebna- adj. 'even, level' — Go. *ibns* adj. 'even, level, flat', ON *jafn* adj. 'even, equal', Far. *javnur* adj. 'id.', OSw. *iamn*, *iæmn* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *iemmen* adj. 'id.', OE *efen* adj. 'even, equal', E *even*, Du. *effen*, *even* adj. 'level, even', OHG *eban* adj. 'even, equal, straight', G *eben* adj. 'level' ⇒ **em-no*- (IE) — Skt. *amnás* adv. 'just, just now; at once' < *h_1em-*n-e/os*-.

A *no*-stem to a root *$h_1$em-, cf. Skt. *amnás* (Schaffner 2000): it follows that the cluster *-*bn*- developed from *-*mn*-. Older etymological proposals cannot be maintained. The reconstruction as **imna*-, based on the alleged link with **jumja*- '(primordial) twin' < **imH-io*-, is irreconcilable with ON *jafn*, whose vocalism points to breaking of PGm. **e*. The additional connection with W *iawn* 'id.', OBret. *ion*, *eunt*, MBret. *effn* 'right, simple', Co. *ewn* 'righteous, correct' can only work by deriving it from **$h_1$em-no*-, but OIr. *án* adj. 'true, just' rather points to **i̯ānо*- (Matasović 2009: 433). The alternative reconstruction of the Celtic forms as **epōno*- does not work either, because PGm. **ep-nó*- would give ***eppa*- (with Kluge's law) rather than **ebna*-.

***eburа*-** m. 'boar' — ON *jǫfurr* m. 'king', OE *eofor* m. 'boar', MDu. *ever* m. 'id.', Du. *ever-zwijn* 'id.', OHG *ebur* m. 'id.', G *Eber* m. 'id.' ⇒ **epr* (NIE) — Lat. *aper* m. 'wild boar; kind of fish', Umb. *abrons* acc.pl. < **apro*-; Latv. *vepris* 'castrated boar', OCS *veprъ*, Ru. *vepr'* (gen. *véprja*), SCr. *vȅpar* m. 'wild boar' < **uepri*- (**uepro*-).

The irregular alternation of Pre-Gm. **epr*, Pre-It. **apr* and Pre-Slav. **ueprcould be an indication that the word was not inherited from PIE, but rather adopted from an unknown (extinct) source by the individual daughter languages after their settlement in Europe. Another word in which non-IE **a* emerges as Gm. **e* is **þeura*- 'bull' (q.v.).

***edara*-** m. 'edge; fence' — ON *jaðarr* m. 'edge', Far. *jaðari* m. 'edge, corner', Nw. *jar(e)* m. 'edge, side', OE *eodor* m. 'hedge, fence, enclosure, dwelling; limit, end, region', OS *edar* m. 'pale, picket, bar', OHG *etar* m./n. 'edge, fence', MHG *eter* m. 'id.' ⇒ **$h_1$ed^h-ro*- (IE) — OCS *odrъ* m. 'bed', Ru. (arch.) *odr* m. 'bed, couch', Cz. *odr* 'pillar, frame, summer-house', SCr. *òdar* m. 'bed, scaffolding' < **$h_1$od^h-ro*-.

ON *jǫðurr* has a suffix variant *-*ura*-, which may also be present in OE *eodor*. Also note Far. *jaður* n. 'layer, stratum' < **jaðra*- and the ablauting MLG *ader(e)* 'pole, beam in a fence' < **adr*-. Perhaps the word originally had a static paradigm, e.g. **adur*, gen. **edurz* < **$h_1$ód^h-r*, **$h_1$éd^h-r-s*.

edi conj. 'again' — Go. *iþ* conj. 'but, however' ⇒ **$h_1$eti* (IE) — Gr. ἔτι adv. 'still, also, further', Lat. *et* conj./adv. 'and what is more, too; and', Gaul. *eti* adv. 'yet, still, equally', NPhr. ετι conj. 'and'.

***edis*-** f. '(noble, divine) lady' — OE *ides* f. 'female, lady', OS *idis* f. 'wife, woman', OHG *itis* f. '(divine) woman' (GM).

A word without a certain etymology. The connections with **edara*- 'fence' (Eichner/Nedoma 2000: 33) and **aida*- 'pyre' (parallel to G *Flamme*, Bammesberger 2007) are semantically unconvincing. The link with ON *dís* f. 'woman, girl; fairy, nymph; goddess', Far. *dís* f. 'goddess, nymph', Nw. *dis* f.

'goddess' < **dīsi-*, on the other hand, is not improbable in view of the parallelism of ON *dís Skjǫldunga* and OE *ides Scildinga* 'lady of the Shielding clan'), but poses crucial formal difficulties. It is theoretically possible to solve these by reconstructing a (rather far-fetched) ablauting *s*-stem nom. **h₁édʰ-i(ō)s*, obl. **h₁dʰ-iés-*, but it is not impossible either that the form **edis* contains a prefix **e-*, which may be identical to the substratal prefix **a-* (for which see e.g. **amslōn-*).

ēdra- adj. 'quick' — OE *ǣdre* adv. 'immediately', OFri. *ĕder, edre, idder(e)* adv. 'soon, quickly', OS *ādro* adv. 'early', OHG *ātar* adj. 'quick' (GM).

No certain etymology. The word has been compared to Lith. *otrùs*, Latv. *ātrs* adj. 'quick', but this may be a loanword from Germanic.

egila- m. 'hedgehog, sea urchin' — ON *igull* m. 'urchin', Icel. *ígul-ker* n. 'sea urchin', ODa. *jæwæl* m. 'hedgehog', OE *igil, īl* m. 'hedgehog, porcupine; sea urchin', MDu. *egel* m. 'hedgehog', Du. *egel* c. 'id.', OHG *ĭgil* m. 'id.', G *Igel*, obs. *Eigel* 'id.' ⇒ **h₁eǵʰ-i-lo-* (IE) — Oss. *wyzyn* / *uzun* 'hedgehog' (with unexplained initial *u*); Arm. *ozni* 'id.' < **h₁oǵʰ-i-Hn-io-*; Gr. ἐχῖνος m. 'id.' < **h₁eǵʰ-i-Hno-*; Lith. *ežỹs*, Latv. *ezis* m. 'id.', Ru. *ëž* (gen. *ežá*), SCr. *jȅž* 'id.' < **h₁eǵʰ-io-*.

Most of the attested forms point to **egila-*, but ODa. *jæwæl* developed from a divergent form, i.e. either ON **jagall* < **egala-* or **jǫgull* < **egula-* (with breaking of initial *e*). ON *igull* appears to contain the same suffix **-ula-*, but is due to a late substution of *-ill* by *-ull*. Note that the lengthening of ON *ĭ* to *í* in Icel. *ígull* is automatic before *g* in open syllables.

ēgja- m. 'sea' — ON *ægir* m. 'id.', Far. poet. *ægir** m. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂ēkʷ-ió-* (EUR?).

The word, which occurs in Old Norse and in Faroese ballads (*á ægin blá* 'to the sea'), is usually derived from **h₂ēkʷ-ió-*, i.e. a lengthened grade formation to **ahwō-* 'river' < **h₂ékʷ-eh₂-* (Darms 1978: 29). OE *ĕagor* 'sea, flood' has been adduced as well, but in this word the *r* is a suffix, not an ending. It is therefore more likely to be related to Du. *agger* 'sea swell' < **agra-* (q.v.).

ehwa- m. 'horse' — Go. *aihva-tundi* f. 'thornbush', ON poet. *jór* m. 'stallion', OE *eoh* m. 'war-horse', OS *ehu-skalk* m. 'groom' ⇒ **h₁eḱ-uo-* (IE) — HLuv. *ásu-* c., Lyc. *esb-* 'horse' < **h₁eḱ-u-*; Skt. *áśva-* m. 'horse, steed', ToA *yuk*, ToB *yakwe* m. 'horse', Gr. ἵππος m.f. 'horse, mare', Lat. *equus* m. 'horse', OIr. *ech*, OBret. *eb* m. 'id.' (cf. W *ebawl* 'foal' < **ekʷo-pōlHo-*, for which see **fulan-*); Lat. *equa*, Lith. *ešva* f. 'mare' < **h₁eḱ-u-eh₂-*.

Most Indo-European languages, including Germanic, have a thematic noun reflecting PIE **h₁eḱ-uo-*, but the Anatolian evidence points to a *u*-stem, **h₁eḱ-u-s*, gen. **h₁ḱ-u-ós* (Kloekhorst 2008: 237). This archaic paradigm can

probably also explain the problematic form Gr. ἵππος with geminated pi; it may continue *ἔπϝος, i.e. a contamination form of the expected nom. *ἔκυς and the gen. *ἔπος. See also *skufta- 2.

ek(a) pron. 'I' — Go. *ik*, dat. *mis*, acc. *mik* pron. 'id.', ON *ek*, dat. *mér*, acc. *mik* pron. 'id.', Far. *eg*, dat. *mær*, acc. *meg* pron. 'id.', OSw. *iak*, dat. *mær*, acc. *mik*, *mek* pron. 'id.', Elfd. *ig*, obl. *mig* pron. 'id.', OE *ic*, obl. *mē*, acc. *mec* pron. 'id.', E *I*, obl. *me*, OFri. *ik*, obl. *mī* pron. 'id.', OS *ik*, obl. *mī* pron. 'id.', Du. *ik*, obl. *mij* pron. 'id.', OHG *ih*, dat. *mir*, acc. *mih* pron. 'id.', G *ich*, dat. *mir*, acc. *mich* pron. 'id.' ⇒ *h_1eǵ-H-om* (IE) — Identical to Skt. *ahám* 'I', OAv. *azəm* 'id.', YAv. *azəm* 'id.', OP *adam* 'id.', Arm. *es* 'id.', OLith. *eš* 'id.', Lith. *àš* 'id.', Latv. *es* 'id.', OPru. *as*, *es* 'id.', OCS *azъ*, ORu. *(j)azъ*, Ru. *ja*, SCr. *jâ*, dial. *jȁz* 'id.' < *h_1eǵ-H-om*; also cf. Hitt. *ūk* 'id.' < *h_1uǵ*; ToA *ñuk* (f.) 'id.', ToB *ñäś* 'id.' (< *$h_1$mene-ǵe?); Gr. ἐγω, Dor. ἐγών 'id.', Lat. *egō* 'id.'< *h_1eǵ-ōn.

The IE pronoun of the first person. The Germanic form must go back to *eka < *h_1eǵ-H-om in view of the breaking of *-e-* to *-ja-* in East Nordic, cf. OSw. *iak*, Sw. *jag*, Da. *jeg*. It is further conceivable that the emphatic WGm. variants OHG *ihha*, MHG *iche*, Du. *ikke* (cf. Howe 1996: 241) continue *ekō, a form that may correspond to e.g. Gr. ἐγω and Lat. *egō* < *h_1eǵ-oH*. See also *mīna-.

ēla- m. 'eel' — ON *áll* m. 'id.', Far. *álur*, *álli*, *állur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *ål* m. 'id.', OE *ǣl* m. 'id.', E *eel*, OFri. *ēl* m. 'id.', MDu. *ael* m. 'id.', Du. *aal* c. 'id.', OHG *āl* m. 'id.', G *Aal* m. 'id.' (GM).

An old fish name, perhaps related to *ala- and *ēlō- (q.v.).

elgra- adj. 'blunt (of teeth)' — G obs. *elger* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_1$el(H)k-ró-* (NEUR) — Lith. *álkti* 'to be hungry'; OCS *alъkati* 'id.', Ru. *alkát'* (*álču*) 'to hunger (for), crave (for)' < *$h_1$olHk-* (or *$h_1$eh$_1$olk-*, Rasmussen 1999: 199).

A *ro*-stem to the root *$h_1$el(H)k-*. Also cf. OHG *ilki 'fames vel stridor dentium'* < *elgīn-* and MHG *ilgern* w.v. 'to become blunt (of teeth)' < *elgrjan-* (DWB: 10, 2060-61). I assume that the original meaning 'having blunt teeth' developed into 'hungry' in both Germanic and Balto-Slavic. Unrelated to *elhja- 'evil' (q.v.).

elha(n)- m. 'elk' — OE *eolh*, *ĕola* m. 'id.', ME *elk* 'id.', E *elk*, LG *elk* m. 'id.', EDu. *elgh* 'bison', OHG *elaho*, *elho* m. 'elk' ⇒ *$h_1$el-ḱo(n)-* (IE).

An ablauting variant of *algi- (q.v.) with the same meaning. The Middle Germanic forms with final *k* are unexpected, and may point to borrowing from Nordic. Alternatively, they can be accounted for by assuming generalization of the oblique stem of an *n*-stem *elhō, *elkaz < *$h_1$élḱ-ōn, *$h_1$elḱ-n-ós. For the suffix *-ḱo-*, cf. *selha- 'seal'.

***elhja-** adj. 'evil' — ON *illr* adj. 'ill, evil, bad, mean', Far. *illur* adj. 'evil, unfriendly; poor, miserable; angry' ⇒ *$h_1$elk-io- (WEUR) — OIr. *elc* adj. 'mischievous, capricous' < *$h_1$elk-o-(?).

The cluster *-ll-* can be derived from several sources in Old Norse and has therefore given occasion to many different etymologies. In view of the Finnish loanwords *elkiä* adj. 'mean, malicious' and *ilkeä* adj. 'bad, mean, wicked', the derivation of *illr* from *elhila- (with *-ila- as in *mekila- 'big' and *lītila- 'small'?) through syncope is least problematic. Alternatively, it is possible to assume that the root *illr* arose from *Íli-ligr, cf. ON *dælla* adv. 'friendly' < *dæli-liga, etc. (see *airi for more examples). The final *i* of *Íli- in *Íli-ligr just like Fi. *elkiä* points to an original *ja*-stem *elhja-.

***ēlō-** f. 'awl' — OE *æl, eal* f. 'id.', ME *ēl, a(u)l* 'id.', OHG *āla* f. 'id.', G *Ahle* f. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_1$éh$_1$l-eh$_2$- (IE) — Skt. *árā-* f. 'awl'.

The Sanskrit and Germanic forms are identical, even regarding the accent, as *$h_1$eh$_1$l-éh$_2$- would have resulted in PGm. **elō-* by pretonic shortening. Cf. *ala- and *alasnō-.

***embja-** n. 'swarm of bees' — OE *imbe* m. 'id.', MDu. *imme* f. 'bee', OHG *impi* m. 'swarm of bees; bee', MHG *imbe, imme* m. 'id.' (GM).

The neuter OE *imbe* continues a collective *imbja-, but OHG *impi* and MDu. *imme* in the sense of 'bee' probably represent different formations, i.e. *imbja- and *imbjō-. No further etymology: the comparison with Gr. ἔμπις, -ίδος f. 'gnat' is erroneous because this word was derived from ἐμπίνειν 'to drink oneself full' (with blood).

***ēmōn- 1** f. 'erysipelas' — ON *áma, ámu-sótt* f. 'id.', OE *ōman* f.pl. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_1$éh$_1$-mon- (IE) — Skt. *āmá-*, NP *xām*, Oss. *xom*, Arm. *hum*, Gr. ὠμός, OIr. *om*, W *of* adj. 'raw' < *$h_1$oh$_1$-mó-.

An *mn*-stem to the root *$h_1$eh$_1$- 'raw, reddish (of skin)', which is further supported by the aforementioned *mo*-stem adjectives in the other IE languages. Also note OE *ōm* m. 'rust', G *Ohm* m. 'skin infection' < *ēma-, which may be a thematicization of the origin *mn*-stem in view of the *e*-grade of the root. Unrelated to *am(m)ōn- 'to irritate' (q.v.), which is based on the root *$h_3$emh$_3$-.

***ēmōn- 2** f. 'larva' — Nw. *åme* f. 'larva, caterpillar', Elfd. *oma* f. 'id.', OE *ĕmel* f. 'caterpillar; weevil', MLG *emel, emelte* 'corn bug; aphid', Du. *emelt* c. 'mosquito larva' (GM).

An old word for 'larva' or 'caterpillar'. There are some formal difficulties: Nw. *åme* straightforwardly points to *ēmōn-, but the West Germanic forms can be derived from both *ēmilō- and *amilō-. The dental suffix of MLG *emelte*, Du. *emelt* is also found in the doublet MLG *homele* ~ *homelte* 'bum-

blebee' (< **humelan-*) and ultimately emanated from MLG *hornte*, MDu. *hornete, hornte, hoornte* 'hornet' (see **hurnuta/ō-*).

ĕnu- prep. 'without' — Go. *inu* prep. 'id.', ON *án, ón* prep. 'id.', Far. *ón* prep. 'id.', OS *āno* prep. 'id.', OHG *ānu, āne* prep. 'id.', G *ohne* prep. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂ēnu* (IE) — Gr. ἄνευ adv. 'far from, without'.

A preposition (adverb, conjunction) that on the basis of the comparison with Gr. ἄνευ can be reconstructed as **ēnu* < **h₂ḗnu* for NWGm. **āneu* and as **enu* < **h₂ēnú* for Gothic *inu* (the latter with pretonic shortening, i.e. Dybo's law): apparently, the adverb was grammaticalized from an originally mobile *u*-stem, e.g. nom. **h₂ḗn-u*, loc. **h₂n-éu* (= Gr. ἄνευ). Note that both proto-forms must be reconstructed with a lengthened grade (cf. Nikolaev 2007: 165) in order to explain the non-coloring by the laryngeal (Eichner's law).

erba(n)- m. 'wolverine' — Icel. *jerfur*, obs. *jarfi* m. 'id.', Nw. *jerv*, dial. *jarv, erv* m. 'id.' (GM).

A Nordic word, probably continuing a proto-form **erba(n)-* that developed into ON *jarfr*, Icel. *jarfi*, Nw. dial. *jarv* by *a*-breaking. The form *jerfr* is irregular, but may be a contamination of *jarfr* with an unbroken form **erfr*, cf. Nw. dial. *erv*. Etymologically, the word has been compared to ON *jarpr* 'brown' < **erpa-* and to Gr. ἔριφος 'goat', but it is perhaps better to assume a link with Nw. dial. *jarva* w.v. 'to gnaw, chew'.

erpa- adj. 'light brown' — ON *jarpr* adj. 'chestnut, reddish-brown', Far. *jarpur* adj. 'light or yellowish-brown', OE *eorp, earp* adj. 'dark, dusky, brown, swarthy', OHG *erpf* adj. 'brown, dark-brown, dark' ⇒ **h₁erbʰ-nó-* (IE) — Gr. ὀρφνός adj. 'dark brown' < **h₁orbʰ-no-*; Ru. dial. *rjabój* [adj.] 'speckled' < **h₁re-m-bʰo-*.

Related to the ablauting Gr. ὀρφνός through Kluge's law (Pre-Gm. **erppa-*). There is no direct etymological connection with **reupōn-* 'grouse': Slav. **rębъ* served as the basis for the semantically parallel derivation of RuCS *rĕbь* 'partridge', cf. the late derivatives ON *jarpi* m. 'hazel grouse' and Icel. *irpa* f. 'brown mare' < **erpjōn-*.

erþō- f. 'earth, soil, land' — Go. *airþa* f. 'id.', ON *jǫrð* f. 'id.', Far. *jørð* f. 'id.', Elfd. *juord* f. 'id.', OE *eorþ* f. 'id.', E *earth*, OFri. *erthe* f. 'id.', OS *ertha* f. 'id.', Du. *aarde* c. 'id.', OHG *erda* f. 'id.', G *Erde* f. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁ér-t-eh₂-*(?) (IE?) — Gr. ἔρα f. 'earth' < **h₁er-eh₂-*(?).

Possibly related to Gr. ἔρα. Within Germanic, the word is probably cognate with **erwan-* (q.v.).

erwan- m. 'sand, soil' — ON *jǫrfi* m. 'sand (bank)', OHG *ero* 'earth' ⇒ *$h_1$er-uon-(?) (IE?) — ToB *yare* 'gravel, dirt' (if *yāre* is a misspelling?).

A word possibly containing the same root as **erþō-* 'earth'. ODu. **erende* for *ereude 'fines terrae'* has been analyzed by Van Helten 1902: 261 as a compound of the same word (ODu. **ero*) with **andja-* 'end' (q.v.), but it may alternatively continue **uz-andja-* 'far end'.

erzja- adj. 'stray' — Go. *airzeis* adj. 'deluded, misled, in error', OS *irri* adj. 'furious', OHG *irri* adj. 'erring, ignorant', MHG *irre* adj. 'astray' ⇒ *$h_1$ers-io- (IE) — Semantically close to Lat. *errāre* 'to roam, waver' < *$h_1$ers-eh$_2$-ie-.

A *ja*-stem derived from a PIE verbal root *$h_1$ers-*, which originally may have been identical to *$h_1$ers-* 'to flow', cf. Hitt. *ārszi ~ aršanzi* 'id.' < *$h_1$érs-ti, *$h_1$rs-énti*, Skt. *árṣati* 'id.', assuming that the meaning 'to roam, err' developed from 'to be on the run'. It is furthermore possible to compare PIE *$h_1$ers-* 'to boil, to rage', cf. Hitt. *aršanēzi** 'to be envious' < *$h_1$rs-néh_1-*, Arm. *eṙam* 'to boil, be restless' < *$h_1$ers-* and Lith. *aršùs* adj. 'vehement' < *$h_1$ors-u-*. The adjective served as the basis for OE *irsian* w.v. 'to deceive' < **erzisōn-* (for the suffixation, cf. the derivation of *firsian* 'to remove' from *feor* 'far' and *hlǣnsian* 'to make lean' from *hlǣne* 'lean').

ēsa- n. 'dead meat; bait' — OE *æs* n. 'id.', Du. *aas* n. 'id.', OHG *ās* n. 'id.', G *Aas* n. 'id.' ⇒ *h_1ēd-so- (IE) — ToB *yetse* m. '(outer) skin' < *h_1ēd-so-.

A thematicized *s*-stem derived from **etan-*. The Germanic word can be reconstructed as both *h_1ēd-to- and *h_1ēd-so-*, but the latter option is corroborated by ToB *yetse*.

etan- s.v. 'to eat' — Go. *itan* s.v. 'id.', ON *eta* s.v. 'id.', Far. *eta* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *jätå* s.v. 'id.', OE *etan* s.v. 'id.', E *to eat*, OS *etan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *eten* s.v. 'id.', OHG *ezzan* s.v. 'id.', G *essen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_1$éd- (IE) — Hitt. *ez(za)zi ~ adanzi*, Skt. *átti*, 3pl. *adánti*, Gr. ἔδω, Lat. *edō*, *ēsse*, OIr. *ithid*, Lith. *ė́sti*, Latv. *êst*, OPru. *īstwei*, OCS *jasti* (*jamь*), Ru. *ést'* (*em*), SCr. *jȅsti* 'to eat' < *$h_1$éd-ti*, 3pl. *h_1d-énti*.

Also cf. Go. *fra-itan*, OE *fretan*, E *to fret*, (M)Du. *vreten*, OHG *frezzan*, G *fressen* s.v. 'to eat (up), gourmandize' < **fra-etan-*. See further **atjan-* and **ēsa-*.

ēþman-* ~ *ēdman- m. 'breath' — OE *æþm* m. 'breathing, breath', OFri. *ēthma* m. 'breath', OS *āthum* m. 'breath, spirit', Du. *adem*, coll. *asem* c. 'breath', OHG *ātum* m. 'breath, breeze, spirit', MHG *ātem*, G *Atem* m. 'breath' ⇒ *$h_1$eh$_1$t-mon- (IE) — Skt. *ātmán-* m. 'soul, self, breath'.

The Sanskrit paradigm nom. *ātmā́*, loc. *ātmáni ~ tmán(i)* points to an ablauting paradigm *$h_1$éh$_1$t-mōn*, loc. *h_1h$_1$t-mén-(i)*. Apparently, the accen-

tual mobility was preserved in Germanic, cf. OE *æþm* < **ēþma-* vs. OHG *ātum* < **ēdma-*. With the same root, cf. **ēþrō- ~ *ēdrō-* 'vein, etc.'.

ēþrō- ~ *ēdrō- f. 'vein, rivulet' — ON *æðr*, gen. *æðar* f. 'vein' (< **ēdīz, -jōz*), Nw. *år(e)* f. 'rivulet; vein', OE *ǣdre* f. 'river; vein, artery; nerve, sinew; kidney', OFri. *eddere, ēdere* f. 'vein', MDu. *adere* f. 'vein, artery; sinew, fiber', Du. *ader* c. 'vein', OHG *ād(a)ra* f. 'vein, sinew, muscle', G *Ader* f. 'sinew', pl. 'bowels' ⇒ **h₁eh₁t-r-* (IE) — Gr. ἦτορ n. 'heart' < **h₁eh₁t-r-*; unrelated is OIr. *inathar* m. 'entrails, bowels', MCorn. *inederen 'extum'* < **h₁en-utro-* (Anders Jørgensen, p.c.).

The word, which may contain the same root as **ēþman- ~ *ēdman-* (q.v.), alternates between **ēþrō-* and **ēdrō-* in Germanic, and this may point to an originally mobile paradigm, e.g. sg. **h₁éh₁t-r*, pl. **h₁h₁t-ór*. Also cf. the collective OHG *inn-ād(i)ri*, MHG *in-æder(e)* n. 'entrails, veins', OLFra. *inn-ēthron* dat.pl. *'visceribus'* < **ēþrja-*.

eudra- ~ *ūdra- n. 'udder' — ON *júgr* n. 'id.', Far. *júgur* n. 'id.', Elfd. *juor* n. 'id.', OE *ūder* n. 'id.', E *udder*, OFri. *ūder* n. 'id.', WFri. *jaer* n. 'id.', NFri. Hall. *jaodər* n. 'id.', MLG *jeder, jüdder* n. 'id.', Du. *uier* c. 'id.' (dial. *jadder* 'teat' << OFri. **jadder*), OHG *ūtar(o)* m. 'id.', G *Euter* n. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁(e)uHdʰ-r/n-* (IE) — Skt. *ū́dhar ~ ū́dhan-* n. 'udder'< **h₁uHdʰ-r/n-*; Gr. οὖθαρ, -ατος n. 'id.' < **h₁ouHdʰ-r/nt-*; Lat. *ūber* n. 'breast; udder' < **h₁e/ouHdʰ-r-*.

While the PGm. form **ūdra-* is backed up by Skt. *ū́dhar*, the *e*-grade **eudra-* (or perhaps rather **eudur* in view of the dissimilation of **-ð-* to **-g-* in ON *júgr*, cf. *fjǫgur* '4' < **feǫðuru* < **fedur-ō*) < **h₁euHdʰ-r-* is uniquely Germanic. Together with Gr. οὖθαρ < **h₁ouHdʰ-r-*, the material provides evidence for a static paradigm **h₁óuHdʰ-r*, gen. **h₁éuHdʰ-n-s*, but the origin of the zero-grade root **h₁uHdʰ-* remains uncertain. The ultimate derivation of the word is not entirely clear, but it is possible that it was created to a root **h₁euHdʰ-* as evinced by Ru. dial. *údit'* 'to ripen (of grain); to swell up with liquid' < **h₁ouHdʰ-eie-* (Vine/Yokoyama 2010). This may be a *dʰh₁*-extension to a more primary base **h₁eu(H)-* possibly preserved in Hitt. *u̯u̯a-* 'nurse(?)' (Melchert 1986: 111, 114). The heteroclitic *r/n*-suffix was strongly associated with body parts in Indo-European.

eup ~ *upp adv. 'up, upwards' — Go. *iup* adv. 'id', ON *upp*, Far. *upp*, Elfd. *upp* adv. 'id.', OE *up* adv. 'id.', E *up*, OFri. *up, op* adv. 'id.', OS *up* adv. 'id.', Du. *op* adv., prep. 'up; on', OHG *ūf*, G *auf* adv., prep. 'id.' ⇒ **(h₁e)up-n-* (DRV?).

An ablauting directional adverb, related to **uba* 'under; above' (q.v.), with a geminate that was shortened in the full-grade form (cf. Lühr 2000: 190). The geminate arose regularly in the locatival form **uppai* < **up-noi*, whose suffix can be compared to the one of e.g. OCS *vъně* 'outside' < **ud-noi* (cf. **ūt*). It is difficult to determine whether **eup* and **upp* had a suffix **-e* or **-a*

corresponding to the vowels of e.g. Lat. *pōne* 'from behind' < **pos(t)-ne* or OCS *vъnъ* 'out' < **ud-nom.* This is possible, but it cannot be excluded that both **eup* and **upp* were simply back-formed to the locative **uppai* by the removal of the ending (Kroonen 2010c: 374). Note that the long vowel of OHG *ūf*, G *auf* is due to monosyllabic lengthening (cf. Lühr l.c.).

ewwadjōn- f. 'tit' — ON *igða* f. 'small bird', Far. poet. *ígða* f. 'tit(?)', Nw. *igde* f. 'id.' (NIE).

An exclusively Nordic word derived from a more primitive masculine form Nw. *egde* < **ewwadan-*. Somehow connected to Imandra Saa. *avigžinê* 'tit(?)' as cited by Qvigstad 1902: 270? Either way, the word could be a loanword from an extinct Pre-Nordic language, for which cf. **awadī-* 'eiderduck'.

F

fader- m. 'father' — Go. *fadar* m. 'id.', ON *faðir* m. 'id.', Far. *faðir* m. 'id.', Elfd. *faðer* m. 'id.', OE *fæder* m. 'id.', E *father*, OFri. *feder* m. 'id.', OS *fadar* m. 'id.', Du. *vader* c. 'id.', OHG *fatar* m. 'id.', G *Vater* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ph₂-tér-* (IE) — ToA *pācar*, ToB *pācer*, Skt. *pitár-*, OAv. *ptā*, acc. *patarām*, YAv. *pita*, acc. *pitarəm*, OP *pitā*, NP *pidar*, Oss. *fyd* / *fidæ*, Gr. πατήρ, gen. πατρός, Lat. *pater*, *-tris*, OIr. *athir*, *athair* m. 'father'.

The Indo-European word for 'father', a hysterokinetic *ter*-stem, nom. **ph₂-tḗr*, gen. **ph₂-tr-ós*, acc. **ph₂-tér-m*. See also **fadurwjan-*.

fadi- m. 'lord' — Go. *bruþ-faþs* m. 'bridegroom', *hunda-faþs*, *þusundi-faþs* m. 'leader of hundred/thousand' ⇒ **pot-í-* (IE) — ToA *pats* 'husband', Skt. *páti-*, Av. *paiti-* m. 'lord, ruler, husband', Gr. πόσις m. 'husband', Lith. *pàts* m. 'id.' < **pot-i-*; Lat. *potis* adj. 'capable, powerful' < **pot-i-*.

An old Indo-European word often used as a second member of compounds, e.g. Skt. *viś-páti-* 'lord of the house', Lith. *vieš-pats* 'lord', Lat. *hos-pes* 'guest, host', Ru. *gos-pód'* 'Lord, god'. Also cf. Hitt. *-pat* adv. 'the same, also, even', Av. *xᵛaē-paiti-* 'himself', Lith. *pàts* 'self', adv. *pàt* 'even'. An unattested PGm. form **swabadi-* (< **suo-potí-*) has been reconstructed on the basis of PSlav. **svo-bodъ* 'free' (Vaillant 1958: §277), but this word is actually derived from an adjective **suobʰo-*, cf. Latv. *at-svabinât* 'to set free' < **suobʰ-neh₂-*, with the Slavic suffix **-od-*.

fadōjan- w.v. 'to feed' — OHG *fatōn* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **ph₂t-eh₂-ie-* (EUR).

Related to **fōdjan-* (q.v.). Also cf. OHG *fatunga* f. 'feeding, fattening' and MLG *vedeme, veme*, G *Fehme* f. 'mast/feeding on acorns' < **fadmjō-*.

****fadurwjan-*** m. 'paternal uncle, father's brother' — OE *fædera* m. 'id.', OFri. *federia, fedria, feria, fadria* m. 'id.', MDu. *vedder* m. 'father's brother; uncle; brother's son', OHG *fatureo, fetiro* m. 'father's brother', MHG *vetere, veter* m. 'father's brother, brother's son, male cousin', G *Vetter* m. 'male cousin' ⇒ **ph₂-tr-u-ion-* (IE) — Skt. *pítr̥vya-*, YAv. *tūiriia-* m. 'father's brother' < **ph₂tr-u-io-*; Lat. *patruus* m. 'id.' < **ph₂tr-uo-*; Gr. πάτρως m. 'male relative, father's brother' < **ph₂tr-ōu-*.

A PIE derivation from **fader-* (q.v.). The Germanic word is identical to the Indo-Iranian formation, but Greek appears to attest to an amphikinetic *u*-stem **ph₂-tr-ōu*, gen. **ph₂-tr-u-os*. For the suffix **-wjan-*, cf. **suhturwjan-*.

****fagjan-*** w.v. 'to please' — Go. *fulla-fahjan* w.v. 'to satisfy' ⇒ **pok-éie-* (IE).

The causative to **fehan-*. The same form of the root is found in Go. *faheþs* f. 'joy, gladness', which was derived from an unattested Go. stative **fahan* continuing **fagēn-*. Note that the effects of Verner's law were undone in Gothic.

****fagra-*** adj. 'fit (good, beautiful)' — Go. *fagrs* adj. 'fit, good', ON *fagr* adj. 'beautiful, handsome', Far. *fagur* adj. 'id.', OE *fæger* adj. 'id.', E *fair*, OS *fagar* adj. 'id.', OHG *fagar* adj. 'id.', MHG *vager* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **ph₂ḱ-ró-* (IE) — Lat. *pāx* f. 'peace' (< "settlement") < **peh₂ḱ-* and *pactus* 'agreed' < **ph₂ḱ-to-*.

An adjective created to the root of **fōgjan-* 'to fit together' (q.v.). The comparison with **fehan-* 'to rejoice' is probably erroneous, as *ro*-adjectives usually take the zero-grade of the root. Also cf. the factitive Go. *ga-fahrjan* w.v. 'to prepare' < **fagrjan-*.

****fahiz-*** n. 'sheep' — ON *fær* n. 'id.', OSw. *fār* n. 'id.', Sw. *får* n. 'id.' ⇒ **póḱ-es-* (IE) — Lat. *pecus, -oris* n. 'sheep; cattle'.

An old *s*-stem **fahaz*, gen. **fahizaz*. The Nordic forms can be unified into a proto-form **fahaz-*, assuming that ON *fær* was affected by ʀ-mutation. Related to the root of **fahsa-* and **fahti-* (q.v.).

****fahsa-*** n. 'hair of the head' — ON *fax* n. 'mane', OE *feax* n. 'hair of the head', OFri. *fax* n. 'id.', OS *fahs* n. 'id.', OHG *fahs* n. 'id.', MHG *vahs* m./n. 'id.' ⇒ **poḱ-so-* (IE) — Gr. πέκος n. 'fleece' < **peḱ-es-*; Gr. πόκος m. 'wool, fleece' < **poḱ-o-*; Arm. *asr* 'sheepwool, fleece' < **poḱ-u-*.

A thematicized *s*-stem closely related to **fahiz-* and **fahti-* (q.v.). See also **fehu-*.

fahti- m. 'fleece' — OSw. *fæt* m. 'id.', OE *feht* 'vellus', OFri. *fecht* m. 'wool, fleece', MDu. *vacht* m./f. 'fleece', Du. *vacht* c. 'fleece, fur' ⇒ **poḱ-ti-* (IE) — Gr. πέκω 'to comb (oneself), to card, to shear', Lith. *pèšti* (*pešù*) 'to pluck' < **péḱ-e-*.

A *ti*-stem to an unattested *o*-grade present **fahan-* < **póḱ-e-*. Related to the PIE verb **péḱ-e-* 'to pull out hair' as preserved by Lithuanian. See also **fehu-*.

faigi- adj. 'bound to die' — ON *feigr* adj. 'id.', OE *fǣge* adj. 'id.', E *fey*, OFri. *fach*, *fai* adj. 'id.', OS *fēg*, *fēgi* adj. 'id.', Du. *veeg* adj. 'id.', OHG *feigi* adj. 'id.', G *feige* adj. 'coward', Swi. *feig* adj. 'slow, lazy' (IE).

The form and meaning of the word point to a gerundive "who is to die". Within Germanic, the adjective can be linked to **faiha- 1* 'hostile' (Heidermanns 1993: 184-85), but it is also possible to derive it directly from the PIE root **peiḱ-* 'to carve, paint', for which see **faiha- 2*. The original meaning must then have been 'marked for death'.

faiha- 1 adj. 'hostile' — OE *fāh*, *fāg* adj. 'hostile, criminal', E *foe*, OFri. *fāch* adj. 'guilty, outlawed', MDu. *vee*, *ge-vee* adj. 'hostile', OHG *gi-fēh* adj. 'id.', MHG *ge-vēch* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **póiᵘ̯(ḱ)o-* (IE) — Skt. *piśuna-* adj. 'evil, treacherous' < **piḱ-*; OIr. *oech* m. 'enemy' < **poiᵘ̯(ḱ)-o-*; Lith. *peĩkti* (*peikiù*) 'to blame' < **peik-ie-* (also cf. Lith. *pìktas* adj. 'angry' < **pik-to-*).

An adjective derived from a root **peiḱ-* or **peik-*. Also cf. Go. *ga-faihon* w.v. 'to defraud' and OS *ā-fēhian*, OHG *fēhen* 'to treat in a hostile way', whence OE *fǣhð*, OFri. *faithe*, *feithe*, (M)Du. *vete*, OHG *fēhida*, G *Fehde* f. 'feud' < **faihiþō-*. See also **faigi-*.

faiha- 2 adj. OE *fāh* adj. 'colored', ME *fou* adj. 'particolored, variegated, spotted, streaked', OS *fēh* adj. 'colorful', OHG *fēh* adj. 'id.', MHG *vēch* adj. 'variegated' ⇒ **póiḱo-* (IE) — ToAB *pik-* 'to write', Skt. *piṃśáti* 'to carve, cut, adorn', YAv. *fra-pixšta-* ptc. 'adorned' < **pi-n-ḱ-*; Lat. *pingere* 'to paint' < **piḱ-ne-*; Gr. ποικίλος adj. 'varicolored' < **poiḱ-ilo-*; Lith. *piẽšti* 'to paint, write', OPru. *peisāi* 'they write' < **peiḱ-*; OCS *pьsati* (*pišǫ*) 'to write' < **p(e)iḱ-ie-*; OCS *pьstrъ* adj. 'varicolored' < **piḱ-ro-*.

An adjective to the root **peiḱ-* 'to paint'. Also cf. the factitive OHG *fēhen*, MHG *vēhen* w.v. 'to colorize, stain' < **faihjan-* and ON *fá* w.v. 'to draw, paint' < **faihōjan-*.

faima(n)- m. 'foam' — Nw. *feim(e)* m./n. 'thin layer of dew, dust, floating fat', MHG *veim* m. 'foam, dross' (IE) — Skt. *phéna-* m. 'foam' < **speh₃i-no-*; Lat. *spūma* f. '(sea) foam' < **speh₃i-m-eh₂-*; OCS *pěna*, Ru. *péna*, SCr. *pjȅna* f. 'foam' < **peh₃i-no-*; OPru. *spoayno* 'foam' < **peh₃i-neh₂-*; Lith. *spáinė* f. 'foam

streaks' < **speh₃i-n-ieh₂-*; Mlr. *úan*, MW *ewyn* m. 'froth' < **peh₃iu-ino-* (with dissimilation of the first *i*).

The different stems **(s)peh₃i-m-* and **(s)peh₃i-n-* can be reconciled into a single *mn*-stem paradigm nom. **(s)péh₃i-m(ō)n*, gen. **(s)ph₃i-mn-ós* (Matasović 2004: 126). The *no*-stem arose by dissimilation of the *m* in the genitival cluster **-mn-* against the preceding labial element (cf. **budman-* ~ **buttaz* 'bottom' and **hrīman-* ~ **hrīpan-* 'hoarfrost'). De Vaan 2008: 583 points to the problem that no actual *mn*-stem is attested, but Nw. *feime* m./f. < **peh₃i-mon-* can be adduced as such. Also note Nw. *fīm* 'layer of dust or dew' < **fīma-*, which may continue the original zero-grade **ph₃i-mon-* (with laryngeal metathesis).

faita- adj. 'fat' — ON *feitr* adj. 'id.', Far. *feitur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *fiet* adj. 'id.', MLG *vēt* adj. 'id.', MHG *veiz* adj. 'id.', G Cimb. *voaz* adj. 'id.' (IE?).

An adjective probably related to **faj(j)a-* (q.v.) < **poih₃-o-*. The Germanic root-final *t* has no extra-Germanic parallel (Heidermanns 1993: 187), but can tentatively be identified as the zero grade of the root **deh₃-* 'to give', thus starting from a meaning 'to fatten up' (< "to give to eat"). PGm. **faita-* gave rise to a factitive **faitjan-* (ON *feita*, OHG *feizzen* 'to make fat'), whose ptc. **faitida-* was again lexicalized, cf. OE *fǣtt*, E *fat*, (M)Du. *vet*, OHG *feizzit*, G *feist* adj. 'fat'. See also **fitnan-*.

faj(j)a- adj. 'fat(?)' — Du. dial. *vei* adj. 'fat, lush, fertile' ⇒ **poih₂-o-* (IE) — Skt. *páyate* 'to swell' < **péiH-e-*; Av. *pōiϑβa-* 'fat' < **peiH-tuo-*.

An adjective derived from the PIE root **peiH-* (cf. LIV² s.v. **peiH-*). Probably related to **faita-* 'fat' (q.v.).

faka- n. 'enclosure, section' — OE *fæc* n. 'space, interval, distance, portion of time', OFri. *fek* n. 'part of the house, niche', MDu. *vac* n. 'compartment, section', Du. *vak* n. 'space; profession', OHG *fah* n. 'wall, compartment', G *Fach* n. 'compartment, panel; discipline' ⇒ **ph₂ǵ-o-* (IE) — Skt. *pā́jas-* n. 'side, surface(?)' < **peh₂ǵ-os-*; Gr. πήγνυμι 'to attach, join' < **peh₂ǵ-neu-*; Lat. *pangō* 'to insert firmly, fix' < **ph₂ǵ-néh₂-* (with *n*-infixation through Thurneysen's law); Lat. *pāgus* m. 'district' < **peh₂ǵ-o-*.

Also cf. MLG *vake*, MDu. *vake*, *vaec*, Du. *vaak* adv. 'often'.

fakk/gōn- w.v. 'to become sleepy' — E *to fag* w.v. 'to tire, weary', obs. 'to hang loose, flap', Scot. *to faik* w.v. 'to fail from weariness; to cease moving' (IE).

A West Germanic iterative: the consonant variation of E *to fag* < **faggōn-* and Scot. *to faik* < **fakōn-* is suggestive of a paradigm 3sg. **fakkōþi*, 3pl. **fagunanþi* < **poᵏʷ-néh₂-*. In view of E *fag* 'fag-end, hanging end of a piece of cloth, untwisted end of a rope', it seems likely that the meaning 'to become

tired' developed from older 'to fray, ravel out', cf. Brit. E *frayed* 'ragged, worn out'. This semantic field is compatible with Lith. *pèšti* (*pešù*) 'to tousle, ruffle, tear off hair' < PIE **peḱ-e-*, which is related to e.g. **fehu-* 'cattle' and **fahti-* 'fleece'. Further note the oblique subject verbs OLFra. *facon* and MDu. *vaken* 'to sleep', which appear to be denominal formations to MLG *vāk*, MDu. *vake*, *vaec* m. 'sleepiness' (cf. Du. *Klaas Vaak* 'the Sandman') < **fakan-* or to an adj. **fak(k)a-* as perhaps implied by LG *fakk* 'tired, weak'.

****falan-*** m. 'board' — OE *fala* m. 'id.' (NEUR) — ORu. *polъ* m. 'foundation', Ru. *pol* m. 'floor'; Ukr. *pol* m. 'sleeping bench' < **pol-o-* (also cf. Ru. *políca*, SCr. *pòlica* f. 'shelf' and with an ablauting root OCS *palica* f. 'staff', Ru. *pálica* f. 'club, cudgel', SCr. *pȁlica* f. 'stick, staff'; Ru. *pálka* f. 'stick, staff' < **pōl-*).

The connection with the Slavic forms is beyond doubt, but the relation between the roots **pol-* and **pōl-*(?) is unclear (Derksen 2008: 390, 410). See also **faluda-* and **felō-*.

****falgō-*** f. 'fallow land' — ME *falge*, *falwe* 'arable land lying idle; plowing as part of the fallowing process', E *fallow*, OFri. *fallach* 'arable land', MDu. *valge* f. 'id.' ⇒ **pol(h₁)ǵʰ-éh₂-* (EUR) — Gaul. *olca* 'arable land' (= Fr. *ouche* 'id.'); perhaps also Lith. *plėšti* (*-šiu*, *-šiau*), Latv. *plêst* 'to tear, pluck; to plow land for the first time' < **pleh₁ḱ-ie-*.

Also cf. MHG *valgen*, Du. dial. *valgen*, WFri. *felgje* 'to plow' < **falgōjan-* and OE *fealh* f. 'harrow' < **falgō-*.

****falkan-*** m. 'falcon' — ON *falki* m. 'id.', Far. *fálkur* m. 'id.', OSw. *falke*, *falker* m. 'id.', MDu. *valce* m. 'id.', Du. *valk* c. 'id.', OHG *falco* m. 'id.', G *Falke* m. 'id.' (GM?).

A West Germanic word: the Nordic forms are irregular, and thus point to borrowing from West Germanic. No certain etymology. The derivation from **falwa-* 'pale, fallow' is possible, but uncertain in spite of the potential parallel G dial. *Falke* m. 'fallow horse'. The latter word has *-lk-* from *-lch-*, and belongs to G Pal. *falch* adj. 'pale' < **falha-* < **pólḱ-o-*, cf. Lith. *palšas* adj. 'pale (of cows)'. Slightly more attractive is the link with OPru. *pele* 'harrier'. The Germanic word must then have a *k*-suffix like e.g. **alkōn-*, **balika/ōn-* and **habuka-*. Lat. *falco* was adopted from Germanic.

****fallan-*** s.v. 'to fall' — ON *falla* s.v. 'id.', Far. *falla* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *folla* s.v. 'id.', OE *fallan* s.v. 'id.', E *to fall*, OFri. *falla* s.v. 'id.', OS *fallan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *vallen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *fallan* s.v. 'id.', G *fallen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂pó-h₃lh₁-* (IE) — Identical to Gr. ἀπόλλυμι, -μαι 'to wreck, destroy, lose', mid. 'to go to waste, be ruined, be lost', Lat. *aboleō*, *-ēre* 'to destroy; banish; abolish', Arm. *p'lanim* 'to fall', Lith. *pùlti* (*púolu*), Latv. *pult* 'to fall', OPru. *aū-pallai* 'finds'.

The strong verb synchronically functions as an *o*-grade intensive verb, but arose as a univerbation of the adverb *$h_2pó$ 'off' (for which see **fanē*) and the PIE root *h_3elh_1- 'to fall' (Praust 2005; Neri 2007), cf. Hitt. *ḫallannai* ~ *ḫallanniianzi* 'to trample down, flatten' and Gr. ὄλλυμι. The Germanic form requires the reconstruction of a nasal suffix in view of the root-final double *l*. In order to arrive at PGm. **fallan-* from Pre-Gm. **peh$_3$l-n-é-*, we must therefore assume that a form **peh$_3$l-né-* gave **palné-* under Osthoff's law and subsequently **falle-* under Kluge's law. See also **falljan-*.

falljan- w.v. 'to fell' — ON *fella* w.v. 'id.', Far. *fella* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *fella* s.v. 'id.', OE *fiellan* w.v. 'id.', E *to fell*, OFri. *fella* w.v. 'id.', OS *fellian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *vellen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *fellan* w.v. 'id.', G *fällen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

The causative to **fallan-* (q.v.).

falōn- f. 'plain' — OSw. *fala* f. 'id.', Sw. *fala* 'id.' ⇒ **polh$_2$-eh$_2$-* (IE) — OCS *polje*, Ru. *póle*, SCr. *pȍlje* n. 'field' < **polh$_2$-io-*.

Derived from the PIE root **pelh$_2$-* 'flat', for which see **fulmō-*.

falþan- s.v. 'to fold, ply' — Go. *falþan* s.v. 'id.', ON *falda* s.v. 'to hood oneself', Far. *falda* w.v. 'to put on clothes', Elfd. *folda* w.v. 'to hem, seam', OE *fealdan* s.v. 'to fold', E *to fold*, WFri. *fâldzje* w.v. 'id.', MDu. *volden* w.v. 'id.', Du. *vouwen* s./w.v. 'id.', OHG *faldan, faltan* s.v. 'id.', G *falten* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **pól-t-e-* (IE) — Cf. Gr. διπλόος, διπλοῦς adj. 'twofold', Lat. *duplus* adj. 'double, twofold' < **dui-plo-*; Arm. *hał* 'time' < **pol-o-*(?).

An *o*-grade intensive verb. The Pre-Gm. root-final **t* appears to be suffixal. Also cf. MDu. *volde*, Du. *vouw*, MHG *valte*, G *Falte* f. 'fold' < **faldō-* and Go. *ain-falþs*, ON *ein-faldr*, OE *ān-feald*, OFri., OS *ēn-fald*, OHG *ein-fald* adj. 'simple' < **-falda-*.

faluda- m. 'pen(?)' — Da. *fold* m. 'enclosure, pasture', OE *fald, falod, falud* m. 'fold, stable', E *fold*, OS *faled* m. 'id.', MDu. *vaelde, vaelt* m. 'enclosure, yard; dunghill', Du. *mest-vaalt* c. 'dunghill' (GM).

A word with an original meaning 'enclosure', possibly related to 'board' and esp. OE *fala* '*tabula*' < **falan-* (q.v.). The word contains the **-uda-* suffix that also occurs in e.g. OS *rakud* m. 'house', OE *ræced* n. 'house, hall' < **rakuda-*. Theoretically, it could be the zero grade of the PIE root **ued^h-* 'to bind, tie' (for which see **wedan-*), but this is uncertain.

falwa- adj. 'pale' — ON *fǫlr* adj. 'id.', OE *fealo* adj. 'id.', E *fallow*, OS *falu* adj. 'fallow, yellow', Du. *vaal* adj. 'faded, drab', OHG *falo* adj. 'fallow, yellow', G *falb* adj. 'fallow, dun' ⇒ **pol-uo-* (IE) — Lat. *pullus* adj. 'drab-colored, sombre', Lith. *pal̃vas* adj. 'light yellow, straw-colored', OCS *plavъ* adj. 'white', Ru. *polóvyj, polovój* adj. 'pale yellow, sandy', SCr. *plâv* adj. 'blond, blue' <

*pol-uo-; Skt. *paruṣá-* adj. 'grey, grey-brown, dirty', YAv. *pouruša-* adj. 'grey (of hair)' < **pelu-so-*.

A European adjective with the *uo*-suffix for color names.

fanan- m. 'cloth' — Go. *fana* m. 'id.', OE *fana* m. 'flag, banner', E *vane*, OFri. *fona* m. 'id.', OS *fano* m. 'id.', Du. *vaan* c. 'id.', OHG *fano* m. 'id.', G *Fahne* m. 'id.' ⇒ **peh₂-on-* (EUR) — Gr. πήνη f. 'the thread of the woof; woof', Lat. *pannus* m. 'piece of cloth, rag' < **peh₂-no/eh₂-*.

A European word. If **fanan-* is related to Gr. πήνη and Lat. *pannus* (< **pānus* by the *littera*-rule), as is assumed by Pokorny IEW: 788, it seems logical to derive the Germanic form from **ph₂-no-* or **peh₂-nó-* (with Dybo's law). From this perspective, it is tempting to assume that the Gm. *n*-stem (like the Latin and Greek forms?) was remodeled from **p(é)h₂-ōn*, gen. **ph₂-n-ós*. Less likely is the connection with OCS *o-pona* f. 'curtain' < **ponh₁-eh₂-*, which was derived from the root **penh₁-* 'to spin'.

fandōn- w.v. 'to investigate' — OE *fandian* w.v. 'to test, investigate, visit', OFri. *fand(el)ia* w.v. 'to visit a sick person', WFri. (early) *fânle* w.v. 'to collect fish traps', *fandelje* w.v. 'to collect, fetch', MDu. *vanden* w.v. 'to test, investigate, visit', OHG *fandōn* w.v. 'to investigate', MHG *vanden* w.v. 'to visit', G *fahnden* w.v. 'to search, hunt for' ⇒ **pont-néh₂-* (DRV?).

An *o*-grade iterative to **finþan-*. See also **fundōn-*.

fanē prep. 'from' — OFri. *fan* prep. 'id.', OS *fan*, *fana* prep. 'id.', Du. *van* prep. 'id.', OHG *fana*, *fona* prep. 'id.', G *von* prep. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂po-neh₁* (DRV) — Lith. *pa-* pref., OCS *po*, Ru. *po*, SCr. *po* prep. 'after, on, by, at', Alb. *pa* prep. 'without'.

A directional derived from the element **fa*, continuing the original allative case **h₂p-ó* of a PIE root noun **h₂ep-*, with the ablative suffix **-nē* < **-neh₁*. See further under the closely related **aba*.

fangi- m. 'catch' — Go. *ga-fahs* m. 'id.', ON *fengr* m. 'id.', OE *feng* m. 'grasp, span, hug', OFri. *feng*, *fang*, *fong* m. 'catch, capture', OHG *fang* m. 'id.', G *Fang* m. 'id.' (DRV).

An *i*-stem derived from **fanhan-* (q.v.).

fangjan- ~ ***fankjan-*** w.v. 'to ignite' — MDu. *ont-fengen*, *-fenken* w.v. 'id.', MHG *vengen*, *enpfengen*, *venken* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **ponk-éie-* (GM).

A causative to the strong verb **finkan-*, which replaces expected **finhan-* < **pénk-e-*: the alternation of **fangjan-* MDu. *ont-fengen*, MHG *vengen*) and **fankjan-* (MDu. *ont-fenken*, MHG *venken*) indicates that both **finkan-* and **fankjan-* adopted their root-final consonant from the iterative **funkōn-* < **pnk-néh₂-* (q.v.).

fanhan- s.v. 'to catch' — Go. *fahan* s.v. 'id.', ON *fá* s.v. 'id.', Far. *fáa* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *fą* s.v. 'id.', OE *fōn* s.v. 'id.', OFri. *fā* s.v. 'id.', OS *fāhan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *vangen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *fāhan* s.v. 'id.', G *fangen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **pónḱ-e-* (NEUR).

A univerbation of the adverb **h₂po* and the root **h₁enḱ-* 'to obtain' (or to PIE **h₂enḱ-* 'to reach', Scheungraber 2012). A similar univerbation is **bringan-* 'to bring' (q.v.) < **pro-h₁enḱ-e-*. Also cf. **fangi-*.

fanja- n. 'fen, swamp' — Go. *fani* n. 'mud', ON *fen* n. 'fen, bog', OE *fen* m./n. 'marsh; mud', E *fen*, OFri. *fenne* m. 'pasture', OS *feni* n. 'fen', MDu. *veen*, *vene* n. 'bog', Du. *veen* n. 'id.', *ven* n. 'small lake', OHG *fenni* n. 'swamp', MHG *venne* n. 'id.', G *Fenn* n. 'id.' ⇒ **pon-io-* (EUR) — OPru. *pannean* acc. 'ditch' < **pan-io-*; Gaul. *anam* acc.f. '*paludem*' < **pen-eh₂-* (with Joseph's rule *-eRa-* > *-aRa-*?), MIr. *an*, *en* 'water' < **pen-* (cf. *enach* n. 'swamp' < **pen-akos-*?).

A collective noun potentially identical to OPru. *pannean*. The derivation of the Irish forms, esp. the variation of MIr. *en* and *an*, is problematic, but it is possible that radical *e* was mutated into *a* by Joseph's rule. Related to OE *fyne* 'mold'?

fanþjan- m. 'foot soldier(?)' — OE *fēða* m. 'foot soldier; troop', OHG *fendo* m. 'foot soldier, pedestrian', MHG *vende* m. 'pedestrian, boy' (DRV).

Derived from **finþan-* with the agentive *jan*-suffix.

faran- s.v. 'to go' — Go. *faran* s.v. 'id.', ON *fara* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *fårå* s.v. 'id.', OE *faran* s.v. 'id.', E *to fare*, OFri. *fara* s.v. 'id.', Du. *varen* w.v. 'to sail', OHG *faran* s.v. 'to go, travel, pass', G *fahren* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **pór-e-* (IE) — Skt. *pí-parti* 'to bring across' < **pi-por-*; OAv. *(fra-)frā* 1sg.subj.aor. 'to cross' < **pre-pr-e-*; Skt. *pāráyati* 'to make cross', YAv. *ni-pāraiieiṇti* 3pl.pres. 'to lead to', OCS *pariti* 'to fly' < **por-éie-*; Gr. πείρω 'to pierce, to penetrate' < **per-ie-*.

An *o*-grade "intensive-iterative" verb. The ablaut of the preterite, i.e. **fōr-*, arose secondarily on the basis of verbs with roots of the structure CHC. See also **fardi-*, **farjōn-*, **farma-*, **fōri-*, **fōrjan-* and **furdu-*.

fardi- f. 'journey' — ON *ferð* f. 'id.', Far. *ferð* f. 'id.', Elfd. *ferd* f. 'id.', OE *fierd* f. 'expedition', OFri. *ferd* f. 'journey, voyage', OS *fard* f. 'id.', Du. *vaart* f. 'canal', OHG *fart* f. 'trip, voyage', G *Fart* f. 'id.' ⇒ **por-tí-* (DRV).

A *ti*-stem to the strong verb **faran-* (q.v.).

fargjan- w.v. 'to push (down)' — Icel. *fergja* w.v. 'to press, put pressure on', Far. *fergja* w.v. 'to press, squeeze, push', Nw. *fergja* w.v. 'to press/weigh down' ⇒ **h₂po-h₂ork-éie-* (IE) — Close to Lat. *porcēre* 'to prevent' < **h₂po-h₂ork-eie-*; also cf. Hitt. *ḫarzi* ~ *ḫarkanzi* 'to hold, have' < **h₂érk-ti*, **h₂rk-énti*; Gr. ἀρκέω 'to avert, defend; to suffice', Lat. *arceō* 'to contain; to

keep out' < **h₂erk-eie-*; Arm. *argel* 'hindrance' (on the *l*-suffix, see Martirosyan 2009: 133).

The connection with Skt. *pr̥ṇákti ~ pr̥ñcáti* 'to fill, give abundantly' < 3sg. **pr-n-ék-ti*, 3pl. **pr-n-k-énti* and Skt. *pipárkti* 'id.' < **pi-pe/ork-* and MIr. *ercaid* 'to fill' < **perk-eh₂-ie-* is not impossible, as the original PIE meaning may have been 'to stuff', whence 1) 'to fill' and 2) 'to weigh down'. However, it seems preferable to assume a direct link with Lat. *porcēre* 'to prevent', which continues the root **h₂e/ork-* prefixed with the adverb **h₂p-ó*. The fact that this univerbation is found in both Latin and Germanic probably means that it continues an old PIE syntagm. Also cf. ON, Far., Nw. *farga* w.v. 'to press', which in combination with Nw. dial. *farka* w.v. 'to press someone into something' points to an iterative 3sg. **farkōþi*, 3pl. **fargunanþi* < Pre-Gm. **pork-néh₂-ti*, **pork-nh₂-énti*.

farha- m. 'farrow, pig' — OE *fearh* m. 'id.', E *farrow*, OHG *farah*, *farh* n. 'id.', MHG *varch* m. 'id.' ⇒ **porḱ-o-* (IE) — Identical to Khot. *pā'sa*, Kurd. *purs* 'pig', Lat. *porcus* m. 'id.', Olr. poet. *orc* m. 'id.', Lith. *paršas* m. 'castrated boar' < **porḱ-o-*.

One of the Indo-European words for 'pig(let)'. In view of the possible connection with Gr. πόρκος m. 'fishing-net' and Arm. *ors* 'hunt; catch; game' < **porḱ-o-*, the word may have originally referred to the wild boar rather than the domesticated animal. Also cf. the diminutives MDu. *verkijn*, *varkijn*, Du. *varken* n. 'pig' < **farha-kīna-* and OHG *farhilī(n)*, MHG *varchelīn*, G *Ferkel* n. 'id.' < **farha-līna-*.

farjōn- f. 'ferry' — ON *ferja* f. 'id.', MLG *vere* f./n. 'id.', MDu. *vere* f./n. 'id.', Du. *veer* n. 'id.', MHG *vere* f. 'id.', G *Fähre* f. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from Go. *farjan*, OS *ferian*, MHG *vern* 'to travel by boat', whence also OHG *ferjo*, MHG, MDu. *vere* m. 'ferryman'. The *jan*-verb is again based on ON *far* n. '(means of) passage, ship', OE *fær* n. 'journey; ship', OHG *var* n. 'place to cross a river' < **fara-* (cf. Gr. πόρος m. 'passage (over a body of water), ford', MP, NP *bār* 'shore, bank'). Also cf. ON *ferja* 'to ferry', OE *ferian* 'to convey' < **farjōjan-*.

farma- m. 'moving(?)' — ON *farmr* m. 'freight, cargo', Far. *farmur* m. 'id.', Nw. *farm* m. 'cargo; flock (of cattle)', OE *fearm* m. 'id.', OS *farm* m. 'onslaught', OHG *farm* m. 'fast ship', MHG *varm* m. 'id.' ⇒ **por-mo-* (DRV).

A *mo*-stem based on the strong verb **faran-* (q.v.).

farna- m. 'fern' — OE *fearn*, *fern* m. 'id.', E *fern*, OS *farn* m./n. 'id.', MDu. *varen* m. 'id.', Du. *varen* c. 'id.', OHG *farn*, *farm* m./n. 'id.', G *Farn* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ptorH-no-* (IE) — Skt. *parṇá-* n. 'feather, leaf', Av. *parəna-* n. 'feather, wing' <

*ptorH-no-; Gr. πτερίς 'fern' < *pterH-i-; Lith. *papártis* 'id.', Ru. *páporot'* 'id.' < *po-ptorH-ti-; Gaul. *ratis*, MIr. *raith* f., W *rhedyn* pl. 'id.' < *ptrH-ti-.

A *no*-stem derived from an IE element *pterH- that could be related to *feƀrō- 'feather' (q.v.). The initial cluster *pt- was simplified to *p- in all languages except Greek.

farwa- adj. 'colorful' — OHG *faro* adj. 'id.', MHG *vare* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *porḱ-uó- (IE) — Skt. *pṛ́śni-* adj. 'spotted, varicolor' < *prḱ-ni-; Gr. περκνός adj. 'dark-spotted' < *perḱ-no-; MIr. *erc* adj. 'spotted, red', MW *erch* adj. 'spotted' < *pérḱ-o-.

An adjective derived from the PIE root *perḱ- 'spotted' with the suffix *-uo-*, which is common in chromonyms. Also cf. OHG *farawa*, G *Farbe*, MLG *varwe*, *verwe* f. 'color', MDu. *varuwe*, *verwe* f. 'color, paint', Du. *verf* c. 'paint' < *farwō- and OFri. *fērwen* adj. 'colorful' < *farwīna-.

farza(n)- m. 'young bull' — ON *farri* m. 'bull', OE *fearr* m. 'bull, ox', MDu. *var(r)e* m. 'young bull', Du. *var* c. 'id.', OHG *farro* m. 'bull, ox', G *Farre* m. 'young bull' ⇒ *pors-ó(n)- (EUR).

An *n*-stem possibly created to the adj. E *farrow*, WFri. *fear*, Du. *vaar* adj. 'without calf' < *far(z)wa-. The underlying root *pors- can be an extension of *por- 'to be with young', cf. Lat. *pariō* 'to give birth to, bear' < *pr-ie-, Lith. *peréti* 'to brood, sit on eggs' < *per-eh₁- and - within Germanic - *fōra-* 'piglet'. Also cf. the feminine MHG *verse*, G *Färse*, MLG *verse*, MDu. *vaerse*, *ve(e)rse* f., Du. *vaars* c. 'heifer' < *farsjō- < *pórs-ieh₂-.

fasa/ōn- m./f. 'fringe; fiber' — OE *fæs* n. 'fringe' (< *fasa-), MDu. *vase* f. 'fiber; fringe', OHG *faso* m., *fasa* f. 'fiber, fringe, thread', MHG *vase* m./f. 'id.', G *Faser* m. 'fiber' (DRV?).

An etymologically difficult word. It has been compared to Ru. *pásmo* n. 'string' < *poHs-mo-(?), thus arriving at a Pre-Gm. formation *pḫs-on-, but within Germanic, *fasa/ōn- can hardly be separated from *fesōn- (< *fisōn-), which developed from the PIE root *tpis-, cf. Gr. πτίσσω 'to pound or grind corn in a mortar'. I therefore assume that *fasa/ōn- was created on the basis of an unattested *tudáti*-verb *fisan- < *tpis-e- that was transferred to the class 4/5 strong verbs after *a*-mutation had taken place. For a similar derivational history, cf. *hreƀan-, *stekan- and *sweƀan- which, too, seem to be originally zero-grade presents. In view of the secondary iteratives *hruttōn- (see *hrudjan-*) and *stuk(k)ōn- belonging to these verbs, it is furthermore likely that the postulated *fesan- gave rise to a formation *fus(s)ōn-, as implied by G *fus(s)en* 'to fray' (cf. G Rhnl. *fusel* 'fuzz, frills; drizzle'), E *to fuzz* 'to ravel out; to cover with particles; to blur', to which also MLG *vossen* 'with loose fur' is related. Also cf. ON *fǫsull* m. 'thread' < *fasula-.

fastu- adj. 'firm, solid' — ON *fastr* adj. 'id.', Far. *fastur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *fast* adj. 'id.', OE *fæst* adj. 'id.', E *fast*, OFri. *fest* adj. 'id.', OS *fast, festi* adj. 'id.', Du. *vast* adj. 'id.', OHG *festi* adj. 'id.', G *fest* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *ph_2sth_2-o-* (IE) — Arm. *hast* adj. 'firm, steady, standing still, tough' < *$pHst$-i-*.

A *u*-stem (remodeled into a *ja*-stem in WGm.) directly related to Arm. *hast*. The combination of these forms straightforwardly points to a PIE root *$p\underset{\circ}{H}st$-; the reconstruction **post-* is impossible, because this would have given Arm. ***host* (note that the connection with Skt. *pastyà-* 'homestead' < *h_2po-sth_2-io-*(?) therefore must be abandoned). I derive this root from *$ph_2ǵ$-sth_2-*, i.e. a compound of *$peh_2ǵ$-* 'to become firm' (cf. Gr. πήγνυμι 'to fasten, fix, make solid') and *$steh_2$-* 'to stand'. Apparently, the *ǵ* was lost in the heavy cluster *$ph_2ǵsth_2$-*. Within Germanic, also cf. Go. *fastan*, ON *fasta*, OE *fastian*, OFri. *festia*, OHG *fastēn* w.v. 'to fast' < **fastēn-* and the derived Go. *fastubni*, OS *fastunnia* f. 'fasting' < **fast-umnjō-*.

fata- n. 'vat, vessel' — ON *fat* n. 'id.', OE *fæt* n. 'id.', E *vat*, OS *fat* n. 'id.', Du. *vat* n. 'id.', OHG *faz* n. 'id.', MHG *vaz* n. 'id.', G *Faß* n. 'id.' ⇒ **podo-* (NIE) — Lith. *púodas* 'pot'.

The Lithuanian word is identical to PGm. **fata-*. These forms are reminiscent of ON *pottr*, OE, OFri. *pot* 'pot', which, however, have been explained as loanwords from Fr. *pot* (< VLat. *pottus* < Lat. *pōtus* 'drinking cup'). Fi. *pata*, Hung. *fazék* 'pot' < PFU **pata* has been analyzed as a loanword from PIE (Parpola/Carpelan 2007: 122), but it is highly unlikely, in view of the limitation to Baltic and Germanic, that the word was inherited from the parent language.

fatta- adj. 'bent' — ON *fattr* adj. 'bowed backward' ⇒ **pt-nó-*(?) (IE?) — To Lat. *pandus* 'bent' < **pt-nó-*?

The Germanic word has been compared to Lat. *pandus*, which developed from **pt-nó-* through a form **pat-no-* with *schwa secundum* that underwent Thurneysen's law (**-tn-* > **-nd-*). However, the comparison can only be maintained by assuming a similar *schwa secundum* in Germanic, for which the evidence is extremely limited (see **hesan-* ~ **hazan-* 'hare').

fat(t)ōn- w.v. 'to fetch' — ON *fata* w.v. 'to step', Icel. *fatta* w.v. 'to catch on, take in', Far. *fatta* (in: *lukki fatti teg!* 'may you prosper') w.v. 'to catch; grasp', OE *fatian* w.v. 'to fetch', OFri. *fatia* w.v. 'to load', MLG *vaten* w.v. 'to grasp, pack, load, prepare, dress', MDu. *vaten, vatten* w.v. 'to seize, assume, understand', Du. *vatten*, dial. *vaten* w.v. 'to seize, understand', OHG *fazzōn* w.v. 'to load, pack, prepare', G *fassen* w.v. 'to catch, grasp' ⇒ **pod-néh$_2$-* (NEUR) — OCS *po-pasti* 'to fetch' < **pód-e-*.

An iterative created to a lost *o*-grade iterative-intensive verb **fatan-* < **pód-e-*, as retrieved from OCS *po-pasti*.

faþma- m. 'fathom' — ON *faðmr* m. 'id.', Far. *favnur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *farm* m. 'id.', OE *fæðm* m. 'fathom; bosom', E *fathom*, OFri. *fethm* m. 'id.', OS *fathmos* m.pl. 'two stretched arms', Du. *vadem* c. 'fathom', OHG *fadam*, *fadum* m. 'id.', G *Faden* m. 'thread' ⇒ **pot(h₂)-mo-* (WEUR) — Gael. *aitheamh* f. 'thread, fathom (of rope)', OW *etem*, W *edau* 'thread' < **pet(h₂)-i-m-eh₂-*.

A Germanic-Celtic formation (cf. Hamp 2007) usually derived from the PIE root **peth₂-* 'to spread', cf. Gr. πετάννυμι. Further cf. MDu. *vedemen* w.v. 'to measure with outspread arms, fathom' < **faþmjan-* and OE *fæðmian* w.v. 'to fathom, to embrace', OHG *fadamōn* w.v. 'to spin, to sew' < **faþmōjan-*.

faþō- f. 'fence' — Go. *faþa* f. 'hedge, fence, wall', MHG *vade* f. 'fence' ⇒ **ph₂-teh₂-*(?) (IE?).

No accepted etymology. Perhaps from **pḫ₂-t-eh₂-* to PIE **peh₂-t-* 'to protect, herd, graze' (see **fōdjan-*), or to Hitt. *pattar* ~ *pattan-* n. 'basket' if the underlying root **potH-* originally designated 'wickerwork'. The variant MHG *vatte* seems to point to a geminated proto-form **faþþōn-*.

faujan- 1 w.v. 'to let rot' — ON *feyja* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **pouH-éie-* (IE) — Skt. *pū́yati* 'to become foul/putrid; to stink' < **puH-ie-*; Lith. *pū́ti* (*pūvù*) 'to rot' < **puH-*.

The causative to a PIE present **puH-ie-* 'to rot'. See also **fūan-* and **fūla-*.

faujan- 2 w.v. 'to sift' — OHG *fowen*, *fewen* w.v. 'id.', MHG *vewen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **pouh₂-éie-* (IE) — Skt. *punā́ti* 'to clean' < **pu-n-éh₂-*; Lat. *pūrus* 'clean', OIr. *úr*, W *ir* 'green, fresh' < **púh₂-r-o-* etc.

An old causative to the PIE root **peuh₂-*.

fawa- adj. 'few' — Go. *faus** adj. 'id.', ON *fár* adj. 'id.', Far. *fáur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *fåer* adj. 'id.', OE *fēa* adj. 'id.', E *few*, OS *fā* adj. 'id.', OHG *fō* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **ph₂u-o-* (EUR) — Gr. παῦρος adj. 'small, little, few', Lat. *parvus* adj. 'small' (with metathesis) < **peh₂u-ro-*; Lat. *paucus* adj. 'few, small in number' < **peh₂u-ḱo-*.

The OHG form *fōh* has been adduced to reconstruct the Germanic form as **fauha-*, so as to equate it with Lat. *paucus*, but the *h* can be epenthetic in this form. This leaves **fawa-* as the only possible proto-form. It must be derived from a PIE zero-grade form **pḫ₂u-o-*, with (regular) vocalization of the laryngeal, as the full-grade **péh₂u-o-* would have given ***fōa-*.

fēan- s.v. 'to blame' — Go. *faian** s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **péh₁-e-* (IE) — Gr. πῆμα n. 'harm' < **peh₁-men-* (also cf. ἀπήμων adj. 'unharmed' < **n-peh₁-mon-*).

A strong verb related to **fi(j)ēn-* (q.v.). The Gothic form (attested only once as 3pl.pres.mid. *faianda*) is to be interpreted as *fēan*, with *ē* lowered from *ē* in hiatus position; the digraph *ai* does not allow us to assume a *j*-suffix (cf. e.g. Seebold 1970: 188).

fedwar- num. 'four' — Go. *fidwor* num. 'id.', ON *fjórir*, acc. *fjóra*, f. *fjórar*, n. *fjǫgur*, gen. *fjǫgurra*, dat. *fjórum* num. 'id.', Far. *fýra* num. 'id.', Elfd. *fiuorer*, acc. *fiuora*, f. *fiuorer*, n. *fiuorų*, dat. *fiuorum* num. 'id.', OE *fēower* num. 'id.', E *four*, OFri. *fiūwer*, *fiōwer*, *fiāwer* num. 'id.', OS *fiuwar*, *fior*, n. *fieri*, dat. *fiwarun* num. 'id.', Du. *vier* num. 'id.', OHG *fior* num. 'id.', G *vier* num. 'id.' ⇒ **kʷét-uor-* (IE) — ToA *śtwar*, ToB *śtwer*, Skt. *catvấras*, acc. *catúras*, n. *catvấri*, YAv. *caθβārō*, acc. *caturą̄*, Arm. *č'or-k'* < **kʷet-u(o)r-*; Gr. τέσσαρες, Dor. τέτορες, OIr. *ceth(a)ir*, OW *petguar*, MW *pedwar*, Lith. *keturì*, acc. *kẽturis*, OCS *četyre*, f./n. *četyri*, Ru. *četýre*, SCr. *četiri* num. 'id.' < **kʷet-ur-*; Lat. *quattuor* num. 'id.' < **kʷt-uŏr(-h₂)*.

The IE word for 'four' (with **f-* instead of **hw-* due to influence from **fimfe* 'five'). The reconstruction of the Germanic paradigm is not entirely straightforward 1) because of the isolated position of Go. *fidwor* < **fedwōr*, apparently continuing an old collective formation **kʷet-uŏr(-h₂)*, and 2) because of the difficulties posed by the NWGm. forms. ON *fjórir*, *-ar*, *fjǫgur* continue **fedur-aiz*, **-ōz*, **-ō* through syncopated **fjǫðrēʀ*, **fjǫðraʀ*, **fjǫðuru*: **ð* was lost before *r* (causing lengthening of the preceding diphthong **jǫ*) in the masculine and feminine forms, while in the neuter, it changed into **g* due to the labial environment (as in ON *júgr* 'udder' < **eudur-*). In WGm., the material points to **fewar-*, but it is unclear how this form could have developed from **fedwar-* (PIE < **kʷet-uor-*) in a regular way (for an attempt, cf. Stiles 1984). The first dental may have been dissimilated in the ordinal **fewurþ/dan-* < quasi-PIE **kʷet-uṛ-tHo-*, just as **sebunþ/dan-* 'seventh' developed from **septm-tHo-*. Given the exclusively WGm. distribution of **fewar-*, it seems pointless, at any rate, to reconstruct a Pre-Gm. stem **pekwór-* (cf. Ross/Berns 1992: 583). For the retention of the dental, cf. Go. *fidur-falþs* adj. 'four-fold', OSw. *fiæþer-tiugher* 'liable to forty (marks)', OE *fyðer-fēte* 'with four feet' and probably also OLFra. (Sal.) *fitter-thuschunde* 'four thousand'. Despite all these formal problems, the Germanic evidence roughly appears to be in agreement with the other IE languages, which point to an inflected paradigm m. **kʷet-uor-es*, acc. **kʷet-ur-ns* (Skt. *catvấras*, acc. *catúras*), n. **kʷ(e)t-uŏr* (cf. Lat. *quattuor*).

fehan- s.v. 'to rejoice' — OE *ge-fēon*, *-feohan* s.v. 'to be glad, rejoice, exult', OHG *gi-fehan* s.v. 'to rejoice' ⇒ **péḱ-e-* (IE).

A not too well attested strong verb. Its past participle **fagena-* became lexicalized as ON *feginn*, Elfd. *faingen*, OE *fægen* adj. 'happy', and served as the basis for Go. *faginon*, ON *fagna*, Elfd. *faingen*, OHG *faginōn*, OE *fægenian* 'to gladden' < **fagenōjan-*. See also **fēhi-* and **fagjan-*.

fēhi- adj. 'satisfactory(?)' — Go. *ga-fehaba* adv. 'properly' (DRV).

A *vṛddhi*-gerundive to the strong verb **fehan-*.

fehtan- s.v. 'to fight' — OE *feohtan* s.v. 'id.', E *to fight*, OFri. *fiuchta* s.v. 'id.', Du. *vechten* s.v. 'id.', OHG *fehtan* s.v. 'id.', G *fechten* s.v. 'id.' (GM).

A verb assumed by many to be akin to Gr. πέκτω 'to comb, card, shear', Lat. *pectō* 'to pluck' < **peḱ-t-e-* (for which see **fahti-*), but the connection depends on the conjectural semantic shift from 'to pluck, pull hair' > 'to fight' (cf. LIV²: 467).

fehu- n. 'cattle' — Go. *faihu* n. 'movable goods, possessions, cattle', ON *fé*, gen. *fjár* n. 'cattle, property, money', Far. *fæ*, gen. *fíggjar* n. 'cattle', OE *feoh*, *fioh* n. 'cattle, property, money', E *fee*, OS *fehu* n. 'cattle; property', Du. *vee* n. 'cattle', OHG *fihu* n. 'cattle, animal, money', G *Vieh* n. 'cattle' ⇒ **péḱ-u-* (IE) — Skt. *páśu-*, *paśú-* m./n. 'cattle', Av. *pasu-* m. 'id.', Lat. *pecŭ* n. 'flock, herd' (*-ū* < obl. **-ou-*, cf. *genū* 'knee' < **ǵen-ou-*), OPru. *pecku*, Lith. *pēkus* m. 'cattle' < **peḱ-u-*.

An ancient PIE *u*-stem derived from the root **peḱ-* 'to pluck wool', for which see **fahti-* and **fakk/gōn-*. The derivation of **peḱ-u-* from this root is a clear semantic indication that the first livestock to be kept by the Indo-Europeans consisted of sheep, not cows.

****fel(e)sa-*** m. 'mountain' — ON *fell*, *fjall* n. 'id.', Far. *fjall* n. 'id.', OS *felis*, *filis*, *filis* m. 'rock, stone', OHG *felis* m. 'rock, cliff', MHG *vels(e)* m. 'id.', G *Felsen* m. 'id.' ⇒ **pe/ol-es-o-* (EUR) — Olr. *ail* f. 'boulder, rock grave-stone' < **pl-s-i-*; Gr. Hsch. πέλλα 'stone' < **pel-s-eh₂-*.

ON *fell*, *fjall* poins to **fel(V)sa-* (with assimilation of the *s* and breaking of *-e-* to *-ja-*), but the WGm. attestations can go back to both **felesa-* or **falisa-*. The latter form is supported by OFr. *falise*, Fr. *falaise*, *faloise*, a Franconian loanword. The Swiss dialects that differentiate between high *e* from OHG **ä₂* and low *e* from OHG *e*, cf. Jaun and Appenzell *felsə*, are ambiguous in this particular case, however, because the vowel may have arisen due to secondary raising of low to high *e* before **i* in the next syllable (Karsten 1903: 259). On the morphological level, the word looks like a thematicization of an old *s*-stem. The expected paradigm **pél-os*, gen. **pl-és-(o)s* fails to account for the *o*-grade, however. Perhaps, we are dealing with an originally static *s*-stem, viz. nom. **pól-s*, gen. **pél-s-s*.

****felgō-*** f. 'rim of a wheel' — OE *fealg* f. 'id.', E *felly*, MDu. *velge*, *vellige* f. 'felly; patella', Du. *velg* c. 'felly', OHG *felga* f. 'felly, hoop', G *Felge* f. 'felly' ⇒ **pelǵʰ-éh₂-* (NEUR) — Ru. *póloz* m. 'runner, skid', Slov. *plâz* m. 'plow sole; strip' < **polǵʰ-o-*.

An etymologically ambiguous word possibly related to the aforementioned Slavic forms. Another possibility is to connect **felhan-* in the sense of 'to go'. The link with e.g. Skt. *pārśvá-* n. 'flank, side', NP *pahlū* 'side, rib', Oss.

fars 'side, flank' < IIr. **pārćua-* cannot be maintained in view of its evident relationship to OCS *prьsi* f.pl. 'breast' < **prḱ-* (cf. Pokorny IEW: 820).

felhan- s.v. 'to hide' — Go. *filhan* s.v. 'id.', ON *fela* s.v. 'to hide, conceal; to give in trust', OE *felan, feolan, felgan* s.v. 'to stick, adhere; to proceed, go, reach; to undergo', OS *bi-felhan* s.v. 'to entrust, bestow, command; to bury', Du. *velen* w.v. 'to suffer', OHG *felhan, fel(a)han* s.v. 'to trust, hand over' ⇒ **pélk-e-* (GM).

Given the disparate semantics of the attestations it is difficult to get to an extra-Germanic etymology. The connection with OPru. *pelkis* 'cloak' is uncertain, at any rate, as the meaning 'to conceal' as well as 'to entrust, bestow, command' may have developed from 'to stow'. The meanings 'to go' and 'to suffer' as found in Old English and Dutch still remain problematic, and may point to an etymologically dissimilar strong verb related to **fulgēn-* 'to follow' (q.v.).

fella- n. 'membrane, skin, hide' — Go. *þruts-fill* n. 'leprosy', ON *fell, fjall* n. 'skin', OSw. *fiæl* n. 'id.', Sw. *fjäll* n. 'id.', OE *fell* n. 'id.', E *fell*, OS *fell* n. 'skin, membrane', Du. *vel* n. 'id.', OHG *fel* n. 'skin, pelt', G *Fell* n. 'id.' ⇒ **pel-nó-* (EUR) — Gr. πελλοράφος adj. 'sewing skins together' < **pel-no-*; Lat. *pellis* f. 'skin' < **pel-ni-*; OCS *pelena* f. 'band for swathing children', Ru. *pelená* f. 'shroud, nappy', SCr. *pelèna* f. 'bandage, shroud' < **pel-en-eh₂-*.

All the other IE languages point to a suffix with a nasal, and it is therefore legitimate to similarly derive the Gm. form from **pel-nó-*. It is possible that this stem developed from the genitive of the *mn*-stem **felman-* 'membrane' in which the *m* was dissimilated, i.e. **pel-mn-ós*, but not necessarily so.

felma(n)- m. 'membrane' — OE *æger-felma* m. 'skin of an egg', E *film*, MDu. *velm, vilm* m. 'film' ⇒ **pel-mon-* (EUR) — Gr. πέλμα n. 'sole of the foot' < **pel-men-*.

A considerably old *mn*-stem to the root of **fella-* 'skin' (q.v.). In Anglo-Frisian, the word seems to have been supplanted by the diminutive: OE *filmen* n. 'skin, membrane, husk', OFri. *filmene* f. 'skin (on the knee?)' < **felm-īna/ō-*.

felō- f. 'board' — ON *fjǫl* f. 'id.', Far. *fjøl* f. 'id.', Elfd. *fyöl* f. 'id.' ⇒ **pel-eh₂-* (NEUR).

An *e*-grade formation closely related to **falan-* (q.v.).

felþa- m. 'field' — OSw. *fiälder* m. 'isolated field', OE *feld, feald* m. 'field', E *field*, OFri. *feld* n. 'id.', OS *feld* m. 'id.', Du. *veld* n. 'id.', OHG *feld* n. 'id.', G *Feld* n. 'id.' ⇒ **pélth₂-o-* (IE).

Derived from the PIE root **pelth₂-* 'flat', for which see **fuldō-*.

felu- ~ *fulu- adj. 'much, many' — Go. *filu* adj. 'id.', ON *fjǫl-* pref. 'id.', Far. *fjøl-* pref. 'id.', OE *fela, feala, feola* adj. 'id.', OFri. *felo, fele, fule, fole* adj. 'id.', OS *filu, filo* adj. 'id.', MDu. *veel* adj. 'id.', OHG *filu, filo* adj. 'id.', G *viel* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **pélh₁-u-* (IE) — Skt. *purú-*, OAv. *pouru-*, YAv. *pouru-* adj. 'much, abundant', OP *paruv* adj. 'much, too much, very', NP *firih* comp. 'more', Oss. *fyr* / *fur* adj. 'much' < **plh₁-u-*; Gr. πολύς adj. 'much, many, often' < **polh₁-u-*; OIr. *il* adj. 'many' < **pelh₁-u-*.

A *u*-stem to the root **pleh₁-* 'to fill', for which cf. **fulla- 1* 'full' < **plh₁-nó-*. In Proto-Germanic the adjective may originally only have occurred in the neuter form **felu*, taking the following noun in the genitive. In PIE, it had an ablauting paradigm, e.g. common gender **pélh₁-us*, gen. **plh₁-u-ós* vs. neuter **pólh₁-u*, gen. **plh₁-éu-s*. This paradigm explains the ablaut difference between e.g. Gr. πολύ and Go. *filu*. Notably, Old Frisian *fule, fole* and Du. dial. *veul* together with IIr. **prHu-* appear to preserve the zero-grade root (Bremmer 2005). See also **flaizan-*.

felwō- f. 'willow' — OHG *felwa, felawa* f. 'id.', G *Felbe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **tpel-u-eh₂-*(?) (EUR) — Gr. πτελέα f. 'elm tree' (= Lat. *tilia* f. 'lime tree'?) < **tpel-eu-eh₂-*, Arm. *tʿełi* 'id.' < **tpel-ieh₂-*(?).

A European word with a remarkable reminiscence in Oss. *færv* / *farwe* 'alder' (Hübschmann 1887: 65). The different formations may all go back to an *l*-stem, e.g. **tp-él*, gen. **tp-l-ós*, acc. **tp-él-m*. The appurtenance of Ru. *topol'* m. 'poplar', which theoretically can be adduced to reconstruct an ablauting proto-form < **top-l-*, remains uncertain, as this word is likely to have been derived from Ru. *top'* 'swamp' (Falileyev/Owen 1999).

fergunja- n. 'mountain' — Go. *fairguni* n. 'mountain range', ON *fjǫrgyn* f. 'Mother Earth', OE *firgen* n. 'mountain', OHG *Firgunnea* f. 'Ore Mountains' ⇒ **perkʷ-n-ieh₂-* (IE).

An etymologically debated word. The original meaning may have been 'mountainous forest' (cf. Celt. Lat. *Hercynia Silva*), and in that case, the word can be compared to **ferhwa- 1* 'oak' and **furhwōn-* 'fir'. Within Germanic, however, the word can also be analyzed as the feminine equivalent of **ferga-* 'god', cf. ON *fjǫrg* n.pl. 'gods' with the feminine *unjō*-suffix. If so, the proto-form is to be reconstructed as **perk(ʷ)-n-ieh₂-*, which precludes the direct linkage with Lith. *perkūnas*, Latv. *pę̃rkuôns* m. 'thunder' < **perkʷ-u-Hn-o-* (also cf. Ru. *perún* 'thunderbolt'). For the latter, cf. Icel. *fjarg-veður* n. 'storm'.

ferhwa- 1 m./n. 'oak(?)' — ON poet. *fjǫrr* m. 'tree', OHG *fereh-eih* f. 'id.', G *Ferch* n. 'id.' ⇒ **pérkʷ-o-* (WEUR) — Lat. *quercus* f. 'oak-tree' < **perkʷ-u-*; OIr. *ceirt* 'apple-tree', W *perth* 'bush' < **perkʷ-t-*?

Also cf. Lomb. *fereha* 'oak' < **ferh(w)ō-*. Some further connect **fergunja-* 'mountain' (q.v.).

ferhwa- 2 n. 'life, essence' — Go. *fairhvus* m. 'world', ON *fjǫr* n. 'life, pith', OE *feorh* m./n. 'life; man', OFri. *ferech* n.(?) 'life', OS *ferah, ferh* n. 'life, spirit', OHG *ferah, ferh* n. 'id.', MHG *verch* n. 'id.' ⇒ **pérkʷ-o-* (EUR).

Possibly related to **ferhwa- 1* 'oak', as the oak-tree symbolized vitality in Germanic mythology.

ferrai adv. 'far' — Go. *fairra* adv. 'id.', ON *fjarri* adv. 'id.', OE *feorr* adv. 'id.', E *far*, OS *ferro* adv. 'id.', Du. *ver* adv. 'id.', OHG *ferro* adv. 'id.', MHG *verre* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **per-n-oi-* (IE).

A locative adverb originally ending in **-noi*. Cf. **ferrjan-*.

ferrjan- w.v. 'to be far; to remove' — ON *firra* w.v. 'to lose sight of; to deprive of', OFri. *firia* w.v. 'to be far away', OHG *firren* w.v. 'to remove; to be far away', MHG *virren* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

The related OE *firsian* w.v. 'to go beyond, remove' derives from **ferrisōjan-* with the same suffix as in e.g. *irsian* w.v. 'to be angry' (see **erzja-*).

fersnō- f. 'heel' — Go. *fairzna* f. 'id.', OE *fiersn* f. 'id.' (< **fersni-*), MDu. *versene, verse* f. 'id.', OHG *fersana* f. 'id.', G *Fersne* f. 'id.' ⇒ **tpĕrs-neh₂-* (IE) — Hitt. *paršna-* c. 'heel(?)' (cf. *paršnae-zi* 'to squat down, crouch') < **tpēr-sno-*; YAv. *pāšnā-* f. 'heel', Gr. πτέρνη f. 'id.', Lat. *perna* f. '(upper) leg, thigh' < **tpēr-sneh₂-*; Skt. *pā́rṣṇi-* f. 'id.' < **tpēr-sni-*.

The IE word for 'heel'. The intra-Germanic difference between Go. *fairzna*, OHG *fersana* < **tper-sneh₂-* and OE *fiersn* < **tper-sni-* is neatly mirrored by Gr. πτέρνη, Lat. *perna* and Skt. *pā́rṣṇi-*. The root **tper-* may have developed from **pd-sperH-* "to kick with the foot" (Lubotsky 2006), for which see **fōt-* and **spurnan-*.

fertan- ~ ***fretan-*** s.v. 'to fart' — ON *freta* s.v. 'id.', Far. *freta* w.v. 'id.', OSw. *fiærta* w.v. 'id.', Sw. *fjärta* w.v. 'id.', Da. *fjærte* w.v. 'id.', OE *feortan* s.v. 'id.', E *to fart*, MDu. *verten, vorten* s.v. 'id.', OHG *ferzan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *verzen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **préd-e-* (IE) — Skt. *párdate* 'to fart', YAv. *pərəδən* 3pl.pres. 'id.', Gr. πέρδω, πέρδομαι 'id.', Alb. *pjerdh* 'id.' < **pérd-e-*; Ru. *perdét'*, SCr. *pŕdjeti* 'id.' < **prd-eh₁-*; Lith. *pérsti* (*pérdžiu, pérdžiau*) 'id.' < **perd-ie-*.

An onomatopoetic formation from PIE times.

ferudi adv. 'last year' — ON *í fjǫrð* 'id.', Far. *í fjør* adj. 'id.', Nw. *i fjor* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *i fiuord* adj. 'id.', MHG *vert* adv. 'id.' ⇒ **pér-ut-i* (IE) — Identical to Skt. *párut*, Gr. πέρυσι, Olr. *inn-uraid*, Arm. *heru* adv. 'id.' < **per-ut(-i)*: a petrified

locative of PIE **uet-* 'year', cf. Hitt. *u̯itt-* c. 'year' < **uet-*; Gr. ἔτος n. 'id.', Alb. *vjet*, *vit* m. 'id.' < **uet-es-*.

A fossilized PIE adverbial phrase meaning 'last year'. It contains the original locative of a PIE root noun **uet-* 'year', for which cf. **weβru-*.

****fesōn-*** f. 'chaff, fiber' — OS *fesa* f. 'pod', MDu. *vese* f. 'fiber, husk; fringe', Du. *vezel* c. 'fiber', OHG *fesa* f. 'id.', MHG *vese* f. 'id.', G Swi. Rhntl. *feəsə* f. 'id.' (IE) — Skt. *pinášṭi*, *piṃšánti* 'to crush', Lat. *pīnsere* 'id.' < **tpi-n-(e)s-*; Gr. πτίσσω 'to pound or grind corn in a mortar' < **tpis-ie-*; Gr. πτισάνη 'hulled barley' < **tpis-n(e)h₂-*; Lith. *piẽstas*, Ru. *pest* m. 'pestle' < **tpois-to-*; Lith. *paisýti* 'to peel barley' < **tpois-éie-*; Ru. *pšenó* n. 'millet', SCr. *pšéna* f. 'clover' < **tpis-en-o/eh₂-*.

OHG *fesa* and MHG *vese* must have had real *e* rather than umlauted *ä* in view of Swi. Rhntl. *feəsə* (with *eə* < OHG *ë*). This means that, if the connection with PIE **tpis-* is correct (esp. note Icel. *fis* n. 'fluff, chaff'), *a*-mutation must have lowered **i* to **e*. The collective OHG *ga-vissa* ~ *ga-bissa* f. 'chaff' < quasi-PIE **kom-tpis-io-* shows a remarkable Verner alternation similar to the doublet OHG *mezzisahs* ~ *mezzirahs* 'knife' (for which see **sahsa-*). See also **fasa/ōn-* 'fringe, fiber'.

****fetan-*** s.v. 'to go; to fall' — ON *feta* s.v. 'to step', Far. *feta* w.v. 'to stride, pace, step out', OE *fetan* s.v. 'to fall', OHG *fezzan*, *gi-fezzan* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **péd-e-* (IE) — Skt. *pádyati* 'to move, to go; to fall' < **ped-ie-*; OCS *padati*, Ru. *pádat'* (*pádaju*), SCr. *pȁdati* 'to fall' < **pod-eh₂-ie-*.

An IE verbal formation related to **fōt-* 'foot'. See also the pertaining iterative **futōn-*.

****fetura/ō-*** m./f. 'fetter' — ON *fjǫturr* m. 'id.', Far. *fjøtur* n. 'id.', OSw. *fiætur* m. 'id.', OE *feter*, *fetor* f. 'id.', E *fetter*, OS *feterōs* m.pl. 'id.', Du. *veter* c. 'shoelace', OHG *vezzera* f. 'fetter', MHG *vezzer* f. 'fetter; manacle' ⇒ **ped-ur-o/eh₂-* (IE).

Derived from the PIE word for 'foot' (see **fōt-*), cf. Gr. πέδη f. 'fetter', Lat. *pedica* f. 'id.'.

****feþan-*** m. 'penis(?)' — MDu. *vede* m. 'id.' ⇒ **pét-on-* (WEUR?) — Lat. *pēnis* m. 'tail, penis' < **pet-sn-i-*.

The Latin word is usually derived from **pes-ni-* in view of Skt. *pásas-*, Gr. πέος n. 'penis' < **pes-os-*, but **pet-sni-* is possible, too (cf. De Vaan 2008: 458). As a result, MDu. *vede* (for which cf. Gysseling 1987: 53) receives a possible etymology. See also **fuþi-* 'vagina'.

****feþrō-*** f. 'feather' — ON *fjǫðr* f. 'id.', Far. *fjøður* f. 'feather; fin', Elfd. *fjäðer* f. 'feather', OE *feðer* f. 'id.', E *feather*, OS *fethera* f. 'id.', Du. *veer* c. 'id.', OHG

fedara, federa f. 'id.', G *Feder* f. 'id.' ⇒ **péth₂-r/n-* (IE) — Hitt. *pattar* ~ *pattan-, pettar* ~ *pettan-* n. 'feather, wing' < **péth₂-r, *pth₂-én-s*; Skt. *pátra-* n. 'wing, feather' < **peth₂-ro-*; Gr. πτέρον n. 'wing' < **pt(h₂)-er-o-*; Lat. *penna* f. 'feather' < **peth₂-n-eh₂-*; OW *atar* pl. 'bird', MW *adar* 'id.' < **pth₂-r-*, OIr. *én* 'bird', W *edn* 'id.' < **peth₂-no-*.

A heteroclitic derived from the PIE root **peth₂-* 'to fly', cf. Skt. *pátati* 'to fly; hit', Gr. πέτομαι 'to fly', Lat. *petō, -ere* 'to reach; to rush', MW *eh-ed-* 'to fly' and the intensive Gr. ποτάομαι 'to fly around' < **poth₂-éie-*. Also cf. the collective *ja*-stem ON *fiðri*, OE *fiðere*, Du. *ge-vederte*, MHG *ge-videre*, G *Ge-fieder* n. 'plumage' < **ga-feþrja-*.

****feuhtjōn-*** f. 'spruce' — OHG *fiuhta* f. 'id.', MHG *viehte* f. 'id.', G *Fichte* f. 'id.' ⇒ **peuḱ-t-ih₂-* (IE) — Waigali *puč, püč* 'pine' < **peuḱ-i-*; Gr. πεύκη f. 'spruce' < **peuḱ-eh₂-*; OPru. *peuse* 'id.' < **peuḱ-ieh₂-*; Lith. *pušìs* f. 'id.' < **puḱ-i-*.

A word with a largely European distribution. In view of Waigali *puć, püć*, however, the word must also have existed in Iranian (Morgenstierne 1945: 229). From there, it probably spread into Armenian, where it surfaces as the second member of the compound *t'eł-awš* 'holm oak, evergreen oak; pine' (Olsen 2012). For the first element, see Arm. *t'eł* 'elm' under **felwō-*.

****feukan-*** ~ ****fūkan-*** s.v. 'to blow' — ON *fjúka* s.v. 'to be blown away; to fly off', Far. *fúka* s.v. 'to drift; to dash, dart; to be blown away; to be rumored', EDu. *fijcken, fuycken* 'to thrust', G *fauchen* w.v. 'to hiss, snarl' (DRV).

In view of the root-final *k* and the alternation between **eu* and **ū*, it seems likely that the strong verb was back-formed to the iterative **fuk(k)ōn-* (q.v.). Also cf. MDu. *fuke* f. 'fish trap', Du. *fuik* c. 'id.' < **fūkōn-*.

****fewurþ/dan-*** num. 'fourth' — ON *fjórði* num. 'id.', Far. *fjórði* num. 'id.', Elfd. *fiuord* num. 'id.', OE *fēorða, fēowerða* num. 'id.', E *fourth*, OFri. *fiōrda, fiārda, fiērda* num. 'id.', OS *fiortho* num. 'id.', Du. *vierde* num. 'id.', OHG *fiordo* num. 'id.', G *vierte* num. 'id.' ⇒ **kʷet-ur-to-* (IE) — Skt. *turī́ya-, túrya-*, Av. *tūiriia-* num. 'fourth' < **kʷt-ur-iHo-*; Lat. *quārtus* < **kʷtur-tHo-* (for expected **quortus*); OW *petuerid* num. 'id.' < **kʷet-ur-iHo-*; ToA *śtärt*, ToB *śtarte*, Gr. τέταρτος, Hom. also τέτρατος, Skt. *caturthá-*, Lith. *ketvirtas*, Latv. *cetuŗtaīs*, OCS *četvrъtъ*, Ru. *četvërtyj*, SCr. *čètvrtī* num. 'id.' < **kʷet-ur-tHo-*; Arm. *č'or-ir* num. 'id.' < **kʷet-or-*.

The ordinal to **fedwar-* 'four' (q.v.). In PIE, the root had the zero grade, but since **kʷtur-tó-* in PGm. would have given ***hurda-*, it was bound to become replaced by an analogical full-grade form. This **kʷetu̯rtHo-* lost its first *t* due to dissimilation, and thus gave PGm. **fewurþ/dan-* (with initial *f* after **fimftan-* 'fifth' (q.v.).

fifaldra/ō- m./f. 'butterfly' — Far. *firvaldur* m. 'id.', OSw. *fiædhal* m. 'id.', Sw. *fjäril*, dial. *fjärålder* c. 'id.', Elfd. *fyörolder* m. 'id.', OE *fīfealde* f. 'id.', OS *fifoldara* f. 'id.', MDu. *vivalter*, *viveltere* m./f. 'id.', OHG *fīvaltra* f. 'id.', G *Feifalter* m./f. 'id.' ⇒ **p(e)i-pol-* (EUR) — Lat. *päpiliō*, *-ōnis* m. 'butterfly'; OPru. *pepelis* 'bird'; OPru. *penpalo*, Lith. *píepala*, Latv. *paĩpala*, Ru. *pérepel* 'quail'.

A reduplicated formation, probably to be reconstructed as **fī̆-faldra/ō-* or **fe-faldra/ō-* (cf. OSw. *fiædhal* m. 'id.' < ON **fjaðraldr* < **fjafraldr* < **fefaldra-*). Also cf. the neuter ON *fífrildi*, Icel. *fiðrildi*, Nw. dial. *fivrelde* n. 'butterfly' < **fifraldjan-* (< **fifaldrjan-*). The formation has some parallels in Latin and Balto-Slavic, but the material is severely distorted and cannot be reconciled into one single proto-form.

fi(j)and- m. 'enemy' — Go. *fijands* m. 'id.', ON *fjandi* m. 'id.', Far. *fíggindi* m. 'id.', OE *fēond* m. 'id.', E *fiend*, OFri. *fiānd*, *fiū nd*, *fīn(d)* m. 'id.', ODu. *fiunt* m. 'id.', Du. *vijand* c. 'id.', OHG *fiant* m. 'id.', G *Feind* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ph₁-i-ont-* (DRV).

A lexicalized participle derived from **fi(j)ēn-* (q.v.).

fl(j)ēn- w.v. 'to hate' — Go. *fijan*, *fian* w.v. 'id.', ON *fjá* w.v. 'id.', Far. *fíggja* w.v. 'id.', OE *fēon* w.v. 'id.', OHG *fīēn* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **ph₁-i-eh₁-* (IE) — Skt. *píyati* 'to blame'; Skt. *pīyú-* 'reviler' < **ph₁-i-u-*.

A stative verb of clear Indo-European origin. The root **ph₁-ei-* arose as an *i*-present to **peh₁-*, which in Germanic can be retrieved from **fēan-* (q.v.). See also **fi(j)and-*.

fimfe num. 'five' — Go. *fimf* num. 'id.', ON *fimm* num. 'id.', OE *fīf* num. 'id.', E *five*, OFri. *fīf* num. 'id.', OS *fīf* num. 'id.', Du. *vijf* num. 'id.', OHG *fimf* num. 'id.', G *fünf* num. 'id.' ⇒ **pénkʷe* (IE) — Hitt. *panza-*, ToA *päñ*, ToB *piś*, Skt. *páñca*, YAv. *paṇca*, MP *panǰ*, Oss. *fondz*, Arm. *hing*, Alb. *pesë* / *pësë*, Gr. πέντε, Lat. *quīnque*, Olr. *cóic*, MW *pymp*, W *pimp*, Bret. *pemp* num. 'five'.

Germanic has **fimfe* for expected **finhwe*. This is due to a sporadic change of PIE **kʷ* to Pre-Gm. **p* after resonants in words starting with a labial, cf. **wulfa-* 'wolf' < **u̯l̥kʷ-o-*.

fimftan- num. 'fifth' — Go. *fimfta* num. 'id.', ON *fimti*, *femti* num. 'id.', Far. *fimti* num. 'id.', Elfd. *femt* num. 'id.', OE *fīfta* num. 'id.', E *fifth*, OFri. *fīfta* num. 'id.', OS *fīfto* num. 'id.', Du. *vijfde* num. 'id.', OHG *fimto*, *finfto* num. 'id.', G *fünfte* num. 'id.' ⇒ **penkʷ-tó-* (IE) — Skt. *pakthá-*, YAv. *puxδa* (with *-u-* from Plr. **šuštHa-* 'sixth') num. 'fifth' < **pnkʷ-tHo-*; ToA *pänt*, ToB *piṅkte*, Lat. *quīntus*, Gr. πέμπτος, Lith. *peñktas*, Latv. *pìekts*, OPru. *piēncts*, OCS *pętъ*, Ru. *pjátyj*, SCr. *pêtī*, Alb. *pēstë* num. 'id.' < **penkʷ-tHo-*; Gaul. *ponpetos*, Olr. *cóiced*, OW *pimphet* num. 'id.' < **penkʷe-tHo-*.

The ordinal number pertaining to **fimfe*. In PIE, the formation originally had a zero grade, viz. **pnkʷ-tHó-*, as can still be observed in Indo-Iranian. In Germanic, it was replaced by the full-grade root of the cardinal.

fingra- m. 'finger' — Go. *figgrs* m. 'id.', ON *fingr* m. 'id.', OE *finger* m. 'id.', E *finger*, OFri. *finger* m. 'id.', OS *fingar* m. 'id.', Du. *vinger* c. 'id.', OHG *fingar* m. 'id.', G *Finger* m. 'id.' ⇒ **penkʷ-ró-* (IE).

A *ro*-stem usually assumed to be derived from the numeral **fimfe* 'five' < PIE **pénkʷ-e*. The labialization of the **kʷ* was lost before the operation of Verner's law.

finkan- s.v. 'to sparkle, burn' — MDu. *vinken* s./w.v. 'to sparkle; to smolder', G obs. *finkeln* w.v. 'to burn, hurt' (DRV).

As the alternation of the pertaining causative **fangjan-* ~ **fankjan-* shows, the root-final **k* of this strong verb must be secondary, continuing a (shortened) geminate that spread from the iterative **funkōn-* (q.v.). Also cf. the deverbal nouns MHG *vinc* m. 'spark' < **finka-* and MHG *vanke* m. 'id.' < **fankan-*.

finkja(n)- m. 'finch' — OE *finc* m. 'id.', E *finch*, MDu. *vink(e)* m./f. 'id.', Du. *vink* c. 'id.', OHG *finko* m. 'id.', G *Fink* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ping-o-* (EUR?) — Gr. Hsch. πῖγγα 'young bird' < **ping-eh₂-*(?).

An exclusively Germanic word. Formally close to **spinka(n)-* (q.v.).

fin(n)ōn- f. OSw. *fina* f. 'fin', Sw. *fena* c. 'fin; chaff, husk', MDu. *vinne* f. 'fin; wing; prickle; awn' ⇒ **pin-(m)on-* (WEUR?) — OIr. *ind*, *inn* n. 'end, extremity, tip, point, edge, surface' < **pinno-*(?).

The alternation between ON *fina* < **finōn-* and WGm. **finnō* points to an *n*-stem **finō*, gen. **finnaz* < **pin-ōn*, **pin-n-ós*. The variant MDu., EDu. *vimme* 'fin; prickle, awn' can furthermore be adduced to reconstruct a more primary *mn*-stem **fimmō*, **finnaz* < **pín-mōn*, **pin-mn-ós* (with loss of *m* in the cases with zero grade of the suffix), but this *vimme* may also have arisen secondarily by assimilation of the root-final nasal to the initial *f* (cf. Du. *priem* < **preuna-*). No generally accepted etymology. The link with OIr. *ind* 'extremity' is attractive, not least in view of the semantics of Sw. *fena* 'chaff, husk' and MDu. *vine* 'bran(?)', which could have developed from 'awn'. Problematic, on the other hand, is the connection with Lat *pinna* 'feather, wing, fin, parapet', which does not continue alleged **pinn-eh₂-*, but represents a dialect form of *penna* 'pen' < **pet-neh₂-* (De Vaan 2008: 458). Unlikely, too, are the connections with e.g. Skt. *sphyá-* m. 'stick' and Lat. *spīna* 'spine, thorn', which unlike the Germanic forms have an initial *s*.

finþan- s.v. 'to find; to feel' — Go. *finþan* s.v. 'id.', ON *finna* s.v. 'id.', OE *findan* s.v. 'id.', E *to find*, OFri. *finda* s.v. 'id.', OS *fīđan*, *findan* s.v. 'id.', ODu. *findan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *vinden* s.v. 'id.', OHG *findan* s.v. 'id.', G *finden* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **pént-e-* (IE) — Skt. *pánthās*, gen. *pathás* m. 'road, path, course', YAv. *paṇtå*, OAv. abl. *paϑō* m. 'road, path', MP *pand* 'path', Oss. *fændæg* 'id.', Gr. πάτος m. 'road', πόντος m. 'sea', Arm. *hun*, gen. *hni* 'ford', Lat. *pōns* m. 'bridge, path', OCS *pǫtь* m. 'road', OPru. *pintis* 'id.' < PIE **pónt-eh₁-s*, gen. **pnt-h₁-ós*.

See also **fanþjan-*, **fandōn-*, **fundōn-* and **paþa-*.

fīsan- s.v. 'to blow' — ON *físa* s.v. 'id.', Icel. *físa* w.v. 'to blow (on a fire); to fart', Far. *fīsa* w.v. 'to blow, draw; to get to fly, stir up; to hiss; to snort', Elfd. *faisa* s.v. 'to fart', MHG *vīsen* s.v. 'to fart' ⇒ **péis-e-*(?) (WEUR) — Lat. *spīrō*, *-āre* 'to breathe' < **spéis-eh₂-ie-*; W *ffûn* 'breath' < **spoi-n-eh₂-*.

An originally onomatopoetic verb related to **fīsōn-* (q.v.). The semantic spectrum ranges between 'to blow', 'to hiss', 'to whisper' and 'to fart'. If Lat. *spīrare* is related, the PIE form of the verb may have been **pséi-s-e-*; normally, the cluster **ps-* would develop into Gm. **sp-* (cf. **stelan-* 'to sneak; to steal' < **tsél-e-*), but in this case, the *s* may have been lost due to dissimilation.

fiska- m. 'fish' — Go. *fisks* m. 'id.', ON *fiskr* m. 'id.', Far. *fiskur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *fisk* m. 'id.', OE *fisc* m. 'id.', E *fish*, OFri. *fisk* m. 'id.', OS *fisk* m. 'id.', Du. *vis* c. 'id.', OHG *fisc* m. 'id.', G *Fisch* m. 'id.' ⇒ **pisk-o-* (WEUR) — Lat. *piscis* m. 'fish' < **pisk-i-*; OIr. *íasc* m. 'id.' < **peisk-o-*.

A West Indo-European word. The connection with Skt. *picchā-* 'calf of the leg' < **piḱ-sk-eh₂-* (Sadovsky 1973: 85-6), perhaps justified by the widespread folk association of the calf of the leg with the belly of a fish (Mallory/Adams 2006: 146) is highly uncertain. Slightly more attractive, then, is the comparison with Skt. *piccha-* n. 'feather', Cz. *pisk* 'young feather'. The alleged cognate Ru. *piskár'* 'gudgeon', on the other hand, was derived from a verbal root, cf. OCS *piskati* 'to pipe', Ru. *piščát'* 'to squeak' (cf. Hamp 1973b), and therefore cannot be related. Also cf. Go. *fiskon*, ON *fiska*, OE *fiscian*, *fixian*, OFri. *fiskia*, Du. *vissen*, OHG *fiskōn*, G *fischen* w.v. 'to fish' < **fiskōjan-*, which is formally close to Lat. *piscor*, *-āri* < **pisk-eh₂-ie-*.

fīsōn- w.v. 'to blow' — Nw. *fisa* w.v. 'to blow; to fart; to whisper', MDu. *vesen* w.v. 'to whisper' (DRV).

The iterative pertaining to the strong verb **fīsan-* (q.v.).

fitnan- w.v. 'to become fat' — ON *fitna* w.v. 'id.', Far. *fitna* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

An inchoative verb derived from **faita-* (q.v.). With the same ablaut, cf. ON *fita* f., Far. *fiti* f. 'fat' < **fitōn-*, **-īn-*, whence ON, Far. *fita* w.v. 'to make fat' < **fitōjan-*.

flahan- s.v. 'to flay, strip' — ON *flá* s.v. 'to flay; to strip (of clothes)', Elfd. *flå* w.v. 'id.', OE *flēan* s.v. 'to flay', MDu. *vlaen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **plók-e-* (EUR) — Gr. πλάξ, -ακός f. 'plane, plain; flat stone, board, table' < **pl̥k-*.

An *o*-grade intensive verb related to **flahō-* and **flōhō-* (q.v.).

flahō- f. 'strip' — ON *flá* f. 'strip of land, meadow' ⇒ **plók-eh₂-* (DRV) — Latv. *plaka* f. 'low lying place, plain' < **plok-eh₂-*.

Together with Gr. πλάξ, -ακός f. 'flat surface, board, slab', ON *flá* has been derived from a PIE root noun **plak-* (cf. Orel 2003: 104). However, the Greek alpha and the Gm. **a* have two entirely different origins, i.e. a vocalized **l* and an **o* respectively. Also note that, in Old Norse, many monosyllabic *ō*-stems acquired an analogical root-noun inflection, cf. *tá*, pl. *tær* f. 'toe' < **taihwō-*. This taken into consideration, I derive the word from **plók-eh₂-*, which happens to be close to Latv. *plaka*. See also **flahan-*.

flahsa- n. 'flax' — OE *fleax* n. 'id.', E *flax*, OFri. *flax* n. 'id.', MLG *vlas* m. 'id.', Du. *vlas* n. 'id.', OHG *flahs* m. 'id.', G *Flachs* m. 'id.' (DRV).

A thematicized *s*-stem usually derived from the PIE root **pleḱ-* 'to braid' (see **flehtan-*). It is equally attractive to connect the word to **flakk/gōn- 1* 'to beat, thresh' (q.v.).

flaina- adj. 'flat(?)' — Nw. *flein* adj. 'bald, naked; flat' ⇒ **ploi-no-* (NEUR?) — Lith. *plìkas* adj. 'bald', Latv. *pliks* adj. 'bare, bald' < **pli-ko-*; CS *plěšь* adj. 'bald patch' < **ploi-s-io-*.

A marginally attested adjective that is often connected to the aforementioned Balto-Slavic forms. The meaning 'bald' is probably secondary, however, as Nw. *flein* also means 'flat'. The straightforward connection with Elfd. *flinå* w.v. 'to smile' < **flinōn-*, on the other hand, does seem to point to a primary meaning 'bare' (whence 'to bare the teeth'). Related to OSw. *flēn* n. 'tumor (of the skin)' and Nw. *flein* m. 'growth, wound'?

flaizan- comp. 'more' — Go. *flaiza* comp. 'id.', ON *fleiri* comp. 'id.', Far. *fleiri* comp. 'id.', Elfd. *flierer* comp. 'id.' ⇒ **plóh₁-is-on-* (IE) — Gr. πλείων comp. 'more' < **pleh₁-is-on-*; Lat. *plūs, -ris* comp. 'id.' < **ploh₁-is-*.

The comparative of **felu-* ~ **fulu-* (q.v.). The development of **flaizan-* from **plóh₁-is-on-* proves that Verner's law preceded the shortening of the long diphthongs (Osthoff's law), as **plóison-* would have given ***flaisan-*. For a similar scenario, cf. **maizan-* 'more' < **méh₂-is-on-* and **winda-* 'wind' < **h₂uéh₁-ent-o-*.

flaka- adj. 'flat' — MDu. *vlac* adj. 'id.', Du. *vlak* adj. 'id.', OHG *flah* adj. 'id.', G *flach* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **plók-o-* (EUR) — Gr. πλάξ, -ακός f. 'plane, plain; flat stone, board, table' < **pl̥k-*; Lith. *plãkanas*, Latv. *plakans* adj. 'flat' < **plok-ono-*.

A West Germanic adjective, the derivational base of ablauting ON *flóki*, OE *flōc* m. 'flounder' < **flōka(n)-*. The cluster is usually compared to Lat. *plaga* f. 'net; expanse, territory' and Gr. πλάγια n.pl. 'sides, flanks', but the Latin word cannot be derived from **plog-eh₂-* (nor from **plg-eh₂-* or **plh₂-g-eh₂-*), and the original meaning of the Greek root was 'oblique, bent', not 'flat', cf. Gr. πλάγιος adj. 'oblique, sloping; crooked' < **plg-io-*. In addition, the Germanic material indicates that the original root was **plok-* rather than **plog-*, cf. ON *flagna* beside ON, Far. *flakna* w.v. 'to flake (off), split', Icel., Nw. *flaga* w.v. 'id.' and esp. Icel. *flár*, Nw. *flå* adj. 'flat, wide', Elfd. *flå* adj. 'flat; slanted' < **flaha-* < **plók-o-*. It follows that the root-final **k* of **flaka-* is a reduction of an original geminate, cf. MDu. *vlacken* w.v. 'to flatten' < **flakkōn-*. See also **flahan-* 'to flay'.

flakk/gōn- 1 w.v. 'to beat' — E *to flack* 'to beat with a flail', G *flacken* w.v. 'to beat wool' ⇒ **plh₂k-néh₂-* (EUR).

An *o*-grade iterative, variant of the zero-grade E *to flog* (< OE **floggian*) < **fluggōn-*. Both formations appear to be (secondary) iteratives to **flōkan-* (q.v.), cf. OCS *plakati* 'to beat one's breast; to lament' < **pleh₂k-eh₂-*.

flakk/gōn- 2 w.v. 'to flutter' — Nw. *flaga* w.v. 'to fluctuate', ME *flakken* w.v. 'to beat feebly, flutter', MDu. *vlacken*, *vlaken* w.v. 'to flame', Du. *flakkeren* w.v. 'to flutter', OHG *flagarōn* w.v. 'to flutter', G Swi. *flacken* w.v. 'to flare' ⇒ **plok-néh₂-* (GM).

An iterative that in spite of the dictionaries (Franck 1949: 166; Pokorny IEW: 832-3) cannot be equated with **flakkōn-* 'to swerve'. It is more likely that the verb represents a (secondary?) *a*-grade variant of **flukk/gōn-* 'to fly' (q.v.). Also cf. ON *flaga* f. 'quick raid', Far. *flaga* f. 'gust of wind', MHG *vlage* f. 'id.', Du. *vlaag* c. 'id.' < **flagōn-* and OE *flacor* adj. 'flickering' < **flakra-*.

flakkōn- w.v. 'to swerve' — ON *flakka* w.v. 'to rove about', Far. *flakka* w.v. 'to wander about, roam' ⇒ **plo(ǵ)-néh₂-* (EUR) — Gr. πλάζω 'to make devious, repel, dissuade from the right path, bewilder', πλάζομαι 'to go astray, wander about' < **pl(ǵ)-ie-*.

An *o*-grade iterative. The Greek word is assumed to be without a good etymology by Beekes 2010: 1201, but the connection with PGm. **flakkōn-* < **plo(ǵ)-néh₂-* (cf. Torp 1909: 249) is formally and semantically unproblematic.

flata- adj. 'flat' — ON *flatr* adj. 'flat, level', OS *flat* adj. 'flat, shallow', MDu. *vlat* (infl. *vladde*) adj. 'id.', OHG *flaz* adj. 'flat' (IE) — Skt. *pṛthú-* adj. 'broad', Gr. πλατύς adj. 'flat' < **plth₂-u-*; Lith. *platùs* adj. 'broad, wide' < **ploth₂-u-* (cf. Lith. *plàsti* (*plantù*) 'to broaden').

Related to MLG *vlōt* adj. 'flat' < **flōta-*. The root-final *t* must be secondary from **tt*, as the word is likely to be related to Lith. *platùs*. The original geminate is preserved by e.g. G Rhnl. *Flatzen* m. 'slab' < **flattan-* vs. OHG *flado*, G *Fladen*, MDu. *vlade*, *vlaey*, Du. *vlaai*, ME *flathe* 'flat cake' < **flaþan-*. See also **flatja-*.

flatja- n. 'floor' — ON *flet* n. 'raised flooring', OE *flett* n. 'floor of a house, dwelling', E *flat*, OFri. *flet* n.? 'house; home', OS *flet* n. 'hall, house', OHG *flezzi* n. 'floor; flat area', MHG *vletz(e)* n. 'id.' (DRV).

A *ja*-stem derived from **flata-* 'flat' (q.v.).

flaugjan- w.v. 'to let fly' — Go. *us-flaugjan** w.v. 'id.', ON *fleygja* w.v. 'id.', MHG *er-vlougen* w.v. 'id.' (NEUR).

The causative to **fleugan-* (q.v.).

flauhō- f. 'flea' — ON *fló*, pl. *flœr* f. 'id.', OE *flēah*, *flēa* f. 'id.', E *flea*, WFri. *flie* c. 'id.', MDu. *vloo*, *vlo(o)y* f. 'id.', Du. *vlo* c. 'id.', OHG *flō(h)* m. 'id.' ⇒ **plóuk-eh₂-* (IE) — Skt. *plúṣi-* m. 'flea', Sogd. *'βš'h* 'id.', Arm. *lu* 'id.' < **plus-*; Alb. *plesht* m. 'id.' < **plous-*; Gr. ψύλλα f. 'id.' < **psul-*; Lat. *pūlex* 'id.' < **pusl-*; Lith. *blusà* f. 'id.', RuCS *blъxa*, Ru. *bloxá*, SCr. *bùha* f. 'id.' < **blus-eh₂-*.

An inherited Indo-European word. Due to the many tabooistic distortions of the word in the different IE languages, it is difficult to reconstruct its original form.

flauja- n. 'ship' — ON *fley* n. 'id.', Far. poet. *floy* 'vessel, craft' ⇒ **plou-io-* (IE) — Identical to Gr. πλοῖον n. 'ship'; further cf. ToB *plewe* m. 'id.', Gr. πλόος, πλοῦς m. 'id.', Ru. *plov* m. 'ship, barge' < **plouo-*.

Derived from the PIE verb **pléu-e-* 'to sail', for which see **flauma-* and **flōan-*. The OE gloss *floege* '*navicula*' appears to be a Norse loanword (Pons-Sanz 2000: 94-5).

flauma- m. 'stream' — ON *flaumr* m. 'eddy' ⇒ **plou-mo-* (IE) — Skt. *plávate* 'to swim, flow', Gr. πλέω 'to travel by sea, sail, navigate', Lat. *pluit*, *pluere* 'to rain', OCS *pluti* 'to flow, sail' < **pléu-e-*; OCS *plaviti* 'to let swim' < **plōu-éie-*; OIr. *ló* 'water' < **plou-o-*(?).

See also **flauja-* and **flōan-*.

flauti- f. 'cream' — ON *flautir* f.pl. 'whipped milk', OE *flī(e)te* f. 'cream' (DRV).

See **fleutan-*.

flauþī- f. 'cross-beam' — ON *fleyðr* f. 'id.' ⇒ **plout-ih₂-* (EUR) — Lith. *plaũtas*, Latv. *plàuts* m. 'shelf, sideboard', SCr. *plúto* n. 'flotsam' < **plou-tó-*;

Lat. *pluteus* m. 'movable screen of wood or wickerwork, parapet' < **pl(o)ut-* plus the usually adjectival suffix *-eus* (< **-eio-*).

flehtan- s.v. 'to braid, plait' — ON *flétta* w.v. 'id.', OE *fleohtan* s.v. 'id.', MLG *vlechten* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *vlechten* s.v. 'id.', Du. *vlechten* s.v. 'id.', OHG *flehtan* s.v. 'id.', G *flechten* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **plék̑-t-e-* (EUR) — Identical to Lat. *plectō, -ere* 'to plait, twine', OCS *plesti*, Ru. *plestí* (*pletú*), SCr. *plèsti* 'to plait' < **plék̑-t-e-*, which is an extension of the root **plek̑-*, cf. Gr. πλέκω 'to braid, to knit, to wind, to twine' < **plék̑-e-* and Skt. *praśna-* m. 'plaited basket, turban', YAv. *ərəzatō.frašna-* adj. 'having a silver helmet' < **plok̑-no-*.

fleugan- s.v. 'to fly' — ON *fljúga* s.v. 'id.', Far. *flúgva* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *fliuoga* s.v. 'id.', OE *flēogan* s.v. 'id.', E *to fly*, OFri. *fliāga* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *vliegen* s.v. 'id.', Du. *vliegen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *fliugan, fliogan* s.v. 'id.', G *fliegen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **pléuk-e-* (NEUR) — Lith. *plaũkti* (*plaukiù*) 'to swim, float' < **plouk-ie-* and *plùnksna* f. 'feather' < **plu-n-k-sneh₂-*.

In Germanic, the form **fleugan-* emerges for expected **fleuhan-* < **pléuk-e-*. Pokorny explains this as the result of deliberate disambiguation with **þleuhan-*, but it is more attractive to assume interference with the iterative **flukk/gōn-* < **pluk-néh₂-*. Another such interference is evinced by MDu. *vlieken* 'to fly' (cf. also MDu. *vlieke, vleke* f. 'feather; arrow' < **fleukjōn-*, whence OFr. *fleche*, Fr. *flèche* 'arrow'), which in spite of its weak conjugation must continue strong **fleukan-* with a secondary **k* from the iterative. Similarly, MDu. *vluycken* 'to transport over water', which is close to the meaning of Lith. *plaũkti*, is likely to continue Pre-Gm. **flūkan-* with both the **ū* and the **k* pointing to influence from **flukk/gōn-*. See also **flaugjan-*, **flugi-* and **fugla-*.

fleugōn- f. 'fly' — Nw. *fljuge* f. 'id.', OE *flēoge* f. 'id.', E *fly*, MLG *vlēge* f. 'id.', MDu. *vliege* f. 'id.', Du. *vlieg* c. 'id.', MHG *fliuga, flioga* f. 'id.', G *Fliege* f. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from **fleugan-*. Also cf. ON *fluga* f. 'id.' with a zero grade.

fleusiz- n. 'fleece' — OE *flēos, flīes* n. 'id.', E *fleece*, MDu. *vlies, vluus* n. 'fleece; tuft', Du. *vlies* n. 'id.', MHG *vlies, vlius* n. 'id.' ⇒ **pleus-o-* (NEUR) — Lith. *plaušaĩ* m.pl. 'bast' < **plous-o-*; Lith. *plùskos* f.pl., Latv. *pluska* f. 'tuft of hair' < **plus-k-eh₂-*.

The co-existence of OE *flēos*, (M)Du., MHG *vlies* < **fleusa-* and OE *flīes*, MDu. *vluus*, MHG *vlius* n. 'id.' < **fleusi-* points to an old neuter *s*-stem **fleusaz*, gen. **fleusizaz* < **pleus-os, *pleus-es-os*.

fleuta- n. 'stream' — ON *fljót* n. 'stream, river', OE *flēot* n. 'estuary, sea; fleet, ship', E *fleet*, MLG *flēt* m./n. 'river', MDu. *vliet* m. 'body of water' (DRV).

An *a*-stem to the strong verb **fleutan-* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *fljótr*, MDu. *vliet* adj. 'fast' < **fleuta-*.

fleutan- s.v. 'to float, stream' — ON *fljóta* s.v. 'id.', OE *flēotan* s.v. 'to float', OFri. *fliāta* s.v. 'id.', OS *fliotan* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *vlieten* s.v. 'id.', Du. *vlieten* s.v. 'id.', OHG *fliozan* s.v. 'id.', G *fließen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **pléud-e-* (IE) — OIr. *luaidid* 'to move' < **pléud-e-*; Lith. *plū́sti* (*plū́stu*) 'to float, stream, run' < **plud-ske-*.

A strong verb to the PIE root **pleud-*. See also **fleuta-*, **flauti-*, **fluta-* and **flut(t)ōn-*.

fleuþra- m. 'elder' — WFri. *flear* 'elder; soggy area', MLG *vlēder* m. 'elder', ODu. *flierthar* 'id.', MDu. *vlieder*, *vlier* m. 'id.', Du. *vlier* c. 'id.' (GM).

A North-Sea Germanic word. In Frisian, it is only attested in the modern dialects, but Du. dial. *vlaar*, attested in the originally Frisian province of North-Holland, implies an OFri. form **fliār* (cf. Franck 1949: suppl., 183). No certain etymology. The word seems to contain the **þra-/đra-*suffix common in tree-names (cf. **apaldra-*). In view of the WFri. meaning 'soggy place', it is perhaps possible to link the word to the PIE root **pleu-* 'to float, swim', for which see **flauma-*. Since the elder has a preference for moist soil, this meaning can also be secondary, however.

flītan- s.v. 'to strive, fight' — OE *flītan* s.v. 'to strive, contend, dispute', MDu. *vliten* s./w.v. 'to be enthusiastic; to strive for', OHG *flīzan* s.v. 'to strive, try, fight' ⇒ **pléid-e-* (WEUR) — MW *llwydaw* 'to succeed' < **pleid-*.

A Germanic-Celtic isogloss (Schumacher 2004: 521-2).

flōan- s.v. 'to flow' — ON *flóa* w.v. 'to flood; be flooded', OE *flōwan* s.v. 'to flow', E *to flow*, MLG *vlōien* w.v. 'to flow; flood', MDu. *vloeyen* w.v. 'to flow; swim; flood', Du. *vloeien* w.v. 'to flow' ⇒ **plṓu-e-* (EUR) — Gr. πλώω 'to swim' < **plṓu-e-*; OCS *plaviti* 'to let swim' < **plōu-eie-*.

An old strong verb. The alternation of *-w-* in Anglo-Saxon and *-j-* in Low German points to a hiatus, viz. **flōan-*. This hiatus arose after the regular loss of **u* after **ō* in a formation **plṓu-e-* (cf. Go. *sauil* 'sun' < **sōel* < **séh₂u-el*). Gr. πλώω has been adduced to alternatively derive **flōan-* from a root variant **pleh₃-* (cf. πλωτός adj. 'floating' < **plh₃-to-*?), but the Germanic evidence clearly points to **plṓu-e-*, cf. **flauja-* 'ship' (= Gr. πλοῖον) < **plou-io-* and **flauma-* < **plou-mo-*. See also **flōdu-*.

flōdu- m./f. 'flood' — Go. *flodus* m. 'id.', ON *flóð* n. 'id.', Far. *flóð* f. 'high tide; heavy rain', OE *flōd* m./n. 'id.', E *flood*, OS *flōd* m./f. 'flood, river', Du. *vloed* c. 'flood; high tide', OHG *fluot* f. 'flood', G *Flut* f. 'river; tide' ⇒ **ploh₃-tú-* (DRV).

A *tu*-stem created to the root of **flōan-*. The *u*-suffix has been replaced by *a*- and *i*-stems in many languages, but must nevertheless be reconstructed

on the basis of the Gothic form. In ON, the original *u*-stem genitive *flóðar* also seems to have been preserved in compounds, e.g. Icel. *flóðar-mál* (also *flæðar-mál*) n., Far. *flóðar-máli* m. 'high water mark'.

flōhō- f. 'layer' — ON *fló* f. 'layer', OE *flōh* f. 'chip', OHG *fluoh* f. 'rock, cliff', MHG *vluo* f. 'id.', G dial. *Fluh* f. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from the adjective **flaha-*, for which see **flaka-*.

flōkan- s.v. 'to slap, mourn, lament' — Go. *flokan** s.v. 'to lament', OE *flōcan* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **plóh₂k-e-* (EUR) — Gr. πλήσσω 'to strike, slap, thrust, hit' < **plh₂k-ie-*; Lat. *plangō*, *-ere* 'to slap' < **plh₂k-neh₂-*; OCS *plakati sę* (*plačǫ*) 'to beat one's breast; lament' < **pleh₂k-ie-*; Lith. *plókis*, *plõkis* m. 'flogging, blow with a stick' < **pleh₂k-i-* (and with secondary ablaut: Lith. *plàkti* 'to beat, chastise'?).

An *o*-grade reduplicating verb, formally and semantically close to Gr. πλήσσω and OCS *plakati*. The apparent incongruity of Gm. **flōk-* with PIE **pleh₂k-* can be resolved by assuming that the strong verb was influenced by the corresponding iterative **flakk/gōn-* (q.v.). It is not necessary to postulate a PIE root variant **pleh₂g-* with root-final **g*. Lat. *plangō* may have developed from **plh₂k-neh₂-* with *-ng-* < **-ngn-* < **-kn-* according to Thurneysen's law, and also Gr. πληγή f. 'hit, wound' can have come about by analogy within Greek itself.

flōra- m. 'floor' — ON *flórr* m. 'floor of a cowshed', OE *flōr* m./f. 'floor; attic', E *floor*, Du. *vloer* c. 'id.', OHG *fluor* m. 'field', G *Flur* m. 'id.' ⇒ **plé/óh₂-ro-* (EUR) — Identical to OIr. *lár* m. 'floor'; also cf. OPru. *plonis* 'threshing floor' < **pleh₂-no-*; Lith. *plónas* adj. 'thin', Latv. *plāns* adj. 'even, flat, thin' < **pleh₂-no-*; Lat. *plānus* adj. 'flat' < **plh₂-nó-*.

Within Germanic also cf. MHG *flarre* f. 'slab' < **flarrōn-* (EWAhd: III, 422) with **flarr-* < Pre-Gm. **plōrnó-*, the genitive stem from an original paradigm **plṓr-ōn*, gen. **plōr-n-ós*? This may in turn be a distortion of an old heteroclitic, e.g. nom. **plóh₂-r*, gen. **pléh₂-n-s*.

flugi- adj. 'able to fly' — E *fledge*, MDu. *vlugghe* ad.j. 'being able to fly; fast, quick', OHG *flucki* adj. 'able to fly', MHG *vlücke* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

A gerundive to **fleugan-* 'to fly' (q.v.). The *o*-grade is found in ON *fleygr* adj. 'id.' < **flaugja-*.

flukka(n)- m. 'group' — ON *flokkr* m. 'troop, host; flock', Far. *flokkur* m. 'multitude, crowd, party; flock (of birds)', OE *flocc* n. 'flock, band, company', E *flock*, MLG *vlocke* 'group' (DRV).

The original meaning of the word was 'group of moving people or animals', cf. Far. *flokkur* 'flock of birds', E *flock* (of birds or sheep), and this al-

lows for the connection with **fleugan-* 'to fly'. It was derived from the appurtenant iterative **flukk/gōn-*. Also cf. **flukka(n)-*.

flukkan- m. 'flake' — MDu. *vlocke* f. 'flake, tuft, fluff', Du. *vlok* c. 'id.', OHG *flocko* m. 'id.', G *Flocke* m. 'id.' (DRV).

The word has been analyzed as a loanword from Lat. *floccus* m. 'tuft of wool', but there are other options. It may have been derived from an iterative **flukkōn-*, cf. Nw. *flokka* w.v. 'to pull out (e.g. hay)', G Rhnl. *flocken* w.v. 'to loosen hay', which in turn can be related to Lith. *pláukas* m. '(single) hair, color of an animal, (pl.) hair, fur'. The iterative that is most likely to be related, however, is **flukk/gōn-* 'to fly, flutter' (q.v.). Note that its *o*-grade variant **flakk/gōn-* seems to have been the source of the no doubt related E *flake*.

flukk/gōn- w.v. 'to fly, flutter' — MDu. *vlogen* w.v. 'to fly', G *flocken* w.v. 'to fly around, flutter' (NEUR).

The iterative to **fleugan-* (q.v.). See also **flakk/gōn-*.

fluta- n. 'floating' — ON *flot* n. 'floating; grease', OE *flot* n. 'sailable body of water, sea', Du. *vlot* n. 'raft' (DRV).

A regular zero-grade neuter formation to the strong verb **fleutan-*.

flut(t)ōn- w.v. 'to float, stream' — ON *flota* w.v. 'id.', OE *flotian* w.v. 'id.', MDu. *vlot(t)en* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **plud-néh₂-*(?) (DRV?).

The iterative to **fleutan-*. Also cf. the frequentative OE *floterian* w.v. 'to be tossed on the waves'.

fneusan- ~ ***fnūsan-*** s.v. 'to sneeze' — ON *hnjósa* s.v. 'id.', Far. *njósa* s.v. 'id.', Nw. *njosa, nysa* s.v. 'id.', OE *fnēosan* s.v. 'id.', ME *fnēsen, snēsen* s.v. 'id.', E *to sneeze*, MDu. *niesen, fniesen* s.v. 'id.', Du. *niezen*, obs. *fniezen* w.v., MHG *pfnūsen* s.v. 'to snort, sneeze' ⇒ **pnéus-e-* (IE) — Gr. πνέω 'to blow, cough, breathe' < **pnéu-e-*.

Seebold 1970: 269 reconstructs PGm. **hneusan-* on the basis of the Nordic forms, thus isolating them from WGm. **fneusan-*, but it seems more likely that the sequence **fn-* merged with **hn-* (also cf. MDu. *niesen*). This is confirmed by Far. *fros* n. 'sneezing', a (dissimilated) variant of *nos* n. 'id.' < ON **hnos* < **hnusa-*. As a result, there seem to be no objections against reconstructing the root as **fneus-*, which appears to be related to PIE **pneu-* 'to breathe' (with the *s*-extension pointing to an aoristic root, cf. Gr. ἔπνευσε 'breathed, blew'). Ultimately, the root is likely to be onomatopoetic, cf. OHG *fnehan* s.v. 'to snort, breathe heavily' < **fnehan-*. See also **fnuz(z)ōn-*.

fnuz(z)ōn- w.v. 'to sneeze' — Icel. *hnerra* w.v. 'id.', MHG *pfnurren* w.v. 'to swell; to snort; to grumble' ⇒ **pnus-néh₂-* (IE).

Possibly the iterative to **fneusan-* ~ **fnūsan-* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *hnøri*, *hneri*, Icel. *hnerri*, OE *fnora* m. 'sneezing' < **fnuz(z)an-*. Some derive Icel. *hnerra*, obs. *hnōr(r)a* from the noun (Magnússon 1989: 347), however.

fōdjan- w.v. 'to feed; to rear' — Go. *fodjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *fœða* w.v. 'id.', OE *fēdan* w.v. 'id.', E *to feed*, OFri. *fēda* w.v. 'id.', OS *fōdian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *voeden* w.v. 'id.', OHG *fuottan* w.v. 'id.', MHG *vüeten* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **poh₂t-éie-* (EUR) — Gr. πατέομαι 'to eat' < **ph₂t-eie-*; Gr. ἄπαστος 'without food' < **n-ph₂t-to-*.

A causative probably created to the marginally attested root **peh₂t-*, possibly an extension of **peh₂-* 'to protect; to graze', cf. Lat. *pāscō*, *-ere* 'to graze' < **peh₂-ske-*. It is less attractive to explain the dental of the Germanic verb as resulting from back-formation from **fōdra-* 'fodder', not least in view of **fadō(ja)n-*.

fōdra- n. 'fodder' — Go. *fodr* n. 'scabbard, sheath, casing', ON *fóðr* n. 'fodder, foddering', OE *fōdor* n. 'fodder; sheath', E *fodder*, MLG *vōder* n. 'fodder; casing', MDu. *voeder* n. 'lining, cover; fodder', Du. *voer*, *voeder* n. 'fodder', OHG *fuotar* n. 'id.', MHG *vuoter* n. 'id.', G *Futter* n. 'id.' ⇒ **peh₂-dʰro-* (IE) — Lat. *pābulum* n. 'fodder' < **peh₂-dʰlo-*.

A merger of two instrumental nouns. In the meaning 'fodder', it is related to **fōdjan-* 'to feed'. The attestations meaning 'sheath' or 'casing', on the other hand, were derived from the PIE root **peh₂-*, i.e. 'to protect', cf. ToA *pās-*, ToB *pāsk-* 'to guard'.

fōgjan- w.v. 'to join together' — OE *fēgan* w.v. 'id.', E *to fay*, OS *fōgian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *voegen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *fuogan* w.v. 'id.', G *fügen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **poh₂ḱ-éie-* (IE) — Hitt. *pāški* ~ *pāškanzi* 'to stick in, to fasten, to plant; to set up; to impale' < **peh₂ḱ-ske-*; YAv. *paiti.auua.pašāṯ* 3sg.subj. 'to chain together' < **peh₂ḱ-* (cf. Skt. *páśa-* m. 'snare, bond, chain, noose', Av. *fšābiš* dat.pl. 'with fetters' < **p(e)h₂ḱ-*; Gr. πήσσω, Att. πήττω 'to fix' < **peh₂k-ie-* (with secondary *g*: πήγνυμι 'to fix; to congeal'); Lat. *pangō*, *-ere* 'to attach, fasten' < **ph₂k-neh₂-* (with **-kn-* > **-ng-* according to Thurneysen's law).

A causative verb to a further unattested strong verb **fahan-*, whence MHG *vuoge* f. 'joint', G *Fuge*, MLG *vōge*, MDu. *voege* f., Du. *voeg* c. 'joint' < **fōgō-*. See also **fagra-*.

fōljan- w.v. 'to feel' — OE *fēlan* w.v. 'id.', E *to feel*, OFri. *fēla* w.v. 'id.', OS *gi-fōlian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *voelen* w.v. 'id.', G *fühlen* w.v. 'id.' (GM).

An etymologically obscure word. Within Germanic, the appurtenance of ON *falma* 'to grope' and **fulmō-* 'palm of the hand' (q.v.) is uncertain. Not

convincing either are the connections with OCS *palьcь*, Ru. *pálec* 'finger' and Lat. *palpō, -āre* 'to stroke, soothe'.

fōra- m. 'piglet' — OE *fōr* m. 'pig, hog', OS *fōr* n. 'immature pig', MLG *vōr* 'skinny piglet' ⇒ **pōr-o-* (DRV?) — Gr. πόρις, -ιος f. 'calf, heifer' < **por-i-*.

A word apparently continuing Pre-Gm. **pōr-o-*, an *o*-stem derived from the root **per-* 'to give birth', for which see **farza(n)-*.

fōr ~ *fun- n. 'fire' — Go. *for*, gen. *funins* n. 'id.', ON *fýrr*, *fúrr* m. 'fire', *funi* m. 'flame', Far. *fýrur* m. 'fire; lighthouse', *funi* m. 'dense smoke', OE *fȳr* n. 'id.', E *fire*, OFri. *fiūr*, *fiōr* n. 'id.', WFri. *fjoer* n. 'id.', OS *fiur* n. 'id.', ODu. *fuir* n. 'id.', Du. *vuur* n. 'id.', OHG *fiur*, *fuir* n. 'id.', G *Feuer* n. 'id.' ⇒ **péh₂-ur*, **ph₂-uén-s* (IE) — Hitt. *paḫḫur*, gen. *paḫḫuenaš* n. 'fire', Gr. πῦρ n. 'id.', Arm. *hur* 'id.', OPru. *panno* 'id.'.

An old heteroclitic formation, probably to be reconstructed as Pre-Germanic **péh₂-ur* (hardly **ph₂-uōr* as per Simms 2009, as this would become **fawōr*), gen. **ph₂-un-ós*, loc. **ph₂-uén-i*. The heteroclisy was preserved by Proto-Germanic, which appears to have had a paradigm **fōr* (with **-ou-* > **-ō-*), gen. **funins* (for older **funaz* < **pūnós* with Dybo's law), dat. **fu(w)eni*. The different languages leveled out the *r/n*-alternations. Gothic, for instance, incorporated the word into the neuter *n*-stems, while West Germanic generalized the forms with *r*. The attestations with front mutation, e.g. ON *fýrr*, OE *fýr*, OHG *fuir*, *fiur*, are based on a dative form **fu(w)eri*. For similar cases of umlaut in PIE heteroclitic nouns, see **eudra-* ~ **ūdra-* 'udder', **librō-* 'liver' and **neura/ōn-* 'kidney'. OE *fīor* and OFri. *fiūr*, WFri. *fjoer*, apparently from **feuri*, continue the same case form, though with metathesis.

fōri- adj. 'passable; able to go' — ON *færr* adj. 'able to go; capable of being passed, safe', OE *fēre* adj. 'passable; able to go', OHG *gi-fuori* adj. 'fit, convenient' (DRV).

A *vr̥ddhi*-gerundive to **faran-* (q.v.). The difference in meaning between 'able to go' and 'passable' depends on the diathetic role, i.e. passive or active.

fōrjan- w.v. 'to lead' — ON *fœra* w.v. 'id.', OE *fēran* w.v. 'to go', OFri. *fēra* w.v. 'id.', OS *fōrian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *voeren* w.v. 'id.', OHG *fuorran*, *fuoren* w.v. 'id.', G *führen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

The causative to **faran-* (q.v.). The vowel **ō* is secondary, and in synchronic Germanic functions as the *o*-grade of **a*. It is not to be equated with the *ā* of Skt. *pārāyati* 'to take across', which continues **por-éie-* by Brugmann's law.

fōt- m. 'foot' — Go. *fotus* m. 'id.', ON *fótr*, pl. *fœtr* m. 'foot; leg', Far. *fótur*, pl. *føtur* m. 'foot', Elfd. *fuot* m. 'foot; leg', OE *fōt*, pl. *fēt* m. 'foot', E *foot*, OFri. *fōt* m. 'id.', OS *fōt* m. 'id.', Du. *voet* c. 'id.', OHG *fuoz* m. 'id.', G *Fuß* m. 'id.' ⇒ **pōd-* (IE) — Hitt. *pāt-* ~ *pat-* c. 'foot', Skt. *pā́t*, *pad-* m. 'id.', YAv. *pad-* m. 'id.', OP *pāda-* 'id.', Arm. *otn* 'id.', Gr. Dor. πώς, Ion.-Att. πούς, ποδός m. 'id.' < **pŏ́d-*; Lat. *pēs*, *pedis* m. 'id.', Olr. *ed* 'space, interval' < **ped-*.

The IE word for 'foot', a static root noun nom. **pṓd-s*, gen. **péd-s*, **pód-m*. Germanic generalized the lengthened grade of the root. See also **fetan-* and **futōn-*.

fōþra- n. 'load; vessel; fodder' — OE *fōðor* n. 'cartload; fodder', MLG *vōder* n. 'cartload', MDu. *voeder* n. 'wine vat; lead weight', OHG *fuodar* n. 'fodder; cartload', MHG *vuoder* n. 'id.', G *Fuder* m. 'cartload' ⇒ **péh$_{2/3}$-tro-* (GM/IE) — Skt. *pā́tra-* n. 'vessel, pot'.

Given the pan-WGm. meaning 'load' or 'weight', it seems likely that the word continues **fōrþra-*, i.e. an instrumental noun to **fōrjan-*, by dissimilation of the first *r*. The outcome may have merged with two other instrumental nouns, viz. 1) **fōþra-* from PIE **péh$_3$-tro-* 'drinking cup, vessel', and 2) **fōdra-* 'fodder' (q.v.) < quasi-PIE **péh$_2$(t)-tro-*.

fraisan- s.v. 'to tempt' — Go. *fraisan* s.v. 'id.', OE *frāsian* w.v. 'to ask, inquire, tempt' ⇒ **próis-e-* (IE?).

A strong verb attested only in Gothic. It gave rise to OFri. *frēs*, OS *frēsa*, OHG *freisa* f. 'danger; scare' < **fraisō-*, whence OE *frāsian* 'to try', OS *frēson* 'to try, risk', Du. *vrezen* 'to fear', MHG *vreisen* 'to endanger' < **fraisōjan-* and ON *freista* w.v. 'to tempt' < **fraistōjan-*, which implies a noun **fraistō-* < **prois-teh$_2$-*. An archaic formation is Go. *fraistubni* f. 'temptation' < **proist-mn-ieh$_2$-*. Etymology unclear. From **pro-h$_2$is-* "to ask forth" (Hoffmann 1903: 38)? Cf. **aiskō-*.

fraiwa- n. 'seed' — Go. *fraiw* n. 'id.', ON *fræ*, *frjó* n. 'id.', Elfd. *frie* n. 'id.' (IE?).

A word with a debated etymology. The connection with Lat. *praegnans* (implying PGm. **fraigwa-*) is implausible on many different levels (*pace* Wiedemann 1904: 43-44), and the same is true for the alleged links with PIE **sper-* 'to sow' and Lat. *parere* 'to bring forth' (Bugge 1899: 457) < **pr(H)-ie-*. Within Germanic, the attestation of ON *frjár*, *frjór*, *frær*, Icel. *frjór* adj. 'fertile; prolific' < **fraiwa-* clearly seems to point to a stem **frai(w)-* meaning 'fecund'. Both in form and meaning, this element is reminiscent of *Freyr* 'fertility deity' < **frauja-*. We may therefore consider the possibility that **fraiwa-* was metathesized from **frawja-*, a collective of some kind. The word is then likely to be related to ON *frygð* f. 'blossoming, excellence' < **fruwwiþō-*. For a similar metathesis, cf. **hraiwa-* 'flesh' < **krou-io-*.

fratōn- w.v. 'to fart' — ON *frata* w.v. 'id.', Far. *frata* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *fråtå* w.v. 'id.', MHG *varzen* w.v. 'id.', G *farzen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **pord-néh₂-* (IE).

An *o*-grade iterative to the strong verb **fertan-* ~ **fretan-* (q.v.).

fraþjan- s.v. 'to understand' — Go. *fraþjan* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **prót-ie-* (NEUR) — Lith. *pràsti* (*prantù*) 'to become accustomed to, *dial.* to apprehend', *su-pràsti* 'to understand' < **pro-n-t-*.

A strong *jan*-verb with close cognates in Baltic. Also cf. Go. *fraþi* n. 'mind' < **fraþja-*, OHG *frad* adj. 'nimble, quick; vigorous, strenuous' < **fraþa-* and **frōda-* 'wise' (q.v.). The appurtenance of OHG *ant-frist* 'translation' < **-fresti-*(?) is uncertain (see Liberman 2008: 211).

frauja(n)- m. 'lord' — Go. *frauja* m. 'id.', OE *frēa* m. 'id.', OS *frō*, *frōio* m. 'id.', MDu. *vroon*, *vrone* m. 'lord' (with *n* generalized from the oblique cases), OHG *frō* m. 'id.', MHG *vrō* m. 'id.' (GM).

Unclear etymology. The assumed etymological link with Skt. *pū́rva-* adj. 'front, first', YAv. *pauruua-*, *paouruua-*, *pouruua-* adj. 'being in front, first, former', OCS. *prъvъ* adj. 'first' < **prH-uo-* is problematic, since the full-grade form **proHu-io-* would yield PGm. ***frōjan-* (with **-ōu-* giving **-ō-*) rather than **fraujan-*.

frawa- adj. 'quick, light' — ON *frár*, *frór* adj. 'swift, lightfooted', Icel. *frár* adj. 'id.', Far. *fróur* adj. 'cheerful, gay, happy', OS *frā*, *frō* adj. 'happy', OHG *frao*, *frō* adj. 'id.', G *froh* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **prou-o-* (IE) — Skt. *právati* 'to jump' < **préu-e-*.

Also cf. OHG *frawida*, *frewida*, G *Freude* f. 'joy' < **frawiþō-* and probably also the ablauting Du. *vreugd(e)* c. 'id.' < **fruwiþō-* (with **-uwi-* > **-ugi-*).

frēgi- adj. 'renowned' — ON *frægr* adj. 'famous', OE *ge-frǣge* adj. 'renowned, celebrated', OS *gi-frāgi* adj. 'known, famous' (DRV).

A *vr̥ddhi*-gerundive to **frehnan-* (q.v.). The original meaning was "being rumored".

frēgō- f. 'question' — Du. *vraag* c. 'id.', OHG *frāga* f. 'question, investigation, doctrine', G *Frage* f. 'question' (IE) — OAv. *f(ə)rasā-* f. 'question', Lat. *prex* f. 'prayer, supplication', W *rheg* 'gift; curse' < **preḱ(-eh₂)-*.

An *ō*-stem derived from the preterite root of the strong verb **frehnan-*: there is no direct link between the lengthened grade of **frēgō-* and the one found in the root noun Skt. *práś-* f. 'dispute, questioning, statement or assertion in a debate or lawsuit'. The *ō*-stem served as the basis for OHG *frāgēn* ~ *frāgōn*, G *fragen*, OS *frāgon*, OFri. *fregia* 'to ask' < **frēgōjan-*. Related to **furskō-* (q.v.).

frehnan- s.v. 'to announce, rumor' — Go. *fraihnan* s.v. 'to ask a question', ON *fregna* s.v. 'to hear of, be informed of; to ask', OE *frignan* s.v. 'to ask, inquire', *gi-frignan* s.v. 'to find out, hear about, learn something through asking', OS *fregnan* s.v. 'to ask', *gi-fregnan* s.v. 'to hear tell of, learn about' ⇒ **prék-ne-* (IE) — Skt. *praśná-* m. 'question' < **pre/oḱ-no-*; Lith. *piršti* (*peršù*) 'to propose (a marriage); to offer'; Lith. *prašýti* 'to ask, demand', OCS *prositi*, Ru. *prosít'* (*prošú*) 'to ask', SCr. *pròsiti* 'to beg, ask for a girl's hand' < **proḱ-eie-*.

A strong verb with a nasal suffix that originally only occurred in the present, cf. Go. *fraihnan*, pret. *frah* ~ *frehum* and ON *fregna*, pret. *frá* ~ *frágum*. In Old Saxon and Old English, the verb generalized the nasal, and switched to the third class: OS *(gi-)fregna*, pret. *fragn*, *frugnun* and OE *(ge-)frignan*, *(ge-)fringan*, pret. *frægn*, *frægn* ~ *frugnon*, *frungon*. Originally, **frehnan-* simply meant 'to ask', while the meaning 'to learn' of the perfective variant **ga-frehnan-* seems to have developed out of "to have inquired". Related to **frēgō-* and **furskō-*.

freka- adj. 'avaricious' — Go. *faihu-friks* adj. 'id.', ON *frekr* adj. 'greedy; harsh; rigorous', Far. *frekur* adj. 'avid, covetous; severe; vigorous; audacious', Elfd. *frek* adj. 'friendly, nice', OE *frec* adj. 'eager, greedy, bold', MDu. *vrec* adj. 'greedy', Du. *vrek* c. 'avaricious person', OHG *freh* adj. 'eager, avid', MHG *vrech* adj. 'brave' ⇒ **preg-o-* (EUR) — Pol. *pragnąć* 'to yearn for', Cz. *prahnouti* 'to covet' < **prog-ne-*; Slov. *prážiti* 'to stew' < **prog-eie-*; W *rhewydd* adj. 'lascivious' < **preg-io-*; OBret. *rogedou* pl. 'orgies' (Lane 1933: 258).

An adjective to a European root **preg-* 'to desire'. Ablauting with OE *fræc*, MDu. *vrac* adj. 'avaricious' < **fraka-* < **prog-o-*.

freknōn- f. 'freckle' — Icel. *frekna* f. 'id.', Far. *frøkna* f. 'id.', Nw. *frekne*, *frokne* f. 'id.', Sw. *fräkne* 'id.', Da. *fregne* 'id.', E *freckle* (NEUR) — Close to Pol. *pręgaty* adj. 'striped' < **prng-eh₂-*.

Most of the Nordic forms can be derived from ON **frekna* (whence ME *frekne*, E obs. *frecken* as well as *freckle*), but Far. *frøkna* and Nw. *frokne* seem to continue a paradigm **frakna*, obl. **frǫknu*. It seems that the original plural **freknur* was reanalyzed as a root noun form continuing ON **freknr* < **frøknr* after the vocalization of *-r* to *-ur*. This then triggered the back-formation of a singular **frakna* and an oblique **frǫknu* in Faroese and Norwegian.

freusan- s.v. 'to freeze' — ON *frjósa* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *friuosa* s.v. 'id.', OE *frēosan* s.v. 'id.', E *to freeze*, MLG *vrēsen* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *vriesen* s.v. 'id.', Du. *vriezen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *friosan* s.v. 'id.', G *frieren* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **préus-e-* (WEUR) —

W *rhew* m. 'frost, rime' < **preuso-*; ?Lat *pruīna* f. 'frost' (< **pruru̯īna* < **prus-u-iH-neh₂*, Hamp 1973a?).

An old strong verb. The Verner alternation **freusan-*, ptc. **fruzana-* was resolved in most modern Germanic languages, cf. E *to freeze ~ frozen* vs. G *frieren ~ ge-froren*, but retained in Du. *vriezen ~ ge-vroren* and Icel. *frjósa ~ freðinn* (< ON *frørinn, frerinn* with dissimilation of the second *r*, cf. ON *frør, frer*, Icel. *freð-* n. 'frost'). The original past participle **prus-to-* was preserved as **frusta-* (q.v.). Further cf. Go. *frius** n.(?) 'frost' < **freusa-*.

****freuþan-*** s.v. 'to froth' — OE *ā-frēoðan* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **préutH-e-* (IE) — Skt. *próthati* 'to snort (of horses)' < **préutH-e-*; Av. *fraōθaṯ.aspa-* 'with snorting horses'.

A marginally attested strong verb, the source of some nominal formations in Nordic, i.e. ON, Icel. *frauð* n. 'froth', Far. *froyður* m. 'id.' < **fraudi/a-* < **proutH-* and ON, Far. *froða*, Nw. *frode* f., Da. *fråde* c. 'id.' < **fruþōn-*. The root **preutH-* may be an extension of PIE **pru-*, cf. Skt. *vi-pru-* 'to spray in all directions' < **pru-*. Another extension to the same root may be **prus-*: Skt. *pruṣṇóti*, OCS *prysnǫti* 'to sprinkle' (with secondary **y*) < **prus-ne-* and Icel. *freyr* m. 'froth' < **frauza-*. A primitive meaning 'to blow' is implied by Nw. dial. *froe* f. (= *frode*) 'gust of wind'.

****fri(j)a-*** adj. 'free' — Go. *freis* adj. 'id.', OE *frēo, frī* adj. 'id.', E *free*, OFri. *frī* adj. 'id.', OS *frī* adj. 'id.', Du. *vrij* adj. 'id.', OHG *frī* adj. 'id.', G *frei* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **priH-o-* (IE) — Skt. *priyá-* adj. 'dear' < **priH-o-*.

Also cf. Go. *frei-hals*, ON *frjáls*, OE *frēols* adj. 'free' < **fri(j)a-halsa-* and the nominalized OHG, OFri. *frī-hals* m. 'freedom'. The meaning 'free' arose from 'related', a shift that points to a clan-based societal system. Cognate with **fri(j)ōn-* (q.v.).

****fri(j)ōn-*** w.v. 'to love' — Go. *frijon* w.v. 'to love, like', ON *frjá* w.v. 'to love', Far. *fríggja* w.v. 'to propose, court', OE *frēogan, frīgan* w.v. 'to love, marry', OS *frion* w.v. 'id.', Du. *vrijen* s.v. 'to make love' ⇒ **priH-eh₂-* (IE) — Close to OCS *prijati* 'to take care of', SCr. *prìjati* 'to please, agree with' < **priH-eh₂-*; further cf. Skt. *prīyate* 'to be pleased' < **priH-ie-*.

An old PIE verbal formation. See also **fri(j)a-* and **fri(j)ōnd-*.

****fri(j)ōnd-*** m. 'friend' — Go. *frijonds* m. 'id.', ON *frændi* m. 'friend; relative', Far. *frændi* m. 'relative', OE *frēond* m. 'friend, loved one, relative', E *friend*, OFri. *friūnd, friōnd* m. 'id.', ODu. *friunt* m. 'id.', Du. *vriend* c. 'id.', OHG *friunt* m. 'friend, loved one', G *Freund* m. 'friend' (DRV).

The lexicalized participle of the verb **fri(j)ōn-* (q.v.).

friþu- m. 'friendship, peace' — ON *friðr* m. 'peace; security; friendship', Far. *friður* m. 'peace; tranquility', Elfd. *frið* m. 'id.', OE *freoðo* m. 'id.', OFri. *fretho* m. 'id.', OS *frithu, frethu* m. 'peace; security', Du. *vrede* c. 'peace', OHG *fridu* m. 'peace; protection, security', G *Friede* m. 'peace' (DRV).

A *tu*-stem derived from **fri(j)a-* < **priH-o-*: the short Gm. **i* cannot have regularly developed from the form **priH-tu-*, so it must be assumed that the *tu*-stem was derived at a relatively late stage, i.e. after the merger of **-īa-* and **-ija-*, or - if Dybo's law applied, at a stage when the pretonic shortening of **prī(j)ó-* to **pri(j)o-* had already taken place.

****frōda-*** adj. 'wise, experienced' — Go. *froþs* adj. 'id.', ON *fróðr* adj. 'id.', OE *frōd* adj. 'id.', OFri. *frōd* adj. 'id.', OS *frōd* adj. 'id.', OHG *fruot* adj. 'id.', MHG *vruot* adj. 'id.' (NEUR) — Close to Lith. *prōtas* m. 'sense', Latv. *pràts* m. 'mind; will' (with secondary PBalt. **ã*).

An *o*-grade adjective related to **fraþjan-* (q.v.). Also cf. Go. *frodei*, ON *frœði*, OHG *fruoti*, MHG *vruote* f. 'wisdom, sense'.

****frōi*** adv. 'early' — MLG *vrō* adv. 'early', MDu. *vroech* adj. 'id.', Du. *vroeg* adv., OHG *fruo* adv. 'id.', MHG *vruo* adv. 'id.', G *früh* adv. 'id.' ⇒ **próH-i* (IE).

A petrified locative identical to Gr. πρωί, πρῴ adv. 'early in the morning' (for which cf. Skt. *prātár* adv. 'early in the morning' < **proH-ter*). The adverb gave rise to the adj. **frōja-*, cf. OHG *fruoji*, G *frühe*, which is formally identical to Gr. πρώιος.

****frug/kkan-*** m. 'frog' — OE *frogga* m. 'id.', ME *frogge, frock, froke* 'id.', E *frog* ⇒ **pruk-én-* (GM).

The formal variation within ME, i.e. *frogge* < **fruggan-*, *frock* < **frukka-* and *froke* < **frukan-* points to an old *n*-stem **frugō*, gen. **frukkaz* < **prúgʰ-ōn*, **prugʰ-n-ós* or perhaps rather **pruk-én*, **pruk-n-ós*. The original paradigm was split up into 1) **frugō*, **fruggaz* on the one hand, and 2) **frukō*, **frukkaz* on the other. ON *frauki* m. 'frog' may be related, too, if it continues an ablauting form **fraukan-* from Pre-Gm. **fraukkan-*. The word has alternatively been derived from **frauðkan-* (**-kan-* is a diminutive suffix), but the alleged derivational base, i.e. ON *frauðr*, Icel. *frauður*, Nw. *frau(d)*, OSw. *frødher*, Da. *frø* 'frog' probably developed from **fraugr* (with *-g-* > **-ð-* in labial environment as in *fjǫgur* n. '4' < **fjǫdur* < **fedurō*). ME *frūd*, E obs. *froud* 'id.' is therefore likely to have been adopted from Old Norse.

No certain etymology: the usual comparison with Ru. *prýgat', prýgnut'* 'to leap' is highly doubtful, as the accent implies a root **pruHgʰ-* or **prug-* rather than **prugʰ-*. This leaves the intra-Germanic connection with **fruska-* (q.v.).

fruman- num. 'former, first' — Go. *fruma* num. 'id.', ON *frum-* pref. 'first, oldest', OE *forma* num. 'id.', E *former*, OFri. *forma* num. 'id.', OS *formo* num. 'id.' ⇒ **prH-mH-on-* (IE) — OPru. *pirmas*, Lith. *pìrmas* num. 'first' < **prH-mHo-*; Gr. πράμος m. 'foremost' < **pr-mH-o-*.

It is likely that the numeral contains the comparative suffix PGm. **-uman-* < **-mH-on-*, but the expected outcome of a proto-form **pr-mH-on-* would be ***furman-*. Possibly, this form was remodeled into **fruman-* on the basis of other ordinals ending in **-uman-*. A similar remodeling took place in Latin, where *prīmus* replaced expected **purmus* < **pr-mH-o-* or **prāmus* < **prh₂-mH-o-* due to the productivity of the suffix **-īmus* (cf. *optīmus*).

fruska- m. 'frog' — ON *froskr* m. 'id.', OE *forsc*, *frox* m. 'id.', OHG *frosc* m. 'id.', G *Frosch* m. 'id.' (GM).

A formation that in all probability continues older **frug-ska-* with the same root element as in **frug/kkan-* 'frog'. The derivation from **frauda-* 'froth' (see **freuþan-*) was inspired by ON *frauðr* 'frog', but this form is likely to have developed from **fraugr* in view of ON *frauki* 'id.' < **frauk(k)an-*.

frusta- m./n. 'frost' — ON *frost* n. 'id.', OE *forst* m. 'id.', E *frost*, OFri. *forst* m. 'id.', OS *frost* m. 'id.', Du. *vorst* c. 'id.', OHG *frost* m. 'id.', G *Frost* m. 'id.' ⇒ **prus-to-* (DRV).

Derived from **freusan-* (q.v.).

fūan- m. 'mold' — ON *fúi* m. 'rottenness', Far. *fúgvi* m. 'id.' ⇒ **puH-on-* (IE).

An *n*-stem to the PIE root **puH-*, for which see **faujan- 1.*

fugla- m. 'bird' — Go. *fugls* m. 'id.', ON *fogl*, *fugl* m. 'id.', Far. *fuglur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *fugel* m. 'id.', OE *fugol* m. 'id.', E *fowl*, OFri. *fugel* m. 'id.', OS *fugal* m. 'id.', Du. *vogel* c. 'id.', OHG *fogal*, *fugal* m. 'id.', G *Vogel* m. 'id.' ⇒ **pluk-ló-* (DRV).

Some connect Lith. *paũkštis* 'bird' < **pouk-sti-* (e.g. Magnússon 1989: 214), but the form **fugla-* is more likely to have developed from **flug-la-* (by dissimilation), and may thus have been derived from **fleugan-* 'to fly' (q.v.).

fuhōn- f. 'she-fox' — Go. *fauho* f. 'id.', ON *fóa*, *fúa* f. 'id.', MLG *vō* f. 'id.', OHG *voha* f. 'id.', MHG *vohe* f. 'id.' (IE).

The feminine to **fuhsa-* 'fox' (q.v.). Another formation with the same meaning is represented by ME *fixen(e)*, *vixen*, E *vixen* (with southern *v-* for *f-*), MHG *vühsinne*, G *Füchsin*, but unlike **fuhōn-*, this is a secondary derivation from **fuhsa-*.

fuhsa- m. 'fox' — ON *fox* n. 'deceit', Icel. *fox* n. 'fox', OE *fox* m. 'id.', E *fox*, WFri. *foks* m. 'id.', EFri. *foaks* m. 'id.', MLG *vos(se)* m. 'id.', MDu. *vos* m., *vosse* f.

'id.', Du. *vos* c. 'id.', OHG *fuhs* m. 'id.', G *Fuchs* m. 'id.' ⇒ **puk-so-* (IE) — Skt. *púcha-* m. 'tail, rod' < **puḱ-sk-o-*.

Since the semantic link between 'tail' and 'fox' is paralleled by Lith. *uodegà* 'tail' > *uodẽgis* 'fox', it is reasonable to compare Germanic **fuhsa-* to Skt. *púcha-*. This provides the word with an Indo-European background. Note that the Nordic word for 'fox', ON *refr*, Icel. *refur*, Far. *revur*, Nw. *rev*, Sw. *räv*, Da. *ræv* (also cf. Fi. *repo*), was borrowed from Iranian, cf. Oss. *ruvas* / *robas* (Skt. *lopāśá-*, Av. *raopi-*, Sogd. *ropas*). This is supported by Spa. *raposo*, *raposa*, apparently a loanword from the same Sarmatian or Alanic source (Brøndal 1928: 10). See also **fuhōn-* 'she-fox'.

fuk(k)ōn- w.v. 'to blow' — Icel. *fokka* w.v. 'to mess around, rush', MLG *vucken* w.v. 'to rush, scud', MDu. *vocken* w.v. 'to blow', MHG *fochen* w.v. 'to blow' ⇒ **pug-néh₂-* (EUR?) — Either to Latv. *pūga* f. 'gust of wind' < **pug-eh₂-* or to Arm. *p'uk'* 'breath, wind, fart' < **pug-o-* (with sound symbolic aspiration?).

The different dialects with their vacillation between **fukkōn-* and **fukōn-* point to a formation **pug-néh₂-*, which could be related to Latv. *pūga* and Arm. *p'uk'*. The sometimes compared Lith. *pūkšti* (*pūkščiù*) 'to cough, snarl', on the other hand, is a loanword from LG *pusten* 'to pant, snarl' (with *klusilspring* in the sequence *-úš-*). See also **feukan-* ~ **fūkan-*.

fūla- adj. 'filthy, foul' — Go. *fuls* adj. 'foul, putrid', ON *fúll* adj. 'foul, stinking; mean', OE *fūl* adj. 'foul, nasty', E *foul*, OFri. *fūl* adj. 'foul; vile', OS *fulitha* f. 'filth', MLG *fūl* adj. 'foul, bad', Du. *vuil* adj. 'dirty', OHG *fūl* adj. 'rotten, decayed', G *faul* adj. 'putrid; lazy' ⇒ **púH-lo-* (IE) — Lith. *pū́liai* m.pl. 'pus' < **puH-l-io-* and *piaulaĩ* m.pl. 'mold' < **peuH-l-io-*.

A *lo*-stem derived from a PIE root **puH-*. See also **faujan- 1*.

fulan- m. 'foal' — Go. *fula* m. 'id.', ON *foli* m. 'id.', Elfd. *fuoli* m. 'id.', OE *fola* m. 'id.', E *fole*, MLG *vole* m. 'id.', OHG *folo* m. 'id.', G *Fohlen* m. 'id.' ⇒ **plH-on-* (IE) — Gr. πῶλος m./f. 'foal' < **pōlH-o-*, W *ebawl* 'id.' < **h₁ekʷo-pōlH-o-*; Alb. *pelē* 'mare' < **pōlH-neh₂-*.

Also cf. ON, Far., OSw. *fyl*, Sw. *föl*, Nw. *føl(l)*, Da. *føl* n. 'id.' < **fulja-* < **plH-io-*, the WGm. diminutive MDu. *volen*, *vulen*, Du. *veulen*, OHG *vuli*, *vulīn*, MHG *vüle*, *vülīn*, G *Füllen* n. 'foal' < **ful-līn(a)-* and the Franconian feminine MHG *vülche*, MDu. *vilke*, Du. dial. *vulke*, *vilke* f. '(young) mare' < **fulikō(n)-*. In IE, the word is sometimes reconstructed with a **u* in the root, viz. **p(ŏ)ul-* (cf. Orel 2000: 14), but this seems to be precluded by W *ebawl*. I therefore reconstruct a root noun **pólH-s*, gen. **plH-ós* (Lubotsky 1988: 132). This formation may ultimately have been derived from a verbal root **pelH-* as in Alb. *pjell* 'to give birth' (cf. Huld 1984: 102).

fuldō- f. 'earth, ground, field, the world' — ON *fold* f. 'id.', Far. poet. *fold* f. 'id.', OE *folde* f. 'id.', OS *folda* f. 'id.' ⇒ *$plth_2$-$éh_2$- (IE) — Cf. Skt. *pṛthvī́-*, *pṛthivī́-* f. 'earth, Mother Earth', YAv. *ząm pərəθβīm*, *pərəθβe... zəmō* 'broad earth' < *$plth_2$-u-ih_2-.

The Germanic and Indo-Iranian forms continue a feminine form of the adj. 'flat'. In Indo-European, it presumably occurred with the word for 'land' in a sacral context. See also *felþa-.

fulgēn- w.v. 'to follow, accompany' — ON *fylgja* w.v. 'id.', Far. *fylgja* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *fya* w.v. 'id.', OE *fylgan*, *folgian* w.v. 'id.', E *to follow*, OS *folgon* w.v. 'id.', Du. *volgen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *folgēn* w.v. 'id.', G *folgen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *plk-($éh_1$)-ie- (GM).

ON *fylgja* and OE *fylg(e)an* continue a formation *fulgjan- that can be reconciled with OE *fe(o)lan* s.v. 'to proceed, go, reach' < *felhan- < *pelk-e-. Extra-Gm. comparanda are unreliable: Bret. *heul* 'to follow' probably continues *$selg^h$- rather than *$pelg^h$- and the connection with CS *plъzati*, Ru. *pólzat'*, SCr. *pùzati* 'to crawl' must be abandoned in view of the accent pointing to *$plǵ$-eh_2- rather than *$plǵ^h$-eh_2-.

fulla- 1 adj. 'full' — Go. *fulls* adj. 'id.', ON *fullr* adj. 'id.', Far. *fullr* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *full* adj. 'id.', OE *full* adj. 'id.', E *full*, OS *full* adj. 'id.', Du. *vol* adj. 'id.', OHG *fol* adj. 'id.', G *voll* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *plh_1-nó- (IE) — Skt. *pūrṇá-*, Av. *pərəna-*, OIr. *lán* 'id.', Lith. *pìlnas*, OCS *plъnъ* adj. 'filled, full' < *plh_1-nó-.

An adjective continuing the original past participle of the verbal root *$pelh_1$- 'to fill'. See also *felu- ~ *fulu-.

fulla- 2 n. 'cup' — ON *full* n. 'goblet', OE *full* n. 'cup' ⇒ *pl-nó- (IE) — Gr. πέλλα f. 'milk pail; drinking bowl, goblet' < *pel-ih_2- and Gr. πελλίς, πελίς 'basin' < *pel-i-s, gen. *pel-i-ós; OCS *polъ* 'scoop' < *pol-o-.

An Indo-European word for a certain vessel. Unrelated to *fulla- 1.

fulmō- f. 'palm of the hand' — ME *folm* f. 'id.', OS *folmos* f.pl. 'both hands', OHG *folma* f. 'palm' ⇒ *plh_2-m-eh_2- (IE) — Gr. παλάμη f. 'palm of the hand' (= Lat. *palma*) < *plh_2-em-eh_2-; OIr. *lám* f. 'hand' < *plh_2-m-eh_2-.

An old *m*-stem. Within Germanic, it is possible to connect ON *falma* w.v. 'to grope' < *falmōjan-, a verb possibly derived from a lost *mo*-stem *falmaz < *$polh_2$-mo-.

fundōn- w.v. 'to try to find(?)' — OE *fundian* w.v. 'to try to find, to strive, intend', OS *fundon* w.v. 'to strive, proceed' ⇒ *pnt-$néh_2$-(?) (DRV?).

The iterative to *finþan- (q.v.). PGm. *fandōn- can be an *o*-grade variant of the same iterative.

funhsti- f. 'fist' — OE *fȳst* f. 'id.', E *fist*, MDu. *vuust* f. 'id.', Du. *vuist* c. 'id.', OHG *fūst* f. 'id.', G *Faust* f. 'id.' ⇒ **pnkʷ-ti-* (IE) — Identical to OCS *pęstь* f. 'fist'.
Probably a derivation from PIE **pénkʷe* 'five', for which see **fimfe*.

funhtu- adj. 'humid, moist' — OE *fūht* adj. 'id.', OS *fūht* adj. 'id.', MDu. *vocht(e)*, *vucht(e)* adj. 'id.', Du. *vochtig* adj. 'id.', OHG *fūht*, *fūhti* adj. 'id.', G *feucht* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **pnk-tu-* (IE?) — Skt. *paṅka-* m. 'mud' < **pe/onk-o-*(?).
A *u*-stem adjective that became remodeled into a *ja*-stem in the continental WGm. languages. Possibly related to Skt. *paṅka-* (if this word is of IE origin). The traditional comparison with **fanja-* 'bog' is doubtful: it would imply that both Skt. and Gm. added a *k*-suffix, which is rather uncertain.

funkōn- w.v. 'to sparkle' — MDu. *vonken* w.v. 'to smolder; to sparkle', MHG *vunken* w.v. 'to shimmer, shine, sparkle', *ent-vunken* 'to ignite' ⇒ **pnk-néh₂-* (GM).
The iterative to the strong verb **finkan-* as well as the derivational base for OHG *funko*, G *Funke(n)*, MLG *vunke*, MDu. *vonke*, Du. *vonk*, ME *funke* 'spark' < **funkan-*. The etymon has no extra-Gm. cognates, but it is possible that the meaning 'to spark' arose in elliptic use of the verb **fanhan-* 'to catch (fire)'. The received derivation of the *n*-stem **funkan-* from PIE **ph₂un-* 'fire' (for which see **fōr* ~ **fun-*) is erroneous (*pace* Pokorny IEW: 828).

furdu- m. 'ford' — OE *ford* m. 'id.', OS *ford* m. 'id.', MDu. *vort*, *voorde* m. 'id.' ⇒ **pr-tú-* (IE) — Av. *pərətu-* m. 'crossing', MP *puhl*, NP *pul* 'bridge', Lat. *portus* m. 'entrance, port, refuge', OW *rit*, W *rhyd* m. 'ford' < **pr-tú-*.
Also cf. the full grade ON *fjǫrðr* m. 'fjord' < **ferþu-* < **pér-tu-*.

furh- f. 'furrow' — ON *for* f. 'id.', OE *furh* f. 'id.', E *furrow*, OFri. *furch* f. 'id.', MDu. *vore* f. 'id.', Du. *voor* c. 'id.', OHG *furh*, *furuh* d. 'id.', G *Furche* f. 'id.' ⇒ **pŕk-* (IE) — Skt. *párśāna-* m. 'rift' < **pe/orḱ-ono-*; Lat. *porca* f. 'ridge between two furrows' < **p(o)rḱ-eh₂-*; MIr. *etarche*, *etrige*, *eitre* f. 'id.' < **h₁enter-prḱ-ieh₂-*; MW *rhych* m./ f. 'furrow'?
An archaic root noun **furh-z*, dat. **furh-i* (cf. OE *fyrh*). WFri. *furg* and Du. dial. *furg* (in the originally Frisian territories) point to a Verner variant OFri. **furg* (cf. Weijnen 1996: 228), which is in agreement with the reconstruction of a root noun **pórk-s*, gen. **prk-és*, dat. **prk-í*. Also cf. the ablauting Nw. dial. *fere* m. 'ridge between two furrows' < **ferhan-*.

furhnō- f. 'trout' — OE *forn(e)* f. 'id.', OS *forhna*, *furhnia* f. 'id.', MDu. *voorne* f. '?', Du. *voorn* c. 'roach', OHG *forhana* f. 'trout', MHG *forhen*, *forhel* f. 'id.' ⇒ **pŕḱ-neh₂-* (IE) — Olr. *erc* m. 'perch, salmon' < **perḱ-o-*.

An old derivation from the root **perḱ-* 'spotted', for which see **farwa-*. Note that the root stress prevented Kluge's law from operating: the outcome of **prḱ-néh₂-* would have been **furkō-*.

furhta- adj. 'fearful' — Go. *faurhts* adj. 'id.', OS *for(a)ht* adj. 'id.', OHG *foraht* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **prk-to-* (IE) — ToAB *präskā-* 'to fear' < **prk-sk-*.

A Tocharian-Germanic isogloss; the proposed connection with Arm. *erkn*, pl. *erkun-kʿ* 'labor pains, pang; fear' is formally problematic because the form **pergʷ-* as reconstructed by Pedersen 1906: 398-9 would give Arm. ***herk-*. See further **furhtjan-*.

furhtjan- w.v. 'to fear' — Go. *faurhtjan* w.v. 'id.', OE *fyrhtan, fryhtan* w.v. 'to frighten; tremble with fear', ME *frighten* w.v. 'to frighten, become frightened', OFri. *fruchta* w.v. 'id.', OHG *furihtan* w.v. 'to fear', G *fürchten* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

The formation **furhtjan-* unites two different formations: 1) a simple denominative verb 'to fear' created to **furhtō-*, and 2) a factitive 'to frighten' derived from **furhta-* (q.v.).

furhtō- f. 'fright' — OFri. *fruchta* f. 'id.', OS *forhta* f. 'id.', OHG *forhta* f. 'id.', MHG *vorhte, vorht* f. 'id.' ⇒ **prk-t-eh₂-* (DRV).

See **furhta-* and **furhtjan-*.

furhwōn- f. 'fir' — ON *fura* f. 'id.', OE *furh* f. 'id.', OHG *voraha, vorha* f. 'id.', MHG *vorhe* f. 'id.', G *Fōrhe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **pḱʷ-eh₂-* (IE).

A zero-grade formation related to **ferhwa- 1* 'oak' (q.v.).

furi adv./prep. 'in front of, for' — Go. *faur* adv./prep. 'id.', ON *fyr* prep. 'id.', OE *for, fore* prep. 'id.', E *for*, OS *for, fora* prep. 'id.', Du. *voor* prep./adv. 'for; before', OHG *furi* prep./adv. 'id.', G *für* prep. 'id.' ⇒ **prh₂-i* (IE) — Gr. πάρ, παρά, παραί adv./prep. 'besides, by, from, next to, alongside', Lat. *prae* adv./prep. 'in front of, before' < **prh₂(-ei)*.

fūrjan- w.v. 'to castrate' — OE *(a-)fȳran* w.v. 'id.', Du. *vuren, vieren* w.v. 'id.', OHG *ar-fūrian* w.v. 'id.' (NEUR) — Lith. *pjáuti* (*pjáuju*) 'to cut, slaughter', Latv. *pļaũt* 'to mow, harvest' < **péuH-e-* (cf. OPru. *piuclan* 'scythe' < **peuH-tlo-*).

A factitive to an unattested adj. **fūra-*, cf. OHG *ur-fūr* m. 'eunuch' < **fūra-* < **púH-ro-*.

fursa- m. 'gush(?)' — ON *fors, foss* n. 'torrent; waterfall', Far. *fossur* m. 'id.', OSw. *fors* m. 'id.', Elfd. *fuoss* m. 'id.' ⇒ **pŕs-o-* (IE) — Hitt. *papparšzi* ~ *papparšanzi* 'to sprinkle' < **po-pors-ti, *-enti*; ToA *präsā-*, ToB *pärsā-* 'id.' < **pers-*; Skt. *pṛ́ṣant-* adj. 'speckled, spotted'; Lith. *puřslas* m. 'spatter, spray' <

*prs-lo-; OCS *praxъ* m. 'dust', Ru. *pórox* m. '(gun-)powder', SCr. *prâh* m. 'dust, powder' < *pors-o-; Ru. dial. *perx* 'dandruff', SCr. dial. *pȓh* 'coal dust', Slov. *pȓh* 'dust, mold' < *prs-o-; OCS *prьstь*, Ru. arch. *perst'* f. 'dust, earth', Latv. *pìrkstis* m. 'spark in ashes, heat' < *prs-ti(o)-.

Also cf. Icel., Far. *fossa*, Elfd. *fuossa* w.v. 'to gush, cascade' < *fursōjan-.

furskō- f. 'inquiry' — OHG *forsca* f. 'id.', MHG *vorsche* f. 'id.' ⇒ *prḱ-sk-eh$_2$- (IE/DRV) — Skt. *pr̥cháti* 'to ask', Av. *pərəsaiti* 'to ask, want', Lat. *poscō* 'to ask, require', OIr. *arcaid* 'to ask', W *archaf* 'id.' < *prḱ-ske-.

A feminine *prḱ-sk-eh$_2$- derived from the well-attested IE *sk*-present *prḱ-ske-. It again served as the basis for the verb *furskōjan-, cf. OHG *forscōn*, G *forschen*, Du. *vorsen* 'to inquire, investigate'. See also *frehnan- and *frēgō-.

furtu- m. 'fart' — MDu. *vort* m. 'id.', OHG *furz* m. 'id.', G *Furz* m. 'id.' ⇒ *prd-u- (IE).

A *u*-stem to the strong verb *fertan- (q.v.).

futōn- w.v. 'to go' — Nw. *fòta* w.v. 'to step; to go' (DRV).

The iterative to *fetan- (q.v.).

fuþi- f. 'vagina' — ON *fuð* f. 'id.', Icel. *fuð* f. 'vagina; holes in a block of wood (for fishing rods)', Nw. *fud* f. 'vagina; anus, backside', MHG *vut* f. 'vagina' ⇒ *put-i- (GM).

Usually connected with the root of *fūla- 'putrid' (cf. Pokorny IEW: 848-9), but in view of the Icel. verb *fuða* 'to drill a hole in a tree' and *ferða-fuða* 'buckle; travel bag', this seems impausible. MHG *votze* (cf. LG *hunds-fott*, Du. *honds-vod* 'worthless guy', lit. 'dog vagina') < *futtōn- and ON *fytta* < *futtjōn- point to a geminated root *futt-, which may have arisen in an *n*-stem *fuþō, gen. *futtaz < *pút-ōn, *put-n-ós. No further etymology, though close to Lat. *pūbēs* f.pl. 'private parts' < *peud^h-i-.

G

gadōjan- w.v. 'to fit (together)' — OFri. *gadia* w.v. 'to engage in', MDu. *gaden* w.v. 'to fit, please, mate', OHG *be-gatōn* w.v. 'to gather', MHG *(ge-)gaten* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *g^{h}od^h-eh$_2$-ie- (DRV) — Ru. *godít'* (*gožú*) 'to wait, loiter', SCr. *gòditi* 'to please' < *g^{h}od^h-eie-; OCS *godъ* m. '(suitable) time, year', Ru. *god* m. 'year', SCr. *gōd* m. 'important holiday, year, right time' < *g^{h}od^h-o-.

Probably a denominal verb derived from an adjective **gada-* < **gʰodʰ-o-*, cf. OHG *gi-gat* adj. 'suitable'. Als cf. **gadurōjan-* and **gōda-*.

gadurōjan- w.v. 'to gather' — OE *gædrian* w.v. 'id.', OFri. *gaduria* w.v. 'id.', MDu. *gaderen* w.v. 'id.', Du. *ver-gaderen* 'id.' (DRV).

A verb derived from an adverb **gadur*, cf. OE *tō gædere*, OFri. *gader*, *gadur* adv. 'together'. It is possible that the derivational base consisted of the root **gad-* (see **gadōjan-*) and the locative suffix **-r* as seen in **hwar* 'where' < **kʷo-r* and **þar* 'there' < **to-r*. For a typologically similar formation, cf. Lith. *dabar̃* 'now' from the root **dʰobʰ-* 'to suit' (see **daban-*) and the same locative suffix.

gaidwa- n. 'lack' — Go. *gaidw* n. 'id.', OE *gād* n. 'id.' ⇒ **gʰoidʰ-uo-* (NEUR).

Although Go. *gaidw* can be interpreted as a **-þwa-* derivation of a PGm. root **gai-* < PIE **ǵʰh₂-ei-* 'to be open', the link with **gīda-* 'desire' (q.v.) and the related Lith. *geĩsti* and OCS *žьdati* seems more economical (Torp 1909: 133; Derksen 2008: 565).

gaisjan- w.v. 'to terrify' — Go. *us-gaisjan** w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵʰois-éie-* (IE) — YAv. *zaēša-* adj. 'terrible' < **ǵʰois-o-*.

A causative to the root **gīs-*, cf. Go. *us-geisnan* w.v. 'to be aghast, terrified'. Also cf. ON *geiski* m. 'panic, fear' < **gaiskan-* as well as **gaista-* 'spirit'.

gaista- m. 'spirit, ghost' — OE *gāst* m. 'breath, spirit, soul, ghost', E *ghost*, OFri. *gāst*, *gēst* m. 'spirit, ghost, demon', OS *gēst* m. 'soul, vitality, spirit, demon', Du. *geest* m. 'spirit', OHG *geist* m. 'id.', G *Geist* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵʰois-d-o-* (IE).

The word can be derived from **gaisjan-* 'to terrify' (q.v.) < **ǵʰois-éie-* with a *to*-suffix: **ǵʰois-to-* (cf. EWAhd: IV, 130-1). In view of the clearly denominative OE *gǣstan* 'id.' < **gaistjan-*, however, it is more probable that Germanic had an adjective identical to Av. *zōiždа-* adj. 'terrible' < **ǵʰois-do-*. The noun **gaista-* would then be parallel to Skt. *héḍa-* m. 'anger'. Further cf. Lith. *žeĩsti* (*žeidžiù*) 'to wound' < ***ǵʰeis-d-ie-*.

gait- f. 'goat' — Go. *gaits* f. 'id.', ON *geit* f. 'id.', Far. *geit* f. 'id.', Elfd. *djiet* f. 'id.', OE *gāt* f. 'id.', E *goat*, OS *gēt* f. 'id.', Du. *geit* c. 'id.', OHG *geiz* f. 'id.' ⇒ **gʰaid-* (WEUR) — Lat. *haedus* m. 'young goat-buck, kid' < **gʰaid-o-*.

Also cf. the diminutive Go. *gaitein* n. 'little kid' < **gaitīna-* and OE *gæten*, OHG *geizīn* adj. 'of goat' < **gaitina-*, which is formally comparable to Lat. *haedīnus* adj. 'of a kid' < **gʰaid-ein-o-*. As to the etymology, the *a*-vocalism in Latin as well as the fact that the Germanic word is inflected as a root noun - which is common in non-IE elements - indicate that the word may have been borrowed from an indigenous European language. It has earlier been suggested that the word was adopted from Semitic **gadi̯-* 'goat', cf. Arab.

jadyuⁿ, Hebr. *gᵉδī*, Berb. *aġăyd*, at the PIE level. It is more conceivable, however, that both Italo-Germanic **gʰaid-* and PSem. **gad̰-* both were borrowed from a third source (D'iakonov 1985: 132). Archaeological and genetic evidence suggests that the goat was first domesticated in the Zagros Mountains as early as ten thousand years ago (cf. Naderi et al. 2008). In all likelihood, the 'goat' word petered through an old continuum of agricultural and cattle breeding cultures that had expanded into Europe from the East in the millennia preceding the arrival of the Indo-Europeans.

gaiza- m. 'spear, tip' — ON *geirr* m. 'id.', Nw. *geir* m. 'leister, eel spear; small tip; ness, headland; small mackerel', OE *gār* m. 'id.', OFri. *gēr-*, OS *gēr* m. 'id.', MDu. *geer* m. 'id.', OHG *gēr* m. 'id.', MHG *gēr* m. 'id.' ⇒ **gʰois-ó-* (WEUR) — OIr. *gae* m., MW *gwaew* m./f. 'spear' < **gʰaiso-*.

A Germanic-Celtic isogloss. In view of the *a*-vocalism, it has been claimed that the Celtic word was borrowed from Germanic (Matasović 2009: 155). This is supported by the retention of an apparently more primitive meaning in the Norwegian dialects, viz. 'small tip' and esp. the presence of ablauting cognates such as ON *gǰ́sli* m. 'staff, ski stick' < **gīsla- 1* (q.v.) < **gʰeis-*, which is semantically close to ON *geisl* m. 'ski stick', *geisli* m. 'stick; beam, ray' < **gaisla(n)-*. Note that the appurtenance of Gr. χαῖος m., χαῖον n. 'shepherd's staff' and Skt. *héṣas-* n. 'quickness, vigour, fire, missile' is semantically difficult.

galan- s.v. 'to shout, sing, chant' — ON *gala* s.v. 'to crow; to sing, chant', Far. *gala* s.v. 'to crow; to call out', Elfd. *gålå* s.v. 'to shout, call', OE *galan* s.v. 'to sing, enchant, call', MDu. *galen* s./w.v. 'to be noisy', OHG *galan* s.v. 'to sing, enchant' ⇒ **gʰól-e-* (NEUR) — Arm. *geɫgeɫem* 'to sing beautifully, quiver, vibrate' < **gʰel-gʰel-*; Ru. *na-gálit'* 'to shout, sing', *gálit'sja* 'to mock' < **gʰōl-éie-*; Ru. dial. *gal'* f. 'fun, laughter' < **gʰōl-i-*.

An *o*-grade intensive verb with a meaning 'to call' and - more secondarily - 'to chant'. It served as the basis for e.g. ON *galdr* m., OE *gealdor* n. 'fairy song' < **gal-dra-*, OHG *galstar*, MHG *galster* n. 'id.' < **gal-stra-* and the secondary causative **gōljan-*. Note that the corresponding iterative **gullōn-* (q.v.) gave rise to the secondary strong verb **gellan-* (q.v.).

gald(j)a- adj. 'barren, not (yet) pregnant' — ON *geldr* adj. 'id.' (also 'yielding no milk'), OSw. *galder* adj. 'id.', OE *gielde* adj. 'id.', MDu. *gelde*, *gelt* adj. 'id.', OHG *galt* adj. 'id.', MHG *galt* adj. 'id.', G *gelt* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **gʰol-tó-* (WEUR?) — To OW *gylym*, MW *geleu*, *gelyf* 'knife' < **gʰel-mo-*?

Also cf. the factitive ON *gelda* w.v. 'to castrate' < **galdjan-* and the derived **galtan-* 'boar' (q.v.). The adjective can be derived from both **gʰoldʰ-o-* and **gʰol-tó-* and has been compared to Go. *gilþa* m. 'knife' < **gʰel-ton-* (cf. OW

gylym). Or can there be a link with the verb **galan-* in the sense of 'to bewitch' (> 'to make infertile')?

galgan- m. 'stake?' — Go. *galga* m. 'stake, pole for crucifixion, gallows', ON *galgi* m. 'gallows', OE *gealga* m. 'id.', E *gallows*, OFri. *galga* m. 'id.', Du. *galg* c. 'id.', OHG *galgo* m. 'gallows, cross', G *Galgen* m. 'gallows; boom' ⇒ **ǵʰolgʰ-eh₂-* (NEUR) — Identical to Lith. *žalgà* f. 'long, thin stake'.

A word originally meaning 'stick', cf. *gelgja* f. 'stick, pole' < **galgjōn-*. Fi. *salko*, SaaN *čuolggu*, Mordv. *salgo* 'stick, pole' < PFU **śalka* have been claimed to be borrowed from PIE (cf. Koivulehto 2007: 240), but it is problematic, from this perspective, that the word is only attested in Baltic and Germanic. Note that the sometimes quoted link with Arm. *jałk* 'branch, rod, stick, staff, whip' < **ǵʰlg-* is uncertain because of formal reasons (cf. Martirosyan 2008: 409).

galla/ōn- m./f. 'bile' — ON *gall* n. 'id.', Far. *gall* n. 'id.' (< **galla-*), Elfd. *golle* m. 'id.', OE *gealla* m. 'id.', E *gall*, OS *galla* f. 'id.', Du. *gal* c. 'id.', OHG *galla* f. 'id.', MHG *galle* f. 'id.', G *Galle* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵʰol(h₃)-on-* (IE) — Av. *zāra-* 'bile', Gr. χόλος m. 'id.' < **ǵʰolh₃-o-*; Lat. *fel*, *fellis* n. 'id.' < **ǵʰelh₃-n-*(?); Lith. *tulžìs* (< **žultìs*), Latv. *žuĺ(k)ts* f. 'id.' < **ǵʰlh₃-ti-*; OCS *zlьčь*, Ru. *žëlč'*, SCr. *žūč* f. 'bile' < **ǵʰlh₃-ki-*.

An *n*-stem generally derived from the PIE root **ǵʰlh₃-* 'yellow' (cf. PGm. **gelwa-* ~ **gulu-*. It is possible, however, that the original word was merely influenced by this root. Problematic is the appurtenance of Lat. *fel*, which points to initial **gʷʰ* (or **bʰ*): the assumption of an *ad hoc* change **ǵʰ* > *f* in dialectal Latin (cf. Mallory/Adams 1997: 217; De Vaan 2008: 209) remains problematic.

galra- m. 'swelling(?)' — Nw. *galder* m./n. 'swelling in the foot of horses' ⇒ **ǵʰolH-r-* (Driessen 2003) (IE) — Close to OIr. *galar* n. 'sickness, disease, physical pain', MW *galar* m. 'grief, lament' < **ǵʰolH-r-*; also cf. Lith. *žalà* f. 'damage' < **ǵʰolH-eh₂-*; Hitt. *kallar-* adj. 'inauspicious, unpropitious, baleful' < **ǵʰolH-ro-*; OCS *zъlъ*, Ru. *zloj*, SCr. *zȁo* adj. 'bad' < **ǵʰlH-o-*.

Also cf. ON *galli* m. 'flaw', OE *gealla* m. 'skin lesion', MLG *galle* m. 'damage' < **gallan-* < nom. **ǵʰólH-ōn*, gen. **ǵʰolH-n-ós*. Nw. *galder* can be identical to OIr. *galar* if it continues **ǵʰolH-r-* rather than **ǵʰelH-r-* (the latter with Joseph's rule). The appurtenance of Gr. χολέρα 'bile' (< **ǵʰolh₁-er-h₂-*?) is more uncertain.

galtan- m. '(castrated) boar' — ON *galti*, *gǫltr* m. 'id.' (DRV).

An *n*-stem created to **gald(j)a-* 'infertile'. The formation must in view of the (shortened) geminate have arisen prior to Kluge's law. The original Pre-Gm. paradigm probably was **galdō*, gen. **galttaz* < **gʰoldʰ-ōn*,

g^hold^h-n-ós or perhaps rather with a zero-grade genitive *g^hld^h-n-ós* in view of the derived feminine ON *gyltr*, *gylta* f. 'young (infertile?) sow' < Pre-Gm. *gultt-īz*, gen. *gultt-jōz* < *g^hld^h-n-ih₂-s*, *g^hld^h-n-iéh₂-s* (OHG *galza*, *gelza*, MHG *galze*, *gelze*, MDu. *gelte* f. 'castrated sow' < *gelt(t)jōn-* is a more recent derivation). The *u*-stem ON *gǫltr* split off from the original acc.pl. *galtuns* < *g^hold^h-n-ns* (cf. ON *ǫrn* m. 'eagle' < **arnu-* vs. < **aran- 1*).

gamala- adj. 'old' — ON *gamall* adj. 'id.', OE *gamol*, *gomel* adj. 'id.', MDu. *gamel* adj. 'id.', Du. *gammel* adj. 'rickety' ⇒ **ǩom-h₂el-o-*? (DRV?).

Uncertain etymology. The word has been derived from *$ǵ^hi$-om-*, an ablaut variant of *$ǵ^héi$-m* 'winter' (cf. Torp 1909: 127) on the assumption that age was measured by counting winters, but this seems too far-fetched. Perhaps from *ga-mēla-* (prefix *ga-* + **mēla-* 'time') with the stress on the first syllable (Kluge 1883: 70). Or, by the same principle, from *gam-ala-* < **ǩom-h₂el-o-* to **alda-* 'old' < **h₂el-tó-*. Also cf. OE *gamelian*, MLG *gamelen* w.v. 'to age' < **gamalōjan-* and the past participles ON *gamlaðr*, OS *gi-gamalod* 'aged'.

gamman- m. 'stall(?); hut(?)' — ON *gammi* m. 'Sami hut; earthen hut', Elfd. *gamme* m. 'porch', Da. *gamme* c. 'animal stall; earthen hut' ⇒ *g^hos-mó-* (EUR) — Arm. *gom* 'fold (for cattle)' < *g^hos-mo-*.

The comparison of the Germanic and Armenian words implies a proto-form *g^hos-mó-* (Olsen 1999: 198), as **-zm-* regularly gives PGm. **-mm-*. The root of this formation can perhaps be identified with *g^hes-* 'to eat', cf. YAv. *gaŋhaṇti* 3pl.pres. 'id.' < *$g^hés$-e-*.

ganazan- m. 'gander' — OE *gandra*, E *gander*, MLG *ganre* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$ǵ^hh₂en$-os-on-* (IE).

A formation derived from the root of **gans-* 'goose' (q.v.) < PIE *$ǵ^hh₂en$-s-* by adding the masculine suffix **-azan-*, for which cf. **katazan-* 'tomcat'.

ganēn- w.v. 'to open' — ON *gana* w.v. 'to gape; gaze, stare' ⇒ *$ǵ^hh₂$-neh₂-* (IE) — Gr. χάσκω 'to yawn' < *$ǵ^hh₂$-ske-*; Gr. χαίνω 'to yawn' < *$ǵ^hh₂$-n-ie-* and χάνος n. 'throat, mouth' < *$ǵ^hh₂$-n-os-*.

A stative verb, in all likelihood a remodeling of an original nasal present *$g^hh₂$-neh₂-*, cf. Gr. χαίνω and χάσκω (the **n* is unlikely to be radical in view of e.g. Gr. χάος). Also cf. ON *gan* n. 'yawning' and the secondary Far. *gána* w.v. 'to crane one's neck; to gape, stare' < **gēnēn-* as well as Far. *góna* w.v. 'to stare, gape' < **gōnēn-*.

gangan- ~ ***gungan-*** s.v. 'to go' — Go. *gaggan* s.v. 'id.', ON *ganga* s.v. 'id.', OE *gangan*, *gongan* s.v. 'id.', OFri. *gunga* s.v. 'id.', OS *gangan* s.v. 'id.', OHG

gangan s.v. 'id.', MHG *gangen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵʰóngʰ-e-* (IE) — Lith. *žeñgti* (*žengiù*) 'to stride' < **ǵʰengʰ-ie-*.

The verb was originally suppletive in Germanic, cf. the Gothic preterite *iddja* < **ejjō-* (also OE *ēode* < **ejj-ōd-* with secondary weak ending), but in NWGm. we find a reduplicated preterite **geanga* ~ **geangume*, cf. ON *gékk* ~ *géngum*, OHG *gieng*, *giengum*. OFri. *gungan* is probably to be analyzed as a zero-grade form **gungan-* (cf. recently Mottausch 1996), although the *u*-vocalism has also been explained by internal Frisian developments (cf. Seebold 1970: 213). From the PIE perspective, however, it is likely that the Gm. strong verbs with *a*-vocalism evolved from the class of athematic verbs corresponding to the Hittite *ḫi*-verbs with similar *o*/ø-ablaut. The Frisian zero grade would then be a vestige of the original paradigm 3sg. **ǵʰóngʰ-ti*, 3pl. **ǵʰngʰ-énti*. See also **gangi-* and **ganhti-*.

gangi- adj. 'passable' — ON *gengr* adj. 'able to walk', OE *genge* adj. 'effective', OFri. *genze* adj. 'current, valid', MDu. *genge* adj. 'current, valid', OHG *gengi* adj. 'current', MHG *genge* adj. 'id.', G *gängig* adj. 'current, usual' (DRV).

The gerundive to **gangan-* ~ **gungan-* (q.v.).

ganhēn- w.v. 'to inspect; to take into account(?)' — ON *gá* w.v. 'to heed', Icel. *gá* w.v. 'to inspect', Far. *gáa* w.v. 'to notice, become aware of', Elfd. *gǫ* w.v. 'to notice; to observe' (GM).

The widely accepted etymological connection with OCS *gověti* 'to revere' (cf. Torp 1909: 121) and Lat. *faveo* 'to be favorable' < **gʷʰou-eh₁-* (cf. Schrijver 1991: 441-2), implying a PGm. form **gawēn-*, is contradicted by the nasal vowel of Elfd. *gǫ* (also cf. Elfd. *gǫ-los* 'indifferent' = Far. *gá(a)-leysur* < **ganha-lausa-*) as noticed by Noreen 1886: 16-17. Similarly, the derived ON *gæta* w.v. 'to watch, tend, take care of' must be reconstructed as **ganhatjan-* rather than **gawatjan-* in view of the nasal vowel of Elfd. *gęta*. It follows that the apparently obvious link with **gauma-* 'attention' must be abandoned.

ganhti- f. 'doorway' — Go. *fram-gahts* f. 'progress', ON *gátt* f. 'rabbet of a doorpost; doorway', Far. *gátt* f. 'threshold; doorway', Elfd. *gǫtt* f. 'doorpost' (DRV).

A *ti*-stem to **gangan-* ~ **gungan-*. The nasality of the Proto-Germanic vowel is still attested in Elfd. *gǫtt*. Also cf. OSw. *dura-gæte* n. 'doorframe' < **ganhtja-* and - with an *e*-grade - MHG *giht* f. 'course, journey' may continue **ginhti-* < **ǵʰengʰ-ti-*.

ganhu- adj. 'fast' — MDu. *gā*, *gauw* adj. 'fast, quick, rash', Du. *gauw* adv. 'soon', OHG *gāhi* adj. 'fast, sudden', G *jäh* adj. 'sudden, precipitous' (GM).

Also cf. OHG *gāhida* f. 'immediacy', OE *gēhðu* f. 'stir, trouble' < **ganhiþō-* and OHG *gāhēn*, *gāhōn* w.v. 'to hurry'. The Dutch forms point to a labial element that cannot be retrieved from OHG *gāhi*. It has been claimed that it was introduced analogically after e.g. MDu. *blā*, gen. *blāwes* 'blue' (cf. Franck 1949: 176), but it seems more likely that the labial is original. I therefore reconstruct a *u*-stem **ganhu-*, assuming that it was remodeled into a *ja*-stem in Old High German. Heidermanns 1993: 231 reconstructs **ganha-*, on the other hand. No further etymology. Unrelated to **gangan-* ~ **gungan-* 'to go' (q.v.) and Lith. *guvùs* adj. 'quick, agile'.

****gans-*** f. 'goose' — ON *gás*, pl. *gæss* f. 'id.', Far. *gás*, pl. *gæs* f. 'id.', Elfd. *gǫ̊s*, pl. *gęser* f. 'id.', OE *gōs* f. 'id.', E *goose*, WFri. *goes* c. 'id.', EFri. *Gous* f. 'id.', Du. *gans* c. 'id.', OHG *gans* f. 'id.', G *Gans* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵʰh₂en-s-* (IE) — Skt. *haṃsá-* m. 'goose', Gr. χήν, χηνός m./f. 'id.', OIr. *géis* f. 'swan', OPru. *sansy* 'goose', Lith. *žąsìs* f. 'id.', Ru. *gus'* 'id.' < **ǵʰh₂en-s-*; Lat. *ānser* m.(f.) 'id.' (< **ǵʰh₂ens-ro-*) < **gʰh₂en-s-*.

Most of the forms in the European languages can be derived from **ǵʰeh₂n-s-* (with Osthoff's law), but the short vowel of Skt. *haṃsá-* proves that the actual proto-form was **ǵʰh₂en-s-*. Also cf. **ganazan-* and **ganuta(n)-* 'gander' (q.v.). The latter formation has a variant **gunuta-* in G dial. *Gunz*, which points to a zero-grade root **ǵʰh₂n̥-* that split off from the original genitive **ǵʰh₂n-s-ós*. The same zero-grade genitive has been postulated to account for the depalatalization in PSlav. **gǫsь* (Derksen 2008: 184).

****ganta-*** adj. 'whole, entire' — OHG *ganz* adj. 'id.', G *ganz* adj. 'id.' (GM/DRV?).

A High German word that is assumed to have spread to Frisian, Dutch and Low German, cf. OFri. *gans*, MDu. *gansch*, Du. *gans*, MLG *gans*, *ganz* adj. 'entire' (hence Da., Nw. *ganske*, Sw. *ganska* adv. 'quite'). Etymology unclear. Not to OLith. *gandžiaus* comp. 'rather, better', Lith. *nē-gandas* adj. 'dissatisfied' as proposed by Heidermanns 1993: 232: these nominal formations were coined to *gandéti* 'to be satisifed', a late derivation from *ganà* 'enough'. Not related either to Gr. χάνδον 'with opened mouth' (*pace* Schmidt 1913/14). There is a factitive OHG *genzen* w.v. 'to safeguard', G *er-gänzen* 'to add, complement' < **gantjan-*, and in view of the meaning of the pertaining Swi. *an-gänzen* w.v. 'to tap; to cut (off); to touch', it is possible to assume a link with G Rhnl. *gunzen* w.v. 'to cut off (vine shoots)' < **guntōn-*. The semantic link remains unclear, however, and it is not unlikely that two different verbs merged here. I therefore tentatively propose a link with Swi. *er-ginzen* w.v. 'to cringe, be startled': if this verb continues strong **gintan-* (q.v.), the meaning of the adjective **ganta-* may have developed from 'terribly' to 'very much' in adverbial use.

ganuta(n)- m. 'gander' — OE *ganot* m. 'id.', MDu. *gent* m. 'id.', Du. *jan-van-gent* 'gannet', OHG *ganzo, ganazzo* m. 'gander', MHG *ganze* m. 'id.' (IE).

A formation derived from the root of **gans-* 'goose' (q.v.) < PIE **ǵʰh₂en-s-* by adding the animal suffix **-uta-* (for which cf. **heruta-* 'deer') or the variant **-ita-* as in MDu. *gent*. In addition, G Rhnl., Lorr. *Gunz* m. 'gander' points to a variant **gunuta-* with zero grade of the root. It may preserve the oblique stem of an originally ablauting paradigm **gans*, gen. **gunzaz* < **ǵʰh₂én-s, *ǵʰh₂n-s-ós*.

gapp/bōn- w.v. 'to joke' — ON *gabba* w.v. 'to mock, make game of one', OE *gabbian* w.v. 'to mock; to chat', OFri. *gabbia* w.v. 'to denounce, accuse, prosecute', MLG *gabben, gabberen* w.v. 'to joke, monkey about', MDu. *gabben* w.v. 'to joke', Du. *ginne-gappen* 'id.' (GM).

An iterative formation 3sg. **gappōþi-*, 3pl. **gabunanþi* < **gʰHbʰ-néh₂-*, no doubt related to **gapōn-* 'to gape', cf. ON *gapa*, OE *gapian*, Du. *gapen*, (M)HG *gaffen*, cf. for the shift of meaning: Nw. dial. *gapa* w.v. 'to gape; gaze; insult'. Lith. *gablióti* and Pol. *gabać* 'to vex' were borrowed from Low German.

garda- m. 'courtyard' — Go. *gards* m. 'house, household enclosure, courtyard', ON *garðr* m. 'fence, wall; yard; courtyard, court', Far. *garður* m. 'fence; enclosure; farm; ring; gust of wind creating ripples in the water', OE *geard* m. 'id.', OS *gard* m. 'field, ground, house', OHG *gart* m. 'enclosure' ⇒ **gʰordʰ-o-* (IE) — Lith. *gařdas* m. 'fold, pen', OCS *gradъ* m. 'city, town', Alb. *gardh* m. 'hedge, fence' < **gʰordʰ-o-*; also cf. Skt. *gṛhá-* m. 'house' < **gʰr̥dʰ-ó-*.

An *o*-stem derived from the root **gʰerdʰ-*, for which see **gerdan-*. The original Proto-Indo-European meaning 'circle' has been preserved in Faroese, cf. *sláin garð um ein* 'to form a (defensive) circle around someone'. Also cf. OFri. *garda* m. 'family property, court', OS *gardo* m. 'garden', OHG *garto*, G *Garten* m. 'id.' < **gardan-*.

garnō- f. 'intestines' — ON *gǫrn* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵʰór-n-eh₂-* (EUR) — Lith. *žarnà* f. 'intestine'; Lat. *hernia* f. 'hernia' < **ǵʰer-n-ieh₂-*.

Also cf. the collective OE *micgern*, OS *mid-garni*, OHG *mitti-garni* n. 'paunch-fat' < **midja-garnja-* and the semantically more secondary ON *garn*, OE *gearn*, OHG *garn*, G *Garn* 'yarn' < **garna-*. Apparently, intestines were used for making strings.

garp/bōn- / ***gurp/bōn-*** w.v. 'to gobble; to belch' — Far. *gorpa* w.v. 'to cough violently; to vomit', Nw. *garpa, garva, gurpa* w.v. 'to talk loudly; belch; gormandize' ⇒ **gʰorbʰ-néh₂-* (IE) — Hitt. *karāpi* ~ *karipanzi* 'to devour, to consume' < **gʰórbʰ-ei, *gʰrbʰ-énti*.

An iterative 3sg. **garpōþi*, 3pl. **garbunanþi* beside 3sg. **gurpōþi*, 3pl. **gurbunanþi* < **gʰ(o)rbʰ-néh₂-*. The ablaut doublet is a direct reflection of the *o/ø* ablaut of the corresponding *ḫi*-verb in Hittite (Kroonen 2012). In Indo-European, the root may have come about as an onomatopoeia.

garwa- adj. 'ready, finished' — ON *gǫrr* adj. 'id.', OE *gearo* adj. 'id.', OS *garu* adj. 'id.', Du. *gaar* adj. 'id.', OHG *garo* adj. 'id.', G *gar* adj. 'id.' (IE).

Probably a prefixed variant of **arwa-*, i.e. **ga-arwa-*, for which see **garwjan-*.

garwjan- w.v. 'to prepare, make ready' — ON *gør(v)a*, *gera* w.v. 'to prepare; do', Far. *gera* w.v. 'to do', Elfd. *djärå* w.v. 'id.', OE *gierwan* w.v. 'to prepare, put on, clothe, adorn', E *to gear*, OS *garwian*, *gerwian* w.v. 'to provide, prepare, dress', OHG *garawen* w.v. 'to prepare, equip, decorate', G *gerben* w.v. 'to tan' (DRV).

A factitive verb derived from **garwa-* 'ready, quick' (q.v.). For a variant without the prefix **ga-*, cf. G Wals. *arwen* 'to toil' (Schott 1842: 266) < **arwōjan-*? Also cf. OS *gi-garwi*, *gi-gerwi* n. 'clothing, official dress' < **garwja-*.

gasti- m. 'guest' — Go. *gasts* m. 'id.', ON *gestr* m. 'id.', Far. *gestur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *djäst* m. 'id.', OE *giest* m. 'id.', OFri. *jest* m. 'id.', OS *gast* m. 'id.', Du. *gast* c. 'id.', OHG *gast* m. 'id.', G *Gast* m. 'id.' ⇒ **gʰost-i-* (EUR/WEUR?) — OCS *gostь*, Ru. *gost'*, SCr. *gȍst* m. 'guest', Lat. *hostis* m. 'stranger, enemy' < **gʰost-i-*.

The word denoted the opposite of IE **sokH-i-* 'associate' (see **sagja- 1*) in the West Indo-European area, and it is therefore likely that the *i*-suffixes are parallel. ON *gista* w.v. 'to stay the night' < **gestjan-* apparently implies an *e*-grade of the root, but it has also been claimed that it represents a Nordic "forth-formation" to *gestr* (De Vries 1962: 168).

gata- n. 'hole' — ON *gat* n. 'id.', OE *geat* n. 'gate', E *gate*, OFri. *jet* n. 'hole', OS *gat* n. 'id.', Du. *gat* n. 'id.' ⇒ **gʰod-o-* (IE).

The word has been compared to Skt. *hádati* 'to shit' < **gʰéd-e-* and Gr. χέζω 'id.' < **gʰed-ie-* (cf. Lehmann 1986: 151), but the meaning 'anus', which occurs in several Germanic languages, is secondary. Instead, the word is to be compared to **getan-* 'to find (a way)' and the closely related **gatwōn-* 'road, way' (q.v.). The meaning 'hole' can easily have developed from 'passage', cf. OE *geat* 'gate' (notwithstanding the possibility that this word was borrowed from Old Norse or Middle Low German).

gatwōn- f. 'road, alley' — Go. *gatwo* f. 'street, main road', ON *gata* f. 'path, way, road', MLG *gate* f. 'alley, street', OHG *gazza* f. 'id.', G *Gasse* f. 'id.' ⇒ **gʰod-ueh₂-* (IE).

Related to **getan-* 'to find (a way)' (q.v.). Also cf. **gata-* 'hole'. The difference between EGm. **gatwōn-* and NGm. **gatōn-* can be resolved by assuming that ON *gata* is a back-formation from the oblique case of a paradigm **gǫtva, *gǫtu* (Noreen 1904: §84), an analogy that is also evident in e.g. ON *tjara* f. 'tar' < **terwa/ōn-* (q.v.).

gaþma- m. 'cabin, room' — MDu. *gadem* m./n. 'id.', OHG *gadum, gadem* n. 'id.', MHG *gadem, gaden* n. 'cabin, barn' (DRV?).

Of unknown origin. It is possible that the formation must be analyzed as **ga-þmo-* < **gʰH-tmo-* (EWAhd: IV, 6-7), but the proposed link with **gʰeh₁-* 'to go' (see **gēn-*) is tenuous. It seems more attractive to assume that the WGm. form **gaþma-* developed from **gadma-* by Bahder's law, i.e. the devoicing of voiced fricatives before resonants. If that is the case, the link with **gadōjan-* 'to suit' (Torp 1909: 123) can theoretically be maintained in view of the parallel derivation of G *Ge-mach*, Du. *ge-mak* n. 'bower, chamber' from **makōjan-* 'to match' (see **maka-*).

gauja- adj. 'district, region' — Go. *gawi* n. 'id.', OE *-gē* n. 'id.', OFri. *gā, gē* n. 'village, parish', MLG *gō* n. 'county', MDu. *gou(w), gooy* n. 'id.', MHG *gou*, gen. *gouwes* n. 'id.', G *Gau* n. 'id.' (EUR?).

Etymology uncertain. The early 19th century comparison with Arm. *gawaṙ* 'district' (cf. Seebold 1967: 128ff.) is doubtful in view of Oss. *qæw / ǧæw* 'village'. The link with Gr. οἶη f. 'village' < **Hou-ieh₂-* can theoretically be maintained by postulating a prefixed formation **ga-auja-* < **Hou-io-*, but nevertheless remains uncertain (Beekes 2010: 1055). Lehmann 1986: 153 assumes a link with **aujō-* 'wetland' in view of the frequent combination of the word with river names in toponyms.

gaujan- w.v. 'to throw; to spawn' — MDu. *gōyen* w.v. 'id.', Du. *gooien* w.v. 'to throw' ⇒ **ǵʰóu-eie-* (IE?).

Perhaps related to the PIE root **ǵʰeu-* 'to pour', for which see **geutan-*.

gauka- m. 'cuckoo' — ON *gaukr* m. 'id.', OE *gēac* m. 'id.', MDu. *gooc* m. 'cuckoo; fool', OHG *gouh* m. 'id.', MHG *gouch* m. 'id.' (GM) — Close to Lith. *gegužė̃* f. 'cuckoo' < **gʰe-gʰuǵʰ-ieh₂-*.

An old onomatopoetic word. Also cf. Cimb. *kucko* m. 'id.'.

gauma- m. 'heed, attention' — ON *gaumr* m. 'id.', Far. *geymur, geymi* m. 'id.', MDu. *goom* m. 'id.' ⇒ **gʰouǵʰ-mo-* (IE) — Skt. *gū́hati* 'to hide' (with analogical *ū*, Gotō 1987: 296-7), YAv. *guzaēta* 3sg.opt. 'id.' < **gʰuǵʰ-e-*.

In spite of the apparent similarities, the word cannot be related to ON *gá* w.v. 'to heed', as this verb continues **ganhēn-*, not **gawēn-*. I therefore propose a relationship with the Indo-Iranian root **g(ʷ)heuǵʰ-* 'to hide', as-

suming that this meaning developed from a more primary 'to heed, guard'. PGm. **gauma-* can then be reconstructed as PIE **gʰoúǵʰ-mo-* (for the loss of the root-final velar, cf. **drauma-*). Note that the semantic development from 'to heed' to 'to hide' is also found in the derived **gaumjan-*, cf. Go. *gaumjan* 'to notice', ON *geyma* 'to watch, observe, stow, hide', OE *gīeman* 'id.', OS *gōmian* 'id.', OHG *goumen* 'id.'. See also **gumēn-*.

gaupnō- f. 'hollow of the hand' — ON *gaupn* f. 'both hands held together', OHG *gaufana* f. 'hollow of the hand', MHG *goufe* f. 'id.' (NEUR?).

In view of e.g. OE *gēap* adj. 'crooked, bent, curved' < **gaupa-*, the word must have been derived from the strong verb underlying OE *gēopan* 'to take up, swallow'. It follows that any direct comparison with Lith. *žiupsnìs* 'hollow of the hand' (thus Pokorny IEW: 449) is erroneous.

gaupōn- f. 'lynx' — ON *gaupa* f. 'id.', Far. *geypa* f. 'id.', Nw. *gaupe* f. 'id.' (GM).

An exclusively Nordic word with no certain etymology. It seems attractive to me, however, to connect the word to Swi. Rhntl. *gōppə* 'to play (of cats)' < **gaubb-*. Unrelated to **geupan-* 'to be hollow' (q.v.).

gaura- adj. 'sad' — Go. *gaurs* adj. 'grieved, pained, sad', OHG *gōrag* adj. 'poor, little, meager' (< **gauraga-*) ⇒ **gʰour-o-* (IE) — Skt. *ghorá-* 'terrible' < **gʰou-ro-*; Lith. *žiaurùs* adj. 'cruel, savage' < **gʰeu-ru-* (whence Ru. *žurít'* (*žurjú*) 'to reprove, scold', SCr. *zúriti se* 'to hurry, complain'); OIr. *gúre* f. 'pain; pangs' < **gʰou-r-ieh₂-*.

Also cf. Go. *gauriþa* f. 'sadness' < **gauriþō-*. The appurtenance of the ablauting inchoative OS *gornon* w.v. 'to lament, be worried' < **gurnōn-* is uncertain in view of the variants *grornon* 'to be worried' and *gnornon* 'to lament'.

gazda- m. 'prickle' — Go. *gazds* m. 'sting, goad', ON *gaddr* m. 'goad, spike', Icel. *gaddr* m. 'goad, spike', OS *gard* m. 'rod', OHG *gart* m. 'prickle', MHG *gart* m. 'id.' ⇒ **gʰazdʰ-o-* (WEUR) — OIr. *gat* m. 'withe, osier' < **gʰazdʰ-o-*; Lat. *hasta* f. 'spear-shaft, lance', OIr. *gas* m./f. 'sprig, shoot, twig' < **gʰast-o/eh₂-*.

A Germanic-Celtic isogloss; OIr. *gat* and PGm. *gazda-* are formally identical, but Lat. *hasta* and OIr. *gas* point to a variant with a voiceless dental. Since this variation cannot possibly be of IE origin, it is likely that the word originates from a local European language. For a similar alternation of *-zdʰ-* and **-st-*, see **laþan-* ~ **luþþan-* 'lath'. Also cf. OS *gerda*, OFri. *jerde*, OE *gierd*, E *yard*, OHG *garta*, *gerta*, G *Gerte* f. 'rod, stick' < **gazdjōn-*.

geban- s.v. 'to give' — Go. *giban* s.v. 'id.', ON *gefa* s.v. 'id.', Far. *geva* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *djävå* s.v. 'id.', OE *giefan* s.v. 'id.', E *to give*, OFri. *jeva*, *jewa*, *jowa*, *jouwa* s.v. 'id.', OS *geƀan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *geven* s.v. 'id.', OHG *geban* s.v. 'id.', G *geben* s.v.

'id.' ⇒ *ḱo(m)-h₁ep- (IE) — Hitt. *epzi*, *appanzi* 'to take, seize' < *h₁ép-ti, *h₁p-énti; Skt. *āpnóti* 'to reach, gain, take possession of' < *h₁e-h₁p-neu-; Lat. *apīscor* 'to seize, obtain' < *h₁p-i-ske-; Alb. *jap*, *jep* 'to give' < *h₁op-éie-.

The verb is usually compared to OIr. *gaibid* 'to take, hold' < *gʰHbʰ-ie- (cf. Pokorny IEW: 407-9), but this is formally impossible because of the laryngeal. LIV²: 193 connects Lith. *gebėti* (*gebù*) 'to be able; to be used to' < *gʰebʰ-eh₁-ie-, but the semantics are problematic. An alternative etymology was offered by Kortlandt 1992: 104-5, who assumed a remodeling of *ga-ef- < *ḱo(m)-h₁ep-, thus establishing a direct connection with Lat. *coēpī* 'seized' < *ḱo(m)-h₁eh₁p-. See also *gēbi-, *gebō- and *gēbōn-.

gēbi- adj. 'having been given' — ON *gæfr* adj. 'quiet, meek', Far. *gævur* adj. 'doughty, excellent, honest', OFri. *jēve*, *gēve* adj. 'usual(?)', MLG *gēve* adj. 'pleasant', MHG *gæbe* adj. 'acceptable, enjoyable, convenient' (DRV).

The *vr̥ddhi*-gerundive to *geban- (q.v.). The original meaning 'to be given, having been given' developed into a whole range of derived meanings in the daughter languages.

gebla(n)-* ~ *gabla- m. 'top' — Go. *gibla* m. 'pinnacle', OHG *gebal* m. 'id.', MHG *gebel* m. 'id.' ⇒ *ǵʰebʰh₂-l-o- (IE) — ToA *śpāl* 'head', Gr. κεφαλή f. 'head, the uppermost or top part' < *ǵʰebʰh₂-l-.

Also cf. OHG *gibil*, G *Giebel*, MDu. *gevel* m., Du. *gevel* c. 'gable' < *gebila- and - with another root vowel - ON *gafl* m. 'gableside, point of an island' < *gabla- < *ǵʰobʰ(h₂)-lo-. The ablaut in the root and the suffix could point to an originally ablauting *l*-stem, e.g. *ǵʰébʰ-(ō)l, gen. *ǵʰbʰ-l-ós, acc. *ǵʰobʰ-él-m. For another *o*-grade accusative, cf. *belkan- ~ *balkan- ~ *bulkan- 'beam'.

gebō- f. 'gift, present' — Go. *giba* f. 'id.', ON *gjǫf* f. 'id.', OE *giefu* f. 'id.', OFri. *jeve*, *jowe*, *jouwe* f. 'id.', OS *geƀa*, *giƀa* f. 'id.', OHG *geba* f. 'id.', MHG *gebe* f. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from *geban- (q.v.).

gēbōn- f. 'gift; giving' — ON *gáfa* f. 'id.', Far. *gáva* f. 'id.', Elfd. *gåva* f. 'id.', MDu. *gave* f. 'id.', Du. *gave* c. 'id.', MHG *gābe* f. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from *geban- (q.v.).

gela- m. 'lust' — OSw. *giæl-skaper* m. 'unchastity' ⇒ *ǵʰel-o- (NEUR) — OCS *želěti* 'to covet' < *ǵʰel-eh₁-.

Also cf. MDu. *galen* w.v. 'to long for, covet'.

geldan- s.v. 'to pay, be worth something' — Go. *fra-gildan* s.v. 'to repay, compensate', ON *gjalda* s.v. 'to repay, pay for', Far. *gjalda* s.v. 'to pay, suffer',

OE *gieldan* s.v. 'to yield, pay, repay', E *to yield*, OS *geldan* s.v. 'to pay, reward', Du. *gelden* s.v. 'to be true, valid', OHG *geltan* s.v. 'to compensate, pay, repent', G *gelten* s.v. 'to apply, count' ⇒ *$g^helð^h$-e- (EUR) — OCS *žlěsti* (*žlědǫ*) 'to pay, compensate' < *$g^helð^h$-e-; OIr. *gell* n.(m.) 'pledge surety, promise' < *$g^helð^h$-o-.

A European word with potential cognates only in Celtic and Slavic (the sometimes compared Gr. τέλθος n. 'debt, payment due' cannot be related, as it points to *$g^{wh}elð^h$-os- rather than *$g^helð^h$-os-). Also cf. Go. *gild* 'tax', ON *gjald*, OE *gield*, OFri. *jeld*, OS *geld*, OHG *gelt* n. 'payment, compensation' < *gelda-.

gellan- s.v. 'to sound, yell' — ON *gjalla* s.v. 'to yell, scream', Far. *gjalla* s.v. 'to sound', OE *giellan* 'to yell', E *to yell*, MDu. *gellen, gillen* s./w.v. 'to yell', Du. *gillen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *gellan* s.v. 'to sound, yell', MHG *gellen* s.v. 'to sound, cry', G *gellen* w.v. 'to yell' (DRV).

The verb is sometimes derived from a Pre-Gm. *n*-present *g^hel-n-, but it is more likely that it arose as a back-formation to *gullōn-, the iterative to *galan- (q.v.).

gelwa-* ~ *gulu- adj. 'yellow' — ON *gulr* adj. 'id.', Far. *gulur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *guol* adj. 'id.', OE *geolo* adj. 'id.', E *yellow*, OS *gelo, gelu* adj. 'id.', OHG *gelo* adj. 'id.', MHG *gel* adj. 'id.', G *gelb* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *$ǵ^h(e)lh_3$-u(o)- (IE) — Lat. *helvus* adj. 'yellow, dun', Lith. *žel̃vas* 'greenish' < *$ǵ^helh_3$-uo-; Skt. *hári-* (*híri-* in compounds), Av. *zairi-* 'yellow, greenish' < PIE *$ǵ^helh_3$-i-; Gr. χλωρός 'pale green, greenish yellow' < *$ǵ^hlh_3$-ró-; Lith. *žélti* (*želiù*) 'to grow, flourish', Latv. *zel̂t* < *$ǵ^helh_3$-ie-; OCS *zelenъ* 'green', Ru. *zelënyj* < *$ǵ^helh_3$-en-o-.

Since ON *gulr* does not show any traces of *a*-mutation, like e.g. *holr* 'hollow' < *hula-, it is likely to coninue an old *u*-stem *gulu-. It is further theoretically possible that both the full grade *gelwa- and the zero grade *gulu- continue an ablauting *u*-stem, viz. *geluz, gen. *gulwaz < *$ǵ^hélh_3$-u-s, *$ǵ^hlh_3$-u-ós (for which cf. *blēwa- 'blue').

gēn- suppl.v. 'to go' — Far. poet. *gá* suppl.v.(?) 'id.', Nw. *gå* suppl.v. 'id.', OSw. *gā* suppl.v. 'id.', Elfd. *go* suppl.v. 'id.', EDa. *gā* suppl.v. 'id.', Da. *gå* suppl.v. 'id.', OE *gān* suppl.v. 'id.', E *to go*, OFri. *gān, gēn* suppl.v. 'id.', OS *gān* suppl.v. 'id.', MDu. *gaen* suppl.v. 'id.', Du. *gaan* suppl.v. 'id.', OHG *gān, gēn* suppl.v. 'id.', G *gehen* suppl.v. 'id.' ⇒ *$ǵ^heh_1$- (IE) — Skt. *jáhāti* 'to leave behind', OAv. *auua-zazaṯ* 3pl.pres.inj. 'id.'; Gr. κίχημι 'to overtake, reach, arrive, meet' < *$ǵ^he/i$-g^heh_1-.

The derivation of this Germanic verb, which existed alongside *gangan- (q.v.), is not straightforward. Most NWGm. forms point to *gēn-, including Scand. *gå*, which in view of the nasalization of Selbumålet *gã̄* cannot be explained as a Low German loan. OHG *gān, gēn*, for instance, can be derived

from an athematic present *gēmi, *gēsi, *gēþi < *ǵʰeh₁-mi, -si, ti (pl. *ǵʰh₁-me, -th₁e, -enti > *game, *gaþe, *ginþi?). OE gān, on the other hand, can only have developed from *gai-, which seems to imply an *i*-present 3sg. *gʰh₁-oi-ti, 3pl. *gʰh₁-i-énti. We may also consider the possibility that the stem *gai- arose from *ga-ī-, i.e. the perfective prefix *ga- plus *-ī-, the continuant of PIE root *h₁ei- 'to go' (Kluge 1894, s.v. *gehn*; Kortlandt 1990). This explanation is probably supported by the co-occurrence of Go. *ga-iddja* and *iddja* 'went' < *(ga-)ejjō.

gerdan- s.v. 'to gird' — Go. *-gairdan** s.v. 'id.' ⇒ *gʰérdʰ-e- (IE).

The verb is reconstructed on the basis of the Gothic past participle *bi-gaurdans*. This form has been taken as an independent "Partizipialbildung" to *gurdjan- (q.v.), but Far. *gjarða* 'to form circles in the water' in spite of its weak conjugation can be adduced for the reconstruction of a strong verb *gerdan- 'to surround, encircle' (note OHG *gart* m. 'circular dance, round dance' < *garda-). Within Germanic, also cf. Go. *gairda*, ON *gjǫrð* f. 'girdle' < *gerdō- and the zero-grade instrumental noun ON *gyrðill*, OE *gyrdel*, OFri. *gerdel*, OHG *gurtil*, G *Gürtel* 'girdle' < *gurdila-.

gerna- adj. 'desirous' — Go. *-gairns* adj. 'id.', ON *gjarn* adj. 'id.', Far. *-gjarnur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *djienna* adv. 'id.', OE *georn* adj. 'id.', OFri. *gerne, jerne* adv. 'id.', OS *gern* adj. 'id.', Du. *gaarne* adv. 'id.', OHG *gern* adj. 'id.', G *gern(e)* adv. 'id.' ⇒ *ǵʰerh₁-no- (IE) — Hitt. *kariia(tt)a(ri)* 'to be gracious', Skt. *háryati* 'to enjoy, like', Gr. χαίρω 'to rejoice', Lat. *horior* 'to encourage, urge' < *ǵʰ(e)rh₁-ie-.

A *na*-stem adjective apparently derived from OFri. *jeria*, OS *geron*, OHG *gerēn*, *-ōn* w.v. 'to desire' < *gerēn-. Also cf. Go. *gairnjan*, ON *girna*, OE *giernian*, OS *girnean* w.v. 'to desire' < *gernjan-. In *Schwebeablaut* relationship to *grēdu- (q.v.).

gerstō- f. 'barley' — OS *gersta* f. 'id.', Du. *gerst* c. 'id.', OHG *gersta* f. 'id.', G *Gerste* f. 'id.' ⇒ *gʰersd-eh₂- (EUR/NIE?) — Lat. *hordeum* 'barley' < *gʰr(s)d-io-; Arm. *gari*, gen. *garwoy* 'wheat' < *gʰr̥-io-; Gr. κριθή, epic κρῖ f. 'barley', Alb. *drithë* 'cereal, grain' < *ǵʰrisdʰ, pl. *ǵʰrisdʰ-eh₂.

PGm. *gerstō- and Lat. *hordeum* go back to a root *gʰersd-, but the sound correspondences with the other forms are irregular. This may point to a non-IE origin, perhaps borrowing from a European agricultural substrate. The alleged link to Hitt. *karaš-* n. 'wheat, emmer-wheat' (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 444) is erroneous, this word being related to *hersja(n)- 'millet' (q.v.).

gestra- adv. 'the previous or next day' — Go. *gistra-dagis* adv. 'tomorrow', ON *í gær, í gjár* adv. 'yesterday; tomorrow', Icel. *í gær, gjár* adv. 'yesterday', Far. *í gjár* adv. 'id.', OSw. *ī gār* adv. 'id.', OE *geostran-dæg, giestran-dæg* adv.

'id.', E *yesterday*, MDu. *gist(e)ren* adv. 'id.', Du. *gisteren* adv. 'id.', OHG *gestaron* adv. 'id.', G *gestern* adv. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰǵʰ-es-ro-* (IE) — Gr. χθές, Alb. *dje* < **dʰǵʰ-es*, Lat. *heri* < **dʰǵʰ-es-i* (with loc. ending), Skr. *hyás* < **dʰǵʰ-ies* (with *-y-* analogically after *sadyás* 'today' < **sm̥-di-és*).

Go. *gistra-* as well as the WGm. forms unambiguously point to PGm. **gestra-* < **dʰǵʰes-ro-* with *t*-epenthesis between **s* and **r* (cf. **swester-* 'sister'), and directly correspond to Gr. χθές; the *r*-suffix is probably locatival, as in **hwar* 'where', **þar* 'there' and **gadur* 'together' (see **gadurōjan-*). The reconstruction of the form underlying ON *gjár* and *gær*, on the other hand, is problematic. Most dictionaries reconstruct an ablauting form **dʰǵʰ-ēs* or **dʰǵʰ-i-ēs* without an *r*-suffix. Since initial **ki̯-*, **gi̯-* and **gʰi̯-* regularly lose their glide (cf. **gōīn-* and **kewwan-*), the form *gjár* is usually explained from *gár* (cf. OSw. *ī gār*, Sw, Da., Nw. *i går*) with analogical palatal *g* after *gær* < PN **gāʀ* with ʀ-fronting (e.g Hellquist 1921: 231). As this fronting is strongest in West Norse, but surprisingly weak in Faroese (cf. Far. *djór* ~ Icel. *dýr* 'animal' < **deuza-* and Far. *kar* ~ Icel. *ker* 'vessel' < **kaza-*), this indeed neatly explains the opposition of Far. *gjár* vs. Icel. *gær*. However, if the variation between the two variants is dialectally distributed, it seems unlikely that the palatal *g* could cross over from *gær* to *gjár*. I would therefore like to explain both OEN *gār* and OWN *gær* as the regular outcomes of PN **gāʀ*, and assume that the initial palatal of *gjár* is due to the preceding preposition *í*. This **gāʀ* < PGm. **gēz* presumably got its lengthened vowel from being a monosyllable (cf. **ūt* < **ud*), but was explained by Gąsiorowski 2012 as resulting from *z*-loss before *r*.

On the PIE level, **dʰǵʰ-es* is likely to represent the fossilized genitive of an old root noun **dʰéǵʰ-s*, gen. **dʰǵʰ-és* (see **daga-*) or of the *s*-stem perhaps implied by ON *dœgr* < **dōgiz-* (Puhvel 1987).

****getan-*** s.v. 'to find (a way), to be able' — Go. *bi-gitan* s.v. 'to find, discover', ON *geta* s.v. 'to get; to be able to', Elfd. *djieta* w.v. 'to try, guess', OE *bi-gietan* s.v. 'to beget', E *to get, beget, forget*, OFri. *ur-ieta* w.v. 'to forget', OS *bi-getan* s.v. 'to find', Du. *ver-geten* s.v. 'to forget', OHG *bi-gezzan* s.v. 'to obtain', *fir-gezzan* 'to forget', G *vergessen* s.v. 'to forget' ⇒ **gʰéd-e-* (IE) — Gr. χανδάνω 'to hold, include, contain' < **gʰ-n-d-nh₂-e-*(?); Lat. *prae-hendō, -ere* 'to grasp, seize' < **gʰ-(e)n-d-*; OIr. *ro-geinn* 'to take place', MW *genni* (*gannaf*) 'to contain, find room in' < **gʰ-n-d-*, Alb. *gjëndem* 'I am found' < **gʰ-en-d-*.

In most languages, the root **gʰed-* forms nasal presents, but Germanic has a thematic verb. Its original meaning seems to have been 'to seize an opportunity' or 'to find a way'. This semantic background allows for a connection with **gatwōn-* 'path, way' and **gata-* 'hole' (q.v.), which are usually considered to be etymologically obscure.

***geuban-** ~ ***gūban-** s.v. 'to blow, rush' — Nw. *gjuva*, *guva* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ *g^{h}éub^{h}-e-* (GM).

A strong verb with many different derivations in the Nordic dialects, e.g. Icel. *gjúfur* m. 'drizzle', Nw. *gjuv* n. 'haze' < **geuba-*; Nw. *gauv* m. 'gust, smell' < **gauba-* (whence *gauva* w.v. 'to smoke, foam; rush; teem with'); Nw. *gøyve* w.v. 'to smoke, steam, seethe' < **gaubjan-*; Icel. *gufa*, Far. *guva* f. 'steam, vapor', Nw. *gove* f. 'smoke, haze' < **gubōn-* etc. Also cf. the iterative **gub(b)ōn-*.

***geupan-** s.v. 'to be hollow' — OE *gēopan* s.v. 'to take up, swallow' (NEUR?) — Lith. *gaũbti* 'to cover; vault' < *g^{h}oub^{h}-*.

No clear etymology. If the frequentative E *to gobble* is related, it is likely that the strong verb continues Pre-Gm. **geuppan-* with a root-final geminate. The corresponding iterative 3sg. **guppōþi*, 3pl. **gubunanþi* would at any rate point to a formation *g^{h}ub^{h}-neh$_2$-* with root-final **b^{h}*. For the original meaning 'to vault, be hollow', cf. **gaupnō-* 'hollow of the hand' and Nw. *gop* n. 'ravine' < **gupa-*.

***geutan-** s.v. 'to pour' — Go. *giutan* s.v. 'id.', ON *gjóta* s.v. 'to drop, throw, cast young', Nw. *gyte*, *gjote* s.v. 'to pour, run, spawn', OE *gēotan* s.v. 'to pout (out)', OS *giotan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *gieten* s.v. 'id.', OHG *giozan* s.v. 'to pour, mix, melt', G *gießen* s.v. 'to pour' (DRV) — Skt. *juhóti* 'to pour; to sacrifice' < *$ǵ^{h}$u-$ǵ^{h}$eu-*; ToAB *ku-* 'to pour, offer a libation', Gr. χέω 'to pour, shed; to smelt' < *$ǵ^{h}$éu-e-*.

The verb is clearly derived from the PIE root *$ǵ^{h}$eu-* 'to pour' (for which see **gaujan-*), but the root-final *t* is without counterpart in the other IE languages. Lat. *fundō*, *-ere* 'to pour' is often adduced to reconstruct a root extension *g^{h}eud-* (with nasal infix in Latin), but it is not entirely certain that the roof-final PGm. *-t* and Lat. *-d* are homologous. If PGm. **geutan-* continues Pre-Gm. **geuttan-*, it must be a back-formation to the iterative **gut(t)ōn-* (q.v.).

***gīda-** m. 'desire, greed' — MHG *gīt* m. 'greed, stinginess' ⇒ *g^{h}eid^{h}-o-* (NEUR) — Lith. *geĩsti* (*geĩdžia*) 'to long for, desire' < *g^{h}eid^{h}-ie-*; OCS *žьdati* 'to wait, await' < *g^{h}id^{h}-eh$_2$-ie-*.

Also cf. OE *gītsian* 'to desire', MHG *gītsen*, G *geizen* 'to be stingy' < **gīd-is-ōjan-* and **gaidwa-* 'lack' (q.v.).

***gīgēn-** w.v. 'to desire' — Go. *ga-geigan* w.v. 'id.', Far. *gíggja* w.v. 'to praise; to envy' ⇒ *$ǵ^{h}$ei-$ǵ^{h}$h$_2$-oi-* (IE) — Skt. *jéhamāna-* ptc. 'to open the mouth, breathe heavily' < *$ǵ^{h}$ei-$ǵ^{h}$h$_2$-*.

A stative verb continuing a reduplicated *i*-perfect *$ǵ^{h}$ei-$ǵ^{h}$h$_2$-oi-* to the root *$ǵ^{h}$eh$_2$-* as found in **ganēn-* (q.v.). It is derivationally parallel to **bibēn-* and

*rīrēn- (Uhlenbeck 1905: 283). OHG *gingēn* w.v. 'to desire' < *gingēn- has a nasal infix.

gimban- s.v. 'to hop' — MHG *gimpen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *$g^hémb^h$-e- (GM).

No clear etymology. Nw. *gimpa* w.v. 'to hop' < *gimpan- is the same verb, but adopted its final -p- (< *-pp-) from the iterative *gump/bōn- (q.v.).

gīnan- s.v. 'to gape, yawn' — ON *gína* s.v. 'id.', OE *tō-gīnan* s.v. 'id.' (DRV) — Hitt. *kīnuzi ~ kinuanzi* 'to open (up), break open' < *$ǵ^hh_2$-i-nu-; Lat. *hiō, -āre* 'to be wide open, gape', Lith. *žióti* (*žióju*) 'to open (one's mouth)', OCS *zijati* 'to open (one's mouth)', Ru. *ziját'* (*zijáju*) 'yawn, gape', SCr. *zìjati* 'yawn, shout' < *$ǵ^hh_2$-i-eh$_2$-ie-.

A strong verb based on *ginēn- (q.v.), a nasal present created to the *i*-present *$ǵ^hh_2$-ei- (Lubotsky 2011: 107-9). It in turn gave rise to the iterative OE *gānian*, OHG *geinōn* 'to yawn' < *gainōn- and possibly also to OHG *in-ginnan* 'to open up, split' < *ginnōn- continuing quasi-PIE *$ǵ^hin$-neh$_2$- or *$ǵ^hh_2$-i-nu-e-, cf. Hitt. *kīnuzi ~ kinuanzi*. Also cf. *giwēn- and *giwōjan-.

ginēn- s.v. 'to stand open(?)' — Far. *gina* w.v. 'to straddle, walk with long strides', OHG *ginēn* w.v. 'to yawn', MHG *ginen, genen* w.v. 'id.', G *gähnen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *$ǵ^hh_2$-i-n-eh$_1$- (DRV?) — OCS *zinǫti*, Ru. *razínut'*, SCr. *zìnuti* 'to open (one's mouth) < *$ǵ^hh_2$-i-ne-.

A stative verb related to *gīnan- (q.v). It seems to have been derived from an old nasal present *$ǵ^hh_2$-i-néh$_2$- (with pretonic shortening).

ginnan- s.v. 'to begin' — Go. *du-ginnan* s.v. 'id.', OE *be-ginnan* s.v. 'id.', E *to begin*, OS *be-ginnan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *be-ginnen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *bi-ginnan* s.v. 'id.', G *be-ginnen* s.v. 'id.' (EUR?).

A strong verb with no certain etymology. Possibly related to OCS *po-čęti* (*po-сьnǫ*) 'to begin' < *ken- and OIr. *cét* 'begin' < *kn-to-: the initial *g must then have developed from PIE *k in a prefixed form. Others have compared Alb. *ze* 'to touch, catch, begin' < *$ǵ^hen$-.

gintan- s.v.(?) 'to be startled(?)' — G Swi. *er-ginzen* w.v. 'to cringe, shiver' (NEUR) — Lith. *gąstas* m. 'scare' < *g^hond-to-; Latv. *gañdināt* 'to scare' < *g^hond-nh$_2$-.

The Swiss and Baltic forms have not yet been compared, but their form and meaning point to a shared root *g^hend- 'to startle'. See also *ganta-.

gīsla- 1 m. 'shaft(?)' — ON *gísl* m. 'staff, ski stick', Icel. *gísli* m. 'beam, ray', OHG Lomb. *gīsil* 'arrow' (WEUR).

Also cf. the originally oxytone Icel. *gíll*, Nw. dial. *gil* m. 'bright spot in clouds, halo around the sun' < *gīzla- < *g^heis-ló- and - with ablaut - Nw.

dial. *gjell* m. 'interrupted rainbow' < **gizla-* < **gʰis-ló-*. Cognate with **gaiza-* 'tip, spear'.

gīsla- 2 m. 'hostage' — ON *gísl* m. 'id.', OE *gīsel* m. 'id.', OFri. *jēsel-* 'id.', OS *gīsal* m. 'id.', Du. *gijzelaar* m. 'id.', OHG *gīsal* m. 'id.', G *Geisel* m. 'id.' ⇒ **gʰei-slo-* (WEUR?) — OIr. *gíall* m. 'hostage', MW *gwystyl*, *gwystl* 'pledge, surety, hostage' < **gʰeislo-*.

A Germanic-Celtic isogloss of ambiguous origin. Given the potential ablaut correlation of OIr. *gíall* with *gell* n. 'pledge, surety' within Celtic, it seems logical to assume that the Germanic word was borrowed from Celtic (cf. Matasović 2008: 159). MLG *gīse*, on the other hand, would then have to be a back-formation from the forms with *-l-*, which is rather uncomfortable. Moreover, OIr. *gell* can alternatively be reconstructed as **gʰeldʰ-o-*, thus becoming comparable to PGm. **geldan-* (q.v.).

giwēn- w.v. 'to desire, long for' — OE *giwian*, *giowian* w.v. 'id.', OHG *ana-giwēn* w.v. 'id.' (IE).

A stative verb with the same root as **gīnan-* 'to gape, yawn' (q.v.). In view of the secondary meaning 'to desire', it must be an older formation than the related stative **ginēn-* (q.v.). The intervocalic **w* has a parallel in **giwōjan-*. Also cf. ON *gjá* f. 'sensuality' < **giwō-*.

giwōjan- w.v. 'to yawn' — MDu. *gewen* w.v. 'id.', Du. *geeuwen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *gewōn* w.v. 'id.', MHG *giwen*, *gewen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵʰh₂-ei-u-eh₂-ie-* (IE) — ToA *śewiññ-* 'to yawn(?)' < **ǵʰih₂-u-*, ToB *käyä-* 'to open' < **ǵʰh₂-i-u-e-*(?); RuCS *zěvati*, Ru. *zevát'* (*zeváju*) 'to yaw', dial. 'to shout, cry', SCr. *zijèvati* 'to yawn, cry' < **ǵʰh₂-ei-u-eh₂-ie-*.

The verb, which is related to **gīnan-*, was probably derived from a noun **giwō-* < **ǵʰh₂-i-u-eh₂-* in view of the *u*-suffix, cf. e.g. ON *gjá* f. 'chasm, rift, crack' < **giwō-* and OE *gīw*, *gēow* m. 'vulture' < **gīwa-*. The labial has a parallel in Slavic and Tocharian, however, and can therefore be projected back into the IE proto-language (Lubotsky 2011: 107-9).

glada- adj. 'bright, happy' — ON *glaðr* adj. 'glad; bright', Far. *glaður* adj. 'happy, glad', Elfd. *glað* adj. 'id.', OE *glæd* adj. 'id.', E *glad*, OFri. *gled* adj. 'smooth, slippery', Du. *glad* adj. 'id.', OHG *glat* adj. 'bright, light; smooth', G *glatt* adj. 'smooth, slippery' (DRV) — ?Lith. *žlėjà* f. 'dusk' < **ǵʰleh₁-i-eh₂-*.

This adjective superficially appears to continue **gʰlodʰ-ó-* or **gʰladʰ-o-* (cf. Lat. *glaber* adj. 'bald'), but actually represents an intra-Germanic, quasi-PIE zero-grade derivation **gʰlh₁-tó-* to **glōan-* < **gʰlóh₁-e-*, cf. the derivation of **blada-* 'leaf' from **blōan-* 'to bloom' (q.v.).

glantjan- w.v. 'to shine, be bright' — Icel. *gletta-st* w.v. 'to make fun (of)', Far. *gletta* w.v. 'to grin, roar with laughter', Nw. *gletta* w.v. 'to peep', Sw. dial. *glänta* w.v. 'to clear up, shine through; to be ajar' ⇒ **g^{h}lond-éie-* (EUR).

The intransitive meaning of the verb may indicate that this formal causative continues an originally intensive formation. See further **glintan-*.

glapp/bōn- w.v. 'to slip off' — Icel. *af-glapa* w.v. 'to disturb, confuse', *glappa-st* w.v.refl. 'to fail', Sw. dial. *glapa* w.v. 'to be open' ⇒ **g^{h}lob^{h}-neh$_2$-* (NEUR).

The *o*-grade iterative to **glupp/bōn-* (q.v.). Also cf. Icel. *glōpp* n.pl. 'accident' < **glappa-*; ON *glepja* w.v. 'to confuse; to confound; to beguile' < **glapjan-* and the ablauting ON *glœpr* m. 'crime' < **glōpi-*.

****glasa- ~ *glaza-*** n. 'glass' — Icel. *gler* n. 'glass', Far. *glas* n. 'glass', *gler* n. '(glassy) ice', OSw. *glar* n. 'glass', Elfd. *glas* n. 'id.', OE *glæs* n. 'id.', E *glass*, OHG *glas* n. 'id.', G *Glas* n. 'id.' (DRV).

An old *s*-stem derived from **glōan-* (q.v.). Also cf. OE *glǣr* m. 'amber', MLG *glār* 'resin' < **glēza-* (= Lat. *glēsum* 'amber').

****glauma-*** m. 'jubilation' — ON *glaumr* m. 'id.', OE *glēam* m. 'joyous noise, jubilation' ⇒ **g^{h}lou-mo-* (EUR) — Close to OCS *glumъ* m. 'joke, game'; further cf. Gr. χλεύη 'id.' < **g^{h}leu-s-eh$_2$-*.

A *mo*-stem to a root **g^{h}leu-*.

****glawwa-*** adj. 'sharp-sighted' — Go. *glaggws** adj. 'cautious', ON *gløggr* adj. 'clear-sighted; clear; stingy', OE *glēaw* adj. 'clear-sighted, wise', OS *glau* adj. 'wise', OHG *glau* adj. 'cautious, wise' ⇒ **g^{h}louH-ó-* (EUR) — OIr. *gluair* adj. 'clear, clean' < **g^{h}louH-ri-*.

Related to **glūnēn-*. Also cf. ON *gluggr*, *gluggi* m. 'window', Far. *gluggi* m. 'peephole' < **gluwwa(n)-*.

****gleppan-*** s.v. 'to slip off' — Far. *gleppa* s.v. 'to slip out of position; to fail, let down', Nw. *gleppa* s.v. 'to slip; to turn out differently' (NEUR) — Lith. *glèbti* (*glembù*) 'to become smooth' < **g^{h}lé-m-b^{h}-e-*.

The West Norse forms can be derived from either **glempan-* or **gleppan-*, but in either case, the root final consonant represents a (shortened) geminate that was adopted from the iteratives **glupp/bōn-* and **glapp/bōn-* (q.v.). For the original consonantism, cf. OE *glof* n. 'cliff' < **gluba-*; Nw. *glove* f. 'rift, ravine' < **glubōn-* and Du. *gleuf* c. 'groove, slot' < **glubi-*.

****gleupan- ~ *glūpan-*** s.v. 'to gape' — Nw. *gljupa*, *glupa* s.v. 'to gape; to snatch with the mouth; to devour', Sw. dial. *gliopa*, *glupa* s.v. 'to devour',

Elfd. *glaupa* s.v. 'id.', E dial. *gloup* 'to swallow', OFri. *glūpa* s.v. 'to sneak'(?), MDu. *glupen* w.v. 'to squint, lurk', Du. *gluipert* c. 'creep' (DRV).

A back-formation from the iterative ***glupp/bōn-**. For the meaning of Sw. dial. *gljopa* 'to swallow', cf. Da. dial. *glubbe i sig* 'to devour', E obs. *globbe, glop* 'id.' (*to gobble* may have been dissimilated from the frequentative ***globble**). Also cf. Icel. *gl(j)úpr* adj. 'soft, porous', Nw. dial. *gl(j)up, glyp* adj. 'eager' (< 'open'?) < ***gleupa-** ~ ***glūpa-** and the causative ON *gleypa*, Nw. *gløypa* w.v. 'to devour' < ***glaupjan-**.

***glīdan-** s.v. 'to glide' — OE *glīdan* s.v. 'id.', E *to glide*, OFri. *glīda* s.v. 'id.', OS *glīdan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *glijden* s.v. 'id.', MHG *glīten* s.v. 'id.', G *gleiten* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ ***g^{h}léid^{h}-e-** (NEUR?) — Perhaps to Lith. *glitùs* adj. 'slippery' < ***g^{h}li-tu-**.

The link with Lith. *glitùs* is semantically attractive, but implies that Pre-Gm. ***g^{h}leid^{h}-** is a ***d^{h}***-extension of a root ***g^{h}lei-**. Also cf. ON *gleiðr* adj. 'standing astride' < ***glaida-** and the iterative ***glittōn-**.

***glīman-** s.v. 'to shine' — Nw. *glima* s.v. 'id.', MHG *glīmen* s.v. 'id.' (DRV?).

A strong verb related to e.g. OHG *glīmo, gleimo* m. 'firefly' < ***glīman-**, ***glaiman-** and OE *glǣm* m. 'gleam' < ***glaimi-**; possibly, the strong verb was back-formed to these stems in *m*. See also ***glīwa-**.

***glintan-** s.v. 'to shine, look' — MHG *glinzen* s.v. 'to shine, gleam' ⇒ ***g^{h}lé-n-d-e** (EUR) — OCS *ględati*, Ru. dial. *gljádat'*, SCr. *glẽdati* 'to look at, see' < ***g^{h}l(e)nd-eh$_2$-ie-**; Ru. *gljadét'* 'to look at' < ***g^{h}l(e)nd-eh$_1$-ie-**; Latv. *gleñst*^{2} 'to (scarcely) perceive', OIr. *as-gleinn* 'to examine' < ***g^{h}lend-**.

Also cf. OHG, MHG *glanz* adj. 'bright', MHG *glanz*, G *Glanz* m. 'shine' < ***g^{h}lond-o-**. See also ***glantjan-**, ***gluntēn-** and ***glut(t)ōn-**. Icel. *glitta* 'to glint' may continue ***glintjan-**.

***glītan-** s.v. 'to shine, sparkle' — OS *glītan* s.v. 'id.', OHG *glīzan* s.v. 'id.', G *gleißen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ ***g^{h}léid-e-** (GM).

No doubt a back-formation to the iterative ***glit(t)ōn-**. Also cf. OE *glitenian*, OHG *glizinōn*, MHG *glitzenen* w.v. 'to shine' < ***glitnōn-**; Icel. *glitra*, OE *glitorian*, (MH)G *glitzern* 'to glitter' < ***glitrōjan-**. OHG *glizemo* m. 'shine' < ***glit-man-** gave rise to the verb underlying Go. *glitmunjan-* < ***glid-mn-ie-**. The root ***g^{h}leid-** seems to be an extension of ***g^{h}lei-**, see ***glīwa-**.

***glit(t)ōn-** w.v. 'to shine, sparkle' — Icel. *glita* w.v. 'to gleam, flash', MDu. *glitten* w.v. 'to shine, sparkle', G *glitzen* w.v. 'to shine' ⇒ ***g^{h}lid-néh$_2$-** (GM).

The iterative to ***glītan-** (q.v.). Note that Icel. *glitta* w.v. 'to glint' < ***glittjan-**(?) may belong here, too.

***glittōn-** w.v. 'to glide' — G *glitzen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ ***g^{h}lid^{h}-néh$_2$-** (NEUR?).

The iterative to the strong verb **glīdan-* (q.v.).

glīwa- n. 'joy' — ON *glý* n. 'id.', OE *glīw, glēow* n. 'jesting; fun; game', E *glee* ⇒ **gʰlei-uo-* (WEUR) — OIr. *glé* adj. 'bright' < **gʰlei-uo-*.

Also cf. ON *gljá*, Far. *glíggja*, Nw. *gl(j)å* w.v. 'to shine' < **gliwēn-* < **gʰli-u-eh₁-* and - with a different suffix - **glīman-*.

glōan- s.v. 'to glow' — OE *glōwan* s.v. 'id.', E *to glow*, OS *glōian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *gloeien* w.v. 'id.', OHG *gluoan* w.v. 'id.', G *glühen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **gʰlóh₁-e-* (EUR) — MW *glo* m. 'charcoal' < **gʰloh₁-uo-*.

An *o*-grade intensive verb to a root **gʰleh₁-* (for the color of the laryngeal, cf. Icel. *glær* adj. 'transparent', Nw. dial. *glæ* adj. 'pale yellow' < **glēja-*). The verb could alternatively be linked with **glawwa-* 'sharp-sighted' and **glūnēn-* 'to peer', but only if one accepts the Proto-Germanic development **-ōu-* > **-ō-*. Also OE *glōm* 'twilight, gloom', MDu. *gloem* n. 'dregs' < **glōma-* < **gʰloh₁-mo-* and the closely related adj. MDu. *gloem* adj. 'gloomy; turbid'. See further **glōdi-*.

glōdi- f. 'glow' — ON *glóð* f. 'red-hot embers', Far. *glóð* f. 'glow; ember', Elfd. *glyōð* f. 'glow', OE *glēd* f. 'burning coal, embers', E *gleed*, OFri. *glōd, glēd* f. 'glow', MDu. *gloet* m./f. 'id.', Du. *gloed* c. 'id.', OHG *gluot* f. 'red-heat', G *Glut* f. 'glow' ⇒ **gʰloh₁-tí-* (DRV).

A *ti*-stem derivation to the root of **glōan-* (q.v.).

glūnēn- w.v. 'to peer' — Sw. dial. *gluna* w.v. 'to stare, peer' ⇒ **gʰluH-n-éh₁-* (EUR) — Latv. *glūnêt* 'to lour'.

A Baltic-Germanic isogloss, possibly related to **glōan-* 'to glow' (cf. Sw. *glo* w.v. 'to glow; to stare') and **glawwa-* (q.v.). Also cf. Nw. *glyma* w.v. 'to lour' < **glūmjan-* and MLG *glūmen* 'id.', MDu. *glumende* ptc. 'vicious (of dogs)' < **glūmēn-*.

gluntēn- w.v. 'to peer' — ON *glotta* w.v. 'to sneer, grin, smirk', Far. *glotta* w.v. 'to clear up, (of the sun) to peep through the clouds', Nw. *glutta* w.v. 'to peer, peep' ⇒ **gʰlnd-eh₁-* (EUR).

The stative belonging to **glintan-* (q.v.).

glupp/bōn- w.v. 'to gape' — Icel. *glopa* w.v. 'to drop', Far. *gloppa* w.v. 'to stand a little open; put ajar', Nw. *glopa* w.v. 'to be open; to gulp', Elfd. *glupå* w.v. 'to gobble, devour' ⇒ **gʰl(m)bʰ-néh₂-* (NEUR) — Lith. *glèbti* (*glembù*) 'to become smooth' < **gʰlé-m-bʰ-e-*.

An old iterative formation 3sg. **glu(m)pōþi*, 3pl. **glu(m)bunanþi* < **gʰl(m)bʰ-néh₂-ti*, **gʰl(m)bʰ-nh₂-énti*. It is difficult to determine whether or not the Nordic verbs originally contained a nasal in the root because of the

change *-mp-* > *-pp-* in West Nordic. The situation is further complicated by the fact that we seem to be dealing with an infix in view of the Lithuanian verb, for which cf. the *o*-grade iterative represented by **glapp/bōn-* 'to slip off' and the strong verb **gleppan-* 'to slip' (< 'to slip through a hole'?). The alternation of Far. *gloppa* and Nw. *glopa* 'to be open', however, does seem to presuppose a non-nasal formation **glup(p)ōn-*. Perhaps both nasalized and non-nasalized roots occurred side by side in Germanic.

glut(t)ōn- w.v. 'to peer' — E *to gloat*, MHG *glotzen, glutzen* w.v. 'to watch with widespread eyes, stare' ⇒ **g*^{h}*lnd-néh*$_2$- (EUR).

An iterative formation to the strong verb **glintan-* (q.v.). The lack of the nasal in WGm. is remarkable, and points to **g*^{h}*l̥d-neh*$_2$- (with remodeled zero grade) rather than **g*^{h}*l̥nd-néh*$_2$-, as one would expect on the basis of e.g. the stative **gluntēn-* (q.v.). Possibly, the radical *n* was dissimilated in the Pre-Gm. iterative 3sg. **glunttōþi*, 3pl. *gluntunanþi* < **g*^{h}*l̥nd-néh*$_2$*-ti*, **g*^{h}*l̥nd-n̥h*$_2$*-énti*.

gnagan- s.v. 'to gnaw' — ON *gnaga* s.v. 'id.', OE *gnagan* s.v. 'id.', E *to gnaw*, OS *knagan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *knagen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *(g)nagan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *gnagen* s.v. 'to gnaw', G *nagen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **g*^{h}*nógh-e-* (IE?) — YAv. *aiβi-ɣnixta-* 'gnawed' < **g*^{h}*nigh-to-*(?); Latv. *gn̦ę̃gât* 'to eat slowly' < **g*^{h}*neg-*/**g*^{h}*neh*$_1$*g*^{h}-.

An *o*-grade intensive verb with no certain cognates. Av. *-ɣnixta-* has been compared, but it seems impossible to reconstruct **g*^{h}*nh*$_1$*g*^{h}- for both the Avestan and Germanic forms (*pace* EWAhd: IV, 507), as this would give ***gāx-ta-* and ***gung-an-* respectively. The reconstruction only works for Latv. *gn̦ę̃gât*, but this form thus remains isolated. Note that the initial cluster **gn-* turned into **kn-* in those WGm. languages where initial *g* is represented by a fricative.

gnaista(n)- m. 'spark' — ON *gneisti* m. 'spark', OE *gnāst* m. 'spark', OHG *gneisto* m. (also *gneista* f.) 'spark' (GM).

A sound symbolic formation to the verb continued by e.g. ME *gnāsten* 'to gnash the teeth' < **gnaistōn-*, cf. G *knistern, gnistern* 'to crackle'. Hardly to OPru. *knaistis* 'fire'.

gnīdan- s.v. 'to rub' — OE *gnīdan* s.v. 'id.', MLG *gnīden* s.v. 'id.', OHG *gnītan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *gnīten* s.v. 'id.' (EUR?).

The word has been compared to Gr. Hsch. χνίει 'grinds', OCS *gniti*, Ru. *gnit'* (*gnijú*), SCr. *gnjȉti* 'to rot' < **g*^{h}*ni-ie-*, but this requires the assumption of a **d*^{h}*(h*$_1$*)*-extension for Germanic. Also cf. ON *gnísta* w.v. 'to gnash the teeth; to snarl (of dogs)' < **gnīstjan-*, a denominal verb from **gnīsta-* < **g*^{h}*neid*^{h}*-sth*$_2$*-o-*(?), cf. MHG *gnīst* m. 'gravel'.

gnuznōjan- w.v. 'to be sad' — OE *gnornan, gnornian* w.v. 'to grieve, mourn, be sad, bewail, lament', OS *gornon, gnornon, grornon* w.v. 'to lament, complain, be worried' (NEUR) — Ru. *grust'* f. 'sorrow' < **g^{h}rous-ti-* (whence OCS *sъ-grustiti sę* 'to be troubled'); SCr. *grst* f. 'aversion' < **g^{h}rus-ti-*.

An apparently denominal verb probably to OE *grorn, gnorn* m. 'grief' or perhaps to the adj. *gnorn* 'sad' < **gruzna-* < **g^{h}rus-nó-*. After the rhotacism of **z*, the initial cluster became prone to dissimilation of the **r*, thus resulting in both OS *gnornon* and *gornon*. Despite the somewhat different meanings, the verb can probably be reconciled with OE *grēosan* s.v. 'to frighten' < **greusan-* < **g^{h}réus-e-* and OE *gryre*, OS *gruri* m. 'fright' < **gruzi-* < **g^{h}rus-í-*. The alternative is to connect OE *gnyran* w.v. 'to creak' < **gnurjan-*, thus starting from a primary meaning 'to groan'.

****gōda-*** adj. 'suitable, good' — Go. *goþs* adj. 'id.', ON *góðr* adj. 'good; friendly', Far. *góður* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *guoð* adj. 'id.', OE *gōd* adj. 'id.', E *good*, OFri. *gōd* adj. 'id.', OS *gōd* adj. 'id.', Du. *goed* adj. 'id.', OHG *guot* adj. 'id.', G *gut* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

An *o*-grade adjective derived from the lost strong verb **gadan-* 'to fit', for which cf. **gadōjan-*.

****gōīn-*** f. 'late winter' — ON *gói, gœ* f. 'id.', Icel. *góa* f. 'id.', Far. *gø* n. 'id.', Nw. *gjø, go* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵ^{h}i-ōm-* (IE) — Hitt. *gimm- ~ gimmant-* c. 'winter' < **ǵ^{h}i-mn(-ent)-*; Skt. *himá-* 'cold, frost', *hímā-* f. 'winter' < **ǵ^{h}i-mo/eh$_2$-*; Skt. *héman* loc. 'in winter' < **ǵ^{h}ei-m-en*; YAv. *ziiå*, OAv. gen. *zimō* f. 'winter' < **ǵ^{h}i-ōm, *ǵ^{h}i-m-ós*; Gr. χιών, χιόνος 'snow', Arm. *jiun*, gen. *jean* 'id.' < **ǵ^{h}i-ōm, *ǵ^{h}i-om-os* (both with generalization of *-n* from **-m*); Lat. *hiems, -is* f. 'storm, winter' < **ǵ^{h}i-em-*; OIr. *gaim*, OW *gaem*, MW *gaeaf* 'winter' < **ǵ^{h}(i)em-i-*.

In spite of some formal difficulties, the word must be related to the PIE word for 'winter', cf. Nw. *gjø* f. 'thin layer of snow, track in the snow'. ON *gói* is inflected as an *īn*-stem, and can thus be reconstructed as **gōīn-*. It is further likely that ON *gœ*, Far. *gø* and Nw. *gjø* continue the same formation **gōīn-*, but with absorption of the *-i*. Icel. *góa* < quasi-PGm. **gōōn-* is a late Icelandic creation.

The PGm. root **gō-* is most likely to have developed from **ǵ^{h}i-ōm*, a secondary nominative that generalized the radical zero grade of the PIE paradigm nom. **ǵ^{h}éi-ōm*, gen. **ǵ^{h}i-m-ós*. The loss of **i̯* after a word-initial velar is paralleled by e.g. **kewwan-* 'to chew' (q.v.) < PIE **ǵiéuH-e-*. The genitive stem **ǵ^{h}i-m-* can still be retrieved from OLFra. Sal. *in-gimus* 'one-year old animal' < **aina-gima-* and *tui-gimus* 'two-year old animal' (cf. Lat. *bīmus* 'id.') < **Hoino-, *dui-ǵ^{h}i-m-o-*.

gōja/ō- n./f. 'peritendinitis crepitans' — Far. *gø* n. 'synovitis (esp. of the wrist)', Nw. *gjø* f. 'pain in the wrist due to strain' ⇒ **ǵʰoH-io-* (EUR) — Gr. χωλός adj. 'lame, paralyzed (especially of a foot)' < **ǵʰoH-lo-*.

A West Norse word probably continuing ON **gœ* < **gōja/ō-* (not **gjǫ́* in view of Far. *gø*). Nw. dial. *gøyr, gjøgr, geir* m., *gøyre* f. with the same meanings are difficult to account for, but may have evolved from ON **gœr* < **gōiz*. The word has no etymology so far, but can probably be connected with Gr. χωλός. Also cf. Shetl. (Unst) *jøger* 'painful and swollen wrist; condition of the feet of cattle'.

gōljan- w.v. 'to call(?)' — Go. *goljan* w.v. 'to greet', ON *gœla* w.v. 'to comfort, soothe', OFri. *gēla* w.v. 'to hunt'(?) (DRV).

The verb is a formal causative, but the semantics could point to an original intensive formation.

gōman-* ~ **gauman- m. 'gum, palate' — ON *gómi, gómr* m. 'id.', Far. *gómi* m. 'id.', Elfd. *guom* m. 'id.', OE *gōma* m. 'palate', E *gum*, OHG *guomo, gaumo* m. 'id.', MHG *guome, goume* m. 'id.', G *Gaumen* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵʰeh₂u-mon-* (IE) — Close to Lith. *gomurỹs* m. 'palate', Latv. *gãmurs* m. 'larynx, trachea' < **ǵʰeh₂-mr-* (with depalatalization from a zero-grade root **ǵʰh₂-mr-*?).

An *mr/n*-stem to the root stem **ǵʰeh₂-u-*, an extension of PIE **ǵʰeh₂-* 'to gape', for which see **ganēn-*. The vocalic alternation of ON *gómi*, OHG *guomo* < **gōman-* vs. OHG *gaumo*, G *Gaumen* < **gauman-* is explained by the fact that the regular Proto-Germanic change of **-ōu-* to **-ō-* only operated in open syllables (cf. Go. *sauil* 'sun' < **soel-* < **seh₂uel-*). In closed syllables, the long diphthong was simply shortened to **-au-* (cf. **naust(r)a-* 'boathouse' < **neh₂u-sth₂-o-*). As a result, the Pre-Gm. paradigm **gʰeh₂u-mōn*, gen. **gʰeh₂u-mn-os* regularly developed into PGm. **gōmō*, gen. **gaumnaz*. The variant OHG *giumen* is late and has umlaut from the plural (Kroonen 2011a: 304). The Pre-Gm. paradigm itself may be a remodeling of a more primary, static heteroclitic, nom. **gʰóh₂u-mr*, gen. **gʰéh₂u-mn-s*.

****graba-*** n. 'grave' — OE *græf, graf* n. 'grave, trench', OFri. *gref* n. 'grave, ditch(?)', OS *graf* n. 'grave', Du. *graf* n. 'id.', OHG *grab* n. 'id.', G *Grab* n. 'id.' ⇒ **gʰrobʰ-o-* (DRV) — OCS *grobъ* 'grave, tomb', Ru. *grob* 'coffin, *obs.* grave', SCr. *grȍb* m. 'grave' < **gʰrobʰ-o-*.

An *o*-stem derived from **graban-* (q.v.).

****graban-*** s.v. 'to dig' — Go. *graban* s.v. 'id.', ON *grafa* s.v. 'id.', Far. *grava* s./w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *gråvå* s.v. 'id.', OE *grafan* s.v. 'id.', OFri. *greva* s.v. 'id.', OS *graban* s.v. 'id.', Du. *graven* s.v. 'id.', OHG *graban* s.v. 'dig, carve', G *graben* s.v. 'to dig' ⇒ **gʰróbʰ-e-* (IE) — OCS *greti* 'to dig, scrape', Ru. *grestí* (*grebú*) 'to

row, rake', SCr. *grèpsti* 'to scrape, scratch' < *g^hreb^h-; Latv. *grebt* (*grebju*) 'to scrape, excavate, seize' < *$g^hreb^h(-ie)$-.

On top of the aforementioned cognates, Hitt. *karāpi*, *karipanzi* 'to devour' has been adduced as well (Kloekhorst 2008: 442-4), but this verb rather belongs to the iterative doublet *garp/bōn- / *gurpōn- (q.v.). The iteratives belonging to *graban- are *grapp/bōn- and *grupp/bōn-. Also cf. *graba-, Go. *graba* f. 'trench, ditch', ON *grǫf* f. 'pit, ditch; grave' < *grabō- and - with ablaut - *grōbō-.

graipōn- w.v. 'to grope' — ON *greipa* w.v. 'to grasp', OE *grāpian* w.v. 'to grope, touch with the hands', E *to grope*, OHG *greifōn* w.v. 'to stroke' ⇒ *g^hroib^h-néh$_2$- (NEUR).

The *o*-grade variant of the iterative *gripp/bōn- (q.v.).

gramjan- w.v. 'to provoke, anger' — Go. *gramjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *gremja* w.v. 'id.', OE *gremian* w.v. 'id.', MLG *gremmen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *grem(m)en* w.v. 'id.', G *grämen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *g^hrom-éie- (IE).

The causative to *grimman- (q.v.). Also cf. ON *gramr*, OE, OS, OHG *gram* adj. 'angry' < *grama-.

granna- adj. 'sharp' — ON *grannr* adj. 'thin, slender', Icel. *grannur* adj. 'thin, slim; accurate', Far. *grannur* adj. 'thin, fine', Elfd. *grann* adj. 'thin, delicate, pretty' ⇒ *g^hroH-n-uó- (NEUR/WEUR) — Ru. *gran'* f. 'side, face; border, verge' < *g^hroH-n-i-; Cz. *hrana* f. 'corner, edge' < *g^hroH-n-eh$_2$-.

Probably related to *granō- 'hair of the beard'. The Nordic meaning 'thin' must have developed out of older 'sharp' in view of the Icelandic meaning 'accurate'. Also cf. the Faroese phrase *ta stóð so grant* 'it stood so near the edge', in which the meaning of *grannur* is particularly close to Cz. *hrana* 'edge'. Slightly less attractive is the connection to OIr. *grind*, *grinn* adj. 'sharp' < *g^hrend^h-i-; PGm. *granna- would then have to be reconstructed as *g^hrond^h-no-.

granō- f. 'hair of the beard' — ON *grǫn* f. 'hair on the upper lip; moustache', Far. *gron* f. 'nose of cattle, snout; perineum', pl. 'nostrils, nose', OE *granu* f. 'moustache', MDu. *grane*, *graen* f. 'hair of the beard, awn, fish-bone', OHG *grana* f. 'awn, beard, whiskers', G *Granne* f. 'awn' ⇒ *g^hroH-néh$_2$- (NEUR?) — Ru. *gránka* f. 'tuft', SCr. *grána* f. 'branch' < *g^hroH-neh$_2$-.

Together with the Slavic forms, PGm. *granō- can with Dybo's law (pretonic shortening before resonants) readily be reconstructed as PIE *g^hroH-néh$_2$-. There are some semantically close lookalikes in Celtic, however, cf. OIr. *grend* f.? 'beard, hair, bristles' < *$g^hrend^{(h)}$-eh$_2$- and MW *grann* m. 'chin, beard, cheek', MBret. *grann* 'eyebrow' < *$g^hrand^{(h)}$-o-, but these formations pose serious formal problems: both the intra-Celtic interchange

of **a* and **e* as well as the dental suffix remain unexplained. Also cf. **granna-* 'sharp'.

grapp/bōn- w.v. 'to grapple' — E *to grab*, MLG *grabben* w.v. 'to snatch', MDu. *grapen, grabben* w.v. 'to grab, grapple', Du. *grabbelen* w.v. 'to grapple' ⇒ **gʰrobʰ-néh₂-* (IE).

The *o*-grade iterative to **graban-* (q.v.), an ablaut variant of **grupp/bōn-* (q.v.). The full grade seems to have been inherited from the *o*-grade strong verb, which belongs to the class of intensives that originally had *o/zero*-ablaut (cf. **gangan-* ~ **gungan-*). Swi. Rhntl. *grɔɔppə* 'to grope' (etc.) < **grēbb-* may continue an originally strong verb back-formed to the iterative.

grasa- n. 'grass' — Go. *gras* n. 'id.', ON *gras* n. 'id.', OE *gærs, græs* n. 'id.', E *grass*, OFri. *gers, gres* n. 'id.', OS *gras* n. 'id.', Du. *gras* n. 'id.', OHG *gras* n. 'id.', G *Gras* n. 'id.' (DRV) — Lat. *grāmen* n. 'grass' < **ǵʰrh₁-mn-*.

The most evident comparandum of this word is Lat. *grāmen*, which can be reconstructed as both *ǵʰrh₁-mn-* and *ǵʰrh₁s-mn-*. PGm. **gras-*, however, cannot straightforwardly be derived from PIE **ǵʰrh₁s-*, since this would yield **gurs-*. It must therefore rather be analyzed as a secondary *s*-stem created to the verb **grōan-* (q.v.) < **gʰróh₁-e-* (cf. **glasa-* ~ **glaza-* vs. **glōan-*). With the same ablaut, cf. MHG *gruose*, MLG *grōse*, MDu. *groese* f. 'young vegetation' < **grōsō-*.

grauta- adj. 'coarse' — OE *grēat* adj. 'course, large, great', E *great*, OFri. *grāt* adj. 'tall, big, great', OS *grōt* adj. 'id.', Du. *groot* adj. 'id.', OHG *grōz* adj. 'id.', G *Groß* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **gʰroud-o-* (DRV).

A regular *o*-grade adj. to the strong verb **greutan-* (q.v.); the original meaning was 'coarse', which is still close to the iterative Pal. *grotzen* 'to cut up into uneven pieces' < **gruttōn-* (q.v.). The meaning later shifted to 'big' in the WGm. languages, thus replacing **mekila-* (q.v.).

grēdu- m. 'hunger, desire' — Go. *gredus* m. 'id.', ON *gráðr* m. 'id.', OE *græd** m. 'id.', E *greed* ⇒ **ǵʰreh₁-tú-* (IE) — Hitt. *kariia(tt)a(ri)* 'to be gracious', Skt. *háryati* 'to enjoy, like' (< **ǵʰerh₁-*), Gr. χαίρω 'to rejoice', Lat. *horior* 'to encourage, urge' < **ǵʰrh₁-ie-*.

A *tu*-stem to the root **ǵʰreh₁-*, whence Go. *gredags* adj. 'hungry', ON *gráðugr*, OE *grædig*, OS *grādag*, OHG *grātag* adj. 'greedy' < **grēduga-*, **-aga-*. See also **gerna-*.

grētan- s.v. 'to wail' — Go. *gretan* s.v. 'to cry', ON *gráta* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *gråta* s.v. 'id.', OE *grætan* s.v. 'id.', ME *grēten* 'to salute', E *to greet*, OFri. *grēta* w.v. 'to greet; to sue', OS *grātan* s.v. 'to cry', MHG *grāzen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵʰréh₁d-e-*

(IE) — Skt. *hrādate* 'to sound' < **ǵʰreh₁d-e-*; W *griddfan* 'to groan' < **ǵʰreh₁d-* (Fowkes 1969: 78).

Also cf. ON *grátr* m. 'weeping', OHG *grāz* m. 'anger' < **grēta-* (= Skt. *hräda-* m. 'sound, noise, roar'). OE *han-græd* m. 'crowing of a rooster' < **grēda-* (as well as OE *grædan* w.v. 'to cry') seems to imply a root **ǵʰreh₁dʰ-*, but it is conceivable that this word was influenced by **krēda-*, cf. OHG *hana-krāt* 'id.'. See also **grōtjan-*.

****greujan-*** w.v. 'to dawn' — ON *gryándi* f. 'dawn', OSw. *gry* w.v. 'to dawn' ⇒ **ǵʰreh₁-u* (IE) — Hitt. *karū* adv. 'early; formerly; up to now' < **ǵʰrh₁-eu*; OCS *zarja* f. 'dawn, shine, ray', Ru. *zarjá* (arch. *zorjá*) f. 'dawn, sunset, reveille, retreat', SCr. *zòra* f. 'aurora' < **ǵʰŏrh₁-ieh₂-*; OCS *zrakъ* 'look, appearance', Ru. dial. *zórok* 'look, glance, appearance', SCr. *zrâk* m. 'sunbeam, air' < **ǵʰorh₁-ko-*.

The formation *grýjandi* f. is clearly derived from the verb **grýja* with the suffix *-andi*, cf. *bindandi*, *-endi* f. 'abstinence', *bíðandi* f. 'waiting, delay', *kunnandi* f. 'knowledge', *hyggjandi*, *-endi* f. 'wisdom', *kveðandi* f. 'recitation', *leikandi* f. 'sport, jest', *þjótandi* f. 'name of a vein'. This **grýja* is not attested in ON, but is nevertheless substantiated by the Old Swedish impersonal construction OSw. *daghin tōk at gry* 'it was getting light' (cf. Da., Sw. *gry* 'to dawn'), and perhaps also by Far. *glíggja* 'to shine, dawn' (*dagur glíggjar*), which might continue **grýggja* < **grýja*. The verb can technically be derived from both **grūjan-* and **greujan-*, but only the latter form is reconcilable with MDu. *grieken* 'to dawn' (cf. *griekinge* f. 'dawn') < **greukōn-* (with the inchoative *k*-suffix). The Gm. root **greu-* is reminiscent of Hitt. *karū* 'early', which continues either **ǵʰrh₁-ēu* or **ǵʰreh₁-u* (for the *u*-suffix, cf. Skt. *akt-ú-* m. 'dark, night, light' (< 'shimmer') < **n̥kʷ-t-u-*). The latter reconstruction is compatible with PGm. **greu-*, as **ǵʰrh₁-ēu* would probably yield **kurēu* (cf. **kuru-* 'heavy' < **gʷrh₂-u-*).

****greuna-*** n. 'gravel' — ON *grjón* n. 'groats', MLG *grēn* n. 'sea sand', MHG *grien* m./n. 'gravel, sandy riverside' ⇒ **gʰreuH-no-* (WEUR).

Pokorny IEW: 460 reconstructs **gʰrēuno-* (corresponding to laryngealistic **gʰrēh₂u-no-*) in view of Gr. -χραύω 'to scratch' < **gʰreh₂u-ie-*, but the connection with **gruwwa-* 'dregs' (q.v.) is more probable. Also cf. MDu. *griend* m. '(strip of) sandy ground', Du. *griend* 'reedy area'.

****greupan-* ~ **grūpan-*** s.v. 'to cut up, grind' — Nw. *grjupa*, *grupa* s.v. 'to grind', Sw. *grjopa* 'to cut out', Elfd. *griuopa* s.v. 'to grind coarsely' (DRV).

The strong verb looks like a back-formation to the iterative **grupp/bōn-* 'to dig, hollow out' < **gʰrubʰ-néh₂-* (q.v.), but cf. Nw. *gropa* 'to grind' < **grupōn-*. In view of MHG *īs-grūpe* f. 'hailstone', G *Graupe* f. 'grain of pearl barley' < **grūbbōn-*, it is at any rate certain that the original root was

*g^hreub^h- rather than *g^hreub- (*pace* Torp 1909: 146). Further cf. Elfd. *griuopa* f. 'moraine gravel, ground barley' < *greupōn-, the causative ON *greypa* 'to groove', Nw. *grøypa* 'to groove; to grind wheat' < *graupjan- and ON *grypja* f. 'coarse meal'.

***greutan-** s.v. 'to grind, crush' — OHG *fir-grozzen* ptc. 'ground', MHG *ver-griezen* s.v. 'to grind into very small pieces' ⇒ *$g^hréud$-e- (NEUR) — Lith. *grústi* (*grūdžiu*, *grūdu*) 'to thrust, pestle, stamp' < *g^hrud-ie-; Ru. *grúda* f. 'heap, pile', SCr. *grȕda* f. 'clod, lump' < *g^hroud-eh_2-.

A strong verb with many different derivations, e.g. ON *grjót* n. 'rubble', OS *griot*, OE *grēot*, OHG *grioz* n. 'sand, gravel, grit' < *greuta-; ON *grautr* m. 'porridge' < *grauta- and *grutja(n)- 'groats'. The formations *grūti-, cf. OE *grūt* 'coarse meal, grout', MDu. *grute* f., Du. *gruit* 'herb mixture used for bittering and flavoring beer', MHG *grūz*, G *Graus* m. 'grain (of sand or wheat') < *grūti-, could point to the existence of a secondary strong verb variant *grūtan-. See also *gruttōn-.

***grēwa-** adj. 'grey' — ON *grár* adj. 'id.', OE *grǣw*, *grǣg* adj. 'id.', E *grey*, OS *grāu* adj. 'id.', Du. *grauw* adj. 'id.', OHG *grāo*, *grā* adj. 'id.', G *grau* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *$ǵ^hréh_1$-uo- (IE) — OCS *zьrěti* 'to see', Ru. obs. *zret'* (*zrju*) 'to behold, gaze', Lith. *žėréti* 'to glow, sparkle' < *$ǵ^hrh_1$-eh_1-ie-; Lith. *žìrti* 'to scatter, sparkle' < *$ǵ^hrh_1$-.

An archetypal chromonym in *-*wa*-. Some compare ON *grey* n. 'bitch, paltry fellow, coward', *grey-hundr* 'greyhound', ags. *grīeg-hund* 'id.' < *grauja- < *$ǵ^hroh_1$-u-io-(?), but this is uncertain on both the formal and the semantic side. For the etymology of the root *$ǵ^hreh_1$-, see *greujan-.

***gridi-** f. 'step' — Go. *griþs** f. 'standing', MHG *grit* 'step' ⇒ *g^hrid^h-i- (NEUR) — Lith. *grìdyti* 'to go, wander' < *g^hrid^h-eie-; OCS *gręsti*, Ru. *grjastí* (*grjadú*), SCr. *grèsti* 'to go' < *g^hri-n-d^h-e-.

An *i*-stem derived from the strong verb *grīdan-, cf. MHG *grīten* s.v. 'to spread the legs wide' < *$g^hréid^h$-e-.

***grīma/ōn-** m./f. 'make-up' — ON *gríma* f. 'mask, cowl; beak', OE *grīma* m. 'mask, visor, helmet; spectre', E *grime* 'soot, coal-dust', OS *grīmo* m. 'mask' ⇒ *$g^hr(e)i$-mōn- (EUR) — Close to Lith. *griėti* (*griejù*) 'to scoop off cream' < *g^hroi-ie- and esp. Lith. *graĩmas* n. 'cream' < *g^hroi-mo-; also cf. with an *s*-suffix: Gr. χρίω 'to rub, anoint; to wash with color; to sting' < *g^hris-ie- (whence χρῖμα f. 'ointment').

An *mn*-stem to the verbal root *g^hrei-. E *grime* 'soot' and the ablauting MLG *grēme* f. 'dirt' < *grimōn- point to an original meaning 'to smear', but it is also entirely possible that the word was derived from *grīnan- (q.v.), the original meaning in that case being 'to make a face, grimace'.

grimman- s.v. 'to rage' — OE *grimman* s.v. 'to rage, roar; to rush', OS *grimman* s.v. 'to rage', MHG *grimmen* s.v. 'to rage, yell' ⇒ *$g^hrém$-n-e-* or *g^hr-én-m-e-* (IE) — Av. *gram-* 'to become angry' < *g^hrem-.

A nasal present to PIE *g^hrem-, no doubt an old sound symbolic root. See also **gramjan-*.

grīnan- s.v. 'to flash, snarl' — ON *grína* s.v. 'to grimace, grin', Far. *grína* s.v. 'to grin, laugh', Nw. *grine* s.v. 'to grimace, whine', Da. *grine* w.v. 'to grimace; to laugh', E *to grin*, MDu. *grinen* s./w.v. 'to cry; to growl; to grin', OHG *grīnan* s.v. 'to bark, howl, snarl', MHG *grīnen* s.v. 'to grin, show teeth', G *greinen* w.v. 'to whine' ⇒ *$g^hréi$-n-e- (WEUR) — OIr. *grían* f. 'sun' < *g^hrei-neh_2-.

A strong verb whose original meaning was 'to flash', cf. Da. obs. *grine* 'to send a piercing light (e.g. of the sun), to light up in the dark' and esp. Far. *tað grímir* 'it is beginning to get light' (< **grīmēn-*). It later changed into 'to snarl, bare the teeth' and 'to grin', whence both 'to cry' and 'to laugh'. The *-n-* of the verb must be suffixal in view of Nw. dial. *grisa* 'to grin' (Hellquist 1922: 201). The more primary root **grī-* has been compared to OIr. *grinniguth* 'le grincement des flèches' (Vendryes 1907: 140), but in view of the original meaning 'to flash', I prefer to connect it to OIr. *grían* 'sun'. Also cf. OE *grānian* w.v. 'to groan, lament, murmur', E *to groan* < **grainō(ja)n-*.

grindan- s.v. 'to grind' — OE *grindan* s.v. 'id.', E *to grind* ⇒ *$g^{wh}rénHd^h$-e- (EUR) — Lat. *frendō, -ere* 'to grind one's teeth' < *$g^{wh}rénHd^h$-e-; Lith. *gręsti* (*gréndžiu*) 'to plane, scour' < *$g^{wh}renHd^h$-ie-.

Also cf. OHG *grint*, G *Grind* m. 'scurf', Du. *grind* m. 'gravel' < **grinda-* and Icel. *grand* n. 'grain, particle, little bit', LG *grand* 'sand' < **granda-*.

grindi- f. 'fence' — ON *grind* f. 'lattice door, gate, fence', Icel. *grind* f. 'trellis, grating, rack, frame', Far. *grind* f. 'gate, frame' ⇒ *g^hrend^h-i- (NEUR) — Lith. dial. *grindà* f. 'flooring of a bridge', Latv. *grìda* f. 'floor, threshing-floor', Ru. *grjadá* f. 'ridge, bed (of flowers)', dial. 'pole, staff', SCr. *gréda* f. 'garden bed, ridge' < *$g^hr̥nd^h$-eh_2-.

Also cf. OE *grindel* m. 'bar, bolt, lattice frame', OHG *grintil* m. 'bolt, bar, plank' < **grindila-*.

grīpan- s.v. 'to grasp, seize' — Go. *greipan* s.v. 'id.', ON *grípa* s.v. 'id.', OE *grīpan* s.v. 'id.', OFri. *grīpa* s.v. 'id.', OS *grīpan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *grijpen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *grīfan* s.v. 'id.', G *greifen* s.v. 'id.' (DRV).

Since the root-final **p* of this verb in view of G Als. *grippen* < **gribbōn-* must have developed from Pre-Gm. **-pp-*, the strong verb is likely to be a back-formation to the iterative **gripp/bōn-* (q.v.). Also cf. Nw. dial. *gripe*, OE *gripa* m. 'handful' < **gripan-*; ON *gripr* m. 'valuable', OE *gripe* m. 'grip,

grasp', MDu. *grepe*, Du. *greep* 'id.', MHG *grif*, G *Griff* m. 'id.' < **gripi-* and OE *grīpa*, Far. *grípur* m. 'vulture' < **grīpa(n)-*.

gripp/bōn- w.v. 'to grasp' — ON *gripla* w.v. 'to grope', MDu. *grippen* w.v. 'to grasp', Du. *gribbelen* w.v. 'to pick up', G Als. *grippen* w.v. 'to grab' ⇒ **g^{h}rib^{h}-néh$_2$-* (NEUR) — Lith. *griẽbti* (*griebiù*) 'to seize' < **g^{h}reib^{h}-ie-*; Lith. *graibýti* (*graibaũ*) 'id.' < **g^{h}roib^{h}-éie-*; Latv. *gribêt* (*gribu*) 'to wish, desire' < **g^{h}rib^{h}-eh$_1$-*.

The material points to an iterative paradigm 3sg. **grippōþi*, 3pl. **gribunanþi* < **g^{h}rib^{h}-néh$_2$-*. This verb probably gave rise to the strong verb **grīpan-* in view of the (shortened) geminate of the latter. Also cf. the closely related *o*-grade iterative **graipōn-*.

grīsa- adj. 'grey' — OE *grīs* adj. 'id.', OS *grīs* adj. 'id.', Du. *grijs* adj. 'id.', OHG *grīs* adj. 'id.', G *greis* adj. 'aged' (GM).

The anlaut **gr-* has spawned the idea that the adjective is related to **grēwa-* with the same meaning, but this is formally difficult. The only way to reconcile the two formations is to assume that **grīsa-* was derived from an *i*-present to the root **ǵ^{h}reh$_1$-*, i.e. **ǵ^{h}reh$_1$-i-*. After the addition of an *s*-suffix, the resulting form **g^{h}rēis-* would then have developed into **grīs-* by Osthoff's law. This scenario remains highly speculative, however. Also note that the connection with ON *gríss*, Far. *grísur*, Elfd. *grais* m. 'pig' (cf. Pokorny IEW: 441-2) is erroneous: this word was derived from the strong verb **grīsan-* underlying Far. *grísa* w.v. 'to be straying (of cattle)', Nw. dial. *grisa* s.v. 'to have holes'.

grōan- s.v. 'to grow' — ON *gróa* s.v. 'id.', OE *grōwan* s.v. 'id.', E *to grow*, OFri. *grōwa*, *grōia* s.v. 'id.', MLG *grōien* w.v. 'id.', MDu. *groeyen* s.v. 'id.', Du. *groeien* w.v. 'id.', OHG *gruoan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *grüen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **g^{h}róh$_1$-e-* (IE) — Hitt. *kariant-* 'grass' < **g^{h}rh$_1$-i-ent-* (Puhvel 1984-: 4, 80); Lat. *grāmen* n. 'id.' < **g^{h}rh$_1$-mn-*.

An *o*-grade strong verb to the root **g^{h}reh$_1$-*, cf. OE *grǣd* m. 'grass' < **grēda-* < **g^{h}reh$_1$-tó-*. The verb did not have a suffix **-ie-*: both the **j* of OHG *-en*, OFri *-ia*, MDu. *-yen-*, *-ien* and the **w* of OE *-wan*, OFri. *-wa* are secondary hiatus fillers. See also **grōni-* 'green' and **grōþi-* 'growing'.

grōbō- f. 'cavity, pit' — Go. *groba* f. 'dugout, hole, cave', ON *gróf* f. 'pit', Far. *grógv* f. 'depression, hollow', ODu. *gruova* f. 'pit', Du. *groeve* f. 'pit, ditch, hole', OHG *gruoba* f. 'pit, cavity', G *Grube* f. 'id.' (DRV).

An *ō*-stem derived from **graban-* (q.v.).

grōni- adj. 'green' — ON *grœnn* adj. 'id.', Far. *grønur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *gryōn* adj. 'id.', OE *grēne* adj. 'id.', OFri. *grēne* adj. 'id.', OS *grōni* adj. 'id.', Du. *groen*

adj. 'id.', OHG *gruoni* adj. 'id.', MHG *grüene* adj. 'id.', G *grün* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *g^hroh_1-ni-* (DRV).

An adjective related to **grōan-* 'to grow' (q.v.).

grōtjan- w.v. 'to make shout, greet' — ON *grœta* w.v. 'to make cry', OE *grētan* w.v. 'to greet', OS *grōtian* w.v. 'to address, harass, enrage', Du. *groeten* w.v. 'to greet', OHG *gruozen* w.v. 'to irritate, greet, speak to', MHG *gruozen*, *grüezen* w.v. 'to cry; to greet', G *grüßen* w.v. 'to greet' ⇒ *$ǵ^hroh_1d$-éie-* (IE).

The causative to **grētan-* (q.v.).

grōþi- f. 'growing, growth, young vegetation' — ON *gróðr* m. 'growth, crop', Far. *gróður* m. 'vegetation', OFri. *grēde* f. 'id.', MDu. *groede* f. 'id.', MHG *gruot* f. 'id.' ⇒ *g^hroh_1-ti-* (DRV).

A *ti*-stem derived from **grōan-* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *gróðr* n. 'growth' < **grōþ/du-* < **g^hroh_1-tu-*.

gruba- adj. 'coarse' — MDu. *grof* adj. 'large; crude; loud', Du. *grof* adj. 'coarse', MHG *grop* adj. 'thick, strong, big' ⇒ **g^hrub^h-o-* (DRV) — Lith. *grubùs* adj. 'uneven, rough' < **g^hrub^h-u-*; OCS *grǫbъ*, Ru. *grúbyj*, SCr. *grûb* adj. 'coarse, rough, rude' < **g^hru-m-b^h-o-*.

An adjective derived from the root **greub-* 'to grind', which also occurs in the strong verb **greupan-* (q.v.).

grumþu-* ~ *grundu- m. 'floor' — Go. *grundu-waddjus* m. 'ground-wall', ON *grunnr* m. 'bottom', Far. *gruður*, *grunnur* m. 'shallow; sea bottom', Elfd. *grunn* n. 'id.', OE *grund* m. 'ground, bottom, foundation', E *ground*, OFri. *grund* m. 'id.', OS *grund* m. 'id.', Du. *grond* c. 'id.', OHG *grunt* m. 'id.', G *Grund*, Cimb. *grumf* m. 'id.' ⇒ **$ǵ^hrm$-tu-* (IE?).

Usually reconstructed as a *tu*-stem to a root **g^hren-* (cf. Orel 2003: 144). Cimb. *grumf*, however, points to a form **grumfþu-* with an epenthetic *f* between the *m* and the *þ* (for which cf. **kwumþi-* and **samþu-*). Related to Skt. *harmyá-* 'permanent building' < **$ǵ^her$-m-io-*? Also cf. ON *grandi* m. 'isthmus' < **granda-*.

grupp/bōn- w.v. 'to dig' — Nw. *gropa* w.v. 'to dig up; hollow out, groove', ME *grubben* w.v. 'to dig in earth with a tool; to dig up; to pluck out', *gropen* w.v. 'to dig, to make a groove', E *to grub*, MLG *gropen* w.v. 'to hollow out', MDu. *grobben* w.v. 'to scrape', G Pal. *groppen* w.v. 'to scratch' ⇒ **g^hrb^h-néh$_2$-* (IE) — Skt. *gṛbhṇā́ti* 'to seize, take, hold' < **g^hrb^h-néh$_2$-*.

An iterative to **graban-*: the evidence is suggestive of a paradigm 3sg. **gruppōþi*, 3pl. **grubunanþi* that continues PIE **g^hrb^h-néh$_2$-* (= Skt.

gr̥bhn̥áti). The zero-grade roots ***gurb/pp-*** were remodeled on the basis of the full-grade strong verb. See also ***grapp/bōn-***.

grutja(n)- m./n. 'grits' — Du. *grut* n. 'small wares; small stuff; young kids', OHG *gruzi* n. 'bran', G Swi. *grütz* n. 'seed mixture' (DRV).

A collective formation with the same *ja(n)*-suffix that is found in other terms for cereals, cf. ***hersja(n)-*** 'millet' and ***hwaitja-*** 'wheat' (q.v.). Also cf. the feminine OE *grytt*, E *grits*, MLG *grutte*, MDu. *gorte*, Du. *gort*, G *Grütze* 'groat' < ***grutjō-***.

gruttōn- w.v. 'to cut into pieces' — G Pal. *grotzen, grutzen* w.v. 'to cut into uneven pieces' ⇒ ***gʰrud-néh₂-*** (DRV?).

The iterative to ***greutan-*** (q.v.).

gruwwa(n)- n. 'dregs' — Icel. *grugg* n. 'sediment', Far. *grugg* n. 'sediment, dregs; enmity', Nw. *grugg(e)* n./m. 'dregs' ⇒ ***gʰruH-ó-*** (WEUR) — W *gro* 'pebbles, coarse gravel', OCorn. *grow* 'sand', Co. *grow* 'sand', Bret. *groa, gro* f. 'sand'.

Also cf. Icel. *gregg, grōgg* n. 'sediment, filth' < ON ***grøgg*** < ***grawwja-*** (Magnússon 1985), presumably a collective *ja*-formation to a root ***grawwa-*** < ***gʰrouH-ó-*** (with *Verschärfung*). Also cf. Far. *grugga*, Nw. *grugga* w.v. 'to make muddy, turbid' < ***gruwwōjan-*** and the more distantly related ***greuna-*** 'gravel'.

gub(b)ōn- w.v. 'to steam' — Icel. *gubba* w.v. 'to vomit', Far. *guva* w.v. 'to smoke, steam', Nw. *gova* w.v. 'to steam; smell', *gubba* w.v. 'to steam, haze' ⇒ ***gʰubʰ-néh₂-*** (GM).

The iterative to ***geuban-*** ~ ***gūban-*** (q.v.). The attested forms continue 3sg. ***guppōþi***, 3pl. ***gubunanþi*** < ***gʰubʰ-néh₂-***.

gubēn- w.v. 'to stoop' — Nw. *guve* w.v. 'to cower', Gutn. *gäua sig* 'to stoop' ⇒ ***gʰubʰ-eh₁-*** (NEUR) — OCS *sъ-gъnǫti* 'to bend, fold' < ***gʰubʰ-ne-***; OCS *po-gubiti* 'to destroy' < ***gʰoubʰ-eie-***; Latv. *gubt* 'to bow, bend, fall' < ***gʰubʰ-***; Latv. *gubinât* 'to bend, crumple' < ***gʰubʰ-neh₂-***.

A stative verb probably related to ***beugan-*** ~ ***būgan-*** 'to bend' (with metathesis of ***gʰubʰ-*** to ***bʰugʰ-*** or *vice versa*). Also cf. ***gaupnō-***.

guda- n. 'god' — Go. *guþ* m. 'id.', ON *guð* m./n. 'id.', Elfd. *guð* m. 'id.', OE *god* n. 'id.', E *god*, OFri. *god* m. 'id.', OS *god* m. 'id.', Du. *god* c. 'id.', OHG *got* m. 'id.', G *Gott* m. 'id.' ⇒ ***ǵʰu-tó-*** or ***gʷʰu-tó-***? (IE?).

No accepted etymology. The traditional comparison to Skt. *hótar-*, Av. *zaotar-* 'sacrificing priest' is technically possible, but only by deriving these words from the semantically remote root ***ǵʰeu-*** 'to pour (libate)' rather

than from **ǵʰeuH-* 'to invoke'. Not convincing either is the proposed link with Gr. χυτὴ γαῖα 'burial mound' (Watkins 2008: 140). Perhaps it is best to connect the word with OCS *gověti* 'to revere' < **gʷʰou-eh₁-*, thus reconstructing Pre-Gm. **gʷʰu-tó-*. Within Germanic, also cf. ON *goði* m. 'priest' < **gudan-*, Go. *gudja* m. 'id.', ON *gyðja* f. 'id.' < **gudja/ōn-* and G *Götze* m. 'idol' < **gudisan-*.

****gulba-*** n. 'floor' — ON *golf* n. 'id.', Far. *gólv* n. 'id.', Elfd. *guov* n. 'id.' ⇒ **gʰl̥bʰ-o-* (EUR?) — OCS *žlěbъ* 'groove; crib', Ru. *žólob* 'chute, gutter, trunk', SCr. *žleb* m. 'groove, gutter, drainpipe' < **gʰelbʰ-o-*; Ru. *globá* f. 'beam' < **gʰlobʰ-eh₂-*.

Of the aforementioned Slavic words, the link with Ru. *globá* 'beam' is especially attractive. The other cognates are semantically closer to Gr. γλάφω 'to hollow out' < **glbʰ-e-*, but in spite of the divergent semantics, this verb could be related to PGm. **gulba-* as well.

****guljōn-*** f. 'puddle?' — Sw. dial. *gölja* f. 'puddle, hole in the ice', MLG *gole* 'marshy place', MDu. *gole, guelle* 'rivulet', Du. *geul* 'rivulet', MHG *gülle* w.f. 'puddle' (IE?).

Also cf. OSw. *gøl* f. 'abyss; throat', Sw. *göl* 'abyss; lake' < **guljō-* (cf. Fi. *kulju* 'abyss, deep water'). Both formations were derived from a PGm. root **geul-*, cf. ON *-gjól* top. 'marshy area', MHG *giel* m. 'throat' < **geula-*. There is no need to explain the Dutch forms as loanwords from French *gueule* 'throat', cf. Franck 1949: 192. No certain extra-Germanic etymology: cognate with Hitt. *gulliia-* 'hole' (cf. Melchert 1983)?

****gullōn-*** w.v. 'to shout, sing' — Nw. *golla* w.v. 'to sound; boast' ⇒ **gʰl-néh₂-* (NEUR).

The iterative to **galan-* and **gellan-*. The latter verb is given its geminate likely to have been back-formed to this iterative.

****gulþa- ~ *gulda-*** n. 'gold' — Go. *gulþ* n. 'id.', ON *gull* n. 'id.', OE *gold* n. 'id.', OFri. *gold* n. 'id.', OS *gold* m. 'id.', Du. *goud* n. 'id.', OHG *gold* n. 'id.', MHG *golt* n. 'gold', G *Gold* n. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵʰlh₃-to-* (IE/EUR) — OCS *zlato*, Ru. *zóloto*, SCr. *zlâto* n. 'id.' < **ǵʰolh₃-to-*; Latv. *zę̀lts* m. 'id.' < **ǵʰelh₃-to-*.

A *to*-stem derived from the root **ǵʰelh₃-* (see **gelwa- ~ *gulu-* 'yellow'). Verner alternations such as ON *gull* < **gulþa-* vs. OE *gold* < **gulda-* are more frequent in the neuter *o*-stems, and can usually be attributed to a singular-plural opposition of the PIE accent. This seems unlikely in the case of 'gold', however, as this word did not have a plural.

guman- m. 'man' — Go. *guma* m. 'id.', ON *gumi* m. 'id.', OE *guma* m. 'id.', OS *gumo* m. 'id.', OHG *gomo* m. 'id.', MHG *gome* m. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰǵʰm-on-* (EUR) — Lith. *žmónės* m.pl. 'men', Lat. *homō* m. 'man' < **dʰǵʰm-on-*.

An formation derived from the PIE word for 'earth, land', viz. **dʰégʰ-m*, gen. **dʰǵʰ-m-ós* (cf. Hitt. *tēkan*, gen. *taknaš* c. 'land'), with the individualizing *n*-suffix. All of the attested forms point to **dʰǵʰ-m-on-*; contrary to the older literature, there is no compelling reason to reconstruct an ablauting paradigm **dʰégʰ-m-ōn*, gen. **dʰǵʰ-m-n-ós* on the basis of Lat. *homō* (< OLat. *hemō* by rounding before non-palatal *m*), as the sequence *-em-* may just as well have arisen from a vocalized **m*. The vocalization occurred regularly in the gen. **dʰǵʰ-m̥-n-ós*, and may have spread from there. It is also possible to assume that the vocalization was triggered by a laryngeal, which would point to the Hoffmann suffix **-Hon-*: **dʰǵʰ-m̥-Hon-*. The anlaut of Lith. *žmónės* is in disagreement with this reconstruction, however. Also cf. ON *brúð-gumi*, Far. *brúð-gummi*, OE *brȳd-guma*, E *bride-groom*, OS *brūdi-gumo*, Du. *bruidegom*, OHG *brūti-gomo*, G *Bräuti-gam* 'bridegroom' and OS *gumiski* n. 'senate' < **gumiskja-*.

gumban- m. 'curd(?)' — Nw. *gumbe*, *gumme* m. 'kind of sweet cheese', G Swi. *gümmi* 'curd' (< **gumbīn-*) (GM).

An etymologically obscure word. The Nordic form was borrowed into Sámi as *gumba*, *gumpa*.

gumēn- w.v. 'to pay attention' — Icel. *guma* w.v. 'id.', OE *ofer-gumian* w.v. 'to neglect', OS *far-gumon* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A secondary stative created to an unattested adjective **gauma-* 'attentive' < **gʰouǵʰ-mo-*, for which cf. **gauma-* 'heed, attention'; the stative required the zero-grade of the root, which apparently was introduced secondarily, since primary **gʰuǵʰ-m-* would probably not result in PGm. **gum-*.

gump/bōn- w.v. 'to hop' — ON *goppa* w.v. 'to jump', Sw. *gumpa* w.v. 'to jolt', Elfd. *guppa* w.v. 'to bob', MHG *gumpen* w.v. 'to hop, jump' ⇒ **gʰmbʰ-néh₂-* (GM).

An iterative verb **gumpōþi*, **gumbunanþi* < **gʰmbʰ-néh₂*. With G *gupfen* 'to bump, jump', the verb has alternatively been reconstructed as **guppōn-* (cf. DWB 9, 1142; De Vries 1962: 180), but the co-occurrence of Sw. *gumpa* and *guppa* clearly points to a root with a nasal. Also cf. MHG *gampen* w.v. 'to hop, jump, trample' < **gambōn-*.

gunda- m. 'pus; decaying skin(?)' — Go. *gund* n. 'gangrene', Nw. *gund* m. 'skin crust, serum crust', OE *gund* m. 'pus', OHG *gund* m. 'id.' (GM).

No extra-Germanic etymology. Unrelated to Gr. κανθύλος m. 'abscess, tumor' (Holthausen 1887: 282) and Av. *guṇda-* 'small round bread' (Trautmann 1906: 268).

gunþī- ~ *gunþjō- f. 'fight' — ON *gunnr, guðr* f. 'id.', OE *gūð* f. 'id.', OS *gūdea* f. 'id.' ⇒ **g^{wh}ń-tih$_2$-* (IE) — Hitt. *kuenzi ~ kunanzi* 'to kill, slay, ruin', Skt. *hánti*, YAv. *jainti* 'to strike, slay, kill', NP *zadan, zan-* 'to strike, to hit' < 3sg. **g^{wh}én-ti*, 3pl. **g^{wh}n-énti*.

An archaic feminine formation derived from the PIE root **g^{wh}en-* 'to slay'.

gurdjan- w.v. 'to gird' — ON *gyrða* w.v. 'id.', OE *gyrdan* w.v. 'id.', OS *gurdian* w.v. 'id.', OHG *gurten* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **g^{h}rd^{h}-ié-* (IE).

A *ie*-present related to the strong verb **gerdan-* (q.v.).

gut(t)ōn- w.v. 'to pour; to spawn' — ON *gota* w.v. 'to spawn', Nw. *gota*, dial. *gåtta* w.v. 'id.', OHG *gozzōn*(?) w.v. 'to percolate' ⇒ **ǵ^{h}u-t-neh$_2$-* (IE).

The iterative **guttōn-* is supported by Nw. *gåtta* and possibly also by the OHG gloss *cozast 'colas'*, which has alternatively been interpreted as *gōzōn* < **gautōjan-* (cf. Mikeleitis-Winter 2001: 214-5). The geminated root **gutt-* is further corroborated by the deverbative MHG *gutz*, pl. *gütze* m. 'gush' (beside *guz*), Swi. *gutz* 'id.' (cf. Stickelberger 1889: 439) and probably also by OE *guttas* m.pl. 'guts' < **gutta-*, which in view of the Nordic meaning 'to spawn' may well belong here too. The strong verb **geutan-* is likely to have arisen as a back-formation to this iterative, which itself seems to have come about by the creation an *n*-present **ǵ^{h}ut-neh$_2$-* to the 3sg. aorist form **g^{h}u-t* (for the incorporation of the *t*-ending into the root, cf. **hreþan-* and **hlaþan-*). Evidence for a root extension may also be present in the form of Hitt. *kūtt-* c. 'wall' < **ǵ^{h}eu-t-* (Kloekhorst 2008: 498).

H

habanō- f. 'harbor' — ON *hǫfn* f. 'id.', OE *hæfen* f. 'id.', E *haven*, MLG *havene* f. 'id.', MDu. *haven* f. 'id.', Du. *haven* c. 'id.', G *Hafen* (= LG) ⇒ **kap-óneh$_2$-* (WEUR) — Olr. *cúan* m. 'port, harbor' < **kap-ono-*.

A Germanic-Celtic isogloss representing **kap-óno/eh$_2$-* or **kop-óno/eh$_2$-* (**kVp-nó/éh$_2$-* would have resulted in ***happō-* under Kluge's law). The standard etymology of the word connects it to ON *haf*, OE *hæf*, OFri. *hef*, MLG *haf*, MHG *hap* n. 'sea, lake' < **haba-* < **kh$_2$p-ó-* and **hafjan-* ~ **habjan-* 'to lift' < **kh̥$_2$p-ie-*, which implies an original PIE form **kh$_2$p-óno/eh$_2$-*. The limitation to Gm. and Celtic, however, makes it likely that the word spread

from one branch to another at a relatively late stage. Also cf. OHG *havan*, MHG *haven*, OS *haƀan-* m. 'vessel, pot' < **hafna-* (< **kĥ₂p-no-*?).

habēn- w.v. 'to have' — Go. *haban* w.v. 'id.', ON *hafa* w.v. 'id.', OE *habban* w.v. 'id.', E *to have*, OFri. *hebba* w.v. 'id.', OS *hebbian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *hebben* w.v. 'id.', OHG *habēn* w.v. 'id.', G *haben* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **kh₂p-éh₁-* (EUR).

A stative verb to the European root **kh₂p-*, for which cf. **hafjan-* ~ **habjan-* and **happ/bōn- 1.*

habran- m. 'oats' — ON *hafri* m. 'id.', Far. *havri* m. 'id.', OS *haƀoro* m. 'id.', Du. *haver* c. 'id.', OHG *habaro, haparo* m. 'id.', G *Hafer, Haber* m. 'id.' (DRV).

The word is often compared to **hagran-* 'bromus' (q.v.), which, however, has a velar that in view of OIr. *corca, coirce* 'oats' must be old. It therefore seems more likely that **habran-* was derived from **hafra-* 'goat' (q.v.), as is substantiated by the double meaning of Far. *havur* 'goat; unthreshed corn'. Note that the *f* of G *Hafer* can be due to Bahder's law, and does not necessarily imply a Proto-Germanic variant **hafran-*. The doublet Cimb. *habaro, havaro* in fact suggests that the original proto-form was **habran-*.

habuka- m. 'hawk' — ON *haukr* m. 'id.', Far. *heykur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *ok* m. 'id.', OE *hafoc, hafuc, heafoc* m. 'id.', E *hawk*, OFri. *hauk* m. 'id.', OS *haƀuk* m. 'id.', Du. *havik* c. 'id.', OHG *habuh* m. 'id.', G *Habicht* 'id.' ⇒ **kabʰu-k/g-* (NIE) — Ru. *kóbec* m. 'small hawk', SCr. *kòbac* m. 'merlin' < **kabʰuk-io-*; Lat. *capus*, Etr. *capu* 'falcon' < **kapu-*.

An obscure word with no IE etymology; the different forms, viz. Pre-Gm. **kabʰug-*, Pre-Sl. **kabʰuk-* and Pre-Italic **kapu-*, show irregular sound correspondences and cannot be reconciled with each other with the help of the known PIE phonological rules. One could perhaps argue that the Italic form **kap-* is due to folk-etymological association with the verb attested as Lat. *capere* 'to take' ("the snatching bird"), but this does not help much: even if one is willing to accept **a* as a PIE phoneme, the co-occurrence of a plain voiceless and a voiced aspirate stop in the same root would still be in conflict with the known PIE root restrictions. In view of all of these formal problems, it is therefore highly probable that the word for 'hawk' ended up in the European languages as a *Wanderwort*, spreading across Europe along with the arrival of falconry. This event, which is linked to the invasions of the Huns and Alans, is usually dated in the 4th century, however, which would be too late. For a full discussion, see Strathmann 2008: 2, 125-7.

The Gm. word spread further West and North, cf. Fi. *havukka* and MW *hebawc* (whence OIr. *sebocc*). Note that the Welsh form is remarkable, because it has a *b* corresponding to OE *f*. This may be an indication that the early OE continuant of PGm. **b* still had a plosive articulation. The remod-

eling of the auslaut OE *-oc* to W *-awc* is due to reinterpretation: *-awc* < PCelt. *-āko-* was a very frequent suffix (Anders Jørgensen, p.c.).

hafjan- ~ *habjan- s.v. 'to raise, lift' — Go. *hafjan* s.v. 'id.', ON *hefja* s.v. 'id.', OE *hebban* s.v. 'id.', E *to heave*, OFri. *heva* s.v. 'id.', OS *hebbian*, *heffian* s.v. 'id.', Du. *heffen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *heffen*, *heven* s.v. 'id.', G *heben* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ *kh_2p-ie-* (EUR) — ?Gr. κάπτω 'to gulp down', Lat. *capiō* 'to take' < *kh_2p-ie-*; Latv. *kàmpt* 'to obtain' < *kh_2-en-p-e-*.

The variation of geminated and ungeminated forms points to a PGm. paradigm in which the *j*-suffix was and respectively was not in contact with the root-final consonant. This distribution can be interpreted as pointing to an original *i*-present 3sg. *habīþi*, 3pl. *habjinþi* < *kh_2p-éi-ti*, *kh_2p-i-énti*, something that has already been suggested earlier for Lat. *capiō* (Schrijver 2003b: 67). The accent must have shifted to the root in some of the forms, however, because otherwise the alternation of the roots **hef-* and **heb-* cannot be accounted for. See also **habēn-*.

hafra- m. 'billy goat, buck' — ON *hafr* m. 'id.', Far. *havur* m. 'billy-goat; handful of (unthreshed) corn', OE *hæfer* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kap-ro-* (NIE) — Gr. κάπρος m. '(wild) boar', Lat. *caper* m. 'he-goat, buck' < **kap-ro-*; OIr. *gabor* m., W *gafr* < **gabro-*.

The vacillation of **kapro-* with **gabro-* as well as the occurrence of **a*, which was no phoneme in PIE, may point to a non-IE origin (Schrijver 1991: 96). If so, the word must have been adopted by the individual IE daughter languages after their settlement among different groups of linguistically connected European agriculturalists. Note that the meaning of Far. *havur* 'bunch of corn' supports the idea that **habran-* 'oats' was derived from this word.

haga(n)- m. 'enclosure; pasture' — ON *hagi* m. 'pasture, field for grazing', Far. *hagi* m. 'id.', Elfd. *agi* m. 'meadow; pen', OE *haga* m. 'hedge, enclosure', OS *hago* m. 'hedge', OHG *hag* m. 'hedge, enclosure, dam' ⇒ **kag^h-on-* (WEUR) — Lat. *caulae* f.pl. 'railing or lattice barrier' < **kag^h-el-eh$_2$-*; W *cae*, OBret. *cai*, Bret. *kae* 'pen, enclosure' < **kag^h-io-*.

The word originally denoted an enclosure created by shrubs or briars, cf. OHG *hagan* 'briar', MHG *hagen*, MDu. *haghen* m. 'fencing' < **hagna-*; ON *heggr* m. 'bird cherry (tree)' < **hagja-* and OE *hecg*, OHG *heckia*, *heggia* f. 'hedge' < **hagjō-*. OE *hæc* m./f., MDu. *hec(ke)* n. 'hatch', Du. *hek* n. 'fence' go back to a stem **hakkja/ō-* with a geminated root **hakk-* that possibly arose in the genitive of the *n*-stem **hagan-*: nom. **hagō*, gen. **hakkaz* < **kag^h-ōn*, **kag^h-n-ós*.

hagla- m.? 'hail' — ON *hagl* n. 'id.', Far. *hagl* n. 'hail(stone); drop; shooting pain, inconvenience', OE *hagol*, *haegel* m. 'hail', E *hail*, OFri. *heil* m.? 'id.', OS *hagal* m. 'id.', Du. *hagel* c. 'id.', OHG *hagal* m. 'hail, thunderstorm', G *Hagel* m. 'id.' (GM?).

A formation that is usually compared to the formally and semantically reminiscent ON *héla* 'hoarfrost' < **hihelōn-* (q.v.) < **ḱi-ḱelh₁-o-*; **hagla-* would then continue a similar reduplicated formation, only with the *o*-grade as the reduplication vowel (**ḱo-ḱlh₁-o-*). However, in view of the Faroese meaning 'pain, inconvenience', there is a chance that **hagla-* has nothing to do with *héla* at all. It may alternatively be derived from a verb 'to torment', cf. Du. obs. *hagen* w.v. 'to torment, agonize' (= EDu. *hagghen* 'to quarrel', E *to hag* 'to torment, to urge; to fatique, tire out', Nw. *haga* w.v. 'to grow tired, weak' < **hag(g)ōn-*). The traditional extra-Gm. connection with Gr. κάχληξ m. 'small stones, gravel in a riverbed' must at any rate be dropped in view of the irregular variant κόχλαξ pointing to a non-IE source.

hagra- adj. 'slim' — MHG *hager* adj. 'id.', G *hager* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **koḱ-ró-* (NEUR?) — Lith. *kašėti* 'to become slim' < **koḱ-eh₁-*.

A *ro*-stem adjective to a root **keḱ-*, perhaps a non-nasalized variant of **kenḱ-* as found in **hungru-* 'hunger' (q.v.). Highly reminiscent of **magra-* (q.v.).

hagran- m. 'bromus(?)' — Icel. *hellin-hagra* f. 'a kind of thyme' (< **hagrōn-*), Nw. dial. *hagre* m. 'oats', OSw. *hagri* m. 'id.', Elfd. *ager* m. 'id.', Gutn. *hagre* 'id.', Da. *hejre* c. 'brome grass' ⇒ **kokró-* (WEUR/NIE) — Olr. *corca*, *coirce* m. 'oats', W *ceirch* m. 'id.', Bret. *kerc'h* 'id.' < **kork-io-*.

In a number of Scandinavian dialects, the continuants of ON **hagri* have become synonymous with ON *hafri* 'oats' (< **habran-*, q.v.). Since this meaning is also attested for the cognate OIr. *coirce*, it can be old. In view of Da. *hejre* 'bromus', however, the original meaning may have been broader. Brome grass is closely related to the wheat-grass lineage, and is known to infest grain fields. Formally, the alternation of Pre-Gm. **kokró-* vs. Pre-Celt. **kork-io-* can be explained by assuming metathesis, but the potentially related Nw. dial. *hagr*, *harg* m. 'coarse hair from a horse's manes or tail' < ON **hargr* < PGm. **harga-* and OIr. *corc* 'hair' < **kork-o-* can alternatively be derived from an original form **korkró-* that in Pre-Germanic was dissimilated into **kokró-*.

hahsjō- f. 'ham, back of the knee' — Du. *haas* c. 'tenderloin', OHG *hahsa* f. 'back of the knee', MHG *hahsa*, *hehse* f. 'id.', G *Hächse* f. 'id.' ⇒ **koḱs-ieh₂-* (IE) — Skt. *kákṣa-* m. 'armpit', YAv. *kaša-* m. 'id.', NP *kaš* 'id.' < **koḱs-o-*; Lat. *coxa* f. 'hip of a human, haunch of an animal', OIr. *cos* f. 'leg' < **koḱs-eh₂-*.

An Indo-European word for 'ham' or 'back of the leg'. The forms EDu. *hijse* 'muscle, boneless flesh' and Du. Limb. *hies*, *hieze* '(smoked) ham, back of the knee' probably also belong here. In spite of Pokorny IEW: 543, who compares them to Skt. *kiṣku-* m. 'forearm' < **kisk-u-* and Lith. *kiškà* f. 'hollow of the knee', Latv. *ciska* f· 'loin, shank, thigh, hip' < **kisk-eh₂-*, these attestations are more likely to represent *h*-less variants of G *Hächse*, cf. Pal. *hĕs*, pl. *hēsə* and especially Rhnl. *hēs*, *hīs*, *hīəs*. Also cf. OHG *hahsina* f. 'back of the knee', MDu. *haessene*, *heessene*, *heisene* f. 'knee-cap; hamstring' < **hahsinō-* / **hahsnjō-*.

haidra- adj. 'clear' — ON *heiðr* adj. 'bright, clear, cloudless', OE *hādor* m./n. 'clear sky', OS *hēdar* adj. 'serene', OHG *heitar* adj. 'clear, bright', G *heiter* adj. 'clear, cheerful' ⇒ **koit-ró-* (IE) — Skt. *citrá-* 'bright, variegated', Av. *ciθra-* 'clear, evident' < **kit-ró-*.

haifsti- f. 'conflict' — Go. *haifsts* f. 'contestation, rivalry, conflict', ON *heift*, *heifst* f. 'hatred, feud, war', OE *hæst* f. 'ferocity', OFri. *hāst* f. 'anger; rush', MLG *heist* 'vehemence', MHG *heifte* f. *'tempestas'* ⇒ **ḱoip-sti-*? (NEUR) — Perhaps to Lith. *šaipýtis* 'to snarl' < **ḱoip-eie-*; Lith. *šaĩpas* m. 'derision, mockery' < **ḱoip-o-*.

The word is often compared to Skt. *śíbham* adv. 'fast' and *śíbhya-* 'id.' (cf. Pokorny IEW: 542), but the implied base **ḱiHbʰ-* is in violation of the IE root structure, and cannot simply be transferred to Germanic. I therefore rather connect Lith. *šaĩpas*. Within Germanic, also cf. OFri. *hāst*, OE *hæste*, OHG *heisti*, MHG *heifte* 'vehement' < **haifstja-*. The *f* was lost in Ingvaeonic, whereas the *s* disappeared in the remaining West Germanic dialects.

haiha- adj. 'one-eyed' — Go. *haihs* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **keh₂i-ko-* (IE?) — Identical to Lat. *caecus* adj. 'blind', OIr. *cáech* adj. 'one-eyed', W *coeg* adj. 'empty, vain; one-eyed, blind' < **keh₂i-ko-*; perhaps further related to Skt. *kekara-* adj. 'squint-eyed' < **keh₂ik-ero-*.

haila- adj. 'whole, sound' — Go. *hails* adj. 'id.', ON *heill* adj. 'id.', OE *hāl* adj. 'id.', E *whole*, OFri. *hēl* adj. 'id.', OS *hēl* adj. 'id.', Du. *heel* adj. 'id.', OHG *heil* adj. 'id.', G *heil* adj. 'sound' ⇒ **koi-lo-* (EUR) — Gr. Hsch. κοῖλυ 'goodness, beauty'; OCS *cělъ*, Ru. *célyj*, SCr. *cȉjel*, *cȉo* adj. 'whole', OPru. *kailūstiskan* acc.sg.f. 'health' < **koil-o-*; unrelated: Lat. *caelum* n. 'sky, heaven', OW *coil(i)ou* pl. 'omens, auguries', MW *coel* m./f. 'belief, omen', OBret. *coel 'haruspicem'* < **keh₂i-lo-*.

Cf. ON *heilsa* 'to greet', OE *hālsian* 'to give oaths, exorcise', OHG *heilisōn*, MHG *heilsen* 'to interpret omens' < **hail-sō(ja)n-* and OE *hālettan*, OHG *heilazzen* 'to greet' < **hailatjan-*.

hail(j)a(n)- m. 'brain' — ON *heili, heilir* m. 'id.', Far. *heili* m. 'id.', Nw. *heile* m. 'id.', OFri. *hēila, hāl* m. 'id.' ⇒ **koil-io-* (WEUR?) — Perhaps to OIr. *cáelán* m. 'intestine, gut' < **koil-*.

The OFri. form does not necessarily belong here, and has also been derived from **habulja(n)-*, **habula-*, cf. OE *hafola, hafela* m. 'head' (see e.g. Lendinara 1990: 292), which is related to **ha(u)beda-* ~ **ha(u)buda-*.

haima- m. 'village, home' — Go. *haims* f. 'village', ON *heimr* m. 'home; world', Far. *heimur* m. 'world', Elfd. *iem* n. 'home', OE *hām* m. 'id.', E *home*, OFri. *hēm* n. 'id.', OS *hēm* n. 'id.', MDu. *heem* n. 'id.', OHG *heim* m./n. 'id.', G *Heim* n. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱoi-mo-* (IE) — Cf. Gr. κοιμάω 'to put to sleep, lull', derived from an unattested *κοῖμος or *κοιμή 'bed' (Tucker 1990: 240); Lith. *kiẽmas, káimas*, Latv. *cìems* 'farmstead, village', OPru. *caymis* 'id.' were borrowed from Germanic.

A *mo*-stem to the PIE root **ḱei-* 'to lie', cf. Hitt. *kitta(ri)* ~ *kianta* 'to lie, be laid, be in place, be set', Skt. *śáye* 'to lie', Gr. κεῖμαι 'id.', for which cf. OIr. *cóim, cáem*, W *cu* adj. 'dear' < **koi-mo-* (with the shift 'belonging to the same home' > 'intimite', Matasović 2009: 279). Related to **hīwōn-*.

hainō- f. 'whetstone' — ON *hein* f. 'id.', OE *hān* f. 'id.', E *hone* ⇒ **ḱh₃-ei-neh₂-* (IE) — Skt. *śiśāti* 'to sharpen' < **ḱi-ḱéh₃-*; YAv. *saēni-* adj. 'pointed, sharp' **ḱh₃-ei-ni-*; Lat. *cōs, -tis* f. 'whetstone' < **ḱeh₃-t-*.

PGm. **hainō-* must have been derived from an *i*-present **ḱh₃-éi-ti*, **ḱh₃-i-énti* (cf. Skt. *śyáti* 'to sharpen' < **ḱh₃-i-*), and thus directly points to **ḱh₃-ei-neh₂-*. The original root **ḱeh₃-* is preserved by **harōjan-*.

haira- adj. 'hoary, grey-haired' — ON *hárr* adj. 'id.', OE *hār* adj. 'hoary, grey, old', E *hoary*, OS *hēr* adj. 'noble, distinguished, aged', OHG *hēr* adj. 'old, reverend, grand' (WEUR) — OIr. *cíar* adj. 'dark, murky, black' < **kei-ro-*.

RuCS *sěrъ*, Ru. *ser*, Sln. *sẹ́r* adj. 'grey' < **ḱḗrъ* looks like a Germanic loanword, and does not necessarily imply a PIE form **ḱHoiro-* (the variant OCS *sědъ*, Ru. *sed*, SCr. *sîjed* is a conflation of **ḱḗrъ* with **blēdъ* 'pale'). This leaves OIr. *cíar* as the only possible cognate. Within Germanic, the adjective served as the basis for the comparative OHG *hēr(i)ro*, OS *hērro* (= OE *hearra*, ON *herra*), OFri. *hēra, hāra* m. 'sir', a calque of Lat. *senior* > Fr. *sire, seigneur, sieur*, and possibly also for Far. *hæra* f. 'grizzled or grey hair' < **hairjōn-*.

hairsa- ~ ***haisra-*** adj. 'hoarse' — ON *háss* adj. 'hoarse', Far. *hásur* adj. 'id.', OSw. *hēs* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *įes* adj. 'id.', OE *hās* adj. 'id.' heiser., ME *hōs, hōrs* adj. 'id.', E *hoarse*, MDu. *heesc* adj. 'id.', Du. *hees* adj. 'id.', OHG *heis(ar)* adj. 'id.', MHG *heis(er)* adj. 'id.', G *heiser* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **kois-* (EUR) — Alb. *kirrem* 'to become hoarse' < **kis-r-*(?).

The material contains evidence for at least two different forms: OHG *heisar* goes back to **haisra-*, while ON *háss* (E *hoarse*?) points to **hairsa-* (with 1. **-air-* > *-ār-* and 2. *-rs-* > *-ss-*). As **-ra-* is a very common suffix in adjectives, it is probable that **hairsa-* arose from **haisra-* by metathesis. A third, suffixless variant **haisa-* is implied by OHG, MHG *heis* as well as OSw. *hēs*, Elfd. *ies* (with secondary nasal vowel, cf. Steensland 2011). In addition, there is MDu. *heesc*, *heisc*, Du. *hees* < **haisiska-*. All of these formations were derived from a further unattested root **hais-*, which may be based on an onomatopoetic verb **hissōn-*, cf. EDu. *hisschen*, *hissen*, E *to hiss*.

haita- adj. 'hot' — ON *heitr* adj. 'id.', Far. *heitur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *iet* adj. 'id.', OE *hāt* adj. 'id.', E *hot*, OFri. *hēt* adj. 'id.', OS *hēt* adj. 'id.', Du. *heet* adj. 'id.', OHG *heiz* adj. 'id.', G *heiß* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **koid-o-* (GM).

An *o*-grade adjective created to the root **keid-*, for which cf. Go. *heito* f. 'heat, fever' < **hītōn-*. The adj. as well as the inchoative ON *hitna* w.v. 'to heat up' < **hitnan-* imply a strong verb **hītan-* which, however, is not attested. The root has no certain extra-Gm. cognates, but may have been derived from PIE **kei-* 'to burn' (for which see **haj(j)a-*) with a *d*-suffix, e.g. **kei-dh₃-* 'to give off heat'. Cf. Go. *hais** n.? 'torch' < **hajez-* < **koi-es-*(?). See also **hitjō-*.

haitan- s.v. 'to call' — Go. *haitan* s.v. 'to call, address; to command', ON *heita* s.v. 'to call, be called', Far. *eita* s.v. 'to be called', Elfd. *ietta* w.v. 'id.', OE *hātan* w.v. 'id.', OFri. *hēta* s.v. 'to call, to be called; to command; to promise', OS *hētan* s.v. 'to call, be called; to command', Du. *heten* s./w.v. 'to be called', OHG *heizan* s.v. 'id.', G *heißen* s.v. 'id.' (IE?) — Sogd. *sēδ-* 'to call', Oss. *sidyn* / *sedun* 'id.' < **ḱeid-e-*(?).

A strong verb without extra-Gm. cognates save - perhaps - the ones found in Iranian. The original meaning of the word was 'to call', which - as in English - developed into 'to make a decision'. The meaning 'to be called' developed in medio-passive usage, cf. ON *ek heiti* 'my name is' < **haitai* < **ḱoid-h₂ei*.

haiþī- f. 'heath, heather' — Go. *haiþi* f. 'open field', ON *heiðr* f. 'heath, moor', Far. *heiði* f. 'id.', Elfd. *ieð* f. 'id.', OE *hǣð* m., n. 'heather' (< **haiþja-*), E *heath*, MLG *hēde* f. 'id.', Du. *hei(de)* f. 'id.', OHG *heida* f. 'id.', G *Heide* f. 'id.' ⇒ **kaito-* (WEUR) — OW *coit*, W *coed*, Bret. *koat* 'wood', OCo. *cuit* '*silva*' < **kaito-*.

An archaic *ih₂*-stem. E dial. *hoath*, on the other hand, presupposes a separate formation **haiþa-*, which is identical to PCelt. **kaito-*. This is a Germanic-Celtic isogloss, but in the absence of a real Germano-Celtic subnode in the IE language family, it seems likely that the word was borrowed from one branch into the other at an early stage in the languages' histories.

hajan- w.v. 'to pound' — MDu. *heien* w.v. 'id.', Du. *heien* w.v. 'to drive, ram' (GM).

Usually connected to Arm. *xayt'em* 'to sting' < *kh_2eid- and Skt. *khidáti* 'to push' < *kh_2id-é-, but this implies that the root *kh_2eid- developed from *kh_2ei- plus a dental suffix, which is uncertain. The Germanic verb could have developed from a causative *hajjan- < *koi(H)-éie- (cf. *dajjan- 'to suckle' < *d^hh_1-oi-éie-) or *hajan- < *koHu-éie- (cf. *ajja- 'egg' < *h_2ōu-ió-). The latter reconstruction would be the regular causative or intensive of *hawwan- 'to hew' (q.v.).

haj(j)a- n. 'heat' — MDu. *hei* m. 'heat, drought', OHG *hei*, *ge-hei* n. 'id.', G Swi. *ge-hei* n. 'warm mist' ⇒ *koi-io-(?) (GM) — Not to Lith. *kaĩsti* (*kaičiù*) 'to make hot' < *koit-ie-; Lith. *kaĩsti* (*kaistù*), Latv. *kàist* 'to become hot' < *koit-ske-; Lith. *kaitrùs* adj. 'hot' < *koit-ru-.

Also cf. Swi. *ge-hei* adj. 'warm and misty', Du. *heiig* adj. 'misty (of sky during hot weather)' < *-hajja- < *koi-io-. No accepted etymology. The established link with Lith. *kaĩsti* is erroneous: the underlying root *kait-* was borrowed from Germanic *haita- (q.v.).

hakan- m. 'hook' — Icel. *haki* m. 'pick; hook', Far. *haki* m. 'spade', Elfd. *atji* m. 'hook', OE *haca* m. 'hook; bolt or bar of a door', OS *hako* m. 'hook', Du. *haak* c. 'id.', OHG *hāko*, *hācko* m. 'id.', G *Haken* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$kh_{2/3}$k-on-(?) (GM).

A word with several formal problems and no certain extra-Germanic etymology. The NWGm. form *hakan- must in view of OHG *hā(c)ko*, Swi. Visp. *haakko* < PWGm. *hāggan- have secondary *k* from an analogically singulated geminate *kk*. This points to an *n*-stem inflection nom. *hagō, gen. *hakkaz* that was remodeled into *hakō, *hakkaz*. The long vowel of the High German attestations is probably secondary, and may represent an analogical full grade created to the root *hak- (cf. Lühr 1988: 286) somewhere in the NWGm. period (cf. Kroonen 2011a: 227-9). The question arises whether this *ā replaced earlier *ō in a paradigm *hōhō, *hakkaz < *$kéh_{2/3}$k-ōn, *$kh_{2/3}$k-n-ós*. For an attested ō-vowel, cf. OE *hōc*, E *hook*, Du. *hoek* < *hōk(k)a-.

hakula- m. 'cloak' — Go. *hakuls* m. 'cloak, travelling cloak', ON *hǫkull* m. 'covering', Far. *hakil* m. 'short cloak', OE *hæcla* m., *hacele* f. 'id.', OFri. *hezil* m. 'id.' (< *hakila-), OHG *hahhul* m. 'id.' (DRV).

A derived formation perhaps related to *hōkīna- 'young goat' (q.v.). Also cf. ON *hekla* f. 'cloak' < *hakilōn-, which like OFri. *hezil* has a suffix *-il- instead of *-ul-.

halan- m. 'tail, tip' — ON *hali* m. 'id.', Far. *hali* m. 'tail; top of the shaft of a scythe', Elfd. *ali* m. 'tail' ⇒ *$^{(k)}$olH-on- (IE) — MIr. *cail* 'lance' < *$^{(k)}$lH-i-.

The cluster can be connected to Skt. *śará-* m. 'stick, prickle' < **ḱolH-o-* by assuming that the BSl. comparanda generalized depalatalized **k* from the zero-grade forms. The root may then be identical to the one of **helman-* 'rudder, helm' < **(ḱ)elh₂-mo-* and **halma-* 'blade of grass', which display a similar alternation between palatal and non-palatal **k*.

halba- adj. 'half' — Go. *halbs* adj. 'id.', ON *halfr* adj. 'id.', Far. *hálvur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *åv* adj. 'id.', OE *healf* adj. 'id.', E *half*, OFri. *half* adj. 'id.', OS *half* adj. 'id.', Du. *half* adj. 'id.', OHG *halb*, *halp* adj. 'id.', G *halb* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **kolp-ó-*(?) (GM).

No clear etymology. The links with Skt. *kálpate* 'to fit, to be partaken by' and with Lith. *kálpa* f. 'crossbeam' are semantically uncompelling.

haleþ- ~ *haluþ- m. 'man, hero' — ON *hǫldr* m. 'yeoman', poet. *halr* m. 'man', OE *hæleþ*, *heleþ* m. 'man, warrior, hero', OS *helith* m. 'hero, man', Du. *held* c. 'hero', OHG *helid* m. 'man, warrior, hero', G *Held* m. 'hero' ⇒ **ḱHl-et-* (NIE?) — ToB *kālśke*, *kālyśke* 'youth, young brahmin' < **kHl-sko-*?

The original inflection of the word is not entirely evident. ON *hali*, which has gone over to the *n*-stems, is assumed to point to a hysterokinetic nominative **halēþ* < **kHl-ét* of an archaic *t*-stem (with loss of the final **þ*). In addition there is the variant **haluþ-*, which could point to an "ablauting" suffix **-ut-*, potentially a secondary zero-grade, but it might also have developed from **-eþ-u-* by Van Helten's law (e.g. in the dat.pl. **-eþ-umiz* and the acc.pl. **-eþ-uns*). Etymologically, the connection with To. *kālśke* is possible, but the word further appears to be conspicuously close to OIr. *caur*, gen. *curad* m. 'warrior, hero' < **karut-*. The correspondence of **kale/ut-* with **karut-* would then point to a non-IE origin.

haljō- f. 'hell' — Go. *halja* f. 'id.', ON *Hel* f. 'goddess of death', OE *hel*, *helle* f. 'id.', OFri. *helle* f. 'id.', OS *hellia* f. 'id.' (also *hell* m. 'id.' < **halli-*), Du. *hel* c. 'id.', OHG *hella* f. 'id.', G *Hölle* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱol-ieh₂-* (DRV) — OIr. *cel* m. 'concealment(?), dissolution, extinction, death' < **ḱel-o-*.

Possibly a derivation from **ḱel-* 'to cover' (see **helan-*). Also cf. Fi. *koljo* 'giant', which, however, has been given a Uralic etymology, cf. Udm. *kyl'* 'evil spirit' (Collinder 1977: 106).

halma- m. 'blade of grass' — ON *halmr* m. 'id.', OE *healm* m. 'id.', E *haulm*, OS *halm* m. 'id.', Du. *halm* c. 'id.', OHG *halm* m. 'id.', G *Halm* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱolh₂-mo-* (IE) — CS *slama*, Ru. *solóma*, SCr. *slàma* f. 'straw', OPru. *salme* 'id.', Latv. *salms* m. 'id.', Lat. *culmus* m. 'reed' < **ḱolh₂-mo/eh₂-*; Gr. κάλαμος m. 'cane' < **ḱlh₂-(e)mo-*.

Probably related to **helman-* 'helm, rudder' (through a more primitive meaning 'cane'). (E)Du., LG *helm* 'sedge, marram grass' (whence Da. *hjælme*, Icel. *hjálmur* 'bent grass, marram grass'?) represents a similar *e*-grade for-

mation *helma- < *(ḱ)elh₂-mo- formally identical to Lith. *kélmas* 'tree-stub' < *kelH-mo-. All these forms go back to a PIE ablauting *m*-stem *ḱélh₂-m, gen. *ḱlh₂-m-ós (the Baltic forms with non-palatal *k arose in the zero-grade roots in front of the resonant).

***halōn- ~ *hulōn-** w.v. 'to call' — OE *ge-holian* w.v. 'to get', OFri. *halia* w.v. 'to fetch', OS *halōn* w.v. 'to fetch, bring', Du. *halen* w.v. 'to fetch, take away', OHG *halōn, holōn* w.v. 'to fetch, call, take', G *hohlen* w.v. 'to fetch' ⇒ *k(o)lh₁-(n)eh₂- (IE) — Hitt. *kallišzi ~ kališšanzi* 'to call, evoke' < *k(é)lh₁-s-; Gr. καλέω 'to call' < *klh₁-é-; Lat. *calō, -āre* 'to announce, summon' < *klh₁-eh₂-ie-; Latv. *kaļuôt* 'to talk idly' < *kolh₁-.

The origin of the ablaut *halōn- ~ *holōn- is unknown. Since, however, there are many more iterative verbs with *a/ø*-ablaut, we can simply reconstruct a paradigm *hallōþi, *halunanþi next to *hullōþi, *hulunanþi < *k(o)lh₁-néh₂-ti, *k(o)lh₁-nh₂-énti, and assume that the geminated root variants were leveled out. Further cf. ON *hjal* n. 'talk', Nw. dial. *hjal* n. 'shout' < *hela- < *kelh₁-o-.

***halsa-** m. 'neck' — Go. *hals* m. 'neck', ON *hals* m. 'id.', Far. *hálsur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *ås* m. 'id.', OE *heals, hals* m. 'neck; prow of a ship', OFri. *hals* m. 'neck', MDu. *hals* m. 'id.', Du. *hals* m. 'id.', OHG *hals* m. 'id.', G *Hals* m. 'id.' ⇒ *kols-o- (EUR) — Lat. *collum* n. 'neck; hill' < *k(w)ols-o-.

An *a*-stem perhaps related to Nw. dial. *hulsa* 'to lift over one's head, hop' < *hulsōn-. Outside Germanic, Lat. *collum* and *halsa- have been compared to Lith. *kãklas* m. 'neck', i.e. a reduplicated formation *kʷo-kʷl-o- to the root *kʷel- 'to turn' (see *hweula- 'wheel'). The loss of the labialization in an alleged *kʷolso- would be irregular, however.

***halta-** adj. 'lame, limping' — Go. *halts* adj. 'id.', ON *haltr* adj. 'id.', OE *healt* adj. 'id.', OFri. *halt* adj. 'id.', OS *halt* adj. 'id.', OHG *halz* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *kold-o- (WEUR) — Olr. *coll* n. 'destruction', MW *coll* m. 'id.' < *kold-o-.

A Germanic-Celtic isogloss (cf. Matasović 2008: 212). The sometimes connected Lat. *clādēs* f. 'destruction' (cf. Pokorny IEW: 545-7) is from *klh₂-dʰeh₁-, and cannot directly be compared.

***halþa-** adj. 'sloping; inclined' — Go. *wilja-halþei* f. 'inclination, bias', ON *hallr* adj. 'leaning to one side, lying over, sloping; biased, partial', Far. *hallur* adj. 'inclined, sloping', OE *heald* adj. 'inclined', OFri. *hald* adj. 'id.', OHG *hald* adj. 'sloping' ⇒ *ḱol-tó- (NEUR) — Lith. *šalìs* f. 'side, shore; country, nation', Latv. *salis* 'flitch of bacon' < *ḱol-i-.

Originally the past participle of an unattested strong verb *halan- 'to slope; be inclined' < *ḱól-e-. The oldest meaning, i.e. 'to be skewed', is continued by the factitive ON *hella* 'to pour', OE *on-hieldan* 'to lean, incline,

bend down', OS *af-heldian* 'to decline', OHG *heldan* 'to sink, incline' < **halþjan-* ~ **haldjan-* as well as ON *halla* w.v. 'to incline, turn sideways, slope', OHG *haldōn* w.v. 'to be inclined' < **halþōjan-*. This points to a connection with the PIE root **ḱlei-* 'to lean, incline', which looks like an original *i*-present **ḱl-ei-/*ḱl-i-* to the root **ḱel-*.

hamala- adj. 'truncated(?)' — OHG *hamal* adj. 'mutilated' ⇒ **ḱom-olo-* (IE) — Skt. *śáma-* adj. 'hornless' < **ḱem-o-*; Ru. *komólyj*, Sln. dial. *komọ̑ł* adj. 'hornless' < **kom-olo-* (with depalatalization of the *ḱ-* in the zero-grade forms).

Also substantivized as OHG *hamal*, MHG *hamel*, G *Hammel*, (M)Du. *hamel* m. 'castrated ram' < **ḱom-olo-*. The root **ḱem-* in PIE seems to have meant 'to truncate (e.g. of horns)', for which see **hindō-* 'hind'. The adjective further served as the basis for ON *hamla*, OE *hamelian*, OFri. *homelian*, OHG *hamalōn* w.v. 'to mutilate, *hamble*' < **hamalōjan-*.

hama(n)- m. 'shape, physical form' — ON *hamr* m. 'skin, slough; shape, form', Far. *hamur* m. 'slough; ghost, apparition', OE *hama*, *homa* m. 'covering', OS *hamo* m. 'covering', OHG *hamo* m. 'skin, covering, net' ⇒ **ḱom-on-* (IE) — Skt. *śāmūla-*, *śāmulyà-* n. 'shirt' < **ḱom-*.

Also cf. Icel. *hem* n. 'layer of ice; loosened skin; bag', Elfd. *iem* m. 'fish skin' < **hamja-*.

haman- m. 'rod, shaft' — E *hame* 'horse collar', MDu. *hame*, *haem* 'id.', Du. *haam* 'id.', MHG *ham(e)* m. 'fishing rod' ⇒ **ḱom-o-* (IE) — Skt. *śámyā-* f. 'yoke pin, plug, wedge' < **ḱe/om-ieh₂-*; YAv. *simā-* f. 'yoke pin' < **ḱm-ieh₂-*; Gr. κάμαξ, -ακος f. (m.) 'pole to support the vine, bar, shaft of a spear' < **ḱm-nḱ-*; Arm. *sami-kʿ* pl. 'facewood of a yoke'.

Also cf. MHG *hamel* 'stick', Sw., Da. *hammel*, Nw. dial. *homul*, *humul* (= ON **hǫmull*) 'cross-beam on a wagon' < **hamula-* and perhaps also ON *hemja* 'to rein, force', OFri. *hemma* 'to hinder', OLFra. *chamian* 'to clamp', (MH)G *hemmen* 'to stop, hinder' < **hamjan-*.

hamara- m. 'hammer' — ON *hamarr* m. 'hammer; back of an axe; crag; precipice', Far. *hamar* m. 'id.', Elfd. *åmår* m. 'id.', OE *hamor* m. 'hammer', E *hammer*, OFri. *homer*, *hamer* m. 'id.', OS *hamar*, *hamur* m. 'id.', Du. *hamer* c. 'id.', OHG *hamar* m. 'id.', G *Hammer* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱh₂-mor-o-* (IE).

The Germanic word is clearly related to PIE **h₂eḱ-mon-* 'heavenly vault, anvil, meteorite' (see **hemina-* ~ **hemna-*), not least in view of the ON meaning 'precipice'. There are some formal problems, however. Especially problematic is the *a*-vocalism, which ostensibly points to a morphologically impossible pre-form **h₂ḱo-mor-o-* (thus Pokorny IEW: 18-22). I therefore assume that **hamara-* continues **ḱh₂-mor-o-* with metathesis of the velar

and the laryngeal as in Slav. **kamy* 'stone' < **keh₂-mon-* (cf. Orel 2003: 158) and Gr. καμάρα f. 'vault' < **ḱh₂-mr̥-h₂-*.

hamfa- adj. 'maimed' — Go. *hamfs** adj. 'id.', OS *hāf* adj. 'id.', OHG *hamf* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **kómp-o-* (EUR) — Gr. κάμπτω 'to bend, bow, curve' < **kmp-ie-* (with secondary μ); Lith. *kam̃pas* m. 'corner' < **komp-o-*; Latv. *kùmpt* 'to become bent' < **kmp-* (also cf. Lith. *kum̃pas* adj. 'curved' < **kmp-o-*).

An adjective to a European root **kemp-*, for which see **hupp/bōn- 1*.

ham(m)ō- f. 'shank' — ON *hǫm* f. 'ham or haunch (of a horse)', OE *ham*, *hom* f. 'back of the knee', E *ham*, MDu. *hamme* f. 'shank, ham', Du. *ham* c. 'ham', OHG *hama*, *hamma* f. 'shank, back of the knee', MHG *hamme* f. 'id.' ⇒ **konh₂-m-éh₂-* (IE).

A feminine formation varying between **hamō(n)-* and **hammō(n)-*. PGm. **hammō(n)-* is usually derived from **konh₂-meh₂-* (with *-mm-* < **-nm-*), but this leaves ON *hǫm* < **hamō-* unaccounted for. Perhaps, the form with single *m* can be explained by analogical degemination in the nominative case of an *n*-stem paradigm, e.g. **hammō*, **hammaz* < **ḱonh₂-mōn*, **ḱonh₂-mn-ós*. The *n*-stem itself seems to have arisen within Germanic itself, but can nevertheless be old in view of the masculine counterpart OHG *hamo* *'flexura, suffrago'*.

hanan- m. 'rooster, singer' — Go. *hana* m. 'rooster', ON *hani* m. 'id.', OE *hana* m. 'id.', OFri. *hona* m. 'id.', OS *hano* m. 'id.', Du. *haan* c. 'id.', OHG *hano* m. 'id.', G *Hahne* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kh₂n-on-* (EUR).

In view of Gr. Hsch. ἡι-κανός 'rooster', which is a compound **h₂eus-i-kh₂(e)n-o-* "dawn-singer", the Germanic word is usually compared to Lat. *canō*, OIr. *canaid*, OW *canam*, MW *canu* 'to sing' < **kh₂(e)n-e-*. The original meaning 'singer' may further have been preserved in MDu. *sprink-hane* m., Du. *sprink-haan* c. 'grasshopper' < **sprinka-hanan-* given the characteristic sound it produces. The masculine *n*-stem gave rise to the feminine derivatives ON *hœna*, Far. *høna*, Elfd. *yōna* f. 'hen' < **hōnjōn-* and OE *henn*, OS, OHG *henna* f. 'hen' < **han(n)jō-* (quasi IE **kh₂n-n-ih₂-*) as well as to the neuter **hōniz-* (q.v.).

handu- f. 'hand' — Go. *handus* f. 'id.', ON *hǫnd*, pl. *hendr* f. 'id.', Far. *hond*, pl. *hendur* f. 'id.', OE *hand*, *hond* f. 'id.', E *hand*, OFri. *hond* f. 'id.', OS *hand* f. 'id.', Du. *hand* c. 'id.', OHG *hant* f. 'id.', G *Hand* f. 'id.' ⇒ **(ǵ)ont-ú-* (DRV).

A *u*-stem derived from the strong verb **hinþan-* 'to reach for'. There is no compelling reason to assume that the word is somehow connected to Fi. *kāsi* 'hand' < PFU **kāti* (thus Schrijver 2003a: 223). The adjectives Go. *handugs* 'wise', ON *hǫndugr* 'able', OE *list-hendig* 'having skillful hands', OHG

hantag, *-īg* 'sharp' and continuants only secondarily seem to have become associated with **handu-*.

hangjan- ~ *hankjan- w.v. 'to (make) hang' — ON *hengja* w.v. 'id.', OE *hengan* w.v. 'id.', MDu. *hengen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *henken* w.v. 'id.', G *hängen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱonk-éie-* (DRV).

An apparently secondary causative to **hanhan-*: this verb was transitive in e.g. Gothic and Old High German, and may have become intransitive only due to reinterpretation of variants with a *jan*-suffix (cf. OSw. *hængia* (tr./intr.), Elfd. *aindja* (intr.)) < PIE **-ie-* as (transitive) causatives. Formally, there is compelling evidence for a geminated alternant **hankjan-* in e.g. Swi. (App). *heenkxə*, (Visp.) *heixu* (also cf. nominal derivations such as MLG *hank* 'handle' < **hanka-* and MHG *henkel*, G *Henkel* 'id.' < **hankila-*), which points to relatively early contamination with the iterative **hankōn-* or **hunkōn-* < **ḱ(o)nk-néh₂-*. Evidence for this iterative, which was derived from the strong verb, is further extant in the form of the frequentatives E *to hanker* 'to hang about; to crave' and Du. *hunkeren* 'to crave'. Note that the ablaut of these two verbs may reflect the ablaut of the original PIE paradigm that is preserved as Hitt. *kānki ~ kankanzi* < **ḱónk-ei*, **ḱnk-énti*.

hanhan- s.v. 'to hang' — Go. *hahan* w.v. (tr.) 'id.', ON *hanga* s.v. 'id.', Far. *hanga* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *aindja* s.v. 'id.' (< **hangjan-*), OE *hōn* s.v. 'id.', OFri. *huā* s.v. 'id.', Du. *hangen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *hāhan* w.v. 'id.', G *hangen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱónk-e-* (IE) — Hitt. *kānki ~ kankanzi* 'to hang (tr.); to weigh' < **ḱónk-ei*, **ḱnk-énti*; Skt. *śáṅkate* 'to fear', Lat. *cūnctor* 'to waver, hesitate' < **ḱonk-(t)o*.

A strong verb often conflated with the secondary stative **hangēn-* < **ḱonk-éh₁-* (cf. Go. *hahan*, OE *hongian*, OFri. *hongia*, OHG *hangēn*). The Germanic formation is directly related to Hitt. *kānki ~ kankanzi* (Sturtevant 1931: 172), a *ḫi*-present with *o/zero*-ablaut: 3sg. **ḱonk-ei*, 3pl. **ḱnk-énti* (Kloekhorst 2008: 437-8). The Germanic *o*-grade is inherent to the class of intensive verbs, which is related to the Hittite *ḫi*-presents. Unlike in the case of **gangan- ~ *gungan-* (q.v.), the zero grade seems to have been ousted at an early stage, although traces of it can be retrieved from the iteratives E *to hanker* 'to hang about; crave' and Du. *hunkeren* 'to crave' (for which see **hangjan- ~ *hankjan-*). A medio-passive (un-transitive) formation is evinced by Skt. *śáṅkate* and Lat. *cūnctor*, whose meaning appears to have developed from 'to be hanging'. It corresponds to Germanic formations such as ON *háski* f. 'danger' < **hanh-skan-*, ON *hætta* w.v. 'to risk, venture' < **hanhatjan-* and MDu. *hachte* f. 'risk' < **hanhatō(n)-* (whence Du. *hachelijk* 'risky').

hanhila(n)- m. 'heel' — ON *hæll* m. 'id.', Far. *hælur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *äl* m. 'id.', OE *hēla* m. 'id.', E *heel*, OFri. *hēla*, *heila* m. 'id.', Du. *hiel* c. 'id.' ⇒ **kón-k-o-* (IE) — Lith. *kìnka* f. 'leg, thigh, knee-cap' < **knh₂-k-eh₂-*.

A diminutive *hanhila(n)-* created to ON *há-*, OE *hōh* m. 'heel' < **hanha-* < **konh₂-ko-*. The formation appeared to be limited to Nordic and Anglo-Frisian, but Swab. (Gechingen) *haile* 'heel' (for *ai* < **ā*, cf. *Kraibl* 'muck rake' < **krāb-līn-*) indicates that the word was out there in the High German dialects as well. Du. *hiel* for expected **heel* is a Frisianism. See also **ham(m)ō-*.

hanhilō- f. 'pothook' — MDu. *hael* f./n. 'id.', OHG *hāhala* f. 'id.', G Swi. Visp. *heeli* f. 'id.' (DRV).

An instrumental noun in **-ila/ō-* (not **hanhlō-*, *pace* Seebold 1970: 250) derived from **hanhan-* (q.v.).

hanhista-* ~ *hangista- m. 'horse; stallion(?); gelding(?)' — ON *hestr* m. 'stallion; horse', Far. *hestur* m. 'horse; stallion', Elfd. *est* m. 'horse', OE *hengest*, *hengst* m. 'gelding; horse', OFri. *hengst*, *hangst*, *hingst* m. 'horse', ODu. *hingest* m. 'gelding(?)', Du. *hengst* 'stallion', OHG *hengist* m. 'gelding', *Hengst* m. 'stallion' ⇒ **ḱonk-is-to-* (DRV).

An etymologically disputed word. It is possible to connect its root to Lith. *šankùs* adj. 'nimble' < **ḱonk-u-* and *šankìnti* 'to make jump; to gallop (a horse)', but the suffix, which probably only superficially resembles the superlative element **-ista-*, as well as the origin of Verner alternation remain unclear. Also note that the often compared Lith. *šókti* 'to jump, dance' < **ḱeh₂k-* contains a different, unrelated root.

hanipa- m. 'hemp' — ON *hanpr* m. 'id.', Far. *hampur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *ampa* f. 'id.', OE *hænep*, *henep* m. 'id.', E *hemp*, MDu. *hanep*, *hannep* m. 'id.', Du. *hennep* c. 'id.', OHG *hanaf*, *hanif* m. 'id.', G *Hanf* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kanib-* (NIE) — Gr. κάνναβις (κάνναβος) f. 'hemp, cannabis' < **kannabi-*; Ru. *konopljá* f. 'id.' (>> Lith. *kanãpės*, Latv. *kaņepe*, OPru. *knapios*) < **kanapi-*.

A *Wanderwort* belonging to the pre-Indo-European agricultural layer in Germanic and related languages in Europe. Also cf. Turk. *kenevir*, Karalpak *kenep* and Neo-Assyr. *qunnabu*, *qunnapu*, *qun(u)bu* (cf. Barber 1991: 36-38). The comparison with Skt. *śaṇa-*, Mari *keńe*, *kińe* and. Turk. *kendir* is more uncertain.

hansō- f. 'troop' — Go. *hansa* f. 'troop, cohort', OE *hōs* f. 'company, band', MLG *hanse*, *hense* f. 'guild', OHG *hansa* f. 'troop', MHG *hanse* f. 'guild' ⇒ **kom-sh₂-eh₂-*(?) (DRV?) — Fi. *kansa* 'people, society' is a Germanic loanword.

No certain etymology in spite of numerous proposals (see Lehmann 1986: 177). Many reconstructions assume a first member **han-* < PIE **kom-* 'together', which in unstressed position became the collective-perfective prefix **ga(n)-*, cf. Osthoff 1888: 425-6. Perhaps, a formation **kom-sh₂-eh₂-*, containing the root **seh₂-* 'to bind' (cf. Hitt. *išḫai* ~ *išḫiia̯nzi* < **sh₂-ói-ei*, **sh₂-i-énti*) would be conceivable.

hanþa- adj. 'sharp' — ON *-hannr* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱónt-o-* (EUR) — Gr. κεντέω 'to sting, goad' < **ḱént-eie-*; Latv. *sīts* m. 'hunting spear' < **ḱnt-o-*.

An adjective derived from a European root **ḱent-* (LIV²: 326-7). Also cf. OSw. *hannar* adj. 'ingenious' < **hanþara-* and the denominative Icel. *hanna* 'to devise', OSw. *hanna* 'to handle' < **hanþōjan-*.

happ/bōn- 1 w.v. 'to snatch, grab' — EDu. *happen*, *habben* w.v. 'to take, pick, steal', Du. *hap-snap* adv. 'haphazardly' ⇒ **kh₂p-néh₂-* (EUR).

The iterative to **habēn-* (q.v.).

happ/bōn- 2 w.v. 'to succeed' — Sw. *happa säg*, dial. *håpa*, *habba säg* w.v. 'to happen unexpectedly, fit, succeed' ⇒ **kobʰ-néh₂-* (NEUR) — OCS *kobь* f. 'fate', Ru. dial. *kob'* f. 'evil, obstinacy, scoundrel', SCr. *kōb* f. 'encounter, omen, augury' < **kobʰ-i-*; Cz. *po-kobiti se* 'to succeed' < **kobʰ-éie-*; OIr. *cob* 'victory' < **kobʰ-o-*.

The Swedish dial. variants *håpa* and *habba* prove that the verb continues an iterative 3sg. **happōþi*, 3pl. *habunanþi* < **kobʰ-néh₂-*. Sw. *hampa säg* w.v. 'to succeed' < **hampōn-*, on the other hand, seems to continue a formation with a nasal infix. The meaning 'fate, coincidence', which is found in Germanic and Balto-Slavic, may have developed from 'to hang' in view of Lith. *kabė́ti* (*kabù*) 'to hang' < **kobʰ-eh₁-*. Also cf. ON *happ* n. 'good luck' < **happa-* and OE *ge-hæp* adj. 'fit' < **ga-happa-*.

harbista- m. 'autumn, fall' — ON *haustr* m. 'id.', Icel. *haust* n. 'id.', Far. *heyst* n. 'id.', Elfd. *ost* m. 'id.', OE *hærfest* m. 'harvest, autumn', E *harvest*, MDu. *herfst*, *heerfst*, *herft* m. 'id.', Du. *herfst* c. 'autumn', OHG *herbist* m. 'harvest; autumn', G *Herbst* m. 'autumn' (DRV) — Hitt. *karpiia̯zi* ~ *karpiia̯nzi* 'to take (away), take up, lift, pluck' < **krp-ie-*; Gr. καρπός m. 'fruit, corn, yields' < **krp-o-*; Lat. *carpō*, *-ere* 'to pluck, gather' < **kérp-e-* (with *-e-* > *-a-* after a plain velar); Lith. *kir̃pti* (*kerpù*) 'to chop, cut', Latv. *cìrpt* 'shave' < **krp-*/**kerp-*.

A formation derived from **harbjan-* 'to pluck', cf. Nw. dial. *herva* w.v. 'to snatch'. Nordic *haustr* arose as a distortion of **harƀstʀ* after the syncope of the medial vowel. Also cf. Nw. *harv*, *horv* f. 'harrow' < **harbō-*, a probable source of E *harrow*, and the variant Icel. *herfi* n. 'id.' < **harbja-*.

hardī- f. 'shoulder' — ON *herðr* f. 'id.', Far. *herðar* f.pl. 'id.', Elfd. *erde* f. 'id.', OHG *harti, herti* f. 'id.', MHG *herte* f. 'id.' (GM).

A feminine nom. **hardīz*, gen. **hardjōz* < **kort-íh₂-s*, **kort-iéh₂-s*. No further etymology.

hardu- adj. 'hard, severe' — Go. *hardus* adj. 'id.', ON *harðr* adj. 'id.', Far. *harður* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *ård* adj. 'id.', OE *heard, hard* adj. 'id.', E *hard*, OFri. *herd* adj. 'id.', OS *hard* adj. 'id.', Du. *hard* adj. 'id.', OHG *hart, herti* adj. 'id.', G *hart* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **kort-ú-* (IE) — Gr. κρατύς adj. 'strong, powerful' < **kr̥t-u-*; Gr. κράτος, κάρτος, Aeol. κρέτος n. 'strength, power, authority' < **krét-os*, gen. **kr̥t-és-(o)s*; Skt. *krátu-*, Av. *xratu-*, OP *xratu-*, *xraθu-* m. 'power (of the mind), will-power' < **krét-u-s*, gen. **kr(e)t-u-ós*.

An adjective often compared to the aforementioned forms in the other IE languages. From this perspective, the *o*-grade and the *Schwebeablaut* remain unexplained, however. I therefore favor the connection with Lith. *kartùs* adj. 'bitter' and OCS *kratъkъ*, Ru. *korótkij*, SCr. *krátak* adj. 'short' < **kort-u-* (Strunk 1976; Heidermanns 1993: 282), a *u*-stem created to the verbal cluster of Lith. *kiřsti* (*kirstù*) 'to turn sour' < **krt-ske-* and *kiřsti* (*kertù*) 'to chop' < **kért-e-*, for which cf. Skt. *kr̥ntáti* 'to cut' < **kr-n-t-é-*.

hargu- m. 'sacrificial mound?' — ON *hǫrgr* m. 'pile of rocks; sanctuary', OE *hearg* m. 'pagan tempel, idol', OHG *harug* m. 'grove, place of sacrifice' ⇒ **kark-ú-* (NIE) — OW *creic*, W *craig* f. 'rock' < **krak̑iā-*; Vann. *krah* 'hillock' < **krakkā-*; less certain: OIr. *carrac* f. 'rock', OW *carrecc*, W *carreg* f. 'stone, rock' < **krs-Vk-ā-*(?) and OIr. *carn* n. 'heap of stones', W *carn* m./f. 'id.' < **krn-*(?).

A word usually reconstructed as **haruga-*, so as to account for the *u*-mutation of ON *hǫrgr*. Fi. *karkko, karkku* 'pile, stone wall, cliff', however, proves that the original form must rather have been **hargu-*. The root structure of this form is further substantiated by Nw. *(sten-)har(e)* 'cliff, rocky bottom', Elfd. *ar* m. 'bedrock, floor', Du. dial. *hare* 'hillock', which developed from **harha(n)-*. Outside Germanic, there are some similar formations in Celtic, most notably W *craig* < **krak-ī-* and Vann. *krah* < **krakkā-*, but none of these forms can be reconciled with the Germanic forms. It is therefore possible that the word was adopted from a Pre-IE language by both Germanic and Celtic.

harja- m. 'host, troop, army' — Go. *harjis* m. 'id.', ON *herr* m. 'id.', Far. *herur* m. 'id.', OE *here* m. 'id.', OFri. *here* m./f./n. 'id.', OS *heri* m. 'id.', OHG *hari, heri* n. 'id.', G *Heer* n. 'id.' ⇒ **kor-io-* (IE) — OP *kāra-* m. 'army, people', Lith. *kãras* m. 'war, army' < **kor-o-*; Lith. *kãrias* m. 'war, army, regiment', Latv. *kaŗš* m. 'war, army', OPru. *kargis* (att. *kragis*) 'army', OIr. *cuire* m. 'troop, tribe', W *cordd* 'tribe, clan' < **kor-io-*.

The neuter forms can synchronically be analyzed as an old collective formation in *-*io*-, but the masculine forms seem older in view of e.g. OIr. *cuire*. Even older is the more primitive formation **koro*-, attested as OP *kāra*-. The similarity of ON *Herjann* (a name of Odin) and Gr. κοίρανος m. 'ruler, commander, lord' is notable.

***harma*-** m. 'harm, sorrow' — ON *harmr* m. 'sorrow, grief', Far. *harmur* m. 'affliction, distress', OE *hearm* m. 'id.', E *harm*, OFri. *herm*, *harm* m. 'id.', OS *harm* n. 'id.', MHG *harm* m. 'id.', G *Harm* m. 'id.' ⇒ **pḱor-mo*- (IE) — Av. *fšarəma*- m. 'sense of shame', OCS *sramъ*, Ru. *sórom*, SCr. *srâm* m. 'shame' < **pḱor-mo*-.

A *mo*-stem to the root **pḱer*-. Also cf. the adjective OE *hearm* 'sad', NFri. F-A *harem* 'angry, sad', WFri. *herm* 'id.' (Kil.), OS *harm* adj. 'painful' < **harma*-.

***harman*-** m. 'ermine' — OE *hearma* 'shrew-mouse', OS *harmo* m. 'ermine', OHG *harmo* m. 'weasel, ermine', MHG *harm(e)* 'id.' ⇒ **ḱorm-on*- (NEUR) — Lith. *šarmuõ*, *šermuõ* m. 'wildcat, stoat, weasel' < **ḱe/orm-on*-.

A Germanic-Baltic isogloss. Also cf. the diminutive OHG *harmilī(n)*, G *Hermelin*, Du. *hermelijn*. The final stress of the latter two forms is due to It. *ermellino* (Kluge/Seebold 2002: 408), which in turn is a German loanword.

***harōjan*-** w.v. 'to sharpen' — MLG *haren* 'to sharpen', MDu. *haren* 'to sharpen' ⇒ **ḱoh$_3$-r-eh$_2$-ie* (IE/DRV) — Lat. *catus* adj. 'smart, shrewed', OIr. *cath* adj. 'wise' < **ḱ$_{\text{o}}^{\text{h}}$$_3$-to*- (through 'sharp').

A formation derived from an unattested adjective **hara*- 'sharp', which may continue either **ḱ$_{\text{o}}^{\text{h}}$$_3$-ro*- or **ḱoh$_3$-ró*- (with pretonic shortening). See also **hainō*-.

***har(r)ōn*-** w.v. 'to wait out(?)' — ON *hara* w.v. 'to stare, watch motionlessly', Nw. *hara* w.v. 'to freeze, watch without motion', MHG *harren* w.v. 'to await', G *harren* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **korH-néh$_2$*-? (NEUR?).

An iterative related to Icel. *hjara* w.v. 'to linger on, sustain oneself', Nw. dial. *jarra* w.v. 'to move slowly, hang about' < **her(r)ēn*-. Perhaps further connected with Lith. *kárti* 'to hang' < **korH*-.

***harta*-** n. 'resin, pitch' — OS *hart* n. 'id.', MLG *hart*, *hars* n. 'id.', OHG *harz* n. 'id.', G *Harz* n. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱord-o*- (IE).

A word representing an *o*-grade formation related to **hertōn*- 'heart' (q.v.). Also cf. Nw. dial. *hort* m. 'tough piece of bark, gnarl' < ON **hǫrtr* < **hartu*-. The original meaning was 'pith, essence'.

harunda/ō- n./f. 'flesh' — ON *hǫrund* n./f. 'human flesh; skin, complexion', Icel. *hōrund* n. 'skin', Nw. dial. *horung* m. 'skin, skin tone', OSw. *harund* m./f. 'flesh; skin', EDa. *harend* 'body' ⇒ **(k²)ḫr-nt-o-* (WEUR?).

A word possibly related to Lat. *carō* f. 'meat; flesh' < **(k²)r̥H-ōn* (Hellquist 1891: 21; De Vaan 2008: 94) or **(k²)ḫr-ōn-*. The Germanic form **harund-* could then be an elongation of a corresponding neuter *n*-stem **(k²)orH-n̥* or **(k²)ḫr-on-*. In synchronic Norse, however, the word clearly belonged to a wider cluster of original *nt*-stems denoting body parts, such as **waisunda/ō-* 'wind-pipe' and **mundō-* 'hand'.

harwa- adj. 'bitter' — WFri. *harch* adj. 'dry, barren', Du. dial. *haar* adj. 'dry, parched', MHG *har*, *herwe* adj. 'bitter', G *herb* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **kor-uo-* (IE) — Gr. κείρω 'to cut (off), shave, mow, ravage', Arm. *kʿerem* 'to scratch; to chop; to skin' < **ker-*; Skt. *cárman-* n. 'hide, flayed skin', YAv. *carəman-* n. 'hide, leather', OP *carman-* n. 'skin, leather', NP *čarm* 'id.' < **ker-men-*; Lat. *corium* n. 'skin, animal hide' < **kor-io-*; CS *kora*, Ru. *korá*, SCr. *kȍra* f. 'bark' < **kor-eh₂-*.

A *wa*-stem (cf. Fi. *karvas* 'bitter; sharp') derived from the PIE root **ker-* 'to cut'; its *o*-grade may point to derivation from a further unattested intensive verb **kór-e-*. Also cf. ON *herfiligr* adj. 'wretched', OE *ge-hierwan* w.v. 'to despise', NFri. Hall. *fer-heere* w.v. 'to mock', MHG *herwen* w.v. 'to make bitter' < **harwjan-* and MDu. *hare* f. 'dry cold wind'.

harzwa- m. 'flax' — ON *hǫrr* m. 'id.', Far. *hørur* m. 'id.', OFri. *her* m. 'flax', OHG *haro*, *-wes* m. 'id.', MHG *har(e)*, *har* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kors-uo-* (EUR) — Lat. *carrō* 'to card' < **krs-e-*; Lith. *kařšti* (*karšiù*), Latv. *kȃrst* 'to card, comb' < **kors-ie-*.

Cf. the diminutive MLG *harl(e)*, *harrel*, *herle* 'stalk of flax', MDu. *heerle* 'id.', Du. *harrel* 'id.', E *harl*, *herl* 'fiber, filament (of flax)'.

hasla- m. 'hazel' — ON *hasl* m. 'id.', Elfd. *assel-buosk* 'id.', OE *hæsel* m. 'id.', E *hazel*, MDu. *hasel* m. 'id.', Du. *hazelaar* c. 'id.', OHG *hasal* m., *hasala* f. (< **-ōn-*) 'id.', G *Hasel* f. 'id.' ⇒ **kos-lo-* (WEUR) — Lat. *corulus* f. 'hazel-tree, hazel-wood', Olr. *coll*, OW *coll*, MW *coll(en)*, pl. *cyll* 'hazel-tree' < **kos-elo-*; ?OLith. *kasùlas* m. 'wooden spear, stick'.

A European word. The Germanic forms point to **hasla-* < **kos-lo-*, but Lat. *corulus* implies a full-grade suffix **-elo-* or **-olo-*, as **-Vsl-* would have developed into **-Vl-*, cf. Lat. *anhēlus* 'gasping, panting' < **anaslo-* < **h₂enh₁-slo-* (Schrijver 1991: 44-5).

haswa- adj. 'grey' — ON *hǫss* adj. 'id.', OE *haso* adj. 'id.', MHG *heswe* adj. 'pale, dull' (DRV).

An adjective created to **hesan-* ~ **hazan-* (q.v.) with the productive **-wa-* suffix for chromonyms. Also cf. OHG *hasan* adj. 'mat, dull' < **hasna-*, which has the same suffixation as Lat. *cānus* 'grey' < **ks-no-*.

****hatiz-*** n. 'hatred' — Go. *hatis* n. 'hostility, hate', ON *hatr* n. 'hatred, enmity', OE *hete* m. 'hatred', ME *hete* 'id.', OS *heti* m. 'hate, hostility' ⇒ **kʰ̯h₂d-es-* (DRV) — Gr. κῆδος n. 'care, mourning' < **ḱeh₂d-es-*.

The Germanic forms point to an *s*-stem **hatiz-* < **kʰ̯h₂d-es-*; the loss of the final **z* in WGm. led to the rise of an *i*-stem **hati-* in Old English and Old Saxon. OHG *haz*, G *Haß*, Du. *haat* 'hatred' are probably different formations derived from the verb **hatō(ja)n-*, cf. ON *hata*, OE *hatian*, OFri. *hatia*, OS *haton* 'to hate'. Also cf. OHG *hazzēn*, G *hassen* 'id.' < **hatēn-*.

****hatjan-*** w.v. 'to hate' — Go. *hatjan** w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **kʰ̯h₂d-ie-* (IE) — Av. *sādra-* adj. 'painful', n. 'woe' < **ḱoh₂d-ro-*; Osc. *cadeis* gen.sg. 'enmity' < **ḱ(e)h₂d-i-*; OIr. *cais* 'love, hate', OW *cas*, MW *cas* MBret. *cas*, Bret. *kas* m. 'hatred' < **ḱh₂d-ti-*.

Since the Gothic verb cannot be a causative (which would be ***hōtjan-* < **ḱoh₂d-eie-*), it must continue a *ie*-present **kʰ̯h₂d-ie-*. Also cf. OHG *hezzen*, G *hetzen* 'to chevy, scamper' < **hatjan-*, cf. OS *hettiand* m. 'enemy, persecutor'.

****hattu-*** m. 'hat' — ON *hǫttr* m. 'id.', Far. *hattur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *att* m. 'id.', OE *hæt* m. 'id.', E *hat*, OFri. *hat* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kHt-nú-* (WEUR?).

The formation looks like a split-off from the acc.pl. of an *n*-stem **haþō*, gen. **hattaz*, acc.pl. **hattuns* < **kHt-ōn*, **kHt-n-ós*, **kHt-n-ńs* (cf. Lühr 2000: 266; Kroonen 2011a: 304-6), and served as the basis for ON *hetta* f. 'cowl' < **hettjōn-*. The original dat.sg. **hadeni* < **kHt-én-i* is probably continued by ON *heðinn* m. 'jacket' and OE *heden* m. 'robe, hood, chasuble'. Possibly related to OHG *hadara* f. 'patch, goat skin', G *Hader* f. 'rag' < **haþrōn-*, which points to ON *haðna* f. 'young goat' and MHG *hatele* f. 'id.' < **had-*, cf. Lat. *catulus* 'young animal' < **kHt-(e/o)lo-* as the ultimate source; it is not impossible that hoods and hats were made of goat skin. See also **hōda-* 'hat, hood'.

****haþarō-*** f. 'fight' — MHG *hader* f. 'id.', G *Hader* f. 'id.' ⇒ **kót-or-eh₂-* (NEUR) — OCS *kotora* f. 'struggle', Ru. dial. *kotóra*, *kótora* f. 'hostility, fight' < **kotor-eh₂-*.

The word is reminiscent of **haþu-* 'battle', which, however, seems to have developed from **(k)h₃t-u-*.

****haþu-*** f. 'battle' — ON *hǫð* f. 'id.', OE *heaðo-* 'id.', OS *hathu-* 'id.', OHG *hadu-* 'id.' ⇒ **(kʰ̯)h₃-tu-* (IE) — Hitt. *kattu-* n. 'enmity, strife', OIr. *cath* m., OW *cat*, MW *cad* f. 'strife, battle' < **(kʰ̯)h₃-tu-*; Gr. κότος m. 'spite, anger' < **(kʰ̯)h₃-to-*.

A *tu*-stem to a root *$^{*(k^{\mathrm{u}})h_3}$-, perhaps the same root underlying ***harōjan-*** 'to sharpen' (q.v.).

ha(u)beda- ~ *ha(u)buda- n. 'head' — Go. *haubiþ* n. 'id.', ON *hǫfuð* n. 'id.', Far. *høvd* n. 'id.', Elfd. *ovuð* n. 'id.', OE *hæfud, hafud, hēafod* n. 'id.', E *head*, OFri. *hāved, hauwed, haud, hād* n. 'id.', OS *hōbid* n. 'id.', ODu. *hovit, houvot* n. 'id.', Du. *hoofd* n. 'id.', OHG *houbit* n. 'id.', G *Haupt* n. 'id.' ⇒ ***kh$_2$p-ut-*** (WEUR) — Lat. *caput, -itis* n. 'head'; OIr. *cúach*, W *cawg* 'cup' < ***kapuko-***.

A word with a problematic variation of 1. the roots ***hab-*** vs. ***haub-*** and 2. the suffix ***-ed-*** and ***-ud-***. Lat. *caput* as well as OE *hafola, -ela* m. 'head' < ***hafe/alan-*** (= Skt. *kapā́la-* 'vessel, cup, skull' < ***kap-ola-***?) indicate that the root ***haub-*** is more recent than ***hab-***, but it is certainly of PGm. origin in view of Go. *haubiþ*. It is possible that the original paradigm was ***hafuþ***, gen. ***habweþaz*** < ***kh$_2$p-ut***, gen. ***kh$_2$p-uet-(o)s***, and that that the root ***haub-*** arose in the oblique cases by metathesis from ***habw-*** (cf. Marstrander 1925: 33ff.). Since this explanation implies an old proterodynamic paradigm, it seems unlikely that the word was borrowed from a non-IE European language (*pace* Beekes 1996: 218-220; Boutkan 1998: 111f.). Perhaps further related to ***hafna-*** 'vessel', for which see ***habanō-***.

hauha- adj. 'high' — Go. *hauhs* adj. 'id.', ON *hár, hór, haugr* adj. 'id.', Far. *háur* adj. 'id.', OSw. *høgher* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *og* adj. 'id.', OE *hēa, heah* adj. 'id.', E *high*, OS *hōh* adj. 'id.', Du. *hoog* adj. 'id.', OHG *hōh* adj. 'id.', G *hoch* adj. 'id.' ⇒ ***kóuk-o-*** (IE) — Identical to OCS *kuka* adj. 'bent' < ***kouk-o-***; also cf. OIr. *cúar* adj. 'id.' < ***kuk-ro-*** (or ***kup-ro-***).

The oldest languages all point to ***hauha-*** < ***kóuk-o-***, but Sw. *høg*, Elfd. *og*, Nw. *høg* (Nynorsk) have a Verner variant ***hauga-*** < ***kouk-ó-***, for which cf. ON *haugr* m. 'hill', Lith. *kaũkas* m. 'bump'.

hauja- n. 'hay' — Go. *hawi* n. 'id.', ON *hey* n. 'id.', Far. *hoyggj* n. 'id.', OE *hīeg* n. 'id.', E *hay*, OFri. *hā* n. 'id.', OS *hōi** n. 'id.', Du. *hooi* n. 'id.', OHG *hewi, houwi* n. 'id.', G *Heu* n. 'id.' (DRV).

A *ja*-collective (quasi-IE ***koh$_2$u-io-***) created to the root of ***hawwan-*** 'to hew, cut off' (q.v.).

haujan- w.v. 'to see to(?)' — ON *heyja* w.v. 'to carry out, hold, conduct', OE *hēgan, hīegan* w.v. 'to execute' ⇒ ***kouh$_1$-éie-*** (IE?) — Skt. *ā-kuváte* 'to intend', SCr. *čȕti* 'to hear' < ***kuh$_1$-e-***; Gr. κοέω 'to perceive, understand', Lat. *caveō, -ēre* 'to take care, beware' < ***kouh$_1$-eie-***.

Magnússon 1989: 324, among others, connects OFri. *heia*, which he glosses as 'to hold court'. AFHw, however, give a meaning 'to cherish', which makes the verb potentially identical to *heia* 'to elevate, highten' < ***haugjan-***. The Old Norse and Old English verbs can nevertheless be derived from the

IE root **kouh₁-* 'to observe' under the assumption that the attested meaning 'to carry out' developed out of 'to see to', i.e. 'to take care of'.

haukan- m. 'fishhook' — G Swi. (App.) *hɔuxə* m. 'id.' (GM).

In view of Fi. *haukka* 'spoon hanger, fishhook', the word must despite its scant attestation (cf. Vetsch 1910: 161) be of PGm. origin. No further etymology.

haukjan- w.v. 'to make squat' — ON *heykja-st* w.v. 'to bend, cower down', Far. *hoykja seg* w.v. 'to sit down' (DRV).

The causative to **hūkan-* (q.v.).

haula(n)- m. 'hernia, lump' — ON *haull* m. 'id.', OE *hēala* m. 'hernia, hydrocele', OHG *hōla* f. 'rupture' ⇒ **kéh₂u-el-* (EUR) — Gr. κήλη f. 'tumor; rupture, hernia; hump' < **keh₂u-l-eh₂-*; Lith. dial. *kū́la* f. 'lump, hernia, stalk', CS *kyla, kila*, Ru. *kilá* f. 'hernia, outgrowth on plants', SCr. *kȉla* f. 'hernia, oedema, swelling, outgrowth (on plants)' < **kuh₂-l-eh₂-*.

The different stem formations go back to an **l-*stem. Since *kéh₂ul* would have given ON *hóll* by PGm. loss of the labial after **ō* (cf. ON *sól* < **séh₂ul)* and **kawela-* < **kh̥₂uel-* would have resulted in ON ***káll* by lenghtening of the intervocalically lost **w*, ON *haull* must have developed from **haul-* < **hawul-* < **kh̥₂u̯-*. This root form can have developed from any case form with a vocalized **l*, e.g. dat. pl. **kh̥₂u-l̥-mis*. Assuming that Dybo's law operated in the genitive and accusative, and that the laryngeal was vocalized before consonantal **u*, the complete paradigm is expected to have developed as follows: nom. *kéh₂ul̥* > **hōl*, gen. **kh₂ul-ós* > **kulaz*, loc. **kh̥₂uéli* > **kaweli*, etc. Note that the nominative form possibly is continued by ON *hóll* m. 'hill, bump in a rope', Far. *hóllur* m. 'round hill', Nw. dial. *hole* 'ridge-shaped hill'. ON *hváll* m. 'hill', on the other hand, is explained as resulting from **hóall* by Magnússon 1989: 359, and thus implies a variant **hōala-* < **keh₂u-ol-*.

hauna- m./n. 'scorn, humilitation' — Go. *hauns* adj. 'base', MDu. *hoon* n. 'id.', Du. *hoon* c. 'id.', G *Hohn* m. 'id.' ⇒ **koh₂u-no-* (DRV) — Latv. *kàuns* m. 'shame' < **koh₂u-no-*.

Derived from a verbal root **keh₂u-*, see **hawēn- 1.* Also cf. OE *hēan* adj. 'low, mean, humble' < **hauna-*.

haupa- m. 'pile, heap' — OE *hēap* m. 'id.', E *heap*, OFri. *hāp* m. 'id.', OS *hōp* m. 'id.', Du. *hoop* c. 'id.', OHG *houf* m. 'id.' ⇒ **koHup-nó- / *kouHp-nó-* (IE) — Av. *kaofa-* m. 'mountain, hump' < **koupH-o-*; Olr. *cúan* 'pile' < **kou(H)p-no-*; Lith. *kaūpas* < **koup(H)-o-*, OCS *kupъ* m. 'heap', SCr. *kȕp* m. 'heap, crowd' < **kouHp-o-*; Lith. *kūpà* f. 'pile, bunch' < **kuHp-eh₂-*.

An *a*-stem probably continuing Pre-Gm. **hauppa-* < **kouHp-nó-*. Alternatively, it may continue the full-grade root **keh₂/₃up-* of the ablauting *n*-stem **hūpan-*, which implies a paradigm **k(é)uHp-ōn*, gen. **kuHp-n-ós*. In general, the position of the laryngeal is difficult to determine. Av. *kaofa-* points to **koupH-o-*, but the Slav. material is suggestive of a form **kouHp-o-*; it therefore seems likely that metathesis occurred in Iranian (cf. Skt. *śaphá-* m. 'hoof', YAv. *safa-* m. 'hoof, horse-shoe(?)' < **ḱopH-o-* vs. PGm. **hōfa-* 'hoof' < **koHp-o-*).

****hauþan-*** m. 'testicle' — OFri. *hātha*, *hōtha* m. 'id.', MDu. *hode* m. 'id.', OHG *hōdo* m. 'id.', MHG *hōde* m. 'id.', G *Hode* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kout-on-*(?) (EUR?) — Lith. *kutỹs* m. 'pouch' < **kut-io-*; Lat. *cunnus* m. 'vagina' < **kut-no-*; W *cwd* m. 'bag, sack' < **kut-o-*?

A word usually reconstructed as **huþan-* on the basis of OFri. *hotha*. The OHG scribal variant *haodo*, on the other hand, points to **hauþan-*, and has therefore been separated from **huþan-* (EWAhd: IV, 1084f.). Since, however, OFri. also has a variant *hătha*, it seems better to derive all of the attested forms from **hauþan-*, especially since PGm. **au* gives rise to Old (West) Frisian spelling variants *ā* and *ō* more often, cf. *brād* ~ *brōd* 'bread' < **brauda-*; *dād* ~ *dōd* 'dead' < **dauda-*; *grāt* ~ *grōt* 'great, big' < **grauta-* etc.

****hauzjan-*** w.v. 'to hear' — Go. *hausjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *heyra* w.v. 'id.', Far. *hoyra* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *ära* w.v. 'id.', OE *hīeran* w.v. 'id.', E *to hear*, OFri. *hēra* w.v. 'id.', OS *hōrian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *horen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *hōrran*, *hōren* w.v. 'id.', G *hören* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂kous-ie-* (IE?) — Gr. ἀκούω 'to hear, obey' < **h₂kous-ie-*.

The word has often been explained as a compound from **h₂ḱ-* 'sharp' and **h₂e/ous-* 'ear', but the Hsch. gloss ἀκεύει, apparently a Cypriotic form meaning 'he/she watches, observes', is irreconcilable with this etymology.

****hawēn- 1*** w.v. 'to mock' — ON *há* w.v. 'to tease', Icel. *há* w.v. 'to disdain', Nw. *hå* w.v. 'to mock, tease' ⇒ **kḫ₂u-eh₁-* (NEUR) — Lith. *kuvėtis* 'to be ashamed' < **kh₂u-eh₁-*.

The stative verb **hawēn-* served as the basis for ON *háð* n. 'mockery' < **hawēþa-* and - at an earlier stage - Go. *hauns* 'base', OE *hēan* 'humble, miserable' < **hauna-*, which again gave rise to OE *hīenan*, OFri. *hēna*, OS *gi-hōnian*, OHG *hōnen* w.v. 'to scorn' < **haunjan-* and OHG *hōnida*, OS *hōn(i)tha*, MDu. *hoonde* 'scorn', OFri. *hānitha* f. 'indictment' < **hauniþō-*. See also **hauna-*.

****hawēn- 2*** w.v. 'to observe' — Nw. *hå* w.v. 'to notice, sense, be aware of', OE *hawian* w.v. 'to view, look, observe, regard, survey, inspect' ⇒ **kouh₁-eh₁-* (IE) — Skt. *ā-kuváte* 'to intend to' < **kuh₁-e-*; Gr. κοέω 'to pay attention to,

perceive, hear', Lat. *caveō* 'to take care, beware' < **kouh₁-éie-*; OCS *čuti* 'to sense, notice', ORu. *čuti* 'to feel, hear, know'; SCr. *čȕti* 'to hear' < **keuh₁-*.

A verb without a generally accepted reconstruction. It is attested only as OE *hāwian* and - to my mind - Nw. *hå*. Neither of these formations is conclusive as to whether we must reconstruct **hawēn-* or **hēwēn-*, however. In view of Latv. *kavêt* 'to prevent', the former option is preferable. I therefore assume that the Germanic stative was created to an unattested adjective **hawa-* < **kóuh₁-o-*, cf. Skt. *á-kava-* adj. 'not stingy', Gr. ἀνακῶς adv. 'attentively, heedfully'.

****hawō-*** f. 'hide' — ON *há* f. 'id.' ⇒ **kouH-eh₂-* (EUR).

An *ō*-stem related to **hūdi-* 'hide, skin' (q.v.).

****hawwan-*** s.v. 'to hew, chop' — ON *høggva* s.v. 'id.', Far. *høgga* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *ogga* s.v. 'id.', OE *hēawan* s.v. 'id.', E *to hew*, OFri. *hāwa*, *hauwa* s.v. 'id.', OS *hauwan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *houwen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *houwan* s.v. 'id.', G *hauen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **kóuh₂-e-* (IE) — ToAB *kāw-* 'to kill' < **keh₂u-*; Lith. *káuti* (*káuna*) 'to murder, beat, hew', Latv. *kaût* 'to fight' < **ke/oh₂u-*; OCS *kovati*, Ru. *kovát'* (*kujú*) 'to forge, hammer', SCr. *kòvati* 'to forge, shoe' < **kouh₂-eh₂-* (with laryngeal metathesis).

An old *o*-grade intensive verb. See also **hauja-* 'hey' and **hajan-* 'to pound'.

****hazjan-*** w.v. 'to praise' — Go. *hazjan* w.v. 'id.', OE *herian*, *hærian*, *hergan* w.v. 'id.', ME *herien* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱh₁s-ié-* (IE) — Skt. *śā́sti* 'to teach, instruct; to punish, chasten; to command, order' < **ḱeh₁s-*; ToA *kāṣiññ-* 'to scold' < **ḱh₁s-*.

A *ie*-verb to a PIE root present 3sg. **ḱéh₁s-ti*, 3pl. **kh₁s-énti*. Also cf. OHG *harēn* w.v. 'to cry, call' < **hazēn-* < **ḱh₁s-éh₁-*.

****helan-*** s.v. 'to conceal, hide' — OE *helan* s.v. 'to conceal, hide; cover', OFri. *hela* s.v. 'to hide, conceal', OS *helan* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *helen* s.v. 'to hide, fence', Du. *helen* w.v. 'to fence', OHG *helan* s.v. 'to conceal, hide', G *hehlen* s.v. 'to fence' ⇒ **ḱél-e-* (IE) — Lat. *occulō* 'to hide, conceal', OIr. *ceilid*, MW *kelu* 'id.' < **ḱél-e-*.

A strong verb whose original meaning probably was 'to cover', for which see **helma-*. Related to **hēli-*.

****hēli-*** adj. 'deceitful' — MLG *hāl* adj. 'hidden', OHG *hāli* adj. 'smooth, slippery, weak', MHG *hæl(e)* adj. 'concealing; concealed' (DRV).

A *vr̥ddhi*-gerundive to the strong verb **helan-* 'to conceal' (q.v.). The meaning 'slippery' as found in WGm. is unexpected, but may have developed from 'trecherous'. With the same semantic shift, cf. ON *háll*, Far. *hálur*

adj. 'slippery' < **hēla-*, which is derivationally parallel to e.g. **wēta-* 'wet' (q.v.).

helma- m. 'helmet' — Go. *hilms* m. 'id.', ON *hjalmr* m. 'id.', Far. *hjálmur* adj. 'id.', OE *helm* m. 'id.', OFri. *helm* m. 'id.', OS *helm* m. 'id.', MDu. *helm* m. 'id.', Du. *helm* c. 'id.', OHG *helm* m. 'id.', G *Helm* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱel-mo-* (DRV) — Close to Skt. *śárman-* n. 'shelter, cover' < **ḱel-mn-*.

A derivation to the root of the strong verb **helan-* (q.v.) in the meaning 'to cover', cf. OE *helan* 'to hide; cover'.

helman- m. 'rudder' — ON *hjalm-vǫlr* m. 'id.', Far. *hjálmi* m. 'transverse tiller', OE *helma* m. 'id.', E *helm*, MDu. *helm* m. 'handle' ⇒ **kelH-mon-* (IE) — Lith. *kélmas* m. 'tree-stub' < **kelH-mo-*; OPru. *kalmus* 'stick' < **kolH-m-*.

Probably related to **halma-* 'blade of grass' and **halan-* 'tail, tip'.

helpan- s.v. 'to help' — Go. *hilpan* s.v. 'id.', ON *hjalpa* s.v. 'id.', Far. *hjálpa* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *jåpa* s.v. 'id.', OE *helpan* s.v. 'id.', E *to help*, OFri. *helpa* s.v. 'id.', Du. *helpen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *helfan* s.v. 'id.', G *helfen* s.v. 'id.' (NEUR?).

A verb without a clear etymology. In view of the potential cognate Lith. *šelpti* (*šelpiù*) 'to help', it is tempting to assume that **helpan-* continues **ḱélp-e-*, and adopted its geminate from the expected iterative **hulpōn-* < **ḱlp-néh₂-*. No such iterative is attested, however, and I wonder whether *šelpti* cannot have been borrowed from a lost Slavic root **šelp-* (cf. OCS *xlapъ* 'servant', Ru. *xolóp* 'id.', Pol. *chłop* 'peasant' < PSlav. **xolpъ* << PGm. **halpa-*) that itself again was borrowed from PGm. **helpan-*. With the occurrence of yet another irregular correspondence, viz. Lith. *gélbėti* 'to help' < **g(h)elb-*, the etymological problems become even more complex.

hemerō- f. 'hellebore' — OHG *hemera* f. 'id.', MHG *hemere*, *hemer* f. 'id.', G dial. *hemern* pl. 'id.' ⇒ **kem-er-eh₂-* (NIE) — Gr. κάμαρος, κάμμαρος m. 'larkspur, aconite' < **kam(m)ar-o-*; Lith. *kēmeras* 'hemp agrimony, burr marigold', RuCS *čemerь* 'hellebore', Ru. dial. *čémer* 'crown, forelock, headache, belly-ache, horse's disease, poison', SCr. *čȅmēr* 'venom, anger' < **kemero-*.

The Baltic and Germanic forms can be reconciled into a reconstruction **kemero-*, **-eh₂-*. Gr. κάμαρος, κάμμαρος, on the other hand, cannot, as it displays unexpected *a*-vocalism and an irregular alternation of single and double μ. As a consequence, it is possible to assume that the word was not inherited from PIE, but rather adopted from an indigenous European language. Notably, a Mediterranean non-IE **a* appears to correspond to a Northern European **e*, like in the case of **þeura-* 'bull' and **ebura-* 'boar'.

hemina- ~ *hemna- m. 'heaven' — Go. *himins* m. 'id.', ON *himinn* m. 'id.', Far. *himin* m. 'id.', OE *heofon* m. 'id.', E *heaven*, OFri. *himel* m. 'id.', OS *himil*, *heƀan* m. 'id.', ODu. *himil* m. 'id.', Du. *hemel* c. 'id.', OHG *himil* m. 'id.', G *Himmel* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_2eḱ$-mon- (IE) — Skt. *áśman-* m. 'stone, rock, sling-stone; thunderbolt', YAv. *asman-* m. 'stone, sling-stone; heaven', OCS *kamy*, Ru. *kámen'*, SCr. *kȁmēn* m. 'stone' (< *keh_2-mon- by metathesis), Lith. *akmuō* m. 'stone', Gr. ἄκμων m. 'anvil, meteorite, sky' < *$h_2eḱ$-mon- (depalatalization in BSl. before *-m-*).

The origin and derivation of the word for 'heaven' are not entirely evident. Within Germanic, the dialectal difference between Go. *himins*, ON *himinn* on the one hand, and OE *heofon*, OS *heƀan* on the other, seems to point to two differen stems, viz. **hemina-* and **hemna-*. The alternative is to assume that **hemina-* was syncopated to **hemna-* in both Old English and Old Saxon, thus offering potential proof for a dialectal subclade. Still, it is probably more attractive to think that both stems split off from the oblique cases of a paradigm nom. **hemō*, gen. **hemnaz*, dat. **hemeni*. The continental WGm. forms with *l* have been explained as resulting from dissimilation of **hemina-* to **hemila-* (thus already Braune 1891: 94) and by lexical influence from **sōel-* ~ **sunnōn-* 'sun' (Wachter 1997: 18).

On the PIE level, the Germanic word is usually analyzed as a distorted continuant of *$h_2eḱ$-mōn*, gen. *$h_2ḱ$-mn-ós*, loc. *$h_2ḱ$-mén-i* (cf. Lühr 2000: 79), which presumably meant 'heavenly vault' in view of Gr. ἄκμων, which meant 'meteorite' ("chip from the vault") and 'anvil (on which the Thunder God hit with his hammer)'. Since the regular outcome of this word in Gm. would be **ahmōn*, **humnaz*, **meni* (initial **hm-* does not exist in Gm.), it seems likely that the paradigm was remodeled into **hemō*, **hemnaz*, **hemeni* on the basis of the genitive form.

Also cf. OHG *himilizi*, MHG *himelz(e)*, MLG *hemelte* n. 'ceiling', Du. *ge-hemelte* n. 'palate' < **(ga-)hemilatja-*.

hēra- n. 'hair' — ON *hár* n. 'id.', Far. *hár* n. 'id.', Elfd. *år* n. 'id.', OE *hær* n. 'id.', E *hair*, OFri. *hēr* n. 'id.', OS *hār* n. 'id.', Du. *haar* n. 'id.', OHG *hār* n. 'id.', G *Haar* n. 'id.' ⇒ *$ḱ\bar{e}s$-ró- (IE) — Hitt. *kišzi* ~ *kišanzi* 'to comb, card' < **kés-ti*, **ks-énti*; OCS *česati* 'to scratch, pluck' < *kes-eh_2- etc. (see **hezdōn-* for more cognates).

The word has been derived from **hezra-* < **ḱes-ro-* by Gąsiorowski 2012, who assumes pre-rhotic loss of **z* and compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. It is possible, too, however, that the original form was **ḱēs-ró-* with a lengthened grade, cf. OIr. *cír* f. 'comb' < **kēs-reh$_2$-*. The word served as the basis for OE *hæring*, *hēring*, OFri. *hēring*, Du. *haring*, OHG *hāring*, G *Hering* m. 'herring', a fish named after its many thin, hair-like bones (for the suffix, cf. E *whiting*, Du. *wijting* < **hwītinga-*).

herdō- f. 'herd' — Go. *hairda* f. 'id.', ON *hjǫrð* f. 'id.', OE *heord* f. 'id.', E *herd*, OHG *herta* f. 'herd; order, queue', G *Herd* f. 'herd' ⇒ **kerd^{h}-eh$_2$-* (IE) — OCS *črěda* f. 'order, herd', Ru. *čeredá* f. 'sequence, file, *dial.* herd of cattle', SCr. *čréda* f. 'turn' < **kerd^{h}-eh$_2$-*; OPru. *kērdan* 'time' < **kerd^{h}-o-*; Skt. *śárdha-* m. 'host', YAv. *sarəδa-* m./n. 'species, sort (of cattle)', Lith. *keřdžius, skeřdžius* m. 'herdsman, shepherd' < **(s)kerd^{h}-o-*.

A feminine whose original meaning in view of OHG *herta* and OCS *črěda* 'order, herd' must have been 'queue'. Also cf. Go. *hairdeis*, ON *hirðir*, OHG *hirti* m. 'herdsman' < **herdja-* < **(k^{u})erd^{h}-io-*.

hermjan- w.v. 'to rest' — MDu. *hermen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *hirmen* w.v. 'id.', MHG *hirmen* w.v. 'id.', G Swi. *(ge-)hirmen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱermH-ie-*(?) (IE?) — Skt. *śrāmyati* 'to be weary' < **ḱrmH-ié-*.

her(r)an- m. 'hinge' — ON *hjarri* m. 'id.', Icel. *hjari* m. ('geographical pole, hinge'), Far. *hjørri* f. 'hinge', OE *heor(ra)* m. 'id.', ME *herre* 'id.', MDu. *harre, herre* f. 'id.', Du. *har* 'hinge, fissure' ⇒ **kérH-on-* (EUR).

Beside the masculine word, there is a feminine formation, cf. ON, Icel. *hjara*, Far. *hjørra* f. 'hinge' < **her(r)ōn-*. The ON form *hjara* is usually taken to be a misspelling of **hjarra* (cf. De Vries 1962: 232), but the originality of the single *r* is supported by Icel. *hjara* (as well as *hjari*). Therefore, the standard reconstruction **herz-* cannot be maintained, and must be replaced by an *n*-stem with consonant gradation, i.e. **herō, *herraz* < **kér-ōn, *k(e)r-n-ós*. A zero grade form **hurran-* has been suggested for OSw. *hurraka* f. 'hinge', but the derivation of this compound is debated.

Outside Germanic, the cluster may be related to Lith. *kárti* 'to hang' < **korH-* (cf. Holthausen 1934: 156; Franck 1949: 232). Equally plausible, however, is the connection with **hurdi-* 'door' (q.v.), Lat. *crātis* f. 'construction of wickerwork, hurdle' < **krh$_2$-ti-*.

hersan- ~ ***herzan-*** m. 'brain' — ON *hjarni* m. 'id.', Nw. *hjerne*, dial. *hjarre* m. 'id.', Elfd. *ienne* m. 'id.', ME *hernes* 'id.', E obs. *harn(s)* 'id.', MDu. *hersene* m. 'id.', Du. *hersenen, hersens* pl. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱérh$_2$-s-on-* (IE) — Skt. *śíras-*, gen. *śīrṣṇás* n. 'head, top', YAv. *sarah-* n. 'head', M/NP *sar* 'id.', Oss. *sær* 'id.' < **ḱr̥h$_2$-es-*; Gr. κάρᾱ n. 'head' < **ḱr̥-h$_2$-es-n-* and κέρας n. 'horn, for blowing and drinking' < **ker-h$_2$-s-*; Lat. *cerebrum* n. 'brain' < **ḱerh$_2$-s-ro-*.

In Proto-Germanic, the word for 'brain' was inflected as nom. **hersō*, gen. **herznaz* from quasi-PIE **ḱerh$_2$-s-ōn, *ḱ(e)rh$_2$-s-n-ós*. The allomorphy was given up in the daughter languages, something that is most evident in Old Norse, where the nominative give rise to *hjarsi, hjassi* m. 'crown of the head' < **hersan-*, the genitive to *hjarni* < **herznan-*. The latter stem additionally gave rise to the collective formation OHG *hirni*, MHG *hirne*, MLG *herne*, G *Hirn, Gehirn* n. 'brain' < **(ga-)herzn-ja-*. MDu. *hersene* < **hersnan-* and Nw.

hjarre < **herzan-*, on the other hand, arose as contamination forms of different cases. Also note Du. *hoorn-dol* adj. 'mad', whose first element theoretically can be derived from a zero-grade stem **hurzn-* < **ḱrh₂-s-n-*.

hersja(n)- m. 'millet' — ON *hirsi* n. 'id.', MDu. *herse, heerse* f. 'id.', OHG *hirsi* m. 'id.', G *Hirse* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱerh₁-s-io(n)-* (IE) — Hitt. *karaš-* n. 'wheat, emmer-wheat' < **ḱrh₁-s-*; Lat. *Cerēs* f. 'goddess of grain' < **ḱerh₁-es-*; Gr. κορέννυμι 'to satiate, feed' < **ḱorh₁s-*; Lith. *šérti* (*šeriù*) 'to feed' < **kerh₁-ie-*.

A word created with the collective suffix **-io-* to the original neuter *s*-stem attested as Hitt. *karaš-*. The latter form is usually connected to **gerstō-* 'barley' < **gʰersd-*, and has hence been reconstructed as **gʰrsdʰ-* (see Kloekhorst 2008: 444), but the link with **hersja(n)-* 'millet' is more straightforward.

hertōn- n. 'heart' — Go. *hairto* n. 'id.', ON *hjarta* n. 'id.', Far. *hjarta* n. 'id.', Elfd. *järta* n. 'id.', OE *heorte* n. 'id.', E *heart*, OFri. *herte* f. 'id.', OS *herta* n. 'id.', Du. *hart* n. 'id.', OHG *herza* n. 'id.', G *Herz* n. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱerd-n-* (IE) — Hitt. *ker~kard(i)-* n. 'heart, center, core' < **ḱēr*, **ḱrd-*; ToA *kri* m. 'will; worry', ToB *käryāñ* pl. 'heart' < **ḱrd-ion-*; Skt. *hṛ́d-*, OAv. *zərəd-* n. 'id.', Oss. *zærdæ* 'id.' < **ǵʰrd-*; Arm. *sirt* 'id.' < **ḱērd-*; OPru. *seyr* 'id.' < **ḱēr-*; Lith. *šerdìs* f. 'core, kernel, pith' < **ḱerd-*; Lith. *širdìs* f. 'heart; anger', Latv. *sirds* f. 'id.' < **ḱrd-*; OCS *srьdьce*, Ru. *sérdce*, SCr. *sr̂ce* n. 'heart' < **ḱrd-ik-io-*; CS *srědь*, *srědi*, Ru. *poseredí*, dial. *seredь*, SCr. *sred*, dial. *sredi* 'middle' < loc. **ḱerd-(e)i*; SCr. *sr̂d* m. 'anger' < **ḱrd-o-*; Gr. κῆρ n. 'heart' < **ḱēr(d)-*; Lat. *cor, cordis* n. 'id.' < **ḱrd-*; OIr. *cride* n. 'id.', W *craidd* 'center' < **ḱrd-*.

An old IE word, originally inflected as nom. **ḱḗr* (< **ḱḗrd*), gen. **ḱrd-ós*. See also **harta-*. The initial **ǵʰ* of the Indo-Iranian forms is unexplained.

herþa- m. 'hearth' — OE *heorð* m. 'id.', E *hearth*, OFri. *herth* m. 'id.', OS *herth* m. 'id.', Du. *haard* c. 'id.', OHG *herd* m. 'id.', G *Herd* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kérh₃-to-* (NEUR).

A *to*-stem created to the root **kerh₃-* 'to burn', for which see **hurja-*.

herþra- n. 'intestines' — Go. *hairþra* n.pl. 'intestines, bosom', OHG *smala-herdar* 'small intestine, gut' (GM).

Also cf. ON *hreðjar* f.pl. 'scrotum' < **harþjō-*(?).

heru- m. 'sword' — Go. *hairus* m. 'id.', ON *hjǫrr* m. 'id.', OE *heoru, heoro, hioro* m. 'id.', OS *heru-drōrag* adj. "sword-bloody" ⇒ **ḱer-u-* (IE) — Skt. *śáru-* m. 'projectile, spear, arrow'.

An Indo-European term for some kind of projectile.

heruta- m. 'stag, hart, deer' — ON *hjǫrtr* m. 'deer', Far. *hjørtur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *juort* m. 'id.', OE *heorot*, *heort* m. 'hart, stag, male deer', OS *hirut* m. 'stag', Du. *hert* n. 'deer', OHG *hiruz*, *hirz* m. 'id.', G *Hirsch* m. 'stag, hart, deer' (IE/EUR) — Lat. *cervus* m. 'stag, deer'; OW *caru*, MW *carw* 'deer' < **ḱér-u-s*, gen. **ḱr-u-ós*.

A formation created to the PIE root **ḱr-* 'horn' with the Germanic animal suffix **-ut(a)-* (cf. **albut-* 'swan' and **hurnuta/ō-* 'hornet'). There is no compelling reason to reconstruct a stem with a **h₂*, as e.g. in Gr. κεραός adj. 'horned', although this has been done in view of the long vowel of the ON *hrútr* 'ram' < **hrūta-*, which has been reconstructed as **kr-uh₂-do-* (Nussbaum 1986: 17). The latter word, however, is actually derived from PGm. **hreutan-* ~ **hrūtan-*, cf. ON *hrjóta*, OE *hrūtan* 'to snore', as is further supported by e.g. Nw. dial. *rut*, *rjot* m. 'grumbler'. For the semantics, cf. E *to rout* 'bellow, low, moo'.

herzna- n. 'hard snow' — ON *hjarn* n. 'id.', Nw. *hjårn* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱers-nó-* (NEUR) — Close to Lith. *šerkšnas* m. 'hoarfrost', Latv. *sẽrsna* f. 'id.' < **sers-neh₂-* (= Nw. *hjårn*) and Ru. dial. *serēn*, *séren* m. 'crust of ice' < **ḱers-n-o/eh₂-*; with a zero grade: Lith. *šiřkšnas* m. 'hoarfrost' < **ḱrs-no-*.

A Germanic and Balto-Slavic isogloss. Within Germanic, possible cognates are Nw. dial. *jorr* m. 'layer of ice' < ON **hjǫrr* < **herz(n)u-* < **ḱers-(n)ú-*. G *Hornung* 'February' has also been adduced, as it could continue **hurznungōn-* (Hirt 1897: 232-3).

hesan-* ~ *hazan- m. 'hare' — ON *héri* m. 'id.', Icel. *héri* m. 'id.', Nw. *hare*, dial. *jase* m. 'id.', OSw. *heri* m. 'id.', Sw. *hare* m. 'id.', Elfd. *eri* m. 'id.', ODa. *haræ* 'id.', Da. *hare* 'id.' (>> Far. *hara*), OE *hara* m. 'id.', E *hare*, OFri. *hasa* m. 'id.', OS *haso* m. 'id.', MDu. *hase* m. 'id.', Du. *haas* c. 'id.', OHG *haso* m. 'id.', G *Hase* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱes-on-* (IE) — Skt. *śaśá-* m. 'hare' (with assimilation of **ś...s* to **ś...ŝ*), Khot. *saha-*, MP *sahōg*, Pash. *sōe* 'id.' < **ḱes-o-*; Lat. *cānus* 'id.', OPru. *sasins* 'id.' < **ḱas-no-*; W *ceinach* f. 'hare' < **ḱas-n-ih₂-* (+ *-ach*).

The alternation between WGm. **hasan-* and Anglo-Nordic **hazan-* points to an originally mobile paradigm **hazō*, gen. **haznaz* < **kás-ōn*, **kas-n-ós* (cf. Schaffner 2001: 528, 544-6). The Nw. dial. form *jase* further implies an ablauting stem **hesan-*, which probably was associated with the strong cases. If it was not introduced analogically (thus proving that the IE ablaut was still productive), the *e*-grade form can only be reconciled with the *a*-vocalism by setting up a paradigm **ḱh₁és-ōn*, gen. **ḱh₁s-n-ós* or rather **ḱes-ōn*, **ḱs-n-ós* (under the assumption of a *schwa secundum* in the zero-grade forms). The ablaut of ON *heri* is ambiguous: it may continue **hazan-* with *z*-mutiation, but the Icel. form *héri* points to **hezan-* > **hjazi* > *hjeri* (with *a*-breaking and *ʀ*-mutation). Note that the Germanic *n*-stem is paralleled by other formations with *n*-suffixes, cf. Lat. *cānus* 'hare', OPru.

sasins 'id.' < **ḱas-no-* and esp. by W *ceinach* 'hare' < **ḱas-n-ih₂-* (+ *-ach*). Related to **haswa-* 'grey'.

heuhman- m. 'mass, heap, multitude' — Go. *hiuhma* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kéuk-mon-* (IE).

An *mn*-stem related to **hauha-* 'high' and **huk(k)ōn-* 'to bend down'. The form MLG *hocke* f. 'haystack' could theoretically have split off from a paradigm **heuhmō, *hukkaz* < **kéuk-mōn̥, *kuk-mn-ós* (with dissimilation of the *m* in the genitive). The alternative is to reconstruct an independent formation, quasi-PIE **kuk-néh₂-*.

heuja- n. 'visible layer, appearance' — Go. *hiwi* n. 'surface appearance, complexion', ON *hý* n. 'the down of plants, hair, feathers', Far. *hýggj* n. 'film of fungus', Nw. *hy* n. 'fungus, downy beard, young grass', OE *hīw, hēow* n. 'shape, form, hue, color, fashion', ME *hue* ⇒ **ḱieh₁-u-io-* (DRV).

Probably an early derivation from the base **ḱieh₁-u-* as found in **hēwja-* 'bluish' (q.v.). The form **heuja-* probably developed from **kēu-ió-* < **kieh₁u-ió-* by Dybo's law. Also cf. Icel. *hé* n. 'dew', Da. dial. *hi(e)* 'skin on milk' < **hīwa-*.

heupa/ōn- m./f. 'rose hip' — Icel. *hjúpa* n., *hjúpur* m. 'id.', Nw. dial. *hjupa* f. 'id.', OSw. *hjupon* f. 'id.', OE *hēope* f. 'id.', E *rose hip*, OS *hiopo* m. 'id.', MDu. *hiepe, iepe, niepe* f. 'cornell', OHG *hiufo* m. 'rose hip', MHG *hiefe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **keub-on-*(?) (NEUR?) — OPru. *kaūbri* 'thorn'.

Also note MHG *hiefalter, -olter* 'rose hip', which has the productive tree-suffix *-alter* as in *apfalter* 'apple-tree' (< **apaldra/ō-*), *mazalter* 'field maple', *reckholter* 'juniper', *wechalter, -olter* 'id.', etc. No certain etymology: the only potential extra-Germanic cognate is OPru. *kaūbri*, but the appurtenance of this word has been doubted (cf. De Vries 1971: 257). Note the neuter gender in Icelandic, which can be old.

hēwja- adj. 'dark blue(?)' — OE *hāwi, hæwi, hēawi* adj. 'blue, purple, grey, discolored', E obs. *haw* adj. 'blue, azure, bluish, dull leaden blue; livid' ⇒ **ḱiéh₁-uo-* (IE) — Skt. *śyāvá-* adj. 'dark-brown, black-brown, dark', YAv. *siiāuuaršan-* prop. 'having dark steeds', MP *siyā* adj. 'black', NP *siyāh* adj. 'id.', Oss. *sau* adj. 'id.' < **ḱieh₁-uo-*; Lith. *šývas*, OCS *sivъ* 'gray' < **ḱih₁-uo-*.

Within Germanic, the word is formally identical to OE *-hāwe* 'visible', the gerundive of OE *hawian* 'to observe' < **hawēn- 2.* The adjective OE *hæwen* 'blue', on the other hand, with its **-īna-* suffix seems to have been derived from a noun, possibly **hæwe* as implied by E obs. *haw* 'nictitating membrane, third eyelid (of a horse, dog, etc.)' < **hēwja-*. The whole cluster can thus be related to **heuja-* (q.v.), which occurs with a meaning 'shape' as well as 'membrane'.

hezdōn- f. 'flax fibers' — OE *heord* f. 'hair', *heordan* pl. 'rope', E *hards, hurds* 'the coarser parts of flax or hemp separated in hackling', MDu. *hede* f. 'flax fiber' 'id.', EDu. *herde, heerde* 'id.' ⇒ **kes-dʰh₁-eh₂-*? (IE) — Hitt. *kišzi* ~ *kišanzi* 'to comb, card' < **kés-ti, *ks-énti*; OCS *česati* 'to scratch, pluck', Ru. *česát'* (*češú*) 'id.', SCr. *čèsati* 'to scratch' < **kes-eh₂-*; Lith. *kasà* f. 'braid', Ru. *kosá* 'braid, plait', SCr. *kòsa* 'hair, wool' < **kos-eh₂-*; OPru. *kexti* 'braided hair'; Alb. *korr* m. 'cut with a sickle, harvest, reap' < **kos-ro-*.

The word is usually connected to the PIE root **kes-* 'to comb, card', which is defendable. The PGm. formation **hezdō-* must then have acquired a **dʰh₁*-extension, like e.g. **mizdō(n)-* 'reward' < **mis-dʰh₁-eh₂-*. For the loss of **z* before **d* in dialectal Germanic, see the same word. ON *haddr* m. 'hair of the head' < **hazda-* is formally close, but continues an *o*-grade formation **kos-dʰh₁-o-*. Also cf. OFr. *hart* 'rope'.

****hi-*** pron. 'this, these' — Go. *his** pron. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱi-* (IE) — Hitt. *kī*n. 'this' < **ḱi*, Lith. *šis* pron. 'this' (cf. *šiañ-dien* 'today', *šį̄-met* 'this year', *šė* 'here'), OCS *sь* pron. 'id.' (cf. *dьnь-sь* 'today'), Arm. *sa* pron. 'id.' < **ḱi-*; also in e.g. Gr. σῆτες, Alb. *si-vjet* 'this year' < **ḱi-uet-es*; OIr. *cé* 'here', Lat. *-c(e)* in *ecce* and *hi-c* < **ḱe*.

A marginally attested pronoun. Gothic preserved the dat. *himma*, the acc. *hina* and the neut. *hita*. In West Germanic, the original instrumental form **hiō* < **ḱi-oh₁* was preserved in some fixed phrases, e.g. OE *hēodæg*, OS *hiudiga*, OHG *hiu tagu, hiutu* (G *heute*). See also **hiar* 'here'.

****hiar*** adv. 'here' — Go. *her* adv. 'id.', ON *hér* adv. 'id.', Elfd. *jär* adv. 'id.', OE *hēr* adv. 'id.', E *here*, OFri. *hīr* adv. 'id.', OS *hēr, hier* adv. 'id.', Du. *hier* adv. 'id.', OHG *hiar, hia* adv. 'id.', G *hier* adv. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱi-or* (DRV).

The North-West Germanic languages all point to **hiar* from PIE **ḱi-or* (Kortlandt 2006), which contains the root **hi-* < **ḱi-* 'this', cf. Lith. *šis* 'this' and the suffix *-ar* as in **þar* 'there' < **to-r*. The surfacing of the diphthong **ia* as Go. *ē*, ON *é*, OHG *ia* indicates that it merged with **ē₂* as early as the PGm. period (cf. Kortlandt 2006). Also note Go. *hiri*, which presupposes a more primary form **ḱi-r* plus an obscure suffix *-i* (< **-ih₁*?).

****hīgēn-* ~ **hīkēn-*** w.v. 'to pant(?)' — Nw. *hika* w.v. 'to long for', Sw. dial. *hikja* 'to pant', Da. *hige* w.v. 'to long for, wait for', OE *hīgian* w.v. 'to hie, haste, strive', MDu. *higen* w.v. 'to pant', Du. *hijgen* w.v. 'to pant', obs. 'to yearn' (GM).

A verb with a semantic range between 'to pant' and 'to long for' (cf. Du. *snakken* 'to gasp for breath; to yearn'). The alternation of **hīg-* and **hīk-* can be due to infection with the geminate of the iterative **hikkōn-*, cf. Du. *aan-hikken tegen* 'to postpone, procrastinate'). No further etymology: the connection with Skt. *śīghrá-* 'fast' and Ru. *sigát'* 'to leap' must be abandoned

because the original meaning was 'to pant' in Germanic. Also cf. the highly onomatopoetic Du. *hikken*, Fri. *hikje* 'to hiccup'.

hihelōn- f. 'hoarfrost' — ON *héla* f. 'id.', Elfd. *ila* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱi-ḱelh₁-eh₂-*(?) (IE) — Lith. *šalnà*, Latv. *saĺna* f. 'light frost', OCS *slana*, SCr. *slána* f. 'hoarfrost' < **ḱolh₁-neh₂-*; Lith. *šálti* (*šąlù*), Latv. *saĺt* 'to freeze' < **ḱo(-n-)lh₁-*.

The Germanic word looks like a reduplicated formation to the root **ḱelh₁-* 'to be cold', cf. Skt. *śiśira-* 'cold' < **ḱi-ḱl̥h₁-o-*. The underlying proto-form, however, would through PGm. **hihul-ōn-* result in ON ***hjól-a*. For this reason, I reconstruct the word as **hihelōn-* < **ḱi-ḱelh₁-*. Also cf. PGm. **hagla-* 'hail', which usually is assumed to be another, closely related reduplicated formation. Certainly unreduplicated is Du. *hal* n. 'frozen soil' < **hala-* < **ḱolh₁-o-* (cf. Lith. *pã-šalas* m. 'id.').

hindō- f. 'hind' — ON *hind* f. 'id.', Far. *hind* f. 'id.', OE *hind* f. 'id.', E *hind*, OFri. *hinde* f. 'id.', OS *hind-beri* 'raspberry', Du. *hinde* c. 'hind', OHG *hinta* f. 'id.', G *Hinde* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱem-teh₂-* (IE) — Gr. κεμάς, -άδος f. 'young deer, pricket' < **ḱem-nd-o-*.

A word probably derived from the PIE root **ḱem-* 'hornless', cf. Skt. *śáma-* adj. 'id.' < **ḱem-o-*. Related to **hamala-* 'mutilated' (q.v.).

hinkan- s.v. 'to limp, hobble' — OE *hincian* w.v. 'id.', MDu. *hinken* w.v. 'id.', Du. *hinken* w.v. 'id.', OHG *hinkan* s.v. 'id.', G *hinken* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **kéng-e-* (WEUR) — OIr. *cingid* 'to tread, step, walk', MW *ry-gyng* 'to amble' < **kéng-e-*.

Also cf. OE *helle-hinca* m. 'devil' and the zero-grade intensive OE *huncettan* w.v. 'to limp' < **hunk-atjan-*, which is based on a further unattested iterative **hunkōn-* < **kn̥g-néh₂-*. Apart from OIr. *cingid*, **hinkan-* is often connected to Gr. σκάζω 'to limp' < **skng-ie-* and Skt. *khañjati* 'id.' < **skeng-e-* (cf. Seebold 1970: 255), but these forms are rather cognate with **skinkan-* ~ **skankan-* ~ **skunkan-* 'ham, shank' (q.v.).

hinnō- f. 'thin skin, membrane' — ON *hinna* f. 'id.', Far. *hinna* f. 'id.', Elfd. *inna* f. 'id.', OE *hion* f. 'meninx(?)', NFri. *haṇn* 'lobe of the brain' ⇒ **kent-n-eh₂-*(?) (WEUR?) — Close to OIr. *ceinn* 'head', *cenni* pl. 'scales', W *cen* m. 'skin' < **ken(t)no-*.

The connection with PCelt. **ken(t)no-* could imply a form **kent-neh₂-*, and indeed PGm. **hindnō-* would have regularly given **hinnō-*. The existence of a dental is further supported by Far. *hind* f. 'membrane, film' < **hindō-* (as well as Lat. *centō* n. 'blanket, patched cloth' if related). In view of Icel. *himna* f. 'membrane, film, layer' < **himnō-*, however, it may be preferable to reconstruct an *mn*-stem **kén(t)-mōn*, gen. **ken(t)-mn-ós*, which would probably give PGm. **himmō*, **hinnaz*. Yet another possibility is to connect Nw. *hime* f. 'thin layer' < **hīmōn-*, which could require the reconstruction of the para-

digm as **kéin-mōn*, **kin-mn-ós*. The root of the latter formation is irreconcilable with the Celtic forms, however.

hinþan- s.v. 'to reach for' — Go. *hinþan* s.v. 'to catch', OSw. *hinna* s.v. 'to obtain' ⇒ **(ḱ)ént-e-* (EUR).

The strong verb gave rise to some nominal derivations, viz. Go. *hunþs* f. 'captivity' < **hunþi-*, OE *hūð*, OHG *hunda* 'booty' < **hundō-* and **handu-* 'hand' (q.v.). For a verbal cognate, cf. the iterative **huntōn-* 'to chase, hunt'.

hitjō- f. 'heat' — OFri. *hete* f. 'id.', OS *hittia* f. 'id.', Du. *hitte* c. 'id.', OHG *hizzea, hizza* f. 'id.', G *Hitze* f. 'id.' ⇒ **kid-ieh₂-* (GM).

Related to **haita-* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *hiti* m. 'heat' < **hitan-*.

hittjan- w.v. 'to hit (upon)' — ON *hitta* w.v. 'to hit upon; to hit, strike; to meet', Far. *hitta* w.v. 'to meet; to come across', Elfd. *itta* w.v. 'id.', OE *hittan* w.v. 'to hit upon, meet with', MDu. *hitten* w.v. 'to obtain; to succeed' ⇒ **kh₂id^{h}h₁-néh₂-*? (IE?) — Lat. *caedō* 'to cut, hew, fell' < ?**kh₂eid$^{(h}$h₁)-e-*.

The derivation of the verb is not entirely clear, but it might have been created to an iterative formation **hittōn-*. The formation is often assumed to be related to Lat. *caedō*, which would imply a Pre-Gm. form **kh₂eid-néh₂-*, but it is not impossible that the Latin verb continues **ḱh₂-ei-d^{h}h₁-* 'to make fall', i.e. a compound of **ḱh₂-ei-* (cf. Skt. *śīyáte* 'to fall' < metathesized **ḱih₂-ié-*) and **d^{h}eh₁-* 'to put'. Similarly, W *cwyddaw* 'to fall', Bret. *coezaff* 'to fall, happen' may continue **kh₂-oi-d^{h}h₁-eh₂-ie-*, an extension of W *-chiawr* 'to fall' < **ḱh₂i-o-*. The original Germanic meaning seems to have been 'to strike', cf. the full grade form Far. *híta* w.v. 'to spank, beat' < **hīt-*.

hīwiskja- n. 'household' — ON *hýski* n. 'id.', Far. *húski, hýski* n. 'id.', OE *hīwisc* n. 'id.', OS *hīwiski* n. 'id.', OHG *hīwisci* n. 'id.', MHG *hīwisch(e)* n. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from **hīwa-*, for which see **hīwōn-*.

hīwōn- n. 'married couple, household' — ON *hjú(n), hjó(n)* n.pl., Far. *hjún* n.pl. 'id.', OE *hīwan* n.pl. 'married couple, household members', OFri. *hiōne, hiūne, hīne* n.pl. 'id.', OS *hīwun, hīun* n.pl. 'married couple', MDu. *huwe* f. 'id.', OHG *hīūn, hīwen, hīen* n.pl. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱei-uo-* (IE) — Skt. *śéva-* adj. 'dear, precious, friendly' < **ḱei-uo-*; Latv. *siēva* f. 'wife' < **ḱei-ueh₂-* (with unclear accentuation); Lat. *civis* m./f. 'citizen' < **ḱei-ui-*.

A neuter plural *n*-stem **hīwōnō* created to **hīwa-* 'marriage', cf. Go. *heiwa-frauja* m. 'master of the house', ON *hý-býli* n.pl. 'homestead', OE *hīw-cund* adj. 'domestic', G *Hei-rat* f. 'marriage'. The singular is continued as MHG *hīe* n. 'household member', Cimb. *haje*, pl. *hajar, hair* n. 'child'. Also cf. **hīwiskja-* and - on a deeper level - **haima-*.

hlah(j)an- s.v. 'to laugh' — ON *hlæja* s.v. 'id.', Far. *læa* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *läa* s.v. 'id.', OS *hlahan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *lachen* s./w.v., MHG *lachen* w.v. 'id.', G *lachen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ ***klok-ie-*** (NEUR) — Ru. *klekotát'* 'to scream (of bird of prey)'.

The meaning of Ru. *klekotát'* 'to scream (of birds of prey)' is especially close to the one of the iterative ON *hlakka* 'to scream (of birds); to rejoice' < ***hlak(k)ōn-*** (q.v.), which may indicate that the root originally meant 'to cackle'. Regarding form of the strong verb, the suffix alternation of ON *hlæja* < ***hlahjan-*** vs. OS *hlahan* < ***hlahan-*** is reminiscent of the one displayed by ***hanhan-*** 'to hang'. Perhaps, this alternation echoes the paradigm of an an old *i*-present 3sg. ***klok-éi-ti***, 3pl. ***klok-i-énti***. See also ***hlahtra-*** and ***hlōgjan-***.

hlahtra- m. (n.?) 'laughter' — ON *hlátr* m. 'id.', Far. *látur* m. 'id.', OE *hleahtor*, *hlehter* m. 'id.', E *laughter*, OHG *lahtar*, *hlahtar* n. 'id.', MHG *lahter* n. 'id.' (DRV).

A *tro*-formation derived from ***hlahjan-*** (q.v.).

hlaiba- n. 'bread' — Go. *hlaifs* m. 'id.', ON *hleifr* m. 'id.', OE *hlāf* m. 'id.', E *loaf*, OHG *leip* m. 'id.', G *Laib* m. 'id.' (GM).

Possibly related to MLG *leve-kōke*, MHG *lebe-kuoche*, G *Leb-kuchen* m. 'gingerbread' < ***hliba-kōkan-***? No further etymology. The comparison with Gr. κλίβανος m. 'oven, furnace' is spurious.

hlainjan- w.v. 'to cause to lean' — OE *hlǣnan* w.v. 'id.', E *to lean*, OHG *leinen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A late causative to ***hlinēn-*** (q.v.). Also cf. Go. *hlain* 'hill', ON *hlein* f. 'projecting rock, slope' < ***hlaina/ō-***.

hlaiwa- n. 'barrow, funeral mound' — Go. *hlaiw* m. 'tomb, grave', OE *hlāw* m. 'id.', OS *hlēo* m. 'grave', OHG *lēo*, *hlēo* m. 'id.', MHG *lē* m. 'id.' ⇒ ***kloi-uo-*** (IE).

A *wa*-stem to the root ***klei-*** 'to be inclined', for which see ***hlinēn-***.

hlak(k)ōn- w.v. 'to laugh' — ON *hlakka* w.v. 'to cry, scream (of eagles); to rejoice, exult', OFri. *hlakkia*, *hlakia* w.v. 'id.', WFri. *laitsje* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ ***klok-néh$_2$-*** (DRV).

The iterative 3sg. ***hlakkōþi***, 3pl. ***hlagunanþi*** to ***hlah(j)an-*** (q.v.). OFri. *hlakia* and WFri. *laitsje* continue a variant ***hlakōn-*** with a secondary singulate.

hlankjan- w.v. 'to twist, turn' — OE *ge-hlencan* w.v. 'to braid', MHG *lenken* w.v. 'to bend' ⇒ ***klong-éie-*** (GM).

Also cf. MHG, G *link* adj. 'left' < **hlinka-*, OHG *lanka*, *hlanka*, MHG *lanke* f. 'thigh' < **hlankō-* (>> OFr. *flanc*) and ON *hlekkr* m. 'chain, fetter' < **hlanki-*, OE *hlence* f. 'link' < **hlankjō-*. The extra-Germanic comparison with the marginally attested Lat. *clingō*, *-ere* 'to gird' (Paul. ex Fest.) or 'to close' (Isidore) < **kléng-e-* and ToA *klaṅk* 'riding animal', ToB *kleṅke* m. 'vehicle' (Adams 1999: 227) is doubtful.

hlanþōjan- w.v. 'to rob' — ON *hlanna* w.v. 'to rob' (GM).

A verb only attested in ON, but further supported by OHG *landeri*, OE *hlōðere* m. 'robber' < **hlanþ-arja-* (cf. with an older suffix: ON *hlenni* m. 'id.' < **hlanþjan-*) and OE *hlōð*, ODu. *hlotha* 'booty' < **hlanþō-* (Quak 1979). No clear etymology: hardly an *n*-infixed cognate of **hlaþan-* (q.v.).

hlaþan- s.v. 'to load' — Go. *af-hlaþan* s.v. 'to burden, load down', ON *hlaða* s.v. 'to pile up; build; load', Far. *laða* s./w.v. 'id.', OE *hladan* s.v. 'to heap, pile up, build, load', E *to load*, OFri. *hleda* s.v. 'id.', OS *hladan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *laden* w./s.v. 'id.', OHG *ladan*, *hladan* s.v. 'id.', G *laden* s.v. 'id.' (NEUR) — Lith. *klóti* (*klóju*), Latv. *klât* 'to cover' < **kleh₂-ie-*; OCS *klasti* 'to put', Ru. *klast'* (*kladú*), SCr. arch. *klȁsti* 'to put' < **kleh₂-dʰh₁-*.

The Balto-Slavic forms imply a root **kleh₂-*, which means that the *-d-* in Germanic must be suffixal. Presumably, a *t* was added to the root when the original aorist **klōt* < **kléh₂-t* was reanalyzed as a perfect (cf. **stōd-* 'stood' < **stéh₂-t*). This reanalysis must have taken place after the merger of **ā* and **ō*, but before the great sound shifts, as is implied by e.g. the nominal derivative ON *hlass* n. 'cart-load' < **klat-to-* or **klat-so-*.

hlauni- f. 'loin, buttock' — ON *hlaun* n. 'id.', Nw. dial. *laun* f. 'id.' ⇒ **klou-ni-* (IE) — Skt. *śróṇi-*, YAv. *sraoni-* f. 'buttock, hip'; OPru. *slaunis* 'thigh', Lith. *šlaunìs* f. 'thigh, hip', Latv. *slaũna*, *slaũne* f. 'hip' < **klouni-* (**-(i)eh₂-*); Lat. *clūnis* m./f. 'buttocks, haunch', W *clun* f. 'thigh'; with irregular loss of **u*: Gr. κλόνις f. 'haunch' < **klon-i-*.

An old IE term for 'thigh'.

hlaupan- s.v. 'to jump, leap' — Go. *us-hlaupan* 'to leap forth, jump up', ON *hlaupa* s.v. 'to leap, jump; to run', Far. *leypa* s.v. 'to jump; to fall, tumble; to curdle', Elfd. *lopa* s.v. 'to leap, run; to creep', OE *hlēapan* s.v. 'to leap, jump, dance, run', E *to leap*, OFri. *hlāpa* s.v. 'to walk, run; to flow', OS *hlōpan* s.v. 'to run', Du. *lopen* s.v. 'to walk, run', OHG *loufan*, *hloufan* s.v. 'id.', G *laufen* s.v. 'id.' (DRV) — Lith. *klùpti* (*klumpù*), Latv. *klupt* 'to stumble' < **klu-m-p-*.

A strong verb back-formed to the iterative **hluppōn-* (q.v.) < **klup-néh₂-*. The root-final *p* continues a Pre-Gm. geminate, for which cf. **hluppjan-*. OFri. *hlēpa* w.v. 'to call(?), summon(?)' appears to continue the causative **hlaupjan-*.

hlauta- m. 'lot' — Go. *hlauts* m. 'id.', ON *hlautr* m. 'id.', OS *hlōt* m. 'id.', OHG *lōz, hlōz* m. 'id.' (DRV).

An *o*-grade formation to **hleutan-* (q.v.).

hlefan- s.v. 'to steal' — Go. *hlifan* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **klép-e-* (EUR) — Identical to Lat. *clepō, -ere* 'id.'; further cf. Gr. κλέπτω 'to steal' < **klep-ie-*; OIr. *cluain* f. 'deceit' < **klop-ni-*; Cz. *klopa* f. 'lapel, flap' < **klop-eh₂-*; OPru. *au-klipts* 'concealed' < **-klp-to-* (with secondary zero-grade *-i-*?).

A strong verb derived from a European root **klep-*. Also cf. Go. *hliftus* m. 'thief' < **klep-tu-* with an agentive *tu*-suffix (for which cf. **werdu-* 'host').

hleuman- m. 'hearing' — Go. *hliuma* m. 'id.', ON *hljómr* m. 'sound, tone', Far. *ljómur* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱléu-mon-* (IE) — Identical Av. *sraoman-* n. 'hearing'.

A *mn*-stem created to the PIE root **ḱleu-*, for which see **hleuþa-* and **hlūda-*. Also cf. OHG *liumunt, hliumunt* m. 'reputation', Skt. *śrómata* n. 'id.' < **ḱleu-mn-to-*.

hleutan- s.v. 'to obtain by lot' — ON *hljóta* s.v. 'to get, obtain; must', Far. *ljóta* s.v. 'to get as one's share; to be obliged, compelled to', OE *hlēotan* s.v. 'to cast lots; to obtain by lot', OS *hliotan* s.v. 'to acquire, receive', OHG *liozan, hliozan* s.v. 'to draw lots', MHG *liezen* s.v. 'to draw lots; to soothsay, perform magic' ⇒ **kléuHd-e-* (NEUR) — Lith. *kliūti* (*kliūvù*) 'to stick', Latv. *kļūt* 'to become, succeed' < **kleuH-*; Latv. *kļūtas* m. 'fate' < **kleuH-to-*.

A strong verb apparently created to a Germanic and Baltic root **kleuH-*. The root-final dental of the Germanic verb is probably etymologically dissimilar from the dental of Lith. *kliudýti* (*kliudaũ*) 'to stick', *-dýti* < **-dʰh₁-eie-* being a productive verbal suffix. It is possible to speculate that the Germanic *t* continues the root **dh₃-* 'to give'. The underlying stem **kleuH-dh₃-* would then originally have meant 'to give by lot'.

hleuþa- n. 'listening' — Go. *hliuþ** n. 'hearing', ON *hljóð* n. 'listening; silence; sound', Far. *ljoð* n. 'id.', Elfd. *liuoð* f. 'sound' ⇒ **ḱleu-to-* (IE) — Av. *sraota-* n. 'listening'.

A *to*-stem derived from the PIE root **ḱleu-* 'to listen'. See also **hlūda-*.

hleuza- n. 'cheek' — ON *hlýr* n. 'cheek; bow of a vessel; flat of an axe', Icel. *hlýr* n. 'cheek; bow of a vessel; flat of an axe', OE *hlēor* n. 'cheek, face', OS *hlior* n. 'cheek', MDu. *lier* n. 'cheek, cheekbone' ⇒ **kléus-ó-* (IE?).

In view of the potential etymological link with **hlusēn-* 'to listen', the word is usually taken to have originally denoted the area around the ears. A typological parallel is provided by OIr. *clúas* f. 'hearing; ear' < **klou-sth₂-eh₂-*.

hlewa- n. 'shelter (from wind)' — ON *hlé* n. 'shelter, lee', OE *hlēo(w)* n. 'id.', ME *lē* 'id.', OFri. *hlī* m./n.? 'id.', OS *hlēo* n. 'concealment', EDu. *lije* 'lee side', Du. *lij-zijde* 'id.' ⇒ **ḱleh₁-uó-* (IE).

Also cf. the derived adjective ON *hlýr* 'mild, warm', OE *hlīwe, hlēowe* 'warm, sheltered', E *lew* 'lukewarm', MDu. *lieu*, Du. *luw* 'sheltered' < **hleuja-*. The word is not ablauting with **hlēwa-* (q.v.) < **ḱleh₁-uo-*, as the regular zero grade **ḱlh₁-uo-* would never have resulted in PGm. **hlewa-*. It is likely, therefore, that the short **e* of **hlewa-* arose from **ē* due to Dybo's law of pretonic shortening.

hlēwa- adj. 'lukewarm' — Icel. *hlár* adj. 'melted; warm', MDu. *laeu* adj. 'lukewarm', Du. *lauw* adj. 'id.', OHG *lāo* adj. 'id.', MHG *lā* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱléh₁-uo-* (IE) — Lat. *caleō, -ēre* 'to be warm' < **ḱlh₁-eh₁-*; without laryngeal: W *clyd* adj. 'warm', Lith. *šil̃tas*, Latv. *sìlts* adj. 'id.' < **ḱl-tó-*.

Closely related to **hlewa-* 'shelter'. Also cf. ON *hlær* adj. 'warm, mild' < **hlēja-* < **ḱleh₁-io-*.

hlinēn- w.v. 'to lean' — OE *hlinian, hleonian* w.v. 'id.', OS *hlinon* w.v. 'id.', Du. *leunen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *linēn, hlinēn* w.v. 'id.', G *lehnen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **kli-n-eh₁-* (IE) — YAv. *ni-srinaomi* 1sg.pres. 'to lean' < **ḱli-neu-*; Gr. κλίνω 'to bend, incline, lean on, sink' < **ḱli-n-ie-*; Lat. *-clīnō, clīnāre* 'to bend' < **ḱlei-neh₂-*; Lith. *šliñti* (*šlìnu*) 'id.' < **ḱli-n-e-*.

A stative verb created to an old nasal present **ḱli-neh₂-* or **ḱli-neu-*. The root **ḱlei-* is again likely to continue an *i*-present to the root **ḱel-*, for which see **halþa-*. See further **hlainjan-* and **hlaiwa-*.

hlōan- s.v. 'to low, bellow' — OE *hlōwan* s.v. 'id.', E *to low*, OS *hlōinga* f. 'bellowing', ODu. *luon, luogin* 'id.', Du. *loeien* w.v. 'id.', OHG *luoen* s.v. 'id.', MHG *lüejen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱlóh₁-e-* (IE).

An originally strong verb that in view of its *o*-grade and iterative semantics must continue an intensive *ḱloh₁-e-* to the root **ḱelh₁-* (for which see **halōn- / *hulōn-*). In spite of OLFr. *luogin* and OHG *luoen*, there is no evidence for a *j*-suffix: this glide just like the *w* of OE *hlōwan* arose as a hiatus filler in the separate Germanic daughter languages.

hlōgjan- w.v. 'to make laugh' — Go. *uf-hlohjan** w.v. 'id.', ON *hlœgja* wv. 'id.', Icel. *hlægja* w.v. 'id.', Nw. dial. *løgja* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

The causative to **hlah(j)an-* (q.v.). Also cf. Far. *løgin*, Nw. *løyen* (*løgjen*) adj. 'funny'.

hlūda- adj. 'loud' — OE *hlūd* adj. 'id.', E *loud*, OFri. *hlūd* adj. 'id.', WFri. *lûd* adj. 'id.', OS *hlūd* adj. 'id.', Du. *luid* adj. 'id.', OHG *lūt, hlūt* adj. 'id.', G *laut* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

An adjective derived from the root **ḱleu-* (for which cf. **hleuƀa-*). Since this root did not end in a laryngeal, the long **ū* must have arisen secondarily within Germanic. Possibly, the adjective is to be analyzed as a *vṛddhi*-gerundive originally meaning 'hearable'.

hluni- m. 'maple tree' — ON *hlynr* m. 'id.', OSw. *løn* m.(?) 'id.', Sw. *lön* c. 'id.', OE *hlyn* 'id.(?)', MLG *lonen-holt* n. 'maple wood' ⇒ **klun-i-* (EUR) — Lith. *klẽvas*, Latv. *kļavs* m. 'maple tree' < **kleu-o-*; OCS *klenъ*, Ru. *klën*, SCr. *klȅn* m. 'id.' < **klen-o-*.

A European word. The alternation of Gm. **klun-*, Balt. **kleu-* and Slav. **klen-* is difficult to account for, but can perhaps be resolved by reconstructing a proterodynamic *uen*-stem, nom. **kléu-un*, gen. **klu-én-s* that was remodeled into **klé-un*, **kl-én-s* in Slavic. The Germanic form **hluni-* would, then again, point to a remodeling **kléu-un*, **klu-n-és*. For another potential *un*-stem, see **belunōn-*.

hluppjan- w.v. 'to lift' — MHG *lupfen*, *lüpfen* w.v. 'to lift; to rush' (DRV).

The meaning 'to lift' allows for two potential etymologies, i.e. 1) to **luftu-* 'sky' (whence ON *lyfta*, MHG *lüften* w.v. 'to lift' < **luftjan-*); and 2) to **hlaupan-* 'to jump, leap'. Since the MHG verb also has an attestation with the meaning 'to rush' (see MHW: 1, 1988), the latter possibility is probably more plausible. The *jan*-verb may then have directly been derived from the iterative **hluppōn-*.

hluppōn- w.v. 'to run' — MDu. *loppen* w.v. 'to run' ⇒ **klup-néh₂-* (NEUR) — Latv. *klupinât* 'to keep stumbling' < **klup-néh₂-*.

The iterative belonging to the strong verb **hlaupan-*, apparently continuing a paradigm 3sg. **hluppōƀi*, 3pl. **hlubunanƀi* < **klup-néh₂-ti*, **klup-nh₂-énti* (also cf. ME *lōpen* w.v. 'to jump, leap', which does not necessarily have to be a loanword from ON *hlaupa*, but can also continue **hlupōn-*). The formation is exactly parallel to Latv. *klupinât*, the iterative to *klupt*. Note that the suffix *-inâ-* in this language arose as a conflation of the zero grade *-in-* < **-i̯nh₂-* and the full grade *-nâ-* < **-neh₂-*.

hlusēn- w.v. 'to listen' — OHG *losēn*, *hlosēn* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **klus-eh₁-ie* (IE) — Skt. *śróṣati* 'to listen; to obey' < **kléus-e-*; Arm. *lsem* 'to hear, listen; to obey' < **kluḱ-* by assimilation from **klus-* (cf. *luṙ* adj. 'silent' < **klus-ro-*); OCS *slušati*, SCr. *slȕšati* 'to hear' < **klous-ie-* (with secondary **y* also OCS *slyšatĭ*); ToA *klyos-*, ToB *klyaus-* 'id.' < **klēus-*; Lith. *klausýti* (*klausaũ*), Latv. *klàusît* 'id.' < **klous-eie-* (with depalatalization of **ḱ* before *-l-*).

The root **kleus-* is an extension of **kleu-*, for which see e.g. **hleuman-* and **hlūda-*, and may have arisen from the *s*-aorist **klēus-t* 'notices, picks up'. It

is further attested in the formations **hlusti-*, **hluza-* and perhaps also in **hleuza-*.

hlusti- f. 'hearing, listening' — ON *hlust* n. 'ear', Far. *lust* f. 'opening of the auditory meatus', OE *hlyst* m./f. 'hearing', OS *hlust* f. 'ear, hearing, listening' ⇒ **klus-ti-* (DRV/IE) — Skt. *śrúṣṭi-* 'complaisance'.

A *ti*-stem derivation to the root **klus-*, see **hlusēn-*. Cf. the secondary derivations ON *hlusta* w.v. 'to listen' < **hlustōjan-* and OE *hlystan* w.v. 'id.' < **hlustjan-*. E *listen* (= OE North. *lysna*) probably corresponds to MHG *lüsenen* 'to listen' < **hlusinōn-*.

hluti- m. 'share' — ON *hlutr* m. 'lot; share, part', Far. *lutur* m. 'id.', E *lot*, OHG *luz*, *hluz* m. 'id.', MHG *luz* m. 'share of land' (DRV).

An *i*-stem derived from **hleutan-* (q.v.). Also cf. OE, OFri. *hlot*, OHG *loz*, *hloz*, G *Los* n. 'lot; share' < **hluta-*.

hluza- n. 'listening' — ON *hlør*, *hler* n. 'listening, eavesdropping', Icel. *hler* n. 'id.', Far. *ler* n. 'waiting', Nw. dial. *standa å lere* 'to stand and listen; to peak' (cf. Icel. *standa á hleri* 'to stand eavesdroping') ⇒ **klus-ó-* (IE) — Close to OCS *sluxъ* 'hearing' < **klous-o-*.

From Proto-Norse **hloʀa-*, which gave ON *hlør* by ʀ-fronting. Also cf. ON *hlera* w.v. 'to eavesdrop', Far. *lera* w.v. 'to stand and wait' and ON *hleði*, Icel. *hleði*, obs. *hleri* m. 'shutter, trapdoor' (< 'to stand ajar'). The correspondence of ON *-ð-* with Icel. *-r-* in the latter word is irregular, but has a parallel in the dissimilation of ON *yðr* obl.du. 'you' < **iðwiʀ* < **iʀwiʀ*, cf. Go. *izwis* < **izwiz*. Note that the forms with *-r-* must be primary, as the vocalism of ON *hleði*, Icel. *hleri* points to ʀ-fronting of PN **hloʀ-*. The dissimilation of *z* to *ð* is likely to have taken place after the devoicing of *hl-* to *l̥-*, so **hloʀēn* > **hløʀi* > **l̥øʀi* > **l̥øði* > *l̥eði*.

hnaigjan- ~ ***hnaiwjan-*** w.v. 'to make bow (down)' — Go. *hnaiwjan* w.v. 'to make go down; to humble', ON *hneigja* w.v. 'to make bow, incline; to lean', OE *hnǣgan* w.v. 'to humble', OS *gi-hnēgian* w.v. 'to bend down', Du. *neigen* w.v. 'to incline', OHG *neigan*, *hneiken* w.v. 'to bow', G *neigen* w.v. 'to tend, to incline, to bend' (WEUR).

The causative of **hnīwan-* ~ **hnīgan-* (q.v.). The Pre-Gm. form **knoigʷʰ-éie-* regularly lost the labialization after **o* and before **i/j* (cf. **sagja- 1* 'man, hero' < **sokʷH-ió-*). Go. *hnaiwjan* has its *w* from *hneiwan*.

hnaskwu- adj. 'soft' — Go. *hnasqus* adj. 'soft, delicate', OE *hnesce* adj. 'nesh, soft, delicate, tender, effeminate', E *nesh* adj. 'soft, tender', WFri. *nesk* adj. 'delicate', MDu. *nesch*, *nisch* adj. 'soft' (DRV).

A *wa*-stem possibly derived from the stem of OHG *hnaskōn* w.v. 'to nibble, have a sweet tooth'. This may in turn be an *sk*-present to a root **knes-* as retrieved from Lith. *knìsti* (*knisù*) 'to break up' (= **kns-* with secondary zero grade *-i-*).

hnawwu- adj. 'stingy; tight' — ON *hnøggr* adj. 'stingy', OE *hnēaw* adj. 'stingy; near', MDu. *nauwe* adj. 'tight; precise', Du. *nauw* adj. 'id.', MHG *nou* adj. 'id.', G *ge-nau* adv. 'precisely' (DRV).

A *u*-stem to the strong verb **hnewwan-* (q.v.). Also cf. Sw. *njugg* adj. 'stingy' < **hnewwja-* with East Norse breaking of *-i-* to *-ju-*.

hnefan- m. 'fist' — ON *hnefi* m. 'id.' (>> ME *nēve*, E *nieve*), Far. *nevi* m. 'id.', Elfd. *nevi* m. 'hand', MHG *neve-mez* 'a fistful' ⇒ **knep-on-* (GM).

The *-v-* of MHG *neve-mez* proves that the word must be reconstruced as **hnefan-* rather than **hneban-*. This precludes the received connection with the predominantly Baltic root **kneb^{h}-* e.g. Lith. *knìbti* (*knimbù*) 'to kink, snap' < **kn-m̥-b^{h}-e-* and Latv. *knibināt* 'to pick, collect, gather' < **knb^{h}-néh$_{2}$-* (with secondary zero grade in *-i-*) as well as the semantically more attractive link with Lith. *žnýbti*, *gnýbti* 'to pinch' (see **knīpan-*). Also cf. Elfd. *nåvå* w.v. 'to dig; to fumble; to grab' < **hnafōjan-* and perhaps also MHG *nef* m. 'begging', G Swab. *nāfen* 'to beg'.

****hnekkan-* ~ *hnakka(n)-*** m. 'neck' — ON *hnakki* m. 'id.', Far. *nakki* m. 'neck; face of a hammer; top of a rock drill', Elfd. *nakke* m. 'neck', OE *hnecca* m. 'id.', E *neck*, OFri. *hnekka* m. 'id.', ODu. *nec*, *nac* m. 'id.', Du. *nek* c. 'id.', OHG *nack*, *hnack* m. 'id.', G *Nacken* m. 'id.' ⇒ **knek-on-* (IE) — ToA *kñuk* 'neck' < **knek-on-*.

The word for 'neck' emerges with at least two different ablauting *n*-stems, viz. **hnekkan-* in Ingvaeonic (but also cf. MHG *ge-nicke*, G *Ge-nick* n. 'neck' < **ga-hnekkja-*), **hnakkan-* in Nordic and High German. In addition, a zero-grade formation **hnukkan-*, apparently the source of It., Sp. *nuca*, Fr. *nuque*, is evidenced by EDu. *nocke* '*nucha*, *spina dorsi*, *medulla spinalis*'. In view of the close formal and semantic similarities with To. *kñuk*, it seems possible to reconstruct a PIE *n*-stem **knék-ōn*, gen. **kn̥k-n-ós*, acc.pl. **knok-n-ń̥s* (Kroonen 2011a: 167ff.). The regular outcome of this paradigm, viz. **hnehō*, **hunkkaz*, **hnakkuns* was apparently remodeled into **hnekkō*, **hnukkaz*, **hnakkuns*. Since both the *a-* and zero-grade forms also occur with the meaning 'top, summit', cf. Far. *nakkur* m. 'steep rock', OHG *hnack* m. 'summit' < **hnakka-* and Far. *nokki* m. 'top of the yard', MDu. *nocke* 'tip' < **hnukkan-*, it is possible that G *Hunke* 'hillock' is a vestige of the original genitive form. It is therefore likely that OIr. *cnoc*, W *cnwch* m. 'hill' was borrowed from Germanic rather than the other way around.

hneudan- s.v. 'to rivet' — ON *hnjóða* s.v. 'to beat; to rivet, clinch', OHG *bi-hneotan* s.v. 'to fasten, rivet' (GM).

A strong verb usually linked to Gr. Hsch. κνύθος 'small thorn'. This connection is semantically uncompelling, however. Within Germanic, there is a clear link with the iterative **hnutt/dōn- 1* (q.v.). The weak verbs MLG *nēden* and *nieden, nieten* 'to rivet' were derived from the deverbal noun MHG *niet*, MLG *nēd* 'rivet' < **neuda-*. Further cf. Swi. *nüttel* 'penis' < **hnudila-*.

****hneupan-*** s.v. 'to pluck' — Go. *dis-hniupan* s.v. s.v. 'to break apart, tear', OSw. *niupa* s.v. 'to pinch', Elfd. *niųopa* s.v. 'id.', OE *ā-hnēopan* s.v. 'to pluck off', E *to nip* (DRV).

A secondary strong verb derived from the iterative **hnupp/bōn-* (cf. Lühr 1988: 369-70; Kroonen 2011a: 106). The root-final **p* continues a shortened geminate, and does not presuppose a PIE **b* (*pace* Lehmann 1986: 91).

****hnewwan-*** s.v. 'to hit' — ON *hnøggva, hnyggja* s.v. 'to strike, cut off', Elfd. *negga* s.v. 'to butt', OHG *niuwan* s.v. 'to thrust; to grind' ⇒ **knéuH-e-* (EUR) — Gr. κνύω 'to scratch' < **knuH-ie-*; Latv. *knüt* 'to itch'.

A strong verb **hnewwan-*. The ǫ of ON *hnǫggva* (for expected **hnyggva*) is analogical after *hǫggva* < **hawwan-* (Rasmussen 1989): the original *e*-vocalism is confirmed by Elfd. *negga*. The verb was created to a European root **kneuH-*. The secondary link with Skt. *kṣaṇóti* 'to hurt' < **t(k)n-neu-* (Gunnarson 1971; LIV²: 645-6) is formally difficult, as the European forms seem to point to a root with a laryngeal. See also **hnawwu-*.

****hnīpan-*** s.v. 'to pinch, squeeze' — MLG *nīpen* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *nipen* s.v. 'the squeeze; to tear off (with nails or teeth); to snap', Du. *nijpen* w.v. 'to press' (DRV).

The verb continues Pre-Gm. **hnīppan-* and must in view of the root-final geminate have been derived from the iterative **hnippōn-* (q.v.).

****hnipōn-*** w.v. 'to be downcast' — ON *hnipa* w.v. 'to be downcast, droop' ⇒ **knibʰ-néh₂-*(?) (NEUR) — Lith. *knìbti* (*knimbù, knibaũ*) 'to collapse, sink down' < **kni-m-bʰ-e-*(?).

A secondary stem variant of an iterative 3sg. **hnippōþi*, 3pl. **hnibunanþi* possibly continuing **knibʰ-néh₂-ti, *knibʰ-nh₂-énti*. Also cf. ON *hnípa*, Far. *nípa* w.v. 'to be downcast, droop' < **hnīpēn-*. The appurtenance of Go. *ga-nipnan* w.v. 'to be sorrowful' hinges on the emendation to **ga-hnipnan-*. The verb has also been connected to OE *(ge-)nīpan* s.v. 'to grow dark' and *ge-nip* n. 'cloud', however.

hnippōn- w.v. 'to pinch' — ON *hnippa* w.v. 'to poke', ME *nippen* w.v. 'to nip; to pinch; to grab', E *to nip* ⇒ **knib^{h}-néh$_2$-* (NEUR?) — Lith. *kniẽbti* (*kniebiù*), Latv. *kniêbt* 'to pinch' **kneib^{h}-ie-*.

A marginally attested iterative. The link with Lith. *kniẽbti* is attractive, but both in Germanic and Baltic there is an irregular and unresolved variation between **kneib^{h}-* and **ǵneib^{h}-* (see **knīpan-*). Within Germanic, the iterative served as the basis for the strong verb **hnīpan-* (q.v.).

****hnissa-*** m. 'smell' — Icel. *hniss* n. 'smell (from cooking)', Far. *nissur* m. '(funny) taste, smell', Nw. dial. *niss* m. 'smell' ⇒ **knid-so-* (EUR) — Gr. Hom. κνίσση f. 'steam and odor of fat, smell and savor of burnt sacrifice, fat caul' < **knid-s-eh$_2$-*; Lat. *nīdor* m. 'strong smell, fumes' < **kneid-os-*.

The forms in the different IE languages all go back to an *s*-stem, nom. **knéid-ōs*, gen. **knid-s-ós*. Also cf. Icel. *hnissa* f. 'strong smell' < **hnissōn-*.

****hnit-*** f. 'nit' — ON *gnit* f. 'id.', Icel. *gnit*, *nit* f. 'id.', Far. *nitrur* pl. 'id.', Elfd. *gnit* f. 'id.', OE *hnitu* f. 'id.', E *nit*, MDu. *nete* f. 'id.', Du. *neet* c. 'id.', OHG *niz*, *hniz* f. 'id.', G *Niß* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱh$_3$nid-*(?) (EUR) — Gr. κονίς f. 'nit; flea; bug', Alb. *thërí* / *thëní* f. 'nit', Arm. *anic* 'id.' < **ḱh$_3$nid-* (with loss of *ḱ* in Arm.?); OIr. *sned* f., W *nedd*, *nedden* sgl. 'id.' < **snid-eh$_2$-*.

A European word with many different irregular cognates. Gr. κονίς, Alb. *thëní* and Arm. *anic* can perhaps be reconciled into a proto-form **ḱh$_3$nid-*, assuming that the Albanian form went through a stage **śanid-* and that Arm. *anic* developed from a simplified form **onid-s*. PGm. **hnit-* < **ḱnid-*, on the other hand, shows no trace of a laryngeal, and neither does OIr. *sned* < **snid-eh$_2$-*. Originally, the word may have been a compound, but due to all kinds of – apparently tabooistic distortions, its reconstruction remains problematic. Also cf. the formally more dissimilar Lat. *lēns*, *-endis* and Ru. *gnída*, SCr. *gnjîda*, Lith. *glìnda*, Latv. *gnīda*, *gṇīda* f. 'nit'.

****hnītan-*** s.v. 'to poke, butt' — ON *hníta* w.v. 'to poke', OE *hnītan* s.v. 'to bump, stick', OS *of-hnītan* s.v. 'to tear off', Du. dial. *nijten* w.v. 'to butt (of animals)' ⇒ **knéid-e-* (EUR) — Gr. κνίζω 'to scratch, pound, chop up, provoke' < **knid-ie-*; OIr. *cned* f. 'wound' < **knid-eh$_2$-*.

A strong verb to a European root **(ḱ)neid-*. Also cf. OE *hnitol*, MDu. *netel* adj. 'given to butting' < **hnitala-* and the intensive ON *hneita* w.v. 'to poke, insult' < **hnaitjan-*.

****hnīwan-*** ~ ****hnīgan-*** s.v. 'to bow (down)' — Go. *hneiwan* s.v. 'id.', ON *hníga* s.v. 'to bow down, fall gently', Far. *níga* s.v. 'to bend, stoop, drop; to bow', OE *hnīgan* s.v. 'to bend, bow down, incline', OFri. *hnīgan* s.v. 'to bow down', OS *hnīgan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *nijgen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *nīgan*, *hnīgan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *nīgen* s.v.

'id.' ⇒ **knéigʷʰ-e-* (WEUR) — Lat. *cōnīveō* 'to be tightly closed, close (of the eye)' < **kom-knéigʷʰ-e-*(?).

An etymologically obscure verb with Lat. *cōnīveō* as the only formally possible, but semantically remote cognate. The vacillation between **hnīwan-* and **hnīgan-* is due to influence from the causative **hnaigjan-* ~ **hnaiwjan-*, where the labialization was regularly lost (between **o* and **i/j*, cf. **sagja- 1* 'man, hero' < **sokʷH-ió-*). In the strong verb, on the other hand, the change **gʷʰ* > **w* is expected, cf. **snīwan-* 'to snow' < **snéigʷʰ-e-*.

****hnōjan-*** w.v. 'to groove' — OHG *nōen* w.v. 'id.', MHG *nūejen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **knéh₂-ie-* (EUR) — Gr. -κναίω 'to scrape, scratch', OIr. *imm-cná*, W *cnoi* 'to bite, chew', Lith. *knóti* (*knója*) 'to peel, tear' < **kneh₂-ie-*.

In many cases, OHG verbs in *-en* (< **-jan-*) continue older *verba pura*, which theoretically allows us to reconstruct a strong verb **hnōan-* < **knóh₂-e-*. The late OHG *ginüiter marchstein* 'carved landmark', however, confirm that the PGm. verb really was **hnōjan-*, thus agreeing to the formation **kneh₂-ie-* as supported by the other IE languages. Also cf. OHG *nuo(w)il* m. 'plane' < **hnōila-*, OS *hnōa* 'joint, seam', OHG *nuo*, *hnuo* f. 'joint, seam' < **hnōō-* and G *Nut* f. 'groove, notch' < **hnōdō-*.

****hnupp/bōn-*** w.v. 'to tear off' — Elfd. *nuppa* w.v. 'id.', OE *hnoppian* w.v. 'id.', G Alem. *noppen* w.v. 'to jerk, pluck' (NEUR?) — Perhaps to Lith. *knabénti* 'to pick (with the beak)' < **knobʰ-nh₂-*; Latv. *knābt* 'to pick; to peck' < **knobʰ-*; Gr. κνάπτω, κνάμπτω 'to card, wool; to mangle, tear' (hardly < **kn-m-bʰ-ie-*) is probably a late internally Greek formation associated with -κναίω 'to scrape, scratch' and κνήφη f. 'itch'.

An old iterative that gave rise to the strong verb **hneupan-* (q.v.). In view of Nw. dial. *nappa* w.v. 'to pluck' < **hnappōn-* (also cf. E *nap* 'woolly material removed from the surface of cloth'), I assume that the Germanic root **hnupp/b-* has a secondary zero grade. As a consequence, the Pre-Gm. root must be reconstructed as **knebʰ-* rather than **kneubʰ-*, something that is further supported by the potential cognate ON *hnafa* w.v. 'to cut off' < **knóbʰ-e-*. Also cf. OE *hnoppa* m. 'nap of cloth', MDu. *noppe* f. 'wool fluff' < **hnuppa/ōn-*.

****hnut-*** f. 'nut' — ON *hnot*, pl. *hnøtr*, *hnetr* f. 'id.', Icel. *hneta* f. 'id.', Far. *nøta* f. 'id.', OSw. *nut*, pl. *nyter*, *nøter* f. 'id.', OE *hnutu*, pl. *hnyte* f. 'id.', E *nut*, MDu. *note* f. 'id.', Du. *noot* c. 'id.', OHG *nuz*, pl. *nuzzi* f. 'id.', G *Nuss* f. 'id.' ⇒ **knud-*(?) (WEUR) — Lat. *nux* f. 'nut' < **knuk-*; OIr. *cnú* f. 'id.', MW *cnau* 'id.' < **knuH-*.

An old root noun **hnut-z*, pl. **hnutiz*. Icel. *hneta* does not continue an ablauting root **hnet-*, but was back-formed from the plural *hnetur*, which regularly continues ON *hnøtr* by unrounding of the *ø* to *e*. Etymologically, the word for 'nut' is somewhat problematic, because the cognates in

Italo-Celtic have the same root **knu-*, but not the same suffixation. This, and the additional fact that the Germanic word is inflected as a root noun, may point to a non-IE origin.

hnutt/dōn- 1 w.v. 'to beat' — Icel. *hnoða* w.v. 'to rivet', G Hess. *nussen* w.v. 'to beat' (GM).

The iterative to **hneudan-* (q.v.). The verb originally had a paradigm 3sg. **hnuttōþi*, 3pl. **hnudunanþi* < **knut-néh₂-ti*, **knut-nh₂-énti*. Further notable is the semantic parallelism between G Lorr. *nossen* w.v. 'to knock on someones head with the nuckles' and Du. *okker-noot* 'knock on the top of the head with the knuckles' (the origin of the first element is unknown, but seems to have been inspired by *okker-noot* 'walnut').

hnutt/dōn- 2 w.v. 'to shake' — Elfd. *noðå* w.v. 'to sprain, wrench', ME *nodden* w.v. 'to nod', E *to nod*, MDu. *noten* w.v. 'to mate (of animals)', OHG *hnotōn* w.v. 'to shake', MHG *notten* w.v. 'to move to and fro', G Lorr. *nottelen* w.v. 'to stagger, shudder' (GM).

The iterative to OHG *bi-hneotan* 'to shake out' < **hneudan-*, which may or may not be identical to **hneudan-* 'to rivet'. Icel. *hnjóta* s.v. 'to stumble' < **hneut(t)an-* in turn appears to be a back-formation to the iterative.

hōbō- f. 'piece of land' — MLG *hōve* 'id.', MDu. *hoeve* 'id.', Du. *hoeve* c. 'farm', OHG *huoba* f. 'piece of land', G *Hube* f. 'hide, unit of area' ⇒ **keh₂p-éh₂-* (EUR) — Gr. κῆπος, Dor. κᾶπος m. 'garden, orchard, plantation, unworked piece of land' < **keh₂p-o-*.

hōda- m. 'hat, hood' — OE *hōd* m. 'hood', E *hood*, MDu. *hoed* m. 'hat', Du. *hoed* c. 'id.', OHG *huot* m. 'hood, bonnet, hat', G *Hut* m. 'hat' ⇒ **koHt-ó-* (WEUR?).

The formation appears to continue **koHt-ó-* and is closely related to **hattu-* 'hat' (q.v.) < **kHt-nú-*. It may have served as the basis for OHG *huoten*, OE *hēdan* w.v. 'to guard' < **hōdjan-*, although the verb could theoretically also have developed from a regular causative **koHt-éie-*. OE *hædre* adv. 'anxiously', implying an adjective **hadra-* < **kHt-ró-*(?), has been adduced as well, and would imply a primary meaning 'to be cautious'. For an alternative explanation, see **hattu-*.

hōfa- m. 'hoof' — ON *hófr* m. 'id.', Far. *hóvur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *uov* f. 'id.', OE *hōf* m. 'id.', E *hoof*, OFri. *hōf* m. 'id.', OS *hōf* m. 'id.', MDu. *hoef* m. 'id.', Du. *hoef* c. 'id.', OHG *huof* m. 'id.', G *Huf* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱoHp-o-* (IE) — Skt. *śaphá-* m. 'hoof', YAv. *safa-* m. 'hoof, horse-shoe(?)', Oss. *sæftæg* 'hoof' < **ḱopH-o-*.

The difference between Gm. **ḱoHp-o-* and Indo-Iranian **ḱopH-o-* implies that laryngeal metathesis occurred in one of the two forms. Since the same

type of metathesis is observed in Av. *kaofa-* 'mountain, hump' < **kouHp-o-* (see **hūpan-* < **kuHp-on-*), it is possible that the Germanic form **koHp-o-* is primary. Unrelated is Ru. *kopýto*, SCr. *kòpito* 'hoof', which was derived from the verb **kopàti*, cf. OCS *kopati*, Ru. *kopat'* 'to dig', Pol. *kopać* 'to dig; to paw with a hoof' (with the same suffix as in CS *koryto*, Ru. *korýto*, SCr. *kòrito* n. 'trough', Derksen 2008: 237).

hōhan- m. 'plow' — Go. *hoha* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱok-h₂-* (IE) — Skt. *śā́khā-* f. 'branch, twig', NP *šāx* 'twig' (with *š-* for expected *s-*), Arm. *cʿax* 'branch', *cʿakʿ* 'thorny plant; harrow', Lith. *šakà* f. 'branch', Ru. *soxá* '(wooden) plough', SCr. *sòha* f. '(wooden) plow', Alb. *thak(ē)* m./n. 'awn, beard, pin, peg, tassel, fringe'.

The word in IE denoted a forked branch that was deployed as a primitive plow. The word has an interesting formal history. Skt. *śā́khā-*, with its combination of a long vowel and an aspirated *k*, points to a PIr. paradigm **ćākā*, gen. **ćakʰas* < **ḱok-eh₂*, gen. **ḱ(o)k-h₂-ós*. A similar kind of variation is implied by the co-occurrence of Arm. *cʿakʿ* < **ḱok-* and *cʿax* < **ḱok-h₂-*: since the normal outcome of PIE *ḱ* is *s* in Armenian, it is possible to think that the *cʿ* arose by assimilation in the zero-grade genitive root **ćʰkʰ-*. The Germanic word seems to be a different formation, i.e. an *n*-stem, apparently continuing **ḱōk-on-*, but it is possible to assume that the long **ō* arose in a form **ḱoh₂k-* that was metathesized from **ḱok-h₂-* (for a potential example of the opposite metathesis, however, cf. **hōfa-*). Also cf. OHG *huohili* n. '*aratiuncula*' < **hōh(i)lja-*.

hōkīna- n. 'kid, young goat' — OE *hēcen* n. 'id.', MDu. *hoekijn* n. 'id.' ⇒ **kŏ̄g⁽ʰ⁾* (NIE) — OCS *koza*, Ru. *kozá*, SCr. *kòza* f. 'goat' < **kogʰ-eh₂-*.

A word that cannot be separated from OCS *koza*, although the irregularity of the sound correspondences makes it impossible to reconcile the different forms into a single PIE form. It is conceivable, for this reason, that the term was borrowed from an extinct European language by Slavic and Germanic independently. Also note that the proto-source **kŏ̄ǵ⁽ʰ⁾-* is reminiscent of another phonetically irregular, and thus potentially non-IE word meaning 'goat', i.e. Gr. αἴξ < **h₂ei⁽ǵ⁾-* and Skt. *ajá-* < **h₂eǵ-o-*.

hōla- n. 'flattery(?)' — ON *hól* n. 'praise, flattery', OE *hōl* n. 'vain speech, calumny, slander' ⇒ **kóHl-o-* (EUR) — Gr. κηλέω 'to charm, bewitch' < **keh₁/₂l-eie-*; Lat. *calvor* 'to deceive; be deceived' (derived from an unattested adjective **calus* < **kHl-u-*).

An *o*-stem adjective possibly derived from a sparsely attested base **keh₁l-* or **keh₂l-*. Also cf. Go. *af-holon* 'to slander' < **hōlōjan-* and ON *hœla* w.v. 'to praise', OE *hēlan* w.v. 'to slander', OHG *huolan* w.v. 'to deceive' < **hōljan-*.

hōniz- n. 'hen, fowl' — OS *hōn* n. 'hen', Du. *hoen* c. 'id.', OHG *huon* n. 'id.', G *Huhn* n. 'id.' (DRV).

A *vr̥ddhi*-derivative from **hanan-* (q.v.). The WGm. languages point to **hōnaz*, pl. **hōniziz* (quasi PIE **keh₂n-os*, pl. **keh₂n-es-es*). ON *hœnsn*, Far. *høsn*, Elfd. *yōns* n.pl. 'liens, poultry' points to a diminutive **hōnis-īna-*, a formation with stem variant in **-s* that apparently was not affected by Verner's law.

hōpa- n. 'small bay(?)' — ON *hóp* n. 'land-locked bay, small inlet', Far. *hópur* top. 'small bay', OE *hōp* n. 'pool' ⇒ **koh₂p-nó-* (EUR).

A word that may continue Pre-Gm. **hōppa-* < **koh₂p-nó-* and thus can be related to **habanō-* 'harbor' < **kh₂p-ón-eh₂-* and **haba-* 'sea, lake' < **kh₂p-ó-*.

hōra- 1 m. 'adulterer' — Go. *hors* m. 'id.', ON *hórr* m. 'id.' ⇒ **keh₂-ro-* (IE) — Latv. *kârs* adj. 'lecherous, lustful', Lat. *cārus* adj. 'sweet' < **keh₂-ro-*; Skt. *kā-* 'to desire, like', YAv. *kā-* 'to take pleasure, desire' < **keh₂-*.

Also cf. **hōra- 2* and **hōrōn-*.

hōra- 2 n. 'adultery' — ON *hór* n. 'id.', OE *hōr* n. 'id.', OFri. *hōr* n. 'id.', OS in: *hōr-hūs* 'brothel', OHG *huor* n. 'id.', MHG *huor* n. 'id.' ⇒ **keh₂-ro-* (EUR/IE).

The noun seems to have given rise to the verb **hōrōjan-*, cf. ON *hóra*, OS *hōrian*, OHG *huorōn*, G *huren* 'to commit adultery', which is formally parallel to Olr. *caraid*, MW *caraf* 'to love' < **keh₂-r-eh₂-ie-*. Cf. with a different suffix Go. *horinon* 'id.'.

hōrōn- f. 'whore' — ON *hóra* f. 'id.', OE *hōre* f. 'id.', E *whore*, OFri. *hōr* f. 'id.', MLG *hōre* f. 'id.', MDu. *hoere* f. 'id.', Du. *hoer* c. 'id.', OHG *huora* f. 'id.', G *Hure* f. 'id.' (DRV).

Also cf. OHG *huorra* < **hōrjōn-*. The appurtenance of MLG *herge*, *herje* 'whore, concubine', possibly from **harjōn-*, is less certain, but it can theoretically have developed from **keh₂r-iéh₂-* by pretonic shortening.

hrab/ppan- m. 'raven' — ON *hrafn* m. 'id.', Far. *ravnur* m. 'id.', OE *hræfn*, *hræm* m. 'id.', OS *naht-raƀan*, *-ram* m. 'id.', MDu. *rave* m. 'id.', Du. *raaf* c. 'id.', OHG *rabo*, *hrabo*, *rappo*, *hraban* m. 'id.', G *Rabe* m. 'id.' ⇒ **krobʰ-n-ón-*(?) (GM).

An *n*-stem that was thematicized to **hrabna-* in ON *hrafn*, OE *hræfn* and OHG *raban* (cf. Lühr 1988: 332). The original nominative **hrabō* is continued by OHG *rabo*, *hrabo*, G *Rabe*, MDu. *rave*, Du. *raaf*, while OHG *rappo* and MHG *rappe* appear to have arisen by contamination of the same case and the genitive **hrappaz* (= MHG *rapf*) < **krobʰ-n-ós*. The underlying root **krobʰ-* is likely to have been onomatopoetic in origin, cf. Sw. *korp*, Elfd. *kuorp*.

hragjan- w.v. 'to make stand, wake up, incite' — MDu. *regen* w.v. 'id.', MHG *regen* w.v. 'id.', G *regen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **krok-éie-* (EUR).

The causative of **hregan-* (q.v.).

hrag/kkōn- w.v. 'to jut out' — OE *ofer-hragan* w.v. 'to loom over(?)', MDu. *ragen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *hragēn* w.v. 'id.', MHG *ragen, racken* w.v. 'id.', G *ragen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **krok-néh₂-* (EUR).

A cluster of forms that continue both the iterative **hrakk/gōn-* and the stative **hragēn-* pertaining to **hregan-* (q.v.). The meaning of OHG *bi-raget* 'uneven' may point to an etymological connection with **rak(k)ōn-* (q.v.).

hraifan- m. 'wrist(?)' — ON *hreifi* m. 'wrist; the hand and fingers; seal's fin, flipper' ⇒ **kroip-on-* (NEUR) — Lith. *kreīpti* (*kreipiù*) 'to turn' < **kreip-* and *kraipýti* 'id.' < **kroip-éie-*.

Also cf. ON *hrífa* s.v. 'to scratch; to grasp' < **kréip-e-*and OE *ge-hrifnian* w.v. 'to pull, grab'.

hraigran- ~ ***higran-*** m. 'heron' — ON *hegri* m. 'id.', Far. *hegri* m. 'id.', Nw. *hegre*, dial. *higre, heigre* m. 'id.', OSw. *hægher* m. 'id.', Elfd. *āger* m. 'id.', Da. *hejre* 'id.', OE *hrāgra* m. 'id.', OS *hēgero* m. 'id.', MDu. *heger, reiger* m. 'id.', Du. *reiger* m. 'id.', OHG *reigar, hreigir, heigar, heigiro* m. 'id.', MHG *heiger* m. 'id.', G *Reiher* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kr(o)ikr-on-* (GM).

The derivation of the word is highly complex. Most Nordic forms point to a proto-form **higran-*, thus contrasting with WGm. **hraigran-*, but Nw. dial. *heigre* together with MDu. *heger* goes back to **haigran-*. By assuming dissimilation in the forms with only one *r*, it is possible to reconstruct two ablauting reduplicated formations **kri-kr-ón-* and **kroi-kr-ón-* (cf. **bebura-1* 'beaver' and **aikwerna(n)-* 'squirrel'). A completely different solution is to assume that the formal irregularities arose when the word together with MW *crehyr* 'heron' < **krəxar-* was adopted from a European substrate language (Schrijver 1997).

hraini- adj. 'pure, clean' — Go. *hrains* adj. 'id.', ON *hreinn* adj. 'id.', Far. *reinur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *rien* adj. 'id.', OS *hrēni* adj. 'id.', Du. *rein* adj. 'id.', OHG *reini, hreini* adj. 'id.', G *rein* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **kroin-i-* (DRV).

A (*vr̥ddhi*?) adjective to an unattested nasal present **hrinan-*, cf. Lat. *cernō* 'to sift, distinguish, decide' < **kri-n-e-*; Gr. κρίνω 'to separate, choose, decide' < **kri-n-ie-*. An archaic meaning 'fine' is preserved by the Swi. dialects.

hrairja- adj. 'rear' — OE *hrēre-brǣd* adj. 'rear (esp. of eggs)', ME *hrere, rere* adj. 'id.', E *rear* ⇒ **kr-oi-ri-* (IE) — Skt. *śr̥tá-* adj. 'cooked' < **kr-to-*; Skt. *śrā́yati* 'to cook' < **kŕ-oi-e-*.

An adjective usually compared to **hrōzjan-* 'to move, stir'. By reconstructing it as **hrairi-* or **hrairja-*, however, it is possible to connect it to Skt. *śráyati*. The original meaning may then have been gerundival, i.e. 'to be cooked'.

hraiwa- n. 'dead body, death' — Go. *hraiwa-dubo* f. 'turtle-dove, wild dark dove', ON *hræ* n. 'corpse, remains', OE *hrǣ(w)*, *hrā(w)* n. 'id.', OFri. *hrē-* 'id.', OS *hrēu*, *hrēo* n. 'id.', Du. *reeuw* n. 'foam or sweat of a dying person', OHG *rēo*, *hrēo* n. 'id.', MHG *rē* n. 'id.' ⇒ **krou(h₂)-io-* (IE) — Skt. *kravíṣ-* n. 'raw, bloody meat', Gr. κρέας n. 'meat, piece of meat' < **kreuh₂-s-*; Lat. *cruor*, *-ōris* m. 'blood from a wound; bloodshed' < **kruh₂-os-*; OIr. *crú* n.(?) 'gore, blood', MW *creu* m./f. 'blood < **kruh₂-*; OCS *kry*, *krъvь*, Ru. *krov'*, SCr. *krv̂* f. 'id.' < **kruh₂(-i)-*; Lith. *kraũjas* m. 'blood', OPru. *krawian* 'id.' < **krou-io-*.

Related to **hrawa-* 'raw' (q.v.): the word probably developed from **krawja-* (cf. Lith. *kraũjas*) by irregular metathesis. For a similar development, cf. **fraiwa-* 'seed' < **frawja-*.

****hrakjan-*** w.v. 'to torment' — ON *hrekja* w.v. 'to drive away; to worry, vex; to damage, abuse' ⇒ **krog-éie-* (WEUR?) — OIr. *crécht* m.(?), MW *creith* f. 'wound' < **kreg-t-*.

A verb that is usually compared to the aforementioned Celtic forms. The often connected OFri. *hreka* 'to tear' (cf. Magnússon 1989: 370) does not exist: the verb is *hrekka** or *hretza** < **hrukkjan-*.

****hraman-*** m. 'frame' — MDu. *rame*, *raem* m./f. 'window, frame', Du. *raam* c./n. 'id.', OHG *rama* f. 'prop, support', G *Rahmen* m. 'frame' (NEUR) — Ru. *kromá* f. 'edge' < **krom-eh₂-* and *za-kromíti* 'to surround' < **krom-éie-*.

In spite of the late attestation of the word, the initial **h-* is ascertained by Fr. *frame* (cf. E *frame*), a loanword from OLFra. **hrama*. The word served as the basis for Go. *hramjan* 'to crucify', ON *hremma* 'to grab, clutch' (cf. Icel. *hrammur* 'claw'), OE *hremman* 'to curb, hamper', (OFri. *hrem-bendar* m.pl. 'fetters'), Du. *remmen* 'to curb, brake' < **hramjan-* and probably also for ON *hrefni* n. 'board in a ship' < **hramnja-*. Da., Nw. *ramme*, Nw. dial. *råme* 'frame' and late ON *ramr*, Nw. dial. *ram* m. 'garret' were adopted from LG.

****hramusan-* / **hramusjōn-*** m./f. 'ramsons' — OE *hromsa* m. 'id.', E *ramsons*, OS *hramusia* f. 'id.', MLG *ramese*, *remese* 'id.' (>> Nw., Da. *rams*, Sw. *rams-lōk)*, G Swi. (Jaun) *ramsa* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱrom-us-* (EUR) — Gr. κρόμμυον, κρόμυον, Hsch. κρέμυον n. 'onion' < **ḱre/om-us-o-*; MIr. *crem*, *crim*, W *craf* coll. 'wild garlic' < **ḱrm-u-*; Lith. *kermušẽ*, dial. *kermušà* f. 'tip of a drill, top of a flail, wild garlic' < **kerm-us-(i)eh₂-*; Ru. *čeremšá*, SCr. *crȉjemuša*, *srȉjemuša* f. 'ramson' < **(ḱ)erm-(o)us-ieh₂-*.

A European word for 'wild garlic' or 'ramsons'. The languages display an ablaut pattern *ḱrem-, *ḱerm-, *ḱrom- and *ḱrm-. The ablaut is confirmed by the alternation of PSl. *čermuša and *sermuša, which appears to be due to depalatalization of initial *ḱ before *r in the full grade root *ḱrem-. The underlying paradigm can theoretically be reconstructed as amphidynamic *ḱrém-uōs, *ḱrm-us-ós, acc. *ḱrom-ués-m, assuming that several different remodelings took place in the different daughter languages.

hrappa- adj. 'fast' — MDu. *rap* adj. 'swift, fierce', Du. *rap* adj. 'fast' ⇒ *krob^{h}-nó- (WEUR) — Olr. *crib* adv. 'quickly, swiftly' < *krb$^{(h)}$-.

Also cf. MDu. *hem reppen*, Du. *zich reppen* w.v. 'to rush' < *hrapjan-.

hratt/dōn- w.v. 'to rush, tumble' — ON *hrata* w.v. 'to stagger, fall, tumble', OE *hratian, hradian* w.v. 'to rush, hasten', MHG *razzen* w.v. 'to rush' ⇒ *krot-néh$_2$- (EUR) — Lith. *kretéti* (*kretù*) 'to tremble (with old age)' < *kret-eh$_1$-ie-; Lith. *krìsti* (*krintù, kritaũ*), Latv. *krist* 'to fall, drop, die' < *kr(-n-)t-; Lith. *kratýti* (*krataũ*), Latv. *kratît* 'to shake out' < *krot-éie-; OIr. *crothaim* 'to shake' < *krot-eh$_2$-ie-.

The *o*-grade variant of the iterative *hurtōn- ~ *hruton- 'to rush, tumble' apparently continuing 3sg. *hrattōþi, 3pl. *hradunanþi < *krot-néh$_2$-. The received connection with Gr. κραδάω 'to swing, brandish' < *krd-eh$_2$-ie-, OIr. *fo-ceird* 'to put, throw', MW *kerddet* 'to walk, go' < *kerd- is erroneous, the Germanic root variant *hrad- pointing to *krot-. Also cf. *hraþa- ~ *hrada- 'fast'.

hraþa- ~ *hrada- adj. 'fast' — ON *hraðr* adj. 'id.', OE *hræd, hræð* adj. 'id.', E *rather* comp., OHG *rad, hrad* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *kroto- (EUR) — Lith. *api-krataĩ* adv. 'fast' < *-*kroto-*.

An *a*-stem adjective to the root *kret-, for which see *hratt/dōn-. It gave rise to the factitive OE *hreddan* 'to save', OFri. *hredda* 'id.', Du. *redden* 'id.', OHG *rettan* 'to drive; save', G *retten* 'to save' < *hradjan-, which probably had a primary meaning 'to be quick' (whence 'to come quickly, save').

hrauka- m. 'pile, rick' — ON *hraukr* m. 'pile', Far. *reykur* m. 'bird's crest', OE *hrēac* m. 'stack, haycock, rick', E *rick*, Du. *rook* c. 'id.' (GM).

A formation closely related to the cluster of ON *hró* 'hillock', Far. *rógv* n. 'stack' < *hrŭ̃ha-, ON *hrúga* f. 'pile' < *hrūgō-, ON *hroki*, Far. *roki* m. 'pile' < *hrukan-, and EDu. *rock* 'haystack' < *hrukka-, which probably all split off from an originally ablauting *n*-stem *hrūhō, *hrukkaz (Kroonen 2011a: 268-70). The proto-form of *hrauka-, Pre-Gm. *kraukka-, is likely to have been borrowed by Celtic, cf. OIr. *crúach*, W *crug* 'rick' < *kroukko/ā-. See also *hrugja-.

hrauza- n. 'artificial stone heap' — ON *hreyrr* m. 'id.', Icel. *hreyr* m./n. 'megalithic grave, cairn, mound', Nw. *rø(y)r* f. 'edge, side', OSw. *rør* n. 'cairn', Sw. *rör* 'pile of stones', Da. *rør* n. 'cairn, pile of stones' ⇒ **kreuH-so-*? (NEUR) — Lith. *kráuti* (*kráuju*) 'to pile up' < **krouH-*; Lith. *krūvà* f. 'pile' < **kruH-eh₂-*.

Possibly related to **hrusōn-* (q.v.). Also cf. Nw. *røys*, Sw. *rös(e)*, Da. *røs(e)* 'pile of stones' < **hrausī-* and ON *hreysi* n. 'cave, den' < **hr̥ausja-*.

hrawa- adj. 'raw' — ON *hrár* adj. 'id.', Far. *ráur* adj. 'moist', Elfd. *rå(r)* adj. 'raw; moist', OE *hræw*, *hreaw* adj. 'raw', E *raw*, Du. *rauw* adj. 'id.', OHG *rao*, *rō* adj. 'id.', G *roh* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **krouh₂-o-* (IE) — Skt. *krūrá-*, Av. *xrūra-* adj. 'bloody, cruel' < **kruh₂-ró-*; OCS *krъvьnъ*, Ru. *króvnyj*, SCr. *krvnī* adj. 'bloody, sanguineous', Lith. *krùvinas* adj. 'bloody' < **kruh₂-ino-*.

An adjective related to **hraiwa-* (q.v.).

hrefiz- n. 'stomach' — OE *hrif* n. 'id.', OS *in-hrif* n. 'innards, guts', MDu. *rif* n. 'body', OHG *ref*, *href* n. 'body; womb' ⇒ **krép-es-* (IE) — Skt. *kr̥p-* f. 'appearance, beauty', OAv. *kəhrp-* f. 'figure, appearance, body' < **krp-*; Lat. *corpus*, *-oris* n. 'body', MIr. *crí* f. 'id.' < **krp-o/es-*; Gr. πραπίς 'diaphragm' cannot be related because 1) PIE **kʷ...p-* regularly dissimilates to **k...p-* (see **hwalfa-* and **hwerban-*); and 2) the root did not have a labiovelar in the first place (cf. OIr. *crí*).

An old *s*-stem with two attested variants: OE *hrif* < **hrefiz-* < **krep-es-* and OHG *href* < **hrefaz-* < **krep-os-*. This alternation together with the co-occurrence of Lat. *corpus* < **krp-os-* points to a PIE ablauting *s*-stem **krép-os*, gen. **krp-és-(o)s*. Also cf. OE *mid-hrif*, *mid-rif* (E *midriff*), OFri. *mid-rof* n. 'diaphragm', Du. *midden-rif* n. 'midriff' < **medja-hrefiz-*.

****hreflinga-*** m. 'shoe' — ON *hrifling r* m. 'id.', OE *hrifeling* m. 'id.' (GM).

Derived from the verbal form underlying MHG *revelen* w.v. 'to sew, mend' < **hreflōn-*. There is probably no etymological link with Gr. κρηπίς, -ῖδος f. 'man's high boot, half-boot', SCr. *krplja* f. 'snow-shoe', OPru. *kurpe*, Lith. *kùrpė*, Latv. *kuŗpe*, f. '(wooden) shoe' < **krh₁p-ieh₂-* and W *crydd* m. 'id.' < **karafyo-* < **kerh₁p-io-* (by Joseph's rule).

****hregan-*** s.v. 'to jut out' — MHG *regen* s.v. 'to jut out, stand upright' ⇒ **krék-e-* (GM).

A strong verb related to **hrag/kkōn-* and **hrēhi-* (q.v.). The root **hreg-* instead of expected **hreh-* may be due to influence from the causative **hragjan-* or the iterative **hrag/kkōn-*. No further etymology: unrelated to Gr. κρόσσαι f.pl. 'stepped copings of parapets', Lith. *krãkė* f. 'rod, staff' < **krok-ieh₂-* and Ru. *krókva* f. 'bar, club, rafters' < **krok-ueh₂-*.

hrēhi- adj. 'protruding' — MHG *ræhe* adj. 'id.' (DRV).
A *vṛddhi*-gerundive to the strong verb **hregan-* (q.v.).

hrētō- f. 'honeycomb' — ODu. *rāta* f. 'id.', MDu. *rate, raet* f. 'id.', Du. *honing-raat* 'id.', MHG *rāze* f. 'honeycomb, stake, stake' ⇒ **kreh₁d-eh₂-* (NEUR) — OCS *krada* f. 'bonfire, stake', Ukr. *kóroda* 'pile of logs, wood-stack' < **kor(h₁)d-eh₂-*.
The Low Franconian evidence clearly points to a proto-form **hrētō-* (the initial **h-* is not attested, but follows from MLat. *frata* 'honeycomb'). MHG *rāz*, G *Roß* n. 'id.' is in support of a parallel neuter formation **hrēta-*. The MDu. variants *rete* and *rote* do not point to ablauting formations **hretōn-* and **hruton-* (*pace* Torp 1909: 107), on the other hand, but reflect a dialectal change of *ā* to *ō* and the pertaining umlaut products *ǟ* and *ō̈* that arose in the plural, cf. Saarbr. *rōs*, pl. *rēs* 'honey comb'. See further **hrōta- 1.*

hreþan- s.v. 'to sift' — OHG *redan* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **krit-é-* (IE) — Lat. *cernō* 'to sift, distinguish, decide' < **kri-n-e-*; Gr. κρίνω 'to separate, choose, decide' < **kri-n-ie-*; W *crynaff* 'to shake, tremble' < **kri-neh₂-*; Lith. *krijà* f. 'edge of a sieve' < **kri-(i)eh₂-*.
A zero-grade present **hriþan-* that shifted to the class 5 strong verbs after the *a*-mutation to **hreþan-* (cf. **stekan-*). In view of the dental extension, the verb may have been created to the 3sg. aorist form **kri-t* of the root **krei-* 'to sieve'. See also **hrīdra-* and **hrīþan-* ~ **hrittan-*.

***hreþra-*(?)** m. 'bat' — Icel. *leður-blaka* f. 'id.', Far. *leður-bløka* 'id.', Elfd. *leðer* m. 'id.', OE *hrēaðe-mūs, hrēre-mus* f. 'id.', E obs. *rear-mouse* 'id.', Du. *vleer-muis* c. 'id.', OHG *fledar-mūs* m. 'id.', G *Fleder-maus* f. 'id.' (GM).
The variants OHG *fledar-mūs* < **fleþra-*, OE *hrēaðe-mūs, hrēre-mus* < **hreþra-*(?) and Icelandic *leðr-blaka* 'bat', Elfd. *leðer* < **leþra-* probably all derive from a difficult to reconstruct proto-form **þreþra-*, **þleþra-* or **hreþra-* that was distorted by assimilation and dissimilation in several different ways. OHG *fledar-* could be the regular outcome of **þleþra-* (cf. G *fliehen* < **þleuhan-*) but synchronically belongs to *fledarōn* w.v. 'to flutter'. The derivation of OE *hrēaðe-* < **hrauþa-* and *hrēre-* < **hrēra-* is not transparent, but the initial cluster at any rate seems to have been **hr-*. In Old Norse, the form *leðr-blaka* synchronically means 'leather-flapper' (cf. *blaka vængjunum* 'to flap the wings'), but in view of the WGm. evidence, it seems likely that this formation partly results from folk etymology (cf. also ON *veðr-blaka*, Nw. dial. *ver-bloke* "sky-flapper"). Perhaps, it is possible to connect all forms to a lost noun **hreþra-* 'skin, membrane', cf. **hreþrja-* (q.v.). This would imply a PGm. compound **hreþra-mūs-*. The element 'mouse', however, may have been added at many different stages, cf. typologically E

shrew(mouse), rattle(mouse), tit(mouse). This may indicate that the word rather started out as a simplex (cf. Elfd. *leðer*).

hreþrja- n. 'diaphragm' — OE *mid-hriðere* n. 'id.', OFri. *mid-rith, -rhether* n. 'id.' (GM).

Probably related to OE *heorða*, OE *herdo*, Swi. *herde* m. '(animal) skin' < **herþan-*. See also **medja-hrefiz-* under **hrefiz-*.

hreuba- adj. 'scabby' — ON *hrjúfr* adj. 'rough, scurvy', OE *hrēof* adj. 'rough, rugged, scabby, leprous', OHG *riob* adj. 'leprous' ⇒ **kreup-ó-* (NEUR) — Cz. *krupý* adj. 'raw, crude' < **kroup-o-*; Latv. *kŗaũpa* f. 'crust' < **kreup-eh₂-*; Latv. *krupt* 'to shrivel' < **krup-*; Latv. *kraũpêt* 'to dry up (of wounds)' < **kreup-eh₁-ie-*.

Also cf. ON *hrufa* f. 'rough surface, crust' < **hruf/bōn-* < **krup-eh₂-* and OHG *(h)ruf*, MHG *ruf* f. 'scab, leprosy' < **hrufī-* < **krup-i-*.

hreuda- n. 'reed' — OE *hrēod* n. 'id.', E *reed*, OS *hriod* n. 'id.', Du. *riet* n. 'id.' (with *Auslautverhärtung* lexified because of its occurrence as *singulare tantum*), OHG *hriot* n. 'id.', G *Riet* n. 'id.' (GM).

No clear etymology. Often analyzed as 'the trembling plant', cf. MHG *rütten* 'to shake' < **hrudjan-*, but this interpretation is uncertain. See also **rauza-*.

hreutan-* ~ *hrūtan- s.v. 'to snore' — ON *hrjóta* s.v. 'to snore', Far. *rjóta, róta* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *riuota* s.v. 'to bellow, low', OE *hrūtan* s.v. 'to make a noise, to snore', E dial. *to rout* 'to cry out, roar, bellow; to low, moo loudly', OFri. *hrūta** 'to rattle (in the throat)', OS *hrūtan* s.v.(?) 'to snore', OHG *rūzzan* s.v. 'id.' (DRV).

In view of the *eu/ū*-alternation and the (shortened) root-final geminate, this strong verb is likely to have been derived from the iterative **hrut(t)ōn-* (q.v.). It in turn gave rise to ON *hrútr* m. 'ram' < **hrūta-* (for the semantics, cf. Elfd. *riuota*, E *to rout* 'to low, moo'). It follows that the alleged link of the latter word with **heruta-* 'deer' must be abandoned.

hrewan- s.v. 'to be sad, make sad' — Icel. *hrjá* w.v. 'to afflict, vex', OE *hrēowan* s.v. 'to make sorry, grieve', E *to rue*, OS *hreuwan* s.v. 'to mourn, be painful', Du. *rouwen* w.v. 'to mourn', OHG *riuwan* s.v. 'to make/be sad', MHG *riuwen, riwen* s.v. 'to sadden, to be sad', G *reuen* w.v. 'to regret' ⇒ **kréu(H)-e-* (GM).

Icel. *hrjá*, though a weak verb, corresponds rather neatly to the WGm. forms. It thus points to a non-geminated proto-form **hrewan-* rather than **hrewwan-*, as the latter form would have produced a strong verb ON ***hryggva*, Icel. ***hryggja*. The attested ON *hryggva, hryggja* 'to distress,

grieve; to cause to look sad' is a factitive **hrewwjan-* to ON *hryggr* adj. 'afflicted, grieved, sad' < **hrewwu-*, cf. OE *hrēow*, OS *hriuwi* adj. 'sad'. Also cf. Nw. dial. *rogg, rugg* n. 'fear' < **hrawwa-*.

hrīdra- n. 'sieve' — OE *hrīdder, hrīddel* n. 'id.', E *riddle*, OHG *rītera* f. 'id.', MHG *rīter(e)* f. 'id.', G *Reiter* f. 'id.' (< **hrīdrō-*) ⇒ **krei-d^{h}ro-* (IE) — Lat. *crībrum* n. 'sieve', OIr. *criathar* m. 'id.', OW *cruitr* 'winnowing-shovel' < **krei-d^{h}ro-/*-tro-*.

Derivation with the instrumental suffix **-tro-* or **-d^{h}ro-* from the root **krei-* 'to sift', for which see **hreþan-*.

hrīman-* ~ *hrīpan- m. 'hoar frost, rime' — ON *hrím* n. 'id.', Far. *rím* n. 'id.', OE *hrīm* m. 'id.', E *rime*, OS *hrīpo* m. 'id.', Du. *rijp, rijm* c. 'id.', OHG *rīfo, hrīfo* m. 'id.', G *Reif* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kréip-mon-* (GM).

The PGm. variants **hrīman-* and **hrīpan-* both go back to a paradigm nom. **hrīmō*, gen. **hrīpaz* from **kréip-mōn*, **krip-(m)n-ós* (Kroonen 2006). The *m* was lost in the weak cases, thus creating the right conditions for the operation of Kluge's law. In the nominative, however, the *m* remained and absorbed the preceding labial. SaaN *riippmo* possibly preserves a trace of the labial stop, however, the strong grade of *-mm-* normally being *-bm-*.

hrīnan- s.v. 'to touch, affect' — ON *hrína* w.v. 'to take effect', OE *hrīnan* s.v. 'to touch, reach, strike', OS *hrīnan* s.v. 'to touch, lay one's hand on', OHG *rīnan, hrīnan* s.v. 'to touch, get hold of', MHG *be-rīnen* s.v. 'to touch' (GM).

No certain extra-Germanic parallels. The connection with Latv. *krìet* (*krèju*) 'to skim cream off milk' is unsatisfactory, since the original Germanic meaning was 'to touch indirectly, affect' or 'to leave a trace'.

hringa- m. 'ring, circle' — ON *hringr* m. 'id.', Far. *ringur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *ringg* m. 'id.', OE *hring* m. 'id.', E *ring*, OFri. *hring* m. 'id.', OS *hring* m. 'id.', Du. *ring* c. 'id.', OHG *ring, hring* m. 'id.', MHG *rinc* m. 'ring', G *Ring* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kring^h-o-* (NEUR/NIE) — OCS *krǫgъ*, SCr. *krûg* m. 'circle' < **krong^h-o-*.

An exclusively Slavic and Germanic root that is in violation with the lE constraint against the co-occurrence of plain stops and voiced aspirates. This makes it likely that its origin is to be found in the post-lE phase. Further cf. **hrungō-* and - with irregular onset - **kringa-*. Gr. κρίκος, κίρκος m. 'ring' is unrelated.

hrinþiz-* ~ *hrunþiz- n. 'cow, bovine' — OE *hrīðer, hrȳðer* n. 'id.', OFri. *hrīther* n. 'id.', Du. *rund* 'id.', OHG *rint, hrint* n. 'id.', G *Rind* n. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱr-ént-es-* (IE).

The ablaut displayed by the dialects is suggestive of an ablauting *s*-stem **hrinþaz*, gen. **hrundizaz* continuing PIE **ḱrént-os*, gen. **ḱrn̥t-és-s*. The root

of this noun is likely to be an extension of the PIE root **ḱr-* 'horn' (see **hurna-*). Hardly to Gr. καρταίποδα n.pl 'cattle, larger beast', cf. Gr. Hsch. κάρτην acc. 'cow'.

hrīsa- n. 'brushwood' — ON *hrís* n. 'id.', Far. *rís* n. 'id.', Elfd. *rais* n. 'brushwood; wood', OE *hrīs* 'branch, brush', MDu. *rijs* n. 'branch', OHG *rīs, hris* n. 'twig, branch; shrubs', G *Reis* n. 'scion, sprig' ⇒ **kréis-o-* (EUR) — Lat. *crīnis* f. 'hair' < **kris-ni-*; OPru. *craysi* 'stalk', *crays* 'hay' < **krois-*.

A neuter *a*-stem to a European root **kreis-*. Also cf. Elfd. *umbel-riesn* f. 'hop shoot' < **raisnō(n)-* < **krois-neh₂-*.

hrispōn- f. 'curl' — MLG *rispe* f. 'truss', MHG *rispe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **krisp-eh₂-* (WEUR) — Lat. *crispus* adj. 'curly, curled (of hair)' < **krisp-o-* and with metathesis W *crych* adj. 'curly, wrinkled' < **kripso-*.

Also cf. OHG *hrisp-ahi* n. 'shrubbery' < **hrisp-ahja-* and MHG *rispen, rispeln* w.v. 'to ripple, curl'.

hrīþan-* ~ *hrittan- m. 'fever, shivering' — OS *hrido* m. 'id.', MDu. *ridde, rede* m. 'id.', EDu. *rijde, ridde* 'id.', OHG *rīdo, rit(t)o* m. 'id.', MHG *rite, ritte* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kréit-on-* (DRV) — OIr. *crith*, W *cryd* 'fever' < **kri-ti/u-*.

An ablauting *n*-stem to the *tudáti*-verb **hriþan-* (see **hreþan-*), which originally meant 'to shake', then 'to sieve' (see **hrīdra-*). The ablaut of **hrīþō*, gen. **hrittaz*, dat. **hrideni* was preserved until in the OHG period, cf. Notker nom. *rîdo*, dat. *rîten* (Schaffner 2001: 551). OHG *ritto*, MHG *ritte* and MDu. *ridde* continue a stem **hriþþan-* that arose by contamination of the nominative **hrīþō* and the genitive **hrittaz* (cf. Swab. *ritze-rot* adj. 'crimson').

hrōfa- n. 'roof' — ON *hróf* n. 'shed under which ships are built', OE *hrōf* m. 'id.', E *roof*, OFri. *hrōf* m.(?) 'id.', MLG *rōf* m./n. 'cover, lid, roof of the rear deck of a ship, shelter', MDu. *roef* m./n. 'lean-to', Du. *roef* c. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱrōp-o-* (EUR) — OCS *stropъ* m. 'roof' < **ḱrop-o*; OIr. *cró* m. 'enclosure, shed, sty', MW *creu* m. 'shed' < **ḱrōp-o-*.

hrōka(n)- m. 'rook, jackdaw' — ON *hrókr, hraukr* m. 'rook', Icel. *hraukur* m. 'id.', Far. *rókur* m. 'jackdaw', OE *hrōc* m. 'rook, raven, jackdaw', E *rook*, OS *hrōk* m. 'id.' (also *hrōka* f. 'id.' < **hrōkōn-*), Du. *roek* c. 'id.', OHG *ruoh, ruoho* m. 'crow', MHG *ruoch, ruoche* m. 'id.' (GM).

An originally onomatopoetic word with a root comparable to Gr. κρώζω 'to squawk' and Lith. *krógti* (*krógiu*) 'to hawk' < **krŏ̄(H)g-ie-*. Typologically comparable is also OCS *krukъ* 'raven' < **krouk-o-*. Note that the irregular alternation of ON *hrókr* with *hraukr* cannot be adduced to derive the word with Go. *hrukjan* 'to cry'.

hrōma- m. 'fame' — OS *hrōm* m. 'id.', EDu. *roem* c. 'id.', OHG *ruom*, *hruom* m. 'id.', G *Ruhm* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$kroh_{2/3}$-mo- (DRV).

A *mo*-stem to the root *$kerh_{2/3}$- ~ *$kreh_{2/3}$-. See further under *hurjan-, *hrōþi- and *hrōþra-.

hrōpan- s.v. 'to call, shout' — OE *hrōpan* s.v. 'id.', OFri. *(h)rōpa* s.v. 'id.', OS *hrōpan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *roepen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *ruofan*, *hruofan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *ruofen* s.v. 'id.', G *rufen* s./w.v. 'id.' (GM).

No extra-Gm. cognates. The connection with the root *hrō- 'to report, rumor' (cf. *hrōþi- 'fame') is problematic, because the origin of the suffix *-p- is unknown (*b did not exist in IE). Perhaps, the verb arose due to association with the semantically similar OE *wōpan*, OHG *wuoffan* < *wōpan-, cf. Go. *wopjan*, ON *œpa* < *wōpjan-. Also cf. Go. *hrops* m., ON *hróp* n., OHG *ruof* m. 'shout, call' < *hrōpa- and the derived *jan*-verb Go. *hropjan*, OE *hrœpa*, OHG *ruofen* w.v. 'to shout'.

hrōta- 1 n. 'roof' — Go. *hrot* n. 'id.', ON *hrót* n. 'id.' ⇒ *$kroh_1d$-o- (NEUR) — OCS *krada* f. 'bonfire, stake', Ukr. *kóroda* 'pile of logs, wood-stack' < *$kor(h_1)d$-eh_2-.

A masculine *a*-stem related to *hrētō- (q.v.). Also cf. OS *hrōst* m./n. 'rafters', OE *hrōst* m. 'wooden framework', E *roost* < *hrōsta- < *$kroh_1d$-sth_2-o-.

hrōta- 2 m. 'soot' — OS *hrōt* m. 'id.', MDu. *roet* n. 'grease, soot', Du. *roet* n. 'soot', OHG *ruoz* m. 'id.', G *Ruß* m. 'id.' (GM).

No certain etymology. The received comparison with OE *hrūm* m. 'soot' < *hrūma- would imply a formation *kroHu-d-o- (with PGm. *-ōu- > -ō-), but the suffixation remains unclear.

hrōþi- m. 'glory' — Go. in: *hroþeigs* adj. 'glorious', OE *hrēð* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$kréh_{2/3}$-ti- (DRV) — Skt. *kīrtí-* f. 'fame' < *$krh_{2/3}$-tí-.

A *ti*-stem to the PIE root *$kerh_{2/3}$-, for which see *hrōma- and *hurjan-.

hrōþra- m. 'praise' — ON *hróðr* m. 'id.', OE *hrōðor* m. 'solace, benefit, pleasure' ⇒ *$kréh_{2/3}$-tro- (DRV) — Skt. *carkárti*, YAv. *carəkarə-* 'to praise' < *ker-$korh_{2/3}$-.

An instrumental noun derived from the PIE root *$kreh_{2/3}$-. See further *hurjan-, *hrōþi- and *hrōma-.

hrōza- adj. 'mobile' — OE *hrōr* adj. 'stirring, active, vigorous', OS *hrōr* adj. 'lively', MDu. *roer* adj. 'mobile' ⇒ *ḱroH-s-ó- (IE).

An adjective related to *hrōzjan- (q.v.).

hrōzjan- w.v. 'to touch, move, stire' — ON *hrœra* w.v. 'id.', Far. *røra* w.v., MHG *ruoren, rüeren* w.v. 'to move' ⇒ **kroHs-éie-* (IE) — Av. *frā-xrå̊ŋhaiia-* 'to be shocked' < **kroHs-eie-*.

An old causative formation. Related to **hrōza-* (q.v).

hrudjan- w.v. 'to shake' — MHG *rütten* w.v. 'to shake', G *rütteln* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A *jan*-verb created to a secondary iterative **hruttōn-* pertaining to **hreþan-* 'to shake' (q.v.). This strong verb again developed from **hriþan-* < **krit-e-* by *a*-mutation, which apparently operated at the PGm. stage. The deverbal formations E *rudder* and *ruddle* 'sieve' < **hrudra-*, **hrudla-* are derivationally parallel to OE *hrīdder, hrīddel*, E *riddle* < **hrīdra-* (q.v.).

hrugan- m. 'fishroe' — ON *hrogn* n. 'id.', Far. *rogn* n. 'id.', OSw. *rughn, romn* n.(?) 'id.', Sw. *rom* c. 'id.', Elfd. *rungen* m. 'id.', MDu. *roge* 'id.', EDu. *roghe* 'id.', OHG *rogo, rogan* m. 'id.', MHG *roge, rogen* m. 'id.', G *Rogen* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kr̥(h₁)k-on-* (NEUR) — Lith. *kurkulaĩ* m.pl. 'frogspawn', Latv. *kuŗkulis* m. 'id.' < **kr(H)k-ulo-*; Ru. *krjak* (= PSl. **krękъ*) 'id.', Slov. *kŕék* 'id.' < **krēk-o-*; SCr. *krâk* m. 'id.' < **kor(h₁)k-o-*(?).

An *n*-stem thematicized as **hrugna-* in Nordic. On the basis of the Balto-Slavic forms, it is theoretically possible to reconstruct a root alternation **krēk- / *kreh₁k-*, **kr(h₁)k-*. The Germanic stem **hrugan-* should then be analogical for regular **hurgan-* < **kr(h₁)k-ón-*. In this scenario, it is further possible to compare Icel. *hrái* < **hrēhan-* (or **hrahan-*) 'swarm of water-fleas', a formation potentially corresponding to PSlav. **krěk-*. It has alternatively been suggested, however, that the differences between the Baltic, Germanic and Slavic forms arose due to repeated borrowing from a disappeared non-IE language (Polomé 1986: 661). Within Germanic, further cf. Du. *reugel* 'herring roe' < **hrugila-* and Icel. *hrygna*, Nw. *rygne* f. 'female fish' < **hrugnjōn-*.

hrugja- m. 'ridge; back' — ON *hryggr* m. 'back', Far. *ryggur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *rygg* m. 'id.', OE *hrycg* m. 'back, spine, ridge', E *ridge*, OFri. *hreg* m. 'back', WFri. *rêch, rich* c. 'id.', OS *hruggi* m. 'id.', ODu. *ruggi* m. 'id.', Du. *rug* c. 'id.', OHG *rucki, hrucki* m. 'id.', G *Rücken* m. 'id.' (GM).

No certain extra-Gm. cognates. The best *comparandum* so far is Ir. *crúach* f. 'heap, hill', W *crug* 'id.' < **kroukk-eh₂-*, but this is probably a loanword from PGm. **hrauka-* (q.v.). Hardly to Olr. *croicenn* m. 'skin', MW *croen* m. 'peel, hide, rind' < **krok(k)-* (cf. Matasović 2009: 226). Perhaps to Lat. *crux, crucis* f. 'cross' < **kruk-* (De Vaan 2008: 147)?

hrukka- m. 'upper garment, robe' — ON *rokkr* m. 'id.', OE *roc* m. 'id.', OS *hrok* m. 'id.', Du. *rok* c. 'skirt', OHG *rock* m. 'id.', G *Rock* m. 'skirt; coat' (GM).

In spite of OS and OFri. *hrok*, the word is often erroneously reconstructed as PGm. **rukka-* without initial *h*, and further mistakenly compared to OIr. *rucht* f.(?) 'tunic'. The initial **h* is also substantiated by OFr. *froc* (>> G *Frack*, E *frock*), which was adopted from Old Low Franconian with the usual substitution of **hr-* by *fr-* (see also **hraman-*). OE *roc*, on the other hand, may just like ON *rokkr* be a loanword from the continent. No further etymology. Hardly related to **hrugja-* 'back; ridge' (q.v.) through **hrukka-* < **kruk-nó-* 'cloak covering the back' in view of the problematic semantics.

hrungō- f. 'rung' — Go. *hrugga* f. 'staff, cane', OE *hrung* f. 'staff, rod, beam', E *rung*, MLG *runge* f. 'stanchion', MHG *runge* f. 'stake', G *Runge* f. 'id.' (NEUR?) — Pol. *krężel* m. 'distaff' < **krongʰ-(e/i)li-*.

A zero-grade formation related to **hringa-* 'ring' (q.v.). The formal and semantic similarities with Pol. *krężel* may be deceptive in view of *kądziel* 'id.' < **kǫdělь* and other irreconcilable variants (see Trubačev 1966: 96ff.).

hrusōn- f. 'crust' — OE *hruse* f. 'earth, ground', OHG *rosa* f. 'crust, ice' ⇒ **krus-eh₂-* (NEUR) — Lith. *krušà* f. 'icefloe' < **krus-eh₂-*.

Also cf. Nw. dial. *rosna* w.v. 'to come off (of skin)' < **hrusnan-*.

hrut(t)ōn- w.v. 'to snore, roar' — Elfd. *rotå* w.v. 'to babble', G *rotzen* w.v. 'to blow the nose' ⇒ **krut-neh₂-* (GM).

An iterative 3sg. **hruttōþi*, 3pl. **hrudunanþi* < **krut-néh₂-ti*, **krut-nh₂-énti*, the derivational base of OE *hrot* m. 'slime', OHG *roz*, *hroz*, G *Rotz* m. 'snot' < **hrut(t)a-* as well as the strong verb **hreutan-* ~ **hrūtan-* (q.v.). The ungeminated consonantism is still found in e.g. ON *hroði* m. 'snot' < **hruþan-* and Icel. *hryðja* w.v. 'to hawk, cough' < **hruþjan-*, cf. Far. *ryður* m. 'coughed up mucus'. With a single **t*, cf. MDu. *rotelen*, *reutelen*, G dial. *rosseln* w.v. 'to rattle'. No further etymology: the connection with Gr. Hsch. κροῦμαι 'snot' (< **krou-meh₂-*?) is doubtful.

hruþjan- m. 'male dog' — OE *hryðða* m. 'id.', MLG *rude* m. 'id.', Du. *reu* c. 'id.', OHG *rudo* m. 'id.', G *Rüde* m. 'id.' ⇒ **krut-ion-* (GM).

Also cf. OE *hroð-hund* 'big dog, *molossus*' < **hruþa-*. Clearly connected to what Kilian gives as EDu. *roden* '*catulire* (to be in heat, to mate)', which technically can be united with the iterative **hruttōn-* 'to roar' and the pertaining strong verb **hreutan-* ~ **hrūtan-* 'to snore, rout', cf. E *to rut*.

hūdi- f. 'skin' — ON *húð* f. 'id.', Far. *húð* f. 'id.', Elfd. *auð* f. 'id.', OE *hýd* f. 'id.', OFri. *hēd(e)* f. 'id.', OS *hūd* f. 'id.', ODu. *hūt* f. 'id.', Du. *huid* c. 'id.', OHG *hūt* f. 'id.', G *Haut* f. 'id.' ⇒ **kuH-tí-* (EUR) — Identical to Lat. *cutis* f. 'skin'; further cf. OPru. *keuto* 'skin', Lith. *kiáutas* m. 'shell, rind, peel' < **keuH-to/eh₂-*; Mlr. *codal* f. 'hide, skin' < **kuH-dʰléh₂-* and Lith. *kiáuklas* m. 'shell' < **keuH-tlo-*.

A *ti*-stem to the root **kuH-* (cf. **hawō-*). The word represents an interesting Italic-Germanic isogloss, as both PGm. **hūdi-* and Lat. *cutis* point to original oxytony, the former showing the effects of Verner's law, the latter pretonic shortening of **ū* to **u*.

****hufa-*** n. 'hillock' — ON *hof* n. 'temple', Far. *hov* n. 'id.', OE *hof* n. 'house, hall', OFri. *hof* n. 'court, yard', OS *hof* m. 'id.', Du. *hof* n. 'id.', OHG *hof* m. 'id.', G *Hof* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kHúp-o-* (IE).

Related to **hufra-*, **haupa-* and **hūpan-*: the original meaning was 'hillock', cf. OS *hubil* m. 'hill', Du. *heuvel* c. 'id.', OHG *hubil*, MHG *hübel*, G *Hügel* m. 'id.' < **hubila-*.

****hufra-*** m. 'bump, hillock' — OE *hofer* m. 'id.', MLG *hover* m. 'id.', OHG *hofar*, *hovar* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kHúp-ro-* (IE) — Identical to Latv. *kuprs* m. 'hump, hunch'; also cf. Lith. *kuprà* f. 'hump, hunch, back' < **kHup-r-eh₂-*.

A *ro*-stem related to **hufa-* (q.v.).

****hugi-*** m. 'understanding, mind' — Go. *hugs* m. 'id.', ON *hugr* m. 'mind; mood; desire, wish', Far. *hugur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *ug* m. 'id.', OE *hyge* m. 'mind, heart, soul', OFri. *hei* m. 'mind', OS *hugi* m. 'thought, mind', MDu. *hoge* m./f. 'thought, consideration, memory', Du. *heug* c. 'desire', OHG *hugu* m. 'mind, spirit, courage', MHG *hüge* m. 'mind, spirit, memory' ⇒ **kʷḱ-í-* (IE?).

No certain etymology. Often compared to Skt. *śúcyati* 'to glow, shine; to hurt' < **ḱuk-ie-*, but the semantics are not compelling. Rather related to the *i*-present of the root **kʷeḱ-*, cf. Skt. *ákhyat* 3sg.aor. 'to look', with vocalization of the labialization like in ON *kona* 'woman' < **kunōn-* < **gʷn-*? Within Germanic, also cf. Go. *hugjan*, ON *hyggja*, OE *hycgan*, OFri. *hugia*, OS *huggian*, OHG *huggen* w.v. 'to think' < **hugjan-* and the late iterative ON *hugga* w.v. 'to comfort' < **huggōn-*.

****hūkan-*** s.v. 'to squat' — ON *húka* w.v. 'to squat', Far. *húka* s.v. 'id.', OSw. *hūka* w.v. 'to peddle', WPhal. *hûken* s.v. 'to crouch, cower, sit', MDu. *huken* w.v. 'to squat', Du. *huiken* w.v. 'id.', MHG *hūchen* w.v. 'to squat, stoop over' (DRV).

A strong verb continuing **hūkkan-*, a back-formation to the primary iterative **huk(k)ōn-* < **kuk-néh₂-* (q.v.). Further cf. **heuhman-* and **hauha-*.

****huk(k)ōn-*** w.v. 'to squat, cower' — ON *hoka* w.v. 'id.', G *hocken* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **kuk-néh₂-* (IE) — Skt. *kucáti* 'to make crooked, bend or curve' < **kuk-é-*; Lith. *kaũkas* m. 'lump' < **kouk-o-*.

Also cf. the frequentative ON *hokra* 'to crawl', Icel. *hokra* 'to stoop', Far. *hokra* 'to sit with bent knees', Nw. dial. *hokra* 'to stumble'. All forms continue an iterative formation 3sg. **hukkōþi*, 3pl. **hugunanþi* from PIE

**kuk-néh₂-ti, *kuk-nh₂-énti.* The underlying nasal present was presumably derived from a primary aorist. This is confirmed by Skt. *kuñcati* which, like e.g. *limpáti* 'to smear' to *álipat*, points to a thematic aorist **h₁é-kuk-e-t*. The iterative served as the basis for the strong verb **hūkan-*. Far. *hokka* w.v. 'to trudge, plod, clump' and WPhal. *huckeln* w.v. 'to roll', on the other hand, probably continue an unrelated formation **hukkōn-*.

****hula-*** adj. 'hollow' — ON *holr* adj. 'id.', OE *hol* adj. 'id.', OFri. *hol* adj. 'id.', Du. *hol* adj. 'id.', OHG *hol* adj. 'id.', G *hohl* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱuH-ló-* (with pretonic shortening) (IE) — Gr. κοῦλος adj. 'hollow, hollowed out, spacious, deep', Alb. *thellē* adj. 'deep' < **ḱouh₁-ilo-*; Lat. *cavus* 'hollow, excavated, concave, deep (of water)' < **ḱouh₁-o-*; MIr. *cúa* 'hollow, cavity', MW *keu* adj. 'hollow, closed' < **ḱuh₁-o-*; OCS *suě* acc.pl.n. 'vanities', ORu. *sui* 'empty, vain' < **ḱouh₁-io-*.

The adj. gave rise to Go. *us-hulon* 'to hollow out' < **hulōjan-*, Go. *hulundi* f. 'hole' < **hulundjō-* and also to OE *holh*, E *hollow* < **hulha-*. Cf. with a verbal **k*-suffix: MLG *holken* w.v. 'to hollow out'.

****hulandra-*** m. 'elder' — OHG *holuntar, holantar* m. 'id.', G *Wasser-holder* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kul-n̥-tro-* (GM).

Also cf. OSw. *hylle* n. 'elder' (Nw, Sw. *hyll*, Da. *hyld* 'id.') < **hullja-* < **kul-n-io-*, a typically Nordic *ja*-stem collective. Together with **hulundra-* < **kul-n-tro-*, which like many other tree-names was formed with the suffix **-tro-* (cf. ON *apaldr* m. 'apple tree' < **apaldra-*), the Germanic evidence points to an *n*-stem **kul-n-*; the *n* was vocalized in the derivation with **-tro-*, but assimilated by the **l* in the collective **kul-n-io-*. No extra-Germanic etymology. The often compared Ru. *kalína* f. 'guelder rose, snowball tree' is just like Slov. *kalína* f. 'puddle' actually derived from PSl. **kâlъ* 'marshy area', cf. OCS *kalъ* 'mud', Ru. *kal* 'excrement', SCr. *kâl* m. 'mud, puddle', and therefore cannot be related.

****hulisa-*** m. 'holly' — MDu. *huls* 'id.', Du. *hulst* 'id.', OHG *hulis, huls* m. 'id.', G *Hülse* f. 'id.' (< **hulis(j)ōn-*) ⇒ **kuli-* (WEUR/NIE) — OIr. *cuilenn*, W *celyn* m. 'holly' < **kolino-*.

E *holly* appears to be shortened for OE *holen, holegn*, which in view of the lack of umlaut seems to point to **hulena-* < **kuleno-*. This proto-form is formally close to, but ultimately irreconcilable with PCelt. **kolino-*. It therefore stands to reason to assume that the Celtic and Germanic words were adopted independently from a third, extinct European language. Also note the even more irregular lookalike ON *hulfr*, Icel. *húlfur*, Da. dial. *hylver-torn* n. 'holly' < **hulba-* (= ME *hulvere*).

hul(l)ōn- w.v. 'to move, fetch(?)' — Nw. dial. *hula* 'to bend over and reach forward, to pull oneself', MDu. *hollen* w.v. 'to run; to go out of control', Du. *hollen* w.v. 'to run' ⇒ **(ḱ)l̥H-néh₂-* (IE) — ToAB *kälā-* 'to lead, bring', Lith. *kélti*, Latv. *ceĺt* 'to raise' < **kelH-*; Lat. *-cellō*, *-ere* 'to raise oneself' < **(ḱ)el-nH-e-*; OCS *sъlati*, Ru. *slat'* (*šlju*), SCr. *slȁti* 'to send' < **ḱlH-eh₂-*.

It is not entirely certain whether Nw. *hula* belongs here, but Du. *hollen* alone allows us to reconstruct an iterative 3sg. **hullōþi*, 3pl. **hulunanþi*. This formation would be identical to Latv. *cilinât* 'to lift repeatedly' < **klH-neh₂-*.

hulma(n)- m. 'small island' — ON *holmr*, *holmi* m. 'id.', Far. *hólmur* m. 'small island; battlefield', Elfd. *uome* m. 'islet', OE *holm* m. 'mound, hill, rising ground', OS *holm* m. 'hill', MDu. *holm* m. 'islet in a river; mound' ⇒ **kl̥H-mon-* (EUR) — Lat. *columen* n. 'top, summit' < **kelH-men-*; Lat. *culmen* n. 'summit (of a building), peak' < **kolH-men-*; Lith. *kálnas* m. 'hill' < **kolH-no-*.

The Latin evidence is suggestive of an ablauting *mn*-stem, nom. **kélH-mn*, gen. **klH-mén-s*, acc. **kolH-mén-m*. This paradigm may be the direct source of ON form *holmi*, Elfd. *uome*. Lith. *kálnas*, on the other hand, appears to be a *no*-stem, but may perhaps have developed from **kolH-mno-*. Note that the ablaut pattern is similar to that of **halma-* 'stalk, blade of grass' (q.v.).

hulta- n. 'grove' — ON *holt* n. 'id.', Elfd. *ult* n. 'id.', OE *holt* m./n. 'id.', OS *holt* n. 'wood', Du. *hout* n. 'id.', OHG *holz* n. 'id.', G *Holz* n. 'id.' ⇒ **kold-o-* (EUR) — Gr. κλάδος m. 'branch, twig, sprout' < **kld-o-*; OCS *klada*, Ru. *kolóda*, SCr. *klàda* 'log' < **kold-eh₂-*.

A European word possibly continuing a neuter root noun **kóld*, gen. **kld-és*.

hulþa- adj. 'propitious' — Go. *hulþs* adj. 'kind, clement', ON *hollr* adj. 'faithful, loyal; wholesome', Far. *hollur* adj. 'faithful; good, favorable', OE *hold* adj. 'clement, loyal', OFri. *hold* adj. 'loyal', OS *hold* adj. 'devoted, graceful', MDu. *houd* adj. 'gracious, loyal', OHG *hold* adj. 'propitious', G *hold* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱl̥-to-* (NEUR).

A zero-grade formation to **halþa-* (q.v.).

humara- m. 'lobster' — ON *humarr* m. 'id.', Sw. *hummer* c. 'id.' ⇒ **kumar* (NIE) — Gr. κάραβος, κάβουρος, κάμ(μ)αρος m. 'lobster'.

The Germanic word can theoretically be reconciled with Gr. κάμαρος by reconstructing a proto-form **km̥h₂-er-*, but the variants κάραβος, κάβουρος and κάμμαρος show that such a reconstruction would be beside the point. It seems more likely that we are dealing with a non-IE word, no doubt of Mediterranean origin. Far. *hummari* and Sw. *hummer* were probably borrowed from Da. *hummer* (Stefan Jacobsson, p.c.).

humela- m. 'bumblebee' — Elfd. *myōð-umbel* f. 'id.', ME *humbul-bē* 'id.', MLG *homele, homelte* 'id.', MDu. *homel* m. 'id.', Du. *hommel* c. 'id.', OHG *humbal, hummel* m. 'id.' ⇒ **km̥H-el-o-* (NEUR) — Ru. *šmel'*, Pol. *czmiel, strzmiel*, Slov. *čmêlj, šmêlj* 'bumblebee' < **čьmelь* < **km̥H-el-i-*; Lith. *kamãnė* 'bee' < **komH-on-ieh₂-*; OPru. *camus* 'bumblebee' < **komH-u-*.

A word probably derived from the verbal root underlying MHG, G *hummen*, E *to hum* < **hummōn-*, cf. Lith. *kìmti* (*kìmstu*) 'to become hoarse' < **kmH-ske-*. Of the aforementioned cognates, the Slavic forms are particularly close.

humelan- m. 'hops' — ON *humli* m. 'id.', Far. *humli* m. 'id.', Elfd. *umbel* m. 'id.', OE *hymele* f. 'id.' (< **humeljōn-*), MDu. *hommel* m. 'id.' (NEUR).

A prehistoric *Wanderwort*. ORu. *xmělь* < PSl. **xъmelь* and VLat. *humulus* (cf. Fr. *houblon*) are loanwords from Germanic **humel(i)-*, but the origin of the Germanic word is itself obscure. Lookalikes in the Finno-Ugric and Turkish languages point to an Eastern origin, cf. Hung. *komló*, Mansi *qumlix*, Tat. *qolmaq*, Chuv. *xə̂mla*, etc.

****hūna(n)-*** m. 'top of a stick' — ON *húnn* m. 'knob at the top of the mast-head', Icel. *húnn* m. 'door knob, door handle; knob on a flagpole; bear cub', Far. *húni* m. 'wooden staple or handle; lug in the middle of a wooden tub' (cf. *hún-band* 'hole high up in the mast through which the halyard passes'), Nw. dial. *hun(e)* m. 'upper part of the mast; bear cub', OE *hūn-þyrel* 'hole in the mast-head for the halyard', MDu. *hune* 'crow's nest' ⇒ **ḱuh₁-no-*? (IE?).

Since the meaning 'bear cub' developed out of more primary 'knob' (cf. **dranga-* and **knab/ppan-*), the direct connection with Skt. *śíśu-* m. 'child, young of animal' < **ḱi-ḱu-* and Gr. κυέω 'to be or become pregnant' < **ḱuh₁-eie-* can only be maintained by starting from the semantically more primitive Skt. *śváyati* 'to swell, become strong' < **ḱuh₁-eie-* etc. Another alleged cognate, viz. W *cwn* m. 'head; top, summit', was apparently invented by Pughe (Williams 1972: 10).

****hunanga-*** m. 'honey' — ON *hunang* n. 'id.', Far. *hunang* n., *hunangur* m. 'id.', OSw. *hunagh* m. 'id.', Elfd. *onungg* m. 'id.', OE *hunig* n. 'id.', E *honey*, OS *honig* 'id.', Du. *honing* c. 'id.', OHG *hona(n)g* n. 'id.', G *Honig* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kn̥h₂-onḱ-o-* (IE) — Gr. κνῆκος f. 'safflower, *Carthamus tinctorius*' < **knh₂-ḱo-*.

Both Gr. κνῆκος and PGm. **hunanga-* seem to be derived from a root or an adj. **knh₂-* with a meaning 'brownish yellow, amber'. The *n* of the suffix was dissimilated in most Germanic languages, but not in ON *hunang*, OHG *honang* and Du. *honing*. The comparison of ToB *kro(ṅ)kśe** 'bee'

(Hilmarsson 1986: 35-7), OPru. *cucan* 'brown' (< **knh₂-nko-*?) and Skt. *kanaka-* n. 'gold' is formally problematic.

hunda- 1 n. 'hundred' — Go. *hund* n. 'id.', OE *hund* num. 'id.', OS *hund* m. 'id.', OHG *hunt* num. 'id.', MHG *hunt* num. 'id.' ⇒ **dḱm-tó-* (IE) — Skt. *śatá-*, YAv. *sata-* n. 'hundred', OP *θata-*, NP *sad* 'id.', Oss. *sædæ* 'id.', ToA *känt*, ToB *kante* 'id.', Gr. ἑκατόν 'id.', Lat. *centum* 'id.', OIr. *cét*, OW, MW *cant* 'id.', Lith. *šim̃tas*, Latv. *sìmts*, OCS *sъto*, Ru. *sto*, SCr. *stô* 'id.'.

Also cf. the compound ON *hundrað*, OE *hundred*, OFri. *hunderd*, *hundred*, OS *hundrod*, Du. *honderd*, OHG *hunderit*, G *Hundert* n. 'hundred' < **hund-rada-* 'row of hundred' (cf. **radō-*).

hunda- 2 m. 'dog' — ON *hundr* m. 'id.', Far. *hundur* m. 'id.', OE *hunt* m. 'id.', E *hound*, OFri. *hund* m. 'id.', OS *hund* m. 'id.', Du. *hond* c. 'id.', OHG *hunt* m. 'id.', MHG *hunt* m. 'dog', G *Hund* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱu-on-* (IE) — Hitt. *kuu̯an-* ~ *kun-* c. 'dog-man', ToAB *ku* m. 'dog', Skt. *śván-*, YAv. *span-* m. 'id.', Arm. *šun*, gen. *šan* 'id.', Gr. κύων, κυνός m./f. 'id.', Lat. *canēs*, *-is* m./f. 'id.', OIr. *cú*, W *ci* m. 'id.', Lith. *šuõ* m. 'id.', Latv. *suns* m. 'id.', OPru. *sunis* 'id.'.

The IE word for dog. In the parent languages, its paradigm is usually reconstructed as **ḱu-ōn*, gen. **ḱu-n-ós*. The origin of the Germanic dental is uncertain, but it reappears in the full-grade form **hwinda-* 'greyhound' (q.v.) < **ḱuent-ó-*. This full grade is isolated, as the other languages show no sign of an **e* in the suffix, but taken at face value, **hwinda-* together with **hunda-* is suggestive of an originally ablauting paradigm e.g. **ḱu-ont*, gen. **ḱu-nt-ós*, acc. **ḱu-ént-m*.

hungru- m. 'hunger' — Go. *huhrus* m. 'id.', ON *hungr* m./n. 'id.', OE *hungor* m. 'id.', E *hunger*, OFri. *hunger* m. 'id.', OS *hungar* m. 'id.', Du. *honger* c. 'id.', OHG *hungar* m. 'id.', G *Hunger* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kn̥k-rú-* (IE) — Close to Gr. (Photios) κέγκει 'is hungry' < **kénk-e-* and Lith. *keñkras* 'emaciated' < **kenk-ro-*.

An old *ru*-stem related to the aforementioned cognates in Baltic and Greek. Less straightforward is the link with Lith. *keñkti* (*kenkiù*) 'to harm, injure' < **kenk-ie-* and Lith. *kankà* f. 'torment' < **konk-eh₂-*, which have been compared to ON *há* 'to tease' < **hanhōjan-* (see **hawēn-*, however, for a different explanation). It is conceivable that the original meaning of the root was 'to pain' (cf. Gr. κακός adj. 'bad, awful, worthless' < **kn̥k-o-*), which later developed into 'to feel hunger'. Also cf. Go. *huggrjan* 'to be hungry'.

hunsla- n. 'sacrifice' — Go. *hunsl* n. 'id.', ON *húsl* n. 'id.', OE *hūsel* n. 'id.', E *housel* ⇒ **ḱunt-slo-* (IE) — Av. *spənta-*, Lith. *šveñtas*, OPru. *swints*, OCS *svętъ*, Ru. *svjatój*, SCr. *svêt* adj. 'holy, sacred' < **ḱuent-o-*.

An instrumental noun formed by adding the *sla*-suffix to the continuant of the PIE root **ḱuent-*. It is unclear whether this root was verbal or adjectival in PIE, but in Germanic, the *sla*-suffix is usually added to verbal stems, cf. Go. *swum(f)sl* n. 'pool' < **swum-sla-* to **swimman-* 'to swim'.

huntōn- w.v. 'to chase' — OE *huntian* w.v. 'to hunt', E *to hunt* ⇒ **(ḱ)nt-néh₂-* (EUR).

The iterative to **hinþan-* (q.v.). It gave rise to the causative OE *hentian* w.v. 'to prosecute, catch' < **hantjan-*, which apparently inherited the iterative semantics. Also cf. OE *hunta* m. 'hunter' < **huntan-*.

hūpan- m. 'pile, heap' — OHG *hūfo* m. 'id.', G *Haufen* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kuHp-on-* (IE).

An ablauting variant belonging to **haupa-* (q.v.).

hupi- m. 'hip' — Go. *hups* m. 'id.', OE *hype* m. 'id.', E *hip*, MDu. *hope*, *hupe* f. 'id.', Du. *heup* c. 'id.', OHG *huf* f. 'id.', G *Hüfte* f. 'id.' (with secondary *t*) ⇒ **kub-i-* (WEUR) — Lat. *cubō*, *-āre* 'to lie down, recline; be lying' < **kub-eh₂-ie-*; MW *kyscu* 'to sleep' < **kub-ske-*.

An *i*-stem to a European root **keub-*. Unrelated to OE *on-hupian* w.v. 'to retreat', which belongs to the cluster of **hupp/bōn- 1* 'to move backwards'. Also note that Gr. κύβος 'dice' has erroneously been compared in view of the meaning 'hollow above the hip of cattle'; this meaning is clearly secondary.

****hupp/bōn- 1*** w.v. 'to move backwards; retreat' — ON *hopa* w.v. 'to turn back', Icel. *hopa* w.v. 'to fall back, retreat', Far. *hopa* w.v. 'to draw back, recede, retreat', Nw. dial. *hop(p)a*, *hobba* w.v. 'to retreat, drive backwards (esp. of horses)', Da. dial. *hoppe seg* w.v. 'to walk backwards, drive backwards' ⇒ **kp-néh₂-* (IE) — Gr. κάμπτω 'to bend, bow, curve' < **kmp-ie-* (a conflation of the zero grade **καπ-* and the full grade **κεμπ-*?); Sogd. *p-k'np-* 'to turn away, deflect', Parth. *n-kmb-* 'to bend' < Pllr. **kamp-*; Lith. *kum̃pas*, OIr. *camm* adj. 'curved' < **kmp-o-*; Lith. *kam̃pas* m. 'corner, hook' < **komp-o-*.

An iterative 3sg. **huppōþi*, 3pl. **hubunanþi* that in view of the *o*-grade variant Nw. *hapa*, *habba* w.v. 'to retreat, drive backwards (esp. of horses)', Swe. dial. *happa* w.v. 'to turn back, drive backwards' < **happōþi*, **habunanþi* must have a secondary zero grade. The Scandinavian forms with *-b-* and *-bb-* prove that the original root cannot have been **kub-* (*pace* Pokorny IEW: 588-92; De Vries 1962: 248), which precludes the alleged link with Lat. *cu(m)bō* 'to recline'. It is possible, however, to derive the verb from the PIE root **kemp-* 'to turn, bend', assuming that the *m* is infixal. See also **hamfa-*.

hupp/bōn- 2 w.v. 'to hop, jump' — ON *hoppa* w.v. 'to hop, jump, skip', Elfd. *uppa* w.v. 'id.', OE *hoppian* w.v. 'to hop, leap, dance', E *to hop*, MDu. *hoppen, hobben* w.v. 'to hop', Du. *hobbelen* w.v. 'to bounce', MHG *hopfen* w.v. 'to hop', G *hopfen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **kuṗ-néh₂-* (NEUR) — OCS *kъpěti* 'to hop' < **kup-eh₁-*.

An iterative 3sg. **huppōþi*, 3pl. **hubunanþi* < **kup-néh₂-ti*, **kup-n̥h₂-énti*, apparently to a marginally attested root **kup-*. MDu. *hobben* with PGm. **bb* at any rate proves that the formation cannot be derived from the PIE root **kub-* (*pace* Pokorny IEW: 588-92).

hurdi- f. 'wickerwork door' — Go. *haurds* f. '(lattice) door', ON *hurð* f. 'door', Far. *hurð* f. 'id.', OS *hurth* f. 'hurdle, wickerwork', MDu. *horde* f. 'wattle', Du. *hor* c. 'insect screen', OHG *hurt, hurd* f. 'hurdle, grate, railing', G *Hürde* f. 'wattle, hurdle' ⇒ **krh₂-ti-* (WEUR) — Lat. *crātis* f. 'construction of wickerwork, hurdle' < **krh₂-ti-*; OPru. *corto* 'fence' < **korh₂-to-*?

Also cf. OE *hyrdel* m. 'frame of intertwined twigs or bars', E *hurdle* < **hurdila-*.

hurha- adj. 'lean' — ON *horr* adj. 'id.', Far. *hor* pred. 'skinny' ⇒ **kŕḱ-o-* (IE) — Skt. *kr̥śá-* adj. 'lean, thin, emaciated, slim, weak' < **krḱ-o-*; Lith. *karšėti* (*karšėju*) 'to reach the end of one's life, become frail with age, die' < **korḱ-eh₁(-ie)-*.

Also cf. ON *horr*, Icel. *hor* m. 'starvation' < **hurha-* and Icel. *hora-st* w.v. 'to become skinny'. It is possible to speculate that **hungru-* 'hunger' belongs here, too; the word must then have been dissimilated from a form **kr-n̥-ḱ-ru-* with a nasal infix.

hurhwa- n. 'dirt, mucus' — ON *horr* m. 'mucus', Icel. *hor* m. 'id.', OE *horh, horg, horu* m./n. 'spit', OS *horu, horo* n. 'mud', ODu. *horo* n. 'mud', MDu. *hore* n. 'mud, dirt', OHG *horo* n. 'dirt, mud, manure' ⇒ **kork-uo-*(?) (WEUR?) — To MIr. *corcach* 'moor' < **kork-āko-*?

Also cf. OE *ge-horwian, -horgian* w.v. 'to spit upon, defile' < **-hurwōjan-* and *hyran* w.v. 'to spit' < **hurhwjan-*. Possibly related to MIr. *corcach*. Other connections, e.g. to Gr. κόρυζα 'mucus', are doubtful.

hurja- m./n. 'burning coal(?)' — Go. *hauri* n. 'coal, burning charcoal, ember', ON *hyrr* m. 'fire' ⇒ **krh₃-io-* (NEUR) — Lat. *carbō* m. 'piece of charcoal'(?); Lith. *kùrti* (*kuriù*) 'to light, kindle', Latv. *kuŗt* 'to light, kindle, heat' < **krH-ie-*; with secondary ablaut: OCS *kuriti*, Ru. *kurít'* (*kurjú*), SCr. dial. *kúriti* 'to smoke, set fire to' < quasi-PIE **kourh₃-eie-*.

A *ja*-stem created to a Germanic and Balto-Slavic root **kerh₃-* (with *h₃* because of the vocalization of *-r̥-* to PBSl. **-ur-*). See also **herþa-*.

hurjan- w.v. 'to repeat?' — OE *hyrian, on-hyrian* w.v. 'to imitate' ⇒ **kr̥h₂/₃-ie-* (IE).

Semantically close to OHG *and-harōn* w.v. 'to imitate' < **harōjan-* < **korh₂/₃-eh₂-ie-* and ON *herma* w.v. 'to relate, repeat, report; to imitate, mimic' < **harmjan-*. The latter appears to have been derived from a lost *mo*-stem **harma-*, which is in *Schwebeablaut* with **hrōma-* (q.v.).

hurna- n. 'horn' — Go. *haurn* n. 'id.', ON *horn* n. 'id.', Far. *horn* n. 'horn; corner', Elfd. *uonn* n. 'horn', OE *horn* m. 'id.', E *horn*, OFri. *horn* m. 'id.', Du. *horen* c. 'id.', OHG *horn* n. 'horn; point, end', G *Horn* n. 'horn' ⇒ **ḱrn-o-* (IE) — Skt. *śr̥ṅga-* 'horn' < **ḱr-n-go-*; Lat. *cornū* n. 'id.' < **ḱr-nu-*; W *carn* 'hoof' < **kr-no-* (= PGm. **hurna-*); W *asgwrn*, Bret. *askorn* 'bone' < **h₂est-kor-n-*.

An old IE word for 'horn', the derivational base of **heruta-* 'deer' < **ḱer-ud-* as well as **hersan-* ~ **herznan-* 'brain' < **ḱer-h₂-s-*.

hurnuta-/ō- m./f. 'hornet' — OS *hornut* m., *horneta* f. 'id.', MLG *hornte* 'id.', MDu. *hornete, hornte, hoornte* f. 'id.', OHG *hornuz, horniz* m. 'id.', G *Hornisse* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱrh₂-s-n-* (IE/EUR) — Lat. *crābrō* m. 'hornet' < **ḱrh₂-s-r-on-*; OLith. *širšuõ* m. 'id.' < **ḱrh₂s-on-* and *širšė, širšẽ* f. < **ḱrh₂-s-en-, *-er-*; OPru. *sirsilis* m. 'id.' < **ḱrh₂s-il-io-*; Latv. *sirsenis* m. 'id.', CS *s(t)rъšenь*, Ru. *šéršen'* m. 'id.', SCr. Čak. *sr̀šen* m. 'big wasp, hornet' < **ḱrh₂-s-en-(i)o-*.

A formation created to the PIE root **ḱrh₂s-* by the addition of the animal suffix **-ut(a/ō)-* (cf. **albut-* 'swan' and **heruta-* 'stag'). It gave rise to the feminine OE *hyrnet(e/u), hyrnytte* f. 'id.', which through **hürnūttū* developed from **hurznutjō-*. Together with the Baltic and Latin forms, the word goes back to an *r/n*-stem, possibly **ḱrh₂-s-ér, *ḱrh₂-s-n-ós*. Du. *horzel* 'hornet' appears to be an independent formation **hurs-lo-* from **ḱrh₂-s-lo-*, but it may also continue **krh₂-s-ro-* with dissimilation of the second *r*. If so, it would be fully parallel to Lat. *crābrō*.

hursa- n. 'horse' — ON *hross* n. 'id.', Far. *ross*, poet. *hors* n. 'id.', OE *hors* n. 'id.', E *horse*, OFri. *hors* n. 'id.', OS *hros, hors* n. 'id.', Du. *ros* n. 'id.', OHG *ros, hros* n. 'id.', G *Ross* n. 'id.' (DRV/LW).

The word has been derived from the verb **hurzōn-* 'to rush', which is akin to Lat. *currō* 'to run' (cf. De Vaan 2008: 157-8). This seems attractive in view of the fact that Olr. *carr* 'vehicle, cart', which similarly can be derived from **krs-o-*, contains the same root. Another possibility is that the word - like **paþa-* 'path' and ON *refr* 'fox' (see **fuhsa-*) was borrowed from the Alans during the Migration Period (Brøndal 1928: 5, 15f., 2f.). It is remarkable, at any rate, that Ossetic *wyrs/urs*, the continuant of PIIr. **uršan-* 'male animal' is the only Iranian language in which the word has come to mean 'stallion', cf. Skt. *vr̥ṣan-* m. 'man, male animal (bull, stallion)', YAv. *aršan-* m. 'man, male'.

***hurton-* ~ *hruton-** w.v. 'to rush, tumble' — Nw. *rota* w.v. 'to slide down', MHG *hurzen* w.v. 'to rush' ⇒ **krt-néh₂-* (EUR).

The zero-grade variant of the iterative **hratt/dōn-* 'to rush, tumble', continuing Pre-Gm. 3sg. **hurttōþi*, 3pl. **hurdunanþi* < **krt-néh₂-*. Nw. *hrota* < **hrutōn-*, which received an inverted zero grade on the basis of the full-grade forms, gave rise to the secondary strong verb ON, Icel. *hrjóta* 'to fall, fly, be slung', Nw. *rjota* 'to fall down' < **hreut(t)an-*.

***hurzōn-** w.v. 'to rush' — Far. *hurra* w.v. 'to take off, roar', Nw. *hurre* w.v. 'to turn, swirl, rumble', E *to hurry*, MHG *hurren* w.v. 'to dash' ⇒ **krs-neh₂-* (EUR) — Lat. *currō* 'to run' < **kors-e-*; OIr. *carr*, W *car* 'vehicle' < **krs-o-*; Gr. ἐπί-κουρος m. 'helper'.

The semantics of the different forms point to an iterative 3sg. **hurznōþi*, 3pl. **hurzunanþi* < **krs-néh₂-*. Possibly, this formation contains the same root **hursa-* 'horse' (q.v.).

***hūsa-** n. 'house' — Go. *-hus* n. 'id.', ON *hús* n. 'id.', Far. *hús* n. 'id.', Elfd. *aus* n. 'id.', OE *hūs* n. 'id.', E *house*, OFri. *hūs* n. 'id.', OS *hūs* n. 'id.', Du. *huis* n. 'id.', OHG *hūs* n. 'id.', G *Haus* n. 'id.' ⇒ **kuH-so-*(?) (GM).

An etymologically obscure word. The old comparison with Gr. κεύθω 'to hide' is erroneous, because the related **huzda-* 'hoard' (q.v.) < **kud^h-to-* proves that the root was **keud^h-* without a laryngeal. In view of the neuter gender of **hūsa-*, it is plausible that the word represents a thematicized *s*-stem to the root **kuH-* 'to cover' (cf. **hawō-* 'hide'), which would point to an original meaning 'shelter'.

***hut(t)ōn-** w.v. 'to run' — Nw. *hotta*, *hutta* w.v. 'to quickly move up and down, go fast, run around', MHG *hossen*, *hotzen* w.v. 'to run', G dial. *hutzen* w.v. 'to incite' ⇒ **k^(w)ud-néh₂-* (IE) — Skt. *códati* 'to urge, impel, incite' < **k^(w)éud-e-*; Latv. *kûdinât* 'to fly, urge, goad' < **k^(w)ud-néh₂-*.

The High German forms point to an iterative paradigm 3sg. **huttōþi*, 3pl. **hutunanþi* < **kud-néh₂-ti*, **kud-nh₂-énti*. This formation could be fully parallel to Latv. *kûdinât*.

***huzda-** n. 'treasure' — Go. *huzd* n. 'id.', ON *hodd* m. 'id.', OE *hord* n./m. 'id.', E *hoard*, OS *hord* n. 'id.', OHG *hort* n. 'id.', MHG *hort* n. 'id.' ⇒ **kud^h-to-* (IE?) — Gr. κεύθω 'to hide' < **kéud^h-e-*.

In view of OSw. *hydda* f. 'shelter, hut' < **huzdjōn-*, it seems plausible that the word is related to Gr. κεύθω. If so, it can be reconstructed as **kud^h-to-*, assuming that PGm. **-zd-* arose by Bartholomae's law.

hūzjan- w.v. 'to hire' — OE *hȳr(i)an* w.v. 'id.', E *to hire*, OFri. *hēra* w.v. 'id.', MLG *hūren* w.v. 'id.', MDu. *huren* w.v. 'id.', Du. *huren* 'id.' ⇒ ***kuHs-ié-*** (IE) — Hitt. *kuššan-* n. 'pay, salary, fee, hire' < ***kuHs-n-***.

The verb has been compared to the Hittite neuter deverbative *kuššan-* (Goetze 1954: 189), which seems plausible.

hwa- pron. 'who? what?' — Go. *ƕas*, acc. *ƕana*, n. *ƕata* pron. 'id.', ON *hverr* (< ***hwaz-ja-***), n. *hvat* pron. 'id.', OE *hwā*, n. *hwæt* pron. 'id.', E *who*, *what*, OS *hwē*, n. *hwat* pron. 'id.', Du. *wie*, *wat* pron. 'id.', OHG *wer*, *hwer*, n. *waz*, *hwaz* pron. 'id.', G *wer*, n. *was* pron. 'id.' ⇒ ***kʷo-*** (IE) — Hitt. *kui-* ~ *kue-* ~ *kuṷa-* pron. 'who, what', Skt. *kí-* pron. 'which', Gr. τίς pron. 'who, which, what', Lat. *quis*, *quae*, *quid* pron. 'who, what', OIr. *cía*, OW *pui*, MW *pwy* pron. 'who', OCS *čьto*, Ru. *čto*, SCr. *štȍ* pron. 'what'.

The Indo-European interrogative pronoun. The Germanic evidence points to masculine ***hwaz*** (Go. *ƕas*) vs. ***hwiz*** (OS *hwē*, OHG *wer*) < ***kʷe/os***, feminine ***hwō*** < ***kʷeh₂*** and neuter ***hwat*** < ***kʷod***. See also ***hwaþera-*** 'who/which of two'.

hwainō- f. 'red-top grass' — ON *hvein* top. 'swamp(?)', Nw. *kvein(e)* f. 'red-top grass; hair', Sw. dial. *hven* 'red-top grass; swamp', Da. *hvene* c. 'id.' (GM).

A formation ablauting with Icel. *hvin-gras* 'red-top' (cf. the Scand. loanword E *whin* 'furze, gorze') and Nw. dial. *kvine* f. 'April' (< "grass month"?) < ***hwin-***. The red-top or black bent is a high grass that grows in poorer soils (hence the occasional semantic shift to 'swamp'). In view of the Norwegian adjective *kvein* 'sharp' < ***hwaina-*** (< ***kʷoi-no-***?), I assume that it was named after its tall stalks. No certain extra-Gm. etymology. The received links with Latv. *svīnît* 'to soil oneself' and Lat. *caenum*, *coenum* n. 'dirt' must be abandoned in view of the primary meaning 'sharp'.

hwaitja- m. 'wheat' — Go. *ƕaiteis* m. 'id.', ON *hveiti* n. 'id.', Far. *hveiti* f./n. 'id.', OE *hwǣte* m. 'id.', E *wheat*, OFri. *wēt* m. 'id.', OS *hwēti* m. 'id.', MDu. *weit(e)* m./f. 'id.', OHG *weizi*, *hweizi* m. 'id.', G *Weizen* m. 'id.' (DRV).

A term usually taken to be derived from ***hwīta-*** ~ ***hwitta-*** 'white' (q.v.). The suffixation with ***-ja-*** is parallel to ***hersja(n)-*** 'millet' and follows from the fact that the formation started out as a collective. Note that the preservation of the diphthong of MDu. *weit* is regular before an umlaut factor (cf. e.g. ***aik-*** 'oak', ***gait-*** and ***hraini-***).

hwaja- ~ ***huja-*** m. 'whey' — OE *hwæg* n. 'id.', E *whey*, OFri. *wāi* m. 'id.', WFri. *waai* c./n. 'id.', MDu. *wey*, *hoey* f./m. 'id.', EDu. *wei*, dial. *hui* c. 'id.' ⇒ ***tkʷ-oi-*** (IE) — Skt. *kṣīrá-* n. 'milk', NP *šīr* 'id.' < ***tkʷiH-ro-*** (cf. Rasmussen 1990; Rasmussen 1999: 2, 385); Alb. *hirrë* f. 'whey' < ***tkʷiH-r-neh₂-***(?).

A neuter collective that, in view of the remarkable ablaut between **hwaj(j)a-* and **huja-*, may go back to a primary *i*-stem **tkʷ-ōi*, gen. **tkʷ-i-os*, acc. **tkʷ-oi-m*, coll. *tkʷ-ih₂*. It is possible to connect this etymon to ON *þél* 'curdled milk', which is usually derived from **þinhla-* (q.v.). The alternative link with Lat. *cāseus* f. 'cheese' and OCS *kvasъ*, Ru. *kvas*, SCr. *kvâs* m. 'type of beer made from bread, kvass', which by Schijver 1991: 252 have correspondingly been traced back to **kHu-ōs-* and **kueH-s-*, can only be retained by deriving **hwaja-* from **kuH̯-io-* or **kuH-oi-o-* with laryngeal metathesis. The variant **huja-* must then continue Pre-Gm. **kūi̯ó-* < **kuH-io-* with pretonic shortening, and may actually have been **hujja-* if Holtzmann's law applied to it.

****hwalfa-*** n. 'vault' — ON *hvalf* n. 'concavity', Icel., Far. *hválv* n. 'arch, vault', OE *hwealf* f. 'arched covering' ⇒ **kʷólp-o-* (EUR) — Gr. κόλπος m. 'bosom; womb; hollow space, pocket' < **kʷolp-o-* (with dissimilation of **kʷ* to **k* as in καρπός m. 'wrist' < **kʷrp-o-*).

Also cf. OE *hwealf* adj. 'vaulted' < **hwalba-* < **kʷolp-ó-*. The adjective probably gave rise to ON *hvelfa*, Far. *hvølva*, OE *be-hwielfan*, OS *be-hwelƀian*, Du. *welven*, MHG *welben*, G *wölben* 'to cause to turn (over), vault' < **hwalbjan-*, but it is possible, too, that this formation represents a causative directly derived from the strong verb **hwelfan-* (q.v.).

****hwali-*** m. 'whale' — ON *hvalr* m. 'id.', Far. *hvalur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *wal* m. 'id.', OE *hwæl* m. 'id.', E *whale*, MDu. *wal-visch* 'id.', Du. *wal-vis* 'id.', OHG *wal*, *wal-fisk* m. 'id.', G *Wal*, *Wal-fisch* m. 'id.' ⇒ **kʷol-es-* (IE?) — OPru. *kalis* 'wels catfish' < **kʷol-i-*?

The word probably contains the PIE root **kʷel-* 'to turn' (see **hweula-* 'wheel'), cf. Du. *tuimelaar* 'bottlenose dolphin' (lit. "tumbler"). In view of the closely related formations OHG *walira* f. 'whale' < **hwalizō(n)-* and G *Wels* 'wels catfish, sheatfish' < **hwalisa-*, it is conceivable that the stem **hwali-* developed from an old hysterokinetic *s*-stem **kʷol-és*, gen. **kʷol-s-ós*, acc. **kʷol-és-m*. Schrijver 2001: 423, on the other hand, adduced Lat. *squalus* 'unidentified sea-fish', OPru. *kalis* 'catfish' and Fi. *kala* 'fish' to substantiate a European substrate word. Also note Icel, *hvelja*, Far. *hvølja* f. 'whaleskin' < quasi-PGm. **hwaljōn-*.

****hwannō-*** f. '(stalk of) angelica' — ON *hvǫnn* f. 'id.', Far. *hvonn* f. 'id.', Nw. *kvann* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ḱuondʰ-neh₂-* (EUR) — Lith. *šveñdrai* m.pl. 'cattails' < **ḱuendʰ-ro-*; Lat. *combrētum* 'kind of rush' < **ḱuendʰ-r-* (for the suffix, cf. *corn-ētum* 'plantation of cornel-cherries'); ?Ir. *contran* 'water horehound' < **ḱundʰ-r-*? (cf. Heiermeier 1982); Ir. *cuinneog* 'angelica' is a loanword from ON *hvǫnn*.

Perhaps also Swi. *wannebobbel* '*Arum maculatum*' belongs here. The form *quander*, which is called Danish-Faroese by Pokorny, was recorded during John Stanley's 1789 expedition to the Faroe Islands and Iceland, and probably goes back to the Faroese plural *hvannir*. Outside Germanic, potential cognates occur only in the European dialects, which is an argument against assuming a PIE origin. Given the reported use of the plant as a cure for dogbites, however, it is possible that we are dealing with a compound with PIE **ḱuon-* 'dog' (for which see **hunda- 2*).

hwapjan- w.v. 'to choke' — Go. *af-ƕapjan* w.v. 'id.', MHG *ver-wepfen* w.v. 'to go bad' ⇒ **kʷh₂p-ie-* (EUR) — Close to Gr. καπνός m. 'smoke, steam' < **kʷh₂p-no-* (with dissimilation of **kʷ...p-* > **k...p-*); Lat. *vapor* m. 'steam' < **kʷh₂p-os-*; Latv. *kûpêt* 'to smoke, steam' < **kuh₂p-eh₁-*.

The Germanic base **hwap-* is clearly related to the European root **kʷh₂p-* or **kuh₂p-* (for the formal difficulties, see Schrijver 1991: 260-263), which implies that its root-final **p* arose in a formation affected by Kluge's law, e.g. in an iterative 3sg. **hwappōþi*, 3pl. **hwabunanþi-* < **kʷh₂p-néh₂-*. Also cf. Go. *ƕapnan* w.v. 'to be choked, be quenched'. Lith. *kvãpas* m. 'smoke' looks like a Germanic loanword, cf. Sw. *kvav* n. 'smokiness' < **kwaba-*, for which see **kwēbjan-*.

hwar adv. 'where' — Go. *ƕar* adv. 'id.', ON *hvar* adv. 'id.', Far. *hvar* adv. 'id.', Elfd. *war* adv. 'id.', OE *hwār, hwǣr* adv. 'id.', E *where*, OFri. *hwār* adv. 'id.', OS *hwar* adv. 'id.', Du. *waar* adv. 'id.', OHG *wā, wār, hwār* adv. 'id.', G *wo* adv. 'id.' ⇒ **kʷo-r* (IE) — Lat. *cūr* adv. 'why', Skt. *kár-hi* adv. 'when', Alb. *kur* afv. 'when' < **kʷor*; Lith. *kuř* adv. 'where' < **kʷu-r*.

An adverb created to the PIE root **kʷo-* by the addition of the locative suffix **-r* (cf. **þar* 'there'). The WGm. forms pointing to **hwār* do not continue PGm. **hwēr*, but arose by monosyllabic lengthening of the vowel, like e.g. Lat. *cūr* < OLat. *quōr* < PIE **kʷor*.

hwarbjan- w.v. 'to make turn' — ON *hverfa* w.v. 'to turn', OE *hwierfan* w.v. 'to turn, to revolve', OS *(gi-)hwerbian* w.v. 'to whirl, turn, reverse, change', OHG *werben, hwerben* w.v. 'to turn' ⇒ **kʷorp-éie-*? (IE).

The causative to **hwerban-*.

hwarma- m. 'eyelid' — ON *hvarmr, augna-hvarmr* m. 'id.', Far. *hvarmur, varmur** m. 'id.', Nw. *augne-kvarm, -kvarv* m. 'edge of the eyelids', Elfd. *ogen-walm* m. 'eyelid' (IE?).

The oldest Nordic languages have forms pointing to **hwarma-*. Far. *eygna-barmur* 'edge of the eyelids, area around the eyes' and Elfd. *ogen-walm* are probably distortions, especially the latter, which if it really continued ON **augna-hvalmr* should have developed into ***ogen-uom*. Pos-

sibly, the *l* of *ogen-walm* arose from *r* by early dissimilation, cf. ON *hvarmr*. This word can be reconstructed as ***hwarb-ma-***, a *mo*-stem derived from ***hwerban-*** (q.v.). Also cf. Nw. *kvarv* m. 'corner' < ***hwarba-***, which reappears in Nw. *augne-kvarv*.

hwassa- adj. 'sharp' — Go. *ƕassaba* adv. 'id.', ON *hvass* adj. 'id.', Far. *hvassur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *wass* adj. 'id.', OE *hwæs* adj. 'id.', OS *hwass* adj. 'rough, shaggy, serrated', OHG *was, hwas* adj. 'sharp, strict', MHG *was* adj. 'sharp, pointy' ⇒ ***$k^{w}h_1d$-to-*** (DRV).

The original participle to ***hwētan-*** (q.v.).

hwata- adj. 'quick' — ON *hvatr* adj. 'active, brisk, vigorous', OE *hwæt* adj. 'fast, bold', MDu. *wat* adj. 'sharp', OHG *waz, hwaz* adj. 'fierce, sharp' ⇒ ***$k^{w}h_1d$-o-*** (IE).

Adjective to ***hwētan-*** < ***$k^{w}éh_1d$-e-***. Cf. the factitive Go. *ga-ƕatjan*, ON *hvetja*, OE *hwettan*, OHG *wezzen* w.v. 'to incite, sharpen, whet'.

hwaþera- pron. 'who of two?' — Go. *ƕaþar* pron. 'id.', ON *hvárr* pron. 'id.', Icel. *hvor* pron. 'id.', Far. *hvør* pron. 'id.', OE *hwæðer* pron. 'id.', E *whether*, OFri. *hweder, hwether, hwoder, hoder* pron. 'id.', OS *hwethar* pron. 'id.', OHG *wedar, hwedar* pron. 'id.', MHG *weder* pron. 'id.' ⇒ ***$k^{w}o$-t(e/o)r-o-*** (IE) — Skt. *katará-*, Av. *katāra-*, Gr. πότερος, Lat. *uter* pron. 'which of two', Lith. *katràs*, dial. *kataràs*, Latv. *katrs* pron. 'id.', OCS *kotorъi* pron. 'who, someone', Ru. *kotóryj* pron., rel. 'which, who', SCr. dial. *koteri* 'which' < ***$k^{w}o$-t(e/o)ro-***.

An Indo-European pronoun derived from ***$k^{w}o$-*** 'who, which' (see ***hwa-***) with the contrastive suffix ***ter-o-***.

hwaþōn- f. 'foam' — Go. *ƕaþo* f. 'foam', Sw. *kva* f. 'id.' ⇒ ***kuotH-eh_2-*** (IE) — Skt. *kváthati* 'to boil, seethe' < ***kuétH-e-*** (cf. *kvāthá-* m. 'decoct').

A formation derived from the obscure root ***kuotH-***, cf. Go. *ƕaþjan* w.v. 'to foam (at the mouth)' and OE *hwaþerian, hwoþerian* 'to foam'. MDu. *hotten* w.v. 'to coagulate (of milk)' could technically represent a related iterative ***kutH-néh$_2$-***. The often cited connection with OCS *kvasъ* 'sourdough', OCS *vъ(s)-kysěti* 'to become sour' and Latv. *kûsât* 'to boil' is formally difficult.

hwehla- ~ ***hweula-*** n. 'wheel' — ON *hjól* n. 'id.', OE *hweohhol, hwēol, hweowol, hweogol* n. 'id.', E *wheel*, OFri. *fiāl, tiāl* n. 'id.', MDu. *wiel* n. 'id.', Du. *wiel* n. 'id.', G *Wiel* n. 'id.' ⇒ ***$k^{w}e$-$k^{w}l$-*** (IE) — Skt. *cakrá-*, YAv. *caxra-* m./n. 'wheel' < ***$k^{w}ek^{w}lo$-***; ToA *kukäl*, ToB *kokale* m. 'cart, wagon, chariot', Gr. κύκλος 'wheel' < ***k^{w}-kl-o-*** (with vocalized labialization as in γυνή 'woman' < ***$g^{w}n$-eh_2-*** (see ***kwenō-***) and ***-uk^{w}-*** > ***-uk-*** as in βουκόλος 'cowherd' < ***$g^{w}eh_3$-u-$k^{w}ol$-o-***); without reduplication cf. Gr. πόλος m. 'axle', Lat. *colus* m. 'distaff' < ***$k^{w}el$-o-*** and W *pel* 'ball', OPru. *kelan* 'wheel' < ***$k^{w}el$-o-***.

In view of the OE variation of *hweohhol* < **hwehla-* and *hwēol* < **hweula-*, there is reason to believe that the original paradigm was an accentually mobile *o*-stem, viz. sg. **k*^{w}*é-k*^{w}*l-om*, pl. **k*^{w}*e-k*^{w}*l-éh*$_2$ (cf. Schaffner 2002: 221ff.). Since, however, the word was a reduplicated noun with ablaut in the reduplication syllable, it is not certain that the thematic formations found all across Indo-European are primary. It may well be that the original paradigm was e.g. sg. **k*^{w}*é-k*^{w}*l*, pl. **k*^{w}*-k*^{w}*l-éh*$_2$ (cf. **bebura- 1* 'beaver' and **aikwernan-* ~ **īkwernan-* 'squirrel'). ON *hv*$^{(é)}$*l* and Far. poet. *hvæl* n. 'wheel' have been adduced to reconstruct a non-reduplicated form **hwela-* (cf. OPru. *kelan*) < **k*^{w}*el-o-*, but they are probably better unified with OE *hweohhol* < **hwehla-*.

hwekkan- s.v. 'to be startled' — Far. *hvøkka* s.v. 'to be startled; to diminish; to begin slowly' ⇒ **k*^{w}*eǵ*^{h}*-ne-* (EUR) — OCS *čeznǫti* 'to vanish, perish'; *is-čeznǫti* 'to flinch', Lat. *conquinīscō, -ere* 'to crouch down' < **k*^{w}*eǵ*^{h}*-n-e-*.

Both the Slavic and the Latin forms point to a thematic nasal present of the root **k*^{w}*eǵ*^{h}*-*, cf. the Lat. perf. *-quēx-* < **k*^{w}*ēǵ*^{h}*-s-*. The same nasal present seems to be extant in Far. *hvøkka* < ON **hvekka* (Old Norse only has the preterite *hvak*) < PGm. **hwekkan-*. Also cf. the causative Far. *hvøkkja* w.v. 'to frighten, make start' < **hwakkjan-*.

hwelfan- s.v. 'to vault, revolve' — ON *holfinn* adj. 'vaulted', MDu. *welven* s./w. 'to vault; to turn, revolve', Du. *welven* w.v. 'id.', MHG *walb* pret. 'id.' ⇒ **k*^{w}*élp-e-* (EUR).

A marginally attested strong verb from a European root **k*^{w}*elp-*. See also **hwalfa-*.

hwera- m. 'kettle' — ON *hverr* m. 'id.', OE *hwer* m. 'id.', OHG *wer*, *hwer* m. 'id.' ⇒ **k*^{w}*er-o-* (IE) — Skt. *carú-* m. 'kettle, pot' < **k*^{w}*er-u-*; Ir. *coire*, W *pair* 'id.' < **k*^{w}*or-io-*; OCS *črěnъ* m. 'frying pan' < **k*^{w}*er-no-*; Ru. *čara* f. 'bowl' < **k*^{w}*ēr-eh*$_2$*-*.

Also cf. ON *hverna* f. 'pot' < **hwernōn-*. The Icel. variant *hvarna*, which occurs beside *hverna*, was back-formed from the oblique cases of the secondarily rounded form *hvōrna* (Magnússon 1989: 393). Go. *ƕairnei* f. 'skull' < **hwernīn-* is usually compared as well.

hwerban- s.v. 'to turn, move around' — Go. *ƕairban* s.v. 'to go around, circulate', ON *hverfa* s.v. 'to turn; to disappear', Far. *hvørva* s.v. 'to disappear, vanish', OE *hweorfan* s.v. 'to turn, change', OFri. *hwerva* s.v. 'to turn, move around, swap', OS *hwerƀan* s.v. 'to (re)turn', Du. *werven* w.v. 'to recruit', OHG *werban*, *hwerban* s.v. 'to return, drive', MHG *werben*, *werven* s.v. 'to turn, be concerned with', G *werben* w.v. 'to recruit' ⇒ **k*^{w}*érp-e-*(?) (EUR?).

The received etymology connects the verb to Gr. καρπός m. 'wrist', allegedly from *k^wrp-o- with dissimilatory delabialization of *k^w and analogical metathesis of -ρα- to -αρ- (cf. Pokorny IEW: 631). It is unclear why Go. *ƕairban* and G *werben* generalized the Verner variant **b*, but MHG *werven* may be a vestige of original **hwerfan-* < *k^wérp-e-*.

hwerhwetjō- f. 'gourd(?)' — OE *hwerhwette* f. 'cucumber', ME *hwerwette, werwette* 'cucumber, gourd' ⇒ *k^werk^{w}et-* (NIE) — Lat. *cucurbita* f. 'gourd'.

The English attestations can be reconstructed as PGm. **hwerhwetjō-*, continuing quasi-PIE *k^werk^{w}et-ieh$_2$-*. The word is reminiscent of, but formally irreconcilable with Lat. *cucurbita*. I therefore assume that a European word referring to one of the members of the *Cucurbitaciae* was adopted by Germanic and Italic independently when these languages had settled in Europe. The word no doubt belongs to the layer of agricultural terms that are clearly non-Indo-European, cf. **arwīt-* 'pea' and **murhōn-* 'carrot'.

hwēsan- s.v. 'to wheeze' — OE *hwǣsan* s.v. 'id.', E *to wheeze* ⇒ *ḱués-e-* (IE) — Skt. *śvásati* 'to hiss, breathe, sigh' (cf. Skt. *śúṣma-* m. 'hissing, roaring'), Lat. *queror* 'to complain' < *ḱues-*; YAv. *suši* du.f. 'the lungs' < *ḱus-ih$_1$*.

Also cf. ON *hvæsa* w.v. 'to hiss', Far. *hvæsa* w.v. 'to wheeze', Elfd. *węsa* w.v. 'to breathe' (with secondary nasal vowel) < **hwēsjan-* and MDu. *hissen, hussen* w.v. 'to whistle, hiss', ME *hissen* w.v. 'to hiss (of serpents, geese); to whistle', E *to hiss* < **husjan-*(?) < **ḱus-ie-*(?).

hwētan- s.v. 'to stab, pierce' — ON *hváta* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *k^wéh$_1$d-e-* (IE?).

A marginally attested strong verb (ON *hváta* is weak, but the poet. form *hvátinn* 'pierced' probably continues the original strong past participle) without any certain extra-Germanic cognates. The link with Skt. *códati* 'to stimulate' < **kéud-e-* (for which see **hut(t)ōn-*) cannot be maintained (*pace* Pokorny IEW: 636), because the Germanic ablaut points to a root *k^weh$_1$d-* rather than **kuēd-* with *Schwebeablaut*. This is especially clear from **hwassa-* 'sharp' (q.v.), which continues the original past participle *k^wh$_1$̥d-to-* with vocalization of a laryngeal. See also **hwata-* and **hwōtjan-*.

hwijōn- w.v. 'to whinny' — Icel. *hvía* w.v. 'id.', MHG *wihen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *k^wi-eh$_2$-ie-* (GM).

A verb of onomatopoetic origin. G *wiehern* 'id.' is a frequentative of MHG *wihen*. Also cf. OHG *weijōn*, MHG *weihen* 'id.' < **hwaijōn-* < *k^woi-eh$_2$-ie-*. Related to **hwīnan-*?

hwīlō- f. 'while' — Go. *ƕeila* f. 'period, while', ON *hvíla* f. 'bed', Far. *hvíla* f. 'rest, repose; bed', Elfd. *waila* f. 'while', OE *hwīl* f. 'id.', E *while*, OFri. *hwīl(e)* f. 'id.', OS *hwīla* f. 'id.', MDu. *wile* f. 'id.', OHG *wīla, hwīla* f. 'id.', G *Weile* f. 'id.' ⇒

*k^wih_1-l-eh_2- (IE) — Av. *šāiti-* 'joy', OP *šiyāti-* 'comfort' < *k^wieh_1-ti-*; Av. *š(ii)āta-* adj. 'happy', Lat. *quiētus* adj. 'quiet' < *k^wieh_1-to-*; Lat. *quiēs, -ētis* f. 'sleep, rest, repose' < *k^wieh_1-t-* (hence *quiēscō* 'to rest'); OCS *po-čiti* 'to rest' < *k^wih_1-ie-* (cf. OCS *po-koi* m. 'rest' < *k^woih_1-o-*); Arm. *hangč'im* 'to rest' < *sm-k^wih_1-*.

Also cf. Go. *hveilan* w.v. 'to hesitate', ON *hvíla* w.v. 'to rest, lie down', OHG *wīlōn* w.v. 'to stay, reside', G *weilen* w.v. 'to linger' < *hwīlēn-*.

hwīnan- s.v. 'to whistle, whiz' — ON *hvína* s.v. 'id.', OE *hwīnan* s.v. 'id.', ME *to whine* ⇒ *$k^wéi$-n-e-* (GM).

Also cf. the causative OE *a-hwænian* w.v. 'to vex, trouble' < *-hwainjan-* and - without the nasal infix - *hwijōn-* 'to whinny'. It seems probable that the root originally was onomatopoetic.

hwinda- m. 'greyhound' — OFri. *hwynd* 'id.', MDu. *wint* m. 'id.', Du. *wind-hond* 'id.', OHG *wint* m. 'id.', G *Wind-hund* 'id.' (IE).

The full-grade form of *hunda- 2* 'dog' (Pijnenburg 1981). The old view that the word means 'Wendish hound' is obliterated by the late OFri. form *hwynden* pl. 'greyhounds' with initial *hw-* (Bremmer 1993: 31-2).

hwīta- ~ ***hwitta-*** adj. 'white' — Go. *hveits* adj. 'id.', ON *hvítr* adj. 'id.', Far. *hvítur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *wait* adj. 'id.', OE *hwīt* adj. 'id.', E *white*, OFri. *(h)wīt* adj. 'id.', OS *hwīt* adj. 'id.', Du. *wit* adj. 'id.', OHG *wīz, hwīz* adj. 'id.', G *weiß* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *ḱu(e)it-nó- (IE) — Skt. *śvítna-* adj. 'white, whitish' < *ḱuit-no-*; Skt. *śvetá-* adj. 'white, bright', YAv. *spaēta-*, MP *spēd*, NP *sapēd* adj. 'white' < *ḱuoit-o-*; Skt. *śvitrá-* adj. 'white, whitish' < *ḱuit-ro-*.

A formally complicated word. Most dialects have *hwīta-*, a full-grade form continuing Pre-Gm. *hwītta- < *ḱueit-nó- (with Kluge's law), but OFri. *wit* and Du. *wit* with a short vowel point to a zero-grade variant *hwitta- < *ḱuit-nó-*. The resulting ablaut alternation raises the question of whether the adjective originally may have been athematic, e.g. a heteroclitic *ḱuéit-ōr*, gen. *ḱuit-n-ós*. For a similar type of adjectival ablaut, see *stōra- ~ *stura-* 'big'.

hwōsan- s.v. 'to cough' — OE *hwōsan* s.v. 'id.', ME *hwōsen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ *$k^wéh_2s$-e-* (IE) — Skt. *kā́s-* f. 'cough' < *k^weh_2s-*; Lith. *kósėti* (*kósiu*) 'to cough' < *k^weh_2s-eh$_1$-*; Lith. *kosulỹs*, Latv. *kāsulis*, Ru. *kášel'*, SCr. *kȁšalj* m. 'cough' < *k^weh_2s-ul-io-* (the Slavic *-š-* points to the pre-existence of a present *k^weh_2s-ie-*); MIr. *casachtach* f. 'the act of coughing'; W *pas* m. 'whooping cough' < *k^wh_2s-to-*; Alb. *kollë* f. 'cough' < *k^weh_2s-l-eh_2-*.

The primary verbal root served as the basis for *hwōstan-* 'cough' (q.v.).

hwōstan- m. 'cough' — ON *hósti* m. 'id.', OE *hwōsta* m. 'id.', MDu. *hoeste* m./f. 'id.', Du. *hoest* c. 'id.', OHG *huosto* m. 'id.', MHG *huoste* m. 'id.', G *Husten* m. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from **hwōsan-* (q.v.) with a dental suffix. A denominal verb is ON *hósta*, OE *hwōsta*, OHG *huostōn*, G *husten*, Du. *hoesten* < **hwōstōjan-*.

hwōtjan- w.v. 'to bore; to threaten' — Go. *ƕotjan* w.v. 'to reprimand, warn sternly, threaten', ON *hœta* w.v. 'to threaten', OSw. *høta* w.v. 'to threaten; to bore a hole in the ground' ⇒ **kʷoh₁d-éie-* (IE).

The formation **hwōtjan-* probably consists of a merger of the causative to **hwētan-* (q.v.) 'to stab' and a secondary *jan*-formation to Go. *ƕota*, ON *hót* f. 'threat' < **hwōtō-* < **kʷoh₁d-eh₂-*. This noun also gave rise to ON *hóta* w.v. 'to threaten' < **hwōtōjan-*. Cf. **hwata-* and **hwassa-*.

I

****i-*** pron. 'he/she, that one' — Go. *is*, n. *ita* pron. 'id.', Du. *hij*, n. *het* pron. 'id.' (with secondary *h-*), OHG *er*, n. *iz* pron. 'id.', G *er*, n. *es* pron. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁i-* (IE) — Skt. *ayám*, f. *iyám*, n. *idám* pron. 'this here, he', OAv. *aiiəm*, f. YAv. *īm*, n. OAv. *ištˇ* pron. 'this, that', Lat. *is*, f. *ea*, n. *id* pron. 'this, that', OIr. *é* pron. 'he', n. *ed* 'it', Lith. *jìs* 'he', f. *jì* 'she', OCS *ja* 'she', n. *je* 'it' < **h₁ei*, f. **h₁ih₂*, n. **h₁id*.

The PIE demonstrative pronoun, probably originally inflected as m. **h₁ei*, f. **h₁i-ih₂*, n. **h₁id*.

****īda-*** m. 'chub, orfe' — Nw. *id* m. 'id.', Sw. *id* c. 'id.', Gutn. *äid* f. 'id.', G dial. *Aitel* 'id.' (GM).

A fish name usually taken to be derived from the root **h₂eid^h-* 'to burn' (see **aida-*) because of its light color. This etymology is impossible, however, as **īd-* cannot possibly have developed from this root in a regular way.

****īdala-*** adj. 'void, idle, futile' — OE *īdel* adj. 'id.', E *idle*, ODu. *īdil* adj. 'id.', Du. *ijdel* adj. 'id.', OHG *ītal* adj. 'id.', G *eitel* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **ih₁-tlo-* (EUR) — Latv. *jẽls* adj. 'raw, crude, unworked', Ru. *jályj, jálovyj* adj. 'infertile, unused (of land)', SCr. *jâlov* adj. 'infertile' < **ieh₁-lo-*; W *ial* f. 'brightening' < **i̯h₁-l-eh₂-* (Matasović 2011: 44).

The word has been compared to **aida-* 'fire' (q.v.) and Gr. ἰθαρός 'pure, clear', but the implied semantic shifts are problematic. If the original meaning was 'empty', however, the word can simply be connected to the aforementioned Balto-Slavic and Celtic forms, which point to a proto-meaning "empty land, clearing".

idōjan- w.v. 'to move about restlessly' — Icel. *iða* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁i-t-eh₂-ie-* (IE) — Identical to Gr. ἰτάω 'to go here and there', Lat. *itō*, *-āre* 'to go', MIr. *ethaid* 'id.'.

The Icelandic verb has not been given a straightforward etymology, but probably continues the well-attested IE frequentative in *-t-* created to the root **h₁ei-* 'to go' (cf. **aidja-*). Also cf. Icel. *ið* n. 'constant moving, quivering' and Icel. *íð*, *ið* f. 'profession, job' (Far. *íðin* adj. 'eager, industrious'), the latter perhaps continuing an ablauting *i*-stem **h₁éi-ti-s*, **h₁it-éi-s* (hardly **h₁éit-ih₂*, **h₁it-iéh₂-*, Magnússon 1989: 415).

iliþ- m.(?) 'sole of the foot' — ON *il* f. 'id.', Far. *il* f. 'id.', OE *ile* m. 'sole of the foot; hard skin, callosity', MLG *ēle*, *ēlde*, *ēlt* n. 'callus', Du. *eelt* n. 'id.' ⇒ **il-it-* (GM).

The different formations all seem to continue an old *t*-stem, **ili*, gen. **iliþiz* < **il-it*, **il-it-es*. Magnússon 1989: 418-9 connects ON *íli*, Icel. *íli* m. 'fishing net weight; wedge', Nw. dial. *ile* m. 'fishing net weight, anchor; turf wall around a hut' < **īlan-*, which point to an original meaning 'foot' or 'anchor'. No further cognates, except, perhaps ON *ilki* 'sole of the foot' if it derives from **il-kan-* (with the same suffix as in e.g. **mankan-* 'neck of a horse', q.v.). This *ilki*, however, has also been explained as borrowing from a lost Saami word corresponding to Fi. *jälka* 'track' (Hyllested 2008).

****īljan-*** w.v. 'to rush' — OS *īlian* w.v. 'to hurry', MDu. *īlen* w.v. 'to rush', Du. *ijlen* w.v. 'to hurry', OHG *īllan*, *īlen* w.v. 'to strife, rush', G *eilen* w.v. 'to rush' ⇒ **h₁e(i)-h₁i-l-ie-*? (IE?).

Possibly an *l*-derivative of an intensive formation to the root **h₁ei-* 'to go', cf. **aidja-* and **idōjan-*.

****in(i)*** prep. 'in' — Go. *in* prep. 'id.', ON *í* prep. 'id.', Far. *í* prep. 'id.', Elfd. *i* prep. 'id.', OE *in* prep. 'id.', E *in*, OS *in* prep. 'id.', Du. *in* prep. 'id.', OHG *in* prep. 'id.', G *in* prep. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁en(-i)* (IE) — ToAB *y-*, *yn-*, ToB *in-*, Arm. *i*, Gr. ἔν, ἐνι, Lat. *in*, OPru. *en*, Latv. *ie-*, Lith. *į*, OCS *vъ(n)*, Ru. *v(o)*, SCr. *u* 'in(to)' < **h₁en(-i)*; also cf. Skt. *ánīka-*, YAv. *ainika-* m. 'face' < **h₁eni-h₃kʷ-o-*.

A PIE preposition, originally an adverb. Related to the directional **innai*.

****inkan-*** m. 'pain, torment' — ON *ekki* m. 'sorrow, grief', Far. *ekki* m. 'pain, suffering; grief; anxiety', OE *inca* m. 'grudge, grievance, suspicion' ⇒ **h₁eng-on-* (EUR) — OCS *jędza* f. 'disease', SCr. *jéza* f. 'shudder, horror, (obs.) disease, (dial.) anger' < **h₁eng-ieh₂-*; Lith. *éngti (éngia)* 'to press, strangle, torture' < **h₁eng-*.

An *n*-stem created to a Germanic and Balto-Slavic root **h₁eng-*. Also cf. OFri. *ink* adj. 'angry' < **enka-* and Nw. *ekke* n. 'harm, damage' < **inkja-*.

inkwa(n)- m. 'lump' — Icel. *ökkr*, *ökkvi* m. 'lump; hillock', Sw. dial. *ink* 'ulcer', MDu. *enke*, *inke* m. 'small wound', EDu. *incke* 'wound, scar' ⇒ **eng^{w}-on-* (IE) — Gr. ἀδήν, -ένος f./m. 'gland', Lat. *inguen*, *-inis* n. 'swelling on the groin; groin' < **ng^{w}-en-*.

Together with the Latin and Greek forms, PGm. **inkwan-* points to a proterodynamic *n*-stem **éng^{w}-n*, gen. **ng^{w}-én-s*. In view of the impossible ablaut of this formation, it is possible that it replaced more primary **ég^{w}-n*, **ng^{w}-én-s*.

innai adv. 'in(side)' — Go. *inna* adv. 'id.', ON *inni* adv. 'id.', OE *inne* adv. 'id.', E *in*, OS *inne* adv. 'id.', OHG *inni* adv. 'id.', MHG *inne* adv. 'id.' ⇒ **h$_1$en-noi* (DRV).

A locative adverb created to **in(i)* with the suffix **-noi*, for which cf. **ferrai* 'far'.

instra- n. 'intestinal fat' — ON *ístr* n., *ístra* f. 'paunch-fat', Icel. *ístra* f. 'paunch, pot-belly', Far. *ístur* n. 'id.', Elfd. *įster* n. 'grease', MLG *inster* n. 'entrails of slaughtered cattle', MHG *inster* n. 'entrails' ⇒ **h$_1$en-sth$_2$-ro-* (IE) — Lith. *įsčios*, Latv. *ìekšas* f.pl. 'entrails' < **h$_1$n-sth$_2$-ieh$_2$-*.

A noun derived from the preposition **h$_1$en* 'inside' and the locational suffix **-sth$_2$-*, for which see **in(i)* and **inþera-*. OPru. *instran* 'lard' may have been borrowed from MLG *inster*.

inþera- n. 'entrails' — ON *iðr*, *innr*, *indr* n. 'id.', Far. *indur* n. 'intestines for cooking blood sausage', pl. 'entrails' ⇒ **h$_1$en-tero-* (IE) — Close to Gr. ἔντερα n.pl. 'intestines, bowels, guts' < **h$_1$en-ter-h$_2$-*; also cf. Skt. *ántara-* adj. 'interior, adjacent to; intimate', YAv. *aṇtara-* adj. 'interior', Lat. *interior* adj. 'inner, internal' < **h$_1$en-tero-*.

A noun derived from the comparative adjective **h$_1$en-tero-* 'internal'. Also cf. ON *iðrar* f.pl. 'bowels' < **inþerōz*. See further **instra-*.

irha- m. 'he-goat' — OHG *irah*, *ireh*, *irh* m. 'id.', MHG *ireh* m. 'id.' ⇒ **irḱ-o-* (EUR) — Gr. δόρξ, ζόρξ, Hsch. ἴορκες, ἴυρκες (pl.) 'kind of deer, roe, gazelle' < **iorḱ-*(?), Arm. *ors* 'hunt, game' < **iorḱ-o-*; W *iwrch* m. 'roebuck', Bret. *yorch*, *iourc'h* 'id.'; OCo. *yorch* '*caprea*' < **iorḱ-u-*; Lat. *hircus*, *ircus* m. 'billy-goat' < **irḱ-*(?).

Also cf. OHG *ir(a)h* 'buck leather', MLG *er(e)ch*, *errich* n. 'tanned leather'. All forms point to PGm. **irha-*. This form has a close match in the *o*-grade formation Arm. *ors* (Martirosyan 2009: 544-5) and W *iwrch* < **iork-o-* (with raising before *-rk-*, cf. Schrijver 1995: 61). The variation of Gr. δόρξ, ζόρξ, ἴόρξ and Lat. *hircus*, *ircus* is unexplained.

īsa- m./n. 'ice' — ON *íss* m. 'id.', Far. *ísur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *ais* m. 'id.', OE *īs* n. 'id.', E *ice*, OHG *īs* n. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_1$eiH-so-(?) (IE?) — To Av. *aēxa-* n. 'cold', Oss. *ix* / *yex* 'ice' < **HeiH-ko-*?

In view of the neuter gender in West Germanic, it is possible that the word represents a thematicized *s*-stem, e.g. *$h_1$éi(H)-(o)s*, gen. *h_1i(H)-és-(o)s*. No certain extra-Gm. cognates. Av. *aēxa-* can only be related if it continues a form *$h_1$eiH-ko-* that developed into **HeikHo-* by laryngeal metathesis (for which cf. **hōfa-*).

īsarna-* ~ *īzarna- n. 'iron' — Go. *eisarn* n. 'id.', ON *ísarn* n. 'id.', OE *īsern*, *īsen*, *īren* n. 'iron', OS *īsarn* n. 'iron', MDu. *īser*, *īsen* n. 'id.', Du. *ijzer* n. 'id.', OHG *īsarn*, *īsan* n. 'id.', G *Eisen* n. 'id.' (NIE).

A PGm. loanword from PCelt. **īsarno-* 'iron', cf. OIr. *íarn* 'id.'. The latter word was borrowed by Old Norse at a later stage, emerging there as *járn*. It is uncertain whether **īsarno-* belongs to the family of **aiza-* 'ore' (q.v.) < **$h_2$ei-es-*.

īwa- m. 'yew' — ON *ýr* m. 'id.', Elfd. *åyve* n. 'id.' (< **īwja-*), OE *īw*, *ēow* m. 'id.', E *yew*, OHG *īwa* f. 'id.', G *Eibe* f. 'id.' (< **īwō-*) ⇒ *$h_1$eiHu-o-* (EUR) — Gr. ὄα, ὄη f. 'elderberry tree, mountain ash', Lat. *ūva* 'branch of grapes; raisins' < **$h_1$oiHu-eh$_2$-*; OIr. *eó* m.(?) 'stem, shaft, yew-tree', W *ywen* 'yew-tree' < **$h_1$ieHu-o-*; Lith. *ievà*, Latv. *iēva* f. 'bird-cherry'; ORu. *iva*, Ru. *íva*, SCr. *ìva* < **h_1iHu-eh$_2$-*.

A European word. Also cf. the collective Sw. *ide* n. 'yew grove' < **īweþja-*. Elfd. *åyve* is a collective as well, as is common for tree-names, cf. ON *ǫlr* m. 'alder' < **aluza-* vs. Icel. *elri* n. 'id.' < **aluzja-*.

J

jakk/gōn- w.v. 'to rush, chase' — OS *jagon* w.v. 'to drive', WPhal. *jacken* w.v. 'to rush', EDu. *jacken* 'id.', Du. *jagen* w.v. 'to rush, hunt'; *jakkeren* 'to speed', OHG *jagōn* w.v. 'to rush, chase, hunt', G *jagen* w.v. 'id.', Pal. *jacken* w.v. 'to rock', *jackern* w.v. 'to rush, speed' ⇒ *Hiog^h-néh$_2$-(?) (IE?) — To Skt. *sam-ī́hate* 'to strive, desire', OAv. *iziiā* 'I wish', YAv. *iziieiti* 'to wish' < **Hiǵ^h-e-* and Gr. ἰχανάω 'to desire' < **Hiǵ^h-sk-*?

An iterative verb 3sg. **jakkōþi*, 3pl. **jagunanþi*, closely related to the zero-grade variant **jukkōn-*. It further seems possible that the intensive MHG *jouchen*, *jöuchen* w.v. 'to drive, hunt' < **jaukjan-*, belongs here, although this word is usually compared to YAv. *yaozaiieiti* 'to incite' < **ioug$^{(h)}$-eie-* (cf. LIV^2: 315-6). No certain etymology; perhaps related to the root **Hiǵ^h-* as

found in Greek and Indo-Iranian. The connection with Hitt. *ekt-* c. '(hunting) net(?)', Luv. *aggati-* c. 'id.' < **iek-t-* (cf. Kloekhorst 2008: 235-236) is erroneous, as the meaning 'to hunt' is late and developed from older 'to rush' and 'to chase'. Also cf. MHG *jaget*, G *Jagd*, MDu. *jaghet*, *jacht*, Du. *jacht* 'hunt' < **jagōþu-* and - for the suffix - the derivationally parallel Go. *wratodus* 'trip' < **wratōdu-* (see **wratōn-*).

jaukja- m. 'draft animal' — ON *eykr* m. 'draft animal, horse' ⇒ **ioug-io-* (DRV/IE) — Identical to Skt. *yógya-* m. 'draft animal'.

Derived from the PIE **iug-o-* 'yoke', for which see **juka-*. Also cf. Nw. *øykje* f. 'mare' < **jaukjōn-*.

jazjan- w.v. 'to make ferment' — Nw. *erja* w.v. 'to dissolve', OHG *jerien* w.v. 'to make ferment' ⇒ **ios-éie-* (IE).

The causative to **jesan-* (q.v.).

jedan- s.v. 'to weed' — OS *ūt-jedan* s.v. 'to root out', MLG *geden* w.v. 'to weed', OHG *jeten* s.v. 'id.', G *jäten* w.v. 'id.' (GM).

Also cf. OHG *jetto* m. 'weed' < **jeddan-* and OS *jeda* f. 'weeding hoe, plane(?)' < **jedōn-*. Perhaps also related are OE *wēod*, OS *wiod* n., OHG *wiota* f. 'weed' < **weuda/ō-*, assuming that these forms continue **wi-jada-* or **wi-juda-*, i.e. the reflex of PIE **h₁ui-* 'away, apart' and a noun **jada-* / **juda-* derived from the verb **jedan-* (Torp 1909: 329). The word cannot possibly be reconstructed as a reduplicated noun **wiuda-* < **ui-udʰ-o-* (*pace* Franck 1949: 792; Koivulehto 1971: 170-71), the implied root **uedʰ-* 'to bind' being semantically remote.

jehan- s.v. 'to acknowledge' — ON *já* w.v. 'to say yes; to promise', OFri. *jā*, *jān* s.v. 'to confess, acknowledge', OS *jehan* s.v. 'to say, confess', ODu. *gian*, *be-gien* s.v. 'to confess', OHG *jehan*, *gehan* s.v. 'to confess, witness' ⇒ **iék-e-* (WEUR) — Lat. *iocus* m., also *ioca*, *-ōrum* pl. n. 'joke' < **iok-es-*.

A strong verb to a European root **iek-*. ON *já* can be derived from **jehan-* (through **ēā* > **ēā́*), but like the frequentative ON *játta*, OHG *jāzzen* w.v. 'to say yes' < **jahatōn-* or **jahatjan-*, it seems to have been in close association with **ja* 'yes'. See also **jehti-*.

jehti- f. 'confession' — Du. *biecht* c. 'id.', OHG *jiht* f. 'utterance', *bi-jiht*, *bīht* f. 'confession', MHG *giht*, *begiht*, *bīht* f. 'utterance, confession', G *Beichte* f. 'confession, admission' ⇒ **iek-ti-* (DRV) — Ir. *icht* 'people, tribe', W *ieith* f. 'language, nation, race', Bret. *yezh* f. 'language' < **iék-ti-*.

A *ti*-stem created to the root of **jehan-* (q.v.). Some have also connected OHG *giht*, *gi-giht* f. 'paralysis', G *Gicht* f. 'gout, arthritis', Du. *jicht* c. 'id.' by assuming an original meaning 'curse'.

jeka(n)- m. 'ice' — ON *jaki* m. 'broken ice, ice-floe', LG *is-jack* 'icicle', G Swi. *jäch* m. 'hoar-frost' ⇒ **ieǵ-o(n)-* (IE) — Hitt. *eka-* n./c. 'cold, frost, ice' < **ieǵ-o-*; OIr. *aig*, gen. *ega* f. 'ice'; W *ia* m. 'id.' < **ieǵ-i-*; Lith. *yžià* f. 'ice-floe' < **iǵ-ieh₂-*(?).

Also cf. ON *jǫkull* m. 'icicle; glacier', OFri **j(i)ūkul* (with *u*-mutation, cf. Löfstedt 1931: 141, fn. 2), WFri. *jûkel* c. 'icicle, cone', NFri. *jugl* m. 'id.' (= MLG *jokele* 'id.'); OSw. *ikil* m. 'id.', Elfd. *ais-ikkel* m. 'id.', OFri. *itsil*, OE *gicel* m. 'ice-floe; icicle' (E *icicle* < **ice-yickle*) < **jekila-*; OHG *ihhilla*, OS *jikila* f. 'icicle' < **jekiljō-*.

****jēra-*** n. 'year' — Go. *jer* n. 'id.', ON *ár* n. 'id.', OFri. *jēr* n. 'id.', OS *jār* n. 'id.', Du. *jaar* n. 'id.', OHG *jar* n. 'id.', G *Jahr* n. 'id.' ⇒ **ieh₁-ro-* (IE) — Luv. *āra/i-* c. 'time' < **ieh₁-ro-*?; YAv. *yārə*, gen. *yå̊*, *yā* n. 'year' < **ieh₁-r/n-*; Gr. ὥρα, f. 'season, year, hour, time' < **ioh₁-reh₂-*; Lat. *hōrnus* adj. 'grown, produced in this year (of crops and yield)' < **ǵʰi-ioh₁-r-no-*(?); OCS *jěrъ* m., *jěra* f. 'spring' < **ieh₁-ro/eh₂-*; RuCS, ORu. *jarę* m. 'lamb', SCr. *jȁre* m. 'kid, young goat' < **ieh₁r-en-*; Lith. *éras*, dial. *jéras*, Latv. *jęrs* m. 'lamb' < **ieh₁-ro-*.

Most languages show an *r*-suffix, but the Avestan paradigm preserved an archaic heteroclitic inflection. With the additional evidence for *e*/*o*-ablaut in the different dialects, the paradigm is therefore to be reconstructed as static, nom. **ióh₁-r*, gen. **iéh₁-n-s* (Schindler 1975: 5).

****jesan-*** s.v. 'to ferment' — Sw. *jäsa* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *jäså* s.v. 'id.', OHG *jesan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *jesen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **iés-e-* (IE) — ToA *yäs-* 'to boil', ToB *yäs-* 'to excite sexually; ravish', Skt. *yásati* 'to boil, become hot', YAv. *yaēšiaṇt-* ptc. 'boiling', Gr. ζέω 'to boil, ferment'.

A strong verb **jesan-*. There also seems to have been an *o*-grade variant, cf. Icel. *asa* w.v. 'to rush', Far. *asa* w.v. 'to struggle', Nw. *ase* s.v. 'to ferment' < **jasan-*, which probably represents an old intensive formation. It again gave rise to the secondary causative ON *æsa*, Icel. *æsa*, Far., Nw. *øsa* w.v. 'to incite' < **jōsjan-*.

****jestu-*** m. 'yeast' — ON *jǫstr* m. 'id.', Nw. *jest* m. 'id.', OSw. *iæster* m. 'id.', Elfd. *jäst* c. 'id.', E *yeast*, MLG *gest* 'id.', MDu. *gest*, *gist* m. 'id.', Du. *gist* c. 'id.', MHG *jest* m. 'foam', G *Gischt* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ies-tu-* (DRV) — Identical to W *iās* f. 'seething'.

A *tu*-stem derived from the root of **jesan-* (q.v.).

****jewan-*** m. 'creeping insect(?)' — Nw. dial. *jo(e)* m. 'maggot' ⇒ **ieuH-on-* (IE) — Skt. *yū́kā-* f. 'louse' < **iuH-k-eh₂-*.

An *n*-stem related to Nw. *y* w.v. 'to squirm' < **jūjan-* < **iuH-ie-*. The word has not yet been etymologized, but is reconcilable with Skt. *yū́kā-*.

juka- n. 'yoke' — Go. *juk* n. 'id.', ON *ok* n. 'id.', Far. *ok* n. 'id.', Elfd. *uok* n. 'id.', OE *geoc* n. 'id.', E *yoke*, OS *juk* n. 'id.', Du. *juk* n. 'id.', OHG *joh* n. 'id.', G *Joch* n. 'id.' ⇒ ***iug-o-*** (IE) — Identical to Hitt. *ḫuka-* n. 'yoke, pair', Skt. *yugá-* n. 'yoke', MP *ywg* 'id.', Gr. ζυγόν n. 'id.', Lat. *iugum* n. 'id.', OW *iou* 'id.', MW *iau, yeu* 'id.'; also cf. Lith. *jùngas*, Latv. *jûgs* m. 'id.', OCS *igo*, Ru. *ígo* 'yoke', SCr. arch. *igo* n. 'cross-beam' < ***iu-n-g-o-***.

Also cf. Go. *jukuzi* f. 'yoke' < ***iug-us-ih₂-*** and MHG *jiuch* n. 'acreage' < ***jeuka-***. See further ***jaukja-***.

jukjan- w.v. 'to itch' — OE *gyccan* w.v. 'id.', E *to itch*, OS *juk(k)ian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *jeuken* w.v. 'id.', OHG *jucken* w.v. 'id.', G *jucken* w.v. 'id.' (GM?).

A WGm. *jan*-verb 3sg. ***jukjeþi***, 3pl. ***jukjanþi***. The ***j*** was lost before front vowels, which after WGm. *j*-gemination resulted in an allomorphic paradigm 3sg. ***jukiþi***, 3pl. ***jukkjanþi***. This allomorphy explains the difference between e.g. G *jucken* and Du. *jeuken*. Also cf. OE *gycða* m. 'itch', MDu. *jucte, joocte* f. 'id.', OHG *jukido*, MHG *jukede* m. 'scabies' < ***jukiþan-***. No certain etymology. It is perhaps conceivable that the verb, which appears to have had an oblique subject (***mike jukjeþi*** 'I have an itch'), is related to ***jukkōn-***, cf. G Als., Pal. *jucken* 'to jerk'.

jukkōn- w.v. 'to hop; to run' — G dial. *jucken* w.v. Swab. 'to jump, hop', Pal. 'to jerk, rock', Als. 'to jerk, jump up, turn away', Swab. 'to jump, run; to hop', Cimb. 'to throw; jump', Swi. (Rhntl.) 'to run fast', (Schfh.) *jūkxə* w.v. 'to hop' (GM?).

Probably related to ***jakk/gōn-*** (q.v.) 'to rush' in view of the semantics of e.g. G Pal. *jacken* w.v. 'to rock'. In the German dialects, the word has often merged with *jucken* 'to itch' < ***jukjan-***, but this may originally have been a different verb.

jumja- m. 'divine twin(?)' — ON *Ymir* m. 'primordial giant in Norse mythology' ⇒ ***iṃiH-io-*** (IE) — Skt. *yamá-* m. 'twin; name of the mythical first man', OAv. *yāma-* m. 'twin', Av. *yima-* (< ***yəma-***) m. 'name of a mythical primeval king'; OIr. *emon* m. 'twin' < ***i(e)mH-o-***; Latv. *jumis* 'paired couple, double fruit' < ***imH-io-***.

junga- adj. 'young' — Go. *juggs* adj. 'id.', ON *ungr* adj. 'id.', Far. *ungur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *ungg* adj. 'id.', OE *geong* adj. 'id.', E *young*, OFri. *jung* adj. 'id.', OS *jung* adj. 'id.', Du. *jong* adj. 'id.', OHG *jung* adj. 'id.', G *jung* adj. 'id.' ⇒ ***h₂iu-nḱ-ó-*** (IE) — Identical to Skt. *yuvaśá-* adj. 'young, youthful', m. 'youth'; Lat. *iuvencus* m. 'young bull'; OIr. *óac* adj. 'young', W *ieuanc* 'id.', Bret. *yaouank* 'id.'.

This adjective is commonly reconstructed as ***h₂iu-Hn-ḱo-***, i.e. a formation derived from PIE ***h₂oi-u-*** 'lifetime, age' (for which see ***aiwa/ō- 1***) with the

possessive Hoffmann suffix (cf. Skt. *yúvan-*, gen. *yū́naḥ* m. 'young' < **Hiu-Hon-*, gen. **Hiu-Hn-os*). The original meaning would then have been 'having lifetime (left)'. I am tempted, however, to derive **junga-* directly from the hitherto isolated verbal base **Hieu-* 'to mature', as supported by ToB *yäw-* 'to ripen, mature'. The meaning 'young' would then have developed from 'maturing'. See also **ju(w)unþi-* 'youth'.

jūz pron. 'you (pl.)' — Go. *jus*, obl. *izwis* 'id.', ON *ér*, obl. *yðr* pron. 'id.', OE *gē*, obl. *ēow*, *īow* pron. 'id.', OFri. *ī*, *gī*, obl. *iō*, *iū* pron. 'id.', OS *gī*, obl. *eu*, *iu* pron. 'id.', Du. *jij*, obl. *jou* pron. 'you (sg.)', OHG *ir*, dat. *iu*, acc. *iuwih* pron. 'id.', G *ihr*, obl. *euch* pron. 'id.' ⇒ **iuH-s* (IE) — Skt. *yūyám*, Lith. *jū̃s*, Latv. *jūs*, OPru. *iuse*, Alb. *ju* pron. 'you (pl.)'.

The pronoun of the second person plural. In the nominative, **jūz* is the primary form. It is attested in Gothic, but the NWGm. languages introduced **jīz* on the basis of **wīz* 'we' (q.v.). The original oblique form was **iwe* < PIE **iu(H)-e*, with an ending *-e* as in PIE **h₁me* 'me'. In WGm., this form was extended by **-ike* (OE *ēowic*, OHG *iuwih*, G *euch*) on the basis of **mike* in the accusative case. North and East Germanic point to **izwiz* in both the dative and the accusative case; ON *yðr* arose from **iʀwiʀ* by dissimilation of the first palatal *r*. This **izwiz* seems to have come about by metathesis of a form **iw-siz*, i.e. the oblique form **iwe* plus a dative suffix abstracted from **unsiz* 'us'. It replaced the original dative **iwiz* that lived on as OFri. *iō*, *iū*, OHG *iu*, etc. The suffix **-iz* itself arose under the influence of the datives **miz* and **þiz*. See also **wīz* and **jut*.

****jŭsta-*** m. 'cheese' — ON *ostr* m. 'id.', Far. *ostur* m. 'id.', OSw. *oster* m. 'id.', Elfd. *uost* m. 'id.' ⇒ **iuHs-to-*(?) (IE?) — Skt. *yū́ṣ-*, gen. *yūṣṇás* n. 'soup, broth, stock', Lat. *iūs*, *iūris* n. 'broth, sauce' < **iuHs-*; Gr. ζῦμη f. 'leaven, beer-yeast' < **iuHs-meh₂-*; Lith. *jū́šė* f. 'broth, soup', OPru. *juse* f. 'soup' < **iuHs-ieh₂-*; CS *juxa* f. 'broth', Ru. *uxá* f. 'fish-soup', SCr. dial. *júha* f. 'fish-soup, broth' < **iuHs-eh₂-*.

A Nordic word that is usually connected to the aforementioned non-Germanic forms pointing to PIE **iuHs-*. ON *ost* points to **justa-* with a short **u*, however. It is possible that this is due to secondary shortening of **ū*, not least in view of the borrowed Fi. *juusto* 'cheese'. It cannot entirely be excluded either, however, that the long *u* of the Finnish word is secondary, in which case PGm. **justa-* becomes analyzable as a petrified past participle to the strong verb **jesan-* 'to ferment' (the *u* in that case represents a secondary zero grade). The word existed alongside PNWGm. **kāsja-* m. 'cheese', cf. OE *cīese*, OS *kāsi*, Du. *kaas*, OHG *kāsi*, G *Käse*, which was borrowed from Lat. *cāseus*, *cāseum* 'id.'. Icel. *kæsir*, Nw. *kjese*, Elfd. *kęse* m., Da. *kæse* c. 'rennet', apparently continuing the same form **kāsja-*, is actually a different formation, and was derived from the secondary verb **kāsjan-*

(with the same agentive suffix as in Icel. *hleypir* m. 'rennet' < **hlaupja-*), cf. ON *kæsa* w.v. 'to allow to ferment'.

jut pron. 'you (du.)' — Go. obl. *igqis* pron. 'id.', ON *it*, obl. *ykkr* pron. 'id.', Far. *tit*, obl. *tykkum*, *tygum* pron. 'id.', Elfd. *ið* pron. 'id.', OE *git*, obl. *inc* pron. 'id.', OS *git*, obl. *ink* pron. 'id.' ⇒ **iud* (IE) — Lith. *jùdu*, f. *jùdvi* 'you (du.)' < **iu-du-* (the absence of Winter's law points to late univerbation).

The dual pronoun of the second person. The original nominative was probably **jut* in view of Lith. *jùdu*. This form is not attested in Gothic, however, and NWGm. introduced **jit* under the influence of **wit* 'we two' (q.v.). The oblique case is to be reconstructed as **inke*. It is entirely parallel to **unke* 'us two', and is likely to have arisen analogically by the substitution of initial *u* by *i* on the basis of **iwe*, the oblique form of **jūz* (q.v.). Similarly, the dative **inkwiz*, continued by Go. *igqis*, ON *ykkr*, adopted the element **-wiz* that was abstracted from the parallel second person plural oblique form **izwiz*.

****ju(w)unþi-*** f. 'youth' — Go. *junds** f. 'id.', OE *geogoð* f. 'id.', E *youth*, OS *juguth* f. 'id.', ODu. *iugint* f. 'id.', MDu. *joghet* f., Du. *jeugd* c. 'id.', OHG *jugund* f. 'id.', G *Jugend* f. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂iu-Hn̥-ti-* (IE) — Close to Lat. *iuventūs*, *-tūtis* f. 'youth', OIr. *óetiu*, *óitiu*, gen. *-ted* 'id.' < **h₂iu-Hn-tuH-t-*.

A *ti*-stem usually assumed to have been created to the PIE word for 'young', i.e. **h₂iu-Hōn*, gen. **h₂iu-Hn-os*, for which see **junga-*. The West Germanic material points to a form **juwunþi-* with regular velarization of the **w* (cf. **sū-* 'sow' and **newun* '9') between two high vowels (one of them being rounded). The *w* probably arose in hiatus position of a proto-form **juunþi-*. Go. *junds**, on the other hand, seems simply to have lost the hiatus. Note that the often cited Go. *junda**, supposedly comparable to Lat. *iūventa* f. 'youth'), is a ghost form. The only attestation is the dat. *jundai*, which could belong to either an *ō*-stem *junda** or an *i*-stem *junds**. The latter possibility is more likely, however, because of the other Germanic languages pointing to an old *ti*-stem.

K

****kabla/ōn-*** m./f. 'piece of wood' — ON *kafli* m. 'piece cut off', MDu. *cavele* m./f. 'stick, lot', Du. *kavel* c. 'lot, parcel', MHG *kabel* m./f. 'lot' ⇒ **ǵobʰ-l-on-* (EUR) — Lith. *žābas* m. 'branch, cane' < **ǵobʰ-o-*.

An old word for 'stick'. With the semantic shift to 'lot' according to the tradition of drawing marked pieces of wood. Also cf. Elfd. *kevil* m. 'piece of wood; peg' < **kabila-*.

kagan- m. 'stem of a (small) tree(?)' — ON *kagi* m. 'shrub, young tree', Nw. dial. *kage* m. 'small shrub', E dial. *cag* 'trunk' ⇒ **ǵogʰ-on-* (NEUR) — Lith. *žāgaras* m. 'twig', pl. 'shrubs', Latv. *žagari* pl. 'id.' < **ǵogʰ-oro-*.

A North European word perhaps related to **kōkōn-* 'skid' (q.v.). Also cf. OHG *kegil* m. 'cone, peg, wedge, nail', G *Kegel* m. 'cone; pin' < **kagila-*.

kaiba- adj. 'sharp(?), crooked(?)' — Nw. *keiv* adj. 'wry, wrong, left', OE *cāf* adj. 'quick, sharp, prompt', ME *cōf* adj. 'quick' ⇒ **goibʰ-o-* (DRV).

An adjective probably derived from **kīban-* 'to quarrel' (q.v.).

kaipa- m. 'to groove, notch' — ON *keipr* m. 'rowlock', Du. *keep* c. 'notch' (DRV).

An *a*-stem derived from the iterative **kippōn- 2*, or perhaps rather from the pertaining, unattested strong verb **kīpan-*.

kaizwjan- w.v. 'to turn, direct' — ON *keyra* w.v. 'to whip, lash; to ride, drive; to fling', Far. *koyra* w.v. 'to drive; to push; to pour', OE *cierran* w.v. 'to turn, change', OFri. *kēra*, *kerra* w.v. 'to turn; to hinder', ODu. *kēran* w.v. 'to turn', Du. *keren* w.v. 'to turn', OHG *kēren* w.v. 'to turn, direct' ⇒ **(ǵ)ois-u-éie-* (IE) — Hitt. *kīša(ri)* ~ *kišanta(ri)* 'to happen, occur; to become' < **(ǵ)eis-* (Eichner 1973: 78).

The material offers evidence for three different proto-forms: 1) OHG *kēren* < **kaizjan-*, 2) OE *cierran* < **kazjan-* and 3) ON *keyra* < **kaizwjan-*. The Old Norse form is usually derived from **kaurjan-* or **kauzjan-*, as the umlaut of **au* is **ey*, but it is possible, too, that ON *ei* was rounded by a following **w*. It thus appears that, if *keyra* is related to OHG *kēren*, which is hardly doubted by anyone, it must have developed from **kaizwjan-*, a causative to an unattested *u*-present. The reality of this formation is further backed up by Nw. dial. *keis* m. 'turn, corner' < **kaisa-*, which precludes the reconstruction of a root **kair-* or **kaur-* with **r*. OE *cierran* < **kazjan-* probably lost the **i* due to dissimilation against **j* in the cluster **-izj-*.

kalan- w.v. 'to be cold' — ON *kala* s.v. impers. 'to freeze', OE *calan* s.v. 'to be or become cool or cold' ⇒ **ǵólH-e-* (EUR) — Lat. *gelus* m. 'cold, frost, ice' < **gel-u-*.

An *o*-grade strong verb, whence **kalda-* 'cold' (q.v.), the iterative **kallōn-* (q.v.) and the *i*-stem OE *cele*, *ciele*, *cile*, E *chill* < **kali-*. See further **kula- 1* and **kōlu-*.

kalba(n)- m. 'calf (of the leg)' — ON *kalfi* m. 'calf of the leg', Far. *kálvi* m. 'small of the leg; middle of the seine net', OSw. *kalver* m. 'extension of a fishing net', Sw. *kalv* c. 'calf of the legs; interior of a rope; extension of a fishing net', EDu. *kalf* 'soft part of wood', G dial. *Kalb* m. 'muscle' (GM?).

A word without a certain etymology, but possibly related to **kulba(n)-* (q.v.). E *calf* was adopted from Old Norse.

kalbiz- n. 'calf' — ON *kalfr* m. 'id.', Far. *kálvur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *kåv* m. 'id.', OE *cealf, calfur* n. 'id.', E *calf*, OS *kalf* n. 'id.', Du. *kalf* n. 'id.', OHG *kalp*, pl. *kalbir* n. 'id.', G *Kalb* n. 'id.' (GM).

An old *s*-stem **kalbaz*, pl. **kalbizō*. Also cf. Go. *kalbo*, OHG *kalba* f. 'female calf' < **kalbōn-* and the ablauting OE *cilfor-lamb*, OHG *kilbur* n., *kilburra* f., MHG *kilbere* f. 'female lamb' < **kelbuza-*, **-jō-*. No certain etymology. The connection with Gr. δελφύς f. 'womb' < **gʷelbʰ-u-* (cf. Pokorny IEW: 473) is problematic for two reasons. In Greek, first of all, initial labiovelars usually lose their labialization in words with labials (cf. καπνός 'smoke' < **kʷh₂p-no-*). This means that the δ of δελφύς probably continues PIE **d* rather than **gʷ*. Second, Germanic labiovelars do not lose their labialization in front of **o*. This means that the implied proto-form **gʷolbʰ-es-* would give PGm. ***kwalbiz-*, which is not the case.

kalda- adj. 'cold' — Go. *kalds* adj. 'id.', ON *kaldr* adj. 'id.', Far. *kaldur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *kold* adj. 'id.', OE *ceald* adj. 'id.', E *cold*, OS *kald* adj. 'id.', Du. *koud* adj. 'id.', OHG *kalt* adj. 'id.', G *kalt* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

The original past participle of the strong verb **kalan-* (q.v.). The Germanic word is unrelated yet suspiciously similar to OCS *xladъ* 'coolness, cool breeze', Ru. *xólod* 'cold'. Further cf. ON, Far. *kuldi*, Nw., Da. *kulde* 'cold' < **kuldan-*.

kallōn- w.v. 'to freeze' — G Swi. *xallen* w.v. 'to freeze, stiffen' (DRV).

The iterative to the strong verb **kalan-* (q.v.).

kalwa- adj. 'bald' — OE *calo* adj. 'id.', E *callow*, MDu. *calu* adj. 'id.', Du. *kaal* adj. 'id.', OHG *kalo* adj. 'id.', G *kahl* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **golH-uo-* (NEUR) — OCS *golъ*, Ru. *gólyj*, SCr. *gô* adj. 'naked' < **golH-o-*; for a comparable formation, cf. OCS *glava*, Ru. *golová*, SCr. *gláva* f. 'head', Lith. *galvà*, Latv. *galva*, OPru. *galwo* f. 'id.' < **golH-ueh₂-*.

Also cf. OFri. *sin-kele* f. 'permanent baldness'. A Germanic-Balto-Slavic isogloss. Unrelated to Skt. *kulvá-* adj. 'bald, thin-haired', YAv. *kauruua-* adj. 'bald', Lat. *calvus* adj. 'id.' < **klH-uo-*.

kalzōjan- w.v. 'to call, shout' — ON *kalla* w.v. 'id.', Far. *kalla* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *kolla* w.v. 'id.', OE *ceallian* w.v. 'id.', E *to call*, Du. dial. *kallen* w.v. 'to talk',

OHG *kallōn* w.v. 'to chatter, talk', MHG *kallen* w.v. 'to talk loudly' ⇒ **gols-eh₂-ie-* (NEUR) — Lith. *galsas* m. 'echo', OCS *glasъ*, Ru. *gólos*, SCr. *glâs* m. 'voice' < **gols-o-*.

A denominal verb derived from an unattested noun **kalza-*. The underlying proto-form **golso-* is mirrored by the Balto-Slavic material.

****kamba-*** m. 'comb' — ON *kambr* m. 'comb; crest', Far. *kambur* m. 'comb; pointed mountain', Elfd. *kamb* m. 'comb', OE *camb* m. 'id.', E *comb*, OS *kamb* m. 'id.', Du. *kam* c. 'id.', OHG *kamb* m. 'comb, crest', G *Kamm* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵombʰ-o-* (IE) — Skt. *jámbha-* m. 'tooth', du. 'jaws'; ToA *kam*, ToB *keme** m. 'tooth', Gr. γόμφος m. 'peg, bolt, nail', Lith. *žam̃bas* m. 'sharp edge', Latv. *zùobs* m. 'tooth', OCS *zǫbъ*, Ru. *zub* (gen. *zúba*), SCr. *zûb* m. 'tooth', Alb. *dhēmb | dhām(b)* m. 'id.'.

See also **kimbōn-* and **kambjan-*.

****kambjan-*** w.v. 'to comb' — ON *kemba* w.v. 'to comb; to card', Far. *kemba* w.v. 'to comb', Elfd. *kemba* w.v. 'id.', OE *cemban* w.v. 'id.', OS *kembian* w.v. 'id.', OHG *kemben* w.v. 'id.', G *kämmen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

The factitive to **kamba-* (q.v.).

****kanhta-*** adj. 'glad, happy' — ON *kátr* adj. 'id.', Far. *kátur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *kǫ̊t* adj. 'lively' (GM).

This adjective has been reconstructed as **kawata-* (cf. Torp 1909: 33; Magnússon 1989: 450), so as to compare it to e.g. Lat. *gaudiō, -ēre* 'to gladden', but Elfd. *kǫ̊t* (cf. ON *kæta* w.v. 'to gladden', Elfd. *kęta* 'to exercise' < **kanhtjan-*) with its nasal vowel requires a reconstruction **kanhta-* (cf. Heidermanns 1993: 33). The underlying root **kanha-* 'glad' < **gonko-* is in Verner alternation with Sw. dial. *kång* n. 'agitation' (also cf. ON *kangin-yrði* n.pl. 'jeering words') < **kanga-* < **gonkó-* and ME *cang* adj. 'foolish, lewd' < **kanga-*. The latter may be an Old Norse loanword, however.

****kanjan-*** w.v. 'to bring forth' — OE *cennan* w.v. 'to beget, conceive, create, bring forth', ME *kennen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵonh₁-éie-* (DRV).

A causative created to the PIE root **ǵenh₁-*. ON *kenna* w.v. 'to father (a child)' must be an OE loanword, as **kanjan-* would have become ***kenja* in this language. See also **kunda-*, **kuninga-* ~ **kununga-*, **kunja- 1* and **kinþa-* ~ **kinda-*.

****kannjan-*** w.v. 'to make known' — Go. *kannjan* w.v. 'to make known, inform of', ON *kenna* w.v. 'to know, recognize; to assign or attribute', Far. *kenna* w.v. 'to distinguish, recognize, know', Elfd. *kenna* w.v. 'to know', OE *cennan* w.v. 'to choose, to prove, to declare', WFri. *kenna* 'to know', OS *ant-kennian* 'to

perceive', ODu. *kennan* w.v. 'to know', Du. *kennen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *ar-kennan* w.v. 'to recognize', MHG *kennen* w.v. 'to know' (DRV).

The causative to **kunnan-* (q.v.).

kannōn- 1 w.v. 'to get to know' — ON *kanna* w.v. 'to search, find out', Far. *kanna* w.v. 'to inspect' (DRV).

An inchoative, i.e. medial factitive formation to **kunnan-*, quasi PGm. **kann-nōn-* < IE **ǵonh₃-nh₂-* + *-neh₂-*.

kannōn- 2 f. 'jug' — ON *kanna* f. 'id.', Far. *kanna* f. 'id.', Elfd. *kanna* f. 'id.', OE *canne* f. 'can, cup', E *can*, OFri. *kanne* f. 'id.', MDu. *canne* f. 'jug', Du. *kan* c. 'id.', OHG *kanna*, *kanta* f. 'id.', G *Kanne* f. 'id.' ⇒ **gandʰ-on-*(?) (WEUR?) — MIr. *gand* 'vessel, can(?)' < **gandʰ-*(?).

A word that - if related to MIr. *gand* - must have developed from **kandn-* (with regular assimilation of *d* between two nasals). Another possibility is to compare the word to Icel. *kani* m. 'bowl; prow', *kanni* m. 'prow', MLG *kane*, G *Kahn* m. 'boat' < **kan(n)an-* and Far. *kanna* f. 'point of a boat's bow' < **kanōn-*. The often adduced OHG *kanta*, *kannata* is a loanword from Lat. (*olla*) *cannata*, and does not point to a proto-form **kandōn-* (Lühr 1988: 204). Also cf. ON *kæna* f. 'boat' < **kēnjōn-*.

kanta- m. 'side' — E Scot. *cantle* 'crown of the head; fleshy part behind the ear in a ram's head', MDu. *cant* m. 'edge, region', Du. *kant* c. 'side; edge', G *Kanz* m. 'mane, upper part of the neck' ⇒ **ǵond-o-* (NEUR) — Lith. *žándas* m. 'cheek, jaw', Latv. *zuôds* m. 'chin, jaw'.

The late attestation of this word has led to the assumption that it was borrowed from Romance, cf. Fr. dial. *cant*, It., Sp. *canto*. In view of the semantically similar G *Kanz* and Scot. *cantle*, however, it seems plausible that we are dealing with a Germanic word meaning 'side (of the head?)' or 'cheek'. PGm. **kanta-* can then be connected to Lith. *žándas* < **ǵond-o-*, whose root looks like a variant of **gén(H)-* as found in **kinnu-* 'cheek, chin'.

kap(p)ōn- w.v. 'to stare' — OE *capian* w.v. 'to turn', MDu. *capen* w.v. 'to watch, stare at', OHG *kapfēn* w.v. 'to stare', MHG *kaffen*, *kapfen* w.v. 'to stare, be in awe' ⇒ **ǵobʰ-néh₂-* (EUR) — Ru. *zabóta* f. 'care, worry' < **ǵōbʰ-ot-eh₂-*(?).

An iterative formation 3sg. **kappōþi*, 3pl. **kabunanþi* (secondary **kapunanþi*) < **ǵobʰ-néh₂-ti*, **ǵobʰ-nh₂-énti*. It probably served as the basis for the stative ON *kópa* 'to watch' < **kōpēn-* and the causative(?) OE *kēpan* 'to watch, keep', WFri. *kypje* w.v. 'to look' < **kōpjan-*. Also cf. OE *ge-cōp* adj. 'fit' < **ga-kōpa-* (Heidermanns 1993: 340-1).

karō- f. 'worry, care' — Go. *kara* f. 'care, worry, concern', ON *kǫr* f. 'bed of sickness', OE *cearu* f. 'suffering, sorrow; care, caution', E *care*, OS *kara* f. 'sorrow, lament', OHG *kara* f. 'sorrow, sadness, repentance' ⇒ **ǵh₂r-eh₂-* or **ǵoh₂r-éh₂-* (IE) — MP *zryg*, *zlyk* 'sorrow, suffering', Oss. *zaryn* / *zarun* 'to sing' < **ǵeh₂r-*; Gr. γῆρυς f. 'voice, speech' < **ǵeh₂r-u-*; Lat. *garriō*, *-īre* 'to chatter', Olr. *gairid*, W *garddu* 'to call, cry' < **g(e)h₂r-ié-*; Olr. *gáir* f. 'cry', W *gawr* 'crying, battle' < **ǵeh₂r-i-*.

PGm. **karō-* can have developed from both **ǵ̥h₂r-eh₂-* with vocalization of the laryngeal and from **ǵeh₂r-éh₂-* or **ǵoh₂r-éh₂-* with pretonic shortening. Also cf. Go. *karon*, OE *cearian*, OS *karon*, OHG *karōn* w.v. 'to worry' < **karōjan-* and OE *cearig*, OS *-karag*, OHG *karag* 'sad', G *karg*, Du. *karig* 'sparse' < **karaga-*.

karska- adj. 'lively' — ON *karskr* adj. 'brisk, bold', MLG *karsch* adj. 'vivid', Du. *kers-vers* adj. 'fresh', MHG *karsch* adj. 'vivid' ⇒ **h₁gor-sko-*(?) (IE?).

No certain etymology. Possibly related to Skt. *járate* 'to wake up' < **h₁ǵer-e-*; Gr. ἐγείρω 'to awaken, rouse, raise' < **h₁ǵer-ie-*.

katazan- m. 'tomcat' — MDu. *catere* m. 'id.', Du. *kater* c. 'id.', OHG *katere* m. 'id.', G *Kater* m. 'id.' (NIE).

A formation that is taken to be derived from **kattōn-* 'cat' with the masculinizing *azan*-suffix, for which cf. **ganazan-* 'gander'. The Göttingen dialect variant *kāz*, pl. *kǭze* (Schambach 1858: 98) would then continue a non-Vernerized form **katasan-* or **kadasan-*. The single *t* of the implied root **kat-* still remains remarkable, as the derivational base **kattōn-* has a geminate. Perhaps, this alternation points to an old *n*-stem with a singulate/geminate alternation, nom. **katō*, gen. **kattaz*. Late OHG *katere* looks like a variant stem **kadazan-*, but is in spite of Cimb. *kattaro* usually regarded as a loanword from Low German. The alternative is to conversely assume that Du. *kater* is a loanword from High German, which would imply a paradigm **kadō*, **kattaz* 'cat'.

****kattōn-*** f. 'cat' — Nw. *katte* f. 'cat', OFri. *katte* f. 'id.', MDu. *catte* f. 'cat', Du. *kat* c. 'cat', OHG *kazza* f. 'cat', G *Katze* f. 'cat' (NIE).

No Indo-European etymology. The word is usually believed to stem from an Afro-Asiatic language, cf. Arab. *qiṭṭa*, Nub. *kadīs* 'cat', penetrating the European languages through Lat. *catta*. The internally Germanic alternation of **kattōn-* with Nordic **kattu-*, cf. ON *kǫttr*, Far. *køttur*, *kattur* (whence **kattjōn-* in ON, Far. *ketta*, Nw. *kjette* f. 'cat') nevertheless suggests that there must have been a root **gat-* present in Germanic before the great sound shifts, i.e. well before the Roman era. The evidence, at any rate, clearly points to an old *n*-stem **katō*, gen.sg. **kattaz*, acc.pl. **kattuns* < **gat-ṓn*, **gat-n-ós*, **gat-n-ǹ̥s*, the latter case being continued by Nordic

*kattu-. Perhaps, then, there can be a correlation with SaaN *gađfe* 'female stoat', Hung. *hölgy* 'stoat; lady, bride' < PFU **käδ'wä* 'female (fur animal)'. For the semantics, cf. Lith. *šarmuõ* 'stoat; wildcat'. See also **katazan-* 'tomcat'.

kaujan- w.v. 'to call, shout' — OE *cīegan* w.v. 'id.', OHG *gi-kewen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **gouH-eie-* (IE) — Skt. *jóguve* 3sg.med. 'to call, announce' < **géu-guH-e-*; Gr. γόος 'crying, wailing' < **gouH-o-* (cf. Gr. γοάω 'to cry, lament' < **gouH-eh₂-ie-*); OCS *govorъ* 'noise, shout, rumour, murmur', Ru. *govor* 'sound of voices, talk', SCr. *gȍvōr* m. 'speech, dialect' < **gouH-oro-*.

The verb has the form of a causative, but its intransitivity points to an intensive formation. An alternative explanation would be to assume that the causative was created to a deponent verb corresponding to Skt. *jóguve*. See also **kewan-* 'to cry'.

***kauma-*(?)** m.(?) 'folded hands' — Icel. *kaun* n.pl. 'id.', Far. *keym(i)*, *kjóm* 'id.' (GM?).

The forms occur in the contexts Icel. *að blása í kaun*, Far. *at blása í keym*, *kjóm* 'to blow into one's folded hands (to warm them)'. It is likely that we are dealing with a Germanic cognate of Av. *gauua-* 'hand' < **geu-o-* (Magnússon 1989: 451), but the original form of the word is difficult to reconstruct. Icel. *kaun* and Far. *keym* can perhaps be unified into an Old Norse proto-form **kaum(r)*, but Far. *kjóm* at least superficially points to **kjómr*. Given these difficulties, it seems futile to attempt to project the forms further back into Proto-Germanic. They may, for instance, be more recent formations to ON *kjá* 'to rub(?)', Icel. *kjá* 'to caress, to rub', Nw. *kjå* 'to rub, toil' < **kewōn-* and ON *ká* w.v. 'to root up, turn' < **kawōn-*.

kauna- n.(?) 'blister' — ON *kaun* n. 'sore', Icel. *kaun* n. 'boil, carbuncle', Nw. *kaun* m. 'blister' (GM).

Also cf. Far. *koyna*, Nw. *køyne* f. 'blister' < **kaunōn-*. No further etymology.

kaunō- f. 'jaw' — MDu. *coon* f. 'jaw (of a fish), gill', Du. *koon* c. 'cheekbone, jaw, gill' ⇒ **ǵiouH-neh₂-* (DRV) — Lith. *žiáuna* f. 'jaw, jawbone, gill'; Latv. *žaũnas* f.pl. 'jaw', Bulg. *žúna* f. 'lip' < **ǵieuH-neh₂-*.

A formation derived from the verb **kewwan-* 'to chew' (q.v.). Other related Germanic formations meaning 'jaw' are difficult to account for due to severe formal incongruences, cf. OSw. *kiæke*, Sw. *käke*, Nw. *kjake* < **kekan-* ~ OE *cēace*, E *cheek* < **kaukōn-* ~ OFri. *tziāke*, WFri. *tjeak*, EFri. *sooke* < **keukōn-* ~ MDu. *cake*, Du. *kaak* < **kakōn-* (see De Vaan 2012). OE *cian* f.pl. 'gills', MDu. *kieuwe* f. 'jaw, gill', Du. *kieuw* c. 'gill', OHG *kiuwa*, MHG *ki(u)we*, G *Käu* f. 'jaw' < **kew(w)ōn-*, on the other hand, can be derived directly from the strong verb.

kautōn- f. 'knuckle' — OFri. *kāte* f. 'id.', MDu. *cote* f. 'hoof, fetlock', Du. *kootje* dim. 'phalanx', G Rhnl. *kötche* dim. 'dice made of sheep's knuckles' (GM).

No certain etymology. The word has been compared to Sw. dial. *kut* m. 'hunch, hump', which, however, belongs to the unrelated etymological cluster of Sw. dial. *kuta (ryggen)*, Nw. dial. *kuuta ryggjn* 'to bend one's back', Nw. dial. *kut* m. 'stuntedness, dwarfism' < **kūta-*, Sw. dial. *kot* m. 'gnarl' etc. The link with MDu. *cotel* f. 'animal dropping', Du. *keutel* c. 'id.' < **kutilō-* (cf. Pokorny IEW: 393-8) is not very appealing either.

kawō- f. 'jackdaw' — OE *cēo* f. 'id.', E *chough*, OS *kā* f. 'id.', MDu. *cauwe* f. 'id.', Du. *kauw* c. 'id.', OHG *kaha*, *kā* f. 'id.' (DRV).

A West Germanic bird name, possibly related to **kewōn-* and **kaujan-* 'to cry'. The word has been compared to Ukr. *gáva* 'crow', but since PSl. *g* should have changed into *h* in this language, this form is likely to be a distortion of Slav. **kava* (Danylenko 2006: 184), cf. Cz. *kavka* 'jackdaw'. It is conceivable, on the other hand, that this word together with Lith. *kóvas*, *kóva* 'jackdaw' was borrowed from Germanic, although this would probably imply a WGm. proto-form **kāwō-* (< **kēwō-*) rather than **kawō-*. Da. *kå*, Nw. *kå*, *kaje*, Sw. *kaja* were borrowed from Low German.

kaza- n. 'casket, vat' — Go. *kas* n. 'jar, vase, vessel', ON *ker* n. 'tub, vessel, goblet', Far. *kar* n. 'id.', Elfd. *kar* n. 'id.', OS *bī-kar* n. 'bee-hive', MDu. *caer* n. 'creel, bee-hive', Du. *vis-kaar* n. 'creel', OHG *kar* n. 'vessel, vat, trough', MHG *kar* n. 'vessel' (GM).

No Indo-European etymology. The word is close to, but phonetically irreconcilable with OIr. *coire*, MW *peir* 'cauldron' < PCelt. **kʷaryo-* < **kʷr̥-io-*, for which see **hwera-*. The often assumed link with Lat. *gerō* 'to carry', allegedly continuing a root **ges-*, is erroneous, because this verb continues **h₂g-es-*, i.e. an *s*-present to *agō*, *-ere* < **h₂eǵ-e-* (for which see **akan- 1*).

kebra(n)- m. 'beetle' — OE *ceafor*, *cefer* m. 'beetle', E *chafer*, ODu. *kevera* f. 'grasshopper', MDu. *kever(e)* m. 'beetle', Du. *kever* c. 'id.', OHG *kevar(o)* m. 'id.', G *Käfer* m. 'id.' (EUR?).

A West Germanic word probably leading back to a proto-form **kefran-* or **kebran-* (with *-br-* > **-fr-* by Bahder's law). The reconstruction of the vocalism is problematic, however. Swi. (App.) *xɛfər* (with *ɛ* < **e* rather than **ä₁* or **ä₂*) precludes a formation **kabiza-*, which would have given ***xefər* in this dialect. A form **kafra-* or **kabra-* must nevertheless be reconstructed on the basis of OE *ceafor*. Etymologically, the word is often derived from a verbal root **ǵebʰ-* as supported by OCS *o-zobati* 'to spoil', Ru. *zobát'* 'to eat, peck', SCr. *zòbati* 'to eat' < **ǵobʰ-*, cf. Ru. *zob* 'bill', OIr. *gop* m. 'muzzle, snout, beak' < **gobbo-*. The original meaning must then have been 'gnawer'.

kēgjō- f. 'peg, key' — OE *cǣg* f. 'key', OFri. *kāi*, *kēi* m. 'id.' (< **kēga-*), WFri. *kaai* c. 'id.' (GM).

An Anglo-Frisian isogloss, perhaps with an original meaning 'peg', cf. MDu. *kegghe* f. 'wedge' < **kagjō-*. See further **kagan-*.

kelka(n)- m. 'jawbone' — ON *kjalki* m. 'jaw; sledge', Far. *kjálki* m. 'cheekbone', Nw. *kjelke* m. 'sledge', dial. 'Adam's apple', Elfd. *tjåke* m. 'sledge', OHG *kelah* m. 'goiter', MHG *kelch* m. 'crop, double chin' (IE).

A formation related to **kelōn-* 'throat' (q.v.). Perhaps, the *k*-suffix can be explained from a *ur/n*-stem **g^{w}élh$_1$-ur*, **g$^{(w)}$lh$_1$-u-én-s* (see **kelurō-*), which could regularly have developed into PGm. **kelkur*, **kulkenaz* by the velarization of post-sonorantal laryngeals before **u* (cf. **taikwer-*). A potential zero grade is present in Da. *kulk* 'gullet', dial. 'Adam's apple'. Icel. *kálkur* m. 'sledge, bar on a sledge' continues an *o*-grade formation **kalka-*. Also cf. OHG *kelh*, MHG *kelch* m. 'crop, goiter'.

kelōn- f. 'throat' — OE *ceole* f. 'throat, jowl', Du. *keel* c. 'throat', OHG *kela*, *kel* f. 'id.', G *Kehle* f. 'id.' ⇒ **g^{w}elh$_1$-eh$_2$-* (IE) — Close to Lat. *gula* f. 'throat, gullet' < **g^{w}lh$_1$-eh$_2$-*; also cf. Skt. *giráti*, *giláti* 'to devour' < **g$^{w}_{\text{o}}$lh$_1$-e-*; Arm. *ekul* 'devoured' < **h$_1$e-g^{w}ōlh$_1$-*; Gr. δέλεαρ (gen. -ατος, pl. δείλατα, δέλευρα) n. 'decoy, bait' < **g^{w}elh$_1$-u̯r.*

The lack of labialization in Germanic is problematic, but it may have been lost in the zero-grade form **gul-* < **g^{w}lh$_1$-*, for which see **kelurō-*. The word has a WGm. distribution, but Elfd. *grå-tjyōlu* f. 'Eurasian siskin', lit. "firtree-throat"(?), appears to point to the pre-existence of ON **kjala*, obl. **kjǫlu* (Noreen 1882: 66 fn. 1). See also **kelkan-*.

kelur-ō- f. 'throat' — OE *ceoler* f. 'collar, throat', OHG *kelur*, *kelero* m., *kelera* f. 'id.' ⇒ **g^{w}elh$_1$-ur-* (IE).

The Germanic word is usually reconstructed as **keluza-*, but the alternative **kelura-* is preferable because it favors the reconstruction of the word as a heteroclitic *ur/n*-stem, nom. **g^{w}élh$_1$-ur*, gen. **g$^{(w)}$lh$_1$-én-s*. In this paradigm the loss of the labialization would be regular in the genitive, which allows us to connect the word to the PIE root **g^{w}elh$_1$-* 'to devour'. See also **kelōn-*.

kēma- n. 'mold' — Icel. *kám* n. 'filth', E dial. *coom* 'soot', EDu. *kaem*, *kaen* 'layer of mold (on fluids)', Du. *kaam*, *kaan* c. 'id.', MHG *kām*, *kān(e)* n. 'id.', G *Kahm* m. 'id.' (GM).

A formation that in view of the *m/n* alternation may continue an *mn*-stem **kēman-*, obl. **kēmn-*. It is probably related to Far. *kámur* adj. 'vague, unclear', Nw. dial. *kåm* adj. 'dark' < **kēma-*. E *keam*, *keans* 'froth' continues a closely related collective OE **cēme* < **kēmja-* to the same root. No further

etymology. The appurtenance of Latv. *gânît* 'to vilify' is uncertain, and the sometimes compared G *Kadel* m. 'soot' (Franck 1949: 283) is a loanword from Slavic, cf. Cz. *kadidlo* 'incense', OCS *kaditi* 'to fumigate'.

kerban- s.v. 'to carve' — OE *ceorfan* s.v. 'to cut (off); slay', MDu. *kerven, caerven* s.v. 'to carve; slice; scrap', Du. *kerven* w.v. 'to carve' ⇒ **gérbʰ-e-* (EUR) — OCS *žrěbъ, žrêbij* m. 'lot', Ru. dial. *žérebej* 'cut off piece' < **gerbʰ-o-* (for the semantic shift from 'carve' to 'fate', cf. *rezat' žereb'ja*); Gr. γράφω 'to scratch, carve, write' < **gr̥bʰ-e-*.

A strong verb to a European root **gerbʰ-*. Olr. *cerbaid* 'to hack; lacerate' looks like a Germanic loanword.

kerla- ~ *karla- m. 'man, freeman' — ON *karl* m. 'man; man of the common people', Far. *kallur* m. 'man', Elfd. *kall* m. 'man; husband', OE *ceorl* m. 'man, low freeman, peasant', E *churl*, OFri. *tzerl, tzirl, kerl* m. 'man; servant', MDu. *kerle, kerel, caerl* m. 'low freeman', Du. *kerel* c. 'man, guy', OHG *karl, karal* m. 'husband, spouse', G *Kerl* m. 'man, fellow' ⇒ **ǵerh₂-ol-* (IE) — ToB *śrāy*, pl. *śrān-* m. 'adult man' < **ǵerh̥₂-n-* (with nom. *-y* for *-ñ*?); Skt. *járant-* 'old, infirm', Oss. *zærond* 'old', Arm. *cer(un)* 'old; old man', Gr. γέρων, -οντος m. 'old man' < **ǵerh₂-ont-*.

The non-Germanic cognates point to an original *n-* or *nt*-stem to the root **ǵerh₂-* 'to ripen', cf. Skt. *járati* 'to age, grow old; to make old, decrepit' < **ǵérh₂-e-*; OCS *zьrěti*, Ru. *zret'* (*zréju*), SCr. *zrȅti* 'to ripen' < **grh₂-eh₁-*. The Germanic evidence, on the other hand, is best derived from a thematicized *l*-stem with root ablaut, e.g. nom. **ǵérh₂-ōl*, gen. **ǵrh₂-l-ós*, acc. **ǵorh₂-él-m.*

kernan- m. 'kernel, core' — ON *kjarni* m. 'kernel', Far. *kjarni* m. 'id.', OS *kerno* m. 'kernel, seed', MDu. *kerne, keerne* 'kernel, stone', Du. *kern* c. 'kernel', OHG *kerno* m. 'kernel, corn', G *Kern* m. 'kernel' ⇒ **ǵerh₂-n-on-* (IE).

An *n*-stem related to **kurna-* (q.v.). Also cf. the archaic neuter *n*-stem Go. *kaurno*, Nw. dial. *korna* n. 'id.' < **kurnōn-*.

kerzan- s.v. 'to creak, to cry (of birds)' — OE *ceorran* s.v. 'to creak', MDu. *kerren, carren* w.v. 'to creak, squeak' ⇒ **gérs-e-* (EUR) — Lith. *garšas* m. 'sound, rumour, glory' < **gors-o-*; Lat. *garrio* 'to chatter' < **gr̥s-ie-* (or **ǵeh₂r-ie* with the *littera*-rule, see **karō-*).

A strong verb **kerzan-* for expected **kersan-* < **ǵers-e-*: the **z* points to influence (back-formation?) from the iterative **kurzōn-* (q.v.). Note that the verb was strongly associated with the crying, shrieking and screeching of birds, especially the grouse family, cf. ON, Icel. *rjúp-ker(r)i, -karri* m. 'male ptarmigan', Du. *kor-hoen* 'black grouse'.

kespa- m.(?) 'beam(?)' — Du. *kesp* c. 'beam lying on top of the foundation' (GM).

A Dutch and Low German word that is regarded to be without an etymology (cf. Vercoullie 1925: 161), but which can possibly be related to OE *cosp* 'fetter' < **kuspa-* (q.v.).

ketwa- n. 'meat' — ON *kjǫt* n. 'id.', Far. *kjøt* n. 'id.', Elfd. *tjyōt* n. 'id.' (NEUR?).

An exclusively Nordic word that has been compared to Icel. *kvett(i)* n. 'piece of meat', Far. *kvett* n. 'quick cut; lucky strike' < **kwattja-*, which appears to be derived from Far. *kvetta* w.v. 'to cut, break, bite quickly' < **kwattjan-*. This causative must in turn be related to ME *cutten, kitten* w.v. 'to cut' < **kuttjan-* and MHG *kotze* m. 'spud' < **kuttan-* (also cf. G Pal. *Kütz* 'intestines' < **kuttja-*), which were created to an iterative **kut(t)ōn-* (< **gud$^{(h)}$-néh$_2$-*), cf. Elfd. *kuotå* w.v. 'to whittle' < **kutōn-*. It remains uncertain, however, whether **ketwa-* could have developed from **kwetwa-* by dissimilation of the first **w*. No certain etymology. Possibly related to Lith. *gùdė* f. 'whetstone' < **gud^{h}-ieh$_2$-*. Hardly to Hitt. *kudur-* n. 'leg, shank' (Poetto 1986; contra: Hamp 1990).

keusan- s.v. 'to trial, select' — Go. *kiusan* s.v. 'to put to a test, prove by trial', ON *kjósa* s.v. 'to choose, select, elect', Far. *kjósa* s.v. 'id.', OE *cēosan* s.v. 'to choose, to elect', OS *kiosan, keosan, keosan* s.v. 'to choose, recognize', Du. *kiezen* s.v. 'to choose', OHG *kiosan* s.v. 'to choose, examine, judge', MHG *kiesen* s.v. 'to choose' ⇒ **ǵeus-e-* (IE) — Hitt. *kukušzi* 'to taste' < **ǵu-ǵ(e)us-*; Skt. *jóṣate* 'to enjoy, like, be pleased', Gr. γεύομαι 'to taste' < **ǵeus-e-*; Olr. *do-goa* 'to choose' < PCelt. **tu-gus-o-*.

The oldest meaning, 'to test', is preserved by Gothic. The NWGm. languages, on the other hand, point to a secondary meaning 'to prefer', for which cf. **kusti-* and **kustu-*.

kewan- s.v.(?) 'to cry' — Icel. *kjá* w.v. 'to cry (of birds)' ⇒ **géuH-e-*(?) (IE) — Skt. *jóguve* 3sg.med. 'to call, announce' < **géu-guH-e-*.

This verb is compared to the causative **kaujan-* by Magnússon 1989: 465, and although *kjá* is weak in Icelandic, it may indeed continue a primary strong verb **kewan-* < **géuH-e-*. Also cf. **kūma-*.

kewwan- s.v. 'to chew' — ON *tyggva, tyggja* s.v. 'to chew', Far. *tyggja* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *tegga* s.v. 'id.', OE *cēowan* s.v. 'id.', E *to chew*, MDu. *couwen, cuwen* w.v. 'id.', Du. *kauwen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *kiuwan* s.v. 'id.', G *kauen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵiéuH-e-* (IE) — ToA *śwā-*, ToB *śäwā-* 'to eat' < **ǵiuH-*; MP *jw-* 'to chew; to devour', NP *ǰavīdan / ǰav-* 'to chew' < **ǵieuH-*; CS *žьvati*, Ru. *ževát'* (*žujú*) 'to chew' < **ǵiuH-eh$_2$-*.

A strong verb of IE origin. The initial *t* of the Nordic forms (ON *tyggva, tyggja* etc.) is unexpected, but since the orthographical variation of *-ggv-* and *-ggj-* points to a palatalized labiovelar geminate **-ǵǵʷ-* (Rasmussen 1989: 371), it probably arose due to dissimilation of the initial palatal *k* against the palatal *gv* further on in the word. Note that ON *-yǵǵʷ-* regularly developed from PGm. **-eww-* and does not imply a sequence **-ewwj-* (Heidermanns 1986; Rasmussen l.c.). This is confirmed by Elfd. *tegga*, which preserved the original root vowel. See also **kaunō-*.

kīban- s.v. 'to quarrel' — ON *kífa* w.v. 'id.', MDu. *kiven* s./w.v. 'id.', MHG *kīben* s.v. 'to quarrel, fight' ⇒ **géibʰ-e-* (GM).

MDu. *kipen* w.v. 'to strive, struggle' could have its *p* from the iterative **kippōþi, *kibunanþi* (see **kipp/bōn-*). This is not the same iterative as **kippōn- 2.*

kila- m. 'bulb(?)' — MHG *kil* m. 'onion', G *Kiel* m. 'bulb' (DRV) — Close to Arm. *cil, cił* 'sprout, bud, piece of wood' < **ǵiH-l-*.

Probably a derivation from the verb **kīnan-* (q.v.). The alternative is to derive the formation from **ǵiH-ló-* with pretonic shortening.

kīman- m. 'germ, sprout' — OS *kīmo* m. 'id.', Du. *kiem* c. 'id.', OHG *kīmo* m. 'id.', G *Keim* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵiH-mon-* (DRV).

An *mn*-stem derived from **kīnan-* (q.v.).

kimbōn- f. 'crest, ridge' — OE *cimb-stān* m. 'pedestal, socket', E *chimbe, chime* 'edge or rim of a cask or drum', MDu. *kimme* f. 'edge, chime', Du. *kim* c. 'horizon', dial. 'edge of a cask, chime' ⇒ **ǵembʰ-on-* (IE).

An *n*-stem related to **kamba-* (q.v.).

kīnan- s.v. 'to burst open, germinate' — Go. *us-keinan* s./w.v. 'to sprout up, bud forth, grow from', OE *cīnan* s.v. 'to gape, break into chinks', OHG *kīnan* s.v. 'to sprout, blossom, germinate' ⇒ **ǵei-n-eH-* (EUR) — Lith. *žydėti, ziẽdêt* 'to flower, bloom, blossom' < **ǵeiH-dʰ(-)eh₁-*.

An archaic nasal present. Originally, the nasal only occurred in the present, but not in the preterite or the past participle, cf. Go. *us-kijanata* 'germinated'. Note that OE *cīnan* preserved the primary meaning 'to break open', cf. Sw. dial. *kina* w.v. 'to yawn; to faint', Nw. dial. *kjena* w.v. 'to starve, dwindle' < **ǵi-néh₂-* and MHG *kīl*, G *Keil* m. 'wedge' < **kīdla-* < **ǵeiH-dʰlo-*. This is a remarkable archaism in view of the fact that the meaning 'to bud' also occurs in Baltic and Armenian (for which cf. **kila-*). See further also **kīman-* and **kīþa-*.

kindi- f. 'kind' — ON *kind* f. 'kind, race' ⇒ **ǵenh₁-tí-* (IE) — Av. *fra-zaiṇti-* 'offspring, posterity', Gr. γένεσις 'birth', Lat. *gēns, -ntis* f. 'race, nation, people' < **ǵenh₁-ti-*.

A *ti*-stem to the IE root **ǵenh₁-* 'to be born'. This root represents a *Schwebeablaut* variant of **ǵneh₁-*, for which cf. **knōdi-*. See also **kanjan-*.

kinnu- f. 'cheek' — Go. *kinnus* f. 'cheek, jawbone', ON *kinn* f. 'cheek; slope', OE *cinn* f. 'chin', OS *kinni, kin, kin* n. 'jaw, chin', Du. *kin* c. 'chin', OHG *kinni* n. 'chin, jaw-bone' ⇒ **ǵen(H)-u* (IE) — ToA *śanweṃ* du.f. 'jaws', Skt. *hánu-* f. 'jaw', YAv. *zanauua* du. 'both jaws' (< **ǵen-eu-h₁e*), Arm. *cnawt* 'jaw, chin' (with unclear *t*), Gr. γένυς, -υος f. 'jaw, edge of an axe', Lat. *gena* f. 'cheek', Olr. *gin* m. 'mouth'; W *gen* (pl. pl. *geneu*) 'cheek' < **ǵen-u-*.

An amphidynamic *u*-stem **ǵén(H)-u-s*, gen. **ǵn(H)-u-ós*. The stem variant **ǵen(H)u̯-* regularly developed into PGm. **kinn-*, which means that the *u*-ending must have been restored on the basis of the expected nom. **kenus* < **ǵen(H)-u-s*. In West Germanic, the word was reshaped into *jō-* and *ja*-stems, while ON *kinn*, pl. *kinnr* points to remodeling into a root noun.

kinþa-* ~ **kinda- n. 'child' — Nw. *kind* n. 'id.', OFri. *kind* n. 'id.', OS *kind* n. 'id.', Du. *kind* n. 'id.', OHG *kind* n. 'id.', G *Kind* n. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵenh₁-to-* (IE) — W *geneth*, Gaul. *geneta, genata, gnata* f. 'girl' < **ǵenh₁-et-eh₂-*.

A formation derived from the PIE root **ǵenh₁-* 'to be born'. In view of the combination of a full-grade root with a *to*-suffix, the word can perhaps be analyzed as a thematicized *t*-stem, e.g. **ǵenh₁-ēt*, acc. **ǵenh₁-et-m.* If so, W *geneth* 'girl' < **ǵenh₁-et-eh₂-* would be especially close. See also **kanjan-* and **kindi-*.

****kipp/bōn-*** w.v. 'to quarrel, fight' — OFri. *kebbia* w.v. 'id.', WFri. *kibje* w.v. 'id.', MLG *kibben* w.v. 'id.', Du. *kibbelen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **gibʰ-néh₂-* (GM).

The iterative 3sg. **kippōþi*, 3pl. **kibunanþi* to **kīban-* (q.v.). Lith. *kìbinti* 'to tease' was borrowed from Low German.

****kippōn- 1*** w.v. 'to stumble' — Icel. *kippa* w.v. 'to feel tipsy; to fall into place', Far. *kippa* w.v. 'to go under water (of stones)', Elfd. *tjippa-s* w.v. 'to jump', E *chip* 'to trip up, cause to stumble', MLG *kippen* w.v. 'to stumble, stagger, knock over', Du. dial. *kippen* w.v. 'to tip' ⇒ **gibʰ-néh₂-* (NEUR) — Lith. *geĩbti* 'to weaken, fall over' < **geibʰ-e-*; Lith. *geibùs* adj. 'clumsy, awkward' < **geibʰ-u-*.

An iterative formation to an unattested strong verb **kīban-* or **kīpan-*, for which cf. **kaipa-*. Unrelated to **kippōn- 2*.

kippōn- 2 w.v. 'to chop(?)' — ON *kippa* w.v. 'to pull, snatch', Icel. *kippa* w.v. 'to jerk', Far. *kippa* w.v. 'to cut off', OE *cippian* w.v. 'to chop, cut', E *chip* 'to cut away', MDu. *kippen* w.v. 'to catch' (GM).

No extra-Gm. cognates. Perhaps connected to MDu. *kippen*, E *to chip* 'to hatch', cf. Du. *kip* 'chicken'.

kisila- m. 'gravel' — OE *ciosol*, *ceosol*, *cisel* m. 'pebble', MDu. *kesel* 'id.', Du. *kiezel* c. 'gravel; pebble', OHG *kisel* m. 'pebble' ⇒ **ǵis-o-*(?) (NIE) — Lith. *žìzdras*, dial. *žigždras* m. 'gravel', *žiezdrà*, *žiegždrà* f. 'id.', OPru. *sixdo* 'sand' < **ǵ(e)is-ro/eh₂-*.

A diminutive to MHG *kis* m./n. 'pebble, scrap', G *Kies* m. 'gravel, grit' < **kisa-*, which seems to be in ablaut relationship to LG *keisel*, *kēsel* < **kaisila-*. In view of the limitation to Germanic and Baltic, the word is unlikely to be of Indo-European origin. Note, for instance, the following non-IE *comparanda*: Udm. (S) *gi̯ž*, *gi̯ži̯* 'grain of sand', Komi *keža* 'gravel', Khanty *χĭš* 'fine sand' and Georg. *kviša* 'sand'.

kit(t)ōn- w.v. 'to tickle' — ON *kitla* w.v. 'id.', Nw. *kita*, *kitla*, *kisla* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *tjissla* w.v. 'id.', OE *citelian* w.v. 'id.', E *tickle* (with metathesis), ODu. *kitilon* w.v. 'id.', Du. *kietelen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *kizzilōn*, *kuzzilōn* w.v. 'id.', MHG *kitzen*, *kitzeln* w.v. 'id.', G *kitzeln* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **gid-néh₂-* (IE?) — Perhaps to Arm. *kēt* 'point, dot' < **goid-o-* (whence *kcanem* 'to bite, sting' < **goid-ie-*, with *c* < **-di̯-*?).

In most Germanic languages, a frequentative *l*-suffix was added to the iterative 3sg. **kittōþi*, 3pl. **kitunanþi*, but MHG *kitzen* and Nw. dial. *kita* preserve this primary formation. Etymologically, it is clearly linked with the Armenian forms. The implied base **geid-* is in violation of the PIE constraint on roots with two voiced (glottalized?) stops, but this may be due to its iconic meaning.

kīþa- m. 'sprout, bud' — OE *cīð* m. 'young shoot, sprig', OS *kīth* m. 'germ, sprout', OHG *kīdi* n. 'shoot', MHG *kīde* n. 'id.' (< **kīþja-*) ⇒ **ǵ(e)iH-tí-* (DRV).

A *ti*-stem to the PIE root **ǵeiH-*, for which see **kīnan-*.

kizna- m. 'pine tree' — OE *cēn* m. 'pine tree, spruce', MLG *kēn* 'pine cone, pinewood', OHG *kien* m./n. 'pine tree, pinewood torch', G *Kien* m. 'resinous pinewood' ⇒ **gis-nó-* (NIE/WEUR) — OIr. *crand-gíus* 'pine tree', Ir. *giú(i)s*, *giúsach* 'bog deal' < **gis-usto-*(?); Ir. *giumhas* 'resin', Gael. *giuthas* 'fir'.

Usually connected to OIr. *gíus* 'spruce' through a proto-Germanic reconstruction **kizna-* (with **-iz-* resulting in **ē₂* in West Germanic). Given the distribution of the word, it is not likely to have been inherited from PIE. Perhaps, there can be a link with Fi. *kuusi* 'fir, spruce', SaaN *guossâ* 'spruce',

Mordv. *kuz* 'id.', Udm. *ki̯z*, *kâz* 'pine', which has been reconstructed as Proto-Uralic **kuse* or **kose*.

klagō- f. 'complaint, lament' — OS *klaga* f. 'id.', MDu. *clage*, *claech* f. 'id.', OHG *klaga* f. 'id.', G *Klage* f. 'id.' ⇒ **g*$^{(w)}$*loǵ*^{h}*-eh*$_2$- (IE?) — Skt. *gr̥he* 3sg.med. 'to complain' < **g*$^{(w)}$*lǵ*^{h}-; YAv. *gərəzaite* 'to complain, lament', Oss. *qærzyn* / *ğærzun* 'to groan' < **g*$^{(w)}$*lǵ*^{h}*-é-*; YAv. *gərəzā-* f. 'complaint' < **g*$^{(w)}$*lǵ*^{h}*-eh*$_2$-.

A West Germanic *ō*-stem, whence OHG *klagōn*, G *klagen*, OS *klagon*, Du. *klagen*, OFri. *klagia* w.v. 'to complain, lament' < **klagōjan-*. The Germanic word has been compared to the aforementioned Indo-Iranian forms, but the implied *Schwebeablaut* may indicate that the words are actually unrelated. The appurtenance of MIr. *glám* f. 'satire; outcry', quasi PIE **glaǵ*^{h}*-smeh*$_2$- (Pokorny IEW: 350-1), is even more doubtful.

klainja- adj. 'fine' — OE *clǣne* adj. 'clean', E *clean*, MDu. *cleine* adj. 'small, fine, neat', Du. *klein* adj. 'small', OHG *kleini* adj. 'small, delicate, fine, pure, clean', G *klein* adj. 'small' (DRV).

An adjective that was derived from the same root as found in ON, Far. *klína* w.v. 'to smear' < **klīnjan-* and OHG *klenan* s.v. 'id.' < **klinan-* (cf. Pokorny IEW: 366-7), for which see **klajja-* 'clay'. Its original meaning must then have been 'shining', whence 'pretty' and 'delicate' (cf. Heidermanns 1993: 332). Still problematic is the variant LG *klīn*, Swi. *xlii*, which appears to continue an ablauting form **klīn-* (Mitzka 1934). Heidermanns (l.c.) assumed a verbal origin for this ablaut, but the doublet **klainja-* : **klīn(j)a-* is fully parallel to e.g. MDu. *droghe*, Du. *droog* 'dry' < **draugja-*: OE *drȳge* 'id.', E *dry* < **drūgja-*, and thus implies nominal or derivationally dependent ablaut.

klaiþa- n. 'cloth' — OE *clōð* n. 'id.', E *cloth*, OFri. *klāth*, *klēth* n. 'id.', WFri. *klaad* n. 'id.', Du. *kleed* n. 'id.', OHG *kleid* n. 'id.', G *Kleid* n. 'id.' (GM).

A formation that is often compared to the cluster of OE *cliðan* s.v. 'to adhere, stick' < **klīþan-*. The meaning of this verb, however, cannot easily be reconciled with **klaiþa-*. Certainly related, on the other hand, is Icel. *klíð* n. 'piece of woven fabric' < **klīþa-* (cf. Magnússon 1989: 45). ON, Far. *klæði*, Elfd. *kläde* n. 'cloth; garment' was borrowed from West Germanic.

klaiwiz- n. 'clover' — OE *clāfre*, *clǣfre* f. 'id.', E *clover*, OFri. *klā*(?) m.(?) 'id.', WFri. *klaver* c. 'id.', EFri. *kleeuwer* m. 'id.', OS *klē* 'id.', MDu. *clavere* f. 'id.', Du. *klaver* c. 'id.', OHG *klē(o)* m./n. 'id.', G *Klee* m. 'id.' (GM).

An exclusively Germanic word displaying many formal difficulties (see Liberman 2008: 26-31). The alternation of forms with and without *r* can possibly be accounted for by reconstructing an *s*-stem (cf. Van den Berg 1954), e.g. **klaiwaz* (OHG *klēo*), pl. **klaiwizō-* (cf. OE *clǣfre* < **klaiwizōn-* vs.

OE *clāfre*, OFri. *klāvere* < **klaiwazōn-*). However, even from this apparently fruitful perspective, the surfacing of the **w* as **þ* still remains problematic. As in the case of the synonymous **smērjōn-*, it has therefore been proposed that the word was borrowed from a non-IE language (Schrijver 1997: 305). Although this must be accepted as a serious possibility, I do not think that a substrate origin can be assumed solely on the basis of the emergence of **w* as **þ* alone. This (sporadic) change may have taken place before *-r-* (**-wr-* > **-br-*) in West Germanic, as has been claimed by Van den Berg (l.c.). Alternatively, the original paradigm **klaiwaz*, gen. **klaiwizaz* may have given rise to a syncopated stem **klaiwz-*, in which the sequence *-wz-* developed into **-þz-*.

klajja- m. 'clay' — OE *clæg* m. 'id.', E *clay*, OFri. *klai* m.(?) 'id.', WFri. *klaai* c. 'id.', MDu. *clei* n. 'id.', Du. *klei* c. 'id.' ⇒ **gloi-(i)o-* (IE) — Formally identical to Gr. γλοιός m. 'any glutinous substance, gum' < **gloi-(i)o-*.

A *ja-* or *a*-stem derived from the root **klī-* < **glei-*, cf. the zero-grade present OHG *klenan*, MHG *klenen* s.v. 'to smear, stick' < **klinan-* < **gli-n-e-*. OE *clām* m. 'mud', MDu. *cleem* m. 'clay' < **klaima-* is a *mo*-stem that again gave rise to Far. *kleima*, Elfd. *kliema*, OE *clæman*, MDu. *clemen*, OHG *kleimen* w.v. 'to smear' < **klaimjan-*. Also cf. OHG *klīwa*, *klīa*, G *Kleie* f. 'bran' < **klīwō-*, which is close to Latv. *glīve* 'slime'.

klammjan- w.v. 'to clamp; to jam' — OE *clemman* w.v. 'to fetter, bind, enclose', Du. *klemmen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *klemmen* w.v. 'id.', G *klemmen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A causative derived from **klimman-* ~ **klimpan-*. Also cf. OHG *klamma* f. 'narrow place; canyon' < **klammō-* and - with a root-final stop - MHG *klampfe* f. 'clamp' < **klampō-*.

klangjan-* ~ *klankjan- w.v. 'to make stick' — ON *klengja-st* w.v. 'to interfere (< "to make oneself cling")', Elfd. *klaindja* w.v. 'to clamber', OE *clengen* w.v. 'to adhere, remain', *be-clencan* w.v. 'to make cling', E *to clench*, *clinch*, OHG *klenken* w.v. 'to tie, bind' (DRV).

The causative to **klingan-* (q.v.). The root-final **k* of the variant **klankjan-* presupposes a Pre-Gm. form **klankkjan-*, which may have adopted its geminate from a further unattested iterative **klunkkōn-*.

klankwjan- w.v. 'to make shrink' — ON *kløkkva* w.v. 'to make weak, weaken', Far. *kløkka* w.v. 'to frighten' (DRV).

The causative to **kling(w)an-* ~ **klinkwan-*.

klaubjan- w.v. 'to split' — ON *kleyfa* w.v. 'id.', Far. *kloyva* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **gloubʰ-éie-* (EUR).

The causative to **kleuban-* (q.v.).

klawō- f. 'claw' — OE *clāwu, clā* f. 'id.', E *claw*, Du. *klauw* c. 'id.', OHG *klāwa, klā, klō(a)* f. 'id.', G *Klaue* f. 'id.' (GM).

An exclusively Germanic word. The Nordic forms ON *kló*, Far. *klógv*, Elfd. *kluo* f. 'claw' can together with OHG *klō(a)* be reconstructed as **klōwō-*, which would be an ablaut variant of OHG *klawa* < **klawō-* (hardly **klēwō-*). Indeed, there are traces of such ablaut in the pertaining verbal formations. OE *clawian*, OHG *klawēn* w.v. 'to scratch' can simply be derived from a weak stative verb **klawēn-*, but ON *klá*, pret. *kláða* vs. *kló*, Far. *kláa*, pret. *kláaði, klerði*, ptc. *kligid* and Elfd. *klå*, pret. *kluo*, ptc. *klaið* (the latter with the meaning 'to toil') in combination with OSw. *kleya*, Da. *klø*, MDu. *clooien, clouwen* < **klaujan-* strongly support the (parallel) occurrence of an originally strong verb **klaujan-* < **glou-ie-*.

kleuban- s.v. 'to cleave, split' — ON *kljúfa* s.v. 'id.', Far. *klúgva* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *kliuova* s.v. 'id.', OE *clēofan* s.v. 'id.', E *to cleave*, OS *klioban* s.v. 'id.', Du. *klieven* w.v. 'id.', OHG *klioban* s.v. 'id.', G *klieben* s./w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **gléubʰ-e-* (EUR) — Identical to Lat. *glūbō, -ere* 'to strip the bark from a tree, to peel' < **gleubʰ-e-*; also cf. Gr. γλύφω 'to carve, cut out, engrave' < **glubʰ-e-* and perhaps also OCS *glǫbokъ*, Ru. *glubókij* adj. 'deep' < **glu-m-bʰ-o-*.

A verb with a European distribution. A different formation is ON *klyfja* w.v. 'to split' < **klubjan-* < **glubʰ-ie-*. Also cf. **klaubjan-*.

klewan- m. 'lump, ball' — ON *klé*, obl. *kljá* m. 'stone to keep the warp straight in the upright loom', Far. *klíggja-steinur* m. 'id.', Nw. *kljå* m. 'id.' ⇒ **gleuh₂-on-* (EUR) — OCS *žьly, žely* f. 'ulcer, sore', Ru. *želvák* m. 'tumor', Latv. *dzęlva* f. 'swelling on the skin' < **gelu-u(e)h₂-*; Gr. γλουτός m. 'buttock' < **glouh₂-to-*.

An *n*-stem potentially ablauting with OE *clyne* m. 'ball, lump' < **kluni-*. Perhaps, both formations can be unified into a single paradigm nom. **klewō*, gen. *kluniz* < PIE **gléuH-ōn*, gen. **gluH-n-és*. Further related to Skt. *gláu-* m. 'bump, tumor'? Within Germanic, cf. OHG *kliuwi* n. 'clew' < **klewīn-* and OHG *kliuwa* f. 'ball, clew', OE *cleowe* f. 'id.' < **klewōn-*.

kliba- n. 'cliff' — ON *klif* n. 'cliff, protruding isolated rock', Far. *kliv* f. 'steep place, cliff, rock', Elfd. *kliv* n. 'id.', MDu. *clif* n. 'cliff, steep, slope', OHG *klep* 'id.' (DRV).

A zero-grade neuter directly derived from **klīban-* (q.v.). Also cf. MDu. *clippe*, Du. *klip* c. 'cliff' < **klippōn-* with **-pp-* < **-bʰ-n-*.

klīban- s.v. 'to stick' — ON *klífa* s.v. 'to climb', Far. *klúgva* (*klíva*) s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *klaiva* s.v. 'to climb', OS *bi-klīban* s.v. 'to stick', Du. *be-klijven* s.v. 'id.',

OHG *klīban* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **gléibʰ-e-* (NEUR) — Latv. *gliêbtiês, -juos* 'to cling' < **gleibʰ-ie-*.

A Germanic/Balto-Slavic root. Also cf. the causative OHG *kleiben* w.v. 'to cause to stick' < **klaibjan-*. See further **kliba-* and **klibēn-*.

****klibēn-*** w.v. 'to stick' — OE *clifian, cleofian* w.v. 'id.', E *to cleave*, OS *klīƀon* w.v. 'id.', EDu. *kleven* w.v. 'id.', OHG *klebēn* w.v. 'id.', G *kleben* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **glibʰ-éh₁-* (NEUR) — OCS *u-glьběti** (*glьbljǫ*) 'to stick'.

A stative verb pertaining to **klīban-* (q.v.).

****klimman-* ~ **klimb/pan-*** s.v. 'to clamp; to climb' — OE *climban, climman* s.v. 'to climb', E *to climb*, MDu. *climmen, clemmen* s.v. 'id.', Du. *klimmen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *klimban* s.v. 'id.', MHG *klimmen, klimpfen* s.v. 'to squeeze; to climb', G *klimmen* s.v. 'to climb' ⇒ **glémbʰ-e-* (GM).

A strong verb varying between **klimban-* < **glémbʰ-*, **klimman-* < **glémbʰ-n-* (with regular assimilation of PGm. **-mbn-* to **-mm-*) and **klimpan-* < **glembʰ-nˊ-* (Kluge's law). The meaning 'to climb', which is dominant throughout the material, is actually secondary, and developed from older 'to clasp' and 'to clamp' (< **klampōn-*). See **klammjan-* and **klumpan-*.

****klingan-*** s.v. 'to stick, cling' — OE *clingan* s.v. 'id.', E *to cling*, MDu. *clingen* s.v. 'id.' (GM).

A strong verb related to **klangjan-* ~ **klankjan-* (q.v.).

****klingan-* ~ **klinkan-*** s.v. 'to sound, ring' — Elfd. *klingga* s.v. 'id.', E *to clink* 'id.', OFri. *klinga, klinka* s.v. 'id.', MLG *klingen* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *clingen, clinken* s.v. 'id.', Du. *klinken* s.v. 'id.', OHG *klingan* s.v. 'id.', G *klingen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **glénghʰ-e-?* (GM).

A strong verb doublet, of which the variant **klingan-* is primary: the final *k* of **klinkan-* was adopted from the iterative **klunk/gōn-* (q.v.), which occured alongside a causative **klankjan-*, cf. ME *clenchen* 'to beat; to dispute, contradict', E obs. *clench* 'to chatter', MHG *klenken* 'to ring bells' (< **klangjan-?*). No further etymology: probably originally an onomatopoeia, cf. Lat. *clangō* 'to clang'.

****kling(w)an-* ~ **klinkwan-*** s.v. 'to shrink' — Icel. *klökkva* s.v. 'to be moved, cringe, become afraid', Nw. *kløkka* s.v. 'to be shocked, appalled', ODa. *klykke* 'to be moved', OE *clingan* s.v. 'to shrink', Du. *in-klinken* s.v. 'to settle (of sediment, clay)' (NEUR?).

The verb is usually connected to Lith. *glèžti* (*glęžtù*) 'to become flabby' < **gle-n-ǵʰ-*, but E *clough* 'ravine' < **klanha-* implies that **klingan-* is a Verner variant of an original strong verb **klinhan-* < **glénk-e-*, which precludes this etymological connection. Perhaps, both **kling(w)an-* and **klinkwan-* con-

tinue an original *nu*-present through a Pre-Gm. paradigm 3sg. **klinkkeuþi*, 3pl. **klingunnenþi* < **glenk-néu-ti*, **glenk-nu-énti*. It must be stressed, however, that the hypothetical geminate of **klinkwan-* may also have been adopted from the iterative 3sg. **klunkkōþi*, 3pl. **klungunanþi*, for which cf. MHG *klungeln 'glomerare'*. Further cf. ON *kløkkr* adj. 'weak, moldable' < **klinkwa-* and LG *klinker* adj. 'soft' < **klinkra-*.

****klinnan-*** s.v. 'to sound, resound' — OFri. *klinnan* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **glénu-e-*? (GM).

No certain etymology, but reminiscent of **klingan-* ~ **klinkan-* (q.v.). The double *n* of **klinnan-* as opposed to the related **klunjan-* (q.v.) could point to a Pre-Gm. form **glénu-e*, i.e. a *nu*-present to a root **gel-*, cf. **kallōn-*. For a similar derivational pathway, cf. **brinnan-* 'to burn'.

****kluban-*** m. 'cleft, rift' — ON *klofi* m. 'id.', MDu. *clove* m./f. 'id.', Du. *kloof* c. 'id.' (DRV).

An *n*-stem derived from the strong verb **kleuban-* (q.v.).

****klumpan-*** m. 'lump' — E *clump*, Du. *klomp* c. 'id.', G *Klumpen* m. 'id.' (DRV).

A zero-grade *n*-stem derived from **klimman-* ~ **klimb/pan-* (q.v.).

****klunjan-*** w.v. 'to sound?' — OE *clynnan, clynian* w.v. 'to sound, resound; to cause to sound, knock', MDu. *clonen* w.v. 'to hit', Du. *kleunen* w.v. 'id.' (GM).

A *ie*-present related to the strong verb **klinnan-* (q.v.).

****klunk/gōn-*** w.v. 'to sound, ring' — E *to clunk* 'to sound; to hit', MDu. *clongen, clonken* w.v. 'to sound' ⇒ **glng^{h}-néh$_2$-*? (DRV).

The iterative to the strong verb **klingan-* ~ **klinkan-*, apparently continuing Pre-Gm. 3sg. **klunkkōþi*, 3pl. **klungunanþi* < **gl̥g^{h}-néh$_2$-ti*, **gl̥g^{h}-nh$_2$-énti*.

****knabila-*** m. '(horizontal) bar' — ON *knefill* m. 'post, pole', MLG *knevel* m. 'short thick bail, toggle', EDu. *knevel* 'sinew, strap; fetter', Du. *knevel* c. 'gag', OHG *knebil* m. 'cudgel', G *Knebel* m. 'handle, toggle, gag' (DRV).

The diminutive to **knab/ppan-* (q.v.).

****knab/ppan-*** m. 'knob; boy' — Nw. *knape* m. 'guy; pin', OE *cnafa, cnapa* m. 'boy', E *knave*, OFri. *knap(p)a* m. 'id.', OS *knapo* m. 'id.', ODu. *knapo* m. 'id.', Du. *knaap* c. 'boy; coat hanger', OHG *knabo, knappo* m. 'boy', G *Knabe, Knappe* m. 'boy', dial. 'peg' (NEUR?).

The root variation results from an allomorphic *n*-stem paradigm **knabō*, gen. **knappaz* < Pre-Gm. **gnob^{h}-ōn*, gen. **gnob^{h}-n-ós*, that split up into 1) **knabō*, **knabbaz* and 2) **knapō*, **knappaz*. The original meaning of the word may have been 'peg', cf. the closely related thematic formation ON

knappr m. 'knob, button', OE *cnæp* m. 'top, knob' < **knappa-*. For a similar semantic development, cf. ON *drengr* 'young man; pole', for which see **dranga-*. Also cf. LG *knappen* w.v. 'to shorten' < **knappōn-* < **gnob^{h}-néh$_{2}$-*.

knawa- adj. 'strong' — ON *knár* adj. 'hardy, vigorous; having strength', Far. *knáur* adj. 'skilful, able; strong; persevering' (DRV).

Also cf. Far. *knáva* w.v. 'to manage, narrowly reach something'. The adjective has been equated with OE *ge-cnæwe* 'in agreement with' (cf. Pokorny IEW: 376-8), the gerundive to **knēan-* (q.v.). Alternatively, it can be derived from ON *knýja* w.v. 'to knock; to press, to push, urge on' < **knūjan-* (q.v.). The proto-form must then be reconstructed as **knawa-* < **gnouH-o-*.

knēan- s.v. 'to know' — ON *knáa*, pl. *knegum* pret.-pres. 'to be able', OE *ge-cnāwan* s.v. 'to know, perceive, understand, recognise', OS *and-knāan* s.v. 'to understand', *bi-knāan* s.v., *bi-knegan* 'to attain', OHG *bi-knāen* w.v. 'to recognize' (IE).

A verb closely related to **kunnan-* (q.v.). Its derivation is problematic. In view of OE *ge-cnāwan* and OHG *knāen*, it must be reconstructed as PGm. **knēan-* (with a secondary glide in OE), but the root **knē-* can only be accounted for by reconstructing a PIE lengthened grade root **ǵnēh$_{3}$-* (Rasmussen 1978a: 127, fn. 31; Jasanoff 1988). The alternative is to assume that the present was back-formed to the original aorist root **ǵneh$_{3}$-*. This root, which would regularly have become PGm. **knō-*, may have been reinterpreted as a perfect, quasi PIE **ǵnoh$_{1}$-*, after the merger of the two tenses. It seems certain, at any rate, that the formation **knēan-* is older than the preterite-present ON *knáa*, 3pl. *knegu*, OS inf. *-knegan* (< 3sg. **knage*, 3pl. **knegunþ*), which was inspired by **mugan-* (3sg. **mage*, 3pl. **megunþ* / **mugunþ*). Also cf. OHG *ur-knāt* f. 'recognition' < **knēdi-* and the gerundive **knēi-* (q.v.).

knedan-* ~ *knudan- s.v. 'to knead' — ON *knoða* s.v. 'id.', Far. *knoða* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *knoðå* w.v. 'id.', OE *cnedan* s.v. 'id.', E *knead*, OS *knedan* w.v. 'id.', MLG *kneden* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *cneden* s.v. 'id.', Du. *kneden* w.v. 'id.', OHG *knetan*, *knedan* s.v. 'id.', G *kneten* ⇒ **gnet-* (NEUR) — OCS *gnesti* 'to oppress, press, constrict', Ru. *gnestí* (*gnetú*) 'to oppress, weigh down', SCr. *gnjèsti* 'to knead, beat' < **gnet-*.

An "aorist present", quasi PIE **gnét-mi*, **gn̥t-mé* (cf. for a similar paradigm **tredan-* ~ **trudan-* 'to tread'). The regular zero grade **kundume* was apparently remodeled into **knudume* after the full-grade forms. It thus appears that OPru. *gnode* f. 'trough for kneading bread' must be a loanword from Germanic. Also cf. **knuttōn-*.

knēi- adj. 'acknowledging' — OE *ge-cnǣwe* adj. 'in agreement with, acknowledging' (DRV).

A *vr̥ddhi*-gerundive to **knēan-* 'to know, be able' (q.v.), with an original meaning 'to be acknowledged'. The lengthened grade is productive in this formation and does not attest to a PIE root **ǵnēh₃-* (with Eichner's law). It is further to be stressed that the *w* of OE *ge-cnǣwe* is secondary: it was adopted from the infinitive *cnāwan* (< **knēan-*), where it regularly arose in hiatus position. There therefore cannot be a direct link with Lat. *gnāvus* adj. 'known' < **ǵnh₃-uo-*. See also **knawa-*.

knewa- n. 'knee' — Go. *kniu* n. 'knee', ON *kné* m. 'knee; node', Far. *knæ* n. 'id.', Elfd. *kni* n. 'id.', OE *cnēo(w)* n. 'knee', OS *knio* n. 'id.', Du. *knie* c. 'id.', OHG *kneo* n. 'id.', G *Knie* n. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵn-eu-o-* (IE) — Hitt. *genu-* ~ *ganu-* n./c. 'knee' < **ǵén-u-*, **ǵn-eu-*; Lat. *genu*, gen. *genūs* n. 'id.' < **ǵenu-*; ToA *kanweṃ*, ToB *keni** m.du. 'knees', Gr. γόνυ n. 'knee; joint of plants', Skt. *jā́nu-* n. 'knee', Arm. *cun-r* 'id.' < **ǵonu-*; YAv. *žnūm* acc.sg.m. 'knee' < **ǵnu-*; Alb. *gju* / *gjũ* m. 'id.' < **glun-* < **ǵnu-no-*; OIr. *glún*, W *pen-(g)lin* 'id.' < **glūno-* < **ǵnu-Hno-*.

The IE word for 'knee'. The reconstruction of the original PIE paradigm of the word is not without problems, but the alternation Gr. γόνυ vs. Lat. *genu* could point to a static neuter **ǵón-u*, gen. **ǵén-u-s*. Hitt. *ganu-* and Germanic **knewa-*, on the other hand, have a proterodynamic root potentially continuing a genitive **ǵn-éu-s*. Note that the meaning 'node' may be archaic in view of its attestation in both Greek and Old Norse.

knewan- m. 'relative' — ON poet. *kníar* m.pl. 'men', OFri. *kniā* m. 'relative', MDu. *even-cnie* c. 'of equal birth', Du. *even-knie* c. 'match' (DRV).

An *n*-stem created to **knewa-* 'knee' (q.v.). The latter word also occurs with the meaning 'degree of relationship'. It has been assumed that this meaning arose due to influence from Lat. *genus* n. 'race, stock, descent', but since the hitherto unetymologized ON *kníar* 'men(?)' must belong here, it proves that the meaning 'relative' was native to Germanic. For the form of the word, cf. ON *klé*, pl. *klj́ár* < **klewan-* (q.v.).

knība(n)- m. 'knife' — ON *knífr* m. 'knife, dirk', Far. *knívur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *knaiv* m. 'id.', OE *cnīf* m. 'knife', G Swab. *Kneip(eⁿ)* 'large knife', Swi. (App.) *gniippə* 'id.' (< **knībban-*) ⇒ **ǵneibʰ-o(n)-* (DRV).

A deverbal noun, possibly derived from a lost strong verb **knīban-* (for which see **knīpan-*). The High German forms with double *b* are recent, as PGm. did not allow for superheavy syllables. The geminate probably ultimately goes back to the iterative **knipp/bōn-*.

knīēn- w.v. 'to investigate' — Icel. *knjá* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵnh₃-ei-* (IE).

Possibly an *i*-present to the root **ǵneh₃-* 'to know' (Þórhallsdóttir 1994-95), for which cf. **knēan-* and **kunnan-*. The verb is preserved only in the fixed phrase *knjá mál* 'to discuss matters', and has previously been identified with *knjá* 'to press'.

knikkōn- w.v. 'to snap, fold' — Nw. *knikka* w.v. 'to kneel', MDu. *cnicken* w.v. 'to snap', Du. *knikken* w.v. 'to nod, kink', G *knicken* w.v. 'to snap, bend' (GM).

An iterative that ultimately must be related to **knewa-* 'knee' (q.v.), even though the origin of the suffixation is obscure. Also cf. the causative ON *kneikja* w.v. 'to press', Nw. dial. *kneikja* w.v. 'to bend backwards', refl. 'to sprain', Elfd. *knjetja-s* w.v. 'to succumb' < **knaikjan-*.

knīpan- s.v. 'to pinch' — Du. *knijpen* s.v. 'to pinch', G dial. *kneipen* s.v. 'to pinch' (< **knībban-*) (DRV).

A de-iterative verb Pre-Gm. **knīppan-* derived from or at least influenced by the iterative **knipp/bōn-* (q.v.). The High German dialects must at any rate have adopted the **bb* from there.

knipp/bōn- w.v. 'to cut, snap' — MLG *cnippen* w.v. 'id.', Du. *knippen* w.v. 'to cut', dial. 'to pinch', G Pal. *knippen* w.v. 'to castrate; to pluck' ⇒ **ǵni(H)bʰ-néh₂-* (NEUR) — Lith. *žnýbti* 'to pinch; snuff a candle' and *gnýbti* 'to pinch' < **ǵniHbʰ-* (the alternation of initial *žn* ~ *gn* is probably due to depalatalization before *n*).

The root is predominantly attested with a geminate, which probably originated in the iterative 3sg. **knippōþi*, 3pl. *knibunanþi* < 3sg. **ǵnibʰ-néh₂-ti*, 3pl. **ǵnibʰ-nh₂-énti*. From here, it spread to the strong verb **knīpan-* and related formations. The original consonantism is preserved by **knība(n)-* 'knife' (q.v.).

knōdi- f. 'lineage' — Go. *knoþs* f. 'family, clan', OHG *knuot* f. 'nature, descent' ⇒ **ǵnoh₁-tí-* (IE) — Formally identical to Skt. *jñātí-* m. 'close relative', Latv. *znuōts* m. 'son-in-law, sister's husband, wife's brother' < **ǵnoh₁-ti-*.

A *ti*-stem to the IE root **ǵneh₁-*, a *Schwebeablaut* variant of **ǵenh₁-* 'to be born', for which see **kindi-* and **kunda-*. Cf. with a different suffix: OE *cnōsal*, OS *knōsal*, OHG *knuosal* n. 'descent' < **ǵnoh₁-slo-*.

knūjan- w.v. 'to press(?)' — ON *knýja* w.v. 'to knock; to press, to push, urge on' ⇒ **gnuH-ie-* (NEUR) — Close to SCr. *gnjáviti* 'to press, strangle' < **gneuH-eie-*.

A *ie*-present to a sparsely attested root **gneuH-*. Also cf. OE *cnū(w)ian* w.v. 'to crush, pestle' < **knū(w)ēn-* and ON *knúi* m. 'knuckle' < **knū(w)an-*. Related to **knawa-*?

knuk(k)an- m. 'knuckle' — Nw. *knoke* f. 'bone, joint' (< **knukōn-*), MDu. *cnoke*, *cnoc(ke)* m. 'knuckle, joint, vertebra', MHG *knoche* m. 'bone', G *Knochen* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵnu-gon-* (DRV).

An *n*-stem probably to be reconstructed as **knukō*, gen. **knukkaz* < **gnug-ōn*, **gnug-n-ós*. It gave rise to the diminutive **knukila-*, cf. ON *knykill* m. 'small knot, protuberance', MDu. *cnokel*, Du. *kneukel*, E *knuckle*. Outside Germanic, the word has been compared to Lith. *gniáužti* 'to close one's hand' < **gneuǵ-* (see **knukkōn-*), but a connection with **knewa-* 'knee' (q.v.) is more likely since its PIE predecessor apparently also meant 'node'. The word must thus be analyzed as **ǵnu-gon-* with a suffix comparable to e.g. **mankan-* 'mane' (q.v.) < **mon-gon-*. ON *knoka* 'to knock with the knuckles', OE *cnocian* 'to knock' and MHG *knochen* 'to punch' < **knukōjan-* are denominal.

****knukkōn-*** f. 'bundle' — MLG *knocke*, *knucke* f. 'bundle of flax', G *Knocke* m./f. 'id.' (GM) — Lith. *gniáužti* (*gniáužiu*) 'to close one's hand' < **gneuǵ-ie-* (whence Lith. *gniūžis* 'bundle, handful').

A rather isolated formation, probably derived from a lost verbal complex, cf. OE *(ge)cnyccan* w.v. 'to bind together, connect' < **knukkjan-* (whence OE *gecnycce* n. 'bond', ME *knicche* 'bundle (of brush, weeds), bunch, sheaf', E dial. *knitch* 'bundle'). The word is formally reconcilable with Lith. *gniáužti*, but the Germanic meaning was 'to bind', which is semantically remote from 'to close one's hand'.

****knussjan-*** w.v. 'to kneel' — Go. *knussjan* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A verb usually derived from a lost noun **knussu-* 'kneeling' < **ǵnut-tu-* or **knussa-* 'kneeled' < **ǵnut-to-* so as to explain the double *s* (see e.g. Smith 1938). It is furthermore possible to compare G *knotzen*, *knutzen* 'to squat' (see DWB: 11, 1512), which points to an iterative **knuttōn-* < **ǵnut-néh₂-*. The stem of this verb may be the original PIE instrumental case of the word for 'knee', cf. Hitt. *ganut* 'with the knee' < **ǵn-u-t*.

****knuttōn-*** w.v. 'to press, crush' — G dial. *knotzen* w.v. 'to press, knead, squeeze' (DRV).

The iterative to **knedan-* ~ **knudan-* (q.v.), apparently continuing Pre-Gm. **gnut-néh₂-*. Further cf. G dial. *knützen* w.v. 'to squeeze; punch' < **knuttjan-* and Pal. *knōzen* 'to knead' < **knautjan-*(?).

****knūþan-* ~ **knuttan-*** m. 'knot' — ON *knútr* m. 'knot; hump, protuberance', Icel. *hnúði* m. 'knob, hump', Far. *knútur* m. 'knot', OE *cnotta* m. 'knot', E *knot*, Du. *knot* c. 'id.', OHG *knodo*, *knoto* m. 'id.', G *Knoten* m. 'id.' (DRV).

An ablauting *n*-stem nom. **knūþō*, gen. **knuttaz*, dat. **knudeni* (Kroonen 2011a: 299-300) with many different dialectal remodelings of the original

root variants. The word is likely to be a *ton*-formation to the PIE root **ǵnu-* 'knee; node', for which cf. **knewa-*.

kō- ~ *kū- f. 'cow' — ON *kýr* f. 'id.', Far. *kúgv* f. 'id.', Elfd. *tjyr* f. 'id.', OE *cū*, pl. *cȳ* f. 'id.', E *cow*, OFri. *kū* f. 'id.', WFri. *ko* c. 'id.', EFri. *kuu* f. 'id.', OS *kō* f. 'id.', Du. *koe* c. 'id.', OHG *kuo* f. 'id.', G *Kuh* f. 'id.' ⇒ **gʷeh₃-u-* (IE) — ToA *ko*, ToB *keu* 'cow', Skt. *gáv-* m./f. 'id.', OAv. *gāuš* 'id.', Gr. βοῦς m./f. 'bull, cow', Lat. *bōs* m./f. 'cow', OIr. *bó* f. 'id.', Latv. *gùovs* f. 'id.'.

A root noun continuing the common IE word for 'cow'. Germanic has two different root variants, i.e. **kō-* and **kū-*, both of which belonged to an originally ablauting paradigm nom. **kōz*, obl. **kū-*, continuing a PIE *u*-stem **gʷéh₃-u-s*, obl. **gʷh₃-u-*. This *u*-stem was itself derived from the PIE verbal root **gʷeh₃-* 'to graze, pasture', cf. Gr. βόσκω 'id.' < **gʷh₃-ske-* and Lith. *guõtas* m. 'group, flock, shoal' < **gʷoh₃-to-*. See also **kudja-*.

kōkan- m. 'cookie' — MDu. *coeke* m./f. 'id.', Du. *koek* c. 'id.', OHG *kuohho* m. 'id.', G *Kuchen* m. 'id.' (GM).

Also cf. the diminutive OE *cēcel* m. 'morsel, little mouthful, cake' and OS *kāsi-kōkilīn* n. 'whole cheese'. Related to ON *kaka*, obl. *kǫku*, Far. *køka*, Elfd. *kåkå*, obl. *kaku* f. 'cake' < **kakōn-* with ablaut.

kōkōn- m. 'skid' — MLG *kōke* f. 'sledge runner', OHG *slito-kōhha* f. 'skid', G *Kufe* f. 'runner, blade, skid' (with *-f-* < *-ch-*?) (GM).

Possibly related to **kagan-* 'shrub' (q.v.). The word must then be reconstructed as Pre-Gm. **kōkkōn-* with a geminate, for which cf. MLG *kāk* m. 'pillory', MDu. *cake* f., *caek* m. 'scaffold' < Pre-Gm. **kēkka(n)-*.

kōlu- adj. 'cool' — OE *cōl* adj. 'id.', E *cool*, MDu. *coele* adj. 'id.', Du. *koel* adj. 'id.', OHG *kuoli* adj. 'id.', G *kühl* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

A secondary *vr̥ddhi*-formation to **kalan-* (q.v.). ON *kœla*, OE *cēlan*, OHG *kuolen* w.v. 'to cool, chill' < **kōljan-* may represent a factitive derived from this adjective, but could also continue a causative derived directly from the aforementioned strong verb.

kōni- adj. 'able' — ON *kœnn* adj. 'wise, skilful, expert', Far. *-kønur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *tjyōn* adj. 'articulate', OE *cēne* adj. 'keen, fierce, bold', E *keen*, MLG *kōne* adj. 'bold', MDu. *coene* adj. 'id.', Du. *koen* adj. 'id.', OHG *kuoni* adj. 'bold, strong, grim', G *kühn* adj. 'bold, audacious' (DRV).

A *vr̥ddhi*-gerundive to the root **kann-*, see **knēan-* and **kunnan-*.

krabban- m. 'crab, crayfish' — ON *krabbi* m. 'id.', Far. *krabbi* m. 'id.', OE *crabba* m. 'id.', E *crab*, MDu. *crabbe* m. 'id.', Du. *krab* c. 'id.' (DRV).

An *n*-stem derived from the iterative **krapp/bōn-* (q.v.).

krabēn- w.v. 'to urge, demand' — ON *krefja* w.v. 'to demand', Far. *krevja* w.v. 'to demand', poet. 'to urge', Elfd. *kreva* w.v. 'id.', OE *crafian* w.v. 'to ask, crave, implore, demand', E *to crave* (GM).

A stative verb possibly related to **kraftu-*. No certain etymology. Elfd. *kravel* n. 'trouble, hassle, seediness, morbidity' < **krab(a)la-* may point to an original meaning 'to be in need', whence 'to require, demand'. See also **krēbi-*.

krabita- m. 'crayfish' — OS *krebit* m. 'id.', MDu. *crevet, creeft* m./n. 'id.', Du. *kreeft* c. 'id.', OHG *krebazzo, krebiz* m. 'id.', MHG *krebez, krebz* m. 'id.', G *Krebs* f. 'id.' (NIE?).

An animal name probably related to **krabban-* 'crab' (q.v.), which was itself derived from the iterative **krapp/bōn-* (q.v.). It is difficult, on the other hand, to separate the word from Mediterranean lookalikes such as Gr. κάραβος, κάβουρος, κάμ(μ)αρος 'crab' (see **humara-*), which are evidently non-Indo-European. The question thus arises of whether the PGm. *ita*-suffix can be compared to the non-IE suffix -ινθ- ~ -ῑθ- as found in many Pre-Greek words (see e.g. under **arwīt-* 'pea'). Within synchronic Germanic, however, it functions as a variant of the animal suffix **-uta-*, for which cf. **ganuta-* 'gander'.

kraftu- m. 'strength, force' — ON *krǫftr* m. 'id.', Far. *kraft* f. 'id.', Elfd. *krapt* f. 'id.', OE *cræft* m. 'id.', E *craft*, OS *kraft* f. 'id.', Du. *kracht* c. 'id.', OHG *kraft* f. 'id.', G *Kraft* f. 'id.' (DRV).

A *tu*-stem possibly related to **krabēn-* (q.v.).

kragan- m. 'throat; collar' — ME *craue* 'neck, throat; crop', E *craw*, MDu. *crage* m. 'neck, throat', Du. *kraag* c. 'collar', MHG *krage* m. 'throat; collar', G *Kragen* m. 'id.' ⇒ **gʷrogʰ-on(t)-* (EUR) — OIr. *brágae, brága* f. 'neck, throat, gullet' < **gʷrōgʰ-nt-*.

A Celtic-Germanic parallel probably derived from a root **gʷrogʰ-*, cf. Gr. ἔβροξε 3sg.aor. 'to devour' and βρόγχος m. 'windpipe, throat' (with nasal infix?). The inflection of OIr. *brágae* as an *nt*-stem raises the question whether the PGm. **kragan-* may be based on a similar formation **gʷrogʰ-ont-* (through loss of word-final *t*). Note that the connection with ON *barki* 'throat' is erroneous (see **barkjan-* 'to roar').

kramjan- w.v. 'to squeeze' — ON *kremja* w.v. 'to squeeze, bruise' ⇒ **gromH-éie-* (EUR?).

The causative to **krimman-* (q.v.).

kramma- adj. 'moist' — ON *krammr* adj. 'half thawed', Icel. *kramur* adj. 'id.', Nw. *krammr* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **gʷroms-(m)ó-* (NEUR) — Lith. *grim̃zti* (*grimztù*)

'to sink' < *$g^{w}rms$-ske-; OCS *po-gręznǫti* 'to sink, submerge', Ru. *grjáznut'* 'to sink into something sticky or boggy', SCr. *grȅznuti* 'to drown, sink' < *$g^{w}rm̥s$-ne-; Ru. *grjaz'*, SCr. dial. *grȇz* m. 'deep mud' < *$g^{w}rm̥s$-o-.

With Go. *qrammiþa* f. 'moisture', the Old Norse adjective *krammr* can be reconstructed as PGm. **kwramma-* with a labiovelar. Its long *m* may have come about by assimilation of the following *z*. This change is uncertain, however. It is therefore not unlikely that **kwramma-* rather developed from a *mo*-stem *$g^{w}roms$-mó- by the well-established assimilation rule *-*zm*- > *-*mm*-. For a similar problem, see Go. *mammo** f. 'flesh' < **moms-(m)on-* under **mimza-*.

krammōn- w.v. 'to squeeze' — OE *crammian* w.v. 'to stuff', E *to cram*, MHG *krammen* w.v. 'to grab with one's claws' (DRV?).

An *o*-grade iterative to **krimman-* (q.v.).

krampa- adj. 'crooked' — ON *krappr* adj. 'sharp, crafty', Far. *krappur* adj. 'acute-angled; bent, curved', Elfd. *kropp* adj. 'bent, crooked; sad', MDu. *cramp* adj. 'convulsive', OHG *krampf* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

An adjective derived from **krimpan-* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *kreppa* w.v. 'to squeeze', Far. *kreppa* w.v. 'to bend, bow, make curved' < **krampjan-* and OHG *krampf*, G *Krampf*, Du. *kramp* 'convulsion' < **krampa-*.

krana/ōn- m./f. 'crane' — ON *trani* m., *trana* f. 'id.', Far. *trani* m. 'id.', Elfd. *tråna* f. 'id.', OE *cran* m. 'id.', E *crane*, OS *krano* m. 'id.', Du. *kraan-vogel* c. 'id.', MHG *krane* m. 'id.', G *Krahn* m. 'id.' ⇒ *gr-on-(?) (IE) — Oss. *zærnyg*, *zyrnæg* 'crane'; Gr. γέρανος m./f., γέρην f. 'id.', W *garan* 'id.' < *$ǵerh_2$-(e)n-; Lat. *grūs*, gen. *gruis* f. 'id.' < *$ǵrh_2$-u-; Ru. *žurávl'*, SCr. *žȅrāv* m. 'id.' < *$gerh_2$-ōu-(i)o-; Lith. *gérvė*, Latv. *dzērve* f., OPru. *gerwe* 'id.' < *$gerh_2$-u-ieh$_2$-.

An IE word whose derivation is problematic. The Germanic root **kran-* corresponds to similar forms with an *n*-suffix in related languages, cf. Gr. γέρανος < *$ǵerh_2$-no- and γέρην < *$ǵerh_2$-ēn, but nevertheless cannot be reconciled with them. It presupposes Pre-Gm. **gron-* or **greh$_2$-n-́* (with Dybo's law), but neither of these stems find support in the non-Germanic material. Its antiquity is confirmed, however, by the derived ablauting formation MG *krone* 'crane', which furthermore occurs in the compound Du. dial. *kroene-krane* 'id.'. Alongside the *n*-stem, IE must have had an amphikinetic *u*-stem, nom. *$gérh_2$-ōu*, gen. *grh_2-u-ós* (Kortlandt 1985a: 120), cf. SCr. *žȅrāv* < *$ǵerh_2$-ōu- vs. Lat. *grūs* < *$ǵrh_2$-u-. For a similar formation, cf. **wĭwan-* 'kite'.

kranga-* ~ *kranka- adj. 'bent, crooked, weak' — ON *krangr* adj. 'weak, frail', MDu. *cranc* ad. 'weak, ill, insignificant', Du. *krang* adj. 'inside-out', MHG *krank* adj. 'weak, thin', G *krank* adj. 'ill' (DRV).

An adjective derived from the strong verb **kringan-* ~ **krinkan-* (q.v.). See also **krangjan-*.

krangjan- w.v. 'to make bend' — E *to cringe*, MDu. *crenghen* 'to make turn' ⇒ **gronǵʰ-éie-* (NEUR).

The causative to **kringan-* ~ **krinkan-* (q.v.), derivationally identical to Lith. *grąžýti* 'to turn one's head, return' < **gʰronǵʰ-eie-*. Note that ON *krenkja* 'to make sick', Nw. *krenkja* 'to sprain', OFri. *krenza, -krinza* 'to affect', MHG *krenken* 'to make ill, humiliate', G *kränken* 'to insult', MDu. *crenken* 'to damage, weaken', Du. *krenken* 'to hurt one's feelings' is another formation, i.e. a factitive to **kranga-* ~ **kranka-* (q.v.).

kranhō- f. 'corner' — ON *krá, kró* f. 'id.', Nw. *krå*, pl. *kræ*r f. 'id.' (DRV?).

A Nordic word of uncertain derivation. The root **kranh-* is formally and semantically close to the cluster of **kringan-* ~ **krinkan-* (q.v.), but these forms clearly continue a Pre-Gm. root **grenǵʰ-*, and therefore cannot be related. It is possible, however, that **kranhō-* arose as a back-formation to the strong verb.

krapp/bōn- w.v. 'to scratch' — MLG *krabben* w.v. 'id.', MDu. *crabben* w.v. 'id.', Du. *krabben, krappen* dial. *kraven* w.v. 'id.', G *krappen, kraben* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **grobʰ-néh₂-* (EUR) — Gr. γράφω 'to scratch, carve, write' < **gr̥bʰ-e-*.

An *o*-grade iterative 3sg. **krappōþi*, 3pl. **krabunanþi* < **grobʰ-néh₂-ti*, **grobʰ-nh₂-énti*. See also **krabban-* 'crab', **krabita-* 'crayfish' and the strong verb **kerban-* 'to carve' (q.v.).

kratt/dan- m. 'basket, wickerwork container' — ON *kartr* m. 'cart' (<< OE **cart*?), OE *cræt* n. 'chariot', MDu. *cratte* m. 'wickerwork, hurdle', Du. *krat* c. 'crate', OHG *kratto, kretto, kretzo* m. 'basket', MHG *kratte, kretze* m. 'id.', G *Kratte* m. 'id.' ⇒ **grotH-on-* (IE) — Skt. *grathnā́ti* 'to tie' < **gr-n-tH-néh₂-*.

The cross-dialectal root variation is the result of dissimilar dialectal leveling processes acting on a paradigm **kradō*, gen. **krattaz* < **grotH-ōn*, **grotH-n-ós*. The original nominative root **krad-* is no longer attested as an *n*-stem, but can be retrieved from OE *cradol* 'cradle' < **krad(a)la-*. The High German forms with *e*-vocalism are paralleled by modern High Germanic dialectal forms such as Swab. *krätte*, which has generalized analogical primary or secondary umlaut of OHG **a* from the plural, cf. Swi. Rhntl. *kxrattə*, pl. *kxrettə* (with *e* < **ä₁*) ~ *kxrɛttə* (with *ɛ* < **ä₂*), for which see Berger 1913: 62. This apparently early spread of umlauted vowels from the plural to the singular removes the necessity of reconstructing both the variants **kraddjan-* (Lühr 1988: 282) and **kreddan-* (Kauffmann 1887: 533).

krausja- n. 'bowels' — MDu. *kroos* n. 'bowels (esp. of geese); gristle, cartilage', Du. obs. *kroos* n. 'bowels of a calf', MHG *krœse, ge-krœse* n. 'guts', G *Ge-krōse* n. 'id.' (GM).

A neuter collective **(ga-)krausja-* probably related to G *krosen* w.v. 'to crunch, grate (of bones, teeth); to crush', Swi. (App.) *xrosa* w.v. 'to squeeze' < **krusōn-* and MHG *krosel, krossel* m./f. 'cartilage' < **krusla/ō-*. MLG *krōs* was borrowed into Nordic, cf. Nw. *krås* m. 'paunch fat', f. 'tangle; (part of the) gizzard', Da. *krås* 'intestines (of birds); gizzard'.

kreban-* ~ *kruppan- m. 'basket' — EFri. *krääf, krääwe* m. 'trough, crib', MLG *karve* f. 'creel', OHG *korb* m. 'basket', MHG *krebe* m., *kreppe* f., *korb(e)* m. 'id.', G *Korb* m. 'id.' ⇒ **gréb^{h}-on-* (GM).

The Germanic dialects reveal an alternation of formal variants that points to the pre-existence of an ablauting *n*-stem, nom. **krebō*, gen. **kurpaz* < **gréb^{h}-ōn*, **grb^{h}-n-ós* (Kroonen 2011a: 179). Leveling of the *Schwebeablaut* and contamination of geminated and non-geminated case forms gave rise to secondary variants such as **krebb-*, **krepp-*, **krubb-*, **krupp-*. The *n*-stem further gave rise to a number of equally divergent *jō*-stems, cf. OE *cribb*, E *crib*, OFri. *kribbe*, OS *kribbia*, Du. *kribbe*, OHG *krippa*, G *Krippe* < **kreb(b)jō-*, OHG *kripfa*, MHG *kripfe* < **krep(p)jō-* and G *Krüpfe* < **krup(p)jō-*. Icel. *karfa* f. 'basket, hamper' was borrowed from Middle Low German.

krēbi- adj. 'to be claimed' — ON *kræfr* adj. 'strong', Icel. *kræfur* adj. 'tough; due for payment', Nw. dial. *kræv* adj. 'strong, tough' (DRV).

A Nordic formation **krēbi-* (or **krēfi-*). The Icelandic meaning 'due for payment' is clearly gerundival, which implies that ON *kræfr* arose as a *vr̥ddhi*-gerundive to the verb ON *krefja* 'to claim' < **krabēn-* (q.v.) (Kroonen 2010a). This explains both the lengthened grade and the suffix. Still, while gerundives are usually derived from strong verbs, *krefja* was originally weak (in spite of dial. Nw. *krevja*, pret. *krov*). This may point to a lost strong verb **kreban-*.

kreudan-* ~ *krūdan- s.v. 'to push forward' — Nw. dial. *kryda* s.v. 'to gather, flock; to crawl slowly', OE *crēodan, crūdan* s.v. 'to crowd, press, drive', MDu. *cruden* w.v. 'to push forth/aside', Du. *kruien* w.v. 'to push a wheelbarrow; to pile up (of ice floes)' (EUR?).

A verb that in spite of the lack of a dental can perhaps be related to Gr. βρύω 'to be full to bursting, to swell' < **g^{w}ru-* (cf. **krüda-* 'herb'). The original meaning must then have been 'to push oneself out', i.e. 'to crowd'. The strong verb gave rise to OE *croda* m. 'crowd' < **krudan-* and MHG, MDu. *krot* n. 'hindrance, bother' < **kruda-*, whence MHG *kroten*, MDu. *kroden* w.v. 'to hinder, bother'. Related to **krutt/dōn-* (q.v.).

kreukan- ~ *krūkan- s.v. 'to fold(?)' — Nw. *krjuka* s.v. 'to cringe; to crawl', WFri. *krûke* w.v. 'to cringe' (WEUR) — OIr. *gruc* f. 'wrinkle'.

This verb seems to have been associated with **kreupan- ~ *krūpan-* 'to crawl' from an early stage, but its primary meaning must have been 'to fold', whence 'to wrinkle' and 'to stoop, bend down, crawl'. This meaning is implied by e.g. MDu. *croke* f. 'fold, wrinkle, rip, fissure', Du. *kreukel* c. 'fold' and also by the link with OIr. *gruc*. The latter word is usually derived from **gru-n-k-* with a root-final **k*, and this implies that the Germanic roots **kreuk-* and **krūk-* continue a simplified geminate **kk*. This geminate presumably spread from the iterative **kruk(k)ōn-*, cf. Nw. *krukka* w.v. 'to cringe', G Bav. *sich krucken* w.v. 'to stagger, be crooked', MDu. *croken* w.v. 'to wrinkle; to split, crack, break', EDu. *krokken* w.v. 'to break' (De Jager 1844: 40), cf. G *Krock* m. 'fissure, rip' < **krukka-*. It is alternatively possible to reconstruct *gruc* as PCelt. **gruggā-*, but the geminate of this form remains difficult to explain.

kreupan- ~ *krūpan- s.v. 'to crawl' — ON *krjúpa* s.v. 'to creep, crouch; to kneel', Far. *krúpa* s.v. 'to creep, crawl; to drag oneself forth', Elfd. *kriuopa* s.v. 'to kneel', OE *crēopan* s.v. 'to crawl', E *to creep*, OFri. *kriāpa* w.v. 'id.', MDu. *crupen* s.v. 'id.', Du. *kruipen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *kriofan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *krūfen* s.v. 'id.', G Rhnl. *krufen* s.v. 'id.' (DRV).

In view of Cimb. *kruppen* < **krubbōn-* (see **krupp/bōn-*), which continues an iterative verb 3sg. **kruppōþi*, 3pl. **krubunanþi* (< **grub^{h}-néh$_2$-ti*, **grub^{h}-n̥h$_2$-énti*), the root-final **p* of **kreupan- ~ *krūpan-* must represent a shortened geminate Pre-Gm. **pp*. This means that the traditional reconstruction of a PIE root **greub-* (Pokorny IEW: 385-90) can no longer be maintained, and is to be replaced by **greub^{h}-*. Also, the notoriously problematic geminate of ON *kryppill* 'cripple' < **kruppila-*, which contrasts with WGm. **krupila-*, can be explained by assuming derivation from the strong verb prior to the shortening of the geminate (see under **krup(p)ila-*).

kriagi- adj. 'capable of fighting' — MHG *kriege* adj. 'reluctant, militant' (DRV?).

A gerundive closely related to **krīgan-* (q.v.). Since gerundives were created to the plural preterite root of strong verbs, the form **kriagi-* (WGm. **kriagja-*) implies that there was an otherwise lost reduplicated verb **kraigan-*, pret. *kriag-* (for older **kre-kraig-*). The closely related OHG *krēg* 'stubbornness', MHG *kriec* m. 'effort, struggle' < **kriaga-* contains the same base. MHG *kriegen* w.v. 'to strive, struggle, fight', G *kriegen* w.v. 'to get' < **kriagōjan-*, on the other hand, was created on the basis of the gerundive.

krīgan- s.v. 'to be stubborn' — MDu. *crigen* s.v. 'to strive, fight; to obtain', Du. *krijgen* s.v. 'to get' (WEUR?).

The oldest meaning of this verb was 'to be stiff, stubborn' (cf. OFri. *hals-krīga* m. 'stiff neck'), whence 'to strive' (cf. WFri. *kriich* 'pith, energy, zeal') and 'to fight'. No certain etymology. Pokorny IEW: 476-7 compares Ir. *bríg* 'force, strength' and W *bri* 'fame', which can theoretically be derived from *$*g^{w}riHg^{(h)}$-o-*. See also **kriagi-*.

krimman- s.v. 'to crumble(?)' — OE *crimman* s.v. 'to crumb, crumble, mingle', OHG *krimman* s.v. 'to bite, hurt; to tear up; to squeeze, stuff', MHG *krimmen, grimmen* s.v. 'to grab, squeeze', G Tyr. *krimmen* 'to push into' ⇒ *$*grémH-e-$(?) (EUR) — Lith. *grùmti* 'to push, shove, cram' < *$*grmH-$; Lat. *gremium* n. 'lap, bosom; armful' < *$*gremH-io-$.

A strong verb derived from the root *$*gremH-$. Its double *m* can be accounted for by reconstructing a nasal present *$*gr-én-mH-e-$. Another possibility is to assume that the verb originally had as single *m*, like the causative **kramjan-* (q.v.) and ON *krǫm* f. 'health condition' < *$*kramō-$, and that the double *$*m$* was adopted from the iterative *$*krammōn-$ (q.v.). Evidence for a zero-grade variant *$*krummōn-$ < *$*grm̥H-néh₂-$ is provided by ON *krumma* f. 'hand' < *$*krummōn-$ and perhaps also by MHG *krümmen* 'to squeeze' < *$*krum(m)jan-$.

krimpan- s.v. 'to shrink' — ON *kreppa* s.v. 'to cringe', MDu. *crempen* s.v. 'to shrink', Du. *krimpen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *krimfan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *krimpfen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ *$*grémb^{h}-e-$ (NEUR) — CS *grobъ* m. 'back, hump', Ru. dial. *gorb* m. 'id.', SCr. *grȇb* m. 'back' < *$*grb^{h}-o-$ (also cf. OPru. *grabis* 'hill').

A verb influenced by or derived from the iterative variant *$*krumpōn-$ < *$*grmb^{h}-néh₂-$, for which cf. **krumba-* ~ **krumpa-*. The verb probably continues a nasal present to the root *$*greb^{h}-$ 'to be crooked'.

kringa- m. 'circle' — ON *kringr* m. 'id.', Far. *kringur* m. 'id.', Du. *kring* c. 'id.', MHG *kring* m. 'id.' (DRV).

An *a*-stem derived from the strong verb **kringan-* ~ **krinkan-* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *kringr* adj. 'easy', Far. *kringur* adj. 'capable, dexterous', Elfd. *kringg* adj. 'quick' < **kringa-*.

kringan-* ~ *krinkan- s.v. 'to fall' — OE *cringan, crincan* s.v. 'to yield, fall' ⇒ *$*gréngʰ-e-$ (NEUR) — Lith. *grę̃žti* (*gręžiù*) 'to turn, wring; bore, perforate' < *$*grengʰ-$.

The original form of the strong verb was **kringan-* (cf. E *cringe* 'to contract, wince' MDu. *crenghen* 'to make turn' < **krangjan-*). The variant **krinkan-* (OE *crincan*) continues Pre-Gm. **krinkkan-*, and arose due to interference from the iterative **krunkōn-* (q.v.). See also **kranga-* ~ **kranka-* and **kringa-*.

kriwa- adj. 'lively, healthy' — Nw. *kry* adj. 'id.', Sw. *kry* adj. 'id.' (GM?).

Also cf. Sw. *krya på sig*, Nw. dial. *krå seg* (< **krjå*) w.v. 'to get well again' < **kriwōjan-*. No certain etymology. Perhaps a *uo*-stem to a stem **gr-i-*, cf. Skt. *járate* 'to wake up' < **h₁gér-e-* and Gr. ἐγείρω 'id.' < **h₁ger-ie-*.

krubjan- w.v. 'to disembowel' — ON *kryfja* w.v. 'id.' (GM).

To Icel. *krjúfa* s.v. 'id.', apparently continuing **kreufan-* or **kreuban-* (Magnússon 1989: 506). Also cf. ON *krof* n. 'cut-up carcass'. The no doubt related Nw. *kropp* m. 'id.' could point to a link with **kruppa-* 'compact object' (q.v.).

krūda- m. 'herb' — OS *krūd* n. 'id.', Du. *kruid* n. 'id.', OHG *krūt* n. 'id.', G *Kraut* n. 'id.' (DRV).

A neuter probably derived from the strong verb **kreudan-* ~ **krūdan-* 'to push forward' (q.v.). The original meaning must then have been 'crowding plant', i.e. 'weed'. For a semantic parallel, cf. Du. dial. *krodde* 'several small weeds' (Kocks 2000), which was derived from the related iterative verb **krutt/dōn-* (q.v.).

krudda/ōn- m./f. 'curds(?)' — Nw. *krodde* m. 'dregs (of curdled milk, coffee, beer, grease etc.)', f. 'boiled cheese', ME *crudde, curde* 'curds', E *curds* (DRV) — To Olr. *gruth* m. 'curds, cheese'?

A late Nordic derivative of the verbal complex of Nw. *krota* 'to curdle', for which see **krutt/dōn-* 'to pack(?)'. The meaning 'curds' must be completely secondary in Norwegian in view of Nw. *krodde*, a word used for a variety of dregs (coffee, grease, cheese). As a result, the Germanic and Celtic forms can no longer be adduced to reconstruct a PIE root **grut-* (*pace* Pokorny IEW: 406). Olr. *gruth* in fact does not have to continue **grutu-* either, but rather seems to have developed from PCelt. **gʷritu-* < **gʷ(h)ṛ-tu-* by rounding of the *i* to *u* under the influence of a labiovelar (cf. Schrijver 1999a; Irslinger 2002: 144). It can thus be compared to Lat. *fermentum* n. 'ferment; yeast' < **gʷʰer-mn-to-* and perhaps also OE *beorma* m. 'leaven, yeast, froth' (if from **gʷʰer-mon-*).

krud(d)ōn- f. 'toad' — MDu. *crode* f. 'id.', EDu. *krodde* 'id.', OHG *krota, krotta* f. 'id.', G *Krōte* f. 'id.' (WEUR?).

An *n*-stem that may have originated from a verbal root 'to swell, bulge', cf. G obs. *krotten* 'to swell up' < **krutt/dōn-* (q.v.). Flabbiness is a common *Benennungsmotiv* for toads, cf. EDu. *kwabbe* 'toad, frog' vs. Du. *kwab* 'flab'. The fronted vowel of G *Krōte* was generalized from the plural, cf. G Bav. (Zarz) *kxroute*, pl. *kxrōute* vs. leveled Swab. *krote / krōte*, pl. *kroten / krōten*.

krumba- ~ *krumpa- adj. 'crooked, bent' — OE *crump* adj. 'id.', OS *krumb* adj. 'id.', Du. *krom* adj. 'id.', OHG *krumpf, krumb* adj. 'id.', MHG *krumpf, krump* adj. 'id.', G *krumm* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

An adjective derived from the strong verb **krimpan-* (q.v.). In view of the variant **krumba-*, this verb must have replaced the more primary **krimban-* < **gré-m-bʰ-e-* under the influence of the iterative, cf. G *krumpfen* w.v. 'to cringe' < **krumb/pōn-* < **grmbʰ-néh₂-*.

krunkōn- w.v. 'to wind' — EDu. *kronken* w.v. 'id.', Du. *kronkelen* w.v. 'to wind, squirm' ⇒ **grn̥ǵʰ-néh₂-* (DRV?).

The iterative to **kringan- ~ *krinkan-* (q.v.).

kruppa- m. 'compact object' — ON *kroppr* m. 'body, trunk', Far. *kroppur* m. 'body, build; corpse', Sw. *krupp* m. 'body', OE *crop* m. 'sprout, bunch, rock', E *crop*, MDu. *crop(pe)* m. 'gnarl, bud, rosette; body; goiter', Du. *krop* m. 'goiter; rosette (of lettuce)', OHG *kropf* m. 'goiter', G *Kropf* m. 'id.' (DRV?).

An *a*-stem perhaps related to **krupp/bōn-* (q.v.) through a meaning 'to be clump-like'.

krupp/bōn- w.v. 'to crawl' — MDu. *cropen* w.v. 'id.', G Rhnl. *kruppen* 'to crouch, curl up', Cimb. *kruppen* 'to crawl' ⇒ **grubʰ-néh₂-* (NEUR) — Lith. *grubinéti* 'to stumble' < **grubʰ-n̥h₂-* plus the stative suffix **-eh₁-*.

The iterative to **kreupan- ~ *krūpan-* (q.v.), closely related to OE *cryppan* w.v. 'to bend', G *krüpfen, krupfen* w.v. 'to bend', refl. 'to cringe' < **kruppjan-*. Cimb. *kruppen* goes back to a variant **krubbōn-*, not **krubjan-* with checking of the umlaut (cf. Cimb. *hüffen* 'hüpfen, saltettare' < **huppjan-*), and the double **b* reveals that the original IE consonantism was **bʰ* instead of **b*. It arose analogically when the original iterative paradigm 3sg. **kruppōþi*, 3pl. **krubunanþi* < **grubʰ-néh₂-ti*, **grubʰ-nh₂-énti* was split up into 1) **kruppōþi*, **krupunanþi* (cf. MDu. *cropen*) and 2) **krubbōþi*, **krubunanþi* (= G obs. *kroben*, DWB: 11, 2347). Note that the iterative has a parallel in Lith. *grubinéti*, and therefore can be old. See also **krup(p)ila-*.

krup(p)ila- adj. 'cripple' — ON *kryppill* adj. 'id.', Far. *krypil* adj. 'id.', OE *crypel* adj. 'id.', MDu. *cropel* adj. 'id.', Du. *kreupel* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

An adjective derived from the verb **kreupan- ~ *krūpan-* (q.v.) with the usual **-ila-* suffix. The double *p* of ON *kryppill* has always been difficult to account for, because it points to **kruppila-* rather than the more widespread **krupila-*. The issue can be resolved, however, by assuming that **kruppila-* was derived from the strong verb **kreuppan-* before the shortening of the geminate. The geminate may then have been analogically removed on the basis of the singulated form **kreupan-* in all languages except Icelandic. See also **krupp/bōn-*.

kruppjan- w.v. 'to bend, stoop' — OE *cryppan* w.v. 'to bend', G *krūpfen*, *krupfen* w.v. 'to bend, *refl.* to cringe' (DRV).

A causative derived the iterative **krupp/bōn-* 'to crawl' (q.v.).

krutt/dōn- w.v. 'to pack(?)' — Nw. *kroda* w.v. 'to huddle (around)', *krota* w.v. 'to coagulate, curdle', ME *crudden* w.v. 'to coagulate, congeal, solidify, curdle', G obs. *krotten* w.v. 'to swell', Swi. *xrotten* w.v. 'to pack, stuff' (DRV?).

An iterative 3sg. **kruttōn*, 3pl. **krudunanþi* related to **kreudan-* ~ **krūdan-* (q.v.). In view of the meaning of G *krotten* 'to swell', it is possible that the etymologically obscure **krud(d)ōn-* 'toad' (q.v.) was derived from it. The German verb is further reminiscent of W *chrothi* 'to bulge' and the pertaining W *crwth*, *croth* f. 'bulge, belly, womb, calf of the leg, violin', Olr. *cruit* 'hump; harp' < **krutt-*, which has previously been derived from VLat. *crotta* 'crypt, vault' < *crypta* (Meid 1970: 138, fn. 74, 76). Can the Celtic forms be explained by borrowing from Germanic?

kuban- m. 'shed' — ON *kofi* m. 'convent cell; hut, shed', Far. *kovi* m. 'outbuilding', Elfd. *kuvi* m. 'chamber', OE *cofa* m. 'chamber, cave, den', MDu. *cove* m. 'hut, shed', MHG *kobe* m. 'stable' (also *kobel* m. 'shed, box'), G *Koben* m. 'shed' ⇒ **gub^{h}-on-*(?) (GM).

Formally close to, but irreconcilable with Gr. γύπη 'hut', which has a long upsilon from *-uH-* (if the word is of IE origin). The alternative comparison with Av. *gufra* adj. 'deep, hidden' < **gup-ro-* and OCS *župa* f. 'grave' < **geup-eh$_2$-* is not attractive either, because the Germanic word must have originally meant "wattle shed", cf. MDu. *cubbe* f. 'weir, basket, reed roof', Du. *kub* (cf. EDu. *kubbingh* 'shed of reed') < **kubjō-*. Also cf. OHG *kubisi* n. 'cottage' < **kubesja-*.

kuddan- m. 'bag' — ON *koddi* m. 'pillow', Far. *koddi* m. 'id.', Nw. *kodd(e)* m. 'pillow; scrotum, testicle', OSw. *kodde* m. 'testicle', OE *codd* m. 'bag, scrotum; husk', EDu. *kodde* 'testicle' (GM).

The *n*-stem **kuddan-* looks like a hypocorism to the full-grade formation OE *cēod* m.f. 'pouch', OHG *kiot* m. 'id.' < **keuda-*. Perhaps Swab. *Kotz* f. 'pimple, blister(?)' can be adduced to reconstruct an *n*-stem variant **kuttōn-*. More certain is the connection with ON *koðri* m. 'scrotum' < **kudran-* and MDu. *codde*, EDu. *kodde* 'cudgel', Scot. *cud* 'staff, club' < **kuddan-*.

kudja- n. 'herd' — OFri. *kedde* m. 'id.', MDu. *cudde* n./f. 'id.', Du. *kudde* c. 'id.', OHG *kutti* n. 'id.', G Bav. *kütt* n./f. 'flock of birds' ⇒ **g^{w}h$_3$-u-d^{h}h$_1$-io-* (IE).

No existing etymology: the connection with **kuddan-* 'bag' (Pokorny IEW: 393-8) cannot be maintained. As the word may originally have applied to cow herds, I propose to reconstruct the word as PIE **g^{w}h$_3$-u-d^{h}h$_1$-io-*, lit. meaning "set of cows". With this reconstruction, the word would be fully

parallel to **awidja-* 'flock of sheep' < **h₃eui-dʰh₁-io-*. Note that the IE word for 'cow' (see **kō- ~ *kū-*), is likely to have been derived from a root **gʷeh₃-* 'to keep', cf. Gr. βόσκω 'to feed, tend, pasture' < **gʷḫ₃-ske-*, and that this verb was not necessarily restricted to the grazing of cows.

kukjan- w.v. 'to kiss' — Go. *kukjan* w.v. 'id.', LG *kükken* w.v. 'id.', Du. dial. *kukken* w.v. 'id.' (GM).

An originally onomatopoetic formation parallel to the verb **kussjan-* (q.v.).

kula- 1 n. 'cool wind' — ON *kul*, *kol* n. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵlH-o-* (DRV).

A zero-grade formation to the strong verb **kalan-* (q.v.). The vocalization of the resonant may point to a root-final laryngeal. Also cf. Far. *kyling* f. 'breeze'.

kula- 2 n. 'coal, charcoal' — ON *kol* n.pl. 'id.', Far. *kol* n. 'id.', Elfd. *kuol* n. 'id.', OE *col* n. 'id.', E *coal*, OFri. *kole* f. 'id.', MDu. *cole* m./f. 'id.', Du. *kool* n./c. 'id.', OHG *kol* n., *kolo* m. 'id.', MHG *kol* n. 'id.', G *Kohle* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵulH-o-* (IE?) — OIr. *gúal* m./f. 'charcoal' < **ǵoul-o-*, **-eh₂-*; also cf. Skt. *jvalati* 'to burn' < **ǵuélH-e-*; Lith. *žvìlti* (3sg. *žvỹla*) 'to shine' < **ǵu̯ḭH-*.

The neuter **kula-* seems to be primary, while the feminine **kulō(n)-* (also cf. ON *kola* f. 'lamp') may have been coined to refer to an individual piece of coal. Outside Germanic, the word has a close parallel in Celtic **goul-o-*, **-eh₂-*. It is further possible to connect the PIE root **ǵuelH-*, but the semantic development to 'coal' would then have to be a common Germanic and Celtic innovation. Since there was no Celto-Germanic sub-node, however, it must be assumed that this meaning arose in a West European cultural contact zone.

kulba(n)- m. 'round object' — ON *kolfr* m. 'bulb; bolt, arrow', Far. poet. *benjar-kolvur* m. 'sword', Elfd. *kuov* m. 'arrow', OS *kolƀo* m. 'club, cudgel, thong', Du. *kolf* c. 'butt; flask, ear of corn', OHG *kolbo* m. 'cob, cudgel', G *Kolben* m. 'spadix; flask' ⇒ **gu̯ḭh₁bʰ-on-*(?) (EUR?) — Lat. *globus* m. 'round object' < **gloh₁bʰ-ó-*; Lat. *glēba* f. 'lump of earth, clod' < **gleh₁bʰ-eh₂-*; Lith. *glébti* (*glébiu*) 'to embrace, clasp', Latv. *glêbt* 'to guard, protect' < **gleh₁bʰ-ie-*.

A word with a problematic etymology. Latin *globus* can only be reconciled with *glēba* by assuming pretonic shortening in a proto-form **gloh₁bʰ-ó-*. The *o*-grade, however, is more likely to be found in **kalba(n)-* 'soft tissue(?)' (q.v.).

kulda- m. 'litter (of progeny)' — Nw. dial. *kull*, *kuld* m./f. 'id.', OSw. *koller*, *kolder* m. 'id.', Da. *kuld* c. 'id.' ⇒ **gʷlH-tó-* (EUR) — Lith. *gùltas* m. 'bed, lair',

Latv. *gùlta* f. 'id.' < * *gʷlH-to/eh₂-* (cf. Lith. *guléti* 'to lie, be ill', Latv. *gulêt* 'to sleep, lie, be ill' < * *gʷlH-eh₁-*); Arm. *kałał* 'den, lair' < * *gʷolH-olo-*.

A Nordic word probably connected with Go. *kilþei* f. 'womb' < **kelþīn-* and OE *cild* n. 'child' < **keldiz-*. I tentatively reconstruct the root with **gʷ* in view of the vocalization of the *l* as *-ul-* rather than *-il-* in Baltic.

kūma- adj. 'miserable(?)' — MHG *kūm* adj. 'thin, weak' ⇒ **guH-mo-* (IE) — Gr. γοάω 'to cry, lament' < **gouH-eh₂-ie-* etc.

An adjective derived from a root **geuH-* 'to lament', for which see **kaujan-*. It gave rise to the adverb MHG *kūme*, G *kaum*, MDu. *cume*, EDu. *kuym* 'hardly' < **kūmōt*. Also cf. OHG *kūma* f. 'lamentation, complaint' < **kūmōn-*.

kumb/pan- m. 'basin, bowl' — OE *cumb* m. 'hollow among hills, narrow valley; liquid measure', E *comb*, MLG *kump* m. 'basin, tub', MDu. *com(me)* m./f. 'bowl, box; valley', Du. *kom* c. 'bowl; valley between dunes', MHG *kumpf* m. 'cup, measure for corn and fruit', G *Kumpf* m. 'id.' (NIE).

The variation of OE *cumb* < **kumba-*, MDu. *komme* < **kumba/ōn-* and MHG *kumpf* < **kumpa-* points to dialectally divergent leveling of a Pre-Gm. *n*-stem **kumbō*, gen. **kumpaz* < **gumbʰ-ōn*, gen. **gumbʰ-n-ós*. There can be no regular relationship with Gr. κύμβος m., κύμβη f. 'hollow vessel' < **kumb-o/eh₂-*, W *cwm*, Bret. *komm* 'river-bed' < **kumb-eh₂-* and Skt. *kumbha-*, Av. *xumba-*, Pers. *xumb*, *xum* 'pot, jar' < PIIr. **kumbʰa-* ~ **kʰumbʰa-*, which, in view of the formal irregular sound correspondences, must be a non-IE word anyway. Apparently, we are dealing with an ancient *Wanderwort*.

kumbra- m. 'sorrow; burden' — OFri. *kummer* m./n. 'sorrow, impediment, arrest, seizure', MDu. *commer*, *comber* m. 'trouble, hindrance, arrest, seizure', Du. *kommer* c. 'sorrow, misery', MHG *kumber* m. 'burden, sorrow' ⇒ **gm̥-ro-* (IE) — ToAB *kāmā-* suppl. 'to carry, bring' < **gom-*; Gr. γέμω 'to be full' (cf. γόμος 'freight'), Lat. *gemō* 'to groan, moan' < **gem-e-*; OIr. *gemel* 'fetter' < **gem-lo-*; OCS *žęti* (*žьmǫ*) 'to press', Latv. *sa-gumt* 'to bend' < **gm̥-*.

A *ro*-stem to the PIE root **gem-*.

kunda- adj. 'born' — Go. *-kunds* adj. 'id.', ON *-kundr* adj. 'id.', OE *-cund* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵnh₁-to-* (IE).

The original participle to the PIE root **ǵenh₁-* 'to be born'. See also **kanjan-*, **kinþa-* ~ **kinda-*, **kindi-*, **kunda-* and **kunja- 1.*

kundjan- w.v. 'to kindle' — ON *kynda* w.v. 'id.', Far. *kynda* w.v. 'id.', MHG *künten* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **gʷndʰ-ie-*(?) (GM).

No accepted etymology. The verb looks like the outcome of a PIE *ie*-present *$*g^wnd^h$-ie-* to a root *$*g^wend^h$-*, but no such root seems to have existed. It is perhaps possible to think that formation was created to a participle *$*g^wh_3$-nt-* to the root *$*g^wh_3$-* 'to live' in view of the similar semantic shift from 'live' to 'fire' in **kwaikwjan-* (q.v.). This solution remains conjectural, however. Further cf. ON *kyndill* m. 'torch' and Nw. dial. *kvende* n. 'tinder' < **kwandja-*.

kuninga- ~ *kununga- m. 'king' — ON *konungr* m. 'id.', Far. *kongur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *kunungg* m. 'id.', OE *cyning, cyng* m. 'id.', E *king*, OFri. *kening, keneg, kining, kinig* m. 'id.', OS *kuning* m. 'id.', Du. *koning* c. 'id.', OHG *kuning, kunig* m. 'id.', G *Kōnig* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$*ǵn̥h_1$-(e)nḱo-* (DRV).

A Germanic derivation with the personifying suffix **-inga- ~ *-unga-*, probably created to **kunja- 1* 'clan' (q.v.).

kunja- 1 n. 'clan' — Go. *kuni* n. 'clan, tribe, generation', ON *kyn* n. 'kin; kind, type; gender', Far. *kyn* n. 'family, stock; gender; nature', Elfd. *tjyōn* n. 'gender', OE *cynn* n. 'sort, kind', OS *kunni* n. 'lineage; generation; kind', ODu. *cunni* n. 'id.', OHG *kunni* m. 'id.', MHG *künne* n. 'id.' ⇒ *$*ǵnh_1$-io-* (IE).

A *ja*-stem to the root *$*ǵenh_1$-* 'to be born'. See also **kanjan-*, **kunda-*, **kuninga-* and **kinþa- ~ *kinda-*.

kunja- 2 n. 'omen' — ON *kyn* n. 'miracle' ⇒ *$*ǵn̥h_3$-io-* (IE).

A *ja*-stem derived from the root of **kunnan-* (q.v.). Formally and semantically close to Lith. *žinià* f. 'news; knowledge; magic' (cf. Koivulehto 2003: 306).

kunnan- pret.-pres. 'to know (how), be able' — Go. *kunnan*, 3sg. *kann*, 3pl. *kunnun* pret.-pres. 'know, understand', ON *kunna*, 3sg. *kann*, 3pl. *kunnu* pret.-pres. 'id.', Far. *kunna*, 3sg. *kann*, 3pl. *kunnu, kunna* pret.-pres. 'id.', Elfd. *kunna* pret.-pres. 'id.', OE *cunnan*, 3sg. *can*, 3pl. *cunnon* pret.-pres. 'id.', E *can*, OS *kunnan*, 3sg. *kan*, 3pl. *kunnun* pret.-pres. 'id.', Du. *kunnen*, 3sg. *kan*, 3pl. *kunnen* pret.-pres. 'id.', OHG *kunnan* pret.pres. 'id.', G *kōnnen*, 3sg. *kann*, 3pl. *kōnnen* pret.-pres. 'id.' ⇒ *$*ǵonh_3$-neh_2-* (IE) — ToA *knā-* 'to know, understand', ToB *nana-* 'to recognise, appear' < *$*ǵn-nh_3$-*; Skt. *jānā́ti* 'to know, recognize, understand', Lith. *žinóti* (*žinaũ*), Latv. *zināt* 'to know', OPru. *po-sinnat* 'to confess' < *$*ǵn̥h_3$-neh_2-*; OIr. *ad-gnin* 'to recognize' (< **ati-gni-na-*); Hitt. *kane/iššzi ~ kane/iššanzi* 'to recognize, acknowledge' < 3sg. *$*ǵnéh_3$-s-ti*, 3pl. *$*ǵnh_3$-s-énti*, (Kloekhorst 2008: 434ff); Gr. γιγνώσκω 'to know', Lat. *(g)nōscō* 'id.' < *$*(ǵi-)ǵneh_3$-ske-*; OCS *znati*, Ru. *znat'* (*znáju*), SCr. *znȁti* 'to know' < *$*ǵneh_3$-ie-*.

A preterite-present whose conjugation like **unnan-* 'to grant' (q.v.) is a Germanic innovation, the original root being purely aoristic in Pro-

to-Indo-European. The verb was presumably created to the secondary (de-aoristic) *n*-present attested as e.g. Skt. *jānā́ti*, Lith. *žinóti* < 3sg. **ǵnh₃-néh₂-ti*, 3pl. **ǵnh₃-nh₂-énti*, which in Germanic would have developed into **kunnōþi*, **kununanþi*. Starting from this formation, the geminate of **kunnan-* can be explained from the singular root allomorph. See also **kannjan-*, **kannōn- 1*, **kōni-*, **kunja- 1*, **kunþa-* and **knēan-*.

****kunþa-*** adj. 'known' — Go. *kunþs* 'known, recognized', ON *kunnr* adj. 'known, familiar', Far. *kunnur* adj. 'id.', OE *cūþ* adj. 'known, clear', OHG *kund* adj. 'known', MHG *kunt* adj. 'known' ⇒ **ǵnh₃-to-* (IE) — Skt. *jñātá-*, YAv. *-zaṇta-*, Lat. *gnōtus*, OIr. *gnáth*, W *gnawt* ptc./adj. 'known' < **ǵnh₃-tó-* (with different restorations of the root in the individual languages).

The original past participle of **kunnan-* (q.v.). Also cf. the factitive ON *kynna*, OE *cȳðan*, OFri. *kētha*, *kēia*, OS *kūđian*, OHG *kunden* w.v. 'to make known, announce' < **kunþjan-*.

****kurna-*** n. 'corn, wheat' — Go. *kaurn* n. 'grain, wheat', ON *korn* n. 'corn, grain', Far. *korn* n. 'corn; grain; seed; lump', Elfd. *kuonn* n. 'grain', OE *corn* n. 'grain, corn', E *corn*, OS *korn* n. 'grain, rye', Du. *koren* n. 'grain', OHG *korn* n. 'grain; kernel', G *Koren* n. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵrh₂-no-* (EUR) — Lat. *grānum* n. 'grain, seed', OIr. *grán*, W *grawn* n. 'grain'; OCS *zrъno*, Ru. *zernó*, SCr. *zr̂no* n. 'id.' < **ǵrh₂-no-*; Lith. *žìrnis*, Latv. *zir̃nis* m. 'pea' < **ǵrh₂-n-io-*; OPru. *syrne* 'grain'.

The IE word for 'kernel'. Cf. the diminutive OE *cyrnel* 'corn', E *kernel* < **kurnila-*. See further **kernan-*.

****kurþra- ~ *kurdra-*** n. 'flock' — OE *corðor* n. 'troop', OHG *kortar* n. 'herd' ⇒ **h₂ǵr-tro-* (IE) — Gr. ἀγείρω 'to gather' < **h₂ǵer-ie.*

An instrumental formation created to a verbal root **h₂ǵer-*.

****kuru-*** adj. 'heavy' — Go. *kaurus** adj. 'heavy' ⇒ **gʷrh₂-ú-* (IE) — Skt. *gurú-* adj. 'heavy, vehement, big', Gr. βαρύς adj. 'heavy', Lat. *gravis* adj. 'heavy, severe' < **gʷrh₂-ú-*; Skt. *garimán-*, ToB *krāmär* m. 'weight, heaviness' < **gʷrh₂-mr/n-*.

The traditional reconstruction of the Germanic word as **gʷrh₂-u-* is unproblematic, but has been challenged by Snædal 2002, who assumes a relation with ON *keyra* 'to drive, impel' < **kaizwjan-* (q.v.).

****kursan-*** m. 'bull calf' — ON *kursi*, *kussi* m. 'id.' ⇒ **gʷh₃urs-en-* (EUR) — ToA *kayurṣ*, ToB *kaurṣe* 'bull', Skt. *go-vṛṣá-* 'id.'.

An Indo-European compound of **gʷ(e)h₃-u-* 'cow' and **ursén-* 'male (animal)' (Kroonen *apud* Pronk 2010), for which see **kō- ~ *kū-* and **urzan-*.

kurzōn- w.v. 'to creak' — ON *kurra* w.v. 'to murmur, grumble', Elfd. *kurra* w.v. 'to coo; to purr', MDu. *corren* w.v. 'to creak' ⇒ **grs-néh₂-* (EUR).

The iterative to **kerzan-*, to be reconstructed as 3pl. **kurznōþi*, 3pl. *kurzunanþi* < **grs-néh₂-ti*, **grs-nh₂-énti*. Cf. with *o*-grade Icel. *karra* 'to creak, shriek', MDu. *carren* 'to creak' < **karzōn-*. See also **kwurran-*.

kuspa- m. 'fetter' — OE *cosp*, *cops* m. 'rope, cord, fetter', E *cosp*, *cops(e)* 'hasp for fastening a gate, head of a plough, cross piece at the top of a spade handle', OS *lithu-kospos** m.pl. 'chains' (GM).

It has been assumed that the word was borrowed from Gr. Byz. κοῦσπα 'fetter', but if Du. *kesp* 'beam' < **kespa-* is related, the ablaut would point to a Germanic origin. Also cf. OE *cospian*, *cyspan* 'to fetter' < **kuspōjan-*, **kuspjan-*.

kussjan- w.v. 'to kiss' — ON *kyssa* w.v. 'id.', OE *cyssan* w.v. 'id.', E *to kiss*, MDu. *cussen* w.v. 'id.', Du. *kussen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *kussen* w.v. 'id.', G *küssen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **kus-ie-* (IE) — Hitt. *ku̯aššzi* ~ *ku̯aššanzi* 'to kiss' < **ku-én-s-ti*, **ku-n-s-énti*; Gr. κυνέω 'id.' < **ku-n-és-e-*.

The factitive to ON *koss*, OE *coss*, OS, OHG *kus* m. 'kiss' < **kussa-*. The Germanic form is close to the IE root **kus-*, which can be reconstructed on the basis of the *n*-presents found in Hitt. *ku̯aššzi* ~ *ku̯aššanzi* 'to kiss' and Gr. κυνέω. The unshifted **k* as well as the double **s* are problematic, however, and indicate that the word was affected by sound symbolism. Cf. **kukjan-*.

kusti- f. 'trial' — Go. *ga-kusts* f. 'test', OE *cyst* f. 'choice', OFri. *kest* f. 'choice, statute', OS *kust* f. 'choice, preference, glory', OHG *kust* f. 'choice, evaluation' ⇒ **ǵus-ti-* (DRV) — Skt. *júṣṭi-* f. 'favour, proof of love' < **ǵus-ti-*.

An old *ti*-stem created to the verb **keusan-* (q.v.).

kustu- m. 'trial' — Go. *kustus* m. 'test, trial', ON *kostr* m. 'choice, alternative; opportunity', Far. *kostur* m. 'condition; alternative', OE *cyst* f. 'choice, election; excellence, virtue', MDu. *cust* m. 'choice', OHG *kust* m. 'evaluation, trial, choice', MHG *kust* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ǵus-tu-* (DRV) — Identical to Lat. *gustus* m. 'taste', OIr. *guss* m. 'excellence, force' < **ǵus-tu-*.

A European *tu*-stem derived from the verbal root **ǵeus-*, cf. **keusan-*.

kuta- n. 'shed' — ON *kot* n. 'cottage, hut', OE *cot* n. 'bed-chamber', MDu. *cot* n. 'hut, cabin', Du. *kot* n. 'id.' (NIE).

Within Germanic, the word appears to be in ablaut relationship to Nw. *køyta* f. 'wickerwork hut', MHG *kōtze* f. 'basket' < **kautjōn-* and G dial. *Kietz* m. 'fisherman's hut', *Kietze* f. 'bark container' < **keutja/ō-* (Adelung 1793-1801: 2, 1572). Outside Germanic, it is difficult to dissociate the word from Fi. *kota* 'hut, hovel, house', Hung. *ház* 'house' < PFU **kota*, which also

has a reminiscence in OHG *huttea*, MHG *hütte* f. 'hut' < **hudjan-* (whence Fr. *hutte*, E, Du. *hut*). The Finnish word cannot have been borrowed from Germanic, however, in view of the Hungarian attestation.

kūta- n. 'soft tissue' — E Scot. *kite* 'stomach', MDu. *cute* n./f. 'calf of the leg; fish roe', Du. *kuit* c. 'id.' (GM).

MDu. *cute* goes back to **kūta-*, but EDu. *kiete* together with Bav. *kütze* and Scot. *kite* continue a stem variant with an umlaut factor, possibly a collective formation **kūtja-*. The original meaning was 'soft part of the body' (Lat. *pulpa*), which evolved into both 'calf' and 'fish roe' (also cf. Teuth. *cuyte* 'spleen'). No certain etymology. The received comparison with Skt. *gudá-* m. 'intestine, rectum, arse, vagina' (cf. Pokorny IEW: 393-8) is formally problematic because of its short **u*. Within Germanic, however, the word can hardly be dissociated from MHG *kotze* f. 'whore; vagina' < **kuttō(n)-* and Du. *kont* 'butt', E *cunt*.

kwabban- m. 'swamp, bog' — E dial. *quab* 'marshy place', MLG *quabbe* 'swamp', Du. *kwab* c. 'soft fleshy lobe, outgrowth' ⇒ **g^{w}h$_1$b^{h}-on-* (EUR) — Arm. *kaw* 'clay' < **g^{w}h$_1$b^{h}-o-*.

A Germanic-Armenian isogloss (Olsen 1999: 24). The double *b* presumably arose in an *n*-stem paradigm **kwabō*, gen. **kwappaz* < **g^{w}(é)h$_1$b^{h}-ōn*, **g^{w}h$_1$b^{h}-n-ós*. Also cf. MDu. *quappe*, *quabbe* 'eelpout', EDu. *quabbe* 'eelpout, gudgeon; frog', which is close to OCS *žaba*, Ru. *žába*, SCr. *žȁba* f. 'frog' and OPru. *gabawo* 'toad' < **g^{w}eh$_1$b^{h}-eh$_2$-*.

kwadjan- w.v. 'to greet' — ON *kveðja* w.v. 'to address; to greet', Far. *kvøðja* w.v. 'id.', OS *queddian* w.v. 'id.', OHG *quetten*, *chwetten*, *cheten* w.v. 'to greet' ⇒ **g^{w}ot-éie-* (DRV).

The causative to **kweþan-* 'to speak, say' (q.v.).

kwaikwjan- w.v. 'to make lively' — ON *kveykva*, *kveikja* w.v. 'to light; quicken', Far. *kveikja* w.v. 'to light; to cause, bring about; to refresh', MDu. *queken*, *queiken* w.v. 'to feed, cherish, cheer up' (DRV).

A secondary factitive to **kwikwa-* 'alive, lively' (q.v.), continuing quasi-PIE **g^{w}oig^{w}h$_3$u-éie-*.

kwainōjan- w.v. 'to lament, mourn, wail' — Go. *qainon* w.v. 'id.', ON *kveina* w.v. 'id.', Far. *kveina-st* w.v. 'to be afraid of everything', OE *cwānian* w.v. 'to lament, mourn' (DRV).

A denominative verb derived from an unattested feminine **kwainō-*. This feminine is likely to have been derived from **kwīnan-* 'to dwindle'. For the semantics, cf. OSw. *thvīna* 'to dwindle' vs. Da. *tvine* 'to lament' < **þwīnan-* (q.v.).

kwaljan- w.v. 'to make suffer, pain' — ON *kvelja* w.v. 'to torment, torture', OE *cwellan* w.v. 'to kill', OS *quellian* w.v. 'to torment, kill', MDu. *quellen* w.v. 'to torture, abuse; to suffer', Du. *kwellen* w.v. 'to torment, trouble' ⇒ *g^{w}olH-éie- (DRV).

The causative to *kwelan- (q.v.).

kwalō- f. 'torment' — ON *kvǫl* f. 'torment', OE *cwalu* f. 'torment, violent death, destruction', MDu. *quale, quael* f. 'misery, pain; deficiency', Du. *kwaal* f. 'ailment' (DRV).

An *ō*-stem derived from *kwelan- 'to suffer' (q.v.).

kwēbjan- w.v. 'to suffocate, choke' — ON *kvæfa, kœfa* w.v. 'id.', Icel. *kæfa* w.v. 'id.', Far. *køva* w.v. 'to choke, put out, extinguish; to darken the sky', Nw. *kjøva* w.v. 'to suffocate; become cloudy', MHG *er-queben* w.v. 'to suffocate' ⇒ *$g^{w}h_{2}b^{h}$-ie- (EUR) — Gr. βάπτω 'to submerge' < *$g^{w}\underline{h}_{2}b^{h}$-ie-.

Since the root in view of the Greek forms must have been *$g^{w}eh_{2}b^{h}$-, the Germanic formation *kwēbjan- appears to be secondary, the lengthened grade causative *$g^{w}ēh_{2}b^{h}$-eie- being far-fetched. Possibly, it arose on the basis of *kwabjan- (= ON *kvefja* w.v. 'to submerge, swamp') < *$g^{w}h_{2}b^{h}$-ie-, which might have been re-analyzed as continuing a regular causative *$g^{w}ob^{h}$-eie- to a strong verb *kweban-, pret.pl. *kwēb-. Derivationally, *kwēbjan- would then belong to the cluster of e.g. *swēbjan- and *hwēsjan- (for which see *hwēsan-). Also cf. ON *kvefja* w.v. 'to choke' < *kwabjan- and ON *kvafna* w.v. 'to suffocate' < *kwabnōn-. See also *kwōba-.

kwedu- 1 m. 'utterance' — ON *kviðr* m. 'verdict; inquest; saying, word', OE *cwide, cwyde* m. 'utterance, word, speech, discourse', OHG *quiti* m./n. 'statement, proof' ⇒ *g^{w}et-ú- (DRV).

A *u*-stem derived from the strong verb *kweþan- (q.v). The West Germanic languages seems to have replaced it with an *i*-stem.

kwedu- 2 m. 'resin' — OE *cwidu, cweodu, c(w)udu* m. 'cud, mastix', E *cud, quid* 'ruminated substance; wad of tobacco', OHG *quiti, kuti* m. 'resin', MHG *küte, küt* m. 'id.', G *Kitt* m. 'putty, cement' ⇒ *g^{w}et-ú- (IE) — Skt. *játu-* n. 'varnish, gum', W *bedw-en* sgl. 'birch' < *g^{w}ét-u-; OIr. *beithe* m. 'id.' < *g^{w}et-io- (cf. Sp. *biezo* 'id.' << Gaul. *bet-io- and perhaps also PGm. *piþman- ~ *pittan- 'pith', q.v.).

An old *u*-stem that has some lengthened grade cognates in Nordic, cf. ON *kváða*, Elfd. *kwåða* f. 'resin', Nw. *kvåde, kode* f. 'resin; watery fluid from a pregnant cow's udder' < *kwēdon- and Nw. dial. *kvæ(de)* n. 'birch sap' < *kwēdja-. The closely related Far. *kváð* n., *kváð(a)* f. 'viscous fluid from a cow's teat' < *kwēda-/*-ō(n)- (whence Far. *kvæða* w.v. 'to inspect the fluid from a heifer's teats in order to find out whether it is in calf' < *kwēdjan-)

has been equated with Arm. *kit'* 'dairy produce' (Rasmussen 1999), which would give the **ē* a PIE background.

kwelan- s.v. 'to suffer(?)' — OE *cwelan* s.v. 'to die', OS *quelan* s.v. 'to suffer', MDu. *quelen* w.v. 'to languish, suffer; to pester', OHG *quelan* s.v. 'to suffer, be angry' ⇒ **gʷélH-e-* (EUR) — Arm. *keł* 'wound, sore, ulcer' < **gʷelH-o-*; Lith. *gélti* 'to sting, hurt', Latv. *dzeĺt* 'to sting' < **gʷélH-*; OIr. *at-baill*, W *aballu* 'to die' < **ati-gʷlH-ne-*.

An old strong verb. See also **kwaljan-* and **kwēlō-*.

kwēlō- f. 'agony' — OS *quāla* f. 'pangs of death', OHG *quāla*, *chuāla* f. 'torment, misery', G *Qual* f. 'pain, agony' (DRV) — Formally close to Lith. *gėlà* f. 'severe pain' < **gʷēlH-eh₂-* and OCS *žalь* 'pain', Ru. *žal'* 'pity' < **gʷēlH-i-*.

A derivation from the strong verb **kwelan-* (q.v.). With its lengthened grade, the form can technically be equated with Lith. *gėlà*. The process of deriving lengthened grade *ō*-stems to strong verbs was highly productive in Germanic, however, cf. **bērō-* 'stretcher, barrow' to **beran-* 'to carry'. See also **kwalō-*.

kweman- ~ ***kuman-*** s.v. 'to come' — Go. *qiman* s.v. 'id.', ON *koma* s.v. 'id.', Far. *koma* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *kumå* s.v. 'id.', OE *cuman* s.v. 'id.', E *to come*, OFri. *kuma*, *koma* s.v. 'id.', OS *kuman* s.v. 'id.', Du. *komen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *queman*, *cuman* s.v. 'id.', G *kommen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **gʷ(é)m-e-* (IE) — Skt. *gáchati* 'to move, to go, to come', YAv. *jasaiti* 'id.', Gr. βάσκω 'to come' < **gʷm-ske-*; ToA *kum-*, ToB *käm-* 'id.' < **kʷem-*; Gr. βαίνω 'to go', Lat. *veniō*, *-īre* 'to come' < **gʷm-ie-*.

A strong verb with two ablauting variants, viz. **kweman-* and **kuman-*. This alternation may point to the pre-existence of an athematic present 3sg. **gʷém-ti*, 3pl. **gʷm-énti*. Since, however, the presentic formations in the other IE languages were created to primary aorists (cf. Arm. *ekn* < **h₁e-gʷem-*), it is more likely that the Germanic formation similarly continues a root aorist. A third possibility is to assume that the zero grade was inherited from a *tudáti*-present, and that it was replaced by analogical full grades in Go. *qiman* and OHG *queman* (cf. Seebold 1970: 315). See also **kwumƀi-*.

kwēni- f. 'wife' — Go. *qens* f. 'wife', ON *kván*, *kvæn* f. 'woman, wife', OS *quān* f. 'noblewoman' ⇒ **gʷēn-i-* (DRV?).

The lengthened grade *i*-stem is an exclusively Germanic formation beside the ancient IE *h₂*-stem **kwenōn-* 'woman' (q.v.). Given the dominance of the meaning 'wife' (in contrast to 'woman'), it is possible that the word started out as a nominalization of a *vr̥ddhi*-gerundive **kwēni-* 'to be married', which in turn may have been created to a lost strong verb **kwenan-* < **gʷén-e-* 'to marry' (for a semantic parallel, cf. Skt. *bhāryā́-* f. 'wife' (< "who is to be taken

away") to *bhárati* 'to carry'). This hypothesis requires two missing links, however, and thus remains conjectural.

kwenōn- f. 'woman, wife' — Go. *qino* f. 'woman', ON *kona*, gpl. *kvinna* f. 'woman, wife', Far. *kona* f. 'wife', *kvinna* f. 'woman', Elfd. *kunå* f. 'wife', OE *cwene* f. 'woman', E *queen*, OS *quena* f. 'woman, wife, consort', OHG *quena* f. 'woman, wife' ⇒ *g^{w}én-h_2- (IE) — Skt. *jáni-* f. 'woman, wife', *gnā́-* f. 'goddess', OCS *žena*, Lith. *ženà*, OPru. *genno* f. 'woman', Arm. *kin* 'id.', Gr. γυνή, gen. γυναικός f. 'id.', OIr. *ben*, gen. *mná* 'id.', ToA *śäṃ*, ToB *śana* 'id.' < *g^{w}én-h_2, gen. *g^{w}n-éh$_2$-s*; OIr. *bé* n./f. 'woman; harlot' < *g^{w}en-* (with automatic lengthening of the vowel in monosyllables (Pedersen 1913: 113).

A Germanic *ōn*-stem based on a PIE proterodynamic *h_2*-stem, nom. *g^{w}én-h_2*, gen. *g^{w}n-éh$_2$-s*. The derivation of the Old Norse paradigm *kona*, gen.pl. *kvenna* ~ *kvinna* is not entirely straightforward. The nom. *kona* is often analyzed as a zero-grade *kunōn* continuing PIE *g^{w}n-eh$_2$-*, thus contrasting with the evident full grade gen.pl. *kvenna* ~ *kvinna* (cf. Harðarson 1989). It remains unclear, however, how the original IE ablaut, viz. nom. *g^{w}én-h_2*, gen.pl. *g^{w}n-éh$_2$-om*, could have completely flip-flopped in Germanic. It is more likely, therefore, that the paradigm directly corresponds to Go. *qino*, gen.pl. *qinono*, i.e. with the change *-ve-* > *-o-* in the nom.sg. and with syncope in the gen.pl.

kweran- s.v. 'to sigh' — OHG *queran* s.v. 'to lament, moan, sigh' ⇒ *g^{w}érH-e-(?) (IE?) — Gr. Hsch. δερίαι f.pl. 'cuss, expletive' < *g^{w}erH-ieh$_2$-; Lith. *gùrti* 'to scream' < *g^{w}rH-.

The verb seems most closely related to Lith. *gùrti*, whose round vowel points to a root *g^{w}erH-* rather than *gerH-*. The form would then be unrelated to Lith. *gìrti* (*giriù*), Latv. *dziřtiês*, OPru. *girtwei* 'to praise' < *g^{w}rH-ie- and Skt. *gṛṇā́ti*, *gṛṇīté* 'id.' < *g^{w}r-n(é)H-. Skt. *járate* 'to call; crackle (of fire)' continues a dissimilar root *ǵer(H)-*.

kwerkō- f. 'throat' — ON *kverk* f. 'the angle below the chin; throat', Far. *kvørkrar* f.pl. 'throat', Nw. *kverk* m. 'throat; angle below the chin', MLG *querke*, *quarke* f. 'throat', OHG *querka*, *querkela* f. 'id.' (IE?).

An *ō*-stem derived from the unattested strong verb *kwerran- < PIE *g^{w}erh$_3$-*, for which see *kwerþra- 1*. The *k*-suffix may have a parallel in *mankan- 'mane' < *mon-gon-*. Alternatively, it is possible to assume that *kwerkō-* continues PIE *g^{w}erh$_3$-ueh$_2$-*, a form in which the laryngeal would regularly be velarized to PGm. *k* (cf. *taikwer-*). Also cf. ON *kyrkja*, OFri. *querka*, *quertsa*, MLG *querken* w.v. 'to strangle' < *kwerkjan-* and the zero-grade formation Icel. *korka* f. 'dystrophy' < *kwurkōn-* (Magnússon 1989: 496, 526).

kwernu- f. 'mill; millstone' — Go. *asilu-qairnus* f.(?) 'donkey-mill', ON *kvern* f. 'millstone, quern', Far. *kvørn* f. 'id.', Elfd. *kwenn* f. 'id.', OE *cweorn* f. 'id.', E *quern*, OS *quern*, *quirn* f. 'id.', MDu. *querne*, *queern* f. 'id.', OHG *quirn* f. 'id.', MHG *kürn(e)* f. 'id.' ⇒ *$*g^werh_2$-nu-* (IE) — Skt. *grā́van-* m. 'pressing-stone', OIr. *brao*, *bró* f. 'quern, millstone', MW *breuan* f. 'id.' < *$*g^wreh_2$-uon-*; Arm. *erkan* 'id.', Lith. *gìrna* f. 'id.', Latv. *dziřnas* f.pl. 'id.' < *$*g^wrh_2$-n-eh$_2$-*; OCS *žrъny* f. 'millstone', Ru. *žërnov* m. 'id.', SCr. *žrvânj* m. 'handmill', OPru. *girnoywis* 'handmill', Latv. *dziřnus* f.pl. 'id.' < *$*g^wrh_2$-n-uH-*.

An ancient Indo-European word for 'millstone'. The IE daughter languages give proof of a number of dissimilar formations. These can probably all be derived from a primary *uon*-stem nom. *$*g^wérh_2$-uōn* ~ *$*g^wréh_2$-uōn*, gen. *$*g^wrh_2$-un-ós*. Related to **kwerru-* 'quiet' (q.v.)?

kwerru- adj. 'quiet, still' — Go. *qairrus* adj. 'gentle, mild', ON *kvirr*, *kyrr* adj. 'calm', Icel. *kyr* adj. 'id.', Far. *kvirrur*, *kyrrur* adj. 'calm', Elfd. *kwer(e)* adj. 'id.', MLG *querre* adj. 'tame', MHG *kürre* adj. 'mild', G *kirre* adj. 'tame, compliant' ⇒ *$*g^werH-nu-$* (NEUR) — Lith. *gùrti* (*gùrstu*, *gųrù*, *guraũ*) 'to crumble; to weaken; to subside', Latv. *guřt* 'to become weak, slacken' < *$*g^wrH-ske-$*.

A *u*-stem adjective possibly related to the aforementioned verbs in Balto-Slavic. The underlying root *$*g^werH-$* can be identical to *$*g^werh_2$-* as found in **kwernu-* 'mill' (q.v.).

kwerþra- 1 m./n. 'bait' — OHG *querdar* m./n. 'id.', MHG *querder* m./n. 'id.', G *Köder* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$*g^wérh_3$-tro-* (DRV) — Skt. *giráti* 'to devour' < *$*g^wrh_3$-é-*, Lith. *gérti*, Latv. *dzeŕt* 'to drink' < *$*g^werh_3$-* and Gr. βιβρώσκω 'to digest' < *$*g^wi$-g^wrh_3-ske-*.

An instrumental noun in *-*þra-* < PIE *-*tro-* (with dissimilation of the *r* in G *Köder* and perhaps also in the semantically divergent MDu. *coder* m. 'dewlap', EDu. *coder* 'saliva'). It was created to the unattested strong verb **kwerran-* 'to devour' < *$*g^wérh_3$-e-* (cf. **kwerkō-*), whose past participle is continued by OE *ā-cworren* adj. 'drunk'. The synonymous **kwerþra- 2* (q.v.) is unrelated.

kwerþra- 2 m./n. 'cut off piece, edge(?)' — MLG *querder*, *querdel*, *korder* m./n. 'patch (of leather, wick)', MDu. *querdel*, *quardel* m./n. 'strap of shoe-leather', OHG *querdar* m./n. 'wick', MHG *querder* m./n. 'patch' ⇒ *$*g^wér-tro-$* (DRV) — Hitt. *kuerzi* ~ *kuranzi* 'to cut up, to cut out off, to amputate' < *$*g^wér-ti$*, *$*g^wr-énti$*.

A formation without an accepted etymology. I am inclined to connect it with Hitt. *kuerzi*, assuming that the original meaning was 'cut, edge'. Far. *kvarði* m. 'edge or border on garment', Nw. *kvarde* m. 'seam, border, chime', Elfd. *kward* m. 'band; callus' were borrowed from Low German.

kweþan- s.v. 'to say' — Go. *qiþan* s.v. 'to say, tell, express', ON *kveða* s.v. 'to say; recite', Far. *kvøða* s.v. 'to chant', Elfd. *kweðå* s.v. 'to sing', OE *cweþan* s.v. 'to say', OS *quethan* s.v. 'id.', OHG *quedan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *queden, koden, kōden* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ *$g^wét$-e- (IE?) — The Germanic verb has some close but irreconcilable lookalikes, e.g. 1) OW *guetid*, MW *dy-wedaf* 'to say' < *$uéth_2$-e-, (cf. OIr. *as-pena* 'to testify' < *$eǵ^hs$-uet-n-eh_2-; Lat. *vetō* 'to forbid' < *$ueth_2$-; Hitt. *uttar* ~ *uddan-* n. 'word, speech' < *$uéth_2$-r, gen. *uth_2-n-); 2. Skt. *vádati* 'to speak' < *$h_2uédH$-e- (cf. Gr. αὐδή f. 'voice') and 3. Skt. *gádati* 'to speak' < *$g^wéd$-e-. Note, however, that Arm. *kočʿem* 'to call, invite' < *g^wot-ie-(?) is comparable to the Germanic verb in spite of the fact that it can be reconstructed differently, and is conspicuously close to *gočʿem* 'to shout' < *uok^w-ie- (cf. Olsen 1999: 811).

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Within Germanic, cf. e.g. ON *kvittr* m. 'report, rumor' < *kweþiþu-, whence ON, Icel. *kvitta* w.v. 'to report, rumor', Far. *kvetta*, *kvøtta* w./s.v. 'to utter, say a word'. An apparently archaic formation is Go. *ga-qiss** f. 'concurring, agreeing' < *kom-g^wet-ti- with assibilation of the dental cluster. See further *kwadjan- and *kwedu- *1.*

kweþu- m. 'stomach; uterus' — Go. *qiþus* m. 'id.', ON *kviðr* m. 'id.', Far. *kviður* m. 'id.', Elfd. *kwið* m. 'id.', OE *cwið, cwiða* m. 'id.', OHG *quiti* m. 'vagina' (GM).

A formation without any clear extra-Gm. cognates. The derivation from PIE *g^wh_3-i- 'to live' (Meid 1985; Lehmann 1986: 278) remains conjectural due to the required semantic shift. Note that the word emerges as a *ja*-stem in Old High German, and may additionally have given rise to EDu. *kutte*, Du. *kut* 'vagina' (with the change of *-wi-* to *-u-* as in *tussen* 'between' < *twisk-, Van Helten 1906).

kwīnan- s.v. 'to wither, dwindle' — OE *ā-cwīnan* s.v. 'to waste, dwindle away', MDu. *quinen* w.v. 'to wither', Du. *kwijnen* w.v. (also strong *kween*?) 'to wither, languish', MHG *ver-quīnen* s.v. 'to dwindle' ⇒ *$g^wéi$-n-H-e- (IE) — Skt. *jáyati* 'to overpower', YAv. *jaiiāi* 1sg.pres.subj. 'id.' < *$g^wéiH$-e-; Skt. *jināti* 'to overpower, oppress, deprive' < *g^wi-n-eh_2-.

An *n*-present possibly derived from the root *g^weiH-. In view of the parallelism of the *neh_2*-verb Skt. *jināti* with EDu. *quenen* w.v. 'to dwindle' <

*kwinōn-, it is tempting to assume that the strong verb in Germanic arose secondarily. Note that, within Germanic, the verbal complex is in close association with *dwīnan-, *swīnan- and *þwīnan- (q.v.), which are all continuants of the PIE root *$d^hg^{wh}ei$-: did the initial cluster next to *dw-, *sw- and *þw- also give rise to a variant *kw-?

kwisti- f. 'damage, destruction' — Go. *qists* f. 'id.', MDu. *quist* f. 'destruction, demise', OHG *quist* f. 'destruction' ⇒ *g^wes-ti- (IE) — Skt. *jásate* 'to be extinguished', Lith. *gèsti* (*gęstù, gesù*) 'to be extinguished, go out', Latv. *dzèst* 'to extinguish, put out' < *$g^wés$-e-; Skt. *jāsáyati* 'to extinguish' < *g^wos-éie-; Lith. *gesìnti* 'to put out', Latv. *dzesinât* 'to cool, extinguish' < *g^wes-néh_2-; OCS *u-gasiti*, Ru. *gasít'* (*gašú*), SCr. *gásiti* 'to extinguish' < *$g^wōs$-éie-.

An IE *ti*-stem, whence e.g. Go. *qistjan*, OHG *fir-quisten* 'to destroy' < *kwestjan-, Go. *fra-qistnan* 'to perish' < *kwest-nan-, etc. Gr. σβέννυμι 'to extinguish' is aberrant, pointing to *sg^wes-nu-, but may have arisen by metathesis in the aorist ἔσβη < *h_1e-g^ws-eh_1- (see Jasanoff 2008).

kwiwa- ~ *kwikwa- adj. 'alive' — Go. *qius* adj. 'id.', ON *kvikr*, *kykr* adj. 'id.', Far. *kykur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *kwikk* adj. 'lively, brisk; swift', OE *cwic(u)*, *cucu* adj. 'alive', E *quick*, OFri. *quik* adj. 'id.', OS *quik* adj. 'id.', MDu. *quic* adj. 'vivid', Du. *kwiek* adj. 'id.', OHG *queh*, *quec*, *chech* adj. 'alive, vivid', G *keck* adj. 'cheeky' ⇒ *g^wi-g^wh_3-(u)ó- (IE) — Skt. *jīvá-*, Av. *juua-*, OP *jīva-* adj. 'alive', OPru. *gijwans* (acc.pl.), Lith. *gývas*, Latv. *dzîvs*, OCS *živъ*, Ru. *živój*, Lat. *vīvus*, Olr. *béo*, MW *byw* adj. 'alive' < *$g^wih_3uó$-.

An adjective with two different proto-forms: EGm. *kwiwa- and NWGm. *kwikwa-. The former can technically have dissimilated from the latter, but this is unlikely in view of the extra-Germanic evidence supporting a proto-form *g^wiH-uó-, cf. Skt. *jīvá-*, Lat. *vīvus* (the short vowel of *kwiwa- can be explained by assuming pretonic shortening as in MW *byw*). It follows that *kwikwa- is the form that needs to be accounted for.

The best way of dealing with *kwikwa- is to start from an originally reduplicated formation as per Gąsiorowski 2007, in my view *g^wi-g^wh_3-uo-. Since PIE had a root constraint against two voiced (glottalized?) stops, it seems likely that the second g^w was dissimilated, thus yielding PIE *g^wih_3-uo-, PGm. *kwiwa-. PGm. *kwikwa- may then somehow have escaped this process, or restored the reduplication at a later stage. The reduplication itself seems to have originated in the verb *g^wi-g^wh_3-é-, cf. Skt. *jívati*, YAv. *juuaiti*, Gr. ζώω, Lat. *vīvō*, OCS *žiti* (*živǫ*) 'to live' < *g^wih_3u-e- < *g^wi-g^wh_3-e- (again with dissimilation of the second velar).

Within Germanic, further compare the inchoative Go. *ga-qiunan**, ON *kvikna* 'to become alive' < *kwi(k)w-nan- and the factitive *kwaikwjan- (q.v.). In WGm., we further find a denominative *kwikwōjan-: OE *cwician*, OS *quikon* 'to cause to live', Du. *kweken* 'to grow (crops)'.

kwōba- n. 'thickening (of the air)' — Icel. *kóf* n. 'blizzard', Far. *kó(g)v* n. 'hazy sky', Nw. *kov* n. 'thickening sky; shortness of breath' ⇒ *$g^woh_2b^h$-o- (EUR).

An *o*-grade thematic noun related to *kwēbjan- (q.v.). Also cf. Nw. *kjøva* w.v. 'to choke; to thicken (of the sky); to start freezing over', Elfd. *tjyōva* w.v. 'to become covered with ice' < *kwōbjan-.

kwumþi- f. 'arrival' — Go. *ga-qumþs* f. 'convention', OHG *qhumft, kumft* f. 'id.', G *-kunft* f. 'id.' (IE).

A PIE *ti*-stem created to the root of *kweman- ~ *kuman- (q.v.). ON *sam-kund* f. 'convention' is the same formation, but shows the effects of Verner's law (*-*kundi-*). The fact that this and similar formations unlike OHG *kumft* do not have epenthetic *f* may prove that Verner's law preceded Grimm's law. The alternative is to assume that the cluster *-*mþ-* developed into *-*mfþ-* (and probably further into PGm. *-*mft-* in view of Go. *anda-numts* f. 'acceptance' < *-*nm̥-ti-*) at a late stage (Rasmussen 1983). Also cf. *grumþu- ~ *grundu-.

kwurran- m. 'dog' — ME *curre* 'watchdog; small hunting dog; mongrel', E *cur* 'inferior dog', EDu. *korre* 'dog' (GM).

A West Germanic word. It is often reconstructed as *kurzan- in view of the potential link with *kurzōn- 'to creak, groan, grumble, coo' (q.v.). I would like to adduce MDu. *querie* f. 'bitch' < *kwar(z)jō-(?), however, which with its initial *kw-, precludes the connection with this verb.

L

labēn- w.v. 'to hang loosely, dangle' — ON *lafa* w.v. 'id.', Far. *lava* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *lavi*, obl. *låvå* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_2$lop-éh$_1$- (NEUR?).

A stative to (M)Du. *laf*, WFri. *lef* adj. 'weak, tasteless, cowardly' < *laba- (for the *b*, cf. MHG *lab-schīze* f. 'diarrhea'). Possibly related to Lith. *alpti* (*alpstù*) 'to faint, crave' < *$h_2$elp-ske- (cf. Franck 1949: 367).

lagja- m. 'leg' — ON *leggr* m. 'leg; hollow bone; stalk', Far. *leggur* m. 'leg, bone, shaft', Elfd. *legg* m. 'trunk; leg' (GM?).

An etymologically ambiguous North Germanic word (E *leg* is a Norse loanword). The formation can be related to *lawiz- and *lehizan- (q.v.). If so, it must continue either *lok^w-ió- or *log^{wh}-io- (with delabialization as in *sagja- 1* 'man, hero' < *sok^{w}H-ió-). The alternative connection with Lat. *lacertus* m. 'upper arm' (cf. ON *arm-leggr* 'arm') < *lHk-es-ito-(?) implies a

proto-form **lHk-ió-*. Finally, it is also possible to start from a *ja*-stem derived from the verb **lagjan-* 'to put' (q.v.).

lagjan- w.v. 'to put' — Go. *lagjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *leggja* w.v. 'id.', Far. *leggja* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *legga* w.v. 'id.', OE *lecgan* w.v. 'id.', E *to lay*, OS *leggian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *leggen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *lecken*, *legen* w.v. 'id.', G *legen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **log^{h}-éie-* (IE) — Formally identical to Hitt. *lāki* 'to knock out; to fall, be felled, be toppled', CS *ložiti* 'to lay', Ru. *ložít'sja* 'lie down', SCr. *lòžiti* 'to spread out; to kindle'.

The causative to **leg(j)an-* (q.v.).

lagu- m. 'lake' — ON *lǫgr* m. 'sea; water, liquid', Far. *løgur* m. 'liquid; (hot) water; rainfall', Elfd. *lag* m. 'decoction', OE *lagu* m. 'lake', OS *lagu* m. 'id.' ⇒ **lok-ú-* (EUR) — Gr. λάκκος m. 'pond, cistern, pit, reservoir' < **lk-uo-*; Lat. *lacus*, *-ūs* m. 'lake, pond, pit' (with *o* > *a*), OIr. *loch* m. 'lake, pond', OCS *loky* f. 'puddle, pool, reservoir', SCr. *lȍkva* f. 'id.' < **lok-u(e)H-*.

A European word. The zero grade of Gr. λάκκος (with gemination as in ἵππος m. 'horse' < **h$_1$ek-uo-*) implies an ablauting paradigm. e.g. **lók-us*, gen. **l̥k-u-ós*.

lahan- s.v. 'to blame, reproach' — Icel. *lá* w.v. 'id.', OE *lēan* s.v. 'id.', OS *lahan* s.v. 'to blame, prohibit', OHG *lahan* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **lók-e-* (WEUR) — OIr. *locht* m. 'fault, shortcoming, vice; offence; (physical) blemish' < **lok-tu-*.

A Germanic-Celtic isogloss possibly implying a shared juridical innovation in the Celto-Germanic contact zone. Unrelated to Gr. λάσκω 'to crack, shout, cry' < **lh$_2$k-ske-* and Lat. *loqui* 'to speak', OIr. *ad-tluchedar* 'to thank' < **tlok^{w}-* (cf. Ru. *tolk* 'meaning' < **tlk^{w}-o-*). See further **lahtra-* and **lak(k)ōn-*.

lahsa- m. 'salmon' — ON *lax* m. 'id.', Far. *laksur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *laks* m. 'id.' ⇒ **loḱ-so-* (NEUR?) — ToB *laks* m. 'fish'(?); Lith. *lašišà* f. 'salmon', Latv. *lasis* m. 'id.' < **loḱ-i(s)-*; OPru. **lasasso* (for attested *lalasso*), Ru. *losós'*, *lósos'*, Cz. *losos* m. 'id.' < **loḱ-os-(i)o-*.

If ToB *laks* is unrelated, which is possible in view of the meaning 'fish', the word represents a Germanic-Balto-Slavic isogloss. The alternation of PGm. **lahsa-* < **loḱ-so-* vs. Ru. *losós'* < **loḱ-os-* points to a hysterokinetic *s*-stem, nom. **lóḱ-ōs*, gen. **loḱ-s-ós*. Unrelated is ON *laki*, Elfd. *latji* m. 'burbot' < **lakan-*.

lahtra- n./m. 'vice' — OE *leahtor* n. 'vice, fault, blemish, sin', MDu. *lachter* m. 'blemish, shame, abomination' ⇒ **lok-tro-* (DRV).

Derived from the strong verb **lahan-* (q.v.) with the instrumental suffix **-tro-*. Also cf. ON *lǫstr*, Far. *løstur* m. 'damage, injury, defect, blemish' <

lahstu- and OS *lastar*, Du. *laster*, OHG *lastar*, G *Laster* m. 'vice, defamation' < **lahstra-*.

laibjan- w.v. 'to leave over, leave behind' — Go. *bi-laibjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *leifa* w.v. 'id.', Far. *leiva* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *lieva* w.v. 'id.', OE *lǣfan* w.v. 'id.', E *to leave*, OFri. *lēva*, *lēwa*, *liōwa*, *liouwa* w.v. 'id.', OS *far-lēƀian* w.v. 'id.', OHG *leiben* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **loip-éie-* (IE).

The causative to **līban-* (q.v.).

laibō- f. 'remains, remnant' — Go. *laiba* f. 'id.', ON *leif* f. 'inheritance', Elfd. *lievur* f.pl. 'id.', OE *lāf* f. 'id.', OS *lēƀa* f. 'remainder; inheritance', OHG *leiba* f. 'remains', MHG *leibe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **loip-éh₂-* (DRV).

An *ō*-stem derived from **līban-* (q.v.).

laidjan- w.v. 'to lead' — ON *leiða* w.v. 'id.', Far. *leiða* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *lieða* w.v. 'id.', OE *lǣdan* w.v. 'id.', E *to lead*, OFri. *lēda* w.v. 'id.', OS *lēdian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *leiden* w.v. 'id.', OHG *leiten*, *leitten* w.v. 'id.', G *leiten* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **loit-éie-* (IE).

The causative to **līƀan-* (q.v.). With the same ablaut grade, cf. ON *leið*, OE *lād* f. 'road' < **laidō-* < **loit-éh₂-*.

laihna- n. 'loan, loaned property' — ON *lán* n. 'id.', Far. *lán* n. 'id.', OFri. *lēn* n. 'id.', OS *lēhan* n. 'id.', Du. *leen* n. 'id.', OHG *lēhan*, *lēhin* n. 'id.', G *Lehn* n. 'id.' ⇒ **lóikʷ-no-* (DRV).

A *no*-stem derived from the strong verb **līhwan-* (q.v.). OE *lǣn* f. 'loan' (the source of ME *lēnen*, *lenden*, E *to lend*) may continue **laihniz-* through an intermediate form **laihni-*, and has therefore been adduced to reconstruct an *s*-stem **laihnaz*, pl. **laihnizō* corresponding to Skt. *rékṇas-* n. 'possessions'. This is uncertain, however, as the *ni*-suffix more often occurs alongside a *na*-suffix, cf. PNWGm. **taikna-* 'sign' vs. Go. *taikns* < **taikni-*.

laikan- s.v. 'to jump' — Go. *laikan* s.v. 'to frolic, jump for joy, hop', ON *leika* w.v. 'to play; to move, swing', Far. *leika* w.v. 'to play; to jump about', Elfd. *lieka* w.v. 'to play', OE *lācan* s.v. 'to swing, flicker; to play', ME *leiken* 'to play; fight; rush', MLG *lēken* w.v. 'to jump', MHG *leichen* w./s.v. 'to jump up; play' ⇒ **lóig-e-* (IE) — OIr. *lingid* 'to jump' < **li-n-g-e-*; Lith. *láigyti* 'to run around' < **loig-éie-*; NP *ā-līxtan* 'to jump' < **lig-e-*; the connection with Skt. *réjate* 'to shake' < **h₁leiǵ-*; Gr. ἐλελίζω 'to shake' < **h₁le-h₁liǵ-ie-* is rejected by LIV².

An *o*-present closely related to the iterative MHG *lecken* 'to jump' < **likkōn- 2* (q.v.).

laiman- m. 'clay' — OE *lām* n. 'id.', E *loam*, OS *lēmo* m. 'id.', Du. *leem* n. 'id.', OHG *leimo* m. 'id.', G *Lehm* m. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂loih₁-mon-* (IE) — Hitt. *ḫalīna-*

'clay(?)' < *h_2lih_1-*no*-(?); Skt. *láyate* 'to cling, stick, nestle; to dissolve' < *$h_2léih_1$-*e*-; Gr. Hsch. ἁλίνειν 'to smear', Lat. *linō*, *-ere* 'to smear, seal, rub', OIr. *lenaid* 'to glue; to stick, stay, follow', W *llynu* 'to besmear' < *h_2li-*nh*$_2$- (for older *h_2li-*n*-h_1-*e*-).

A *mn*-stem to the root *h_2leih_1- 'to smear'. For the color of the second laryngeal, see **laiza*- 'clay' < *h_2loih_1-*es*-. Further cf. **līma*- 'mud, lime'.

laisizan- comp. 'less' — OE *læssa* comp. 'id.', E *less*, OFri. *lessa*, *lessera* comp. 'id.', OS *lēs* adv. 'id.' ⇒ *$leh_{2/3}$is*-*is*-*on*- (NEUR) — Lith. *líesas*, Latv. *liēss* adj. 'thin, lean, arid' < *$leh_{2/3}$is*-*o*-.

The comparative to **līt*ila- ~ **lutt*ila- (q.v.).

laisō- f. 'track, trail' — MDu. *lees* f. 'id.', OHG *leisa* f. 'id.', MHG *leise* f. 'id.' ⇒ *$lóis$-*eh*$_2$- (EUR) — Identical to CS *lěxa* f. 'row', Ru. dial. *lexá*, *léxa* f. 'strip of land, furrow, bed', SCr. *lijèha* 'small patch of farmed land, ridge between furrows, flower bed'; also cf. Lat. *līra* f. 'furrow', OPru. *lyso* 'bed (field)' < *leis-eh$_2$-.

A European *eh$_2$*-stem. See also **laisti*- and **lisan*-.

laisti- m. 'track, trace' — Go. *laists* m. 'id.', ON *leistr* m. 'stocking-foot, sock', OE *læst* m. 'footprint, bottom of the foot', MDu. *leest* m. 'model', Du. *leest* c. 'boot-tree; waist', OHG *leist* m. 'track', MHG *leist* m. 'id.' (DRV).

A *ti*-stem derived from **lisan*- (q.v.). See also **laisō*-.

laiwizakōn- m. 'lark' — OE *lāwrice*, *lāwerce*, *lǣwerce* f. 'id.', E *lark*, WFri. *ljurk* c. 'id.', NFri. *lāsk* 'id.', Du. *leeuwerik* c. 'id.', OHG *lērahha*, *lēricha* f. 'id.', MHG *lerche*, *lewercke* f. 'id.', G *Lerche* f. 'id.' (NIE?).

Usually assumed to be a diminutive in *-*ikōn*- to an *s*-stem **laiwaz*, gen. **laiwizaz* (cf. Strathmann 2008: 2, 320), which is probably supported by Fi. *leivo*. In addition, NFri. *lāsk* points to a stem **laiwas*- (cf. Århammar 1984), apparently unaffected by Verner's law. On a deeper level, the word fails to classify as an inherited Indo-European word. In combination with Lat. *alauda* (cf. OFr. *aloue*, Fr. *alouette*), a Gaulish loanword, it is possible to analyze the word as a relic from a non-IE language (Schrijver 1997: 309-10). Pre-Gm. **laiwaz* would in this language have alternated with Pre-Celt. **alauz*-, the latter form apparently with the *a*-prefix that is also found in other non-IE words, such as **amslōn*- 'blackbird' and **arut*- 'ore' (q.v.). ON *lævirki*, OSw. *lærikia*, Elfd. *leritja* and Nw. *lerke*, Sw. *lärka* are considered to be loanwords from Old English and Low German respectively.

laiza- n. 'clay' — ON *leir* n. 'id.', Far. *leir* n. 'id.', Elfd. *liera* f. 'id.' ⇒ *h_2loih_1-*es*- (IE).

A thematicized *s*-stem ***lajaz***, gen. ***laizaz*** (< ***lajizaz***) < ***h₂loih₁-os***, ***h₂l(o)ih₁-es-os***. For the root ***h₂leih₁-***, see ***laiman-***. The root-final laryngeal can be identified as ***h₁*** in view of the Germanic stem ***laiz-***, which must have developed from ***lajiz*** < ***h₂loih₁-es-***, cf. ***aiza-*** 'ore' < ***h₂ei-es-***.

laizjan- w.v. 'to teach, instruct' — Go. *laisjan* w.v. 'id.', OE *læran* w.v. 'id.', OFri. *lēra* w.v. 'id.', OS *lērian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *leren* w.v. 'id.', OHG *lēren*, *lērran* w.v. 'id.', G *lehren* w.v. 'id.' (EUR).

The causative to ***lisan-*** (q.v.).

lajō- f. 'rock(?)' — OFri. *laie* f. 'slate', OS *leia* f. 'rock', MDu. *leye* f. 'schist, slate', Du. *lei* c. 'id.', MHG *leie* f. 'rock' (LW).

No Indo-European etymology. The word was probably borrowed from Celtic, cf. OIr *lía*, acc. *liaic* m. 'stone' and OIr. *lecc* f. 'stone, flat slab of rock', MW *llech* f. 'slate, slab of stone' < PCelt. ***φlikkā-***, which has been compared to PGm. ***flahō-*** (Matasović 2009: 134). The origin of the geminate ***-kk-*** is uncertain, however.

lakjan- 1 w.v. 'to grab' — OE *læccan*, *læccean* w.v. 'to take, grasp, seize, catch', E *to latch* ⇒ ***lh₂g-ie-*** (EUR) — Gr. λάζομαι 'seize, grasp, take, get hold of' < ***lh₂g-ie-***.

Possibly a Germanic-Greek isogloss. Note, however, that λάζομαι has also been connected to Gr. λαμβάνω 'to take, grasp', which implies an unrelated formation ***lgʷ-ie-***.

lakjan- 2 w.v. 'to cause to leak, moisten' — Elfd. *lekka* w.v. 'id.', OE *leccan* w.v. 'id.', MDu. *lecken* w.v. 'id.', Du. *lekken* w.v. 'id.', OHG *lecken* w.v. 'id.', G *lecken* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ ***log-éie-*** (EUR).

The causative to ***lekan-*** (q.v.).

lak(k)ōn- w.v. 'to reproach, blame' — MDu. *lacken*, *laken* w.v. 'id.', Du. *laken* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ ***lok-néh₂-*** (DRV).

The iterative to ***lahan-*** (q.v.). Also cf. ON *lakr* adj. 'deficient', MDu. *lac* adj. 'lascivious' < ***laka-*** and OFri. *lek* m./n. 'shame, blemish', MDu. *lak* m./n. 'lack, deficiency', E *lack* < ***laka-***.

lambiz- n. 'lamb' — Go. *lamb* n. 'lamb, sheep', ON *lamb* n. 'lamb', Far. *lamb* n. 'id.', OE *lamb* n. 'id.', OFri. *lam* n. 'id.', OS *lamb* n. 'id.', Du. *lam* n. 'id.', OHG *lamb* n. 'id.', G *Lamm* n. 'id.' ⇒ ***h₁l-on-bʰ-es-*** (IE) — Gr. ἔλαφος m. 'deer' < ***h₁l-n-bʰo-***.

An *s*-stem to the base ***h₁l-n-bʰo-***, which is supported by Gr. ἔλαφος. In both Gothic and Gutnish, the word means 'sheep' (cf. Fi. *lammas* 'id.'), and

this has been taken as an argument in favor of the hypothesis that the Goths emigrated from Gotland. See further **algi-* and **elha(n)-*.

lamjan- w.v. 'to beat (up), cripple' — ON *lemja* w.v. 'to flog, beat (down), suppress', Far. *lemja* w.v. 'to paralyze; to beat, hit', OE *lemian* w.v. 'to lame, cripple; to strike', OFri. *lemma*, *lamma* w.v. 'to cripple', OS *lemmian* w.v. 'id.', MDu. *lemmen* w.v. 'to damage, mutilate', OHG *lemjan* w.v. 'to cripple, lame', G *lähmen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₃lomh₁-éie-* (EUR) — Identical to OCS *lomiti*, Ru. *lomít'* (*lomljú*), SCr. *lòmiti* 'to break'; further cf. Gr. νωλεμές, -έως adv. 'without pause, unceasingly' < **n-h₃lemh₁-es*; Lat. *lanius* m. 'butcher', MIr. *laime* 'axe' < **h₃lom-io-* (with unrounding of *o* to *a* as in *lacus* 'lake', for which see **lagu-*); Lith. *lémti* (*lemiù*), Latv. *lemt̃* 'to decide, determine, predestine' < **h₃lem-ie-*.

A merger of 1) an old causative with direct cognates in Slavic, and 2) a factitive to ON *lami*, OE *loma*, OFri. *lom*, OS, Du. *lam*, OHG, G *lam* adj. 'lame' < **lama(n)-* < **lomH-o-*. See also **lumēn-*.

lamsa- n. 'lock' — ON *láss* m. 'id.', Far. *lás* n. 'id.', Elfd. *lǫs* n. 'id.', MLG *lōs* n. 'padlock' (GM).

The nasal in the proto-form **lamsa-*, which is already implied by the etymological link with ON *lǫm* (pl. *lamar*) f. 'hinges (of a chest)', Nw. *lam*, *lom* f. '(metal strap of a) hinge', Elfd. *lan* n. 'hinge', is confirmed by Elfd. *lǫs*. The noun, apparently a thematicized *s*-stem, in turn served as the basis for ON *læsa*, Elfd. *lęsa* w.v. 'to lock', OHG *lemsen** w.v. 'to bar, shut' < **lamsjan-*. No clear etymology: the often proposed link with Lat. *lāmina*, *lammina* f. 'thin sheet of metal' is to be rejected.

landa- n. 'land' — Go. *land* n. 'id.', ON *land* n. 'id.', Far. *land* n. 'id.', Elfd. *land* n. 'id.', OE *land*, *lond* n. 'id.', E *land*, OFri. *lond* n. 'id.', OS *land* n. 'id.', Du. *land* n. 'id.', OHG *lant* n. 'id.', G *Land* n. 'id.' ⇒ **lond^{h}-o-* (EUR).

An *o*-grade thematic noun to a European root **lend^{h}-* 'unused land'. It is accompanied by the full-grade formation Elfd. *linda* f. 'overgrown field; meadow' and by the zero-grade **lunda/ō-* 'grove'. Possibly, the different ablaut variants split off from a static paradigm, nom. **lónd^{h}*, gen. **lénd^{h}-s*, loc. **lnd^{h}-én-i* (cf. Matasović 2009: 232).

landjan- w.v. 'to go slowly(?)' — MHG *lendern* w.v. 'to stroll, amble' ⇒ **lond^{h}-eie-* (NEUR) — Lith. *lĩsti* (*leñda*) 'to crawl, creep, get (in, into), taste good', Latv. *lìst* 'crawl, creep, get (in, into), taste good, cut' < **lnd^{h}-*.

MHG *lendern* can be a frequentative in *r* created to an iterative **landjan-*, which would imply a root **lend^{h}-* that is also found in Baltic. Note, however, the clear association with the semantically identical G *schlendern*.

landjō- f. 'lower part of the back, kidney, loin' — ON *lend* f. 'id.', Far. *lend* f. 'id.', OE *lendenu* f.pl. 'id.', ODu. *lendin* f.pl. 'id.', Du. *lenden* pl. 'id.', OHG *lentīn* f.pl. 'id.', G *Lende* f. 'id.' ⇒ *$lond^h$-ih_2- (IE) — Skt. *rándhra-* n. 'part of the body of animals, loin' < *$lond^h$-ro-; Lat. *lumbus* m. 'hips, loins' < *$lond^h$-uo-; OCS *lędviję* f.pl. 'loins', CS *lędvije* n. 'loin', *lędvija* f. 'id.', Ru. obs. *ljádveja* f. 'thigh', SCr. *ledvija* n.pl. 'loins' < *lnd^h-u-io/eh_2-.

The WGm. forms point to an *īn*-stem, which probably represents a remodeling of the *jō*-stem continued by ON *lend* (cf. Fi. *lantio*). An ablaut variant of *lund(j)ō- (q.v.).

langa- adj. 'long' — Go. *laggs* adj. 'id.', ON *langr* adj. 'id.', Far. *langur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *laungg* adj. 'id.', OE *lang* adj. 'id.', E *long*, OFri. *long* adj. 'id.', OS *lang* adj. 'id.', Du. *lang* adj. 'id.', OHG *lang* adj. 'id.', G *lang* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *$dlonh_1g^h$-o- (IE) — Identical to Lat. *longus* adj. 'long'.

A nasalized variant of the PIE root *dlh_1g^h- 'long', for which see *tulgu-. The adjective thus implies a nasal present *$dlénh_1g^h$-e-, which, however, is not attested.

lapan- s.v. 'to lick up, lap' — OHG *laffan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *laffen* s.v. 'id.', G Swi. *laffen* s./w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A strong verb back-formed to the iterative *lapp/bōn- (q.v.). Also cf. Icel. *lepja* w.v. 'to lap' < *lapjan- and OHG *leffil*, G *Löffel*, MDu., Du. *lepel* 'spoon' < *lapila-.

lapp/bōn- w.v. 'to lick up, lap' — OSw. *lapa* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *låpå* w.v. 'id.', OE *lapian* w.v. 'id.', E *to lap*, EDu. *labben*, *lappen* w.v. 'id.', G Swi. *labben* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *lap-neh_2- (EUR) — Identical to Lat. *lambō*, *-ere* 'to lick', Lith. *lapènti* 'to drink greedily' (of pigs); also cf. Gr. λάπτω 'id.' < *lap-ie-; Alb. *lap* 'to lick up water' < *lap-; Ru. *lópat'* 'to gobble up' < *lap-eh_2-.

An iterative verb 3sg. *lappōþi, 3pl. *labunanþi (< *lap-$néh_2$-ti, *lap-nh_2-énti) directly corresponding to Lat. *lambō*, which itself developed from *lap-neh_2- by Thurneysen's law: *lapnō > *laƀō- > *lambō*. Lith. *lapénti* appears to continue *lap-$néh_2$- as well, the suffix *-en-* being a remodeling of the zero-grade *-ìn-* < *-nh_2-. See further *lapan-.

lasiwa- adj. 'weak, feeble' — Go. *lasiws* adj. 'id.', OE *lysu*, *lesu* adj. 'depraved, corrupt, evil' ⇒ *losi-uo- (IE) — ToB *leswi* pl. 'attacks of weakness' < *losi-u-; Ru. dial. *lóšij*, SCr. *lȍš* adj. 'poor, bad, evil' < *los-io-.

OE *lysu*, *lesu* has also been taken to continue a zero-grade variant *lusiwa-, but it is unclear how this zero grade could have arisen. E *lazy* (continuing OE *leasu?), despite its unclear derivation, also seems to point to *las(wa)-. A potential zero-grade root *lus- can possibly be retrieved, however, from MLG *losich*, *lasich*, EDu. *leusigh* adj. 'lax, slow' < *lusīga-. Further

cf. MHG *er-leswen* w.v. 'to become weak' < **lasiwjan-*, ON *lasinn* adj. 'ill' < **lasina-* and MLG *lasich* adj. 'tired' < **lasīga-*.

lata- adj. 'lax, sluggish' — Go. *lats* adj. 'id.', ON *latr* adj. 'slow, lazy', Far. *latur* adj. 'lazy, idle', Elfd. *lat* adj. 'id.', OE *læt* adj. 'slow, late', E *late*, OFri. *let* adj. 'late', OS *lat* adj. 'lazy', Du. *laat* adj. 'late', OHG *laz* adj. 'lazy' ⇒ **lh₁d-o-* (IE) — OIr. *ladan* adj. 'dumb' < **lh₁d-ono-*.

Also cf. the factitive Go. *latjan* 'to make slow', ON *letja* 'to impede', OE *lettan* 'to delay', OFri. *letta* 'id.', OS *lettian* 'to impede', OHG *lezzen* 'id.' < **latjan-*. See **lētan-*.

laþōjan- w.v. 'to invite' — Go. *laþon* w.v. 'id.', OE *laðian* w.v. 'id.', OFri. *lathia* w.v. 'id.', OS *lathian* w.v. 'id.', OHG *ladōn* w.v. 'id.', G *laden* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂lot-eh₂-ie-* (IE) — Hitt. *ḫalzai ~ ḫalziianzi* 'to cry out, to shout, to call; to invoke, to recite', CLuv. *ḫalta/i-* 'to call, appeal(?)' < **h₂lt-(o)i-*.

A Germanic-Hittite isogloss. The Germanic verb is based on Go. *laþo*, ON *lǫð* f. 'invitation' < **laþō-* < **h₂lot-eh₂-*.

lauba- m./n. 'leaf, foliage' — Go. *lauf* n. 'id.', ON *lauf* n. 'id.', Far. *leyv* n. 'id.', Elfd. *lov* n. 'id.', OE *lēaf* n. 'id.', E *leaf*, OFri. *lāf* n. 'id.', OS *lōf* n. 'id.', Du. *loof* n. 'id.', OHG *loub* n. 'id.', G *Laub* n. 'id.' ⇒ **loubʰ-o-* (EUR) — Ru. *lub*, SCr. *lûb* m. 'bast', Alb. *labë* 'rind, cork' < **loubʰ-o-*; Lith. *lubà* f. 'plank', OPru. *lubbo* 'bast, plank, shelf' < **lubʰ-eh₂-*; Lat. *liber* m. 'bark, rind' < **lubʰ-ro-*.

A European word with no clear PIE etymology. Also cf. **lubja-* and **luftu-*.

lauda- n. 'lead' — OE *lēad* n. 'id.', E *lead*, OFri. *lād* n. 'id.', Du. *lood* n. 'id.' (LW).

A loanword from Celt. **ɸloud-io-*, cf. MIr. *lúaide* m. 'lead' < **ploud-*, which is connected to Lat. *plumbum* (< **plumdʰ-*) and Gr. μόλυβδος (μόλιβος, var. μόλυβος, μόλιβδος, βόλυβδος, βόλιμος, βόλιβος). The same word through a different (Pre-Indo-European) route also served as the basis for **blīwa- 2* 'lead'. The idea that the Greek word was borrowed from Lydian *mariwda-*, allegedly 'the dark metal', cf. CLuv. *maruai-* adj. 'black, dark-colored(?)' (Melchert 2008) is ingenious, but fails to explain how Lydian *r* could have given Greek λ.

lauda- m. 'man' — Go. *jugga-lauþs* m. 'young man' ⇒ **h₁loudʰ-o-* (IE).

An *o*-grade formation to **leudi-* 'people' (q.v.).

laugnjan- w.v. 'to keep hidden, deny' — Go. *laugnjan* w.v. 'to reject, deny, cover up', ON *leyna* w.v. 'to hide, conceal', Far. *loyna* w.v. 'id.', OE *līegnian* w.v. 'to deny', OFri. *leina*, *laina* w.v. 'id.', OS *lōgnian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *loochenen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *loug(a)nen* w.v. 'id.', G *läugnen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

Probably a factitive to the adjective **laugna-*, cf. Go. *ana-laugns* adj. 'hidden', and thus related to **leugan-* (q.v.). With the same derivational base, cf. ON *laun* f. 'secrecy', OHG *lougna* f. 'denial' < **laugnō-*.

lauka- m./n. 'onion, leek' — ON *laukr* m. 'leek, onion, garlic', Far. *leykur* m. 'onion', Elfd. *lok* m. 'id.', OE *lēac* m. 'leek, onion, garlic', E *leek*, MDu. *looc* n. 'garlic', Du. Flem. *look* 'id.', OHG *louh* n. 'leek', G *Lauch* m. 'id.' (DRV).

A word without a certain etymology. It is widely assumed that it was derived from the strong verb **leukan-* ~ **lūkan-* 'to close' (q.v.) in view of the leaves or scales enclosing a stem or growing-point in both leeks and onions.

launa- n. 'reward, recompense' — Go. *laun* n. 'id.', ON *laun* n.pl. 'id.', OSw. *løn* n.pl./f. 'id.', Da. *løn* c. 'id.', OE *lēan* n. 'id.', OFri. *lān* n. 'id.', OS *lōn* n. 'id.', Du. *loon* n. 'id.', OHG *lōn* m./n. 'id.', G *Lohn* m. 'id.' ⇒ **louh₂-no-* (IE) — Gr. ἀπο-λαύω 'to enjoy' < **leh₂u-ie-*; Gr. λεία, Dor. λᾶία f. 'booty' < **leh₂u-ieh₂-* (< **λᾱϝ-ίᾱ*); Lat. *lucrum* m. 'profit' < **lh₂u-tlo-* (with dissimilation of the second *l*).

A *no*-stem to the PIE root **leh₂u-*. Since **leh₂u-no-* and **loh₂u-no-* would have given PGm. ***lōna-* by the regular loss of *u* after *ō* in open syllables, PGm. **launa-* can only be reconstructed as **lh₂eu-no-* or **louh₂-no-* (with laryngeal metathesis). The word is unrelated to **leusan-* 'to lose' and **lewan-* 'scythe'.

lausa- adj. 'empty, idle' — Go. *laus* adj. 'empty, devoid', ON *lauss* adj. 'loose, free', Far. *leysur* adj. 'loose, free; idle; uncertain, vague', Elfd. *los* adj. 'free, loose', OE *lēas* adj. 'loose, free; void of; vain, false, deceitful', OFri. *lās* adj. 'free; lost; deceitful', OS *lōs* adj. 'loose, free', Du. *loos* adj. 'idle, stray', OHG *lōs* adj. 'lax, light-hearted, loose', G *los* adj. 'loose' (DRV).

An *o*-grade adjective derived from **leusan-* 'to lose' (q.v.). Also cf. the factitive Go. *lausjan* 'to free, recue; to collect (money)', ON *leysa* 'to free; to solve', OE *līesan* 'to loosen, free, deliver', OFri. *lēsa* 'id.', OS *lōsian* 'id.', Du. *lozen* 'to ditch', OHG *lōsen* 'to free', G *lösen* 'id.' < **lausjan-*.

lauþra- n. 'lather' — ON *lauðr* n. 'lather; froth, foam of the sea', OE *lēaðor* n. 'lather', E *lather*, OS *lōthar* n. 'detergent' ⇒ **lh₃-eu-tro-* (IE) — Identical to Gr. λουτρόν n. 'bath'; also cf. Gr. λούω, -ομαι 'to bathe, wash', Lat. *lavō*, *-āre* 'id.', Alb. *laj* 'id.', Arm. *loganam* 'id.' < **lh₃-éu-e-*; also cf. Hitt. *laḫui* ~ *laḫuanzi* 'to pour, cast' < **lóh₃-u-ei*, **lh₃-u-énti*.

An instrumental noun created to a thematicized *u*-stem verb **lh₃-éu-e-* 'to wash'. See also **law(w)a-*.

lawiz- n. 'ham, thigh' — ON *lær* n. 'id.', Far. *lær* n. 'id.', OSw. *lār* n. 'id.', Elfd. *lår* n. 'id.', OE *lēow*, pl. *lēower(a)* n. 'id.' ⇒ **log^{wh}-es-* (GM).

While OSw. *lār* and ON *lær* (with ʀ-fronting) go back to **lawaz-*, OE *lēow* presupposes a proto-form **lawiz-*. Both of these variants split off from a neuter *s*-stem **lawaz*, pl. **lawizō*. This formation may be related to **lagja-* 'leg' (q.v.).

law(w)a- n. 'oak bark, tan' — MDu. *loo* n. 'id.', Du. *looi* n. 'id.', OHG *lō* n. 'id.', G *Lohe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **lh₃-ou-o-* (IE).

Also cf. MDu. *looien*, *louwen*, Du. *looien* w.v. 'to tan'. Related to **lauþra-* (q.v.).

lawwō- f. 'groove' — ON *lǫgg* f. 'groove in the staves of a cask', Far. *løgg* f. 'id.', OE *lim-lǣw* f. 'injury to the limb, mutilation', OHG *līh-lōa* f. 'scar' ⇒ **louH-éh₂-* (IE).

An *ō*-stem to the root **leuH-* 'to cut off', for which cf. **lewan-* 'scythe'. The geminate **-ww-* points to original oxytony.

leg(j)an- s.v. 'to lie' — Go. *ligan* s.v. 'id.', ON *liggja* s.v. 'id.', Far. *liggja* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *ligga* s.v. 'id.', OE *licgan* s.v. 'id.', E *to lie*, OFri. *lidza* s.v. 'id.', OS *liggian* s.v. 'id.', Du. *liggen* sv. 'id.', OHG *lickan*, *ligan* s.v. 'id.', G *liegen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **legʰ-ie-* (IE) — Gr. Hsch. λέχομαι 'to go to sleep', OIr. *laigid* 'to lay, lie down', OCS *lešti* (*lęgǫ*), Ru. *leč'* (*ljágu*), SCr. *lèći* 'to lie (down)' (the nasal present after e.g. OCS *sěsti* (*sędǫ*) 'to sit') < **légʰ-e-*; Lat. *lectus* m. 'bed, couch' < **legʰ-to-*.

See also **lēgu-* and **lagjan-*.

lēgu- adj. 'low' — ON *lágr* adj. 'id.', Far. *lágur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *låg* adj. 'id.', OFri. *lēch*, *leich* adj. 'id.', WFri. *leech* adj. 'id.', MDu. *lage* adj. 'id.', Du. *laag* adj. 'id.', MHG *læge* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

A lengthened grade adjective derived from **leg(j)an-* (q.v.). In view of the *ja*-stem forms in West Germanic, the word must probably be reconstructed as a *u*-stem. ME *lāh*, E *low* is assumed to be a Nordic loanword.

lehizan- m. 'fleshy part of the body, calf' — OE *līra* m. 'muscle, soft parts of the body', E *lire* 'flesh, muscle, brawn', MDu. *liere* f. 'fleshy part of the leg, calf' ⇒ **lék(ʷ)-es-*(?) (GM).

An etymologically problematic word. The reconstruction **ligizan-* (thus Pokorny IEW: 673) must be abandoned in view of MDu. *liere*. The material, in fact, straightforwardly points to a proto-form **līran-*. The alternative, **lehizan-*, can theoretically be connected to PGm. **lawiz-* 'ham, thigh', but only if this formation developed from **lokʷ-es-* by Verner's law, which is only one of many possibilities.

lekan- s.v. 'to leak, drip' — ON *leka* s.v. 'id.', Far. *leka* s.v. 'id.', E *to leak*, MDu. *leken* s./w.v. 'id.', OHG *lehhan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *lechen* s./w.v. 'id.' ⇒ ***lég-e-*** (EUR) — Arm. *lič* 'lake' < ***lēg-ieh₂-***; MW *dilein* 'to destroy' < ***-leg-e-***; OIr. *legaid* 'to melt, perish' < ***leg-eh₂-ie-***; W *llaith* adj. 'wet' < ***leg-to-***.

A strong verb to a marginally attested root ***leg-***. See also ***lakjan- 2*** and ***lōki-***. Arm. *lič* is formally and semantically close to Far. *lækja* f. 'well, puddle' < ***lēkjōn-*** (q.v.).

lēkinōn- w.v. 'to heal' — Go. *lekinon* w.v. 'id.', ON *lækna* w.v. 'id.', OE *lǣcnian* w.v. 'id.', ODu. *lāknon* w.v. 'id.', OHG *lāchinōn* w.v. 'id.', MHG *lāchenen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A verb derived from ***lēkja-*** 'doctor; leech' (q.v.). It served as the derivational base for ON, Icel. *læknir*, Far. *lækni* m. 'doctor' < ***lēkinja-***.

lēkja- m. 'doctor; leech' — Go. *lekeis* m. 'doctor', ON *lækir* m. 'id.', Da. *læge* c. 'id.', OE *lǣce* m. 'doctor; leech', E *leech*, OFri. *lētza* m. 'doctor', ODu. *lake* m. 'leech', MDu. *laecke* 'id.', OHG *lāhhi, lāchi* m. 'id.' (LW?).

A word that is usually assumed to have been borrowed from Celtic ***lēgio-***, cf. OIr. *liaig* 'doctor', before the great sound shifts. If the original meaning was 'blood-letter' ('leech'), however, the word can definitely be linked to the cluster of ***lekan-*** 'to leak' (q.v.), in particular to the formally close ***lēkjōn-*** 'rivulet' (q.v.). This would rather imply a Germanic origin. Also cf. Nw. *lækjar*, Sw. *lākare* m. 'doctor' < ***lēkjarjan-*** (= OCS *lěkarь* m. 'id.'), which was derived from a factitive ***lēkjan-***, cf. Nw. *lækja*, Elfd. *lātja* w.v. 'to heal' (= OCS *lěčiti* 'id.'). See further ***lēkinōn-***.

lēkjōn- f. 'rivulet(?)' — Far. *lækja* f. 'well, waterhole, waterspout', Nw. *lækje* f. 'rivulet, wooden water-pipe' ⇒ ***lēg-ieh₂-*** (DRV) — Close to Arm. *lič* 'lake' < ***lēg-ieh₂-***.

Within Germanic, this formation seems to have been derived from ***lekan-*** (q.v.). It nevertheless displays a remarkable similarity with Armenian *lič*. See also ***lēkja-*** 'healer'.

lepjan- m. 'lip' — OE *lippa* m. 'id.', E *lip*, OFri. *lippa* m. 'id.', MDu. *lippe* f. 'id.', Du. *lip* c. 'id.' ⇒ ***leb-ion-*** (EUR) — Close to Gr. λοβός [m.] 'lobe, lap, slip' < ***lob-o-*** and Lat. *labium* n. 'lip' < ***lob-io-*** (with *a* < ***o*** as in *lacus* 'lake' < ***lok-u-***).

Within Germanic, also cf. ODu. *lepora* pl., OHG *leffur* m. 'lip' < ***lepaza-***. See also ***werila/ō-***.

lesan- s.v. 'to pick, select' — Go. *lisan* s.v. 'to collect', ON *lesa* s.v. 'to grasp, pick up, to gather; to knit', OE *lesan* s.v. 'to gather, collect', E *to lease* ('to glean'), OS *lesan* s.v. 'to gather', Du. *lezen* s.v. 'to read; to select', OHG *lesan*

s.v. 'to read, examine; to collect', G *lesen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ ***lés-*** (IE) — Identical to Hitt. *lešzi ~ liššanzi* 'to pick, to gather'; Lith. *lèsti* (*lesù*) 'to pick (of birds)', Latv. *lest* 'to pick; to count'.

An old athematic verb 3sg. **lés-ti*, 3pl. **ls-énti*. The original meaning 'to pick, select' developed into 'to read' through the intermediate sense 'to examine, analyze', not through 'to pick letters', as is often assumed.

lētan- s.v. 'to let, allow' — Go. *letan* s.v. 'id.', ON *láta* s.v. 'id.', Far. *láta* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *låta* w.v. 'id.', OE *lǣtan* s.v. 'id.', E *to let*, OFri. *lēta* s.v. 'id.', OS *lātan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *laten* s.v. 'id.', OHG *lāzan* s.v. 'id.', G *lassen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ ***léh$_1$d-e-*** (EUR) — Gr. ληδεῖν 'to be tired', Alb. *lodh* 'to tire, fatigue, haṛass' < **léh$_1$d-e-*; Lat. *lassus* adj. 'tired, weary' < **lh$_1$d-to-*.

A reduplicated strong verb, cf. Go. *lailot*, ON *lót*, *lét* etc. See also **lata-*.

leþra- n. 'leather' — ON *leðr* n. 'id.', Far. *leður* n. 'id.', Elfd. *leðer* n. 'id.', OE *leðer* n. 'id.', E *leather*, OFri. *lether* n. 'id.', MDu. *leder* n. 'id.', Du. *leer* n. 'id.', OHG *ledar* n. 'id.', G *Leder* n. 'id.' (LW).

A Celtic loanword, cf. MIr. *lethar*, MW *lledr* m. 'leather' < PCelt. **φlitro-* < PIE **pl-tro-*. See also **fella-*.

leuba- adj. 'dear, beloved' — Go. *liufs* adj. 'id.', ON *ljúfr* adj. 'id.', OE *lēof* adj. 'id.', OS *liof* adj. 'id.', Du. *lief* adj. 'id.', OHG *liub*, *liob* adj. 'id.', G *lieb* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **leub^h-o-* (IE) — Formally identical to OCS *ljubъ* adj. 'sweet, pleasant', Ru. *ljubój* 'any, either', SCr. *ljub* adj. 'dear, beloved'; also cf. Alb. *lumë* adj. 'blessed' (if from **lub^h-no-*).

A European adjective. Related to **luba-* (q.v.).

leudan- s.v. 'to grow' — Go. *liudan* s.v. 'id.', OE *lēodan* s.v. 'id.', OS *liodan* s.v. 'id.', OHG *liotan* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h$_1$léud^h-e-* (IE) — ToA *lät-*, *länt-*, ToB *lät-*, *länn-* 'to go out' < **h$_1$lu-n-d^h-*; Skt. *ródhati* 'to grow', YAv. *raoδəṇti* 3pl.pres. 'id.' < **h$_1$léud^h-e-*; Gr. ἤλυθον aor. 'went, came', Olr. *luid* pret. 'went' < **h$_1$lud^h-*.

A present created to an originally aoristic root **h$_1$lud^h-* 'to come out'. Also cf. the iterative MDu. *loden* w.v. 'to sprout' < **ludōn-*. See also **leudi-*, **lauda-* and **ludja/ō-*.

leudi- m. 'man; people' — ON *lýðr* m. 'people, men', Far. *undir-lýður* m. 'weak-willed person', OFri. *liūd* n. 'people', OS *liud* m. 'people', OHG *liut* m./n. 'people' ⇒ **h$_1$leud^h-i-* (IE) — Lith. *liáudis*, Latv. *ļaudis* pl. 'people' < **h$_1$leud^h-i-*; Gr. ἐλεύθερος adj. 'free', Lat. *līber* adj. 'id.' < **h$_1$leud^h-ero-*.

A Baltic-Germanic *i*-stem, likely to have been derived from the verb **leudan-* 'to grow'. From a social perspective, the **leudi-* probably referred to the unbound 'common people' in view of the link with Gr. ἐλεύθερος and

Lat. *līber* 'free'. A plain *a*-stem **leuda-* is attested as ON *ljóðr* m. 'people', OE *lēod* m. 'man'.

leugan- s.v. 'to lie' — Go. *liugan* s.v. 'id.', ON *ljúga* s.v. 'id.', Far. *lúgva* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *liuoga* s.v. 'id.', OE *lēogan* s.v. 'id.', E *to lie*, OFri. *liāga* s.v. 'id.', OS *liogan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *liegen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *liugan, liogan* s.v. 'id.', G *lügen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **léugʰ-e-* (EUR) — OCS *lъgati* (*lъžǫ*) 'to lie', OIr. *fol-lugaid* 'to hide' < **lugʰ-eh₂-*.

A strong verb to a European root **leugʰ-*. See also **laugnjan-*, **luginō-*, **lugi-* and **luk(k)ōn-*.

leugō- f. 'marriage' — Go. *liuga* f. 'id.' (WEUR) — OIr. *luige* n. 'oath' < **lugʰ-io-*.

Also cf. Go. *liugan* w.v. 'to marry' < **leugēn-* and OFri. *logia, loia* w.v. 'to arrange, allot; to join; to vouch; to marry' < **lugēn-*. In view of OIr. *luige*, the original meaning of the root **lugʰ-* should probably be reconstructed as 'to bind by oath'. It belongs to a wider range of Germanic-Celtic legal isoglosses (cf. **aiþa-* 'oath'), which together are a reflection of a shared cultural sphere.

leuhada- n. 'light' — Go. *liuhaþ* f. 'id.', OE *lēoht* n. 'id.', E *light*, OFri. *liācht* n. 'id.', WFri. *ljocht* n. 'id.', OS *lioht* n. 'id.', Du. *licht* n. 'id.', OHG *lioht* n. 'id.', G *Licht* n. 'id.' ⇒ **leuk-ot-* (IE) — Hitt. *lukkatt-* c. 'dawn, next morning' < **luk-ot-*.

An old *t*-stem to the root **leuk-* 'to shine, be bright', for which cf. **leuhna-*, **leuhsa-*, **leuskan-* and **leuskan-*. The formation is semantically and derivationally parallel to **naht-* 'night' (q.v.), which also continues a PIE *t*-stem.

leuhman- m. 'beam of light' — ON *ljómi* m. 'flash of light, radiance', Far. *ljómi* m. 'light, glare, brilliance', OE *lēoma* m. '(beam of) light, radiance', OS *liomo* m. 'shine' ⇒ **léuk-mon-* (IE) — Lat. *lūmen* n. 'light' < **leuk(s)-men-*.

An *mn*-stem related to **leuhada-* 'light' (q.v.).

leuhna- n. 'lightning' — Nw. *ljon, lyn* n. 'id.', Sw. *ljung-eld* 'id.', Gutn. *liaugn* n. 'id.', Da. *lyn* n. 'id.' ⇒ **léuk-no-* (IE).

A formation closely related to Go. *lauhmuni* f. 'flash' < **l(a)uhmunjō-* and ME *lēven* 'lightning, flash, flame' < **l(a)uhumna-*. The West Norse forms directly point to a proto-form **leuhna-*, but Sw. *ljung-eld* and Gutn. *liaugn* developed from OEN **ljūfn* by regular dissimilation of *-ufn-* to *-ugn-*, cf. Sw. *ugn*, Elfd. *ungen* m. 'oven' < PGm. **ufna-*. The cluster *-ufn-* must itself have arisen from PGm. **-uhn-*. Also cf. the derived *jōn*-stem OSw. *lyghna* f. 'lightning'.

leuhsa- adj. 'light, bright' — ON *ljóss* adj. 'id.', Far. *ljósur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *liuos* adj. 'id.' ⇒ ***leuk-so-*** (IE) — Skt. *rócas-*, Av. *raocah-* n. 'light' < ***leuk-es-***.

An adjective close to ON *ljós* n. 'light' < ***leuhsa-***, which is no doubt a thematicization of the PIE *s*-stem ***leuk-es-***. It gave rise to the factitive ON *lýsa*, OE *līexan* w.v. 'to shine' < ***leuhsjan-***. See also ***leuhman-***, ***leuhna-*** and ***leuskan-***.

leukan- ~ ***lūkan-*** s.v. 'to close; to pull' — Go. *ga-lukan* s.v. 'to close', *us-lukan* s.v. 'to pull (a sword)', ON *lúka*, *ljúka* s.v. 'to close, finish', Far. *lúka* s.v. 'to close; to weed, clean out', OE *lūcan* s.v. 'to plait', OFri. *lūka* s.v. 'to close; to join; to pull', MDu. *luken* s.v. 'to weed; to pull; to draw a sword or knife; to stab(?)', Du. *luiken* s.v. 'to close', OHG *liohhan* s.v. 'to pull, pluck', *lūhhan* s.v. 'to close', MHG *liechen*, *lūchen* s.v. 'to close; to pull; to shirk, crouch; to slip' ⇒ ***léu(ǵ)-e-*** (IE).

A verb with a complex semantic field. It is likely that two entirely different verbs merged in view of the formal distinction between OHG *liohhan* 'to pull' and OHG *lūhhan* 'to close'. The former can be compared to Gr. λύγος 'flexible branch, twig suited for twisting' < ***lug-o-*** and Lith. *lùgnas* adj. 'flexible' < ***lug-no-***, by assuming that the original meaning 'to bend', cf. ON *lykna* w.v. 'to bend the knees', developed into 'to jerk' and 'to pull out' (cf. ***lukka-*** 'tuft'). The verb 'to close', on the other hand, is semantically closer to Skt. *rujáti* 'to break', Lith. *lūžti* 'id.' < ***lu(ǵ)-***.

leusan- s.v. 'to lose' — Go. *fra-liusan* s.v. 'id.', OE *for-lēosan* s.v. 'id.', OFri. *for-liāsa*, *for-liēsa* s.v. 'id.', OS *far-liosan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *ver-liezen* s.v. 'id.', G *ver-lieren* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ ***léus-e-*** (IE) — Hitt. *lūri-* c./n. 'loss of honor, disgrace, humiliation; financial loss' < ***luh$_1$-ri-***; ToAB *lāwā-* 'to send' < ***leuh$_1$-***; Skt. *lunā́ti* 'to cut (off)' < ***lu-n-eh$_1$-***; Gr. λύω 'to loosen, liberate, make loose, destroy, pay', Lat. *luō*, *-ere* 'to suffer, make amends for', OIr. *as-loí* 'to escape' < ***eks-luw-e-*** < ***luh$_1$-e-***.

A strong verb based on an extension of the PIE root ***leuh$_1$-*** 'to loosen'. See also ***lausa-***.

leuskan- m. 'groin' — Icel. *ljóski* m. 'id.', OSw. *liuske* m. 'id.', Sw. *ljumske* c. 'id.', Elfd. *liuoska* f. 'id.', E *leske* 'flank', NFri. Hall. *jaoskə* pl. 'id.', MLG *lēsche*, *leische* 'genitalia', MDu. *liesche* f. 'groin; membrane', Du. *lies* c. 'groin' (DRV).

A word of disputed origin. Some have compared ***lawiz-*** (cf. De Vries 1971: 400), but in view of the formally identical Far. *ljóski* m. 'light, glimmer, gleam', it is more likely that the word was derived from ***leuhsa-*** adj. 'light' (with the *kan*-suffix for body parts). The original meaning may then have been 'transparent or light skin'. MLG *liese* 'thin skin' is probably the same word (Teuchert 1972: 330), cf. Brandenburg *liēse* f. 'layer of fat around the kidneys'.

leuta- adj. 'ugly, bad' — Go. *liuts* adj. 'deceitful, fraudulent', ON *ljótr* adj. 'ugly', Far. *ljótur* adj. 'ugly; bad', Elfd. *liuot* adj. 'bad, mean' (NEUR) — Cf. CS *lud'ъ* m. 'foolish', Ru. *lud* adj. 'stupid, mad, crazy', SCr. *lûd* 'stupid, crazy, immature' < **loud-o-* and Lith. *liū̃dnas* m. 'sad' (with a secondary zero grade).

A Germanic/Balto-Slavic isogloss. Also cf. ON *lýti* n. 'fault, blemish; disgrace' < **leutja-* and OE *lot* n. 'deceit, fraud' < **luta-*.

lewan- m. 'scythe' — ON *lé*, obl. *ljá* m. 'id.', Far. *líggi* m. 'id.', Nw. *ljå* m. 'id.', Sw. *lie* c. 'id.', Elfd. *ljå* m. 'id.' ⇒ **léuh$_1$-on-* (IE) — Skt. *lunā́ti* 'to cut (off)' < **lu-n-éH-* (whence e.g. *lavítra-* n. 'sickle' < **leuH-tro-*); unrelated to Gr. λαῖον acc. 'ploughshare(?)'.

An *n*-stem created to a root **leuh$_1$-* 'to cut off', which is probably related to **leusan-* 'to lose' (q.v.). The form is of importance to Germanic historical phonology, since it proves that laryngeals did not necessarily geminate preceding glides (Holtzmann's law). See also **lawwō-*.

lēwjan- w.v. 'to deliver, betray' — Go. *lewjan* w.v. 'id.', OE *lǣwan* w.v. 'id.', ME *be-lēwen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *gi-lāen*, *fir-lāen* w.v. 'id.' (IE) — Close to Lith. *liáuti* (*liáuna*, *liáuja*) 'to stop', Latv. *ļaũt* 'to allow', refl. 'to stop, rely on', OPru. *au-laūt* 'to die', Cz. *leviti* 'to reduce, give up, release', SCr. *léviti* 'to waste time, loaf'.

A factitive verb created to Go. *lew* n. 'occasion' < **lēwa-* < **léh$_1$u-o-*. The original meaning was 'to let (go)', whence Germanic 'to give away, deliver, betray'. See also **lōma-* 'betrayal'.

lība- n. 'life; body' — ON *líf* n. 'id.', Far. *lív* n. 'id.', Elfd. *laiv* n. 'life', OE *līf* n. 'id.', E *life*, OFri. *līf* n. 'body; womb', OS *līf* n. 'life', Du. *lijf* n. 'body', OHG *līb* m./n. 'body; life', G *Leib* m. 'body' (DRV).

A neuter derived from the strong verb **līban-* (q.v.).

līban- w.v. 'to stay' — Go. *bi-leiban* s.v. 'to stay', OE *be-līfan* s.v. 'to stay, remain', OFri. *bi-līva* s.v. 'id.', OS *bi-līban* s.v. 'id.', Du. *blijven* s.v. 'id.', OHG *bi-līban* s.v. 'to stay, stop', G *bleiben* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **léip-e-* (IE) — ToAB *lipā-* 'to be left (over)' < **léip-e-*; Gr. λιπαρός adj. 'fat, gleaming (of oil or unguent), fruitful' < **lip-r-*; Skt. *limpáti* 'to smear, adhere to, deceive', Lith. *lìpti* (*limpù*, *lempù*, *limpstù*), Latv. *lipt* 'to stick' < **li-n-p-é-*; OCS *pri-lьnǫti*, Ru. *(pri-)l'nut'*, SCr. *pri-ònuti* 'to stick' < **lip-ne-*.

A strong verb to the PIE root **leip-*. The origin of the Germanic root-final **b* (for expected **f*) is obscure, but it is possible that the strong verb was derived from a more primary stative **libēn-* 'to live' (q.v.). See also **laibjan-* and **laibō-* as well as **ainalifa-* and **twalifa-*.

libēn- w.v. 'to be left; to live' — Go. *liban* w.v. 'to live', ON *lifa* w.v. 'to live; to be left', Far. *liva* w.v. 'to live', Elfd. *livå* w.v. 'id.', OE *libban* w.v. 'id.', E *to live*, OFri. *libba* w.v. 'id.', OS *libbian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *leven* w.v. 'id.', OHG *lebēn* w.v. 'id.', G *leben* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **lip-éh₁-ie-* (IE).

The stative to **līban-* 'to stick' (q.v.). The meaning 'to live' developed from 'to remain'.

librō- f. 'liver' — ON *lifr* f. 'id.', Far. *livur* f. 'id.', OSw. *liver*, *lyr* f. 'id.', Elfd. *lyr* f. 'id.', OE *lifer* f. 'id.', E *liver*, OFri. *livere* f. 'id.', Du. *lever* c. 'id.', OHG *libara*, *lebara*, *lebera* f. 'id.', G *Leber* f. 'id.' ⇒ **iekʷ-r/n-* (IE) — Skt. *yákṛt*, gen. *yaknás* n. 'liver', YAv. *yakarə* n. 'id.', NP *ǰigar*, Oss. *igær* 'id.', Gr. ἧπαρ, -ατος n. 'id.', Lat. *iecur*, gen. *iocinoris*, *iecoris* n. 'id.', Lith. dial. *jēknos* f.pl. 'id.', Latv. *aknas* pl.f. 'id.', OPru. *lagno* (for **iagno*?) < **iekʷ-r/n-*; also cf. MIr. *i(u)chair* f. 'fishroe', Lith. *ìkras* m. 'id.', Latv. *ikri* m.pl. 'id.', OPru. *yccroy* 'calf (of the leg)' < **ikʷ-r-*.

Possibly an irregular continuation of PIE **iékʷ-r/n-* 'liver'. The Germanic word seems to continue an intermediate form **lipr-éh₂-* with unetymological initial *l-* and the sporadic change of **kʷ* to **p* in the vicinity of resonants (cf. **fimfe* 'five' < **pénkʷe*). The variant OSw. *lyr*, Elfd. *lyr* has umlaut, which is difficult to account for but fully parallel to that of e.g. ON *nýra* 'kidney' (vs. OSw. *niura* < **neura/ōn-*). Perhaps, the umlaut was leveled from an old locative form PN **leurini* < **libur-eni*.

līhwan- s.v. 'to loan' — Go. *leihʍan* s.v. 'id.', ON *ljá* w.v. 'to lend; to give, grant', Far. *líggja* s.v. 'to borrow, take out', OE *lēon* s.v. 'to lend', OS *far-līhan* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *lien* s.v. 'id.', OHG *līhan* s.v. 'id.', G *leihen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **léikʷ-e-* (IE) — Formally identical to Gr. λείπω 'to leave (behind)', med. 'to depart', Oss. *liʒyn* / *leʒun* 'to run away; abandon' < **léikʷ-e-*; also cf. Skt. *riṇákti* 'to leave, release, set free', YAv. *irinaxti* 'id.' < **li-n-ekʷ-*; Arm. *lkʿanem* 'to leave, let go, abandon'; Lat. *linquō*, *-ere* 'to leave', OIr. *léicid* 'to leave, let, allow' < **li-n-kʷ-*; Lith. *lìkti* (*liekù*) 'to hold, keep', Latv. *likt* 'to leave, lay, put', OPru. *po-lāikt* 'to stay' < **loik-*; OCS *otъ-lěkъ* m. 'remainder, rest', Lith. *ãt-laikas* m. 'remainder, remnant' < **-loikʷ-o-*.

A thematic present created to a probably originally aoristic root **likʷ-*. See also **laihna-* 'loan'.

līka- 1 n. '(dead) body' — Go. *leik* n. 'id.', ON *lík* n. 'id.', Far. *lík* n. 'id.', Elfd. *laik* n. 'id.', OE *līc* n. 'id.', OFri. *līk* n. 'id.', OS *līk* n. 'id.', Du. *lijk* n. 'id.', OHG *līh* n./f. 'id.', G *Leiche* f. 'id.' ⇒ **leig-o-* (DRV).

A word originally meaning 'likeness, shape'. Derived from **līka- 2*.

līka- 2 adj. 'similar, equal' — Go. *ga-leiks* adj. 'id.', ON *glíkr*, *líkr* adj. 'id.', Far. *líkur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *laik* adj. 'id.', OE *ge-līc* adj. 'id.', E *like*, OFri. *ge-līk* adj.

'id.', OS *gi-līk* adj. 'id.', Du. *ge-lijk* adj. 'id.', OHG *ga-līh* adj. 'id.', G *gleich* adj. 'id.' ⇒ ***leig-o-*** (NEUR) — Lith. *lýgus, lygùs*, Latv. *līdzs* adj. 'flat, even, equal', OPru. *po-līgu* adv. 'similarly' < **lig-o-*; Lith. *lýginti*, Latv. *līdzināt* 'to compare, even, equalize', OPru. *līginton* 'to judge' < **lig-neh₂-*.

A Baltic-Germanic isogloss. The original meaning was 'equal, even', cf. OHG *līchōn*, EDu. *lijcken* w.v. 'to smoothen' < **līkōjan-* and EDu. *lick* adj. 'plane, even' < **likka-* < **lig-nó-*, whence EDu. *licken* w.v. 'to smoothen', Du. *ge-likt* adj. 'slick' < **likkōjan-*. The latter formations, unlike the other Baltic and Germanic attestations, prove that the underlying root was **lig-* rather than **liHg-*. Also cf. the stative verb Go. *(ga-)leikan*, ON *líka*, OE *līcian*, OS *līkōn*, OHG *līchēn* w.v. 'to like' < **līkēn-*, whose meaning developed in an impersonal construction, cf. ON *mér líkar* 'I like' < "it suits me". Related to **līka- 1*.

****līka- 3*** n. 'leech-line, bolt-rope' — ON *lík* n. 'id.', E *leech*, MLG *līk* n. 'id.', Du. *lijk* n. 'id.', MHG *ge-leich* n. 'joint, link' ⇒ ****lei(ǵ)-o-*** (EUR) — Lat. *ligō, -āre* 'fasten, bind' < **liǵ-eh₂-ie-*; Alb. *lidh* 'to bind, tie' < **liǵ-*; BRu. *po-lyhaty-s'a* 'to connect' < **-lig-eh₂-*.

A formation derived from a European base **leiǵ-* or **leig-*. Albanian points to a palatovelar, but BRu. *po-lyhaty-s'a* has a plain velar. I wonder whether the root can be related to **līka- 1* and **līka- 2* (q.v.), e.g. through a semantic shift 'to connect' > 'to compare' > 'to be (a)like'. Alb. *licē* f. 'flax tow', if a Slavic loanword, implies that the Germanic word was borrowed into Proto-Slavic as **lice*.

****likkōn- 1*** w.v. 'to lick' — OE *liccian* w.v. 'id.', E *to lick*, OS *likkon* w.v. 'id.', Du. *likken* w.v. 'id.', OHG *leckōn* w.v. 'id.', G *lecken* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ ****liǵʰ-néh₂-*** (IE) — Identical to Lat. *lingō, -ere* 'id.' < **liǵʰ-neh₂-* (with Thurneysen's law); further cf. Skt. *rédhi* 'to lick' < **leiǵʰ-*; OIr. *ligid* 'id.', W *llyu* 'id.' < **liǵʰ-e*; Av. *raēirizaite* 3sg.int.med. 'id.' < **lei-liǵʰ-e-*; Gr. λείχω 'id.', Arm. *lizem, lizanem* 'id.', Ru. *lizát'* (*ližú*) 'id.', SCr. *lízati* 'id.', Lith. *liežti* (*liežiù*) 'id.' < **léiǵʰ-e-*.

An iterative verb closely related to the *o*-grade variant Go. *bi-laigon* with the same meaning. The formation continues an old *neh₂*-present (cf. Lat. *linguō*) derived from a primary aorist. See also **likkra-*.

****likkōn- 2*** w.v. 'to jump' — MHG *lecken* w.v. 'to kick, jump' ⇒ ****lig-néh₂-*** (IE).

An old iterative verb. MHG *lecken* can be from either **lekkōn-* or **likkōn-*, but the latter option is preferable in view of the evident link with *leichen* s.v. 'to jump, play' < **laikan-* (q.v.). It has been argued that MHG *vrō-locken*, G *froh-locken* w.v. 'to rejoice, exult' belongs here, too, representing a distortion of **froh-lecken* (e.g. Drosdowski 1989: 207). It may alternatively be compared to Du. obs. *vrolijken* 'to become happy' and E *to frolic*.

likkra- w.v. 'delicious' — MDu. *lecker* adj. 'id.', Du. *lekker* adj. 'id.', MHG *lecker* adj. 'id.', G *lecker* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

A *ra*-stem derived from the iterative **likkōn- 1* (q.v.): the original meaning seems to have been "lickable".

līma- m./n. 'clay, mud, lime' — ON *lím* n. 'lime', Far. *lím* n. 'glue', OE *līm* m. 'lime', E *lime*, OS *līm* m. 'glue', Du. *lijm* c. 'id.', OHG *līm* m. 'clay; lime', G *Leim* m. 'glue; paste' ⇒ **h₂leih₁-mo-* (IE) — Lat. *līmus* m. 'mud, slime' < **h₂leih₁-mo-*.

An *mn*-stem to the root **h₂leih₁-* 'to smear', for which cf. **laiman-*.

limu- m. 'limb' — ON *limr* m. 'limb; joint', Far. *limur* m. 'id.', E *limb* ⇒ **lei-mon-*(?) (NEUR) — Lith. *liemuõ* m. 'log, trunk, body' < **lei-mon-*.

A Nordic *u*-stem. In view of the closely related ON *lim* n. 'twig', OE *lim* n. 'limb; twig' and the ablauting ON *līmi*, Elfd. *laime* m. 'broom' < **līman-*, it is possible that the *u*-stem split off from the dat.pl. **limummiz* < **li-mn̥-mis* of a primary *mn*-stem **līman-* (cf. Kroonen 2011a: 62). See also **liþu-*.

lindō- f. 'lime tree' — ON *lind* f. 'id.', Far. *lind* f. 'id.', Elfd. *lind* f. 'id.', OE *lind* f. 'id.', E *lime*, OS *linda* f. 'id.', Du. *linde* c. 'id.', OHG *linta* f. 'id.', G *Linde* f. 'id.' ⇒ **lent-eh₂-* (NEUR) — Ru. dial. *lut* m. 'bark (of a limetree)' < **lont-o-*; Ru. *lut'ē* n. 'young lime trees to be stripped of their bark', Ukr. *łút'é* n. 'bark of a lime tree, twigs of a willow' < **lont-io-*; Lith. *lentà*, Latv. *lẹ̃ñta* f. 'board, plank' < **lent-eh₂-*.

A European tree name. Unrelated to **linþa-* 'mild, soft'.

lingwa- n. 'heather' — ON *lyng* n. 'id.', Far. *lyngur* m. 'id.', OSw. *liung* n. 'id.', Sw. *ljung* n. 'id.', Elfd. *lingg* n. 'id.' ⇒ **leng^{wh}-o-* (NEUR) — OCS *lǫgъ* m. 'meadow, underbrush', Ru. *lug* m. 'meadow' < **long^{wh}-o-*.

A Nordic word related to the aforementioned forms in Slavic (Charpentier 1906: 222). The meaning 'heather' probably developed from 'unused land, moor' (cf. **haiþī-*). The alternative connection with Lith. *leñkti* 'to bend' and OCS *lǫkъ* adj. 'bent' (Torp 1909: 360) is semantically unattractive. For a potential zero-grade, cf. Sw. dial. *lung-blōt*, Nw. dial. *lunge-blaut* adj. 'soaked' < quasi-PGm. **lungwa-blauta-*.

lingwan- s.v. 'to succeed, make progress' — OHG *gi-lingan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *lingen*, *ge-lingen* s.v. 'id.', G *ge-lingen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁léng^{wh}-e-* (IE) — Skt. *laghú-*, *raghú-* adj. 'quick, light, small', YAv. *rəuuī-* adj.(f.) 'agile, fast, quick', Gr. ἐλαχύς adj. 'small' < **h₁lng^{wh}-u-*; Lith. *lẽngvas* adj. 'easy, light' < **h₁leng^{wh}-o-*; Lat. *levis* adj. 'light, small, quick', OCS *lьgъ-kъ* adj. 'light' < **h₁leg^{wh}-u-*; OIr. *laigiu* comp. 'smaller, worse' < **h₁leg^{wh}-ios-* (with *-aig-* < **-eig-*).

A strong verb continuing an old nasal present to the root *h_1leg^{wh}-. See also **linhta-* and **lungra-*.

linhta- adj. 'light' — Go. *leihts* adj. 'id.', ON *léttr* adj. 'light, easy; nimble, active', Far. *lættur* adj. 'light, easy', Elfd. *litt* adj. 'id.', OE *līht, lēoht* adj. 'id.', E *light*, OFri. *licht* adj. 'id.', Du. *licht* adj. 'id.', OHG *līht* adj. 'easy', G *leicht* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

A *to*-stem adjective derived from **lingwan-* (q.v.).

linþa- adj. 'flexible, soft' — ON *linnr* adj. 'mild, soft', Far. *linur* adj. 'soft, slack, limp', Elfd. *lin* adj. 'soft', OE *līð, līðe* adj. 'id.', E *lithe*, OS *līthi* adj. 'id.', OHG *lind, lindi* adj. 'mild, tender', G *ge-linde* adj. 'delicate, soft' ⇒ **lén-to-* (EUR) — Identical to Lat. *lentus* adj. 'pliant, flexible; tough; sticky; slow' and Lith. dial. *leñtas* adj. 'quiet, calm'.

Also cf. the inchoative Go. *af-linnan* 'to abate, go away', ON *linna* 'to desist from', OE *linnan* 'to cease', OHG *bi-linnan* 'to give away' < **linnōn-* < **linþnōn-*.

lisan- pret.-pres. 'to know' — Go. *lisan**, 3sg. *lais* 'id.' (EUR).

A marginally attested preterite-present, 3sg. **laise*, 3pl. **lisunþ*, to a root **leis-*, cf. Go. *lubja-leis* adj. 'having knowledge about drugs' < **-līsa-*. The meaning of the verb must in view of the obviously related **laisti-* 'track; model' (q.v.) have shifted from an aspectually perfective 'to have traced'. See also **laizjan-*, **liznōn-* and **listi-*.

listi- f. 'skill' — Go. *list* f. 'cunning', ON *list* f. 'art, craft', Far. *list* f. 'art; cunning', OE *list* f. 'art, skill; trick', OFri. *list* f. 'knowledge; deceit', OS *list* f. 'craftiness, cleverness', Du. *list* c. 'trick', OHG *list* m./f. 'knowledge', G *List* f. 'cunning' ⇒ **lis-ti-* (DRV).

A *ti*-stem to the preterite-present **lisan-* (q.v.).

lītila- adj. 'small' — Go. *leitils* adj. 'id.', ON *lítill* adj. 'id.', Far. *lítil* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *litn, lisl-* adj. 'id.', OE *lȳtel, lītel*, Nrth. *lyttil* adj. 'id.', E *little*, OS *luttil* adj. 'id.', Du. *luttel* adj. 'few', OHG *lūzil, luzzil* adj. 'id.', MHG *lūtzel* adj. 'id.' (GM).

The default Germanic word for 'small'. The derivation of the word is still problematic. The suffix **-ila-* is paralleled by the antonym **mekila-* 'big, much' (q.v.). Equally parallel is the lack of this suffix in the closely related OE *lȳt*, OS *lŭt*, MHG *lūz* adj. 'few' < **lūtja-* ~ **luttja-* and the antonym ME *mich(e), much(e)*, E *much* < **mekja-*. The radical alternation of **līt-*, **lūt-* and **lutt-* remains unexplained, however. Until this alternation has been resolved, it will be difficult to find a good etymology. The comparisons with **lūtan-* 'to stoop' and OIr. *lútu* 'little finger' (cf. Elfd. *sår-ludd* 'finger stall'?) are futile, for instance, because they fail to account for the root variant **līt-*.

līþan- s.v. 'to go (by), pass' — Go. *ga-leiþan* s.v. 'to go, travel', ON *líða* s.v. 'to go, pass by; to pass away, to elapse', Far. *líða* s.v. 'to move smoothly, stride; to pass (away), elapse, proceed', Elfd. *laiða* s.v. 'to go by, pass', OE *līðan* s.v. 'to go, sail', OFri. *lītha* s.v. 'to go', OS *līthan* s.v. 'to go, leave', Du. *lijden* s.v. 'to suffer', OHG *līdan* s.v. 'to go, pass; to tolerate, suffer', G *leiden* s.v. 'to suffer' ⇒ **léit-e-* (IE) — ToAB *litā-* 'to pass on' < **léit-e-*; YAv. *iriθiieiti* 'to die, pass away' < **lit-ie-*; Gr. λοίτη f. 'tomb' < **loit-eh₂-*; Lat. *lītus, -oris* n. 'sea-shore, coast' < **leit-es-*.

A strong verb to the PIE root **leit-* 'to go (down)'. See also **laidjan-*.

liþu- m. 'member, body part' — Go. *liþus* m. 'id.', ON *liðr* m. 'joint', Far. *liður* m. 'joint; knot', Elfd. *lið* m. 'id.', OE *lið* m./n. 'joint', OFri. *lith* n. 'joint, articulation', OS *lith* m. 'id.', Du. *lid* n. 'id.', OHG *lid* m./n. 'id.', G *Glied* n. 'id.' (NEUR).

A derivation created to the same Baltic-Germanic root **lei-* as found in **limu-* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *liðugr* adj. 'smooth, lithe', OFri. *lethoch* adj. 'free', OE *liðig* adj. 'flexible', MHG *ledic* adj. 'free', G *ledig*, Du. *leeg* adj. 'empty'.

līþu- n. 'strong drink, cider' — Go. *leiþu* n. 'id.', ON *líð* n. 'id.', OE *līð* n. 'id.', OFri. *līth* n. 'id.', OS *līth* n. 'id.', OHG *līd* m./n. 'id.' ⇒ **l(é)h₃i-tu-* (IE) — Lith. *lýti* (*lyjù*) 'to rain', Latv. *lît* 'to flow, rain' (also cf. Lith. dial. *lytùs*, Latv. *lîts* m. 'rain' < **lh₃i-tu-*), OCS *-liti*, Ru. *lit'* (*l'ju*), SCr. *lìti* 'to pour' < **leh₃i-*.

A *tu*-stem created to the root **leh₃i-*, which itself appears to have split off from a PIE *i*-present 3sg. **lh₃-éi-ti*, 3pl. **lh₃-i-énti*, cf. Hitt. *laḫui* ~ *laḫuanzi* 'to pour, cast' < **lóh₃-u-ei*, **lh₃-u-énti*.

liznōn- w.v. 'to learn' — OE *leornian* w.v. 'id.', E *to learn*, OFri. *lirna*, *lerna* w.v. 'id.', OS *līnon* w.v. 'id.', OHG *lernōn*, *lernēn*, *lirnēn* w.v. 'id.', G *lernen* w.v. 'id.' (EUR).

An inchoative verb continuing a medio-passive factitive *neh₂*-present **lis-nh₂-* 'to make oneself know'. See also **lisan-*.

lōfan-* ~ *lappan- m. 'palm of the hand' — Go. *lofa* m. 'id.', ON *lófi* m. 'id.', Icel. *lófi* m. 'id.', Far. *lógvi* m. 'palm of the hand; small glove', *labbi* m. 'paw', Nw. *labb* m. 'paw, big hand', ME *lōve* 'palm of the hand', OHG *lappo* m., *laffa* f. 'palm of the hand; blade of an oar', MHG *laffe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **léh₂p-on-* (NEUR) — Ru. *lápa*, SCr. *làpa* f. 'paw', Lith. *lópa* f. 'id.' < **leh₂p-eh₂-* (the initial dental of Cz. *tlapa*, dial. *dlapa*, Pol. *dłapa* 'id.' was adopted from Cz. *dlaň*, Pol. *dłoń* 'palm of the hand' < **dòlnъ*).

An ablauting *n*-stem nom. **lōfō*, gen. **lappaz*, dat. **labeni* < **léh₂p-ōn*, **lh₂p-n-ós*, **lh₂p-én-i* (cf. Kauffmann 1887: 544; Lühr 1987: 68; Kroonen 2011a: 309-10). The allomorphy was resolved by the different daughter languages in several different ways, giving rise to a number of secondary root variants, e.g. Far. *labbi*, OHG *lappo* < **labban-* and OHG *laffa* < **lapōn-*.

The original genitival root is preserved by Icel. *lōpp* f. 'paw' < **lappō-*. Also cf. ON *glófi*, Far. *glógvi*, OE *glōf* m. 'glove' < **ga-lōfa(n)-*.

lōki- m. 'creek' — ON *lækr* m. 'brook, rivulet', Far. *løkur* m. 'brooklet' (DRV).

An *i*-stem with a secondary lengthened grade. Cf. without umlaut: Elfd. *luok* m. 'puddle'. Derived from the strong verb **lekan-* (q.v.).

lōma- m. 'betrayal' — Icel. *lómur* m. 'id.' (DRV).

A *mo*-stem created to the root of **lēwjan-* (q.v.), to be reconstructed as **loh₁u-mo-* (with the regular development **ōu* > **ō*). Further cf. Icel. *luma* w.v. 'to conceal' < **lh₁um-éh₁-* (through **lūmé-* < **luh₁-m-éh₁-* with pretonic shortening of the **ū*).

lōmi- adj. 'crippled(?)' — MDu. *loem* adj. 'dull', EDu. *loom* adj. 'sluggish', MHG *lüeme* adj. 'dull, pliant, mild' (DRV).

An adjective derived from the verbal root of **lamjan-* (q.v.) with a lengthened grade: originally a gerundive?

luba- n. 'praise' — ON *lof* n. 'praise; permission', Far. *lov* n. 'id.', Elfd. *luv* n. 'id.', OE *lof* n. 'praise', OFri. *lof* n. 'id.', Du. *lof* n. 'id.', OHG *lob* n. 'id.', G *Lob* n. 'id.' ⇒ **lubʰ-o-* (IE) — Skt. *lobháya-* 'to make crazy' < **leubʰ-éie-*; NP *ā-luftan* 'to be tangled, be hit down, be in love' < **lubʰ-*; CS *ljuby* f. 'love' < **leubʰ-uh₂-*; OCS *ljubiti*, Ru. *ljubít'* 'to love' < **leubʰ-eie-*; Lat. *lubet*, *-ēre* 'to please' < **lubʰ-eh₁-*.

A zero-grade formation, possibly derived from a lost strong verb **leuban-*. The same ablaut is also found in OE *lufu* f. 'love'. Also cf. the denominal ON *lofa* 'to praise; to allow', OE *lofian* 'to praise', OFri. *lovia* 'id.', OS *loƀon* 'id.', OHS *lobōn* 'id.' < **lubōjan-*. Go. *lubains* f. 'hope', on the other hand, presupposes a stative verb **lubēn-*, which is formally parallel to Lat. *lubēre* 'to love' < **lubʰ-eh₁-*.

lubja- n. 'herb, potion' — Go. *lubja-leisei* f. 'witchcraft', ON *lyf* n. 'medicine, healing herb', Elfd. *lyv* n. 'remedy', OE *lyb* n. 'medicine, drug, potion', MDu. *lubbe* n. 'rennet', OHG *luppi* n. 'poison, witchcraft', G Alem. *lupp* n. 'rennet' ⇒ **lubʰ-io-* (EUR) — OIr. *luib* f. 'herb, plant' < **lubʰ-ih₂/eh₂-*.

A concept associated with magic, which apparently also was thought to be an aspect of cheese-making in view of OHG *kāsi-luppa*, OE *cīes-lyb* 'rennet'. The term represents a Celtic-Germanic isogloss, but given the obvious etymological link with PGm. **lauba-* 'foliage', it seems likely that the word spread from Germanic to Celtic (not *vice versa*). It has alternatively been suggested by Hyllested 2010: 123, however, that both the Germanic and the Celtic word were adopted from Uralic **luppo*, cf. Fi. *luppo* 'lichen'.

ludēn- w.v. 'to dangle' — Icel. *loða* w.v. 'to hang down, stick to', *lodda* w.v. 'to dangle', Far. *loða* w.v. 'to hang down', Nw. *loda* w.v. 'to hang down, stick to' (GM).

Also cf. OHG *lotar* adj. 'loose, light-hearted, lazy' < **ludra-* and MDu. *loi*, Du. *lui* adj. 'lazy' < **luþja-*.

ludja/ō- n./f. 'face' — Go. *ludja* f. 'id.', OHG *ant-lutti* n. 'id.', G *Antlitz* n. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁lud^{h}-io-* (IE) — Av. *raoδa-* m. 'growth, shape' < **Hloud^{h}-o-*.

The formally attractive connection with OS *lud* 'generative power' < **ludja-*(?) and Go. *laudi* f. 'image' < **laudja* make it likely that the word was derived from **leudan-* 'to grow' (q.v.).

luftu- m. 'roof, air' — Go. *luftus* m. 'air', ON *loft* n. 'air, sky; loft', Far. *loft* n. 'air; ceiling, loft', Elfd. *lopt* n. 'id.' (< **lufta-*), OE *lyft* m./f./n. 'air, sky', OFri. *lufte, luft* f. 'id.', OS *luft* f. 'air', Du. *lucht* c. 'air, sky', OHG *luft* m./f. 'id.', G *Luft* f. 'id.' ⇒ **lub^{h}-tu-* (EUR).

A *tu*-stem derived from the same root as found in **lauba-* 'foliage'. The original meaning was 'roof', which in view of the etymological link with Ru. *lub* 'bast', OPru. *lubbo* 'bast, plank' may have been fashioned from patches of bark in Proto-Germanic times. Unrelated to Hitt. *alpa-* c. 'sky' (*pace* Puhvel 1984-: 1-2, 38).

lugi- adj. 'deceitful, false' — OE *lygge* adj. 'id.', OS *luggi* adj. 'deceitful', OHG *lucki* adj. 'id.', MHG *lüge, lücke* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

A WGm. gerundive **lugja-* (continuing older **lugi-*) to the strong verb **leugan-* 'to lie' (q.v.). Derivationally parallel to **flugi-* 'fledged' to **fleugan-* 'to fly' (q.v.).

luginō- f. 'lie, falsehood' — Far. *lygn* f. 'id.', Elfd. *lyngen* f. 'id.', OE *lygen* f. 'id.', OFri. *leine* f. 'id.', OS *lugina* f. 'id.', Du. *leugen* c. 'id.', OHG *lugina* f. 'id.', G *Lüge* f. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from **leugan-* with the same suffix as in **þakinō-* 'cover', for which see **þaka-*.

luhō- f. 'lynx' — OSw. *lō* f. 'id.', Elfd. *luo* f. 'id.' ⇒ **lúk-eh₂-* (EUR).

The feminine form of **luhsa-* (q.v.). Technically, ON *ló* can be reconstructed as both **lunhō-* (cf. Gr. λύγξ) and **luhō-*, but the first form is precluded by the non-nasal vowel of Elfd. *luo*.

luhsa- m. 'lynx' — OE *lox* m. 'id.', Du. *los* c. 'id.', OHG *luhs* m. 'id.', G *Luchs* m. 'id.' ⇒ **luk-so-* (EUR) — Gr. λύγξ m./f. 'lynx' < **lunḱ-*; Arm. *lusanun* 'lynx; hyena; marten', Lith. *lūšis*, dial. *lųnšis* m./f. 'lynx', OPru. *luysis* 'id.' < **luHḱ-*; Ru. *rýs'* m. 'id.' < **ruHḱ-i-*; MIr. *lug* m. 'lynx; warrior' < **lugu-*.

A European word for 'lynx'. The form **luhsa-* corresponds to the feminine **luhō-* (q.v.) as **fuhsa-* 'fox' to **fuhōn-* 'vixen', but in spite of this regular proportion, it is difficult to reconstruct a proto-form beyond Germanic. All potential cognates show some kind of irregular sound correspondence: the laryngeal of Baltic, the *r* of Slavic, the *n* of Greek, the *g* of Irish. Perhaps, these irregularities result from multiple tabooistic distortions. The alternative is to assume repeated borrowing from a non-Indo-European language (or languages).

luka- n. 'weed(s)' — ON *lok* n. 'id.', Far. *lok* n. 'id.', Sw. dial. *luk* 'id.', EDa. *lug* 'id.' (DRV).

The etymological link with Gr. λύγος 'twig' (e.g. Falk/Torp 1960: 653) is formally apt, but since the Germanic word was derived directly from to strong verb **leukan-* ~ **lūkan-* 'to pull' (q.v.), the formal and semantic match with the Greek word is likely to be coincidental.

lukka- m. 'tuft' — ON *lokkr* m. 'lock of hair', Far. *lokkur* m. 'id.', OE *loc* m. 'id.', E *lock*, Du. *lok* c. 'id.', OHG *loc* m. 'id.', G *Locke* f. 'id.' (DRV).

An *a*-stem that in view of Cimb. *lock* m. 'tuft of wool' must have been derived from the strong verb **leukan-* ~ **lūkan-* 'to pull' (cf. also **luka-* 'weeds'). There is no direct link with Lith. *lùgnas* adj. 'flexible' (*pace* Pokorny IEW: 685-6).

luk(k)ōn- w.v. 'to caress, lure, entice' — ON *lokka* w.v. 'to allure, entice', Elfd. *lukka* w.v. 'id.', OE *a-loccian* w.v. 'to entice', *ge-loccian* w.v. 'to caress', MDu. *locken* w.v. 'to entice', Du. *lokken* w.v. 'id.', OHG *lockōn*, *lohhōn* w.v. 'id.', G *locken* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **lug$^{(h)}$-néh$_2$-* (NEUR) — Lith. *lù(n)ginti* 'to allure, fondle' < **lug$^{(h)}$-n̥h$_2$-*.

An iterative verb of ambiguous origin. It is usually derived from **leugan-* 'to lie' or connected to Lith. *lugóti* 'to ask' (cf. Falk/Torp 1960: 653). Alternatively, it has been interpreted as belonging to **leukan-* ~ **lūkan-* 'to pull' with a semantic shift of 'to attract' to 'to entice'. The Germanic meaning 'to entice', however, clearly developed from a more primitive 'to caress', which occurs both in Old Norse and Old High German. A more suitable cognate therefore is Lith. *lù(n)ginti*, which similarly combines both meanings. In addition, it is formally parallel to the Pre-Germanic *neh$_2$*-present, and thus allows us to explain the variation of OHG *lockōn* < **lukkōn-* and *lohhōn* < **lukōn-* as resulting from an iterative paradigm 3sg. **lukkōþi*, 3pl. **lukunanþi* < **lug-néh$_2$-ti*, **lug-nh$_2$-énti*.

lumēn- w.v. 'to beat' — Icel. *luma* w.v. 'to beat, thrash' ⇒ **h$_3$lmh$_1$-eh$_1$-* (EUR) — Lith. *lìmti* (*lìmstu*, *limaũ*) 'to bend, stoop', dial. 'to break', Latv. *lîmt*^{2} 'to slip, collapse', OPru. *limtwei* 'to break' < **h$_3$lmh$_1$-*.

A stative formation closely related to **lamjan-* (q.v.).

lunda/ō- m./f. 'grove' — ON *lundr* m. 'id.', Icel. *lundur* m. 'id.', Far. *lund* f. 'id.', Sw. *lund* c. 'id.' ⇒ **lnd^{h}-o/eh$_2$-* (EUR) — Ir. *land* m./f. 'land, ground, plot; house, building, church', MW *llann* f. 'church-yard', OPru. *lindan* acc. 'valley', Ru. *ljadá* f. 'recently overgrown land, fallow land' < **lnd^{h}-o/eh$_2$-* (also cf. CS *lędina*, SCr. *lèdina, ledìna* f. 'id.').

A zero-grade formation closely related to **landa-* (q.v.).

lund(j)ō- f. 'fat' — ON *lund* f. 'mind, temper', Far. *lund* f. 'disposition', pl. 'internal back muscles, tenderloin', OE *lynd* f. 'fat', OHG *lunda* f. 'tallow' ⇒ **lnd^{h}-(i)eh$_2$-* (IE).

A zero-grade formation related to **landjō-* (q.v.). With OE *lynd* < **lundǐ-*, it is possible to postulate an ablauting *ih$_2$*-stem nom. **landī*, gen. **lundjōz*.

lungōn- f. 'lung' — ON *lungu* n.pl. 'id.', Far. *lunga* n. 'id.', Elfd. *lungga* f. 'id.', E *lung*, OS *lunga* f. 'id.', Du. *long* c. 'id.', OHG *lungun* f.pl. 'id.', G *Lunge* f. 'id.' ⇒ **h$_1$lng^{wh}-on-* (IE) — Arm. *lanǰ-k'* pl. 'breast' < **h$_1$lng^{wh}-ih$_1$-* (Beekes 2003: 178, 190).

A neuter *n*-stem derived from the stem of **lungra-* 'light' (q.v.). For the semantic development, cf. Ru. *lëgkoe*, which belongs to Ru. *lëgkij* adj. 'light' < **h$_1$lng^{wh}-u-*, Lat. *leve iecur*, EDu. *lichte* 'lung', E *lights* pl. 'lungs (esp. of cattle)'. Also cf. OE *lungen*, OFri. *lungen(e)*, OS *lungannia*, OHG *lungunna* f. 'lung' < **lungunjō-*. There probably is no link with ON *lungi* m. 'core, essence'.

lungra- adj. 'quick, light' — OE *lungre* adv. 'id.', OHG *lungar* adj. 'easy, quick', MHG *lunger* adj. 'quick, happy' ⇒ **h$_1$lng^{wh}-ro-* (IE).

A PIE *ro*-stem identical to Gr. ἐλαφρός adj. 'light, nimble, quick, small'. Related to **linhta-* (q.v.).

luniz- n. 'linchpin' — OE *lynis* m. 'id.', E *linch*, OS *lunis* m. 'id.', MDu. *lunse, lense* f. 'id.', Du. *luns* c. 'id.', OHG *lun* f. 'id.', G *Lünse* f. 'id.' (GM).

All dialectal variants split off from a primary *s*-stem **lunaz*, gen. **lunizaz*: 1. OHG *lun* < **luni(z)-*; 2. OE *lynis*, OS *lunis* < **lunisa-*; 3. MDu. *lunse*, G *Lünse* < **lunisō-*. MDu. *lense* could theoretically be based on a full-grade root (Franck 1949: 404), thus implying a paradigm nom. **lenaz*, gen. **lunizaz* < **lénH-os*, **lnH-és-os*. Extra-Gm. parallels are lacking, however, and *lense* may actually be a Frisianism, the expected outcome of PGm. **lunisō-* being **lense* in Old Frisian. The traditionally compared Skt. *āṇí-* 'axle-pin, linchpin; part of the leg above the knee' as well as ToB *yoñiye* 'hip' were borrowed from a lost language in Central Asia (Pinault 2003).

luppōn- f. 'flea' — Far. *loppa* f. 'id.', OSw. *loppa* f. 'id.', Elfd. *luppa* f. 'id.', OE *loppe* f. 'id.' (GM).

An Anglo-Norse words perhaps created to MHG *lupfen*, *lüpfen* w.v. 'to lift (oneself) up, hop' < **luppjan-*.

lusti- f. 'loss' — Go. *fra-lusts* f. 'id.', OS *far-lust* f. 'id.', OHG *for-lust* f. 'id.', G *Ver-lust* m. 'id.' (DRV).

A *ti*-stem derived from **leusan-* 'to lose' (q.v.).

lustu- m. 'desire, lust' — Go. *lustus* m. 'id.', OE *lust* m. 'id.', E *lust*, OFri. *lust* m./f. 'id.', OS *lust* f. 'id.', Du. *lust* c. 'id.', OHG *lust* m./f. 'id.', G *Lust* f. 'id.' (DRV) — Gr. λιλαίομαι 'to desire, long for' < **li-lh₂s-ie-*; Lat. *lascīvus* adj. 'playful, unrestrained' < **lh₂s-sko-* (plus *īvus*-suffix); OIr. *lainn* adj. 'avaricious' < **lh₂s-ni-*; Ru. *lásyj*, Pol. obs. *łasy* adj. 'greedy, eager' < **leh₂s-o-*; Lith. *lokšnùs* adj. 'sensitive' < **leh₂s-nu-* (with secondary *k* emerging before sibilants in acute syllables).

A *tu*-stem to a verbal root **lus-* (it was replaced by an *n*-stem in ON *losti* m. 'id.' < **lustan-*, just as in the case of **þurstu-* 'thirst', q.v.). The Germanic root **lus-* has often been compared to the PIE root **lh₂s-* 'to desire' as supported by the aforementioned non-Germanic forms, but this connection can only be maintained by assuming an awkward secondary zero grade. Perhaps then, the word was simply derived from the strong verb **leusan-* 'to lose, be empty' (q.v.) through a semantic shift 'idle' > 'frivolous' > 'lustful'. Further cf. the denominal OE *lystan*, E *to list*, OS *lustian*, Du. *lusten*, OHG *lusten*, G *lüsten* < **lustjan-*.

****lūtan-*** s.v. 'to stoop, bend forward' — ON *lúta* s.v. 'id.', Far. *lúta* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *lauta* s.v. 'id.', OE *lūtan* s.v. 'id.', E *to lout* (DRV).

In view of the long **ū* of this strong verb, it is likely to be a back-formation to the iterative **luttōn-* (q.v.). The root-final **t* may then continue a Pre-Germanic geminate **tt*. Also cf. Far. *lotur* adj. 'curved (of a ship's deck); embarrassed' < **luta-* and Elfd. *lutå*, obl. *lutu* f. 'slope' < **lutō-*.

****lutta-*** n. 'puddle(?)' — G Rhnl. *Lotz* n. 'deep spot in a creek (to scoop water)' ⇒ **lut-no-* (WEUR?) — OIr. *loth* f. 'mud, mire', Lat. *lutum* 'mud' < **lut-o/eh₂-*.

An obscure word with only a few uncertain cognates in the Italo-Celtic languages.

****luttōn-*** w.v. 'to stoop, droop(?)' — Nw. *lota* w.v. 'to be askew, slanted', G Rhnl. *lotzen* w.v. 'to feel drowsy, sleep' ⇒ **lud(h)-néh₂-* (GM).

The iterative to the strong verb **lūtan-* 'to stoop' (q.v.). It is identical to **lud(d)ōn-* 'to dangle', cf. Icel. *loða*, *lodda*, Far. *loða*, Nw. *loda* w.v. 'to hang

down; to stick (to)', which would imply that the PGm. root was **luþ-* or **lud-* rather than **lut-*. Outside Germanic, the word has been connected to OIr. *lott* m. 'damage, destruction', but it is unclear whether this form can be derived from **lud$^{(h)}$-no-*, as *n*-gemination (Stokes' law) remains controversial in Celtic.

M

****madrōn-*** f. 'madder' — ON *maðra* f. 'id.', Nw. *modre* f. 'id.', OE *mædere, mæddre* f. 'id.', E *madder*, MHG *matare, metere* f. 'id.' (IE?).

A herbaceous scrambling plant cultivated as early as the 14th century BCE in the East Mediterranean (Zohary/Hopf 2000: 210) for the reddish-purple dye obtained from the root. ON *maðra*, OE *mædre* and OHG *matara* go back to a proto-form **mad(a)rōn-* (cf. Fi. *matara*, Latv. *madaras*). It has furthermore been argued that MLG, MDu. *mede* f. 'id.', Du. *mee-krap* 'id.' and WFri. *miede* 'id.' represent an ablauting formation **mēdjōn-* (Franck 1949: 418) or even **maidōn-* (Torp 1909: 306), but I assume that this is the Frisian outcome of a variant **madōn-* that spread to the surrounding Saxon and Franconian dialects. No certain etymology. Pokorny IEW: 747 connects CS *modrъ*, Cz. *modrý*, SCr. *modar* adj. 'blue' < PSlav. **mo̯drъ*, which can be related to Hitt. *antara-* adj. 'id.' < **md^{h}-ro-* (Machek 1949: 131-2). Perhaps, Germanic had a related adjective **madra-* that served as the derivational base for **madrōn-*. Or was the Slavic adjective borrowed from Germanic?

****magan-*** m. 'stomach' — ON *magi* m. 'id.', Far. *magi* m. 'id.', Elfd. *magi* m. 'id.', OE *maga* m. 'id.', E *maw*, OFri. *maga* m. 'id.', Du. *maag* c. 'id.', OHG *mago* m. 'id.', G *Mage* m. 'id.' ⇒ **mok-on-* (EUR/NIE) — Lith. *mãkas*, Latv. *maks* m. 'id.'; OPru. *danti-max* 'gums' < **mak-o-*; OCS *mošьna* f. 'small bag, scrip', Ru. *mošná* f. 'pouch, purse', SCr. *mȍšnja* 'purse, scrotum' < **mok-in-eh$_2$-*; MW *megin* f. 'bellows', MBret. *meguin*, Bret. *megin* f. 'id.' < PCelt. **mokīnā*.

A European word with no IE etymology. The occurrence of a plain **k* could point to a non-IE origin. Also cf. Swi. (App.) *megə* 'rennet', EDu. *meghe* 'whey; curd' < **magīn-*(?).

****magaþi-*** f. 'girl, maiden' — Go. *magaþs** f. 'id.', OE *mæg(e)ð* f. 'id.', E *maid*, OFri. *megith* f. 'id.', OS *magath* f. 'id.', Du. *maagd* f. 'id.', OHG *magad* f. 'id.', G *Magd* f. 'id.' ⇒ **mag^{h}-ot-i-* (DRV).

A feminine derived from **magu-* (q.v.). The feminizing suffix **-aþi-* has been analyzed as an indication that the word was borrowed from a language related to Semitic, since this language family has a productive femi-

nizing *t*-suffix (Vennemann 2002; Boutkan 2003: 11-17). PIE did have semantically comparable *t*-stems as well, however, cf. PGm. **nefan-* 'cousin' < **nép-ot-*. It is not implausible, therefore, that PGm. **magaþi-* inherited a PIE suffix **-ot-i-*. Further evidence for this derivational element comes from the Middle Flemish suffix *-ede* < **-aþǐ-*, which was often added to masculine *n*-stems, cf. MDu. *graefnede* 'countess' to *grafe* 'count' < **ga-rēfan-* and *swasenede* 'sister-in-law' to an unattested **swase* 'brother-in-law' < **swēsan-*. Also cf. **brūdi-* 'bride'.

magra- adj. 'lean' — ON *magr* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *mager* adj. 'id.', OE *mæger* adj. 'id.', E *meager* (= Anglo-Norman *megre, meigre*), Du. *mager* adj. 'id.', OHG *magar* adj. 'id.', G *mager* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **mḫ₂ḱ-ró-* (IE) — Identical to Gr. μακρός adj. 'long', Lat. *macer* adj. 'thin, lean'; also Hitt. *maklant-* adj. 'thin, meagre' < **meh₂ḱ-l-ent-*.

An old *ro*-stem, with regular vocalization of the laryngeal between initial *m* and a consonantal element. Elfd. *maungen* w.v. 'to lose weight' < **magnan-* is based on the suffixless form. For another word with approximately the same meaning, see **hurha-*.

magu- m. 'boy, relative' — Go. *magus* m. 'boy', ON *mǫgr* m. 'id.', OE *magu* m. 'child, young man, son', OFri. *mach* n. 'child', OS *magu* m. 'son', OHG *maga-zoho* 'nurturer' ⇒ **magʰ-u-* (WEUR) — OIr. *mug* 'servant', Corn. *maw* 'id.' < **magʰ-u-*.

A West European word of obscure origin. See also **magaþi-*, **mawī-* and **mēga-*.

mahti- f. 'strength' — Go. *mahts* f. 'id.', OE *meaht, miht* f. 'id.', E *might*, OFri. *macht* f. 'id.', OS *maht* f. 'id.', Du. *macht* c. 'id.', OHG *maht* f. 'id.', G *Macht* f. 'id.' (DRV).

A *ti*-stem derived from the preterite-present **mugan-* (q.v.). ON *máttr* m. 'id.' continues a *tu*-stem **mahtu-*.

maida- m. 'post' — ON *meiðr* m. 'beam; log, tree', Icel. *meiður* m. 'id.', Nw. *mei* m. 'skid', Sw. *med* c. 'beam; skid' ⇒ **moi-to-* (IE) — Latv. *mìets* m. 'post, stick' < **moi-to-*.

A *to*-stem derived from a PIE root **mei-*, cf. Skt. *minóti* 'to fix, build' < **mi-neu-* and Latv. *mìet* (*meju, mìenu*) 'to set a post' < **moi-ie-*. Related to **mairja-* 'mooring-post' (q.v.).

maidjan- w.v. 'to damage, hurt' — ON *meiða* w.v. 'to hurt; to damage, destroy', Far. *meiða* w.v. 'to injure a limb' ⇒ **moith₂-éie-* (IE) — Skt. *méthati* 'to hurt' < **móitH-e-*; Gr. μίτυλος adj. 'mutilated' < **mitH-ulo-*; OLith.

ap-maitinti 'to wound' < **-moitH-neh₂-*; Latv. *màitât* 'to spoil, destroy' < **moitH-eh₂-ie-*.

A causative probably related to **maitan-* and **mittōn-* (q.v.).

maina- adj. 'common' — Go. *ga-mains* adj. 'shared, communal, common, vulgar', OE *ge-mǣne* adj. 'common', E *mean*, OS *gi-mēni* adj. 'joined, common, ordinary', Du. *ge-meen* adj. 'mean; common', OHG *gi-mein, gi-meini* adj. 'common, public', G *ge-mein* adj. 'mean; common' ⇒ **kom-moi-no-* (IE) — Lat. *commūnis* adj. 'common, general' < **kom-moi-no-*; Lith. *maĩnas* m. 'exchange' < **moi-no-*.

An formation that in view of the parallelism with Lat. *commūnis* must have arisen prior to the rise of Germanic as a separate language. The adjective is also attested without a prefix, in the PGm. word for 'perjury', cf. ON *mein-eiðr*, OE *mān-āþ*, OFri. *mēna ēth*, OS *mēnēth*, Du. *mein-eed*, OHG *mein-eid*, G *Mein-eid* < **maina-aiþa-* 'false oath'.

mainjan- w.v. 'to think' — OE *mǣnian* w.v. 'to mean, intend', E *to mean*, OFri. *mēna* w.v. 'to mean, believe; to suspect; to intend', OS *mēnian* w.v. 'to mean, mention', Du. *menen* w.v. 'to think', OHG *meinen* w.v. 'to mean; to believe; to say', G *meinen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **moin-eie-* (WEUR) — OCS *měniti* 'to suppose, think, reckon', SCr. *mijeniti* 'to think, say, remember' < **moin-eie-*; OIr. *mían* f. 'desire; inclination' < **mein-eh₂-*.

A Germanic-Baltic causative formation. Also cf. OFri. *mēne* f. 'opinion', OHG *meina* f. 'meaning, intention, opinion' < **main(j)ō-*.

mairja- n. 'mooring-post' — ON *landa-mæri* n. 'border post', OE *land-gemǣre* n. 'id.', MDu. *mere, meer* f. 'post, boundary, mooring-post; pillory', Du. *meer-paal* c. 'mooring-post' ⇒ **moi-r-io-* (IE) — Lat. *mūrus* m. 'wall' < **moi-ro-*; Skt. *minóti* 'to fix, build', OIr. *do-dímen** 'to fix, tie' < *mi-neu-*; YAv. *bərəzi-mita-* adj. 'highly built' < **mi-to-*.

A formation related to **maida-* 'post' (q.v.). Also cf. OE *mǣrels-rāp* 'mooring-rope' < **mairisla-* and MDu. *meren* w.v. 'to moor; to mark with posts; to dwell', Du. *aan-meren* 'to moor', ME *mōren* 'to take root, fasten, fix', E *to moore* < **mairōjan-*, whence British NLat. *moragium* 'moorage'. MDu. *maren* 'to moor' is an Ingvaeonism and LG *ver-moren* was probably borrowed from English.

maisa- m. 'backpack' — ON *meiss* m. 'wooden box, basket', Far. *meis* f. 'net basket; net stretched on frame on which corn is dried; certain amount of corn; tousled hair', Nw. *meis* m./f. 'wicker basket, wicker backpack, haynet' (< **maisa/ō-*), MDu. *mese* f. 'basket, hamper', OHG *meis(s)a* f. 'carriage' (< **mais-jō-*), MHG *meise* f. 'a frame to carry on the back' (< **maisjō-*) ⇒ **mois-o-* (IE) — Lith. *maĩšas* m. 'bag, sack', Latv. *màiss* m. 'bag', OPru. *moasis*

'bellows', OCS *měxъ* m. 'wine-skin', Ru. *mex* m. 'fur', dial. 'bag', SCr. *mȉjeh* m. 'bellows, wine-skin' < **mois-o-*.

If its original meaning was 'skin-bag', the Germanic word can be equated with Skt. *meṣá-* m. 'ram' and Gr. μεῖον n. 'sacrificial sheep or lambs'. De Vries 1962: 382 rejected this linkage in view of the supposed primary meaning 'net', but this sense can no doubt be secondary.

maisōn- f. 'titmouse' — Icel. *-meisa* f. 'id.', Nw. *meis* f. 'id.' (< **maisō-*), OE *māse* f. 'id.', E *tit-mouse* (with *-mouse* supplanting regular **-mose*), MDu. *mese* f. 'id.', Du. *mees* c. 'id.', OHG *meisa* f. 'id.', G *Meise* f. 'id.' (GM).

An exclusively Germanic bird name. It is often compared to W *myalch* 'thrush' < **meis-alkō-*, but this word is more likely to be connected with PGm. **amslōn-* 'blackbird' (q.v.). The internally Germanic derivation from Nw. *meis* adj. 'weak' (De Vries 1962: 382; Strathmann 2008: 2, 414) is formally possible, but the adjective is absent from the dictionaries and may be a ghost word. Presumably, Nw. *meis* m. 'titmouse; weak person' (cf. Elfd. *mįes* m. 'titmouse') was mistaken for an adjective. With secondary suffixation, cf. ON *meisingr* m. 'id.' and ODu. **mēsinga* as continued by MLat. *misinga*, OFr. *mesinga*, Fr. *mésange* < **maisinga/ō-*.

maitan- s.v. 'to hew, cut' — Go. *maitan* s.v. 'id.', ON *meita* w.v. 'id.', OHG *meizan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *meizen* s.v. 'id.' (DRV).

An *o*-grade intensive verb. The root-final **t* points to contamination with or derivation from the related iterative **mittōn-* 'to cut' (q.v.). In view of the presumably related causative **maidjan-* 'to hurt' it seems reasonable, at any rate, to assume that the original form of the verb was **maiþan-*. As a result, the reconstruction of a PIE root **meid-* (Pokorny IEW: 697) must be abandoned. See further **amaitjō-* and **mītōn-* 'mite'.

maiwa- 1 adj. 'slim, narrow' — ON *mjórr* adv. 'id.', Far. *mjáur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *mjǫ* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **moiH-uo-* (IE).

A *wa*-stem identical to ToB *maiwe* adj. 'young' < **moiH-uo-*. Derived from the PIE root **meiH-*, for which cf. **minniz* comp. 'smaller, less'.

maiwa- 2 m. 'sea-gull' — ON *már*, *mór* m. 'id.', Icel. *máfur*, *mávur* m. 'id.', Far. *má(v)ur* m. 'id.', OE *māw* m. 'id.', Du. *meeuw* c. 'id.', OHG *mēh* m. 'id.', G *Möwe* m. 'id.' (= LG) (GM?).

An exclusively Germanic word. The traditional comparison with Skt. *mécaka-* 'blue' is a mere shot in the dark. Schrijver 1997: 305 more appropriately compared the word to OFr. *moue*, Picardian *mauve* 'gull', which he assumed to continue a loanword from Celtic **maw-*. The alternation with PGm. **maiw-* would then point to a non-Indo-European word. It cannot be excluded, however, that the Old French word was borrowed from Germanic

*maiwa-. Further cf. OE *mæw*, *mēaw* m. 'id.', E *mew* < **maiwi-* as well as the Nordic diminutives Far. *másí*, Nw. *måse*, Sw. *mås* < **-san-* and Sw. *måke*, Da. *måge* < **-kan-*. The latter formation was presumably adopted by Frisian and Dutch as *mok* 'sea-gull'.

maizan- comp. 'more' — Go. *maiza* comp. 'id.', ON *meiri* comp. 'id.', OE *māra* comp. 'id.', E *more*, OFri. *māra*, *mēra* comp. 'id.', OS *mēro* comp. 'id.', Du. *meer* comp. 'id.', OHG *mēro* comp. 'id.', G *mehr* comp. 'id.' ⇒ **méh₂-is-on-* (IE) — OIr. *mór* adj. 'great' < **meh₂-ro-*; W *mwy* comp. 'more' < **meh₂-iōs* (Osc. *mais* comp. 'id.' does not belong here, but is to be equated with Lat. *magis* with *schwa secundum* as in *maior* < **mǵ-ios-* (cf. **mekila-*).

Since PIE comparatives in **-is-* had root stress, the fact that Verner's law operated in **maizan-* proves that the word originally must have been trisyllabic, i.e. **mǎisan-* < PIE **méh₂is-on-*. Just like the development of PGm. **winda-* 'wind' < PIE **h₂uéh₁-ento-*, this comparative thus demonstrates that Verner's law preceded Osthoff's law. This again implies that Osthoff's law in Germanic must be separated from Osthoff's law in Greek and Latin. As for the etymology of the root **meh₂-*, it is likely, in my opinion, that it served as the basis for the comparative and superlative suffix PIE **-m̥h₂(-on)-* > PGm. **-uman-*, cf. Go. *auhuma* 'higher' < **ufuman-* < **up-m̥h₂-on-*, etc.

maka- adj. 'fit, comfortable' — ON *makr* adj. 'easy to deal with; suitable', Far. *makur* adj. 'quite, still, calm', MDu. *ge-mak* adj. 'settled, calm, pleasant', Du. *mak* adj. 'tame', OHG *gi-mah* adj. 'modest, suitable', MHG *ge-mach* adj. 'appropriate, convenient, pleasant' (IE?) — OIr. *mám* 'yoke' < **mag-mo-*(?); Lith. *mégti* (*mégiu*) 'to like', Latv. *mêgt* 'to be able' < **meg-ie-*.

An adjective with an original meaning 'fit, suitable' (cf. **makan-* 'match'). It served as the derivational base for the weak verb OE *macian* 'to prepare, make', E *to make*, OFri. *makia* 'id.', OS *(gi-)makon* 'to make, form, fix', Du. *maken* 'to make', OHG *mahhōn* 'id.', G *machen* 'id.' < **makōjan-*. Under the assumption that the original meaning was 'to knead', the verb is usually compared to Gr. μάσσω 'to knead, mold; to wipe' < **mh₂ǵ-ie* and OCS *mazati* 'to anoint', SCr. *màzati* 'to smear' < **meh₂ǵ-eh₂-*. The original meaning is more likely to have been 'to match, put together', however, which renders these connections obsolete. The etymological link with the aforementioned non-Germanic forms is more attractive, but the reconstruction of a PIE root **meg-* nevertheless remains uncertain.

makan- m. 'match' — ON *maki* m. 'id.', Far. *maki* m. 'equal, peer; spouse', Elfd. *matji* m. 'spouse; match', OE *ge-maca* m. 'mate, equal, companion', ME *make* 'spouse', OS *gi-mako* m. 'comrade', OHG *ga-mahho* m. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from **makōjan-*, for which see **maka-* adj. 'fit'. Also cf. OE *ge-mæcca* m. 'match' < **ga-makjan-* and - for the original meaning 'to fix up'

- OFri. *mekere* m. 'matchmaker', MDu. *maekelaer* m. 'matchmaker, intermediary, middle-man', Du. *makelaar* c. 'broker'.

malan- s.v. 'to grind' — Go. *malan* s.v. 'id.', ON *mala* s.v. 'id.', Far. *mala* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *målå* s.v. 'id.', OS *malan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *malen* s./w.v. 'id.', OHG *malan* s.v. 'id.', G *mahlen* s./w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **mólh₁-e-* (IE) — Hitt. *mallai* ~ *mallanzi* 'to grind' < **mólh₁-ei*, **mlh₁-énti*; Lat. *molō*, *-ere* 'id.', Arm. *malem* 'to crush', Lith. *málti* (*malù*), Latv. *maĩt* 'to grind' < **mólh₁-e-*; OCS *mlěti* 'id.', Ru. *molót'* (*meljú*), SCr. *mljȅti* 'id.', OIr. *meilid* 'id.' < **melh₁-ie-*; Skt. *mṛṇáti* 'to crush, grind' < **ml-néh₁-*.

An *o*-grade intensive verb. Related to **malwjan-* and **melwa-* (q.v.).

maldjō- f. 'saltbush, orache' — Nw. *svine-melde* f. 'id.', OSw. *mæld* f. 'id.', OE *melde* f. 'id.', OS *maldia* f. 'id.', Du. *melde* c. 'id.', OHG *melta*, *melda* f. 'id.', G *Melde* f. 'id.' ⇒ **molt-ieh₂-*(?) (NIE?).

An etymologically obscure plant name. If Gr. βλίτον, βλῆτον n. 'purple amaranth' is connected (thus Pokorny IEW: 716-9), it would point to a non-IE word varying between **melt-*, **mlit-* and **mlēt-*. The Germanic word, however, is not to be reconstructed as **meldō-* (*pace* Torp 1909: 317) in view of OS *maldia* and the more primary formation Sw. *molla* and G Cimb. *malda* < **maldō-*. The proto-form **meldō-* is also contradicted by Fi. *maltsa* 'chickweed' < PFi. **malćća* (cf. LÄGLOS, II, 248-9), although this word could also have been borrowed from the potentially unrelated **maldja-*, cf. Nw. *melde* n. 'seeds from weeds mixed with grain', dial. *melde-stokk* m. 'goosefoot, *Chenopodium album*'.

malha/ō- m./f. 'bag' — ON *malr* m. 'knapsack', MDu. *male* f. 'pouch, purse, bag', OHG *malaha* f. 'bag, knapsack', MHG *malhe* f. 'leather bag' ⇒ **molk-* (LW) — To Gr. μολγός m. 'bag made of cowhide'?

No IE etymology. Even if the supposed link with Gr. μολγός is correct, the word still exhibits a formal mismatch with PGm. **malha-*. It has therefore been suggested that we are dealing with a Thracian word (Pokorny IEW: 747) or a prehistoric *Wanderwort* (Furneé 1972: 126).

malta- adj. 'soft; gone bad(?)' — ON *maltr* adj. 'bitter', OHG *malz* adj. 'mild' ⇒ **mold-o-* (IE) — OCS *mlad*ъ adj. 'young', Ru. *molodój* adj. 'id.', SCr. *mlâd* adj. 'id.' < **mold-o-*.

An adjective derived from the strong verb **meltan-* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *malt*, Far. *malti*, Elfd. *molt*, OE *mealt*, Du. *mout*, OHG *malz*, G *Malz* 'malt' < **malta-*.

maltjan- w.v. 'to make dissolve' — Go. *ga-maltjan** w.v. 'to dissolve', ON *melta* w.v. 'to malt for brewing; to digest', Far. *melta* w.v. 'to break, smash,

crush; to digest, dissolve in the stomach', OE *mieltan* w.v. 'to (make) melt', ODu. *gi-meltian* w.v. 'to malt' ⇒ **mold-éie-* (IE) — Skt. *mradáyati* 'to make soft' < **mlod-éie-*; Skt. *mṛdnāti* 'to crush' < **mld-neh₂-*; OAv. *mōrəṇdaṭ* 3sg.pres.inj. 'to ruin, crush' < **ml-n-d-e-*.

The causative to **meltan-* (q.v.). Of all Germanic languages, only Faroese seems to have preserved the original meaning 'to crush'. It thus directly corresponds to Skt. *mṛdnāti*. The meaning 'to be weak' probably developed from 'to be crushed' in medio-passive use of the verb.

malwjan- w.v. 'to crush, pound' — Go. *ga-malwjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *mølva* w.v. 'id.' (IE).

A causative formation containing the suffix **-wjan-*, for which cf. **kaizwjan-* 'to turn'. Related to **malan-* 'to grind' (q.v.).

mampjan- w.v. 'to mock, scorn' — Go. *bi-mampjan* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A causative or intensive formation created to the iterative **mump/bōn-* (q.v.).

managa- adj. 'many' — Go. *managS* adj. 'id.', ON *mangr*, *margr* (with assimilation) adj. 'id.', Far. *mangur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *maung* adj. 'id.', OE *manig*, *monig*, *menig* adj. 'id.', E *many*, OFri. *manich*, *monich*, *menich* adj. 'id.', WFri. *mennich* adj. 'id.', OS *manag* adj. 'id.', Du. *menig* adj. 'id.', OHG *manag*, *manīg* adj. 'id.', G *manch* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **monogʰ-o-* (NIE) — OCS *мъnogъ* adj. 'much, many', Ru. *mnógij* adj. 'much, many, numerous', SCr. *mnȍgī* adj. 'much, many, numerous' < **munogʰo-*; OIr. *menic*, Ir. *minic* 'often', MW *mynych* 'id.' < PCelt. **menekki-*.

A Northwest Indo-European word that due to the irregular formal correspondences cannot be reconciled into a single proto-form. It has therefore been suggested that the word was borrowed from a non-IE source (Boutkan 1998: 124-5; Schrijver 2001: 422). This view is strengthened by the no doubt connected Fi. *moni*, which cannot have been borrowed from Germanic. The connection with Lith. *minià* f. 'crowd' (Schulze 1913: 333) must at any rate be abandoned, as this word was derived from the unrelated Lith. *minti* 'to tread'.

mandula- m. 'handle on a grinding mill' — ON *mǫndull* m. 'id.', Far. *mondul* m. 'id.' (IE) — Skt. *mánthati*, *mathnắti* 'to whirl round' < **ménth-e-*, **mnt-néH-*; Skt. *manthắ-* m. 'churning stick, whirl' < **montH-eh₂-*; Lith. *meñtė* f. 'shoulder blade, paddle, trowel', Latv. *meñte* f. 'ladle, stirring spoon' < **mentH-ieh₂-*; Lith. *mę̃sti* (*menčiù*) 'to mix', OCS *męsti* 'to stir, trouble', Ru. *mjastí* 'id.', SCr. *mésti* 'to disturb, mix, stir' < **mentH-*.

An instrumental noun derived from the PIE root **me-n-tH-* 'to stir'. G *Mangel*, dial. *Mandel* f. 'mangle' does not belong here, but was borrowed

from Romance, cf. It. *mangano* m. 'mangle; pressing machine; calendar' < Lat. *manganum* n. 'military catapult, mangonel', which in turn was adopted from Greek μάγγανον n. 'philtre; catapult; block of a pulley; hunting-net'.

mangjan- w.v. 'to mix' — OE *mengan* w.v. 'id.', OFri. *mengia* w.v. 'id.', OS *mengian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *mengen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *mengen* w.v. 'id.', G *mengen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **monHk-éie-* (NEUR) — Lith. *mánkyti* 'to knead' < **monHk-eie-*; unrelated to OCS *mǫka*, Ru. *muká*, SCr. *múka* f. 'flour' < **monHk-eh₂-*.

Also cf. OE *ge-mong* 'crowd', OS *gi-mang* 'id.', MDu. *ge-manc* m./n. 'mingling, company' (whence E *among*), MDu. *ge-manc* adj. 'mixed' < **ga-manga-* and ON *manga* w.v. 'to barter', OE *ge-mangian* w.v. 'to mix; to trade', OS *mangon* w.v. 'to trade', MDu. *mangelen* w.v. 'to mingle; to exchange; to argue' < **(ga-)mangōjan-*. ON *mengdr*, *mengjaðr*, *menginn* 'mixed, blended' is considered to be a Low German loanword.

mangō- f. 'lack' — MHG *manc* f. 'id.' ⇒ **monk-éh₂-* (IE) — ToA *mänkā-* 'to be guilty', ToB *mäṅkā-* 'to be inferior, lack' < **m(e)nk-*; Lat. *mancus* adj. 'maimed' < **monk-o-* (with unclear *a*); Lith. *meñkas* adj. 'small, weak' < **menk-o-*.

Also cf. the denominal formations OHG *mengen* w.v. 'to lack' < **mangjan-* and OHG *mangolōn*, G *mangeln* w.v. 'id.' < **manglōjan-*.

manja- n. 'necklace' — ON *men* n. 'id.', OE *mene* n. 'id.', OHG *menni* n. 'id.' ⇒ **mon-io-* (IE) — Skt. *maṇí-* m. 'amulet' (with unexplained retroflex), OIr. *muin* f. 'neck' < **mon-i-*; Skt. *mányā-* f.du. 'neck' < **mon-ieh₂-*; Av. *manaoϑrī-* f. 'neck' (of unclear derivation); OIr. *muinél*, W *mwnwg(l)* 'collar' < **moniklo-* (adopted by Latin as *monīle* 'necklace, collar'?).

An inherited word for 'necklace'. It was probably derived from the PIE word for 'neck', for which see **manō-* 'mane, neck' and **mankan-* 'mane'.

mankan- m. 'mane; upper part of a horse's neck' — ON *makki* m. 'id.', Nw. *manke* m. 'id.', Elfd. *maunke* m. 'id.', Da. *manke* c. 'id.' ⇒ **mon-gon-* (WEUR?/LW?) — OIr. *mong* f. 'tuft of hair', W *mwng* m. 'mane' < **mon-go/eh₂-*.

A derivation from **manō-* 'mane, neck' with the more common *kan*-suffix for body parts, cf. ON *kjalki* 'jaw-bone' < **kelkan-* and Icel. *ljóski* 'groin' < **leuskan-*). The parallelism with OIr. *mong* nevertheless indicates that addition of the velar happened at an early stage. Or was the Germanic word borrowed from Celtic?

mannan- m. 'man' — Go. *manna*, pl. *manns* m. 'id.', ON *maðr*, pl. *meðr*, *menn* m. 'id.', Far. *maður*, pl. *menn* m. 'id.', OE *mann(a)*, pl. *menn* m. 'id.', E *man*, OFri. *mon* m. 'id.', Du. *man* c. 'id.', OHG *man* c. 'id.', G *Mann* c. 'id.' ⇒

*$d^h\acute{g}^hm$-on- (IE) — Lat. *homō, -inis* m. 'human being, man', Lith. obs. *žmuō* m. 'man', OPru. *smoy* 'id.' < *$d^h\acute{g}^hm$-on-; Lith. *žmogùs* m. 'man' (for the suffix, cf. OCS *mǫ-žь* 'man' < *mon-g^h-io-).

A word that was inflected as an *n*-stem in the singular and as a root noun in the plural. Presumably, the original paradigm *mannō, pl. *mannaniz developed into *mannō, *manniz by regular Proto-Germanic syncope of the unstressed vowel in the sequence *-nnan-. The *n*-stem endings were then removed from the singular in most languages except for Gothic and OE *manna*. The etymology of the word is disputed. Some connect Skt. *mánu-* 'man' (cf. Ringe 2006: 139), but the underlying formation *men-u- (not *mon-u-) would regularly give *minn- in Germanic. It is therefore more likely that the word split off from the PIE word for man, viz. *$d^h\acute{g}^hm$-on-, which is the form underlying the parallel formation *guman- 'man' (q.v.). The accusative stem *$d^h\acute{g}^hm$-on- regularly lost the initial stops, the initial cluster *Cm-* being impossible in Germanic, and thus gave rise to a PGm. root *man-* (Berneker 1898: 360-1). The geminate probably arose secondarily in an analogical paradigm nom. *manō, gen. *mannaz* < quasi-PIE *món-ōn, *mon-n-ós*. See further also *manniska-.

manniska- adj. 'human' — Go. *mannisks* adj. 'id.', ON *men(n)skr* adj. 'id.', OE *mennisc* adj. 'id.', OHG *mennisk* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

An adjective derived from *mannan- 'man' with the adjectival suffix *-iska-. Also cf. OFri. *menneska*, OS *menisco*, Du. *mens*, OHG *mannisco*, G *Mensch* m. 'man, mankind' < *manniskan-.

manō- f. 'mane, neck' — ON *mǫn* f. 'id.', Far. *mon* f. 'mane hair', OE *manu* f. 'mane', E *mane*, OFri. *mona* m. 'id.', WFri. *moannen* pl. 'id.', MDu. *mane* f. 'id.', Du. *manen* pl. 'id.', OHG *mana* f. 'mane, neck', G *Mähne* f. 'mane, crest' ⇒ *mon-eh_2- (IE).

A formation closely related to *manja- (q.v.). The feminine *manō- is the oldest form, but OFri. *mona* points to a parallel *n*-stem *manan-. Another uniquely Germanic formation is implied by Elfd. *mål* n. 'id.' < *manla- (with *-anl- > *-āl-). For the suffixation of *l*, compare *nablan- 'navel'.

marha- m. 'horse, steed' — ON *marr* m. 'id.', OE *mearh* m. 'id.', OFri. *mar* m. 'id.', OHG *marh, marah* m. 'id.', MHG *march* m. 'id.' ⇒ *mark-o- (WEUR) — Identical to Gaul. *markan* acc., MIr. *marc*, MW *march* m. 'horse'.

A Germanic-Celtic isogloss. Also cf. ON *merr*, OE *mere*, MDu. *merie, mere*, Du. *merrie*, OHG *mariha, meriha*, G *Mähre* f. 'mare' < *marhī-, *marhjō(n)-.

mari- m./n. 'lake, sea' — Go. *mari-saiws* m. 'id.', ON *marr* m. 'id.', Far. *mar-* 'id.', OE *mere* m. 'id.', OFri. *mar* m. 'ditch', Du. *meer* n. 'lake', OHG *meri* m./n. 'sea, lake', G *Meer* m./n. 'id.' ⇒ *mor-i- (EUR) — Oss. *mal* 'stagnant water',

Lat. *mare* n. 'sea', OIr. *muir* n. 'id.', MW *mor* 'id.' < **mor-i-*; Lith. *mãrios* f.pl. 'id.' < **mor-ieh₂-*; OCS *morje*, Ru. *móre*, SCr. *mòre*, *môre* n. 'id.' < **mor-io-*.

The regular outcome of PIE **mor-i-*, a neuter *i*-stem meaning 'sea'. Also note the feminine Go. *marei*, OS *meri*, OHG *merī* 'lake, sea' < **marīn-*, which is close to Lith. *mãrios*. Related to **mōra-* 'marsh, moor' (q.v.).

****marikan-*** m. 'wild celery, smallage' — ON *merki* n. 'id.', OSw. *mærke* f. 'id.', EDa. *mærkæ* 'id.', OE *mer(e)ce* m. 'id.', E obs. *march*, MLG *merk* m. 'id.' (DRV).

A plant name that in view of the plant's preference for brackish marshes was probably derived from **mari-* 'sea' (q.v.) with the diminutive suffix **-kan-*. Since the Nordic forms are likely to have been borrowed from Old English or Low German, the word originally had an Ingvaeonic distribution. This is in accordance with the natural occurrence of the plant along the North Sea coast and the West Baltic. Nw. dial. *eld-merkje* m. 'willowherb, *Epilobium*' does not belong here. It developed from *eld-mjølke*, *-mjælke* 'id.' by dissimilation, cf. Elfd. *ō-mok* n. 'id.' < ON **hey-mjǫlk*.

****marka-*** n. 'sign' — ON *mark* n. 'mark, sign; matter of importance', Far. *mark* n. 'mark, characteristics', Elfd. *mark* m. 'house mark', OE *mearc* f. 'sign, mark', E *mark*, MDu. *marc* n. 'mark, trademark', Du. *merk* n. 'id.' ⇒ **morg-o-* (IE?).

Also cf. ON *marka*, OE *mearcian*, OFri. *merkia*, OS *markon*, OHG *markōn* w.v. 'to mark' < **markōjan-* and ON *merkja* 'to notify, denote', OHG *merken*, G, Du. *merken* w.v. 'to become aware of' < **markjan-*. Possibly related to **markō-* 'boundary' (q.v.).

****markō-*** f. 'boundary, region' — Go. *marka* f. 'id.', ON *mǫrk* f. 'forest', Far. *mørk* f. 'wood, wilderness', OE *mearc* f. 'boundary, district', OFri. *merke* f. 'id.', OS *marka* f. 'border, region', MDu. *marke* f. 'id.', OHG *marka* f. 'border, region, end', G *Marke* f. 'id.' ⇒ **morǵ-eh₂* (IE) — YAv. *marəza-* m. 'border, district', NP *marz* 'boundary' < **morǵ-o-*; Lat. *margō*, *-inis* n. 'edge, border' < **morǵ-on-*(?); OIr. *mruig* m. 'territory', W *bro* f. 'id.' < **mroǵ-i-*.

An old Indo-European term for a territorial delimitation. It is possible that the word was derived from the verb underlying Hitt. *mārki* ~ *markiianzi* 'to divide, separate, distribute; to cut up, to butcher' < **morǵ-ei*, **mrǵ-i-énti* (Kloekhorst 2008: 558-9).

****marþru-*** m. 'marten' — ON *mǫrðr* m. 'id.', Nw. *mord* m. 'id.', Sw. *mård* c. 'id.', Elfd. *mard*, *marder* m. 'id.', OE *mearð* m. 'id.', WFri. *mird* c. 'id.', OHG *mardar* m. 'id.', MHG *mart*, *marder* m. 'id.', G *Marder* m. 'id.' (GM).

The dialects point to at least three different proto-forms, 1. **marþu-* (ON *mǫrður*), 2. **marþra-* (OHG *mardar*) and 3. **marþa-* (OE *mearð*, WFri. *mird*, MHG *mart*). I assume that they all developed from PGm. **marþru-* by

cross-dialectal dissimilation of the second *r* and transfer to the *a*-stems in West Germanic. This form was borrowed into Romance, cf. Fr. *martre*, and from there spread to West Germanic, Du. *marter*, E *marten*, obs. *marter*. Etymology unknown. The word has been compared to Lith. *martì* f. 'bride' in view of parallel semantic shifts from 'bride' to 'marten', cf. It. *donnola*, MoGr. νυφίτσα and OCS *nevěsta* (Torp 1909: 313).

marzjan- w.v. 'to impede' — Go. *marzjan* w.v. 'to hamper, impede, offend', OE *mierran* w.v. 'to impede; to get lost', OS *merrian* w.v. 'to disturb, annoy', ODu. *merren* w.v. 'to wait, linger', OHG *merren* w.v. 'to impede, tie up' ⇒ **mors-éie-* (IE) — Hitt. *maršant-* adj. 'deceitful, dishonest; unholy' < **mrs-ont-*, ToA *mräsä-*, ToB *märsä-* 'to forget' < **mers-*; Skt. *mṛṣyate* 'to forget' < **mrs-ie-*; Arm. *moṙanam* 'forget' < **mors-*; Lith. *miršti* (*miršt̃u*), Latv. *-mìrst* 'id.' < **mrs-ske-*.

A causative to an unattested strong verb **mersan-* continuing a root PIE **mers-*. The Germanic meaning 'to impede, irritate, make err' can be understood more easily from Hittite 'to be deceitful' than from 'to forget', the meaning that is found in all the other IE languages. Also Far. *marra* w.v. 'to plague' < **marzōn-*.

***masjinga-*(?)** m. 'brass' — OE *mæs(t)ling*, *mæslen(n)* n. 'id.', OFri. *mesken* adj. 'made of brass', MDu. *messinc*, *missinc* n. 'id.', Du. *messing* n. 'id.', MHG *messinc*, *missinc*, *mōschinc* m. 'id.' (GM).

Etymology unclear. It has been suggested that the word was borrowed from Slavic (cf. Pol. *mosiądz* < PSlav. **mosęgь*), but this was rejected by Franck 1949: 425 on the basis of the attestation in Old English. It is further clear that the Germanic word is related to the derivationally more primitive MHG *mess(e)*, MDu. *mes* n. 'brass' < **masja-* and MHG *messe* f. 'lump of metal' < **masjō-*. Borrowing in the opposite direction is therefore more likely. Perhaps, the Germanic word ultimately goes back to Lat. *massa* f. 'mass', cf. ME *masse* 'chunk; mass of minerals, ingot'. For the suffix **-inga-*, cf. Go. *skilliggs*, OE *scilling*, E *shilling*, OFri., OS *skilling*, Du. *schelling*, OHG *scilling*, G *Schilling* and OE *penning*, *pennig*, E *penny*, OS *penning*, Du. *penning*, OHG *pfenning*, *pfennic*, G *Pfennig*.

maska- m. 'mesh; stain(?)' — OE *masc*, *max* n. 'mesh, net, toil', E *mesh*, WFri. *mesk* c. 'id.' ⇒ **mozg-o-* (IE) — ToA *masäk*, ToB *meske** m. 'joint', Lith. *mãzgas* m. 'knot', Latv. *mazgs* m. 'id.' < **mozg-o-*; Lith. *mèzgti* (*mẽzga*) 'to tie (a knot), knit', Latv. *megzt* 'id.' < **mézg-e-*.

A Germanic-Baltic and Tocharian isogloss **mozgo-*. Several related derivatives can be found in the Germanic dialects. West Germanic has a feminine **maskō(n)-*, cf. OS *maska* f. 'snare, hole', OHG *masca* f. 'mesh, loop', G *Masche* f. 'mesh'. This formation may have merged with the presumably related OS

masko m. 'stain' in MDu. *maesce* f. 'stain; mesh' and Du. *maas*. The latter two forms have been interpreted as containing a lengthened grade root **mēsk-* (Franck 1949: 407), but this must be due to contamination with **mēsōn-* 'spot, stain' (q.v.). The same two meanings 'stain' and 'mesh' are attested for OE *mæscre*, which together with the closely related ON *mǫskvi* (= Far. *meska, meski, meskur*?), Nw. *moske* m. 'mesh' < **maskwan-* may go back to an old heteroclitic paradigm, nom. **mozg-ur*, gen. **mozg-uen-s*.

****masta- 1*** m. 'mast, fruit of forest trees' — OE *mæst* m. 'id.', E *mast*, OHG *mast* n. 'id.', G *Mast* f. 'fattening' ⇒ **mosd-o-* (IE) — Close to OIr. *mess* m. 'acorns, tree-fruit', W *mes* pl. 'id.' < **mezd-tu-*.

Also cf. G *mästen*, Du. *vet-mesten* w.v. 'to fatten up' < **mastjan-*. It is likely that OIr. *mess* belongs here, the semantic match with *mast* being especially close: acorns and beech-nuts were used to feed pigs. On a deeper level, both words may be related to Skt. *médas-* n. 'fat, ghee(?), marrow' < **mezd-es-* (cf. Skt. *médyati* 'to become fat' < **mezd-ie-*; YAv. *azdiia-* adj. 'well-fed, fat' < **mzd-io-*). Others have compared and **mazga-* 'marrow' (q.v.), which seems to consists of a root **most-* followed by an unknown velar element. The alternative derivation from the root **mod-* (for which see **mati-* 'food') plus an element starting in **-d-*, possibly the root **dh₃-* 'to give' (Hill 2003: 186-196), is formally problematic, as **mod-dh₃-o-* should have given **massa-*.

****masta- 2*** m. 'post, mast' — OE *mæst* m. 'mast', E *mast*, OS *mast* m. 'mast, pole', Du. *mast* c. 'id.', OHG *mast* m. 'stick, pole, mast', G *Mast* m. 'mast' ⇒ **mazdo-* (WEUR/NIE) — MIr. *maide* m. 'stick' < **mazd-io-* (OIr. *matán* m. 'club' is not attested).

A Celtic-Germanic isogloss. The connection of Lat. *mālus* m. 'pole, mast' can only be maintained by reconstructing a rather far-fetched proto-form **mazd-slo-*, which is unattractive, or assuming a dialectal development of Lat. **mādus* to *mālus* (De Vaan 2008: 361). OCS *mostъ*, Ru. *most*, SCr. *môst* m. 'bridge' was borrowed from Germanic.

****masura-*** m. 'burl, growth' — ON *mǫsurr* m. 'burl wood; maple', Icel. *mösur* m. 'maple', Sw. *masur* c. 'burl wood', OS *masur* m. 'swelling', MDu. *maser* m. 'burl', OHG *masar* m. 'speckle; burl, vein (of wood)', G *Maser* f. 'id.' (GM).

The original meaning of this word was 'growth' or 'tumor', for which see **mēslō-*. Maple wood typically has a decorative wood grain, especially in the so-called burls. As a result, the word came to be applied to the tree as a whole. The word seems to have been in association with ON *mǫpurr* m. 'maple', OE *mapulder*, *mapuldor* m./f. 'id.', which is of unknown origin.

mati- m. 'food' — Go. *mats* m. 'id.', ON *matr* m. 'id.', Far. *matur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *mat* m. 'id.', OE *mete* m. 'id.', E *meat*, OFri. *mete* m. 'id.', OS *meti* n. 'id.', MLG *met* n. 'pork', MDu. *met-worst* 'air-dryed pork sausage', OHG *maz* n. 'food' ⇒ **mod-i-* (IE) — Gr. μεστός adj. 'full, filled, satiated' < **med-to-*.

An old *i*-stem, the basis for the factitive Go. *matjan* 'to eat', ON *mettr* adj. 'satisfied, full' (< **matida-*), OE *mettan* w.v. 'to feed' < **matjan-*. Also note the Verner alternation in the compound **mati-sahsa-* ~ **mati-zahsa-* 'knife', cf. OHG *mezzisahs*, OE *meteseax*, OS *mezas-*, Du. *mes* vs. OHG *mezzirahs*, G *Messer* (Kluge 1883: 82). The word probably continues a PIE root **med-* 'to satiate' in view of Gr. μεστός. The link with Skt. *mándati* 'to rejoice, get intoxicated', Gr. μαδάω 'to drip, melt, be moist' and Lat. *madeō* 'to be wet' < **mh₂(-n-)d-* is erroneous (see **matjan-* 'to lap'). Lat. *mandō* 'to bite, chew' is also not related, as this verb continues an *n*-present **mt-neh₂-* (see **minþla-*) rather than **ma-n-d-* (with a *schwa secundum* and nasal infixation by Thurneysen's law). See also **masta- 1* and **mōsa-*.

****matjan-*** w.v. 'to lap' — ON *metja* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **mh₂d-ie-* (IE) — Skt. *mándati* 'to rejoice, get intoxicated', Alb. *mënd* 'to suckle, nurse' < **mh₂-n-d-* (Lubotsky 1981); Gr. μαδάω 'to drip, melt, be moist' < **mh₂d-h₂-ie-*(?); Lat. *madeō, -ēre* 'to be wet' < **mh₂d-éh₁-*.

An IE term for 'sucking', 'lapping' or 'guzzling'. In spite of Torp 1909: 305 and Pokorny IEW: 694-5, unrelated to **mati-* 'food' (q.v.).

****maþan-*** m. 'maggot, moth' — Go. *maþa* m. 'worm', OE *maða* m. 'grub, worm, maggot', OS *matho* m. 'maggot, worm', Du. *made* c. 'maggot', OHG *mado* m. 'maggot, worm', MHG *matte* f. 'moth', G *Made* m. 'maggot' (NEUR) — Ru. *motýl'* m. 'maggot'.

An *n*-stem that together with **muþþa/ōn-* (q.v.) split off from an ablauting paradigm nom. **maþō*, gen. **muttaz* continuing **mót-ōn*, **mt-n-ós* (Kroonen 2011a: 218-21). For the full grade, also cf. ON *maðkr*, ME *maðek, maggot, maddock*, MLG *maddike, meddeke* < **maþikan-*, Nw. *måre* m. 'woodworm' < **maþran-* and Nw. *mære* m. 'mite' < **maþrjan-*.

****maþla-*** n. 'meeting-place' — Go. *maþl* n. 'forum, marketplace, assembly', ON *mál* n. 'speech; case', OE *mæðel* n. 'assembly, council; speech, address', OS *mahal* n. 'court, meeting; speech', OHG *mahal* n. 'court, assembly' (DRV).

An instrumental noun in **-tlo-*, derived from the zero-grade stem of **mōtan-* (q.v.). The resulting **mad-tlo-* developed into PGm. **maþla-* through a simplified form **matlo-*, and further into **mahla-* in NWGm. (cf. **stahla-* and **staþla-*).

mauja- adj. 'fine, pretty' — LG *moie* adj. 'pretty', MDu. *mooy* adj. 'pretty, elegant, proud, vain', Du. *mooi* adj. 'pretty, fine, beautiful' ⇒ **mouH-io-* (NEUR?).

A purely Low German and Dutch word (= Sw. *moj* adj. 'nice, fine') with no certain etymology. Perhaps related to OCS *myti* 'to wash' < **muH-* and Latv. *maût* 'to submerge, swim' < **mouH-* (Van Wijk 1918: 156). EDu. *ver-mooyen* w.v. 'to squander' (= Sw. *moja sig* 'to enjoy oneself'?) could point to a more original meaning 'vain'.

maura- m. 'ant' — ON *maurr* m. 'id.', Nw. *maur* m. 'id.', OSw. *mǫr* m. 'id.' ⇒ **mour-o-* (IE) — Skt. *vamrá-* m. 'ant' < **uomr-o-*; YAv. *maoiri-* m. 'id.', NP *mōr* 'id.', Oss. *mælʒyg / mulʒug* 'id.' < **moru-i-*; Skt. *vamrí-*, Av. *maoirī-* f. 'id.' < **uomr-ih₂-* / **moru-ih₂-*; Gr. μύρμηξ, -ηκος m. 'id.' < **morm-*; Lat. *formīca* f. 'id.' < **b^{h}(o)rm-*; OIr. *moirb* f. 'id.', W *myr* 'id.' < PIE **moru-i-*; CS *mravii* f. 'id.' < **moru-ih₂-*, ORu. *morovej*, Ru. *muravéj* m. 'id.' < **moru-io-*, SCr. *mrâv* m. 'id.' < **moru-o-*; ToB *warme** 'id.' < **urm-i-*.

Also cf. the derived feminine Far. *meyra* f. 'id.', Elfd. *męra* f. 'id.' < **maurjōn-*, which is parallel to **meurjōn-* (q.v.). The word is of IE origin, but the original form is difficult to reconstruct due to cross-dialectal tabooistic distortions and metatheses (cf. Van Wijk 1914).

mawēn- w.v. 'to scrape' — ON *má* w.v. 'to blot or rub out, efface; to wear, make blunt', Icel. *má* w.v. 'to blur, efface', Nw. *må* w.v. 'to scrape, grate; wear' ⇒ **mHu-eh₁-* (NEUR?) — Lith. *máuti* (*máuna*, *máuju*) 'to put on, tear, pull, stab, strike, dash', Latv. *maût* 'to pull up, pull off, bridle' < **meHu-*.

I reconstruct this verb as **mḫu-eh₁-*. The presence of a radical laryngeal is hypothetical, but not improbable, since statives in *-eh₁-* usually take zero grade of the root. In addition, there is Baltic evidence for a root with a laryngeal. Also cf. Nw. *mugg* m./n. 'sawdust; drizzle' < **muwwa-* < **muH-o-* (with metathesis), Far. *moð* n. 'speck of dust, seed' < **mHu-to-* and ON *móða* f. 'dust' < **moHu-teh₂-* (with regular loss of **u* after PGm. **ō*).

mawī- f. 'girl' — Go. *mawi*, gen. *maujos* f. 'girl, maid', ON *mær*, gen. *meyjar* f. 'girl; daughter', Far. *moyggj* f. 'maid(en), virgin' (WEUR).

The feminine counterpart of **magu-* (q.v.). Cf. the ancient diminutive Go. *mawilo*, ON *meyla*, OE *mēowle* < **mawilōn-*. See also **magaþi-*.

mazga- m. 'marrow' — ON *mergr*, gen. *mergjar* m. 'id.', Far. *mergur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *mjärg* m. 'id.' (< **mazgi-*), OE *mearh*, *mærh* n./m. 'id.', OFri. *merch* m./n. 'id.', OS *marg* n. 'id.', Du. *merg* n. 'id.', OHG *marg* n. 'id.', G *Mark* n. 'id.' ⇒ **mozg^{h}-i/o-* (IE) — Skt. *majján-* f. 'marrow, pith' < **mozg^{h}-en-*; YAv. *mazga-* 'marrow, brain', NP *maγz* 'brain, fat, marrow, kernel', Oss. *mağz* 'brain,

marrow', CS *mozgъ* 'marrow', Ru. *mozg* 'brain, marrow', SCr. *mȍzak* 'brain' < **mozg^h-o-*; MIr. *medg*, *medc* m. 'whey', W *meidd* m. 'id.' < **mezg^h-o-*.

An ancient IE term for 'marrow' or 'brain'. The proto-form **mozg^h-o-* probably continues older **most-g^h-o-* in view of Skt. *mastṛhan-*, YAv. *mastərəγan-* m. 'brain', which was dissimilated from **most-mrg^h-en-* (Lubotsky 2008a), for which see **bragna-*.

****mēan-*** s.v. 'to mow' — OE *māwan* s.v. 'to mow', E *to mow*, OFri. *miā*, *miān* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *maeyen* s./w.v. 'id.', Du. *maaien* w.v. 'id.', OHG *māen* w.v. 'id.', G *mähen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h$_2$méh$_1$-e-* (IE) — Hitt. *ḫamešḫa-* c. 'spring' < **h$_2$m(e)H-sh$_2$o-* (for the suffix cf. *damme/išḫā-* 'damage' < **demh$_2$-sh$_2$ó-*); Gr. ἀμάω 'to reap corn, cut' < **h$_2$mh$_1$-eh$_2$-ie-*; ἄμητος m. 'harvest' < **h$_2$mh$_1$-eh$_2$-to-*.

A reduplicating strong verb **mēan-*; the different glides of OE *māwan*, OHG *māen* (< **mājan*) and Du. *maaien* arose secondarily in hiatus position. See also **mēþa-*.

****medi*** prep. 'with' — Go. *miþ* prep. 'id.', ON *með* prep. 'id.', OE *mid* prep. 'id.', OFri. *mith* prep. 'id.', OS *mid*, *midi*, *mith* prep. 'id.', Du. *met* prep. 'id.', OHG *mit*, *miti* prep. 'id.', G *mit* prep. 'id.' ⇒ **met-i* (IE) — Gr. μέτα, μετά adv., prep. 'in the midst, afterwards; between, with, after' < **met-m* (with an ending as in κατά prep. 'down, against'); Alb. *mjet* adv. 'between' < **met-*.

An Indo-European adverb and preposition, originally a locative in *-i* to a root noun **met-* or **med^h-*. See **medja- 1* 'middle'.

****medja- 1*** adj. 'middle' — Go. *midjis* adj. 'id.', ON *miðr* adj. 'id.', Far. *miður* adj. 'id.', OE *midde* adj. 'id.', OFri. *midde* adj. 'id.', OS *middi* adj. 'id.', OHG *mitti* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **med^h-io-* (IE) — Skt. *mádhya-* adj. 'middle', OAv. *maidiia-*, YAv. *maiδiia-* adj. 'id.', Arm. *mēǰ* 'the middle; mid, middle', Gr. μέσος adj. '(in the) middle', Lat. *medius* adj. 'central, middle', OIr. *mide* m. 'middle', Lith. *mẽdžias* m. 'forest', Latv. *mežs* m. 'wood'; OPru. *median* 'id.' < **med^h-io-*; Ru. *mežá* f. 'boundary', SCr. *mèđa* f. 'id.'.

The Indo-European word for 'center, middle'. The *ja*-stem has a formal variant ON, Far. *miðja*, Elfd. *miða*, OHG *mitti* f. 'middle' < **medjō(n)-*. See also **meduma-*.

****medja- 2*** n. 'aim' — Icel. *mið* n. 'id.' ⇒ **met-io-* (NEUR) — Lith. *matýti* 'to look, watch' < **mot-éie-*.

The word is usually equated with **medja- 1* 'middle' (Magnússon 1989: 618), but it may alternatively be a Germanic-Baltic isogloss derived from a root **met-* 'to look'. Also cf. ON, Far. *miða* w.v. 'to aim' < **meþjōjan-*.

medu- m. 'mead, alcoholic liquor made of honey and water' — ON *mjǫðr* m. 'id.', Far. *mjøður* m. 'mead', Elfd. *myōð* m. 'honey', OE *meodo* m./n. 'mead', E *mead*, OFri. *mede* m. 'id.', MDu. *mede* m. 'id.', Du. *mede* c. 'id.', OHG *metu*, *meto*, *mito* m. 'id.', G *Meth* m. 'id.' ⇒ **medʰ-u-* (IE) — CLuv. *maddu-* 'wine', HLuv. *matu-* 'id.', ToB *mit* 'honey', Skt. *mádhu-* n. 'sweet drink, honey', Gr. μέθυ n. 'intoxicating drink, wine', OIr. *mid* n./m. 'mead', MW *medd* m. 'id.', Lith. *medùs* m. 'honey', Latv. *mę̣dus* m. 'id.', OPru. *meddo* 'id.', OCS *medъ* m. 'id.', Ru. *mëd* 'honey, mead', SCr. *mêd* 'honey'.

The PIE word for 'honey, mead'. In Germanic, the default word for 'honey' was **hunanga-* (q.v.).

meduma- comp. 'middle, midmost' — Go. *miduma* f. 'middle', OE *medume*, *medeme*, *meodume* adj. 'moderate, common', OHG *metemo* comp. 'middle(most)' ⇒ **medʰ-mh₂-eh₂-* (IE) — Identical to Skt. *madhyamá-* (with analogical *-y-*), YAv. *maδəma-* adj. 'middle, midmost'.

The original comparative to **medja- 1* 'middle'. Also cf. the derived Go. *miduma* f. 'middle', ON *mjǫðm* f. 'waist', Far. *mjødn*, Elfd. *myōrm* f. 'hip' < **medumō-*.

mēga- m. 'son-in-law' — Go. *megs* m. 'id.', ON *mágr* m. 'son-in-law; brother-in-law', Far. *mágur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *mą̄g* m. 'id.', OE *mæg* m. 'relative', OFri. *mēch* m. 'id.', OS *māg* m. 'id.', Du. obs. *maag* c. 'id.', OHG *māg* m. 'id.' (DRV?).

A *vr̥ddhi*-formation to **magu-* (q.v.). It was probably created in analogy to the proportion of **swehra(n)-* : **swēgura-* (q.v.).

mekan- s.v. 'to hinder' — MHG *ver-mechen* s.v. 'to delay, hinder, weaken' (GM).

An obscure strong verb without any intra- or extra-Germanic *comparanda*.

mekila- adj. 'large, great; much' — Go. *mikils* adj. 'id.', ON *mikill* adj. 'id.', Far. *mikil* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *mikkel* adj. 'id.', OE *micel* adj. 'id.', OS *mikil* adj. 'id.', MDu. *mekel* adj. 'id.', OHG *mihhil* adj. 'id.', MHG *michel* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **meǵ-el-* (IE) — Hitt. *mēkk-* adj. 'much, many, numerous', ToA *māk*, ToB *māka* adv./indecl. adj. 'much', Gr. μέγας adj. 'great, big, large', Arm. *mec* adj. 'great, big, large', adv. 'much', Alb. *madh* adj. 'big' < **meǵ-h₂-*; Lat. *magnus* adj. 'great, big, large' < **mg-no-* (with *schwa secundum*); MIr. *maige* adj. 'great' < **meg-io-* (with the regular change of Irish *-eǵ-* to *-aǵ-*).

Unlike the other IE languages, Germanic added a suffix **-ila-* (< **-eli-*?) to the root **meǵ-*. It is unclear whether this happened on the basis of analogy with **lītila-* 'small' (q.v.) or *vice versa*, but the suffixation has a clear parallel in Gr. μέγας, f. μεγάλη adj. 'great, big, large' and the semantically comparable Lith. *dìdelis* (beside *dìdis*) adj. 'big'. An entirely different formation is

represented by Skt. *mahánt-* adj. 'great, big, extensive, powerful', YAv. *mazå̊nt-* adj. 'big, comprehensive, spacious' < **meǵ-eh₂-ont-* and Lat. *ingēns, -entis* adj. 'huge', Gr. ἄγαν adv. 'much, too much' < **mǵ-h₂-(e)nt-*. Note that the PNGm. adverb **meku*, cf. ON *mjǫk*, Icel. *mjōg* adv. 'much', Elfd. *mjog* adj. 'rather', was created in analogy to **felu- ~ *fulu-*, cf. ON *fjǫl-* 'many'.

****mēla- 1*** n. 'point in time' — Go. *mel* n. 'season, point in time, period of time', ON *mál* n. 'time; meal', OE *mæl* n. 'moment; meal', E *meal*, MDu. *mael* n. 'point in time', Du. *maal* n. 'meal; time', OHG *māl* n. 'point (in time), spot; meal', G *Mal* n. 'time', *Mahl* n. 'meal' (with unetymological orthographical disambiguation) (IE).

Of disputed origin: some assume that the word is identical to **mēla-* 'measure' (see **mēla- 3*), but it is also possible to start from a meaning 'spot' or 'point', for which see **mēla- 2*.

****mēla- 2*** n. 'spot, mark' — ON *mál* n. 'goal', OE *mæl* n. 'mark', E *mole*, MDu. *mael* n. 'sign, mark, stigma', OHG *māl* n. 'spot', G *Mal* n. 'mark' ⇒ **mēlh₂-o-* (IE?) — Skt. *mála-* n. 'dirt' < **molh₂-o-*; Gr. μέλας adj. 'dark, black' < **melh₂-n-*; Lith. *mélas* adj. 'blue', Latv. *mẽlš* adj. 'dark blue, violet' < **mēlh₂-o-*.

Etymology uncertain. The word has been connected with Gr. μέλας and Lith. *mélas* (cf. Pokorny IEW: 720-1). It is alternatively possible to equate it with **mēla- 1* 'point' and **mēla 3-* 'measure'; the meaning 'mark' may then be used to bridge the semantic gap between these potential cognates. Also cf. ON *mála* w.v. 'to paint' < **mēlōjan-*.

****mēla- 3*** n. 'measure, amount' — Go. *mela* m. 'bushel' (< **mēlan-*), ON *mál* n. 'measure', OE *mæl* n. 'measure', ODu. *māl* 'jar, vase' ⇒ **meh₁-lo-* (IE) — OCS *měra* f. 'measure', Ru. *méra* 'id.', SCr. *mjëra* f. 'measure, weight' < **meh₁-reh₂-*.

Derived from the PIE root **meh₁-* 'to measure', cf. **mēþi-*. Also cf. ON *mælir*, OE *mēle* m. 'cup, bowl, basin' < **mēlja-*, for which cf. ON *mæla* w.v. 'to measure' < **mēljan-*.

****melda-*** adj. 'pleasant, mild' — Go. *un-milds** adj. 'unloving', ON *mildr* adj. 'merciful, generous', Far. *mildur* adj. 'mild, gentle, pleasant', OE *milde* adj. 'friendly, merciful', E *mild*, OFri. *milde* adj. 'merciful, gracious', OS *mildi* adj. 'kind', Du. *mild* adj. 'mild, benign', OHG *milti* adj. 'merciful, meek', G *milt* adj. 'lenient, mild' ⇒ **melh₂-tó-* (IE) — Skt. *mlātá-* adj. 'soft' < **mleh₂-to-*; Olr. *mláith* adj. 'tender, soft' < **mlh₂-ti-*.

A *to*-formation created to the PIE root **melh₂-*, which is also supported by the stative **mulwēn-* 'to soften' (q.v.). Unrelated to OCS *mladъ* adj. 'young' < **mold-o-* and OIr. *mell* adj. 'pleasant' < **meld-o-* (for which see **multōjan-*). Problematic, too, is the link with Gr. μαλθακός adj. 'weak, tender, soft, mild'

(cf. Skt. *márdhati* 'to neglect, abandon', OAv. *marədaitī* 'to ignore, neglect'?), as the regular outcome of **mld^h-* would be **βλαϑ- in Greek (Beekes 2010: 897-8).

melha- ~ *melga- m. 'sand bank' — ON *melr* m. 'sand bank', Elfd. *mjåg* m. 'steep sandy river-bank' (GM).

An *e*-grade formation closely related to Icel. *möl* f. 'gravel, pebbles', Far. *møl* f. 'beach covered with pebbles; moraine gravel' < **malhō-*, for which also cf. the derived Nw. dial. *mjele* m. 'fine sand' < **melhan-*. The Elfdalian form developed from a Verner variant **melga-*, ON **mjalgr*.

melhman- m. 'cloud' — Go. *milhma* m. 'id.' ⇒ **mélḱ-mon-* (NEUR) — Lith. *mìlšti, mìlšti-s* 'to become overcast' < **mlḱ-ske-*; Ru. dial. *molost'* 'bad weather' < **molḱ-ti-*.

An *mn*-stem created to a lost verbal root **melh-*, continuing a Germanic-Balto-Slavic isogloss **melḱ-* (Fraenkel 1965: 453). The zero grade of the same root is found in OSw. *moln, molen*, Elfd. *muoln* n. 'cloud' < **mulhna-*, whence OSw. *molna* w.v. 'to become overcast'. Possibly, both formations split off from an ablauting paradigm, nom. **melhmō*, gen. **mulhnaz* < **mélk-mōn, *mlk-n-ós* (with dissimilation of the *m* in the latter form). The genitive must then have become barytone at an early stage, as oxytone **mlk-nó-* would have developed into Pre-Gm. **mulkka-* > PGm. **mulka-* under Kluge's law.

meliþ- n. 'honey' — Go. *miliþ* n. 'id.' ⇒ **meli-t-* (IE) — Hitt. *milit* 'honey', Gr. μέλι, -ιτος n. 'id.', Arm. *mełr* 'id.', Alb. *mjaltë* 'id.', Lat. *mel* n. 'id.', OIr. *mil* < **meli-t-*; Gr. βλίττω 'to cut out a honeycomb' < **mlit-ie-*; Alb. *ëmbël / ãmbël* adj. 'sweet, mild' < **m̥l-o*(?).

One of the PIE words for 'honey', cf. **medu-* and **hunanga-*. The original paradigm had ablaut, nom. **mélit*, gen. **mlit-ós*. If the derivation of Alb. *ëmbël / ãmbël* from **m̥l-o-* is correct, it would prove that **mel-it* has an *it*-suffix. Within Germanic, further cf. OE *mildēaw*, E *mildew*, OS *milidou*, Du. *meeldauw*, OHG *militou*, G *Mehltau* 'honey-dew' < **mili-dawwō-* and OE *milisc* adj. 'sweet' < **miliska-*.

meltan- s.v. 'to dissolve, be digested' — Icel. *moltinn* adj. 'soft, half-dissolved', Far. *moltin* adj. 'not quite fresh, slightly decomposed', OE *meltan* s.v. 'to melt, dissolve', E *to melt*, MDu. *melten* s.v. 'to malt' ⇒ **méld-e-* (IE) — Skt. *márdati* 'to crush' < **méld-e-*.

See also **malta-*, **maltjan-* (for the semantic gap between 'to crush' and 'to be soft') and **multōjan-*. Unrelated to **smeltan-* 'to melt, smelt'.

meltja- n. 'milt, spleen' — ON *milti* n. 'id.', Far. *milt(i)* n. 'id.', Nw. *milte* n. 'id.', OSw. *milter* m. 'id.', OE *milte* f. 'id.', E *milt*, OFri. *milte* f. 'id.', MLG *milte* f. 'id.', MDu. *milt(e)*, *melte* f. 'id.', Du. *milt* c. 'id.', OHG *milzi* n. 'id.', MHG *milze* n. 'id.', G *Milz* f. 'id.' (IE).

The word is likely to be related to **meluk-* 'milk' (q.v.), cf. Far. *mjálki* m. 'milt, soft roe, fish semen' < **melkan-*, and has accordingly been reconstructed as **melhtja-* (quasi PIE **h₂melǵ-t-io-*), which may be a collective formation to ON *mjǫlt* f. 'milking' < **melhtu-*. Apparently, the milt, i.e. the testes of male fish, was named after the milky substance that it produces, and later came into use for the spleen and other soft parts of the body, cf. Nw. dial. *hand-milte* n. 'inside of the lower arm' and Nw. dial. *molke* m. 'muscle' < **mulht-kan-*. Also cf. ON *mjalti*, Nw. *mjelte* m. 'milt' < **melhtan-* and Elfd. *mjälta* n. 'id.' < **melhtōn-*.

****meluk-*** f. 'milk' — Go. *miluks* f. 'id.', ON *mjǫlk*, gen. *mjǫlkr* f. 'id.', Icel. *mjólk* f. 'id.', Far. *mjólk* f. 'id.', Elfd. *mjok* f. 'id.', OE *meoloc*, *meolc* f. 'id.', E *milk*, OFri. *melok* f. 'id.', OS *miluk* f. 'id.', MDu. *melc*, *mellic*, *meelc* f. 'id.', Du. *melk* m. 'id.', OHG *miluh* f. 'id.', G *Milch* f. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂mélǵ-* (IE).

An archaic root noun derived from the strong verb **mel(u)kan-* (q.v.). Note that the Old Norse form was *mjǫlk* rather than the often cited *mjolk*: *-jǫ-* is the regular outcome of *u*-breaking of *e*. The confusion between *o* and *ǫ* results from the later merger of these two vowels when they were lengthened before *-l-* + velar or labial, cf. Icel. *tólg* f. 'tallow' < **tǫ́lg* < ON **tǫlg* < **talgō-*. As for the origin of the form **meluk-*, the *u* of the second syllable is unexpected and has not yet received a satisfactory explanation. Szemerényi 1992: 1125 proposed contamination of the full- and zero-grade in an ablauting paradigm **melk-z*, gen. **mulk-iz*, but this leaves the *Schwebeablaut* unexplained. It is not likely either that the *u* represents a schwa that arose between the *l* and the *k* in the nom. **melk-z* (Bammesberger 1990: 196-7), as this solution fails to explain why the same did not happen in e.g. **alh-* 'temple' (on the latter, see Kümmel 2004). Perhaps the *-u-* rather came about in the aforementioned strong verb **mel(u)kan-*.

****meluka-*** 'giving milk' — ON *mjǫlkr* adj. 'id.', OE *meolc* adj. 'id.', OHG *melch* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

An adjective derived from **mel(u)kan-* (q.v.).

****mel(u)kan-*** s.v. 'to milk' — OE *melcan* s.v. 'id.', OFri. *melka* s.v. 'id.', Du. *melken* s.v. 'id.', OHG *melkan* s.v. 'id.', G *melken* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂mélǵ-* (IE) — Gr. ἀμέλγω 'to milk', Alb. *mjel* 'id.', Lat. *mulgeō* 'id.', OIr. *mligid* 'id.', RuCS *mlěsti* (*mlьzu*) 'to bring down, dislodge', SCr. *mȕsti* 'id.', Lith. *mélžti* (*mélžiu*) 'id.' < **h₂melǵ-*/**h₂mlǵ-*.

A strong verb related to **meluka-*, **mulkna-*, **mulki-* and **mulkōn-* (q.v.). MHG has both *melken* and *melchen*, the latter pointing to **melVkan-*. This may be **melukan-*, a form influenced by **meluk-*. Since, however, the *u* of the noun has no clear explanation, it is more likely that it arose in the verb itself. The PIE paradigm was athematic, 3sg. **h₂mélǵ-ti*, 3pl. **h₂mlǵ-énti*, which would give PGm. **melhti*, **mulkinþi*. Perhaps this irregular paradigm gave rise to a contaminated root **melulk-* that later was dissimilated to **meluk-*. Another possibility is to assume a similar dissimilation in an originally reduplicated present **mel-mulkan-* < **h₂mel-h₂mlǵ-e-*.

melwa- n. 'meal, flour' — ON *mjǫl* n. 'id.', Far. *mjøl* n. 'id.', Elfd. *myōl* n. 'id.', OE *melo*, *melu* n. 'id.', E *meal*, OFri. *mele* n. 'id.', OS *melo* n. 'id.', Du. *meel* n. 'id.', OHG *melo* n. 'id.', G *Mehl* n. 'id.' ⇒ **melh₁-uo-* (DRV).

A *wa*-stem derived from the strong verb **malan-* (q.v.). For the suffix, cf. **smerwa-*.

mēnan- m. 'moon' — Go. *mena* m. 'id.', ON *máni* m. 'id.', Far. *máni* m. 'moon; month', OE *mōna* m. 'moon', E *moon*, OFri. *mōna* m. 'moon; month', OS *māno* m. 'moon', Du. *maan* c. 'id.', OHG *māno* m. 'id.', G *Mond* m. 'id.' ⇒ **meh₁n-os-* (IE) — ToA *mañ*, ToB *meñe* m. 'moon, month' < **meh₁n(-ēn)-*; Skt. *mā́s-* m. 'moon, month', OAv. *må* 'moon', YAv. *må*, gen. *måŋhō* 'id.' (also thematicized *måŋha-* m. 'moon, month'), Gr. μήν m. 'month, moon-cycle', Lat. *mēnsis* m. 'month', OIr. *mí* m./f. 'id.', MW *mis* m. 'id.' < **meh₁n-s-*; Lith. *mė́nuo*, gen. *mė́nesio* m. 'moon, month', Latv. *mēness* m. 'moon' < **meh₁n-os-*; OPru. *menig* 'id.'; OCS *mĕsęcь* 'moon, month', Ru. *mésjac* 'month', SCr. *mjȅsēc* 'month, moon' < **meh₁ns-nk-o-*; Alb. *muaj* / *muej* m. 'month' < **meh₁n-*; Arm. *amis* 'id.' (with analogical *a-* after *am* 'year', *awr* 'day', *arew* 'sun' and *astł* 'star', Winter 1965: 101).

Most IE languages point to a stem **meh₁n-s-*, but Lith. *mė́nuo*, obl. *menes-* and perhaps also PGm. **mēnan-* point to an amphikinetic *s*-stem **méh₁n-ōs*, **meh₁n-s-ós*. The Germanic *n*-stem is considered to have arisen secondarily on the basis of the nom. **mēnō*, which may regularly continue **meh₁n-ōs* or **meh₁n-ōt*. The latter possibility is usually preferred in view of PGm. **mēnōþ-* 'month' (q.v.), which may have split off from an original paradigm **meh₁n-ōt*, **meh₁n-t-ós*. The *t*-suffix is only found in Germanic, however. Note that the dental of G *Mond* 'moon' is late, i.e. secondary.

mēnōþ- m. 'month' — Go. *menoþs* m. 'id.', ON *mánaðr* m. 'id.', Icel. *mánaður* m. 'id.', Far. *mánaður* m. 'id.', OE *mōnað* m. 'id.', E *month*, OFri. *mōnath* m. 'id.', Du. *maand* c. 'id.', OHG *mānōd* m. 'id.', G *Monat* m. 'id.' ⇒ **meh₁n-ot-* (IE).

A uniquely Germanic *t*-stem corresponding to the PIE *s*-stem **meh₁n-os-* 'moon; month', for which see **mēnan-*.

mēri- adj. 'famous' — Go. *waila-mers* adj. 'with a good reputation', ON *mærr* adj. 'famous, excellent; bright, shining', OE *mære* adj. 'excellent', OS *māri* adj. 'bright, known, famous, excellent', OHG *māri* adj. 'id.', MHG *mære* adj. 'shining; famous' ⇒ **mēr-i-* (EUR?).

A *vr̥ddhi*-gerundive to a further unattested strong verb **meran-*, cf. Icel. *merla* w.v. 'to shine' < **marilōn-* (the frequently adduced OE *(ā)-merian* w.v. 'to purify' is derived from *mere* 'pure', which itself is a loanword from Lat. *merus* 'id.'). The meaning of the word seems to have shifted from 'shining' to 'brilliant' and 'illustrious', which allows for the connection with Gr. μαρμαίρω 'to flash, sparkle' < **mr-mr-ie-* and the aforementioned Lat. *merus*. No further etymology. The adjective occurs as a second member of composite proper nouns, and has therefore been compared to the similar onomastic elements in Celtic and Slavic, cf. Gaul *-marus* and OCS *-měrъ*. PCelt. **-māro-* is formally dissimilar, however, and Slav. *-měrъ* may have been borrowed from Germanic.

mērjan- w.v. 'to make illustrious' — Go. *merjan* w.v. 'to announce', ON *mæra* w.v. 'to praise', OE *mæran* w.v. 'to make known, celebrate, declare', OHG *mārren* w.v. 'to make known', MHG *mæren* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

The factitive to **mēri-* (q.v.). It in turn gave rise to the pan-Gm. formation Go. *meriþa* f. 'rumor', ON *mærð* f. 'fame, glory', OE *mærþu* f. 'id.', OS *māritha* f. 'id.', OHG *mārida* f. 'id.' < **mēriþō-*.

merkwu- adj. 'dark' — ON *myrkr* adj. 'id.', Far. *myrkur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *mörk* adj. 'id.', OE *mierce* adj. 'id.', OS *mirki* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **merg^{w}-u-* (IE) — Hitt. *Markuu̯a i̯a-* pl. 'deities in the depth of the earth', CLuv. *maru̯ai-* adj. 'black, dark' < **m(o)rg^{w}-oi-*; Lith. *mirgė́ti* (*mìrgu*), Latv. *miŕdzēt* 'to twinkle' < **mrg^{w}-eh$_1$-*; Ru. *morgát'* 'to blink, wink', Cz. dial. *mrgat'* 'to move, wave, watch gloomily' < **mrg^{w}-eh$_2$-*; Alb. *mjergullë* f. 'nebula' < **merg^{w}-l-eh$_2$-*.

A *u*-stem (remodeled into a WGm. *ja*-stem) derived from the PIE root **merg^{w}-*. Compare the formally and semantically similar **dinkwa-*.

mēslō- f. 'growth' — OE *masele* f. 'rash', E *measles*, MLG *masele*, *massele* f. 'rash, blister', MDu. *masel* f. 'stain', EDu. *maselen*, *maseren* pl. 'measles', Du. *mazelen* pl. 'id.', OHG *masala* f. 'inflammation', MHG *masel(e)* f. 'swelling, growth', G *Masern* (DRV).

A diminitive of **mēsōn-* (q.v.). The appurtenance of OHG *masala* f. 'linen-weaver's starch' is uncertain: it may have been borrowed from Slavic **masla* 'butter' in the sense of 'paste'.

mēsōn- f. 'spot, scar' — MLG *māse* f. 'stain, scar', MDu. *mase* f. 'mud, dirt', EDu. *maese* 'stain', OHG *māsa* f. 'id.', MHG *māse* f. 'spot; scar', G Swi. (App.) *mɔsə* m. 'spot' (< **mēsan-*) (GM).

Probably related to **masura-* 'burl; maple'. See also **mēslō-*.

metan- s.v. 'to measure, evaluate' — Go. *mitan* s.v. 'to measure', ON *meta* s.v. 'to evaluate', Far. *meta* w.v. 'to estimate; to appreciate', OE *metan* s.v. 'to measure', OFri. *meta* s.v. 'id.', WFri. *mjitte* s.v. 'id.', ODu. *metan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *meten* s.v. 'id.', OHG *mezzan* s.v. 'to measure, estimate, compare', G *messen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **méd-e-* (IE) — Gr. μήδομαι 'to deliberate, estimate, contrive, decide', Lat. *medeor* 'to heal, cure' (< 'to diagnose'?), OIr. *midithir*, MW *meddu* 'to possess, rule' < **mĕ̆d-e-*; Arm. *mit-kʿ* 'mind, intelligence' < **mēd-*.

An inherited verb that shows both the meanings 'to measure' and 'to estimate' across the IE different languages. In view of the deponents Gr. μήδομαι, Lat. *medeor* and OIr. *midithir*, it is likely that the latter meaning arose in reflexive use, viz. "to measure for oneself". On a deeper, Pre-IE level, the root **med-* probably gave rise to the synonymous **meh₁-*, for which cf. **mēnan-*, **mēla- 3* and **mēþi-*. See further **metōjan-*.

mēti- adj. 'estimable' — ON *mætr* adj. 'valuable, excellent', OE *ge-mǣte* adj. 'moderate; low', MDu. *ge-mate* adj. 'moderate; mediocre', OHG *māzi* adj. 'moderate', MHG *ge-mæze* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

A *vr̥ddhi*-gerundive to the strong verb **metan-* (q.v.). The original meaning was "estimable", which can easily be retrieved from the semantics of the given forms.

metōjan- w.v. 'to evaluate' — Go. *miton* w.v. 'to evaluate, think over, argue', OE *metian* w.v. 'to assign due measure; to moderate', OHG *mezzōn* w.v. 'to moderate' (DRV).

A verb derived from a noun **meta-* 'evaluation', for which see **metan-*. Also cf. the derived *tu*-stem ON *mjǫtuðr* m. 'fate', OE *meted* m. 'id.', OS *metod* m. 'god' < **metōdu-*.

mēþa- n. 'mowing, mown grass' — OE *mæð* n. 'id.', OFri. *-mĕth* n. 'id.', OHG *ā-mād* n. 'aftermath', G *Mahd* f. 'mown grass' ⇒ **h₂méh₁-to-* (DRV).

A *to*-stem created to the strong verb **mēan-* (q.v.). Also cf. OE *mæd*, E *meadow*, OFri. *mēde*, ODu. *māda* f. 'pasture, meadow' < **mēdwō-* < **h₂meh₁-tueh₂-* and MHG *mate*, *matte*, G *Matte* f. 'id.' < **madwō-* < **h₂mn̥̆₁-tueh₂-*. In all likelihood, both of the latter two formations split off from an ablauting paradigm, nom. **h₂méh₁-tuh₂*, gen. **h₂mn̥̆₁-tuéh₂-s*.

mēþi- f. 'measure' — OE *mæð* f. 'id.' ⇒ **méh₁-ti-* (IE) — Skt. *mímīte* 'to measure', OAv. *fra-mīmaϑā* 2pl.pres.subj. 'to arrange, ordain' < **-mi-mh₁-*; Skt. *á-sa-māti-* adj. 'unparallelled' < **meh₁-ti-*; Alb. *mot* m. 'period of time, year, weather' < **meh₁-ti-*; Gr. μέτρον n. 'measure, goal; metre' < **mh₁-tro-*.

A *ti*-stem created to the root **meh₁-*, for which cf. **mēla 3-*.

meuka- ~ *mūka- adj. 'weak' — Go. *muka-modei* f. 'meekness', ON *mjúkr* adj. 'weak, soft', Far. *mjúkur* adj. 'soft; supple', MDu. *muyck* adj. 'soft, mellow', G Swi. *mũch* adj. 'timid' (WEUR) — OIr. *mocht* adj. 'soft, tender', W *mwyth* adj. 'soft, sleek; tender' < **(H)mú$^{(k)}$-to-*.

The vacillation between **meuka-* and **mūka-* points to derivation from a strong verb of the second class, where such alternations are typical. This verb is substantiated by the causative OSw. *møkia*, Nw. *møykja* w.v. 'to make soft' < **maukjan-*, whence Du. *moker*, LG *möker* 'sledge-hammer' < **maukarja-* (cf. Fi. *moukari*) and probably also EDu. *moocke*, *moock-sack* 'animal stomach'. The root **meuk- ~ *mūk-* may be secondary for **meuh-* in view of ON *móa* w.v. 'to digest', Far. *mógva-st* w.v. 'to become weak, diminish', Nw. dial. *moa* w.v. 'to soften by kneading or pounding; to chew' < **muhōn-*. The root-final **k* must then represent a shortened geminate that may have spread from a lost iterative **muk(k)ōn-* < **(H)mu$^{(k)}$-néh$_2$-*.

****meurja-*** n. 'chickweed' — WFri. *mier(e)* c. 'id.', WPhal. *mîr* m., *mîre* f. 'id.', MDu. *miere*, *mure* f. 'id.', EDu. *muer(-kruyd)* 'id.', Du. *muur* c./n. 'id.', G *Stern-miere* f. 'id.' (GM).

A Germanic word. On the basis of OFr. *morun*, Fr. *mouron* 'chickweed', it is possible to reconstruct a form ODu. **mūr*, but the root vocalism does not match the expected outcome of PGm. **eu*, i.e. ODu. *-ie-* or *-iu-*. No further etymology. For another word for 'chickweed', see **arfan-*(?).

****meurjōn-*** f. 'ant' — Go. Crim. *meura* 'id.', OSw. *mȳra* f. 'id.', Sw. *myra* c. 'id.', Da. *myre* c. 'id.', ME *mīre* 'id.', E *pis-mire*, MDu. *miere* f. 'id.', Du. *mier* c. 'id.' ⇒ **meur-ieh$_2$-* (IE).

An NWGm. formation in ablaut relation to the more restricted, though derivationally more primitive **maura-* 'ant' (q.v.). The *e*-grade is also found in Lith. *mervà* f. 'gadfly' < **meru-eh$_2$-*.

****meusa-*** n. 'moss' — OE *mēos* m./n. 'moss', MDu. *mies* n.(?) 'id.', OHG *mios* m./n. 'id.', G obs. *Mies* m./n. 'id.' ⇒ **meusa-* (EUR).

A full-grade formation closely related to **musa(n)-* (q.v.) with the same meaning. The full grade is also found in ON *mýrr* f. 'swamp' < **meuzī-* < **meus-ih$_2$-*.

****mīgan-*** s.v. 'to pass water (usually of animals)' — ON *míga* s.v. 'id.', Far. *míga* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *maiga* s.v. 'id.', OE *mīgan* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *migen* s.v. 'id.', Du. dial. *miegen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h$_3$méiǵ^h-e-* (IE) — Skt. *méhati* 'to urinate', YAv. *maēzəṇti* 3pl.pres. 'id.', Gr. ὀμείχω 'id.' < **h$_3$méiǵ^h-e-*; Arm. *mizem* 'id.'; Lat. *meiō*, *-ere* 'id.', SCr. *mìžati* 'id.' < **h$_3$meiǵ^h-ie-*; ToB *miśo* m. 'urine' < **h$_3$m(e)iǵ^h-ieh$_2$-*.

An inherited strong verb. See also **miggōn-* and **mihstu-*.

miggōn- w.v. 'to drizzle' — Du. *miggelen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *h_3mig^h-néh$_2$-* (IE?) — Lat. *mingō, -ere* 'to urinate' < *h_3mig^h-néh$_2$-*.

An iterative to the strong verb *mīgan- (q.v.). The attestation is late, but in view of Lat. *mingō*, which likewise can have developed from *mig^h-neh$_2$-* (under Thurneysen's law), it is possible to reconstruct an *n*-present 3sg. *h_3mig^h-néh$_2$-ti*, 3pl. *h_3mig^h-nh$_2$-énti*.

mihstu- m. 'dung, manure' — Go. *maihstus* m. 'id.', MDu. *mest* m./n. 'id.', Du. *mest* c. 'id.', OHG *mist* m. 'id.', G *Mist* m. 'id.' (DRV).

A *tu*-stem apparently created to the more primary OE *meox* n., WFri. *mjuks* c., EFri. *mjuks* m., OS *mesk* n., MDu. *mes* m./n. 'dung' < *mihsa- < *h_3mig^h-so-*. See *mīgan-*.

mimza- n. 'meat' — Go. *mimz*, *mims* n. 'meat' ⇒ *mēms-ó- (IE) — ToB *mīsa* f.pl. 'meat, flesh', Skt. *māṃsá-* n. 'meat', YAv. *må̄ŋhəm* 'meat, board', Arm. *mis* 'flesh, meat', Lat. *mēnsa* f. 'table', Alb. *mish* m./n. 'meat', OCS *męso*, Ru. *mjáso*; SCr. *mêso*, Lith. *mėsà* f. 'flesh, meat'; OPru. *mensā* 'meat', Lith. *mėsà* f. 'flesh, meat', Latv. *mìesa* f. 'id.'.

An old PIE word for '(sacrificial?) meat'. Related to Go. *mammo* f. 'flesh' < *mammōn-, which continues either 1. *mamzōn- with assimilation of *-mz-* to *-mm-, or 2. *ma(m)z-mōn-* with the well-attested change of *-zm-* to *-mm-*. For a similar issue, cf. *kramma- 'moist' < *g^wroms-(m)ó-*.

mīna- pron. 'my' — Go. *meins* pron. 'id.', ON *minn* pron. 'id.', Far. *mín* pron. 'id.', Elfd. *maį* adj. 'id.', OE *mīn* pron. 'id.', E *my*, OFri. *mīn* pron. 'id.', OS *mīn* pron. 'id.', Du. *mijn* pron. 'id.', OHG *mīn* pron. 'id.', G *mein* pron. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_1$meino-*.

The possessive pronoun pertaining to *eka 'I' (q.v.). See also *þīna- and *sīna-*.

minna- adj. 'small' — OE *minn* adj. 'small', Du. *min* adj. 'small, slight' ⇒ *mi-nu-o- (IE) — Skt. *minā́ti* 'to damage, diminish, violate' < *mi-n-eh$_2$-*; Gr. μινύθω 'to lessen, fade away', Lat. *minuō, -ere* 'to diminish' < *mi-nu-*.

An adjective derived from a *nu*-present created to the root *meiH-, cf. Skt. *mī́yate* 'to disappear' < *miH-ie-*.

minniz comp. 'less' — Go. *mins* comp. 'id.', ON *minnr*, *miðr* comp. 'id.', Far. *miður* adv. 'worse', OFri. *minn* comp. 'id.', OS *min* comp. 'less', OHG *min* comp. 'id.' ⇒ *mi-n-u-is (IE) — Skt. *minā́ti* 'to damage, diminish' < *mi-n-éH-*; Gr. μείων comp. 'smaller' < *meiH-ion-*; OCS *mьnii* comp. 'smaller, lesser, younger' < *minH-ion-*.

The adverbial comparative pertaining to *līti̯a- ~ *luttila-*. Related to *minna- (q.v.) and - on a deeper level - to *maiwa- 1.*

minþla- m. 'bit of a bridle' — ON *mél, míl* n.pl. 'id.', Icel. *mél* n. 'id.', Far. *meil* f. 'id.' (with unexplained *ei* instead of *æ*), Nw. *mel* n. 'id.', OSw. *mīl* f. 'id.', OE *mīðl, mīdl* n. 'id.', ME *mīld* 'id.', OHG *mindil* n. 'id.' ⇒ **ment-tlo-* (DRV).

A formation created to the root **ment-* 'to chew' (cf. **munþa-* 'mouth'), with the instrumental *tlo*-suffix. ON *mél, míl* arose from an intermediate form **minnla-* with regular loss of the *n* before *l*.

miskan- s.v.(?) 'to mix' — OE *miscian* w.v. 'id.', E *to mix*, MDu. *mischen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *miscan, miscen* w.v. 'id.', G *mischen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **miǵ-ske-* (IE) — Gr. μίσγω 'to mix, bring together', Lat. *misceō* 'to mix, blend' < **miǵ-ske-*; Skt. *mekṣáyati* 'to mingle, stir', OCS *měsiti* 'to mix', Ru. *mesít'* (*mešú*) 'to knead', SCr. *mijèsiti* 'id.', Lith. *maišýti* 'to mix', Latv. *màisît* 'id.' < **moiǵ-sk-éie-*; OIr. *mesc* adj. 'confused' < **miǵ-sko-* (whence OIr. *mescaid* 'to mix' < **miǵ-sk-eh₂-ie-*).

The continuant of an IE inchoative verb in **-ske-*. The verb may originally have been strong, cf. **waskan-* 'to wash' < **uod-ske-*.

mītōn- f. 'mite' — Nw. *mit* m. 'id.', OE *mīte* f. 'id.', E *mite*, MDu. *mite* f. 'id.', Du. *mijt* c. ' id.', OHG *mīza* f. 'mosquito' (DRV?).

A formation that in view of Nw. *meta* 'to gnaw' and *mita* 'to prick' (see **mittōn-*) is likely to have been derived from the verbal cluster of **maitan-* 'to cut' (q.v.). The comparison with Gr. μίδας m. 'destructive insect in beans', for which see **amaitjō-*, is less attractive.

mittōn- w.v. 'to cut' — Nw. *mita* w.v. 'to perforate, prick, sting', MHG *metzen* w.v. 'to cut', G Pal. *metzen* w.v. 'to slaughter, butcher' (IE).

The iterative to **maitan-* (q.v.).

mizdō(n)- f. 'reward' — Go. *mizdo* f. 'id.', OE *mēd, meord* f. 'id.', E *meed*, OFri. *mēde* f. 'id.', OS *mēda* f. 'id.', MDu. *miede* f. 'id.', OHG *miata* f. 'id.', G *Miete* f. 'rent' ⇒ **misd^{h}-eh₂-* (IE) — Skt. *mīḍhá-* n. 'battle, booty, prize, profit', Av. *mīžda-* n. 'reward, prize', NP *muzd* 'reward, payment', Oss. *myzd* / *mizd* 'reward', Gr. μισθός m. 'hire, pay, wages, reward, daily wages', OCS *mьzda* f. 'payment, salary, fee, gift', Ru. obs. *mzda* f. 'recompense, payment', SCr. *màzda* f. 'recompense, payment, pay, revenge, punishment' < PIE **misd^{h}-o/eh₂-*.

An IE compound of the root **mi(s)-* 'to exchange (gifts)' and **d^{h}h₁-* 'to put'. The PGm. form **mizdō-* developed into WGm. **miadō-* (**mē²dō-*) due to (sporadic) loss of *z* before dentals, which is the source of the *r*-less forms OS *mēda, mieda*, OFri. *mēde, mīde*, OHG *miata*. The dialectal distribution of *z*-loss is rather patchy, however, cf. OS *līnon* 'to learn' vs. OHG *lernōn* < **liznōn-*, and Old English preserved a (dialectally dependent?) doublet *mēd* : *meord*.

mōder- f. 'mother' — ON *móðir* f. 'id.', Far. *móðir* f. 'id.', OE *mōdor* f. 'id.', E *mother*, OFri. *mōder* f. 'id.', OS *mōdar* f. 'id.', Du. *moeder* c. 'id.', OHG *muoter* f. 'id.', G *Mutter* f. 'id.' ⇒ **meh₂-tér-* (IE) — Skt. *mātár-* f. 'mother', Av. *mātar-* f. 'id.', P *mādar* 'id.', Arm. *mayr* 'id.', Gr. μήτηρ f. 'id.', Alb. *motër* 'sister', Lith. *mótė* f. 'mother', OCS *mati* f. 'id.', ToA *mācar*, ToB *mācer* 'id.', Lat. *māter* f. 'id.', Olr. *máithir* f. 'id.' < **méh₂-ter-*.

The IE word for 'mother'. The accent seems to have shifted to the suffix in Proto-Germanic already, as the dialects uniformly attest to a form **mōder-* rather than **mōþer-*. This accent shift, which is paralleled by Skt. *mātár-*, is almost certainly analogical to **fader-* 'father' < **ph₂-tér-*. See also **mōþra-*.

****mōhan- ~ magan-*** m. 'poppy' — Nw. *vall-mo(g)* m. ('lily of the valley'), OSw. *val-moge* m. 'id.', Sw. *vall-mo* 'id.', ODa. *val-mughe* m. 'id.', Da. *valmue* c. 'id.', E *maw-seed* 'poppy seed', OS *magon-hōbud* 'poppy head', Du. *maan-zaad* 'poppy seed', OHG *maho*, *mago* m. 'poppy', MHG *mage*, *mahen*, *mān* m. 'id.', G *Mohn* m. 'id.', Swab. *mage*, Cimb. *mago* 'id.' ⇒ **méh₂k-on-* (EUR) — Gr. μήκων m. 'poppy' < **meh₂k-on-*; OCS *makъ*, Ru. *mak*, gen. *máka*, SCr. *mȁk* m. 'id.' < **meh₂k-o-*; OPru. *moke* 'id.', Alb. *mokth* 'pheasant's eye' (with *-th* < **-ḱo-*) < **meh₂k-*.

An ablauting *n*-stem **mōhō*, dat. **mageni* from PIE **méh₂k-ōn*, loc. **mh̥₂k-én-i* (Schaffner 2001: 561-2; Kroonen 2011a: 311-4); Nordic generalized the full-grade root from the nominative and the **g* from the originally suffix-stressed dative; only Nw. Tel. *kvit-mor* 'melancholy thistle' < ON **-mór* may have preserved the original nominative root **mōh-*. In West Germanic, the zero-grade vocalism was leveled, but there must have been a paradigmatic interchange between **mahan-* and **magan-* up to a fairly recent stage, cf. OHG *maho* vs. *mago*. There is no evidence for a root **mēh-* or **mēg-* (*pace* Pokorny IEW: 698; Kluge/Mitzka 1963: 484). These reconstructions are based on the erroneous interpretation of G *Mohn* as continuing PGm. **mēhna-* (with rounding of MHG *ā* before *n*) rather than the thematicized MHG *mahen*, *mān* < **mahna-*.

****mōjan-*** w.v. 'to tire' — Go. *mojan** w.v. 'id.', MDu. *moyen* w.v. 'to bother, annoy', OHG *muojan*, *muon* w.v. 'to encumber, anger', MHG *müejen*, *müen* w.v. 'to encumber, to anger, to annoy', G *sich mühen* w.v. 'to struggle, strive' ⇒ **meh₃-ie-* (IE) — ToA *māskā-* 'to be difficult' < **mh̥₃-ske-* (Peyrot 2011); Ru. *májat'* 'to detain, tire, exhaust' < **meh₃-* (in Slavic, the verb merged with ORu. *majati* 'to beckon', SCr. *mȁjati* 'id.', Lith. *móti* 'id.', Latv. *māt* 'id.' < **meh₂-*, for which see **mundō-*); Gr. μῶσθαι 'to strive' < **me/oh₃-*; Gr. μῶλος 'effort'; Lat. *mōlēs* 'burden'.

A *ie*-present. Note that the Gothic verb is only attested as the participle *af-mauidai* n.pl. 'ἐκλυόμενοι'. See also **mōþu-*.

mōnjan- w.v. 'to tower' — ON *mœna* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **mōn-ie-* (IE) — Av. *maiti-*, Lat. *mōns*, *-tis* m. 'mountain' < **m(o)n-ti-*; OW *minid*, MW *mynyd* 'mountain' < **mon-io-*; Lat. *ēmināre* 'to stand out' < **h₁eǵʰs-mn-eh₁-ie-* (with *i* from unstressed *a* (*schwa secundum*)?).

A lengthened-grade causative to the root **men-* 'to jut out', which is also found in e.g. **manō-* 'mane, neck' (q.v.). Further cf. ON *mœnir* m. 'ridge of a roof' < **mōnja-* and Far. *møna* f. 'ridge of a roof; spinal marrow', whence *møna* w.v. 'to make the ridge of a hayrick'.

mōra- m./n. 'marsh, moor' — OE *mōr* n. 'id.', E *moor*, MDu. *moer* m./n. 'bog, peat, mud', OHG *muor* m./n. 'id.', G *Moor* n. 'id.' (DRV).

An internally-Germanic derivation from **mari-* 'sea' (q.v.).

mōsa- n. 'food' — OE *mōs* n. 'id.', OFri. *mōs* n. 'id.', MDu. *moes* n. 'id.', OHG *muos* n. 'id.' (IE).

A *to*-formation closely related to **mati-* 'food' (q.v.). Also cf. G *Ge-mūse* n. 'vegetables', Du. *moes-tuin* 'vegetable garden' < **(ga)-mōsja-*.

mōtan- pret.-pres. 'to approach, concede to(?)' — Go. *ga-motan* pret.-pres. 'to find opportunity, be permitted', OFri. *mōta* pret.-pres. 'to be allowed, to be able, to have to', OS *mōtan*, 3sg. *mōt* pret.-pres. 'to be allowed, be permitted, have opportunity to', Du. *moeten*, 3sg. *moet* pret.-pres. 'to be obliged to', OHG *muozan*, 3sg. *muot* pret.-pres. 'to find room for, may, be able', G *müssen*, 3sg. *muß* pret.-pres. 'to be obliged to' (IE) — Arm. *matč'im* 'to approach, come close' < **mod-*.

A preterite-present probably based on the root **mod-* as attested in Armenian. See also **maþla-* and **mōtjan-*.

mōtjan- w.v. 'to meet' — Go. *ga-motjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *mœta* w.v. 'id.', Far. *møta* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *myōta* w.v. 'id.', OE *mētan* w.v. 'id.', E *to meet*, OFri. *mēta* w.v. 'id.', OS *mōtian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *ont-moeten* w.v. 'id.' (IE).

A *jan*-verb closely related to **mōtan-* (q.v.).

mōþra- n. 'womb, belly, bodice' — OFri. *mōther* n. 'bodice(?)', MLG *mōder* f. 'womb', Du. *baar-moeder* c. 'placenta', OHG *muodar* n. 'belly, waistcoat', MHG *muoder*, *müeder* n. 'body, bodice, girdle', G *Mieder* n. 'id.' ⇒ **méh₂-tro-* (EUR/IE) — Gr. μήτρα f. 'womb' < **meh₂-treh₂-*.

An instrumental noun created to the same root as found in **mōder-* 'mother' (q.v.). The modern German form *Mieder* arose from an umlauted plural form MHG *müeder* whose diphthong was unrounded dialectally. The non-neuter gender of MLG *mōder* and Du. *moeder* is probably due to influence from **mōder-* 'mother', but in view of Gr. μήτρα it cannot entirely be excluded that PGm. had a feminine variant **mōþrō-*.

mōþu- adj. 'tired, weary' — ON *móðr* adj. 'id.', Far. *móður* adj. 'id.', OE *mēðe* adj. 'id.', OS *mōthi* adj. 'id.', Du. *moe* adj. 'id.', OHG *muodi* adj. 'id.', G *müde* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **méh₃-tu-* (DRV).

A *tu*-adjective to **mōjan-*. Also cf. the derived factitive ON *mœða*, OHG *muoden*, G *er-müden* w.v. 'to tire' < **mōþjan-*.

mudena- adj. 'moldy' — Far. *moðin* adj. 'moldy, musty', Nw. *moden* adj. 'mature, ripe, gone bad', OSw. *moghin, moin* adj. 'mature; ripe', Elfd. *muogen* adj. 'id.', Da. *moden* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **mudʰ-eno-* (NEUR) — Latv. *mudêt* 'to molder, decay, go bad' < **mudʰ-eh₁-*.

A Nordic word, apparently continuing ON **moðinn*. I propose to connect the word to the aforementioned stative Latv. *mudêt*. The received connection with ON *móa-sk* 'to be digested' and Nw. *tyggja mo* 'to ruminate' (cf. Falk/Torp 1960: 727) is less attractive in view of the dentals of Far. *moðin* and Da. *moden* (the velars of OSw. *moghin* and Elfd. *muogen* are secondary). Note that the derivation of Sw. dial. *mo sig* 'to mature' is uncertain, as it may have developed from both ON *móa* and **moða*.

mugan- pret.-pres. 'to be able' — Go. *magan* pret.-pres. 'id.', ON *mega* pret.-pres. 'id.', Far. *mega, muga* pret.-pres. 'id.', OE *magan* pret.-pres. 'to be able, may', E *to may*, OFri. *muga, moga* pret.-pres. 'id.', OS *mugan* pret.-pres. 'id.', Du. *mogen* pret.-pres. 'id.', OHG *magan, mugan* pret.-pres. 'id.', G *mögen* pret.-pres. 'to like' ⇒ **m(o)gʰ-* (IE) — Skt. *maghá-* n. 'power, wealth, gift' < **megʰ-o-*; OCS *mošti*, Ru. *moč'* (*mogú*), SCr. *mòći* 'to be able, be allowed' < **mógʰ-e-*.

A preterite-present 3sg. **mage*, 3pl. **mugunþ* < quasi PIE **mógʰ-e*, **mgʰ-ńt*. The verb probably originally belonged to the PIE class of primary unreduplicated perfectives corresponding to the Hittite *ḫi*-verbs. The different Germanic dialects adopted either the *a*- or the *u*-vocalism to create the infinitives. The *e*-grade of ON *mega*, 3sg. *má*, 3pl. *mega* is analogical. See further **mahti-*.

****mūhan-* ~ *mukkan-*** m. 'pile' — ON *múgi, múgr* m. 'pile, crowd', Icel. *múgi* m. 'id.', Far. *múgvi* m. 'crowd' (also *múgva* f. 'id.' < **mūhōn-*), Nw. *muge* m. 'heap', *mukke* f. 'id.', Gutn. *måckå* f. 'id.', OE *mūha, mūga, mūwa* m. 'heap', E *mow* ⇒ **muk-on-* (EUR) — Gr. Hsch. μύκων 'pile' < **muk-on-*.

An *n*-stem with secondary *ū/u*-ablaut, nom. **mūhō*, gen. **mukkaz*, dat. **mugeni* < **mṻk-ōn, *muk-n-ós, *muk-én-i* (cf. Schaffner 2001: 563-5; Kroonen 2011a: 278-9). After the change PIE **ei* > PGm. **ī*, PGm. **ū* was introduced analogically as a secondary full-grade marker. It thus started to compete with PGm. **eu* from PIE **eu*.

mukkōn-(?) f. 'sow' — MDu. *mocke* f. 'sow; prostitute', MHG *mocke* f. 'breeding sow' (LW) — OIr. *mucc* f. 'pig', MW *moch* f. 'id.' < **mokku-*.

A non-Proto-Germanic, Celtic loanword. It has been proposed that both the Celtic and Germanic word were borrowed from a lost European language (Matasović 2009: 274-5). The restriction of **mukkōn-* to the Franconian dialect area makes it more likely that the word entered Germanic at a late stage, from Celtic.

mūlan- m. 'muzzle' — ON *múli* m. 'muzzle, snout; promontory', Far. *múli* m. 'muzzle, nose; promontory', OFri. *mūla* m. 'muzzle, mouth', MDu. *mule* m./f. 'mouth (of animal)', Du. *muil* c. 'id.', OHG *mūla* f. 'id.', MHG *mūl* n. 'id.' ⇒ **muH-lo-*(?) (GM).

Also cf. Go. *faur-muljan* w.v. 'to muzzle', ON *mýla* w.v. 'id.' and - with a remarkably different meaning - Nw. *myla* w.v. 'to pout, smirk' < **mūljan-*. The word is usually connected to Gr. μύλλον n. 'lip' (cf. Pokorny IEW: 751-2), but the origin of the double λ is uncertain (**-lj-*?), and the root-final *l* seems to have been added within Germanic itself in view of G Bav. *mäuen* w.v. 'to chew, rumigate' < **maujan-* < **mou(H)-eie-*. A closely related ablauting formation is represented by Icel. *maula* w.v. 'to munch', Far. *meyla* w.v. 'to ramble' < **maulō(ja)n-*.

mulki- adj. 'milkable' — Icel. *mylkur* adj. 'giving milk', G Swi. *lind-mulch* 'easy to milk' (DRV).

The gerundive to **mel(u)kan-* (cf. Heidermanns 1993: 408). Cf. Far. *mylkin* f. 'woman who has sufficient milk'.

mulkna- n. 'dairy' — OE *molcen* n. 'curdled milk', MDu. *molcken* n. 'dairy', MHG *molken, molchen* n. 'id.', G *Molken* f.pl. 'whey' (DRV).

A zero-grade formation closely related to **mel(u)kan-* (q.v.), perhaps derived from the past participle thereof.

mulkōn- w.v. 'to milk' — ON *molka* w.v. 'id.', OSw. *molka* w.v. 'id.', OGutn. *mulka* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂mlǵ-néh₂-* (IE).

The iterative to **mel(u)kan-* 'to milk' (q.v.).

multōjan- w.v. 'to become soft' — Nw. *molta* w.v. 'to ripen (of berries)', G dial. *molzet* adj. 'soaked' ⇒ **mld-u-* (IE) — Skt. *mṛdú-* adj. 'delicate, weak, soft, mild', Gr. βλαδύς adj. 'weak', Lat. *mollis* adj. 'weak, soft', OIr. *mell* adj. 'pleasant, delightful' (< **meld-o-*), W *blydd* adj. 'tender, soft' (< **mld-o-*) < **mld-u-*.

A weak verb created to a lost adj. **multu-* 'soft', for which cf. **meltan-*. The shift from 'soft' to 'ripe' must have taken place at an early stage in view of the related MHG *molz* n. 'fruit (of an apple tree)' < **multa-* and EDu. *mouter*

adj. 'overripe' < **multra- / *maltra-*. On the PIE level, the ablaut of Olr. *mell* vs. MW *blydd* may point to an ablauting paradigm, nom. **méld-u-s*, gen. **mld-u-ós*, (Matasović 2009: 262-3).

mulwēn- w.v. 'to soften' — (IE) — Gr. μαλακός adj. 'weak, soft, tender' < **mlh₂-ḱo-*.

A stative apparently created to either the adjective **mulwa-*, cf. MHG *molwic* adj. 'soft', or to **melwa-* 'id.', cf. E *mellow* < **m(e)lh₂-ḱ-uó-*. See also **melda-*.

mump/bōn- w.v. 'to stain' — E obs. *to mump* 'to cheat, get the better of', Du. obs. *mompen* w.v. 'to cheat, deceive, hide' ⇒ **mmbʰ-neh₂-* (IE) — Gr. μέμφομαι 'to reproach, blame' < **me(-)mbʰ-e-*; Gr. μομφή f. 'reproach' < **mombʰ-eh₂-*.

The iterative **mump/bōn-* goes back to **mm̥bʰ-néh₂-*, and is reconcilable with the aforementioned Greek verb. Go. *mampjan* must have been derived directly from the iterative, or otherwise from an unattested strong verb **mimpan-*.

munan- pret.-pres. 'to think, remember, intend' — Go. *munan* pret.-pres. 'to reckon, believe, consider', ON *muna*, *munu* pret.-pres. 'to remember', Far. *munna* pret.-pres. 'to will, be about to', OE *munan* pret.-pres. 'to remember; to consider, think', OS *munan* pret.-pres. 'to judge'; *far-munan* pret.-pres. 'to scorn, disregard, renounce' ⇒ **m(o)n-* (IE) — OCS *помьněти* 'to remember', Lith. *paminéti* 'to mention, recall, commemorate' < **mn-eh₁-*.

A preterite-present 3sg. **mane*, 3pl. **munuƀ* < quasi-PIE **mon-e*, **mn-nt*. The Old Norse infinitive *munu* (cf. ON *skulu* under **skulan-*) has an analogical *u*-ending after the 3pl. form. Related to **muni-*, **mundi-*, etc.

mundi- f. 'memory, mind' — Go. *ga-munds* f. 'remembrance, memory', ON *mynd* f. 'form, image', Far. *mynd* f. 'picture', OE *ge-mynd* f. 'mind, memory, memorial', E *mind*, OHG *gi-munt* f. 'memory' ⇒ **mn-ti-* (IE) — Skt. *matí-* f. 'thought, thinking, mind, attention, intention, song of praise', Lat. *mēns*, *mentis* f. 'mind', Lith. *mintìs* m. 'thought', OCS *pa-mętь* f. 'memory, remembrance, memorial', Ru. *pá-mjat'* f. 'memory, remembrance', SCr. *pàmēt* f. 'mind'.

A *ti*-stem pertaining to **munan-* (q.v.).

mundō- f. 'hand' — ON *mund* f. 'id.', OE *mund* f. 'hand; protection', OFri. *mund*, *mond* f. 'protection', OHG *munt* f. 'protection' ⇒ **mh₂-nt-eh₂-* (EUR/IE) — Lat. *manus* f. 'hand' < **mh₂-no-*; Gr. Hsch. μάρη f. 'hand' < **mh₂-r-eh₂-* (= OHG *lang-mar* 'middle finger'?).

Also cf. Far. *munda* w.v. 'to be able to grasp' < **mundōjan-* and Nw. dial. *fjor-mynda* f. 'newt' (lit. "four-hand") < **-mundjōn-*. Outside Germanic, **mundō-* is often compared to Lat. *manus* (cf. De Vaan 2008: 363-4), but in spite of the obvious semantic match, the deeper link with the root **meh₂-* 'to beckon' has not yet been established. What I would like to propose here, is to derive the Latin and Germanic formations as well as Gr. Hsch. μάρη from this verbal root, for which cf. RuCS *po-mavati* 'to give a signal with one's hand or head', SCr. *màjati* 'to beckon, keep, detain', Lith. *móti* (*móju*) 'to beckon', Latv. *māt* 'id.' < **meh₂-ie-* and Gr. μηνύω, Dor. μᾱνύω 'to indicate' < **meh₂-neu-*. The Germanic *nd*-suffix (PIE **-nt-*) is parallel to e.g. ON *hǫrund* n./f. 'flesh; skin' < **harunda/ō-* (q.v.) and OE *wāsend* m./f. 'windpipe', OHG *weisunt* f. 'id.' < **waisunda/ō-* (q.v.) < **-nt-o/eh₂-*.

****mundra-*** adj. 'lively' — OHG *muntar* adj. 'brisk, cheerful', G *munter* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **mn-dʰh₁-ro-* (IE) — Skt. *médhira-* adj. 'wise', OAv. *hu-mązdra-* adj. 'very learned', YAv. *mązdra-* adj. 'wise' < **mn-s-dʰh₁-ro-*; Lith. *mañdras* (also *mandrùs*) adj. 'cheerful, lively', Latv. *muôdrs* adj. 'cheerful, alert, vigorous', OCS *mǫdrъ* adj. 'wise', Ru. *múdryj* adj. 'id.', SCr. *múdar* adj. 'id.' < **mon-dʰ₁-ro-*.

An adjective that was derived from a PIE composite root **men-dʰh₁-* or **mn-s-dʰh₁-* "to put in mind" with the adjectival *ro*-suffix. For the root **men-*, see e.g. **munan-* and **mundi-*.

****muni-*** m. 'thought, mind' — Go. *muns* m. 'intention', ON *munr* m. 'mind; difference', Far. *munur* m. 'effect, amount, degree; change, difference; balance', Elfd. *mun* 'effect', OE *myne* m. 'mind' ⇒ **mn-i-* (DRV).

An *i*-stem derived from the PIE root **men-* 'to think', for which see **munan-*. Also cf. Elfd. *mun* adj. 'frugal'.

****muniwōn-*** f. 'minnow' — OE *myne* m. 'small seafish, eelpout', MDu. *mone* f. 'rockling(?)', Du. *meun* c. 'rockling', OHG *mun(e)wa* f. 'eelpout', G *Möhn* f., Pal. *Münne*, *Mimf* f. 'dace, chub' ⇒ **mnH-i-ueh₂-* (EUR) — Gr. μαίνη f. 'small fish, sprat' < **mn̥H-ieh₂-*; Ru. *men'*, Cz. *meň* 'burbot, eelpout' < **mn̥H-i(o)-*; Lith. *ménkė*, Latv. *meñce* f. 'cod' < **menH-k-ieh₂-*.

OE *myne* has been analyzed as continuing an independent formation **muni-*, but it is probably better to harmonize it with the other Germanic forms, which point to **muniwōn-*, **munwjōn-* or **munwīn-*. Köhler 1906: 60ff showed that his proposed reconstructions **muniwīn-* and **muniwōn-* should indeed have developed into *myne*, referring to the parallel development of OE *pyle*, gen. *pylwes* 'pillow' < **pulwīn-* (<< Lat. *pulvīnus*).

****munþa-*** m. 'mouth' — Go. *munþs* m. 'id.', ON *munnr* m. 'id.', Far. *munnur*, *muður* m. 'id.', Elfd. *munn* m. 'id.', OE *mūþ* m. 'id.', E *mouth*, OFri. *mūth* m. 'id.',

OS *mūth* m. 'id.', Du. *mond* c. 'id.', OHG *mund* m. 'id.', G *Mund* m. 'id.' ⇒ **mnt-o-* (EUR) — Lat. *mentum* n. 'chin', MW *mant* m. 'mandible, gums' < **mnt-o-*.

A Germanic and Italo-Celtic *o*-stem. It is further possible that the root **ment-* continues **stment-*, for which see **stimnō-*. The root may further be identified in Gr. μάσαομαι 'to chew, bite' (< quasi PIE **mnt-i-eh₂-ie-*) and Lat. *mandō* 'to chew' < **mnt-néh₂-* (with 1. dissimilation of the first *n*; 2. *schwa secundum* in the resulting form **mt-nā-*; and 3. prenasalization under Thurneysen's law). The alternative connection with Hitt. *mēni* n. 'face, cheek' (< **men-ih₁-*, Rieken 1999: 56f.) can only be maintained if the root was **men-* rather than **ment-*, which seems less likely.

****murge/ana-*** m. 'morning' — Go. *maurgins* m. 'id.', ON *myrginn, morgunn, morginn* m. 'id.', Icel. *morgunn* m. 'id.', Far. *morgun* m. 'id.', OSw. *morghon* m. 'id.', Elfd. *morgun* m. 'id.', OE *mergen, morgen* m. 'id.', OFri. *morn* m. 'id.', WFri. *moarn* c. 'id.', EFri. *māiden* m. 'id.', OS *morgan, moragan* m. 'id.', ODu. *morgan* m. 'id.', Du. *morgen* c. 'id.', OHG *morgan* m. 'id.', G *Morgen* m. 'id.' ⇒ **mr(H)k-e/on-* (NEUR) — OCS *mrakъ* m. 'darkness', Ru. dial. *mórok* m. 'darkness, cloud, fog', SCr. *mrâk* m. 'darkness' < **mork-o-*; OCS *mrьknǫti* 'to become dark, darken', Ru. *mérknut'* 'to become dark, become dim, fade', SCr. *mr̂knuti* 'to become dark, darken' < **mrHk-ne-*; Lith. *mérkti* 'to close one's eyes' < **mérHk-e-*.

A word of uncertain derivation. The correlation between **murgen-*, **murgan-* and **murgun-* is unclear. The *u*-vocalism is productive in Old Norse suffixes such as *-ull* and *-ugr*, which often replace *-all*, *-ill* and *-agr*, *-igr*. It is therefore likely that *morgunn* replaces **morgann* (also cf. the *a*-mutation of **u* to **o*), a form corresponding to WGm. **murgana-*. ON *myrginn* and Go. *maurgins*, on the other hand, continue **murgena-* with a suffixal *e*-grade. In view of the parallelism with the suffix of ON *himinn*, Go. *himins* 'heaven' < **hemina-*, a formation based on the locative **hemeni* of a more primary *mn*-stem (see **hemina-* ~ **hemna-*), it is conceivable that **murgena-* and **murgana-* continue the oblique case of an *n*-stem, e.g. **murhō*, loc. *murgeni*, acc. **murganun* < **mrHk-ōn*, **-en-i-*, **-on-m*. The suffixal variation of **murgena-* / **murgana-*, however, is also comparable to the interchange of **-ena-* and **-ana-* in the past participles of the strong verbs.

****murgu-*** adj. 'short' — OHG *murg, murgi* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **mrǵʰ-u-* (IE) — Av. *mərəzu-* adj. 'short', Sogd. *murzak* 'id.', Gr. βραχύς adj. 'id.' < **mrǵʰ-u-*; Lat. *brevis* adj. 'id.' < **mreǵʰ-u-*.

A *u*-stem that in PIE had an ablauting paradigm nom. **mréǵʰ-u-s*, gen. **mrǵʰ-u-ós* (for another ablauting *u*-stem within Germanic, see **gelwa-* ~ **gulu-* 'yellow'). It gave rise to the factitive Go. *ga-maurgjan* w.v. 'to make

short, curtail'. The appurtenance of OE *myrge* 'pleasant', E *merry*, MDu. *mergelijc* adv. 'pleasant' < **murgja-* and OE *mergð*, *myrgð* f. 'joy, pleasure', E *mirth*, MDu. *merchte* f. 'id.' < **murgiþō-* is less certain (especially in view of the vocalism of the Dutch forms), but can be maintained by assuming a semantic shift from 'short' to 'swift' to 'enjoyable' (cf. Heidermanns 1993: 416).

murhōn- f. 'wild carrot' — OE *moru*, *more* f. 'id.', OS *morha* f. 'parsnip', MDu. *more* f. 'carrot; rutabaga', OHG *moraha* f. 'wild carrot', G *Mohr-rübe* 'id.', *Möhre* f. 'id.' (< **murhjōn-*) ⇒ **mrk- ~ **brk-* (NIE) — Gr. βράκανα n.pl. 'wild vegetables' < **mrk-/*brk-*; Ru. *borkan'* 'wild carrot' (>> Latv. *buŗkāns*, Fi. *porkkana*, cf. Plöger 1973: 141-2) < **brk-*; Ru. *morkóv'* f., dial. *mórkva*, SCr. *mr̂kva* f. 'carrot' < **mrk-uH-*.

A European word. The connection with Gr. βράκανα has been questioned in view of the irregular variant βάκανον 'cabbage(-seed)', which points to a non-IE origin (Furnée 1972: 330). Since the Germanic word is likely to be of non-IE derivation, too, the connection can still be maintained on a different level. In all likelihood, the word started out as an indigenous European term (**mrk- ~ **brk-*) referring to a root vegetable, e.g. a carrot, parsnip or turnip, and was picked up by different groups of Indo-Europeans when they arrived in their new European homelands.

In North Germanic, **murhōn-* may have developed into ON, Icel., Far. *mura*, Nw. *gåse-mure* f. 'silverweed', cf. ON *fura* f. 'fir-tree' < **furhwōn-* (q.v.). This is all the more likely in view of the facts that the roots of this plant were often used to supplement the diet, and have a taste similar to carrots. The claim that ON *mura* is in ablaut relation to OE *mare*, allegedly meaning 'silverweed' (Torp 1909: 312), is erroneous, the latter being a ghost word (Schlutter 1925: 189ff.).

murþa- n. 'murder' — ON *morð* n. 'id.', Far. *morð* n. 'id.', Elfd. *mųord* n. 'id.', OE *morð* m. 'id.', OFri. *morth* n. 'id.', OS *morth* n. 'id.', Du. *moord* c. 'id.', OHG *mord* n. 'id.', G *Mord* m. 'id.' ⇒ **mŕ-to-* (IE) — Hitt. *merzi ~ maranzi* 'to disappear, vanish' < **mér-ti*, **mr-énti*; Skt. *mriyáte* 'id.', YAv. *fra-miriiete* 'id.', OP *amriyatā* 'id.', NP *mīr-* 'id.', Oss. *mælyn / mælun* 'id.', Lat. *morior*, *morī* 'id.', OCS *mrěti* (*мьрǫ*, *мьрjǫ*), Ru. *mret'* (*mru*), SCr. *mrijèti* 'id.', Lith. *miřti* (*mìršta*, *miriaũ*), Latv. *mìrt* 'id.' < **mr-ie-*; Arm. *meŕanim* 'id.' < **mer-s-*.

A *to*-stem to the IE root **mer-* 'to die', whence ON, Icel., Far. *myrða*, OHG *murdjan*, MHG *mürden* w.v. 'to kill' < **murþjan-*. Go. *maurþr*, OE *morðor* n. 'murder' < **murþra-* continue an instrumental noun **mŕ-tro-* to the same root. Note that the Hittite form may point to a more primitive (i.e. Indo-Hittite) meaning 'to disappear' (Kloekhorst 2008: 577).

mūs- f. 'mouse, muscle' — ON *mús* f. 'mouse; biceps', Far. *mús* f. 'mouse', Elfd. *maus* f. 'id.', OE *mūs* f. 'mouse', E *mouse*, OFri. *mūs* f. 'id.', WFri. *mûs* c. 'id.', OS *mūs* f. 'id.', Du. *muis* c. 'id.', OHG *mūs* f. 'id.', G *Maus* f. 'id.' ⇒ ***muHs-*** (IE) — Skt. *mū́ṣ-* m./f. 'mouse; rat', NP *mūš* 'mouse, rat', Oss. *myst* / *mistæ* 'mouse', Arm. *mukn* 'mouse, muscle', Alb. *mī* 'id.', OCS *myšь* f. 'mouse', Gr. μῦς, μυός m. 'mouse; muscle', Lat. *mūs* f. 'mouse' (also cf. *mūsculus* m. 'muscle').

A PIE root noun. The word is often connected to Skt. *muṣṇā́ti* 'to steal' (cf. Pokorny IEW: 752-53), but this is formally impossible because of the absence of a laryngeal. For a possible Germanic cognate of this verb, cf. OFra. *chreo-mosido* 'despoiling of dead bodies'.

musa(n)- m./n. 'moss' — ON *mosi* m. 'moss; bog', OSw. *mos* n., *mosi* m. 'id.', Elfd. *muosi* m. 'id.', OE *mos* n. 'id.', E *moss*, Du. *mos* n. 'moss', OHG *mos* n. 'moss; swamp', G *Moos* n. 'moss' ⇒ ***mus-o-*** (EUR) — Lith. *mùsos* f.pl. 'mold' < **mus-* (also cf. Lith. *mūsaĩ* m.pl. 'id.' with secondary long *u*); Ru. *mox* m. 'moss', SCr. *mâh* m. 'moss, mold, bloom' < **mus-o-*; Lat. *mūcus* m. 'swamp' < **m(o)us-ko-*.

A European word. See also **meusa-*.

musī- f. 'mosquito, fly' — MDu. *meusie* f. 'mosquito; fly', EDu. *meusie*, *mosie* 'mosquito', Du. Flem. *meuz(i)e* 'id.' ⇒ ***mus-(i)eh₂-*** (EUR/IE) — Gr. μυῖα f. 'fly' < **mus-ieh₂-*; Lith. *mùsė* f. 'mosquito', Latv. *muša* f. 'id.' < **mus-ieh₂-*; OPru. *muso* f. 'id.' < **mus-ieh₂-*; OCS *muxa*, Ru. *múxa*; SCr. *mùha* f. 'fly' < **mous-(i)eh₂-* (also Ru. dial. *móxa* f. 'mosquito', SCr. dial. *máha* 'id.' < **mus-eh₂-*); Lat. *musca* f. 'fly' < **mus-keh₂-*.

The Dutch material, which points to **musī-* < ****mus-i(e)h₂-*** (= Lith. *mùsė*) is often conflated with Gutn. *mausa* f. 'fly', but this form goes back to **mūsōn-* with an (unexplained) long **ū*. See further **muwī-* 'mosquito'.

muska- m. 'haze(?)' — Icel. *musk* n. 'dust, fluff; haze', Far. *æl-musk* n. 'light shower of rain', Nw. *musk* n. 'fog; drizzle from fog; dark hue' ⇒ ****mus-g/ko-*** (NEUR/WEUR) — To CS *muzga* f. 'pool', ORu. *muzgъ* m. 'mud', Ru. *muzgá* f. 'stagnant water', SCr. *mùzga* f. 'stripe, trail' < ****mouzg-o/eh₂-***.

muþþa/ōn- m./f. 'moth' — ON *motti* m. 'id.', Far. *motti* m., *motta* f. 'mite', Elfd. *måtta* f. 'moth', OE *moþþe* f. 'id.', E *moth*, MDu. *motte* f. 'id.', Du. *mot* c. 'id.', MHG *motte*, *mutte* f. 'id.', G *Motte* f. 'id.' (NEUR).

A zero-grade formation closely related to **maþan-* (q.v.). Also cf. OE *mohðe*, ME *mohthe*, E Scot. *mogthe* 'moth' < **muþikōn-*.

muwī- f. 'mosquito' — OSw. *mygga* f. 'id.', OE *mycge* f. 'id.', E *midge*, WFri. *mich* c. 'id.', EFri. *määge* f. 'id.', Du. *mug* c. 'id.', OHG *mucka* f. 'id.', G *Mücke* f. 'id.' ⇒ **muH-ih₂-* (EUR/IE).

Also cf. ON *mý* n. 'mosquito' < **mūja-* and Sw. *mygg* n. 'id.' < **mujja-*. The word, which appears to be linked to **musī-* (q.v.), has a complicated prehistory. OSw. *mygga* developed from the form **mujjōn-* by regular *Verschärfung* of **-jj-* to *-gg(j)-*. The resulting velar is unrelated to the one in West Germanic, which arose due to velarization of the **w* in the nominative **muwī* (cf. Du. *vreugde* 'joy' < **fruwiþō-*). The new root **mug-* was subsequently generalized throughout the paradigm, and became geminated in the gen. **mugjōz* according to WGm. gemination. The original PGm. paradigm can thus be reconstructed as **muwī, *mujjōz*, continuing PIE **muH-íh₂, *muH-iéh₂-s*. Note that the short **u* in Gm. arose due to the operation of Dybo's law of pretonic shortening. For a parallel development, see **bruwī-* 'bridge'.

N

****nabja-*** n. 'beak' — ON *nef* n. 'nose; bill', Far. *nev* n. 'bill, beak', Elfd. *nev* n. 'nose; mouth, muzzle', OE *nebb* n. 'nose; neb; face', MLG, MDu. *nebbe* m./f. 'beak' (GM).

Possibly related to OSw. *nappa* 'to pinch, snap, pick', MDu. *nappen* w.v. 'to prick, bite' < **nappōn-* < **nop/bʰ-néh₂-*. No clear extra-Germanic cognates. Some have compared the word to **nabō-* 'nave' < **h₃nobʰ-eh₂-* through a meaning 'protuberance, knob' (cf. Magnússon 1989: 662). Another potential lead is Gaul. *nebba* 'bill' as recorded by Pliny (thus already Kilian 1599: 334), but the word is not attested in the later Celtic languages.

****nablan-*** m. 'navel' — ON *nafli* m. 'id.', Far. *nalvi* m. 'id.', Elfd. *navel* m. 'id.', OE *nafela* m. 'navel', E *navel*, OFri. *naula* m. 'id.', Du. *navel* c. 'id.', OHG *nabalo, nabulo* m. 'id.', G *Nabel* m. 'id.' ⇒ **h₃nobʰ-l-on-* (IE) — Gr. ὀμφαλός m. 'navel, shield boss' < **h₃mbʰ-l̥-*; Lat. *umbilīcus* m. 'navel, center' < **h₃mbʰ-e/ol-* + **-īko-*; OIr. *imbliu* 'navel' < **h₃mbʰ-el-ion-*.

The IE word for 'belly-button'. Like the mentioned cognates in the other European languages, the Germanic word was derived from the PIE word for 'nave, hub' (see PGm. **nabō-*) with an *l*-suffix. See also **ambna-*.

****nabō-*** f. 'nave' — ON *nǫf* f. 'id.', OE *nafu* f. 'id.', E *nave*, WFri. *nauwe* c. 'id.', MDu. *nave* f. 'id.', Du. *naaf* c. 'id.', OHG *naba* f. 'id.', G *Nabe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **h₃nobʰ-eh₂-* (IE) — Latv. *naba* f. 'navel' < **h₃nobʰ-eh₂-*; Skt. *nábhya-* n. 'hub

(of wheel)' < *h_3nob^h-*io*-; Skt. *nā́bhi*- f. 'hub, centre, navel (of the body or the world), origin, relationship, family' < *h_3nob^h-*i*- (also cf. OPru. *nabis* 'nave, navel'); YAv. *nāfa*- m. 'navel, origin, blood relationship', NP *nāf(a)* 'navel', Oss. *naffæ* 'id.' < *h_3nob^h-h_2-*o*- (with Ir. *-*f*- < *-b^h-h_2-?).

An inherited word. In view of the ablaut variants mentioned under the closely related **nablan*- 'navel' (q.v.), it is possible that the word originally had an ablauting paradigm, nom. *$h_3nób^h$-h_2, gen. *h_3mb^h-h_2-*ós*. This paradigm further offers a potential explanation for the *Schwebeablaut* of **amban*- 'belly' (q.v.).

nadra- m. 'adder, snake' — Go. *nadrs** m. 'id.', ON *naðr* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$n̥_1tr$-*ó*- (WEUR) — Lat. *natrix* f. 'water snake', OIr. *nathir*, gen. *natrach* f. 'viper' < *$n̥_1$-*tr*-*ik*-.

Also cf. the feminine ON *naðra* f. 'id.'. A West European word of uncertain origin. The connection with **nēan*- 'to sew' through an original meaning 'winder' (cf. Pokorny IEW: 767) is uncertain. Compare, with ablaut, the semantically identical feminine **nēdrōn*- (q.v.).

nagl- m. 'nail' — ON *nagl*, pl. *negl* m. 'id.', Icel. *nōgl*, pl. *neglur* f. 'id.', Far. *naglur*, f.pl. *negl* m. 'id.', Elfd. *nagel* m. 'id.', OE *nægel*, *nægl* m. 'id.', E *nail*, OFri. *neil* m. 'id.', OS *nagal* m. 'id.', Du. *nagel* c. 'id.', OHG *nagal* m. 'id.', G *Nagel* m. 'id.' ⇒ *h_3nog^{wh}-*l*-*o*- (IE) — Gr. ὄνυξ, -υχος m. 'nail, claw, hoof', Arm. *ełungn* 'nail', OPru. *nage* 'foot', Lith. *nãgas* m. 'nail, claw', *nagà* f. 'hoof', OCS *noga*, Ru. *nogá* 'foot, leg' < *h_3nog^{wh}-; Lat. *unguis* f. 'id.', OIr. *ingen* f. 'id.', MW *ewin* 'id.' < *h_3ng^{wh}-.

An *l*-derivative from the PIE word for 'nail', which originally had an ablauting paradigm nom. *$h_3nóg^{wh}$-*s*, gen. *h_3ng^{wh}-*és*. The Old Norse word *nagl* was inflected as a root noun, but this may be secondary: all other Germanic forms point to an original *a*-stem **nagla*-. Also cf. Go. *ga-nagljan*, ON *negla*, OS *neglian*, OHG *negilen* w.v. 'to nail' < **nagljan*-.

naht- f. 'night' — Go. *nahts* f. 'id.', ON *nótt*, gen. *nætr*, *náttar*, pl. *nætr* f. 'id.', Icel. *nótt*, pl. *nætur* f. 'id.', Far. *nátt*, pl. *nætur* f. 'id.', Elfd. *nåt*, pl. *nę́ter* f. 'id.', OE *næht*, *niht* f. 'id.', E *night*, OFri. *nacht* f. 'id.', OS *naht* f. 'id.', Du. *nacht* c. 'id.', OHG *naht* f. 'id.', G *Nacht* f. 'id.' ⇒ *nok^w-*t*- (IE) — Hitt. *nekuz* adv. 'in the evening' < *nek^w-*t*-*s*; Gr. νύξ, νυκτός f. 'night', Lat. *nox*, *noctis* f. 'id.', Lith. *naktìs* f. 'id.', OCS *noštь* f. 'id.' < *nok^w-*t*-.

A static *t*-stem nom. *$nók^w$-*t*-*s*, gen. *$nék^w$-*t*-*s*. In view of the formal and semantic similarities with the adjective **dinkwa*- 'dark' (q.v.) < PIE *d^heng^w-*o*-, I assume that the word started out as *d^hnog^w-*t*- in Proto-Indo-European, and lost its initial dental due to dissimilation against the *t*-suffix. This *t*-suffix is almost certainly parallel to that of **leuhada*- 'light' (q.v.) < **leuk^w-ot-*, cf. Hitt. *lukkatt*- c. 'dawn, next morning' < **l(e)uk-ot-*.

nakwan- m. 'dugout boat' — ON *nǫkkvi* m. 'ship, dugout', Icel. *nökkvi* m. 'id.', Far. poet. *nokki* m. 'small boat', OE *naca* m. 'id.', MDu. *ake, aec* m. 'boat, barge', EDu. *aecke, naecke* 'id.', Du. *aak* c. 'id.', OHG *nahho* m. 'dugout boat', G *Nachen* m. 'barque' ⇒ **nog^{w}-on-* (GM/IE?).

The word has been compared to Skt. *nága-* 'tree trunk' (Lidén 1897: 31-7; Torp 1909: 288). Another possibility is to assume that the PGm. labiovelar developed from a laryngeal before **u*, which would allow for a connection with **nō-* 'ship' < **neh$_2$u-* (Kortlandt 1988b: 256).

****nakwe/ada-*** adj. 'naked' — Go. *naqaþs* adj. 'id.', ON *nøkkviðr* adj. 'id.', OSw. *nakuþer* adj. 'id.', OE *nacod, næcad* adj. 'id.', E *naked*, OFri. *naked, nakend, naken* adj. 'id.', MDu. *naket, nakent* adj. 'id', Du. *naakt* adj. 'id.', OHG *nackot* adj. 'id.', MHG *nacket, nackent* adj. 'id.', G *nackt* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **nog^{w}-e/ont-* (IE) — Close to Lat. *nūdus* adj. 'id.' < **nog^{w}-ed^{h}-o-*(?); further cf. Hitt. *nekumant-* adj. 'id.' < **neg^{w}-m-ont-*(?); Skt. *nagná-* adj. 'naked' < **nog^{w}-no-*; YAv. *mayna-* adj. 'id.' (from "**n^{w}og-no-*" with labial metathesis), cf. Gr. γυμνός adj. 'id.' < "**gon^{w}-no-*" < **nog^{w}-no-*; OIr. *nocht*, W *noeth* adj. 'id.' < **nog^{w}-to-*; Lith. *núogas*, Latv. *nuôgs* adj. 'id.', OCS *nagъ*, Ru. *nagój*, SCr. obs. *nâg* adj. 'id.' < **nog^{w}-o-*.

The IE word for 'naked'. The origin of the Germanic element **-e/ad-*, ostensibly continuing **-e/od^{h}-* is obscure. It has been compared to the dental of Lat *nūdus*, which accordingly has received a reconstruction **nog^{w}ed^{h}-* (Beekes 1994: 91ff.). I rather assume that both PGm. **nakwed-* (ON *nǫkkviðr*) and **nakwad-* (Go. *naqaþs*) as opposed to e.g. MHG *nackent* and MDu. *nakent* developed from **nog^{w}-ent-* and **nog^{w}-ont-* by the dissimilation of the second *n*. The ablaut of the suffix can be accounted for by reconstructing an ablauting *nt*-stem, eg. **nég^{w}-ont*, gen. **ng^{w}-nt-ós*, acc. **nog^{w}-ént-m* (for even older **nég^{w}-mont, *ng^{w}-mnt-ós, *nog^{w}-mént-m* in view of Hitt. *nekumant-*?). The dental-less formation **nakwana-*, as continued by ON *nakinn*, Far. *nakin*, Elfd. *nakun*, Da. *nøgen* adj. 'naked', is probably based on the nominative in **-ont*, where the *t* would regularly be lost in word-final position. As for Lat. *nūdus*, cf. Lat. *ūdus* adj. 'wet, soaked' < **uog^{w}-ed^{h}o-* (see **wakwa-* 'moist').

****namōn-*** n. 'name' — Go. *namo*, pl. *namna* n. 'id.', ON *nafn* n. 'id.', Far. *navn* n. 'id.', Elfd. *nammen* n. 'id.', OE *nama* m. 'id.', E *name*, OFri. *noma* m. 'id.', OS *namo* m. 'id.', Du. *naam* c. 'id.', OHG *namo* m. 'id.', G *Name* m. 'id.' ⇒ **h$_3$nḫ$_3$-men-* (IE) — Hitt. *lāman-* n. 'name', HLuv. *álaman-* n. 'id.', Lyc. *alãman-* 'id.', ToA *ñom*, ToB *ñem* 'id.', Skt. *nā́man-*, Av. *nāman-* n. 'id.', Gr. ὄνομα n. 'id.', Phryg. *onoman* 'id.', Arm. *anun* 'id.', Alb. *emër* 'id.', OCS *imę*, Ru. *ímja*, SCr. *ìme* n. 'id.', OPru. *emmens* 'id.'.

The Indo-European word for 'name'. In view of the ablaut displayed by the attested forms, the original paradigm is likely to have been

proterodynamic, nom. *$h_3néh_3$-mn*, gen. *h_3nh_3-mén-s*. Germanic probably generalized the zero grade root, in which the laryngeal was regularly vocalized. Also cf. Go. *namnjan*, ON *nefna*, OE *nemnan*, OFri. *namna*, OS *nemnian*, OHG *nemnan*, *nemman*, *nennan* w.v. 'to call' < **namnjan-*. For an ablauting formation, see **nōmjan-*.

nanþjan- w.v. 'to dare' — Go. *ana-nanþjan* w.v. 'to dare, take courage', ON *nenna* w.v. 'to be inclined, willing', Far. *nenna* w.v. 'to have the heart to', OE *nēðan* w.v. 'to have courage, dare', OFri. *nētha* w.v. 'to dare', OS *nāthian* w.v. 'id.', OHG *nenden* w.v. 'id.', MHG *nenden*, *ge-nenden* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

In view of the root-final **þ*, this verb is probably a factitive to an unattested adjective **nanþa-* 'daring' < **nónt-o-*; the causative to **ninþan-* would have been **nandjan-* < **nont-éie-*. Further cf. OE *nōð*, OHG *nand* 'rashness' < **nanþa-*.

narwa- adj. 'narrow' — OE *nearu* adj. 'id.', E *narrow*, WFri. *near* adj. 'id.', OS *naro*, *naru* adj. 'id.', MDu. *nare*, *naer* adj. 'id.', Du. *naar* adj. 'disagreeable, dreary' ⇒ *neh_2r-ú-* (NEUR) — Latv. *nārs* m. 'clamp' < *noh_2r-o-*(?).

An "Ingvaeonic" adjective, possibly related to Latv. *nārs*. If this is correct, the *wa*-stem may have developed from *neh_2r-ú-* by pretonic shortening. Also cf. Nw. *naur* m. 'wretch' < **narwa-*, ON *nara* w.v. 'to dwindle' < **narōjan-* and the ablauting Nw. *nor* n. 'sound, canal' < **nōra-* < **noh_2r-o-*.

nasō-* ~ *nusō- f. 'nose' — ON *nǫs* f. 'nostril', Far. *nøs* f., *nasar* pl. 'nose', OSw. *nasær* f.pl. 'id.', OE *nosu* f. 'id.', E *nose*, OFri. *nose* f. 'id.', OS *nasa-druppo* m. 'cold', Du. *neus* c. 'nose', OHG *nasa* f. 'id.', G *Nase* f. 'id.' ⇒ *$nḫ_2$-s-eh$_2$-* (IE) — Skt. *nā́sā-* f. 'nose', YAv. *nā̊ŋha* nom.acc.du.(?) 'id.', OP *nāham* acc. 'id.', Lat. *nāris* f. 'nostril', pl. 'nose', Lith. *nósis*, Latv. *nāss* f. 'id.' < **neh_2-s-*; CS *nosъ*, Ru. *nos*, SCr. *nôs* m. 'id.' < **nh_2-es-*.

The IE word for 'nose'. It is traditionally reconstructed as PIE **nă̆s-* with *a*-vocalism (Pokorny IEW: 755), but Kortlandt 1985a: 119 postulated an ablauting *s*-stem nom. **néh$_2$-s*, gen. **nh$_2$-s-ós*, acc. **nh$_2$-és-m* in order to account for the ablaut of e.g. Lith. *nósis* (cf. Nw. dial. *nos*, Elfd. *nuos* f. 'snout, muzzle' < **nōsō-*) < **neh_2-s-* vs. Ru. *nos* < **nh_2-es-* (cf. Beekes 1995: 180). The origin of the exclusively Germanic ablaut of **nasō-* (ON *nǫs*, OHG *nasa*) vs. **nusō-* (OE *nosu*, OFri. *nose*, Du. *neus*) is unclear, but the root **nus-* is likely to have arisen as a secondary zero grade following a remodeling of the original paradigm (cf. Griepentrog 1995: 323-49). Also cf. MLG *noster(en)*, *nüster(en)*, G *Nüster* 'nostril' < **nustrī*, which possibly continues an old dual PIE **nh$_2$s-r-ih$_1$*.

nata- adj. 'wet' — ODu. *nat* adj. 'id.', Du. *nat* adj. 'id.', OHG *naz* adj. 'id.', G *naß* adj. 'id.' (IE?) — Skt. *unátti*, 3pl. *undánti* 'to well up, moisten' < **u-n-éd-ti*, **u-n-d-énti*.

Also cf. the factitive Go. *natjan*, OHG *nazzen*, *nezzen*, G *netzen* w.v. 'to make wet, wetten'. The origin of the word is uncertain, but it is possible that it continues **u̯nod-o-*, i.e. an *o*-stem adjective derived from the *n*-present 3sg. **unéd-ti*, 3pl. **und-énti* (Weigand 1909-10: II, 276), as the initial sequence **u̯n-* could have been simplified to **n* in PGm.

natja- n. 'net' — Go. *nati* n. 'id.', ON *net* n. 'id.', Far. *net* n. 'id.', Elfd. *nęt* n. 'id.', OE *net* n. 'id.', E *net*, OS *netti* n. 'id.', Du. *net* n. 'id.', OHG *nezzi* n. 'id.', G *Netz* n. 'id.' ⇒ **nHd-io-* (WEUR) — Lat. *nassa* f. 'wicker-work basket', Olr. *nassae* 'bound' < **nHd-to/eh₂-*; Lat. *nōdus* m. 'node' < **noHd-o-*; Olr. *nascaid*, MBret. *naska* 'to bind' < **nHd-ske-*.

A collective formation to an unattested verbal root **nat-* < **nHd-*, which is also to be found in the ablauting ON *nót*, pl. *nœtr* f. 'net' < **noHd-eh₂-*. See also **natjō-* 'caul' and **natōn-* 'nettle'.

natjō- f. 'caul, omentum' — ON *netja* f. 'id.', Far. *netja* f. 'id.', OFri. *nette*, *nitte* f. 'retina', EDu. *net* 'id.', G *Netzen* f. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from **natja-* or the underlying root **nat-*.

natōn- f. 'nettle' — ON *nata* f. 'spear', Far. *nota* f. 'nettle', Nw. *nata* f. 'id.', Gutn. *nata* f. 'id.' ⇒ **nHd-eh₂-* (DRV) — To Olr. *nenaid* f. 'id.' < **ne-nad-i*; hardly to Gr. ἀδίκη f. 'nettle' < **nd-ik-eh₂-*(?).

The nettle is a fibrous plant that was used for making nets, whence the etymological connection with **natja-* 'net' (q.v.). The form of the word can safely be reconstructed as **natōn-*, although Far. *nota* appears to continue a zero-grade variant **nutōn-*. The diminutive **natilōn-*, cf. OSw. *nätla*, *näsla*, *nälla*, Sw. *nässla*, Nw. *netla*, *nesla*, Da. *nælde*, OE *netele*, *netle*, *netel*, E *nettle*, OHG *nezzila*, G *Nessel*, OS *netela*, MDu. *netele*, Du. *netel* is old as well. Outside Germanic, the word reappears in Balto-Slavic and Celtic. Since OPru. *noatis* 'nettle', Pol. *nać*, Cz. *nať* 'plant stem', Slov. *nát* 'id.' < **nāt-i-* and Lith. *nõterė*, Latv. *nâtre* 'id.' < **nāt-r-ieh₂-* have *t* for expected *d*, however, it is likely that they were borrowed from Germanic. This is preferable over assuming a European *Wanderwort* or substrate word (cf. EWN s.v. *netel*), because the link with **natja-* provides the word with a sound etymology.

naust(r)a- n. 'boathouse, boatshed' — ON *naust* n. 'id.', Far. *neyst* n. 'id.', Nw. *naust(r)* n. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from **nō-* < **neh₂u-* 'boat' (q.v.) with the suffix **-sta-* (variant **-stra-*) < PIE **-sth₂-o-*.

nauta- n. 'cattle' — ON *naut* n. 'cattle, ox', OE *nēat* n. 'ox, cow, cattle', OFri. *nāt* m. 'animal', OS *nōtil* n. 'domestic animal' (= dim. **nautila-*), MDu. *noot* n. 'cattle, cow', OHG *nōz* n. 'cattle', G dial. *Noß* n. 'id.' (DRV).

An *a*-stem usually derived from **neutan-* 'to make use of' (q.v.), an etymology that implies a primary meaning 'utilizable cattle', cf. G *Nutz-vieh* 'domestic cattle'. Another possibility is to connect MDu. *noten* w.v. 'to mate (of animals)' < **(h)nutōn-*.

nauþi- f. 'compulsion, distress' — Go. *nauþs* f. 'id.', ON *nauð* f. 'need, difficulty, distress', Far. *neyð* f. 'id.', OE *nīed* f. 'id.', E *need*, OFri. *nēd* f. 'id.', OS *nōd* f. 'id.', Du. *nood* c. 'id.', OHG *nōt* f. 'id.', G *Not* f. 'id.' ⇒ **neh₂u-tí-* (IE) — Identical to OPru. *nautin* acc. 'need'; OIr. *núne* f. 'famine', W *newyn* m. 'id.' < **neh₂u-en-*; Lith. *nōvyti* 'to oppress, torment, destroy', Cz. poet. *naviti* 'to tire' < **noh₂u-eie-*.

A *ti*-stem to the root **neh₂u-*, for which see **nawi-* 'corpse'. Also cf. Go. *nauþjan*, ON *neyða*, OE *nīedan*, OFri. *nēda*, OS *nōdian*, OHG *nōten* w.v. 'to force, compel'.

nawi- m. 'corpse' — Go. *naus* m. 'id.', ON *nár* m. 'id.' ⇒ **nh₂u-i-* (IE).

An *i*-stem closely related to Lith. *nōvė* f. 'oppression, agony, death', Latv. *nâve* f. 'death' < **neh₂u-ieh₂-*. As opposed to its cognates, the Germanic form must continue a zero-grade stem **nh̥₂u-i-*, as **neh₂u-i-* would have resulted in **nōi-* by the change **ōu* > **ō*. This alternation points to a PIE ablauting *i*-stem nom. **néh₂u-i-s*, gen. **nh₂u-é/ói-s*. Further cf. Go. *ga-nawistron* 'to bury', apparently a derivation from **nawistr* n. 'mortuary(?)' < **nh̥₂u-i-sth₂-ro-*. The latter form is unrelated to **naust(r)a-* 'boathouse' (*pace* Lamb/Mitchell 1991: 85). See also **naudi-*.

nazjan- w.v. 'to save, heal' — Go. *nasjan, ga-nasjan* w.v. 'id.', OE *nerian* w.v. 'to save', OFri. *nera* w.v. 'to save; to nourish', OS *nerian* w.v. 'id.', MDu. *neren* w.v. 'to nourish', OHG *nerren, neren* w.v. 'to heal, nourish', G *nähren* w.v. 'to nourish' ⇒ **nos-éie-* (IE).

The causative to **nesan-* (q.v.). See also **nesta-* and **nōzjan-*.

ne adv. 'not' — Go. *ni* adv. 'id.', ON *ne* adv. 'id.', OE *ne* adv. 'id.', OFri. *ne, ni, en* adv. 'id.', MDu. *ne, en* adv. 'id.', OHG *ne, ni* adv. 'id.', MHG *ne, en* adv. 'id.' ⇒ **ne* (IE) — Skt. *ná* adv. 'not', Lith., Latv. *ne*, OCS, Ru., SCr. *ne* adv. 'id.'.

The IE negation adverb.

nēan- s.v. 'to sew' — MDu. *naeyen* w.v. 'id.', Du. *naaien* w.v. 'id.', OHG *nāan, nājan, nāwan* s.v. 'id.', G *nähen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **néh₁-e-* (EUR) — Gr. νέω 'to spin', Lat. *neō, nēre* 'id.', OIr. *sníid* 'to tie', W *nyddu* 'to spin' < **snéh₁-e-*; Ru. *nit'*, SCr.

nìt f. 'thread', Lith. *nýtis*, Latv. *nītis* f. '(warp) thread' < **nh₁i-ti-* (a *ti*-stem derived from an unattested *i*-present **nh₁-éi-ti*, **nh₁-i-énti*).

A strong verb derived from a PIE root **(s)neh₁-*. The absence of the initial *s* in Germanic is unexplained (and therefore called *s mobile*), but is paralleled by Ru. *nit'* and Lith. *nýtis*. See also **nēþlō-* 'needle'.

****nebala-*** m. 'fog' — OFri. *nevil*, *newil* m. 'fog', OS *neƀal* m. 'fog, darkness', Du. *nevel* c. 'mist', OHG *nebul* m. 'fog, darkness', G *Nebel* m. 'id.' ⇒ **dʰnebʰ-(e/o)l-o-* (IE) — CLuv. *tappaš-*, HLuv. *tipas-* n. 'heaven', Skt. *nábhas-* n. 'cloud', Gr. νέφος n. 'cloud', OCS *nebo*, gen. *nebese* n. 'sky', Lith. *debesìs* f. 'sky, heaven' < **(dʰ)nebʰ-es-*; Gr. νεφέλη f., Lat. *nebula* f. 'id.', OIr. *nél*, W *niwl* 'cloud' < **(dʰ)nebʰ-el-eh₂-*; perhaps also here: Gr. δνόφος m. 'darkness' < PGr. **τνοφος < **dʰnog^wʰ-o-* (with δν- as a dialectal reflex of PGr. **τν-*).

An *l*-extension to PIE **nébʰ-os*, gen. **mbʰ-és-os* 'cloud, sky' (continuing older **dʰnébʰ-os*, **dʰmbʰ-és-os*, see **dimban- ~ *dimpan-* < **dʰémbʰ-e-*). It is difficult to identify the vowel that preceded the *l* (if there was one) due to possible West Germanic anaptyxis and cross-dialectal vowel mergers in unstressed final syllables. OHG *nebul* continues either **nebla-*, **nebela-* or **nebala-*, but not **nebula-*, which would have resulted in ***nibul* with raising of *e* to *i*. The usually adduced ON poet. *njól* f. 'night' can be derived from both **nebalō-* and **nebulō-* (cf. ON *bjórr* 'beaver' < **bjǫfurr* < **bebura- 1*). I therefore provisionally reconstruct the root as **nebal-*, although it cannot be excluded that Proto-Germanic had two different ablauting forms, e.g. **nebul-* vs. **nebel-* (cf. Gr. νεφέλη). Further cf. OE *nifol*, ON *nifl-* adj. 'dark' < **nebila-*.

****nēdrōn-*** f. 'viper' — OE *nǣdre*, *næddre* f. 'id.' (also Nrth. *neder* m. 'id.' < **nēdra-*), E *adder*, WFri. *njirre* c. 'id.', EFri. *needer* f. 'id.', OS *nādra*, *nādara* f. 'id.', MDu. *nadre, addre, adder* f. 'id.', Du. *adder* c. 'id.', OHG *nāt(a)ra* f. 'id.', G *Natter* f. 'id.' ⇒ **neh₁tr-éh₂-* (WEUR).

A formation ablauting with **nadra-* (q.v.).

****nefan-*** m. 'nephew, cousin' — ON *nefi* m. 'relative', OE *nefa* m. 'nephew, grandson, stepson', OFri. *neva*, *newa*, *nia(u)wa*, *nōwa* m. 'nephew', MDu. *neve* m. 'relative, nephew, cousin', Du. *neef* c. 'nephew, cousin', OHG *nefo*, *nevo* m. 'grandson, descendant, cousin, nephew', G *Neffe* m. 'nephew' ⇒ **nép-ot-* (IE) — Skt. *nápat-*, OAv. *nafšu* loc.pl.m. (< PIIr. **napt-su*), YAv. *napā̊*, acc. *napātəm*, *naptārəm*, gen. *nafəδrō*, OP *napā* 'grandson', OIr. *nía*, gen. *niad* 'cousin', W *nei*, *nai* 'id.', OLith. *nepuotis* 'grandson, granddaughter', Alb. *nip* 'grandson, nephew'.

A PIE *t*-stem nom. **nép-ōt*, gen. *mp-t-ós*. The dental was lost word-finally in the nominative. The resulting form **nefō* subsequently triggered the transfer to the *n*-stems. See also **neftī-*.

neftī- f. 'niece, cousin' — ON *nift* f. 'female relative, sister', OE *nift* f. 'niece; grand-daughter; step-daughter', OFri. *nift(e)*, *neft* f. 'niece, cousin', MDu. *nichte* f. 'relative, niece, cousin', Du. *nicht* c. 'niece, cousin', OHG *nift* f. 'niece', G *Nichte* f. 'id.' ⇒ **nep-t-ih₂* (IE) — Skt. *naptí-* 'daughter, granddaughter', YAv. *napti-* f. 'granddaughter', Alb. *mbesë* 'niece', Lith. *neptẽ* f. 'granddaughter', RuCS *nestera* f. 'niece' < **nep-t-ih₂-*.

The feminine equivalent of **nefan-* (q.v.). The zero grade of the suffix is expected in formations with the *ih₂*-suffix, cf. within Germanic e.g. Elfd. *ynn* f. 'female grouse' < **urznī-* to **urzan-* (q.v.).

nēhwa- adj. 'near' — Go. *nehv* adv. 'id.', ON *ná-* pref. 'id.', OE *nēah* adv./prep. 'id.', E *nigh*, OFri. *nei* prep. 'to', OS *nāh* adv. 'id.', Du. *na* adv. 'id.', OHG *nāh* adj. 'id.', G *nahe* adv./prep. 'id.' (DRV).

A lengthened-grade adjective derived from the PIE root **h₂neḱ-* 'to reach', for which see **nugan-* 'to suffice'.

neman- s.v. 'to take' — Go. *niman* s.v. 'id.', ON *nema* s.v. 'to take (possession of); to touch; to learn', Far. *nema* s.v. 'to touch; to learn', OE *niman* s.v. 'to take', OFri. *niman* s.v. 'id.', OS *neman*, *niman* s.v. 'id.', Du. *nemen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *neman* s.v. 'id.', G *nehmen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **kom-h₁ém-e-* (IE) — Lat. *emō*, *-ere* 'to take, buy', OIr. *ar-foím* 'to receive, allow' < **ari-wo-em-* < **h₁em-*; Lith. *imti* (*imù*) 'to take', Latv. *jemt* 'id.', OPru. *īmt* 'id.', OCS *jęti* (*imǫ*) 'to take', Ru. dial. *jat'* 'id.', SCr. *jéti* 'id.' < **h₁m-*.

A verb back-formed to the perfective form **ga-neman-*, which started out as **gan-eman-* < **kom-h₁em-e-* (Kortlandt 1992: 104). Unrelated to Gr. νέμω 'to distribute' < **ném-e-* and cognates. See also **nēmi-*.

nēmi- adj. 'takeable, acceptable' — Go. *anda-nems* adj. 'pleasant', ON *næmr* adj. 'quick at learning; deprived of', Far. *næmur* adj. 'apt, quick', MDu. *ge-name* adj. 'pleasant', OHG *nāmi* adj. 'acceptable', G *ge-nehm* adj. 'acceptable, convenient' (DRV).

A *vr̥ddhi*-gerundive to **neman-* (q.v.).

nesan- s.v. 'to save, heal; to be saved' — Go. *ga-nisan* s.v. 'id.', OE *nesan*, *ge-nesan* s.v. 'to be saved, survive', OS *gi-nesan* s.v. 'to be saved', Du. *ge-nezen* s.v. 'to heal; to recuperate', OHG *gi-nesan* s.v. 'id.', G *ge-nesen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **nés-e-* (IE) — Skt. *násate* 'to come together (at home), join', Gr. νέομαι 'to return home, to arrive happily, to get off (from trouble)' < **nés-e-*; Gr. νόστος m. 'returning home' < **nos-to-*.

A strong verb whose meaning 'to be saved' beside 'to heal, save' appears to have arisen in medio-passive use. See also **nesta-*, **nazjan-* and **nōzjan-*.

nesta- n. 'food' — ON *nest* n. 'provisions', OE *nest* n. 'nourishment', OHG *wega-nest* n. 'traveling provisions' ⇒ **nes-to-* (DRV).

Derived from **nesan-* (q.v.).

neþan- s.v. 'to grant safety(?)' — Go. *niþan* s.v. 'to unite (in consanguinity), help' ⇒ **nét-e-* (IE) — Perhaps to ToA *nati*, ToB *nete* 'might, strength' < **not-o-*.

The evidence clearly implies a PIE root **net-*, which finds an excellent parallel in PTo. **nete* (Adams 1999: 342). Within Germanic, I consider **neþja-* 'relative' < **net-io-* to be cognate. The original meaning of the word must have been 'to offer protection', i.e. to relatives and people within the clan. See further **nēþō-*.

neþja- m. 'relative' — Go. *niþjis* m. 'kinsman', ON *niðr* m. 'son, kinsman, relative', OE *niþþas*, *niþas* m.pl. 'men' ⇒ **nét-io-* (IE).

The word is often derived from PIE **nep-t-io-* (for which see **nefan-* 'nephew, cousin'), but the implied cluster reduction is *ad hoc* and must be rejected. Equally uncertain is the connection with Skt. *nítya-* adj. 'innate'. In my view, the likeliest scenario is that the word was derived from the PIE root **net-* as found in PGm. **neþan-* 'to offer protection' (q.v.). Presumably, a PIE **net-io-* was a clan-member, i.e. someone under the patron's protective sphere. A possible feminine form **neþjō-* can be identified in the MDu. suffix *-nede*, *swasenede* 'sister-in-law' < **swēsa-neþjō-* and *enede* 'wife' < **aiwō-neþjo-* (but see **magaþi-* for a different explanation).

****nēþlō-*** f. 'needle' — Go. *neþla* f. 'id.', ON *nál* f. 'id.', Far. *nál* f. 'id.', Elfd. *nål* f. 'id.', OE *næþl*, *nædl* f. 'id.', E *needle*, OFri. *nēdle*, *nēlde* f. 'id.', OS *nāthla*, *nādla* f. 'id.', MDu. *naelde* f. 'id.', Du. *naald* c. 'id.', OHG *nādala*, *nālda* f. 'id.', G *Nadel* f. 'id.' ⇒ **neh₁-tlo-* (DRV).

An instrumental noun derived from the originally strong verb **nēan-* (q.v.). The cluster **-þl-* was metathesized to **-lþ-* in various WGm. dialects, cf. OHG *nālda*, MDu. *naelde*, Du. *naald* as well as in the NGm. formation Icel. *snælda* f. 'spindle' < **snēdljōn-* (with *s mobile*?). The latter form shows the effects of Verner's law.

****nēþō-*** f. 'mercy, safety' — ON *náð* f. 'grace, mercy; rest, peace, quietness', OFri. *nēthe*, *nāthe* f. 'mercy, protection, peace, privilege', OS *(ge-)nātha* f. 'id.', Du. *ge-nade* c. 'id.', OHG *gi-nāda* f. 'id.', G *Gnade* f. 'id.' ⇒ **nēt-eh₂-* (IE) — Skt. *nātha-* m. 'refuge, help' < **nēt-h₂-o-*.

A formation close to Skt. *nātha-*. The word was derived from the PIE root **net-* 'to protect, favor', for which see **neþan-*.

neuhsjan- w.v. 'to search out' — Go. *bi-niuhsjan* w.v. 'to scout out, spy out', ON *nýsa* w.v. 'id.', OE *nēosan* w.v. 'to search out', OS *niusian* w.v. 'to try', OHG *niusen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **neuks-ie-* (NEUR) — Ru. *njúxat'* 'to smell, sniff' < **neu(k)s-eh₂-ie-*; SCr. *njušiti* 'to sniff' < **neu(k)s-ie-* (= **neuhsjan-*).

A root restricted to Germanic and Slavic. Its structure is unclear. Possibly, PGm. **neuhs-* contains the PIE roots **nu(H)* 'now' or **neu-* 'new', but the origin of the second element **-hs-* is obscure. Perhaps, it can be compared to Lat. *careō* 'to want' < **ḱs-ie-*. Within Germanic, further cf. ON *njósn* f. 'spying, scouting; news' < **neuhsīni-*.

neuja- adj. 'new' — Go. *niujis* adj. 'id.', ON *nýr* adj. 'id.', Far. *nýggjur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *ny(r)* adj. 'id.', OE *nīwe, nēowe* adj. 'id.', E *new*, OS *niuwi* adj. 'id.', Du. *nieuw* adj. 'id.', OHG *niuwi* adj. 'id.', G *neu* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **neu-io-* (IE) — Gr. Ion. νεῖος adj. 'new' < **neu-io-*; Skt. *návya-* adj. 'new, fresh, young', OIr. *núae*, W *newydd* adj. 'id.' < **ne/ou-io-*; Lith. *naũjas* adj. 'id.', Ru. *nóvyj*, SCr. *nȍv* adj. 'id.' < **nou-(i)o-*; Hitt. *nēu̯a-* adj. 'new, fresh', ToA *ñu*, ToB *ñuwe* adj. 'new', Skt. *náva-*, YAv. *nauua-* adj. 'new, young', Gr. νέος adj. 'new', Lat. *novus* adj. 'id.' < **neu-o-*.

An adjective of IE origin, probably derived from the adverb **nū* 'now' (q.v.). See also **neuhsjan-*.

neura/ōn- n./m. 'kidney' — ON *nýra* n. 'id.', Far. *nýra* n. 'id.', OSw. *niura* f. 'id.', Elfd. *niu̯ora* n. 'id.', ME *nēre* 'id.', MDu. *niere* f. 'id.', Du. *nier* c. 'id.', OHG *nioro* m. 'id.', G *Niere* f. 'id.' ⇒ **neg^{wh}-r-on-* (IE) — Gr. νεφροί m.pl. 'kidneys' < **neg^{wh}-ro-*; Lat. *nefronēs* m.pl. 'kidneys, testicles' < **neg^{wh}-ron-*.

An organ name with clear cognates in Greek and Latin. The umlaut of ON *nýra* (vs. unfronted OSw. *niura*) is difficult to explain, but may have been triggered by a dative ending **-er-i*. The umlaut doublet is parallel, at any rate, to ON *lifr* vs. OSw. *lyr* 'liver' (see under **librō-*).

neutan- s.v. 'to make use of, enjoy' — Go. *niutan* s.v. 'to acquire use of, attain, enjoy', ON *njóta* s.v. 'to use; to enjoy', Far. *njóta* s.v. 'to enjoy; to keep, retain', Elfd. *niu̯ota* s.v. 'to enjoy', OE *nēotan* s.v. 'to enjoy; to make use of', OS *niotan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *ge-nieten* s.v. 'to enjoy', OHG *niozan* s.v. 'to use; to enjoy', G *ge-nießen* s.v. 'to enjoy' ⇒ **néud-e-* (NEUR) — Lith. *naudà* f. 'property' < **noud-eh₂-*.

A strong verb related to **nauta-* and **nuti-*.

newun- num. 'nine' — Go. *niun* num. 'id.', ON *níu* num. 'id.', Far. *níggju* num. 'id.', Elfd. *niu* num. 'id.', OE *nigon* num. 'id.', E *nine*, OFri. *niugun, niugen, niogen, nigun* num. 'id.', OS *nigun* num. 'id.', Du. *negen* num. 'id.', OHG *niun* num. 'id.', G *neun* num. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁néun* (IE) — ToAB *ñu*, Skt. *náva*, YAv. *nauua*, MP *nō*, Gr. ἐννέα, Lat. *novem*, OIr. *noí*, OW *nauou*, MW *naw*, Lith. *devynì*, Latv.

deviṇi, *devīṇi*, OCS *devętь*, Ru. *dévjat'*, SCr. *dȅvēt*, Alb. *nēntē* num. 'id.' < *$h_1$neun* (also *$h_1$neum* after **dekm* 'ten'); Arm. *inn* num. 'id.' < *$h_1$nun* (with zero grade from the ordinal).

The PIE cardinal 'nine'. The velarization of the *w in West Germanic (cf. e.g. *sū- ~ *suw- 'sow') points to a secondary form **niwun* with a raised vowel, as velarization only occurred between two high vowels of which one was rounded (Kroonen 2011b). The West Germanic raising of *e was regular before *u in the next syllable. See also **newunþ/dan-*.

newunþ/dan- num. 'ninth' — Go. *niunda* num. 'id.', ON *níundi* num. 'id.', Far. *níggjundi* num. 'id.', Elfd. *niund* num. 'id.', OE *nigoða* num. 'id.', OFri. *niugunda*, *niugende*, *niogenda* num. 'id.', OS *nigundo*, *nigutho* num. 'id.', Du. *negende* num. 'id.', OHG *niunto* num. 'id.', G *neunte* num. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_1$neun-tHó-* (IE) — ToB *ñunte*, Lith. *deviñtas*, Latv. *devît(ai)s*, OPru. *newīnts*, OCS *devętъ*, Ru. *devjátyj*, SCr. *dȅvētī*, Alb. *nēntē* / *nāntē* num. 'ninth' < *$h_1$neun-tHo-*; Gr. ἔνατος, Ion. εἴνατος < *$h_1$nun-tHo-*; Lat. *nōnus* num. 'id.' < *$h_1$neun-Ho-*; Olr. *nómad*, W *nawfed* < *$h_1$neum-etHo-*; Skt. *navamá-*, YAv. *naoma-*, *nāuma-*, OP *navama-* num. 'id.' < *$h_1$neun-mHo-*.

The ordinal pertaining to **newun* 'nine'. The Germanic form goes back to a full-grade root *$h_1$neun*, but PIE probably had a zero grade formation *$h_1$nun-(t)Hó-*.

nidwō- f. 'downfall(?)' — Go. *nidwa* f. 'corrosion, decay', ON *nið* f.pl. 'new moon; darkness', Far. *niða* f. 'id.' ⇒ *ni-tueh$_2$-* (DRV).

A *tuh$_2$*-stem derived from the PIE adverb **ni* 'down', for which see **niþera-*. Also cf. OE *nið* n. 'abyss' < **ní-to-*.

nikwas/za- m. 'water monster' — ON *nykr* m. 'hippopotamus, water being', Far. *nykur* m. 'water elf', OE *nicor* m. 'hippopotamus; water-monster', MDu. *nicker* m. 'water-sprite', OHG *nihhus*, *nichus* m./n. 'water-sprite, crocodile', MHG *niches*, *nickes* m./n. 'water-sprite', G *Nix* m. 'river merman' (IE).

The geminate of OHG *nickus* points to *nikwasa- < *nig^w-os-o-* with a vowel behind the labiovelar. In combination with the Verner variant ON *nykr*, OE *nicor* < **nikwaza-*, it can therefore be surmised that the original inflection was athematic, e.g. PIE nom. *níg^w-ōs*, gen. *nig^w-s-ós*, acc. *nig^w-ós-m* > PGm. **nikwō*, **nikuzaz*, **nikwasun*. The stem **nikwas-* gave rise to the feminine derivative OHG *nickessa*, MHG *nixe*, G *Nixe* f. 'female water spirit' < **nikwasjō-*.

Outside Germanic, the word is usually compared to Skt. *nénekti* 'to wash, cleanse', YAv. *naēnižaiti* 3sg.intens. 'to wash down' < *nei-noig^w-* and Gr. νίζω 'to wash, to clean', OIr. *nigim* 'to wash' < *nig^w-ie-* (the latter with *-g^{w}i̯-* > *-gi̯-*). It is conceivable that the Germanic form continues the regular PIE

perfect participle **nig^{w}-uos-*, but the reconstruction of a masculine *s*-stem is more straightforward.

ninþan- s.v. 'to dare' — OHG *gi-nindan* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **nént-e-* (WEUR) — OIr. *néit* m. 'battle, combat, fighting' < **n̥t-i-*.

A strong verb to a root only occurring in Germanic and Celtic. See also **nanþjan-*.

nista- n. 'nest' — OE *nest* n. 'id.', E *nest*, Du. *nest* n. 'id.', OHG *nest* n. 'id.', G *Nest* n. 'id.' ⇒ **ni-zd-o-* (IE) — Skt. *nīḍá-* m./n. 'nest, lair, bird's nest', Arm. *nist* 'residence, settlement', Lat. *nīdus* m. 'nest', MIr. *net*, W *nyth* 'nest, dwelling', Lith. *lìzdas*, Latv. *ligzds* m. 'nest', OCS *gnězdo*, Ru. *gnezdó*, SCr. *gnijèzdo* n. 'id.'.

A formation generally analyzed as consisting of the PIE adverb **ni* 'down' (see **niþera-*) and the zero grade of the root **sed-* 'to sit' (cf. **set(j)an-*).

niþera- adv. 'down' — ON *niðr* adv. 'id.', Far. *niður* adv. 'id.', Elfd. *niðer* adv. 'id.', OE *niþer* adv. 'id.', OFri. *nither* adv. 'id.', OS *niðar* adv. 'id.', Du. *neer* adv. 'id.', OHG *nidar* adv. 'id.', G *nieder* adv. 'id.' ⇒ **ní-tero-* (IE) — Skt. *nitarā́m* adv. 'down, downwards' < **ni-tero-*; Av. *nitəma-* superl. 'lowest' < **ni-tmH-o-*.

An adverb created to PIE **ni-* 'down(wards)' (Skt. *ní*, Av. *nī*, Arm. *n-*) with the contrastive suffix **-tero-*. See also **nista-* and **nidwō-*.

nō- m. 'ship' — ON *nór* m. 'id.', Icel. *nór* m. 'tempering trough', Nw. *no*, *nu* 'wooden bowl' ⇒ **neh$_2$u-* (IE) — Skt. *náu-* f. 'boat', NP *nāv* 'id.', Oss. *naw* / *nawæ* 'id.' (also cf. Skt. *nāvājá-*, YAv. *nauuāza-* m. 'skipper' < **neh$_2$u-h$_2$oǵ-o-*), Gr. ναῦς, Ion. νηῦς f. 'ship', Lat. *nāvis* f. 'id.', OIr. *nau* f. 'id.', W *noe* 'large vase'.

An ancient IE word for 'boat' or - more specifically - 'dugout boat'. The development of PGm. **-ōu-* to **-ō-* was regular in open syllables, but the **u* in this particular word may also have been assimilated by the ending *-m* in the PIE accusative form **néh$_2$u-m*, cf. **g^{w}eh$_3$-u-m* acc. 'cow' > Gr. Dor. βῶν, Skt. *gā́m*. Also cf. OE *nōwend* m. 'skipper' < **nōand-* (with *w* filling the hiatus).

nōga- adv. 'enough' — Go. *ga-nohs* adj. 'id.', ON *gnógr*, *nógr* adj. 'id.', Far. *nógvur* adj. 'much', OE *ge-nōh* adj. 'id.', E *enough*, OFri. *enōch* adv. 'id.', OS *gi-nōh*, *gi-nōg* adj. 'id.', Du. *ge-noeg* adv. 'id.', OHG *gi-nuog* adj., adv. 'id.', G *ge-nug* adv. 'id.' (DRV).

A lengthened grade adjective derived from **nugan-* 'to suffice' (q.v.).

nōmjan- w.v. 'to call, give a name' — MDu. *noemen* w.v. 'id.', Du. *noemen* w.v. 'id.', MHG *be-nüemen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A weak verb derived from **namōn-* (q.v.). The formation preserves the original full grade of the root, which was otherwise lost in Germanic (cf. Neri 2005: 234-5). Note that OFri. *nŏmia* cannot belong here, as **nōmjan-* would have given ***nēma* in this language. I therefore assume that it represents *nŏmia*, which together with OE *ge-namian*, E *to name* continues **namōjan-*.

****nōtan-*** m. 'rear (of a ship)' — Go. *nota** m. 'afterdeck, stern, rear of a ship' ⇒ **neh₃t-on-* (EUR) — Cognate with Gr. νῶτον n. 'back' < **noHt-o-* and Lat. *natis* f. 'rump, buttocks' < **nH̥t-i-* (cf. Torp 1909: 298).

Attested only once in Gothic as the dat. *notin*. The correspondence of PIE **t* with root final PGm. **t* points to a geminate that was shortened in superheavy syllables. This geminate probably arose in the PIE *n*-stem paradigm nom. **nóHt-ōn*, gen. **noHt-n-ós* > PGm. **nōþō*, **nōtaz*. For alternative interpretations, see Lehmann 1986: 269. There is no etymological relation with PGm. **nō-* 'ship' (q.v.).

****nōzjan-*** w.v. 'to refresh, nourish' — ON *nœra* w.v. 'id.', Far. *nøra* w.v. 'to bring up, rear; to increase' (DRV).

A causative created to an unattested *o*-grade intensive verb **nasan-* < **nós-e-*, cognate of **nesan-* 'to be saved, cured' and **nazjan-* 'to save, cure, feed' (q.v.). The ablaut proportion was productive, cf. the creation of **fōrjan-* 'to lead' to **faran-* 'to go' and **gōljan-* 'to greet' to **galan-* 'to shout' (q.v.). Unrelated to ON *nara* w.v. 'to dwindle' **narō(ja)n-* (*pace* De Vries 1962: 405) as the required **nazōjan-* would have given ON ***nera* by ʀ-mutation.

****nū*** adv. 'now' — Go. *nu* adv. 'id.', ON *nú* adv. 'id.', Far. *nú*, obs. *núgv* adv. 'id.', Elfd. *nų* adv. 'id.', OE *nū* adv. 'id.', E *now*, OFri. *nū* adv. 'id.', MDu. *nu* adv. 'id.', Du. *nu*, *nou* adv. 'id.', OHG *nŭ*, *nun* adv. 'id.', G *nun* adv. 'id.' ⇒ **nu* (IE) — Hitt. *nu* conj. 'now, and', Skt. *nú*, *nū́* adv./conj. 'now, just, but', Av. *nū* adv. 'now'.

An IE adverb, to be reconstructed as **nu*. The vowel often became lengthened in the individual daughter languages due to the frequent occurrence of the word in stressed position. Note that OHG *nun* may correspond directly to Gr. νῦν, Skt. *nūnám*, NP *nūn* adv. 'now'. Also cf. **neuja-* 'new'.

****nugan-*** pret.-pres. 'to suffice' — Go. *ga-nauhan*, 3sg. *ga-nah* pret.-pres. 'id.', OE *ge-nugan*, 3sg. *ge-neah* pret.-pres. 'id.', OHG *gi-nugan**, 3sg. *ge-nah* pret.-pres. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂noḱ-* (IE) — ToA *ents-*, ToB *enk-* 'id.' **h₂(o)nḱ(-ske)-*; Skt. *aśnóti* 'to reach, attain', YAv. *-ašnaoiti* 'id.' < **h₂nḱ-neu-*; Lat. *nancīscor*, *-ī* 'to acquire, get' < **h₂ne-h₂nk-*; Olr. *-ic* 'to come'; Arm. *hasanem* 'to arrive' < **h₂nḱ-*.

A preterite-present 3sg. **ga-nahe*, 3pl. **ga-nugunþ* < PIE **-$h_2$noḱ-e*, **-h_2nḱ-nt* (with remodeling of the zero grade). The 3sg. form was borrowed into Balto-Slavic, cf. Lith. *ganà*, *gañ* adv. 'enough', where it gave rise to a number of secondary formations, e.g. Lith. *ganéti*, OCS *goněti* 'to suffice'. See also **nēhwa-* and **nōga-*.

****nurþera-*** adv. 'north, northwards' — ON *norðr* adv. 'id.', Far. *norður* adv. 'id.', Elfd. *norter* adv. 'id.', OFri. *norther* adv. 'id.', MDu. *norder* adv. 'id.', MHG *norder* adv. 'id.' ⇒ **h_1nḗ-tero-* (IE) — ToB *ñor* 'below' < **h_1nēru-*(?); Gr. ἔνεροι 'those below, those below the earth' < **$h_1$ner-o-* (also cf. Gr. ἑνέρτερος, νέρτερος 'below (the earth)', Umb. *nertru* 'left', Osc. *nertra-k* 'id.' < **$h_1$ner-tero-*); unrelated to Lith. *nérti* (*neriù*) 'to dive, sink' < **nerH-ie-*.

An adverb derived from a root **$h_1$ner-* with the contrastive **tero-*suffix. In Germanic, the meaning 'north' seems to have developed from 'below' or 'left', which reveals a geographical orientation towards the rising sun. See also **sunþera-* 'south'.

****nuti-*** adj. 'useful' — Go. *un-nuts* adj. 'useless, unavailing', OE *nyt* adj. 'useful', OFri. *nette* adj. 'id.', OS *nutti* adj. 'id.', MDu. *nutte* adj. 'id.', OHG *nuzzi* adj. 'id.', MHG *nütze* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

An *i*-stem adjective (gerundive?) to the strong verb **neutan-* (q.v.). In WGm., it was remodeled into a *ja*-stem, which again gave rise to OE *nyttian*, OFri. *bi-netta*, OHG *nuzzen* w.v. 'to make use of' < **nutjōjan-*. Also cf. OHG *nuz*, G *Nutzen* m. 'use' < **nutja-* and ON *nyt*, OE *nytt* f. 'id.' < **nutjō-*.

****nut(t)ōn-*** w.v. 'to drive' — Nw. *not(t)a* w.v. 'to drive (a horse)' ⇒ **nud-néh$_2$-* (IE) — Skt. *nudáti* 'to push, thrust, impel' < **nud-é-*; OCS *nuditi* 'to force', Ru. dial. *núdit'* 'to compel, force', SCr. *nȕditi* 'to offer, incite, invite' < **nóud-eie-*.

An iterative 3sg. **nuttōþi*, 3pl. **nutunanþi* continuing PIE **nud-néh$_2$-ti*, **nud-nh$_2$-énti*. See also **hnutt/dōn- 2*.

O

****ōbjan-*** w.v. 'to perform' — OS *ōƀian* w.v. 'to celebrate', MDu. *oeven* w.v. 'to practice', OHG *uoben*, *uoppen* w.v. 'to practice, exercise; to celebrate', G *üben* w.v. 'to practice' (DRV).

A causative with a secondary long **ō*, derived from the PIE root **$h_3$ep-* 'to labor, work'. With the same vocalism, cf. OHG *uoba* f. 'festivity' < **ōbō-* and OHG *uobo* m. 'farmer' < **ōban-*. See also **afla-*.

ōf(e)ra- m./n. 'edge; shore' — OE *ōfer*, *ōfor* m. 'edge, border, margin', MDu. *oever* n./m./f. 'shore', Du. *oever* c. 'shore', MHG *uover* n. 'shore', G *Ufer* n. 'bank, shore' ⇒ *$h_2eh_{1/2}per$-o-* (EUR) — Gr. ἤπειρος, Dor. ἄπειρος, Aeol. ἄπερρος f. 'landmass, coast' < *$h_2eh_{1/2}per$-io-*.

A potential Germanic-Greek isogloss. The appurtenance of Arm. *apʿn* 'shore, coast' (Benveniste 1935: 13) is less certain, as PIE **p* should have disappeared word-internally. It is possible, however, that *pʿ* developed from the cluster *-Hp-* by metathesis to **-pH-*. The underlying form **h_2pH-n-* would then support the reconstruction of an ablauting heteroclitic, nom. **$h_2$ép$h_{1/2}$p-r*, gen. **$h_2h_{1/2}$p-én-s*.

ōgjan- w.v. 'to scare' — Go. *ogjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *ægja* w.v. 'id.', OE *on-ægan* w.v. 'to fear' (IE).

The causative to **agan-* (q.v.).

ōhs(t)nō- f. 'armpit' — OE *ōxn* f. 'id.', OHG *uohsana* f. 'id.' (IE).

The dialects contain a variety of different formations. In my view, the no doubt closely related ON *ást* f., *óstr* m. 'armpit' and especially OE *ōxta*, *ōcusta* m. 'id.' < **ohsta(n)-* show that OHG *uohsana* and OE *ōxn* developed from **ōhstnō-*, a feminine formation derived from a primary *n*-stem **ōhstan-*; the heavy cluster **-hst(n)-* must then have become simplified to **-hsn-* in West Germanic, while Nordic **ōhsta-*, on the other hand, lost the *h*. The additional variants OHG *uohisa*, MHG *uochse*, *uechse* f. 'armpit' < **ōhsjōn-* and MHG *uohsn(e)*, *uehsen* n. 'id.' < **ōhs(t)nja-* are secondary.

The formations mentioned here all have long **ō*, which probably arose secondarily due to the process of deriving the primary *n*-stem **ōhstan-* from **ahsō-* 'axle' (q.v.). They also contain the PIE suffix **-sth$_2$-*, for which cf. **aistōn-* 'testicle'. OE *ōxta* can accordingly be derived from a quasi-PIE proto-form **h_2ōḱs-sth$_2$-on-*.

ōsa(n)- m.(?) 'mouth of a river, estuary' — ON *óss* m. 'id.', Far. *ósi* m. 'id.', Nw. *os* m./n. 'estuary, hole in the ice' (cf. dial. *øse* n. 'id.' < **ōsja-*) ⇒ **$h_{1/3}$éh$_{1/3}$-es-* (IE) — Hitt. *aiš* ~ *išš-* n. 'mouth', CLuv. *āaš-* n. 'id.', Skt. *ā́s-* n. 'mouth, face', Lat. *ōs*, *ōris* n. 'mouth', OIr. poet. *á* 'id.', Lith. *úoksas* m. 'opening, cavity'.

An Indo-European term for 'mouth'. If OE *ōr* n. and OE *ōra* m. 'edge' < **ōza(n)-* belong here, the Verner alternation **ōs-* ~ **ōz-* would be a clear indication of an originally mobile *s*-stem, e.g. **$h_{1/3}$éh$_{1/3}$-s*, **$h_{1/3}h_{1/3}$-es-ós*. Such a paradigm is directly supported by Hitt. *a̯iš*, *aiš*, gen. *iššaš* < **$h_1$éh$_3$-es* (secondary for **$h_1$eh$_3$-s*), gen. **h_3h_1-es-ós*. Note that the lack of an initial *h̯* in the nominative points to **$h_1$éh$_3$-(e)s*, while the vocalism of the genitive at least superficially seems to reflect **h_3h_1-es-ós* (cf. Rieken 1999: 186) with the reversed order of the laryngeals. Kloekhorst 2008: 166, on the other

hand, reconstructs the word as an amphidynamic neuter *$h_1éh_3$-es, gen. *h_1h_3-s-ós.

ōþala- n. 'patrimony' — ON *óðal* n. 'ancestral property, patrimony, inheritance', OE *ōðel* m. 'home, native country', OS *ōthil* n. 'home', OHG *uodal* n. 'ancestral property' (DRV).

A *vr̥ddhi*-formation to **aþala-* (q.v.).

P

pad(d)ōn- f. 'toad' — ON *padda* f. 'id.', Far. *padda* f. 'id.', Elfd. *padda* f. 'id.', ME *pade*, *padde* 'toad; toadstool, mushroom', E *paddock*, MDu. *padde* f. 'toad', Du. *pad* c. 'id.' (GM).

The variation of ME *pade* with *padde* (continuing OE **pade*, **padde*) may point to an *n*-stem with a consonantal alternation, nom. **padō*, gen. **paddaz*. It gave rise to the feminine formation **pad(d)jōn-*, cf. MDu., WPhal. *pedde* f. 'toad' < **pad(d)jōn-* and probably also to the verb Du. dial. *padden* w.v. 'to crawl', if not the other way around. The word cannot be related to Lat. *bufō* 'toad' as if continuing **bod^h-on-*. In agreement with known folkloristic notions concerning the animal, the latter word was actually derived from **g^{w}h$_3$-u-d^{h}h$_1$-on-* "cow-sucker", cf. Skt. *godhā́-* f. 'big lizard' < **g^{w}h$_3$-eu-d^{h}eh$_1$-*.

pagila- m. 'measuring stick(?)' — OE *pægel* 'wine-vessel', E *pail*, MDu. *pegel*, *peil* m./f. 'knob in vessel for liquid goods to measure their contents', Du. *pegel* c. 'peg, pin, icicle' ⇒ **bak-* (EUR/NIE) — Gr. βάκτρον 'id.' < **bak-tro-*; Lat. *baculum* n. 'stick' < **bak-(t)lo-*; OIr. *bacc* m. 'crook, hook'; MW *bach* m./f. 'hook, peg' < **bakko-*.

The diminutive to MDu. *pegge* f. 'pin, cone, peg' (= ME *pegge*, E *peg*) < **pagjō-*. In view of the European distribution of the word and the phonologically abberrant alternation between **bak-* and **bakk-*, it is unlikely that we are dealing with an Indo-European word.

paidō- f. 'coat, shirt' — Go. *paida* f. 'tunic, vest, shirt', OE *pād* f. 'coat, cloak', OS *pēda* f. 'garment', OHG *pfeit* f. 'coat', MHG *pfeit* f. 'shirt' ⇒ **bait-* (LW) — Thrac. βαίτη f. 'coat made of pelt'.

An ancient loanword (cf. Pokorny IEW: 92-3). As PIE did not have a **b*, the initial **p* of the Germanic word is a confirmation of its non-inherited status.

pakka- n. 'bundle, pack' — ME *packe* 'id.', E *pack*, MLG *pack* n. 'id.', MDu. *pac* n. 'id.', Du. *pak* n. 'id.' (EUR/NIE) — Gr. φάκελος 'bundle' < *b^hak-elo-*; Lat. *bāiulus* m. 'porter, carrier' (cf. Prov. *baga* 'bundle', Span. *baga* 'capsule of flaxseed') < **bagi-elo-*(?); ?W *beich* m. 'load, weight, burden' < PCelt **bakki-* / **baski-*.

A "Middle Germanic" word with an obscure prehistory. The restriction of the word to the westernmost Indo-European languages speaks against a PIE origin. This is confirmed by the irregular correlation between PGm. **pakkan-* < **bakk-*, Gr. φάκελος < *b^hak-* and Lat. **baga* < **bag-*. Even within Germanic itself, the word corresponds irregularly to ON *baggi* m. 'pack, bundle', which points to PGm. **bagg-* next to **pakk-*. Did the word enter Germanic twice, i.e. both before and after Grimm's law? The source of the word still remains unknown. W *beich* can be derived from **bakki-*, and may theoretically have served as the source of the Germanic word. The alternative reconstruction as **baski-* is reconcilable with Lat. *fascis* 'bundle' < *b^hask-i-*, however, and speaks against this hypothesis.

paþa- m./n. 'path' — OE *pæð*, *pað* m. 'id.', E *path*, OFri. *path*, *pad* n. 'id.', MDu. *pat* m./n. 'id.', Du. *pad* n. 'id.', OHG *pfad* m./n. 'id.', G *Pfad* m. 'id.' ⇒ **paþ-* (LW).

Also cf. OHG *pfadōn* w.v. 'to go', Du. obs. *na-paden* w.v. 'to track' < **paþōjan-* and OE *pæððan* w.v. 'to traverse', LG *pedden* w.v. 'to step on' < **paþjan-*. A WGm. word without a clear etymology. Possibly, it was adopted from an Iranian source **paϑ-*, cf. Av. *pantå*, gen. *paϑō* < **pont-éh$_1$-s*, **pnt-h$_1$-ós*, perhaps from Migration Age Alanic or Sarmatian (Bailey/Ross 1961; Green 1999: 28). Ossetic *fændag* 'path, road' does not preserve the form **paϑ-*, and builds on PIr. **pantāka-* with the full grade root, but *fætæg* 'leader' < **paϑaka-* does contain the required root. An alternative possibility is to assume borrowing from PCelt. **bato-* < **g^{w}ḫ$_2$-to-*, a formation to the PIE root **g^{w}eh$_2$-* 'to tread'. In the modern Celtic languages, however, the meaning of this word has clearly shifted to 'pass away', cf. OIr. *bath* n. 'death', MW *bad* 'pest, plague'.

piþman- ~ ***pittan-*** m. 'root, pith' — OE *piþa* m. 'pith', WFri. *piid* 'pith, stone (of a fruit)' (< **pidan-*?), EDu. *pee* 'skirwort, skirret, (edible) root', *peën* 'bent grass, tall oat grass', Du. *peen* c. 'carrot' (LW?).

A West Germanic word with an indirect attestation in Far. *piða* w.v. 'to pick the meat from the bone' < **piþōjan-*. The alternation of the stem variants **piþan-* and **pittan-* (**piþþan-*?) points to an *n*-stem nom. **piþō*, gen. **pittaz* < **bít-ōn*, **bit-n-ós*. In view of the suffixation of Du. *peem* 'root (of grasses)', dial. *pessem*, *pettem* 'root, field horsetail' (**-þþ-* > *-ss-*/*-tt-* in the Du. dialects), it is further conceivable that this *n*-stem continues an older *mn*-stem **piþmōn*, **pittaz* from **bít-mōn*, **bit-mn-ós* with dissimilation of

the *m* in the genitive (Kroonen 2011a: 67-8). The etymology of the word is obscure. However, it is formally and semantically close to Ir. *bi(o)th* 'resin, gum', Gael. *bìth* 'gum, pith, tar', W *bywed* 'pith'. I wonder whether the root **piþ-* was borrowed from PCelt. **bitu-* 'pitch' < PIE **gʷet-u-* (for which see **kwedu- 2*). Also cf. Scot. *pich* 'pith' (< OE North. **pihþ*), EFri. *piedek* m. 'id.', WFri. *piik*, *pyk*, *pich* 'id.', MLG, MLG *ped(d)ik* m. 'id.' < **piþika-*.

****plag/kkōn-*** f. 'rag, sod' — ON *plagg* n. 'cloth', MDu. *placke*, *plagge* f. 'rag; sod, turf', Du. *plag* c. 'sod', *plak* c. 'slice, patch', MHG *pflacke* m. 'rag, patch, stain' (GM).

A number of nominal formations probably belonging to an iterative verb **plakk/gōn-*, cf. MDu. *placken* w.v. 'to slap', Sw. *plagg* 'beating', LG *plegel*, G Swab. *Pflegel* m. 'flail' < **plagila-*. If the meaning 'sod' as attested in MDu. is old enough, the root may have served as the basis for **plōga-* 'plow' (q.v.), whose etymology is usually considered to be obscure.

****plehan-* ~ **plegan-*** s.v. 'to take responsibility' — OS *plegan* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *plien*, *plegen* s.v. 'to guarantee, take care of, be accustomed to', OHG *pflegan* s.v. 'to take care of, maintain, nurse', G *pflegen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **pslék-e-*(?) (GM).

The primary meaning of the verb seems to have been 'to take responsibility', whence the more secondary 'to run a risk' (cf. OE *pleoh*, OFri. *plē*, *pli* n. 'danger' < **pleha-* and OHG *pfligida* f. 'id.' < **plegiþō-*) and 'to maintain, care'. This is close to the semantic primitive 'to stake' ("*einsetzen*") that was proposed by Seebold 1970: 364 to account for the potentially related OE *plega* m. 'play', *plegian* w.v. 'to play, dash' < **plegōjan-*. No certain etymology. The connection with OIr. *dligid*, MW *dyly* 'to owe' < **dlgʰ-e-* (see **dulga-* 'debt') is spurious in view of the formal irreconcilability with PGm. **pleh-*. If, however, MHG *spulgen* 'to be used to' < **spulgēn-* is related, it is possible to conjecture a root **pslek-/*ps̥lk-* > PGm. **pleh-/*spulh-* (with loss of the *s* in the cluster *psl-*). See also **plehti-*.

****plehti-*** m./f. 'responsibility' — OE *pliht* m./f. 'danger, damage', E *plight*, OFri. *plicht* f. 'caution, responsibility', MDu. *plicht* f. 'obligation', Du. *plicht* c. 'id.', OHG *pfliht* f. 'fervor, caution, practice, manner', G *Pflicht* f. 'obligation, responsibility' (DRV).

A *ti*-stem to the root of the strong verb **plegan-* (q.v.). The sometimes compared OS *pletta*, MLG *plicht*, MDu., Du. *plecht*, OHG *pflihta* f. 'small (cabin on a) fore-deck' (also cf. OE *plihtere* 'look-out man in the prow') is unrelated. I would instead like to compare this word to the obscure MLG *pligen* 'to steer carefully(?)' and E obs. *ply* 'to beat up against the wind; to tack, work to windward; to direct one's course (in a ship), steer', which ultimately go back to Lat. *applicāre* 'to attach, place close to; to steer' via borrowing from Romance.

plōga- m. 'plow' — ON *plógr* m. 'id.', Icel. *plógur* m. 'id.', Far. *plógv* n. 'jointer plane; groove in a board; plow'; *plógv* f. 'plow', OE *plōh* m. 'id.', E *plow*, OFri. *plōch* m. 'id.', MDu. *ploech* f./m. 'plow; team, group', Du. *ploeg* c. 'id.', OHG *pfluog* m. 'plow; livelihood', G *Pflug* m. 'plow' (DRV).

The etymology of 'plow', first attested in the enigmatic *plaumorati* mentioned by Pliny, is disputed (see e.g. Puhvel 1964). It is believed by many to be derived from the verb PGm. **plehan-* ~ **plegan-* (q.v.), in which case there must have been a shift of meaning from 'to be used to' to 'live' to 'to plow' (cf. OHG *pfluog* 'livelihood'). However, the opposite semantic evolution from 'plow' to 'livelihood' cannot be excluded in view of e.g. Icel. *plógur* m., *plóg* n. 'profit'. Alternatively, it is possible to assume a relation with **plag/kkōn-* 'sod'. PGm. **plōga-* must then be a *vṛddhi*-derivation from this or a related formation. The word was borrowed into Vulgar Latin as **plōvu-* (= *plovum* in the *Edictum Rotharī*), cf. Lomb. *pio(vo)*, and also became the source of Lith. *pliūgas* and OCS *plugъ*.

****plukkjan-*** w.v. 'to pluck' — OE *plyccean* w.v. 'to pluck', ME *plicchen* w.v. 'to pull, snatch, pluck', E obs. *to plitch* 'id.', MDu. *plocken*, *plucken* w.v. 'to pluck', Du. *plukken* w.v. 'to pick, pluck' (GM).

A *jan*-verb derived from the iterative **pluk(k)ōn-* (q.v.).

****pluk(k)ōn-*** w.v. 'to pluck' — OE *ploccian* w.v. 'to pull off, cull', E *to pluck*, OFri. *hēr-plokkia* w.v. 'to pluck out hair', WFri. *ploats(j)e*, *plôk(j)e* w.v. 'to pluck', LG *ploken* 'to pluck' (Diefenbach 1867: 77) (GM).

An iterative verb whose paradigm in view of the derived MLG *plugge*, *plucke* m. 'wooden nail, peg', EDu. *plugge* 'wooden nail, plug, bung, stopper', Du. *plug* c. 'id.', MHG *pfloc* m. 'stake, peg', G *Pflock* m. 'id.' < **plugg/kkan-* is to be reconstructed as 3sg. **plukkōþi*, 3pl. **plugunanþi*. OSw. *træ-pløgger* 'peg' and Nw. *pligg* m. 'peg, pin' have been adduced in support of an ablauting formation **plegja-* / **plegwa-*, but these forms are more likely to have been adopted from Low German. See also **plukkjan-*.

****pōla-*** m. 'pool' — OE *pōl* m. 'id.', E *pool*, OFri. *pōl* m. 'id.', MDu. *poel* m. 'id.', Du. *poel* c. 'id.', OHG *pfuol* m. 'id.', G *Pfuhl* m. 'id.' ⇒ **bāl-*(?) (NIE) — Lith. *balà* f. 'marsh' < **b$^{(h)}$olH-eh$_2$-*; with a dental element: OCS *blato*, Ru. *bolóto* n. 'swamp', SCr. *blȁto* n. 'mud, swampy terrain' < **b$^{(h)}$olH-to-*; Alb. *baltë* f. 'mud, swamp'; MoGr. βάλτος f. 'swamp'; Rom. *baltă* f. 'mud, swamp', Lomb. *palta*, Piem. *pauta*.

A non-IE word in close association with Lith. *balà*. The similar, but apparently suffixed form **b^{h}alH-t-* has a broader geographic distribution, but also seems to be of post-PIE date in view of the irregular correspondence with It. *palta* (Derksen 2008: 53). Perhaps, then, Lat. *palūs*, *palūdis* f. 'fen, swamp' must be included in this cluster of European regionalisms, too.

prakkōn- w.v. 'to press(?)' — LG *prakken* w.v. 'to squeeze', Du. *prakken* w.v. 'to mash' (NEUR).

An iterative verb that can hardly be separated from the strong verb **prangan-* (q.v.) with the same meaning. I therefore reconstruct the formation as **brog^{h}-néh$_{2}$-* without the *n*, which was apparently an infix. Also cf. LG *pranke* 'claw' < **prankan-* < **brong^{h}-n-*.

prangan- s.v. 'to press' — Go. *ana-praggan* s.v. 'to press upon, oppress, trouble', MLG *prangen* w.v. 'to press, clamp', MDu. *prangen* w.v. 'to press, squeeze; to wrestle, fight', Du. *prangend* ptc. 'urgent' ⇒ **brónghe-* (NEUR).

A strong verb with an uncertain etymology. The link with Lith. *brañktas* m. 'swingletree (part of the harness of a horse)' < **brong^{h}-to-*(?) and Latv. *brankti* adv. 'adjacent' (Pokorny IEW: 103) is acceptable. The connection with Scot. Gae. *brang(as)* 'slip of wood in the head-stall of a horse's halter; horse's collar' (Fowkes 1949: 4-5) is probably erroneous as this word may have been borrowed from Scottish *branks*.

preuna(n)- m. 'needle, pin' — Icel. *prjónn* m. 'knitting needle', Far. *prónur* m. 'large pin, fixing pin', Nw. *prjóna* f. 'fixing pin', Da. *pryne* c. 'needle for stringing fish; ring for pigs; eel prong', OE *prēon* m. 'pin, brooch, fastening', E *preen* 'decorative pin, brooch, clasp', MLG *prēn(e)*, *prēme* m. 'awl', MDu. *priem(e)* m. 'needle, awl, pin', Du. *priem* c. 'awl', MHG *pfrieme* m. 'id.', G *Pfriem* m. 'id.' ⇒ **breuk-no-*(?) (NEUR) — Lith. *brùkti* 'to prod' < **bruk-*; OCS *brutъ* m. 'nail' < **brouk-to-*.

The dialectal distribution of the two closely related formations **preuhman-* and **preuhna(n)-* is complementary, and thus may point to dissimilar leveling of a PGm. paradigm, possibly **preuhmō*, gen. **preuhnaz* < **bréuk-mōn*, **bréuk-(m)n-os* (with dissimilation of the *m* in the genitive, for which cf. **budman-* ~ **buttaz* 'bottom'). It is not inconceivable either, however, that **preuman-* conversely developed from **preunan-* by labialization of the nasal. This is perhaps in support of the view that the word was borrowed from Slavic, cf. OCS *prionъ*, which itself is a loanword from Gr. πρίων 'saw' (Falk 1909: 82). There are no additional instances of Slavic loanwords in PNWGm., however, and in view of Teuth. *pryel* 'dagger', Sw. *pryl* 'pin, needle, dagger, spear' < **preu(h)la-*, it seems more likely that the word was inherited. Also cf. MLG *prunen* w.v. 'to seam together badly; to ring a pig' < **preu(h)njan-*.

prik(k)ōn- w.v. 'to prick' — OE *prician* w.v. 'id.', E *to prick*, MLG *pricken* w.v. 'id.', Du. *prikken* w.v. 'id.', MHG *pfrecken* w.v. 'id.' (GM).

A NWGm. word, perhaps ultimately an onomatopoeia. The variation of **prikōn-* vs. **prikkōn-* points to an original iterative 3sg. **prikkōþi*, 3pl. **prikunanþi* < **brig-néh$_{2}$-*, but the root of this formation cannot possibly be

of PIE origin with its forbidden combination of two voiced (glottalized?) stops. Note that the potential connection with Lith. *bráižyti* 'to scratch' (< **b$^{(h)}$roiǵ-eie-*?) is doubtful, because this formation is assumed to be a conflation of *bréžti* 'to scrabble' < **b$^{(h)}$reǵ-* and *gráižyti* 'to cut, carve' (Fraenkel 1965: 56-7).

puh/kkan- m. 'bag' — ON *poki* m. 'id.', OE *pocca*, *pohha* m. 'purse', E *pough*, MDu. *poke* 'bag (for wool)', EDu. *poke* 'hairshirt, crop', Du. obs. *pook* 'bag', G *Pfoch* m. 'id.' (GM?).

An exclusively Germanic word that surfaces with many different shapes in the different dialects. The variation of the stems **puhhan-*, **pukkan-* and **pukan-* can nevertheless be resolved by reconstructing a paradigm nom. **puhō*, gen. **pukkaz* < **búk-ōn*, **buk-n-ós*. No further etymology. The link with Pol. *buczyć się* 'to puff oneself up' < **bouk-eie-* is technically possible, but remains uncertain in view of the restriction of this form to Slavic. In addition, the possibly related Nw. *poka* f. 'pigskin, sward' < **pukōn-* could point to a primary meaning 'animal skin' rather than 'inflate'. See also **punga-* 'pouch'.

pūka-* ~ **pūga- n.(?) 'sheeting(?)' — MLG *pūche*, *pūghe* f. 'blanket, covering', LG *pūch* 'bed', MDu. *puuc* n. '(high quality) sheeting' (GM).

An apparently WGm. word with no clear etymology. The origin of the variation between **pūk-* and **pūg-* is unknown; it is theoretically possible that the former continues Pre-Gm. **pūkk-* with a geminate, but it is unclear where this geminate would have come from. As for the semantics of the cluster, MDu. *puuc* n. 'high quality textile' and Du. *puik* adj. 'fine' have been adduced in order to start from a meaning 'handpicked', cf. Du. dial. *puiken* 'to pick' (Kluge/Seebold 2002: 702). However, this leaves the variant **pūg-* unaccounted for. Related to **puh/kkan-* 'bag' (q.v.)?

punga- m. 'purse, pouch' — Go. *puggs* m. 'id.', ON *pungr* m. 'id.', OE *pung* m. 'id.', ODu. *pung*, *pong* m. 'id.', OHG *scaz-pfung* m. 'id.' (GM).

An etymologically obscure word restricted to Germanic. It is tempting to connect it to the semantically similar **puh/kkan-* 'bag' (q.v.), but this comparison requires the assumption of a proto-form **pu-n-k-o-* with a nasal infix, which is far-fetched.

pursa- m. 'bog myrtle' — MLG *pors* m. 'id.', MDu. *pors(e)* m. 'id.' (NIE).

A resinous shrub that was used as an insect repellent and abortifacient. It is native to northern and western Europe and typically grows in acidic peat bogs. The geographic distribution is in keeping with the linguistic spread of the word; like MHG *borse* and G *Porst*, ON *pors* (cf. Nw., Sw., Da. *pors*) was

probably borrowed from Low German. This means that the word was limited to the Low German and Dutch area. No further etymology.

put(t)ōn- w.v. 'to poke, prod' — Icel. *pota* w.v. 'to prod/tuck into', Far. *pota* w.v. 'to thrust, stick; to prod, poke', Elfd. *puotå* w.v. 'to poke', OE *potian* w.v. 'to push, strike, butt', MLG *pōten*, *potten* w.v. 'to plant in the ground, implant', MDu. *poten* w.v. 'id.', Du. *poten* w.v. 'id.' (GM).

A weak verb closely related to OE *pȳtan* w.v. 'to push, poke, thrust, put', E *to put* < **pūtjan-* and Nw. dial. *pauta* w.v. 'to stick' < **pautōn-*. The secondary nature of the root-final *t* is revealed by the frequentative MLG *podderen* 'to bicker', MDu. *poderen*, *puederen* 'to root; to bother', Du. *peuren* 'to blend' (vs. Du. *peuteren* 'to poke'). Together, all these forms point to an iterative verb 3sg. **puttōþi*, 3pl. **pudunanþi* < **but/d^h-néh$_2$-*. This iterative has no further etymology, and I assume that it was originally onomatopoetic.

R

rada- adj. 'fast(?)' — Go. *raþs* adj. 'effortless, facile, easy', OE *ræd* adj. 'fast', Du. *rad* adj. 'fast' ⇒ **Hrot-ó-* (IE) — OIr. *reithid* 'to run, flow' < **Hrét-e-*.

Possibly related to **raþa-* 'wheel' (q.v.). The adjective became conflated with **hraþa-* ~ **hrada-* 'fast', cf. OE *hræð*, OHG *hrad*, probably already in Proto-Germanic.

radō- f. 'row' — ON *rǫð* f. 'id.', Elfd. *rað* f. 'row, line', MLG *rat* f. 'line, order(?)' ⇒ **Hr̥$_1$$d^h$-eh$_2$-* (IE).

Probably related to the strong verb **rēdan-* 'to decide' (q.v.), thus pointing to a primary meaning 'to order', whence 'to analyze', etc. Also cf. **hund-rada-* 'hundred' (s.v. **hunda- 1*), which contains a neuter variant **rada-* as continued by e.g. Far. *rað* n. 'row, line, rank'.

ragina- n. 'decision' — Go. *ragin* n. 'opinion, law, decree, task, responsibility', ON *regin* n.pl. 'the ruling powers, the gods', OS *regino-giskapu* 'fate' ⇒ **Hrok-én-o-* (NEUR) — OCS *rokъ* m. 'time', Ru. *rok* m. 'fate', SCr. *rôk* m. 'period, time' < **Hrok-o-*.

In view of the internally Germanic cognates Go. *ga-rehsns* f. 'decision' and Go. *rahnjan** w.v. 'to reckon, consider' (for which see **rahna-*), the meaning of the word may have been '(divine) decision'. The cluster can further be connected to the PIE root **Hrek-* 'to speak', cf. OCS *rešti*, Ru. dial. *rečí* (*rekú*), SCr. *rèći* 'id.', but this is less certain.

rahna- n. 'booty' — ON *rán* n. 'robbery, plundering; booty', OHG *rahan* 'booty' ⇒ **Hrók-no-* (IE).

The obviously derived verbs ON *ræna* w.v. 'to rob' and OHG *bi-rahanen* w.v. 'to loot' < **rahnjan-* are formally and probably also etymologically identical to Go. *rahnjan* w.v. 'to reckon' (for which see **ragina-*). The original meaning may have shifted from 'to decide' to 'to lead' and then further to 'to perform a raid', cf. Go. *faura-rahnjan** 'to lead the way'.

****rahō-*** f. 'pole, ray' — ON *rá* f. 'berth in a ship', Far. *rá* f. 'yard; stick, cudgel', MDu. *ra* f. 'stick; yard', Du. *ra* c. 'yard', MHG *rahe* f. 'stick; yard' (WEUR).

A word included in nautical terminology, the original meaning being 'upright stick'; together with Nw. dial. *rage* m. 'thin post', Sw. dial. *raga* m. 'thin tree' < **ragan-* related to the iterative **rakk/gōn-* 'to jut out'.

****raibō-*** f. 'swaddling cloth, wrap' — ON *reifar* f. pl. 'swaddling bands' ⇒ **Hroip-éh$_2$-* (GM).

Also cf. ON *reifa*, OE *ā-rāfian* w.v. 'to wrap' < **raibōjan-* and ON *rifa* w.v. 'to sew' < **ribōn-*. Another potential cognate is **raipa-* 'rope' (q.v.).

****raid(j)a-*** adj. 'arranged, prepared' — Go. *ga-raiþs* adj. 'determined, arranged, commanded', ON *greiðr* adj. 'cleared, ready, settled', Far. *greiður* adj. 'straightforward; gentle', OE *rǣde, ge-rǣde* adj. 'ready, easy', E *ready*, OFri. *rēde, rēd, reid* adj. 'ready; available; payable', MDu. *ge-rede* adj. 'ready; considerable', Du. *ge-reed* adj. 'id.', OHG *gi-reiti* adj. 'ready', MHG *reite, ge-reite* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **h$_2$rei-d^{h}h$_1$-* (EUR) — Latv. *raids* adj. 'ready' < **h$_2$roid^h-o-*; Latv. *rist* (*riedu*) 'to put in order' < **Hreid^h-*; OIr. *réid* adj. 'simple, easy, flat', OW *ruid*, W *rhwydd* adj. 'easy, quick' < **Hreid^h-i-*.

A deverbal noun with gerundival semantics, perhaps a merger of a usual *o*-grade adjective **(ga)-raida-* and a gerundive **(ga)-raidi-*. Created to a European extension of the root **h$_2$rei-* 'to arrange' (see **rīma-* 'number'), viz. **h$_2$rei-d^{h}h$_1$-* "to put in order". Note that Latv. *raids* adj. 'ready, prepared' could be a Germanic loanword, but the ablaut of *rist* (*riedu*) 'to prepare' < **Hreid^h-* and *ridi* m.pl. 'tools' < **Hrid^h-o-* would then have to be secondary. Also cf. Go. *ga-raidjan* 'to arrange, command', ON *greiða* 'to settle, help', OE *(ge-)rædan* 'to arrange' < **(ga-)raidjan-*.

****raiha(n)-*** m. 'roe deer' — ON *rá* f. 'id.', Far. *rá-djór* n. 'id.', Elfd. *rå-diuor* n. 'id.', OE *rā, rāha* m. 'id.', E *roe*, ODu. *rēho* m. 'id.', Du. *ree* c. 'id.', OHG *rēh* n., *rēho* m. 'id.', G *Reh* n. 'id.' ⇒ **Hroik-on-* (WEUR) — Ir. *riach* adj. 'grey' < **Hreik-o-*.

Also cf. the derived feminine OE *rǣge*, OHG *reia* f. 'id.' < **raihjōn-* (hardly **raigjōn-*) and the more primary **rikkī-* with the same meaning. The word

may have ultimately been derived from an adjective **Hroik-o-*, cf. Ir. *riach* adj. 'gray'.

raihō- f. 'row' — Nw. *rå* f. 'border between fields', OE *rāwe* f. 'row' (NEUR?).

A formation possibly ablauting with **rīhō-*. It is usually assumed that the *-w-* in OE *rāwe* (for which also cf. OE *ræw* f. 'row' < **raiwi-*) points to PGm. **raiwō-* < **Hroik-uéh₂-*. The alternative is to connect Lith. *reivẽ* f. 'stripe' < **Hrei-u-ieh₂-*(?).

raina/ō- m./n./f. 'hill, border(?)' — ON *rein* f./n. 'marge, strip of land', Far. *rein* f. 'edge of a field, piece of land', Elfd. *rien* f. 'id.', MHG *rein* m. 'marge, elevation', G *Rain* m. 'id.' ⇒ **Hroi-no-* (WEUR) — Bret. *rūn* 'hill' < **Hroi-no-*.

A Germanic-Celtic isogloss.

raipa- m./n. 'strap' — Go. *skauda-raip* n. 'shoelace', ON *reip* n. 'rope', OE *rāp* m. 'id.', E *rope*, OFri. *rāp* n. 'id.', OHG *reif* m. 'strap', G *Reif* m. 'id.' ⇒ **Hroip-nó-* (GM).

Related to **raibō-*; the root-final *p* continues a shortened geminate that arose by Kluge's law.

raizjan- w.v. 'to cause to rise, raise' — Go. *ur-raisjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *reisa* w.v. 'id.', Far. *reisa* w.v. 'id.', OE *rǣran* w.v. 'id.', E *to rear*, MDu. *reren* w.v. 'to make fall, make shed', OHG *rëren* w.v. 'to cause to fall', MHG *rëren* w.v. 'to cause to fall; to make shed' ⇒ **h₃rois-éie-* (IE).

The causative to **rīsan-* (q.v.). It is unclear why the Nordic forms do not show the effects of Verner's law. Also cf. the derived feminine OHG *reisa* f. 'departure, journey', G *Reise* f. 'journey' < **raisō-*.

raka- adj. 'straight' — ON *rakr* adj. 'id.', LG *rak* adj. 'straight, correct' ⇒ **h₃roǵ-o-* (IE) — Skt. *ṛjú-* adj. 'straight' < **h₃rǵ-u-*.

An *o*-grade adjective to the root **rek-* < PIE **h₃reǵ-*, for which see **rakjan-*.

rakjan- w.v. 'to stretch' — Go. *uf-rakjan* w.v. 'to stretch out, extend, reach out', ON *rekja* w.v. 'to wrap', OE *reccan* w.v. 'to stretch, extend', OFri. *rekka*, *retsa* w.v. 'to reach', EFri. *räkke* w.v. 'id.', OS *rekkian* w.v. 'to tell, explain', Du. *rekken* w.v. 'to stretch', OHG *recken* w.v. 'to stretch, reach, explain', G *recken* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₃roǵ-eie-* (IE) — YAv. *rāzaiieiti* 'to draw a line; to lead'.

Formally, the verb looks like an old causative **h₃roǵ-eie-* to the root **h₃reǵ-*. It is less probable that it continues a factitive to the adjective **raka-* 'straight' (q.v.). The latter may in fact be a back-formation.

rak(k)an- m. '(sleuth) dog' — ON *rakki* m. 'id.', Far. *rakki* m. '(young) dog', Elfd. *rakke* m. 'dog', OE *ræc*, *racca* m. 'sleuth dog', E dial. *rake* 'sheepdog', G Alem. *rache* 'sleuth dog (*Canis Brittanicus*)' (GM).

The dictionaries usually reconstruct **rakkan-*, but E dial. *rake* and G Alem. *rache* point to a variant **rakan-* that is further substantiated by the diminutive MDu. *rekel* m. 'bad dog, male dog', Du. *rekel* c. 'villain' < **rakila-*. Both variants split off from an *n*-stem nom. **rakō*, gen. **rakkaz* (cf. thematicized OE *ræc* < **rakka-*). This *n*-stem has no certain etymology, but may be related to **rakjan-* 'to reach out', cf. OE *racian* 'to direct; to take a course'. Also cf. the conspicuously close **brakkan-* 'sleuth dog'.

****rakkan-*** m. 'parrel' — ON *rakki* m. 'id.', Far. *rakki* m. 'parrel; jaw rope, gaffe parrel', OE *racca* m. 'parrel', Du. *rak* n. 'id.' (< Scand.?) ⇒ **Hroḱ-on-* (IE) — Skt. *raśaná-* f. 'rope, cord', NP *rasan* 'rope' < **Hreḱ-en-eh₂-*; Skt. *raśmí-* m. 'rein' < **Hre/oḱ-mi-*.

A nautical term, cf. British MLat. *racka* and MFr. *raque*. The geminate of the word probably results from leveling in an original paradigm nom. **rahō*, gen. **rakkaz* < **Hroḱ-ōn*, **Hroḱ-n-ós*. The analogically formed root variant **rak-* (as in ON *rak* n. 'wick'?) seems to have served as the basis for ON *rekendi* n. 'chain' < **rakindja-*. OE *race(n)te* f. 'fetter' and OHG *rahhinza* f. 'id.' belong here, too, but the suffix of this formation is obscure.

****rakk/gōn-*** w.v. 'to move to and fro' — Icel. *raga* w.v. 'to stroll', Far. *ragga* w.v. 'to walk slowly', Nw. *rakka* w.v. 'to swerve, roam', MDu. *raggen* w.v. 'to run, be wild', G Pal. *racken* w.v. 'to rock, swing' (IE?).

An *o*-grade iterative related to **rukk/gōn- 1* (q.v.).

****rak(k)ōn-*** w.v. 'to incline' — E *to rake* 'id.', EDu. *racken* w.v. 'to turn, be bent, incline' (GM).

Also cf. EDu. *racke* 'twist'. No certain etymology. Perhaps rather to be reconstructed as **hrak(k)ōn-* in view of the potential link with **hrag/kkōn-* 'to jut out' (< 'to be uneven'?).

****ramma-*** m. 'ram' — OE *ram* m. 'id.', E *ram*, MDu. *ram* m. 'id.', Du. *ram* c. 'id.', OHG *ram*, *rammo* m. 'id.', G *Ramm* m. 'id.' (DRV?).

The original meaning of this word may have been 'to batter', cf. (M)Du., MHG *rammen* 'to batter; be in heat', E *to ram* < **rammōn-*. It may secondarily have come in use for the male sheep in view of its characteristic butting. The primary nature of the verb is further supported by the iterative variant **ramōn-* attested as G Rhnl. *ramen* 'to batter, have sex'.

****ranka-*** adj. 'erect' — ON *rakkr* adj. 'id.' (also *hug-rakkr* 'bold'), OE *ranc* adj. 'proud, arrogant', E *rank*, MDu. *ranc* adj. 'slim', Du. *rank* adj. 'tall' ⇒

*h_3r-on-ǵ-o- (IE) — Lith. *rąžyti* 'to stretch' < *h_3r-on-ǵ-eie-; Skt. *ṛñjáti* 'to stretch, direct (oneself)' < *h_3r-n-ǵ-é-.

An adjective derived from the nasal present *rinkan- 'to be straight' < *h_3r-én-ǵ-e-, which is possibly attested as Far. *røkka* s.v. 'to reach'.

***rannjan-** w.v. 'to cause to run' — Go. *ur-rannjan* w.v. 'to cause to rise', ON *renna* w.v. 'to make run', OS *rennian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *rennen* w.v. 'to run', OHG *rennen* w.v. 'id.', G *rennen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

The causative to *rinnan- (q.v.).

***rastō-** f. 'interval' — Go. *rasta* f. 'mile', ON *rǫst* f. 'id.', OE *ræst* f. 'rest, peace, grave', E *rest*, OS *rasta* f. 'rest, resting place, grave', OHG *rasta* f. 'rest, length (of three hours)' (DRV).

A *teh$_2$*-stem to the root of ON *rasa* w.v. 'to rush' (Bjorvand 2011: 11-2), cf. ON *rás* f. 'running; course' < *rēsō-. Unrelated to *rōō- 'rest'.

***raþa-** n. 'wheel' — OFri. *reth* n. 'id.', ODu. *rath* n. 'id.', Du. *rad* n. 'id.', OHG *rad, hrad* n. 'id.', G *Rad* n. 'id.' ⇒ *Hrót-h$_2$-o- (IE) — Skt. *rátha-*, YAv. *raϑa-* m. 'chariot', Lith. *rãtas* m. 'wheel, circle, ring', pl. 'cart' < *Hrot-h$_2$-o-; Lat. *rota* f. 'wheel' < *Hrot-eh$_2$-.

An IE word for 'wheel'. Possibly, the different attestations are continuations of an ablauting *h$_2$*-stem, e.g. *Hrót-(e)h$_2$, gen. *Hr(o)t-h$_2$-ós.

***raþan- ~ *ratta(n)-** m. 'rat' — OE *ræt* m. 'id.', E *rat*, WFri. *rôt* c. 'id.', OS *ratta* f. 'id.', MDu. *ratte, rotte* f. 'id.', Du. *rat* c. 'id.', OHG *rato, ratto* m. 'id.', MHG *ratze* m. 'id.', G *Ratte* f. 'id.' ⇒ *Hrót-on- (GM).

A word restricted to Germanic. The original (ablauting) paradigm was nom. *raþō, gen. *ruttaz, dat. *rudeni < *Hrót-ōn, *Hrt-n-ós, *Hrt-én-i (with *-ru-* replacing *-ur-* on the basis of analogy with the full grade). The **þ* of this paradigm precludes the standard etymological links with MHG *ræze* adj. 'sharp' < *rēti- 'sharp' (cf. Pokorny IEW: 854) and Lat. *rādō, -ere*, MW *rathu* 'to scrape, scratch' < *razd- (cf. Matasović 2011: 32). The other consonantisms arose by Kluge's law and subsequent paradigmatic contamination (Kroonen 2011a: 221-3). G *Ratte* < *raþþōn-, for instance, is an obvious contamination of the nominative with the genitive case. The zero grade *rutt- was preserved in MDu. *rot* (also cf. Du. *land-rot* 'landlubber') and MLG *rotte*, whence Icel., Far. *rotta*, Da., Nw. *rotte*.

***raþjōn-** f. 'account(?)' — Go. *raþjo* f. 'counting, account, explanation, number', OFri. *rethia* f. 'talk, acount', OS *rethia* f. 'id.', OHG *red(e)a* f. 'account, reasoning, speech', G *Rede* f. 'speech' ⇒ *h$_2$rh$_1$-t-ieh$_2$- (IE?) — Lat. *ratiō* f. 'reason'.

The Germanic word appears to be formally parallel to Lat. *ratiō*, but while the Latin formation clearly belongs to the verb Lat. *reor* 'to think, believe' < **h₂reh₁-ie-* and must have been derived from it with a dental suffix (cf. *ratus* ptc. < **h₂rh₁-to-*), no such derivational pathway is available for PGm. **raþ-*. This **raþ-* rather functioned as a primary verbal root in synchronic Germanic, cf. Go. *ga-raþans** ptc. 'counted', which implies a strong verb *raþan** or *raþjan** < **h₂rḫ₁-t-*.

****rauba-*** m./n. 'loot' — OE *rēaf* n. 'spoil, booty; garment, robe', OFri. *rāf* n. 'booty', OS *nōd-rōf* m. 'violent robbery', Du. *roof* c. 'theft, robbery', OHG *roub* m. 'robbery, booty', G *Raub* m. 'id.' ⇒ **Hroup-ó-* (DRV).

Derived from **reufan-* (q.v.).

****raubjan-*** w.v. 'to break (off), tear off, rob' — ON *reyfa* w.v. 'to break, tear; to rob', OE *be-rīefan* w.v. 'to rob', E *to bereave* ⇒ **Hroup-éie-* (IE).

A merger of an intensive formation to the strong verb **reufan-* (q.v.) and a denominal formation derived from **rauba-* (q.v.).

****raubō-*** f. 'rift' — ON *rauf* f. 'rift, hole', Far. *reyv* f. 'seat; behind, rump', Elfd. *rov* f. 'tail; behind', Da. *røv* c. 'behind' ⇒ **Hroup-éh₂-* (DRV).

A feminine *ō*-stem derived from **reufan-* (q.v.). It is formally parallel to SCr. *rupa* f. 'hole' < **Hroup-eh₂-*.

****rauda-*** adj. 'red' — Go. *rauþs* adj. 'id.', ON *rauðr* adj. 'id.', Far. *reyður* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *roð* adj. 'id.', OE *rēad* adj. 'id.', E *red*, OFri. *rād* adj. 'red, yellow', OS *rōd* adj. 'red', Du. *rood* adj. 'id.', OHG *rōt* adj. 'id.', G *rot* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁roudʰ-o-* (IE) — Lith. *raũdas* adj. 'reddish brown, bay, reddish', Ru. dial. *rúdyj* adj. 'blood-red', SCr. *rûd* adj. 'reddish', Lat. *rūfus* adj. 'red, tawny, red-haired', OIr. *rúad*, MW *rhudd* adj. 'red' < **h₁roudʰ-o-*.

An *o*-grade adjective related to **reudan- 1* (q.v.).

****rauki-*** m. 'smoke' — ON *reykr* m. 'smoke, steam', Far. *roykur* m. 'smoke; dust; smell', Elfd. *räk* m. 'smoke', OE *rēc* m. 'id.', OFri. *rēk* m. 'id.', OS *rōk* m. 'id.', Du. *rook* c. 'id.', OHG *rouh* m. 'id.', G *Rauch* m. 'id.' (DRV).

An *i*-stem derived from the strong verb **reukan-* ~ **rūkan-* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *ryk* n. 'dust' < **rukja-*.

****raupjan-*** w.v. 'to tear (off)' — Go. *raupjan* w.v. 'to rip', OE *rīepan* w.v. 'to loot', E *to reap*, EDu. *ropen* w.v. 'to pluck, tear off', OHG *roufen* w.v. 'to rip, tear' (DRV).

A causative (or intensive) formation that in view of the root-final *p* must have been derived directly from the iterative **rupp/bōn-* (q.v.), which syn-

chronically belonged to the strong verb **reufan-* (q.v.). The original causative is preserved as **raubjan-* (q.v.). Also cf. ME *ryppen*, E *to rip* < **ruppjan-*.

rautōjan- w.v. 'to roar(?)' — ON *rauta* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **Hroud-eh₂-ie-* (IE) — Lith. *raudóti* (*raudóju*), Latv. *raûdât* 'to lament' < **Hroud-eh₂-ie-*.

A denominal formation implying PGm. **rauta-*, cf. Nw. dial. *raut* n. 'bellowing'. Related to **reutan-* (q.v.).

rauza- n. 'reed' — Go. *raus* n. 'id.', ON *reyrr* m., *reyr* f. 'id.', Icel. *reyr* n. 'id.', Far. *royggj* n. 'reed canary grass' (with analogical removal of the *-r*), OFri. *rēr* m. 'reed (stalk)', MDu. *roer* n. 'id.', OHG *rōr* n. 'id.', G *Rohr* n. 'reed; pipe, tube' (GM).

An etymologically obscure word. The formal and semantic similarities with OCS *rogozъ* m. 'papyrus', Ru. *rogóz* m. 'bulrush; cattail', SCr. *rogoz* 'sedge' < PSlav. **rogozъ* are striking (Hirt 1897: 234-5), but Slavic **z* does not regularly correspond to PGm. **z*. In addition, the Slavic formation may very well have metathesized from **rozog-* in view of OCS *rozga* f. 'twig' and Lith. *règzti* 'to plait' < PIE **resg-*. Also cf. OHG *rōria*, G *Rōhre* f. 'tube' < **rauzjō-*.

rawwō- f. '(plucked) wool' — ON *rǫggr* m., *rǫgg* f. 'shaggy hair or wool', Icel. *rōgg* f. 'id.', Nw. *ragg* n. 'coarse hair of animals (esp. goats)' ⇒ **HrouH-ó-* (IE).

A nominal formation that given the operation of Holtzmann's law must be of considerable antiquity; the related verbs **rewan-* and **rūjan-* in contrast do not have it, at any rate.

razdō- f. 'voice' — Go. *razda* f. 'language, speech', ON *rǫdd* f. 'voice', Far. *rødd* f. 'id.', OE *reord* f. 'speech, language, voice', OHG *rarta* f. 'sound, voice' ⇒ **Hros-dʰh₁-eh₂-*(?) (IE) — To Skt. *rásati* 'to roar' < **Hrés-e-*?

A formation traditionally analyzed as a compound consisting of the roots **Hros-* 'to sound' and **dʰh₁-* 'to put' (Pokorny IEW: 852). The alternative, to reconstruct a formation **Hrh₁dʰ-to-* related to **rēdan-* q.v. (Hill 2003: 218-20), is formally difficult.

rebja- n. 'rib' — ON *rif* n. 'id.', Far. *riv* n. 'rib; reef', OE *rib* n. 'rib', E *rib*, OFri. *rib* m. 'id.', MDu. *ribbe* n./f. 'id.', Du. *rib* c. 'id.', OHG *rippi* n. 'id.', G *Rippe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁rebʰ-io-* (IE) — Gr. ἐρέφω 'to roof' < **h₁rébʰ-e-*; Gr. ὄροφος m. 'roof' < **h₁robʰ-o-*; OCS *rebro* n. 'rib', Ru. *rebró* n. 'id.', SCr. *rèbro* n. 'id.' < **h₁rebʰ-ro-*.

A collective formation cognate with OHG *hirni-reba* f. 'skull' < **rebōn-*. Unrelated to **rēfiz-* 'roof beam' (q.v.).

rēdan- s.v. 'to decide' — Go. *ga-redan* s.v. 'to plan, intend', ON *ráða* s.v. 'to advise, counsel; to consult about; to devise, plan', Far. *ráða* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *råða* s.v. 'id.', OE *rædan* s.v. 'to counsel, decide, interpret', E *to read*, OFri. *rēda* s.v. 'to advice, protect, help, cause, decide', OS *rādan* s.v. 'to counsel, plan, realize, help', Du. *raden* s./w.v. 'to advise, guess', OHG *rātan* s.v. 'to counsel, decide, help', G *raten* w.v. 'to advise' ⇒ *$*Hréh_1d^h$-e-* (IE) — Skt. *rādhnóti* 'to succeed, to be successful', OAv. *rādaṯ* 3sg.aor.subj. 'to do right, to fit' < *$*Hreh_1d^h$-neu-*.

An inherited strong verb. See also **rōdjan-*.

rēfiz- n. 'roof beam' — ON *ráfr, ræfr* n. 'roof', Far. *ráva* f. 'roof ridge of a house', OS *rāfo* m. 'roof beam', MDu. *rave* m. 'id.', OHG *rāfo, rāvo* m. 'board' ⇒ *$*h_1rēp$-es-* (IE).

A cluster of different formations that are all based on a primary *s*-stem **rēbaz*, gen. **rēbizaz*, cf. the Old Norse doublet *ráfr* < **rēbaza-* vs. *ræfr* < **rēbiza-*. The Old Norse variant *rjáfr*, for which cf. Icel. *rjáfur*, is secondary: it may have arisen by the analogical intrusion of palatal *r* from *ræfr* to *ráfr*. Unrelated to **rebja-* (q.v.).

regna- n. 'rain' — Go. *rign* n. 'id.', ON *regn* n. 'id.', Far. *regn* n. 'id.', Elfd. *raingen* n. 'id.', E *rain*, OFri. *rein* m. 'id.', WFri. *rein* c. 'id.', EFri. *rien* m. 'id.', OS *regan, regin* m. 'id.', ODu. *regan* m. 'id.', Du. *regen* c. 'id.', OHG *regan* m. 'id.', G *Regen* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$*Hréǵ^h$-no-*(?) (EUR?) — Lat. *irrigāre* 'to irrigate' and Alb. *rrjedh* 'to flow' < *$*Hreǵ^h$-*.

A convincing extra-Gm. etymology is yet to be found. The connection with Lat. *ir-rigāre* and Alb. *rjedh* is possible, but uncertain. The derivation from a PIE root **rek-* related to ON *raki* m. 'dampness, moisture' < **rakan-* < **Hrok-ōn*, gen. **Hrok-n-ós*(?) is even more doubtful. Within Germanic, cf. the denominal Go. *rignjan*, ON *rigna* w.v. 'to rain' < **regnjan-* and ON *regna*, OE *regnian*, E *to rain*, OFri. *reina*, OHG *reganōn*, G *regnen*, Du. *regenen* w.v. 'id.' < **regnōjan-*.

rehta- adj. 'straight' — Go. *raihts* adj. 'id.', ON *réttr* adj. 'straight; correct', Far. *rættur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *rett* adj. 'id.', OE *riht* adj. 'id.', E *right*, OFri. *riucht* adj. 'id.', WFri. *rjocht* adj. 'id.', EFri. *gjucht* adj. 'id.', OS *reht* adj. 'id.', Du. *recht* adj. 'straight', OHG *reht* adj. 'straight, good, right', G *recht* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *$*h_3reǵ$-to-* (IE) — Av. *rāšta-* adj. 'straight', Gr. ὀρεκτός adj. 'id.', Lat. *rectus* adj. 'id.'.

A *to*-stem adj. created to the root of e.g. **raka-* and **rakjan-*. Also cf. the denominative verb Go. *ga-raihtjan* w.v. 'to direct', ON *rétta* w.v. 'to straighten; to pass', OE *rihtan* w.v. 'to erect', OHG *rihten* 'to direct, aim, straighten, compensate', G *richten* 'id.' < **rehtjan-*.

rekan- s.v. 'to rake up, pile up' — Go. *rikan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *rechen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₃réǵ-e-* (IE) — Gr. ὀρέγω 'to reach out, stretch out', OIr. *a-t-raig* 'to stand up', W *re* 'to get up' < **h₃reǵ-e-*; Lat. *rogus* m. 'funeral pyre' < **h₃roǵ-o-*.

In spite of the unexpected meaning, the Germanic verb continues the PIE root **h₃reǵ-* 'to make straight', probably through an intermediate semantic step 'to erect (a pile)', cf. Lat. *rogus* 'pyre'. Within Germanic, **rekan-* give rise to e.g. ON *reka* f. 'rake', OS *reka* f. 'id.', OHG *rehho* m. 'id.', G *Rechen* m. 'id.' < **reka/ōn-* and OSw. *raka*, OE *racu*, OS *raka* f. 'id.' < **rakō-*, whence ON *raka*, OE *racian* w.v. 'to rake' < **rakōjan-*. See further **raka-*, **rakjan-* and **ranka-*.

rekwiz- n. 'darkness' — Go. *riqis* n. 'id.', ON *røkkr* n. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁regʷ-es-* (IE) — Skt. *rájas-* n. 'dust, mist, vapour, gloom', OAv. *rajīš* nom. 'darkness', Arm. *erek* 'evening', Gr. ἔρεβος n. 'dark of the underworld'; also cf. ToA *arkant-*, ToB obl. *erkent* adj. 'black' < **h₁rgʷ-(u)ont-*; ToA *orkäm* 'darkness', ToB *orkamo*, *orkmo* adj. 'dark' < **h₁rgʷ-men-*.

An IE word for 'darkness'. Also cf. Go. *riqizjan* w.v. 'to grow dark' and the derivationally more primary ON *røkkva* w.v. 'id.' < **rakwjan-* < **h₁rogʷ-eie-*.

****rēma-*** adj. 'hoarse' — ON *rámr* adj. 'id.', Nw. *råm* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁réh₁-mo-* (IE) — Lat. *ravus* adj. 'hoarse' < **Hrh₁-uo-*; Skt. *rā́yati* 'to bark', Ru. dial. *rájat'* 'to make a noise, sound' < **Hreh₁-ie-*.

An adjective **rēma-* ablauting with Elfd. *ram* adj. 'id.' < **rama-* (< **Hr̥h₁-mo-*), cf. ON *remja*, Elfd. *rema* w.v. 'to bellow, bray' < **ramjan-*. With a different vocalization of the zero-grade form, cf. ON *rymja* w.v. 'to roar', Far. *rymja* w.v. 'to be hoarse' < **rumjan-* < **Hrh₁-m̥-ie-*.

remiz- n. 'quiet, tranquility' — Go. *rimis* n. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁rem-es-* (IE) — Skt. *rámate* 'to become appeased' < **h₁rém-e-*; Skt. *rāmáyati*, YAv. *rāmaiieiti* 'to bring to rest', OIr. *fo-ruimi* 'to place, put' < **Hrom-éie-*; Lith. *rìmti* (*rìmstu*) 'to calm down' < **h₁rm-ske-* (with acute from the *st*-suffix); Gr. ἡρέμα adv. 'quietly, gently, slowly' (with unexplained η).

An *s*-stem to the root **h₁rem-* 'to be quiet, calm'.

****rēti-*** adj. 'fierce' — OHG *rāzi* adj. 'id.', MHG *ræze* adj. 'id.' (DRV) — Skt. *rádati* 'to dig, furrow; to open, prepare the way' (with loss of the laryngeal *as per* Lubotsky 1981: 134?), YAv. *rāδaiti* 'to prepare (the way)', Lat. *rōdō*, *-ere* 'to gnaw (at)' < **Hreh₃d-e-*.

A *vr̥ddhi*-gerundive **Hrēh₃d-i-* to a lost strong verb **rōtan-* 'to bite'.

reuda- adj. 'red' — Go. *ga-riuds* adj. 'honorable', ON *rjóðr* adj. 'red (in the face), ruddy', OE *rēod* adj. 'red' ⇒ **h₁reudʰ-o-* (IE).

An *e*-grade adjective parallel to **rauda-* (q.v.) See also **reudan 1.*

reudan- 1 s.v. 'to make red' — ON *rjóða* s.v. 'id.', OE *rēodan* s.v. 'to redden, stain with blood' ⇒ *$*h_1réud^h$-e-* (IE) — Identical to Gr. ἐρεύθω 'to make red'.

An old IE thematic verb with many different derivations, cf. **reuda-*, **rauda-* and **rudēn-*.

reudan- 2 s.v. 'to clear, remove, eradicate' — ON *rjóða* s.v. 'to clear', OE *rēodan* s.v. 'to kill', MHG *rieten* s.v. 'to exterminate, wipe out' ⇒ *$*Hreud^h$-e-* (G).

A purely Germanic strong verb. The meaning of the often linked Av. *raoiδiia-* (cf. Pokorny IEW: 868-71), i.e. 'to be made arable', is highly uncertain, which makes the connection doubtful. Within Germanic, cf. ON *ruð* n. 'clearing in a wood' < **ruda-* and *rjóðr* n. 'id.' < **reudra-* and the iterative **rud(d)ōn-* (q.v.).

reufan- s.v. 'to break (off)' — ON *rjúfa* s.v. 'to break (open)', Far. poet. *rjúva* s.v. 'to tear apart', OE *rēofan* s.v. 'to break, tear' ⇒ **Hréup-e-* (IE) — Skt. *lumpáti* 'to tear, break, harm, plunder', Lat. *rumpō, -ere* 'to burst, break open' < **Hru-m-p-e-*.

An IE strong verb. See also **rauba-*, **raubjan-*, **rupp/bōn-* and **raupjan-*.

reukan- ~ *rūkan- s.v. 'to smoke; to drift, fly' — ON *rjúka* s.v. 'to smoke, steam; to be driven, be flung, fly', Far. *rúka* s.v. 'to smoke; to fly off; to run, dash', OE *rēocan* s.v. 'to reek, send forth smoke or steam', OFri. *riāka* s.v. 'to smoke', MDu. *rieken, ruken* s.v. 'to smell', Du. *ruiken* s.v. 'id.', OHG *riohhan* s.v. 'to smoke, steam', G *riechen* s.v. 'to smoke' (GM).

A word without a generally accepted etymology. The connection with e.g. Lith. *rūkas* m. 'haze' and Lith. *rokė̃* 'cloud of dust' (Fraenkel 1965: 705-6) is highly unlikely as these may have been borrowed from Low German. The alternative link with Alb. *re* 'cloud' (Torp 1909: 349) is even more doubtful, as the alleged proto-form **rougi-* is only one of many possible reconstructions. In view of the semantic parallelism with the strong verb **feukan- ~ *fūkan-* 'to steam; to dash' (q.v.), I assume that the original meaning was 'to drift, be flung' rather than 'to smoke'. The presence of an iterative **rukk/gōn- 2*, (Cimbr. *rucken* 'to smoke') indicates that the root-final *k* of **reukan- ~ *rūkan-* may represent a shortened geminate (Kroonen 2011a: 109). If so, it is possible that the strong verb arose as a back-formation to the formally identical iterative **rukk/gōn- 1* 'to move to and fro' (q.v.).

reuman- m. 'strap, belt' — OE *rēoma* m. 'belt; ligament', OS *riomo* m. 'thong', Du. *riem* c. 'belt', OHG *riomo* m. 'id.', G *Riemen* m. 'id.' (GM).

No certain etymology. The word is usually mechanically reconstructed as **reuman-*, but this formation has no links outside Germanic. Related to

*rewan- 'to jerk' (q.v.)? ON *reim* f. 'lash, thong' was borrowed from Low German (with the substitution of *-ē-* by *-ei-*).

reuman- ~ *rauma(n)- m. 'cream' — ON *rjómi* m. 'id.', Far. *rómi* m. 'id.', OE *rēoma*, *rēama* m. 'membrane', WFri. *rjemme* c. 'id.', MDu. *rome*, *room* m./f. 'id.', Du. *room* c. 'id.', OHG *roum* m. 'id.', G *Rahm* m. 'id.' ⇒ *Hre/oug$^{(h)}$-mon- (IE) — Av. *raoγna-* 'butter' < *Hroug$^{(h)}$-mno- (for the PIE loss of the *m-*, cf. see *budman- ~ *buttman- 'bottom').

An ablauting *mn*-stem (cf. Kroonen 2011a: 186-7). At least two ablaut grades can be discerned, but as in the word for 'udder' (see PGm. *eudra- ~ *ūdra-) the original paradigmatic distribution of the *e-* and *o*-grades remains unclear. Perhaps, the PIE paradigm was static, nom. *Hróugʰ-mn, gen. *Hréugʰ-mn-s*. A possible zero grade is represented by Swi. *ruumme* f. 'crust; butter' (Pokorny IEW: 873), but it is also not entirely certain whether this form really could have developed from PIE *Hrug$^{(h)}$-m-, e.g. through PGm. *rugmōn-.

reupōn- f. 'grouse' — ON *rjúpa* f. 'id.', Far. *rýpa* f. 'id.' (<< Da. *rype*?), Nw. *rjupe*, *rype* f. 'id.', Elfd. *rjoppa* f. 'id.' (DRV).

A North Germanic word often connected to *erpa- 'light brown' and - outside Germanic - to Lith. *jérubė̃* f. 'hazel grouse', Latv. *rubenis* 'black grouse', RuCS *rĕbь* 'partridge' (cf. Derksen 2000; Kroonen 2010b: 257-258). Within the parameters of Germanic derivational history, however, it is clear that *reupōn- was derived from the verb *rup(p)ōn- attested as e.g. ON *ropa* w.v. 'to belch; to shout (esp. of grouse)' and MDu. *roppen* w.v. 'to belch'. The connection between the verb, an onomatopoetic iterative related to OSw. *rapa*, Nw. dial. *rapa* w.v. 'to belch', and the bird name further follows from the compounds Icel. *rop-karri*, *-keri* and *rjúp-karri*, *-keri* 'male grouse', for which see *kurrōn-. Also cf. ON, Icel. *raupa*, Far. *reypa* w.v. 'to boast'.

reutan- s.v. 'to cry' — OE *rēotan* s.v. 'to make a noise; to cry' ⇒ *Hréud-e- (IE) — Skt. *róditi*, 3pl. *rudánti* 'to lament', Lat. *rudō*, *-ere* 'to roar' < *Hr(e)ud-.

Formally close to *hreutan- ~ *hrūtan- (q.v.). See also *rut(t)ōn- and *rautōjan-.

rewan- s.v.(?) 'to tear, jerk, fight' — Icel. *rjá* w.v. 'to wrestle, fight; to move, tear' ⇒ *HréuH-e-(?) (IE) — ToAB *räwā-* 'to tear out' < *HreuH-; Skt. *rávati* 'to break, hurt' (also cf. Skt. *róman-* n. 'hair, body hair', NP *rum(a)*, *rōm(a)* 'pubic hair' < *HreuH-men-); Lat. *ruō*, *-ere* 'to churn; to plow up, dig out' < *Hré/óuH-e-; Lith. *ráuti* 'to tear out, pull', Latv. *raût* 'tear, pull, take' < *HróuH-e-; Lith. *ravėti* (*ravi̇ù*), Latv. *ravêt* 'to weed' < *HrouH-eh$_1$-; CS *rъvati* 'to tear', Ru. *rvat'* 'id.', SCr. *ȓvati* 'to tense, strain' < *HruH-eh$_2$-.

In spite of the weak conjugation of Icel. *rjá* (< **rewōjan-* as per Magnússon 1989: 767?), we may be dealing with an originally strong verb. See also **rūjan-* and **rawwō-*.

rīdan- s.v. 'to ride; to move, swing, rock' — ON *ríða* s.v. 'to ride', OE *rīdan* s.v. 'to ride; to move, rock', E *to ride*, OFri. *rīdan* s.v. 'to ride, drive', OS *rīdan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *rijden* s.v. 'id.', OHG *rītan* s.v. 'id.', G *reiten* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **Hréid^{h}-e-* (EUR) — OIr *rédid* 'to ride', W *rhwydd-hau* 'to hurry', Lith. *riedėti* (*riedù*) 'to roll' < **Hréid^{h}-e-*.

A European verb. See also **ridra-*.

ridra- n. 'penis' — ON *reðr, erðr* n. 'id.', Icel. *reður* m. 'id.', Far. *reður* n. 'id.' (GM).

Magnússon 1989: 746 connects Gr. ῥέθος n. 'face, body, limb', but the initial rho in Greek can only be derived from **ur-* or **sr-*, which precludes the link with ON *reðr*. I therefore propose to link the word to Icel. *rið* 'spawning spot', Nw. *rid* 'spawning' and the primary strong verb Icel. *ríða* s.v. 'to fuck', Nw. *rida* s.v. 'to wobble; to mate (of male animals)', which may be identical to **rīdan-* 'to ride; to move, rock' (q.v.). PGm. **ridra-* may then be reconstructed with an instrumental suffix: **ridra-* < **Hrid^{h}-d^{h}ro-*.

rīfan-* ~ *rīpan- s.v. 'to tear' — ON *rífa* s.v. 'to tear; to be rent, give way', OE *rīpan* s.v. 'to reap; to harvest', ME *rīven* s.v. 'to tear', OFri. *rīva* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **Hréip-e-* (EUR) — Gr. ἐρείπω 'to throw down, dash down, fall down' < **h$_1$réip-e-*; MIr. *répaid* 'to tear, rend, break' < **h$_1$rei-m-p-eh$_2$-ie-*(?); Ru. dial. *répnut'* 'to burst' < **h$_1$rip-ne-*.

Closely related to OE *rīpan* 'to harvest' < **rīpan-*, which received its *p* (< **pp*) from the iterative **ripp/bōn-* (q.v.). Also cf. OE *rifter* m. 'scythe' < **Hrip-tro-*. See further **rīpi-*.

rīhō- f. 'bar, line' — OGutn. *ri* f. 'pole', Gutn. *räj* f. 'bar', MDu. *rie* f. 'slat, line', Du. *rij* c. 'row', MHG *rīhe* f. 'line', G *Reihe* f. 'line, row' (GM).

A word with many closely-related variants, e.g. OHG *rīga* f. 'line' < **rīgō(n)-*, MLG *rege*, G *Riege* f. 'id.' < **rigō(n)-*, MDu. *ree* f. '(marcation) line' < **rihō(n)-*, MDu. *reke* f. 'row, line' < **rikō(n)-*, and G *Recke* f. 'series' < **rikkō(n)-*, which may all go back to an ablauting *n*-stem nom. **rīhō*, gen. **rikkaz*, dat. **rigeni* < **Hréik-ōn*, **Hrik-n-ós*, **Hrik-én-i* (Kroonen 2011a: 239ff). Also cf. Nw. *rjå*, Sw. *rie* m. 'pole on which grain is placed to dry' < **rīhan-*.

rīk- m. 'ruler, king' — Go. *reiks* m. 'id.' (LW).

A PGm. loanword from Celtic **rēg-*, cf. OIr. *rí*, OW *ri*, MW *ri* m. 'king' < PIE **h$_3$rēǵ-*, cf. Skt. *rā́j-*, Lat. *rēx* m. 'id.'. Also cf. Go. *reiks*, ON *ríkr*, OE *rīce*, OFri.

rīke, *rīk*, OS *rīki*, OHG *rīhhi* adj. 'rich; powerful' < **rīk(j)a-* and the collective Go. *reiki*, ON *ríki*, OE *rīce*, OFri. *rīke*, OS *rīki*, OHG *rīhhi* n. 'reign, realm' < **rīkja-*.

rikkī- f. 'female roe deer' — Du. *rekke* c. 'id.', G *Ricke* f. 'id.' ⇒ **Hrik-n-íh₂-* (WEUR).

A zero-grade feminine derivation to the *n*-stem **raiha(n)-* < **Hroiḱ-on-*. The geminate **kk* arose by the operation of Kluge's law.

rīma- n. 'number, calculation' — ON *rím* n. 'computation', OE *rīm* n. 'number', OHG *rīm* m. 'number, calculation' (IE) — Gr. νήριτος adj. 'countless' (< **n̥-h₂ri-to-*; Gr. ἀριθμός m. 'number, payment' < **h₂ri-t-smo-* (for the suffix *-θμο-*, see Milani 1987); Lat. *rītus* 'use, rite' < **h₂rei-tu-*; OIr. *rím* f. 'number, count', W *rhif* m. 'number' < **h₂rei(dʰ)-mo-*.

The root **h₂rei-* has an extension **h₂reidʰ-* (for which see **raida-*) and it is possible that this extended root also gave rise to PGm. **rīma-* and W *rhif* < **h₂rei(dʰ)-mo-*, a clear Germanic-Celtic isogloss (cf. Hyllested 2010). The root **h₂rei-* may in turn have arisen from **h₂rh₁-ei-*, i.e. an *i*-present to the root **h₂reh₁-* 'to count', for which see **raƀjōn-*.

rimi- f. 'beam' — ON *rim* f. 'rail; rung', Far. *rim* f. 'slat, narrow, board', E *rim* 'rung; edge', Du. dial. *rim* 'edge, rim' (GM).

Cf. ON *rimi* m. 'bar; strip of land, ridge', OE *rima* m. 'edge, verge; strip of land', MDu. *reme* m. 'frame', MHG *reme* m./f. 'frame, support' < **riman-*. Not to be reconstructed with **e* in the root (as if related to **remiz-*, q.v) in view of Sw. dial. *räimu* f. 'thin bar' < **rīmōn* (Magnússon 1989: 762). The latter connection furthermore precludes the link with Lith. *rė́mė* f. 'frame' < **h₁reh₁-m-ieh₂-*.

rinnan- s.v. 'to run' — Go. *rinnan* s.v. 'to run, rush', ON *renna* s.v. 'to run, flow', Far. *renna* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *rinna* (pres. *rið* < ON **riðr* < **rinnr*) s.v. 'id.', OE *rinnan* s.v. 'to run', OS *rinnan* s.v. 'to run, flow', OHG *rinnan* s.v. 'id.', G *rinnen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₃ri-nu-e-* (IE) — Skt. *riṇā́ti*, *ríṇvati* 'to make flow, set off' < **h₃ri-neu-*, **h₃ri-néh₂-*; OCS *rinǫti* 'to push, shove', Ru. *rínut'sja* 'to rush, dash', SCr. *rȉnuti* 'to push' < **h₃rei-n-H-e-*; Skt. *ríyate* 'to flow' < **h₃riH-ié-*.

The Germanic verb together with the aforementioned forms in the other languages points to a PIE transitive nasal present 3sg. **h₃ri-néH-ti*, 3pl. **h₃ri-nH-énti* or 3sg. **h₃ri-néu-ti*, 3pl. **h₃ri-nu-énti*. The Germanic root **rinn-* may then have developed from the plural form by either laryngeal gemination (Lühr 1976) or regular assimilation of *-nu̯-* to **-nn-*. Given the intransitive meaning of the Germanic verb it is also possible, however, to start from a medio-passive formation **h₃ri-nH-é-* or **h₃ri-nu-é-*. After the PGm. raising of **e* to **i* before **-nn-*, the verb was reanalyzed as deriving

from **renn-* and subsequently incorporated into the third class of the strong verbs. See also **runnōn-* and **rīsan-*.

rīpi- adj. 'ripe' — OE *rīpe* adj. 'id.', E *ripe*, OFri. *rīp* adj. 'id.', OS *rīpi* adj. 'id.', Du. *rijp* adj. 'id.', OHG *rīffî* adj. 'id.', G *reif* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

A *vṛddhi*-gerundive to **rīpan-* 'to harvest', for which see **rīfan-* ~ **rīpan-*.

ripp/bōn- w.v. 'to tear' — Far. *ripa* w.v. 'to tear off; to hurl, fling', Nw. *ripa* w.v. 'to tear off', MDu. *repen* w.v. 'to tear', EDu. *reppen* w.v. 'to pluck', Du. *rippen* w.v. 'to tear off (violently)', G Pal. *reffen* w.v. 'to reap' ⇒ **Hrip-néh₂-* (EUR).

The iterative to **rīfan-* ~ **rīpan-* (q.v.). The underlying formation **Hrip-neh₂-* has also been reconstructed for MIr. *répaid* (< **h₁reip-neh₂-*), but it is uncertain whether Stokes' law (i.e. Kluge's law in Celtic) can be maintained. The alternative is to start from **Hri-m-p-* with a nasal infix.

rīrēn- w.v. 'to tremble' — Go. *reiran* w.v. 'id.' (IE) — Skt. *lelāyáti* 'to move to and fro, tremble' < **Hrei-Hr(o)iH-*.

Also cf. Go. *reiro* f. 'earthquake, trembling'. A stative verb continuing an IE reduplicated perfect (Jasanoff 1978a: 71-2, fn. 27), cf. Skt. *leláya* < **Hrei-HroiH-e* (the aforementioned presentic formation is secondary). Similar remodelings are represented by **bibēn-* and **gīgēn-* (q.v.). Unrelated to OE *rārian* w.v. 'to roar' < **rairō(ja)n-* (*pace* e.g. Lehmann 1986: 283-4).

rīsan- s.v. 'to rise, get up' — Go. *ur-reisan* s.v. 'id.', ON *rísa* s.v. 'id.', Far. *rísa* s.v. 'id.', OE *rīsan* s.v. 'id.', E *to rise*, OFri. *rīsa* s.v. 'id.', Du. *rijzen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *rīsan* s.v. 'to fall', MHG *rīsen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₃réis-e-* (IE) — Hitt. *arai* ~ *ariianzi* 'to (a)rise, lift; raise', CLuv. *ari(ia)-* 'to raise' < **h₃r-ói-ei*, **h₃r-i-énti*; Gr. ὁρίνω, -ομαι 'to excite, stir' < **h₃r-i-n-ie-*; Lat. *orior*, *-īrī* 'to come up, rise', Alb. *rri* 'to sit down, stand, stay', Arm. *ari* imp. 'rise!' < **h₃r-ei-*.

An *s*-extension (desiderative?) of the root **h₃r-ei-* 'to start moving'. In Germanic, this meaning of this root paradoxically split into 1) 'to move up' and 2) 'to move down'. The latter is also apparent from OHG *alt-riso* m. 'someone who is about to die of old age' < **-risan-*. See also **raizjan-*.

rōan- s.v. 'to row' — ON *róa* s.v. 'id.', Far. *rógva* irr.v. 'id.', Elfd. *ruo* w.v. 'id.', OE *rōwan* s.v. 'id.', E *to row*, MDu. *roen*, *roeyen* w.v. 'id.', Du. *roeien* w.v. 'id.', MHG *rüejen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁róh₁-e-* (IE) — Identical to OIr. *ráïd* 'to row'; also cf. Lith. *ìrti* (*iriù*), Latv. *irt* 'id.' < **h₁rh₁-ie-*.

An *o*-grade intensive verb to the PIE root **h₁reh₁-*. The ON preterite *rera* developed from a reduplicated form **rerō-* < **h₁re-h₁roh₁-*. See also **rōþra-*.

rōbjōn- f. 'turnip' — MDu. *rove* f. 'id.', Du. dial. *reuf* 'id.', OHG *ruoba*, *ruoppa* f. 'id.', G *Rübe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **răp$^{(h)}$-* (NIE) — Gr. ῥάπυς, ῥάφυς f. 'id.' < **răp$^{(h)}$-*; Lith. *ropė* f. 'turnip', Lat. *rāpa* f., *-um* n. 'id.' < **rāp-* (hardly **reh$_2$p-*); RuCS *rěpa*, Ru. *répa*, SCr. *rȅpa* f. 'id.' < **rēp-* (hardly **reh$_1$p-*); W *erfin* pl. 'id.' < **arp-*(?).

A post-IE word, possibly a *Wanderwort* or a relic from the agricultural cultures that covered Europe before the arrival of the Indo-Europeans. This non-IE origin is betrayed by the many formal irregularities displayed by the different IE languages, which makes it impossible to reconstruct a single proto-form. It is to be noted that the alternation of **răp-* vs. *arp-* is reminiscent of the one found in the etymological cluster of e.g. **arut-* 'ore', and supports the hypothesis of an *a*-prefix in a Pre-Indo-European language (Schrijver 1997).

rōbōn- f. 'tail' — ON *rófa* f. 'id.', Far. top. *rógva* f. 'narrow projection', Nw. *rove* f. 'tail; corner of a field', G Alem. *rueb(en)* f. '(base of the) tail' (GM).

Clearly in ablaut relation to Icel. *rafi* m. 'strip (of land)', Far. *ravi* m. 'strip of halibut; side of a ray', Nw. *rave* m. 'rag; strip of land' < **h$_1$rop-on-* or **h$_1$r̥$_1$p-on-*. Unrelated to **rōbjōn-* 'turnip'.

rōdjan- w.v. 'to speak' — Go. *rodjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *rœða* w.v. 'to speak; to converse' ⇒ **h$_2$roh$_1$d^h-éie-* (IE) — OIr. *rádid* 'to talk', *imm-rádi* 'to think', Lith. *ródyti* (*ródo*), Latv. *rādît* 'to show, indicate, demonstrate', OCS *ne-raditi* 'to not care (about), not heed', ORu. *raditi* 'to care (about)', SCr. *ráditi* 'to strive, work' < **h$_2$roh$_1$d^h-éie-*.

In view of the meaning of OIr. *rádid*, it seems evident that Gm. **rōdjan-* represents the causative to the strong verb **rēdan-* < **h$_2$reh$_1$d^h-*, i.e. an extension of the root **h$_2$reh$_1$-* with the root **-d^{h}h$_1$-*.

rōkjan- w.v. 'to heed' — ON *rœkja* w.v. 'to heed, take care of', OE *rēcan*, *reccan* (pret. *rōhte*) 'id.', OS *rōkian* w.v. 'to be careful', OHG *ruochen* w.v. 'to heed' (IE/DRV) — Gr. ἀρήγω 'to help, assist' < **h$_2$réh$_1$(ǵ)-e-*.

Probably derived from **rōkō-* as continued by OHG *ruohha*, MHG *ruoche* f. 'heed, care', which is parallel to Gr. ἀρωγή f. 'help, assistence' < **h$_2$roh$_1$(ǵ)-eh$_2$-*. The verb takes an oblique subject in e.g. MDu. *mi roect* 'I care'. Also cf. OE *rēce-lēas*, E *reck-less*, MHG *ruoch-lōs*, G *ruch-los*, Du. *roeke-loos* 'careless'.

rōō- f. 'calm, rest' — ON *ró* f. 'id.', Far. *rógv* f. 'id.', Elfd. *ruo* f. 'id.', OE *rōw* f. 'id.', OHG *ruowa* f. 'id.', G *Ruhe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **h$_1$roh$_1$-ueh$_2$-* (EUR) — Identical to Gr. ἐρωή f. 'withdrawal, rest'; also cf. Av. *rāman-* n. 'rest' < **h$_1$reh$_1$-men-*; Skt. *īrmá́* adv. 'quiet, still' < **h$_1$rh$_1$-mo*; Gr. ἐρῆμος adj. 'lonely, uninhabited, deserted' < **h$_1$reh$_1$-mo-*; MW *araf* adj. 'quiet, leasurely, calm' < **h$_1$erh$_1$-mo-*.

Also cf. ON *rór*, Far. *rógvur*, OE *rōw* adj. 'quite, calm' < PGm. **rōa-* < PIE **h₁roh₁-uo-* (with **-ōu-* > **-ō-* in open syllables).

rōta- adj. 'glad' — OE *rōt* adj. 'glad, cheerful; excellent' ⇒ **HroHd-o-* (NEUR) — Identical to OCS *radъ*, SCr. *ràd* m. 'willing' < **HroHd-o-*.

A Slavic-Germanic isogloss (Lith. *rōdas* 'glad' was borrowed from Slavic). Also cf. the factitives *rœta*, OE *ā-rētan* w.v. 'to gladden' < **rōtjan-*.

rōþra- n. 'rudder' — Far. *róður* n. 'id.', Elfd. *ruoðer* n. 'id.', OE *rōdor* n. 'id.', E *rudder*, OFri. *rōder* m. 'id.', Du. *roer* n. 'id.', OHG *ruodar* n. 'oar, rudder', G *Ruder* n. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁róh₁-tro-* (DRV) — Cf. Skt. *áritra-* n. 'id.', Lith. *ìrklas* m. 'id.' < **h₁(e)rh₁-tlo-*.

An instrumental noun derived from **rōan-* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *róðr*, gen. *róðrar* m. 'rowing' < **rōþru-*.

rud(d)ōn- w.v. 'to clear' — MDu. *roden* w.v. 'to clear', Du. *rooien* w.v. 'to pull out, clear (of land)', MHG *roten* w.v. 'to clear', G *aus-rotten* w.v. 'to exterminate' (GM).

The iterative to **reudan- 2* (q.v.).

rudēn- w.v. 'to redden' — ON *roða* w.v. 'to emit a red gleam', Far. *roða* w.v. 'to redden', Elfd. *roðå* w.v. 'to turn red (e.g. of the sky)', OHG *rotēn* w.v. 'to redden, shine red' ⇒ **h₁rud^h-eh₁-* (IE) — Identical to OCS *rъděti* 'id.', Lat. *rubeo, -ēre* 'id.'.

A stative related to the strong verb **reudan- 1* (q.v.).

rugi- m. 'rye' — ON *rugr* m. 'id.', Far. *rugur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *rug* m. 'id.', OE *ryge* m. 'id.', E *rye*, WPhal. *rů-strô* 'rye straw' ⇒ **rug^h-i-* (NEUR) — Identical to Lith. *rugiaĩ* m.pl. 'id.', Latv. *rudzi* pl. 'id.', OCS *rъžь* f. 'id.'.

An *i*-stem existing beside the more secondary *n*-stem **rukk/gan-* (q.v.). The primary formation is not only attested in ON and OE, but probably also as WPhal. *rů-strô* 'rye straw' and indirectly as the diminutive Du. dial. *reugel* 'rye' (WBD I, 8: 1403) < **rugila-*. With Balto-Slavic pointing to a proto-form **rug^h-i-* as well, the geographic distribution of this etymon is suggestive of a post-Indo-European origin, cf. Thrac. βρίζα 'emmer-wheat, rye' < **urug^hi-*(?), the source of Bulg. *brica* 'summer wheat'. Gr. ὄρυζα 'rice' seems to be an unconnected loanword from Eastern Iranian, cf. Pash. *vrižĕ* f.pl. 'rice'.

rūjan- w.v. 'to tear' — ON *rýja* w.v. 'to pluck the wool off sheep', Icel. *rýja* w.v. 'to shear' ⇒ **HruH-ie-* (DRV?) — ToB *räwã-* 'to tear out', Lat. *ruō, -ere* 'to plough up, dig out' < **HreuH-e-*; OCS *rъvati* 'to tear out' < **HruH-eh₂-*; Lith. *ráuti* (*ráuju*) 'to tear out, weed' < **HrouH-eie-*.

The possibility exists that the verb continues an old zero-grade *ie*-present **HruH-ie-* related to **rewan-* and **rawwō-* (q.v.), but it seems more probable that it was derived more recently from a nominal base to be identified as Icel. *rú* f. 'coarse wool', Nw. *ru* f. 'old winter wool' < **HruH-eh₂-*, cf. Nw. *rua* w.v. 'to pluck off wool' < **rūōjan-*.

****rukjan-*** w.v. 'to chew the cud, ruminate' — MDu. *ed-ricken* w.v. 'id.', MHG *ita-rücken* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **Hrug-ie-* (IE).

A compound verb from PGm. **edi* 'again' (< PIE **h₁eti*) and **rukjan-* 'to chew'. Also cf. OE *ed-roc* 'cud' < **edi-ruka-* and the derivationally unclear Nw. *jort* f. 'id.' (< **ehurti-* < **eruhti-* < **edi-ruhti-*?). Old English also has a frequentative *rocettan* w.v. 'to belch' < **ruk-atjan-*.

****rukk/gan-*** m. 'rye' — OFri. *rogga* m. 'id.', OS *roggo*, *rokko* m. 'id.', Du. *rogge* c. 'id.', OHG *rocko* m. 'id.', G *Roggen* m. 'id.' (DRV).

An *n*-stem derived from the more primary formation **rugi-* (q.v.). The dominant form is **ruggan-*, but OS *rokko* and Du. obs. *roge* may point to two additional variants **rukkan-* and **rugan-*. If these reconstructions are valid, the word must be derived from an *n*-stem **rugō*, gen. **rukkaz* < **rúgʰ-ōn*, **rugʰ-n-ós*, assuming that this regular allomorphy gave rise to the analogical variant **ruggan-*.

****rukk/gōn- 1*** w.v. 'to move to and fro, to rock' — ON *rugga* w.v. 'id.', Icel. *rugga*, *rogga*, *rokka* w.v. 'id.', *roga* w.v. 'to slave, work hard; to jerk', Far. *rugga* w.v. 'to rock', OE *roccian* w.v. 'id.', E *to rock*, WFri. *rokke*, *rukke* w.v. 'to rock, jerk', EFri. *rukje* w.v. 'id.', EDu. *rocken* w.v. 'to incite' ⇒ **h₃ruk-néh₂-*(?) (IE?) — Pali *luñcati* 'to pluck', Lat. *runcō*, *-ere* 'to grub up plants, weed' < **h₃ru-n-k-e-*; Gr. ὀρύσσω 'to dig, grub' < **h₃ruk-ie-*.

An old iterative possibly corresponding to the aforementioned nasal presents in Sanskrit and Latin. Within Germanic, however, the presence of the *o*-grade variant **rakk/gōn-* could indicate that the *u* of **rukk/gōn-* represents a secondary zero grade. If so, it is tempting to derive the iterative from an unknown strong verb **rehan-* or **regan-* (cf. Lith. *rõžyti* 'to touch, hit' < **Hroǵ(h)-eie-*?). Within Germanic, further cf. ON *rykkja* w.v. 'to jerk', ME *richen* w.v. 'to pull', OHG *rucken* w.v. 'id.', G *rücken* w.v. 'id.', Du. *rukken* w.v. 'id.' < **rukkjan-*.

****rukk/gōn- 2*** w.v. 'to smoke; to rush' — Nw. *rogga* w.v. 'to speed up, make move', G Cimb. *rucken* w.v. 'to smoke' (GM).

The iterative to **reukan-* ~ **rūkan-* (q.v.). The meanings of this strong verb, i.e. 1) 'to smoke' and 2) 'to drift, fly' reappear in Cimbrian and Norwegian respectively.

rūma- adj. 'roomy, spacious' — Go. *rums* adj. 'id.', ON *rúmr* adj. 'id.', Far. *rúmur* adj. 'id.', OE *rūm* adj. 'id.', OFri. *rūm* adj. 'id.', Du. *ruim* adj. 'id.', OHG *rūmi* adj. 'id.', MHG *rūm, rūme* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **HruH-mo-* (IE) — ToAB *räw-* 'to open' < **Hreu-*; Av. *rauuah-* n. 'open space', Latin *rūs, rūris* n. 'countryside', OIr. *róe* f. 'field, open land' < **HreuH-es-*; OCS *ravьnъ* adj. 'open' < **HoruH-ino-*.

A *mo*-stem to a PIE root **HreuH-*. Also cf. Go. *rum**, ON *rúm*, OE *rūm* m., Du. *ruim* n., OHG *rūm*, G *Raum* m. 'space' < **rūma-* and the factitive ON *rýma* 'to clear; to escape', OS *rūmian*, Du. *ruimen*, MHG *rūmen*, G *räumen* w.v. 'to clear' < **rūmjan-*.

runi- m. 'run, stream' — Go. *runs* m. 'run, course', *ur-runs* m. 'rising (of the sun), exit, latrine', OE *ryne* m. 'course, running', OHG *runs* m./f. 'flood, current' (DRV).

An *i*-stem to the non-geminated root of **rinnan-*. Also cf. MHG *rünne* f. 'wave' < **runnjō(n)-*.

runnōn- w.v. 'to run, flow' — MDu. *ronnen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

The iterative to **rinnan-* (q.v.).

rupp/bōn- w.v. 'to tear off' — ON *ruppa* w.v. 'to tear loose', LG *rubben* w.v. 'to scratch, rip', MDu. *roppen* w.v. 'to jerk, tear off', MHG *ropfen, rupfen* w.v. 'to rip', G *rupfen* w.v. 'to pluck' ⇒ **Hrup-néh₂-* (IE).

The iterative to **reufan-* (q.v.), to be reconstructed with a paradigm 3sg. **ruppōþi*, 3pl. **rubunanþi* < **Hrup-néh₂-ti*, **Hrup-nh₂-énti*. The iterative served as the basis for the intensive **raupjan-* (q.v.).

rup(p)ōn- w.v. 'to belch' — ON *ropa* w.v. 'to belch; to shout (esp. of grouse)', Far. *ropa* w.v. 'to belch', MDu. *roppen* w.v. 'id.', Du. *roppen* w.v. 'to devour' (GM).

An iterative formation, probably of sound-symbolic origin, cf. E *to burp*. It formed the derivational base for the Nordic word **reupōn-* 'grouse' (q.v.). Also cf. OHG *roffezzen*, MHG *rofzen* 'to belch' < **rupatjan-*.

rusila- m. 'fat' — OE *rysel* m. 'fat', OS *ruslos* m.pl. 'piece of bacon', Du. *reuzel* c. 'tallow' (GM).

Cf. the derivationally more primitive ON *hold-rosa*, Nw. *kjøt-rose* f. 'fleshy side of a hide' < **rusōn-* as well as Sw. *rösen* 'paunch-fat' < **rusina-*(?) and OE *ræge-rēose* f. 'spinal muscles' < **-reusōn-*. Presumably related to Nw. *rysja* w.v. 'to flay' < **rusjan-*.

rut(t)ōn- w.v. 'to lament' — Far. *ruta* w.v. 'to grumble, complain', G Pal. *rotzen* w.v. 'to cry' ⇒ **Hrud-néh₂-* (IE).

The iterative to either **reutan-* or **hreutan-* ~ **hrūtan-*. The Faroese form can alternatively be lumped under **hrut(t)ōn-* (q.v.).

ruzlja- adj. 'loose (of sand)' — Du. *rul* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **Hrus-lo-* (NEUR) — Lith. *raũsti* (*rausiù*) 'to scrabble' < **Hrous-ie-*; OCS *razdrušiti* 'to destroy' < **Hrous-eie-*; Ru. *rýxlyj* adj. 'loose, rough, course'.

Also cf. Du. dial. *rul* c. 'june bug' (lit. "scrabbler"?).

S

sada- adj. 'satiated, sated, full' — Go. *saþs, sads* adj. 'id.', ON *saðr* adj. 'id.', OE *sæd* adj. 'id.', E *sad*, OS *sad* adj. 'id.', Du. *zat* adj. 'id.', OHG *sat* adj. 'id.', G *satt* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **sh₂-tó-* (IE) — Close to Lat. *satis*, *sat* adv. 'enough, sufficient' < **sh₂-to-* and Arm. *hač* adj. 'satisfied' < **sh₂-t-io-*.

The past participle to the verbal root **seh₂-* 'to fill', for which cf. Hitt. *šāhi* ~ *šāḫanzi* 'to stuff full, clog up' < **sóh₂-ei*, **sh₂-énti* and Skt. *asinvá-* adj. 'insatiable' < **n-sḫ₂-n-uo-* (from a nasal present **sh₂-néu-*). There is potential evidence for an *i*-present to the same root, cf. To. *soy-* 'to satisfy oneself, be satisfied, satisfy' < **seh₂-i-*(?). Within Germanic, cf. the factitive ON *seðja*, MHG *seten, setten* w.v. 'to satiate' < **sadjan-*. An *ōn*-verb is supported by OE *sadian* w.v. 'to become satiated', OHG *satōn* w.v. 'to sate' < **sadōjan-*. See also **sōda-*.

sadula- m. 'saddle' — ON *sǫðull* m. 'id.', Far. *saðil* m. 'id.', Elfd. *saðel* m. 'id.', OE *sadel, sadol* m. 'id.', E *saddle*, Du. *zadel* n. 'id.', OHG *satal, satil, satul* m. 'id.', G *Sattel* m. 'id.' ⇒ **sod-tló-* (IE).

An instrumental noun in **-tlo-* derived from **set(j)an-*, cf. OS *sethal*, OHG *sedal* m. 'seat' < **seþla-* < **sed-tlo-*. The ON suffix *-ul-* is secondary.

safjan- s.v. 'to perceive' — OS *an-seffian, bi-seffian* s.v. 'to notice', MDu. *be-seffen* s.v. 'to perceive, notice. taste', *ont-seffen* s.v. 'to become aware of', Du. *be-seffen* w.v. 'to realize', OHG *int-seffen* s.v. 'to realize, notice', MHG *ent-seben* s.v. 'to perceive, taste' ⇒ **sop-ie-* (IE) — Skt. *sápati* 'to mind, care, honor', Gr. ἔπω 'to care for, occupy onself' < **sép-e-*; Av. *haftī* 3sg.pres. 'to hold, support' < **sép-*; Lat. *sapiō* 'to taste, be intelligent, know' < **sp-ie-* (with *schwa secundum* as in *careō* 'to lack' < **ks-eh₁-ie-*).

The Germanic form straightforwardly points to **sop-ie-* (cf. Seebold 1970: 383), but I wonder whether the **a* cannot have arisen as a *schwa secundum* as in Lat. *sapiō* (cf. **hesan-* ~ **hazan-* 'hare' < **ḱs-no-* ~ Lat. *cānus* adj. 'grey'

< *ḱs-no-). The default reconstruction would be a strong *o*-graded *jan*-verb, however, cf. **hlahjan-* 'to laugh'. See also **sefan-*.

saf/ppan- m. 'sap; juice' — ON *safi* m. 'id.', Far. *sjó-savi* m. 'smell of the sea', OSw. *sava* f. 'id.', OE *sæp* m. 'sap', E *sap*, MDu. *sap* m. 'sap; juice', Du. *sap* n. 'id.' (with secondary neuter gender due to collective semantics), OHG *saf, sapf* m. 'id.', G *Saft* m. 'id.' ⇒ **sHp-on-* (EUR) — Arm. *ham* 'juice' < **sHp-mo-*; Lat. *sapa* f. 'must, new wine boiled thick' < **sHp-eh₂-*.

Within Germanic, the co-occurrence of the three stems **saf/ban-*, **sappa-* and **sapa-* clearly points to dialectal dissolution of a primary *n*-stem **safō*, gen. **sappaz* < **sHp-ōn*, **sHp-n-ós*. This *n*-stem can be related to EDu. *sabberen* 'to soil', Du. *sabbelen* 'to suck', WFri. *sabje* 'id.' < **sapp/bōn-* (Nw. *sabba* w.b. 'to trudge through mud', however, seems more closely related to the zero-grade iterative **supp/bōn-* 'to soak', q.v.). Also cf. Nw. dial. *seven* adj. 'wet, moist' < **safīna-* and Far. *sevja*, Nw. *sevje* f. 'sap' < **safjōn-*.

sagja- 1 m. 'man, hero' — ON *seggr* m. 'id.', Far. poet. *seggur* m. 'id.', OE *secg* m. 'id.' ⇒ **sokʷH-ió-* (IE) — Lat. *socius* m. 'companion, comrade' < **sokʷH-io-*, Skt. *sákhāy-* (nom. *sákhā*, dat. *sákhye*) m. 'friend, companion', Av. *haxi-* 'friend, companion' < **sokʷH-oi-*.

The word continues an original ablauting *i*-stem nom. **sokʷH-ōi*, gen. **sokʷH-i-os* to the root **sekʷ-* 'to follow' (see **sehwan-* 'to see'). In Germanic, the labial element of the labiovelar was lost before the operation of Verner's law.

sagja- 2 m. 'sedge' — OE *secg* m. 'id.', E *sedge*, EDu. *segghe* 'id.', Du. *zegge* c. 'id.' (IE?).

Possibly related to **sagō-* 'saw' (assuming that the original meaning was 'sharp grass', cf. OE *secg* f. 'sword'). For a different interpretation, see **sahaza-*.

sagjan- w.v. 'to say, recount' — ON *segja* w.v. 'id.', Far. *siga* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *saja* w.v. 'id.', OE *secgan* w.v. 'id.', E *to say*, OFri. *sedza, sidza* w.v. 'id.', WFri. *sizze* w.v. 'id.', OS *seggian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *zeggen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *sagēn* w.v. 'id.', G *sagen* w.v. 'id.' (< **sagēn-*) ⇒ **sokʷ-éie-* (EUR) — Identical to Lith. *sakýti*, Latv. *sacît* 'to say'; SCS *sočiti* 'to indicate', Ru. *sočít'* (*sočú*) 'to look for, track down, summon', SCr. *sòčiti* 'to establish the guilt of, reveal, find' < **sokʷ-éie-*; also cf. Gr. ἐν(ν)έπω 'to say, recount, announce', Lat. *īnsece* 'to tell' (also cf. *inquam* < **h₁en-skʷ-eh₂-m*), OIr. *seichid* 'to say', OW, MW *hebu* 'to say', Lith. dial. *sèkti* (*sekù*) 'to tell' < **sekʷ-e-; ie-*.

A Germanic/Balto-Slavic intensive formation derived from the PIE root **sekʷ-* 'to recount'. The labialization of **kʷ* was lost in front of **j* when there was an *o* in the root (cf. **hnaigjan-* and **sagja- 1*). See also **sagōn-*.

sagō- f. 'saw' — ON *sǫg* f. 'id.', Far. *sag* f. 'id.', Elfd. *sågå* f. 'id.' (< **sagōn-*), OE *sagu* f. 'id.', E *saw*, OS *saga* f. 'id.', MDu. *sage* f. 'id.', Du. *zaag* c. 'id.', OHG *saga*, *sega* f. 'id.', G *Säge* f. 'id.' (< **segō-*) ⇒ **sok-éh₂-* (IE) — MIr. *eiscid* 'to cut off' < **h₁en-sek-*; Lat. *secō*, *-āre* 'to cut, sever' < **sek-eh₂-ie-*; OCS *sěšti* 'to cut', Ru. *seč'* (*sekú*) 'to cut to pieces, beat'; Alb. *shat(ë)* m./f. 'hoe, mattock' < **sĕk-teh₂-*(?).

Derived from the root PIE **sek-* 'to cut'. See also **sahsa-*.

sagō(n)- f. 'recount' — ON *saga* f. 'story, account, history', Far. *søga* f. 'id.', OE *sagu* f. 'statement, story', OFri. *sege* f. 'statement, testimony', OHG *saga* f. 'story, statement' (DRV).

A formation related to **sagjan-* (q.v.). The resemblance to Lith. *sakà*, Latv. *saka* f. 'tale, legend' is likely to be coincidental, as the underlying proto-form **sokʷ-éh₂-* would have given PGm. ***sawō-*.

sahaza- m. 'sedge' — OS *saher-ahi* n. 'sedgy place', OHG *sahar* m. 'id.', MHG *saher* m. 'id.' ⇒ **sákas-o-*(?) (NEUR/NIE) — Ir. *seisc* f. 'sedge, rushes', W *hesg* pl. 'id.' < **sek(-)s(k)-i-*(?); BRu. *osoka* f. 'sedge' < **asak-eh₂-*(?).

Also cf. OS *in séon 'in algis'* (< **seha-*?) and **sagja- 2* 'sedge'. The word is often connected to **sagō-* 'saw' through a meaning 'sharp grass'. The Slavic and Celtic comparanda imply that the oldest meaning was simply 'sedge', however. Technically, the variation of Pre-Gm. **sákas-* (**sókos-*?), Pre-Celt. **sesk-* (metathesized from **sek-s-*) and Pre-Sl. **asak-* is highly reminiscent of alternations exhibited by other potentially non-IE words, such as **amslōn-* 'blackbird' and **sturja/ōn-* 'sturgeon' (q.v.), especially in view of the occurrence of an *a*-prefix in *osoka*.

sahsa- n. 'knife' — ON *sax* n. 'short sword; scissors', Elfd. *saks* m. 'scissors', OE *seax* n. 'knife', OFri. *sax* n. 'knife; short sword, dagger', OS *sahs* n. 'knife', OHG *sahs* n. 'id.' ⇒ **sok-so-* (IE).

A thematicized *s*-stem to the PIE root **sek-* 'to cut'. It also occurs as the second element of the compound **mati-sahsa-* ~ **mati-zahsa-* 'knife', for which see **mati-* 'food'. Further cf. **sagō-*, **sagja- 2* and **sahaza-*.

saida- m. 'magic, charm' — ON *seiðr* m. 'charm, spell' ⇒ **soit-o-* (EUR) — Identical to Lith. *saĩtas*, *seĩtas* m. 'magic' and MW *hud* 'id.'; also cf. OCo. *hudol* '*magus*', W *hudol* 'charming, illusory'.

A European *o*-stem derived from the root found in ON *síða* s.v. 'to work charms' < **sīþan-*. With a different ablaut, cf. OE *-siden* f. 'magic' < **sidnō-*.

saikjan- w.v. 'to make drip' — MDu. *seiken* w.v. 'to piss; to filter', Du. *zeiken* w.v. 'to piss', OHG *seihhen* w.v. 'id.', G *seichen* w.v. 'id.' (IE).

Apparently the causative to **sīhwan-*; the root-final *k* reveals that the expected causative ***saihjan-* < PIE **soikʷ-éie-* was influenced by the iterative **sikkōn-* (q.v.). With the same consonantism, but a different ablaut grade, cf. ON *sík(i)* n. 'ditch, trench', OE *sīc* n. 'small stream' < **sīk(j)a-*.

saila/ō- n./f. 'rope' — ON *seil* f. 'id.', Far. *seil* f. 'band, cow harness, scarf', OE *sāl* m./f. 'rope, tether', OFri. *wind-sēl* n. 'rope', OS *sēl* n. 'id.', Du. *zeel* n. 'id.', G *Seil* n. 'rope, noose' ⇒ **sh₂oi-lo-* (IE) — Skt. *syáti* 'to bind' < **sh₂i-é-*; Lith. *siẽti* (*siejù*), Latv. *síeti* 'to bind, link' < **sh₂oi-*.

PGm. **saila-*, whence Go. *in-sailjan* w.v. 'to rope up', continues an *l*-derivation to the PIE root **sh₂ei-* 'to bind', cf. ON *seli*, *sili*, Elfd. *sili*, OHG *silo*, G *Siele* m. 'strap; harness' < **silan-*. This root developed from an archaic *i*-present, cf. Hitt. *išḫai* ~ *išḫiianzi* 'to bind, to wrap; to obligate with, to impose upon' < 3sg. **sh₂-ói-ti*, 3pl. **sh₂-i-énti* (Kloekhorst 2008: 391). For the semantic shift from 'tie' to 'obligation', cf. **sidu-* 'custom'.

saima- m. 'virgin honey' — ON *seimr* m. 'honeycomb', OS *sēm* m. '(fresh) honey', ODu. *seym* m. 'id.', Du. *zeem* c. 'id.', OHG *seim* m. 'id.', G *Honig-seim* m. 'id.' ⇒ **soikʷ-mo-*(?) (IE?) — W *hufen* m. 'top of any liquid; cream' < **soi(kʷ)-meno-*.

A word without a certain etymology. There are no objections against deriving it from the IE root **seikʷ-* 'to drip', however, for which see **sīhwan-*. This link would imply a Pre-Gm. formation **soikʷ-mó-* that through **saigma-* may have given **saima-*.

saipwōn- f. 'soap' — OE *sāpe* f. 'id.', E *soap*, OFri. *sēpe* f. 'id.', Du. *zeep* c. 'id.', OHG *seiffa*, *seipfa* f. 'id.', G *Seife*, Swab., Alem. *seipfe* f. 'id.' (GM).

An etymologically debated word with an exclusively West Germanic attestation (ON *sápa* is an Old English loanword). Two formations have been reconstructed for Proto-Germanic: 1) a form **saipjōn-* with a *j*-suffix so as to explain the gemination OHG *seipfa*, Swi. *seipfe*; and 2) a form **saipōn-* in order to explain the absence of umlaut in OE *sāpe*. Superficially, the form **saipjōn-* is corroborated by Fi. *saippio*, but I would prefer to unify both OHG *seipfa* and OE *sāpe* into a single proto-form **saipwōn-*. This form can explain both the lack of umlaut in Old English and the gemination in High German, and even has a reminiscence in Fi. *saippua* (note that the *io*-suffix of *saippio* can be of Finnish origin, Koivulehto 1995: 99). The derivation of the word is unknown, but the parallel occurrence of the semantically more primitive OE *sāp(e)* 'amber, resin' (also cf. OE *stōr-sæp* n. 'resin' < **saipja-*) implies a Germanic origin. The suggested link with e.g. Sw. dial. *sipa* w.v. 'to flow slowly' (cf. Pokorny IEW: 894) is uncertain, however. Lat. *sāpo* m. 'soap' was borrowed from Germanic.

saiwalō- f. 'soul' — Go. *saiwala* f. 'id.', OE *sāwol, sāwl* m. 'id.', E *soul*, OFri. *sēle* f. 'id.', OS *seola, siola* f. 'id.', OHG *sēula, sēla* f. 'id.', G *Seele* f. 'id.' (GM).

A West Germanic word considered to be without etymology. According to Schrijver 1997, it is of non-Indo-European origin. The word is formally and semantically close to Lith. *síela* f. 'soul, heart', OCS *sila* f. 'strength, force, miracle', Ru. *síla* f. 'strength, force', SCr. *sȉla* f. 'id.' < **seh$_1$i-l-eh$_2$-*, but even if related, Germanic still has a different suffix. Note that ON *sál* and OSw. *siæl* were borrowed from OE *sāwl* and OS *seola* respectively.

saiwi- m. 'sea' — Go. *saiws* m. 'lake, swamp', ON *sær*, gen. *sjóar* m. 'sea', Icel. *sjór* m. 'id.', Far. *sjógvur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *sju* m. 'id.', OE *sæ* m. 'id.', E *sea*, OFri. *sē* m. 'id.', OS *sēu, sēo* m. 'id.', Du. *zee* c. 'id.', OHG *sē(o/u)*, gen. *sēwes* m. 'id.', G *See* m. 'lake', f. 'sea' ⇒ **soik^{w}-í-* (DRV).

An *i*-stem (NWGm. *a*-stem) probably derived from the root of **sīhwan-* (q.v.). Semantically parallel is the derivation of OHG *gi-sig* m./n. 'swamp, pool' < **ga-siga-* from **sīgan-*, for which again see **sīhwan-*.

sakan- s.v. 'to charge' — Go. *sakan* s.v. 'to dispute, reprimand', OS *sakan* s.v. 'to rebuke', MDu. *mis-saken* w./s.v. 'to deny, reject', OHG *sahhan* s.v. 'to argue, reprimand' ⇒ **sh$_2$g-e-* (IE) — Olr. *saigid* 'to try to reach; to claim' < **sh$_2$g-ie-*; MW *haeddu* 'to attempt' < **sag-i-eh$_2$-ie-*; Hitt. *šāgāi-* c. 'omen' < **seh$_2$g-oi-* (whence *šākiẹ/azi* 'to give a sign, reveal'; Lat. *sāgus* adj. 'prophetic, prescient' < **seh$_2$g-o-*.

A strong verb related to **sakō-* and **sōkjan-* (q.v.). Its original meaning was probably 'to charge', cf. Go. *gasahts* f. 'rebuke' < **ga-sahti-* and Go. *un-sahtaba* adv. 'without controversy' < **sahta-*). This meaning later changed into 'to make a case', cf. the semantically parallel Ru. *sočít'* (*sočú*) 'to look for, track down, summon', SCr. *sòčiti* 'to establish the guilt of, reveal, find' under **sagjan-*. On a deeper level, the etymological links with Lat. *sāgīre* 'to perceive' and Hitt. *šāgāi-* 'omen' imply a primary sense 'to read a sign or track', which through 'to follow, pursue' may have given the Germanic meaning.

sakk/gōn- w.v. 'to drop, sag' — ME *saggen* 'id.', E *to sag*, Du. *zakken* w.v. 'id.', G *sacken* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **sok-néh$_2$-* (GM).

An *o*-grade iterative, 3sg. **sakkōþi*, 3pl. **sagunanþi* < **sok-néh$_2$-ti*, **sok-nh$_2$-énti*, possibly related to **sinkwan-* (q.v.). A zero-grade variant **sukkōn-* is supported by OHG *suckōn* (probably not *sucken* < **sukkjan-*, *pace* Riecke 1996: 190). No further etymology. The potentially related Nw. *sagga* w.v. 'to walk slowly' together with the dialectal variants *saga* and *sugga* is formally close, but the semantics as well as the probable connection with Du. *sukkelen* 'to go slowly or clumsily' < **sukkōn-* imply that this verb has a different origin.

sakō- f. 'case, lawsuit' — ON *sǫk* f. 'lawsuit, accusation, trial', OE *sacu* f. 'strife, contention, dispute', E *sake*, OFri. *seke* f. 'case', OS *saka* f. 'affair, lawsuit', Du. *zaak* c. 'affair, lawsuit', OHG *sahha* f. 'case, guilt', G *Sache* f. 'affair, matter' (DRV).

Also cf. ON *saka* w.v. 'to fight, do harm', Far. *saka* w.v. 'to hurt; to accuse' < **sakōjan-*. Derived from the strong verb **sakan-* (q.v.).

salbō- f. 'ointment' — Go. *salba* f. 'id.', OE *sealf(e)* f. 'id.', E *salve*, OS *salba* f. 'id.', Du. *zalf* c. 'id.', OHG *salba* f. 'id.', G *Salbe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **solp-éh₂-* (IE) — ToA *ṣälyp*, ToB *ṣalype* m. '(sesame) oil; salve, ointment', Gr. Hsch. ἔλπος 'oil, fat', Alb. *gjalpë* n./m. 'butter' < **selp-o(s)-*; also cf. Skt. *sarpíṣ-* n. 'melted butter, melting-butter, lard' (with secondary *íṣ*-suffix); Skt. *sṛprá-* adj. 'greasy, smooth, sleek' < **slp-ro-*.

Also cf. Go. *salbon*, OE *sealfian*, OS *salƀon*, Du. *zalven*, OHG *salbōn*, G *salben* w.v. 'to anoint' < **salbōjan-*.

salihōn- f. 'sallow, willow' — ON *selja* f. 'id.', Sw. *sälg* c. 'id.', OE *sealh* f. 'id.', E *sallow*, OHG *salaha* f. 'id.', G *Sal-weide* 'id.' ⇒ **salik-* (EUR) — Lat. *salix* f. 'willow', OIr. *sail*, gen. *sailech* f. 'id.' < **salik-*; Myc. *e-ri-ka*, Gr. Arc. ἐλίκη 'id.' < **selik-*(?).

A European word. If the Mycenaean word belongs here, it would imply a non-IE interchange of **salik-* vs. **selik-*.

saliz- n. 'hall, house' — ON *salr* m. 'id.', OE *sæl*, *salor* n. 'hall', OS *seli* m. 'hall, building', Du. *zaal* c. 'hall', OHG *sal* n. 'hall, room', G *Saal* m. 'id.' ⇒ **sol(H)-es-* (NEUR) — Identical to OCS *selo* n. 'field, abode, tabernacle, village', Ru. *seló* n. 'village', SCr. *sèlo* n. 'village, country'.

ON *salr*, acc.pl. *salir* and OS *seli* imply an *i*-stem **sali-*, OE *salor* a formation **salaza-*, but both of these variants developed secondarily from the neuter *s*-stem **salaz*, gen. **salizaz* < **sol(H)-os*, **sol(H)-es-os*. Also cf. Go. *saliþwos* f.pl. 'dwelling', OE *selþ*, OS *selitha*, OHG *salida*, *selida* f. 'dwelling' < **saliþwō-* and the conspicuously similar OCS *selitva* f. 'dwelling'.

saljan- w.v. 'to offer, sell' — Go. *saljan* w.v. 'to lodge', ON *selja* w.v. 'to hand over; to sell', Far. *selja* w.v. 'to sell; to let go of; to surrender', Elfd. *sela* w.v. 'to sell', OE *sellan* s.v. 'to give', E *to sell*, OFri. *sella* w.v. 'to hand over; to pay; to sell', OS *gi-sellian* w.v. 'give, sell', OHG *sellan* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **solh₁-éie-* (EUR) — Gr. ἑλεῖν aor. 'to take, seize', med. 'to take for oneself, pick out, choose' < **selh₁-* (also cf. Gr. ἕλωρ n. 'booty' < **selh₁-ōr*); OCS *sъlati* 'to send' < **slh₁-eh₂-*; OIr. *selb* f. 'possession', W *helw*, *elw* m. < **selh₁-ueh₂-*; OIr. *ad-roilli* 'to earn', MW *dyrllid* 'id.' < **tu-ari-sliye-* < **-slh₁-ie-*.

A causative to the PIE root **selh₁-* 'to take'. The primary meaning of the verb was 'to let take', whence 'to hand over'. Also note ON *sala*, OE *salu* f.

'sale', OHG *sala* f. 'delivery of possession' < **salō(n)-*. Go. *saljan* w.v. 'to lodge, stay as a guest' is derived from **saliz-* (q.v.).

salta- n. 'salt' — Go. *salt* n. 'id.', ON *salt* n. 'id.', Far. *salt* n. 'id.', Elfd. *solt* n. 'id.', OE *sealt* n. 'id.', E *salt*, OFri. *salt* n. 'id.', OS *salt* n. 'id.', Du. *zout* n. 'id.', OHG *salz* n. 'id.', G *Salz* n. 'id.' (DRV) — Lith. *saldùs* adj. 'sweet', OCS *sladъkъ*, Ru. dial. *solódkij* adj. 'id.' < **sh₂el-d-u-*; ToA *sāle*, ToB *salyiye* f. 'salt', Arm. *ał* 'salt', Gr. ἅλς m. 'id.', Lat. *sāl* m. 'id.', OIr. *salann* n. 'id.', W *halen* m. 'id.', Latv. *sãls* f. 'id.', OPru. *sal* 'id.', OCS *solь*, Ru. *sol'* f. 'id.'; Skt. *sarirá-* n. 'sea, ocean'.

A neuter collective noun derived from the strong verb **saltan-* (q.v.). The IE word for 'salt' was inflected as an ablauting *l*-stem nom. **séh₂-l*, gen. **sh₂-l-ós*. The dental suffix **d*, which is found in Germanic, Balto-Slavic and Italic, is parallel to that of PIE **sueh₂d-u-* (see **swōtu-*).

saltan- s.v. 'to salt (down), pickle' — Go. *saltan* s.v. 'id.', ON *salta* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *solta* w.v. 'id.', OE *sealten* ptc. 'id.', MDu. *souten* s./w.v. 'id.', Du. *ge-zouten* adj. 'pickled', OHG *salzan* s.v. 'to pickle', G *salzen* s./w.v. 'id.' (IE) — Lat. *sallere* (ptc. *salsum* < **sh₂ld-to-*) 'to salt' < **sh₂ld-e-*; OIr. *saillid* 'id.' < **sh₂ld-ie-*; an extension to the stem **sh₂el-*, cf. Skt. *sarirá-* n. 'sea, ocean' < **sh₂el-*; ToA *sāle*, ToB *salyiye* f. 'salt' < **sh₂el-h₁en-*; Arm. *sał* 'id.' < **sh₂(e)l-i-*; Gr. ἅλς, ἀλός m. 'id.', Lat. *sāl* m. 'id.', OCS *solь* f. 'id.' < **sh₂el-*; OIr. *salann* 'id.' < **sh₂(e)l-on-*; OCS *slanъ* 'salted' < **sh₂el-no-*.

A strong verb directly akin to Lat. *sallere*. See also **salta-* and **sultjō-* (q.v.).

salwa- adj. 'yellowish brown' — ON *sǫlr* adj. 'yellow, pale', OE *salo* adj. 'dusky, dark', E *sallow*, MDu. *salu*, *saluwe* adj. 'pale yellow, dirty', OHG *salo* adj. 'dark, black, dirty' ⇒ **solH-uo-* (NEUR) — Ru. *solóvyj* adj. 'light bay' (also cf. CS *slavo-očije* n. 'state of having green eyes, glaucitas') < **solH-uo-*.

A Germanic-Slavic isogloss.

sama(n)- adj. 'the same' — Go. *sama* adj. 'id.', ON *samr*, *sami* adj. 'id.', Far. *samur*, *sami* adj. 'id.', OHG *samo* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **somH-o-* (IE) — Identical to Skt. *samá-* adj. 'equal, same', Av. *hama-* adj. 'same', OP *hama-* adj. 'one and the same', NP *ham* adj. 'same', Gr. ὁμός adj. 'common, same'.

See also **suma-*.

samda- m. 'sand' — ON *sandr* m. 'id.', Far. *sandur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *sand* m. 'id.', OE *sand* m. 'id.', E *sand*, OFri. *san(d)*, *saun(d)* m. 'id.', OS *sand* m. 'id.', Du. *zand* n. 'id.', OHG *sant* m./n. 'id.', G *Sand* m. 'id.' ⇒ **sam-nd^h-* (NIE) — Gr. ψάμμος f., ψάμαθος, ἄμαθος f. 'sand' < **sam-nd^h-o-*; Lat. *sabulum* n. 'coarse sand, gravel' < **sad^h-lo-*.

Most forms point to **sanda-*, but MHG *sampt* can only be explained from **samda-* < **samd^{h}-o-*, which is close to Gr. ἄμαθος < **sam-nd^{h}-o-* (without the *nd^{h}*-suffix, cf. E dial. *samel* adj. 'gritty, sandy' < **samala-*). Given the formal irreconcilabilities between Gm. **samda-*, Lat. *sabulum* < **sad^{h}-lo-* and Gr. ἄμαθος < **sam-nd^{h}-* (the ψ of ψάμαθος was used to substitute *s* after the Greek shift to *h*) the conclusion must be that the word is of non-IE origin (Kuiper 1995: 67): it was probably adopted from a set of linguistically affiliated languages when Germanic, Italic and Greek arrived in West-Europe. In view of the meaning 'sand', it is extremely unlikely, at any rate, that the word spread across Europe as a *Wanderwort*. Importantly, this scenario implies that other NIE words with the same *nd$^{(h)}$*-suffix (e.g. **arwīt* 'pea') probably cannot be regarded as relatively late *Wanderwörter* either, but are likely to have been present in Europe already before the arrival of the Indo-Europeans.

samþu- adj. 'soft' — OE *sēfte* adj., *sōfte* adv. 'id.', E *soft*, OS *sāfto* adv. 'id.', Du. *zacht* adj. 'id.', OHG *samfti*, *semfti* adj., *samfto* adv. 'id.', G *sanft* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **sóm-tu-* (IE) — Skt. *santya-* adj. 'belonging together' < **som-tio-*.

An adjective possibly derived from the PIE root *sem-* 'together'. In view of the umlaut alternation of OE *sēfte* versus adverbial *sōfte*, the apparent *ja*-stem adjective must have developed from an older *u*-stem at a relatively late stage, i.e. somewhere in West Germanic. This disfavors the direct equasion of OHG *samfti* and OE *sēfte* with Skt. *santya-*, as proposed by Hoffmann 1968). See also **sama-* < **somH-o-*.

sandjan- w.v. 'to cause to go, send' — Go. *sandjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *senda* w.v. 'id.', Far. *senda* w.v. 'id.', OE *sendan* w.v. 'id.', E *to send*, OFri. *senda* w.v. 'id.', OS *sendian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *zenden* w.v. 'id.', OHG *sentan* w.v. 'id.', G *senden* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **sont-éie-* (EUR).

The causative to **sinnan-* 'to go, travel' (q.v.).

sangwa- m. 'singing; song' — Go. *saggws* m. 'id.', ON *sǫngr* m. 'id.', Far. *songur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *saungg* m. 'id.', OE *sang* m. 'id.', E *song*, OFri. *song* m. 'id.', OS *sang* m. 'id.', Du. *zang* c. 'id.', OHG *sang* m./n. 'id.', G *Sang* m. 'id.' ⇒ **song^{wh}-o-* (DRV).

An *o*-grade thematic noun derived from the strong verb **singwan-* (q.v.).

sankwjan- w.v. 'to cause to sink' — Go. *sagqjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *søkkva* w.v. 'id.', Far. *søkkja* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *saintja* w.v. 'id.', OE *sencan* w.v. 'to sink, plunge, immerse', E *to sink*, OS *bi-senkian* w.v. 'to cause to sink', OHG *senkan* w.v. 'id.', G *senken* w.v. 'id.' (IE).

The causative to **sinkwan-* (q.v.).

sanþa- adj. 'true' — ON *saðr*, *sannr* adj. 'true; meet and proper; guilty', Far. *sannur* adj. 'true; right', Elfd. *sann* adj. 'id.', OE *sōð* adj. 'id.', OS *sōth* adj. 'id.', OHG *sand* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *h_1s-ónt-o-* (IE) — Hitt. *ašant-* 'true, real', Skt. *sánt-* 'being, real, good', Lat. *sōns*, *sontis* adj. 'guilty'.

An adjective continuing the participle of the IE verb 'to be', viz. *h_1s-ont-*. If we accept Lat. *iēns*, gen. *euntis* 'going' < *h_1i-(e)nt-s*, *h_1i-ont-es* as a model, we may reconstruct the original paradigm of this participle as *h_1s-(e)nt-s*, gen. *h_1s-ont-(e/o)s*. Germanic generalized the *o*-grade at an early stage, however (cf. Go. *-ands*). The original meaning 'being' developed into 'true' in Germanic, probably through an intermediate sense 'actual'. The meaning 'guilty' as found in Old Norse *sannr at sǫk* is secondary, too, but in view of Lat. *sōns* must have developed at an early stage, possibly in a shared IE legal context. Cf. ON *sanna* w.v. 'to affirm, prove', OE *sōðian* w.v. 'to prove', OFri. *sanna*, *senna* w.v. 'to dispute' < *sanþōjan-*. See also *sunja-.

sarwa- m. 'armor, equipment' — Go. *sarwa* n. 'id.', OE *searu*, *searo* n. 'device, design, art', OHG *saro* n. 'armor' (GM?).

No certain etymology. The word has been compared to Gr. εἴρω 'to join' (cf. ὅρμος 'necklace') and Lat. *serō* 'to arrange, join' < *ser-* (Pokorny IEW: 911), but it seems unsatisfactory to disconnect it from Lith. *šárvas*, OPru. *sarwis* m. 'armor'. The correspondence of PGm. *s* with Lith. *š* is irregular, however, and may point to independent borrowing from an unknown third language. Cf. also ON *sørvi*, *gi-sarawi*, MHG *ge-serwe* n. 'equipment' < *(ga-)sarwja-* and OE *sierwan*, OFri. *sera*, *sara*, MHG *serwen* w.v. 'to arm, equip' < *sarwjan-.

satjan- w.v. 'to put' — Go. *satjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *setja* w.v. 'id.', Far. *seta* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *settja* s.v. 'id.', OE *settan* w.v. 'id.', E *to set*, OFri. *setta* w.v. 'id.', OS *settian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *zetten* w.v. 'id.', OHG *sezzen* w.v. 'id.', G *setzen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *sod-éie- (IE) — YAv. *ni-šādaiiaṯ* 3sg.inj.caus. 'to remove', OP *niya-šādayam* 1sg.impf.caus. 'to set down; to establish', OCS *saditi*, Ru. *sadít'* (*sažú*), SCr. *sáditi* 'to plant, seat' < *sod-eie-.

The causative to *set(j)an- (q.v.).

sauma- m. 'seam' — ON *saumr* m. 'id.', Far. *seymur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *sōm* m. 'id.', OE *sēam* m. 'id.', E *seam*, OFri. *sām* m. 'id.', MDu. *soom* m. 'id.', Du. *zoom* c. 'id.', OHG *soum* m. 'id.', G *Saum* m. 'id.' ⇒ *siouH-mo- (DRV) — Close to Skt. *syū́man-* n. 'band, thong, bridle', Gr. ὑμήν, -ένος m. 'film, membrane, sinew' < *siuH-men-.

A *mo*-stem created to the root of *siujan- (q.v.): apparently, the Pre-Gm. form *siouH-mo- lost its *i̯*, for which see *seuda-. Also cf. ON *seyma*, Far. *soyma*, Elfd. *sōma*, G *säumen* 'to sow, seam' < *saumjan-.

sauþa- m. 'broth' — Nw. *saud* m. 'cooking', OE *sēað* m. 'well', OFri. *sāth* m. 'id.', MDu. *soot* m. 'well; boiling water', MHG *sōt* m. 'boiling, seething; well; heartburn' ⇒ **sóut-o-* (DRV).

Derived from **seuþan-*. Cf. with the same vowel Go. *sauþs* m. 'sacrifice' < **sauþi-* and ON *sauðr*, Far. *seyður*, Elfd. *soð* m. 'sheep' < **sauþa-*.

****sauza-*** adj. 'dry' — Nw. *søyr* adj. 'id.', OE *sēar* adj. 'id.', E *sear*, MDu. *soor* adj. 'id.', Du. *zoor* adj. 'id.' ⇒ ** $h_2$sous-ó-* (IE) — Gr. αὖος adj. 'dry', Lith. *saũsas*, Latv. *sàuss*, OPru. *sausan* adj. (acc.) 'dry', OCS *suxъ*, Ru. *suxój*, SCr. *sûh* adj. 'id.' < **$h_2$sous-o-* (Lubotsky 1985); Skt. *śúṣyati* 'to be dry' < **$h_2$sus-ie-*.

Also cf. OHG *sōren* w.v. 'to be dry' < **sauzēn-*.

****sawwa-*** n. 'juice' — Icel. *sōggur* m. 'moisture', OE *sēaw* m. 'juice, moisture', ME *seu* 'sap, juice, broth', OHG *sou* n. 'juice' ⇒ **sou-ó-* (IE) — Skt. *savá-* m. 'juice'; Skt. *sunóti* 'to press (Soma)', YAv. *hunūta* 3sg.pres.inj.med. 'to press, braise' < **su-neu-*; Lith. *sulà* f. 'birch sap' < **su-l-eh$_2$-*; MIr. *suth* 'milk' < **su-to-*.

An old *o*-grade thematicization to the PIE root **seu-*. The form is of importance to the debate on the conditioning of Holtzmann's law. It is often assumed that intervocalic **i̯* and **u̯* were lengthened by the assimilation of a following laryngeal (Lehmann 1965). PIE **sou-ó-* never had a laryngeal, however, and thus implies that we must revert to the older formulation of Holtzmann's law as purely pretonic gemination. Note that Icel., Far. *saggi* m. 'moisture', apparently continuing **saggan-*, is a secondary formation created on the basis of ON **sǫggr*. Also cf. Icel. *sōggur*, Nw. *søgg* adj. 'wet, damp' < **sou-ó-*.

****sēan-*** s.v. 'to sow' — Go. *saian* s.v. 'id.', ON *sá* pret. *sera* 'id.', Far. *sáa* w.v. 'id.', OE *sāwan* s.v. 'id.', E *to sow*, OFri. *e-sēn* ptc. 'id.', OS *sāian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *zaaien* w.v. 'id.', OHG *sāen* w.v. 'id.', G *säen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **séh$_1$-e-* (IE) — Lat. *serō*, *-ere* 'to plant, sow seed' < **si-sh$_1$-e-*; Lith. *séti* (*séju*), Latv. *sēt* 'to sow', OCS *sěti* (*sějǫ*) 'id.' < **seh$_1$(-ie-)*; Hitt. *šāi* ~ *šiia̯nzi* 'to prick, sting; to shoot, throw', med. 'to squirt, spurt, flow' < **sh$_1$-ói-ei*, **sh$_1$-i-énti* (Kloekhorst 2008: 694-5).

A verb with an originally reduplicated preterite (i.e. PIE perfect), cf. Go. *saiso*, ON *sera*, from PGm. 3sg. **se-sōe*, 3pl. **se-sunþ* < PIE **se-soh$_1$-e*, **se-sh$_1$-nt*. Regarding the form of the verb, there is no trace whatsoever of a suffix **-ie-* in Germanic: the hiatus in **sēan-* was simply filled up by either *j* (cf. G *säen* with umlaut) or *w* (E *to sow*) in the different daughter languages. Also note that the Go. digraph <ai> stands for [ɛ̄], which arose from **ē* by regular lowering before hiatus, and not for [ai], as is often assumed. See also **sēda-*, **sēdi-*, **sēman-* and **sĭled-*.

sebjō- f. 'kinship' — Go. *sibja* f. 'id.', ON *sif* f. 'id.', OE *sib* f. 'id.', OFri. *sibbe* f. 'id.', OS *sibbia* f. 'id.', OHG *sippa* f. 'id.', G *Sippe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **seb^h-ieh$_2$-* (IE).

A formation likely to have arisen from a reflexive pronominal form, cf. OCS *sebě*, Lat. *sibī* dat. 'to oneself' < **se-b^{h}e/oi*. Less attractive are the comparisons with Ru. *osóba*, SCr. *ὂsoba* f. 'person' < **-sob^h-eh$_2$-*(?) and the almost certainly unrelated Skt. *sabhā́-* f. 'community' < **sm-b^{h}eh$_2$-* or SCS *sebrъ* m. 'yeoman', Ru. *sjabr* m. 'neighbor' < **sm-b^{h}h$_2$-ro-* (cf. Pokorny IEW: 882-4). Within Germanic, further cf. ON *sifi*, OS *sibbio*, OFri. *sibba* m. 'relative' < **sebjan-*, Go. *un-sibjis* adj. 'lawless', OE *sib*, OFri. *sib(be)*, OHG *sippi* adj. 'related' < **sebja-* and Go. *ga-sibjon*, OE *ge-sibbian* w.v. 'to conciliate' < **ga-sibjōjan-*.

sebun- num. 'seven' — Go. *sibun* num. 'id.', ON *sjau* num. 'id.', Far. *sjey* num. 'id.', Elfd. *sju* num. 'id.', OE *seofon, syfon* num. 'id.', E *seven*, OFri. *sigun* num. 'id.', OS *siƀun, siƀon* num. 'id.', Du. *zeven* num. 'id.', OHG *sibun* num. 'id.', G *sieben* num. 'id.' ⇒ **septḿ* (IE) — Hitt. *šiptamiia-* n. 'liquid from seven substances' < **s(e)ptm-io-*; Skt. *saptá* 'seven', Av. *hapta-* 'id.', Gr. ἑπτά 'id.'; Lat. *septem* 'id.', OIr. *secht*, W *saith* 'id.', Lith. *septynì* 'id.', OCS *sedmь* 'id.' < **sept-m*.

As opposed to the other IE languages, which have **sept-m*, the Germanic form points to **sep-m* without a *t*. It has been argued that the word therefore must be a late loanword from a para-Semitic language (Vennemann 1995: 112ff), cf. Akk. *sebū(m)*, f. *sebettum* '7', but it is more likely that the dental was lost in the ordinal **sebunƀ/dan-* < **septm-tHó-*, where it may have been dissimilated against the *t* of the suffix. This is even more likely in view of the fact that the ordinals in IE had a zero grade of the root, which would make the expected form **sptm-tHó-* especially liable to dissimilation. Also note that the final **-n* of **sebun* must be due to influence from the ordinal as well, as it would normally have been dropped in this position.

sebunƀ/dan- num. 'seventh' — Go. *sibunda* num. 'id.', ON *sj(a)undi* num. 'id.', Far. *sjeyndi* num. 'id.', Elfd. *sjuund* num. 'id.', OE *seofoða* num. 'id.', E *seventh*, OFri. *sigunda* num. 'id.' (with *g* after *nigunda* 'ninth'), OS *siƀondo, siƀotho* num. 'id.', Du. *zevende* num. 'id.', OHG *sibunto, sibanto* num. 'id.', G *siebente* num. 'id.' ⇒ **septm-tHó-* (IE) — Skt. *saptátha-*, Av. *haptaϑa-*, Lith. *septiñtas* 'seventh' < **septm-tHo-*.

The ordinal numeral to **sebun* 'seven' (q.v.).

sēda- n. 'seed' — ON *sáð* n. 'id.', Far. *sáð* n. 'id.', Elfd. *såðer* m.pl. 'bran', OE *sæd* n. 'id.', E *seed*, OFri. *sēd* n. 'id.', OS *sād* n. 'id.', Du. *zaad* n. 'id.' ⇒ **seh$_1$-tó-* (DRV).

A *to*-derivative from the root of **sēan-* (q.v.).

sēdi- f. 'seed' — Go. *mana-seþs* f. 'mankind', OHG *sāt* f. 'seed; field', G *Saat* f. 'seed; sowing' ⇒ *seh_1-tí-* (DRV) — Lat. *satus* m. 'sowing, planting' < *sh_1-tu-*.

A *ti*-stem derived from the root of *sēan- (q.v.).

sēdla- n. 'sieve, riddle' — ON *sáld* n. 'id.', Elfd. *såld(er)* m. 'id.' ⇒ *seh_1-tló-* (IE) — Formally close to OIr. *síthal* f. 'vase', MW *hidl* f. 'filter, strainer, sieve' < *sh_1-i-tleh$_2$-*; also cf. Lith. *síetas*, Latv. *siêts* m. 'sieve', Ru. *síto*, SCr. *sȉto* n. 'id.' < *seh_1-i-to-*; Lith. *sijóti* (*sijója*), Latv. *sijât* 'to sift' < *sh_1-i-eh$_2$-ie-*; OCS *sěti*, (*sějǫ*); *sějati*, SCr. *sȉjati* 'id.' < *seh_1-i-eh$_2$-*; Alb. *shosh* 'to sift, riddle' < *seh_1-i- / *sh_1-ei-*.

An instrumental noun to the PIE root *seh_1- 'to sift'. This verbal base is otherwise exclusively found with an *i*-suffix, which points to the pre-existence of an PIE *i*-present 3sg. *sh_1-éi-ti*, 3pl. *sh_1-i-énti*.

sefan- m. 'mind' — ON *sefi* m. 'mind, affection', OE *sefa* m. 'understanding, mind, heart', OS *mōd-seƀo* m. 'spirit, soul, heart' ⇒ *sép-on- (DRV).

An *n*-stem presumably derived from the strong verb *safjan- (q.v.).

segiz- n. 'victory' — Go. *sigis* n. 'id.', ON *sigr* m. 'id.', Far. *sigur* m. 'id.', OSw. *sigher* m. 'id.', Sw. *seger* c. 'id.', OE *sigor* m. 'id.', OFri. *sige*, *sīge* m. 'id.', OS *sigi-drohtin* 'God', Du. *zege* c. 'id.', OHG *sigi*, *sigu* m. 'id.', G *Sieg* m. 'id.' ⇒ *seǵ^h-es- (IE) — Identical to Skt. *sáhas-*, Av. *hazah-* n. 'violence, power', OIr. *sed*, *seg* m. 'strength, vigor'.

All attested forms directly or indirectly continue the old IE neuter *s*- stem *seǵ^h-es-*. This formation was derived from the verb *seǵ^h-e-* 'to overpower, possess', cf. Skt. *sáhate* 'to overpower', Gr. ἔχω 'to have, hold' (also cf. the reduplicated Gr. ἴσχω 'to hold' < *si-sǵ^h-e- and the intensive ὀχέω 'id.' < *soǵ^h-eie-). Within Germanic itself, the noun gave rise to ON *sigra*, OE *sigorian*, OHG *ubar-sigirōn* w.v. 'to be victorious' < *segizōjan-*.

segja- n. 'hard skin' — ON *sigg* n. 'hard skin', Far. *sigg* n. 'hard, cartilaginous whale blubber' ⇒ *sek-ió- (WEUR) — MIr. *seiche* f. 'skin, hide' < *sek-ieh$_2$-*.

A Germanic-Celtic isogloss possibly derived from the PIE root *sek- 'to cut', for which see *sagō-*.

segla- n. 'sail, canvas' — ON *segl* n. 'id.', Far. *segl* n. 'id.', Elfd. *sigel* n. 'id.', OE *seg(e)l* m. 'id.', E *sail*, OS *segal* n. 'id.' (also cf. *segela* f. 'curtain' < *seglō-), Du. *zeil* n. 'id.', OHG *segal*, *segil* m. 'id.', G *Segel* n. 'id.' (WEUR) — Ir. *séol* m. 'sail, piece of cloth, (bed-)covering, tent', W *hwyl* f. 'sail' < *se/ig$^{(h)}$-lo-.

If OIr. *séol* was not adopted from Germanic, as is often assumed, the etymon represents a Germanic-Celtic isogloss (cf. Schrijver 1995: 357; Thier 2011: 189-190). No certain etymology. By starting from a meaning 'cut

piece of cloth', it is possible to connect the word to ON *sagi*, *segi*, *sigi* m. 'piece of meat' and the underlying PIE root **sek-* (see **sagō-*). I prefer the alternative connection with Lith. obs. *sãgė* f. 'shawl, warp' < **sog^{h}-ieh$_{2}$-* (Lat. *sagum* n. 'coarse woollen cloak' may be a Gaulish loanword, Walde/Hoffmann: II, 464). A third possibility would be to assume a connection with Icel. *segl* n. 'piece of wood in the eye of a grinding mill' < **segla-*, Far. *sigli* n. 'id.' < **seglja-* (= G dial. *Segel*, *Sigel* m. 'lump'?). This would imply a primary meaning 'mast'.

****sehs*** num. 'six' — Go. *saihs* num. 'id.', ON *sex* num. 'id.', Far. *seks* num. 'id.', Elfd. *sjäks* num. 'id.', OE *siex*, *six* num. 'id.', E *six*, OFri. *sex* num. 'id.', OS *sehs* num. 'id.', Du. *zes* num. 'id.', OHG *sehs* num. 'id.', G *sechs* num. 'id.' ⇒ **seḱ-s* (IE) — Skt. *ṣáṣ-*, YAv. *xšuuaš*, NP *šaš*, Oss. *æxsæz / æxsæz* num. 'six' < **sueḱs*; Arm. *vec'* num. 'id.' < **ueḱs*; Gr. ἕξ, Dor. ϝέξ, MW *chwech* num. 'id.' < **sueḱs*, Lat. *sex* num. 'id.' < **seḱs*.

The PIE numeral 'six'. The oldest form must have been **ueḱ-s* in view of the OPru. ordinal *uschts* < **uḱ-to-* (see **sehtan-*). The initial *s* was probably adopted from PIE **septm* 'seven', for which see **sebun*.

****sehtan-*** num. 'sixth' — Go. *saihsta* num. 'id.', ON *sétti* num. 'id.', Far. *sætti* num. 'id.', Elfd. *sjäkst* num. 'id.', OE *siexta* num. 'id.', E *sixth*, OFri. *sexta* num. 'id.', OS *sehsto* num. 'id.', Du. *zesde* num. 'id.', OHG *sehto*, *sehsto* num. 'id.', G *sechste* num. 'id.' ⇒ **seḱ-tHo-* (IE) — Skt. *ṣaṣṭhá-* num. 'sixth', YAv. *xštuua-* adj. 'id.' < **su(e)ḱ-tH-uo-*; OPru. *uschts*, *wuschts* num. 'id.' < **uḱ-tHo-*; Lat. *sextus* num. 'id.' < **seḱs-tHo-*.

Most Germanic languages, including Gothic, have a form continuing a proto-form **sehstan-*. This form replaced the more archaic **sehtan-*, as evinced by ON *sétti* and OHG *sehto*, under the influence of the cardinal numeral **sehs*. In PIE, the oldest form was **uḱ-to-* (without both initial and root-final *s*), cf. OPru. *uschts*. It follows that **s(u)eḱ-tHo-* arose due to interference with **sept-m* 'seven' (see PGm. **sebun*).

****sehwan-*** s.v. 'to see' — Go. *saihvan* s.v. 'id.', ON *sjá* s.v. 'id.', Far. *síggja* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *sjå* s.v. 'id.', OE *sēon* s.v. 'id.', E *to see*, OFri. *siā*, *siān*, *siën* s.v. 'id.', WFri. *sjen* s.v. 'id.', OS *sehan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *zien* s.v. 'id.', OHG *sehan* s.v. 'id.', G *sehen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **sékʷ-e-* (IE) — Skt. *sácate* 'to follow', Gr. ἕπομαι 'id.', Lat. *sequor*, *sequī* 'id.', OIr. *sechid* 'id.' < **sékʷ-e-*.

The Germanic verb corresponds to the PIE root **sekʷ-* 'to follow'; apparently, the meaning shifted from 'to follow' to 'to keep an eye on'. As to the Nordic forms, note Elfd. *sjå*, which preserves the nasalisation of the infinitive suffix due to the late West Norse developement **sīã* > **sjã* (nasal vowels in unstressed syllables were otherwise lost). Far. *síggja* developed from

the unaffected form **sī(j)a* by regular *Verschärfung*. See also **seuni-* and **sagja- 1.*

sēhwi- adj. 'visible' — ON *-sær* adj. 'id.' (DRV).
The regular *vṛddhi*-gerundive to **sehwan-* 'to see' (q.v.).

selba(n)- pron. 'self' — Go. *silba* pron. 'id.', ON *sjalfr* pron. 'id.', Far. *sjálvur* pron. 'id.', Elfd. *siuov* pron. 'id.', OE *self, seolf* pron. 'id.', E *self*, OFri. *self* pron. 'id.', OS *self* pron. 'id.', Du. *zelf* pron. 'id.', OHG *selb* pron. 'id.', G *selber, selbst* pron. 'id.' (EUR).
A pronoun apparently identical to the Venetic *sselboi-sselboi* 'to oneself' < **selbʰ-o-* (for the reduplication, cf. Lat. *ipsipse*). Its further derivation is unclear. The often mentioned connection with PIE **s(u)e-* 'self' remains conjectural.

selha- m. 'seal' — ON *selr* m. 'id.', Far. *selur* m. 'id.', OSw. *siæl* m. 'id.', Sw. *själ* c. 'id.', OE *seolh* m. 'id.', E *seal*, OS *selah* m. 'id.', EDu. *seel, seel-hont* m. 'id.', Du. *zee-hond* c. 'id.', OHG *selah* m. 'id.', MHG *sele* m. 'id.' (GM).
A Germanic word with no certain IE etymology. The link with Lith. *seléti* 'to crawl' (Torp 1909: 436) is erroneous, as this verb corresponds to PGm. **stelan-* (q.v.). The **h* may nevertheless correspond to the PIE animal suffix **-ḱo-*, for which see **elha(n)-* 'elk' and **baruga-* 'boar'.

sēman- m. 'seed' — OHG *samo* m. 'seed, offspring', G *Samen* m. 'seed' ⇒ **séh₁-men-* (IE) — Lat. *sēmen* n. 'seed, semen, offspring', Lith. *sémuō* m. 'flaxseed, seed, sowing', OPru. *semen* 'seed', OCS *sěmę*, Ru. *sémja*, SCr. *sjȅme* n. 'id.' < **seh₁-m(e/o)n-*.
A PIE neuter *mn*-stem created to the root of **sēan-* (q.v.). The masculine gender of the Baltic and Germanic forms is secondary.

semeþa/ō- n./f. 'rush' — OS *semith* n. 'id.', MLG *sem(e)de* f. 'id.', OHG *semida* f. 'id.', MHG *semede, sende, semt, sebede* n./f. 'id.' ⇒ **sem-* (WEUR/NIE?) — OIr. *simin, sibin(n), sibhean(d)* f. 'rush, reed; corn-stalk' < **sem-ino-*(?).
A formation containing the **eþ*-suffix for groups of trees and plants, cf. Sw. *ide* n. 'ivy' < **īweþja-* under **īwa-*. The underlying root **sem-* is likely to be connected with OIr. *simin(n), sibin(n), sibhean* (the forms with *-b(h)-* arose by nasal dissimilation of [śiv̊ə(ṅ)] to [śivə(ṅ)]). Its relation to ON *sef*, Far. *sev*, Sw. *säv* n. 'reed' is unclear, however: if this Nordic word is not a loan from Old Irish, it implies a proto-form **seba-* that together with the element **sem-* would result in an irregular, un-Indo-European root alternation **seb-* ~ **sem-* as in e.g. **samda-* 'sand' (q.v.). Also cf. the secondary collective OS *semithahi*, OHG *semidahi*, MHG *semedehe* n. 'reed bank' < **semeþ-aḥja-*.

senīga- adj. 'senior' — Go. *sineigs*, superl. *sinista* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **sen-o-* (IE) — Skt. *sána-*, YAv. *hana-*, Gr. ἕνος, Arm. *hin*, Lat. *senior* comp., OIr. *sen* adj. 'old', Latv. *sęns* adj. 'earlier, previous'.

The PIE adjective was **sen-o-*. Go. *sineigs* (var. *seneigs*) has a secondary suffix **-īga-* which is not entirely identical, but nevertheless close to that of Lat. *senex* m. 'old man, aged person'.

senuwō- f. 'sinew' — ON *sin* f. 'id.', Far. *sina* f. 'sinew, tendon; penis', Elfd. *sina* f. 'tendon', OE *seonu*, *sionu*, *sinu* f. 'id.', E *sinew*, OFri. *sine*, *sini* f. 'id.', OS *senewa*, *sinewa* f. 'id.', Du. *zenuw* c. 'nerve', OHG *senawa*, *sena* f. 'tendon', G *Sehne* f. 'id.' ⇒ **senh₁-ueh₂-* (IE) — ToB *ṣñaura* pl. 'sinew', Skt. *snā́van-* n. 'id.', YAv. *snāuuarə.bāzura-* adj. 'with straps(?) made of sinews', Oss. *nwar* / *nawær* 'sinew', Arm. *neard* 'id.', Gr. νευρά f. 'string, sinew', Lat. *nervus* m. 'sinew, muscle, nerve' < **snéh₁-ur*, **snh₁-uén-s*.

Whereas the other IE languages point to a heteroclitic **sneh₁-ur*, PGm. **senuwō-* can only be derived from **sénh₁-ueh₂-* with the full-grade before the *n*. This is likely to be an innovation that arose after the loss of the laryngeal in the original zero-grade genitive **sn̥h₁-uéh₂-s*.

serþan- ~ *serdan- s.v. 'to hit; to violate sexually' — ON *serða*, *streða* s.v. 'id.', OE *seorðan* s.v. 'id.', MLG *serden* s.v. 'id.', OHG *sertan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *serten* s.v. 'to have sex; to bother, vex; to hit; to entice' ⇒ **sért-e-* (IE) — Hitt. *šartai ~ šartanzi** 'to wipe, rub' < **sórt-ei*, **srt-énti*.

A verb that referred to sexual violation, including rape (cf. MHG *du kümpst mir nit in meinen schlitz - lasz mich ungesorten*), adultery (OE *ne serð þū ōðres monnes wīf 'non moechaberis'*), male-to-male sex (ON *ef maðr kallar mann ragan eða stroðinn eða sorðinn...*) and sex with animals. The Germanic verb was linked to the Hitt. *ḫi*-conjugated root *šart-* by Melchert 2002, who reconstructed a root **serd^{h}-* with an original meaning 'to beat' or 'to rub'. This meaning is indeed close to the archaic MHG meaning 'to hit', cf. *mit swerten von einander serten*, but a problem with the reconstruction **serd^{h}-* is that OE *seorðan* with its *ð* pointing to PGm. **þ* must be explained away as a Norse loanword. I therefore propose to reconstruct the root as **sert-* rather than **serd^{h}-*, not least in view of the otherwise problematic connection of W *serth* adj. 'obscene' < **sert-o-*. Within Germanic, also cf. G Rhnl. *surzen* w.v. 'to beat up' < **surtōn-* < **srt-néh₂-*.

sessa- m. 'seat, bench' — ON *sess* m. 'seat (in a row boat)', Far. *sessur* m. 'id.', OE *sess* m. 'seat, bench' ⇒ **sed-to-* (IE).

A PIE derivation from the root **sed-* 'to sit', for which cf. **set(j)an-*.

sēti- adj. 'possible to sit on' — Go. *anda-sets* adj. 'odious', ON *sætr* adj. 'suitable for sitting on', OE *and-sæte* adj. 'odious' ⇒ **sēd-i-* (DRV).

The gerundive to **set(j)an-* (q.v.).

set(j)an- s.v. 'to sit' — Go. *sitan* s.v. 'id.', ON *sitja* s.v. 'id.', Far. *sita* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *sittja* s.v. 'id.', OE *sittan* s.v. 'id.', E *to sit*, OFri. *sitta* s.v. 'id.', OS *sittian* s.v. 'id.', Du. *zitten* s.v. 'id.', OHG *sizzen* s.v. 'id.', G *sitzen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **sed-ie-* (IE) — Formally identical to Gr. ἕζομαι 'to sit (down)', Arm. *nstim* 'to sit' < **(ni-)sed-ie-*; further cf. Gr. ἵζω, Skt. *sī́dati*, OAv. *hīšasaṯ* 3sg.des. 'to sit' < **si-sd-e-*; Lat. *sedeō*, *-ere* 'to sit, be seated', Olr. *saidid* 'to sit', MCo. *hedhi*, MBret. *hezaff* 'to stop' < **séd-e-*; Lith. *sėdė́ti*, Latv. *sêdêt*, OCS *sěděti* < **sed-eh₁-*.

The original IE verb meaning 'to sit', for which also cf. **satjan-*, **sadula-*, **sessa-*, **setla-*, **sēti-* and **nista-*. The dialectal difference between **setan-* (Go. *sitan*) and **setjan-* (ON *sitja*, OE *sittan*, OHG *sizzen*) is debated, but may point to an original *i*-present 3sg. **sed-éi-ti*, 3pl. **sed-i-énti*.

****setla-*** m. 'seat' — Go. *sitls* m. 'id.', OE *setl* m./n. 'id.', ME *setel* 'id.', Du. *zetel* c. 'id.', OHG *sezzal* m. 'id.', G *Sessel* m. 'id.' ⇒ **sed-tlo-* (IE) — Olr. *séol* m. 'den' < **sed-lo-*.

A word derived from **set(j)an-* 'to sit' with an *l*-suffix. A much older formation is continued by OE *seðl*, OS *sethal*, OHG *sedal* n. 'seat' < **seþla-*, which through Pre-Gm. **setlo-* is to be derived from PGm. **sed-tlo-* (an instrumental noun in **-tlo-*). Also cf. **sadula-*.

****seuda-*** m. 'purse, money-bag' — ON *sjóðr* m. 'id.', OE *sēod* m. 'id.' ⇒ **sieuH-tó-* (DRV).

A *to*-formation derived from the root of **siujan-* 'to sew' (q.v.). It is difficult to determine whether the word continues **seuda-* < **seuH-to-* or **siŭda-* < **siuH-to-* / **siHu-to-*, but in view of the related MHG *sūte* f. 'seam' < **sūdō-* < **siuH-t-éh₂-*, it is likely that Pre-Gm. **si̯ūto-* would have lost its *i̯* (cf. e.g. **kewwan-* < **ǵieuH-e-*). This makes **sieuH-to-* the preferred proto-form.

****seukan-*** s.v. 'to be ill' — Go. *siukan* s.v. 'id.' (DRV?).

A strong verb that given its final **k* (< **kk*) is likely to have been created to the iterative **suk(k)ōn-* (q.v.). Cf. the derived Go. *siuks*, ON *sjúkr*, OE *sēoc*, OFri. *siāk*, OS *siok*, Du. *ziek*, OHG *sioh*, G *siech* adj. 'unwell, ill' < **seuka-*.

****seuni-*** f. 'appearance, face' — Go. *siuns* f. 'sight, appearance, face', ON *sjón* f. 'sight, eyesight; look', Far. *sjón* f. 'id.', OE *sīen* f. 'sight, vision', OFri. *siune* f. 'face, sight, appearance', NFri. F *sjün* 'apparition', OS *siun* f. 'sight', MDu. *sune* f. 'face, vision' ⇒ **sekʷ-ní-* (DRV).

A *ni*-formation created to the root of **sehwan-* 'to see' (q.v.). The form plays an important role in the establishment of the relative chronology of the historical Germanic sound changes, as it proves that Verner's law pre-

ceded Kluge's law. Also cf. the gerundive Go. *ana-siuns*, ON *sýnn*, OE *ge-sīene* 'visible', MDu. *sune* 'clear, probable' < **seuni-*.

seuþan- s.v. 'to boil, seethe' — ON *sjóða* s.v. 'id.', Far. *sjóða* s./w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *siuoða* s.v. 'id.', OE *sēoðan* s.v. 'id.', E *to seethe*, OFri. *siātha* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *sieden* s.v. 'id.', Du. *zieden* w.v.(?) 'id.', OHG *siodan* s.v. 'id.', G *sieden* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **séut-e-* (NEUR) — Lith. *siaũsti* (*siaučiù*) 'to play, rage', Ru. *šutít'* 'to play, joke around' < **seut-ie-*; Lith. *siùsti* (*siuntù*) 'to go crazy; to beat'.

A Germanic/Balto-Slavic isogloss, possibly an extension of the PIE root **(H)seu-* 'to burn', for which see **swīþan-*. Related to **sauþa-* 'broth' (q.v.) and MHG *suddern*, Du. *sudderen* w.v. 'to simmer', the frequentative to an otherwise lost formation **suþjan-* < **sut-ie-*.

sīda- adj. 'long' — ON *síðr* adj. 'long (e.g. of hair), hanging down', OE *sīd* adj. 'wide, broad, ample', OFri. *sīde* adj. 'low', MDu. *side, sijt* adj. 'broad, wide', Du. *zijd* adj. 'id.', OHG *sīto* adv. 'loose' ⇒ ***sh₁i-tó-*** (WEUR) — OIr. *sith-*, OW *hit* 'length', MW *hyt* m./f., OBret. *hit* 'length' < ***sh₁i-ti-***.

Possibly related to **sīþu-* 'late', which appears to be formed to an *i*-present to the root **seh₁-* 'long, lasting'; **sīda-* may then continue the original ptc. of this verb. The formation ON *síða*, OE, OFri. *sīde*, OS *sīda*, Du. *zij(de)*, OHG *sīta*, G *Seite* f. 'side' < **sīdōn-* was derived from the adjective through a meaning 'broad surface'.

sidu- m. 'custom' — Go. *sidus* m. 'id.', ON *siðr* m. 'id.', Far. *siður* m. 'id.', Elfd. *sið* m. 'id.', OE *sidu, seodu* m. 'id.', OFri. *side* m./f. 'id.', OS *sidu* m. 'id.', Du. *zede* c. 'id.', OHG *situ* m. 'id.', G *Sitte* m. 'id.' (IE).

No existing etymology. The word has been compared to Gr. ἔθος n. 'custom, usage' < ***sued^h-es-*** and Skt. *svadhấ-* f. 'id.' < ***sued^h-eh₂-*** (cf. Pokorny IEW: 882-4), but even if the first *u* was somehow lost (e.g. by dissimilation), the resulting **sedu-* would still have developed into ON ***sjǫðr* with regular breaking of *-e-* to *-jǫ-* (Bjorvand/Lindeman 2000: 765-6). If Bjorvand and Lindeman are right, and the meaning 'custom' indeed developed from 'band, bond' (l.c.), it is possible to compare Hitt. *išḫai* ~ *išḫiianzi* 'to bind, to wrap; to obligate with, to impose upon', for which see **saila/ō-*. I thus tentatively reconstruct PGm. **sidu-* as ***sh₂i-tú-*** 'bond, rule, tradition'.

sīhwan- s.v. 'to percolate' — ON *sía* w.v. 'to filter, strain; to sip through the beard', OE *sēon* s.v. 'to strain, filter; to ooze, trickle', MDu. *sien* s.v. 'to filter; to pour', OHG *sīhan* s.v. 'to filter, strain', G *seihen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ ***séik^w-e-*** (IE) — Skt. *siñcáti* 'to pour, pour out/upon, besprinkle', YAv. *hiṇcaiti* 'to pour' < ***si-n-k^w-é-***; Gr. ἰκμάς f. 'wetness, moisture, secretion' < ***sik^w-meh₂-*** (but cf. ὄμμα n. 'eye' < ***h₃ek^w-mn***); SCS *sьcati*, Ru. *scat'* (*scu*) 'to piss' < ***sik^w-eh₂-***.

A strong verb related to **saikjan-* and **sikkōn-* (q.v.). The original paradigm was **sīhwan-*, pret.3sg. **saihwe*, 3pl. **siwume*. The parallel **sīgan-* (Far. *síga* s.v. 'to drop slowly, sink', OFri. *sīga* s.v. 'to sink, go down', OS *sīgan* s.v. 'to sink, travel', Du. *zijgen* s.v. 'to sink; to percolate', OHG *sīgan* s.v. 'to sink, tumble, decline') is therefore difficult to explain as a Verner variant of the same verb. It rather seems to have been back-formed to the causative **saigjan-*, cf. MHG *seigen* w.v. 'to make sink, lower; to filter', MDu. *seigen* w.v. 'to filter', where the loss of the labialization is regular (cf. **hnaigjan-* ~ **hnaiwjan-*).

****sikkōn-*** w.v. 'to trickle' — Nw. *sikka* w.v. 'to lower oneself', OE *sicerian* w.v. 'id.', G Pal. *sickern* w.v. 'id.', Rhnl. *sicken* w.v. 'to piss' ⇒ **sik^{w}-néh$_2$-* (IE).

The iterative to **sīhwan-* (q.v.).

****sĭled-*** f. 'herring' — ON *síld*, pl. *síldr* f. 'id.', Far. *síld* f. 'id.', Elfd. *sild* f. 'id.', Du. *zeelt* c. 'tench, doctor fish' ⇒ **sh$_1$-(e)i-l-*(?) (IE?) — MIr. *silid* 'to drop, flows, drip' < **sil-e-*.

A fish name of unknown origin. The potential ablaut between ON *síld* and Du. *zeelt* (if related!) as well as the occasional inflection of *síld* as a consonant stem could theoretically point to an old *t*-stem, e.g. **sīlō*, gen. **sildaz*, loc. **sileþi* < **séil-ōt*, **sil-t-ós*, **sil-ét-i*. It is uncertain, however, whether such an archaic paradigm can really be substantiated by the extant material. Magnússon 1989: 815 rather starts from an original meaning 'fry, young fish' in view of ON *síl*, Icel. *síli* n. 'fry', Far. *síl* n. 'trout, small sea trout' < **sīl(j)a-*, and it seems likely, from this perspective, to connect also Far. *sila* w.v. 'to ejaculate the milt or soft roe' < **silōn-*. This verb can technically be related to MIr. *silid*, whose root may be an extension of an *i*-present **sh$_1$-ei-*, cf. Hitt. *šai* ~ *šiianzi* 'to prick, sting; to shoot, throw; (med.) to squirt, spurt, flow' < **sh$_1$-ói*, **sh$_1$-i-énti* (see **sēan-*). Ru. *sel'd'*, *selëdka* as well as Lith. *silkė* and Fi. *silli* are Gm. loanwords.

****silubra-*** n. 'silver' — Go. *silubr* n. 'id.', ON *silfr* n. 'id.', Far. *silvur* n. 'id.', OE *seolfor*, *siolufr*, *sylfor* n. 'id.', E *silver*, OFri. *sel(o)ver*, *silver*, *sulver* n. 'id.', OS *siluƀar* n. 'id.', Du. *zilver* n. 'id.', OHG *silabar* n. 'id.', G *Silber* n. 'id.' ⇒ **silub^{h}r-* (NIE) — Celtib. *silabur* 'id.' (cf. Basq. *zilhar* 'id.'?), OCS *sьrebro* n. 'id.', Lith. *sidābras* m. 'id.'.

A non-IE *Wanderwort* whose distribution appears to be "circum-Celtic".

****sīna-*** pron. 'own' — Go. *seins* pron. 'id.', ON *sinn* pron. 'id.', Far. *sín* pron. 'id.', Elfd. *saį* pron. 'id.', OE *sīn* pron. 'id.', OFri. *sīn* pron. 'id.', OS *sīn* pron. 'id.', Du. *zijn* pron. 'id.', OHG *sīn* pron. 'id.', G *sein* pron. 'id.' ⇒ **seino-* (DRV) — Ven. *veina-* 'one's own' < **sueino-*.

A possessive pronoun derived from the PIE reflexive base **se-*, cf. Go. dat. *sis*, acc. *sik*, ON *sér*, *sik*, OS *sik*, OHG *sih* < **siz*, **sike* 'himself, herself'. See also **mīna-* and **þīna-*.

singwan- s.v. 'to sing' — Go. *siggwan* s.v. 'id.', ON *syngva*, *syngja* s.v. 'id.', Far. *syngja* s.v. 'id.', OSw. *siunga* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *singga* s.v. 'id.', OE *singan* s.v. 'id.', E *to sing*, OFri. *siunga*, *sionga* s.v. 'id.', WFri. *sjonge* s.v. 'id.', OS *singan* s.v. 'id.', ODu. *singon* s.v. 'id.', Du. *zingen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *singan* s.v. 'id.', G *singen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **séngʷʰ-e-* (IE) — Gr. ὀμφή f. 'divine voice or revelation, oracle, emblem' < **songʷʰ-eh₂-*.

A Germanic-Greek isogloss pointing to a PIE root **sengʷʰ-*. As to the NGm. forms, note ON *syngva* with West Norse *w*-mutation and OSw. *siunga* with East Norse *w*-breaking. See also **sangwa-*.

sinkwan- s.v. 'to sink' — Go. *sigqan* s.v. 'id.', ON *søkkva* s.v. 'id.', Far. *søkka* s.v. 'id.', OSw. *siunka* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *sikka* s.v. 'id.', OE *sincan* s.v. 'id.', E *to sink*, OS *sinkan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *zinken* s.v. 'id.', OHG *sincan* s.v. 'id.', G *sinken* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **si-n-k-nu-* (GM).

A strong verb of uncertain origin. In view of the iterative **sakk/gōn-* (q.v.), it is likely that the *n* of the root is infixal. Did the root-final labiovelar arise from **-k-nú-* under Kluge's law? See also **sīhwan-*.

sinnan- s.v. 'to head for; to long for' — MDu. *sinnen* w.v. 'to think, contemplate', Du. *zinnen* s.v. 'to consider', OHG *sinnan* s.v. 'id.', G *sinnen* s.v. 'to contemplate' ⇒ **sént-ne-* (EUR) — Lat. *sentiō*, *-īre* 'to sense, feel' < **snt-ie-*; OIr. *sét* m. 'path', MW *hint*, *hynt* f. 'id.' < **sent-u-*; Lith. *sintéti* 'to think' < **snt-eh₁-ie-*; CS *sęšto* adj. 'sensible, wise' < **snt-io-*.

A nasal present to the root **sent-* 'to feel'. Cf. Go. *sinþs* m./n. 'time', ON *sinn* n. 'id.', OS *sīth* m. 'way, direction', OE *sīð* m. 'journey, road, turn', OHG *sint* m. 'road, journey' < **sinþa-*. See also **sandjan-*.

sīþu- adj. 'late' — Go. *seiþus* adj. 'id.', ON *síðr* comp. 'id.', Far. *síður* comp. 'id.', MDu. *side* adj. 'id.', OHG *sīd* comp. 'id.' (< **sīþ-iz*) ⇒ **sh₁-éi-tu-* (WEUR) — Lat. *sērus* adj. 'belated, slow', OIr. *sír* adj. 'lasting, eternal', W *hir* adj. 'long' < **seh₁-ro-*.

Also cf. Go. *þana seiþs*, ON *síðan*, OE *sīþþan* 'from that time' < **sīþ(iz) þanō*. The word may be related to **sīda-* 'long' (q.v.).

siujan- w.v. 'to sew' — Go. *siujan* w.v. 'id.', ON *sýja* w.v. 'id.', OE *seowian*, *siwian* w.v. 'id.', E *to sew*, OFri. *siā* w.v. 'id.', MLG *sūwen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *siuwen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **siHu-ie-* (IE) — Skt. *sī́vyati*, ptc. *syūtá-* (cf. Oss. (D) *xud* 'sewn up') 'to sew', Lat. *suere*, ptc. *sūtum* 'id.', Lith. *siúti*, Latv. *šūt*, SCr. *šȋti* 'id.' < **siHu-ie-*, ptc. **siuH-tó-*.

An old *ie*-present. See also **sauma-* and **seuda-*.

skaban- s.v. 'to shave, scrape' — Go. *skaban* s.v. 'id.', ON *skafa* s.v. 'id.', Far. *skava* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *skåvå* s.v. 'id.', OE *scafan* s.v. 'to shave', E *to shave*, MDu. *schaven* s./w.v. 'id.', Du. *schaven* w.v. 'to scrape', OHG *scaban* s.v. 'id.', G *schaben* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **skh₂bʰ-e-* (EUR) — Gr. σκάπτω 'to dig (out), work the earth' < **skh₂bʰ-ie-*; Lat. *scabō, -ere* 'to scratch' < **skh₂bʰ-e-*; Lith. *skóbti* 'to hollow out' < **skeh₂bʰ-e-*; OCS *skoblь*, Ru. *skóbelь* 'plane' < **skh₂ebʰ-l-io-*.

A strong verb related to the iterative **skapp/bōn-*. See also **skēpa-* 'sheep'.

skadu- m. 'shadow' — Go. *skadus* m. 'id.', OE *sceadu* f. 'id.', E *shadow*, *shade*, OS *skado* m. 'id.', Du. *schaduw* c. 'id.', OHG *scato* m. 'id.', G *Schatten* m. 'id.' ⇒ **skh₃-tu-* (EUR) — Gr. σκότος m. 'darkness, dark' < **skh₃-to-*; OIr. *scáth* n. 'shadow', MW *ysgawd* m. 'shade, darkness' < **skoh₃-to-*.

Also cf. Far. *skadda*, *skødda*, Nw. *skodde* f. 'mist' < ON **skadda*, obl. **skǫddu* (with an unclear geminate).

skaiwarō- f. 'magpie' — ON *skjór* f. 'id.', Icel. *skjór* m. 'id.', Far. *skjóra* f. 'id.', Nw. *skjor*, *skjære* f. 'id.', Elfd. *stjier* f. 'id.' (GM).

An exclusively Nordic bird name (WGm. has **ag/kkōn-*, q.v.). The word has been compared to OE *higora* m., *higore* f. 'magpie' < **hig(V)ra/ōn-* and OHG *hehara* f. 'jay' < **hih(V)rōn-* under the assumption of an *s* mobile, but the underlying form **hig(V)rō-* is incompatible with the Nordic word: the alternation between West Nordic *skjór* and East Nordic **skæra* points to a proto-form **skaiwarō-* rather than ***skehuro-*. No generally accepted etymology. In view of the weak iridescence of the bird's darker feathers there could be a connection with Nw. *skjoma* w.v. 'to variegate', cf. Icel. *skjómi*, *skjór* m. 'layer of mold'.

skakan- s.v. 'to shake; to leave' — ON *skaka* s.v. 'to shake', Nw. *skaka* s.v. 'id.', OE *scacan* s.v. 'to shake, shiver; to run, leave, flee', E *to shake*, OFri. *skeka* s.v. 'to run away from home', OS *skakan* s.v. 'to leave', MDu. *schaken* s./w.v. 'to leave, escape, run away with someone (a woman)', OHG *unt-scahhōn* w.v. 'to be driven' (DRV).

An *o*-grade intensive verb back-formed to the iterative **skakk/gōn-* (q.v.), an *o*-grade variant of **skukk/gōn-* (q.v.). The original meaning was 'to shake', whence 'to shake off' and 'to leave, rob', as attested for OFri. *skeka*. In both Dutch and Frisian, **skakan-* became conflated with the originally weak **skēkojan-*, which was derived from **skēka-*, cf. OHG *scāh*, MHG *schāch* m. 'robbery' (cf. OE *scēacere*, OHG *scāchari*, G *Schächer* m. 'robber' < **skēkarja-*). Or do we have to posit a second strong verb **skēkan-* that was

back-formed to **skakk/gōn-* in the same way that **slēpan-* was created to **slapp/bōn-* (q.v.)?

skakk/gōn- w.v. 'to shake' — Far. *skaka* w.v. 'to shake', Elfd. *skåkå* w.v. 'to shake, shiver', ME *shaggen* w.v. 'to shake, cast off, tremble', E *to shag* w.v. 'to toss, shake, waggle', LG *skaken* w.v. 'to bump, shake', MHG *schacken* w.v. 'id.' (EUR) — OIr. *scuichid* 'to move, start, go', MW *ysgogi* 'to move, stir, tremble', OCS *skočiti*, SCr. *skòčiti* 'to jump, leap' < **skok-eie-*.

An *o*-grade iterative to **skakan-* (q.v.). Etymologically, the iterative seems to replace the PIE intensive **skok-eie-*, as attested in Baltic and Slavic. Within synchronic Germanic, it functions as the iterative to **skehan-* 'to move fast' (q.v.), however, which implies that both **skakan-* - with unetymological **k* - and the zero-grade iterative **skukk/gōn-* (q.v.) - with unetymological **u* - were created secondarily.

skalda- n. 'skald, poet' — ON *skáld* n. 'id.' (DRV?).

An *a*-stem probably derived from **skeldan-* (q.v.), cf. OHG *skelto*, MHG *schelte* m. 'blamer, criticizer, satirist' < **skaldjan-*. The long *á* of Icel. *skáld* is problematic and cannot be explained by lengthening before *-ld-* in view of the *-æ-* of e.g. *skældinn* adj. 'skilled in poetry'. This is not enough reason, however, to reconstruct the word as **skēþla-*, thus assuming a link with OIr. *scél*, MW *chwedl* 'story' < **skʷetlo-* (*pace* Lidén 1891: 507).

skalka- m. 'servant' — Go. *skalks* m. 'id.', OE *scealc* m. 'id.', OFri. *skalk* m. 'servant; villain', OS *skalk* m. 'servant; disciple', Du. *schalk* c. 'mischief', OHG *scalc* m. 'servant, slave', G *Schalk* m. 'rogue, mischief' (GM).

Also cf. MLG *schalk*, MDu. *schalc* adj. 'evil' < **skalka-* and ON *skelkr*, Far. *skelkur*, *skjølkur* m. 'fear, shock' < **skalki-*. No certain etymology. The adjective **skalka-* is suggestive of a strong verb **skelkan-*, for which cf. the possibly related iterative ON *skulka* w.v. 'to mock' < **skulkōn-* < **sklk/g$^{(h)}$-néh$_2$-*. Can all these formations be reconciled by assuming a primary meaning 'wry, wrong' (cf. **skelha-* ~ **skelga-*)? This would be preferable, at least, over the link with e.g. Far. *skálkur* m. 'piece of wood' as claimed by Friesen 1897: 59-60 in view of the semantically parallel ON *drengr* m. 'stick; boy' (see **dranga-*); this *skálkur* was clearly borrowed from MLG *schalk* meaning 'servant; villain', and metaphorically also 'wooden peg'. For other, even more unlikely proposals, see Lehmann 1989: 308-9.

skamō- f. 'shame' — OE *scamu* f. 'id.', E *shame*, OFri. *skome* f. 'shame; genitals', OS *skama* f. 'id.', MDu. *schame* f. 'id.', OHG *scama* f. 'id.', G *Scham* f. 'id.' ⇒ **skoh$_3$-méh$_2$-* (IE).

No established etymology: the links with ON *skammr* adj. 'short' (De Vries 1962: 512), **hamala-* 'maimed' (Pokorny IEW: 929) and Gr. σκαμβός adj.

'crooked' are phonetically problematic. Perhaps rather related to **skadu-* 'shade' (q.v.), i.e. from **skh̥₃-m-eh₂-* or **skoh₃-m-éh₂-* 'darkness'. Also cf. Go. *skaman*, OE *scamian*, OFri. *skamia*, Du. *schamen*, OHG *scamēn*, G *schamen* w.v. 'to be ashamed' < **skamēn-*. Note that ON *skǫmm* f. 'shame; disgrace' (whence *skamma* w.v. 'to disgrace', refl. 'to be ashamed') has an unexplained geminate.

skap(j)an- s.v. 'to form, create' — Go. *ga-skapjan** s.v. 'id.', ON *skapa* s.v., *skepja* w.v. 'to shape, form, mould', Far. *skapa* w./s.v. 'to shape, mould; to cause, bring about', OE *scieppan*, *sceppan* s.v. 'to form, create', OFri. *skeppa* s.v. 'to form, make', OS *skeppian** s.v. 'id.', Du. *scheppen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *scepfen* s./w.v. 'id.', G *schōpfen* w.v. 'id.' (GM).

A strong verb of uncertain origin. One possibility is to assume that the verb was derived from the iterative **skapp/bōn-* 'to scrape': the required semantic shift from 'to hollow out' to 'to form' (cf. Lehmann 1986: 149) is not evident, but finds support in OS *skap*, OHG *scaf* n. 'container' and OS *skapo* m. 'pan'. Also cf. Go. *ufar-skafts* f. 'first fruits' < **skafti-*.

skapp/bōn- w.v. 'to shave, scrape' — Nw. *skabba* w.v. 'id.', MDu. *schabben* w.v. 'to scratch', G Rhnl. *schappen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **skh₂bʰ-néh₂-* (DRV).

The iterative to **skaban-* and the derivational the base of ON *skabb*, OE *sceab* m. 'scabies' < **skabba-*. MDu. *schobben* w.v. 'to scratch' points to an additional zero-grade iterative **skubbōn-*. Related to **skapjan-* 'to form'?

skarda- adj. 'cut up' — ON *skarðr* adj. 'damaged', OS *skard* adj. 'cut; hurt', OHG *scart* adj. 'id.', MHG *schart* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **skordʰ-o-* (EUR) — Olr. *scerdaid* 'to peel, scrape off' < **skerdʰ-eh₂-ie-*; Lith. *skeřsti* (*skerdžiù*) 'to butcher' < **skerdʰ-ie-*.

An adjective to a European root **skerdʰ-*, for which see **skertan-*. Also cf. the factitive MHG *scherten* w.v. 'to cut, chop' < **skardjan-*.

skarna- n. 'dung, muck' — ON *skarn* n. 'id.', Far. *skarn* n. 'id.', OE *scearn* n. 'id.', E *sharn*, OFri. *skern* m./n. 'id.', WFri. *skern* c. 'id.', MDu. *scharn* n. 'id.' ⇒ **sḱ-or-no-* (IE) — Hitt. *šakkar* ~ *šakn-* n. 'excrement, dung, faeces' < **soḱ-r*, gen. **sḱ-n-ós*; Gr. σκῶρ, gen. σκατός n. 'muck, excrement' < **sḱ-ór*, **-nt-ós*; Latv. *sārņi* m.pl. 'excrement', Ru. *sor* m. 'id.' < **sḱ-or-*.

A continuation of an old PIE heteroclitic noun nom. **sóḱ-r*, gen. **sḱ-n-ós*. The Germanic formation combines both suffix variants.

skarpa- adj. 'sharp' — ON *skarpr* adj. 'sharp, bitter, desiccated', Far. *skarpur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *skarp* adj. 'hard', OE *scearp* adj. 'sharp', E *sharp*, OFri. *skerp* adj. 'id.', OS *skarp* adj. 'id.', Du. *scherp* adj. 'id.', OHG *scarp* adj. 'id.', G

scharf adj. 'id.' (DRV) — Derivationally comparable to Latv. *skaŕbs* adj. 'sharp' < **skorb^{h}-o-*.

An *o*-grade adjective derived from **skerban-* ~ **skerpan-* ~ **skrepan-* (q.v.).

skatta- m. 'wealth, property, cattle' — Go. *skatts* m. 'coin', ON *skattr* m. 'tribute, tax; treasure', OE *sceat* m. 'property, goods, wealth', OFri. *sket* m./n. 'goods, property, cattle', OS *skat* m. 'treasure, money, possession', Du. *schat* c. 'treasure, wealth', OHG *skaz* m. 'treasure, money, wealth, tax', G *Schatz* m. 'treasure' (GM).

A formation probably related to the strong verb WPhal. *schåen*, pret. *schaid* 'to yield' < **skēdan-* (cf. WPhal. *bråen*, pret. *braid* 'to roast' < **brēdan-*) < **skéh$_1$d^{h}-e-*(?). It follows that PGm. **skatta-* must continue **skh$_1$d^{h}-nó-* (with Kluge's law). No further etymology. Hardly related to Lat. *scatō, -ere* 'to gush forth, swarm' (thus Pokorny IEW: 950), which in spite of WPhal. *schåd* 'frogspawn' may rather be related to **skeutan-*. OCS *skotъ* m. 'cattle' is a Germanic loanword.

skaþjan- s.v. 'to harm, do wrong' — Go. *skaþjan* s.v. 'id.', ON *skeðja* w.v. 'id.', OE *sceþþan* s./w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **skh$_1$t(H)-ie-* (EUR) — Arm. *cʻaw* 'pain, disease' < **skh$_1$tH-o-* (Olsen 1999: 180); Gr. ἀσκηθής adj. 'unhurt, unscathed' < **n-skeh$_1$t(H)-es-*; Olr. *scíth* adj. 'weary, tired' < **skeh$_1$t(H)-o-*.

A strong verb to a European root **skeh$_1$tH-* (cf. LIV^{2}: 551). Also cf. ON *skaði*, OE *sceaða*, OS *skatho*, Du. *schade*, OHG *scado*, G *Schaden* m. 'damage' < **skaþan-*, whence ON *skaða*, OE *sceaðian*, OFri. *skathia*, OS *skathon*, Du. *schaden*, OHG *scadēn, scadōn*, G *schaden* w.v. 'to harm, damage' < **skaþōjan-*. See also **skōþi-*.

skauni- adj. 'beautiful' — Go. *skauns, skauneis* adj. 'id.', OE *scīene* adj. 'id.', E *sheen*, OFri. *skēne* adj. 'id.', OS *skōni* adj. 'id.', Du. *schoon* adj. 'beautiful; clean', OHG *scōni* adj. 'beautiful', G *schōn* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **skou-ni-* (DRV).

In view of the fully parallel derivation of Go. *siuns*, ON *sýnn* adj. 'visible' < **seuni-* from **sehwan-*, PGm. **skauni-* must be a semantically gerundival *ni*-stem to a lost strong verb **skawan-* < **skóu-e-* (for which cf. **skawa-* 'observant'). It follows that the original meaning was 'watchable', whence 'beautiful'.

skauta- m. 'seam' — Go. *skaut(s)* m./n. 'projection, edge, fringe', ON *skaut* n. 'corner; flap; sheet', Far. *skeyt* n. 'sheet; lap, bosom', OE *scēat* m. 'corner, angle; projection, promontory', OFri. *skāt* m. 'lap; coat-tail', Du. *schoot* c. 'lap', OHG *scōz* m. 'tip, corner, shirt-tail', G *Schoss* m. 'lap; shirt-tail' (DRV).

Derived from **skeutan-* in the sense of "to shoot out", i.e. 'to jut out'.

skawa- adj. 'observant(?)' — Go. *us-skaws* adj. 'sober' ⇒ **skou-ó-* (IE) — Gr. Θυοσκόος m./f. 'name of a sacrificial priest' < **-skou-o-*; NP *šikōh*, *šukōh* 'splendor' < **skeu-etH-o-*(?).

An adjective to the PIE root **skeu-*. Also cf. OE *scēawian*, OFri. *skowia*, OS *skawon*, Du. *schouwen*, OHG *scouwōn*, G *schauen* w.v. 'to see, inspect' < **skawōjan-*. See also **skauni-* and **skuwwan-*.

skehan- s.v. 'to move quickly; to happen' — OE *scēon* w.v. 'to go quickly, fly', OFri. *skiâ(n)* s.v. 'to happen', MDu. *scien*, *ge-scien* s./w.v. 'to happen', Du. *ge-schieden* w.v. 'id.', OHG *gi-scehan*, *scehan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *schehen* s.v. 'to move quickly; to happen', G *ge-schehen* s.v. 'to happen' ⇒ **skék-e-* (EUR) — Olr. *scuichid* 'to move, start, go', MW *ysgogi* 'to move, stir, tremble', OCS *skočiti*, SCr. *skòčiti* 'to jump, leap' < **skok-eie-*.

A strong verb whose original meaning 'to move quickly' developed into 'to happen' at an early stage. Probably related to **skakk/gōn-* and **skukk/gōn-* (q.v.).

skekkjan- w.v. 'to make move' — MDu. *schicken* w.v. 'to cause to happen, order', Du. *schikken* w.v. 'to order', MHG *schicken* w.v. 'to start, prepare, order, send', G *schicken* w.v. 'to send' (DRV?).

The causative to **skehan-* (q.v.). The origin of the geminate as well as the *e*-grade is unclear, the expected form being ***skahjan-*. Perhaps we are dealing with a causative inchoative, quasi-PIE **skek-nh₂-eie-* "to make start move". See also **skakk/gōn-* and **skukk/gōn-*.

skeldan- s.v. 'to announce; to reproach' — ME *scolden* w.v. 'id.', E *to scold*, OFri. *skelda* s.v. 'id.', ODu. *sceldan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *schelden* s.v. 'id.', OHG *sceltan* s.v. 'id.', G *schelten* s.v. 'id.' (GM).

A strong verb apparently created to a root **skeld^{h}-*. See also **skalda-*.

skeldu- m. 'shield' — Go. *skildus* m. 'id.', ON *skjǫld* m. 'id.', Far. *skjøldur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *stjōld* m. 'id.', OE *scield* m. 'id.', E *shield*, OFri. *skeld*, *skiold*, *skiuld* m. 'id.', OS *skeld*, *skild* m. 'id.', Du. *schild* n. 'id.', OHG *scilt* m. 'id.', G *Schild* m. 'id.' ⇒ **skelH-tú-* (GM) — Lith. *skìltis* m. 'slice' < **sklH-ti-*.

A *tu*-stem probably created to the root **skelH-* 'to split' (Pokorny IEW: 923-27), for which see **skeljan-*. The Old Frisian word also denoted a coin, which allows for the explanation of Go. *skilligs* m. '*solidus*', ON *skillingr*, OE *scilling*, OHG *scilling* '*aureus* (a gold coin)' as continuing **skeld-linga-* (Schröder 1918: 254ff).

skelha-* ~ *skelga- adj. 'wry, oblique' — ON *skjálgr* adj. 'wry, oblique; squinting', Icel. *skjálgur* adj. 'cross-eyed', Far. *skjálgur* adj. 'wry, askewed, warped', Elfd. *stjål* adj. 'wry, warped; exhausted', OE *sceolh*, *sceol* adj.

'oblique, wry', OFri. *skilich* adj. 'cross-eyed', MDu. *scheel* adj. 'looking askance', Du. *scheel* adj. 'cross-eyed', OHG *scelah* adj. 'wry, bent', G *scheel* adj. 'askew' (GM).

A pan-Germanic adjective with a remarkable Verner alternation that even seems to have persisted into Nordic, cf. Elfd. *stjål* < **skelha-* vs. ON *skjalgur* < **skelga-*. See also **skalka-*.

****skeljan-*** w.v. 'to separate, distinguish' — ON *skilja* w.v. 'to divide, separate; to distinguish; to understand', Far. *skilja* w.v. 'to separate, remove; to distinguish; to grasp, understand', Elfd. *stjila* w.v. 'to separate' ⇒ **skelH-ie-* (IE) — Hitt. *iškallai* ~ *iškallanzi* 'to slit, split, tear' < **sklH-ói*, **sklH-énti*; Gr. σκάλλω 'to stir up, hoe' < **sklH-ie-*; Arm. *cʿelum* 'to split, tear', Lith. *skélti* (*skeliù*), Latv. *šķelt* 'to split' < **skelH-ie-*; Lith. *skìlti* (*skylù*) 'to split, cleave', Latv. *šķiļt* 'id.' < **sk(-n-)lH-*; MIr. *scoilt, scolt* f. 'splitting' < **skolH-ti-*.

A European verb identical to Lith. *skélti*. Also cf. Go. *skilja* m. 'butcher' < **skeljan-*, whose meaning is reminiscent of Far. *skilja* 'to remove bones (from boiled fish)'. Also cf. ON *skil* n. 'difference' < **skelja-* and MDu. *schele, schele* m. 'id.' < **skelan-*, whence OE *scelian* w.v. 'to remove', MDu. *schelen* w.v. 'to deviate, differ' < **skelōjan-*. Possibly related to **skeldu-* 'shield' (q.v.).

****skēlō-*** f. 'bowl' — ON *skál* f. 'bowl, cup', Far. *skál* f. 'id.', Elfd. *skål* f. 'id.', OS *skāla* f. 'bowl; shell', Du. *schaal* c. 'id.', OHG *scāla* f. 'bowl', MHG *schāle* f. 'id.' (DRV).

An *ō*-stem probably derived from **skeljan-* (q.v.).

****skēpa-*** n. 'sheep' — OE *scēp, scīp* n. 'id.', E *sheep*, OFri. *skēp* n. 'id.', OS *skāp* n. 'id.', Du. *schaap* n. 'id.', OHG *scāf* n. 'id.', G *Schaf* n. 'id.' (DRV).

A Germanic word, probably derived from **skaban-* 'to shave, shear' (cf. Wood 1919: 207; Knobloch 1987: 476; and slightly differently Davis 1991). OHG *scāpāri, scāppāri*, MHG *schāpære, schæper* m. 'sheepskin' points to a form with PGm. **b* < PIE **bʰ* (Krogmann 1937).

****skēra-*** n. 'pair of scissors' — ON *skæri* n.pl. 'id.', Far. poet. *skærur* m. 'id.', OE *scēar(r)a* f.pl. 'id.', OFri. *skēre* f. 'id.', Du. *schaar* c. 'id.', OHG *scāra*, pl. *scāri* f. 'id.', G *Schere* f. 'id.' ⇒ **skērH-ih₁* (DRV).

A word derived from the strong verb **skeran- 1* (q.v.). The *i*-endings of the Old Norse *plurale tantum* and the Old High German plural *scāri* point to an old neuter dual form **skār-ī* < PIE **-ih₁*.

****skeran- 1*** s.v. 'to cut' — ON *skera* s.v. 'to cut; to slaughter', Far. *skera* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *stjärå* s.v. 'to cut', OE *scieran* s.v. 'to cut, shave', E *to shear*, OFri. *skera* s.v. 'id.', Du. *scheren* w.v. 'to shave; to skim', OHG *sceran* s.v. 'to shave, shear, cut', G *scheren* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **skérH-e-* (EUR) — Arm. *kʿerem* 'to scratch' <

*sker(H)-; Lith. *skìrti* (*skiriù*) 'to cut', Latv. *sķiřt* 'to separate, sever' < *skrH-ie-; OIr. *scaraid* 'to divide, separate', W *yscar*, *ysgar* 'id.' < *skrH-eh₂-ie-.

A strong verb with a European distribution. See also *skēra- and *skurdi-.

skeran- 2 m. 'shrew(?), vole(?)' — Nw. *vand-skjer* 'Norway lemming; shrew', Elfd. *stjäri* m. 'shrew', OHG *scero* m. 'mouse, mole', G *Scher-maus* 'water vole', Swi. (Jaun) *šære* m. 'mole' (GM).

A word for an animal that is difficult to identify. Most languages point to a type of mouse, especially the shrew or the vole. OHG *scero* as well as some Swiss forms refer to the mole, but with the addition of Elfd. *stjäri*, which like the latter continues an *n*-stem, the meaning 'shrew' is likely to have at least some antiquity (also cf. Far. *skersa* f. 'shrew; vixen'). No further etymology. The connection with *skeran- *1* 'to cut' is formally possible in view of the semantically parallel OE *scyrfe-mūs* (derived from OE *sceorfan* s.v. 'to gnaw, bite'), but semantically uncompelling. There seems to be no link either with OE *scrēawa*, *scræwa*, E *shrew* < *skrawan- or *skrēwan-.

skerban- ~ *skerpan- ~ *skrepan- s.v. 'to scrape, scratch' — OE *sceorfan*, *sceorpan*, *screpan* 'to scratch, bite, vex', MHG *schreffen*, *schreven* s.v. 'to scratch' ⇒ *skréb^h-e- (EUR) — Ru. *skrestí* (*skrebú*) 'to scratch' < *skréb^h-e-; Latv. *šķirba* f. 'fissure' < *skrb^h-eh₂-; Lith. *skiřbti* 'to become sour' < *skrb^h-; Lat. *scrobis* m./f. 'hole in the ground, pit' < *skrob^h-i-.

A strong verb created to the root *skreb^h-: the primary form *skreban- is not attested, but can be postulated on the basis of the clearly secondary variants *skerban-, *skerpan- and *skrepan-, which were influenced by the iterative *skrapp/bōn- ~ *skarbōn- (q.v.).

skertan- s.v. 'to cut off' — Du. dial. *scharten* w.v. 'to scratch', MHG *scherzen* s.v. 'to cut off, shorten(?)' (EUR).

A strong verb to the root *skerd^h-, for which see *skarda-. The root-final *t* points to influence from an iterative *skurtōn- < *skrd^h-néh₂-, cf. OHG, MHG *schurz*, OE *scort*, *sceort* adj. 'cut off; short' < *skurta-. There is no compelling reason to assume that the latter adjective was borrowed from an unattested Lat. *excurtus* (thus Kluge 1897: 338).

skeuban- ~ *skūban- s.v. 'to shove' — Go. *af-skiuban* s.v. 'to push away, reject', OE *scēofan*, *scūfan* s.v. 'to shove', OFri. *skūva* s.v. 'to push, shove', Du. *schuiven* s.v. 'to shove, slide', OHG *scioban* s.v. 'id.', G *schieben* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ *kséub^h-e- (IE) — Skt. *kṣóbhate* 'to shake, tremble', YAv. *xšufsąn* 3pl.pres.subj. 'to tremble' < *kséub^h-e-; Pol. dial. *chybać* 'to sway, rock; to run, rush' < *ksub^h-eh₂- (with secondary *y*); Lith. *skubùs*, Latv. *skubrs* adj.

'hasty' < **ksubʰ-(r)o-*; unrelated to OCS *skubati* (*skubǫ*) 'to tear' < **skoubʰ-eh₂-*.

A strong verb related to ***skupp/bōn-** 1.* The PIE sequence **ks-* was regularly metathesized into **sk-* (cf. PGm. **stelan-* < **tsél-e-* and **steuban-* ~ **stūban-* < **tséubʰ-e-*). Also cf. OS *wind-skūfla* f. 'wind vane', OHG *scūfla*, *scūbla*, G *Schaufel* f. 'shovel, vane' < **skūblō-*.

skeutan- s.v. 'to shoot, dash' — ON *skjóta* s.v. 'id.', Far. *skjóta* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *stjuota* s.v. 'to shoot; to jump', OE *scēotan* s.v. 'id.', E *to shoot*, OFri. *skiāta* s.v. 'id.', OS *sciotan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *schieten* s.v. 'id.', OHG *skiozan* s.v. 'id.', G *schießen* s.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A strong verb usually connected to Skt. *skundate* 'to jump', which, however, is unattested. It is more likely that the verb was back-formed to the iterative **skut(t)ōn-*, which in turn may have been formed to a Pre-Gm. root **sket-*, cf. Lith. *skàsti* 'to jump' under **skut(t)ōn-*. This would be parallel to the creation of e.g. **dreupan-* ~ **drūpan-* to **drupp/bōn-* 'to drip/droop'. The secondary nature of the zero-grade **u* also follows from MHG *schatten* w.v. 'to swing, shake' < **skaddōn-* and Nw. *skata* w.v. 'to push, drive' < **skatōn-*. As a result, all older etymological connections based on the Pre-Gm. reconstruction **skeu-(d)-*, e.g. Lith. *šiáuti* 'to shoot' < **ḱeuH-*, Skt. *códati* 'to push' < **kʷeud-* or Alb. *hedh*, *hjedh* 'to throw' < **ske(u)d-*, can be dropped. See also ON *skjótr*, OE *scēot* adj. 'fast' < **skeuta-*, **skauta-* and **skuti-* (q.v.).

skēwjan- w.v. 'to go, walk' — Go. *skewjan* w.v. 'to proceed, walk on', ON *skæva* w.v. 'to stride, stride on' (GM).

Probably related to MDu. *schoyen*, *scooyen* w.v. 'to go, rush, leave, roam', Du. *schooien* w.v. 'to hang around, go around begging' < **skaujan-*. Also cf. **skehan-* (< **skékʷ-e-*?).

skīman- m. 'shine' — Go. *skeima* m. 'lantern, torch', OE *scīma* m. 'splendor, brightness', OS *skīmo* m. 'shine', OHG *scīmo* m. 'shine, beam' (DRV).

An *mn*-stem derived from **skīnan-* (q.v.).

skīnan- s.v. 'to shine' — Go. *skeinan* s.v. 'id.', ON *skína* s.v. 'id.', Far. *skína* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *skaina* s.v. 'id.', OE *scīnan* s.v. 'id.', E *to shine*, OFri. *skīna* s.v. 'to shine; to appear', OS *skīnan* s.v. 'to shine', Du. *schijnen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *scīnan* s.v. 'id.', G *scheinen* s.v. 'id.' (IE) — ToB *skiyo* n./f. 'shade, shadow', Skt. *chāyā́* f. 'shadow, reflection', Gr. σκιά f. 'shade', Alb. *hie* f. 'shade, shadow' < **skéh₁-ih₂*, gen. **skh₁-iéh₂-s*; OCS *sijati* (*sijajǫ*), Ru. *sijáť* (*sijáju*), SCr. *sjȁti* 'to shine' < **skh₁-i-eh₂-ie-*; OCS *sěnь*, SCr. *sjȅn* m. 'shadow' < **skoh₁i-ni/o-*.

A strong verb derived from an older nasal present *skinōn-, cf. Nw. dial. *skina, skjena* w.v. 'to shimmer' < **skh₁-i-néh₂-*. Without the *n*, cf. e.g. ON *skjár* m., *skjá* f. 'membrane' < **skĭa/ō-* and **skīman-* 'shine' (q.v.).

skinkan- ~ *skankan- ~ *skunkan- m. 'shank, ham' — OE *sceanca, sconca* m. 'id.', E *shank*, OFri. *skunka* m. 'id.', WFri. *skonk* c. 'id.', OHG *scinco* m. 'id.', G G *Schinken*, Car., Swab. *Schunke* m. 'id.' ⇒ **skéng-on-* (IE) — Gr. σκάζω 'to limp' < **skng-ie-* and Skt. *khañjati* 'id.' < **skeng-e-* (cf. Seebold 1970: 255).

An ablauting *n*-stem derived from a PIE verbal root **skeng-*, in Germanic continued by the iterative Sw. dial. *skunka* w.v. 'to hop on one leg; to scamper off' < **skunkōn-* < **skn̥g-neh₂-*. The paradigm can be reconstructed as nom. **skinkō*, gen. **skunkaz* < **skéng-ōn*, **skn̥g-n-ós*. The *o*-grade of the variant **skankan-* may just like in the case of **belkan- ~ *balkan- ~ *bulkan-* 'beam' (q.v.) have spread from the accusative sg. **skong-én-m*, pl. **skong-n-n̥s* (Kroonen 2011a: 187-9).

skipa- n. 'ship' — Go. *skip* n. 'id.', ON *skip* n. 'id.', OE *scip* n. 'id.', E *ship*, OFri. *skip* n. 'id.', OS *skip* n. 'id.', Du. *schip* n. 'id.', OHG *scif, scef* n. 'id.', G *Schiff* n. 'id.' (LW).

An early loanword from Lat. *scyphus* m. 'drinking cup' = Gr. σκύφος m. 'cup, can'. Cf. OHG *scif* 'vessel' and *sciffī* n. 'id.' < **skīp-īna-*.

skītan- s.v. 'to shit' — ON *skíta* s.v. 'id.', OE *scītan* s.v. 'id.', E *to shit*, MDu. *schiten* s.v. 'id.', Du. *schijten* s.v. 'id.', OHG *scīzan* s.v. 'id.', G *scheißen* s.v. 'id.' (GM).

A strong verb with no certain etymology: possibly related to Gr. σχίζω 'to split' < **skid-ie-*, but at any rate associated with **drītan-* (q.v.). See also **skittōn-*.

skittōn- w.v. 'to shit' — Far. *skitta* w.v. 'id.' (GM).

The iterative to **skītan-* (q.v.).

skōha- m. 'shoe' — Go. *skohs* m. 'id.', ON *skór* m. 'id.', OE *scōh, scō* n./m. 'id.', E *shoe*, OFri. *skō* m. 'id.', OS *skōh* m. 'id.', Du. *schoen* c. 'id.', OHG *scuoh* m. 'id.', G *Schuh* m. 'id.' (GM).

No certain etymology. Perhaps derived from **skehan-* 'to move quickly' (q.v.).

skōþi- adj. 'harmful' — ON *skœðr* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

A *vr̥ddhi*-gerundive to **skaþjan-* (q.v.). With the same root vowel, cf. ON *skóð* n. 'something harmful' < **skōda-*.

skrad/ttan- m. 'demon' — ON *skratti*, *skrati* m. 'wizard, troll', Icel. *skratti* m. 'devil', OE *scrætte* f. 'adulteress', ME *skratte* 'hermaphrodite; goblin' (< **skrattōn-*), OHG *scrato*, *scratto*, *scraz* m. 'demon, faun', MHG *schrat(e)* m. 'goblin', G *Schrat* m. 'id.' (GM).

An *n*-stem originally inflected as nom. **skradō*, gen. **skrattaz* < **skrod^{h}-ōn*, **skrod^{h}-n-ós* (Lühr 1988: 252-4; Kroonen 2011a: 344-6). Perhaps with a zero grade from the genitive: OHG *scrota* and Sw. dial. *skrutt* 'devil' < **skrut(t)an-*. OHG *screzzo* '*larva*' and G *Schretz* m. 'demon' have analogical umlaut from the plural.

****skrankwjan-*** w.v. 'to make fall(?)' — OE *ge-screncan* w.v. 'to cause to shrink, destroy, supplant', *screncan* w.v. 'to lay a stumbling-block in a person's way, trip up, ensnare', MDu. *schrencken* w.v. 'to ensnare, hinder, deceive', OHG *screncken* w.v. 'to lay crosswise, make fall, deceive', MHG *schrenken* w.v. 'to place crosswise' (GM).

A verbal merger of the causative to **skrinkwan-* (q.v.) and a factitive to **skranka-*, cf. WFri. *skrank* adj. 'oblique, diagonal'. Also cf. OHG *scranc*, MHG *schrank* m. 'bar', G *Schrank* m. 'cupboard' < **skranka-*.

****skrapp/bōn-*** ~ ****skarbōn-*** w.v. 'to scrape, scratch' — ON *skrapa* w.v. 'to scrape, clatter', MDu. *schraven*, *schrabben*, *schrappen*, *schrapen* w.v. 'id.', Du. *schrappen*, *schrapen* w.v. 'to scratch', MHG *schraffen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **skrob^{h}-néh$_2$-* (EUR).

The iterative to **skerban-* ~ **skerpan-* ~ **skrepan-* (q.v.). The *o*-grade implies the pre-existence of an *o*-grade intensive strong verb **skraban-* < PIE **skróbh-*, cf. Latv. *skrabt* 'to scratch'. Also cf. MDu. *scarf*, *scerf* m., Du. *scherf* 'shard' < **skarba-*, whence OE *scearfian*, MDu. *scharven*, *scherven*, OHG *scarbōn*, *scarpōn*, MHG *scharben* w.v. 'to cut into small pieces' < **skarbōjan-*. A zero grade iterative is attested as Nw. *skrubba* w.v. 'to rub' < **skrubbōn-*.

****skraudan-*** s.v. 'to cut, shred' — OE *scrēadian* w.v. 'to shred, cut off, prune', E *to shred*, Du. obs. *schroden*, *schrooien* w.v. 'to peel', OHG *scrōtan* s.v. 'to cut, shred', G *schroten* w.v. 'to crack, crush' ⇒ **skróud^{h}-e-* (NEUR?) — To Lith. *skrìaudùs* adj. 'blunt, insulting; torrential; brittle' < **skreud^{h}-u-*?

Also cf. OE *scrēad* f. 'shred', OFri. *skrēd* n. 'cut, crack', OHG *scrōt* m. 'cut; piece' < **skrauda/ō-* and OE *skrūd* n. 'garment', ON *skrúð* n. 'tackle, gear; ornament, apparel; costly stuff' < **skrūda-* (with secondary **ū*). Lat. *scrūta* n.pl. 'discarded goods' can perhaps be a Germanic loanword.

****skrikkōn-*** w.v. 'to jump, skip' — MLG *schrecken*, *schricken* w.v. 'to dance', MDu. *schricken* w.v. 'to stride; to be startled', EDu. *schricken* w.v. 'to jump',

Du. *schrikken* s.v. 'to be startled', OHG *screckōn* w.v. 'to jump', MHG *schricken* w.v. 'id.' (GM).

The oldest attestations all point to a weak verb **skrikkōn-*, which in MHG and MDu. seems to have become strong in intransitive use, cf. MHG *schrecken*, pret.3sg. *schrāk*, 3pl. *schrāken*, ptc. *ge-schrocken* and Du. *schrikken*, pret. *schrok*, ptc. *ge-schrokken*. It in turn gave rise to the transitive verb MHG *schrecken* w.v. 'to startle', Swi. (Visp.) *šrekxu* 'to tear' (< 'to make burst', cf. G *sprengen*), apparently from PGm. **skrakkjan-*. The original meaning of the verb was 'to jump', cf. OHG *hewi-skrecko*, G *Heu-schrecke* m. 'grasshopper' < **hauja-skrikkan-*, lit. "hay-hopper". No certain etymology. The connection with OIr. *scréoin* 'startling', which has been derived from **skreg-ni-*, must be abandoned because this meaning is secondary in Germanic.

****skrimman- ~ *skrimpan-*** s.v. 'to contract' — OE *scrimman* s.v. 'to shrink, contract', MDu. *schrimpen* s.v. 'id.', MHG *schrimpfen* s.v. 'to shrivel' ⇒ **skrémb^{h}-e-* (NEUR) — Close to Lith. *skrèbti* (*skrembù*) 'to shrink' < **skre-m-b^{h}-e-*.

A strong verb based on a nasalized root **skre-m-b^{h}-*, which gave **skrimm-* through a form **skrémb^{h}-ne-*. The variant **skrimpan-* arose due to influence from the iterative **skrumpōn-* (q.v.). See also **skrinkwan-*.

****skrinkwan-*** s.v. 'to shrivel' — Nw. *skrøkka* s.v. 'to shrivel', OE *scrincan* s.v. 'to shrink up, dry up, dwindle', E *to shrink*, EDu. *schrincken* 'to cringe, retreat' (GM).

A strong verb (cf. OSw. *skrunkin*, Elfd. *skrukken*, Nw. *skrokken* ptc. 'shriveled'), not to be confused with the weak Far. *skrykkja* w.v. 'to wrinkle; to pull, tug', Elfd. *skryttja* w.v. 'to shrivel; to cringe' < **skrunkjan-* (derived from **skrunkwa-*, cf. Nw. *skrukk* m. 'wrinkle'). G *schrincken* is assumed to be an adaptation of E *to shrink* (DWB: 15, 1754) by the poet Georg Rudolf Weckherlin (1584-1653), who worked in England for a couple of years, but EDu. *schrincken* appears to be native. No clear etymology. Perhaps there is a link with ME *shruggen* 'to shiver, shudder; to move about', E *to shrug*, which is also attested with the meaning 'to cringe', and Sw. dial. *skrukka*, *skruga* w.v. 'to stoop' < **skrukk/gōn-*, which is suggestive of a root **skrek-* or **skreg^{h}-*. See also **skrankwjan-*.

****skrīþan- ~ *skrīdan-*** s.v. 'to stride' — ON *skríða* 'to creep, crawl', Far. *skríða* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *skraiða* s.v. 'to pace', OE *scrīðan* s.v. 'to go, take one's way', OFri. *skrīda* s.v. 'to pass by', OS *skrīthan*, *skrīdan* s.v. 'to pace', Du. *schrijden* s.v. 'id.', OHG *scrītan* s.v. 'id.', G *schreiten* s.v. 'id.' (NEUR) — Lith. *skrìsti* (*skrindù*, *skridaũ*) 'to rush, run' < **skrid^{h}-*; Lith. *skraidùs* adj. 'fast' < **skroid^{h}-u-*; Latv. *skrìedinât* 'to drive' < **skrid^{h}-neh$_{2}$-*.

The Germanic verb points to a root **skreit-*, which is in conflict with Baltic **skreid^{h}-*. It is possible, however, that both roots are extensions of a more primitive **skrei-*, cf. Lith. *skriẽti* 'to circle, fly in circles', Latv. *skrìet* 'to run, fly' (Pokorny IEW: 935-8).

skriþi- m. 'pace' — ON *skriðr* m. 'creeping', OE *scriðe* m. 'course', Du. *schrede* c. 'footstep', OHG *scrit* m. 'id.', G *Schritt* m. 'id.' (DRV).

An *i*-stem created to the strong verb **skrīþan-* ~ **skrīdan-* (q.v.).

skrumpōn- w.v. 'to shrink, shrivel' — MDu. *schrompen* w.v. 'id.', Du. *ver-schrompelen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **skrm̥b^{h}-néh$_2$-* (NEUR).

The iterative to **skrimman-* ~ **skrimpan-* (q.v.).

skudjan- w.v. 'to shiver, shake' — OS *skuddian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *schudden* w.v. 'id.', OHG *scutten* w.v. 'to shake, pour, break', G *schütten* w.v. 'to pour', *schütteln* w.v. 'to shake' (GM).

Also cf. the *r*-frequentative ME *shod(d)re*, E *to shudder*, MLG *schoderen, schaderen*, MDu. *schuderen* < **skudrōn-*. OE *scudende* ptc. 'shaking' could point to a strong verb **sküdan-* (cf. G *schaudern* 'to shudder'?), but the length of the root vowel is uncertain (Seebold 1970: 417). No clear etymology. The connection with Lith. *kutéti* 'to shake up' < **kut-eh$_1$-* and Lat. *quatiō, -ere* 'to shake, toss, hurry along' < **k^{w}t-ie-* is formally problematic because of the alternation of **kut-* vs. **k^{w}t-* and the required assumption of the poorly understood *s-mobile*.

skufta- 1 n. 'hair of the head' — Go. *skuft* n. 'id.', ON *skopt* n. 'id.', Nw. *skoft* n. 'tail; stump', OHG *skuft* f. 'id.' ⇒ **skup-to-* (GM).

Related to e.g. ON *skúfr* m. 'tassel' < **küba-*, G Pal. *Schaupe* f. 'forelock' < **kübbōn-* and G *Schuppen* m. 'tuft; shelter, barn', Swi. (Visp.) *šuppo* m. 'bunch' < **skubban-*. The connection with Ru. *čubъ, čupъ* m. 'shock' is unclear.

skufta- 2 m. 'shoulder blade of cows or horses' — MLG *schuft* m. 'id.', EDu. *schoft, schocht* 'id.', Du. *schoft* c. 'id.' ⇒ **(s)ḱupt-o-* (IE) — Skt. *śúpti-*, YAv. *supti-* f. 'shoulder', NP *suft* 'id.', Alb. *cup, sup* m. 'id.' < **ḱup-ti-*.

Usually connected to Skt. *śúpti-* etc. The initial *s*, which only occurs in Germanic, may have been adopted from **skuldra-* 'shoulder'. I assume that the original form of the word, i.e. **ḱupt-i-*, contains the element also found in Lith. *petìs*, gen. *petiẽs* f. 'shoulder' < **pet-i-*. In view of the Germanic meaning 'withers', it is further tempting to reconstruct the first element as **h$_1$ḱu-* 'horse', for which see **ehwa-*.

skukk/gōn- w.v. 'to shake' — ME *shoggen* w.v. 'to shake, cast off, tremble', E *to shog* w.v. 'to shake, roll', obs. *shock* w.v. 'to go swiftly, dash', MDu. *schocken* w.v. 'to shake, clash', MHG *schocken* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A zero-grade iterative to **skakan-*. The MHG word served as the source for Fr. *choquer* 'to shock', which was later borrowed back into German, Dutch and English. See also **skakk/gōn-*.

skulan- pret.-pres. 'shall, to be obliged to' — Go. *skulan* pret.-pres. 'to owe, be indebted, be obliged to', ON *skulu* pret.-pres. 'to be obliged to, shall', Far. *skula* pret.-pres. 'id.', Elfd. *ula* pret.-pres. 'id.', OE *sculon* pret.-pres. 'id.', E *to shall*, OFri. *skela* pret.-pres. 'id.', OS *sculan* pret.-pres. 'id.', Du. *zullen* pret.-pres. 'id.', OHG *scolan* pret.-pres. 'id.', G *sollen* pret.-pres. 'id.' ⇒ **skól-e-* (NEUR) — Lith. *skelėti* (*skeliù*) 'to owe' < **skel-eh₁-ie-*; OPru. *skellānts* adj. 'guilty' < **skel-ont-*.

A preterite-present 3sg. **skale*, 3pl. **skulunþ* < **skol-e*, **skl-nt*. Note that the ending *-u* of ON *skulu* is analogical after the 3pl. *skulu*, the infinitive usually being identical to this form. See also **skuldi-*.

skuldi- f. 'debt, guilt' — ON *skuld* f. 'debt', Far. *skuld* f. 'debt; guilt; cause', Elfd. *skuld* f. 'id.', OE *scyld* f. 'guilt, fault', OFri. *skielde*, *skiolde* f. 'guilt; tax', OS *skuld* f. 'id.', Du. *schuld* c. 'debt, guilt', OHG *skuld* f. 'id.', G *Schuld* f. 'id.' (DRV).

A *ti*-stem to the root of **skulan-*.

skuldra- m. 'shoulder' — OE *sculdor* m. 'id.', E *shoulder*, OFri. *skolder*, *skulder* m. 'id.', Du. *schouder* c. 'id.', OHG *scultirra*, *scultera* f. 'id.', G *Schulter* f. 'id.' (< **skuldrjōn-*) (GM?).

A West Germanic word: OSw., Sw. *skuldra* was adopted from Middle Low Germanic. No certain etymology. Perhaps to Gr. σκέλος n. 'thigh, leg, hip, shank' < **skel-es-*, but the implied assumption of an instrumental suffix *-dʰro-* is semantically problematic.

skupp/bōn- 1 w.v. 'to shove' — Icel. *skopa* w.v. 'to swing, rock, roll', Far. *skopa* w.v. 'to shoot (of a star); to hurry up; to push, shove', Nw. *skubba*, *skuppa*, *skopa* w.v. 'to bump, shove', EDu. *schobben*, *schoppen* w.v. 'to stuff; to swing', Du. *schoppen* w.v. 'to kick', MHG *schopfen*, *schoppen* w.v. 'to stuff' ⇒ **ksubʰ-néh₂-* (IE) — Formally parallel to Skt. *kṣubhnóti* 'to shake, tremble' < **ksubʰ-neu-*, which may continue older **kṣubhnắti* (*-néh₂-*), and Lith. *skùbinti* 'to rush' < **ksubʰ-n̥h₂-*.

The iterative to **skeuban-* ~ **skūban-* (q.v.).

skupp/bōn- 2 w.v. 'to mock' — ON *skopa* w.v. 'id.', MLG *schoven* w.v. 'id.', EDu. *schobben*, *schoppen* w.v. 'id.', MHG *schopfen* w.v. 'to versify' ⇒ **skp-neh₂-*(?) (EUR) — Gr. σκώπτω 'to mock, jest' < **skōp-ie.*

No clear etymology. The verb has been equated with **skupp/bōn- 2* 'to shove' (q.v.) through an intermediate meaning 'to jump, frolic', but this semantic shift is not supported by the attested forms. I rather assume that **skupp/bōn-* was formed to the root **skep-* 'to mock'. However, since the implied proto-form **skp-neh₂-* would not regularly yield PGm. **skupp/bōn-*, it must be assumed that the **u* represents a secondary zero-grade. Also cf. ON *skaup* n. 'mocking' < **skaupa-*, ON *skop* n. 'id.', OS *skop-līko* adv. 'poetically', MDu. *schop* n. 'jest', OFri. *schof* n. 'mocking' < **skup(p)a- / *skuffa-* and OE *scop*, OHG *scof*, *scopf* m. 'poet' < **skuppa-*. Note that OFri. *skof* together with E *to scoff* < **skuff-* proves that the original root-final consonant must have been an **f* continuing Pre-Gm. **p*.

skūra/ō- m./f. 'short shower (of rain/hail)' — Go. *skura* f. 'id.', ON *skúr* f. 'id.', Far. *skúrur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *skaur* f. 'id.', OE *scūr* m. 'id.', E *shower*, MDu. *schuur* m./f. 'id.', OHG *skūr* m. 'id.', G *Schauer* m. 'id.' (GM).

Also cf. Nw. *skøyre*, *skjøre* f. 'gust of wind' < **skaurjōn-* and *skyra* w.v. 'to take off quickly' < **skūrjan-*. De Vaan 1999 compared the word to PGm. **skur-* 'to cut, tear', but in view of OS *skion* m. 'cloud', I propose to reconstruct a PGm. heteroclitic **skewur*, gen. *skūnaz* continuing a PIE *ur/n*-stem **skéh₁-ur*, gen. **skh₁-un-ós* (in view of the absence of Dybo's law, the accent must have shifted to the stem at an early stage). It was derived from the root **skeh₁-* 'shade, shadow' as found in e.g. ToB *skiyo* n./f. 'shade, shadow', Skt. *chāyā́-* f. 'shadow, reflection', Gr. σκιά f. 'shade', Alb. *hie* f. 'shade, shadow' < **skéh₁-ih₂*, gen. **skh₁-iéh₂-s*. OHG *scugin(n)a* and G *Scheune*, which have a meaning similar to the evidently related OHG *scūr* n. 'lean-to', G *Schauer* m./n. 'barn, shelter', Du. *schuur* c. 'barn', continue **sku(w)enjō-*, and thus imply a third stem variant **sku(w)en-* that may originate from the dative form **sku(w)eni*. Unrelated to Lat. *caurus* m. 'north wind; north-west wind' < **ḱh₁uer-o-*, Lith. *šiáurė* 'North' < **ḱeh₁ur-io-* and OCS *sěverъ* 'North; north wind', Ru. *séver* 'North', SCr. *sjȅvēr* m. 'id.' < **ḱeh₁uer-o-*.

skurdi- m. 'cutting' — ON *skurðr* m. 'id.', OFri. *skerd* m. 'cut, piece' ⇒ **skrH-tí-* (DRV).

A *ti*-stem to the root of **skeran- 1* (q.v.).

skuti- m. 'shooting' — OE *scyte* m. 'id.', MDu. *scote* m. 'shoot; shot', Du. *scheut* c. 'shoot; gulp; pang', OHG *scuz* m. 'shot, speed', G *Schuss* m. 'shot' (DRV).

An *i*-stem to the strong verb **skeutan-* (q.v.).

skut(t)ōn- w.v. 'to shoot' — ON *skotra* w.v. 'to shove, push' (*r*-frequentative), Icel. *skota* w.v. 'id.', Nw. *skota*, *skotta* w.v. 'to shoot; to shove, push, drive' (EUR) — Lith. *skàsti* (*skantù*, *skataũ*) w.v. 'to jump, hop' <

*skot-ske-; Lat. *scatō, -ere* 'to gush forth, swarm' < **skt-* (with *schwa*-secundum, De Vaan 2008: 543-4).

The iterative to **skeutan-* (q.v.). In view of the *o*-grade variants MHG *schatten* w.v. 'to swing, shake' and Nw. *skata* w.v. 'to push, drive' < **skat(t)ōn-* < **skot-neh₂-*, the **u* of **skut(t)ōn-* must be analyzed as a secondary zero grade. This proves that **skeutan-* arose as a (tertiary) back-formation to the iterative, something that is also implied by Swi. *šutz* m. 'shot' (Stickelberger 1889: 439) < **skutta-*, which unlike ON *skot*, OE *scot*, OHG *scoz* n. 'shot' preserves the same geminate that in the strong verb gave root-final **t*. As a result, the root underlying the whole etymological cluster can no longer be reconstructed as **skeud-* (Pokorny IEW: 955-6), and must be corrected to **sket-*. This root is reconcilable with Lith. *skàsti* 'to jump' < **skot-*.

****skuwwan-*** m. 'mirror' — Go. *skuggwa* m. 'id.', ON *skuggi* m. 'shadow, shade', OE *scuwa* m. 'id.', OHG *scuwo, scū* m. 'id.' ⇒ **sku-ón-* (IE).

An *n*-stem derived from the PIE root **skeu-* 'to see', for which see. **skawa-*. Also cf. ON *skyggva, skyggja*, OHG *scuan, scujan* w.v. 'to give shade' < **skuwwjan-*.

****slagi-*** m. 'blow' — Go. *slahs* m. 'id.', OE *slege* m. 'id.', OFri. *slei* m. 'id.', OS *slegi* m. 'id.', Du. *slag* c. 'id.', OHG *slag* m. 'id.', G *Schlag* m. 'id.' (DRV).

An *i*-stem derived from **slahan-* (q.v.).

****slahan-*** s.v. 'to beat, strike, slay' — Go. *slahan* s.v. 'id.', ON *slá* s.v. 'id.', Far. *sláa* s.v. 'id.', OE *slēan* s.v. 'id.', E *to slay*, OFri. *slā, slān* s.v. 'id.', OS *slahan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *slaan* s.v. 'id.', OHG *slahan* s.v. 'id.', G *schlagen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **slak-e-* (WEUR) — MIr. *slachta* 'hit' < **slak-to-* (also cf. MIr. *slacc* 'sword') < **slak(k)-*.

A Germanic-Celtic isogloss. The root may originally have been onomatopoetic. See also **slagi-*.

****slaiwa-*** adj. 'lethargic' — ON *slær, sljór* adj. 'blunt', Elfd. *sliuog* adj. 'id.', OE *slāw* adj. 'sluggish, inert', E *slow*, OS *slēu* adj. 'slack', Du. *sleeuw* adj. 'blunt', OHG *slēo* adj. 'dull, faded' ⇒ **sloiH-uo-*(?) (IE?).

Unclear etymology. Perhaps to Skt. *srī́vyati* 'to fail, turn out bad' < **sliHu-ie-*. Unrelated to Gr. λίαρος adj. 'mild' and Lat. *laevus* adj. 'left'.

****slaka-*** adj. 'slack' — ON *slakr* adj. 'id.', Far. *slakur* adj. 'miserable, wretched; short', OE *slæc* adj. 'id.', E *slack*, OS *slak* adj. 'slack, cowardly', MDu. *slac* adj. 'slack, loose, slow', OHG *slach* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **slog-o-* (EUR) — Gr. λαγαρός < **slg-ro-*; OIr. *lacc* adj. 'slack' < **slg-no-*(?); unrelated: ToB *slakkare** adj. 'darting, quick-moving, tremulous' and the pertaining ToA *slākkär* adj. 'sad(?)' (Adams 1999: 723).

An *o*-grade adjective to a marginally attested root **sle(ǵ)-*.

slangan- m. 'snake' — OS *slango* m. 'id.', Du. *slang* m. 'id.', OHG *slango* m. 'id.', MHG *slange* m. 'id.', G *Schlange* f. 'id.' (DRV).

An agentive *an*-formation to the root PIE **slenk-* 'to creep', for which see **slingan-* ~ **slinkan-* and **slunkōn-*.

slanka- adj. 'flexible, thin' — MLG *slank* adj. 'flexible, limp', MDu. *slanc* adj. 'weak; loose; skinny', Du. *slank* adj. 'slim', MHG *slanc* adj. 'slim, skinny' (DRV) — OCS *sląkъ* adj. 'crooked' < **slonk-o-*.

An *o*-grade adjective derived from **slingan-* ~ **slinkan-* (q.v.). Note that the root-final **k* spread from the iterative **slunkōn-*.

slapp/bōn- w.v. 'to be slack' — ON *slafa-st* refl.w.v. 'to slacken', Icel. *slapa* w.v. 'to be slack', *slabba* w.v. 'to dangle', Far. *slabba* w.v. 'to toil', Nw. *slapa* w.v. 'to dangle' ⇒ **slob^{h}-néh$_2$-* (NEUR) — Lith. *slābnas*, *slōbnas*, Latv. *slābs* adj. 'weak'; OCS *slabъ*, Ru. *slábyj*, SCr. *slȁb* adj. 'weak'.

An iterative formation related to **slēpan-* 'to sleep' (q.v.). The Balto-Slavic forms show an alternation of PBSl. **(ā)* (< **o*?), **ā̃*, and **ā́* (< **eh$_2$*?) which is difficult to account for. Germanic unambiguously points to **slob^{h}-*, however. Also cf. Icel. *slappur* adj. 'slack', *slapur* adj. 'weak', Du. *slap* adj. 'id.', G *schlaff* adj. 'id.' < **slap(p)a-*.

slaubjan- ~ ***slaupjan-*** w.v. 'to roll up' — Go. *af-slaupjan* w.v. 'to put off, lay aside', OE *slīepan* w.v. 'id.', OFri. *slēpa* w.v. 'to fasten, drape around', OS *slōpian* w.v. 'to loosen', MDu. *sloven* w.v. 'to roll up, slip', OHG *sloufen* w.v. 'to slip' ⇒ **sloup-éie-* (NEUR).

The causative to **sleupan-* ~ **slūpan-* (q.v.).

slawēn- w.v. 'to be silent' — Go. *slawan* w.v. 'id.' (GM).

No certain etymology. The comparison with OE *slūma* m. 'slumber' (cf. Pokorny IEW: 962-3) is possible, but uncertain. In all likelihood, the verb was derived from a lost adj. **slawa-* 'silent'. This form remains conjectural, however, in the absence of any known extra-Gm. cognates.

slēpan- s.v. 'to sleep' — Go. *slepan* s.v. 'id.', OE *slǣpan* s.v. 'id.', E *to sleep*, OFri. *slēpa* s.v. 'id.', OS *slāpan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *slapen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *slāfan* s.v. 'id.', G *schlafen* s.v. 'id.' (DRV?).

Since its root-final **p* continues a (shortened) geminate, this strong verb is likely to have been back-formed to the iterative **slapp/bōn-* (q.v.). It is tempting to think, from this perspective, that the long **ē* arose analogically on the basis of **a* in the iterative, just as **ū* in many cases was created to **u* (see e.g. **sūgan-* ~ **sūkan-* 'to suck'). This would imply, however, that PGm.

ē ([ǣ]) was pronounced as **ā* at an early stage, thus representing the lengthened counterpart of PGm. **a*. Also cf. G *sleps*, OE *slæp*, OFri. *slēp*, Du. *slaap*, OHG *slāf*, G *Schlaf* m. 'sleep' < **slēpa/i-*, and the causative Swi. (Visp.) *ant-sleepfu* w.v. 'to put to sleep' < **slēpjan-*. The strong verb is not attested in Nordic, but we do find ON *slæpa* w.v. 'to laze' < **slēpjan-* and ON *sláprm.* 'good-for-nothing' < **slēpa-*.

****sleupan- ~ *slūpan-*** s.v. 'to sneak' — Go. *sliupan* s.v. 'to slip, slide', OE *slūpan* s.v. 'id.', OFri. *sliapa* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *slupen* s.v. 'to sneak', OHG *sliofan* s.v. 'to slip, sneak', MHG *sliefen* s.v. 'to slip' ⇒ **sléup-e-*(?) (DRV) — Lith. *į-slupti* 'to slip into' < **slup-*; Latv. *šļupt* 'to slip' < **sleup-*.

A strong verb back-formed to the iterative **slupp/bōn-*, which can be reconstructed on the basis of OHG *slopfāri* 'itinerant monk' < **slup-néh₂-* (Lühr 1988: 352) and the *jan*-verb G *schlüpfen* w.v. 'to sneak; to slip into/out of; to hatch' < **sluppjan-*. Both the alternation between **eu* and **ū* as a full-grade marker and the presence of a (shortened) geminate indicate that the strong verb is secondary. The original consonantism can still be observed, however, in the causative **slaubjan- ~ *slaupjan-* (q.v.), which thus confirms the connection with the Baltic forms pointing to a root **sleup-* ending in **p*.

****sleutan- ~ *slūtan-*** s.v. 'to close' — OFri. *slūta* s.v. 'id.', OS *ūt-bi-slūtan* s.v. 'to exclude', MDu. *sluten*, Limb. *slieten* s.v. 'id.', Du. *sluiten* s.v. 'to close', OHG *sliozzan* s.v. 'id.', G *schließen* s.v. 'id.' (GM).

A WGm. word parallel to **leukan- ~ *lūkan-* (q.v.). The meaning 'to lock' must have developed from 'to bar' in view of ME *slot* 'bar for a door, gate, window; bolt on a lock; iron rod', ME *slot(e)*, E *slot*, obs. *sloat*, OFri. *slot* n. 'lock', (M)Du. *slot* n. 'id.', OHG *sloz*, G *Schloss* n. 'id.' < **sluta-* and MDu. *sliet* n./f. 'long rod' < **sleuta-*. OFri. *slet(te)* n. 'lock' (whence OFri. *sletta* w.v. 'to lock in') continues a formation **slutja-*. See also **slutila-* and **slutōn-*.

****slidan-*** m. 'sled' — ON *sleði* m. 'id.', Du. *slee* c. 'id.', OHG *slito* m. 'id.', G *Schlitten* m. 'id.' (DRV).

An *n*-stem derived from the strong verb **slīdan-* (q.v.).

****slīdan-*** s.v. 'to slide, slip' — OE *slīdan* s.v. 'id.', E *to slide*, MDu. *sliden* s.v. 'id.', MHG *slītan* s.v. 'id.' (NEUR) — Lith. *slidùs*, Latv. *slids* adj. 'slippery' < **slid^{h}-u-*; Lith. *slýsti* (*slýstau*, *slýdau*), Latv. *slīst* 'to slip, slide' < **slid^{h}-ske-*; Latv. *slidêt* 'id.' < **slid^{h}-eh₁-*; OCS *slědrъ* m. 'track' < **sloid-ro-*.

A strong verb created to a Germanic-Balto-Slavic root **sleid^{h}-*. See also **slidan-*.

slīma- n. 'slime' — ON *slím* n. 'id.', Far. *slím* n. 'smoke, haze; slime; mucus', OE *slīm* m./n. 'slime, mud', E *slime*, Du. *slijm* n. 'slime', MHG *slīm* m. 'id.', G *Schleim* m. 'id.' ⇒ *$*sleh_1i-mo-$* (EUR) — OCS *sliny* f.pl., Ru. dial. *slína*, *sliná* f., SCr. *slîna* f. 'saliva'; Latv. *sliēnas* m.pl. 'id.' *$*sleh_1i-no/eh_2-$*; Gr. λείμαξ m. 'slug', Lat. *līmāx* m. 'snail, slug', Ru. dial. *slimák* m. 'id.' < *$*sleh_1i-m-eh_2ko-$*.

A European root. See also *$*slīwa/ōn-$*.

slindan- s.v. 'to devour' — Go. *fra-slindan* s.v. 'id.', OS *far-slindan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *ver-slinden* s.v. 'id.', OHG *slintan*, *slindan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *slinden* s.v. 'to devour', G *ver-schlingen* s.v. 'id.' (with dialectal *-ng-* < *-nd-*) (GM).

Related to OS *slund*, OHG *slunt*, G *Schlund* m. 'gullet' < *$*slunda-$*. No extra-Gm. etymology. The connection with Lith. *lĩsti* (*lendù*) 'to creep, sneak (into)' through a hypothetical meaning 'to make slide down the throat' is uncompelling. See also *$*landjan-$*.

slingan-* ~ *slinkan- s.v. 'to slink' — OSw. *slinka* s.v. 'to sneak, crawl, slip', Elfd. *slinka* s.v. 'id.', OE *slingan*, *slincan* s.v. 'to creep', E *to slink*, MDu. *slinken* w.v. 'to diminish; to slump, collapse'; *slingen* w.v. 'to creep, crawl', Du. *slinken* s.v. 'to decrease', OHG *slingan* s.v. 'to swing, wind', G *schlingen* s.v. 'to loop' ⇒ *$*slénk-e-$* (NEUR) — Lith. *sliñkti* (*slenkù*) 'to creep, sneak' < *$*slé-n-k-e-$*.

The two meanings 'to diminish' and 'to crawl, slink' can be reconciled by assuming an original sense 'to be low, lower (oneself)'. As the Pre-Gm. root was *$*slenk-$*, both the variants *$*slinkan-$* and *$*slingan-$* point to interference from the iterative 3sg. *$*slunkōþi$*, 3pl. *$*slungunanþi$* (see *$*slunkōn-$*). There is no evidence for a root variant *$*sleng-$* (*pace* Pokorny IEW: 961-2). See also *$*slangan-$*.

slīwa/ōn- m./f. 'tench' — OE *slīw*, *slēow* m. 'tench/mullet', MDu. *slie* f. 'id.', OHG *slīo* m. 'id.', G *Schleie* f. 'id.' ⇒ *$*sleh_1i-uo-$* (EUR).

An ichthyonym derived from Icel. *slý* n. 'slimy plants, seaweed', Far. *slýggj* n. 'slime, mucous membrane; seaweed', ODu. *slī* top. 'mud' < *$*slīwa-$*. Probably related to *$*slīma-$* 'slime' (q.v.).

slunkōn- w.v. 'to slink(?)' — Nw. *slunka* w.v. 'to stumble', G *schlunken* w.v. 'to slouch' ⇒ *$*slnk-néh_2-$* (NEUR).

The iterative pertaining to *$*slingan-$* ~ *$*slinkan-$* (q.v.).

slutila- m. 'key' — OFri. *sletel* m. 'id.', OS *slutil* m. 'id.', Du. *sleutel* c. 'id.', OHG *sluzzil* m. 'id.', G *Schlüssel* m. 'id.' (DRV).

An instrumental noun derived from the strong verb *$*sleutan-$* ~ *$*slūtan-$* (q.v.).

slutōn- w.v. 'to come to an end' — Nw. *slota* w.v. 'to diminish, subside, stop' (DRV).

The iterative to **sleutan-* ~ **slūtan-* (q.v.).

smahrja- m. 'lip' — OE *smæras* m.pl. 'lips' ⇒ **smoḱ-ru-* (IE) — Hitt. *zama(n)kur* n. 'beard' < **smoḱ-ur*; Skt. *śmáśru-* n. 'id.'; Arm. *mawru-kʿ* 'id.', Lith. *smākras* m. 'chin', *smakrà* f. 'id.', Alb. *mjekër* 'chin, beard' < **smoḱru-*; OIr. *smech* n. 'chin' < **smeḱ-o-*.

The OE hapax *smæras* '*labra*' points to a *ja*-stem **smahrja-*. Since *ja*-stems often replace *u*-stems in WGm., the evidence is theoretically reconcilable with Skt. *smáśru-* < **smoḱru-* etc. The *ru*-suffix of this form may have been metathesized from the heteroclitic ending **-ur* (obl. **-un-*) as preserved by Hitttite.

smala- adj. 'small' — Go. *smals* adj. 'id.', ON *smalr* adj. 'id.', Far. *smalur* adj. 'narrow', OE *smæl* adj. 'small, narrow', E *small*, OFri. *smel* adj. 'id.', OS *smal* adj. 'id.', Du. *smal* adj. 'id.', OHG *smal* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **smol(H)-o-* (GM).

Probably an *o*-grade adjective related to Nw. *smula* w.v. 'to grind' < **smulēn-* (< **smlH-eh₁-*?). In spite of ON *smali* m. 'cattle', the adjective cannot be related to Gr. μῆλον n. 'small cattle, sheep and goats' and OIr. *míl* n. 'small animal' < **meh₁l-o-*, which rather belong to OLFra. *māla*, Du. *maal* c. 'young cow' < **mēlō-*.

smalta- ~ ***smulta-*** n. '(molten) fat, lard' — Icel. *smolt* n. 'id.', Nw. *smolt* n. 'id.', OE *smolt* n. 'id.', MDu. *smout* n. 'id.', OHG *smalz* n. 'id.', G *Schmalz* n. 'id.' (DRV).

A adjective derived from **smeltan-* (q.v.).

smēha- adj. 'small' — ON *smár* adj. 'id.', Far. *smáur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *smǫ̊er*, *smǫ̊-* adj. 'id.', OHG *smāhi* adj. 'id.', MHG *smæhe* adj. 'id.' (GM).

An exclusively Germanic word. The old comparison with Gr. σμικρός, μικρός adj. 'small', allegedly from **smh₁-i-k-ro-*, is untenable for formal reasons.

smelhwō- ~ ***smelwō-*** f. 'hair-grass' — Nw. *smyle*, dial. *smile*, *smele* n. 'id.', OHG *smelha* f. 'id.', MHG *smelehe*, *smilehe*, *smelwe* f. 'id.', G *Schmiele* f. 'id.' ⇒ **smelkʷ-* (NEUR/NIE) — Lith. *smilga*, dial. *smilgà* f. 'hair-grass', Latv. *smiĺga*, *smiĺga* f. 'bentgrass' < **smlg-eh₂-*; OPol. *smlz*, Slvk. *smlz* m. 'smallreed', *smlza* f. 'hairgrass' < **smlǵ-o/eh₂-*.

A PGm. word for a type of grass. As the Norwegian neuter forms continue a secondary collective **smelhwja-*, OHG *smelha* < **smelhwō-* must be primary. In addition, there is evidence for a Verner variant **smelwō-*, cf. MHG *smelwe*, G Pal. *Schmelw*, *Schmelb*, *Schmelm* and a second collective Nw. dial.

smelve, *smylve* < **smelwja-*. No Indo-European etymology. The connection with Lith. *smìlga* seems evident (cf. Falk/Torp 1960: 1079), but the irregular correspondence of Pre-Gm. **k*^{w}, Pre-Baltic **g* and Pre-Slavic **ǵ* is highly problematic. Possibly, the word was adopted from a lost European language by the three different branches independently.

smeltan- s.v. 'to melt, smelt' — Nw. *smelta* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *smelta* s.v. 'id.', OS *smeltan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *smelten* s.v. 'id.', OHG *smelzan* s.v. 'id.', G *schmelzen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **sméld-e-* (EUR) — Gr. μέλδομαι, μέλδω 'to cause to melt' < **sméld-e-*.

In Germanic, the verb was associated with **meltan-* 'to become soft' (q.v.), but in PIE it must still have been etymologically distinct. See also **smalta-* ~ **smulta-*.

smērjōn- f. 'clover' — Icel. *smæra* f. 'id.', Far. *smæra* f. 'id.', Nw. *smære* m./f. 'id.', Sw. dial. *smäre* m. 'id.', Da. *smære* c. 'id.' ⇒ **smēr-*(?) (WEUR/NIE) — OIr. *seamar* f. 'clover, shamrock'.

Closely related to the derivationally more primitive **smēran-* (or **smairan-*) as implied by Icel. *smári* m. 'id.'. The word has been connected to OE *smær(e)* m. 'lip' (for which see **smahrja-*), but the implied *Benennungsmotiv* makes no sense (cf. Lockwood 1989-90: 117). In view of the semantic field, and the local distribution, it is better to take the old comparison with OIr. *seamar* 'clover' as the point of departure (Bugge 1889: 455-6). The irregular correspondence of PCelt. **se/immar-* with PGm. **smēr-/*smair-* can then be reinterpreted as resulting from borrowing from a non-IE language (Schrijver 1997: 304). I assume that the different "ablaut" forms reflect a shift of stress in the source language, e.g. **sémmr* vs. **s(V)mmér*. The non-IE origin is further supported by the even more irregular Gaul. *uisumarus*, which is given by Marcellus Burdigalensis (c. 4th/5th centuries) as a name for Lat. *trifolium* 'clover'. This form has been analyzed as a compound of **uisu-* 'poison' and **meh$_2$ro-* 'big' (André 1985: 197), but it seems more reasonable to maintain Bugge's analysis as **ui-sumar-*, the latter element being comparable to *seamar*. Perhaps we are dealing with a *wi*-prefix here, for which compare the first element of **wisund-* 'wisent' (q.v.).

smertan- s.v. 'to hurt' — OE *smeortan* s.v. 'id.', E *to smart*, MDu. *smarten* s./w.v. 'id.', OHG *smerzen* s.v. 'id.', G *schmerzen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **smérd-e-* (EUR) — Gr. σμερδνός adj. 'terrible, dreadful' < **smerd-no-*; Arm. *mart* 'fight, battle' < **smrd-o-*; Lat. *mordō*, *-ēre* 'to bite' < **smord-e-*; Lith. *smirdėti*, OCS *smrъděti* 'to smell' < **smrd-eh$_1$-*.

An old strong verb. Also cf. OHG *smerza* f., *smerzo* m., G *Schmerz* m., MDu. *smarte* f., Du. *smart* c. 'pain' < **smerta/ōn-* and OE *smeart* adj. 'painful, sharp', E *smart* < **smarta-*.

smerwa- n. 'butter, grease' — ON *smjǫr*, *smør* n. 'id.', Far. *smør* n. 'butter', Elfd. *smyōr* n. 'id.', OE *smeoru* n. 'fat, grease, tallow', OFri. *smere* m. 'pus', OS *smeru* n. 'fat', Du. *smeer* n. 'grease', OHG *smero* m. 'fat', G *Schmer* m./n. 'kidney fat' ⇒ **smer-u-* (WEUR) — OIr. *smiur* m. 'marrow', MW *mer* m. 'id.' < **smeru-*; cf. OIr. *smeraid* 'to anoint' < **smer-eh₂-ie-*.

A *wa*-stem to the root **smer-*. Cf. also ON *smyrva*, *smyrja*, OE *smierwan*, Du. *smeren*, OHG *smirwen*, G *Schmieren* w.v. 'to smear, anoint' < **smerwjan-*.

****smeugan-*** ~ ****smūgan-*** s.v. 'to sneak, creep' — ON *smjúga* s.v. 'to creep through', Far. *smúgva* s.v. 'to slip through; to gnaw at, nibble away', OE *smūgan* s.v. 'to creep, crawl', MDu. *smugen*, *smuken* w.v. 'to crawl', MHG *smiegen* s.v. 'to snuggle up; to crouch' (DRV) — Lith. *smaũkti* (*smaukiù*) 'to pull, to don, to roll up' < **smouk-ie-*; Slov. *smúkati* 'to scurry, slip' < **smouk-eh₂-*.

A strong verb influenced by or back-formed to the iterative **smukkōn-* (q.v.).

****smeuhō-*** f. 'widgeon, pochard, smew(?)' — WFri. *smjunt*, NFri. *smün* 'id.', EDu. *smiente*, Du. *smient*, MHG *smiehe* f. 'id.', G *Schmei(ch)-ente*, *Schmü-ente*, Als. *Schmiche* f. 'id.' (GM).

A word whose origin like many other duck names, e.g. *teal* and *radge / rodge* is obscure because of late attestation and considerable formal variation (see e.g. Strathmann 2008: 88-90), cf. E *smee*, *smew*, *smeath*, Scot. *smeuth*. The reconstruction of the word is further complicated by the fact that most of the continental forms derive from a compound with **anad-* 'duck', cf. G dial. *Schmei(ch)-ente*, *Schmü-ente*, Du. *smient*, Flem. *smij-aande*, WFri. *smjunt*. Spenter 1968: 304, fn. 238 and Eigenhuis 2004: 472 rightly point to the problematic *t* in Frisian and Dutch, but these forms together with Far. *ont* no doubt continue **anaþ* with voiceless **þ* in word-final position. From this perspective, it is not inconceivable that E *smeath* and Scot. *smeuth*, too, contain a Verner variant **anaþ-*. The traditional identification of the first member as **smēha-* 'small' (cf. Sjōlin 2006: 202) is erroneous. I reconstruct the word as **smeuhō-* in view of the evidence for a diphthong **eu* in Dutch, Frisian and MHG *schmiehe*. G *Schmeich-ente*, Pal. *Schmiche* (= **smeuhjō-*?) further point to the presence of a **h*. Indeed, E *smee* and *smew* may well continue OE **smēo(h)* < **smeuhō-*, cf. OE *hlēo(w)* > E *lee*, dial. *lew*. G *Schmil-ente* is a late variant most probably influenced by *Schmiele* 'hair-grass' < **smelhwō-* ~ **smelwō-* (see Lockwood 1974: 77).

****smeukan-*** ~ ****smūkan-*** s.v. 'to smoke' — OE *smēocan* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *smieken*, *smuken* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **smeugʰ-e-*(?) (EUR) — Gr. σμύχω 'to burn up, smolder away' < **smuHgʰ-e-*; Lith. *smáugti* (*smáugiu*) 'to choke' <

*smouHg^h-ie-; Arm. *mux*, gen. *mxoy* 'smoke' < *smoukH-o-; OIr. *múch* f. 'fire' < *smuHk-; MW *mwg* m. 'fire' < *smukH-.

Given the alternation of *eu and *ū, this strong verb is likely to be secondary, i.e. a back-formation to the iterative *smuk(k)ōn- (q.v.). This is confirmed by Du. *smuigen* w.v. 'to smoke, smolder', WFri. *smûgje* w.v. 'to breathe heavily' < *smūgēn-, which with its root-final *g shows that the roots *smeuk- and *smūk- were created on the basis of the iterative. The underlying PIE root is difficult to reconstruct, as the extra-Germanic *comparanda* point to at least three different roots *smeuHg^h-, *smeuHk- and *smeukH-.

smītan- s.v. 'to stroke; to strike' — Go. *ga-smeitan* s.v. 'to daub', Nw. *smita* s.v. 'to smear over; to sneak away', OE *smītan* s.v. 'to daub, smear, smudge', E *to smite*, OFri. *smīta* s.v. 'to throw, strike, destroy', MDu. *smiten* s.v. 'to throw, hit, smack', Du. *smijten* s.v. 'to throw', OHG *smīzan* s.v. 'to smear', G *schmeißen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ *sméid-e- (EUR) — Latv. *smaidît* 'to laugh, make fun of; to flatter' < *smoid-eie-; OCS *směd*ъ adj. 'brown, dirty' < *smoid-o-; less certain: Arm. *mic* 'dirt' < *smid-io-(?).

Also cf. the iterative *smi(t)ōn- and the causative *smaitjan- as in Far. *smeita-st* 'to creep, steal', Nw. *smeita* 'to hit', OHG *be-smeizen* 'to soil'. The original meaning seems to have been 'to stroke', whence 'to smear', 'to flatter' (see Nw. *smita* under the iterative) and 'to sneak' (cf. Du. *hem smeren* 'to escape' (lit. "to smear oneself"). Some of these apparently secondary meanings are found in the potential extra-Gm. cognates mentioned above, which could imply that the semantic range assumed here is old.

smit(t)ōn- w.v. 'to strike; to smudge' — Nw. *smita* w.v. 'to stroke, smear; to spur; to flatter', OSw. *smita* w.v. 'to daub, smear; to hit', Elfd. *smitå* w.v. 'to smack; to smear, daub', OE *smittian* w.v. 'to befile', MDu. *smetten*, *smitten* w.v. 'to stain, befoul', MHG *smitzen* w.v. 'to jerk; to hit, beat; to smear, daub', G Pal. *schmitzen* w.v. 'to insult' (EUR).

Although some of the aforementioned verbs may be denominal formations to *smittōn- (cf. OE *smitte*, MHG *smitze*, MDu. *smitte*, *smette* f. 'stain, blemish'), there is sufficient material for postulating a truly verbal iterative formation pertaining to *smītan- (q.v.) 'to strike', cf. Elfd. *smitå* 'to smack' and MHG *smitzen* 'to hit'.

smīþō- f. 'craftsmanship' — ON *smíð* f. '(handi)craft, smith's work', Far. *smíð* f. 'forging, making; (handi)craft; trade', OHG *smīda* f. 'jewelry, metal' (GM).

Also cf. the collective formation ON *smíði*, Elfd. *smaiðe*, MHG *ge-smide*, G *Ge-schmeide* n. 'jewelry' < *smīþja-.

smiþu- m. 'smith' — Go. *aiza-smiþa* m. 'id.' (< **smiþan-*), ON *smiðr* m. 'id.', Far. *smiður* m. 'id.', Elfd. *smið* m. 'id.', OE *smiþ* m. 'id.', E *smith*, OFri. *smeth* m. 'id.', Du. *smid* c. 'id.', OHG *smid* m. 'id.', G *Schmied* m. 'id.' ⇒ **smit-u-* (GM).

A *u*-stem related to **smīþō-*. Since the latter simply means '(handi)craft' in Old Norse, it seems likely that the original meaning of the root was broader than just 'smith', perhaps closer to 'craftsman' (also cf. OHG *smeidar* m. 'artefact' < **smaiþra-*). Regarding the etymology of the word, it is difficult to say whether the original root was **smei-* or **smeit-*. In analogy to Go. *hliftus* m. 'thief' (for which see **hlefan-*), it is possible to reconstruct an agentive *tu*-stem. No further etymology. The connection with Gr. σμίλη f. 'knife, wood-carving knife, scalpel, chisel' (Pokorny IEW: 968) is formally problematic. Within Germanic, further cf. ON *smiðja*, OE *smiþþe*, OFri. *smithe*, MDu. *smisse*, Du. *smidse*, OHG *smidda*, *smitta*, G *Schmiede* f. 'smithy' < **smiþjōn-*.

****smukk/gōn-*** w.v. 'to creep' — Far. *smokka* w.v. 'to sink, slide down', Nw. *smugga* w.v. 'to do something secretly', Du. *smokkelen* w.v. 'to steal, sneak, smuggle' ⇒ **smuk-néh₂-* (NEUR) — Lith. *smùkti* (*smunkù*) 'to slide, slip' < **smu-n-k-*; Cz. *smeknouti* 'to strip' < **smoik-neu-*.

The iterative to **smeugan-* ~ **smūgan-* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *smokkr*, OE *smoc* m. 'smock' < **smukka-* and OHG *smocko* m. 'underdress' < **smukkan-*.

****smuk(k)ōn-*** w.v. 'to smoke' — OE *smocian* w.v. 'id.', MDu. *smoken* w.v. 'id.', G Lux. *schmocken* w.v. 'id.' (EUR).

The iterative to **smeukan-* ~ **smūkan-* (q.v.).

****snaidō-*** f. '(cut off) chunk' — ON *sneið* f. 'id.', Far. *sneið* f. 'id.', Elfd. *snįeð* n. 'id.', OFri. *snēthe* f. 'id.', Du. *snee*, *snede* c. 'id.', MHG *sneite* f. 'road through a forest' (DRV).

Derived from **snīþan-* (q.v.).

****snaiwa-*** m. 'snow' — Go. *snaiws* m. 'id.', ON *snær*, gen. *snjóar* m. 'id.', Far. *snjógvur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *sniųo* m. 'id.', OE *snāw* m. 'id.', E *snow*, OS *snēo* m. 'id.', Du. *sneeuw* c. 'id.', OHG *snē(o)* m. 'id.', G *Schnee* m. 'id.' ⇒ **snoig^{wh}-o-* (IE) — OCS *sněgъ*, Lith. *sniẽgas*, Latv. *sniegs* m. 'snow' < **snoig^{wh}-o-*; Lat. *nix*, *nivis* f. 'id.' < **snig^{wh}-*.

An *o*-grade thematic noun derived from the strong verb **snīwan-* (q.v.).

****snakan-*** s.v. 'to crouch(?)' — ON *snaka* w.v. 'to rummage, snuff about', Nw. *snaka* s./w.v. 'to snuff, look for food; to snatch', OHG *snahhan* s.v. 'to crouch' ⇒ **snóg^{h}-e-* (GM).

The often compared Ir. *snaighid* 'to creep' could continue **snag$^{(h)}$-e-*, but runs the risk of being borrowed from e.g. Scot. *snaiken*, **snaigen* = ME

snīken, *snīgen* (see **sniggan-* 'snail'). The Germanic material at any rate points to a Pre-Gm. root **sneg*^{h}- (Kroonen 2011a: 333), cf. ON *snákr*, Far. *snákur*, Nw. *snåk* m. 'snake, viper' < **snēkan-* vs. MHG *snācke* m. 'midge', G *Schnake* m. 'midge, snake' < **snēggan-*. The formation **snakan-*, cf. OE *snaca* m. 'snake', MLG *snake* m./f. 'id.' (= Lith. *snãkė*) is recent.

snawwa- adj. 'bald' — ON *snøggr* adj. 'short; short-haired; sudden', Far. *snøggur* adj. 'with short hair, smooth; bald' ⇒ **ksnou-ó-* (IE) — Skt. *kṣṇáuti* 'to whet, to sharpen' < **ksnēu-*; YAv. *hu-xšnuta-* adj. 'well-sharpened' < **ksnu-to-*; Lat. *novācula* f. 'knife, razor, dagger' < **ksneu-eh$_2$-tleh$_2$-* (from a verb **novāre*).

The original meaning 'shaved' is supported by ON *snoðinn* adj. 'bald, shaved', MHG *be-snoten* adj. 'poor', the original participle of a strong verb **sneuþan-*, as well as OE *be-snyþþan* w.v. 'to rob' < **snuþjan-* and ON *snauðr* adj. 'naked, poor', MHG *snœde* adj. 'poor, weak', G *schnōde*, Du. *sneu* adj. 'miserable, sad' < **snauþu-*. Also cf. the secondary iterative Elfd. *snugga* w.v. 'to pull somebody's hair; to pluck' < **snuwwōn-*.

snerkan-* ~ *snerpan- s.v. 'to shrivel' — Icel. *snorkinn* adj. 'shrivelled, shrunken, wizened', Far. *snorkin* adj. 'lean (esp. of meat); scanty, scarce', Nw. *snerka*, *snerpa* s.v. 'to shrivel; to form a layer of ice', OE *ge-sneorcan* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *snerpen* w.v. 'to hurt, singe', OHG *snerfan* s.v. 'to shrivel', MHG *snerfen* s.v. 'id.' (GM).

Although the material points to two different proto-forms, i.e. **snerkan-* and **snerpan-*, the practically identical meanings of these two verbs suggest a common origin. Perhaps the original root was **snerg^{w}-*. It is conceivable, for instance, that the labiovelar developed into both **p* and **k^{w}* dependending on the phonetic context. For a similar interchange, cf. **werpan-* 'to be bent' and **werkan-* 'id.'. Also cf. ON *snarpr* adj. 'coarse; sharp' < **snarpa-* and the iterative Nw. *snurpa*, G Bav. *schnurfen* w.v. 'to shrivel' < **snurpōn-*.

snewan-* ~ *snūan- s.v. 'to rush' — Go. *sniwan* s.v. 'id.', ON *snúa* s.v. 'to turn', Far. *snúgva* s.v. 'to twist; to turn; to change', OE *snēowan* s.v. 'to rush' ⇒ **snéuH-*, **snuH-* (NEUR) — RuCS *snuti* 'to warp', Ru. *snovát'* (*snujú*) 'to warp, dash about', SCr. *snòvati* 'to warp' < **snouH-eh$_2$-*; Latv. *snaujis* m. 'noose' < **snouH-io-*.

A strong verb that in view of the ablaut of Go. *sniwan* and ON *snúa* (pret. *snera*) may go back to a root present: 3sg. **snéuH-ti*, 3pl. **snuH-énti*. Also cf. ON *snemma*, *snimma*, OS *sniumo*, OE *snēome* adv. 'fast' < **snew-mōt* (the cluster *-wm-* gave ON *-mm-*), the adverb to e.g. ON *snemmr*, OHG *sniumi* adj. 'fast'. This adjective, in turn, served as the basis for Go. *sniumjan* w.v. 'to

rush'. Further cf. ON *snúðr* m. 'twist, twirl; profit, gain', OE *snūd* m. 'rush' < **snuH-ti/o-*.

sniggan- m. 'snail' — Du. dial. *snigge* c. 'id.', OHG *snecko* m. 'id.', G *Schnecke* m. 'id.' (GM).

An *n*-stem derived from a strong verb **snīgan-*, cf. ME *snīgen*, variant of *snīken* (= OE *snīcan* s.v. 'to crawl, creep', E *to sneak*) or from the pertaining iterative G *schnecken* w.v. 'to crawl, creep', Rhnl. *schnicken* w.v. 'to sneak' < **snikkōn-* or **sniggōn-*. The root vowel of OHG *snecko*, G *Schnecke* must then have arisen by *a*-mutation, the unmutated form being continued by Du. dial. *snigge*. Swi. Visp. *šnækko* with *æ* < OHG **ē* or **ä₂* at any rate precludes a formation **snagjan-*, which would have given ***šnekko*. The diminutives ON *snigill*, OE *snægl, snegl*, OS *snegal, snegil* m. 'id.' point to some unrelated formations **snegila-*, *snegala-* and **snagila-* (cf. Lith. *snãkė*), and were possibly derived from a different strong verb **snakan-* (q.v.).

snīpōn-* ~ *snippōn- f. 'snipe' — ON *snípa* f. 'id.', Elfd. *snaipa* f. 'id.', OE *snīpe* f. 'id.', E *snipe*, OS *snippa* f. 'id.', MDu. *snippe, sneppe* f. 'id.', Du. *snip* c. 'id.', OHG *snepfo* m., *snepfa* f. 'id.', G *Schnepfe* f. 'id.' (GM).

A potentially ablauting *n*-stem nom. **snīpō*, gen. **snippaz* (cf. Kroonen 2011a: 247-250). It was derived from a word meaning 'beak, bill' (cf. Fr. *bécasse* 'snipe' from *bec* 'bill'), viz. MLG *snebbe, snibbe* f. 'id.' < **snibbōn-*, Far. *snippur* m. 'tip of the nose', G *Schnepf* m. 'tip, edge' < **snippa-*.

snittōn- w.v. 'to cut' — MHG *snitzen* w.v. 'id.', G *schnitzen* w.v. 'id.' (GM).

The iterative to **snīþan-* (q.v.).

snīþan- s.v. 'to cut' — Go. *sneiþan* s.v. 'id.', ON *sníða* s.v. 'id.', Far. poet. *sníða* s.v.(?) 'id.', OE *snīðan* s.v. 'id.', OFri. *snītha* s.v. 'id.', OS *snīthan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *snijden* s.v. 'id.', OHG *snīdan* s.v. 'id.', G *schneiden* s.v. 'id.' (GM).

A strong verb related to **snaidō-* and **snittōn-* (q.v.). Hardly related to Cz. *sněť* m. 'branch' < **snoit-o-* (Pokorny IEW: 974).

snīwan- s.v. 'to snow' — ON poet. *snýr* 3sg.pres. 'id.', Elfd. *snaja* s./w.v. 'id.', OE *snīwan* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *snuwen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *snīwan, snīan* s.v. 'id.', G *schneien* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **snéig^{wh}-e-* (IE) — YAv. *snaēžaiti* 'to snow', Gr. νείφει 3sg. 'id.' < **snéig^{wh}-e-*; Lat. *ninguit, -ere* 'id.' < **sni-n-g^{wh}-e-*.

A strong verb of IE origin. See also **snaiwa-*.

snōbri- adj. 'narrow' — ON *snœfr* adj. 'quick', Nw. dial. *snøvar* adj. 'short' ⇒ **snōb-ri-* (EUR) — Arm. *nurb* adj. 'thin, fine, delicate'.

A Germanic-Armenian isogloss (Olsen 1999: 80). Also cf. ON *snæfr* adj. 'narrow; quick', Far. *snævur* adj. 'narrow; steep' < **snēb^{h}r-i-*.

snōka- m. 'animal(?)' — Icel. *snókur* m. 'trunk, snout, snake', Nw. *snok* m. 'snout, snail', Sw. *snok* c. 'viper', MDu. *snoek* m. 'pike', Du. *snoek* c. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from the strong verb **snakan-* (q.v.).

snōtō- f. 'bride(?)' — ON *snót* f. 'woman' (GM).

Formally, the word looks like a derivation of Icel., Nw. *snatta* 'to steal' < **snattōn-*. Perhaps the original meaning was 'a stolen woman or bride', cf. the kenning *snótar vargr* 'the woman's wolf'), said of Þjazi, the abductor of the goddess Iðunn.

snutra- adj. 'clever, wise' — Go. *snutrs** adj. 'id.', ON *snotr* adj. 'id.', OE *snotor*, *snottor* adj. 'id.', OHG *snottar* adj. 'id.' (GM).

A *ra*-stem created to a marginal strong verb **snūtan-*, cf. MDu. *snuten* s.v. 'to sniff; to deceive'. Also cf. ON *snýta* w.v. 'to blow the nose; to destroy', Da. *snyde* w.v. 'to cheat', OE *snȳtan* w.v. 'to blow the nose', OHG *snūzen*, G *schneuzen* w.v. 'id.' < **snūtjan-*, which was derived from **snūtō-*, cf. MDu. *snute*, G *Schnauze*, E *snout*. The root-final *t* must be secondary in view of e.g. MHG *snūde* f. 'snot' < **snūþō-* and Far. *snodda* w.v. 'to sniff, nose, scent' < **snuddōn-*.

snuzō- f. 'daughter-in-law' — Go. Crim. *schnos* 'id.', ON *snør* f. 'id.', Icel. *snōr* f. 'id.', OE *snoru* f. 'id.', OFri. *snore* f. 'id.', MDu. *snore* f. 'id.', OHG *snur*, *snura* f. 'id.', G *Schnur* f. 'id.' ⇒ **snus-éh₂-* (IE) — Formally identical to Skt. *snuṣā́-* f. 'daughter-in-law', NP *suna* 'id.', Arm. *nu*, gen. *nuoy* 'id.', CS *snъxa*, Ru. *snoxá*, SCr. *snàha* f. 'id.' < **snus-eh₂-*; also cf. the more archaic feminine *o*-stem Gr. νυός f. 'id.' < **snus-o-* and the remodeled Lat. *nurus*, gen. *-ūs* f. 'id.' < **snus-uh₂-*.

An Indo-European kinship term. Note that ON *snør*, Icel. *snōr* developed from **snuzō-* by regular ʀ-mutation of *o*; it is unlikely that the manuscript form *snor*, which often features in the dictionaries (cf. Pokorny IEW: 978), points to non-umlauted ***snor*.

sōda- n. 'satiation' — Go. *soþ* m./n. 'id.' ⇒ **seh₂-tó-* (IE) — Lith. *sotùs* adj. 'satiated' < **seh₂-tu-* (also cf. OCS *sytъ*, Ru. *sýtyj*, SCr. *sît* adj. 'id.' with unclear **y* < **uH*); Lith. *sótis* f. 'satiation', OIr. *sáith*, *sáth* f. 'sufficiency' < **seh₂-ti-* (*-teh₂-*).

An ablauting formation to **sada-* (q.v.). Also cf. Go. *ga-soþjan*, OE *ge-sēdan* w.v. 'to satiate' < **sōdjan-*.

sōel-* ~ *sunnōn- n. 'sun' — Go. *sauil*, dat. *sunnin* n., *sunno* f. 'id.', ON *sól* f., *sunna* f. 'id.', Far. *sól* f. 'sun; moon', Elfd. *suol* f. 'sun', OE *sunne* f. 'id.', E *sun*, OFri. *sunne* f. 'id.', OS *sunna* f. 'id.', Du. *zon* c. 'id.', OHG *sunna* f. 'id.', G *Sonne* f. 'id.' ⇒ **séh₂u-l/n-* (IE) — Skt. *svàr-*, gen. *sū́ras* n. 'sun', OAv. *huuarə̄*, gen.

xᵛāŋg n. 'id.', YAv. *huuarə*, gen. *hū*, *hūrō* n. 'id.', NP *xwr* 'id.', Oss. *xur* / *xor* 'id.', Gr. ἥλιος, Dor. ἀέλιος m. 'id.', Lat. *sōl*, *sōlis* m. 'id.', OIr. *súil* f. 'eye', W *haul* m./f. 'sun', Lith. *sáulė* f. 'id.', OCS *slъnьce*, Ru. *sólnce*, SCr. *sûnce* n. 'id.'.

The IE word for 'sun', i.e. an old heteroclitic noun originally inflected as nom. **séh₂u-el*, gen. **sh₂-én-s* / **sh₂u-n-ós*. The heteroclisy was preserved by Germanic, and probably even remained intact in Gothic, cf. nom. *sauil*, dat. *sunnin*. The oblique cases are based on the genitive **sh₂u-n-ós*, which through **sūnós* would have given PGm. **sunaz* under Dybo's law. The resulting root **sun-* was replaced by **sunn-* probably on the basis of other *n*-stem paradigms, which had morphological gemination in the genitive. Note that the PGm. nominative **sōel* developed from **sōwel* by regular loss of the labial glide after **ō* in open syllables. See also **sunþera-*.

****sōkjan-*** w.v. 'to seek, find, demand' — Go. *sokjan* w.v. 'to quest, search, request', ON *sœkja* w.v. 'to fetch; to seek', Far. *søkja* w.v. 'to look, search for, fetch; to visit, ravage; to seek, obtain; *poet.* to accuse, charge; to sue, summon', Elfd. *syōtja* w.v. 'to look', OE *sēcan* w.v. 'to try to find, look for', OFri. *sēka* w.v. 'to try to find, visit; to charge, attack', OS *sōkian* w.v. 'to try to find; to claim', Du. *zoeken* w.v. 'to try to find', OHG *suohhen* w.v. 'to try to find, request', G *suchen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **seh₂g-ie-* (IE) — Gr. ἡγέομαι 'to direct, lead', Lat. *sāgīre* 'to perceive' < **seh₂g-(e)ie-*.

A verb related to **sakan-* (q.v.). It synchronically resembles a causative, but the *e*-grades of the Greek and Latin cognates as well as the non-causative meaning make such a formation unlikely.

****spadan-*** m. 'spade' — ON *spaði* m. 'id.', Far. *spaði*, *spaki* m. 'id.', Elfd. *spaði* m. 'id.', OE *spadu* f. 'id.' (< **spadō-*), E *spade*, OFri. *spada* m. 'id.', OS *spado* m. 'id.', Du. *spade* c. 'spade', G *Spaten* m. 'id.' ⇒ **sp̥h₂-dʰ-on-* (IE) — Gr. σπάθη f. 'tool of a weaver for striking home the threads of the woof, blade (of a sword, oar), spatula, flat rib (shoulder blade?)'; Skt. *sphyá-* m. 'shoulder-blade' < **sph₂-i-o-*.

A Germanic-Greek formation. The word seems to have come about as a compound of the roots **speh₂-* (cf. Gr. σπάω 'to draw, (e.g. a sword), to pull; to suck in, slurp down') and **dʰh₁-* 'to put'.

****spaikuldra/ō-*** n./f. 'saliva' — Go. *spaiskuldr* n. 'id.' (miswritten for **spaikuldr*?), OS *spēkaldra* f. 'id.', MDu. *speikeltre* f., *spekelter* m. 'id.', OHG *speihhaltra* f. 'id.', MHG *speicholter* f. 'id.' (DRV).

A derivative of an obscure verb **spaik(w)an-*, cf. Du. dial. *speken* 'to spit' (whence Du. *speek-sel* n. 'saliva' and MLG *spēke* f. 'id.'), which developed from **spóiHu-e-* by regular velarization of the laryngeal (cf. **taikwer-*). The derivation of the suffix **-uldra/ō-* is uncertain, but the formation **spaikuldra* may have been derived from a verb **spaikuljan-* (cf. MDu.

spekelen 'to spit') with the instrumental *dra*-suffix. OHG *spaihhilla*, G *Speichel* f. 'saliva' and EDu. *speeckel* can similarly be derived from **spaikulja-*. See also **spaitan-*.

spaitan- s.v. 'to spit' — OE Nrth. *spātan* s.v. (pret. *speoft*) 'id.' (IE).

An *o*-grade strong verb closely related to Nw. dial. *spita* s.v. 'to spurt, gush' < **spītan-*. The formation is only attested in Old English, but must be old in view of the reduplicated preterite *speoft*. It gave rise to OE *spāðl*, *spādl*, *spātl* n. 'saliva', ME *spōtel* 'id.', OFri. *spēdla*, *spēdel* m. 'id.', MLG *spēdel* < **spaiþla-* < **spait-þla-*. An iterative formation is possibly continued by G dial. *spetzen* (DWB: 16, 2196) and probably also indirectly by OE *spittan* w.v. 'to spit' < **spittjan-*. Formally and semantically close to **spīwan-* (q.v.).

spaldan- s.v. 'to split' — MDu. *spouden* s./w.v. 'id.', OHG *spaltan* s.v. 'id.', G *spalten* s./w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **spóld^{h}-e-* (GM).

An *o*-grade intensive verb related to **spelda/ō-*. No further etymology: unrelated to Skt. *páṭati* 'to burst'.

spannan- s.v. 'to stretch' — OE *spannan* s.v. 'to attach, fasten, clasp', E *to span*, OFri. *spanna* w.v. 'to fasten', OS *und-spannan* ptc. 'unstrung', Du. *spannen* s./w.v. 'to stretch, strain', OHG *spannan* s.v. 'to tighten', G *spannen* s.v. 'to strain, stretch' ⇒ **spond-ne-* (NEUR) — Lith. *spę́sti* (*spéndžiu*) 'to snare' < **spend-ie-*; Latv. *spanda* f. 'strap' < **spond-eh$_2$-*; OCS *spǫdъ* m. 'corn-measure, measure, peck' < **spond-o-*.

An *o*-grade intensive verb derived from a thematic nasal present: the Pre-Gm. stem **spond-n-* gave **spann-* through regular loss of the dental between two nasals. There is no compelling reason to assume laryngeal gemination in a root **sponh$_1$-*, cf. Lühr 1976: 80, who linked the verb to **spinnan-* (q.v.).

spara- adj. 'sparing, frugal' — ON *sparr* adj. 'id.', OE *spær* adj. 'id.', E *spare*, MDu. *spaer* adj. 'id.', OHG *spar* adj. 'sparse' ⇒ **sp̥h$_1$-ro-* (IE) — Etymologically identical to Skt. *sphirá-* adj. 'fat', Lat. *pro-sperus* adj. 'favorable, lucky'.

A PIE adjective. In view of the extra-Germanic cognates, the meaning seems to have shifted from 'rich' to 'frugal' in Germanic. PSl. **sporъ*, cf. CS *sporъ* adj. 'abundant', Ru. *spóryj* coll. 'successful, profitable', Cz. *sporý* 'substantial; weak, sparse', SCr. *spȏr* 'sluggish, slow', must have been borrowed from Germanic when this shift was not yet complete. Also cf. ON *spara*, OE *sparian*, OFri. *spara*, OS *sparon*, Du. *sparen*, OHG *sparēn*, *sparōn*, G *sparen* w.v. 'to spare, save' < **sparēn-*.

spar(r)an- m. 'bar, beam, rafter' — ON *spari*, *sparri* m. 'rafter, bar', OS *sparro* m. 'beam', Du. *dak-spar* c. 'rafter', OHG *sparro* m. 'bar', G *Sparren* m. 'rafter' ⇒ **sporH-on-* (EUR).

Also cf. ON, Far. *sperra* f. 'rafter' < **sparrjōn-* and ON *sparr* n. 'spear'. The variation between **sparan-* and **sparran-* probably results from the inflection of the noun as an *n*-stem: nom. **sparō*, gen. **sparraz* < **spórH-ōn*, **sporH-n-ós*. Related to **speru-* (q.v.).

****sparwa(n)-*** m. 'sparrow' — Go. *sparwa* m. 'id.', ON *spǫrr*, pl. *spǫrvar* m. 'id.', Icel. *spōr* m. 'id.', OSw. *sparver* m. 'id.', Da. *spurv* m. 'id.', OE *spearwa* m. 'id.', E *sparrow*, OHG *sparo* m. 'id.', MHG *spar(e)*, *sparwe* m. 'id.' ⇒ **psor-uo(n)-* (EUR) — Gr. ψάρ m. 'starling' < **psr-*.

A bird name possibly related to Gr. ψάρ. This nominative (with long ᾱ) presumably replaced the variant ψήρ (< **psēr*) on the basis of the original gen. **ψᾰρός* < **psr-os* (Beekes 2010: 1661). The metathesis of PIE **ps-* to PGm. **sp-* is regular (cf. **stelan-* < **tsél-e-*). Also cf. the diminutives MDu., MHG *sperlinc*, G *Sperling* m. 'id.' < **spar-linga-* and MHG *sperc*, *sperche* m./f. 'id.' < **sparika/ōn-*.

****spēdi-*** adj. 'late' — Go. *spediza* comp. 'id.', MDu. *spade* adj. 'id.', OHG *spāti* adj. 'id.', G *spät* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **speh₁-tí-* (DRV) — Lith. *spéti* (*spėju*) 'to be fast enough; to be able' < **speh₁-ie-*.

An adjective derived from **spōan-* (q.v.).

****spelda/ō-*** n./f. 'piece of wood' — Go. *spilda* f. 'tablet', ON *spjald* n. 'tablet, square', OE *speld* n. 'splinter, piece of wood', MHG *spelte* f. 'id.' (DRV).

An *e*-grade formation derived from **spaldan-* 'to split' (q.v.).

****spella-*** n. 'story, tale, legend' — Go. *spill* n. 'id.', ON *spjall* n. 'id.', OE *spell* n. 'id.', OS *spel* n. 'id.', ODu. *spel* n. 'id.', OHG *spel* n. 'id.' ⇒ **spel(H)-o-* (EUR) — Arm. *aṙa-spel* 'legend, proverb, riddle', Alb. *fjalē* f. 'word' < PIE **spel(H)-*.

Also cf. Go. *spillon* w.v. 'to recount, tell', ON *spjalla* w.v. 'to talk, mention', OE *spellian* w.v. 'to talk, tell', OHG *got-spellōn* w.v. 'to evangelize' < **spellōjan-*.

****spenan-*** m. 'nipple' — ON *speni* m. 'id.', Far. *spini* m. 'teat; penis' ⇒ **psten-on-* (IE) — Skt. *stána-* m. 'breast of a woman, nipple', YAv. *fštāna-* m. 'breast of a woman' < **pst-en-o-*; Arm. *stin* 'id.', Gr. Hsch. στήνιον n. 'breast' < **pst-ēn-*; OIr. *sine* m. 'teat, nipple', Lith. *spenỹs* m. 'id.' < **pst-en-io-*.

A formation continuing a hysterokinetic *n*-stem nom. **pst-én*, gen. **pst-n-ós*, acc. **pst-én-m*. The initial cluster was simplified to **sp-* in Germanic and Baltic.

speru- m. 'spear' — ON *spjǫr* n. 'id.', OE *spere* n. 'id.', E *spear*, OFri. *spere, spiri* m. 'id.', OS *sper* n. 'id.', Du. *speer* c. 'id.', OHG *sper* n. 'id.', G *Speer* m. 'id.' ⇒ **sperH-u-* (EUR) — Lat. *sparus* m. 'hunting-spear, javelin' < **sprH-o-*; ?Alb. *shpardh(ë)* m./f. 'kind of oak' < **sporH-* (plus a suffix *-dhë*).

A European word. The vocalization of the *r* in Latin points to a root-final laryngeal. See also **spar(r)an-*.

speuta- n. 'spear' — ON *spjót* n. 'id.', Far. *spjót* n. 'id.', Elfd. *spiuot* n. 'id.', OS *spiot* n. 'id.', MDu. *spiet* n. 'id.', OHG *spioz* m. 'id.', G *Spieß* m. 'id.' ⇒ **speud-o-* (EUR) — Gr. σπεύδω 'to hurry, strive, exert oneself', trans. 'to drive, aspire after' < **spéud-e-*; Lith. *spáusti* (*spáužiu*) 'to press' < **spoud-ie-*.

If the original meaning of **speuta-* was something driven into something, little objection can be found to the connection with Gr. σπεύδω and Lith. *spáusti*.

spika- m. 'bacon' — ON *spik* n. 'blubber', OE *spic* n. 'bacon, lard', OS *spek* n. 'id.', Du. *spek* n. 'id.', OHG *spec* m. 'id.', G *Speck* m. 'id.' ⇒ **spig-o-* (IE) — Skt. *sphij-* f. 'hip, buttock', Oss. *syʒ* / *siʒæ* 'backside, bottom' < **spig-*.

A word with cognates only in Indo-Iranian.

spila- n. 'play; game' — OFri. *spil, spel* n. 'id.', OS *spil* n. 'play; movement', Du. *spel* n. 'id.', OHG *spil* n. 'id.', G *Spiel* n. 'id.' (GM).

Also cf. the apparently denominal OE *spilian*, OS *spilon*, Du. *spelen*, OHG *spilōn*, G *spielen* w.v. 'to play' < **spilōjan-*. MHG *spilen* in the meaning of 'to move vividly' (*der wurm spilte gegen im als ein hunt*) and 'to shine' (*mīner ougen spilndez lieht*) rather points to a primary iterative. No certain etymology: the sometimes compared Latv. *spîlêt* 'to clamp, pinch' is semantically remote.

spinka(n)- m. 'finch' — ON *spiki* m. 'tit', Nw. *spikke* 'sparrow, small bird', Sw. *spink(e)* 'small bird, sparrow, finch' (> E dial. *spink* 'finch') ⇒ **spi(n)g-o-* (EUR?) — Gr. Hsch. σπίγγος 'small bird, finch', ?Skt. *phiṅgaka-* m. 'shrike' < **sping-o-*; Gr. σπίζω 'to twitter' < **spig-ie-*.

Possibly related to **finkja(n)-* 'finch'.

spinnan- s.v. 'to spin' — Go. *spinnan* s.v. 'id.', ON *spinna* s.v. 'id.', OE *spinnan* s.v. 'id.', E *to spin*, Du. *spinnen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *spinnan* s.v. 'id.', G *spinnen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **(s)pénh₁-ne-* (EUR) — Lith. *pìnti* (*pìnu*), Latv. *pît* 'to braid', Arm. *hanum* 'to weave, sow together' < **pnh₁-*.

An *n*-present to the PIE root **(s)penH-*. Also cf. ON, Far. *spuni* m. 'spinning', Elfd. *spuni* m. 'yarn' < **spunan-* < **spnH-on-*.

spīwan- s.v. 'to spit' — Go. *speiwan* s.v. 'id.', ON *spýja* s.v. 'to spew, vomit', Far. *spýggja* w.v. 'to belch forth, vomit', Elfd. *spaja* w.v. 'id.' (without *w*-mutation), OE *spīwan* s.v. 'to spew, vomit', E *to spew*, OFri. *spīa* s.v. 'to spit', OS *spīwan* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *spien, spuwen* s.v. 'id.', Du. *spuwen, spugen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *spīwan, spīan* s.v. 'to spit, vomit', G *speien* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ ***spéiHu-e-*** (IE) — Skt. *ṣṭhīvati* 'to spit, spit out', Gr. πτύω 'to spew, spit', Lat. *spuō, -ere* 'to spit', Lith. *spjáuti* (*spjáuna*) 'to spit', Latv. *spļaũt* 'id.', OCS *plьvati* (*pljuję*), 'id.', Ru. *plevát'* (*pljujú*) 'id.', SCr. *pljùvati* 'id.' < ***stpuH-ie-***; Arm. *t'uk'* 'saliva' < ***ptuH-o-***.

The Germanic forms almost unanimously point to a PGm. form ***spīwan-***; only *štewwu* in the Swiss dialect of Visperterminen points to ***stīwan-***. Although this variant is late and peripheral, the intra-Germanic variation is nevertheless strikingly parallel to the alternation of e.g. Skt. *ṣṭhīvati* (but see Lubotsky 2011: 117, who explains the form from ***skiHu-***). It is difficult to establish the original order of the initial cluster, but Gr. πτύω suggests that the IE root must be reconstructed as either ***sptiHu-*** or ***stpiHu-***. Note that the position of the laryngeal can be determined on the basis of MLG *speke* f. 'saliva' < ***spaikō-***, which has regular velarization of ***H*** between a resonant and ***u***. See further under ***spaikuldra/ō-***.

splītan- s.v. 'to split' — MDu. *spliten* s.v. 'id.', Du. *splijten* s.v. 'id.', MHG *splīzen* s.v. 'id.', G Bav., Pal. *spleißen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ ***spléid-e-*** (WEUR) — MIr. *slis* f. 'shaving(s), splinter(s)' < ***splid-ti-***.

A nasalized root is found in Nw. *splint* m. 'nail, peg', MDu. *splinte* f. 'chip of wood or metal', E *splint* < ***splinta/ō-*** and Du., E *splinter* < ***splintra-***.

splittōn- w.v. 'to split' — E *to split, splet*, Scot. *spleet* 'id.', WFri. *splitte* w.v. 'id.', MDu. *spletten, splitten* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ ***splid-néh$_2$-*** (WEUR).

The iterative to ***splītan-*** (q.v.). A frequentative in *r* is attested as MLG *splitteren* w.v. 'to crack', whence MHG *splitter*, G *Splitter* 'splinter, chippings' and G *zer-splittern* 'to crack, shatter'.

spōan- s.v. 'to succeed' — OE *spōwan* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *spoen* w.v. 'to strive for, look after', OHG *spuon* w.v. 'to succeed' ⇒ ***spóh$_1$-e-*** (IE) — Lat. *spēs* f. 'hope, expectation' < ***speh$_1$-***; Hitt. *išpai* ~ *išpiyanzi* 'to eat to satiation' < ***sph$_1$-ói-ei***, ***sph$_1$-i-énti*** (the basis of Skt. *sphāyātai* 3sg.subj.med. 'to become fat, increase' < ***sph$_1$-oi-e-***).

An *o*-grade strong verb to be reconstructed as ***spōan-*** (the ***-w-*** of OE *spōwan* is a hiatus filler). The color of the laryngeal is revealed by the related adjective ***spēdi-*** < ***speh$_1$-tí-***. Also cf. MDu. *spoet* adj. 'useful; soon' < ***spōda-***(?) and ***spōdi-*** 'success, progress'.

spōdi- f. 'success; speed' — OE *spēd* f. 'id.', E *speed*, MDu. *spoed* f. 'progress; success', Du. *spoed* f. 'rush', OHG *spuot* f. 'quality, velocity' (DRV).

A *ti*-stem created to the root of **spōan-* (q.v.).

spraidjan-* ~ *spraitjan- w.v. 'to spread, disperse' — Far. *spreiða* w.v. 'id.', OE *sprædan* w.v. 'id.', E *to spread*, MDu. *spreden*, *spreiden* w.v. 'id.', Du. *spreiden* w.v. 'id.', OHG *spreiten* w.v. 'id.', G *spreiten*, *spreizen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **sproit-éie-* (GM).

The causative to **sprīþan-* (q.v.). The **t* of G *spreizen* was adopted from the iterative *spritzen*, for which see **sprit(t)ōn-*.

sprangjan- w.v. 'to make jump, to make burst' — ON *sprengja* w.b. 'to make burst', Far. *spreingja* w.v. 'to blow up; to overwork someone', Elfd. *spraindja* w.v. 'to blast; to crack, break open', OE *sprengan* w.v. 'to spring', OFri. *sprenza* w.v. 'to sprinkle', OHG *sprengan* w.v. 'to make jump; to sprinkle', G *sprengen* w.v. 'to blast; to break; to gallop' (DRV).

A causative derived from **spring/kan-* (q.v.).

sprekan- s.v. 'to speak' — OE *sprecan*, *specan* s.v. 'id.', E *to speak*, OFri. *spreka* s.v. 'id.', OS *sprekan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *spreken* s.v. 'id.', OHG *sprehhan* s.v. 'id.', G *sprechen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **sprégʰ-e-* (NEUR) — Lith. *spragéti* (*spragù*) 'to crackle, sputter', Latv. *sprâgt* 'id.' < **sprogʰ-ehɪ-*; unrelated to Skt. *sphūrjáyati* 'to crackle, roar', Gr. σφαραγέομαι 'to crackle, sizzle' < **sbʰrh₂ǵ-eie-*.

A strong verb whose root-final **k* was adopted from the pertaining iterative **spurkōn-* (q.v.). The remarkable variation between OE *sprecan* and *specan* may have resulted from an *Anlaut* alternation in the original preterite conjugation 3sg. **sprake*, 3pl. **spurkun* < **sprog-e*, **sprg-nt*, which was later replaced by a class V strong verb, cf. OE *sp(r)ecan*, pret. *sp(r)æc*, *sp(r)æcon*, ptc. *sp(r)ecen*). Alternatively, the variant **spekan-* may have come about under the influence of the aforementioned iterative. It in turn gave rise to other forms without initial *r*, cf. OE *spæc* (beside *spræc*) m. 'slender twig', OHG *spahho* m., *spahha*, MHG *spache*, MDu. *spake* f. 'chip, dry twig' < **spaka(n)-*, **spakōn-*. Note that the old verbal *Schwebeablaut* is further substantiated by the alternation of ON *spraka* w.v. 'to crackle' (also note *spraki* m. 'rumor'), MDu. *spraken* w.v. 'to sparkle' < **sprakōn-*, E dial. *sprag* 'twig' < **spraggan-*(?) vs. OE *spearca* m. 'spark', MDu. *sparke* f. 'id.' < **sparka/ōn-*. Icel. and Far. *spreka* are Low German loanwords. See also **sprēkō-* 'speech' (q.v.).

sprēkō- f. 'speech' — OE *sprǣc*, *spǣc* f. 'id.', E *speech*, OFri. *sprēka*, *sprētze* f. 'id.', OS *sprāka* f. 'id.', Du. *spraak* c. 'id.', OHG *spāhha* f. 'id.', G *Sprache* f. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from **sprekan-* (q.v.).

spreutan- ~ *sprūtan- s.v. 'to bud, sprout' — OE *ā-sprūtan* s.v. 'id.', E *to sprout*, OFri. *sprūta* s.v. 'id.', MLG *sprēten, sprūten* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *spruten* s.v. 'id.', Du. *spruiten* s.v. 'id.', MHG *spriezen* s.v. 'id.', G *sprießen* s.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A strong verb back-formed to the iterative **sprut(t)ōn-* (q.v.). Also cf. Go. *sprauto* adv. 'fast'.

spring/kan- s.v. 'to break out, leap' — ON *springa* s.v. 'to spring; to spurt out; to burst, break', Icel. *springa, sprinka* s.v. 'id.', Far. *springa* s.v. 'to leap, jump; to burst, explode', Elfd. *springga* s.v. 'to grow', OE *springan, sprincan* w.v. 'to spring, burst out; to grow', E *to spring*, OFri. *springa* s.v. 'to spring; to jump, leap, run', OS *springan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *springen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *springan* s.v. 'to jump, gush, flow', G *springen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **spré-n-gʰ-e-* (IE) — Skt. *spṛhayati* 'to be eager, strive after, desire' < **sprǵʰ-eie-*; OAv. *aspərəzatā* 3sg.(?) 'to strive after' < **sp(e)rǵʰ-*; Gr. σπέρχω, σπέρχομαι 'to come rushing in, huddle, be upset, be impassioned' < **spérǵʰ-e-*.

A nasal present **springan-* to an IE root **spreǵʰ-*, which is to be separated from **spregʰ-* as continued by **spurkōn-* 'to roast' and MDu. *sprink* f. 'spark' < **springō-*. The root-final *k* of OE *sprincan* as well as Icel. *sprinka* is likely to have arisen under the influence of an iterative **sprunkōn-* < **sprngʰ-néh₂-*. Without the nasal, cf. LG *sprick* n. 'dead wood', E *sprig* 'twig' < **sprikka- / *sprigga-*. See also **sprangjan-*.

sprit(t)ōn- w.v. 'to disperse' — Nw. *sprita* w.v. 'id.', G *spritzen* w.v. 'to squirt; to become dispersed' ⇒ **sprit-néh₂-* (GM).

The iterative to **sprīþan- ~ *sprītan-* (q.v.).

sprīþan- ~ *sprītan- s.v. 'to break up, become scattered' — OHG *sprīzan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *sprīden, sprīten* s.v. 'to spread' ⇒ **spréit-e-* (GM).

A strong verb apparently continuing a Pre-Gm. root **spreit-*. The form **sprītan-* was influenced by the iterative. See also **spraidjan- ~ *spraitjan-*.

sprut(t)ōn- w.v. 'to sprout' — EDu. *sprotten* w.v. 'id.', G *sprossen* w.v. 'to germinate' ⇒ **sprud-néh₂-* (EUR) — Lith. *spráusti* (*spráudžiu*) 'to force in' < **sproud-ie-*; W *ffrwst* m. 'rush' < **sprud-tu-*(?).

The iterative belonging to the strong verb **spreutan- ~ *sprūtan-* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *sproti*, OE *sprota*, OHG *sprozzo* m. 'shoot' < **sprutan-*.

spurdi- f. 'track, course' — Go. *spaurds* f. 'id.', OE *spyrd* m. 'id.', OHG *spurt* m. 'id.' ⇒ **sprdʰ-i-* (IE) — Hitt. *išparzizi* 'to escape, get away', Skt. *spárdhate* 'to contend', Arm. *sprdem* 'to escape' < **spérdʰ-*; Skt. *spṛdh-* f. 'contest, fight', OAv. *spərəd-* f. 'zeal, alacrity' < **sprdʰ-*.

An *i*-stem created to the PIE root present 3sg. **spérd^{h}-ti*, 3pl. **sprd^{h}-énti*.

spurjan- w.v. 'to follow a track' — ON *spyrja* w.v. 'to track, trace; to investigate; to ask', OE *spyrian* w.v. 'to track; to enquire, investigate', OFri. *spera* w.v. 'to investigate; to probe', Du. *speuren* w.v. 'to investigate', OHG *spurren* w.v. 'to trace; to sense', G *spüren* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A factitive derived from ON *spor*, OE *spor*, OHG *spor* n. 'track, trace' < **spura-*, which in turn was derived from the strong verb **spurnan-* (q.v.).

spurkōn- w.v. 'to crackle, frizzle, roast(?)' — Du. Flem. *spokken* ~ *sporken* w.v. 'to roast' ⇒ **sprg^{h}-néh$_2$-* (NEUR) — Identical to Lith. *spirgìnti* 'to fry, frizzle' < **sprg^{h}-neh$_2$-*.

An iterative that in view of the Pre-Gm. root being **spreg^{h}-* must have affected the root-final consonantism of the pertaining strong verb **sprekan-* (q.v.). Flem. *sporken* 'to roast' directly continues **sprg^{h}-néh$_2$-*, the proto-form that also underlies Lith. *spirgìnti*. The variant *spokken* ('to roast, crackle, break open') was probably influenced by the strong verb alternant **spekan-* (cf. E *to speak*), which itself lost its **r* under the influence of the same iterative. Also cf. G *sprock*, MDu. *sproc* adj. 'brittle (esp. of twigs)' < **sprukka-* and MHG *spach* adj. 'dry' < **spaka-*.

spurnan- s.v. 'to kick, spurn' — ON *sperna*, *sporna* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *spienna* s.v. 'id.', OE *spornan* s.v. 'id.', E *to spurn*, OFri. *spurna* w.v. 'id.', OS *spurnan* s.v.(?) 'id.', OHG *spurnan* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **spr-nH-e-* (IE) — Lat. *spernō*, *-ere* 'to kick' < **spér-nH-e-*; Hitt. *išparrai* ~ *išparranzi* 'to trample' < **sprH-oi-*; Skt. *sphuráti* 'to push away with the foot' < **sprH-é-*; YAv. *sparōiṯ* 3sg.opt.pres. 'to tread', NP *sipurdan* 'to tread, step, trample down', Oss. *æfsæryn* / *æfsærun* 'to kick down; to step with the foot' < **spérH-e-*; Gr. σπαίρω 'to twitch, flaunce', Lith. *spìrti* (*spiriù*) 'to kick, push' < **sprH-ie-*; MIr. *seir* f. 'heel', MW *ffer* m./f. 'ankle' < **sperH-eh$_2$-*.

A strong zero-grade nasal present to the PIE root **sperH-*: the form **spurnan-* was replaced by the full-grade **spernan-* in Nordic. Like Skt. *sphuráti*, this formation was probably derived from a root aorist 3sg. **spérH-t*, 3pl. **sprH-ént*. See also **spurjan-*.

staba- m. 'staff; letter' — Go. *stabos* m.pl. 'letters', ON *stafr* m. 'staff; stave', Far. *stavur* m. 'post, stick; letter', Elfd. *stav* m. 'staff', OE *stæf* m. 'staff, stick; letter', E *staf*, *stave*, OFri. *stef* m. 'staff', Du. *staf* c. 'id.', OHG *stap* m. 'id.', G *Stab* m. 'id.' ⇒ **stab^{h}-o-* (EUR) — Possibly identical to OIr. *sab* m. 'shaft, pole', Lith. *stābas* m. 'post'.

The correspondence of Celtic *a* with Baltic *a* points to original **a* rather than **o*. Also cf. Nw. *stavar* m. 'tree-stump', Sw. *staver* 'fencepost', ODa. *stavær* 'id.' and OCS *stoborъ* m. 'pillar' < **stab^{h}-oro-*.

stadi- m./f. 'place, town' — Go. *staþs* m. 'id.', ON *staðr* m. 'id.', Far. *staður* m. 'id.', Elfd. *stað*, pl. *stäðer* m. 'id.', OE *stede* f. 'id.', E *stead*, OFri. *sted* f. 'id.', OS *stad* f. 'id.', Du. *stad* f. 'city', OHG *stat* f. 'place', G *Stadt* f. 'city' ⇒ **sth₂-tí-* (IE) — Skt. *sthíti-* f. 'standing', Av. *stāti-* f. 'id.', Gr. στάσις f. 'id.' < **st(e)h₂-ti-*.

A *ti*-stem derived from the root of **stēn-* (q.v.).

stahla- n. 'steel' — ON *stál* n. 'id.', Far. *stál* n. 'id.', Elfd. *stål* n. 'id.', ODu. *stāl* 'id.', Du. *staal* n. 'id.', OHG *stahal* m. 'id.', G *Stahl* m. 'id.' (NEUR) — OPru. *pannu-staclan* 'fire striker'.

Also cf. the Saxonic collective OS *stehli*, OE *stiele*, E *steel* < **stahlja-*. The only extra-Germanic *comparandum*, OPru. *-staclan* < **stoklo-*, is usually adduced to support the PGm. reconstruction **stahla-*. The cluster *-cl-* can also have developed from *-tl-*, however, and thus allows for the alternative reconstruction of the Germanic form as **staþla-*. For the change of PGm. **-þla-* to PNWGm. **-hla-*, cf. **maþla-*. No further etymology. Hardly related to Av. *staxra-* adj. 'strong' < **stok-ro-*.

staina- m. 'stone' — Go. *stains* m. 'id.', ON *steinn* m. 'id.', Far. *steinur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *stie* m. 'id.', OE *stān* m. 'id.', E *stone*, OFri. *stēn* m. 'id.', OS *stēn* m. 'id.', Du. *steen* c. 'id.', OHG *stein* m. 'id.', G *Stein* m. 'id.' ⇒ **stoiH-no-* (EUR/IE?) — OCS *stěna*, Ru. *stená* f. 'wall' < **stoih₂-neh₂-*; Gr. στία f., στῖον n. 'small stone, pebble' < **stih₂-io/eh₂-*.

A *no*-stem created to the PIE root **steih₂-* 'to stiffen', cf. Skt. *styáyate* 'to coagulate' < **sth₂-i-oi-e*, which seems to be derived from an *i*-present to **steh₂-* 'to stand'.

stakan- m. 'pole, post' — OE *staca* m. 'id.', E *stake*, MDu. *stake* m. 'id.', Du. *staak* c. 'id.' ⇒ **stogʰ-on-* (EUR) — Gr. στόχος m. 'brick pillar' < **stogʰ-o-*; Lith. *stãgaras* m. '(dry) stalk, switch' < **stogʰ-oro-*?

An *n*-stem possibly derived from **stekan-* 'to stick' (q.v.). Alternatively, it is possible to reconstruct a purely nominal formation inflected as nom. **stagō*, gen. **stakkaz* < **stogʰ-ōn*, **stogʰ-n-ós* (with generalization of the oblique consonantism). Also cf. **stakka-*.

stakka- m. 'haystack' — ON *stakkr* m. 'stack of hay; cape', Far. *stakkur* m. 'high rock with flat top; pile (of dried cod)', Elfd. *stakk* m. 'pile, bunch' ⇒ **stogʰ-no-* (EUR) — OCS *stogъ*, Ru. *stog*, SCr. *stôg* m. 'haystack, pile' < **stogʰ-o-*.

A word with close cognates in Slavic. See also **stakan-*.

stalla- m. 'standing, stand, stall, stable' — ON *stallr* m. 'pedestal, support; crib, manger', Far. *stallur* m. 'rock; foundation; manger', Elfd. *stoll* n. 'stable', OE *steall* m. 'position, place', E *stall*, OFri. *stal* m. 'stall in a stable; standing',

Du. *stal* m. 'stable; stand; stall', OHG *stal* m. 'id.', G *Stall* m. 'id.' ⇒ **sth₂-dʰlo-* (IE) — Formally identical to Lat. *stabulum* n. 'stable, shed', MW *stadl,ystadl* 'position'.

An instrumental noun created to the root **steh₂-* 'to stand', for which see **stēn-*. Closely related to also **staþla-* (q.v.). Also cf. OE *stellan*, OS *stellian*, (OH)G, Du. *stellen* 'to put' < **stalljan-*.

****stamma-*** adj. 'stammering' — Go. *stamms* adj. 'id.', ON *stammr* adj. 'id.', OE *stamm* adj. 'id.', OHG *stam* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **stomH-nó-* (NEUR) — Lith. *stùmti* (*stumiù*) 'to shove, push' < **stmH-ie-*.

An *o*-grade adjective to an unattested strong verb **stimman-*, cf. the **stammjan-*: ON *stemma*, MHG *stemmen* 'to stem, stop, dam up'. See also **stumma-*.

****stamp/bōn-*** w.v. 'to compress' — ON *stappa* w.v. 'to mash, stamp', Far. *stappa* w.v. 'to stuff, compress, squeeze', Elfd. *stampa* w.v. 'to stamp', MDu. *stampen* w.v. 'to stamp, trample', Du. *stampen* w.v. 'to trample', OHG *stampfōn* w.v. 'to stamp, press, beat', G *stampfen* w.v. 'to stamp, stump, ram' ⇒ **stomp-néh₂-* (NEUR) — Close to the iterative-intensive verb OCS *stǫpiti* 'to tread', SCr. *stúpiti* 'to step' < **stomp-eie-*.

The formations continue both an iterative verb in ablaut with Du. *stompen* w.v. 'to punch' < **stumpōn-* and a denominative verb **stampōjan-* derived from OS *stamp*, OHG *stampf* m. 'bray' < **stampa-*. Cf. also OE *stempan* 'to bray in a mortar', WFri. *stimpe*, *stimpje* w.v. 'to staunch; stamp', MDu. *stempen* w.v. 'to stop, staunch; to stamp', MHG *stempfen* w.v. 'to stamp, punch' < **stampjan-*. No extra-Gm. cognates. The verb cannot be related to Gr. στέμβω 'to shake about, agitate; to misuse, handle roughly' in view of G Lorr. *stampen* w.v. 'to stamp; to tread' and Swab. *stampern* w.v. 'to go back and forth' < **stambōn-*. Perhaps it simply represents a nasalized variant of **stapp/bōn-* (q.v.).

****standan-*** s.v. 'to stand' — Go. *standan* s.v. 'id.', ON *standa* s.v. 'id.', Far. *standa* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *standa* s.v. 'id.', OE *standan* s.v. 'id.', E *to stand*, OFri. *stonda* s.v. 'id.', OS *standan* s.v. 'id.', OHG *stantan* s.v. 'id.' (IE).

A verb in suppletion with **stēn-* (q.v.). The present root **stand-* was created on the basis of the 3pl. pres. **stanþi* < **sth₂-énti* and the 3pl. pret. **stunþ*, the latter continuing the PIE 3pl. aor. **sth₂-nt*. The 3sg. aor. **stéh₂-t* developed into **stōþ*, and gave rise to the secondary plural **stōdun* by Verner's law after the merger of the aorist with the perfect tense (Kortlandt 1989: 102). It follows that the verb largely arose by internally Germanic analogies, and did not start out as the nasal present it synchronically appears to be, cf. Go. *standan*, pret. *stoþ*, ptc. *standans*; ON *standa*, pret. *stóð*, ptc. *staðit*, Elfd. *standa*, pret. *stuoð*, ptc. *stendeð*. See also **stadi-*.

stangō- f. 'rod, bar' — ON *stǫng* f. 'id.', Far. *stong* f. 'id.', Elfd. *staungg* f. 'id.', MDu. *stange* f. 'id.', Du. *stang* f. 'id.', OHG *stanga* f. 'id.', G *Stange* f. 'id.' ⇒ **stong^{h}-eh$_2$-* (DRV).

Derived from **stingan-* (q.v.).

stap(p)an-* ~ **stapjan- s.v. 'to step, pace' — OE *stæppan, steppan* s.v. 'id.', E *to step*, OFri. *stapa, steppa* s.v. 'id.', OS pret. *stōp* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *stappen, steppen* s./w.v. 'id.', Du. *stappen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *stepfen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A strong verb alternating between **stapan-* (OFri. *stapa*), **stappan-* (OE *stæppan*, MDu. *stappen*) and **stapjan-* (OE *steppan*, OFri. *steppen*, OHG *stepfen*). In view of the root-final consonant alternation, it is likely to have been back-formed to the iterative **stapp/bōn-* (q.v.). Also cf. OE *stæppa*, OHG *stapf(o)* m., Du. *stap* c. 'step' < **stappa(n)-* and **stōpan-*.

****stapp/bōn-*** w.v. 'to walk' — Nw. *stabba* w.v. 'to stumble', Du. *stappen* w.v. 'to step', OHG *stapfōn* w.v. 'id.', MHG *stapfen, stappen, staben* w.v. 'id.', G *stapfen*, Rhnl. *staben* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **stop-néh$_2$-* (NEUR?) — OCS *stopa* f. 'footstep' < **stop-eh$_2$-*; OCS *stepenь* 'level' < **step-en-i-*; Lith. *stapýtis* 'to stay put' < **stop-eie-*.

An iterative verb, probably the derivational source of the strong verb **stap(p)an-* ~ **stapjan-* (q.v.). If the Balto-Slavic forms were not borrowed from Germanic, they point to a local European root **stop-*. The reconstruction of a formation 3sg. **stop-néh$_2$-ti*, 3pl. **stop-nh$_2$-énti* > PGm. **stappōþi*, **stabunanþi* at any rate accounts for all the attested forms. The positing of a root **stob-* (thus Pokorny IEW: 1011-3) is in disagreement with e.g. Nw. *stabba* and G dial. *staben*, however, and cannot be maintained.

****stara-*** adj. 'stiff' — MDu. *star* adj. 'id.', Du. *star* adj. 'id.', MHG *star, sterre* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **storh$_1$-o-* (DRV) — ToA *ṣtare* 'effort' < **storh$_1$-o-*.

An adjective to the root **sterh$_1$-* 'to be stiff'. See also **sturnēn-*.

****starfa-*** n. 'labor' — ON *starf* n. 'id.', Far. *starv* n. 'work, employment; pains, trouble, effor' ⇒ **storb^{h}-o-* (DRV).

Also cf. ON *starfa*, Far. *starva* 'to work', Nw. *starva* 'to toil' < **starbōjan-*. Derived from **sterban-* 'to be stiff' through a meaning 'to withstand, endure'.

****starka-*** adj. 'strong' — Icel. obs. *starkur* adj. 'healthy', OSw. *starker* adj. 'stiff, firm, solid, strong', Elfd. *stark* adj. 'strong', OE *stearc* adj. 'stiff, rigid, strong', E *stark*, OFri. *sterk* adj. 'strong', OS *stark* adj. 'strong, hostile', Du. *sterk* adj. 'strong', OHG *starah* adj. 'strong, big', G *stark* adj. 'strong, vigorous, severe' ⇒ **storg-o-* (NEUR) — Lith. *strė́gti* (*strė́giu*) 'to harden, congeal, freeze' < **streg-ie-*.

An *o*-grade adjective to a verbal root **sterg-*. ON *sterkr* with the same meaning probably cannot substantiate an ablauting form **sterka-*, because this would have become **stjarkr* with breaking. Magnússon 1989: 951 therefore reconstructs a *u*-stem **stǫrkr*, pl. **sterkir*. The attested form Icel. *stjarkur* adj. 'stiff' has its *j* from *stjarfur* adj. 'stiff; stubborn' < **sterba-* (for which cf. **sterban-*).

star(r)a(n)- m. 'starling' — ON *stari* m. 'id.', Icel. *star(r)i* m. 'id.', OE *stær* m. 'id.', E *starling*, OS *stara* f. 'id.' (< **starōn-*), MDu. *sterre* f. 'id.', OHG *star(o)* m. 'id.', G *Star* m. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂stor-on-* (EUR) — Lat. *sturnus* m. 'starling' < **h₂stor-no-*; Gr. Hsch. ἀστραλός 'id.' < **h₂str-lo-*; Cz. *sternad* 'bunting' < **h₂ster-n-*.

With the alternation of OHG *staro* and Icel. *starri*, the paradigm must probably be reconstructed as **starō*, gen. **starraz* < **h₂stór-ōn*, **h₂st(o)r-n-ós*. The zero-grade is found in the compound **aga-str-jōn-* 'magpie', for which see **ag/kkōn-*.

staþla- m. 'standing, shed' — OE *staðol* m. 'place, foundation', MDu. *stadel*, *stael* m. 'foundation of a dam', OHG *stadal* m. 'standing, shed' ⇒ **stʰ₂-tlo-* (IE) — Lat. *ob-stāculum* n. 'obstacle' < **steh₂-tlo-*.

An instrumental noun created to the root **steh₂-* 'to stand' (see **stēn-*). ON *stál* n. 'inside of a haystack', OE *stæl* n. 'place, foundation' appears to continue **stahla-*, which may be a PNWGm. variant of **staþla-* (cf. **maþla-*). See also **stalla-*.

staubjan- w.v. 'to make steam(?)' — MDu. *stoven* w.v. 'to steam, stew' (NEUR).

The causative to **steuban-* ~ **stūban-* (q.v.). OHG *stouben*, G *stäuben* w.v. 'to sprinkle, dust' is a factitive derived from OHG *stoup*, G *Staub* m. 'dust' < **stauba-*.

stauma- m. 'steam' — OE *stēam* m. 'id.', E *steam*, Du. *stoom* c. 'id.' ⇒ **stoubʰ-mo-* (DRV).

A *mo*-stem created to the root of **steuban-* ~ **stūban-* (q.v.). In heavy syllables, PGm. **b* was lost before **m*, cf. **hwalma-* and **hrīman-* ~ **hrīpan-*.

staupa- adj. 'steep' — OE *stēap* adj. 'id.', E *steep*, OFri. *stāp* adj. 'id.' (EUR).

An adjective derived from **stūpēn-* (q.v.). Cf. also ON *steypa* w.v. 'to throw down; to overthrow; to pour out, cast', OE *stīepan* w.v. 'to raise, elevate' < **staupjan-*.

staurjan- w.v. 'to disturb, destroy' — OFri. *to-stēra* w.v. 'id.', ODu. *storen* w.v. 'id.', EDu. *storen* w.v. 'to disturb', OHG *stōren, stōrren* w.v. 'to destroy', G *stören* w.v. 'to disturb, destroy' (NEUR?).

A factitive to PGm. **staura-*, cf. MDu. *stoor* m. 'destruction'. Also cf. OS *far-sturian* w.v. 'to subvert', OE *styrian* w.v. 'to be/put in motion, stir' < **sturjan-* and ON *styrr* m. 'stir, tumult, brawl', OE *ge-styr* n. 'motion, stir' < **(ga-)sturja-*. No certain etymology. The link with Latv. *stũrs* adj. 'stubborn, unruly' < **stuH-ro-*(?) is uncertain because this may be a Low German loanword. See also **sturma-* 'storm'.

stautan- s.v. 'to hit, jab, thrust' — Go. *stautan* s.v. 'id.', ON *stauta* w.v. 'id.', Far. *steyta* w.v. 'id.', OFri. *stēta* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *stoten* s.v. 'id.', Du. *stoten* s./w.v. 'id.', OHG *stōzan* s.v. 'id.', G *stoßen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **stóud-e-* (IE) — Alb. *shtyn* 'to shove, push' < **stud-n-ie-*.

An *o*-grade intensive verb. Usually, the formation is connected to Skt. *tudáti* 'to beat', OIr. *do-tuit* 'to crumble, fall' < **tud-é-* and Lat. *tundō, -ere* 'to strike, beat', Skt. *tundate* 'to push, stab' < **tu-n-d-e-*, but the connection with the Albanian form is more straightforward. See also **stut(t)ōn-*.

stekan- s.v. 'to stick' — OFri. *steka* s.v. 'id.', OS *stekan** s.v. 'id.', Du. *steken* s.v. 'id.', OHG *stechan* s.v. 'id.', G *stechen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **stig-e-* (IE) — Lat. *īnstīgō, -ere* 'to stimulate, set on, incite, rouse or urge' < **-steig-e-*.

A strong verb that appears to have developed from a zero-grade present **stikan-* < **stig-e-* after it was affected by *a*-mutation (cf. **hreþan-* and **sweþan-*). It received a secondary iterative **stukkōn-*, while the original was preserved as **stikkōn-*. Also cf. Go. *staks* m. 'scar' < **staka-* and **stakan-*.

stēki- adj. 'stinking' — Icel. *stækur* adj. 'id.', Nw. *stæk* adj. 'rancid' (DRV).

A *vr̥ddhi*-gerundive to **stinkwan-* 'to stink'. Apparently, the nasal of this verb was infixal.

stelan- s.v. 'to steal; to go stealthily' — Go. *stilan* s.v. 'to steal', ON *stela* s.v. 'to steal; steal upon', Far. *stjala* s.v. 'to steal', Elfd. *stjälå* s.v. 'to steal; to sneak', OE *stelan* s.v. 'to steal, go stealthily', E *to steal*, OFri. *stela* s.v. 'to steal', OS *stelan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *stelen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *stelan* s.v. 'id.', G *stehlen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **tsél-e-* (IE) — Skt. *tsárati* 'to approach stealthily, creep up on, sneak' < **tsél-e-*; Arm. *soł im* 'to crawl, creep; to steal, glide' < **tsol-*; OIr. *intled* f. 'snare, ambush; act of lying in wait, ambushing' < **-tsl-teh₂-*; Lith. *seléti* (*selù*) 'to lurk, sneak, prowl' < **tsel-eh₁-ie-*.

Existing etymologies all start from the meaning 'to steal' (cf. Pokorny IEW: 1028, who assumes a cross of the root **ster-* as in Gr. στερέω 'to rob' with **ḱel-* as in G *hehlen* 'to fence' < **helan-*). Within Germanic, it is clear, however, that the meaning 'to steal' developed from an older 'to sneak, go

stealthily', which is especially prominent in reflexive uses of the verb, cf. Icel. *stela-st*, Far. *stjala seg*, *stjala-st*, Elfd. *stjälå-s*, MDu. *hem stelen*, G *sich stehlen* and in the *k*-extension OE *be-stealcian*, E *to stalk*, OFri. *stolkens* 'hidden'. For this reason, PGm. **stelan-* is better linked to Skt. *tsárati* (Kroonen/Lubotsky 2009) < **tsel-* and Arm. *sołim* < **tsol-* (with *s-* < **ts-*). As in **steuban-* ~ **stūban-* 'to blow' (q.v.), the PIE initial cluster **ts-* was regularly metathesized to PGm. **st-*. See also **stullōn-*.

stēn- s.v. 'to stand' — Far. poet. *stá* suppl.v. 'id.', Nw. *stå* suppl.v. 'id.', OSw. *stā* suppl.v. 'id.', Sw. *stå* suppl.v. 'id.', Da. *stå* suppl.v. 'id.', OFri. *stān* suppl.v. 'id.', ODu. *stān* suppl.v. 'id.', Du. *staan* suppl.v. 'id.', MHG *stān*, *stēn* suppl.v. 'id.', G *stehen* suppl.v. 'id.' (IE).

A verb in suppletion with **standan-* (q.v.). The verb is not attested in the oldest Germanic languages, but its occurrence in both North and West Germanic suggests that it was present already in the proto-language (for the old age of the NGm. verb, cf. Nw. dial. (Selbu) *stå̄* with Proto-Norse nasalization). The reconstruction of the original form of the word poses several difficulties, however. Many of the forms can be derived from PGm. **stēn-*, i.e. a *verbum purum* or root present. This reconstruction can only be reconciled with the PIE root **steh₂-*, however, by positing a Narten-present 3sg. **stéh₂-ti*, 3pl. **stéh₂-nti* (PGm. **stēþi*, **stanþi*), which has no extra-Gm. counterpart. Another possibility would be to reconstruct **staja-*, i.e. an *i*-present 3sg. **sth₂-é/ói-ti*, 3pl. **sth₂-i-énti*. This paradigm would regularly give PGm. **staiþi* (= MHG *stēt*, G *steht*?), 3pl. **stajanþi*, but nevertheless fails to explain the rise of PNWGm. **stā-*, unless one is willing to accept a PGm. change **-aja-* > **-ā-* (Þórhallsdóttir 1993: 35-6). Inspecting the modern dialects does not help much. Swi. Appenzell 3sg. *štōd*, 3pl. *štẽnt*, *štēnd* probably points to **stēþi*, **stēndi*, but the lack of umlaut in the singular and its presence in the plural is the opposite of what is expected. In Dutch, Stellingwerf *staon* (with *ao* < PGm. **ē*) points to **stē-*, but Sliedrecht *staon* (with *ao* from lengthened **a*) to **sta-*. Anyhow, Seebold 1970: 464-5 probably correctly starts from **stēn-* adopting the view that it arose due to analogy to **gēn-* 'to go'.

sterban- s.v. 'to become stiff, die' — OE *steorfan* s.v. 'to die', E *to starve*, OFri. *sterva* s.v. 'id.', OS *sterƀan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *sterven* s.v. 'id.', OHG *sterban* s.v. 'id.', G *sterben* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **stérbʰ-e-* (EUR) — Gr. Hsch. στέρφνιος adj. 'hard, firm' < **sterbʰ-nio-*; Ru. *stérbnut'* 'to become solid or hard, to die' < **strbʰ-neu-*; Lith. dial. *strabnùs* adj. 'diligent' < **strobʰ-nu-*.

A strong verb to a European root **sterbʰ-* 'to be(come) stiff', whence 'to die'. See also **starka-*.

sterōn- f. 'sterile woman' — Go. *stairo* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ster-ieh₂-* (IE) — Skt. *starī́-* f. 'heifer', Arm. *sterǰ* 'infertile', Gr. στεῖρα f. 'infertile cow', Alb. *shtjerrē* f. 'kid, lamb'; also cf. Lat. *sterilis* adj. 'infertile' < **ster-elo-*.

An IE word for 'infertile one'. Also cf. MHG *sterke*, G *Stārke* f. 'young cow' < **sterkōn-*. Also cf. the ablauting *n*-stem OHG *stero*, MHG *stere*, *sterre* m. 'ram', G *Storre* m. 'gelded stallion' < **sterō*, **sturraz* < **ster-ōn*, **str-n-ós* (Kroonen 2011a: 189-90).

ster(r)a/ōn- m./f. 'star' — Go. *stairno* f. 'id.', ON *stjarna* f. 'id.', Far. *stjørna* f. 'id.', Elfd. *stienna* f. 'id.', OE *steorra* m. 'id.', E *star*, OFri. *stera* m. 'id.', WFri. *stjer* c. 'id.', OS *sterro* m. 'id.', Du. *ster* c. 'id.', OHG *sterro*, *sterno* m. 'id.', G *Stern* m. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂stér-on-* (IE) — Hitt. *ḫašter-* c. 'star', ToA *śre*, ToB *śćirye* 'id.', Skt. *stár-*, nom.pl. *tā́raḥ*, inst.pl. *stṛ́bhiḥ* 'id.', OAv., YAv. *star-* m. 'id.', NP *sitāra* 'id.', Oss. *st'aly* / *(æ)st'alu* 'id.', Gr. ἀστήρ, -έρος m. 'id.', OIr. *ser*, W *seren* 'id.' < **h₂ster-*; Arm. *astł* 'id.', Lat. *stēlla* f. 'id.' < **h₂ster-l-eh₂-*.

The PIE hysterokinetic *r*-stem **h₂stḗr*, gen. **h₂st-r-ós* gave rise to an *n*-stem **h₂stér-ōn*, gen. **h₂ster-n-ós* in Germanic. This paradigm developed into **sterōn*, **sterraz* with a stem alternation of **ster-* (OFri. *stera*) and **sterr-* (OS, OHG *sterro*). Gothic and Nordic have a secondary variant **sternōn-* which like OHG *sterno* < **sternan-* reintroduced the *n*-suffix from the cases where it was not assimilated by Kluge's law. The IE etymology of the word is disputed. Some have derived it from the root **h₂h₁s-* 'to burn' with a *ter*-suffix (cf. Mallory/Adams 2006: 129; Pinault 2007), but it is not implausible either that the word was borrowed from Semitic **ᶜaṯtar-* '(star) goddess, Venus', cf. Akk. *ištar*, Hebr. *ᶜaštōreṯ*, SArab. *ᶜṯtr*, as has been assumed in older scholarship.

steuban-* ~ *stūban- s.v. 'to blow; to fly about' — MDu. *stuven*, *stieven* s.v. 'id.', Du. *stuiven* s.v. 'id.', OHG *stioban* s.v. 'id.', G *stieben* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **tséubʰ-e-* (NEUR) — Close to Lith. *siaũbti* (*siaubiù*, *-iaũ*) 'to dash about' < **tséubʰ-ie-*.

A verb that is usually derived from a PIE root **steubʰ-*, and which accordingly has been linked to e.g. Gr. στυφελίζω 'to strike, dash, beat, drive away' (Franck 1946: 681). Since, however, PIE **ts-* was regularly metathesized to **st-* in Germanic, cf. **stelan-* 'to steal' < **tsél-e-*, it is much more likely that **steuban-* together with Lith. *siaũbti* 'to dash about' developed from PIE **tseubʰ-*. See also **stauma-* and **stubju-*.

steura- m. 'bull' — Go. *stiur* m. 'id.', OE *stēor* m. 'id.', E *steer*, ODu. *stier* m. 'id.', Du. *stier* c. 'id.', OHG *stior* m. 'id.', G *Stier* m. 'id.' (NIE).

A word of uncertain origin. It is usually connected to Av. *staora-*, but this term may have been derived from **steh₂uro-* 'big' (cf. **stōra-* ~ **stura-*). Another possibility is to link the word to **þeura-* (q.v.) with the same meaning, but the required assumption of both ablaut with extra-Gm. **tauro-*

and *s-mobile* makes this connection problematic. Starting from the idea that the word was absorbed from a pre-Indo-European language, the different onsets of **steura-* and **þeura-* can be accounted for by assuming irregular sound substitution of e.g. **þ*. A non-IE origin is further supported by the meaning of the word, which falls into the semantic field of agriculture and cattle breeding.

steurjan- w.v. 'to direct' — Go. *stiurjan* w.v. 'to establish', ON *stýra* w.v. 'to steer; to manage, rule', Far. *stýra* w.v. 'id.', OE *stīeran* w.v. 'id.', OFri. *stiūra* w.v. 'to steer; to detain', OS *gi-stiurian* w.v. 'to show the way', Du. *sturen* w.v. 'to steer; to direct, send', OHG *stiurren* w.v. 'to support; to steer, direct; to regulate', G *steuern* w.v. 'to steer; to govern' (GM).

Probably a factitive to a noun, e.g. **steurō-* as retrieved from OE *stēor* f. 'direction, guidance; rule, regulation; correction, punishment', OHG *stiura* f. 'steering-oar; post, support'. Also cf. ON *stýri* n. 'helm, rudder' < **steurja-*. No clear etymology. The received connection with Skt. *sthāvará-* adj. 'standing, firm, thick' (cf. Lehmann 1986: 326) is impossible, as this adjective belongs to **stōra-* ~ **stura-* < **st(e)h₂u-ro-*.

stīgan- s.v. 'to ascend' — Go. *steigan* s.v. 'id.', ON *stíga* s.v. 'to step, tread', Far. *stíga* s.v. 'id.', Sw. *staiga* s.v. 'id.', OE *stīgan* s.v. 'to go; to ascend, mount', OFri. *stīga* s.v. 'to ascend', OS *stīgan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *stijgen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *stīgan* s.v. 'id.', G *steigen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **stéigʰ-e-* (EUR) — Gr. στείχω 'to march, rise, draw, go', Lith. *steĩgti* 'to organize', dial. 'to hurry' < **stéigʰ-e-*; OCS *po-stignǫti* 'to attain, catch up with, grasp', Ru. *po-stígnut'* 'to grasp, overtake', SCr. *stȉgnuti* 'to catch up with, reach, arrive' < **steigʰ-ne-*; Gr. στοίχος m. 'line, row', Alb. *shteg* m. 'foot-way, path' < **stoigʰ-o-*.

A strong verb to a European root **steigʰ-*. See also **stihti-*.

stihti- f. 'track' — ON *stétt* f. 'pavement; degree, rank', Nw. *stætt* f. 'position, standing', Du. dial. *sticht* f. 'road; stile' (DRV).

A *ti*-stem to the strong verb **stīgan-* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *stéttr* m. 'base' < **stihta-*.

stija- n. 'sty' — ON *stí* n., *stía* f. 'sty, kennel', Icel. *stía* f. 'id.', Far. *stíggj* n. 'sty, paddock', OE *stig*, *stī* n. 'sty', E *sty*, MDu. *stije* f. 'id.', OHG *stīga* f. 'id.', MHG *stīje*, *stīge* f. 'id.' (NEUR?) — Lith. *stáinė* f. 'stable' < **steh₂-in-ieh₂-*.

No certain etymology. Perhaps related to the aforementioned Lithuanian word and thus derived from **stēn-* 'to stand' (q.v.).

stik(k)ōn- w.v. 'to stick' — OE *stician* w.v. 'to stick', E *to stick*, MDu. *sticken* w.v. 'to stick, fix' ⇒ **stig-néh₂-* (IE) — Skt. *stignóti* 'to assail' (Lubotsky 2008b) < **stig-néu-* (for older **stignắti* < **stig-néh₂-*?).

The iterative to **stekan-* (q.v.), which developed from older **stikan-* by *a*-mutation. The original paradigm 3sg. **stig-néh₂-ti*, 3pl. **stig-nh₂-énti* regularly gave PGm. **stikkōþi*, **stikunanþi*, which explains the root variation found throughout the West Germanic dialects. Also cf. OHG *steckēn* w.v. 'to stick' < **stikkēn-* and OE *sticca* m. 'stick, peg', E *stick* < **stikkan-*.

****stimbiza-*** n. 'firmness' — Far. *stimbur* n. 'strength, firmness, solidity' ⇒ **stémbʰ-es-* (IE) — Skt. *stabhnáti* 'to prop up' < **stmbʰ-néh₂-*; YAv. *staβra-* adj. 'strong, firm', MP *stabr* adj. 'strong, big' < **stmbʰ-ro-*.

A thematicized *s*-stem created to the PIE root **stembʰ-* 'firm', cf. Skt. *stabhnáti*, etc. There probably cannot be a link with Gr. ἀστεμφής 'unshaken, firm, calm', which in view of Hsch. ἀστεμβής 'id.' seems to belong to στέμβω 'to shake; to abuse'.

****stimnō-*** f. 'voice' — Go. *stibna* f. 'id.', OFri. *stemme* f. 'id.', OS *stemna* f. 'id.', Du. *stem* c. 'id.', OHG *stimma*, *stimna* f. 'id.', G *Stimme* f. 'id.' ⇒ **stem-n-eh₂-* (IE) — Hitt. *ištāman-* ~ *ištamin-* c./n. 'ear', Gr. στόμα n. 'mouth' < **stom-n-*; Av. *staman-* m. 'snout' < **stem-n-*; MW *safyn* f./m. 'jawbone, mouth' < **stm̥-n-*.

An *ō*-stem created to a PIE neuter *n*- or *mn*-stem PIE **stóm-(m)n*, gen. **stém-(m)n-s*. Go. *stibna* and OHG *stimna* point to **stem-n-*, but OE *stemn*, *stefn*, OFri. *stemme*, OS *stemna*, *stemnia*, Du. *stem* f. 'id.' are usually derived from **stamnjō-* < **stom-n-*. Apparently, Germanic preserved remnants of the PIE ablaut. A zero grade is possibly continued by **munþa-* 'mouth', Lat. *mentum* n. 'chin' < **mn(-)t-o-*, which may have developed from **stmn(-)t-o-* (Hirt 1897: 228). If so, we may assume differentation of a paradigm **stóm-mn*, gen. **stém-mn-s-*, loc. **stm-mén-i* that gave **stóm-n*, **stém-n-s*, **méni* in those languages that did not tolerate an inlaut cluster **stm-*. Note that the reconstruction **steh₃-mn-*, **sth₃-mn-* (thus Kloekhorst 2008: 411) is impossible in view of the Germanic evidence for *e*-vocalism.

****stingan-*** s.v. 'to stick' — Go. *us-stiggan* s.v. 'to pluck out', ON *stinga* s.v. 'to sting, stick, stab', Far. *stinga* s.v. 'to stick, stab, thrust', Elfd. *stingga* s.v. 'id.', OE *stingan* s.v. 'id.', E *to sting*, OHG *stingan* s.v. 'to let bleed, venesect' ⇒ **sténgʰ-e-* (GM) — To Gr. στάχυς 'ear' < **stngʰ-u-*?

No extra-Gm. etymology. The verb is usually compared to Gr. στάχυς m. 'ear of corn', quasi PIE **stngʰ-u-*, but the variant ἄσταχυς rather points to a non-IE origin for the Greek forms (Beekes 2010: 1392). OHG *stungen* w.v. 'to prick' appears to continue a *ie*-present **stngʰ-ie-*, while G Rhnl. *stonken* w.v. 'to stuff' represents the iterative **stunkōn-*. See also **stangō-*.

****stinkwan-*** s.v. 'to thrust, clash; to stink' — Go. *stigqan* w.v. 'to hit', ON *støkkva* s.v. 'to leap, jump, flee', Far. *støkka* w.v. 'to rush, run; to burst, snap;

to drop, splash', Elfd. *stekka* s.v. 'to sprinkle, splash', OE *stincan* s.v. 'to smell, stink; to leap, spring', E *to stink*, OS *stinkan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *stinken* s.v. 'id.', OHG *stinkan* s.v. 'id.', G *stinken* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **sténgʷ-e-* (EUR) — Lat. *re-stinguō*, *-ere* 'to push back, suppress' < **-sténgʷ-e-*; Lith. *sténgti* (*sténgiu*) 'to exert oneself' < **stengʷ-ie-*.

A strong verb. In view of the pertaining gerundive **stēki-* (q.v.), it must probably be reconstructed as **sté-n-gʷ-e-* with a nasal infix. See also **stunkwi-*.

****stōda-*** n. 'flock' — ON *stóð* n. 'stud', Far. *stóð* n. 'lazy horse', Elfd. *stuoð* f. 'litter; flock', OE *stōd* n. 'stud, herd of horses', E *stud*, Du. *stoet* c. 'guidance, procession', OHG *stuot* f. 'herd of horses', G *Stute* f. 'mare' ⇒ **steh₂-dʰh₁-o-* (DRV) — Close to OCS *stado* n. 'herd, flock' and Lith. *stódas* m. 'flock of horses'; also cf. Lith. *stónė* f. 'stable' < **steh₂-no-*.

A word probably derived from the root **steh₂-* 'to stand' with the suffix **-dʰh₁-o-*, for which cf. **kudja-* 'flock' and **awidja-* 'flock of sheep'. OCS *stado* and Lith. *stódas* may theoretically have been borrowed from Germanic, but there is no direct reason to think so.

****stōla-*** m. 'chair, seat' — Go. *stols* m. 'id.', ON *stóll* m. 'id.', Far. *stólur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *stuol* m. 'id.', OE *stōl* m. 'id.', E *stool*, OFri. *stōl* m. 'id.', OS *stōl* m. 'id.', Du. *stoel* c. 'id.', OHG *stuol* m. 'id.', G *Stuhl* m. 'id.' ⇒ **stéh₂-lo-* (IE) — Lith. *pa-stólai* m.pl. 'rack, frame' < **steh₂-lo-*.

In spite of the meaning 'chair', this word is usually taken to be a derivation from the root **steh₂-* 'to stand', for which see **stēn-*. The alternative is to reconstruct **sd-ōl-o-*, a possible thematicization of an *l*-stem to the root **sed-* 'to sit' (Peter Kerkhof, p.c.). There is probably no connection with OGS *stolꝺ* m. 'throne', Lith. *stālas* m. 'table' < **stol-o-*, which can be related to **stalla-* (q.v.).

****stōō-*** f. 'place; judgement' — Go. *staua* f. 'judgement, verdict', ON *eld-stó* f. 'fire-place', OE *stōw* f. 'place', OFri. *stō* f. 'site; place', OHG *stuo-tago* m. 'Judgement Day' ⇒ **steh₂-ueh₂-* (NEUR) — Lith. *stovà* f. 'place' (whence Lith. *stovėti*, Latv. *stāvêt* 'to stand'); OCS *staviti*, Ru. *stávit'* (*stávlju*) 'to place' < **steh₂-u-eie-*; Lat. *stāvs* adj. 'upright' < **steh₂-uo-*.

Identical to Lith. *stovà* < **steh₂-ueh₂-*. Pre-Gm. **stōwō-* developed into **stōō-* by the loss of **w* after **ō*. Go. *staua* [stɔa] has regular lowering of *ō* in hiatus position. OE *stōw* (whence OE *stōwian* 'to direct', E *stow*), on the other hand, received a secondary *w* to fill the same hiatus. The whole cluster probably goes back to a root extension of **steh₂-* 'to stand' (see **stēn-*), which ultimately may be based on an adjective **steh₂-uo-*, cf. Latv. *stāws*. Also cf. Go. *stojan* w.v. 'to judge' < **stōjan-*, OHG *stouwen* w.v. 'to accuse,

command' < **staujan-* < **stouh₂-eie-* (with laryngeal metathesis) and OHG *stūen* 'to repent' < **stu(w)ēn-* < **sth₂u-éh₁-* or **stuh₂-éh₁-*.

stōpan- m. 'footstep' — OE *stōpel* m. 'footstep, trail', OS *stōpo* m. 'track' (DRV).

Derived from the strong verb **stap(p)an-* ~ **stapjan-* (q.v.). Also cf. OHG *stuoffa*, G *Stufe* f. 'level', MDu. *stoepe* f. 'bench; stairs', Du. *stoep* c. 'sidewalk' < **stōpōn-*.

stōra-* ~ **stura- adj. 'big' — ON *stórr* adj. 'id.', Far. *stórur* adj. 'id.', OSw. *stōr*, *stur* adj. 'id.', Sw. *stor* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *stur* adj. 'id.', OE *stōr* adj. 'giant', OFri. *stōr* adj. 'big', OS *stōri* adj. 'renowned', MDu. *stuur* adj. 'strong, bold, tough, harsh', Du. *stoer* adj. 'tough', OHG *stūri* adj. 'id.', MHG *stiure* adj. 'big; excellent' ⇒ **stéh₂uro-* ~ **sth₂uró-* (IE) — Skt. *sthūrá-* adj. 'big, strong, thick, massy', YAv. *stūra-* prop. 'strong', Oss. *styr* / *(i)stur* adj. 'big, great' < **sth₂u-ró-*; Skt. *sthávira-* adj. 'broad, thick' < **steuh₂r-o-* (with laryngeal metathesis); Skt. *sthāvará-* adj. 'standing firm, immovable, lasting' < **steh₂-uer-*; Arm. *stuar* adj. 'fat' < **sth₂-ur-o-*(?).

An adjective showing a remarkable alternation between at least two different proto-forms: 1) **stōr(j)a-*, which is evinced by ON *stórr*, OE *stōr* and OS *stōri*; and 2) **stura-* as implied by OSw. *stur*, Elfd. *stur*. The latter forms are etymologically identical to Skt. *sthūrá-* < **sth₂u-ró-*, as Pre-Gm. **stūró-* would have become **stŭro-* by Dybo's law of pretonic shortening. The ablauting PGm. **stōra-* developed from the full-grade form **stéh₂u-ro-* by the regular Germanic development of **-ōu-* to **-ō-*. The position of OHG *stūri*, MHG *stiure* and MDu. *stuur* (Du. *stoer* is claimed to be a dialectal surfacing of the same form) is more unclear. They continue either **stūrja-* or **steurja-*, and may originally have belonged to **steurjan-* (q.v.). This leaves Pre-Gm. **steh₂uro-* vs. **sth₂uro-* as the two remaining variants. In combination with Skt. *sthāvará-* < **steh₂uero-*, it becomes possible to reconstruct a heteroclitic adjective to the root **steh₂-* 'to stand', e.g. nom. **stéh₂-u(ō)r*, gen. **sth₂-un-ós* (later replaced by **stéh₂-u(ō)r*, **sth₂-ur-ós*). For another possible heteroclitic adjective with Germanic root ablaut, cf. **hwīta-* ~ **hwitta-* 'white'.

****strandō-*** f. 'edge; shore, beach' — ON *strǫnd* f. 'border, edge; coast, shore', Far. *strond* f. 'beach, shore', Elfd. *strand* f. 'id.', OE *strand* n. 'id.', E *strand*, MDu. *strande* f. 'beach, shore', *strand* m. 'inlet', Du. *strand* n. 'beach', G *Strand* m. 'id.' (= LG) (GM).

The word originally meant 'edge', cf. ON *strǫnd* 'border' and Nw. *strenda* w.v. 'to graze, skim, touch' < **strandjan-*. The apparently ablauting ME *strynde*, E *strind* 'stream, rivulet' (< **strumdja-*?) probably belongs to **strauma-* and related forms, and not to ON *strind* f. 'side' < **strindō-*.

strangi- m. 'string, cord, rope' — ON *strengr* m. 'id.', Far. *strongur*, gen. *streingjar* m. 'id.', Elfd. *straingg* m. 'id.', OE *streng* m. 'id.', E *string*, Du. *streng* c. 'id.', OHG *stranc* m. 'id.', G *Strang* m. 'id.' ⇒ **strong^{h}-i-* (EUR).

Related to **strang(j)a-* (q.v.). Also cf. the factitive ON *strengja* w.v. 'to fasten, bind tight' < **strangjan-*.

strang(j)a- adj. 'strong' — ON *strangr* adj. 'strong, severe, hard', Far. *strangur* adj. 'severe, harsh', OE *strong* adj. 'powerful, hard', E *strong*, WFri. *strang* adj. 'strict', OS *strang* adj. 'strong', Du. *streng* adj. 'severe, strict', OHG *strengi* adj. 'strong, rigorous', G *streng* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **strong^{h}-o-* (EUR) — Latv. *strangs* adj. 'brave' < **strong^{h}-o-*; Lat. *stringō, -ere* 'to bind fast, tighten; to strip off' < **str-en-g^{h}-e-*; Pol. *za-strząc* 'to come to a halt', Lith. *strìgti* (*stringù*) 'to stick', Latv. *stringt* 'to stiffen; to wither' < **str(-n-)g^{h}-*.

An *o*-grade adjective created to the strong verb **stringan-* as implied by Nw. dial. *strungen* adj. 'having a hardened stomach'. The original meaning appears to have been 'to be stiff, tighten', cf. **strangi-*. OSw. *strunker*, Da. *strunk* adj. 'erect' < **strunka-* could continue an old participle **str̥ng^{h}-nó-*.

straujan- w.v. 'to strew' — Go. *straujan* w.v. 'id.', ON *strá* w.v. 'id.', Far. *stroya* w.v. 'id.', Nw. *strøya* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *sträa* w.v. 'id.', OE *strēowian* w.v. 'id.', E *to strew*, WFri. *streauwe* w.v. 'id.', OS *strōian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *strooien* w.v. 'id.', OHG *strewen* w.v. 'id.', G *streuen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **strou-eie-* (EUR) — Formally identical to OIr. *sruïd* 'to throw', OBret. *strouis* 'to strew', OCS *o-strujiti* (*-strujǫ*) 'to destroy' < PIE **strou-eie-*; also cf. Lat. *struō, -ere* 'to arrange, construct, compose, build' < **stréu-e-*.

A European causative or intensive formation for which cf. **strawa-* 'straw'. The root **streu-* no doubt arose as a back-formation to **str-neu-*, the *n*-present to the PIE root **strh_3-* 'to strew', cf. Gr. στόρνῡμι 'to spread, strew', Skt. *stṛ́ṇāti, stṛṇóti* 'to spread', Lat. *sternō, -ere* 'to lay out, spread' etc. < **str-neu-*, **str-neh$_3$-*. In Sanskrit, *nu*-presents synchronically substituted *nā*-verbs, but the etymology of the Germanic verb under discussion implies that this replacement process started off in PIE already.

strauma- m. 'stream' — ON *straumr* m. 'id.', Far. *streymur* m. 'id.', OE *strēam* m. 'id.', E *stream*, OFri. *strām* m. 'id.', OS *strōm* m. 'id.', Du. *stroom* c. 'id.', OHG *stroum* m. 'id.', G *Strom* m. 'id.' ⇒ **srou-mo-* (IE) — Latv. *stràume* f. 'stream' < **srou-m-ieh$_2$-*; Gr. ῥεῦμα 'flow' < **sreu-men-*.

A *mo*-stem to the IE root **sreu-* 'to flow', cf. **strudu-*.

straupjan- w.v. 'to strip' — Nw. *strøypa* w.v. 'to squeeze, strangle', OE *be-strīepan* w.v. 'to strip', E *to strip*, MDu. *stropen* w.v. 'to strip, streak, brush', OHG *stroufen* w.v. 'to pluck', MHG *stroufen* w.v. 'to strip, wipe, pull' (DRV).

The causative to **streupan-* ~ **strūpan-* (q.v.).

****strawa-*** n. 'straw' — ON *strá* n. 'id.', OE *strēa(w)* n. 'id.', E *straw*, OFri. *strē* n. 'id.', WFri. *strie* n. 'id.', ODu. *strō* n. 'id.', Du. *stro* n. 'id.', OHG *strō* n. 'id.', G *Stroh* n. 'id.' ⇒ **strou-o-* (DRV).

A collective derived from **straujan-* 'to strew' (q.v.).

****strēlō-*** f. 'ray, beam, stick, arrow' — Nw. *stråle* f. 'long stick, slender tree' (< **strēlōn-*), OE *strǽl* m./f. 'id.', OS *strāla* f. 'id.', MDu. *strael* m./n., *strale* f. 'id.', Du. *straal* c. 'beam; water jet', OHG *strāl* m., *strāla* f. 'arrow', G *Strahl* m. 'beam' ⇒ **streh₁-lo/eh₂-* (GM).

Also cf. OS *strāl*, MHG *stræl* m. 'comb' < **strēlja-*, whence OS *strālian*, G *strählen* w.v. 'to comb', Du. *strelen* w.v. 'to stroke'. Related to MHG *strām* m. 'jet, stream' < **strēma-*. No further cognates. OCS *strěla* f. 'arrow' is a Germanic loanword.

****streþan-*** s.v. 'to seethe, swirl' — OHG *stredan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *streden* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **srét-e-* (WEUR) — OCo. *stret* '*latex*', MCo. *streyth* 'river' < **srt-o-*; MIr. *srithit* f. 'stream of milk or blood' < **srt-nt-ih₂-*.

Cf. MGH *stradem* m. 'swirl' < **straþma-*, G *Strudel* m. 'whirl, vortex' < **struþla-* and MHG *strulle* f. 'water tube' (whence MHG *strullen* w.v. 'to gush', G WPhal. *strullen* w.v. 'to piss') < **strudlō(n)-*. The root **sret-* appears to be a Germanic-Celtic isogloss, as the other *comparandum* Gr. ῥόθος m. 'roar' < **srodʰ-o-* cannot be related. See also **struttōn- 1.*

****streukan-*** s.v. 'to stroke' — ON *strjúka* s.v. 'to stroke, rub, wipe', Far. *strúka* s.v. 'to stroke; to erase; to run, rush, dash', Elfd. *striuoka* s.v. 'to stroke, wipe (out)' (NEUR) — OCS *strъgati* (*stružǫ*) 'to scrape, shave' < **strugʰ-eh₂-*; Lith. *strùgas* adj. 'short, cropped' < **strugʰ-o-*.

A strong verb derived from the Germanic and Slavic root **streugʰ-*. The received link with Gr. στρεύγομαι 'to be squeezed out in drops' < **streug-e-* (cf. Pokorny IEW: 1028-9), is erroneous because the root-final **k* arose under the influence of the iterative **struk(k)ōn-* (q.v.).

****streupan-*** ~ ****strūpan-*** s.v. 'to squeeze, strip' — Nw. *str(j)upa* s.v. 'to squeeze, compress; to strangle', MHG *striefen* s.v. 'to graze, brush' (DRV).

A strong verb derived from the iterative **struppōn-* (q.v.), which was probably formed to the PIE root **strebʰ-* 'to twist', cf. Gr. στρέφω 'to twist, turn'. It gave rise to a range of nominal formations, e.g. ON *str(j)úpi* m., *strjúpa* n. 'throat' and Nw. *strop* n. 'mouth of a river'. See also the causative **straupjan-*.

strīdan- s.v. 'to stand upright, resist' — OE *strīdan* s.v. 'to stride; to pillage', E *to stride*, OFri. *strīda* s.v. 'to fight', MLG *strīden* s.v. 'to straddle the legs apart, stride', MDu. *striden* s.v. 'to resist, struggle', Du. *strijden* s.v. 'to fight', OHG *strītan* s.v. 'to fight', MHG *strīten* s.v. 'to battle, endeavour; to stride(?)', G *streiten* s.v. 'id.' (GM) — Latv. *striêtiês* 'to resist, be unruly'; Lith. *strainùs* adj. 'unruly' < **stroi-nu-*.

A strong verb possibly continuing a compound root **strei-d^{h}h$_1$-* 'to stand upright'. Also cf. **strit(t)ōn-* and ON *streita* f. 'difficulty, trouble' < **straitōn-*. MHG *strit* m. 'pace, step' points to a formation **stridi-*.

strīkan- s.v. 'to stroke' — OE *strīcan* s.v. 'id.', E *to strike*, OFri. *strīka* s.v. 'id.', Du. *strijken* s.v. 'id.', OHG *strīhhan* s.v. 'id.', G *streichen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **stréig-e-* (EUR) — OCS *strišti*, Ru. *strič'* (*strigú*), SCr. *strȉći* 'to cut, slip'; Lat. *stringō*, *-ere* 'to skim, scratch'.

Also cf. Go. *striks* m. 'streak', ON *strik* n. 'strip', OHG *strih*, G *Strich* m. 'stroke' < **striki-* and MHG *streich*, G *Streich* m. 'stroke, prank' < **straika-*. The variation between OS *strikko* m. 'stripe' and OE *strica* m. 'stripe, region' < **strik(k)an-* could point to an *n*-stem **strikō*, gen. **strikkaz* < **strig-ōn*, **-n-os*.

strīpa/ōn- f. 'stripe' — Far. *strípa* f. 'id.', Nw. *stripe* f. 'id.', MDu. *stripe* f. 'id.', MHG *strīfe* m. 'id.', G *Streifen* m. 'id.' ⇒ **streib-on-*(?) (WEUR) — OIr. *sríab* f. 'stripe; line' < **streib-o-*.

The Germanic *n*-stem may have been derived from a lost strong verb **strīpan-*. Such a formation is further implied by the *i*-stem MDu. *strepe* m. 'stripe, strip', Du. *streep* c. 'id.' < **stripi-*. No further cognates except OIr. *sríab*.

strit(t)ōn- w.v. 'to stand upright, resist' — ON *strita* w.v. 'to drag with difficulty; to strive hard', Far. *strita* w.v. 'id.', Nw. *stritta* w.v. 'to resist, walk slowly', Da. *stritte* w.v. 'to resist; to stick out; to straddle the legs' (DRV).

The iterative to **strīdan-* (q.v.), 3sg. **strittōþi*, 3pl. **stridunanþi* < **strid^{h}-néh$_2$-ti*, **strid^{h}-nh$_2$-énti*.

strudu- f. 'river' — G obs. *Strut* f. 'id.' ⇒ **sru-tú-* (IE) — Potentially identical to OIr. *sruth* m. 'stream, river, current', W *ffrwd* m./f. 'id.' < **sru-tu-*; also cf. Skt. *srávati*, Gr. ῥέω 'to flow, stream' < **sréu-e-*.

A marginally attested *tu*-stem to the PIE root **sreu-* 'to flow', for which cf. **strauma-*. MHG *struot*, G *Strut* f. 'thicket, bush, marsh' looks like a different word, but if not, it would point to a proto-form **strōdu-* < **srōu-tú-* (Andreas Opfermann, p.c.). In view of the parallel **flōdu-* 'river', which was derived from **flōan-* 'to flow' (q.v.), this formation may have been derived from a lost strong verb **strōan-* < **srṓu-e-*.

struk(k)ōn- w.v. 'to stroke' — Icel. *stroka* w.v. 'to rage, sweep, dash, blow', Nw. *strokka* w.v. 'to beat, thresh', Elfd. *struka* w.v. 'to wander', OE *stroccian* w.v. 'to stroke', E *to stroke*, MLG *straken* w.v. 'id.', EDu. *stroocken* w.v. 'to stroke, pat' ⇒ **strug^{h}-néh$_{2}$-* (NEUR).

The iterative to **streukan-* (q.v.). The original meaning was 'to stroke', but in view of ON *strjúka* 'to rush', Icel. *stroka* 'to dash' and E obs. *to stroke* 'to go quickly, travel' (if not a Norse loanword) the meaning 'to move quickly' must have some antiquity. The verb goes back to an *n*-present 3sg. **strukkōþi*, 3pl. **strugunanþi* < **strug^{h}-néh$_{2}$-ti*, **strug^{h}-nh$_{2}$-énti*. Also cf. Du. *strook* c. 'strip' < **struka-* and ON *stryk* n. 'stroke' < **strukja-*.

****struppōn-*** w.v. 'to writhe' — MDu. *strop(p)en* w.v. 'to strip, skin', MHG *strupfen* w.v. 'to writhe; to strip' ⇒ **strb^{h}-néh$_{2}$-* (EUR) — Gr. στρέφω, -ομαι 'to twist, turn' < **stréb^{h}-e-*.

The iterative to **streupan-* ~ **strūpan-* (q.v.). The PGm. root is usually projected back into PIE as **streub-* (Pokorny IEW: 1028-9), but the iterative **struppōn-* may very well continue an *neh$_{2}$*-present related to Gr. στρέφω 'to twist, turn' < **stréb^{h}-e-*.

****strut(t)ōn-*** f. 'throat' — OFri. *strot-bolla* m. 'Adam's apple', OS *strota* f. 'id.', MDu. *strote*, *strotte* f. 'throat, windpipe, gullet', Du. *strot* c. 'id.', MHG *strozze* f. 'windpipe, throat' (DRV).

A word of disputed origin, but often assumed to be related to **struttōn- 2* 'to jut out' (q.v.).

****struttōn- 1*** w.v. 'to well (up)' — MHG *strotzen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

The iterative to **streþan-* (q.v.). Also cf. G dial. *Strotze* f. 'manure, diarrhea' < **struttō(n)-*.

****struttōn- 2*** w.v. 'to jut out' — MHG *strotzen* w.v. 'to bristle up' ⇒ **strd^{h}-néh$_{2}$-*(?) (EUR?) — Gr. Hsch. στόρθη f. 'point, tip' < **stord^{h}-eh$_{2}$-*.

An iterative formation ablauting with Pal. *stratzen* w.v. 'to swank around' < **strattōn-* and Nw. *strate* m. 'jag, fence post' < **stratōn-*. The ablaut proves that the *u*-vocalism represents a secondary zero grade to a Pre-Gm. root **stret-*, **stred-* or **stred^{h}-*. This further implies that the vocalism of e.g. ON *strútr* m. 'a kind of hood', ME *strūt* 'bulging, swelling' (whence OE *strūtian* w.v. 'to protrude stiffly, to strut') and MHG *strūz* m. 'resistance; bunch' < **strūta-* is secondary, too. The original meaning of the verbal root was 'to stand out, jut out', cf. Nw. *strunta* w.v. 'to walk stiffly, be arrogant', E dial. *to strunt* 'to move with a self-important air' with a nasal infix.

****stubju-*** m. 'dust' — Go. *stubjus* m. 'id.', MDu. *stubbe* n. 'id.', OHG *stuppi* n. 'id.', G *Ge-stüpp* n. 'id.' (DRV).

A collective formation to the root of **steuban-* ~ **stūban-* (q.v.). Also cf. the singulative *n*-stem G *Stoben* m. 'piece of dust' < **stuban-*.

****stukka-*** m. 'stick' — ON *stokkr* m. 'stock, trunk, block, log of wood', Far. *stokkur* m. 'log, beam, cane', Elfd. *stukk* m. 'stick', OE *stocc* m. 'stick, log, trunk', OFri. *stok* m. 'stick', Du. *stok* c. 'id.', OHG *stoc* m. 'stick, trunk', G *Stock* m. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from the strong verb **stekan-* (the formation looks like a Pre-Gm. ptc. **stug-nó-*). Note that the zero-grade **u* like in the iterative **stukkōn-* arose secondarily.

****stukkja-*** n. 'piece' — ON *stykki* n. 'id.', Far. *stykki* n. 'id.', Elfd. *styttje* n. 'id.', OE *stycce* n. 'id.', OS *stukki* n. 'id.', MDu. *stuk* n. 'id.', OHG *stucki* n. 'id.', G *Stück* n. 'id.' (DRV).

A *ja*-stem derived from the strong verb **stekan-* or from the pertaining iterative **stuk(k)ōn-* (q.v.).

****stuk(k)ōn-*** w.v. 'to stick' — Du. *stokken* w.v. 'to come to a halt', G *stocken* w.v. 'to coagulate; to stop' (DRV).

An iterative derived from the secondary strong verb **stekan-* (q.v.). With the same secondary zero grade, cf. **stukka-* and **stukkja-*.

****stullōn-*** w.v. 'to steal' — G Rhnl. *stollen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **tsl-néh₂-* (IE).

The iterative to **stelan-* (q.v.).

****stumma-*** adj. 'mute' — OFri. *stum* adj. 'id.', OS *stum* adj. 'id.', Du. *stom* adj. 'mute, dull, stupid', OHG *stum(b)* adj. 'silent', G *stumm* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **stmH-nó-* (NEUR).

A zero-grade formation related to **stamma-* (q.v.).

****stunkwi-*** m. 'hit; smell' — Go. *bi-stugqs* m. 'thrust', OE *stenc* m. 'smell', E *stench*, OS *stunc* m. 'id.' ⇒ **stngʷ-i-* (DRV).

An *i*-stem created to the strong verb **stinkwan-* (q.v.).

****stunta-*** adj. 'short' — ON *stuttr* adj. 'id.', Far. *stuttur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *stutt* adj. 'id.', OE *stunt* adj. 'foolish', MHG *stunz* adj. 'dull; cropped, short' (GM).

Also cf. ON *stytta*, OE *styntian* w.v. 'to shorten, trim' < **stunjan-*. No further etymology. The link with the PIE root **steud-* (Pokorny IEW: 1032-4) cannot be maintained in view the ablauting formations G *stanzen* w.v. 'to press, cut out, punch' < **stantōn-* and G *stenzen* w.v. 'to hit, beat' < **stantjan-*.

stūpēn- w.v. 'to stoop' — ON *stúpa* w.v. 'id.', Nw. *stupa* s./w.v. 'to drop, fall down', OE *stūpian* w.v. 'to stoop, bend the back', E *to stoop*, MDu. *stupen* w.v. 'to bend' (EUR) — W *ystum* f. 'bend, turn', Bret. *stumm* 'id.' < **stoup-meh₂-*.

A stative related to **staupa-* (q.v.). The long **ū* probably arose secondarily, and does not have to point to a root ***steuHbʰ-* with a laryngeal. In view of the remarkable similarity of Latv. *staũpe* 'horse track' and Nw. *staup* n. 'puddle; deep track; sharp turn', the original root must in all likelihood be reconstructed as **steup-* rather than **steubʰ⁽ʰ⁾-* (*pace* Pokorny IEW: 1032-4). The root-final *p* presumably spread from the iterative **stupp/bŏn-*, cf. Nw. *stopa* w.v. 'to make a track in the snow', whence Nw. *stoppe* f. 'deep track (in the snow); hare trace'.

****sturja/ōn-*** m./f. 'sturgeon' — ON *styrja* f. 'id.', OE *styria*, *styriga* m. 'id.', ODu. *sturio* m. 'id.', Du. *steur* c. 'id.', OHG *sturio*, *sturo* m. 'id.', MHG *stūre* m. 'id.', G *Stör* m. 'id.' (= LG) ⇒ **str-* (NEUR/NIE) — OLith. *ešketras* 'whale', Lith. *erškētas*, dial. *erškétras* m. 'sturgeon', OPru. *esketres* 'id.', ORu. *esetrъ*, Ru. *osëtr*, gen. *osetrá* m. 'id.', SCr. *jèsetra* f. 'id.' < PBSl. **asetra-*.

A Germanic/Balto-Slavic isogloss. The alternation of PSl. **osetrъ* and Gm. **sturja/ōn-* points to a non-IE doublet **asetr* ~ **str* containing the *a*-prefix discovered by Schrijver 1997. As the prefix usually causes the root vocalism to be reduced, the expected formal proportion should admittedly have been **astr* ~ **setr*, but it is conceivable that the original "ablaut" was reshuffled. Note that the Baltic forms were distorted due to interference with *erškétis* 'thorn' (Toporov 1975-: II, 89).

****sturki-*** m. 'strength' — ON *styrkr* m. 'id.', Far. *styrkur* m. 'help, aid, assistance' ⇒ **strg-i-* (NEUR).

An *i*-stem created to a lost strong verb **sterkan-*. The reality of this verb is confirmed by the pertaining inchoative **sturknan-*, cf. Go. *ga-staurknan* 'to freeze', ON *storkna* 'to coagulate', OHG *gi-storkanēn* 'id.'. Apparently, the original meaning was 'stiff', for which cf. **starka-*.

****sturma-*** m. 'storm' — ON *stormr* m. 'id.', OE *storm* m. 'id.', E *storm*, OS *storm* m. 'id.', Du. *storm* c. 'id.', OHG *sturm* m. 'id.', G *Sturm* m. 'id.' ⇒ **stur-mo-* (DRV).

A *mo*-stem possibly created to the root of **staurjan-* 'to disturb, destroy' (q.v.). Also cf. ON *styrma*, OE *styrman*, G *stürmen* w.v. 'to storm' < **sturmjan-*.

****sturnēn-*** w.v. 'to stand out' — Go. *and-staurran* w.v. 'to stare at', OHG *storrēn* w.v. 'to stand out' ⇒ **str-néh₁-* (IE) — Lith. *stérti* 'to be stiff, stand erect' < **stérh₁-e-*; ToB *śćīre* adj. 'hard, harsh' < **sterh₁-o-*; Gr. στερεός adj. 'stiff, hard, firm, tenacious' < **sterh₁-uo-*. OIr. *seirt* f. 'strength' < **sterh₁-ti-*; W *serth* adj. 'steif, starr' < **sterh₁-to-*.

A stative belonging to an unattested strong verb **steran-*, for which cf. **stara-*. In view of the nasal-less OHG *storrēn*, it is possible that the stative continues an older nasal present 3sg. **sturrēþi*, 3pl. **sturunanþi* < **str-néh₁-ti*, **str-nh₁-énti*.

****stut(t)ōn-*** w.v. 'to shove, bump' — ME *stoten* w.v. 'to stop, halt; to stagger; to falter', G obs. *stotzen* w.v. 'to stick', Swi. *stotzen* w.v. 'to stuff', Rhnl. *stotzen* w.v. 'to stumble, stagger' (DRV).

The iterative to **stautan-* (q.v.). MDu. *stoddinge* f. 'gale' implies a variant **stodden* < **studdōn-*, but the evidence probably is not strong enough to prove that the Pre-Gm. root was **stud^{h}-* rather than **stud-*.

****stuþ/d-*** f. 'prop, support, post' — ON *stoð*, *stuð*, pl. *støðr*, *steðr* f. 'id.', Elfd. *stuoð* f. 'id.', OE *studu*,*stuðu*, pl. *styde*, *styðe* f. 'id.', MHG *stud* f. 'id.' ⇒ **stu-t-* (NEUR) — Latv. *stute* f. 'support, pole' < **stut-ieh₂-*.

An old root noun (or *t*-stem?) that given the Verner alternation between **stuþ-* and **stud-* probably is to be reconstructed as nom. **stuþ-s*, gen. **stud-iz* < Pre-Gm. **stút-s*, **stut-és*. Also cf. the denominal ON *styðja* w.v. 'to support', OHG *stud(d)en*, MHG *stüden* 'to fix' < **stuþjan-* and ON *stoða* w.v. 'to support, aid' < **stuþōjan-*. On a deeper level, the noun served as the basis for OHG *stuzzen*, G *stützen*, (M)Du. *stutten* w.v. 'to support' < **stuttjan-*, which probably implies a lost factitive 3sg. **stuttōþi*, 3pl. **studunanþi* < **stut-néh₂-ti*, **stut-nh₂-énti*. Without the *t*-suffix, cf. MDu. *stonen*, Du. *steunen* w.v. 'to support' < **stunēn-*.

****sufan-*** s.v. 'to sleep' — ON *sofa* s.v. 'id.', Far. *sova* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *såvå* s.v. 'id.', OGutn. *sufa* s.v. 'id.', OE *swefan* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **sup-e-* (IE) — Hitt. *šupp(t)ari* 'to sleep' < **sup-e-*; Skt. *svápiti* 'to sleep', YAv. *x^{v}ap-* ~ *x^{v}af-* 'id.' < **suep-*.

A zero-grade present **sufan-* (ON *sofa*, OGut. *sufa*) replaced by a secondary full-grade form **swefan-* in English. The original zero grade continues an intransitive medio-passive verb 3sg. **sup-o*, 3pl. **sup-ro*, as also follows from Hitt. *šuppari*. See also **swefna-*, **swabjan-*, **swēbjan-* and **sufja-*.

****sufja-*** adj. 'sleepy' — Du. *suf* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

An adjective derived from **sufan-* 'to sleep'. Also cf. ON *syfjaðr* adj. with the same meaning, a participle to the oblique subject verb ON *syfja* w.v. 'to be sleepy', cf. *mik syfjar* 'I am sleepy' < **sufjōjan-*.

****sūgan-*** ~ ****sūkan-*** s.v. 'to suck' — ON *súga* s.v. 'id.', Icel. *sjúga* s.v. 'id.', Far. *súgva* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *sauga* s.v. 'id.', OE *sūgan*, *sūcan* s.v. 'id.', E *to suck*, MDu. *sugen*, *sucen* s.v. 'id.', Du. *zuigen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *sūgan* s.v. 'id.', G *saugen* s.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A strong verb that in view of the **ū* and the alternation between root-final **g* and **k* must have been derived from the iterative **sukk/gōn-* (q.v.).

sū- ~ *suw- f. 'sow' — ON *sýr* f. 'id.', Far. *súgv* f. 'id.', Elfd. *sugga* f. 'id.', OE *sū, sugu* f. 'id.', E *sow*, OFri. *sūg(e)-lubber* m. 'sow-gelder', WFri. *sûch* c. 'sow', OS *sū* f. 'id.', MDu. *soge* f. 'id.', Du. *zeug* c. 'id.', OHG *sū* f. 'id.', G *Sau* f. 'id.' ⇒ **suH-* (IE) — ToB *suwo*, obl. *suwa* 'pig', YAv. *hū-* m. 'id.', Oss. *xʷy / xu* 'id.', Gr. ὗς, ὑός m./f. 'swine, sow, boar', Lat. *sūs, sŭis* m./f. 'pig, sow', Alb. *thi* m. 'pig' (< **śus*).

An old IE root noun. The original paradigm was nom. **sū-z*, acc. **suwun* < **suH-s*, **suH-m̥* (cf. Kroonen 2011b). Due to the sporadic shift of **w* to **g* between high vowels (one of them being **u*), the WGm. material pointing to a root **sug-* (cf. OE *sugu*, OFri. *sūg(e)*, MDu. *soge*, Du. *zeug*) can be explained by assuming leveling from the accusative case. In Nordic, the same root **suw-* gave rise to ON **suggva* (cf. Nw. *sugge*, Elfd. *sugga*) through Holtzmann's law.

suhti- f. 'sickness, disease' — Go. *sauhts* f. 'id.', ON *sótt* f. 'id.', Far. *sótt* f. 'id.', Elfd. *suo'tt* f. 'id.', OFri. *secht* f. 'id.', OS *suht* f. 'id.', OHG *suht* f. 'id.', G *Sucht* f. 'addiction' (DRV).

A *ti*-stem created to the root of **seukan-* and **suk(k)ōn-* (q.v.).

suhturwjan- m. 'brother's son' — OE *suhtri(g)a* m. 'brother's son, nephew, cousin' ⇒ **suḱ-tr-u-io-* (IE) — Arm. *ustr* 'son' < **suḱ-ter-*.

Derived from **suhter-*, cf. OE *suhtor-gefæderan* m.pl. 'uncle and son', which in turn was created to the root **sueḱ-* as in **swehra(n)-* (q.v.). Less attractive is the comparison with Av. *huptar-* adj. 'noble' < **h₁su-ph₂ter-* 'with a good father' (Schmidt 1973: 80-2) under the assumption of a sporadic sound change **-ptr-* > **-ktr-*. For the suffix **-wjan-*, cf. **fadurwjan-*.

sukk/gōn- w.v. 'to suck' — OE *socian* w.v. 'id.', G Rhnl. *sucken* w.v. 'id.', Swi. (App.) *sugə* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **suḱ-néh₂-* (EUR) — Lat. *sūgō, -ere* 'to suck' < **souḱ-neh₂-* (also cf. *sūcus* m. 'juice' < **souḱ-o-*); Latv. *sùkt* 'id.' < **suk-* (with depalatalization); OCS *sъsati* (*sъsǫ*), Ru. *sosát'* (*sosú*), SCr. *sȁti* 'id.' < **suḱ-eh₂-*.

An iterative formation corresponding to Lat. *sūgō*, which in view of *sūcus* must have developed from **souḱ-neh₂-*. I assume that the *k* was voiced due to nasalization under Thurneysen's law. Usually, this nasalization results in voicing of the preceding stop and a nasal infix, cf. *pandō, -ere* < **pt-neh₂-*, but it appears from *sūgō* that the root-final consonant was merely voiced in verbs with heavy root syllables. In Germanic, the iterative gave rise to the secondary strong verb **sūgan-* ~ **sūkan-* (q.v.).

suk(k)ōn- w.v. 'to be ill' — MHG *sochen* w.v. 'id.', G Swab. *sochen*, *socken* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **sk-néh₂-* (WEUR) — Gr. ἦκα adv. 'slightly, softly' < **sēk-*; Lat. *sēgnis* adj. 'slothful, inactive' < **sēk-ni-*; Olr. ***s*ocht** m. 'silence; gloom, dejection; stupor; quiet, rest, peace' < PCelt. **sok-to-*(?).

The iterative to **seukan-* (q.v.). It can be etymologically identical to Nw. *sokka* w.v. 'to drag, go slowly (esp. of horses)', MDu. *suckelen*, Du. *sukkelen* w.v. 'to drag, stumble; to languish'. If Du. dial. *suchelen* 'id.' furthermore belongs here, it proves that the original PGm. root was **seuh-* rather than **seuk-*. In fact, if the *o*-grade iterative Nw. *sagga* w.v. 'to go slowly, to drag, be tired' is included in the material, the *u* of **sukk/gōn-* must represent a secondary zero grade. I am therefore inclined to reconstruct the original Pre-Gm. root as **sek-* rather than **seuk-*. It thus appears that the Germanic etymon can no longer be compared to Arm. *hiwcanim* 'to be ill' < **sēug-*. Instead, I tentatively link the word to Gr. ἦκα, Lat. *sēgnis* and Olr. *socht* (assuming that the latter continues **sok-to-* rather than **suk-to-*).

sulha- f. 'plow' — OE *sulh*, pl. *sylh* f. 'id.' ⇒ **slk-* (IE) — ToA *sālkā-*, ToB *sālk-* 'to pull out', Gr. ἕλκω 'to draw, drag' < **sélk-e-*; Lat. *sulcus* m. 'furrow' < **solk-o-*; Arm. *heł*g adj. 'lazy' < **selk-o-*(?).

An old root noun to the PIE root **selk-*.

sūli- f. 'pillar, column' — ON *súl* f. 'id.', OE *sȳl* f. 'id.', OFri. *sēle* f. 'id.', ODu. *sūl* f. 'id.', Du. *zuil* c. 'id.', OHG *sūl* f. 'id.', G *Säule* f. 'id.' ⇒ **suH-l-* (IE).

An *i*-stem of unknown origin. Cf. Far. *sýla* w.v. 'to cut a hole in a piece of wood (for a bung); to insert a wedge-shaped piece into a corresponding incision' < **sūljan-*, which implies an etymological link with **swalwōn-* 'swallow' (q.v.). Go. *sauls* f. 'pillar' points to an ablauting form **sauli-*.

sultjō- f. 'brine(?)' — Nw. *sylt* f. 'brackish swamp', ODu. *sulta* f. 'brackish terrain', MDu. *sult* f. 'head cheese', Du. *zult* n. 'id.', OHG *sulza* f. 'brine', G *Sülze* f. 'aspic' (DRV).

A zero-grade formation to **saltan-* (q.v.). Also cf. Du. *zilt*, dial. *zult* adj. 'salty' < **sultja-*.

suma- pron. 'some(one)' — Go. *sums* pron. 'id.', ON *sumr* pron. 'id.', Far. *summur* pron. 'id.', OE *sum* pron. 'id.', E *some*, OFri. *sum* adv. 'partly', OS sum pron. '(some)one', OHG *sum* pron. 'id.' ⇒ **smH-o-* (IE) — Skt. *samá-* 'someone', Gr. ἀμο- 'any', οὐδ-αμός 'none' < **smH-o-*.

An indefinite pronoun. Related to the ablauting **sama(n)-* (q.v.).

sumara- n. 'summer' — ON *sumar* n. 'id.', Far. *summar* n. 'id.', Elfd. *såmår* m. 'id.', OE *sumer*, *sumor* m. 'id.', E *summer*, OFri. *sumer*, *sumur*, *simer* m. 'id.', WFri. *simmer* c. 'id.', OS *sumar* m. 'id.', Du. *zomer* c. 'id.', OHG *sumar* m. 'id.', G

Sommer m. 'id.' ⇒ **smH-oro-* (IE) — Close to Arm. *amaṙn* 'summer'; also cf. Skt. *sámā-* f. 'year, half-year, season', YAv. *ham-* 'summer', Arm. *am* 'year', MIr. *sam*, OW *ham*, MW *haf* m. 'id.' < **s(e)mH-*.

PGm. **sumar-* continues an IE word for 'half year, season', which is related to OE *sām-*, OS *sām-*, OHG *sāmi-* pref. 'half' < **sēmi* (= Skt. *sāmí*, Lat. *sēmi-*). The suffix is comparable to the one of **wasra-* ~ **wazra-* 'spring' (q.v.).

****sunda-*** n. 'sound' — ON *sund* n. 'swimming; sound, strait', Far. *sund* n. 'id.', OE *sund* n. 'swimming', E *sound*, MLG *sund* n. 'strait', G *Sund* m. 'id.' ⇒ **sum-tó-* (DRV).

Derived from the strong verb **swimman-* (q.v.). With the same ablaut, also cf. Go. *swum(f)sl* n. 'pool' < **swumsla-*.

****sundjō-*** f. 'transgression, sin' — OS *sundea* f. 'id.', Du. *zonde* c. 'id.', OHG *suntea, sunta* f. 'id.', G *Sünde* f. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁s-nt-ieh₂-* (IE).

A *ieh₂*-stem to the same derivational base as found in **sanþa-* and **sunja-* (q.v.).

****sunja-*** adj. 'true' — Go. *sunjis* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁s-nt-io-* (IE) — Skt. *satyá-* adj. 'true, real', Av. *haiθiia-* 'id.' < **h₁s-nt-io-*.

A derivation from the PIE participle **h₁s-ónt-o-* 'being, actual' as continued by **sanþa-* (q.v.). The adjective developed from the zero-grade stem **h₁s-nt-* to which a *io*-suffix was added. It is generally assumed that the dental was regularly lost between **n* and **i̯*. Also cf. Go. *sunja* f. 'truth', ON *syn* f. 'denial, rejection', OS *sunnea* f. 'plight', OHG *sunna* f. 'lawful excuse' < **sunjōn-* and the derived verb Go. *sunjon sik* w.v. 'to excuse oneself', ON *synja* w.v. 'to deny (a charge)' < **sunjōjan-*.

****sunþera-*** adv. 'south, southwards' — ON *suðr* adv. 'id.', Far. *suður* adv. 'id.', Elfd. *su'tter* adv. 'id.', OE *sūþ* adv. 'id.', E *south*, OFri. *sūth, sūther* n. 'id.', OS *sūthar* adv. 'id.', MDu. *suder* adv. 'id.', OHG *sundar* adv. 'id.' (DRV).

An adverb, quasi PIE **sh₂un-tero-*, derived from **sōel-* ~ **sunnōn-* 'sun' (q.v.) with the Indo-European contrastive **tero*-suffix.

****sunu-*** m. 'son' — Go. *sunus* m. 'id.', ON *sunr, sonr* m. 'id.', Far. *sonur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *sun* m. 'id.', OE *sunu* m. 'id.', E *son*, OFri. *suno* m. 'id.', OS *sunu* m. 'id.', Du. *zoon* c. 'id.', OHG *sun(u)* m. 'id.', G *Sohn* m. 'id.' ⇒ **suH-nú-* (IE) — Identical to Skt. *sūnú-* m. 'son, offspring', Av. *hunu-* m. 'offspring', Lith. *sūnùs* m. 'son', OPru. *souns* m. 'id.', OCS *synъ*, Ru. *syn*, SCr. *sîn* m. 'id.'.

Like its Indo-European cognates, PGm. **sunu-* points to end stress, the short **u* in the first syllable being the result of Dybo's law of pretonic shortening. The word was derived from the PIE root **suH-* 'to give birth to',

cf. Skt. *sū́te* 'id.' < **suH-(t)o-*, OIr. *suth* m. 'fruit, offspring' < **suH-tú-* and ToA *se*, gen. *seyo*, ToB *soy* 'son', Gr. υἱός, υἱύς m. 'id.' < **suH-iu-*.

****sūpan-*** s.v. 'to guzzle, soak' — ON *súpa* s.v. 'to sip, drink', Far. *súpa* s.v. 'to eat with a spoon', Elfd. *saupa* s.v. 'to drink; to sniff', OE *sūpan* s.v. 'to sup, to drink', MDu. *supen* s.v. 'to guzzle', Du. *zuipen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *sūfan* s.v. 'id.', G *saufen* w.v. 'to drink', intr. 'to sink' (DRV).

In view of the secondary full grade **ū* (for expected **eu*) and the root-final shortened geminate, the strong verb is best analyzed as a back-formation to the iterative **supp/bōn-* 'to soak' (q.v.). Also cf. OFri. *sūpa* m. 'buttermilk', MDu. *supe* f. 'soup, porridge'.

****supp/bōn-*** w.v. 'to soak' — Go. *supon* w.v. 'to season (< *'to dip'?)', Icel. *subba* w.v. 'to soil', Nw. *subba* w.v. 'to dabble', OE *soppian* w.v. 'to dip, dunk', E *to sop* ~ *sob* 'to soak, dip', MDu. *sopp(er)en* w.v. 'to soak', Du. *soppen* w.v. 'to soak; be wet', OHG *sofōn*, *soffōn* w.v. 'to dunk' (IE?) — Skt. *sūpa-* m. 'sauce, soup, broth' < **suH-ph₃-o-*.

The iterative to the strong verb **sūpan-* (< Pre-Gm. **sūppan-*). It is probably related to Skt. *sūpa-*, which I analyze as a compound of the PIE roots **seuH-* 'to pour' (cf. Hitt. *šuḫḫai* ~ *šuḫḫanzi* 'to pour') and **peh₃-* 'to drink' (cf. Ved. *píbati* 'id.' < **pi-ph₃-e-*). The lack of aspiration in Sanskrit may be due to dissimilation of the second laryngeal, while the short **u* of PGm. **supp/bōn-* can be due to similar loss of the first.

****sūra-*** adj. 'sour' — ON *súrr* adj. 'sour, bitter', Far. *súrur* adj. 'acid, sourish', Elfd. *saur* adj. 'id.', OE *sūr* adj. 'id.', E *sour*, OFri. *sūre* adj. 'id.', Du. *zuur* adj. 'id.', OHG *sūr* adj. 'id.', G *sauer* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **súH-ro-* (NEUR) — Lith. *sū́ras*, Latv. *sūrs* adj. 'salt, salty, bitter', OCS *syrъ* adj. 'damp, fresh'; Ru. *syrój* adj. 'damp, raw', SCr. *sȉrov* adj. 'raw, crude, damp' < **suH-ro-*; Lith. *sū́ris* m. 'cheese', OPru. *suris* 'id.', OCS *syrъ*, Ru. *syr*, SCr. *sȉr* m. 'id.' < **suH-r-(i)o-*.

Also cf. ON *súrr* m. 'leaven' and - with ablaut - ON *saurr*, Far. *seyrur* m. 'mud, dirt, slush' < **saura-* < **souH-ro-*. The lack of pretonic shortening in **sūra-* points to root stress.

****surgō-*** f. 'grief, sorrow, worry' — Go. *saurga* f. 'id.', ON *sorg* f. 'id.', Far. *sorg* f. 'id.', Elfd. *sorg* f. 'id.', OE *sorg*, *sorh* f. 'id.', E *sorrow*, OS *sorga* f. 'id.', Du. *zorg* c. 'id.', OHG *sorga*, *sworga* f. 'id.', G *Sorg* f. 'id.' ⇒ **surgʰ-eh₂-* (IE) — ToA *särk* 'illness, pain' < **surgʰ-*; OIr. *serg* m. 'illness' < **suergʰ-o-*; Lith. *sir̃gti* (*sergù*) 'to be ill' < **sergʰ-e-*; OCS *sraga* f. 'illness' < **sorgʰ-eh₂-*; perhaps also here Skt. *sū́rkṣati* 'to heed, care about' < **súrgʰ-s-e-*(?).

A verb created to a root varying between **sergʰ-* and **suergʰ-* (cf. LIV², s.v. ?**suergʰ-*). OHG *sworga* may have analogical **sw-* after an unattested full-grade form **swerg-*.

swabjan- w.v. 'to cause to sleep' — ON *svefja* w.v. 'to lull to sleep, soothe', OE *swebban* w.v. 'to put to sleep', poet. 'to kill', OHG *swebben* w.v. 'to put to sleep' ⇒ **suop-éie-* (IE).

The causative to **sufan-* (q.v.).

swaipan- s.v. 'to sweep' — ON *sveipa* s.v. 'to cast; to wrap, swaddle', OE *swāpan* s.v. 'to sweep', E *to swope*, OHG *sweifan* s.v. 'to sway, swing, sling' (DRV).

An *o*-grade intensive verb derived from the iterative **swipp/bōn-* (q.v.). The verb is closely related to OS *far-swīpan* s.v. 'to expel', EDu. *swijpen* s.v. 'to drag' < **swīpan-*, a variant of **swīban-* (q.v.). With the same vocalism, cf. Go. *midja-sweipains* f. 'Deluge'. See further **swaipjan-*.

swaipjan- w.v. 'to sweep, cast' — ON *sveipa* w.v. 'to sweep, drive; to wrap, swaddle', ME *swēpen* 'to sweep; to destroy; to rush', E *to sweep*, MHG *sweifen* w.v. 'to roam, wander', G *schweifen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

The causative to **swaipan-* (q.v.).

swaita- m./n. 'sweat' — ON *sveiti* m. 'sweat; blood', Far. *sveiti* m. 'blood' (< **swaitan-*), OE *swāt* n. 'sweat', OFri. *swēt* m. 'id.', WFri. *swit* n. 'id.', Du. *zweet* n. 'id.', OHG *sweiz* m. 'id.', G *Schweiß* m. 'sweat; blood (in hunters' jargon)' ⇒ **suoid-o-* (IE) — Skt. *svéda-* m. 'sweat', YAv. *xᵛaēδa-* m. 'id.', Oss. *xid* / *xed* 'id.'.

Also cf. the factitive ON *sveita-st* refl.w.v. 'to sweat', OE *swǣtan* w.v. 'to sweat, bleed', OHG *sweizzen* w.v. 'id.' < **swaitjan-*. Not directly related to Skt. *svedáyati* 'to make sweat', which is a causative. See also **switjan-*.

swajuta- n. 'host' — ON *sveit*, *sjót* n. 'company, host', OE *swēot* n. 'troop, band' (GM).

Etymology unclear. It is possible to reconcile ON *sveit* < **swait-*, *sjót* < **s(w)euta-* and OE *swēot* < **sweut-* into a proto-form **swaiuta-* (cf. Magnússon 1989: 823, 997), a formation possibly containing the suffix **-ut-* as in e.g. OE *frēot* m. 'freedom' < **frī-uta-*. The origin of the element **swai-* is uncertain, but it may be related to **swe-* 'self, one's own' (q.v.).

swaljan- w.v. 'to burn' — OHG *swellen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **suolH-éie-* (EUR).

The causative to **swelan-* (q.v.). With the same root vowel, cf. ON *svalr*, Far. *svalur* adj. 'cool, fresh' (< *'burning cold') and Elfd. *suolå* w.v. 'to cool' < **swalōjan-*. West Germanic has a lengthened grade, cf. MHG *swuol*, G *Schwül*, Du. *zwoel*, obs. *zoel* adj. 'warm' < **swōlu-*.

swalljan- w.v. 'to cause to swell' — OHG *swellen* w.v. 'id.', MHG *swellen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

The causative to **swellan-* (q.v.). Also cf. Go. *uf-swalleins* f. 'pride, arrogance'.

swalwōn- f. 'swallow' — ON *svala* f. 'id.', Far. *svala* f. 'id.', Elfd. *sålå*, obl. *salu* f. 'id.', OE *swealwe, swealewe* f. 'id.', E *swallow*, WFri. *swel* c. 'id.', EFri. *swoalke* f. 'id.', OS *swala* f. 'id.', Du. *zwaluw* f. 'id.', OHG *swalawa* f. 'id.', G *Schwalbe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **suoHl-uéh₂-* (DRV).

Related to Icel. *súla* f. 'gannet' < **sūlōn-* and Icel. *sýla* w.v. 'to nick, chip', Far. *sýla* w.v. 'to cut a hole in a piece of wood (for a bung); to insert a wedge-shaped piece into a corresponding incision' < **sūljan-*. Apparently, both the gannet and the swallow were named after their characteristically wedge-shaped tails (see further under **sūli-*). The underlying form, **suoHl-ueh₂-* developed into **swalwōn-* by pretonic shortening (Dybo's law). In Old Norse, the labial of the suffix was removed on the basis of the obl. **svǫlu*, cf. ON *gata* f. 'street' < **gatwōn-* and *tjara* f. 'tar' < **terwōn-*.

swamb/ppan- m. 'sponge, mushroom' — Go. *swamms* m. 'sponge', ON *svǫppr* m. 'mushroom' (< **swampu-*), Far. *soppur* m. 'wisp of straw; mushroom; fungus', Elfd. *sopp* m. 'mushroom; fungus', OE *swam, swom* m. 'id.', MDu. *swam(me)* m. 'id.', Du. *zwam* c. 'mushroom', OHG *swamp/swam* m. 'id.', G *Schwamm* m. 'sponge; mushroom' (NIE).

The Germanic root variation between **swamba(n)-* and **swampu-* points to a primary *n*-stem **swambō*, gen. **swamp(p)az*, acc.pl. **swamp(p)uns* < **suómbʰ-ōn*, **suombʰ-n-ós*, **suombʰ-n-ńs*. The alternant **swamma(n)-* arose from **swamb-na-*, which like e.g. Go. *stairna*, ON *stjarna* f. 'star' < **h₂ster-n-* generalized the zero-grade suffix at a late stage. On a deeper level, the word displays insurmountable differences with the other PIE languages, cf. OCS *gǫba* f. 'mushroom' < **g(h)umb(h)-*, Lat. *fungus* 'id.' < **gʷʰong(h)-*, Gr. σπόγγος, σφόγγος 'sponge' < **skʷ(h)ong-*, Arm. *sunk* < **suongʷʰ-*. This implies that we are dealing with a non-IE word that spread across Europe before the arrival of the Indo-Europeans. Note that it is unlikely, for that reason, that Georg. dial. *ǯumpva-* 'to saturate with water', Mingr. *do-ǯumpua* 'to bespatter with mud' and Laz *o-ǯumpu* 'to soak' were borrowed from a PIE source (*pace* Klimov 1991).

swammjan- w.v. 'to make swim' — OE *be-swemman* w.v. 'id.', MHG *swemmen* w.v. 'id.', G *schwemmen* w.v. 'to float, wash' (GM?).

The causative to **swimman-* (q.v.).

swamōn- w.v. 'to swim' — Far. *svam(b)la* w.v. 'to splash around water, bathe', Nw. *svamla* w.v. 'id.', MHG *swamen* w.v. 'to swim' (GM?).

An *o*-grade iterative to **swimman-* (q.v.).

swana- m. 'swan' — ON *svanr* adj. 'id.', Far. *svanur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *swan* m. 'id.', OE *swan, swon* m. 'id.', E *swan*, OS *swan* m. 'id.', Du. *zwaan* c. 'id.', OHG *swan* m. 'id.', G *Schwan* m. 'id.' ⇒ **suonh₂-o-* (IE?) — Skt. *svánati* 'to sound, hum' < **suénh₂-e-*; Lat. *sonus* m. 'sound, noise; speech' < **suonh₂-o-* (whence Lat. *sonāre* 'to sound'); Olr. *seinnid* 'to play (a musical instrument)' < **su̯n-n-éh₂-*; MW *honni* 'to announce' < **suonh₂-eie-*(?).

Usually interpreted as "the singing bird". The belief that swans, or at least Mute Swans, sing before they die ("swan song") is erroneous, but the Whooper Swan (cf. G *Sing-schwan*) does have a distinctive honk.

swanhan- v. 'to swing' — E *to sway*, OFri. *swaaie* w.v. 'id.', Du. *zwaaien* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **suo-n-k-* (NEUR) — Lith. *sùkti* (*sukù*) 'to twist' < **suk-*; OCS *sъkati*, Ru. *skat'* (*sku*) 'to wind, twine' < **suk-eh₂-*; Ru. *sučít'* (*sučú*) 'to twine' < **souk-éie-*.

A word attested only in the languages surrounding the North Sea. It may have spread from MDu. **swaeyen*, which I reconstruct as **swanhan-* (hardly **swē(j)an-* in view of Du. (Stellingwerf) *zwaaien* vs. *dri'jen* 'to turn' < **þrēan-* (q.v.)). The implied base **swanh-* can be derived from a nasalized variant of the root **suek-* that is attested in Balto-Slavic.

swar(j)an- s.v. 'to swear' — Go. *swaran* s.v. 'id.', ON *sverja* s.v. 'id.', Far. *svørja* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *swera* s.v. 'id.', OE *swerian* s.v. 'id.', E *to swear*, OFri. *swera, swara, swora* s.v. 'id.', OS *swerian* s.v. 'id.', Du. *zweren* s.v. 'id.', OHG *swerren* s.v. 'id.', G *schwören* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **suór-(i)e-* (NEUR?) — OCS *svarъ* m. 'fight, struggle' < **suōr-eh₂-*, whence OCS *svariti* 'to vilify, scold, fight, struggle'.

No certain IE etymology. The aforementioned Slavic forms may rather belong to **swurrōn-* (q.v.). With a slightly different meaning, cf. ON *svǫr* n.pl. 'answer', OE *and-swaru* f. 'id.' < **swarō-* and the derived ON *svara* w.v. 'to answer' < **swarōjan-*. See also **swōra-*.

swe- pref. 'self-' — Go. *swi-kunþs*, *swe-kunþs* adj. 'manifest, evident', ON *své-dauðr* adj. 'suddenly-dead' ⇒ **sue-* (IE) — Skt. *svá-* pron. 'his, his own', Av. *xᵛa-* pron. 'own' Gr. Hom. ἑ pron. 'himself' < **sue-*; Gr. ὅς pron. 'his, his own' < **suo-*; OLat. *souos*, lat. Lat. *suus*, Lith. *sāvas*, Latv. *savs* pron. 'his own' < **souo-*.

An IE reflexive prefix. The PGm. proto-form **swe-* was probably secondarily lengthened in Go. *swe-* as well as ON *své-*. See also **swē*.

swē adv. 'as, like; so' — Go. *swe* adv. 'id.', ON *svá* adv. 'id.', Far. *so* adv. 'id.', Elfd. *så* adv. 'id.', OE *swā, swæ, swē* adj. 'id.', E *so* adv. 'id.', OFri. *sā* adv. 'id.', OS *sō* adv. 'id.', Du. *zo* adv. 'id.', OHG *sō* adv. 'id.', G *so* adv. 'id.' (IE).

An adverb (and conjuction) derived from the PIE root **sue-* 'his, his own, self', for which see **swe-*.

swēbjan- w.v. 'to cause to sleep' — ON *svæfa*, *sœfa* w.v. 'to lull to sleep; to calm down' (DRV).

A late causative formation to **sufan-* (q.v.). The formation is not directly comparable to Lat. *sōpīre* 'to cause to sleep' < **suōp-ie-*: Klingenschmitt 1978 postulated a PIE Narten causative on the basis of the comparison with ON *sœfa*, which he reconstructed as **swōbjan-*. In reality, the form *sœfa* only arose secondarily from *svæfa* < **swēbjan-*, cf. ON *sœnskr* 'Swedish' < *svænskr*. This **swēbjan-* has its long *ē* from the pret.pl. stem **swēb-*, where it in synchronic Proto-Germanic functioned as a secondary zero grade. This derivational pathway is parallel to e.g. the creation of ON *kvæma* w.v. 'to fulfil, bring about' < **kwēmjan-* to ON *koma* 'to come'. The original causative is represented by **swabjan-*.

swebla- m. 'sulfur' — Go. *swibls* m. 'id.', OE *swefl* m. 'id.', MDu. *swavel*, *swevel*, Limb. *swegel* m. 'id.', Du. *zwavel* c. 'id.', OHG *swebal*, *swefal* m. 'id.', G *Schwefel* m. 'id.' ⇒ **sue(l)plo-* (NIE) — Lat. *sulpur*, *-uris* n. 'sulfur'; SCr. *sumpor* 'id.'; Arm. *ccumb* 'id.', Sp. *azufre* 'id.', Port. *enxofre* 'id.', Hebr. *gofrít* 'id.', Tur. *kükürt* 'id.', Mong. *xyxəp* 'id.', etc.

A pre-IE *Wanderwort* with clear connections to the East Mediterranean. Given the formal similarities between the Germanic and the Latin word, it is possible to think that PGm. **swebla-* and Lat. *sulpur* was adopted from a similar source. The word gave rise to several different Germanic formal variants: 1) Go. *swibls* < **swebla-* (for the vowel, also cf. Swi. Rhntl. *šwɛəfil*); 2) MDu. *swavel*, Du. *zwavel* < **swēbla-*; and 3) Bav. *Schwelfel* < **swelflo-*. The latter has been regarded as an original, undissimilated form continuing Pre-Gm. **suelplo-*. Note that the variation between OHG *swebal* and *swefal* (cf. Swi. Visp. *šwæbol* vs. G *Schwefel*) can be due to the operation of Bahder's law (**-bl-* > **-fl-*) within the WGm. paradigm nom. **swebl̥*, gen. **swebles*. The form MDu., WPhal. *swegel* arose from *swevel* by late dissimilation.

swefna- m. 'sleep' — ON *svefn* m. 'sleep; dream', Far. *svøvnur* m. 'sleep; numbness in limbs', Elfd. *swemmen* m. 'id.', OE *swefn* n. 'sleep; dream', OS *sweƀan* m. 'sleep' ⇒ **suép-no-* (IE) — ToA *ṣpäṃ*, ToB *ṣpane* m. 'sleep', Skt. *svápna-* m. 'sleep, dream', YAv. *xᵛafna-* m. 'id.', Oss. *fyn* / *fun* 'id.'; Lat. *somnus* m. 'sleep', OIr. *súan*, W *hun* 'id.' < **sue/op-no-*; Arm. *kʿun* 'id.', Lith. *sãpnas* m. 'dream' < **suop-no-*; Gr. ὕπνος m. 'sleep', OCS *sъnъ*, Ru. *son*, SCr. *sȁn* m. 'sleep, dream', Alb. *gjumē* 'sleep' < **sup-no-*.

The IE word for 'sleep'. The absence of Kluge's law points to original root stress, like in Skt. *svápna-*. In PIE, the word was probably inflected as an ablauting *r/n*-stem, nom./acc. **suóp-r*, gen. **suép-n-s* in view of Gr. ὕπαρ n.

'real appearance, state of wakening' < *sup-r̥ (also cf. Hit. *šuppariie/azi* 'to sleep') and Lat. *sopor* m. 'deep sleep' < *suep-r-.

swēgura- m. 'brother-in-law' — MDu. *swager* m. 'id.', Du. *zwager* c. 'id.', MHG *swāger* m. 'id.', G *Schwager* m. 'id.' ⇒ *suēḱuró- (IE) — Formally close to Skt. *śvāśurá-* adj. 'belonging to the father-in-law' < *suēḱuró-.

A *vr̥ddhi*-derivation to *swehra(n)- (q.v.).

swegru- f. 'mother-in-law' — OE *sweger* f. 'id.', OHG *swigur* f. 'id.', G *Schwieger* f. 'id.' ⇒ *sueḱr-ú- (IE) — Skt. *śvaśrú-* f. 'id.', Arm. *skesur* 'id.', OCS *svekry*, Ru. *svekróv'*, SCr. *svèkrva* f. 'id.', Lat. *socrus* f. 'id.', MW *chwegr* f. 'id.' < *sueḱr-uh₂-.

The feminine to *swehra(n)-.

swehra(n)- m. 'father-in-law' — Go. *swaihra* m. 'id.', OSw. *svær* m. 'id.', Elfd. *swäre* m. 'id.', OE *swehor*, *swēor* m. 'id.', MDu. *swere*, *sweer*, *swaer* m. 'id.', OHG *swehur*, *sweher* m. 'id.', G *Schwāher* m. 'id.' ⇒ *suéḱur-o(n)- (IE) — Skt. *śváśura-* m. 'father-in-law', YAv. *xᵛasura-* m. 'id.', NP *xusur* 'id.', Gr. ἑκυρός m. 'id.', Lat. *socer* m. 'id.', Lith. *šẽšuras* m. 'id.', CS *svekrъ*, Ru. *svëkor*, SCr. *svèkar* m. 'id.', Alb. *vjehërr* m. 'id.' < *suéḱuro-.

Also cf. the derived Go. *swaihro* f. 'mother-in-law' < *swehrōn- and ON *sværa*, Elfd. *swära* f. 'mother-in-law' < *swehrjōn-. Related to *swēgura-, *swegru- and *suhturwjan- (q.v.).

swelan- s.v. 'to burn' — OE *swelan* s.v. 'to burn, perish with heat' ⇒ *suélH-e- (EUR) — Gr. ἴλη f. 'warmth, heat of the sun' < *suel-ieh₂-; Arm. *nkʻołim* 'to be dried, parched, tired, unwell (e.g. from hunger)' < *ni-suolH-eie- (Martirosyan 2009: 513); Lith. *svìlti* (*svįlù*) 'to scorch, singe' < *su(-n̥)-lH-; Latv. *svals* m. 'vapor, smoke' < *suolH-o-.

A strong verb to a European root *suelH- (not *suel-, *pace* LIV²: 609). It is possible that the root developed from *sueld-, and thus represents *suelh₁- (with *h_1 < *d). See also *swaljan-.

***sweljan-*(?)** m. 'sister's husband' — ON *svili* m. 'id.' ⇒ *suel-ion- (IE) — Gr. ἀέλιοι m.pl. 'brothers-in-law' < *sm-suel-io-.

ON *svili* is unexpected, as the outcome of *swelan- should have been *sveli* (thus Magnússon 1989: 1002): perhaps the word was originally inflected as a *jan*-stem: *svili*, pl. *sviljar* < *suel-ion-. The *j*-suffix must then have been removed from the paradigm on the basis of the nominative singular. Originally *ga-swel-jan-?

swellan- s.v. 'to swell' — ON *svella* s.b. 'id.', Far. *svølla* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *swella* s.v. 'id.', OE *swellan* s.v. 'id.', E *to swell*, OFri. *swella* s.v. 'id.', OS *swellan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *zwellen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *swellan* s.v. 'id.', G *schwellen* s.v. 'id.' (GM).

An exclusively Germanic verb. See also **swul(l)i-*.

sweltan- s.v. 'to dwindle, starve, perish' — Go. *swiltan* s.v. 'to die, lie dying', ON *svelta* s.v. 'to die; to starve, suffer hunger', Far. *svølta* s.v. 'to starve', Elfd. *swelta* s.v. 'id.', OE *sweltan, swiltan, swyltan* s.v. 'to perish', OS *sweltan* s.v. 'to die', MDu. *swelten* s.v. 'to languish, pine, crave', OHG *swelzan* s.v. 'to burn', MHG *swelzen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **suéld-e-*(?) (IE).

Often connected to Arm. *kʿalcʿ* 'hunger' < **su̯ld-sko-*(?), but in view of the semantic field of OHG *swelzan* 'to burn(?), pine(?)' (Seebold 1970: 491), the original meaning in Germanic may have been 'to smart', whence 'to burn' and 'to feel hungry, starve'. Further related to **swelan-*? If so, PIE may have had two formal variants of a single root, i.e. **sueld-* and **suelh₁-*. For the surfacing of **d* as **h₁*, cf. e.g. **wīda-* 'wide'.

swēra- adj. 'heavy' — Go. *swers* adj. 'dignified', ON *svárr* adj. 'heavy, grave', Far. *svárur* adj. 'hard, distressing, painful', OE *swǣr* adj. 'difficult', OFri. *swēr* adj. 'hard, difficult; pregnant', OS *swār* adj. 'heavy, glorious', Du. *zwaar* adj. 'heavy', OHG *swār, swāri* adj. 'id.', G *schwer* adj. 'id.' (NEUR) — Lith. *sveřti* (*sveriù*) 'to weigh, to balance' < **suer-e-*; Lith. *svarùs* adj. 'heavy' < **suor-u-*.

A *vr̥ddhi*-adjective to an unattested strong verb **sweran-*. Derivationally parallel to **wēta-* 'wet' (q.v.).

sweran- s.v. 'to ulcerate, gather' — MDu. *sweren* w.v. 'id.', Du. *zweren* s.v. 'id.', OHG *sweran* w.v. 'id.', G *schwären* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **suér-e-* (IE) — YAv. *xᵛara-* m. 'wound, sore' (cf. Oss. *xæryn* / *xwærun* 'to itch, scratch'), Arm. *kʿor* 'itch'; W *chwarren* f. '(swollen) gland, swelling' < **su̯r-s-in-eh₂-* (with unexpected vocalization of the *r*); OIr. *serb*, W *chwerw* adj. 'bitter' < **suer-uo-*.

Also cf. OHG *swero* m. 'ache, ulcer', G *Schwäre*, MDu. *swere*, Du. *zweer* c. 'boil, ulcer' < **sweran-* and OHG *swer(a)do* m. 'ache' < **sweraþan-*. A zero grade is found in EDu. *sueren, so(o)ren* w.v. 'to ache', Du. *zeuren* 'to nag, ache' < **sur-ie-*.

swerda- n. 'sword' — ON *sverð* n. 'id.', OE *sweord, swurd* n. 'id.', E *sword*, OFri. *swerd* n. 'id.', ODu. *swert* n. 'id.', Du. *zwaard* n. 'id.', OHG *swert* n. 'id.', G *Schwert* n. 'id.' ⇒ **suer-dʰro-* (DRV).

No certain etymology, but possibly derived from **sweran-* (q.v.). It is attractive to assume that **swerda-* was dissimilated from **swerdra-*, i.e. a formation created with the instrumental suffix **-dra-* < **-dʰro-*. The derivation from a **sHu-er-tó-*, allegedly related to CLuv. *šiḫu̯al* 'dagger' (Nikolaev

2009), is impossible, as the suggested proto-form would have yielded ***sawerda-* in Germanic.

swerkan- s.v. 'to darken, become gloomy/sad' — OE *sweorcan* s.v. 'id.', OS *swerkan* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *swerken* s./w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **suérg-e-* (NEUR) — Ru. *Svaróg* m. 'god of celestial fire and blacksmithing(?)' < **suorg-o-*.

A strong verb probably containing the PIE root **suerg-*, whence OE *ge-sweorc* n. 'cloud', Du. *zwerk* n. 'sky', OHG *gi-swerc* n. 'dark overcast' < **(ga-)swerka-* and - with ablaut - OE *swarcian* w.v. 'to become dark' < **swarkōjan-*. OIr. *sorb* 'fault' < **suorgʷ-*(?) does not seem to be related. Skt. *svargá-* m. 'sky' < **sh₂u-el-go-* was derived from the PIE word for 'sun', for which see **sōel- ~ *sunnōn-*.

swester- f. 'sister' — Go. *swistar* f. 'id.', ON *systir* f. 'id.', Far. *systir* f. 'id.', Elfd. *syster* f. 'id.', OE *sweostor, suster* f. 'id.', E *sister*, OFri. *swester* f. 'id.', OS *swestar, sustar* f. 'id.', Du. *zuster* f. 'id.', OHG *swestar, soster* f. 'id.', G *Schwester* f. 'id.' ⇒ **sués-or-* (IE) — ToA *ṣar*, ToB *ṣer* 'sister', Skt. *svásar-* f. 'id.', YAv. *xᵛaŋhar-* f. 'id.', NP *xwāhar, xwahar* 'id.', Oss. *xo* / *xʷæræ* 'id.', Arm. *kʿoyr* 'id.', Gr. Hsch. ἔορ f. 'daughter, cousin', Lat. *soror, -ōris* f. 'sister', OIr. *siur* f. 'id.', MW *chwaer* f. 'id.', Lith. *sesuõ* f. 'sister', OPru. *swestro* 'id.', OCS *sestra*, Ru. *sestrá*, SCr. *sèstra* f. 'id.'.

The IE word for 'sister', nom. **sués-ōr*, gen. **sus-r-ós*. Germanic appears to have a suffix **-ter-* in this word, which can be analogical after **brōþer-* 'brother' (q.v.) < PIE **bʰreh₂-ter-*. Alternatively, the *t* may have spread from the original genitive case **sus-r-ós*, where it would be epenthetic.

****sweþan-*** s.v. 'to burn (with smoke)' — OHG *swedan* s.v. 'id.' (GM).

No certain etymology. There is a possibility that the verb developed from a zero-grade present **swiþan-* by *a*-mutation (Pokorny IEW: 1042). If so, it may be related (or even etymologically identical) to **swīþan-* 'to burn, ache'. Also cf. OHG *sweda* f. 'vapor' < **sweþō(n)-*, MHG *swadem, swaden* m. 'haze' < **swaþma-* and OE *swaþul* m. 'smoke' < **swaþ(V)la-*.

****swīban-*** s.v. 'to sway, swerve' — ON *svífa* s.v. 'to ramble; to swerve, drift; to bustle', Far. *svíva* s.v. 'to float, hang, swing', OE *swīfan* s.v. 'to move, wend, sweep', OFri. *swīva* s.v. 'to deviate', MDu. *swiven* w.v. 'to move, remove', MHG *swīfen* s.v. 'to move, swing' ⇒ **kʷséibʰ-e-* (IE?) — Skt. *kṣipáti* 'to throw' < **kʷsip-e-*; Av. *xšuuaēβaiiaṯ.aštra-* 'swinging the whip' < **ksʷoibʰ-eie-* (with metathesis?); OCS *šibati* 'to whip', Ru. *šibát'* (*šibáju*) 'to throw, hit', SCr. *šîbati* 'to flog, whip' < **kʷseibʰ-eh₂-ie-*; MIr. *scibid* 'to move, recede', MW *chwyfu, chwifio* 'id.' < **skʷibʰ-ie-* or **kʷsibʰ-ie-*.

By reconstructing the Germanic form as **swīfan-*, the verb can together with Skt. *kṣipáti* be derived from a PIE root **kʷséip-* (> Pre-Gm. **ksʷeip-* like

in Av. *xšuuaēβ-* < **ksʷoibʰ*?). The reconstruction of PGm. medial *-f-* is not certain, however, as MHG *swīfen* in view of EDu. *swijpen* alternatively may continue **swīpan-* < **swīpp-*, a form that just like the *o*-grade reduplicated verb **swaipan-* adopted its *p* from the iterative **swipp/bōn-* (q.v.). It therefore seems better to reconstruct the root as **kʷseibʰ-*, a form that is further confirmed by OCS *šibati*, MIr. *scibid* and MW *chwyfu* (PCelt. **sk-* gave PBrit. **hu̯-* in front of front vowels, Jørgensen 2012: 212). Latv. *svàipît* 'to whip' can be a loanword from PGm. **swaipjan-*.

****swīgēn-*** w.v. 'to be silent' — OE *swīgian, sugian* w.v. 'id.', OFri. *swīgia* w.v. 'id.', OS *swīgon* w.v. 'id.', Du. *zwijgen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *swīgēn* w.v. 'id.', G *schweigen* s.v. 'id.' (GM).

An originally weak stative verb that in German and Dutch became strong, for which cf. the appurtenant causative OHG *sweigen*, Swi. Visp. *šweiggu* w.v. 'to (make) shut up' < **swaigjan-*. No further etymology. The connections with Gr. σῑγάω 'to be silent' an Gr. σιωπάω 'id.' are formally impossible.

****swiglōjan-*** w.v. 'to play the flute' — Go. *swiglon* w.v. 'id.', EDu. *sweghelen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *swegalōn* w.v. 'id.', MHG *swegeln* w.v. 'id.' (GM).

A denominative verb derived from OHG *swegala*, EDu. *sweghel* f. 'flute' < **swiglō-* (also cf. OE *swegel-horn* 'some kind of musical instrument'). No further etymology, probably originally an onomatopoeia.

****swimman-*** s.v. 'to swim, float' — ON *swimma* s.v.3 *svima, symja* s.v.4 'id.', Far. *svimja* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *simma* s.v. 'id.', OE *swimman* s.v. 'id.', E *to swim*, MDu. *swemmen* s.v. 'to swim, float', Du. *zwemmen* s.v. 'to swim', OHG *swimman* s.v. 'id.', G *schwimmen* s.v. 'id.' (GM?).

The WGm. forms all point to a verb **swimman-*, which developed from a nasal present, i.e. either **suem-ne-* or **sue-n-m-e-*. In Old Norse, the variation between *svimma* (*svam, summu*) vs. *svima* (*svam, svǫ́mu*) implies that the alternation between the presentic root **swVmm-* and the preterite root **swVm-* was preserved up to a relatively late stage: *svima* was probably created on the basis of the preterite, otherwise the *i*, which in **swemm-* regularly arose before the covered nasal, remains unexplained. In a similar way, the variant *symja* may have been created by adding the presentic *j*-suffix: **swemjan-* > ON *symja*. There is no need to reconstruct a zero-grade formation **s(w)umjan-* (*pace* e.g. Magnússon 1989: 1010). The verb has no good extra-Gm. etymology. The connection with Olr. *seinnid* 'to reach, bring' is extremely doubtful, both on the formal and semantic side. See also **swammjan-*, **swamōn-* and **sunda-*.

swīna- n. 'pig' — Go. *swein* n. 'id.', ON *svín* n. 'id.', Far. *svín* n. 'id.', Elfd. *swain* n. 'id.', OE *swīn* n. 'id.', E *swine*, OFri. *swīn* n. 'id.', OS *swīn* n. 'id.', Du. *zwijn* n. 'id.', OHG *swīn* n. 'id.', G *Schwein* n. 'id.' (DRV).

A derivative of **sū-* ~ **suw-* 'sow' with the neuter diminutive suffix **-īna-*, cf. Go. *gaitein* n. 'little goat, kid'. Only indirectly related to Lat. *suīnus* adj. 'consisting of pork'.

****swīnan-*** s.v. 'to dwindle, decrease' — ON *svína* s.v. 'to go down, subside', OHG *swīnan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *swīnen* s.v. 'id.' (IE).

An *n*-present to the root **dʰgʷʰei-*, cf. Nw. dial. *svå* w.v. 'to abate' < **swīan-*. A slightly different (iterative?) formation is Icel. *svina* w.v. 'to subside, disappear', Nw. *svina*, *svena* w.v. 'id.' < **swinōn-* < **dʰgʷʰi-neh₂-*. Formally, it is notable that the Germanic verbs with this root show a remarkable set of variants, viz. **dwīnan-*, **swīnan-* and **þwīnan-*. Apparently, the outcome of the initial cluster **dʰgʷʰ-* was unstable in Germanic.

****swipp/bōn-*** w.v. 'to sway, swerve' — ON *svipa* w.v. 'to move swiftly, shift; to whip', OE *swipian* w.v. 'to strike, scourge, lash', G *schwippen* w.v. 'to sway' ⇒ **kʷsibʰ-néh₂-* (IE?).

The iterative to **swīban-* (q.v.). The root **swibb-* (cf. G *schwippen*) arose as a secondary variant from the original paradigm 3sg. **swippōþi*, 3pl. **swibunanþi* < **skʷibʰ-néh₂-ti*, **skʷibʰ-nh₂-énti*. The iterative OHG *sweibōn* w.v. 'to float, turn' probably adopted its ablaut from **swaipan-* (q.v.).

****switjan-*** w.v. 'to sweat' — OHG *swizzen* w.v. 'id.', G *schwitzen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **suid-ie-* (IE) — Identical to ToB *sāyā-* 'to sweat', Skt. *svídyati* 'id.'; also cf. Gr. εἶδος n. 'sweat' (cf. Gr. ἵδίω, Hom. εἰδίω), Lat. *sūdor* m. 'id.', MW *chuis* m. 'id.' < **suéid-ōs*, **suid-s-ós*; Arm. *kʿirt-n* 'id.', Alb. *djersē* f. 'id.' < **suid-ro-*; Latv. *sviêdri* pl. 'id.' < **suoid-ro-*.

An *ie*-present related to **swaita-* (q.v.).

****swiþan-*** s.v. 'to burn, ache' — ON *svíða* s.v. 'to singe, burn', Far. *svíða* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *swaiða* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **(H)suéit-e-* (IE) — Av. *xᵛaēna-* 'glowing, blazing' < **(H)su-oi-no-*; Av. *hāuuaiieiti* 'to braise' < **(H)sou-éie-*.

Possibly, this verb represents a full-grade variant of **sweþan-* (q.v.), which may have developed from a zero-grade present **swiþan-* by *a*-mutation. The attested OHG *swedan* would then be parallel to the strong verb OHG *redan* 'to shiver' < **hreþan-* (q.v.), which similarly evolved from PGm. **hriþan-* < PIE **kri-t-e-*. In both of these formations, the root-final dental may have been suffixal in origin. This leaves us with a root **suei-*, which in turn may have come about as an *i*-present to the root **seu-* 'to braise' (cf. Seebold 1970: 487).

swōra- m. 'oath' — MHG *swuor* m. 'id.', G *Schwur* m. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from the strong verb **swar(j)an-* (q.v.). Also cf. the collective ON *sœri* n.pl. 'id.' < **swōrja-*.

swōtu- adj. 'sweet' — ON *sætr* adj. 'id.', Far. *søtur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *syōt* adj. 'id.', OE *swōt*, *swēte* adj. 'id.', E *sweet*, OFri. *swēte* adj. 'id.', OS *swōti* adj. 'id.', Du. *zoet* adj. 'id.', OHG *swuozi*, *suozi* adj. 'id.', G *süß* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **sueh₂d-u-* (IE) — Skt. *svādú-* adj. 'sweet, tasting good, pleasant', Gr. ἡδύς adj. 'sweet, tasteful, pleasant, pleasing', Lat. *suāvis* adj. 'sweet, pleasant'; also cf. ToA *swār*, ToB *swāre* adj. 'sweet' < **suh₂d-ro-* and OAv. *huδəma-* 'sweetness' < **suh₂d-mo-*.

The PIE word for 'sweet'. Most NWGm. languages point to a *ja*-stem **swōtja-* which replaced the *u*-stem **swōtu-* at a relatively late stage. OE *swōt*, for instance, shows no sign of umlaut. Go. *sutis* adj. 'mild' < **sŭti-*, *-ja-* has been compared as well, but its appurtenance is less certain because of the different meaning. If it belongs to **swōtu-*, however, it contains a zero-grade root **sūt-* < PIE **suh₂d-*. Did Germanic preserve an ablauting *u*-stem, viz. **suéh₂d-u-s*, gen. **suh₂d-u-ós*?

swul(l)i- m. 'boil' — ON *sullr* m. 'id.', Far. *sullur*, *svullur* m. 'id.', OE *swyle* m. 'id.' (DRV).

An *i*-stem to the strong verb **swellan-* (q.v.). In view of the short *l* of OE *swyle*, this verb is likely to have developed from an *n*-present **suel-ne-*.

swulti- m. 'starvation' — ON *sultr* m. 'hunger', Far. *svultur* m. 'id.', OE *swylt* m. 'death' (DRV).

An *i*-stem to **sweltan-* (q.v.).

swurrōn- w.v. 'to buzz, crackle(?)' — Icel. *surra* w.v. 'to creak', MLG *surren* w.v. 'to buzz' ⇒ **sur-néh₂-* (IE) — Skt. *svárati* 'to sound, make a sound, snort', OAv. *xᵛārəmna-* ptc.pres.med. 'swearing' < **suér-e-*; Gr. ὕρον n. 'beehive, bee swarm' < **suro-*; MW *chwyrnaf* 'to snore' < **suer-neh₂-*.

An iterative verb closely related to Icel. *svarra* w.v. 'to murmur, crack' < **swarrōn-* < **suor-néh₂-*. Also cf. MHG *surm* m. 'buzz' < **surma-* and Icel. *svarmr* m. 'tumult', OE *swearm* m. 'swarm, crowd', MDu. *swarm* n./m. 'swarm', Du. *zwerm* c. 'id.', OHG *swarm*, G *Schwarm* m. 'id.' < **swarma-*. Related to **swar(j)an-*(?).

T

tabjan- w.v. 'to delay, hinder' — ON *tefja* w.v. 'to hinder, delay' ⇒ **dobʰ-éie-* (IE) — Identical to OAv. *dābaiieitī* 'to deceive', YAv. *dauuaiieiṇtī-* ptc.f. 'damaging' < **dobʰ-éie-*; also cf. Skt. *dípsati* des. 'to deceive' < **di-dbʰ-s-e-*.

ON *tefja* formally and semantically classifies as a causative, which allows us to reconstruct the verb as Pre-Gm. **dobʰ-éie-*. I connect this formation to the aforementioned Indo-Iranian forms, which in spite of the older literature cannot be based on a root **dʰebʰ-* with aspirated dental (LIV²: 132-3). Cf. **tōba-* 'hesitation' and perhaps also Far. *tava* w.v. 'to endeavor, exert oneself'.

tafna- n. 'sacrificial meat' — ON *tafn* n. 'id.' ⇒ **dḱ₂p-no-* (IE/NIE) — Formally identical to Lat. *damnum* n. 'loss, expense', Arm. *tawn* 'feast'; also cf. Lat. *daps* f. 'sacrificial meal, feast' < **dh₂p-*; Gr. δαπάνη f. 'cost' < **dh₂p-nh₂-*; Hitt. *tappala-* 'person responsible for court cooking'(?).

A formation possibly derived from a verbal root, cf. Gr. δάπτω 'to tear to pieces, slaughter' < **dh₂p-ie-* and ToA *tāpā-* suppl. 'to eat' < **dh₂p-* (Adams 1999: 286). The word also has some conspicuously close lookalikes in Semitic, however, cf. Akk. *zību*, Ugar. *dbḥ*, Hebr. *zeḇaḥ* 'sacrifice, sacrificial animal' (cf. Möller 1911: 44-5). See also **tapp/bōn-* 'to lose'.

tagla- n. 'hair' — Go. *tagl* n. 'id.', ON *tagl* n. 'horse's hair, tail', OE *tægl* m. 'id.', E *tail*, MLG *tagel* 'end of a rope', OHG *zagal* m. 'tail, sting, penis', MHG *zagel* m. 'id.' ⇒ **do⁽ḱ⁾-ló- / *dH⁽ḱ⁾-ló-* (IE?).

The word has been compared to Skt. *daśā-* f. 'fringe' < **deḱ-eh₂-*, OIr. *dúal* m. 'tuft, plait' < **doḱ-lo-*(?) and SCr. *dlàka* f. 'single hair' < **dok-leh₂-* (with depalatalization and metathesis, Matasović 2009: 102). Within Germanic, however, **tagla-* can just as well be a diminutive **dHk-ló-* to the root of **tahjan-* 'to tear, unravel' or to **tōgan-* ~ **takkan-* 'prickle, branch'.

tagra-* ~ *trahna- n. 'tear' — Go. *tagr* n. 'id.', ON *tár* n. 'id.', Far. *tár* n. 'id.', Elfd. *tår* n. 'id.', OE *tæhher*, *tēar*, *teagor* m. 'id.', E *tear*, OFri. *tār* m./n. 'id.', OS *trahan* m. 'id.', Du. *traan* c. 'id.', OHG *trahan*, *zahar* m. 'id.', MHG *traher*, *zaher* m. 'id.', G *Trähne*, obs. *Zähre* f. 'id.' ⇒ **drḱ-h₂eḱ-ur/n-* (IE) — Gr. δάκρυ n. 'id.' < **dh₂ḱ-ru-*; Arm. *artawsr*, pl. *artasu-kʿ* 'id.' < **drh₂ḱ-ru-/-un-*; Lat. *dacrima*, *lacrima* 'id.' < **dh₂ḱ-ru-meh₂-*; OIr. *dér* n. 'id.', W *deigr* 'id.' < **dh₂ḱ-ro-*; also cf. Hitt. *išḫaḫru-* n. 'tear(s), weeping'.

An old PIE heteroclitic that can only be reconstructed with great difficulties due to the many formal problems in both Germanic and the other IE

languages. The Germanic dialects provide evidence for four different stem variants: 1) Go. *tagr*, OE *teagor* < **tagra-*; 2) OE *tæhher*, OFri. *tār*, OHG *zahar* < **tahra-*; 3) MHG *traher* < **trahra-*; and 4) OS, OHG *trahan* < **trahna-*. Presumably, these variants all split off from a heteroclitic paradigm, e.g. nom. **tragru* (> **tagru* by dissimilation), gen. **trahnaz*. According to Kortlandt 1985b, the original PIE word developed from a compound **drḱ-h₂eḱ-ur*, **drḱ-h₂eḱ-un-h₂*, identifying the first member as the PIE root **derḱ-* 'to see' (cf. **turhta-* 'clear'). The second element **h₂ek-ru-* 'tear' can be retrieved from ToA *ākār*, ToB *akrūna* pl. 'tear', Skt. *áśru-* n. 'id.', YAv. *asrū* n. pl. 'id.', NP *ars*, *ašk* 'id.' and - in modified form - from Lith. *ãšara*, Latv. *asara* f. 'id.' < **h₂eḱ-or-eh₂-*.

tahjan- w.v. 'to tear' — Go. *tahjan* w.v. 'lacerate, tear', Icel. *tæja* w.v. 'to card', Far. *tæ(g)a* w.v. 'to pluck loose; to unravel; to tear into bits and pieces', Nw. *tæja* w.v. 'to unravel, pluck' ⇒ **dh₁k-ié-* (GM).

Cf. Nw. *tå* w.v. 'to unravel' < **tahō(ja)n-*; ON *tág* (pl. *tágar*, *tægr*), Far. *tág* f. 'fibre, sinew' < **tēg-ō-* < **deh₁k-éh₂-*; MHG *zāche*, G Bav. *Zahen*, *Zachen* m. 'wick; tousle' < **tēhan-* < **deh₁k-on-* and perhaps also **tagla-* 'hair' < **dh̥₁k-lo-*.

taihwō(n)-* ~ *taiwō(n)- f. 'toe' — ON *tá*, pl. *tær* f. 'id.', Far. *tá*, pl. *tær*, dat. *tóm* f. 'id.', Elfd. *ton*, pl. *tōner* f. 'id.', OE *tā(he)* f. 'id.', E *toe*, MLG *tē(n)*, *tēwe* f. 'id.', Du. *teen* c. 'id.', OHG *zēha* f. 'id.', G *Zehe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **doiḱ-ueh₂-* (IE).

An old derivation, apparently from the root of **tīhan-* 'to show, indicate' < **déiḱ-e-*, cf. Lat. *digitus* m. 'finger; toe'. The originally oxytone MLG *tēwe* < **taiwō(n)-* points to an athematic paradigm, possibly **dóiḱ-uh₂*, gen. **diḱ-uéh₂-s*. The zero grade has a possible vestige in OGutn. *tia*, Gutn. (Fårö) *tāiå* f. 'toe' < **ti(h)wōn* (hardly **tīhwōn-*, Pipping 1904: 11-2) < **diḱ-ueh₂-*. For the use of the suffix **-wōn-*, cf. **tehswō(n)-* 'right (hand)'.

taik/gōn- w.v. 'to show' — OHG *zeigōn* w.v. 'id.', G *zeigen* w.v. 'id.', Swi. Visp. *zeixxu* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **doiḱ-néh₂-* (IE).

An *a*-grade iterative Pre-Gm. 3sg. **taikkōþi*, 3pl. **taigunanþi* to the root of **tīhan-* (q.v.). The Swiss form seems to point to **taikōn-* with the geminated root generalized from the singular, but it may alternatively have been dissimilated from **taiknōjan-*, cf. OHG *zeihhonōn*, MHG *zeichenen*, *zeichen* w.v. 'to show'. See also **taikna-*.

taikjan- w.v. 'to show' — OE *tǣcan* w.v. 'to show', E *to teach* (DRV).

A formation **taikjan-* created to the geminated root **taikk-* as found in **taikna-* and the iterative **taik/gōn-*. Perhaps, the formation can be analyzed as continuing a medial causative, quasi-PIE **doiḱ-nH-éie-* "to make oneself point out".

taikna- n. 'sign' — ON *teikn* n. 'id.', OE *tācn* n. 'id.', OS *tēkan* n. 'id.', Du. *teken* n. 'id.', MHG *zeichan* n. 'id.', G *Zeichen* n. 'id.' (DRV).

A nominal derivative from the geminated root **taik(k)-* (for which see **taikjan-*), and the ON *teikna*, OE *tācnian*, OFri. *tēkna*, OHG *zeihhonōn* w.v. 'to point out, indicate' < **taiknōjan-*. Also cf. Go. *taikns* f. 'omen, miracle' < **taik-ni-*, which similarly gave rise to the verb *taiknjan* w.v. 'to show'.

taikwer- n. 'brother-in-law' — OE *tācor*, *tācur* m. 'husband's brother, brother-in-law', OFri. *tāker* m. 'id.', OHG *zeihhur*, *zeichur*, *zeihhor* m. 'brother-in-law', MHG *zeicher* m. 'id.' ⇒ **deh₂i-uer-* (IE) — Skt. *devár-* m. 'husband's brother', NP dial. *ēwar*, *hēwar* 'id.', Oss. *tiw* / *tew* 'id.', Gr. δᾱήρ m. 'id.', Lat. *lēvir* m. 'id.', Arm. *taygr* 'id.', Lith. *díeveris*, *dieverìs*, Latv. *diēveris*, Ru. *déver'*, SCr. *djȅvēr* m. 'id.'.

An old IE kinship term. As to the form of the word, there is reason to assume that PGm. **kw* arose in the sequence laryngeal plus labial glide, cf. **aikwernan-* ~ **īkwernan-* 'squirrel'. The implied proto-form **daiHuer-* probably developed from PIE **deh₂i-uer-* by laryngeal metathesis (Kortlandt 1988b: 356).

tailja- m. 'teal' — ME *tēl* 'id.', E *teal*, MLG *tēlink* 'id.', MDu. *teling*, *teiling* 'id.', EDu. *teelingh* 'id.', Du. *taling* c. 'id.' (GM).

According to the OED, ME *tēl* can be derived from OE **tǣl* < **tēla-* or **tēle* < **tailja-*. The latter reconstruction is corroborated by the *ē* vocalism of the MLG and MDu. forms. Modern Dutch *taling* with its *ā* < **ai* classifies as a Frisianism.

taina- m. 'sprig' — Go. *tains* m. 'branch, shoot, twig', ON *teinn* m. 'twig; spit; stake', OE *tān* m. 'twig, sprout, shoot', MLG *tēn* m. 'thin metal rod; shaft of an arrow', MDu. *teen* m. 'willow twig', Du. *teen* c. 'id.', OHG *zein* m. 'twig, stick, ruler, shaft, pipe, bar (of metal)', MHG *zein* m. 'stick, twig, staff' ⇒ **doin-o-* (GM).

OE *tā* f. 'twig', E *mistle-toe* is the same word: it lost its final *-n* due to conflation with **taihwō(n)-* 'toe'. I assume that **taina-* is related to **tina-* 'tin' (q.v.) in view of the meaning 'metal rod' in Middle Low German and Middle High German. Also cf. the diminutive OE *tǣnel* < **tainila-* and the derivation Go. *tainjo*, ON *teina*, OHG *zeinna* f. 'basket' < **tainjōn-*.

tairi- adj. 'clear' — ON *tærr* adj. 'clear (of water)', Nw. *tær* adj. 'clean' (DRV).

The Nordic forms point to a gerundive **tairi-* 'visible' or 'shining' (whence Far. *tæri* n. 'quality' < **tairja-*) to the root of **tīrēn-* (q.v.). It corresponds to WGm. **tiari-* (OHG *ziari*, MHG *ziere* adj. 'neat, beautiful, splendid', MLG *un-tēre* adj. 'ugly'), which I derive from **diH-or-i-* with a different suffix

(the resulting diphthong *ia* merged with *$*ē_2$*). Also cf. MLG *tēr*, MDu. *tier* n. 'splendor, thriving'.

taisan- s.v. 'to tousle' — ME *tōsen* w.v. 'to tease (wool, flax, etc.), card; to pull apart, to pluck', OHG *zeisan* s.v. 'to pull, tousle, pluck', MHG *zeisen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **dóis-e-* (GM).

In view of MDu. *tesen* 'to point with a sharp object' < **taisjan-* (q.v.), the original meaning is likely to have been 'to prick', whence 'to untangle'. In this way, the word became associated with wool carding, cf. OHG *zeisala*, OE *tǣs(e)l* f. 'teasle' < **taisilō-*. The root **tais-* has no Indo-European etymology, but within Germanic, there is a clear associative link with the cluster of **tūsan-* (q.v.). Also cf. Nw., Sw., Elfd. *test* m. 'strand of hair' < **tista-* and Du. dial. *tist* c. 'tangle' < **tisti-*.

taisjan- w.v. 'to pluck, card, prick' — Sw. *tesa* w.v. 'pull, to pluck (of wool)', OE *tǣsan* w.v. 'to pluck, card', E *to tease*, MLG *tēsen* w.v. 'to pluck, scratch', MDu. *tesen* w.v. 'to pluck, jerk; to point something sharp at someone' ⇒ **dois-éie-* (GM).

The causative to **taisan-*.

takan-* ~ *tēkan- s.v. 'to touch' — Go. *tekan* s.v. 'id.', ON *taka* s.v. 'to take; to reach, touch', Far. *taka* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *tågå* s.v. 'to take; to hit', MDu. *taken* w.v. 'to take, seize' ⇒ *$*th_2ǵ\text{-}e\text{-}$* (IE/DRV?) — ToB *täk-* 'to touch' < *$*th_2g\text{-}$* (with secondary *ä* after the full grade *cek-* < *$*tēg\text{-}$* < *$*te\text{-}th_2g\text{-}$*?); Gr. τεταγών 'taking' < *$*te\text{-}th_2g\text{-}ont\text{-}$*.

The Germanic strong verb is clearly derived from PIE *$*teh_2g\text{-}$*, but the development of this root into **takan-* and **tēkan-* is not straightforward. An important problem is the ablaut difference between Go. *tekan* and ON *taka*. The later form seems to continue a *tudáti*-formation with zero grade of the root, viz. *$*th_2g\text{-}é\text{-}$*, but Go. *tekan* cannot regularly be derived from the full-grade *$*téh_2g\text{-}e\text{-}$*, as this would give ***tōkan-*. The greatest difficulty, however, consists of the irregular correspondence of PGm. **t-* with PIE **t-*. It has been suggested that the *t* arose in reduplicated root *$*te\text{-}th_2g\text{-}$*, cf. Gr. τεταγών. As laryngeals do not vocalize in unstressed syllables, this stem would yield a PGm. form **tedg-* in which the reduplication may have been restored (Mottausch 1993). The long **ē* can subsequently be explained as from a form *$*deh_1g\text{-}$* that developed out of **dedg-* by dissimilation of the second (glottalized) **d* (Kortlandt 2000). An alternative explanation would be to assume that **tēkan-* was back-formed to the iterative *$*þak(k)ōn\text{-}$* < *$*th_2g\text{-}néh_2\text{-}$*, as *a*-grade iteratives give rise to secondary reduplicated verbs more often, cf. **slēpan-* 'to sleep' from **slapp/bōn-* (q.v.).

tala- n. 'number; speech' — ON *tal* n. 'talk; speech', Far. *tal* n. 'number; speech, conversation', Elfd. *tal* n. 'number; talk(ing)', OE *tæl, ge-tæl* n. 'number; reckoning', OS *gi-tal* n. 'number, row', Du. *ge-tal* n. 'number' ⇒ **dolH-o-* (IE) — Hitt. *talliie/azi* 'to pray to, evoke (a deity)' < **dlH-ie-*; Gr. δόλος m. 'bait, trick', Arm. *toł* 'row' < **dolH-o-*.

An *a*-stem close to Arm. *toł*. Also cf. ON *telja*, OE *tellan*, OFri. *tella*, Du. *tellen*, OHG *zellen*, G *zählen* w.v. 'to count; to talk' < **taljan-*. The oldest meaning seems to have been 'to aline', whence 'to (re)count'. See also **talōn-*.

talga/ō- m./n./f. 'tallow' — Icel. *tólg* f. 'id.', Far. *talg* f. 'id.', Nw. *talg, tolg* f. 'id.', Elfd. *tåg* m. 'id.', OE *tælg* m. 'dye', E *tallow*, MLG *talch* n. 'tallow', MDu. *talch* n. 'id.', Du. *talg* n. 'id.' ⇒ **dolgʰ-o/eh₂-* (IE) — Hitt. *talga-* c. 'fat, grease(?)' < **dolgʰ-o-*.

A possible Anatolian-Germanic isogloss (Rosenkranz 1964: 254). All Germanic attestations point to a root **talg-*. Icel. *tólg* does not represent a zero-grade formation **tulgō-* (*pace* Pokorny IEW: 196); its vowel *ó* developed from ON **ǫ*, which like other back vowels was regularly lengthened before *-l-* plus velar or labial, so as to merge with ON *ó*. Also cf. OE *telgan* w.v. 'to dye' < **talgjan-*.

talō(n)- f. 'speech, recount' — ON *tala* f. 'speech; number', OE *talu* f. 'recount, story', E *tale*, OFri. *tele* f. 'number; story', MDu. *tale* f. 'conversation; speech', Du. *taal* c. 'language', OHG *zala* f. 'number; calculation', G *Zahl* f. 'number, amount' (IE).

Related to **tala-* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *tala* 'to speak', OE *talian*, OFri. *talia*, OS *talon*, OHG *zalōn* 'to count' < **talōjan-*.

tamjan- w.v. 'to tame' — Go. *ga-tamjan* w.v. 'tame, subdue', ON *temja* w.v. 'to tame; train', OE *temian* w.v. 'to tame', MLG *temen, temmen* w.v. 'id.', Du. *temmen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *zemman* w.v. 'id.', MHG *zemen* w.v. 'id.', G *zähmen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **domh₂-éie-* (IE) — Skt. *damáyati* 'to subdue' < **domh₂-éie-*; Lat. *domō, -āre* 'to tame' < **domh₂-eh₂-ie-*; Gr. δάμνημι 'to tame', OIr. *damnaim* 'to bind' < **dm-n-éh₂-*.

A verb continuing either a purely verbal causative to the root **demh₂-* (as known from the other IE languages) or a denominal factitive to ON *tamr*, OE, OFri. *tam*, OHG *zam*, G *zahm* adj. 'tame' < **tama-* < **domh₂-o-*. The similarly denominal OHG *zamōn*, G *zahmen* w.v. 'to tame' < **tamōjan-* is paralleled by Lat. *domāre*.

tandjan- w.v. 'to kindle' — Go. *tandjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *tenda* w.v. 'id.', OE *on-tendan* w.v. 'id.', ME *on-tenden* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **dondʰ-éie-* (GM).

The causative to **tinnan-* 'to burn' (q.v.), which has **tinn-* < **tindn-*, cf. Far. *tenna* w.v. 'to provoke, irritate' continues **tannjan-*. Also cf. the inchoative Go. *tundnan* w.v. 'to start burning', the stative OHG *zundēn* w.v. 'to be burning' < **tundēn-* and the secondary (zero-grade) causative OHG *zunten* w.v. 'to kindle, burn' < **tundjan-*. The verbal complex gave rise to many different nominal formations, for which see **tandra(n)-* and **tundra-*.

****tandra(n)-*** m. 'ember' — ON *tandri* m. 'fire, spark', Far. *tandur* n. 'weakly burning light', OHG *zantaro* m. 'ember', MHG *zanter, zander* m. 'id.' ⇒ **dond^{h}-ro-* (DRV).

See **tandjan-* and **tundra-*.

****tangan-*** m. 'tip, blade(?)' — ON *tangi* m. 'point projecting into the sea, spit of land; pointed end by which the blade is driven into the handle', Far. *tangi* m. 'id.', Nw. *tange* m. 'id.' ⇒ **donǵ^{h}-on-* (IE).

Closely related to MLG *tange* f. 'sandbank'. < **tangō-* and **tungōn-* 'tongue' (q.v.).

****tangja-*** adj. 'approximate' — OE *ge-tenge* adj. 'close to, pressing upon', OS *bi-tengi* adj. 'sticking, linked', OHG *gi-zengi* adj. 'near, close' ⇒ **donḱ-ió-* (DRV).

A *ja*-stem derived from the strong verb **tingan-* (q.v.).

****tangō-*** f. 'tongs' — ON *tǫng*, pl. *tangir, tengr* f. 'id.', Far. *tong*, pl. *tengur* f. 'id.', OE *tang(e)* f. 'id.', E *tongs*, OFri. *tange* f. 'id.', MDu. *tange* f. 'id.', Du. *tang* c. 'id.', OHG *zanga* f. 'id.', G *Zange* f. 'id.' ⇒ **donḱ-éh$_2$-* (IE) — Alb. *darë* / *dãnë* f. 'tongs' < **dn̥ḱ-neh$_2$-*.

An old derivation from the root of **tingan-*.

****tangra-*** adj. 'sharp, acute' — MDu. *tanger* adj. 'id.', OHG *zangar* adj. 'id.', MHG *zanger* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **donḱ-ró-* (IE).

A *ro*-stem created to the strong verb **tingan-* (q.v.). Also cf. Elfd. *taungg* adj. 'brisk, alert' < **tanga-*.

****tanhu-*** adj. 'tough' — OE *tōh* adj. 'id.', E *tough*, MLG *tā* adj. 'id.', MDu. *taey* adj. 'id.', Du. *taai* adj. 'id.', OHG *zāhi* adj. 'id.', MHG *zæhe, zæh, zæch* adj. 'id.', G *zähe* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **dónḱ-u-* (IE).

A *u*-stem derived from **tingan-* (q.v.). The continental WGm. languages remodeled the adjective into a *ja*-stem.

****tanþ-* ~ **tunþ-*** m./f. 'tooth' — Go. *tunþus** m. 'id.', ON *tǫnn*, pl. *teðr* f. 'id.', Far. *tonn*, pl. *tenn* f. 'id.', Elfd. *tann*, pl. *tenner* f. 'id.', OE *tōð* m. 'id.', E *tooth*,

OFri. *tōth* m. 'id.', OS *tand* m. 'id.', MDu. *tan*, *tant* m. 'id.', Du. *tand* c. 'id.', OHG *zan*, *zant* m. 'id.', G *Zahn* m. 'id.' ⇒ **h₃dont-* (IE).

The ablaut of NWGm. **tanþ-* and EGm. **tunþ-* points to an original paradigm **tanþ*, gen. **tundiz* < **h₃d-ónt*, **h₃d-nt-és*, i.e. an archaic participle to the root **h₃ed-* 'to bite, be sharp' (for which see **atjan- 1*). Word-final **þ* was deleted in PGm., as a result of which the nom. became **tan*, cf. OHG *zan*, pl. *zendi*. For an elaborate discussion, see cf. Schaffner 2001: 625-631. See also **tinda-* and **tuska-*.

****tapp/bōn-*** w.v. 'to lose' — ON *tapa* w.v. 'id.', OSw. *tappa*, *tapa* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *tappa* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **dh₂p-néh₂-* (EUR).

The alternation of OSw. *tapa* with *tappa* points to an iterative formation 3sg. **dappōþi*, 3pl. **dabunanþi* < **dh₂p-néh₂-*. A trace of the **b* is still found in the denominal Nw., Sw. *tabbe* m. 'blunder' < **tabban-*. Related to **tafna-* 'sacrifice' through an original meaning 'to suffer, spend'?

****tarbjan-*** w.v. 'to roll' — OHG *zerben* w.v. 'to turn, roll', MHG *zirben* w.v. 'to circle, whirl' ⇒ **dorbʰ-éie-* (IE) — Skt. *dṛbháti* 'to tie together, join, tie in a bundle' < **drbʰ-é-*.

Also cf. OE *tearflian*, OHG *zarbalōn* w.v. 'to roll' < **tarblōn-*; OE *torfian* w.v. 'to throw' < **turbōn-* and OE *ge-turfan* w.v. 'to sling' < **turbjan-* < **drbʰ-ié-*.

****targjan-*** w.v. 'to vex' — Elfd. *tjärga* w.v. 'to nag, carp', OE *tiergan* w.v. 'to irritate', MDu. *tergen*, *torgen* w.v. 'to tease, provoke', Du. *tergen* w.v. 'id.', G *zergen* w.v. 'to pester, provoke' ⇒ **dorgʰ-éie-* (GM).

Also cf. Elfd. *torga* w.v. 'to abuse; to badger; to kill' and perhaps also Icel. *torga* w.v. 'to eat up' < **turgō(ja)n-*. No further etymology: unrelated to Lith. *dìrginti* 'to move' and OCS *drъgati* 'to pull', for which see **trek(k)an-* and **trukkōn-*.

****targōn-*** f. 'edge' — ON *targa* f. 'target, small round shield', OE *targe* f., *targa* m. 'small shield', OHG *zarga* f. 'edge, rim', MHG *zarge* f. 'id.' ⇒ **dorgʰ-eh₂-* (NEUR) — OCS *po-dragъ* m. 'edge, seam' < **dʰorgʰ-o-*(?).

Also cf. G Als. *Käs-zorg* m. 'tub for curdling milk' < **turga-*.

****tarhjan-*** w.v. 'to mark' — Go. *ga-tarhjan* w.v. 'to expose, make public, reveal' ⇒ **dorḱ-éie-* (IE) — Skt. *darśáyati* 'to make see' < **dorḱ-eie-*; Gr. δέρκομαι 'to look, see (clearly)'; OIr. *at-chon-darc* 1sg.pres. 'to see' < **dérḱ-e-*; OIr. *drech* f. 'face, countenance'; W *drych* m. 'side, aspect, form' < **drḱ-o/eh₂-*; Alb. *dritē* f. 'light, brightness; beam, ray' < **drḱ-ti-*.

The causative to the IE verb **dérk-e-* 'to see', for which cf. **turhta-*.

tauhōn- f. 'bitch' — Icel. *tófa* f. 'vixen', MLG *tō* f. 'bitch', OHG *zō(h)a* f. 'id.', MHG *zohe* f. 'id.' (GM).

The *-f-* of Icel. *tófa* is an unetymological rendering of the labial off-glide of the diphthong [ou] (< ON *ó*), as is shown by the derivation Icel. *tæa* f. 'vixen, bitch' < **tauhjōn-*. Also cf. the ablauting G Swab. *zauche* < **tūh(h)ōn-*.

taujan- w.v. 'to do, make' — Go. *taujan* w.v. 'id.', OE *tawian* w.v. 'to prepare, make ready', E *to taw*, MLG *touwen* w.v. 'to dress (furniture etc.), tan', MDu. *touwen* w.v. 'to make, prepare (esp. leather)', Du. *vol-tooien* w.v. 'to complete', OHG *zawen*, *zowen* w.v. 'to succeed', MHG *zouwen*, *zöuwen* w.v. 'to make, treat, produce' (IE).

A factitive to an adjective **ga-tawa-* which is only indirectly attested through the Proto-Slavic loanword as continued by OCS *gotovъ*, Ru. *gotóv*, SCr. *gòtov* adj. 'ready, finished'. The verb has been connected to ToB *tsuwa* 3sg.pret. 'to join, adjust' and Gr. δύναμαι 'to be able' < **du-neh₂-* (cf. LIV²: 123), which allows us reconstruct the adjective as **douh₂-o-*. See also **tōja-*.

tauma- m. 'rein, bridle, rope' — ON *taumr* m. 'id.', Far. *teymur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *tom* m. 'id.', OE *tēam* m. 'id.', OFri. *tām* m. 'id.', ODu. *tōm* m. 'id.', Du. *toom* c. 'id.', OHG *zoum* m. 'id.', G *Zaum* m. 'id.' (DRV).

A *mo*-stem created to the root of **teuhan-* (q.v.). The original form was **taugma-*, which like **drauma-* < **draugma-* lost its **g*. With a slightly different meaning, cf. OFri. *tām* 'offspring'.

taunōn- w.v. 'to show' — MDu. *tonen* w.v. 'id.', Du. *tonen* w.v. 'id.', MHG *zounen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

In view of Go. *at-augjan* w.v. 'to show', it is possible to reconstruct this verb as **h₂d-h₃ekʷ-néh₂-*, i.e. with a zero grade of the preposition **at* (q.v.) and the PIE word for 'eye'. Another possibility that I would like to propose here is to connect Hitt. *tekkušši̯e/azi* 'to show', which according to Kloekhorst 2008: 864-5 can be derived from **dekʷ-s-ie-*. The Germanic formation may then represent a factitive to a lost adjective **tawa-* 'visible' < **dokʷ-ó-*.

tawō- f. 'pair' — ON *tá* f. 'two people together, pair, couple' ⇒ **dóu-eh₂-* (IE).

Not connected with Go. *tewa* 'arrangement' (cf. De Vries 1962: 579), but rather an archaic derivation from the PIE root **deu-* 'two', for which see **twa-*.

tawwa- n. 'rope' — OS *tou* n. 'id.', MDu. *tou* n. 'id.', Du. *touw* n. 'id.' ⇒ **dh₁-uó-* (IE) — Gr. δίδημι 'to bind' < **di-déh₁-*; Hitt. *ti̯e/azi** 'to bind(?)', Skt. *dyáti*, Gr. δέω 'id.' < **dh₁-ié-*.

A possible *wa*-stem to the PIE root **deh₁-*. The pre-form **dōwó-* could have developed into **tawwa-* by an interplay of Dybo's law of pretonic shortening and Holtzmann's law (*Verschärfung*). Since Pre-Gm. **-ōu-* in open syllables regularly gave **-ō-*, however, I rather reconstruct a zero-grade formation **dh̥₁-uó-*.

tegu- m. 'a number of ten' — Go. *tigus* m. 'id.', ON *tigr* m. 'id.', Elfd. *tjäg* m. 'id.' (DRV).

A *u*-stem probably created on the basis of **tehun* 'ten' < **deḱ-m*. It occurs in bound form in the decade numbers, cf. OE *-tig*, E *-ty*, OS, Du. *-tig*, OHG *-zig*, *-zug*, G *-zig*.

tehswō(n)- f. 'right hand' — Go. *taihswa*, *-o* f. 'id.', OS *tesewa* f. 'id.', OHG *zesawa* f. 'id.', MHG *zesewe*, *zeswe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **deḱ-s-ueh₂-* (DRV) — Skt. *dákṣiṇa-* adj. 'right, southern', OCS *desьnъ* 'right', Lith. *dešinẽ* 'right hand' < **deḱs-ino-*; Lat. *dexter* 'id.' < **deḱs-tro-*; OIr. *dess* 'id.' < **deḱs-o-*.

Derived from Go. *taihswa*, OHG *zeso*, MHG *zese* adj. 'right, dexter' < **tehswan-* or perhaps elliptic for **sō handuz sō tehswōn* 'the right hand'.

tehun- num. 'ten' — Go. *taihun* num. 'id.', ON *tíu* num. 'id.', Far. *tíggju* num. 'id.', Elfd. *tiu* num. 'id.', OE *tīen* num. 'id.', E *ten*, OFri. *tiān*, *tiēn* num. 'id.', OS *tehun* num. 'id.', Du. *tien* num. 'id.', OHG *zehan* num. 'id.', G *zehn* num. 'id.' ⇒ **deḱ-m* (IE) — ToA *śäk*, ToB *śak*, Skt. *dáśa*, OAv. *dasā*, YAv. *dasa*, NP *dah*, Oss. *dæs*, Arm. *tasn*, Gr. δέκα, Lat. *decem*, OIr. *deich*, W *deg* num. 'ten'.

The cardinal number 'ten'. It was ultimately derived from the root **deḱ-* 'to fit (in a row)', cf. MLG *tachen* 'to arrange' < **tahjan-* < **doḱ-eie-* and MHG *zesem* m. 'row' < **tehsma-* < **deḱ-smo-* (whence *zisemen* w.v. 'to follow' < **tehsmjan-*). See also **tehunþ/dan-*.

tehunþ/dan- num. 'tenth' — Go. *taihunda* num. 'id.', ON *tíundi* num. 'id.', Far. *tíggjundi* num. 'id.', Elfd. *tiund* num. 'id.', OE *tēoða*, *teogeða* num. 'id.', E *tenth*, OFri. *tiānda*, *tiēnda* num. 'id.', OS *tehando* num. 'id.', Du. *tiende* num. 'id.', OHG *zehanto* num. 'id.', G *zehnte* num. 'id.' ⇒ **deḱm-tHo-* (IE).

The ordinal belonging to **tehun* (q.v.).

telda- n. 'drape, tent' — ON *tjald* n. 'tent; hangings, tapestry', OE *teld*, *ge-teld* n. 'tent, pavilion', MDu. *ge-telt*, *telt* n. 'id.', OHG *gi-zelt*, *zelt* n. 'id.', G *Zelt* n. 'id.' (GM).

Unrelated to Gr. δέλτος, Cypr. δάλτος f. 'writing tablet', which in view of e.g. Hebr. *delet* 'gate', pl. 'columns of writing, tablet' is likely to be of Semitic origin (Beekes 2010: 313). Rather directly derived from the strong verb **teldan-*, cf. OE *teldan* 'to cover', *be-teldan* 'to cover, surround, overwhelm'. This clear cognate, which has somehow been omitted from the etymological

dictionaries, further invalidates the idea that the original meaning of the word was 'tent pole' (*pace* Pokorny IEW: 194-6). No further etymology. Perhaps to a marginal root **delH-* 'to spread out(?)', cf. Lith. *délna* f. 'palm of the hand' < **delH-neh₂-* and OCS *dlanь* f. 'id.' < **dolH-ni-*.

teman- s.v. 'to suit, befit' — Go. *ga-timan* s.v. 'to be congruent with, match', OFri. *timia* w.v. 'to befit', OS *gi-teman* s.v. 'id.', OHG *zeman* s.v. 'id.', MHG *zemen* s.v. 'id.', G *ziemen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **dém(H)-e-* (IE) — PIIr. **dam-*: Khot. **dīm-* 'to create', Gr. δέμω 'to build' < **dém(H)-e-*.

The original meaning seems to have been 'to put together, to join', whence 'to befit' in Gm., and 'to build' in the more central dialects. Also cf. **tumþi-*.

tēmi- adj. 'suitable, agreeable' — Go. *ga-temiba* adv. 'congruently, appositely', MLG *be-tāme* adj. 'appropriate', MDu. *be-tame, be-taem* adj. 'appropriate, agreeable', OHG *gi-zāmi* adj. 'decent, pleasant', MHG *ge-zæme* adj. 'befitting, appropriate' (DRV).

A *vr̥ddhi*-gerundive to the strong verb **teman-* (q.v.).

teran- s.v. 'to tear' — Go. *tairan* s.v. 'id.', OE *teran* s.v. 'id.', E *to tear*, OHG *zeran, fir-zeran* s.v. 'to cut off, finish, fight', MHG *zer-zeren* s.v. 'to destroy' ⇒ **dér(H)-e-* (IE) — ToAB *tsār-* 'to separate', Gr. δέρω 'to skin, flay', Arm. *teṙem* 'to flay', Alb. *djerr* 'to destroy', OCS *dьrati* (*derǫ*) 'to flay' < **dér(H)-e-*, Lith. *dérti* (*derù*) 'id.'; Skt. *dīryáte* 'to crack, shatter', Lith. *dìrti/diřti* 'to tear, peel', OCS *dьrati* (*dьrǫ*) 'to flay', Ru. *drat'* (*derú*) 'to tear', SCr. *dráti* 'to flay' < **dr(H)-ie-*.

A strong verb related to **turnan-* (q.v.) and Go. *ga-tarnjan* w.v. 'to rob'. See also **turþi-*.

ternō- f. 'pond' — ON *tjǫrn* f. 'id.', Far. *tjørn* f. 'id.' ⇒ **dér-n-eh₂-* (IE?) — Perhaps to Skt. *dara-*, *darī-* 'hole in the ground, cave' < **der-o/ih₂-* (for which see **teran-*).

tersa- m. 'peg; penis' — OE *teors* m. 'id.', E *tarse*, MLG *ters* m. 'id.', MDu. *teers* m. 'id.', Du. *taas* c. 'id.', OHG *zers* m. 'twig; penis', MHG *zers* m. 'penis' ⇒ **ders-on-*(?) (GM).

It is tempting to connect the word to Lith. *dìrsė* f. 'back, rump', Latv. *diřsa* f. 'podex' < **drs-(i)eh₂-*, but this word was clearly derived from the verb Latv. *dìrst* 'to shit' (see **turzda-*), and therefore cannot be compared. The standard etymology connects the word to ON *tjasna* f. 'kind of peg marking off the lists for battle', which possibly continues older **tjarsna* < **tersnōn-*. The original meaning would then be 'bolt' or 'peg'. Further potential cog-

nates are Nw. *tersa* w.v. 'to drive, push, hit' < **tarsjan-* and MDu. *teers* adj. 'cilindrical' < **tersiska-*(?).

terwa/ōn- n./f. 'tar' — ON *tjara* f. 'id.', OE *teoro*, *teru* n. 'id.', E *tar*, MDu. *ter(re)*, *tar* n. 'id.', Du. *teer* n./c. 'id.' ⇒ **der-uo/eh₂-* (IE) — Lith. *dervà*, *darvà* f. 'chip of kindling wood, log from which tar is produced, resin, tar', Latv. *daŕva* f. 'tar, pitch' < **der-u-eh₂-*; OCS *drěvo*, Ru. *dérevo*, SCr. *drȉjevo* n. 'tree, wood' < **der-uo-*.

An apparently (Northeast) European derivation from the IE word for 'wood', for which see **trewa-*. The gender varies between neuter and feminine, which could point to an old neuter collective paradigm. ON *tjara* superficially appears to have developed from **terōn-* without the labial glide, but in this language the original nominative **tjǫrva* was replaced by *tjara*, a back-formation to the oblique *tjǫru* (cf. ON *gata* f. 'lane' < **gatwōn-*). For the original suffix, cf. *tjǫrr* m. 'spear' < **terwa-*. Secondary derivations are represented by ON *tyrvi* n. 'pinewood' < **terwja-*, OE *tierwe* f. 'tar' < **terwjōn-* and MHG *zirben*, *zirm* m. 'pine' < **terwjan-*.

terwōn- f. 'tare(s)' — ME *tare* 'wild or cultivated vetch, tare; vetch seed', pl. 'weeds growing in grain fields, darnel', E *tare*, NFri. (Wiedingharde) *tāre* m./n. 'buckwheat', MDu. *tarwe*, *terwe* 'wheat', Du. *tarwe* c. 'id.' ⇒ **der-ueh₂-* (IE?) — Close to Skt. *dűrvā-* 'dūrvā grass, *Panicum dactylon*', Lith. *dirvà* f. 'field' < **dr-ueh₂-* (Lubotsky 1997: 10, fn. 29).

The Germanic and Sanskrit forms can formally be unified into a paradigm **dér-uh₂*, gen. **dr-uéh₂-s*. The semantic variation between the three IE branches as well as within Germanic are difficult to account for, but possibly, the original meaning was simply 'corn pest', as in Middle English.

tetru- m. 'tetter' — OE *teter*, *tetr* m. 'id.', E *tetter*, OHG *zitaroh* m. 'id.', MHG *ziteroch* m. 'id.' (< **tetruka-*), G *Zitter-mal* 'id.' ⇒ **de-dr-u-* (IE) — Skt. *dadrū-*, *dardrū-* f. 'cutaneous eruption, kind of leprosy' < **de(r)-dr-uH-*; Lat. *derbita* 'scabies', W *tarwyd-en* 'tetter' < **derd-uit-*.

An ancient IE word for 'rash' or 'eczema'. The Germanic word is formally close to Skt. *dadrū-*, and may similarly represent a reduplicated formation **de(r)-dr-u-*. For a comparable formation, cf. **bebura- 1* 'beaver' < **bʰe-bʰr-u-*.

teudra- ~ *tūdra- n. 'tether' — ON *tjóðr* n. 'id.', Far. *tjóður* n. 'id.', ME *teder*, *tether* 'id.' (<< ON?), E *tether*, OFri. *tiāder*, *tzāder*, *tzār* n. 'id.', MDu. *tuder*, *tudder* m. 'id.', EDu. *tuyer* 'id.', OHG *zeotar* n./m. 'id.', MHG *zieter* n./m. 'front shaft of a carriage' (GM).

The word is usually derived from **teu-dra-* with the PIE instrumental suffix **-tro-* ~ **-dʰro-* so as to establish a link with e.g. **tawwa-* 'rope'. I al-

ternatively propose to connect the word to the iterative **tutt/dōn-* 'to pull' (q.v.). The alternation between **teudra-* and **tūdra-* can then be explained as being imported from a lost strong verb **teudan-* ~ **tūdan-*. Also cf. MDu. *toyen*, Du. *tuien* 'to tie' < **tuþjan-*, apparently a *ie*-present < **dut-ie-*.

****teuhan-*** s.v. 'to pull' — Go. *tiuhan* s.v. 'to lead, guide', ON *toginn* ptc. 'drawn', OE *tēon* s.v. 'to pull', OS *tiohan* s.v. 'to pull, educate', MDu. *tien* s.v. 'to pull, draw; to proceed', Du. *tijgen* s.v. 'to proceed', OHG *ziohan* s.v. 'to lead, bring (up), educate', MHG *ziehen* s.v. 'lead, bring, retreat', G *ziehen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **déuk-e-* (WEUR) — Formally identical to Lat. *dūcō, -ere* 'to lead, conduct'; also cf. W *dwyn* 'to lead, carry' < **duk-e-*; Alb. *nduk* 'to draw (out), pull' < **duk-* (with *n*-prefix).

A strong verb to the European root **deuk-*. See also **tauma-*, **tuhti-* and **tukk/gōn-*.

****teuna-*** n. 'damage' — ON *tjón* n./f. 'damage, loss', OE *tēon* n. 'hurt, damage; insult, abuse' ⇒ **h₃deu-no-* (EUR) — Either to Gr. ὀδύνη f. 'pain, smart, harm', Alb. *dhurē / dhunē* f. 'injury, blemish, violence' < **h₃du-neh₂-* or to Gr. δέω 'to miss, want, need' < **déu-e-*.

Also cf. OE *tēona* m., *tēone* f. 'wrongdoing, insult', OS *tiono* m. 'evil, enmity' < **teuna/ōn-* and ON *týna* w.v. 'to lose; to destroy', OE *tīenan* 'to vex', OFri. *tiōna, tiūna* w.v. 'to damage', OS *gi-tiunian* 'to do harm' < **teunjan-*.

****tēwō-*** f. 'order' — Go. *tewa* f. 'order, arrangement', OHG *zāwa* f. 'coloration' ⇒ **dēḱ-uéh₂-* (IE).

Also cf. OE *æl-tǣwe* adj. 'complete, whole, sound' < **-tēwi-* and - with a different ablaut - MLG *teche* f. 'order', MHG *zeche, zech* f. 'arrangement, sequence, guild' < **tehwō-* and the derived OE *(ge-)teohhian*, OHG *(gi-)zehōn* w.v. 'to arrange' < **tehwōjan-*. See also **tehun* and **tawō-*.

****tib(b)ōn-*** f. 'bitch' — Icel. *tebba* f. 'vixen', OE *tife* f. 'id.', MDu. *teve* f. 'id.', Du. *teef* c. 'id.', G dial. *Zippe* f. 'bitch; ewe' (GM).

Also cf. E *tib* 'woman of lower social status' and *tib-cat* 'female cat'. In the scholarly literature, this form is often analyzed as an hypocoristic formation to the proper name *Isabel*, but in view of G dial *Zippe* and Icel. *tebba*, it is more likely that it continues unattested OE **tibbe* < **tibbōn-*. Together with **tibōn-*, as continued by e.g. OE *tife* and Du. *teef*, this form could point to an *n*-stem paradigm nom. **tibō*, gen. **tippaz*. The oblique root **tipp-* must then have been replaced by **tibb-* under the influence of the nominative root **tib-*.

tibra- n. 'sacrifice' — Go. *aibr* n. 'sacrificial animal', OE *tiber*, *tifer* n. 'sacrifice', OHG *zebar* n. 'offering' ⇒ **dip-ró-* (EUR) — Gr. δεῖπνον n. 'meal' < **deip-no-*.

A word whose reconstruction poses many problems: 1. the attested Go. form *aibr* does not match the anlaut of OHG *zebar* and OE *tifer*; and 2. the vowel length of OE *tĭfer* is ambiguous. To my mind, these difficulties are best resolved by starting from OHG *zebar*, emending Go. *aibr* to *tibr* (cf. Lehmann 1986: 13), and assuming that OE *tifer* has a short vowel. (Note that the appurtenance of the sometimes connected hapax ON *tívurr* (= *tĭfurr*?), meaning either 'sacrifice' or 'god', remains uncertain.) The resulting **tibra-* < PIE **dip-ró-* may together with Gr. δεῖπνον have split off from a PIE heteroclitic **déip-r*, gen. **dip-n-ós*.

tīdi- f. 'time' — ON *tíð* f. 'time; hour; divine service', Far. *tíð* f. 'time; moment; period', OE *tīd* f. 'time, season, hour', E *tide*, OFri. *tīd* m./f. 'time, hour', OS *tīd* f. 'time', Du. *tijd* c. 'id.', OHG *zīt* n./f. 'age, time; time of prayer', G *Zeit* f. 'time' ⇒ **dh₂i-tí-* (IE) — Arm. *ti*, *tioy* 'age, time' < **dh₂i-to-*; Skt. *dáyate* 'to divide, distribute', OAv. *d(a)ii-* 'to allot(?)', Gr. δαίομαι 'to divide' < **dh₂-ei-*.

Also cf. ON *tíðr* adj. 'frequent' < **tīdja-* and ON *tíða* w.v. 'to strive', OE *tīdan* w.v. 'to betide, happen', OFri. *tīdia* w.v. 'to strive; to appeal' < **tīdōjan-*. The latter verb seems to preserve the oldest meaning, i.e. 'to strive', which is compatible with **tila-* 'goal, occasion' (q.v.). See also **tīlō-* and **tīman-*.

****tīgan-* ~ *tikkan-*** m. 'tick' — Nw. *tikk* m., *tikke* f. 'id.', OE *ticia* '*ricinus*', E *tick*, MLG *teke* 'id.', MDu. *teke* f. 'id.', Du. *teek*, dial. *tijk*, *tijg* 'id.', MHG *zecke* m./f. 'id.', G *Zecke*, dial. *Zeche* f. 'id.' ⇒ **déiǵʰ-on-* (EUR) — Arm. *tiz* 'tick' < **deiǵʰ-o-*; OIr. *dega* 'black insect' < **diǵʰ-ont-*.

One usually reconstructs the IE root as **d(e)iǵ-* on the basis of PGm. **tikan-*, but this is impossible, because roots with two voiced unaspirated stops were prohibited in the proto-language. Arm. *tiz* and Du. dial. *tijg* rather point to **deiǵʰ-*. This means that the stems **tikan-* (Du. *teek*, G. dial. *zeche*) and **tīkan-* (Du. *tijk*) must have arisen analogically in a paradigm **tīgō*, gen. **tikkaz* < **déiǵʰ-ōn*, **diǵʰ-n-ós* (Kroonen 2011a: 254-6). Note that the OE gloss *ticia* is ambiguous; it has been emended to both **tiica* and **ticca*.

****tigōn-*** f. 'goat' — OHG *ziga* f. 'id.', G *Ziege* f. 'id.' ⇒ **dig(ʰ)-eh₂-* (EUR) — Arm. *tik* 'skin bottle' (Lidén 1906: 10-14) < **dig-eh₂-*; Gr. Lac. δίζα f. 'goat', Alb. *dhi* 'id.' < **dig(ʰ)-ieh₂-*.

A European word. Probably not of IE origin in view of the formal incongruences of "Balkan IE" **dig-* and Pre-Gm. **digʰ-*. Also cf. OE *ticcen*, OHG *zickīn* n. 'young goat' < **tikkīna-*.

tīhan- s.v. 'to point out' — Go. *ga-teihan* s.v. 'to announce, tell, report', ON *téa, tjá* pret. *téða, tjáða*, ptc. *tiginn* 'to show, proclaim', OE *tēon* s.v. 'to accuse', OS *af-tīhan* 'to fail', MDu. *tien* s.v. 'to accuse', OHG *zīhan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *zīhen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **déiḱ-e-* (IE).

A strong verb to the PIE root **deiḱ-*. See also **taik/gōn-*, **taikjan-*, **taikna-*.

****tila-*** n. 'planned point in time' — Go. *til* n./m. 'opportunity', ON *til* prep. 'to', Far. *til* prep. 'id.', OE *til* n. 'fitness, station, standing-place', OFri. *til* prep. 'to', MLG *til* n. 'border, goal', MDu. *til* m./n. 'circumstance, case', OHG *zil* n. 'border, aim', G *Ziel* n. 'id.' (IE?).

Also cf. ON. *aldr-tili* m. 'end of life, death' < **tilan-* and the denominal verb Go. *ga-tilon* w.v. 'to achieve', Nw. *tilast* w.v. refl. 'to recuperate', OE *tilian* w.v. 'to strive, obtain, till', OFri. *tilia* w.v. 'to breed, till', MDu. *telen* w.v. 'to till, yield', OHG *zilōn* w.v. 'to rush, arrange', MHG *zilen* w.v. 'id.' < **tilōjan-*. An older formation is Go. *ga-tils* adj. 'fit', OE *til* adj. 'fit, apt' < **tila-*. The root **dǐ-* is also found in **tīdi-* and **tīman-*.

**tīlō-* f. 'row' — WPhal. *tîle* f. 'id.', Du. dial. *tijl* c. 'row', OHG *zīla* f. 'id.', G *Zeile* f. 'id.' ⇒ **dh₂-i-l-eh₂-*(?) (IE?).

A West Germanic word. Related to **tīdi-* and **tīman-*?

****tīman-*** m. 'time' — ON *tími* m. 'time; fit time; good luck', Far. *tími* m. 'hour', Elfd. *taime* m. 'id.', OE *tīma* m. 'time, hour', E *time*, G Swi. *zīmmen* m. 'occasion' ⇒ **dh₂i-mon-* (IE).

For the etymology, see **tīdi-*. Also cf. ON *tíma*, OE *ge-tīmian* w.v. 'to happen' < **tīmōjan-*.

****timbra-*** n. 'timber, lumber' — ON *timbr* n. 'id.', Elfd. *timber* n. 'id.', OE *timber* n. 'timber; building, structure', OS *timbar* n. 'carpenter's work', OHG *zimbar* n. 'timber', MHG *zimber, zimmer* n. 'timber, building', G *Zimmer* n. 'room' ⇒ **dem(H)-ro-* (IE) — Gr. δέμω 'to build' < **dém(H)-e-*.

Also cf. the denominal Go. *timrjan* w.v. 'to build' < **temrjan-*, and - with a zero grade - **tumfeti-* 'foundation'.

****tina-*** n. 'tin' — OE *tin* n. 'id.', E *tin*, OS *tin* n. 'id.', MLG *tin*, gen. *tenes, tinnes* n. 'id.', MDu. *tin, ten, teen* n. 'id.', Du. *tin* n. 'id.', OHG *zin* n. 'id.', G *Zinn* n. 'id.' ⇒ **din-o-* (GM).

An etymologically obscure WGm. word (ON *tin* is a loanword). The frequently featured comparison to Lat. *stannum* (*stagnum*), It. *stagno*, Sp. *estaño*, Fr. *étain* 'tin', which has been analyzed as a Celtic loan, is highly problematic on the formal side. The only certain extra-Gm. correspondence seems to be Olr. *tinne* m. 'ingot'. This word is only attested as a name for the

letter *t* in the *Bríatharogaim* ("word oghams"), and is described with kennings pointing to a meaning 'metal bar, molten metal'. According to McManus 1991: 37, the word is related to OIr. *tend* 'strong' or *tind* 'brilliant'. However, the potential link with PGm. **tina-* speaks against an intra-Celtic origin, as the unshifted *t* of the Germanic word would be unexpected if it was borrowed from Celtic. The Germanic origin of the word is furthermore supported by the plausible correlation with **taina-* 'twig' (q.v.), which in MLG and MHG also bears the meaning 'rod, bar (of metal)'.

tinda- m. 'jag, tip' — ON *tindr* m. 'spike, tooth; mountain-peak', Far. *tindur* m. 'id.', OE *tind* m. 'prong, tooth', MHG *zint* m. 'prong; a wind instrument' ⇒ **h₃dent-ó-* (IE) — Cf. OIr. *dind* n. 'spike, point; height; town' < **h₃dent-u-*.

A full-grade formation to **tanþ-* ~ **tunþ-* 'tooth'. Also cf. OHG *zinna*, G *Zinne* f. 'pinnacle, merlon' < **tindnō(n)-* and OHG *zinko*, G *Zinke* m. 'tine, prong, cornet' < **tind-kan-*.

tingan- s.v. 'to press upon, throng' — OE *ge-tingan* s.v. 'to press upon, throng' ⇒ **dénḱ-e-* (IE) — ToB *tsākā-* 'to bite, pierce', Gr. δάκνω 'to bite, sting' < **dnḱ-ne-*; Skt. *dáśati* 'id.' < **dnḱ-e-*.

A strong verb only attested in Old English, but further ascertained by OE *sam-tinges* adv. 'immediately' and the causative OE *tengan* w.v. 'to press, hasten, hurry' < **donḱ-éie-* (also cf. ON *tengja* 'to connect' and OE *ge-tengan* w.v. 'to join'). The fact that the verb emerges as **tingan-* rather than **tinhan-* could be the result of the removal of the expected nasal-less form **tīhan-* (cf. OE *þingan* 'to thrive' similarly continuing **þinhan-* < **ténk-e-*). The verbal complex gave rise to a number of nominal formations, e.g. **tanhu-*, **tangō-*, **tangja-* and **tangra-* (q.v.).

tinnan- s.v. 'to burn' — MHG *zinnen* s.v. 'to burn, glow' ⇒ **dénd^{h}-n-e-* (GM).

A nasal present to a Germanic root **dend^{h}-*: the *-d-* was assimilated between two nasals, but can be retrieved from the causative **tandjan-* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *tinna* f. 'tinder' < **tindnōn-* and the zero-grade instrumental noun OHG *zuntil*, MHG *zündel* m. 'id.' < **tundila-* (beside Du. *tondel* 'id.' < **tund-la-*).

tīrēn- w.v. 'to shimmer, shine' — Nw. *tira* w.v. 'id.', Sw. dial. *tira* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **diH-r-éh₁-* (NEUR) — Apparently identical to Lith. *dyréti* 'to look'.

Also Nw. *tira* w.v. 'to shimmer' < **tirēn-* and ON *tírr*, OS *tīr*, OE *tir* m. 'glory' < **tīra-*. Related to **tairi-*?

titrōn- w.v. 'to tremble' — ON *titra* w.v.2 'to twinkle', Icel. *titra* w.v. 'to quake, shiver, vibrate', OHG *zittarōn* w.v. 'to stagger', G *zittern* w.v. 'to trem-

ble' ⇒ **di-dr-eh₂-* (IE) — Gr. διδράσκω 'to run' < **di-drh₂-ske-*; Skt. *dári-drat-* ptc. 'to wander' < **der-dreh₂-*.

tittōn- f. 'tit, breast' — OE *tit* m. 'id.', E *tit*, WFri. *tit*, *titte* c. 'id.', MLG *titte* m./f. 'id.', MHG *zitze* f. 'id.', G *Zitze* f. 'id.' (GM).

A word comparable to e.g. Gr. τιτθός and τίτθη 'tit'. The sound correspondences are irregular, however, and this implies that the Greek and Germanic words are probably unrelated, both originating in the baby-talk register.

tīwa- m. 'Tyr' — ON *Týr* m. 'id.', OE *Tīw*, *Tīg* m. 'id.' ⇒ **dei-uo-* (IE) — Skt. *devá-* m. 'god', OAv. *daēuua-* m. 'pre-Zoroastrian god', YAv. *daēuua-* m. 'demon, monster, idol', OP *daiva-* m. 'false god, idol', NP *dēw* 'demon', Lith. *diẽvas*, Latv. *dìevs* m. 'god', OPru. *deiw(a)s* 'id.', Lat. *deus* m. 'id.', Olr. *día* m., OW *duiu*, MW *duw* 'id.' < **dei-uo-*.

The general meaning of PGm. **tīwa-* was simply 'god', cf. ON *tívar* pl. 'gods' < **tīwōz*, but the word was clearly associated with the specific deity *Tyr-Tīw-Ziu*, the Germanic sky and war god, cf. Skt. *Dyáus*, gen. *Divás*, *Dyós*, Gr. Ζεύς, gen. Διός, Lat. *lū-piter*, *Iuppiter*, gen. *Iovis* < **diḗu-s*, **diu-ós*. With this meaning, it was preserved in ON *Týs-dagr*, OE *Tīwes-dæg*, OHG *Zies-tag*, MHG *Zīs-tac* 'Tuesday', a calque of Lat. *dies Martis*. Beekes 1985: 83-5 reconstructed the original paradigm as **déi-u-s*, gen. **di-u-ós*, acc. **di-éu-m*. The accusative case regularly developed into **diēm* in PIE, and the long **ē* of this form spread to the nominative of the word in the sense of 'Sky God' at least in the central Indo-European dialects that developed into Sanskrit and Greek.

tōba- m./n. 'waiting(?)' — Icel. *tóf* n. 'hesitation', MDu. *toef* n. 'reception, treat, nursing' (DRV).

A nominal formation derived from the root underlying **tabjan-* 'to delay' (q.v.). Also cf. MLG *tōven* w.v. 'to wait, hesitate, halt', MDu. *toeven* w.v. 'to wait, linger, dwell', Du. *toeven* w.v. 'to abide' < **tōbōjan-*.

****tōgan-* ~ **takkan-*** m. 'branch' — Nw. *tagg(e)* m. 'tip, jag', OSw. *tagger* m. 'spike', Sw. *tagg* c. 'spine, spike', ODa. *tagge* 'prickle', Da. *tak*, *tag* 'jag, tip', ME *tak(ke)* 'clasp, nail', E *tack*, *tag*, OS *tōgo* m. 'branch', MLG *takke*, *tagge* m. 'id.', LG *take* 'prickle', MDu. *tac(ke)*, *tooch* m. 'branch', Du. *tak*, dial. *toeg*, *toek* c. 'id.', OHG *zuogo* m. 'id.', MHG *zacken* pl. 'jags', G *Zacke(n)* m. 'jag, prong' ⇒ **deh₃gʰ-on-* (EUR) — Alb. *degë* 'branch' < **deh₃gʰ-*.

An ablauting *n*-stem **tōgō*, gen. **takkaz* < **déh₂/₃gʰ-ōn*, **dh₂/₃gʰ-n-ós* (cf. Kroonen 2011a: 317ff.). In the different dialects, the original paradigm became leveled in many different ways. As a result, secondary root variants, such as **tōk-* and **tagg-*, could arise.

tōja- n. 'deed, act' — Go. *taui*, gen. *tojis* n. 'id.' (DRV).

An noun derived from **taujan-* (q.v.). The underlying proto-form, Pre-Gm. **dōu-io-* developed into **tōja-* by regular loss of **u* after **ō*. It in turn gave Go. *taui* [tɔ̄i] by 1) apocope of the ending; 2) vocalization of the **j*; and 3) lowering of *-ō-* to *-ɔ̄-* before a hiatus.

tōla- n. 'tool' — ON *tól* n. 'id.', Far. *tól* n. 'id.', OE *tōl* n. 'id.', E *tool* (DRV).

An instrumental noun to **taujan-* 'to do, make' (q.v.). The attested forms did not develop from PGm. **tōwula-* (*pace* Pokorny IEW: 218-9), but rather straightforwardly from **tōla-*. This formation, in turn, was created to the full-grade root **tō-* (for which see **tōja-* 'deed') by the addition of the instrumental suffix **-dla-* < PIE **-dʰlo-* (or **-tló-* by Verner's law). The resulting **tōdla-* regularly developed into **tōla-* by 1. the assimilation of *d* to *l* as in **stalla-* 'stand, stall, stable' < **sth₂-dʰlo-* and 2. the simplification of geminates in heavy syllables.

tōma- adj. 'empty' — ON *tómr* adj. 'id.', Far. *tómur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *tuom* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **doH-mo-* (IE?) — To Skt. *ava-dyáti* 'to separate', Gr. δαίομαι 'to split up' < **dh₂-ie-*?

A *mo*-stem adjective to a root **deH-*. No certain etymology. The potential link with the PIE root **deh₂-* is possible, but semantically uncompelling. Also cf. the factitive ON *tœma* w.v. 'to empty', ME *tēmen* w.v. 'to drain; to pour (out), spill', E *teem*, OFri. *tēma* w.v. 'to drain; to pay', OS *tōmjan* w.v. 'to free of' < **tōmjan-*.

trabō- f. 'fringe' — ON *trǫf* f. 'id.', MHG *trabe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **drop-éh₂-* (NEUR?).

Closely resembled by Lith. *dróbė* f. 'linen (cloth)', Latv. *drēbe* f. 'cloth, laundry' < **d(h)rob-ieh₂-* and OSorb. *draby*, Cz. *zdraby* m.pl. 'clothes' < **d(h)rob-*, but the Baltic and Slavic forms with their final **b* rather than **p* or **bʰ* cannot be unified with the Germanic root **trab-* < **drop-* or **drobʰ-*. Lith. *drāpanos* f.pl 'clothes, linen' and Latv. *drāna* 'cloth' < **drop(o)neh₂-* can be reconciled with the Germanic material, but must then be disconnected from the other forms with **b*. Also cf. ON *trefja* w.v. 'to fuzz' < **trabjan-* and ON *trefill* m. 'tatter, rag' < **trabila-*.

trannjan- w.v. 'to split' — Du. *tornen* w.v. 'to pull, jerk', MHG *trennen* s.v. 'to separate, to cut', G *trennen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

The causative to **trinnan-*, quasi PIE **dronu-éie-*.

trappōn- w.v. 'to trample' — MLG *trappen* w.v. 'to stamp' ⇒ **drob-neh₂-* (NEUR) — Pol. *drabina* f. 'ladder' < **drob-in-eh₂-*.

The geminated forms have arisen in the iterative 3sg. **trappōþi*, 3pl. **trapunanþi* < **drob-néh₂-ti*, **drob-n̥h₂-énti*. Also cf. OE *treppan* w.v. 'to

tread' < **trappjan-* and OE *træppe* f. 'trap', OFri. *treppe* f. 'stairs', Du. *trap* 'id.' < **trappōn-*.

trausta- adj. 'reliable' — ON *traustr* adj. 'id.', Far. *treystur* adj. 'strong, solid, lasting' ⇒ **drou(H)-sd-o-* (EUR).

The root is clearly akin to PGm. **trūēn-* 'to trust' (q.v.). For the suffixation, compare Olr. *druit* adj. 'close, firm, trustworthy' < **drou-sd-*, the latter element of which may be the zero grade of the root **sed-* 'to sit', cf. **nista-* 'nest'. Also cf. ON *treysta* w.v. 'to fasten; to trust', OS *trōstian*, Du. *troosten*, OHG *trōsten*, G *trōsten* 'to comfort' < **traustjan-*. The ablauting formation MHG *trūt*, G *traut* adj. 'intimate' could point to a root **druH-* with a laryngeal.

tredan-* ~ *trudan- s.v. 'to tread, trample' — Go. *trudan* s.v. 'id.', ON *troða* s.v. 'to tread; to cram, pack, stuff', Far. *troða* s.v. 'to tread, step', OE *tredan* s.v. 'to tread, trample', E *to tread*, OFri. *treda* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *treden*, *terden*, *tarden*, *torden* s.v. 'id.', Du. *treden* s.v. 'id.', OHG *tretan* s.v. 'to tread, trample', G *treten* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **dr(e)t-e-* (IE?).

The alternation **tredan-* ~ **trudan-* points to an original root aorist, which is the reason why this class of verbs is often referred to as the aorist presents. In this case, that would point to a paradigm 3sg. **h₁e-drét-t*, 3pl. **h₁é-drt-nt*. The formation **knedan-* ~ **knudan-* 'to knead' (q.v.) is fully parallel, and since Ru. *gnestí* (*gnetú*) points to a root **gnet-*, it seems likely that **tredan-* ~ **trudan-* must, too, be derived from a root ending in **t*, viz. **dret-* ~ **drt-*. Theoretically, this root could be an extension of the primary element **dr-* 'to run', which occurs in PIE with both an *h₂-* and an *m*-suffix, cf. Skt. *drā́-* vs. *drám-*. Possibly, this *t*-extension could continue the 3sg. aor. ending as in e.g. PGm. *stōþ* 'stood' < **stéh₂-t*. Also cf. OHG *trata* f. 'step, track', OS *trada* f. 'id.', OE *trodu* f. 'id.' < **tradō-*, OHG *trota*, *truta* f. 'winepress' < **trudō(n)-*, the iterative **trett/dōn-* ~ **trutt/dōn-* (q.v.) and MHG *trollen* w.v. 'to move with small steps' < **trudlōn-*.

tregan- s.v. 'to be downcast' — OS *tregan* s.v. 'to grieve' ⇒ **dréǵʰ-e-* (NEUR) — Lith. *drėžéti* 'to give reluctantly, be stingy' < **dreǵʰ-eh₁-ie-*; Lith. *drìžti* 'to become weak, fear, be shy' < **drǵʰ-* (with remodeling of the regular zero grade **dirž-*).

The verb had an oblique subject in Old Saxon, e.g. *ni tharf iu uuiht tregan* 'you don't need to feel sad', which is likely to reflect the Proto-Germanic situation. The original meaning was 'to become slow', whence 'sluggish' and 'listless', cf. Go. *trigo* f. 'reluctance' and ON *tregr* adj. 'hesitant', Nw. *treg* adj. 'reluctant, tough' < **trega-*. The semantics of ON *tregi* m. 'grief', OE *trega* m. 'id.', OS *trego* m. 'pain' < **tregan-* as well as OS *tregan* logically follow from

the impersonal construction: 'it is tough for me' = 'I am grieving'. See also **trēgi-*.

trēgi- adj. 'slow, down' — OS *trāg(i)* adj. 'lazy', MDu. *traghe*, *traech* adj. 'lazy, slow', Du. *traag* adj. 'slow', OHG *trāgi* adj. 'lazy, slow', G *träge* adj. 'id.' (DRV).

An adjective continuing a *vṛddhi*-gerundive to the strong verb **tregan-* (q.v.).

trek(k)an- s.v. 'to pull' — MLG *treken* w.v. 'to shudder', MDu. *tre(c)ken* s.v. 'to pull', OHG *trehhan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *trechen* s.v. 'to shove, thrust, jerk' ⇒ **drég$^{(h)}$-e-* (NEUR) — Lith. *dìrginti* 'to pull (the trigger)' < **drg-neh$_2$-*; OCS *drъgati* 'to shudder', Ru. *dērgat'* 'to jerk' < **drg$^{(h)}$-eh$_2$-* and Ru. *drožát'*, OCz. *držěti* 'to shiver' < **drg$^{(h)}$-eh$_1$-*.

A strong verb with two variants: **trekan-* and **trekkan-*. At least the latter variant must have adopted its root-final consonantism from the iterative **trukkōn-* (q.v.). It is unclear, on the other hand, whether the single *k* of **trekan-* is secondary or not. This depends on the analysis of the root-final consonant of the Balto-Slavic cognates, which is problematic: the accentuation of Ru. *dērgat'* and Lith. *dìrginti* points to **drg-*, while Ru. *drožát'* rather implies **dorg^{h}-*. Note that the related formation Ru. dial. *drýgat'*, *drygát'* 'to tremble' is ambiguous, both in its accent and in its potentially secondary root vocalism.

treman- s.v. 'to waver' — MHG *tremen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **drém-e-* (IE) — Skt. *drámati* 'to run (about)', Gr. δραμεῖν 'to run' < **drm-* (cf. δρόμος m. 'run, race, course' < **drom-o-*); SCr. *dȓmati* 'to tremble' < **drm-eh$_2$-ie-*.

A verb derived from a PIE root **drem-*, possibly a variant of **trem-*, cf. Lat. *tremō*, *-ere* 'to tremble'. Also cf. OE *trem* 'footstep'.

trett/dōn- ~ ***trutt/dōn-*** w.v. 'to trample' — Elfd. *troðå* w.v. 'id.', MDu. *tredden*, *tretten* w.v. 'to tread, trample', MHG *trot(t)en* w.v. 'to trot' ⇒ **dr(e)t-néh$_2$-* (IE?).

The iterative to **tredan-* ~ **trudan-*.

trewa- n. 'tree' — Go. *triu* n. 'stick; vine', ON *tré* n. 'tree; mast; rafter, beam', Far. *træ* n. 'tree; piece of wood', Elfd. *trai* n. 'id.', OE *trēo*, *trēow* n. 'tree', E *tree*, OFri. *trē* n. 'id.', OS *trio*, *treo* n. 'id.' ⇒ **dréu-o-* (IE) — Hitt. *tāru-* n. 'wood', ToAB *or* 'id.', Skt. *dā́ru-*, gen. *dróṣ*, *drúṇaḥ* n. 'id.', YAv. *dāuru*, gen. *draoš* n. 'wood; tree-trunk', OP *dāruv* n. 'wood', NP *dār* 'wood; tree', Gr. δόρυ, gen. δουρός, δούρατος n. 'wood, tree(stem), spear', OIr. *daur*, *dair* f. 'oak'; W *dar* 'id.' < **dor-u-*; OCS *drъva* n.pl. 'wood', Ru. *drová* n.pl. 'id.', SCr. *dȓvo* n. 'tree', Alb. *dru* / *drũ* m. 'wood; tree; stem, trunk' < **dru-*.

The Indo-European word for 'wood' and 'tree'. See also **terwa/ōn-* and **truga-*.

trewwu- adj. 'loyal, trustworthy' — Go. *triggws* adj. 'id.', ON *tryggr* adj. 'id.', Far. *tryggur* adj. 'safe, calm', OE *trīewe, ge-trīewe* adj. 'id.', OFri. *triūwe, triōwe* adj. 'id.', OS *triuwi* adj. 'id.', MDu. *trouwe, ge-trouwe* adj. 'id.', Du. *trouw, ge-trouw* adj. 'loyal', OHG *triuwi, gi-triuwi* adj. 'id.', G *treu, ge-treu* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **dreuH-u-* (EUR) — OPru. *druwit* 'to believe'; OIr. *derb* adj. 'certain' < **der-uo-*.

An *u*-stem related to **trūēn-* (q.v.). Etymologically, there may be a connection to the PIE word for 'wood' (see **trewa-*). For the shift of meaning, cf. Lat. *rōbustus* adj. 'made of oak; strong', which was derived from *rōbur* n. 'oak; strength'. Also cf. **trūēn-*.

trinnan- s.v. 'to separate oneself' — OHG *intrinnan* s.v. 'to separate oneself, to elope', MHG *trinnen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **drénu-e* (IE).

Probably a secondary present **drénu-e-* to a nasal present related to **teran-* 'to tear' < **dér-e*, cf. Skt. *dṛṇā́ti* 'to split' (only *dṛṇīyāt* 3sg.opt.) < **dr-neh₂-*. Presumably, the nasal present was conjugated 3sg. **dr-néu-ti, *dr-nu-énti*. The latter form may have served as the basis for the strong verb, which appears to continue **drénu-e-* with **-nu̯-* becoming *-nn-*. For a similar remodeling, cf. **rinnan-* < **h₃r-néu-*. The strong verb gave rise to the causative **trannjan-* and the zero-grade formation OHG *abe-trunne, abe-trunnīg*, G *ab-trünnig* adj. 'disloyal, separatist' < **-trunnja-*.

trūēn- w.v. 'to trust' — Go. *trauan* w.v. 'id.', ON *trúa* w.v. 'to believe; to believe in, trust', Far. *trúgva* w.v. 'id.', OE *trūwian* w.v. 'to trust, confide', OFri. *triūwa, trōwa* w.v. 'to trust; to marry', OS *trauwian* w.v. 'to trust', Du. *trouwen* w.v. 'to marry', OHG *trū(w)ēn* w.v. 'to trust, believe', G *trauen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **druH-eh₁-ie-* (NEUR) — OPru. *druwit* 'to believe'; OIr. *derb* adj. 'certain' < **der-uo-*.

A stative verb created to the adjective **trūa-*, cf. ON *trúr*, Far. *trúgvur* adj. 'faithful'. See also **trewwu-* and **trausta-*.

truga- n. 'trough' — ON *trog* n. 'id.', OE *trog, troh* m. 'id.', E *trough*, MDu. *troch* m. 'trough; boat', Du. *trog* c. 'trough', OHG *troc* m. 'id.', G *Trog* m. 'id.' ⇒ **dru-kó-* (IE) — OIr. *drochta*, gen. *drochtai* 'tub, vessel' < **druk-to-*; OIr. *drochat* m. 'bridge' < **druḱo-ponth₁-o-*.

Also cf. the OSw. *trø* n. 'corn-measure', OE *trig* n. 'tray' < **trauhja-* < **drouk-io-* and ON *sǫðul-treyja* f., *tréju-sǫðull* m. 'saddletree' < **trauhjōn-/*truhjōn-*. Probably a derivative of the IE word for 'wood', see **trewa-*.

trukkōn- w.v. 'to pull' — MDu. *trocken* w.v. 'to pull, jerk' ⇒ *$drg^{(h)}$-néh$_2$- (NEUR) — Lith. *dìrginti* 'to pull (the trigger)' < *drg-neh$_2$-; OCS *drъgati* 'to shudder', Ru. *dërgat'* 'to jerk' < *$drg^{(h)}$-eh$_2$-ie-; Ru. *drožát'* 'to shiver' < *$drg^{(h)}$-eh$_1$-ie-.

The iterative belonging to *trek(k)an-. Given its root-final consonantism, this strong verb must have been influenced by the iterative 3sg. *trukkōþi, 3pl. *trugunanþi < *$drg^{(h)}$-néh$_2$-. This iterative, in turn, probably adopted its vowel slot from the strong verb, as *$drg^{(h)}$-néh$_2$- regularly should have become **turkōn-.

truma- 1 m. 'root(?)' — OE *wyrt-trum* m. 'root-stock' ⇒ *dru-mo- (IE) — Skt. *druma-* m. 'tree, plant', Ru. *drom* m. 'forest, thicket', Gr. δρυμά n.pl. 'wood, forest' < *dru-mo-.

From a PIE masculine *dru-mo- (Gr. δρυμά is a neuter collective to the same word). The word was derived from the IE word for wood, for which see *trewa-. OE also has the secondary *n*-stems *wyrt-truma* m. and *-trume* f. 'id.'.

truma- 2 adj. 'reliable' — OE *trum* adj. 'firm, strong' (IE).

Closely related to *truma- 1 'root(?)'. The adj. once again displays a semantic shift from 'wood' to 'strong' (cf. *trausta- and *trewwu-). OE *trymman* w.v. 'to strengthen, trim' < *trumjan- was derived from the adjective.

trumpōn- w.v. 'to step(?)' — MDu. *trompen* w.v. 'to step, trample', MHG *trumpfen* w.v. 'to walk, toddle off' ⇒ *$drmb^{(h)}$-néh$_2$- (NEUR?).

An iterative to which the strong verb Go. *trimpan* s.v. 'to step up close, crowd' is a back-formation. The verbal base can be a nasalized variant of a root *$dreb^{(h)}$-, cf. *trap(p)ōn-.

trussōn- w.v. 'to roll, turn' — WPhal. *trossen* 'to roll' (GM).

Also cf. MDu. *trosse* 'pack, cluster; hawser', Du. *tros* c. 'raceme, hawser' < *trussan-, WPhal. *truəseln* w.v. 'to roll slowly' < *truslōn-. No extra-Gm. etymology. Perhaps connected with MDu. *trisen* w.v. 'to turn, spin', MLG *triseln* w.v. 'to roll, dash', WPhal. *triəseln* 'to spin'.

trūþa- m. 'joker' — ON *trúðr* m. 'juggler, fool', OE *trūð* m. 'trumpeter, actor, buffoon' ⇒ *druH-to- (WEUR/LW?) — MIr. *drúth* m. 'professional jester, fool', MW *drut* 'dear, foolish, foolhardy' < *d^hruH-to-.

A Germanic-Celtic isogloss. ON *trúðr* can be explained as a loanword from Old English, but the correspondence of *trūð* with MIr. *drúth* is regular, and seems to imply a common Indo-European source. Since, however, there never was a specifically Celto-Germanic proto-language (the two branches

only came into contact with each other after their arrival in West Europe), the word is more likely to be a vestige of Germanic-Celtic contact prior to the great sound shifts.

tuhti- f. 'pulling' — Go. *us-tauhts* f. 'completion', OE *tyht* m. 'conduct, practice', MDu. *tucht* f. 'discipline', Du. *tucht* c. 'id.', OHG *zuht* f. 'pulling, tug, correction', G *Zucht* f. 'breeding, rearing; discipline' (DRV).

A *ti*-stem to **teuhan-* (q.v.).

tukk/gōn- w.v. 'to pull, jerk' — ON *toga* w.v. 'to drag', Elfd. *tugå* w.v. 'id.', OE *togian* w.v. 'to tug', ME *toggen* w.v. 'id.', E *to tug*, MDu. *tocken*, *token* w.v. 'to push, jerk, strike', *togen* w.v. 'to pull, drag', OHG *zogōn*, *zockōn*, *zohhōn* w.v. 'to pull, jerk', MHG *zogen* w.v. 'to acquire, tear' ⇒ **duk-néh₂-* (WEUR).

The iterative to **teuhan-* (q.v.). Also cf. MHG *zucken*, *zücken*, G *zücken* w.v. 'to pull quickly, jerk' < **tukkjan-*.

tulga- m. 'tongue(?)' — G dial. *Zungen-zolch* 'id.' ⇒ **dlgʰ-o-* (EUR) — Gr. γλῶσσα, Att. γλάσσα f. 'tongue, language' < **dl(ō)gʰ-ieh₂-*.

G *Zungen-zolch* was recorded by Höfler 1899: 857 in his *Deutsches Krankheitsnamen-buch*, and in view of the word-final fricative appears to be the Middle German outcome of **tungōna-tulga-*. Höfler pointed to the apparent correspondence with OE *tungan tulge* attested in *Bald's Leechbook* (*'under tungan tulge swearte ædre'*), but here, *tulge* may be the adverbial form of **tulgu-* 'firm' (q.v.). The element *Zolch*, however, can still be related to Gr. γλῶσσα and γλάσσα if these *ih₂*-stems were derived from an ablauting root noun **dlógʰ-s*, gen. **dlgʰ-és*, cf. Hsch. γλῶχες f.pl. 'beard of corn'. On a deeper level, the word may be related to Lith. *dilgùs* 'stinging, burning' < **dlgʰ-u-*, OPru. *doalgis*, Lith. *dalgis* 'scythe' < **dolgʰ-i-* and OIr. *delg* n. 'thorn' < **delgʰ-*, possibly through an intermediate meaning 'blade'. The Irish word has alternatively been compared to ON *dalkr* m. 'brooch, clasp', OE *dalc*, *dolc* m. 'clasp, bracelet' < **dalka-*, however.

tulgu- adj. 'firm' — Go. *tulgus* adj. 'firm', OE *tylg* comp. 'rather' (< **tulg-iz*), OS *tulgo* adv. 'very' ⇒ **dlh₁gʰ-u-* (IE) — Skt. *dīrghá-* adj. 'long, far, lasting', Gr. δολιχός adj. 'long' (with ι < ε?), Lith. *ilgas*, Latv. *ilgs* adj. 'id.', OCS *dlъgъ*, *dlъgъ*, Ru. *dólgij*, SCr. *dùg* adj. 'id.' < **dlh₁gʰ-o-*.

An Indo-European word. The meaning 'firm' developed from 'long-lasting'. Also cf. Go. *tulgjan* w.v. 'to make firm'.

tumfeti- f. 'foundation' — ON *toft*, *tuft* f. 'id.', Icel. *tóft* f. 'id.', Far. *toft* f. 'id.', OSw. *tomt*, *tompt* f. 'id.' ⇒ **dm-ped-i-* / **dḿ-ti-* (IE) — Gr. δά-πεδον 'floor'.

Usually analyzed as a PIE compound of the root **dem-* 'building; house' and **ped-* 'foot', like Gr. δά-πεδον. The attested forms, however, can also

have developed from **tumþi-*, i.e. a *ti*-stem straightforwardly derived from the root **dem-*, cf. OHG *zumft* 'agreement', for which see **teman-* and **timbra-*.

tumþi- f. 'guild' — OHG *zumft* f. 'agreement, community', MHG *zumft, zunft* f. 'appropriateness, rule, association, guild', G *Zunft* f. 'craft, guild' ⇒ **dḿ-ti-* (DRV).

A *ti*-stem to the root of the strong verb **teman-* 'to befit' (w.v.). The *f* is epenthetic between **m* and **þ*.

tūna- n. 'fenced area' — ON *tún* n. 'enclosure, courtyard, homestead; home field; town', OE *tūn* m. 'enclosed piece of ground, yard; town', E *town*, OFri. *tūn* m. 'fence, enclosure, yard', MLG *tūn* m. 'fence', Du. *tuin* c. 'garden', OHG *zūn* m. 'fence, enclosure', G *Zaun* m. 'id.' (LW).

A Pre-Gm. loanword from Celtic **dūno-*, cf. OIr. *dún* n. 'fort, rampart', MW *din* m. 'id.'. OE *dūn* f. 'hill, down', MLG *dūne* f., MDu. *dunen* f.pl., Du. *duin* c./n. 'dune' can be a later adoption, but has also been interpreted as belonging to the root **dū-* 'to blow', cf. **dūna-* 'down'.

tundra- n. 'tinder' — ON *tundr* n. 'tinder', OE *tynder, tyndre* f. 'tinder, fuel' (< **tundrjō-*), MLG *tunder* 'id.', MHG *zunder* m./n. 'id.', G *Zunder* m. 'id.' ⇒ **dndʰ-ro-* (DRV).

See **tandjan-* and **tandra(n)-*.

tungla- n. 'star, celestial body(?)' — Go. *tuggl* n. 'celestial body, star', ON *tungl* n. 'moon' (also *himin-tungl* 'heavenly body'), Elfd. *tunggel* n. 'moon', OE *tungol* n./m. 'celestial body', OS *tungal* n. 'star', OHG *himil-zungal* n. 'celestial body' (DRV).

This word has an uncertain etymology. Some derive it from **tungōn-* 'tongue', assuming that the word initially only applied to the waxing or waning moon. Others have connected Lith. *dangùs*, OPru. *dangus* 'heaven', but these words contain the root **dʰengʰ-* (see **dungōn-*) and therefore cannot be related. Akin to Nw. *tanga* w.v. 'to run around, dash about' and Du. *tongelen* w.v. 'to drag; to dangle; to move about'?

tungōn- f. 'tongue' — Go. *tuggo* f. 'id.', ON *tunga* f. 'id.', Far. *tunga* f. 'id.', Elfd. *tungga* f. 'id.', OE *tunge* f. 'id.', E *tongue*, OFri. *tunge* f. 'id.', OS *tunga* f. 'id.', Du. *tong* c. 'id.', OHG *zunga* f. 'id.', G *Zunge* f. 'id.' ⇒ **dnǵʰ-ueh₂-* (IE) — ToA *käntu* m./f., ToB *kantwo* m. 'tongue' < **ǵʰnd(ʰ)-ueh₂-* (with metathesis); Skt. *jihvā́-* f. 'id.', Av. *hizuua-/hizū-* m. 'id.' < **d(i)nǵʰ-ueh₂-*; Lat. *lingua* f. 'id.' < **lnǵʰ-ieh₂-*; OIr. *tengae* m./f. 'id.', OW *tauawt*, W *tafod* 'id.' < **tnǵʰ-ot-*; Lith. *liežùvis* m. 'id.', OPru. *insuwis* 'id.' < **nǵʰ-ueh₂-*; OCS *językъ*, Ru. *jazýk*, SCr. *jèzik* m. 'id.' < **nǵʰ-u-(ko-)*; Arm. *lezu*, gen. *lezvi* 'id.'.

Although the word in many other IE languages appears to have been distorted (often under the influence of a verb 'to lick', cf. Lat. *lingō*, Lith. *liežti*, Arm. *lizanem* < PIE **leiǵʰ-*), the original form is probably to be reconstructed as **dnǵʰ-u(e)h₂-*, i.e. a masculine (cf. Av. *hizuuā-*) *h₂*-stem inflected as **d(é)nǵʰ-uh₂*, gen. **dnǵʰ-uéh₂-s*. For another possible word for 'tongue', see **tulga-*.

turba- m./n. 'turf, peat' — ON *torf* n. 'id.', MLG *torf* m. 'id.', MDu. *torf, turf* m. 'id', Du. *turf* c. 'id.' ⇒ **drbʰ-o-* (IE) — Skt. *darbhá-* m. 'tuft of grass, bunch of grass' < **derbʰ-o-*; Ru. *derbá* f. 'clearing, cleared woodland' < **derbʰ-eh₂-*; YAv. *dərəβδa-* n. 'bundle of muscles' < **drbʰ-to-*.

An old, possibly Pre-Gm. derivation from the root **derbʰ-* 'to wind', see **tarbjan-*. Also cf. OFri. *tūra*, MDu. *torve* m. 'turf' < **turban-*, OE *eðel-tyrf* f. 'noble soil' < **turbi-*, and the root noun OE *turf*, pl. *tyrf* f. 'id.', E *turf*, OFri. *turf* f. 'id.', OS *turf* m. 'id.' < **turb-*.

turhta- adj. 'bright' — OE *torht* adj. 'bright, splendid', OS *toroht* adj. 'bright', OHG *zoraht* adj. 'bright, clear' ⇒ **drḱ-to-* (IE) — OAv. *-dərəšta-* adj. 'seen, visible' < **drḱ-to-*.

An adjective continuing the original past ptc. of the PIE verb **dérḱ-e-*, for which see **tarhjan-*. Also cf. OHG *ougo-zorhtōn* w.v. 'to reveal' < **turhtōjan-*.

turna- n./m. 'anger, rage' — OE *torn* n. 'id.', OS *torn* n. 'id.', Du. *toorn* c. 'id.', OHG *zorn* n. 'id.', G *Zorn* m. 'id.' (DRV).

Related to **teran-* and **turnan-* (q.v.). Also cf. MHG *zorn* adj. 'angry' < **turna-*.

turnan- s.v. 'to separate oneself, tear oneself away' — Go. *af-taurnan* s.v. 'to tear off', *dis-taurnan* s.v. 'to tear apart', Du. obs. *tornen* w.v. 'to run off' ⇒ **dr-nh₂-e-* (IE) — Skt. *dr̥ṇáti* 'to rend, tear, split' < **dr-néH-*.

An old medial factitive to the strong verb **teran-* (q.v.).

turþi- f. 'destruction' — Go. *ga-taurþs* f. 'id.' ⇒ **dŕ-ti-* (IE) — Skt. *dŕ̥ti-* f. 'sack', Gr. δάρσις f. 'skinned leather'.

A *ti*-stem derived from the stem of **teran-* (q.v.).

turzda- m. 'excrement' — OE *tord* n. 'id.', E *turd*, MDu. *to(o)rt* n./m. 'dung' ⇒ **drs-dʰh₁-o-* (NEUR) — Latv. *dìrst* (*dìrsu, dìrsnu*) 'to shit' < **drs-*.

Also cf. G *zorten* 'to shit' < **turzdōjan-*.

tūsan- s.v. 'to pull' — ME *-tousen* w.v. 'to pull, tear at; to dishevel', E *to touse*, LG *tūsen* w.v. 'to pull apart', OHG *zir-zūsōn* w.v. 'to tear to pieces, clear

of undergrowth', MHG *zer-zūsen* w.v. 'to tousle', G *zer-zausen* w.v. 'id.' (WEUR?) — To OIr. *dos* m. 'bushy tree', Gael. *dos* 'thicket; tuft' < **dus-o-*(?).

A formation only attested as a class 2 weak verb, but potentially continuing a strong verb, cf. the inchoative Icel. *túsna* w.v. 'to fray, ravel up'. The etymology of the word is unclear, but in view of the iterative **tus(s)ōn-* (q.v.) alternating with Nw. *tasa* < **tasōn-*, it is probable that it goes back to a Pre-Gm. root **des-*. The long **ū* of **tūsan-* must then be secondary, i.e. based on the analogical zero-grade root **tus-*. This would mean that the link with OIr. *dos* cannot be maintained, however.

****tuska-*** m. 'tusk, fang' — OE *tusc*, *tux(a)* m. 'id.', E *tusk*, OFri. *tusk* m. 'id.', WFri. *tosk* c. 'tooth' ⇒ **h₃dnt-sko-* (DRV).

An old derivation from the PIE word for 'tooth', see **tanþ* ~ **tunþ-*. A remarkable variant is represented by WFri. *twisk* 'cutting tooth', E dial. *twisk* 'fang', which has been claimed to represent a secondary full-grade root **twisk-* (cf. Spenter 1968: 94, fn. 557).

****tuska(n)-*** m. 'toad(?), frog(?)' — Elfd. *tuosk* m. 'toad', OE *tosca* m. 'frog' (GM).

In spite of the uncertainty of the correspondence between Old English and Elfdalian (Bugge *apud* Noreen 1882: 196, fn. 4), both words can be reconciled as PGm. **tuska(n)-*, which may continue a formation **tud-ska-*. For the suffix, cf. **fruska-* 'frog' < **fru(g)-ska-*(?).

****tuskjan-*** w.v. 'to be burning' — OHG *zuscen* w.v. 'to burn' ⇒ **dh₂u-ske-* (IE) — Gr. δαίω 'to burn', W *deifyaw* 'to kindle' < **dh₂u-ie-*; Gr. δύη f. 'misery, anguish' < **duh₂(-eh₂)-*; MIr. *doud*, MW *kynneu-* 'to kindle' < **(kom-)doh₂u-eie-*.

An inchoative *sk*-present to the PIE base **dh₂-u-* 'to burn'.

****tus(s)ōn-*** w.v. 'to fray' — Icel. *tos(s)a* w.v. 'to pull, tug', Nw. *tos(s)a* w.v. 'to jerk, pull, pluck', ME *tosen*, E obs. *to toze* 'to pull asunder', MLG *tōsen* w.v. 'to tear, tug', MDu. *tosen* w.v. 'to pick out' ⇒ **d(u)s-néh₂-* (WEUR?).

A zero-grade iterative akin to **tūsan-* (q.v.) and e.g. Nw. *tos* n. 'fiber' < **tusa-*. The *o*-grade variant **tasōn-*, as supported by Nw. *tasa* w.v. 'to fray', Sw. dial. *tasa* w.v. 'to pluck wool', LG *tasen* w.v. 'to pull' < **dos-néh₂-* apparently points to a root **des-* rather than **dus-*. The alternative is to assume that the *a*-vocalism is secondary.

****tutt/dōn-*** w.v. 'to pull, drag' — Nw. *tot(t)a* w.v. 'to jerk, drag; to toil; to squeeze', Sw. dial. *tåtta* w.v. 'to squeeze', ODa. *tuttæ*, *tyttæ* w.v. 'to pull', Du. dial. *todden*, *tooien* w.v. 'to drag', MHG *zoten* w.v. 'to go slowly' ⇒ **dt-néh₂-* (GM).

No extra-Germanic etymology; the Pre-Gm. root **dut-* could be a formal variant of the more widespread **duk-* 'to pull' (see **teuhan-* and **tukk/gōn-*), but the full-grade forms (see below) rather point to a root **det-*. The meaning 'to pull' must have developed into 'to pluck' at an early stage in view of e.g. ON, Icel. *toddi*, m. 'tuft', MHG *zotte*, G *Zotte* 'id.', Du. *todde* c. 'rag' < **tudda/ōn-* OHG *zota*, G *Zote* f. 'hair; rag' < **tudōn-* and G Swab. *Zotze* f. 'tuft, brush' < **tuttan-*. The origin of the ablauting forms OHG *zato* m. 'shaggy hair' < **tadan-*; OHG *zatta* f. 'flax', G *Zatte* f. 'windrow, sheaf' < **taddōn-* and OE *tættec* m. 'rag' < **tattaka-* is not entirely clear, but may point either to an ablauting *n*-stem **tadō*, gen. **tuttaz* (cf. **maþan-* ~ **muttan-* 'moth') or to an otherwise unattested *o*-grade iterative **tatt/dōn-*. Note that the related OHG *zaturra* f. 'harlot' < **tadur-jō(n)-* and ON *tǫturr* m. 'id.' < **tatura-* could theoretically even point to an old *r/n*-stem nom. **dót-r*, gen. **dt-n-ós*, yielding PGm. **daþur*, **duttaz*. See also **teudra-* ~ **tūdra-*.

****tuz-*** pref. 'apart, asunder' — Go. *tuz-* pref. 'id.', ON *tor-* pref. 'id.', OE *tor-* pref. 'id.', OHG *zur-* pref. 'id.', G *zer-* pref. 'id.' ⇒ **dus-* (IE) — Skt. *duṣ-*, Gr. δυσ-, OIr. *du-*, *do-*, Arm. *t-* < **du-s-* pref. "ill-, mis-, un-".

Possibly an originally genitival form of the root **du-* 'two' (for which see **twa-*), cf. the locatival **du-i* ~ **h₁u-i* 'in two' (see **widu(w)ōn-* 'widow' and **wīda-* 'wide'). Further cf. the derivation Skt. *dóṣa-* m. 'lack' < **dous-o-*.

****twa-*** num. 'two' — Go. *twai* m., *twos* f. *twa* n. 'id.', ON *tveir*, acc. *tvá*, f. *tvær*, n. *tvau*, gen. *tveggja*, dat. *tveim(r)* num. 'id.', Far. *tveir*, f. *tvær*, n. *tvey*, gen. *tveggja*, dat. *tveimum* num. 'id.', Elfd. *twer*, acc. *tyo*, f. *twär*, n. *tau*, dat. *twem* num. 'id.', OE *twēgen*, f. *twā*, n. *tū* num. 'id.', E *two*, OFri. *twēne*, *twē*, *twēr(e)*, f./n. *twā* num. 'id.', OS *twēne*, *twēna*, f. *twā*, *twō*, n. *twē* num. 'id.', Du. *twee* num. 'id.', OHG *zwēne*, f. *zwā*, *zwō*, n. *zwei* num. 'id.', G *zwei* num. 'id.' ⇒ **duo-* (IE).

The original PGm. paradigm was **twai*, acc. **twans* (cf. Go. *twans* vs. ON *tvá*, Far. poet. *tógva*, Elfd. *tyo* < ON **tóā*), f. **twōz*, n. **tū* (OE *tū*, Elfd. *tau*), gen. **twajjan*, dat. **twaimiz* (not **twaimuz* in view of the umlaut of OE *twǣm*) from Pre-Gm. **du-oi*, **du-ons*, **du-eh₂-es*, **du-h₂*, **du-oi-óm*, **du-oi-mis*. Note that the original neuter **tū* < **tuh₂* (OE *tū*) was replaced by **twō* in OHG *zwō* and by **twa* in Go. *twa*. See also **tawō-* 'pair' and **tuz-* 'atwo'.

****twalifa-*** num. 'twelve' — Go. *twalif* num. 'id.', ON *tolf* num. 'id.', Far. *tólv* num. 'id.', Elfd. *tolv* num. 'id.', OE *twelf* num. 'id.', E *twelve*, OFri. *twelif*, *toulif*, *toleve*, *tolewe*, *tolve* num. 'id.', OS *twelif* num. 'id.', Du. *twaalf* num. 'id.', OHG *zwelif* num. 'id.', G *zwōlf* num. 'id.' (NEUR) — Close to Lith. *dvý-lika* num. 'twelve'.

A compound with an original meaning 'two past ten'. Also cf. **ainalifa-*.

twīfla- m. 'doubt' — Go. *tweifls** m. 'id.', OFri. *twīfel*, *twīwil* m./n. 'id.', MDu. *twivel* m. 'id.', Du. *twijfel* c. 'id.', OHG *zwīval* m. 'id.', G *Zweifel* m. 'id.' ⇒ **duei-plo-* (IE).

A nominalization of a PIE adjective **dui-plo-* 'two-fold', cf. Gr. διπλόος. Presumably, the causative OE *ge-twæfan* w.v. 'to split' < **twaibjan-* < quasi-PIE **duoip-éie-*, arose as a back-formation. Also cf. OS *twīfli* adj. 'doubtful' < **twiflja-* and OHG *zwīvo* m. 'doubt' < **twīfan-*.

twig/kkan- m. 'twig' — EDa. *tvege* 'id.', Da. *tveje*, *tvege*, *tvegge* 'id.', OE Nhb. *twigge* f. 'id.', E *twig*, LG *twig* 'id.', WPhal. *twick* m., *twiək* f. 'id.', OHG *zweck(o)* m. 'nail, peg', MHG *zwec* m. 'nail, bolt, twig', G *Zweck* m. 'id.', *Zwick* m. 'peg, sprout' ⇒ **duig^{h}-on-* (GM).

An old *n*-stem **twigō*, gen. **twikkaz* < **duig^{h}-ōn*, **duig^{h}-n-ós*. The regular root allomorphs **twig-* and **twikk-* are attested as Da. *tvege* and WPhal. *twick*. The variants **twigg-* (OE *twigge*, Da. *tvegge*) and **twik-* (WPhal. *twiək*) are secondary contamination forms. With a full grade, cf. OE *twī(g)* n. 'twig', OHG *zwīg* n./m., G *Zweig* m., MDu. *twijch*, Du. *twijg* c. < **twīga-*.

twis adv. 'twice' — MLG *twis* adv. 'id.' ⇒ **dui-s* (IE) — Identical to Skt. *dvíṣ*, YAv. *biš*, Gr. δίς, Lat. *bis* (1x *duis*), OIr. *fo-dí* adv. 'twice'.

Also cf. ON *tvisvar*, *tysvar*, OHG *zwiror*, MHG *zwire*, *zwir* adv. 'twice' < **twiswar* ~ **twizwar* < **duis-* plus an unknown suffix.

twisk(j)a- adj. 'twofold' — OS *twisk* adj. 'id.', OHG *zwisk*, *zwiski* adj. 'id.', MHG *zwisc(h)* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **dui-sko-* (DRV) — Arm. *kic'* 'associate' < **dui-sk-o-*.

An adjective in **-(i)ska-* derived either from the numeral **twa-* 'two' (q.v.) or from the adverb **twis* 'twice' (q.v.). It has a close parallel in Arm. *kic'*.

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þa- pron. 'that, those' — Go. *sa*, acc. *þana*, f. *so*, acc. *þo*, n. *þata* pron. 'id.', ON *sá*, acc. *þann*, f. *sú*, acc. *þá*, n. *þat* pron. 'id.', Far. *tann*, n. *tað* pron. 'id.', OE *se*, acc. *þone*, f. *sēo*, *sīo*, acc. *þā*, n. *þæt* pron. 'id.', E *that*, OS *se*, *thē*, *thie*, acc. *thena*, *thana*, f. *thiu*, *thia*, acc. *thia*, *thea*, n. *that* pron. 'id.', Du. *die*, n. *dat* pron. 'id.', OHG *der*, acc. *den*, f. *diu*, acc. *dea*, *dia*, n. *daz* pron. 'id.', G *der*, acc. *den*, f. *die*, n. *das* pron. 'id.' ⇒ **to-* (IE).

A pronominal element continuing PIE **so*, f. **seh$_2$*, n. **tod*, acc. **tom*, **teh$_2$m*, **tod*. See also **þar* 'there'.

þagēn- w.v. 'to be silent' — Go. *þahan* w.v. 'id.', ON *þegja* w.v. 'id.', Far. *tiga* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *taja* w.v. 'id.', OS *thagian*, *thagon* w.v. 'id.', OHG *dagēn* w.v. 'id.', MHG *dagen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **tHk-éh₁-* (WEUR) — Lat. *tacio*, *-ēre* 'to be silent' < **tHk-eh₁-*.

An old stative formation identical to Lat. *tacēre*. In Go. *þahan* the effects of Verner's law have been removed, but it is unclear on the basis of what form that could have happened; duratives always had zero grade of the root and a stressed *-eh₁-* suffix. Fact is, however, that Gothic has a strong tendency to remove the voicing products of Verner's law. See also **þaggōn-*.

þaggōn- w.v. 'to silence' — ON *þagga* w.v. 'id.', Nw. *tagga* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **tHk-néh₂-* (WEUR).

An interesting formation. Formally, the verb looks like the iterative (3sg. **þakkōþi*, 3pl. **þagunanþi* < **tHk-néh₂-ti*, **tHk-nh₂-énti*) to **þagēn-*, but semantically it functions as a causative-factitive ('to put to silence'). As such, it is comparable to nasal presents such as Skt. *riṇáti* 'to make flow', the causative to *ríyate* 'to flow'. Also compare the inchoative ON *þagna*, Nw. *tagna*, Elfd. *taungen* w.v. 'to become silent' < **þagnan-*, which started out as the medio-passive of the same *neh₂*-present.

þahsu- m. 'badger' — MDu. *das* m. 'id.', Du. *das* c. 'id.', MHG *dahs* m. 'id.', G *Dachs* m. 'id.' ⇒ **taks-* (WEUR/NIE).

Most WGm. forms can straightforwardly be derived from **dahsa-*, but dial. Nw. *toks* implies ON **þǫx* < **þahsu-*. This *u*-stem may have split off from a dat.pl. of an *n*-stem **þahsan-* (cf. **uhsan-* 'ox') that can be postulated on the basis of the late Latin loanword *taxo* (beside *taxus*), the source of Fr. dial. *taisson*, It. *tasso*, Sp. *tejón* 'badger' (EWAhd: II, 498-501) and possibly also Basque dial. *azkoin* 'id.' (with loss of initial *t*, cf. Trask 2008: 122). Outside Germanic, one compares MIr. *Tadg*, the name of a king whose totem was a badger. The underlying proto-form **tazgo-* is further retrieved from the Gaulish proper names *Tasc*os and *Tasco-uanus*. In view of the irregular alternation of Pre-Gm. **taks-* and PCelt. **tazg-*, the word may be of non-IE provenance (Watkins 1985: 69). Unrelated to Hitt. *tašku-*, an unspecified subcaudal bodypart (*pace* Katz 1998).

þaismjan- m. 'sourdough' — OE *þǣsma* m. 'id.', MLG *dēsem* m. 'id.', MDu. *desem* m. 'id.', Du. *zuur-desem* c. 'id.', OHG *deismo* m. 'id.', MHG *deisme* m. 'id.' ⇒ **teh₂is-mon-* (EUR) — Ru. *tésto*, SCr. *tȉjesto* n. 'dough'; OIr. *táis*, W *toes* m. 'id.' < **teh₂is-to-*; CS *tiskati*, Ru. *tískat'*, SCr. *tȉskati* 'to press, squeeze' < **tih₂s-sk-eh₂-*.

þaka- n. 'roof' — ON *þak* n. 'id.', Far. *tak* n. 'id.', Elfd. *tak* n. 'id.', OE *þæc* n. 'id.', Du. *dak* n. 'id.', OHG *dach* n. 'id.', G *Dach* n. 'id.' ⇒ **tog-o-* (IE) — Gr.

(σ)τέγος n. 'roof, house', OIr. *tech* n., OW *tig*, W *ty* m. 'id.' < **(s)teg-os-*; W *to* 'roof' < **togo-*; OIr. *tuige* 'deck' < **tog-io-*; OPru. *stogis*, Lith. *stógas* m. 'roof' < **stog-o-*.

A noun derived from a thematic verb **(s)tég-e-*, cf. Lat. *tegō* 'to cover' and - with *s*-mobile - Gr. στέγω 'id.'. Also cf. ON *þekja*, OE *þeccan*, OFri. *thekka*, OS *bi-thekkia*, ODu. *thecoda* pret., Du. *dekken*, (OH)G *decken* w.v. 'to cover, thatch' < **þakjan-* and OS *thekina* f. 'roof', OE *þecen* f. 'id.', (M)Du. *deken* c. 'blanket' < **þakinō-*.

þakjan- w.v. 'to burn' — OE *þeccan* w.v. 'to burn' ⇒ **th₂(ǵ)-ie-* (EUR?).

Also cf. OHG *dahhazen* w.v. 'to blaze, flare' < **þakatjan-*. No further etymology, but possibly related to Gr. τήγανον n. 'frying pan'; since Greek had a suffix -ανον for tools, the variant τάγηνον is likely to have come about by metathesis.

þakkja- / *þekka- adj. 'mild(?), sweet(?)' — ON *þekkr* adj. 'pleasant', OHG *decki* adj. 'dear' ⇒ **tok-ní- / *tek-nó-* (WEUR) — OIr. *étig* adj. 'unnatural, unseemly', W *annheg* adj. 'unfair, unelegant' < **n̥-tek-i-*.

The etymon has been reconstructed as **þakkja-* on the basis of the reconstruction of the OHG adj. as *decki** (EWAhd: II, 555). The adjective is attested only once as the superlative *dechisto*, and can alternatively also be traced back to **dec*. With ON *þekkr*, this form could then be derived from PGm. **þekka-*. Both **þakkja-* and **þekka-* can be reconciled with PCel. **-tek-i-* by assuming *n*-gemination (cf. Lühr 1988: 232).

þak(k)ōn- w.v. 'to touch' — OE *þaccian* w.v. 'to pat, clap, strike gently', MDu. *tacken* w.v. 'to touch' ⇒ **th₂g-néh₂-* (IE) — Lat. *tangō*, *-ere* 'to touch' < **th₂g-néh₂-*.

An old PIE iterative formation to the strong verb **takan-* ~ **tēkan-*. The dental fricative of OE *þaccian* is regular: MDu. *tacken* has its *t* from the strong verb, where it arose as the result of restored reduplication.

þambō- f. 'string' — ON *þǫmb* f. 'guts, womb; bow-string' ⇒ **tomp-éh₂-* (NEUR) — Lith. *teñpti* (*tempiù*) 'to stretch' < **temp-ie-*; Lith. *tìmpa* f. 'sinew, string' < **tmp-eh₂-*.

Cf. Nw. dial. *temba* f. 'bloatedness' < **þambjōn-* and OFri. *thempene*, *thampene* f. 'cloggedness' < **þampīn-* (with **þamp-* < **tomp-n̂-*). For the shift of meaning from 'stretch' to 'swell', see **þinsan-*.

þanga- n. 'seaweed' — ON *þang* n. 'id.', MLG *dank* 'id.' (GM).

ON *þang* is formally reconcilable with OE *þung*, a word used for several poisonous plants, e.g. aconite, hellebore and LG *woden-dung* 'hemlock' < **þunga-* (cf. Pokorny IEW: 1068; Magnússon 1989: 1171), but the semantic

difference is problematic. Weijnen 1996: 207 further connects Du. dial. *tongel* 'cleavers' (cf. ON *þǫngull* 'seaweed' < **þangula-*), but this is formally difficult in view of the initial *t*. Can there be a correlation with **þēka-* 'seaweed'?

þanhōn- f. 'clay' — Go. *þaho* f. 'clay', OE *þōhe, þōhe, þō* f. 'id.', OHG *dāha* f. 'id.', MHG *dāhe, tāhe* f. 'id.', G *Ton* f. 'id.' ⇒ **tonk-eh₂-* (IE).

A formation derived from the PIE root **tenk-* 'to thicken'. Cf. **þinhla-* and **þinhtu-*.

þanhtu- m. 'thread' — ON *þáttr* m. 'strand, thread; section, part; story', Far. *táttur* m. 'strand of a rope; part; song', Elfd. *tąt* m. 'id.', OHG *tāht* m./n. 'wick', G *Docht* m. 'id.' ⇒ **tonk-tu-* (IE) — Wkh. *tanʒ- / tanʒd-, tanz- / tanzd-* 'to fortify the warp (of textiles); to draw a web (of spiders)'.

A *tu*-stem usually reconstructed as **þēhta-*. Elfd. *tąt* m. 'id.', however, proves that the original form must have been **þanhtu-*.

þanjan- w.v. 'to stretch, extend' — Go. *uf-þanjan* w.v. 'to stretch, extend; to strive for', ON *þenja* w.v. 'to stretch, extend', Far. *tenja* w.v. 'id.', OE *þennan, þenian* w.v. 'to stretch, spread out, extend, bend (a bow)', OS *thenian* w.v. 'to stretch', MDu. *denen* w.v. 'to stretch; to torture', Du. *deinen* w.v. 'to wave', OHG *dennan* w.v. 'to stretch, extend', MHG *den(n)en* s./w.v. 'id.', G *dehnen* w.v. 'to extend' ⇒ **ton(h₂)-éie-* (IE) — Skt. *-tānayati* 'to stretch' < **ton-eie-*; Gr. τιταίνω 'id.' < **ti-tn-ie-*; Skt. *tanóti* 'to stretch, extend', Gr. τάνυμαι, τανύω 'to stretch, tense, extend, expand' < **tn-neu-*; OAv. *us-tāna-* adj. 'stretched out' < **-tnh₂-nó-*; Lat. *teneō* 'to hold, grasp' < **tnh₂-eie-*; Lith. *tìnti* (*tìnsta*) 'to swell, bloat', Latv. *tît* 'to wrap, wind' < **tnh₂-ske-*.

A causative to the root **ten(h₂)-* 'to extend'. See also **þuna-*, **þunnu-* and **þinnō- ~ *þunnō-*.

þanka- m. 'thanks' — Go. *þagks* m. 'id.', ON *þǫkk* f. 'id.', Far. *tøkk* f. 'id.', Elfd. *tokk* 'id.' (< **þankō-*), OE *þanc* m. 'thanks, satisfaction', E *thanks*, OFri. *thonk* m. 'thanks; satisfaction; intention', OS *thank* m. 'thanks; grace', Du. *dank* c. 'thanks', OHG *dank* m. 'thanks; mercy, gratification', G *Dank* m. 'thanks' ⇒ **tong-o-* (IE).

An *a*-stem related to **þankjan-* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *þakka*, Far. *takka*, Elfd. *tokka*, OE *þancian*, OFri. *thonkia*, OS *thankōn*, Du. *danken*, OHG *dankōn*, G *danken* 'to thank' < **þankōjan-*.

þankjan- w.v. 'to think' — Go. *þagkjan* w.v. 'to think, plan', ON *þekkja* w.v. 'to perceive, notice; to comprehend; to know, recognize', OE *þencan* w.v. 'to think', E *to think*, OS *thenkian* w.v. 'to think, consider, watch', Du. *denken* w.v. 'id.', OHG *denkan* w.v. 'id.', G *denken* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **tong-éie-* (EUR) — Iden-

tical to Lat. *tongō, -ēre* 'to know'; also cf. ToA *tuṅk*, ToB *taṅkw* m. 'love' < PTo. **tənkw* < **tng-u-*.

The verb formally resembles a causative formation, but in view of the meaning, which is stative rather than iterative, it seems likely that PGm. **þankjan-* as well as Lat. *tongēre* continue a PIE *i*-present with *o*-grade of the root (De Vaan 2008: 623). See also **þanka-* and **þunkjan-*.

þansjan- w.v. 'to move back' — MLG *deisen* w.v. 'to sneak away', MDu. *dei(n)sen* w.v. 'to draw back, stand back', Du. *deinzen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **tons-éie-* (IE) — Close to Skt. *taṃsáyati* 'to shake', Lith. *tąsýti* 'to jerk' < **tons-éie-*.

MDu. *dei(n)sen* can have developed out of **þansjan-*, a regular causative (intensive?) to **þinsan-* (q.v.), by diphthongization of *e* before *n* plus dental (cf. MDu. *ende, einde* 'end' < **andja-*), but the corresponding MLG form should then have been ***densen* (Franck 1949: 110), which is not the case. Perhaps, the original causative **þansjan-* was remodeled into quasi-PGm. **þaisjan-* in the Ingvaeonic area after the regular change of PGm. **þinsan-* into **þīsan-*. The nasal that can be found in (Middle) Dutch must then have been restored under the influence of the non-Ingvaeonic dialects. In fact, the Ingvaeonic form **þīsan-* is not attested in any of the old North Sea Germanic languages, and may have had a marginal distribution right from the beginning.

þansōn- w.v. 'to stretch' — OHG *dansōn* w.v. 'to pull, stretch', MHG *dansen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

The verb looks like an *o*-grade iterative to the strong verb **þinsan-* (q.v.), quasi-PIE **tons-néh₂-*. It was borrowed into Romance, cf. It. *danzare*, Fr. *dancer*, from where it again spread to the Gm. languages, e.g. E *to dance*, G *tanzen*, Du. *dansen*.

þar adv. 'there' — Go. *þar* adv. 'id.', ON *þar* adv. 'id.', Far. *har*, poet. *tar* adv. 'id.', Elfd. *dar* adv. 'id.', OE *þār, þǣr* adv. 'id.', E *there*, OFri. *ther* adv. 'id.', OS *thār* adv. 'id.', Du. *daar* adv. 'id.', OHG *dār(a)* adv. 'id.', MHG *dār, dā* adv. 'id.', G *da* adv. 'id.' ⇒ **to-r* (DRV).

An adverb created to the root **to-* 'that, those' with the locative suffix **-r*. Cf. **hwar*.

þarbō- f. 'need, want, lack' — Go. *þarba* f. 'want, need, necessity', ON *þǫrf* f. 'id.', OFri. *therve, thēre* f. 'need, want', OS *tharf* f. 'need, lack' ⇒ **torp-éh₂-* (IE).

Also cf. Go. *ala-þarba* adj. 'thoroughly destitute' < **ala-þarban-* and the stative Go. *ga-þarban* w.v. 'to abstain', ON *þarfa* 'to be needed', Far. poet. *tarva* 'to need, want', OE *þearfian* 'to be in need', OS *tharƀon* 'to lack', OHG *darbēn* 'id.' < **þarbēn-*.

þarha(n)- m. 'seaweed, driftwood' — ON *þari* m. 'id.', Far. *tari* m. 'id.', Nw. *tar(r)e* m. 'seaweed; washed-up wood', MDu. *dary*, *darich* m. 'peat sod; muck', Du. *derrie* c. 'muck' ⇒ **torḱ-on-*(?) (NEUR?).

Du. *derrie* has been compared to Go. *þarihs*(?) adj. 'unfulled, unprocessed' by Franck 1949: 112, but the connection with ON *þari* seems more likely in view of Du. (Zaan) *derg* 'floating island of reed or peat'. No received extra-Germanic etymology. I suspect the word to be related to Lith. *teršti* (*teršiù*, *teršiaũ*) 'to make dirty; to become muddy (of pastures); to spread out hay or grass' < **terḱ-ie-*.

þarma- m. 'bowel, intestine' — ON *þarmr* m. 'id.', OE *þearm* m. 'id.', OFri. *therm* m. 'id.', OS *tharm* m. 'id.', MLG *darm* m. 'intestine', MDu. *dar(e)m* m. 'id.', Du. *darm* c. 'id.', OHG *daram*, *darm* m. 'id.', G *Darm* m. 'id.' ⇒ **torm-o-* (EUR) — Gr. τράμις f. 'space between the anus and the genitals, perineum' < **trm-i-*.

An *o*-stem potentially related to the aforementioned Greek word. No further etymology.

þarzjan- w.v. 'to make dry' — ON *þerra* w.v. 'to dry, make dry; to dry, wipe', MLG *derren* w.v. 'to dry', MHG *derren* w.v. 'to wither, dry up' ⇒ **tors-éie-* (IE) — Cf. Skt. *tarṣáyati* 'to make thirsty' < **tors-éie-*.

The causative to **þersan-*. Cf. with the same vowel grade Nw. *tarre* m., OHG *darra*, G *Darre* f. 'kiln, oast' < **þarza/ōn-*.

þaula(n)- m. 'reciter, mumbler(?)' — Icel. *þauli* m. 'speaker, orator', Nw. dial. *taul* m. 'fool, half-wit' (GM).

An ablauting form to **þuli-* 'reciter'. Also cf. Nw. dial. *tul* and *tyl* m. 'fool' < **þūla/i-*.

þawa- m. 'custom' — OE *þēaw* m. 'custom, usage', ME *thew* 'habit, practice, virtue', OFri. *thāw* m. 'custom', OS *thau* m. 'id.', MLG *dūw* 'conduct', OHG *dou* m. 'instruction' (GM).

The primary meaning of PGm. **þawa-* (< **tou(H)o-*, **tokʷ-ó-*?) could have been 'to be observant', which is semantically close to e.g. Lat. *tu(e)or* 'to look at, watch over, safeguard' < **tuh₂-eh₁-ie-* (see **þeudja-*). Within Germanic, it could further be related to OE *ge-þēon* w.v. 'to do, commit, perform' < **þewōjan-*. Also cf. OE *þēawlīc* 'usual', OHG *daulīh* 'decent' < **þawa-līka-*.

þedura- m. 'wood grouse, capercaillie' — ON *þiðurr* m. 'id.', OSw. *þiædur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *työöder* m. 'id.', Da. *tjur* c. 'id.' ⇒ **tetr(-uo)-* (IE) — Skt. *tittirá-* m. 'partridge'; Gr. τέτραξ m. 'black grouse(?)'; Lith. *tetervà* f. 'black grouse'; Ru. *téterev* m. 'id.'.

The Indo-European word for a type of grouse. The word for 'female capercaille', Nw. dial. *røy*, Elfd. *rä* f. < **raujō-*, has no etymology.

þegjan- s.v. 'to request' — ON *þiggja* s.v. 'to obtain, accept', OE *þicgan* s.v. 'id.', OS *thiggian* w.v. 'to ask, request; to endure', OHG *dicken*, *digen* w.v. 'to beg for, request', MHG *digen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **tek-ié-* (EUR) — OIr. *ad-teich* 'to ask', Bret. *tizaff* 'to receive' < *-*ték-e-*; Lith. *tèkti* (*tenkù*) 'to reach (for); to suffice; to be granted' < **té-n-k-e-*.

Both in Germanic and the other IE branches, the original meaning seems to have been 'to reach out the hand' (cf. LIV²: 618-9), whence both 'to request' and 'to accept'. Also cf. **þegna-* 'retainer'.

þegna- m. 'retainer' — ON *þegn* m. 'thane, franklin, freeman, man; liegeman, subject', OE *þegn* m. 'thane, servant, retainer', OS *thegan* m. 'youth, man, warrior, disciple', MDu. *degen* m. 'boy, prince, hero', OHG *degan* m. 'warrior, valet, companion, hero, soldier', MHG *degen* m. 'lad, servant, warrior' (DRV).

A derivation from the verb **þegjan-* 'to request, beg'. The original meaning was 'retainer', i.e. an aristocratic dependant of a king or nobleman who gives service in return for patronage. The word is traditionally compared to Gr. τέκνον n. 'child', a formation belonging to τίκτω 'to give birth' < **ti-tk-e-* (cf. Torp 1909: 177; Pokorny IEW: 1057; Shields 2006). The implied proto-form **tek-no-*, however, would depending on the place of the accent have yielded either ***þehna-* or ***þekka-* (the latter with Kluge's law). This not being the case, the etymology must be rejected.

þēka- m. 'drifting seaweed' — WFri. obs. *teek* 'id.', NFri. (F) *tiak*, (Hlg., Mo., Wi., Ka.) *teek*, (Go., Ha.) *täik* n. 'id.', LG *deek*, *teek*, Brem. *feek* 'id.', Du. dial., arch. *daak*, *deek*, *vaak*, *veek* c. 'id.' (GM).

An etymologically obscure word (cf. Sjölin 2006: 231) found only dialectally along the North Sea coast (cf. Opprel 1937). The distribution of the coastal *deek* vs. the more inland *daak* in the Dutch dialects points to a vowel **ē* (rather than **ai* or **a*). In combination with WFri., NFri. *teek*, which implies an initial fricative, the word can confidently be reconstructed as PGm. **þēka-*. It seems probable, given the geographic distribution, that the word was spread by the Frisians. This is corroborated by the unexpected attestations with initial **f* on both sides of the Frisian dialectal continuum, cf. LG *feek*, Du. *vaak*, *veek*. Frisian is known to display a similar vacillation of *f* and **þ* in *fiāl*, *tiāl* n. 'wheel' < **hwehla-* ~ **hweula-* (q.v.), and is therefore a likely source of the forms with **f*. Alternatively, it is possible that the adoption of the word by the non-Frisian population took place before the change of **þ* to *d* in the Frankish and Saxon dialects, thus resulting in *daak* or *deek*. The

forms with initial **f*, on the other hand, may point to mere substitution of Fri. **þ* by non-Fri. **f*.

þeku- adj. 'fat' — ON *þykkr*, *þjokkr*, *þjukkr* adj. 'id.', Far. *tjúkkur*, *tjukkur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *tjokk* adj. 'id.', OE *þicce* adj. 'id.', E *thick*, OFri. *thikke* adj. 'manifold, multiple', OS *thikki* adj. 'id.', Du. *dik* adj. 'fat; thick', OHG *dicki* adj. 'dense, thick; frequent', G *dick* adj. 'fat, thick' ⇒ **tegu-* (WEUR) — OIr. *tiug* adj. 'fat' < **tegu-* (with *u*-raising and *u*-infection).

An old *u*-stem that was remodeled into the PNWGm. *ja*-stem **þekwja-*. The labial element caused breaking of *-y-* (< *i* with *w*-mutation) to *-ju-* or *-jo-* in ON *þjukkr*, Nw. *tjukk*, Sw. *tjock* (for which cf. Nw. *tjurr* 'dry' < **þurzu-*), and of *-i-* to *-iu-* in Frisian, cf. OFri. *thiukke* f. 'breadth' < **þekwīn-*. Etymologically, we are probably dealing with a Celtic-Germanic isogloss. The adjective has additionally been connected to Hitt. *u̯itenaš tagau̯aš* 'flood' < "thick water" (Neu 1995), but this is more uncertain. The connection with the root of **þaka-* 'cover, roof' (q.v.) is highly doubtful in spite of the semantic parallel offered by Gr. στέγνος adj. 'dense' < **steg-no-*.

****þemestra-*** adj. 'dark, dusky' — OE *þīestre* adj. 'id.', OFri. *thiūstere* adj. 'id.', OS *thiustri* adj. 'id.' (< **þiustrja-*), MLG *dēmster* adj. 'id.', MDu. *dee(m)ster*, *duuster*, *vinster* adj. 'id.', Du. *duister*, obs. *deemster* adj. 'id.', OHG *dinstar*, *finstar* adj. 'id.', MHG *dinster*, *dimster*, *finster* adj. 'id.', G *finster* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **temh₁-es-ró-* (IE) — Skt. *támas-* n. 'darkness' < **temh₁-es-* and the derived Skt. *támisra-* < **temh₁-s-ro-*; Lith. *tamsà* f. 'id.' < **temh₁-s-eh₂-* (whence *tamsùs* adj. 'dark' < **tomh₁-s-u-*); Lat. *tenebrae* f.pl. 'darkness' < **temh₁-es-reh₂-*; OIr. *temel* m. 'shadow, darkness', OW *timuil*, W *tywyll* 'dark, darkness' < **temh₁-es-lo-*.

An old IE word that despite the dialectal irregularities can straightforwardly be derived from **temh₁-es-ro-* (with *t*-epenthesis between *s* and *r*), a *ro*-stem created to the neuter *s*-stem **témh₁-es-*. In Germanic, the most primary form **þemestra-* is represented by OHG *dinstar*, MLG *dēmster*, MDu. *dee(m)ster*. The variant **þiustr(j)a-*, which is often considered to be unrelated (cf. Pokorny IEW: 1080-5) developed from (apparently syncopated) **þemstra-* by "a perfectly natural development of **-ems-* > **-ims-* > **-iw̃s-* > **-iu̯s-*" (Gąsiorowski 2012). The third variant is represented by OHG *fin(i)star*, G *finster*, which arose due to assimilation of **þ* to the labial articulation of the **m* (Polomé 1967: 810). Further cf. OS/OLFra. *thiustarnussi* f. 'darkness', Du. *duisternis* c. 'id.' and the more primary OS *thimm* adj. 'dark' < **þimza-* < **temh₁s-ó* and **þemra-* 'darkness'.

****þemra-*** m. 'darkness' — OHG *demar* n. 'dusk' ⇒ **témh₁-ro-* (IE) — Skt. *tamrá-* adj. 'darkening' < **te/om(h₁)-ró-*; OIr. *tem* adj. 'dark' < **temh₁-ó-*; OCS *tьma* f. 'darkness' < **tmh₁-eh₂-*.

Also cf. OHG *demerunga*, G *Dämmerung* f. 'dusk' and **þemestra-*.

þenura- m. 'reaction wood' — ON *þinurr* m. 'resinous fir-tree (of which bows and hoops were made); bow', Nw. *tinur, tinar* m. 'hard (piece of) wood', Elfd. *tiyor* m. 'reaction wood' (GM).

The Nordic word referred to parts of trees consisting of wood that was particularly strong (socalled 'reaction wood'), e.g. the downward side of an overhanging tree. In view of the additional Old Norse meaning 'bow', this wood was apparently used to make this particular weapon. Formally, there is a complex discrepancy between ON *þinurr* and Elfd. *tiyor*, Sw. *tjur-*, the former continuing **þinura-*, the latter ON **þjǫ́rr* < **þenura-* (with *u*-breaking, syncope and loss of *-nr-* as in **Þǫ́rr* 'Thor' (cf. Elfd. *tuǫs-dag* 'Thursday') < **þunra-* < **þunara-*). Both forms split off from a PN paradigm **þenuraʀ*, dat. **þenurē* that evolved from PGm. **þenuraz*, dat. **þenurai*. No clear etymology. ON *þinurr* is formally close to ON *þinull*, Icel. *þinull*, obs. *þinill* m. 'edge-rope of a net', Nw. *tenel* m. 'id.', which is usually connected to *þenja* w.v. 'to stretch' < **þanjan-* (with replacement of *þinill* < **þenila-* by *þinull*?), but the semantics are not entirely clear (something stretched?). There cannot be a connection with PGm. **terwa/ōn-* 'tar' either, as Elfd. *tiyor* points to a nasal root.

****þerba-*** adj. 'tough(?)' — ON *þjarfr* adj. 'unleavened (of bread); fresh (of water); insipid, flat', OE *þeorf* adj. 'unleavened', OFri. *therve* adj. 'rough, fierce', OHG *derb* adj. 'unleavened', MHG *derp* adj. 'id.', G dial. *derb* adj. 'unleavened', Bav. 'dry' ⇒ **terp-ó-* (EUR) — Lith. *tiřpti* (*tirpstù*) 'to stiffen' < **trp-ske-*; Lat. *torpēre* 'to be stiff', OCS *u-trъpěti* 'id.' < **trp-eh₁-*.

An adjective to the root **terp-*. See also **þurfan-* 'to need'.

****þerhwe ~ *þurhwe*** prep., adv. 'through' — Go. *þairh* prep., adv. 'id.', OE *þer(i)h, þur(u)h, þorh* prep., adv. 'id.', E *through*, OFri. *thriuch, thruch* prep., adv. 'id.', NFri. *troch* prep., adv. 'id.', OS *thurh, thoro, thuru* prep., adv. 'id.', ODu. *thuro* prep., adv. 'id.', MDu. *dore, dure, do(o)rch* prep., adv. 'id.', Du. *door* prep., adv. 'id.', OHG *durh, durah, duruh* prep., adv. 'id.', G *durch* prep., adv. 'id.' ⇒ **térh₂-h₃kʷ-e* (IE) — Hitt. *taraḫzi* 'to overcome', Skt. *tárati, -tiráti* 'to pass, cross over' < **térh₂-e-*, **trh₂-é-*; YAv. *titaraṯ* 3sg.inj. 'to overcome' < **ti-trh₂-e-*; Hitt. *tarna-i* 'to let in' < IE **tr-né-h₂-*; Skt. *tirás* prep. 'through, across, beyond', Lat. *trāns* prep., adv. 'across, through', OIr. *tar* prep. 'across' < **trh₂-ns*; MW *tarddu* 'to emerge, issue, sprout, appear' < **trh₂-ié-*; Hitt. *tarḫuzi* 'to prevail, be able', Skt. *túrvati* 'to excell, overpower' < **trh₂-u-e-*.

The Germanic preposition and adverb may have been formed with an element **-kʷe*, cf. Skt. *-ca* in e.g. *uccá* 'from above, up' < **ud-kʷeh₁*, *nīcá* 'downwards' < **ni-h₃kʷeh₁*, which ultimately goes back to the PIE word **h₃ekʷ-* 'eye'. The ablaut of e.g. OE *þer(i)h* and *þur(u)h* results from an ar-

chaic ablauting directional paradigm e.g. acc. **térh₂-m*, gen. **trh₂-és* (cf. Skt. *tiraśćā́* 'through' < **trh₂-es-kʷeh₁*), for which cf. **aba* 'from, off' < **h₂ep-ó* vs. **fanē* 'from' < **h₂p-o-neh₁*. Further cf. OE *þyrel*, OHG *durihhil*, *durchil*, MHG *dürchel* 'perforated' < **þurhila-* and **þerkōn-* 'hole' (q.v.). OHG *derh* adj. 'perforated' is a back-formation from the adverb (EWAhd: II, 881).

****þerkōn-*** f. 'hole' — Go. *þairko* f. 'hole' ⇒ **terh₂-ueh₂-* (DRV).

An *n*-stem derived from **þerhwe* ~ **þurhwe*. The formation is likely to continue Pre-Gm. **þerkkōn-*, which possibly received its geminate in a Pre-Gm. paradigm **térk-ōn*, gen. **t(e)rk-n-ós* (Lühr 1988: 269). Alternatively, the **k* may have arisen from a laryngeal occurring after a liquid and before a **u*, e.g. in a *ueh₂*-stem **terh₂-ueh₂-* (cf. **taikwer-*).

****þersan-*** s.v. 'to be dry' — Go. *ga-þairsan* s.v. 'to dry up, wither' ⇒ **térs-e-* (IE) — Hitt. *taršzi** ~ *taršanzi* 'to become dry', Gr. τέρσομαι 'id.' < **térs-e-*.

An old strong verb. See also **þarzjan-*, **þurzu-* and **þurzjan-*.

****þeuba-*** m. 'thief' — Go. *þiubs* m. 'id.', ON *þjófr* m. 'id.', OE *þēof* m. 'id.', E *thief*, OFri. *thiāf* m. 'id.', OS *thiof* m. 'id.', Du. *dief* c. 'id.', OHG *diob*, *diub* m. 'id.', G *Dieb* m. 'id.' ⇒ **teup-ó-* (GM?) — Lith. *tupéti* (*tupiù*) 'to cower' < **tup-eh₁-ie-*.

Etymology unclear. The formation OHG *diuva*, *diuba* f. 'id.', MHG *diuve*, *diube* f. 'id.', G obs. *Deufe*, *Deube* f. 'id.' points to a Verner alternation **þeufjō-* ~ **þeubjō-* < **teup-ieh₂-*, and the underlying root **teup-* has by some been compared to Lith. *tupéti* 'to cower' (cf. **stelan-* 'to sneak; to steal'). Within Germanic, there may be a connection with Icel. *þufla* w.v. 'to roam, wander; to stagger; to grope, fumble', Nw. *tuvla* w.v. 'to loiter' and G dial. *dupp(el)n* w.v. 'id.' (cf. Magnússon 1989: 1200), which together point to an iterative **þupp/bōn-* < **tup-néh₂-*.

****þeudja-*** adj. 'favorable' — ON *þýðr* adj. 'kind, affectionate, affable', OE *ge-þīede* adj. 'good, decent' ⇒ **teuh₂-tió-* (IE?) — Lat. *tūtus* adj. 'safe' < **tuh₂-tó-* (derived from Lat. *tueor*, *tuor* 'to look at, watch over, safeguard' < **tuh₂-éh₁-ie-*); Gr. σῶς, σάος adj. 'safe, healthy, intact' (a thematicization of **σαυς* < **tueh₂-u-* Beekes 2010: 1440-1).

The word is usually connected to the PIE root **teuh₂-* 'strong', cf. Skt. *út tavīti* 'to be strong'. The appurtenance of OBret. *tut* 'good, favorable'(?) is more uncertain in view of the meanings of OIr. *túath* adj. 'northern, left; perverse, wicked, evil' and OBret. *tuthe* 'demon'. Within Germanic, cf. the factitive Go. *þiuþjan* w.v. 'to bless', ON *þýða* w.v. 'to win over, make friends with', OE *ge-þīedan* 'to join, connect, associate' < **þeudjan-* and Go. *þiuþ* n. 'good'.

þeudō- f. 'nation, people' — Go. *þiuda* f. 'id.', ON *þjóð* f. 'id.', Far. *tjóð* f. 'id.', OE *þēod* f. 'id.', OFri. *thiāde, thiēde* f. 'id.', OS *thiod, thioda* f. 'id.', OHG *diota* f. 'id.', MHG *diet* f. 'id.' ⇒ **teut-éh₂-* (EUR) — Osc. *touto* 'community', OIr. *túath* f. 'people, tribe', W *tud* m. 'people, nation; region, district' < **te/out-eh₂-*; OPru. *tauto*, Lith. *tautà* f. 'land', Latv. *tàuta* f. 'people' < **tout-eh₂-*.

A European word: the alleged cognates Hitt. *tuzzi-* 'army' (Feist 1924: 130) and Sogd. *twδ'k* 'crowd', NP *tōda* 'heap, pile' (Schmid 1968: 10) are uncertain. PGm. **þeudō-* possibly continues an old neuter collective to OHG *diot*, MHG *diet*, MDu. *diet* m. '(free) man' < **þeuda-*. The word was associated with cultural and especially linguistic identity, and gave rise to derivations such as OS *thiudisk*, MDu. *duutsc, dietsc*, Du. *duits*, OHG *diutisk* adj. 'the people's language' < **þeudiska-* and ON *þýða* 'to interpret, mean', OE *ge-þīeden* 'to translate', OFri. *bi-thiūda* 'to explain', MDu. *dieden, duden*, Du. *duiden* 'to interpret, indicate'; OHG *diuten*, G *deuten* 'to interpret, explain' < **þeudjan-*. The latter word originally meant 'to vernacularize', whence the derived meaning 'to interpret, mean'. OCS *(š)tuždь*, Ru. *čužój*, SCr. *tûđ* adj. 'alien' < **tjudjь* was adopted from Germanic.

****þeuha-*** n. 'thigh' — ON *þjó* n. 'id.', Far. *tjógv* n. 'id.', OE *þēoh* n. 'id.', E *thigh*, OFri. *thiāch* n. 'id.', MDu. *die* n./f. 'id.', Du. *dij* c. 'id.', OHG *dioh* n. 'id.' ⇒ **téuHk-o-* (EUR) — Lith. *taukaĩ*, Latv. *tàuki* m.pl. 'lard' OPru. *taukis* 'id.', OCS *tukъ*, Ru. *tuk* m. 'fat' < **touHk-o-*; OIr. *tón* f. 'behind, bottom', MW *tin* f./m. 'bottom, arse, rear' < **tuHk-neh₂-*.

A European word for 'thigh, hip'.

****þeura-*** m. 'bull' — ON *þjórr* m. 'id.', Far. *tjórur* m. 'castrated bull', OSw. *þiur* m. 'bull', Du. dial. *duur* m. 'id.' (NIE) — Gr. ταῦρος m. 'bull', Lat. *taurus* m. 'id.', Lith. *taũras* m. 'id.', OCS *turъ* m. 'id.', Alb. *ter* 'id.'; Akk. *šūru*, Arab. *ṯawr*, Hebr. *šôr* 'steer' < PSem. **ṯawr*; Etr. *thevru-mines* 'Minotaur'.

A word with an etymological trajectory leading back to the Middle East rather than the IE homeland on the Pontic-Caspian steppes. I assume that a pre-Indo-European form **þaur* just as in Etruscan *thevr-* was raised to **þeur* before it was adopted by the speakers of Proto-Germanic, and gave rise to both **þeura-* and **steura-* (q.v.). Note that Limburgian *duur*, which technically looks like the regular correspondence of ON *þjórr*, has been explained as a Norse loanword, as its geographic distribution coincides with the historical Viking settlement at Beek-Elsoo (Van Ginneken 1941: 313).

****þeutan-*** ~ ****þūtan-*** s.v. 'to howl, roar' — Go. *þut-haurn* n. 'trumpet', ON *þjóta* s.v. 'to howl, whistle, roar', Nw. *tjota, tyta* s.v. 'id.', OE *þēotan, þūtan* s.v. 'to howl', OHG *diozan* s.v. 'to roar', MHG *diezen* s.v. 'to roar, woosh' (DRV).

A strong verb back-formed to the iterative **tutt/dōn-* (q.v.). No further etymology. The link with Lith. *tūtúoti* 'to blow' (cf. Fraenkel 1965: 1070) is

formally and semantically possible, but the verb is likely to have been borrowed from Low German, cf. G *tuten*, Du. *toet(er)en* 'to toot'. The alleged link with Skt. *tudáti* 'to hit' < **tud-é-* (see **stautan-*) is erroneous, because the aforementioned iterative points to a Pre-Gm. root **tud^{h}-* rather than **tud-*. This root may be onomatopoetic in origin (EWAhd: II, 690), cf. Lat. *tuba* f. 'trumpet' (< **tud^{h}-eh$_2$-*?).

þewa- m. 'servant' — Go. *þius* m. 'thrall, bondsman, servant', ON *-þér* prop. 'id.', OE *þēow, þēowa* m. 'servant', ME *theow* 'id.', OS *theo-lico* adv. 'humble', Du. *dee-moedig* adj. 'id.', MHG *deo* m. 'servant' ⇒ **teu-o-* (GM).

Also cf. Go. *þiwi*, ON *þý, þír*, OS *thiwi*, OE *þēowu, -e*, OHG *diu* f. 'female servant' < **þewī-*, gen. *-jōz* < **teu-i(e)h$_2$-* as well as **þewēn-* 'to subdue'.

þewēn- w.v. 'to subdue' — Go. *ga-þiwan* w.v. 'to subdue, subjugate', ON *þjá* w.v. 'to constrain; to enslave' (GM).

The common opinion on the derivation of the verb is that it was derived from **þewa-* 'servant' (q.v.), and the verb indeed means 'to enslave' in both Gothic and Old English. However, the Old Norse verb *þjá* has an additional, more primary meaning 'to force' (e.g. *hann var þjár til vinnu* 'he was forced to work'), which implies that the meaning 'to enslave' is secondary. This is further supported by OE *ge-þēon* 'to tame, oppress' < **þewōjan-* and the marginally attested adjective OE *þēow* adj. 'subservient', OS *thio-liko* adv. 'humble', OHG *diu* adj. 'unfree' < **þewa-* (Heidermanns 1993: 615-16), to which **þewa-* 'slave' may be a nominalization. It thus seems conceivable that at least ON *þjá* and OE *ge-þēon* were derived from the adjective in the primary sense 'bound, unfree, tamed'. This is a serious complication regarding the standard etymology of the word, which consists of a connection with the PIE root **tek^{w}-* 'to run', cf. Skt. *tákti* 'to rush, fly', Av. *tacaiti* 'id.', Lith. *tekėti* (*tekù*) 'to run, flow', OCS *tešti* (*tekǫ*) 'id.', OIr. *techid* 'to flee' < **ték^{w}(-e)-* (Pokorny IEW: 1059-60).

þīna- pron. 'your' — Go. *þeins* pron. 'id.', ON *þinn* pron. 'id.', Far. *tín* pron. 'id.', Elfd. *denn* pron. 'id.', OE *þīn* pron. 'id.', OFri. *thīn* pron. 'id.', OS *thīn* pron. 'id.', MDu. *dijn* pron. 'id.', OHG *dīn* pron. 'id.', G *dein* pron. 'id.' ⇒ **t-iHno-* (IE).

The possessive pronoun pertaining to **þū* 'you' (q.v.). The suffix is likely to be identical to **-īna-* used in e.g. **aizīna-* 'iron' to **aiza-* (q.v.).

þīnan- s.v. 'to become moist' — OE *þīnan* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **téi-nh$_1$-e-* (IE) — Hitt. *zēi̯a(ri)* ~ *zēi̯anta(ri)* 'to cook, be cooked' < **tiéh$_1$-o*, **tih$_1$-ónto*; Hitt. *zanu-zi* 'to (make) cook' < **tih$_1$-neu-*; OIr. *tinaid* 'to disappear; to melt' < **tih$_1$-néh$_2$-*.

A nasal present to the root **teih$_1$-*. The original, nasal-less past participle is preserved as ON *þíðr* adj. 'thawed' < **þih$_1$-tó-*, whence ON *þíðna* w.v. 'to

thaw' < **þīdnan-*. Also cf. the secondary causative OE *þǣnian* w.v. 'to make wet' < **þainjan-*.

þinga- n. 'meeting, case, thing' — ON *þing* n. 'id.', OE *þing* n. 'id.', E *thing*, OFri. *thing* n. 'id.', OS *thing* n. 'thing, court, meeting', Du. *ding* n. 'thing', OHG *ding* n. 'meeting, court, thing, affair', G *Ding* n. 'thing' ⇒ **tenk-ó-* (DRV).

Related to Got. *þeihs* n. 'time', Lomb. *thinx* 'legal procedure, assembly' < **þinhsa-*. The original meaning may have been 'scheduled time', whence 'assembly', '(legal) case' and 'object'. As such, the word can be derived from the strong verb **þinhan-* 'to be suitable' (q.v.).

þingjan- w.v. 'to believe' — OHG *dingan* w.v. 'id.', MHG *dingen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **ti-n-k-ié-* (NEUR) — Lith. *tikėti* (*tikiù*) 'to believe'.

A Germanic-Baltic isogloss.

þinhan- s.v. 'to thrive, prosper' — Go. *þeihan* s.v. 'id.', OE *þēon*, *(ge-)þingan* s.v. 'id.', OS *thīhan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *gedijen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *dīhan* s.v. 'id.', G *gedeihen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **ténk-e-* (EUR) — Lith. *tìkti* (*tinkù*) 'to be good (for), to be suitable' < **tnk-e-* (also cf. *tìkras* adj. 'right' and - with *Ablautentgleisung* - Lith. *taikyti* 'to arrange, fit'); Ukr. *t'aknuty* 'to be helpful' < **tnk-neu-*; OIr. *tocad* m. 'fortune, chance, good luck', MW *tynghet* f./m. 'destiny, fate' < **tonk-eto-*; OW *tagc*, MW *tang*, *tanc* m. 'peace' < **tnk-o-*.

The original verb **þinhan-*, pret. 3sg. **þanhe*, 3pl. *þungun* gave rise to secondary **þīhan-*, **þaihe*, *þigun* after the loss of the nasal before *h*. In Old English, the verbal paradigm was split into **þīhan-* s.v.1 and **þingan-* s.v.3, the latter being accompanied by the lexicalized past participle OE *ge-þungen* 'mature' (cf. OS *gi-thungan* 'respected', *ēr-thungan* 'dignified'). Also cf. OHG *gi-dig* n. 'progress' < **dig-a-*; MDu. *dege* m. 'growth, thrift' < **digan-*.

þinhla- n. 'curds(?)' — ON *þél* n. 'fresh-curded milk' ⇒ **ténk-lo-* (IE) — Skt. *takra-* n. 'buttermilk mixed with water' < **tnk-ló-*.

A Nordic word directly corresponding to Skt. *takra-*. The formation is usually compared to the etymological cluster of **þinhtu-* 'thick' (q.v.), and accordingly reconstructed as **tenk-lo-*. It can alternatively be linked to **hwaja-* ~ **huja-* 'whey' < **tk^{w}-oi-o-*, **tk^{w}-i-o-*, so as to arrive at a proto-form PIE **tek^{w}-lo-*, PGm. **þehla-*.

þinhslō- f. 'drawbar, cart-pole' — ON *þísl* f. 'cart-pole', OE *þīxl*, *þīsl* f. 'beam or pole of a wagon', MLG *dīsel*, *dissel* f. 'shaft, drawbar', Du. *dissel* c. 'id.', OHG *dīhsila* f. 'id.', MHG *dīhsel* f. 'id.', G *Deichsel* f. 'id.' ⇒ **tenk-s-l-eh$_2$-* (EUR) — Lat. *tēmō* m. 'pole, yoke-beam' < **tenk-s-mon-*; OPru. *teansis* 'drawbar' < **tenk-s-i-*.

A European word of unclear derivation. The connection with CS *ras-tęšti* (*ras-tęgǫ*) 'to tear apart', SCr. *-tégnuti* 'to pull' < **tng^{h}-* is improbable, as this root's original meaning was 'to be burdened', cf. **þungu-* 'heavy'.

þinhtu- adj. 'dense, tight, close' — ON *þéttr* adj. 'id.', Far. *tettur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *ti'tt* adj. 'id.', OE *-þiht* adj. 'strong', ME *thiht*, *tiht* (influenced by MScand. *tēttr*?) adj. 'dense, tight', E *tight*, WFri. *ticht* adj. 'id.', MDu. *dichte* adj. 'id.', Du. *dicht* adj. 'id.', G *dicht*, dial. *deicht* adj. 'tight, close, dense' ⇒ **tenk-tu-* (IE) — Close to OIr. *técht* adj. 'solidified' < **tnk-to-* (whence *téchtaid* 'to freeze, congeal, coagulate' < **tnk-t-eh$_2$-ie-*); also cf. Skt. *tanákti* 'to draw together' < **tn-n-ek-*; OIr. *técht* adj. 'frozen' < **tnk-to-*; Lith. *tankùs* adj. 'dense' < **tonk-u-*.

Also cf. the adverb MHG *gedichte*, MDu. *dicht(e)*, *gedichte*, *bedichte* 'close, continuous, often'. The co-occurence of a Nordic *a*-stem with a WGm. *ja*-stem probably points to an original *u*-stem. Related to **þinhla-* and **þanhōn-*.

þinhwōn- f. 'thunder' — Go. *þeihvo* f. 'id.' ⇒ **tenk-ueh$_2$-* (NEUR) — OCS *tǫča* f. 'snowstorm' < **tonk-ieh$_2$-*.

þinkila- m. 'spelt' — OS *thinkil* m. 'id.', OHG *dinkil* m. 'spelt, wheat', G *Dinkel* m. 'spelt' (GM).

No clear etymology. It has been suggested that the original meaning was 'prickle', thus allowing for a connection with Arm. *t'akn* 'club' (EWAhd: II, 657-8): uncertain.

þinnō-* ~ **þunnō- f. 'forehead, temple' — MHG *tinne*, *tunne* f. 'forehead, temple' ⇒ **ténh$_2$-uh$_2$-* (IE).

A word also occuring as the first member of some compounds with the meaning 'temple', cf. OHG *tinna-bacho* m., *dun-wangi* n., MHG *tune-wenge* n., OE *þun-wang(e)* f., ON *þun-vangi* m., Sw. *tinning*. The alternation of MHG *tinna* and *tunna* is remarkable; since both forms have the exact same meaning, it is unlikely that they represent two different formations. I therefore assume that they continue two ablauting stem variants of one single paradigm, e.g. nom. **tinna*, gen. **tunnōz* < PIE **tén(h$_2$)-uh$_2$*, **tn̥(h$_2$)-uéh$_2$-s*.

þinsan- s.v. 'to stretch' — Go. *at-þinsan* s.v. 'to draw towards, pull up to', OS *thinsan* s.v. 'to pull, tear', MDu. (E) *dinsen* w.v. 'to drag', OHG *dinsan* s.v. 'to pull, trail', MHG *dinsen* s.v. 'to pull, yank, trail', G *gedunsen* adj. 'bloated' ⇒ **téns-e-* (IE) — Skt. *tatasré* perf.3pl. 'they moved' < **te-tns-*; Lith. *tę̃sti* (*tęsiù*) 'to stretch' < **tens-ie-*; Lith. *tąsùs* adj. 'tensile' < **tons-u-*.

A formation containing the verbal base **tens-*, which can be an extension of a more primary PIE base **ten-* (cf. **þanjan-* 'to stretch'). The strong verb probably gave rise to the iterative **þansōn-* and the possibly ancient intensive formation **þansjan-* (q.v.).

****þleuhan-*** s.v. 'to flee' — Go. *þliuhan* s.v. 'id.', OE *flēon* s.v. 'id.', E *to flee*, OFri. *flīa* s.v. 'to reconcile', OS *fliohan* s.v. 'to flee', MDu. *vlien* s./w.v. 'id.', OHG *fliohan* s.v. 'id.', G *fliehen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **tléuk-e-* (GM).

A Germanic word. Go. *þliuhan* is often assumed to have developed from **fliuhan*, but since not all initial clusters *fl-* are affected (cf. Go. *flodus* < **flōdu-*), the reality of this change is doubtful. Probably unrelated to **fleugan-* 'to fly'.

****þragjan-*** w.v. 'to run' — Go. *þragjan* w.v. 'id.', OE *þrægan* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **trog^{h}-éie-* (EUR) — To Gr. τρέχω 'to run' < **trég^{h}-e-*; Gr. Dor. τράχω 'id.', OIr. *tethraig** pret. 'ran away, receded' < PCl. **te-trg^{h}-*; less attractive is the link with OCS *trъkъ* n. 'course, flight' < **trk$^{(w)}$-o-*; Slov. *trčati* 'to run' < **trk$^{(w)}$-i-eh$_2$-*.

An intensive formation to a European root **treg^{h}-* that with its combination of a plain and an aspirated stop violates the PIE root structure. Also cf. OHG *drigil* m. 'servant' < **dregila-*.

****þraibjan-*** w.v. 'to seize' — ON *þreifa* w.v. 'to feel with the hand, touch', Icel. *þreifa* w.v. 'to touch, feel, finger' ⇒ **troip-éie-* (GM).

An intensive-iterative formation to **þrīfan-* (q.v.).

****þrangwjan-*** w.v. 'to press' — ON *þrøngva* w.v. 'to press, force', Far. *treingja* w.v. 'to push, press, urge; to need; to make narrow(er)', Elfd. *traindja* w.v. 'to push', MDu. *drengen* w.v. 'to make penetrate', MHG *drengen* w.v. 'to urge' ⇒ **tronk^{w}-éie-* (NEUR).

The causative to **þrinhan-* (q.v.). Far. *treingja* in the sense of 'to make narrow(er)' is a factitive to ON *þrǫngr* adj. 'narrow', MDu. *drang* adj. 'pressing' < **þrangwa-*.

****þranha-*** adj. 'dirty' — Icel. *þrár* adj. 'rancid', Far. *tráur* adj. 'id.', Nw. *trå* adj. 'id.', OE *þrōh* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **trónḱ-o-* (IE) — Lith. *trèšti* (*trẽštù*) 'to wither' < **tre(n)ḱ-*; Lith. *trąšà* f. 'dung' < **tronḱ-eh$_2$-*; W *trwnc* m. 'urine', Bret. *stro$^{(}$ñ$^{)}$k* m. 'excrement' < **(s)tronḱ-o-*.

A European word, no doubt of IE origin in view of the root structure and the occurrence of a palatovelar. Also cf. OE *þrōh* 'rancor'.

****þrapp/bōn-*** w.v. 'to trot' — Elfd. *tråvå* w.v. 'id.', OE *þrafian* w.v. 'to urge, press', OS *thraƀon* w.v. 'to trot', EDu. *draven, drabben* 'id.', Du. *draven*, dial.

drabben 'id.', MHG *draben* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **trop-néh₂-* (EUR) — Formally identical to Lith. *trapinéti* 'to kick' < **trop-n(é)h₂-*; also cf. OPru. *trapt* 'to trample'; Ru. dial. *tropát'* 'to trample, stamp' < **trop-eh₂-ie-*; Ru. *tropá* f. 'path' < **trop-eh₂-* and Gr. τραπέω 'to press (grapes)' < **trp-eie-*.

An old iterative formation **trop-néh₂-*. Also cf. E *thrave* 'herd' < **þrabō-*, which is formally identical to Ru. *tropá* < **trop-éh₂-*. The original meaning of the root was 'to trample'.

****þrastu-*** m. 'thrush' — ON *þrǫstr* m. 'id.', Far. *trøstur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *trast* m. 'id.', OE *þrysce, þræsce* f. 'id.', E *thrush*, OHG *drōsca* f. 'id.', G *Droschel* f. 'id.' ⇒ **trozd-u-* (EUR) — Arm. *tordik* 'thrush' < **dorzdʰ-*; Lat. *turdus* m. 'id.' < **torzd-o-*, MIr. *truit, truid* f. 'id.' < **trozd-i-*; Lith. *strāzdas* m. 'id.' < **strozd-o-*; Ru. *drozd*, SCr. *drôzd* m. 'id.' < **drozd-o-*.

The Nordic form **þrastu-* straightforwardly goes back to the widespread *o*-grade root **trozd-*, but the derivation of the corresponding forms in West Germanic is highly problematic. OHG *drŏsca* together with OE *þrǣsce* is taken to represent a form **þrauskōn-*, whereas OE *þrȳsce*, E *thrush* is derived from **þrūskjōn-*. However, since the vocalisms of these forms cannot possibly be explained from the European base **trozd-*, it is tempting to alternatively reconstruct **þraskōn-* on the basis of OE *þræsce*, and **þrusk(j)ōn-* on the basis of OHG *drosca* and OE *þrysce*. The form **þraskōn-* is corroborated by Far. *trøska* f. 'thrush (candidiasis)', and straightforwardly continues Pre-Gm. **trozd-k-eh₂-* (with **-zdk-* > **-zg-* > **-sk-*), apparently a diminutive to the original word. The form **þruskōn-*, since it is restricted to Germanic, is likely to represent some kind of secondary zero-grade formation, quasi-PIE **trzd-k-eh₂-*.

****þrautjan-*** w.v. 'to exhaust' — ON *þreyta* w.v. 'to strive, struggle', Far. *troyta* w.v. 'to complete; to drag on, exert one's strength; to exhaust' ⇒ **troud-éie-* (NEUR).

The causative to **þreutan-* (q.v.).

****þrawjan-*** w.v. 'to grow' — OHG *trowwen* s./w.v. 'to grow (up)', MHG *ge-drouwen* past ptc. 'grown' ⇒ **tróuH-ie-* (IE).

An *o*-grade *ie*-verb closely related to **þrewan-* 'to grow, thrive' (q.v.). OHG *trowwen* cannot possibly continue a causative **þrawjan-* from PIE **troHu-éie-* (thus Müller 2007: 311-2), as the development **-ōu-* > **-ō-* preceded pretonic shortening, cf. **ajja-* 'egg' < **h₂ōu-ió-*. MHG *druo* f. 'fruit' goes back to **drōō-*, and may continue a root noun **tróuH-s, *truH-és*.

****þrawō-*** f. 'longing, suffering' — ON *þrá* f. 'longing, yearning', OE *þrēa* f. 'rebuke, threat; punishment; infliction', OS *thrā-werk* n. 'pain', OHG *drawa, drowa, drōa* f. 'threat, blame, burden', MHG *dro(u)we, drō* f. 'threat' ⇒

*trouH-eh₂- (NEUR) — Lith. *trivóti* (*trivóju*) 'to endure' < *truH-eh₂-ie- (with a secondary zero-grade *-i-*?).

In ablaut relation to *þrōēn- (q.v.). Also cf. the denominal ON *þrá* w.v. 'to long', OS *gi-thrōon* w.v. 'to threaten' < *þrawōjan- and ON *þreyja* w.v. 'to long', OHG *drewen*, *drouwen*, G *drohen* w.v. 'to threaten' < *þraujan-. ON *þrár* adj. 'stubborn, obstinate' < *þrawa- < *trouH-o- seems to be more primary.

þrēan- s.v. 'to turn' — OE *þrāwan* s.v. 'to twist, turn; to throw', E *to throw*, OFri. *drāia* w.v. 'to turn', Du. *draaien* w.v. 'id.', OHG *drāen* s.v. 'id.', G *drehen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *tréh₁-e (EUR) — Gr. τετραίνω 'to pierce, perforate' (also cf. τέρετρον n. 'auger, borer' < *terh₁-tro-); Lat. *terō* 'to rub' < *térh₁-e-; Lith. *trìnti* (*trinù*) 'to rub, file' < *tr-n-h₁-e-.

A strong verb derived from a root *treh₁-, apparently a variant of the more wide-spread *terh₁-. See also *þrēdu-.

þrēdu- m. 'thread' — ON *þráðr* m. 'id.', OE *þrǣd* m. 'id.', E *thread*, OFri. *thrēd* m. 'id.', MDu. *draet* m. 'id.', Du. *draad* c. 'id.', OHG *drāt* m. 'id.', G *Draht* m. 'id.' (DRV).

A *tu*-stem derived from the strong verb *þrēan- (q.v.).

þreutan- s.v. 'to bother' — Go. *us-þriutan* s.v. 'to harass, bother, persecute', ON *þrjóta* s.v. (imp.) 'to fail, come to an end, become exhausted', Far. *tróta* s.v. 'id.', OE *þrēotan* s.v. 'to weary', MLG *drēten*, *vor-drēten* s.v. 'to annoy', Du. *ver-drieten* 'to make sad', OHG *bi-driozan* s.v. (imp.) 'to weary, trouble', G *ver-drießen* s.v. 'to annoy' ⇒ *tréud-e- (NEUR) — OCS *tružditi* (*tružďǫ*) 'to toil, harass' < *troud-éie-; OCS *trudъ* 'travail' < *troud-o-.

A strong verb to a Germanic-Slavic root *treud-. See also *þrautjan- and *þruttōn-.

þrewan- s.v. 'to grow, thrive' — OHG *driuwan* s.v. 'to thrive' ⇒ *tréuH-e- (IE) — OAv. *θraoštā* 2pl.aor. and YAv. *tuθruiiē* 3sg.perf.med. 'to nourish' < *treu(H)-.

A strong verb postulated on the basis of the OHG gl. *triuuit* '*excellet, pollet, floret*'. Related to *þrawjan-, *þruwēn- and *þrūþi- (q.v.). Also cf. OHG *driuwi* adj. 'energetic, strong' < *þrewja-.

þrī- num. 'three' — Go. *þreis**, acc. *þrins*, n. *þrija*, gen. *þrije*, dat. *þrim* num. 'id.', ON *þrír*, acc. *þrjá*, f. *þrjár*, n. *þrjú*, gen. *þriggja*, dat. *þrim(r)*, *þrem(r)* num. 'id.', Far. *tríggir*, acc. *tríggjar*, f. *tríggjar*, n. *trý*, gen. *tríggja*, dat. *trimum* n. 'id.', Elfd. *trair*, acc. *triųo*, f. *trjär*, n. *tråy*, dat. *trim* num. 'id.', OE *þrī*, f./n. *þrīo*, *þrēo* num. 'id.', E *three*, OFri. *thrē* num. 'id.', OS *thria*, *threa*, n. *thriu* num. 'id.', Du. *drie* num. 'id.', OHG *drī*, *drīe* f. *drīo*, n. *driu* num. 'id.', G *drei* num. 'id.' ⇒ *trei- (IE) — ToA *tre*, f. *tri*, ToB *trai*, *trey*, f. *tarya* num. 'id.', Skt. *tráyas*, f.

tisrás, n. *tŕ̥* num. 'id.', YAv. *θrāiiō*, f. *tišrō*, n. *θrī* num. 'id.', Gr. τρεῖς, n. τρία num. 'id.', Lat. *trēs*, n. *tria* num. 'id.', OIr. *trí*, *tri*, f. *teoir*, n. *tre* num. 'id.', MW *tri*, f. *teir* num. 'id.', Lith. *trỹs*, OCS *trьje*, f. *tri* num. 'id.'.

The IE numeral 'three'. The inflected forms are to be reconstructed as nom. **þrīz*, acc. *þrins*, f. **þrīōz*, n. **þrīō*, gen. **þrijjan*, dat. *þrimiz* < Pre-Gm. nom. **trei-es*, **trei-eh₂-es*, **trei-eh₂*, gen. **trei-om*, dat. **tri-mis*, acc. **tri-ns*.

þridjan- num. 'third' — Go. *þridja* num. 'id.', ON *þriði* num. 'id.', Far. *triði* num. 'id.', Elfd. *trið* num. 'id.', OE *þridda* num. 'id.', E *third*, OFri. *thredda* num. 'id.', OS *thriddio* num. 'id.', Du. *derde* num. 'id.', OHG *dritto* num. 'id.', G *dritte* num. 'id.' ⇒ **tri-tiHo-* (IE) — Skt. *tr̥tíya-*, Av. *θritiia-*, Lat. *tertius*, W *trydydd* num. 'id.' < **tr(i)-tiHo-*; Lith. *trẽčias*, Latv. *trešs*, OCS *tretii*, Ru. *trétij*, SCr. *trȅćī* num. 'id.' < **tre-ti(H)o-*; OPru. *tīrts* num. 'id.' < **tr-to-*(?).

The ordinal number pertaining to **þrī-* 'three' (q.v.). The Germanic attestations point to **tri-tiHo-*, but the oldest PIE form probably did not have an *i* in the root, cf. Skt. *tr̥tíya-* < **tr-tiH-o-*.

þrīfan- s.v. 'to seize' — ON *þrífa* s.v. 'to catch, grasp', refl. 'to thrive, grow', Far. *tríva* s.v. 'to seize, grip, grasp', Nw. *triva* s.v. 'to snatch' ⇒ **tréip-e-* (GM).

An exclusively Nordic word; ME *thrīfen*, E *to thrive* was probably borrowed from ON *þrífa-st* 'to thrive, grow' (for the meaning, cf. ON *taka-st* refl. 'to succeed'). See also **þraibjan-* and **þripp/bōn-*.

þrinhan- s.v. 'to press' — Go. *þreihan* s.v. 'to press, crowd', ON *þryngva* s.v. 'to press, thrust; to rush', Nw. *trenga*, *trønga* s.v. 'to need', OE *þringan* s.v. 'to press, crowd throng', OS *thringan* s.v. 'to press, urge', Du. *dringen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *dringan* s.v. 'id.', G *dringen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **trénkʷ-e-* (NEUR) — Lith. *treñkti* (*trenkiù*) 'to bump, hit' < **trenk-ie-*.

The original verb **þrinhan-* was replaced by **þringan-* in West Germanic. ON *þryngva* < **þringwan-* points to a root **trenkʷ-* with a labiovelar. See also **þrangwjan-*.

þripp/bōn- w.v. 'to seize' — ON *þrifa* w.v. 'to seize', Icel. *þrifla* w.v. 'to touch, feel, finger', Nw. *tripla* w.v. 'to finger, touch upon', *trivla* w.v. 'to grope, feel tentatively', ODa. *threve* 'to seize', Da. *treve*, *træve*, *trave* 'to fumble, grope' ⇒ **trip-néh₂-* (GM).

The iterative to **þrīfan-* (q.v.). The appurtenance of G Pal. *trippen* w.v. 'to gulp' and RhnI. *ver-drippen* w.v. 'to devour' is uncertain.

þrōdjan- w.v. 'to train(?)' — Go. *þroþjan* w.v. 'to exercise, train, drill' (EUR?) — MW *trawd* adj. 'weak' < **troH-to-*; Lith. *trótinti* 'to irritate' < **troHt-neh₂-*.

Formation unclear. If MW *trawd* belongs here, the verb could be a factitive to a lost adjective **þrōda-* 'exhausted'.

þrōēn- w.v. 'to endure' — OE *þrōwian* w.v. 'to endure', OHG *druoēn* w.v. 'to suffer' (NEUR) — Lith. *trivóti* (*trivóju*) 'to endure' < **truH-eh₂-ie-* (with a secondary zero-grade *-i-*).

A stative probably derived from a lost adjective **þrōa-*, cf. OHG *druoa* f. 'burden' < **þrōō-*. Related to **þrawō-* (q.v.).

þruban- m. 'cluster' — MDu. *drubbel* m. 'cluster (of plants)' ⇒ **trup-on-* (IE) — Hitt. *tarupzi* ~ *taruppanzi* 'to collect; to unite'.

MDu. *drubbel* continues a form **þrubla-*, a diminutive created to an *n*-stem **þrubō*, gen. **þruppaz* < **trup-ón-*, **-n-ós*. The attestation is limited, but VLat. *troppus* 'flock' (cf. Fr. *trop* 'too much') is likely to have been borrowed from Franconian, and thus confirms the reality of the Germanic *n*-stem. In addition, there is OHG *trūbo*, G *Traube*, Du. *druif* 'grape' < **þrūban-*, which no doubt belongs here, too, especially in view of the second meaning of MDu. *druve* m. 'grape; grape cluster'. The two formations have not yet received a convincing etymology, but I would like to connect Hitt. *tarupzi* ~ *taruppanzi* 'to collect', which by Kloekhorst 2008: 850-2 is derived from a root present **tréup-ti*, **trup-énti*. The long **ū* of **þrūban-* must then be secondary, probably an analogical full-grade. OHG *drappo*, MHG *drappe*, *trappe* m. 'cluster, bunch' was remodeled after OHG *krappo* '*racemus*', a Romance loan, cf. It. *grappo* 'grape' (EWAhd: II, 756).

þrunhta- m. 'hardship(?)' — ON *þróttr* m. 'stamina, strength', OE *þroht* m. 'oppression, hardship' (GM).

A *tu*-stem probably related to OE *ge-þrȳn* w.v. 'to contrain, restrain, repress' < **þrūhjan-*. Also cf. OE *þroht* adj. 'oppressive, grievous' and ON *í-þrótt* f. 'skill, accomplishment'.

þruttōn- w.v. 'to exhaust' — G dial. *trotzen* w.v. 'to over-exploit' (DWB: 22, 1115) ⇒ **trud-néh₂-* (NEUR).

The iterative to **þreutan-* (q.v.).

þrūþi- f. 'strength' — ON *þrúð-* 'id.', OE *þrȳð* f. 'id.' ⇒ **truH-ti-* (DRV).

Usually assumed to be a *ti*-stem to the verbs **þrewan-* and **þrawjan-* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *þrúðigr*, *-ugr* adj. 'strong, powerful'.

þruwēn- w.v. 'to thrive, mature' — ON *þróa-st* w.v. 'to increase, grow' ⇒ **truH-eh₂-ie-* (DRV).

A denominal formation to an unattested zero-grade adjective **þru(w)a-* < **truH-o-*, cf. ON *þroskr* 'vigorous, mature, full-grown' < **þru(w)iska-* and *þroski* m. 'maturity, manhood; promotion, advancement' < **þru(w)iskan-*. The reconstructions **þrōiska-* (Torp 1909: 193; Müller 2007: 312) and **þruska-* (Pokorny IEW: 1095) would point to proto-forms **troHu-isk-o-*

and **tru-sk-o-*, which cannot be reconciled with the PIE root **truH-*, as supported by the related **þrawjan-*, **þrewan-* and **þrūþi-* (q.v.). Also cf. early G *druhen*, Swi. *trü(e)hen*, *trüjen* 'to thrive' < **drōjan-*.

þū pron. 'you' — Go. *þu*, dat. *þus*, acc. *þuk* 'id.', ON *þú*, dat. *þér*, acc. *þik* pron. 'id.', Far. *tú*, obl. *teg* pron. 'id.', Elfd. *du*, obl. *dig* pron. 'id.', OE *þū*, obl. *þē*, acc. *þec*, *þē* pron. 'id.', OFri. *thu*, obl. *thi* pron. 'id.', OS *thu*, obl. *thī̆*, acc. *thik* pron. 'id.', MDu. *du*, obl. *dij* pron. 'id.', OHG *dū̆*, dat. *dir*, acc. *dih* pron. 'id.', G *du*, dat. *dir*, acc. *dich* pron. 'id.' ⇒ **tuH* (IE) — Hitt. *zīk*, acc. *tuk* < **ti-gé*, **tu-ǵe*; ToA *tu*, ToB *tuwe*, Skt. *tvám*, acc. *tvā́m*, OAv. *tuuām*, acc. *θβąm* < **tuH-(H)om*, **tue-(H)om*; Gr. σύ, acc. σέ < **tuH*, **tue*; Arm. *du*, Alb. *ti*, Lat. *tū*, OIr. *tú*, OW *ti*, MW *ti*, OCS *ty*, Ru. *ty*, SCr. *ti*, OPru. *tu*, *tou*, *toū*, Lith. *tù* pron. 'id.' < **tuH*.

The IE pronoun of the second person. In the nominative, the form was **tuH*, which in view of the similarity with the plural **iuH* (see **jūz*) may have arisen due to analogy: Hitt. *zīk* taken at face value at any rate rather points to **tiH* (Kloekhorst 2008). The accusative is usually reconstructed as **þike* < **te-ǵe* (with the emphatic suffix **ǵe*), but Go. *þuk* together with Hitt. *tuk* may represent more a primitive form **tu-ǵe*. The dative can be reconstructed as **þiz* < **tes(i)*.

****þuftōn-*** f. 'thwart, rowing bench' — ON *þofta* f. 'id.', OE *þoft*, *þofte* f. 'id.', MLG *ducht* f. 'thwart', MDu. *dochte* f. 'id.', Du. *doft* c. 'id.', OHG *dofta* f. 'id.' ⇒ **tup-t-eh₂-* (GM?) — Lith. *tū̃pti* (*tupiù*), Latv. *tupt* 'to squat down' < **tup-ie-*; Lith. *tupéti* 'to cower' < **tup-eh₁-*.

No certain etymology; the connection with the Baltic forms is possible, but semantically uncompelling. Also cf. ON *þofti*, OE *ge-þofta*, OHG *gi-dufto* m. '(rowing) mate' < **ga-þuftan-*.

****þuka/ōn-*** m./f. 'fog, mist' — ON *þoka* f. 'id.', Far. *toka* f. 'id.', MLG *dake* m. 'id.', Du. dial. *dook* m. 'id.' (GM).

An exclusively Germanic word: the only serious extra-Germanic *comparandum*, Latv. *tùce* 'cloud', looks like a loanword from Slav. **tǫča* 'cloud, rain' (for which see **þinhwōn-* 'thunder'). Within Germanic, further cf. OE *þuxian* w.v. 'to make misty' < **þuskōjan-*, apparently derived from an unattested noun **þuk-ska-*, and OSw. *thukna*, *thøkn*, Sw. *tōckna* f., *tōcken* n./f. 'mist' < **þukīna/ō-* or **þaukīna/ō-* (Hellquist 1922: 1051). The unrelated Far. *tjúkn* f. 'darkening of the sky; thicket', *brodda-tjúkn* f. 'heavy shower', Nw. dial. *tjukkn* f. 'fog' < **þekwīnō-* was derived from ON *þykkr*, *þjukkr* adj. 'thick' < **þeku-* (q.v.).

****þuk(k)ōn-*** w.v. 'to shove' — ON *þokka* w.v. 'to move', Icel. *þok(k)a* w.v. 'to move slowly/slightly; to fall back, make room for', Far. *toka* w.v. 'to force, press, push, advance', Nw. *tok(k)a* w.v. 'to move, shove', OE *þocerian* w.v. 'to

run to and fro, run about' ⇒ **tuk-néh₂-* (IE) — Gr. τύκος m. 'hammer' < **tuk-o-*; RuCS *is-tъknǫti* 'to dig out', SCr. *tàknuti* 'to push' < **tuk-ne-*.

An iterative 3sg. **þukkōþi*, 3pl. **þugunanþi* that I connect to the PIE root **teuk-* 'to shove'. It gave rise to the secondary strong verb **teukan-* as continued by Nw. *tjuka* w.v. 'to grope (in the dark); to push forth'.

****þuli-*** m. 'reciter' — ON *þulr* m. 'sage', OE *þyle* m. 'orator, spokesman' (IE?) — To Hitt. *tuliia-* (c.) 'gathering, assembly' < **tul-io-*?

Related to ON *þylja* w.v. 'to speak, recite, murmur' < **þuljan-* and OE *ge-þyll* 'breeze' < **þulja-*. The etymological cluster exhibits meanings such as 'to talk', 'to rattle off' but also 'to sing'. It has therefore been connected with Hitt. *talliia-zi* 'to pray to, to evoke (a deity)' (Polomé 1975: 661-2), thus pointing to a root **tlH-* possibly connected with IE oral tradition (Brink 2005: 88). The Hittite verb is usually compared to PGm. **taljan-* (for which see **tala-*), however, and is incompatible with the ablauting **þaula(n)-* < **toul-o(n)-*. I therefore tentatively connect Hitt. *tuliia-* (c.) 'gathering, assembly'. PGm. **þuljan-* would then have developed from PIE **tuHl-ie-* by pretonic shortening.

****þulla-*** m. 'thole, peg in the side of a boat to keep the oar in place' — Icel. *þollur* m. 'peg; thole', Far. *tollur* m. 'tholepin', Nw. *toll(e)* m. 'thole, tholepin', Da. *tol* c. 'id.', OE *þoll* m. 'id.', MLG *dolle, dulle* f. 'id.', MDu. *dolle* f. 'id.', Du. *dol* c. 'id.' ⇒ **tul-nó-* (EUR) — Gr. τύλος m. 'bulge, callosity, hunch, nail, peg'; Lith. *tulìs* f. 'nail on a car, plug, nail of an axle'.

Also cf. ON *þollr* m. 'fir, tree' < **þulla-* and the related ON *þǫll*, Elfd. *toll* f. 'fir-tree' < **þallō-*.

****þŭman-*** m. 'thumb' — Icel. *þumi* m. 'id.', Far. *tummi* m. 'inch', Nw. *tomme* m. 'id.', OSw. *þumi* m. 'thumb; inch', Sw. *tumme* c. 'id.', ODa. *thumæ* m. 'id.', Da. *tomme* c. 'id.', OE *þūma* m. 'id.', E *thumb*, OFri. *thūma* m. 'id.', MLG *dūm(e)* m. 'id.', MDu. *dume* m. 'id.', Du. *duim* c. 'id.', OHG *dūmo* m. 'id.', G *Daumen* m. 'id.' ⇒ **tum-on-* (IE?) — Skt. *túmra-* adj. 'strong, big' < **tum-ró-*; Lat. *tumeō, -ēre* 'to be swollen', Lith. *tuméti* 'to coagulate' < **tum-eh₁-ie-*; W *twf* 'strength' < **tumo-*.

The standard etymology of this word links it with the PIE root **teum-* 'to swell', which is inspired by the alleged *Benennungsmotiv* of the thumb as "the big finger". More straightforward is the connection with the obviously related MHG *doum* m. 'peg, chock' < **þauma-*. Note that the variation of NGm. **þuman-* vs. WGm. **þūman-* must be a Germanic innovation; the **ū* probably arose secondarily as an analogical full grade. Also cf. OSw. *thum* n. 'inch', EDu. *dom* 'thumb' < **þuma-* and ON, Icel. *þumall*, Far. *tummil*, Nw., Da. *tommel* 'thumb (of a glove') < **þumala-*.

þuna- adj. 'stretched' — MDu. *done, duene* adj. 'tight, close', MHG *don* adj. 'stretched out' ⇒ **tnh₂-(n)o-* (IE).

Closely related to **þunnu-* (q.v). The adjective gave rise to the stative verb OE *þunian* w.v. 'to stretch, swell up', OHG *donēn*, MHG *donen* w.v. 'to stretch oneself' < **þunēn-*.

þungu- adj. 'heavy' — ON *þungr* adj. 'id.', Far. *tungur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *tungg* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **tngʰ-u-* (NEUR) — Identical to Lith. *tingùs* adj. 'lazy' < **tngʰ-u-*; also cf. Lith. *tìngti* (*tìngstu*) 'to become slow' < **tngʰ-ske-*; CS *ras-tęšti* 'to tear apart' < **tngʰ-ie-* (cf. OCS *tęgota* f. 'burden' < **tngʰ-ot-eh₂-*); Ru. *tjága* f. 'traction', SCr. *têg* m. 'weight, traction' < **tngʰ-o/eh₂-*.

A Germanic-Baltic isogloss. Also cf. ON *þyngja* w.v. 'to weigh down, make heavy; to grow worse' < **þungjan-*.

þunhjan- w.v. 'to press' — Far. *týggja* w.v. 'to be hard on', OE *ge-þȳwan* w.v. 'to press, impel, urge', MDu. *duwen, douwen* w.v. 'to push, press', Du. *duwen*, reg. *douwen* w.v. 'to push', MHG *diuhen, dūhen* s.v. 'to push, press down' ⇒ **túnk-ie-* (IE) — Gr. σάττω, Ion. σάσσω 'to stuff, compress, pack, load, equip' < **tu̯nk-ie-*.

A very old *ie*-present related to **þwinhan-* (q.v.). Also cf. Icel. *þúa* w.v. 'to press (down) on' < **þunhōn-*.

þunkjan- w.v. 'to think' — Go. *þugkjan* w.v. 'to have the impression, suppose, appear', ON *þykkja* w.v. 'to deem, think', Far. *tykja* w.v. 'to seem, appear; to think, believe', Elfd. *tyttja* w.v. 'to think; to like', OE *þyncan* w.v. 'to seem, appear', E *to think*, OFri. *thinka, thinza* w.v. 'to seem, think', OS *thunkian* w.v. 'consider', Du. *dunken* w.v. 'to think, deem', OHG *dunken* w.v. 'to deem, think, mean', G *dünken* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **tng-ié-* (IE).

A zero-grade formation related to **þankjan-*. The verb could occur with a dative subject, cf. Go. *Ƕa izwis þugkeiþ?* 'What think ye?' (Mk 14:64). This construction indicated the lack of control or agentivity as compared to **þankjan-* 'to think' (q.v.), which was more active.

þunkōn- w.v. 'to make wet' — OHG *dunkōn* w.v. 'to dip', MHG *dunken, tunken* w.v. 'id.', G *tunken* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **tng-néh₂-* (EUR) — Gr. τέγγω 'to make wet', Lat. *tingō, -ere* 'to wet, imbue, dye' < **téng-e-*.

An iterative to a lost strong verb **þinkan-* 'to make wet' (cf. Mikeleitis-Winter 2001: 196). Also cf. Swi. *tink* 'moist' < **þinka-* < **teng-o-*.

þunnu- adj. 'thin' — ON *þunnr* adj. 'id.', Far. *tunnur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *tunn* adj. 'id.', OE *þynne* adj. 'id.', E *thin*, MDu. *dunne* adj. 'id.', Du. *dun* adj. 'id.', OHG *dunni* adj. 'id.', G *dünn* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **tnh₂-u-* (IE) — Skt. *tanú(ka)-* adj. 'thin, slender, small, fine', NP *tanuk* adj. 'thin, flat', OCS *тънъкъ*, Ru. *tónkij*, SCr.

tănak adj. 'thin, slender, fine'; Lith. (Žem.) *tę́vas*, Latv. *tiêvs* adj. 'thin, slender', Gr. ταναός, τανύ- adj. 'thin, slender, elongated, expanding far', Lat. *tenuis* adj. 'thin, fine, delicate', OIr. *tanae* adj. 'delicate, thin' < **tnh₂-u-* (**tnh₂-u-ko-*).

An IE *u*-stem replaced by a *ja*-stem in WGm. The stem **þunnu-* was generalized from a paradigm **þ(e)nuz*, gen. **þunnaz* < **t(é)nh₂-u-s*, **tnh₂-u-ós*. Also cf. **þuna-*.

****þurfan-*** pret.-pres. 'to need' — Go. *þaurban* pret.-pres. 'id.', ON *þurfa* pret.-pres. 'id.', Far. poet. *turva* pret.-pres. 'id.', OE *þurfan* pret.-pres. 'to be wanton', OFri. *thurva* pret.-pres. 'id.', OS *thurƀan* pret.-pres. 'id.', MDu. *dorven* pret.-pres. 'to need; to dare', Du. *durven* w.v. 'to dare', OHG *durfan* pret.-pres. 'id.', G *dürfen* pret.-pres. 'to be allowed to' ⇒ **trp-* (IE) — Skt. *tŕpyati* 'to delight, satisfy' < **trp-ie-*; Gr. τέρπω 'to satisfy, to refresh' < **térp-e-*; OCS *trъpěti* 'to suffer, endure' < **trp-eh₁-*; Lith. *tarpti* (*tarpstù*) 'to thrive, to increase' < **torp-ske-*; OPru. *en-terpo* 'is useful'.

Most IE languages point to a meaning 'to be satisfied', but PGm. **þurfan-* may have preserved a more primitive meaning 'to use'. OCS *trěbъ* adj. 'necessary' must in view of the root-final *b* have been adopted from PGm. **þerba-*. This adjective primarily meant 'unleavened' in the NWGm. languages, but ON *þjarfr* is also attested with the meaning 'destitute' (cf. Gröndal 1864: 145).

****þurfti-*** f. 'need' — Go. *þaurfts* f. 'id.', ON *þurft* f. 'id.', OS *thurft*, *thuruft* f. 'id.', OHG *durft* f. 'id.', MHG *durft* f. 'need, want, necessity' ⇒ **trp-ti-* (IE/DRV) — Skt. *tŕpti-* f. 'satisfaction'.

A *ti*-stem derivation to **þurfan-* (q.v.).

****þurisa-*** m. 'giant' — ON *þurs* m. 'id.', Far. poet. *tussur* m. 'id.', Nw. *tuss* m. 'id.', OE *þyrs* m. 'id.', OHG *durs*, *duris* m. 'id.', MHG *dürse*, *turse*, *türse*, *türsch* m. 'id.' (GM).

One of the Proto-Germanic words for 'giant', cf. Fi. *turisas* 'god of war; sea monster'. It gave rise to Icel. *þursi*, Far. *tussi*, Nw. *tusse*, EDa. *tusse*, *tosse* 'giant' < **þurisan-*. No clear etymology. The standard connection with ON *þyrja* 'to rush' < **þurjan-* (q.v.) is formally possible, but semantically uncompelling. Perhaps rather related to Icel. *þursi* m. 'quarrel, anger, rage'.

****þurjan-*** w.v. 'to sweep' — ON *þyrja* w.v. 'to sweep, rush' ⇒ **turH-ie-* (IE) — Gr. σαίρω 'to sweep' < **tu̯rH-ie-*.

An apparently PIE *ie*-present closely related to **þweran-* (q.v.).

****þurna-*** m. 'thorn, briar' — Go. *þaurnus* m. 'id.' (< **þurnu-*), ON *þorn* m. 'id.', OE *þorn* m. 'id.', E *thorn*, OFri. *thorn* m. 'id.', ODu. *thorn* m. 'id.', Du. *doorn* c.

'id.', OHG *dorn* m. 'id.', G *Dorn* m. 'id.' ⇒ **tr-no-* (IE) — Skt. *tṛ́ṇa-* n. 'grass, blade of grass, herb', OCS *trъnъ* m. 'thorn', Ru. *tërn* m. 'blackthorn, sloe', SCr. *tȓn* m. 'id.'.

An old *no*-stem to a PIE root **ter-*. In view of the extra-Germanic forms, it is likely that the Go. *u*-stem is secondary. Also cf. OE *þyrne* f. 'briar' < **þurnjō-* and *þyrnet* n. 'thorn-bush thicket' < **þurnatja-*.

****þurpa-*** n. 'crowd(?)' — Go. *þaurp* n. 'farmland', ON *þorp* n. 'isolated settlement', Nw. *torp* n. 'group; small settlement', OE *þorp, þrop* m. 'crowd', OFri. *therp, thorp* n. 'village; (fallow) land', OS *thorp* n. 'id.', Du. *dorp* n. 'id.', OHG *dorf* n. 'id.', G *Dorf* n. 'id.' ⇒ **trb-o-* (EUR) — Lith. *trobà* f. 'cottage, farmhouse', Latv. *trāba* f. 'hut, hovel' < **trob-eh₂-*; OIr. *treb* f. 'hamlet, village', MW *tref* f. 'town' < **treb-eh₂-*.

The received connection of **þurpa-* with the aforementioned forms meaning 'hamlet' is straightforward. Within Germanic, the word cannot be dissociated from ON *þyrpast* 'to crowd, throng', Far. *tyrpa seg* 'to crowd, flock' < **þurpjan-*, however, which implies that Germanic preserved the original meaning 'to gather'. The link with Hitt. *tarupzi* ~ *taruppanzi* 'to collect, to unite' (Holma 1916: 36) cannot be maintained, however, as this verb goes back to a root **trup-* rather than **turb-* (Kloekhorst 2008: 850-2). Gr. τύρβη f. 'confusion, noise, tumult' and Lat. *turba* f. 'commotion' < **turb-eh₂-* are not related either.

****þurska-*** m. 'cod' — ON *þorskr* m. 'id.', Far. *toskur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *tuosk* m. 'id.', MDu. *dorsch* m. 'id.', G *Dorsch* m. 'id.' ⇒ **trsk-o-* (NEUR) — Ru. *treská*, Slov. *tŕska* f. 'cod' < **trsk-eh₂-*.

If Ru. *treská* is not a Scandanavian loanword (thus Magnússon 1989: 1188), we are probably dealing with a Germanic-Slavic isogloss.

****þurstu-*** m. 'thirst' — Elfd. *tuost* f. 'id.', OE *þurst, þyrst* m. 'id.', E *thirst*, OS *thurst* m. 'id.', Du. *dorst* c. 'id.', OHG *durst* m. 'id.', G *Durst* m. 'id.' ⇒ **trs-tu-* (IE) — OIr. *tart* m. 'dryness, drought' < **trs-tu-*.

A *tu*-stem derived from the verb **þersan-* (q.v.). It was replaced by a *ti*-stem in Old English, and by an *n*-stem in ON *þorsti*, Far. *tosti* m. 'thirst' < **þurstan-* (for a similar transfer, see **lustu-*). Further cf. the denominal impersonal verb ON *þyrsta*, OE *þyrstan*, OS *thurstian*, OHG *dursten*, G *dürsten* w.v. 'to be thirsty' < **þurstjan-*.

****þurzēn-*** w.v. 'to be dry' — Sw. dial. *torra* w.v. 'id.', OS *thorron* w.v. 'to waste away', Du. *ver-dorren* w.v. 'to wither', OHG *dorrēn, dorren* w.v. 'to dry, wither, stiffen', G *ver-dorren* w.v. 'to wither' ⇒ **trs-eh₁-* (IE) — Formally identical to Lat. *torreō, -ēre* 'to scorch, roast'.

A stative formation to **þersan-* or **þurzu-* (q.v.).

þurzjan- w.v. 'to be thirsty' — Go. *þaursjan* w.v. 'id.', OE *þyrreð* p.ptc. 'dried out' ⇒ **trs-ié-* (IE) — Identical to Skt. *tr̥ṣyati* 'to be thirsty'.

An old *ie*-present. ON *þyrstr* adj. 'thirsty' has been interpreted as the original past participle **þursiþa-* of this verb, but it is more likely in view of its **s* that it represents the past participle to **þurstjan-* (for which cf. **þurstu-*). See also **þurzu-* and **þurzēn-*.

****þurzu-*** adj. 'dry' — Go. *þaursus* adj. 'id.', ON *þurr*, *þyrr* adj. 'id.', Far. *turrur* adj. 'id.', Nw. *tørr*, *turr*, dial. *tjurr* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *tuorr* adj. 'id.', OE *þyrre* adj. 'id.', OFri. *thurre* adj. 'id.(?)', OS *thurri* adj. 'id.', Du. *dor* adj. 'id.', OHG *durri* adj. 'id.', G *dürr* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **trs-ú-* (IE) — Identical to Skt. *tr̥ṣú-* adj. 'avaricious', YAv. *taršu-* 'dry, not fluid' < **trs-ú-*; also cf. OIr. *tír* adj. 'dry' < **tērs-o-*.

An old *u*-stem continuing PIE **trs-ú-*. Nw. dial. *tjurr* developed from an Old Norse stem **þyrrv-* by labial breaking of *y* (cf. Nw. *tjukk* 'fat' < **þekwja-* < **þeku-*). The variant *þyrr* itself continues a secondary *ja*-stem **þurzwja-*. Also note **þurzjan-* and the inchoative Go. *ga-þaursnan*, ON *þorna* w.v. 'to dry up' < **þurznan-* < **trs-néh₂-*.

****þūshundī-*** f. 'thousand' — Go. *þusundi* f. 'id.', ON *þúsund* f. 'id.', Far. *túsundi* num. 'id.', Elfd. *tusn* num. 'id.', OE *þūsend* num. 'id.', E *thousand*, OFri. *thūsend* num. 'id.', OS *thūsundig* num. 'id.', Du. *duizend* num. 'id.', OHG *dūsunt* num. 'id.', G *Tausend* f. 'id.' ⇒ **tuHs-dḱmt-o-* (NEUR) — OCS *tysǫšti*, Ru. *týsjača*, SCr. dial. *tȉsuća* f. 'thousand'; OPru. *tūsimtons* acc.pl., Lith, *tū́kstantis*, *tūkstuōtis* m. 'id.' < **tuHs-e/ont-io/ih₂-*.

A numeral usually reconstructed as **þūs-hund-ī-*, a collective meaning "*Groß-gehunderte*", which was derived from **hunda- 1* 'hundred' (q.v.) < **(d)ḱmt-tó-* with a prefix **þūs-* (cf. Far. *túsna* w.v. 'to swell up') < **tuH-s*. This etymology is not undisputed due to some formal problems (cf. Pijnenburg 1989). The Slavic evidence, for instance, straightforwardly points to **tuHs-e/ont-ih₂-*, a formation that looks like a participle to a root **tuHs-*. In addition, there are hardly any traces of the initial *h-* of **hunda-* in Germanic. Still, the presence of the element **dḱm-t-* seems to be confirmed by the *m* in OPru. *tūsimtons*, the Salian Fra. attestation *thuschunde* and not least by Far. poet. *tús-hundrað* 'thousand'.

****þusiþa-*** adj. 'silent' — Nw. *tyst* adj. 'id.', OSw. *thyster*, *tøster* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *tyst* adj. 'id.', ODa. *t(h)yst(ær)* adj. 'id.', Da. *tyst* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **tus-i-to-* (IE) — Skt. *tuṣyati* 'to be calmed, be satisfied' < **tus-ie-*; OPru. *tusnan* 'silent' < **tus-no-*; Lith. *tausýtis* (*taūsos*) 'to subside', Ru. *tušít'* 'to extinguish' < **tous-eie-*; Ru. *túxnut'* 'to go out' < **tous-ne-*; OIr. *tóe* f. 'silence', MW *taw* m. 'id.' < **tous-o/eh₂-*; OIr. *tóe* adj. 'deaf' < **tous-io-*.

The past participle of a verb **þusjan-*, which directly corresponds to Skt. *tuṣyati*.

þuti- m. 'roaring' — ON *þytr* m. 'howling', MHG *duz* m. 'sound, noise' (DRV).
An *i*-stem to the strong verb **þeutan-* ~ **þūtan-* (q.v.).

þutt/dōn- w.v. 'to bump' — Far. *tota* w.v. 'to dash', OE *þodettan* w.v. 'to hit, bump', Du. dial *dodderen* 'to bump', G *dotzen, dutzen* w.v. 'to bounce, bump' ⇒ **tud*^{h}*-néh$_2$-* (GM).
Presumably the iterative to **þeutan-* ~ **þūtan-* (q.v.). Also cf. OE *þyddan* w.v. 'to beat, bump, throw', ME *thudden* w.v. 'to push; thrust; throw; force', E *to thud* < **þudjan-* and OE *þodor* m. 'ball' < **þudra-* (< **tud*^{h}*-d*^{h}*ró-*?).

þwahan- s.v. 'to wash' — Go. *þwahan* s.v. 'id.', ON *þvá* s.v. 'id.', Far. *tváa* s./w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *twå* irr.v. 'id.', OE *þwēan* s.v. 'id.', OS *thwahan* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *dwaen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *dwahan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *dwahen, twahen, zwahen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **tuók-e* (GM) — OPru. *twaxtan* 'brushwood for bathing' < **tuok-sto-*(?).
An *o*-grade intensive formation. Cf. **þwahla-* as well as ON *þváttr*, OSw. *thvætter* m. 'washing' < **þwahtu-* (whence e.g. Icel. *þvætta*, Sw. *tvätta* w.v. 'to wash' < **þwahtjan-*).

þwahla- n. 'washing, bathing' — Go. *þwahl* n. 'id.', ON *þváll* m. 'soap', OE *þwēal, þwæhl* m./n. 'washing', OHG *dwahal* n. 'bath, baptism' (DRV).
Derived from **þwahan-* with the suffix **-la-*, possibly the outcome of secondarily added **-þla-* (< **-tlo-*) after **h*. Also cf. the instrumental noun OE *þwæle* f. 'band, fillet', Du. *dweil* c. 'mob', OHG *dwahila, dwehila*, G *Zwehle* f. 'towel' < **þwahilōn-*. Far. *dveylur* m. 'swab' was borrowed from Low German.

þwangi- m. 'latchet' — ON *þvengr* m. 'thong, latchet', Far. *tvongur* m. 'shoelace', OE *þwang* m.f. 'thong, strip of leather', E *thong* ⇒ **tuonḱ-í-* (DRV).
An *i*-stem to the strong verb **þwinhan-* (q.v.).

þwarōn- f. 'stirrer' — ON *þvara* f. 'pot-stick, stirrer', Far. *tvøra* f. 'stirrer with four scoops' (DRV).
An *o*-grade formation to the strong verb **þweran-* 'to swirl, stir' (q.v.).

þweran- s.v. 'to swirl' — OE *þweran* s.v. 'to twirl, stir', OHG *dweran* s.v. 'to stir up', MHG *twern* s.v. 'to turn quickly, stir up' ⇒ **tuérH-e-* (IE) — Skt. *tvárate, turáti* 'to rush' < **tuérH-e-/*turH-é-*.
Also cf. the instrumental noun ON *þyrill*, OE *þwirel*, OHG *thwiril*, G *Quirl* m. 'beater, whisk' < **þwerila-* and OE *ge-þweor* n. 'curds' < **þwera-*, which is semanticaly close to OCS *tvarogъ* 'curds' < **tuōr-*. The oldest meaning of the root, i.e. 'to sweep', is preserved by the zero-grade *ie*-present **þurjan-* (q.v.).

þwerha- adj. 'cross' — Go. *þwairhs* adj. 'angry, irate, quicktempered', ON *þverr* adj. 'transverse; adverse, contrary; cross, obstinate', Icel. *þver* adj. 'transverse, lying-across; headstrong, unyielding', Far. *tvørur* adj. 'transverse; difficult; obstinate; strange', OE *þweorh, þwerh* adj. 'crooked, cross; adverse, opposed', OFri. *thweres* adv. 'cross', OS *thwerh* adj. 'stupid', MLG *dwer* adj. 'cross, lateral', OHG *dwerah* adj. 'cross, lateral', MHG *dwerch, twerch* adj. 'id.', G *quer*, obs. *zwerch* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **térkʷ-o-*(?) (IE) — Hitt. *tarkuzi, taru(k)zi* ~ *tarkuuanzi* 'to dance' < **térkʷ-ti, *trkʷ-énti*; ToB *tärk-* 'to turn'; Skt. *tarku-* 'spindle' < **terkʷ-u-*; Lat. *torqueō* 'to twist, wind' < **torkʷ-éie-*.

In view of the non-Germanic evidence pointing to a root **terkʷ-*, I assume that PGm. **þwerh-* came about by metathesis of **terkʷ-* to "**twerk-*". Also cf. MHG *twirhen* w.v. 'to put across' and ON *þvers*, OE *þweores*, MHG *twerhes*, MLG *dwers*, MDu. *dwe(e)rs, dwars*, Du. *dwars* adv. 'crosswise, athwart'. The etymologically disputed ON *þverra*, Far. *tvørra*, Nw. *tverra* w.v. 'to diminish; come to an end' is likely to belong here, too, cf. Far. *mangt fer fyri tvørt* 'much goes to waste'.

****þwīnan-*** s.v. 'to abate, disappear' — OSw. *þvina* w.v. 'to dwindle, pine', Sw. *tvina* w.v. 'id.', Da. *tvine* s./w.v. 'to disappear', OE *þwīnan* s.v. 'to go down, lessen, abate' (IE).

An *n*-present to the root **dʰgʷʰei-*, probably back-formed to the inchoative OSw. *þvæna* w.v. 'to dwindle' < **þwinōn-* < **dʰgʷʰi-neh₂-*. Note that the Germanic reflexes of this verbal cluster show a remarkable alternation between **dwīnan-* and **swīnan-*; the outcome of the initial cluster **dʰgʷʰ-* was apparently unstable in Germanic.

****þwinhan-*** s.v. 'to force' — OFri. *thwinga* s.v. 'to force', OS *thwingan* s.v. 'to force, urge', Du. *dwingen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *dwingan* s.v. 'to force, subdue, oppress', G *zwingen* s.v. 'to force' ⇒ **tuénk-e-* (IE) — ToAB *twāṅkā-* 'to wear' < **tuonk-eh₂-*; Lith. *tveñkti* (*tvenkiù*) 'to dam up' < **tuenk-ie-*.

A strong verb to the PIE base **tuenk-* 'to push, stuff, pack, equip, wear', for which see **þunhjan-*. Note that the expected PGm. form **þwinhan-* was replaced by the Verner variant **þwingan-*. Also cf. **þwangi-*.

U

****uba*** prep. 'under; above' — Go. *uf* prep. 'under', ON *of* prep. 'over; about', OHG *ob(a)* prep. 'above, on, over', G obs. *ob* prep. 'above; due to' ⇒ **h₁up-ó* (IE) — Skt. *úpa* adv., prev., prep. 'towards, together with, under', OAv. *upā*,

YAv. *upa* prev., prep. 'towards, with, on, in', Gr. ὕπο, ὑπό adv., prep. 'under; by', OIr. *fo* prev., prep. 'under'.

A petrified allative in *-*o*. See also **eup* ~ **upp* and **ufuman-*.

uber- adv., prep. 'above, over' — Go. *ufar* prep. 'over', ON *yfir* prep. 'over, above, beyond, across', Far. *yvir* prep. 'id.', Elfd. *yvyr* prep. 'id.', OE *ofer, ofor* prep. 'above, over', E *over*, OS *oƀar* prep. 'over, across', Du. *over* prep. 'id.', OHG *ubar* prep. 'id.', G *über* prep. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁uperi* (IE) — Identical to Skt. *upári* adv. 'above, over, upwards', YAv. *upairi* adv. 'above, over', OP *upariy* adv. 'above', prep 'over, upon', NP *bar* prep. 'on', Gr. ὕπερ, ὑπέρ adv. 'over, above; in excess', prep. 'over', Lat. *super* adv., prep. 'over, above, beyond', OIr. *for*, MW *gor* prep. 'over, on'.

ubila- adj. 'evil, bad' — Go. *ubils* adj. 'evil, bad', OE *yfel* adj. 'evil, ill', OS *uƀil* adj. 'evil', OHG *ubil* adj. 'evil, bad, wrong' (NEUR?) — Close to OIr. *fel* adj. 'bad' < **up-elo-*.

An etymologically debated word, possibly derived from **uba* (cf. ON *of* adv. 'excessively; too') with the suffix *-*ila-* (not *-*ela-*, *pace* Orel 2003: 433). The original meaning may then have been 'overstepping a boundary'. For a similar derivation, cf. OHG *uppi* adj. 'vain, evil' < **ubja-*. Outside Germanic, there can be a link with OIr. *fel*. The connection with Hitt. *ḫuu̯appi* ~ *ḫuppanzi* 'to be hostile towards, to do evil against; to throw (down), to hurl' < **h₂uóph₁-ei*, **h₂uph₁-i-énti* must be rejected, on the other hand, because the meaning 'to do evil' developed from 'to overthrow' in this language (Kloekhorst 2008: 369-372).

ufna- m. 'oven' — Go. *auhns* m. 'id.', ON *ofn* m. 'oven, furnace', Icel. *ofn* m. 'oven, stove, furnace, kiln', *ónn* m. 'furnace, ash-hole under a kiln', Far. *ovnur* m. 'oven, stove', OSw. *ughn, oghn, ofn, omn* m. 'id.', Elfd. *ungen* m. 'id.', OE *ofen, ofn* m. 'oven, furnace', E *oven*, OFri. *oven* m. 'id.', MDu. *oven* m. 'id.', Du. *oven* c. 'id.', OHG *ofan, ovan* m. 'id.', G *Ofen* m. 'id.' ⇒ **upno-* (NIE) — Hitt. *ḫappen-*, *ḫapn-* 'baking kiln, fire-pit, broiler (oven)' < **h₂ep-n-*(?); Gr. ἰπνός m. 'furnace; kitchen; lantern', Myc. *i-po-no* < **ip-no-*(?); OPru. *wumpnis* 'oven' < **u(m)p-no-*(?).

The Germanic word for 'oven' in view of OE *ofnet* 'vessel' probably designated a small ceramic oven. The word displays some formal problems. Go. *auhns* and Icel. *ónn* straightforwardly continue **uhna-*, which by some is taken to be the oldest form. Others have argued that it developed out of **ufna-*, and this is more probable in view PGm. **ufuman-* yielding Go. *auhuma**. OSw. *ughn* does not represent a third form ***ugna-*, but developed out of **ufn* (by dissimilation after *-u-*), cf. ON *gaupn*, Sw. dial. *gōcken* 'palm of the hand' < **gaupnō-*.

Considering the etymology, the irregularities between the IE languages suggest that the word entered Germanic as a prehistoric *Wanderwort* adopted from an indigenous European language that was spoken before the arrival of the Indo-Europeans.

uftō adv. 'often' — Go. *ufta* adv. 'id.', ON *oft* adv. 'id.', Far. *ofta* adv. 'id.', OE *oft* adv. 'id.', E *often*, OS *ofto* adv. 'id.', OHG *ofto* adv. 'id.', G *oft* adv. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_1$up-to- (DRV).

An adverb derived from *uba (q.v.).

ufuman- comp. 'upmost, highest' — Go. *auhuma** comp. 'higher', *auhumists* superl. 'highest', OE *ufemest* superl. 'highest' ⇒ *$h_1$up-m̥Ho- (IE) — Skt. *upamá-* 'upmost, highest, next from below', YAv. *upəma-*, *upama-* 'upmost, highest, closest'.

An old adverbial comparative to *uba 'above'. In Gothic, the *f* was dissimilated to *h*, for which cf. Go. *auhns* 'oven' < *ufna-. The dissimilation was triggered by the labial environment.

uhjōn- w.v. 'to sound' — Icel. *ýja* w.v. 'to remind, drop a hint' ⇒ *uk-ie- (NEUR).

A *ie*-present possibly related to *wahan- and *wōgjan- (Magnússon 1989: 1164). Go. *auhjon* w.v. 'to sound' rather belongs to Latv. *aũka* f. 'gale', SCr. *uka* f. 'shouting' < *Houk-eh$_2$-.

uhsan- m. 'ox' — Go. *auhsa*, dat./acc. *auhsau*, gen.pl. *auhsne*, acc.pl. *auhsnuns* m. 'id.', ON *uxi* m. 'id.', Far. *oksi* m. 'ox; castrated bull', Elfd. *ukse* m. 'id.', OE *oxa* m. 'id.', E *ox*, OFri. *oxa* m. 'id.', OS *ohso* m. 'id.', Du. *os* c. 'id.', OHG *ohso* m. 'id.', G *Ochse* m. 'id.' ⇒ *Huks-en- (IE) — ToB *okso* m. 'ox', Skt. *ukṣán-*, Av. *uxšan-* m. 'young bull', Mlr. *oss* 'deer', MW *ych* 'ox'.

The Indo-European word for 'ox'. It was inflected as an *n*-stem in Proto-Germanic, but in Gothic, it partly surfaces as a *u*-stem, probably due to leveling from the dat.pl. *uhsummiz < *uks-n-mis. Within PIE, the derivation of the word is unclear. It is usually compared to Skt. *ukṣáti* 'to moisten, sprinkle', Av. *uxšiieiti* 'to sprinkle, spray' through an original meaning "inseminator" (cf. Pokorny IEW: 1118), but this is in contradiction with the fact that the word refers to a calf that has not yet procreated in Sanskrit, and to a castrated bull (i.e. 'ox') in Tocharian, Germanic and Middle Welsh. Kiehnle 1979 alternatively derived the word from the IE base *$h_2$ueks- 'to grow', for which see *wahs(j)an-.

umbi- prep. 'around, about' — ON *umb*, *um* prep. 'id.', Far. *um* prep. 'id.', Elfd. *um* prep. 'id.', OE *ymbe*, *ymb* prep. 'id.', OS *umbi* prep. 'id.', Du. *om* prep. 'id.', OHG *umbi* prep. 'id.', G *um* prep. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_2$nt-b^{h}i (IE) — Skt. *abhí* adv.,

prev. 'to, towards, against, upon', OAv. *aibī* adv., prev. 'towards, against, upon', YAv. *auui* adv., prev., *aiβi-* pref. 'towards', OP *abiy* adv., prev. 'towards, against, upon', Gr. ἀμφί adv., prep. 'around, on both sides', Lat. *amb(i)-*, *am(b)-*, *an-* pref. 'around', OIr. *imb*, *imm*, MW *am*, Bret. *am*, *em* prep. 'around'.

A petrified instrumental to the root noun *$h_2$ént-s* 'face, front', for which see **anþja-* 'forehead'.

***unda** prep. 'until' — Go. *und* prep. 'unto, up to, until', ON *unz* prep. 'until' (< **und es* conj.), Icel. *uns* prep. 'until', OFri. *und* prep. 'id.' ⇒ *h_2n̥t-ó* (IE).

The original allative in *-o* of the root noun *$h_2$ént-s* 'front, face', see **andi*.

***under-** adv., prep. 'under; among' — Go. *undar* prep. 'under, underneath', ON *undir* adv., prep. 'under', OFri. *under* adv., prep. 'under, underneath', OS *undar* adv., prep. 'under, between', Du. *onder* prep. 'id.', OHG *untar* adv., prep. 'below, between', G *unter* prep. 'id.' ⇒ *$(H)nd^h$er- / *h_1n-tér-* (IE) — Skt. *ádhara-* comp. 'lower', YAv. *aδara-* comp. 'lower, more to the West' < *$(H)nd^h$-ero-*; Skt. *antár*, OAv. *aṇtarǎ*, YAv. *aṇtarə* prep. 'between, within', Lat. *inter* prep. 'among, between', OIr. *eter*, OW *ithr* prep. 'between' < *h_1n-ter*.

PIE *$(H)nd^h$-er-* and *h_1n-tér-* merged into **under-* in Germanic. This resulted in a preposition that means both 'under' and 'among'.

***undi-** f. 'affection' — ON *ǫfund* f. 'grudge, envy, ill-will', OHG *abunt*, *abunst* m. 'envy' ⇒ *h_3nh_2-ti-* (DRV).

The oldest form is **undi-*, a PIE *ti*-stem created to the root of **unnan-* (q.v.). It was replaced by a *sti*-stem in West Germanic: the *sti*-suffix became productive after roots ending in a nasal.

***unhta-** adj. 'accustomed' — Go. *bi-uhts* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *h_1u-n-k-to-* (IE) — Close to Lith. *jùnkti* (*jùnkstu*), Latv. *jûkt* 'to get used to' (with *j-* from the full grade, cf. the factitive Lith. *jaukìnti* 'to tame, domesticate', Latv. *jaûcêt* 'to accustom', OPru. *iaukint* 'to exercize' < *$h_1$euk-n̥h_2-), OIr. *do-ucai* 'to understand' < **tu-u-n-k-* < *h_1u-n-k-*; also cf. Skt. *-ucyati* 'to be used to; to take pleasure in' < *$h_1$uk-ie-*; OCS *učiti*, Ru. *učít'* (*učú*), SCr. *ùčiti* 'to teach' < *$h_1$ouk-eie-*; OCS *vyknǫti*, Ru. *privyknut'*, SCr. *vȉknuti* 'to get accustomed' < *$h_1$uk-né-*.

An old participle to a nasal present *$h_1$unk-e-*, cf. Lith. *jùnkti*. Also cf. Go. *bi-uhti* n. 'custom' < **unhtja-*.

***unhtwōn-** f. 'last part of the night' — Go. *uhtwo* f. 'foredawn, dawn, daybreak', ON *ótta* f. 'last part of the night', Far. *ótta* f. 'id.', OE *ūht(a)* m. 'the time just before daybreak' (< **unht(w)a(n)-*), Du. *ochtend* c. 'morning' (with *-d* from *avond* 'evening' < **ēbanþ-* ~ **ēbund-*), OHG *ūhta* f. 'morning, dawn'

⇒ *nk^w-tu- (IE) — Skt. *aktú-* m. 'dark, night' < *nk^w-t-u-* (cf. *aktā́* 'night' < *nk^w-t-eh$_2$-*); perhaps also Lith. *ankstùs* adj. 'early' (whence OPru. *angstainai*, *angsteina* adv. 'early in the morning') with secondary *o*-grade(?).

A PIE derivation from the word *nok^w-t-* 'night' (see *naht-*). In Germanic, the word referred to the last part of the night. PGm. *murge/ana-* 'morning' (q.v.) was associated with daybreak, cf. the secondary meaning 'tomorrow'.

unka(n)- m. 'snake' — OHG *unk* m. 'snake, lizard', MHG *unc*, *unke* m. 'snake', G Rhnl. *unke* m. 'snake; newt' ⇒ *h_2ŋ̍g^{wh}-on- (IE) — Arm. *awj* 'snake' (< *an^wg^hi-* with *g^h > *j* after *u*), Lith. *angìs* f. 'snake', Latv. *ùodzs* f. 'adder', Ru. *už*, gen. *užá* m. 'grass-snake' (< *h_2ng^{wh}-io-*), Lat. *anguis* m. 'snake', OIr. *escong* 'eel' (lit. "fish-snake"), W *llys-yw-en* 'id.' (with *-yw-* < *-*angwi-*) < *h_2(e)ng^{wh}-i-*.

The Balto-Slavic accent as well as the Baltic and Armenian forms point to a root *h_2eng^{wh}-* with a voiced aspirate *g^{wh}* rather than *g^w*. The expected Germanic outcome of this reconstruction would be *ungwi-*, but High German only provides evidence for *unka-* (= MHG *unk*?) and an *n*-stem *unkan-*. Presumably, these formations split off from an *n*-stem *ungwō*, *unkaz* < *h_2ng^{wh}-ōn*, *h_2ng^{wh}-n-os*. See also *angra- 2*.

unnan- pret.-pres. 'to grant' — ON *unna* pret.-pres. 'to grant; to love', Far. poet. *unna* w.v. 'to love, like', Elfd. *unna* w.v. 'to grant', OE *unnan* pret.-pres. 'id.', OS *gi-unnan* pret.-pres. 'id.', Du. *gunnen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *unnan* pret.-pres. 'id.', G *gönnen* w.v. 'id.' (IE) — Gr. ὀνίνημι 'to be of use, help'.

The preterite-present conjugation of the verb, i.e. 3sg. *anne*, 3pl. *unnunþ*, quasi-PIE *$h_3$on-n-h_2-e*, *h_3ŋ̍-n-h_2-n̥t*, is secondary and fully parallel to *kunnan-* 'can' (q.v.), cf. *kanne*, *kunnunþ* < quasi-PIE *ǵon-n-h_1-e*, *ǵŋ̍-n-h_1-n̥t*. In view of the primary 3sg. med. aorist Gr. ἀπ-όνητο 'to have joy of something', the verb originally must have been aoristic. Possibly, the creation of the verb went through an intermediate *n*-present, *unnōþi* < *h_3n-néh$_2$-ti*. See also *ansti-* and *undi-*.

unsti- m./f. 'storm' — OE *ȳst* m. 'id.', OHG *unst* f. 'id.' ⇒ *h_2nh_1-sti-* (IE).

Possibly a *sti*-stem created to the zero-grade root of *anan-* 'to breathe' (q.v.).

unþī-* ~ *unþjō- f. 'wave' — ON *unnr*, *uðr* f. 'id.', OE *ȳð* f. 'id.', OS *ūthia* f. 'id.', OHG *undea* f. 'flood, wave', MHG *ünde* f. 'id.' ⇒ *h_2n-tih$_2$-* (IE) — Cf. Hitt. *ḫāni* ~ *ḫananzi* 'to draw (liquids)' < *$h_2$ón-ei*, *h_2n-énti*; Gr. ἄντλος m. 'hold of a ship; bilge-water, flood' < *h_2n-tlo-* (also cf. Gr. ὑπέρ-αντλος adj. 'full of water, water-logged; overflowing').

The word is often linked to the PIE root *ued-* 'water' (Pokorny IEW: 78-81), but the PIE *d* is irreconcilable with the PGm. *þ*. I therefore propose

to reconstruct a *tih₂*-stem to the PIE root **h₂en-* 'to scoop(?)' as evinced by the aforementioned forms in Hittite and Greek (cf. LIV²: 266). The appurtenance of Arm. *hanem* 'to take out, draw out' (see Martirosyan 2008: 389) is less certain.

ūra- n. '(ferriferous) sand' — Du. *oer* n. 'ferriferous sand, bog iron' (WEUR?).

Usually compared to Olr. *ú(i)r* 'earth; clay', but the variant *fúr* seems to point to **(s)wūr-*. See also **aura-*.

urba- n. 'inheritance' — OSw. *orf, urf* n. 'piece of cattle, property, inheritance', OE *orf* n. 'cattle' ⇒ **h₃rbʰ-o-* (IE).

A sparsely attested, uniquely Germanic zero-grade formation to the PIE root **h₃erbʰ-*. See also **arba-*.

ūru- m. 'aurochs' — ON *úrr* m. 'id.', OE *ūr* m. 'kind of ox, bison', OHG *ūro* m. 'aurochs', MHG *ūre, ūr* m. 'id.', G *Auer-ochs* m. 'id.' (GM).

A *u*-stem of disputed origin. It is formally and semantically close to the IE word for 'male animal', **(u)rs-én-* (for which see **kursan-* and **urzan-*), but it is impossible to explain the Germanic long *u* from this form. It has therefore been suggested that the word was adopted from a lost European language (Schrijver 2003a: 223). It seems likely, however, that the *u*-stem split off from a regular *n*-stem, just as ON *ǫrn* 'eagle' < **arnu-* split off from PGm. **aran- 1.* If so, it must be assumed that the *n*-stems OHG *ūro* and MHG *ūre* < **ūran-* are primary, which would bring the word closer to the allegedly Indo-European **(u)rs-én-*. Gąsiorowski 2012: 120 rather derived the word from **uzran-*, comparing it to Skt. *usrá-* m. '(red) bull' under the assumption of *z*-loss and compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. This *usrá-* is probably a late derivation from Skt. *uṣár-* 'dawn', however, for which see **austrōn-*.

urzan- m. 'black grouse, capercaillie' — ON *orri* m. 'black grouse', Far. *orri* m. 'id.', Elfd. *uorre* m. 'id.', OE *wōr-hana* m. 'pheasant', Du. *woer-haan* 'male pheasant', OHG *orre-huon* m. 'capercaillie', MHG *or-han, ūr-han* m. 'id.', G *Auer-huhn* n. 'id.' ⇒ **rs-én-* (IE).

The word originally denoted only the male bird, the feminine form being represented by Elfd. *ynn* < **urznī-*, Nw. dial. *yrkne* < **urznjō-* < **r̥s-n-ih₂-*. It continues a formal variant of PIE **urs-én-* 'male animal' (for which see **kursan-* 'calf') plus another unknown element. In view of the seemingly ablauting variants OE *wōr-hana*, Du. dial. *woer-haan* < **wōrzan-* < **ueHursen-* and MHG *ūr-hane*, G *Auer-huhn* < **u(w)urzan-* < **uHr̥sen-*(?), it is tempting the reconstruct this element as **ueH-*, but I cannot find any possible cognates in the non-Germanic languages. Note that the occasionally

compared ON *runi*, Nw. *rone*, OSw., Sw., Da. *orne* 'boar' does not belong here, but was derived from ON **runa*, cf. Icel., Nw. *runa* w.v. 'to burn, to be in heat'.

ustr(j)a- adj. 'energetic' — Sw. *yster* adj. 'lively', OHG *ustar* adj. 'stingy' (GM).

No clear etymology. The comparison with Skt. *oṣám* adv. 'with flames, burning; quickly' (e.g. Torp 1909: 33) is weak from the semantic perspective. Lat. *industrius* 'active' does not belong here either, since it must be derived from **h₁endo-stru-io-* "input".

ūt adv. 'out' — Go. *ut* adv. 'id.', ON *út* adv. 'id.', Far. *út* adv. 'id.', Elfd. *aut* adv. 'id.', OE *ūt* adv. 'id.', E *out*, OFri. *ūt* adv. 'id.', OS *ūt* adv. 'id.', Du. *uit* prep./adv. 'id.', OHG *ūz* prep./adv. 'out, outside, but', G *aus* prep./adv. 'id.' ⇒ **ud* (IE) — Skt. *úd* prev. 'up, upwards, away, out of', Av. *us-*, *uz-* prev. 'up, out', Oss. *(æ)s-* prev. 'id.', OCS, Ru. *vy-* pref. 'out'.

An adverb directly continuing PIE **ud*. The vowel was lengthened as a result of the monosyllabicity of the word. See also **uz*.

utra- m. 'otter' — ON *otr* m. 'id.', Far. *otur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *uotter* m. 'id.', OE *oter*, *otter* m. 'id.', E *otter*, Du. *otter* m. 'id.', OHG *otter* m. 'id.', G *Otter* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ud-r-o-* (IE) — Identical to Skt. *udrá-*, YAv. *udra-* m. '(fish) otter'.

The feminine formation, cf. G *Otter* < **udrō-* is more wide-spread, cf. Gr. ὕδρα f. 'water-serpent', Lat. *lutra* (with secondary *l*), Lith. *ū́dra*, OPru. *wudro*, Ru. *výdra*, SCr. *vȉdra* f. 'otter' < **ud-r-eh₂-*. The word is a direct derivation from the IE word for 'water', for which see **watar-* ~ **watan-*.

u(w)ur- n. 'drizzle' — ON *úr* n. 'drizzling rain', Elfd. *aur-weðer* n. 'snow-storm' ⇒ **uh₁-r* (IE) — Lith. *jū́ra*, Latv. *jūra* f. 'sea', OPru. *wurs* 'pond' < **uh₁-r-o-*, *-eh₂-*.

The word can directly be compared to Lith. *jū́ra* < **uH-reh₂-* and possibly also to CLuv. *u̯ār* 'water', Skt. *vā́r-* n. 'id.', YAv. *vāra-* m. 'rain' < **ueH-r(o)-*. The root **ueH-* developed from **ued-* 'water' as PIE **-dr* regularly became **-h₁r* in early Proto-Indo-European (Lubotsky 2012). Note that the Germanic form must be reconstructed as continuing a heteroclitic nominative **u(w)ur* < **uh₁-r̥*, as thematic **uh₁ro-* would have developed into ***wara-* (cf. **wana- 1* 'lacking' < PIE **uḷ̥₂-no-*).

uwwilōn- f. 'owl' — ON *ugla* f. 'id.', Far. *ugli* m., *ugla* f. 'id.', Elfd. *ugel* f. 'id.', OE *ūle* f. 'id.', E *owl*, MDu. *ule* m./f. 'id.', Du. *uil* c. 'id.', OHG *ūwila*, *ūla* f. 'id.', G *Eule* f. 'id.' (GM).

Etymology obscure, probably an onomatopoeia, cf. ON *úfr* 'horned owl', OHG *ūvo*, MHG *ūfe* m. 'eagle owl', Cimb. *auvo* m. 'owl' < **ūfa(n)-*.

uz prep. 'out (of)' — Go. *us* prep. 'id.', ON *ór, úr* prep. 'id.', Far. *úr* prep. 'id.', Nw. *or* prep. 'id.', Elfd. *yr* prep. 'id.' ⇒ **ud-s* (IE).

Apparently from **ud-s*, i.e. the adverb **ud* (see **ūt*) plus a genitival ending.

uzda- m. 'tip, prickle' — ON *oddr* m. 'point of a weapon; spear; spur', Far. *oddur* m. 'point, tip, end', Elfd. *udd* m. 'point, edge, cusp', OE *ord* m. 'point (of a weapon); line of battle; beginning', OS *ord* m. 'point', Du. *oord* n. 'location', OHG *ort* m./n. 'point, end, prickle', G *Ort* m. 'place, spot' ⇒ **uz-dʰh₁-o-*(?) (DRV?).

Possibly an old compound of the preposition **uz* 'out' < PIE **ud-s* and the verb **dʰeh₁-* 'to put', cf. Lith. *iñdas* 'vessel' < **h₁en-dʰh₁-o-*, lit. "in-put".

uz-ētan- m. 'manger; feed' — Go. *uz-eta* m. 'crib, manger', ME *orte* '(refuse of) animal feed', E *orts*, MLG *ort(e)* 'remainder of animal feed; undigested food', MDu. *or(a)ete* 'leftovers from animal feed', Du. obs. *oort* n. 'leftovers' (DRV).

A formation consisting of the adv. **uz* 'out' and the strong verb **etan-* 'to eat'. Also cf OFri. *erta* w.v. 'to browse', WFri. *eertje* w.v. 'to browse, eat away': according to Brandsma 1936: 69, the Frisian forms belong to OE *earð, ierð* f. 'plowing', but the development of **þ* to **t* only takes place word-initially.

uznan- w.v. 'to become warm' — Far. *orna* w.v. 'id.', OSw. *orna* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *uonna* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **Hus-néh₂-* (IE) — Either to Skt. *óṣati* 'to burn, scorch', Gr. εὕω 'to singe', Lat. *ūrō, -ere* 'to burn, scorch' < PIE **h₁éus-e-* or to Gr. αὕω 'to light a fire' < **h₂(e)us-ie-* (cf. **austrōn-* 'dawn').

A medial factitive *neh₂*-verb to a PIE root **h₁eus-* or **h₂eus-* 'to burn'. Related to **usjōn-*, for which see **aima-uzjōn-*.

W

wabja- n. 'web' — ON *vefr* m. 'web; woven cloth', Far. *vevur* m. 'web; texture, tissue', Elfd. *wev* m. 'web', OE *webb* n. 'id.', E *web*, OFri. *web, wob, wub* n. 'id.', OS *webbi* n. 'id.', Du. *web* n. 'id.', OHG *weppi* n. 'id.', MHG *weppe* n. 'id.' (DRV).

A (collective) *ja*-stem related to the strong verb **weban-* (q.v.). A zero-grade variant is attested as OHG *wuppi*, MHG *wüppe* n. 'web' < **wubja-*.

wabjan- w.v. 'to wrap' — ON *vefja* w.v. 'to wrap, fold; to entangle', Far. *vevja* w.v. 'to twist, twin; to wrap, swaddle', Elfd. *weva* w.v. 'to wrap' ⇒ *h_1uob^h-éie-* (IE).

The causative to **weban-* (q.v.).

wada- m. '(fishing-)line' — ON *vaðr* m. 'fishing-line; line for measuring', Far. *vað* n. 'fishing-line' ⇒ *uod^h-o-* (NEUR) — Lith. *vādas*, Latv. *vads* m. 'seine, sweep-net'; OCS *nevodъ*, Ru. *névod* m. 'id.' < **(ne-)uod^h-o-*; with (analogical?) zero grade: Lith. *ūdas* m. 'eel line' < **ud^h-o-*.

A Germanic/Balto-Slavic root also found in MHG *wate* f. 'seine' < **wadō-*. For the formation ON *vaztir* f.pl. 'fishing-bank' < **wadistō-*, compare **awista-* 'sheep pen' < **h_2oui-sth_2-o-*.

wadan- s.v. 'to wade' — ON *vaða* s.v. 'id.', Far. *vaða* s.v. 'to wade; to wash up to', OE *wadan* s.v. 'to go, wade', E *to wade*, OFri. *wada* s.v. 'to wade', MDu. *waden* s.v. 'to go, proceed, wade; to flow, melt; to sink into', Du. *waden* w.v. 'to wade', OHG *watan* s.v. 'id.', G *waten* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ *uh_2d^h-e-* (WEUR) — Lat. *vādō, -ere* 'to advance, proceed' < **ueh_2d-e-*.

The verb is usually connected to Lat. *vādō* (esp. cf. Lat. *vadum* n. 'ford' to ON *vað* n. 'id.', OHG *wat* n. 'id.', OE *wæd* n. 'sea' < **uh_2d^h-o-*), but PGm. **wadan-* has a zero grade of the root, and would then classify as a *tudáti*-verb or aorist present. Or should we reconstruct a root present 3sg. **$uéh_2d^h$-ti*, 3pl. **uh_2d^h-énti* (De Vaan 2008: 650)? It is further attractive to assume that the meaning 'to flow, to wash' as attested in Faroese is old, and that 'to wade' arose secondarily, e.g. in an oblique subject construction.

wadja- n. 'pledge, surety' — Go. *wadi* n. 'id.', ON *veð* n. 'id.', Far. *veð* n. 'id.', OE *wed* n. 'id.', OFri. *wed* n. 'id.', MLG *wedde* n. 'pledge, pledge agreement, fine, agreement, law', MDu. *wedde* m./n. 'pledge; surety; dowry; stake(s)', Du. *wedde* c. 'salary', OHG *weti, wetti* n. 'pledge; agreement; penance', G *Wette* f. 'bet' ⇒ **Huod^h-io-* (IE) — OCS *voditi*, Ru. *vodít'* (*vožú*), SCr. *vòditi* 'to lead' < **Huod^h-eie-*.

The root of this word is associated with the institution of marriage (cf. ORu. *voditi* 'to get married', MDu. *wedde* 'dowry' and the denominal Go. *ga-wadjon* w.v. 'to engage by a pledge', ON *veðja* w.v. 'to stake in a wager', OE *weddian* w.v. 'to engage; to marry', OFri. *weddia* w.v. 'to pledge, promise' < **wadjōjan-*). This is a secondary association that evolved from the original meaning 'to lead'. The Indo-Europeans were culturally exogamous (on the female side), which implied that the bride was led away from her father's to her new husband's family. For the same semantic field, cf. the related **wedan-*.

wagja- m. 'wedge' — ON *veggr* m. 'id.', Elfd. *wegg* m. 'id.', OE *wecg* m. 'id.', E *wedge*, OS *weggi* m. 'id.', EDu. *wig* c. 'id.', OHG *wecki* m. 'id.', G *Weck* m. 'bread roll' ⇒ **uog$^{(w)h}$-io-* (NEUR) — Lith. *vãgis*, Latv. *vadzis* m. 'wedge'.

The word is formally identical to the Baltic forms, but the close formal and semantic match may point to borrowing from Germanic. The IE form can be reconstructed as **uok$^{(w)}$-ió-* or **uog$^{(w)h}$-io-* (for the loss of the labialization, cf. **sagja- 2*). The latter option is etymologically reconcilable with OHG *waggo* '*silex*', MHG *wacke* m. 'rock' < **waggan-* and **wagnisan-* 'plowshare' (q.v.). The comparison with OIr. *fec* f. 'spade; tusk' < PCelt. **we/ikkā-* is more doubtful.

wagjan- w.v. 'to shake, move' — Go. *wagjan* w.v. 'id.', OE *wecgan* w.v. 'id.', OHG *weggen*, *wegen* w.v. 'to shake, provoke' ⇒ **uoǵ^{h}-éie-* (IE) — Gr. ὀχέω 'to carry, bear; to let mount or ride; to anchor' < **uoǵ^{h}-eie-*.

An iterative-intensive formation derived from **wegan-* (q.v.).

wagna- m. 'wagon' — ON *vagn* m. 'id.', Far. *vognur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *waungen* m. 'id.', OE *wægn*, *wægen* m. 'id.', E *wain*, OFri. *wein* m. 'id.', Du. *wagen* c. 'id.', OHG *wagan* m. 'id.', G *Wagen* m. 'id.' ⇒ **uoǵ^{h}-no-* (IE) — OIr. *fén* m. 'wagon', W *gwain* 'id.' < **ueǵ^{h}-no-*.

A *no*-stem derived from the root **ueǵ^{h}-* as found in e.g. **wegan-* (q.v.).

wagnisan- m. 'plowshare' — ON *vangsni* m. 'id.', Nw. *vagnse*, *vangsne* m. 'id.', OHG *waganso* m. 'id.', G Swi. *wäge(n)se* m. 'id.' ⇒ **uog^{wh}-ni-* (EUR) — Gr. ὀφνίς 'plowshare', OPru. *wagnis* 'coulter' < **uog^{wh}-ni-*; Lat. *vōmer* m. 'id.' < **uog^{wh}-mi-* (with assimilation of *n* to *m*?).

A European word. Gr. ὀφνίς, OPru. *wagnis* and probably also Lat. *vōmer* point to **uog^{wh}-ni-*, and it is possible that the Germanic form is an extension of it. The exact suffixation is difficult to recover. OHG *waganso* is usually assumed to point to a proto-form **wagansan-*, but the umlaut of Swi. *wäge(n)se* rather seems to imply **wagnisan-*, apparently an extension of **uog^{wh}-ni-*. This **wagnisan-* is also reconcilable with ON *vangsni*, which continues **vagnsi*, cf. Nw. *vagnse*. See also the possibly related **wagja-* 'wedge' (q.v.).

wahan- s.v. 'to remark' — OS *gi-wegi* '*suggerat*', MLG *ge-wagen* 'to notice', MDu. *ge-waghen* s.v. 'to make notice of, tell', Du. *ge-wagen* 'to make mention of', OHG *gi-wahan* s.v. (pret. *gi-wuog*) 'to memorate, mention' ⇒ **uók^{w}-e-* (IE) — Skt. *vívakti* 'to speak, tell, say, call' < **ui-ue/ok^{w}-*; Gr. εἶπον 'said' < **ue-u(e)k^{w}-*; OIr. *focal*, *focul* n. 'word' < **uok^{w}-tlo-*.

An *o*-grade present to the root **uek^{w}-* 'to say'. Cf. ON *váttr* m. 'witness' < **wahta-*, MHG *gi-waht* f. 'mention, fame' < **ga-wahti-* and Du. *ge-wag*

(maken) n. '(to make) mention' < **ga-waga-*. See further **wōgjan-* and **uhjōn-*.

wahsa- n. 'wax' — ON *vax* n. 'id.', Far. *vaks* n. 'id.', Elfd. *waks* n. 'id.', OE *weax* n. 'id.', E *wax*, OFri. *wax* n. 'id.', Du. *was* c. 'id.', OHG *wahs* n. 'id.', G *Wachs* n. 'id.' ⇒ **uoḱs-o-* (IE) — Lith. *vãškas*, Latv. *vasks* m. 'id.'; OCS *voskъ*, Ru. *vosk*, gen. *vóska*, SCr. *vȍsak*, gen. *vȍska* m. 'id.'.

The Balto-Slavic forms are suggestive of a formation **uosk-o-*. However, the neuter gender of the Germanic word could point to an *s*-stem nom. **uoḱ-os*, gen. **uoḱ-s-os*, in which metathesis could have affected the genitive case. The alternative is to reconstruct **uoḱ-sko-* and assume dissimilar dissimilation in Germanic and Balto-Slavic (Kortlandt 1979: 59).

wahs(j)an- s.v. 'to grow' — Go. *wahsjan* s.v. 'id.', ON *vaxa*, *vexa* s.v. 'id.', Far. *vaksa* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *weksa* w.v. 'id.', OE *weahsan* s.v. 'id.', E *to wax*, OFri. *waxa*, *wexa* s.v. 'id.', OS *wahsan* s.v. 'id.', OHG *wahsan* s.v. 'id.', G *wachsen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂uég-s-* (IE) — Gr. ἀέξω 'to increase' < **h₂uég-s-e-*; Skt. *úkṣati* 'to grow', Gr. αὔξω 'id.' < **h₂ug-s-é-*.

An *s*-extension to the more common IE base **h₂eug-* 'to grow', for which see **aukan-*. The Germanic dialects vary between the pure *o*-grade present **wahsan-* and the apparently secondary *ie*-present **wahsjan-*. See also **wahstu-*.

wahstu- m. 'growth; stature' — Go. *wahstus* m. 'id.', ON *vǫxtr* m. 'growth; stature; yield', Far. *vøkstur* m. 'id.' (DRV).

A *tu*-stem derived from **wahs(j)an-* (q.v.). With a similar meaning, also cf. ODu. *wa(h)smo*, OHG *wahsamo* m. 'growth, fruit' < **wahsman-*.

wai interj. 'woe' — Go. *wai* interj. 'id.', ON *vei* interj. 'id.', OE *wā* interj. 'id.', E *woe*, OS *wē* interj. 'id.', Du. *wee* interj. 'id.', OHG *wē* interj. 'id.', G *Weh* interj. 'id.' ⇒ **uai* (IE) — Av. *vaii-ōi*, Arm. *vay*, Lat. *vae*, OIr. *fáe*, W *gwae*, Latv. ***vai*** interj. 'id.'.

An IE interjection. See also **wainaga-*.

waigō- f. 'strength' — ON *veig* f. 'pith, strength' ⇒ **uoik-éh₂-* (EUR) — Lith. dial. *viẽkas* m. (also *viekà* f.) 'physical strength, century, age, lifetime', OCS *věkъ*, Ru. *věk* m. < **uoik-o-*.

Also cf. Icel. *vo* f. 'id.' < **waihō-*. Related to **wǐhan-* (q.v.).

waigra- adj. 'resistant' — MDu. *we(i)ger* adj. 'id.', OHG *weigar* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **uoiḱ-ró-* (DRV).

A *ra*-stem derived from **wǐhan-* (q.v). Also cf. OFri. *weigeria*, MDu. *we(i)geren*, OHG *weigerōn*, G *weigern* w.v. 'to refuse, reject' < **waigrōjan-*.

waika- adj. 'weak' — ON *veikr* adj. 'weak, sick', Far. *veikur* adj. 'weak', OE *wāc* adj. 'weak, miserable', OS *wēk* adj. 'id.', Du. *week* adj. 'soft, weak', OHG *weich* adj. 'id.', G *weich* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_3$uoig-o- (DRV) — Formally identical to Av. *fra-uuaēya-* adj. 'swinging forward' and Slov. *vę̑g* adj. 'uneven, bent'.

An *o*-stem adj. created to the strong verb *wīkwan- (q.v.): the original meaning was 'giving way'.

wainaga- adj. 'miserable, poor' — Go. *wainags* adj. 'id.', Du. *weinig* adj. 'few, little', OHG *wēnag* adj. 'id.', G *wenig* adj. 'few, little' (DRV).

Derived from *wainōn- w.v. 'to whine', cf. ON *veina*, OE *wānian*, OFri. *wēnia*, OHG *weinōn*, G *weinen*, which agains appears to be an *n*-present *uai-néh$_2$- to the interjection *wai (q.v.).

waisunda/ō- m./f. 'windpipe; gullet' — OE *wāsend* m. 'windpipe; gullet', OFri. *wāsanda*, *wāsenda* m. 'wind-pipe', OHG *weisunt*, *weisant* f. 'wind-pipe; vein' (DRV).

Usually assumed to be related to Skt. *véṣati* 'to flow' < PIE *ueis- (Pokorny IEW 1134) through an intermediate meaning 'the flowing one' (cf. the OHG meaning 'vein'). This etymology seems to be strengthened by Nw. *veise* f. 'rivulet; horsetail' < *waisōn-, especially since the noded stalk of the horsetail is reminiscent of the windpipe. PGm. *waisunda- contains the suffix *-und- < PIE *-nt-, for which cf. ON *hǫrund* n./f. 'flesh', *vitund* f. 'consciousness, skill' (cf. also OGutn. *hugund* f. 'need, nature's call'). Note that, in English, dial. *wozzen* (= OE *wāsend*) is accompanied by the umlauted form *weasand* < OE *wǣsend*.

waiza- n. 'seaweed(?)' — OE *wār* n. 'seaweed; sand', ME *wōr* 'seashore, beach; seaweed', MDu. *wier* n. 'id.', *woer* f. 'seaweed', EDu. Zeal. *woer* 'id.', Du. *wier* n. 'id.' (IE).

The correspondence of OE *wār* with Du. *wier* (with *ē* < *ai* becoming *ie* in dialectal Dutch) points to *waira- or *waiza-. The coastal variant *woer* is an Ingvaeonic form. The usually assumed link with ON *vírr*, OE *wīr* m. 'wire' < *wīra- is possible, but semantically improbable in view of the OE and ME meanings 'beach' and 'sand'. I therefore assume a connection with Icel. *veisa* f. 'moist, swamp, mud; filth; gutter' < *waisōn-, derived from the PIE root *ueis- 'to flow' (for which cf. *waisunda/ō-).

waizda- n. 'woad' — OE *wād* n. 'id.', E *woad*, OFri. *wēde* f.(?) 'id.', OS *wēd* m.(?) 'id.', ODu. *wēd(e)* m.(?) 'id.', Du. *wede* c. 'id.', OHG *weit* m. 'id.', G *Weit* m. 'id.' ⇒ *uaisd- (NIE) — Gr. ἴσατις f. 'id.' < *uisat-(?); Lat. *vitrum* n. 'glass; woad' < *uit-ro-(?).

Also cf. OE *wǣden* 'purple, blue', OFri. *wēden* 'blue' < *waizdīna-. A word with several formal problems. The *z is reconstructed on the basis of MLat.

uuaisdus (> Fr. *guède*) and the ablauting formations OE *weard* m. 'vermillion' and Go. **wisdila* f. 'id.', although the latter is only attested indirectly through Lat. *uuisdil(e)*, *gisdil* (cf. Schwenter 1957-8: 37-38). The origin of the etymon is unclear. Given the fact that dying with woad is a technique that spread from Southwest Asia and the Mediterranian basin (Zohary/Hopf 2000: 208-9), it is extremely unlikely that the word be of Indo-European stock. I therefore assume that Gr. ἴσατις and PGm. **waizd-* were adopted from a pre-Indo-European *Wanderwort*, i.e. from a source form varying between **uisat-* and **uaisd-*.

wajju- m. 'wall' — Go. *waddjus* m. 'id.', ON *veggr* m. 'id.', Far. *veggur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *wegg* m. 'id.' ⇒ **u̯ḫ₁i-ú-* (IE).

A *u*-stem derived from the verbal root **ueh₁i-* 'to twist'. The exact Pre-Gm. form was **u̯ḫ₁i-ú-*: it resulted in PGm. **wajju-* by 1) vocalization of the laryngeal between consonantic resonants; and 2) Holtzmann's law. A closely related formation is OE *wāg*, OFri. *wāch*, MDu. *weeg* m. 'wall', which is usually derived from **uoh₁i-kó-*.

wakan- s.v. 'to awaken' — Go. *wakan* s.v. 'id.', ON *vakinn* ptc. 'awake', OE *wacan* s.v. 'to be born' ⇒ **uh₂ǵ-e-* (IE) — Lat. *vigil* adj. 'alert' < **ueg-el-o-*.

A verb sometimes compared to Lat. *vāgire* 'to cry (of new-born children)' and Lith. *vógrauti* 'to babble' < **ueh₂g-*. This link is semantically uncompelling, however: the original meaning of the Germanic root was 'to be incited', as is demonstrated by the striking similarity of the causative **wakjan-* 'to wake up' (q.v.) with Skt. *vājáyati* 'to incite'. See also **wakra-*.

wakjan- w.v. 'to awaken' — Go. *us-wakjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *vekja* w.v. 'id.', Far. *vekja* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *wettja* w.v. 'id.', OE *weccan* w.v. 'id.', OS *wekkian* w.v. 'id.', Du. *wekken* w.v. 'id.', OHG *wecken* w.v. 'id.', G *wecken* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **uoǵ-eie-* (IE) — Skt. *vājáyati* 'to incite, spur', Lat. *vegeō* 'to enliven' < **uoǵ-eie-*.

The causative to **wakan-* (q.v.).

wakk/gōn- w.v. 'to move, shake' — ON *vaga* w.v. 'to move', Far. *vagga* w.v. 'to rock; to stagger', Nw. *vakka* s.v. 'to travel', OE *wagian* w.v. 'to oscillate, shake', ME *wag(g)en* 'id.', E *to wag*, MDu. *waggen* s.v. 'to shake, waver', Du. *waggelen* w.v. 'to stagger', OHG *wagōn* w.v. 'to move, shake; to dare', G *wagen* w.v. 'to dare' ⇒ **uoǵʰ-néh₂-* (IE).

An *a*-grade iterative to the strong verb **wegan-* (q.v.).

wakra- adj. 'alert, awake' — ON *vakr* adj. 'id.', OE *wacor* adj. 'id.', Du. *wakker* adj. 'id.', OHG *wackar* adj. 'id.', G *wacker* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **uoǵ-ro-* (DRV).

A *ro*-stem derived from **wakan-* (q.v.). With a different suffix, cf. OHG *wachal* adj. 'awake' < **wakala-*.

wakwa- adj. 'moist' — ON *vǫkr* adj. 'id.', MDu. *wac* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **uog^{w}-o-* (EUR) — Gr. ὑγρός adj. 'moist, fluid' < **ug$^{(w)}$-ro-*; Lat. *ūvidus, ūdus* adj. 'wet, soaked' < Plt. **uog^{w}-ed^{h}o-*; MIr. *fúal* 'urine' < **uog^{w}-lo-*.

Also cf. ON *vǫkva* f. 'moist', Far. *eyr-veka, -vika, -vøka* f. 'moist soil' < **wakwōn-* and ON *vøkva, vekkja* w.v. 'to pour' < **wakwjan-*. ON *vǫk* f. 'hole in the ice' corresponds to MLG *wake* f. 'id.' < **wakwō-*. The latter formations have alternatively been derived from PIE **ueh$_2$ǵ-* 'to break', cf. Hitt. *u̯āki* ~ *u̯akkanzi* 'to bite' < **uéh$_2$$^{(}$ǵ$^{)}$-ei, *uh$_2$$^{(}$ǵ$^{)}$-énti*, ToA *wākā-* 'to burst', ToB *wākā-* 'to split; to flourish' < **ueh$_2$$^{(}$ǵ$^{)}$-* and Gr. ἄγνυμι 'to break' < **uh$_2$$^{(}$ǵ$^{)}$-néu-*, but the connection with **wakwa-* is preferable.

****wala-*** n. 'the slain' — ON *valr* m. 'id.', OE *wæl* n. 'id.; battle field', OHG *wal* n. 'id.' ⇒ **uolh$_3$-o-* (IE) — To Hitt. *u̯alḫzi* ~ *u̯alḫanzi* 'to hit, to strike', ToA *wāl-* 'to die', Gr. ἑάλων 'was captured' < **uélh$_3$-ti, *ulh$_3$-énti*; Gr. οὐλή f. 'scarred wound, scar' < **uolh$_3$-n-eh$_2$-*; Lat. *vulnus/volnus* n. 'wound' < **uelh$_3$-n-es-*; OIr. *fuil* f. 'blood', W *gweli* 'blood, wound' < **uelh$_3$-i-*; Lith. *vẽlės* f.pl. 'ghost' < **uelh$_3$-ieh$_2$-* (with metatony).

A formation based on the ancient IE root **uelh$_3$-* meaning 'to wound' or 'to kill'. The element is also present in the mythical figure known as ON *valkyrja* f. 'valkurie', OE *walcyrie* f. 'witch' < **wala-kuzjōn-*. See also **wōla-*.

****waldan-*** s.v. 'to rule, have authority over' — Go. *waldan* s.v. 'id.', ON *valda* s.v. 'to rule over; to cause', OE *wealdan* s.v. 'to have power over', E *to wield*, OFri. *walda* s.v. 'id.', OHG *waltan* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h$_2$ulh$_1$-t-* (IE) — Hitt. *ḫullezi* ~ *ḫullanzi* 'to smash, quash, defeat' < **h$_1$ul-n-éh$_1$-ti, *h$_1$ul-nh$_1$-énti*; ToA *wāl*, ToB *walo* m. 'king' < **h$_2$ulh$_1$-ont-*; Lat. *valeō, -ēre* 'to be strong' < **h$_2$ulh$_1$-eh$_1$-*; OIr. *flaith* f. (m.) 'sovereignty, ruler', OW *gulat*, MW *gwlad* 'country' < **h$_2$ulh$_1$-ti-*; OIr. *fal* 'rule' < **h$_2$ulh$_1$-o-*; Lith. *valdýti*, Latv. *vàldît* 'to rule, govern, wield' < **h$_2$uolh$_1$-d^{h}h$_1$-eie-*; OCS *vlasti* (*vladǫ*) 'to rule'; CS *vladěti*, Ru. *vladét'* 'to own, control, wield', SCr. *vládati* 'to reign' < **h$_2$uolh$_1$-d^{h}h$_1$-eh$_1$-*.

An *o*-grade present probably back-formed to the preterite **wulþōn-*, cf. the Old Norse preterite *olla*, which continues a PIE primary aorist form **ulh$_2$-t-*. Instead of linking the Germanic verb directly to e.g. Lith. *valdýti*, which has a secondary **d^{h}h$_1$-*suffix itself, it is better to assume that the dental suffix **þ* ~ **d* became attached to the root within Germanic itself. Note that the Balto-Slavic forms can actually also be regarded as Germanic loanwords.

****waldō-*** f. 'dyer's rocket' — ME *wēlde, wolde* 'id.', E *weld*, MDu. *wolde, woude* f. 'id.', Du. *wouw* c. 'id.', G *Wau* m. 'id.' ⇒ **uolt-éh$_2$-*(?) (WEUR/NIE) — Lat. *lūtum* n. 'dyer's rocket; yellow dye' < **ulout-o-*(?).

A plant native to Europe, known to have been cultivated for its yellow pigment at least in the Mediterranean from the first millennium BCE

(Zohary and Hopf 2000: 209). Geographically, the word is limited to the Dutch and English language area, cf. E *weld*, Du. *wouw* (G *Wau* was borrowed from Dutch, as the dye used to be imported from the Low Countries). An Old Dutch form **walda* has been reconstructed on the basis of Fr. *gaude*, Sp. *gualda* (cf. Sp. *gualdo* 'yellow').

No certain extra-Gm. etymology: the OED mentions the connection with **walþu-* 'wood, forest', but there is no compelling semantic motivation for this suggestion. More attractive is the linkage with Lat. *lūtum* (Wood 1898: 220-221). It was dismissed by Polomé 1948 in view of the formal incongruence (Gm. **u̯olt-* vs. Lat. **(u̯)lout-*), but this may be exactly the point, of course, the formal irreconcilability potentially being the result of post-PIE borrowing into both Latin and Germanic. For other old dye plants, cf. **madrōn-*, **waizda-* and **wratjōn-*.

waljan- w.v. 'to choose' — Go. *waljan* w.v. 'id.', ON *velja* w.v. 'id.', Far. *velja* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *wela* w.v. 'id.', OS *wellian* w.v. 'id.', OHG *wellan* w.v. 'id.', G *wählen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **uolh₁-éie-* (IE) — Skt. *varáyati* 'to choose', OCS *voliti* (*volję*) 'to want, wish' (also cf. OCS *volja*, Ru. *vólja*, SCr. *vȍlja* f. 'will' < **uolh₁-ieh₂-*) < **uolh₁-éie-*.

A causative or factitive to the root **uelh₁-*, cf. **weljan- 1* and **weljan- 2*.

walkan- s.v. 'to roll' — OE *wealcan* s.v. 'to roll, toss; to wind', ME *walken* s./w.v. 'to roll, toss; to wander, proceed', E *to walk*, OHG *walkan* s.v. 'to full, felt' (IE?).

A root with an original Gm. meaning 'to roll (over), to toss'. The word was often used in the context of rolling waves cf. ON *valk*, Far. *válk* n. 'swell (at sea)', OE *wealca* m. 'wave' < **walka(n)-*. On the IE level, the usual etymological connection with Skt. *válgati* 'to move up and down, boil up, spring' < **uélg-e-*(?) and Latv. *vaĩgs* m. 'rope' < **uolg-o-* (cf. LIV²), is improbable in view of the obvious intra-Gm. link with **walk/gōn-* 'to roll', impers. 'to be nauseated'. It follows from this link that the *k* of **walkan-* must have arisen due to influence from the pertaining iterative verb **wulk/gōn-* (q.v.). The underlying root **uelk-* or **uelgʰ-* can be an extension of **uelh₁-* 'to roll', for which see **wal(l)ōn-*.

walk/gōn- w.v. 'to roll' — ON *valka* w.v. 'toss to and fro', Far. *válka* w.v. 'to make a mess', MLG *walgen* w.v. 'to struggle, wrestle; *imp.* to be disgusted', MDu. *walgen* w.v.(imp.) 'to be nauseated', Du. *walgen* w.v. 'to be disgusted', OHG *walgōn* w.v. 'to roll' ⇒ **uolgʰ-néh₂-* (IE?).

An *o*-grade iterative parallel to **wulk/gōn-* (q.v.). The original meaning was 'to roll', but in impersonal use, the verb came to mean 'to be disgusted', cf. MDu. *mi walget* 'I am nauseated'.

wallan- s.v. 'to well up, boil, seethe' — OE *weallan* s.v. 'to well, bubble forth, spring out, flow', OFri. *walla* s.v. 'id.', OS *wallan* s.v. 'id.', OHG *wallan* s.v. 'id.', G *wallen* w.v. 'id.' (IE) — Skt. *ūrmí-* m. 'wave' < **ulH-mi-*; Lith. *vilnìs* f. 'id.' < **ulH-ni-*; OCS *vlьna*, Ru. *volná* f. 'id.' < **ulH-neh₂-*.

An *o*-grade intensive verb probably continuing an *n*-present **uolH-ne-*. It is accompanied by the *e*-grade verb **wellan-*, attested as ON *vella* s.v. 'to seethe' (< **uelH-n-*). Both of these strong verbs may have been created to the archaic zero-grade present Go. *wulan* < **wulan-* (q.v.).

wal(l)ōn- w.v. 'to roll' — OE *weallian* w.v. 'to wander, roam', MDu. *wal(l)en* 'to turn, roll, wander', EDu. *wallen* 'to turn', OHG *wal(l)ōn* w.v. 'to wander, roam' (IE) — ToA *wal-*, ToB *wālā-* 'to cover' < **ulh₁-*; Gr. εἰλέω 'to roll, turn, wind, revolve' < **uel-n-h₁-e-*; OIr. *fillid* 'to bend' < **uel-ne-*; Lith. *vélti* 'to felt, full, tousle', Latv. *vel̂t* 'to roll, felt' < **uelh₁-ie-*.

The different dialectal forms appear to continue an iterative 3sg. **wallōþi*, 3pl. **walunanþi* < **uolh₁-n(é)h₂-*. See also **walwjan-*.

walō- f. 'golden oriole' — ME *wōde-wāle* 'golden oriole, green woodpecker', E *wood-wall*, *hick-wall*, WFri. *giele-gou* c. 'golden oriole' (= "yellow-wall", i.e. with restored reduplication), MDu. *wede-wale* f. 'id.', Du. *wiele-waal* c. 'id.', MHG *wite-wal* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ui-uh₂l-*(?) (NEUR) — Lith. *volungẽ*, dial. *vólungė* f. 'golden oriole', Latv. *vāluôdze* '(golden) oriole' < **ueh₂l-*; CS *vlъga* f. 'oriole', Ru. *ívolga* f. 'id.', Pol. *wilga*, *wywielga* f. 'id.', SCr. *vȕga* f. 'titmouse' < **(ui-)ulH-*.

A Germanic-Balto-Slavic isogloss. In view of the possible reduplicated form in e.g. Pol. *wywielga* (for the loss of PSlav. *v-* in Ru. *ívolga*, cf. Ru. dial. *iz(j)úbr* 'Manchurian red deer' vs. OPru. *wissambs'* 'wisent' under **wisund-*), it is conceivable that the PGm. form **widu-walō-* 'wood-wall' arose due to folk etymology, replacing older **wiwalō-*. Or does the Ru. form continue **jьvьlga* < **jьvo-vьlga* "willow-wall" (Bulaxovskij 1968: 104)? Anyhow, the root of this formation can only be reconstructed with great difficulty: PGm. **wal-* can go back to **uol-*, **uH̯l-* or **ueHl-* (with pretonic shortening); the Baltic forms, which point to **ueh₂l-* with **h₂*, can be reconciled with both Pre-Gm. **uh̥₂l-eh₂-* and **ueh₂l-éh₂-*, but CS *vlъga* seems to go back to **ul(H)-gʰ-eh₂-* (with laryngeal metathesis?). Alternatively, the formal difficulties have been interpreted as an indication that the word was absorbed from a lost European language (Derksen 2008: 216-7). We may then reconstruct something like **wal-* or **wəl-*.

walþu- m. 'field, uncultivated area, wood' — ON *vǫllr* m. 'field', Far. *vøllur* m. 'greensward', Elfd. *wall* m. 'field', OE *weald* m. 'wood', OFri. *wald* m./n. 'id.', OS *wald* m. 'id.', Du. *woud* n. 'id.', OHG *wald* m. 'id.', G *Wald* m. 'id.' ⇒

**uólH-tu-* (EUR) — To OIr. *folt* m. 'hair', W *gwallt* 'id.' < **uolH-to-*; Lith. *váltis* 'panicle', OPru. *wolti* 'id.', Ukr. *volótь* 'id.', SCr. *vlât* m. 'id.' < **uolH-tio-*.

A *tu*-stem created to a European root **uelH-*.

walu- m. 'lump; staff' — Go. *walus* m. 'id.', ON *vǫlr* m. 'stick', Far. *vølur* m. 'lump, tumor, growth; steering pole', OFri. *walu-bera* m. 'pilgrim' ⇒ **uolh₁-u-* (IE) — Lith. *ap-valùs* adj. 'round' < **uolh₁-u-*; OPru. *walis* 'whippletree, drawbar' < **uol-io-*.

The word has sometimes been connected to Lat. *vallum* n. 'palisade' < **ueh₂l-so-* (with Osthoff's law), Gr. ἦλος m. 'nail' < **uh₂l-so-*. The Faroese form, however, proves that the original meaning was 'something round', cf. ON *valr* adj. 'round' < **uolh₁-o-*. It thus seems to belong to the verb **wal(l)ōn-* (q.v.) and cognates.

walwjan- w.v. 'to roll' — Go. *-walwjan* w.v. 'id.', OE *wielwan* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **uolh₁-u-eie-* (IE) — Arm. *gelum* 'to turn, wind', Lat. *volvō, -ere* 'to (cause to) go round, roll' < **uelh₁-u-e-*.

A causative closely related to **wal(l)ōn-*, but the origin of the *w*-suffix (which has an echo in Lat. *volvere*) is not entirely clear. One possibility is that the verbal root was derived from a *u*-stem adjective **walu-*, cf. Lith. *ap-valùs* adj. 'round', like OE *wielwan* 'to roll, wallow' < **walwōjan-*. Or was it back-formed from the *nu*-present 3sg. **ulh₁-néu-ti*, 3pl. **ulh₁-nu-énti*? The non-Gm. languages (see under **wal(l)ōn-*) rather point to an *n*-present 3sg. **ul-néh₁-ti*, 3pl. **ul-nh₁-énti*, however.

wambō- f. 'womb, belly' — Go. *wamba* f. 'id.', ON *vǫmb* f. 'id.', Far. *vomb* f. 'id.', Elfd. *uomb* f. 'id.', OE *wamb* f. 'id.', E *womb*, OFri. *wamme* f. 'id.', ODu. *wamba* f. 'id.', MDu. *wamme* f. 'id.', OHG *wamba* f. 'id.', G *Wamme*, coll. *Wampe* f. 'id.' (IE?).

A Germanic word. It has been compared to OE *umbor* n. 'child' (Holthausen 1934: 376), but the implied PIE reconstruction **umbʰ-ro-* (**umbʰ-os-o-*?) would have given **wumbra-*. More attractive is the connection with Skt. *gabhá-* m. 'vagina' < **gʷʰm̥bʰ-o-*. Note, however, that the latter word may belong to Skt. *gabhīrá-* adj. 'deep', which in turn must have been dissimilated from **grabhīrá-* in view of Gr. γλαφυρός adj. 'hollow' (Burrow 1954: 6). Also cf. OHG *wambo* m. 'paunch, tripe' < **wamban-*.

wana- 1 adj. 'lacking, missing, void' — Go. *wans* adj. 'id.', ON *vanr* adj. 'id.', OE *wan* adj. 'id.', OHG *wan* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **uh̥₂-no-/*ueh₂-nó-* (IE) — Skt. *ūná-* adj. 'wanting, deficient, not sufficient, less, too small', YAv. *ūna-* adj. 'deficient' < **uh₂-nó-* (perhaps also here: Arm. *unayn* 'empty' < **uh₂n-* plus the adj. suffix *-ayn*?); Lat. *vānus* m. 'idle' < **ueh₂-no-*.

Also cf. the noun, Go. *wan*, MDu. *wan* n. 'lack' < **wana-* and the stative verb ON *vana*, OE *wanian*, OHG *wanōn* w.v. 'to wane' < **wanēn-* (whence Go. *wanains* f. 'lack'). The primary adjective can continue both **uh₂-no-* (with vocalization of the laryngeal) and **ueh₂-nó-* (with Dybo's law of pretonic shortening): both reconstructions have counterparts in the non-Germanic languages (see above).

wana- 2 adj. 'accustomed' — ON *vanr* adj. 'id.', Far. *vanur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *wan* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **Huonh₁-o-* (IE) — Skt. *vánate* 'to love, desire' < **Huénh₁-e-*.

An *o*-stem created to the PIE root **Huenh₁-*. ON *venja*, OE *wenian*, *wennan*, OS *gi-wennian*, Du. *ge-wennen*, OHG *wenjan*, *wennan*, G *ge-wöhnen* w.v. 'to get accustomed' < **wanjan-* is a factitive derived from the adjective. See also **weni-* and **wuna(n)-*.

wanda- adj. 'turned, twisted' — ON *vandr* adj. 'difficult, bad', Elfd. *uond* adj. 'bad', OS *wand* adj. 'changeable' (DRV).

An *o*-grade adjective derived from **windan-* (q.v.).

wandjan- w.v. 'to cause to turn' — Go. *ga-wandjan* w.v. 'to turn, convert', ON *venda* w.v. 'to turn; to change, convert', Far. *venda* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *wenda* w.v. 'to turn (around)', OE *wendan* w.v. 'to turn, cause to move, change direction', OFri. *wenda* w.v. 'id.', OS *wendian* w.v. 'to turn', Du. *wenden* w.v. 'id.', OHG *wenten* w.v. 'id.', G *wenden* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **uond^h-éie-* (EUR).

The causative of **windan-* (q.v.).

wandu- m. 'rod, cane' — Go. *wandus* m. 'id.', ON *vǫndr* m. 'switch, twig; stripe (in cloth)', Far. *vond* f. 'mast; thin strip of wood nailed over a split in a boat; structure; weave of cloth', Elfd. *uond* m. 'stick put on top of a hayrack' (DRV?).

A *u*-stem perhaps derived from **windan-* (q.v.). Unrelated to Lith. *vánta* f. 'besom'.

wanga- m. 'meadow' — Go. *waggs* m. 'meadow, park, paradise', ON *vangr* m. 'field', OE *wang* m. 'field; land', OS *wang* m. 'grove', OHG *holz-wanga* f. 'wooded area' ⇒ **uong^h-o-* (NEUR) — OPru. *wangus* 'oak forest' < **uong^h-u-*.

Also cf. *vangi* m., OE *wange* n., OS *wanga* f., Du. *wang* c., OHG *wanga* f., G *Wange* f. 'cheek' < **wanga/ōn-*.

wantu- m. 'mitten' — ON *vǫttr* m. 'id.', Far. *vøttur* m. 'id.', Sw. *vante* c. 'id.', Elfd. *uott* m. 'id.', MDu. *want*, *wante* m. 'id.', Du. *want* c. 'id.' (DRV).

A formation probably derived from **windan-* 'to wind' (q.v.). The root-final **t* continues a geminate: **wantu-* < **wanttu-* < **uond^h-nú-*.

wara- adj. 'aware' — Go. *war** adj. 'cautious', ON *varr* adj. 'aware', Far. *varur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *war* adj. 'id.', OE *wær* adj. 'id.', E *aware*, OS *war* adj. 'aware, careful', Du. *ge-waar* adj. 'id.', OHG *gi-war* adj. 'id.', G *ge-wahr* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **uor-o-* (IE) — ToB *wār-* 'to smell', Lat. *vereor* 'to show respect, fear', Latv. *vērt* (*véru*) 'to watch, notice' < **uér-e-*; OIr. *cóïr*, *coair* adj. 'proper, fitting', OW *couer* 'complete', W *cyweir* adj. 'ready, equipped' < **kom-ur-io-*.

An *o*-stem to the root **uer-*, for which cf. **werdu-* 'host'.

wardjan- w.v. 'to cause to degenerate' — Go. *fra-wardjan* w.v. 'to corrupt, destroy', OE *ā-wierdan* w.v. 'to damage', OHG *far-werten* w.v. 'to damage, corrupt' ⇒ **uort-éie-* (IE) — Lith. *vartýti*, Latv. *vȁrtît* 'to turn, turn over', OPru. *wartint* 'to turn', OCS *vratiti sę* 'to return, turn', Ru. *vorotít'* (*voročú*) 'to bring back, turn aside', SCr. *vrátiti* 'to return, bring back' < **uort-éie-*.

The causative to **werþan-* (q.v.). Cf. with the same prefix OS *far-werthan* s.v. 'to perish, ruin'.

warha- n. 'rheum' — ON *var* n. 'rheum', Nw. *var* n. 'id.', OSw. *var* n. 'mucus, rheum, pus', Elfd. *war* n. 'id.', OHG *warah* n. 'pus, liquid manure' ⇒ **uórk-o-* (NEUR) — Lith. *veřkti* (*verkiù*) 'to cry' < **uerk-ie-*.

A word with an original meaning 'rheum' or 'serum'. I assume that it was derived from a root **uerk-* 'to cry' as found in Baltic.

warjan- w.v. 'to hinder, prevent' — Go. *warjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *verja* w.v. 'to defend, guard', Far. *verja* w.v. 'to defent, protect, cover', Elfd. *wera-s* w.v. 'to watch, guard', OE *werian* w.v. 'to hinder, check, restrain', OFri. *wera* w.v. 'to defend, resist', OS *werian* w.v. 'to prevent, hinder, protect', Du. *weren* w.v. 'to keep out', OHG *werren*, *weren* w.v. 'to defend, protect, hinder', G *wehren* w.v. 'to defend, fight' ⇒ **h₂uor-éie-* (IE) — Skt. *vṛṇóti* 'to cover, stop', YAv. *vərənaoti* 'id.' < **h₂ur-néu-*; Gr. ἀείρω 'to raise (up)', Lat. *aperiō*, *-īre* 'to open', Lith. *vérti* (*veriù*) 'to pierce, string', Latv. *vērt* 'to open, close' < **h₂uer-ie-*.

A causative to the PIE root **h₂uer-* (on which see Lubotsky 2000), cf. **wera-* and **wurþi-*. Also cf. MHG *were* m. 'guarantor' < **weran-* and Far. *veri* m. 'possession', which is semantically close to MHG *were* f. 'investiture, right of ownership' < **warīn-*. ON, Far. *ver* n. 'cover, case' may also belong to **wazjan-* 'to cover, dress' (q.v.) < PIE **uos-éie-*.

warki- m. 'pain, ache' — ON *verkr*, gen. *-jar* m. 'id.', Far. *verkur* m. 'pain, hurt; swelling, blister', Elfd. *werk* m. 'id.' ⇒ **uorg-i-* (NEUR) — Lith. *vařgas* m. 'hardship, misery', Latv. dial. *vȁrgs* m. 'misery', OPru. *wargan* acc.sg. 'misery, suffering, danger' < **uorg-o-*; Lith. *vařgti* (*vargstù*) 'to live in poverty, to take pains', Latv. *vārgt* 'to be ailing, pine away' < **uorg-ske-*; Lith. *vargùs* adj.

'hard, difficult, tiresome', Latv. *vàrgs* adj. 'pining, miserable', OPru. *wargs* adj. 'evil' < **uorg-u-/-o-*.

Within Germanic, it is possible to explain **warki-* as a cognate of **werka-* 'work', as the meaning of this word may have developed into 'pain' through 'labor', cf. OE *weorc* m. 'work, pain'. However, the Germanic homonymy must be secondary, as PIE had two different roots, viz. **uerǵ-* 'to work' and **uerg-* 'to suffer'.

****warma-*** adj. 'warm' — ON *varmr* adj. 'id.', OE *wearm* adj. 'id.', E *warm*, OFri. *warm* adj. 'id.', OS *warm* adj. 'id.', Du. *warm* adj. 'id.', OHG *warm* adj. 'id.', G *warm* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **gʷʰor-mo-* (EUR) — Identical to Lat. *formus* adj. 'warm' < **gʷʰor-mo-*; also cf. Gr. θερμός adj. 'warm' < **gʷʰer-mo-*.

****warza-*** m. 'callus' — OE *wearr* m. 'id.', MDu. *war*, *weer* m. 'gnarl; callus', EDu. *weer* 'id.' ⇒ **uors-ó-* (EUR) — Lat. *verrūca* f. 'wart; hillock' < **u(e/o)rs-* (plus a suffix *-ūca*).

Usually connected to Skt. *várṣman-* n. 'height, top' < **uers-mn-*; Lith. *viršùs*, Latv. *vìrsus*, OCS *vrьxъ*, Ru. *verx* m. 'top, upper part' < **urs-u-*, but the semantics are not compelling. See also **werila/ō-* 'lip'.

****wasra- ~ *wazra-*** n. 'spring' — ON *vár* n. 'id.', Far. *vár* n. 'id.', Elfd. *wår* n. 'id.', OFri. *wars*, *wērs* m. 'id.' ⇒ **uos-r/n-* (IE) — Skt. *vasantá-* m. 'spring', YAv. *vaŋri* loc.sg. 'in the spring', OP *θūra-vāhara-* m. 'name of a spring month', NP *bahār* 'spring', Gr. ἔαρ, ἔαρος n. 'id.', Lat. *vēr*, *vēris* n. 'id.', OW *guiannuin*, W *gwanwyn* 'id.' (< PCelt. **wesant-*), Lith. *vāsara*, Latv. *vasara* f. 'summer', OCS *vesna*, Ru. *vesná* f. 'spring', Arm. *garun* (< **gehar-*), gen. *garnan* 'id.'.

An old heteroclitic noun, probably to be reconstructed as PIE **uós-r*, **ués-n-s*. The Germanic material contains at least two different forms. OFri. *wars*, *wērs* appears to be metathesized from **wasra-* or **wesra-* (cf. Hofmann 1969), a form in Verner opposition to ON *vár*, which usually is assumed to have developed from **wēzra-*. Gąsiorowski 2012, however, argued for a PGm. development **-Vzr-* > **-V̄r-*, according to which we can reconstruct both **wezra-* and **wazra-* for the Nordic form.

****waskan-*** s.v. 'to wash' — OE *wæscan* s.v. 'id.', E *to wash*, OFri. *waska* s.v. 'id.', OS *waskan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *wassen* s./w.v. 'id.', OHG *wascan* s.v. 'id.', G *waschen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **uod-ske-* (DRV).

A *ske*-present derived from **watar-* ~ **watan-* 'water' (q.v.).

****watar- ~ *watan-*** n. 'water' — Go. *wato*, gen. *watins* n. 'id.', ON *vatn* n. 'id.', Far. *vatn* n. 'id.', Elfd. *watten* n. 'id.', OE *wæter* n. 'id.', E *water*, OFri. *weter* n. 'id.', OS *watar* n. 'id.', Du. *water* n. 'id.', OHG *wazzar* n. 'id.', G *Wasser* n. 'id.' ⇒ **uod-r/n-* (IE).

The IE word for 'water'. The original paradigm may have been static **uód-r*, gen. **uéd-n-s*, but the Proto-Germanic material straightforwardly points to **watōr*, **watenaz* < **uód-ōr*, **uod-én-(o)s*. A trace of an *e*-grade is nevertheless to be found in OSw. *Vætur*, Sw. *Vättern* (= OSw. **wætr-in* n.pl.def.), the name of several lakes in Sweden (cf. Hellquist 1903-06: 1, 748ff.; Schalin 2010) as well as in Nw. dial. *vete* f. 'wetland' < **wetōn-*. Also note that the default Nordic forms continue thematicized **watna-*, but Far. poet. *vætur* preserved the *r*-ending that is also found in WGm. **watra-*. See also **wēta-* 'wet' and **nata-* 'id.'.

****waþwan-*** m. 'calf of the leg(?)' — ON *vǫðvi* m. 'muscle', *kvikva-vǫðvi* m. 'calf', Far. *vøddi* m. 'muscle; the thick of the thigh, buttock', OS *watho* m. 'calf', MDu. *waede*, *waey* m. 'id.', OHG *wado* m., *wada* f. 'id.', G *Wade* f. 'id.' ⇒ **uH-tuo-* (IE?) — To Skt. *ūrú-* m. 'thigh, shank' < **uH-ru-*?

Not related to Lat. *vatāx*, *-ācis* adj. 'having a deformity of the feet' (cf. Pokorny IEW: 1113), which belongs to *vatius* adj. 'bent outwards'. I rather assume that the word contains a *tu(o)*-suffix (cf. **skadu-* 'shadow' < **skh₃-tu-*), which reduces the root to **ueH-*. This root may be identical to the derivational base of Skt. *ūrú-*.

****wazjan-*** w.v. 'to dress' — Go. *wasjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *verja* w.v. 'id.', OE *werian* w.v. 'id.', E *to wear*, OHG *werian* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **uos-éie-* (IE) — Identical to Skt. *vāsáyati* 'to clothe'; further cf. Hitt. *u̯ēšta* ~ *u̯eššanda* 'to be dressed, wear', ToAB *wäs-* 'id.', Skt. *váste*, OAv. *vastē* 'id.' Gr. ἑῖμαι 'id.' < **ués-to*, **us-ónto*.

A causative of Indo-European origin, derived from the root **ues-* 'to be clothed, dress'.

****wēan-*** s.v. 'to blow' — Go. *waian* s.v. 'id.', OE *wāwan* s.v. 'id.', OFri. *wāia* s.v. 'id.', Du. *waaien* s./w.v. 'id.', OHG *wāen* s.v. 'id.', G *wehen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂uéh₁-e-* (IE) — Skt. *vā́ti*, YAv. *vāiti* 'to blow (of wind)', Gr. ἄημι 'id.', OCS *vějati* 'id.', Ru. *véjat'* (*véju*) 'to blow; to winnow', SCr. *vȉjati* 'to winnow; to snow' < **h₂uéh₁-*; Hitt. *ḫu̯u̯āi* ~ *ḫu̯i̯anzi* 'to run, hurry' < **h₂uh₁-ói-ei*, **h₂uh₁-i-énti*.

A strong verb to the IE root **h₂ueh₁-*. See also **weþra-* ~ **wedra-* and **winda-* 'wind'.

****weban-*** s.v. 'to weave' — ON *vefa* s.v. 'id.', Far. *veva* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *wevå* s.v. 'id.', OE *wefan* s.v. 'id.', E *to weave*, Du. *weven* s./w.v. 'id.', OHG *weban* s.v. 'id.', G *weben* s./w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁uébʰ-e-* (IE) — ToAB *wāpā-* 'to weave' < **h₁uobʰ-eh₂-*; Skt. *ubhnā́ti*, *umbhā́ti*, *unábdhi* 'to bind, fetter' < **h₁ubʰ-neh₂-*, **h₁u-m-bʰ-e-*, **h₁u-n-ebʰ-*; NP *bāftan*, Oss. *wafyn* / *wafun* 'id.' < **h₁uobʰ-*; Gr. ὑφαίνω 'id.' < **h₁ubʰ-n-ie-*; Alb. *venj* 'id.' < **h₁uebʰ-n-ie-*.

A strong verb with clear IE roots. See also **wabja-* and **wabjan-*.

wēbna- ~ *wēpna- n. 'weapon' — Go. *wepn** n. 'id.', ON *vápn, vákn, vámn* n. 'id.', Icel. *vopn*, obs. *vokn* n. 'id.', Far. *vápn, vákn* n. 'weapon; whaling lance', OSw. *vāpn, vākn* n. 'id.', Elfd. *wapen* n. 'id.', OE *wæpn, wæmn* n. 'id.', E *weapon*, OFri. *wēpen* n. 'id.', OS *wāpan* n. 'id.', Du. *wapen* n. 'id.', OHG *wāfan* n. 'id.', G *Waffe* f. 'id.' (DRV).

A Germanic word displaying two different stems, viz. **wēbna-* (cf. ON *vámn*, OE *wæmn*) and **wēpna-* (cf. ON *vápn*, OE *wæpn*, OFri. *wēpen*, OS *wāpan*, OHG *wāfan*): the Nordic forms with *k*, cf. Icel. *vokn*, Far. *vákn* (with semantic specialization), OSw. *vākn* (= Fi. *vaakuna*) developed from *vápn* (with *-pn-* > *-kn-* as in ON *gaupn* vs. Gutn. *gaukn* 'handful'). The alternation between **wēbna-* and **wēpna-* points to the pre-existence of an *n*-stem nom. **wēbō*, gen. **wēp(p)az* that was thematicized (Lühr 1980: 253-54). The thematicization happened at a surprisingly early stage, however, as other *n*-stem thematicizations usually appear only in the North and West Germanic dialects, whereas in this case Go. *wepn* proves that the form **wēpna-* existed already at the PGm. level. Anyhow, the word was no doubt derived from the iterative **wab/ppōn-*, cf. OE *wafian* w.v. 'to wave', MHG *waben, wappen* w.v. 'to waver, shake', Du. *wapperen* w.v. 'to wave' (Lühr l.c.), probably through a meaning 'to brandish'. This is especially attractive in view of Du. obs. *wappen* w.v. 'to strike, knock, cuff', G Rhnl. *wappen* w.v. 'to cuff'. For other explanations, see Blažek 2008.

wedan- s.v. 'to conjoin' — Go. *ga-widan* s.v. 'id.', OHG *wetan* s.v. 'to join, yoke', MHG *weten* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **(H)ued^{h}-e-* (IE) — Skt. *vǐ-vadhá-* m. 'yoke' < **h$_1$ui-(H)ued^{h}-o-*(?); Av. *vad-* 'to lead', OIr. *feidid* 'to lead, bring together', W *gweddu* 'to subject oneself to'; Lith. *vèsti* (*vedù*) 'to lead', OPru. *westwei* 'id.', OCS *vesti*, Ru. *vestí* (*vedú*) 'to lead, conduct'.

An old strong verb. Also cf. Go. *ga-wiss* f. 'joint' < **wessi-* < **(H)ued^{h}-ti-*.

wega- m. 'way, road' — Go. *wigs* m. 'id.', ON *vegr* m. 'id.', OE *weg* m. 'id.', E *way*, OFri. *wei* m. 'id.', OS *weg* m. 'id.', Du. *weg* c. 'id.', OHG *weg* m. 'id.', G *Weg* m. 'id.' (DRV).

Derived from the strong verb **wegan-* (q.v.).

wegan- s.v. 'to move, carry' — Go. *ga-wigan* s.v. 'to shake, move', ON *vega* s.v. 'to move, carry, lift, weigh', Far. *vega* s.v. 'to lift, raise; to weigh', OE *wegan* s.v. 'to move, carry, bring', E *to weigh*, OFri. *wega* s.v. 'to bring', OS *gi-wegan* s.v. 'to bring up', *wegan* s.v. 'to weigh', Du. *wegen* s.v. 'to weigh', OHG *wegan* s.v. 'to move; to weigh; to consider', G *wegen* s.v. 'to weigh' ⇒ **uéǵ^{h}-e-* (IE) — Skt. *váhati* 'to carry, convey, drive', YAv. *vazaiti* 'to pull, drive (a chariot)', Lat. *vehō, -ere* 'to convey, carry', Lith. *vèžti* (*vežù*) 'to lead, convey', OCS *vesti* 'to cart, lead, convey', Ru. *veztí* (*vezú*) 'cart, convey', SCr. *vèsti*

'to cart, convey', Alb. *vjedh* 'to rob, steal, purloin' < **ueǵʰ-e-*; ToA *wāskā-*, ToB *wāsk-* 'to move' < **ueǵʰ-ske-*.

A PIE verb associated with transport by carts. The meaning 'to weigh' presumably arose from 'to lift'. See also **wega-*, **wehti- 2*, **wōgi-*, **wagjan-*, **wagna-* and **wakk/gōn-*.

****wehti- 1*** f. 'thing' — Go. *waihts* f. 'thing, entity, matter', ON *véttr* f. 'being, thing', Far. *vættur* f. 'spirit', OE *wiht* f. 'being, demon, thing', OS *wiht* n. 'something', m.pl. 'being, demon', Du. *wicht* n. 'girl', OHG *wiht* n. 'being, demon, thing', G *Wicht* m. 'midget' ⇒ **ueǵʰ-ti-*(?) (NEUR) — OCS *vešťь* f. 'thing' < **ueǩ-ti-*(?).

A Germanic-Slavic isogloss. Or can we compare OIr. *fecht*, MW *gweith* f. 'time, course; work, act' < **ueǵʰ-ti-*? If so, see **wegan-*. Also cf. Far. *-vætti* n. 'miserable creature' < **wehtja-*.

****wehti- 2*** f. 'weight' — ON *vétt* f. 'id.', OE *wiht* f. 'id.', E *weight*, OFri. *wicht* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ueǵʰ-ti-* (DRV).

A *ti*-stem derived from **wegan-* in the sense of 'to weigh'. Also cf. OE *ge-wihte*, OE, MHG *ge-wihte*, G *Ge-wicht*, Du. *ge-wicht* n. 'id.' < **ga-weht-ja-*.

****weljan- 1*** s.v. 'to want' — Go. *wiljan* w.v. 'id.', ON *vilja* w.v. 'id.', Far. *vilja* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *wila* w.v. 'id.', OE *willan* w.v. 'id.', OFri. *willa* w.v. 'id.', Du. *willen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *wellan* w.v. 'id.', G *wollen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **uelh₁-* (IE) — Skt. *vṛṇīté* 3sg.pres.med. 'to choose, opt for', OAv. *vərəṇtē* 3sg.pres.med. 'to choose', Lat. *volō*, *velle* 'to want' < **uelH-e-*; OLith. *velti* (*velmì*) 'to allow', Lith. *pa-vélti* 'to want', OCS *věleti*, Ru. *velét'* (*veljú*) 'to wish' < **uelh₁-*; Gr. Dor. λέω, λῶ 'to want, wish' < **ulh₁-* (cf. λῆμα n. 'will, spirit, courage, insolence').

In Germanic, the infinitive in **-jan-* is based on the subjunctive conjugation of the verb, cf. Go. *wiljau*, *wileis*, *wili*, ON *vilja*, *vili*, *vil* < **weljēu*, **-īs*, **-īþ*, which continues a PIE optative paradigm **uelh₁-ieh₁-m*, **-ih₁-s*, **-ih₁-t*. In IE, the present was probably athematic: 3sg. **uélh₁-ti*, 3pl. **ulh₁-énti* (medio-passive **ulh₁-toi*, **ulh₁-ntoi*). The Germanic preterite, i.e. Go. *wilda* vs. OE *wolde*, E *would*, OS *wolda*, Du. *wou*, OHG *wolta*, G *wollte* appears to continue a primary aorist 3sg. **uelh₁-t*, 3pl. **ulh₁-nt* that also formed the basis for Gr. Dor. λέω < **ulh₁-e-*. See also **weljan- 2* and **waljan-*.

****weljan- 2*** m. 'will, wish' — Go. *wilja* m. 'id.', ON *vili* m. 'id.', Far. *vilji* m. 'id.', Elfd. *wile* m. 'id.', OE *willa* m. 'id.', E *will*, OFri. *willa* m. 'id.', OS *willio* m. 'id.', Du. *wil* c. 'id.', OHG *willo*, *willio* m. 'id.', G *Wille* m. 'id.' ⇒ **uelh₁-ion-* (DRV/IE).

A *jan*-stem to **weljan- 1* (q.v.). Sw. *vilja* f. 'id.' is close to the equally feminine OCS *volja* f. 'will'. According to Kortlandt 1997b: 162, this *volja* may

continue a proterodynamic *ih₁*-stem. The Germanic word is best reconstructed as a *jan*-stem, however.

welþja- adj. 'wild, uncultivated, untamed' — Go. *wilþeis* adj. 'id.', ON *villr* adj. 'id.', OE *wild* adj. 'id.', E *wild*, OFri. *wilde* adj. 'id.', OS *wild* adj. 'id.', Du. *wild* adj. 'id.', OHG *wildi* adj. 'id.', G *wild* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **uelt-io-* (WEUR) — MW *gwyllt* adj. 'wild' < **uelt-io-*; MIr. *geilt* adj. 'lunatic, panic-stricken fugitive from battle' < **uelt-i-*.

A Germanic-Celtic isogloss, possibly related to **walþu-* (q.v.). Also cf. OE *wildor* n. 'wild animal'.

weman- s.v. 'to drill(?)' — MDu. *wemen* s.v.(?) 'to drill(?)' (GM).

The meaning of the Middle Dutch verb is not entirely certain, but in view of the instrumental noun OS *wimil* m. 'drill' < **wemila-*, it is plausible to assume that it meant 'to perforate, bore'.

weni- m. 'friend' — ON *vinr* adj. 'id.', Far. *vinur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *wenn* m. 'id.', OE *wine* m. 'id.', OFri. *wine* m. 'id.', OS *wini* m. 'id.', OHG *wini* m. 'friend, beloved', MHG *wine* m. 'id.' ⇒ **Huenh₁-i-* (IE) — Close to OIr. *fine* f. 'family' < **Huen-ieh₂-*; also ToA *wañi*, ToB *wina* 'pleasure' and Lat. *venus*, *-eris* n. 'love, charm' < **Huenh₁-es-*.

An *i*-stem to the root also found in **wana- 2* (q.v.).

wēni- f. 'expectation' — Go. *wens* f. 'hope, expectation', ON *ván* f. 'hope, expectation, prospect', Far. *vón* f. 'id.', Elfd. *uon* indecl. 'id.', OE *wēn* f. 'supposition, opinion, thought', OFri. *wēn* m. f. 'suspition', OS *wān* m. 'expectation', Du. *waan* c. 'delusion', OHG *wān* m. 'opinion, hope, fancy', MHG *wān* m. 'assumption, illusion, expectation', G *Wahn* m. 'illusion, delusion' ⇒ **Huēnh₁-i-* (IE).

An *i*-stem to the root also found in **wunskjan-* (q.v.).

wera- n. 'fishing weir' — Icel. *ver* n. 'fishing station', OE *wer* m. 'weir', E *weir*, Du. *weer* n. 'fishing weir; strip of land between two canals', MHG *wer* n. 'dam' ⇒ **h₂uer-o-* (IE).

A noun derived from the verbal root **h₂uer-* 'to defend', for which see **warjan-*.

werdu- m. 'host' — Go. *wairdus* m. 'id.', OFri. *hūs-werda* m. 'landlord', OS *werd*, *wird* m. 'host, landlord', Du. *waard* c. 'host', OHG *wirt* m. 'landlord, husband, host', G *Wirt* m. 'host' (DRV).

A formation that can be analyzed as an agentive *tu*-stem (cf. Go. *hliftus* 'thief' under **hlefan-* 'to steal') derived from an unknown root **(H)uer-*, which may or may not be connected with **wara-* 'aware'. If correct, this

etymology implies a proto-meaning 'attender', while the related ON *verðr* m. 'meal' < **werdu-* could have started off meaning 'attendance'. An alternative is to derive **werdu-* from **werþan-* 'to turn, become' (q.v.) under the assumption of an intermediate meaning 'turn' (Seebold 1980) or 'participation' (Lühr 2000: 76). Related to OFri. *warst* 'banquet' < **wersta-*.

wergan- s.v. 'to strangle' — MHG *er-wergen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **uérǵʰ-e-* (NEUR) — Lith. *veřžti* (*veržiù*) 'to tighten, restrict, tie, press' < **uerǵʰ-ie-*; OCS *-vrěsti* 'to tie' < **uerǵʰ-e-*; Pol. *po-wróz* m. 'noose' < **uorǵʰ-o-*.

A strong verb related to **wurgjan-* and possibly also to **werka- 2* (q.v.). Also cf. ON *virgill* m. 'strap' < **wergila-*.

werila/ō- m./f. 'lip' — Go. *wairila** f. 'id.', OE *weleras* m.pl. 'id.' (EUR/IE) — OPru. *warsus* 'lip' < **uors-u-*.

A diminutive of **werō-*, cf. OFri. *were* f. 'lip'. OE *weleras* was metathesized from **werelas*, possibly under the influence of PGm. **lepaza-* 'lip', cf. OHG *leffur*, ODu. *lepora* (pl.). The word is further related to ON *vǫrr* f. 'id.' < **warzō-*, and has sometimes been connected to **warza-* 'callus' (q.v.).

werka- 1 n. 'labor, work, act' — ON *verk* n. 'id.', Far. *verk* n. 'id.', Elfd. *werk* n. 'id.', OE *weorc* n. 'id.', E *work*, OFri. *werk* n. 'id.', WFri. *wurk* n. 'id.', OS *werk* n. 'id.', Du. *werk* n. 'id.', OHG *werah*, *werh*, *werc* n. 'id.', G *Werk* n. 'id.' ⇒ **uerǵ-o-* (IE) — Identical to Gr. ἔργον n. 'work, labour, work of art' < **uerǵ-o-*; further cf. W *gwery* adj. 'active' < **uerǵ-o-*; Arm. *gorc* 'work' < **uorǵ-o-*.

A neuter *o*-stem to **wurkjan-* (q.v.).

werka- 2 n. 'rope' — WFri. *wurk* n. 'string of hemp, rope', MDu. *werc* n. 'id.', OHG *werh*, *werih* n. 'id.', G *Werg* n. 'id.' ⇒ **uerǵʰ-nó-* (IE?/WEUR?).

Probably related to **wergan-* and **wurgjan-*, the final **k* being the result of Kluge's law (**werka-* < Pre-Gm. **werkka-* < **uerǵʰ-nó-*). Alternatively, the word can be linked to W *cywarch* 'hemp, rope' < **kom-uor(k̑)o-*. The Germanic form would then have to go back to **uer(k̑)-nó-*.

werkan- s.v. 'to bend, warp' — Sw. *vurken* adj. 'pulled crooked', Du. *werken* w.v. 'to warp (of e.g. wood)' ⇒ **h₂uérg-e-* (IE) — Hitt. *ḫurki-* c. 'wheel' < **h₂urg-i-*; Skt. *vṛ̥ṇákti* 'to turn (around), lay around, avert' < **h₂ur-n-eg-*; Lat. *vergō*, *-ere* 'to incline' < **h₂uerǵ-e-*.

A marginally attested strong verb to the PIE root **h₂uerg-*.

werōn- f. 'stye, pustule' — Nw. *vere* f. 'larva of the gad-fly, hole in the skin resulting from gad-fly infestation', Sw. dial. *verna* f. 'id.', Da. *verne* c. 'warble; warble fly larva', Du. *weern* c. 'stye', G *Werre* f. 'mole cricket' ⇒ **uerH-eh₂-*

(IE) — Lat. *varus* m. 'pimple, inflamed spot on the skin', Lith. *vìras* m. 'tapeworm, larva, pimple' < **urH-o-*; ToB *yoro** 'pustule, boil(?)', ToB *weru* 'blister(?)'(?).

An ancient IE word for 'pustule' or 'warble (a swelling under the skin of cattle caused by the warble fly larva)' in view of the Lithuanian meanings 'tapeworm' and 'larva', which correspond quite well to G *Werre* f. 'mole cricket' and Sw. dial. *verna*, Nw. *vere* f. 'larva of the gad-fly' < **wer(r)ōn-*, **wernōn-*. The latter forms, *n*-stems, are all derived from Pre-Gm. **uérH-ōn*, gen. **uerH-n-ós* (for the formal variation, cf. **ster(r)a/ōn-* 'star'), as are OHG *werra* and *werna* f. 'varicose'. Swi. (App.) *wērə* f. 'stye', on the other hand, can only continue **warjō-*, the *ē* continuing **a* with primary umlaut.

****werpan-*** s.v. 'to warp, sling, throw' — Go. *wairpan* s.v. 'to throw', ON *verpa* s.v. 'to throw; to pile up; to lay eggs', Far. *verpa* s.v. 'to lay eggs', OE *weorpan* s.v. 'to cast, throw, fling', E *to warp*, OFri. *werpa* s.v. 'id.', OS *werpan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *werpen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *werfan* s.v. 'id.', G *werfen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **uérg^{w}-e-* (IE) — Gr. ῥέμβομαι 'to roam, go around' < **uré-m-g^{w}-e-*; Gr. ῥόμβος m. 'top, wheel, spinning motion' < **uro-m-g^{w}-o-*.

LIV^{2}: 689 connects OCS *vrěšti* (*vrьgǫ*) 'to throw' (for which see **wrekan-*), but the original meaning of the Germanic verb was 'to bend', cf. E *warped wood* and ON *aldri orpinn* 'bent by age'. This allows for a link with Gr. ῥέμβομαι 'to roam, go around' and ῥόμβος 'circular movement', assuming that this is an *n*-present of a root **uerg^{w}-*. The Gm. *p* may very well be a reflex of PIE **g^{w}*, this development being expected after resonants in words starting with a labial (cf. **fimfe*, **wulfa-* and perhaps also **snerkan-* ~ **snerpan-*). Note that OHG *worpfozen* '*iactare*' < **wurpatjan-* implies an iterative **wurpōn-*.

****werþa-*** adj. 'worth' — Go. *wairþs* adj. 'id.', ON *verðr* adj. 'id.', Far. *verður* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *werd* adj. 'id.', OE *weorþ*, *worþ* adj. 'id.', E *worth*, OFri. *werth*, *werd*, *wird* adj. 'id.' (GM).

An adjective of unknown origin: W *gwerth* m. 'price' is a loanword from OE *weorþ* n. 'id.' < **werþa-*, cf. Go. *wairþ*, ON *verð*, OFri., OS *werth*, OHG *werd* n. 'id.'. Also cf. Go. *wairþon*, OE *weorþian*, OS *gi-werthon* w.v. 'to estimate' < **werþōjan-* and ON *virða*, OE *ge-wierþan*, MHG *wirden* w.v. 'to estimate' < **werþjan-*.

****werþan-*** s.v. 'to come about, happen, become' — Go. *wairþan* s.v. 'id.', ON *verða* s.v. 'id.', Far. *verða* s.v. 'id.', Nw. *verta* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *werda* s.v. 'id.', OE *weorðan* s.v. 'id.', OFri. *wertha* s.v. 'id.', OS *werthan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *worden* irr.v. 'id.', OHG *werdan* s.v. 'id.', G *werden* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **uért-e-* (IE) — ToA *wārt-* 'to throw', Skt. *vártate* 'to turn (around), roll', Lat. *vertō*, *-ere* 'to turn' < **uért-e-*;

Lith. *viřsti* (*virstù*) 'to fall, collapse, turn into', OPru. *wīrst* 'to become' < **urt-ske-*.

A strong verb of IE origin. The original meaning 'to turn' developed into 'to become' in Germanic, as e.g. in English, but OHG *wurst*, G *Wurst* f. 'sausage' < **wursti-* may have preserved the older 'to twist'. Note that the West Norse forms with *t*, e.g. Far. *verða*, pret. *varð*, *vart*, ptc. *vorðin*, Nw. *verta*, pret. *vart*, ptc. *vorte*, Elfd. *werda*, pret. *wart*, ptc. *worteð*, developed from ON *varþ* (< PGm. **warþe*) with *t* from word-final *þ*. See also **wardjan-* and **wurdi-*.

****wesan- 1*** s.v. 'to be' — Go. *wisan* s.v. 'id.', ON *vesa*, *vera* s.v. 'id.', Far. *vera* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *wårå* s.v. 'id.', OE *wesan* s.v. 'id.', OFri. *wesa* s.v. 'id.', OS *wesan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *wezen* s.v. 'id.', OHG *wesan* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂ués-e-* (IE) — Hitt. *ḫuišzi* ~ *ḫušanzi** 'to live; to survive' < **h₂ués-ti*, **h₂us-énti*; Skt. *vásati*, YAv. *vaŋhaiti* 'to dwell' < **h₂ués-e-*; Gr. ἰαύω 'to sleep, rest; pass the night' < **h₂i-h₂ues-e-*; ToB *wās-* 'to dwell, stay'; OIr. *foaid* 'to spend the night, sleep with someone', MW *kyuarhos* < **kom-ari-wos-o-* 'to wait, expect' < **h₂uos-*.

The verb, which in IE meant 'to stay', became part of a suppletive paradigm with the presentic forms of the IE root **h₁es-* 'to be', cf. Go. *im*, *is*, *ist*, ON *em*, *est*, *es*, OE *eom*, *eart*, *is* < PGm. **immi*, **esi*, **esti* corresponding to e.g. Skt. *ásmi*, *ási*, *ásti* and Gr. εἰμί, εἶς, εἶ < PIE **h₁és-mi*, **h₁ési*, **h₁és-ti* etc. As a result, only the preterite forms are attested, cf. Go. 3sg. *was*, 3pl. *wesun*, ON *vas*, *vǫ́ru*, OE *wæs*, *wǣron*, OS, OHG *was*, *wārun* < **wase*, **wēzunþ*. See also **westi-*.

****wesan- 2*** s.v. 'to consume, feast' — Go. *waila wisan* s.v. 'to feast, enjoy', *fra-wisan* s.v. 'to consume', OE *wesan* s.v. 'to feast', ME *wes* 'tended livestock, pastured', OHG *fir-wesan* w.v. 'id.', ⇒ **ués-e-* (IE) — To Hitt. *u̯eši-*, *u̯ešai-* c. 'pasture' (whence *u̯ešiie/a-* 'to pasture' < **ues-oi-*; ToA *wāsri* 'pasture' < **wes-ri-*; Av. *vāstra-* n. 'pasture' < **wēs-tro-*; OI *fess* f. 'food' < **ues-teh₂-* (LIV²: 693-4).

The link with PIE **ues-* 'to pasture' is corroborated by ME *wes* pret. 'tended livestock, grazed' (Stiles 1985). See also **westi-*.

****westera-*** adv. 'west, westwards' — ON *vestr* adv. 'id.', Far. *vestur* adv. 'id.', Elfd. *wester* adv. 'id.', OFri. *wester* adv. 'id.', OS *westar* adv. 'id.', OHG *westar* adv. 'id.', MHG *wester* adv. 'id.' ⇒ **uekʷsp-tero-*(?) (IE?) — Hitt. *išpant-* c. 'night' < **(kʷ)sp-ent-*; Skt. *kṣáp-*, YAv. *xšap-* f. 'id.', NP *šab* 'id.', Oss. *æxsæv* / *æxsævæ* 'id.' < **kʷsep-*; Arm. *gišer* 'id.' < **uesk*ʷ*-ero-*(?); Gr. ἕσπερος m. 'evening', Lat. *vesper* m. 'id.' < **ue(kʷ)sp-ero-*; MW *ucher* m./f. 'id.' < **eusk*ʷ*-ero-*; Lith. *vākaras*, Latv. *vakars* m. 'id.' < **uokʷ-oro-*; OCS *večerъ*, Ru. *véčer*, SCr. *vȅčē* m. 'id.' < **uekʷ-ero-*.

An adverb without a certain IE etymology. It was created with the contrastive **tero*-suffix, which leaves a base **wes*-. This element has been compared to Skt. *avás* adv. 'down', but the *-ás* of this form is a productive adverbial suffix in Sanskrit, and is therefore not likely to be old. The alternative connection with the PIE word for 'evening' (see above) is semantically more attractive in view of **sunþera-* 'south' (= 'towards the (rising) sun'), but it is not entirely certain whether the implied reconstruction **uekʷsp-tero-* would give PGm. **westera-*. For a recent discussion of the Indo-European word, see Beekes 2004.

****westi-*** f. 'being; staying' — Go. *wists* f. 'essence, nature', ON *vist* f. 'stay, abode; subsistence, food', OE *wist* f. 'being, subsistence, food', OS *wist* m. 'food' (DRV).

A merger of two different *ti*-stems: one created to **wesan- 1* 'to stay; to be', another to **wesan- 2* 'to consume, feast'.

****wēta-*** adj. 'wet' — ON *vátr* adj. 'id.', Far. *vátur* adj. 'id.', Elfd. *wåt* adj. 'id.', OE *wæt* adj. 'id.', E *wet*, OFri. *wēt* adj. 'id.', WFri. *wiet* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **uēd-o-* (DRV).

A *vṛddhi*-adjective related to **watar-* ~ **watan-* 'water' (q.v.). Also cf. Icel., Far. *væta*, Far. *væti* f. 'moisture, liquid' < **wētī-*, **wētjō(n)-* and Icel. *væska* f. 'moist' < **wētiskōn-*.

****wetman-*** m. 'dowry' — OE *weotuma*, *wetma-*, *wituma* m. 'id.', OFri. *wetma* m. 'id.', ODu. *withemo* m. 'id.', OHG *widomo*, *widemo* m. 'id.', G *Wittum* m. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁uéd-mon-* (IE) — Gr. ἔδνον n. 'dowry', Hom. ἔεδνα pl. 'id.', ORu. *věno*, Ru. *véno*, SCr. dial. *vijèno* n. 'id.' < **h₁ued-no-*.

Germanic preserves the original *mn*-stem nom. **h₁uéd-mn*, gen. **h₁ud-mn-ós* that developed into the *no*-stems found in Slavic and Greek due to dissimilation of the *m* in the weak cases. The *d* in OHG *widomo* may have arisen due to secondary voicing of PGm. **t* before *m*, cf. OHG *gi-smagmo* m. 'taste' < **smakman-*. In view of the parallelism with ODu. *withemo*, it is more likely, however, that WGm. had a variant **weþman-*. This form can technically have developed out of **wedman-* by Bahder's law (*-đm-* > **-þm-*), for which cf. **budman-* ~ **buttman-*. The origin of a possible form **wedman-* (cf. G *Wittum*), is unclear as well, as the PIE root was **h₁ued-* rather than **h₁uedʰ-*. Perhaps, the formation was influenced by **wedan-* 'to conjoin'.

****weþra-*** ~ ****wedra-*** n. 'weather' — ON *veðr* n. 'id.', Far. *veður* n. 'id.', Elfd. *weðer* n. 'id.', OE *weder* n. 'id.', E *weather*, OFri. *weder* n. 'id.', OS *wedar* n. 'id.', Du. *weer* n. 'id.', OHG *wetar* n. 'id.', G *Wetter* n. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂uh₁-etr-o-*(?) (IE?).

The Walser German form *wedar* as in *'s wedar dr fenstro* 'windowpane' (Schott 1842: 340) points to a variant **weþra-* beside **wedra-*. This means that the word may have been a mobile neuter in Pre-Gm., viz. **uétr-om*, pl.

**uetr-éh₂*. This proto-form further implies that the received etymological link with OCS *vedro* n. 'clear sky' < **ued^{h}ro-* cannot be maintained. The connection with OCS *větrъ* 'air, wind' < **ueh₁-tro-*, Lith. *vétra* < **h₂ueh₁-treh₂-* (see **wēan-*) is formally problematic as well, because the underlying form would give PGm. **wēþra-* (laryngeals are not lost before **CR-*, *pace* Schindler *apud* Peters 1999). OIr. *feth* f. 'wind(?)' can theoretically be derived from **ueto-* without a laryngeal, but is more likely to have developed out of **h₂ueh₁-tó-* by pretonic shortening (Dybo's law). The only way to retain the connection of the Germanic word with the PIE root **h₂ueh₁-* 'to blow' is to reconstruct it as **h₂uh₁-etr-o-* (or **h₂uh₁-ed^{h}r-o-* in view of OCS *vedro*) with the same suffix as found in e.g. Gr. Hom. λοετρόν 'bath, bathing site' (derived from λούω 'to bathe').

weþru- adv. '(male) lamb; yearling' — Go. *wiþrus* m. 'lamb, young ram', ON *veðr* m. 'ram', OE *weðer* m. 'id.', E *wether*, OS *withar* m. 'id.', EDu. *weer* c. 'id.', OHG *widar* m. 'id.', G *Widder* m. 'id.' ⇒ **uét-ru-* (IE) — Skt. *vatsá-* m. 'calf', Oss. *wæs* 'id.' < **uet-so-*; Gr. ἔταλον n. 'young animal, yearling', Lat. *vitulus* m. 'calf' < **uet-elo-*; OIr. *feis* f. '(young) sow', W *gwys* 'id.' < **uet-s-ih₂-*(?); Alb. *viç* m. 'one-year-old calf'.

If the etymological connection with PIE **uet-* 'year' (see **ferudi*) is correct, the original meaning of the word must have been 'yearling, one-year-old animal' (see further Rau 2007).

wīa- n. 'egg(?), brood(?)' — Icel. *ví* n. 'fly egg', Far. *víggj* n. 'id.', Sw. dial. *vi* n. 'mating of birds; brood of birds' ⇒ **h₂uei-(i)o-* (IE).

An exclusively Norse word. In view of the semantic scope of Finland Sw. *vi*, it is not inconceivable that PGm. **wīa-* (**wīja-*) represents a closely related, ablauting formation to PGm. **ajja-* 'egg' (q.v.) < **h₂ōu-io-*. The latter is generally derived from the IE word for 'bird', **h₂éu-i-s*, gen. **h₂u-éi-s* (cf. Skt. *vís*, gen. *vés*), and the oblique stem of this paradigm would be an attractive derivational base for **wīa-*. Also cf. Icel. *vína-st*, Nw. *vina* w.v. 'to mate (of birds and insects)'.

wība- n. 'woman, wife' — ON *víf* n. 'id.', Far. poet. *vív* n. 'id.', OE *wīf* n. 'id.', E *wife*, OS *wīf* n. 'id.', Du. *wijf* n. 'id.', OHG *wīb* n. 'id.', G *Weib* n. 'id.' (GM?).

No clear etymology. Some have connected the word to Go. *bi-waibjan*, OE *wæfan* w.v. 'to cover, wrap', assuming that the primary meaning was a 'veiled woman'. The connection with ToA *kip*, ToB *kwipe* 'shame; modesty' (Schmidt/Strunk 1989) is possible, too, but requires a considerable semantic shift.

wīda- adj. 'wide, distant' — ON *víðr* adj. 'wide, large, extensive', OE *wīd* adj. 'wide', E *wide*, OFri. *wīd* adj. 'wide, broad', Du. *wijd* adj. 'wide', OHG *wīt* adj.

'wide, spacious', G *weit* adj. 'wide, distant' ⇒ *$h_1$uei-$d^h h_1$-o- (IE) — ToAB *wätk-* 'to separate, distinguish' < *$h_1$ui-$d^h h_1$-sk-e-; Lat. *dīvidō, -ere* 'to separate, divide' *-$h_1$ui-$d^h h_1$-.

A full-grade adj. created to a verbal formation *$h_1$ui-$d^h eh_1$- 'to set apart', with *$h_1$ui- being dissimilated from *dui- 'in two' due to the following dental (Lubotsky 1994). The same univerbation is found in *widu(w)ōn- 'widow' (q.v.) and perhaps also in *widu- 'wood'.

***widu-** m. (n.?) 'tree; wood' — ON *viðr*, gen. *viðar* m. 'id.', Far. *viður* m. 'id.', Elfd. *wið* m. 'id.', OE *widu, wiodu, wudu* m. 'id.', E *wood*, OHG *witu* m./n. 'id.', MHG *wite, wit* m. 'id.' ⇒ *(h_1)uid^h-u- (EUR/IE?) — OIr. *fid* m. 'tree; wood; forest', OW *guid*, MW *gwyd* coll. 'trees' < *uid^h-u-.

The formation *uid^h-u- could constitute a Celto-Germanic isogloss, but it is likely that also Lith. *vidùs* m. 'middle' (< "forested area between two centers of habitation") belongs here. If so, the connection further allows for a PIE reconstruction *$h_1$ui-$d^h h_1$-o- with an original meaning 'set apart, abandoned' (cf. *wīda- 'wide' and *widu(w)ōn- 'widow'). Note that the word is embedded in a wider etymological cluster in Celtic, cf. W *gwyd* adj. 'wild, untilled, overgrown' < *ueid^h-o- and OIr. *fíad* m. '1) wild animal; 2) uncultivated land, a waste spot' < *ueid^h-u- (for the full grade, see Malzahn 2011).

***widu(w)ōn-** f. 'widow' — Go. *widuwo* f. 'id.', OE *widewe, wudewe* f. 'id.', E *widow*, OFri. *widwe* f. 'id.', OS *widowa* f. 'id.', Du. *weduwe* c. 'id.', OHG *wituwa* f. 'id.', G *Witwe* f. 'id.' ⇒ *$h_1$ui-$d^h h_1$-uh$_2$- (IE) — Gr. ἡΐθεος m. 'unmarried youth; unmarried young woman', Lat. *vidua* f. 'widow', OIr. *fedb* f. 'id.', OPru. *widdewū* 'widow', OCS *vьdova*, Ru. *vdová*, SCr. *udòv-ica* f. 'widow' < *$h_1$ui-$d^h h_1$-(e)u-o/eh$_2$-.

An *ōn*-stem created on the basis of PIE *$h_1$ui-$d^h h_1$-uh$_2$-. Also cf. *widu(w)ernan-: Go. *widuwairna* m. 'orphan' (with a suffix *-ern- as in ON *þerna*, OHG *diorna* f. 'maid; girl' < *þew-ern-ōn-) and OE *widuwa*, OHG *wituwo* m. 'widower' < PGm. *widu(w)an-.

***wiggan-** f. 'weevil(?)' — OE *wicga, ēar-wicga* m. 'beetle, earwig', E *earwig* ⇒ *ueg^h-on- (IE) — Hitt. *u̯agai-* 'grain weevil' < *uo$^{(}$ǵ$^{)}$h-oi-?

The OE form points to a Pre-Gm. root *uig^h- rather than *ueg^h-, but nevertheless seems conceivable that the word is connected to Hitt. *u̯agai-* < *uog^h-oi-; perhaps the OE word is some kind of expressive distortion.

***wīha- 1** adj. 'holy' — Go. *weihs* adj. 'id.', OHG *wīh* adj. 'id.' ⇒ *uéik-o- (WEUR) — Lat. *victima* f. 'sacrificial animal' < *uik-tm-eh$_2$-.

Also cf. Go. *weihan* w.v. 'to bless, consecrate' < *wīhēn- and ON *vígja*, OFri. *wī(g)a*, OS *wīhian*, Du. *wijden*, OHG *wīhen*, G *weihen* w.v. 'id.' < *wīh/gjan-. Related to *wīha- *2* and *wikkōn-* (q.v.).

wīha- 2 m./n. 'sanctuary' — ON *vé* n. 'mansion; sanctuary', OE *wēoh*, *wīg* m. 'idol', OS *wīh* m. 'temple' (WEUR).

Closely related to **wīha- 1* 'holy' (q.v.).

wĭ̄han- s.v. 'to fight' — Go. *weihan* s.v. 'id.', ON *vega* s.v. 'id.', Far. *vega* s.v. 'to fight, struggle; to fence; to chop', OE *wīgan* s.v. 'to fight, do battle', MDu. *wijgen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *wīgan* s.v. 'id.', MHG *wīgen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **uik-e-* (EUR) — Lat. *vincō*, *-ere* 'to conquer, overcome' < **ui-n-k-e-*; OIr. *fichid* 'to fight', W *amwyn* 'id.' (< **ambi-wik-*) < **uik-e-*.

A strong verb. The original zero-grade present **wihan-* ~ **wigan-* is continued as Go. *and-waihando* ptc. 'warring', ON *vega* s.v. 'to fight' and MHG *wehen* s.v. 'to brandish', the latter two forms displaying *Ablautentgleisung* due to *a*-mutation. The zero-grade formations were usually replaced by full-grade forms in the different Germanic dialects.

wikkōn- w.v. 'to practice sorcery' — OE *wiccian* w.v. 'id.', WFri. *wikje* w.v. 'to tell the future, warn', MDu. *wicken* w.v. 'to practice sorcery', MHG *wicken* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **uik-néh₂-* (WEUR).

Derived from the same root as found in **wīha- 1* and **wīha- 2* (q.v.). The verb served as the derivational base for OE *wicca* m. 'witch', *wicce* f. 'id.' < **wikka/ōn-* and MHG *wicker* m. 'soothsayer'. Also cf. OE *wigol* adj. 'prophetic' < **wigala-* and OE *wĭ̄glian*, (M)Du. *wichelen* 'to practice divination'.

wikōn- f. 'sequence, week' — Go. *wiko* f. 'order, sequence', ON *vika* f. 'week; sea-mile', Far. *vika* f. 'week', Elfd. *wikå* f. 'id.', OE *wice*, *wucu* f. 'id.', E *week*, OFri. *wike* f. 'id.', Du. *week* c. 'id.', OHG *wecha* f. 'id.', G *Woche* f. 'id.' (IE).

The NWGm. meaning 'week' is generally assumed to have developed from 'to give way' (see **wīkwan-*). The clearly connected Far. *vika* w.v. 'to shift, move' < **wikō(ja)n-* is semantically closer, however, to the Gothic meaning 'sequence' as well as to ON *víxl*, OS, OHG *wehsal*, Du. *wissel*, G *Wechsel* m. 'shift' < **wĭ̄h-sla-*, and thus presupposes an original meaning 'shift'.

wīkwan- s.v. 'to give way; to turn (away)' — ON *víkva*, *ýkva*, *víkja* s.v. 'id.', Far. *víkja* s.v. 'id.', Elfd. *waika* s.v. 'id.', OE *wīcan* s.v. 'id.', OFri. *wīka* s.v. 'id.', OS *wīkan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *wijken* s.v. 'id.', OHG *wīhhan* s.v. 'id.', G *weichen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **h₃uéig-u-e-* (IE) — Skt. *vijate* 'to tremble, wince, move up (of a wave); shrink, start back', Av. *vaējaṇt-* ptc. 'swinging', NP *bēxtan* 'to shake', Oss. *wiğyn* / *weğun* 'to shake, wave' < **h₃u(e)ig-e-*; ToAB *wikā-* 'to dwindle'; Gr. οἴγνυμι, Aeol. οἴγω 'to open'; Lith. *vigrùs* adj. 'fast' < **h₃uig-ru-*.

A *w*-present to the PIE root **h₃ueig-*. The origin of the *w*-suffix is unclear: perhaps it arose in a back-formation to a *nu*-present **h₃uig-néu-*. See also **wikōn-* and **waika-*.

wīman- m. 'osier, wattle' — MLG *wīm(e)* m. 'id.', MDu. *wīme* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ueh₁i-mon-*(?) (IE) — Lat. *vīmen, -inis* n. 'flexible branch, used for wicker-work', MIr. *fíam* f. 'chain' < **ueh₁i-mon-*.

Derived from the verbal root **ueh₁i-* 'to twist', for which see **wajju-*.

winda- m. 'wind' — Go. *winds* m. 'id.', ON *vindr* m. 'id.', OE *wind* m. 'id.', E *wind*, OFri. *wind* m. 'id.', WFri. *wyn* c. 'id.', OS *wind* m. 'id.', Du. *wind* c. 'id.', OHG *wint* m. 'id.', G *Wind* m. 'id.' ⇒ **h₂uéh₁-ent-o-* (IE) — Hitt. *ḫuu̯ant-* c. 'wind' < **h₂uh₁-ent-*; ToA *want, wānt*, ToB *yente* f. 'wind', Lat. *ventus* m. 'id.', W *gwynt* 'id.' < **h₂ueh₁-(e)nt-o-*; Skt. *vā́ta-*, OAv. *vāta-*, YAv. *vāta-* m. 'id.', NP *bād* 'id.', Oss. *wad / wad(æ)* 'storm' < **h₂ueh₁-nt-o-*.

The word is usually reconstructed as **h₂ueh₁-nt-ó-*: the PGm. **i* would then be due to Osthoff's law and the PGm. **d* to Verner's law. It is unlikely, however, that this proto-form can be maintained, as it in all probability would yield PGm. ***wē(w)unda-* with vocalization of the *n* after the laryngeal (cf. **ju(w)unþi-* 'youth') < **h₂iu-Hn-ti-*. I therefore reconstruct a trisyllabic proto-form **h₂uéh₁-ent-o-*, which through **wēnda-* would regularly yield PGm. **winda-* assuming that the **d* arose from **t* in post-post-tonic position (note that Verner's law apparently preceded Osthoff's law). The presence of two full grades is not problematic, because the original paradigm must have had two stem variants anyway in view of Hitt. *ḫu̯ant-* < **h₂uh₁-ent-* and Skt. *vā́ta-* < **h₂ueh₁-nt-*. It is therefore not unlikely that Germanic generalized the full grade of both the root and the suffix.

windan- s.v. 'to wind' — Go. *bi-windan* s.v. 'to wind, wrap', ON *vinda* s.v. 'to wring, twist', Far. *vinda* s.v. 'to turn; to twist, wring', Elfd. *winda* w.v. 'to hurl, sling', OS *windan* s.v. 'turn, move', Du. *winden* w.v. 'to wind', OHG *wintan* s.v. 'id.', G *winden* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **uénd^{h}-e-* (EUR) — Umb. *vetu, aha-uendu, pre-uendu* 3sg.ipv. 'must turn' < **uend-etōd*; Arm. *gind* 'ring' < **uend^{h}-eh₂-*; perhaps also Skt. *vandhúr-* m. 'chariot-seat, frame-work of a chariot' (RV); *vandhúra-* n. 'chariot-seat'.

A strong verb to a marginally attested root **uend^{h}-*. See also **wandjan-* **wandu-*, and **wantu-*.

winnan- s.v. 'to suffer' — Go. *winnan* s.v. 'to suffer', ON *vinna* s.v. 'to work, labor', Far. *vinna* s.v. 'to carry out, perform; to gain, win', Elfd. *winna* s.v. 'to reach; to win', OE *winnan* s.v. 'id.', E *to win*, OFri. *winna* s.v. 'to achieve, win', OS *winnan* s.v. 'to suffer; to gain', Du. *winnen* s.v. 'to gain; to win', OHG *winnan* s.v. 'to labor; to win', G *winnen* s.v. 'to win' ⇒ **uénu-e-* (IE) — Skt. *vanóti* 'to win, defeat, procure' < **un-néu-*; Skt. *vánate* 3sg.med. 'to win', YAv. *vanaiti* 'to defeat' < **uén-*.

A strong verb derived from the PIE root **uen-*, probably back-formed to a *nu*-present like Skt. *vanóti*: PIE **uen-nu̯e-* would regularly give **winnan-*

through assimilation of the labial glide. Cf. Go. *winna*, *winno* f. 'suffering', OHG *winna* f. 'battle' < **winnō(n)-* as well as **wunni-*.

wintru- m. 'winter; year' — Go. *wintrus* adj. 'id.', ON *vetr* m. 'id.', Far. *vetur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *witter* m. 'id.', OE *winter* m. 'id.', E *winter*, OFri. *winter* m. 'id.', OS *wintar* m. 'id.', Du. *winter* c. 'id.', OHG *wintar* m. 'id.', G *Winter* m. 'id.' (GM).

A word with no certain etymology. The traditional derivation from a nasalized variant of the root **wed-* 'to be wet' (see **wēta-*) is unconvincing: it is based on the wrong analysis of Lat. *unda* f. 'wave' as continuing **u-n-d-eh₂-* rather than correct **ud-neh₂-* (with Thurneysen's law). The connection with OIr. *find* adj. 'white' < **windo-* is semantically weak.

wira- m. 'man' — Go. *wair* m. 'id.', ON *verr* m. 'id.', OE *wer* m. 'id.', OS *wer* m. 'id.', OHG *wer* m. 'id.' ⇒ **uiH-ró-* (IE) — Identical to Skt. *vīrá-* m. 'man, hero, son', Av. *vīra-* m. 'man, human', MP *wīr* 'man, hero', Lith. *výras*, Latv. *vīrs*, OPru. *wijrs* m. 'man', Lat. *vir* m. 'id.', OIr. *fer* m. 'id.', OW *gur*, MW *gwr* 'id.'; ToA *wir* adj. 'young; fresh'(?).

One of the IE words for 'man'. The Gm. form developed from **u̯īró-* by Dybo's law (pretonic shortening).

wissa- adj. 'certain' — Go. *un-wiss* adj. 'uncertain', ON *viss* adj. 'id.', OE *wiss* adj. 'id.', OFri. *wis* adj. 'id.', Du. *wis* adj. 'id.', *on-gewis* adj. 'uncertain', OHG *gi-wis* adj. 'certain', G *ge-wiß* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **uid-to-* (IE) — Cf. Skt. *vittá-* adj. 'id.', Gr. ἄιστος adj. 'unseen'.

An adjective continuing the original past ptc. to **witan-* 'to know'.

wisund- m. 'wisent' — ON *vísundr*, gen. *vísundar* m. 'id.' (<< WGm.?), OE *wesend*, *weosend* m. 'id.', MLG *wisent*, *wesent* m. 'id.', MDu. *wesent* m. 'id.', OHG *wisunt*, *wisant*, pl. *wisunti* m. 'id.', G *Wisund* m. 'id.' ⇒ **uisond⁽ʰ⁾-* (NEUR/NIE) — Lith. *stumbras* m. 'wisent, aurochs', Latv. *sumbrs*, *stumbr(i)s*, *sũbrs* m. 'aurochs', OPru. *wissambs'* 'id.'; Ru. *zubr* m. 'wisent', dial. *iz(j)úbr* 'red deer', Oss. *dombaj* 'aurochs', Abkh. *a-dəwp-èy* 'id.'.

The word has been derived from several IE bases, e.g. **uis-* 'to smell' (VLat. *vissiō* 'smell, fart'), **uis-* 'horned' (Skt. *viṣā́nā-* f. 'horn') and **ues-* 'to consume' (Stiles 2004), but none of these IE-oriented explanations seem convincing. The various Balto-Slavic forms combined with the Germanic word result in a remarkable cluster of formally irreconcilable proto-forms. This, as well as the occurrence of some correspondences in the Caucasian languages, is highly suggestive of a non-IE word that passed into the different daughter languages independently: 1) Lith. *stumbras* and Ru. *zubr* point to **tsomb⁽ʰ⁾-* and **dzomb⁽ʰ⁾-* correspondingly; 2) Ru. *iz(j)úbr* and OPru. *wissambs'* appear to continue **uidzomb⁽ʰ⁾-*; and 3) Gm. **wisund-* seems to have developed from **uisond⁽ʰ⁾-*. I therefore start from a non-IE element

*dzomb(h) or *dzond(h) that could be prefixed by an element *wi-. Note that the Germanic word in view of the OHG *i*-stem inflection is likely to have been a root noun, a morphological category that demonstrably incorporated several other ancient loanwords, cf. e.g. *arwīt- 'pea' and *gait- 'goat' (q.v.).

wit- pron. 'we (du.)' — Go. *wit*, obl. *ugkis* pron. 'id.', ON *vit*, obl. *okkr* pron. 'id.', Far. *vit*, obl. *okkum* pron. 'id.', Elfd. *wi̯ð*, obl. *uoss* pron. 'id.', OE *wit*, obl. *unc* pron. 'id.', OS *wit*, obl. *unk* pron. 'id.' ⇒ *uid (IE) — Lith. *vèdu* 'we (du.)', OCS *vě* 'id.' < *ued-.

The first person dual pronoun. The nominative *wit was accompanied by an oblique form *unke. This form may be composed of the PIE first person dual base *nh₁- (Skt. *nau*, YAv. *nā*, Gr. νώ 'us (du.)', OCS *na* 'we (pl.)' < *noh₁-) plus the emphatic particle *ǵe. It is not unlikely either, however, that it regularly continues PIE *nh₁ue, cf. Skt. *āvám* pron. 'we (du.)' (< *nh₁u- + *-(H)om), with oralization of the laryngeal between a resonant and a labial glide (cf. *taikwer-). Note that the salient dative form *unkiz as represented by Go. *ugkis* and ON *okkr* (with *o* after *oss* 'us (pl.)') was created by the addition of the dative element *-iz. See also *wīz and *jut.

witan- pret.-pres. 'to know' — Go. *witan* pret.-pres. 'id.', ON *vita* pret.-pres., Elfd. *witå* pret.-pres. 'id.', OE *witan* pret.-pres. 'id.', OFri. *wita* pret.-pres. 'id.', OS *witan* pret.-pres. 'id.', EDu. *weten* pret.-pres. 'id.', OHG *wizzan* pret.-pres. 'id.', G *wissen* pret.-pres. 'id.' ⇒ *uoid- (IE).

A verb continuing a PIE primary perfect: PGm. 3sg. *waite, 3pl. *witun from *uoid-e, *uid-nt. The verbal root *ueid- had the primary meaning 'to see' (cf. *wītan-), but in perfective use came to mean 'to know' through 'to have seen'.

wītan- s.v. 'to see; to blame' — Go. *fra-weitan* s.v. 'to avenge', OE *ge-wītan* s.v. 'to see, look; to go', Du. *wijten* s.v. 'to blame', OHG *(far-)wīzan* s.v. 'to rebuke', G *ver-weisen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ *uéid-e- (IE) — Gr. εἴδομαι 'to seem, appear, give the appearance, resemble' < *uéid-e-; Skt. *vindáti* 'to find, acquire, get', OIr. *ro-finnadar* 'to find, experience' < *ui-n-d-é-.

A strong verb related to the preterite-present *witan- (q.v.). The meaning 'to blame' appears to have developed from 'to witness', a meaning that was already in the parent language in a legal or ritual contexts, cf. Go. *weitwoþs* m. 'witness', OPru. *waidewut* 'priest', ToB *uwe* adj. 'learned' < * *uid-uon-*.

witēn- w.v. 'to watch, heed' — Go. *witan* w.v. 'id.', ON *vitaðr* ptc. 'known', OE *witian* w.v. 'id.', OHG *wizzēn* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ *uid-éh₁- (IE) — Identical to OCS *viděti*, Ru. *vídet'* (*vížu*), SCr. *vìdjeti* 'to see', Lat. *video*, *-ēre* 'id.'.

A stative formation to *wītan- (q.v.).

witōþa- n. 'law' — Go. *witoþ* n. 'id.', Du. *wet* c. 'law', OHG *wizzōd* m./n. 'law, order, divine will' ⇒ **uid-ot-* (DRV).

A PIE *t*-stem created to the root of **witan-* (q.v.). The formation is derivationally close to ON *vitaðr* adj. 'known, proved; marked out', OS *witod* adj. 'destined'.

witt/dōn- w.v. 'to tremble' — Go. *wiþon* w.v. 'id.', Icel. *viða* w.v. 'to waver, swing', Nw. *vitta* w.v. 'to wave, beckon' ⇒ **uit(h₂)-néh₂-* (IE) — Skt. *vyáthate* 'to tremble' < **uieth₂-e-*; Skt. *á-vithura-* adj. 'not weakened, not trembling', YAv. *aiβiθūra-* (for **auuiθura-*) adj. 'strong' < **n̥-uith₂-ur-o-*.

If Go. *wiþon* is secondary for **widon*, it can together with ON *viða* and Nw. *vitta* probably be identified as an iterative 3sg. **wittōþi*, 3pl. **widunanþi* < **uit(h₂)-néh₂-ti*, **uit(h₂)-nh₂-énti*. The appurtenance of G *wedeln* w.v. 'to wag; to wave; whirl' is more uncertain, on the other hand, because of the potential link with OHG *wadalōn* 'to waver' < **waþ-*.

wiþra prep. 'toward, against' — Go. *wiþra* prep. 'id.', ON *við*, *viðr* prep. 'against; along with; with, by', Far. *við* prep. 'with, at, by', OE *wiðer* prep. 'id.', OFri. *wither* prep. 'against', OS *withar* prep. 'against, in return', MDu. *weder* prep. 'against, toward', OHG *widar* prep. 'id.' ⇒ **h₁ui-tro-* (IE) — Skt. *vitarám* adv. 'further' < **h₁ui-tero-*.

A formation with the PIE root **h₁ui-* 'apart' and the contrastive suffix **-tero-*. See also **wīda-* 'wide'.

****wĭwan-*** m. 'kite' — MDu. *wouwe* m. 'id.', Du. *wouw* c. 'id.', OHG *wī(w)o* m. 'id.', MHG *wī(w)e*, *wewe* m. 'id.', G *Weihe*, Cimb. *bibo* m. 'id.' ⇒ **uéi-ou-* (IE).

The cross-dialectal variation of OHG *wīwo*, MDu. *wouw* < **wīwan-* vs. MHG *wewe*, Cimb. *bibo* < **wiwan-* points to an originally ablauting paradigm, possibly an amphidynamic *u*-stem nom. **uéi-ōu*, gen. **ui-u-ós* comparable to the inflection of PIE **gérh₂-ōu*, gen. **grh₂-u-ós* 'crane' (cf. Kroonen 2011a: 258-60), cf. SCr. *žȅrāv* < **gerh₂-ōu*, Lith. *gérvė* < **gerh₂-u-* and Lat. *grūs* < **grh₂-u-* (see under **krana/ōn-*). Within Germanic, a likely cognate of this formation is Icel. *vía* w.v. 'to guard, spy' (cf. *örninn viar yfir hræinu* 'the eagle is preying on the carcass'), which is related to Skt. *véti* 'to strive', Lat. *vēnor*, *-ārī* 'to hunt, pursue', Lith. *výti* 'to chase, hunt' < **ueih₁-*. Outside Germanic, it is further possible to compare Gr. αἰετός m. 'eagle', which is usually derived from PIE **h₂eu-i-* 'bird'. The semantic shift to 'eagle' (through "big bird", cf. Vine 1998: 11-12) is remarkable, however. I therefore assume that αἰετός continues **h₂uih₁-eto-*, i.e. some kind of haplology for **h₂ui-uih₁-eto-* "bird-hunter".

wīz pron. 'we' — Go. *weis*, obl. *uns*, *unsis* pron. 'id.', ON *vér*, obl. *ós*, *oss*, *øss* pron. 'id.', OE *wĕ*, obl. *ūs*, acc. *ūsic* pron. 'id.', E *we*, obl. *us* pron. 'id.', OS *wĭ*,

we, obl. *ūs* pron. 'id.', Du. *wij*, *we*, obl. *ons* pron. 'id.', OHG *wir*, obl. *uns*, acc. *unsih* pron. 'id.', G *wir*, obl. *uns* pron. 'id.' ⇒ **ueies* (IE).

The plural pronoun of the first person. The nominative **wīz* was accompanied by the oblique form **uns* (or **unse*) < PIE **ns* (cf. Hitt. *anz-* 'we, us' < **ns*, Lat. *nōs* 'we', OCS *nasъ*, Ru. *nas*, SCr. *nas* 'us' < **nōs*). In West Germanic, the accusative could be marked by adding the suffix **-ike*, cf. OE *ūsic*, OHG *unsih*, while in North- and East Germanic, a salient dative appears to have been created by the addition of the element **-iz*, cf. Go. *unsiz*, ON *øss* < **unsiz*. This element was abstracted from the singular dative forms **miz* and **þiz*, probably also under the influence of the nominal dative plural ending **-miz*. See also **wit* and **jūz*.

wlaitōn- w.v. 'to look' — Go. *wlaiton* w.v. 'to look around', ON *leita* w.v. 'to search, look for', Far. *leita* w.v. 'id.', Elfd. *lieta* w.v. 'to look for, search; to inspect', OE *wlātian* w.v. 'to gaze, look' (GM).

An *o*-grade iterative to the strong verb **wlītan-* (q.v.). Note that the meaning 'to search' in ON is typically frequentative ('to look repeatedly').

wlakwa- adj. 'lukewarm, tepid' — OE *wlacu*, *wlæc* adj. 'id.', ME *wlak* adj. 'id.', MLG *wlak* adj. 'id.', MHG *vlac* adj. 'id.' (GM).

An etymologically obscure adjective. The original paradigm, **wlakwaz*, gen. **wlakwesa*, developed into **wlaku*, gen. **wlakkwes* in West Germanic, with gemination in the genitive. Dialectal leveling can account for the difference between OE *wlacu* < **wlak-* and MHG *vlac(k)* < **wlakk-*.

wlanka- adj. 'bold' — OE *wlanc*, *wlonc* adj. 'proud, bold', ME *wlonk* adj. 'excellent, fine; haughty, arrogant', OS *wlank* adj. 'proud, arrogant' (GM).

An adjective derived from an unattested strong verb **wlinkan-*. Also cf. the factitive OE *wlencan*, OS *wlenkian* w.v. 'to make arrogant' < **wlankjan-*.

wlītan- s.v. 'to see' — ON *líta* s.v. 'id.', Far. *líta* s.v. 'to cast a glance (in a certain direction)', OE *wlītan* s.v. 'to look, gaze' ⇒ **uléid-e-*(?) (GM).

No clear etymology. Pokorny IEW: 1136-7 analyzes the Gm. root **wlīt-* as a root extension of PIE **uel-* 'to see' (cf. **wulþu-*), but the origins of the alleged elements *-i-* and **-d-* remain obscure. It is furthermore far from certain that the Gm. root-final **t* continues PIE **d*, as it may also have developed from a geminate **tt*. This would imply influence from the iterative **wlittōn-* (q.v.). See also **wlaitōn-*.

wlittōn- w.v. 'to strive' — MHG *litzen* w.v. 'to strive for, desire' (GM).

The iterative of **wlītan-* 'to see' (q.v.). The meaning 'to strive for' developed from 'to look repeatedly', which is in agreement with the iterative formation.

wlōma- adj. 'turbulent(?)' — MLG *wlōm*, *wloum* adj. 'turbulent', MDu. *wloemich* adj. 'confused, anxious' (GM).

Perhaps from **wlōtma-*, cf. OE *wlatian* w.v. 'to be nauseated', MLG *wlaten* w.v. 'to be disgusted'. The primary meaning would then be 'to turn'.

wōda- adj. 'delirious' — Go. *wods* adj. 'possessed', ON *óðr* adj. 'frantic, furious', OE *wōd* adj. 'insane', Du. obs. *woed* adj. 'frantic, wild, crazy' ⇒ **uoh₂-tó-* (WEUR) — OIr. *fáith* m. 'sooth-sayer, prophet'; OIr. *fáth* m. 'prophesy', W *gwawd* 'poem, satire' < **ueh₂-tu-* (Lat. *vātēs*, *-is* m. 'prophet, seer' is probably a Celtic loanword, cf. Gaul. *Ouáteis* pl. 'prophet').

A Germanic-Celtic isogloss. Also cf. OHG *wuot*, G *Wut* m. 'rage, frenzy', MDu. *woet* m./f. 'id.', Du. *woede* c. 'id.' < **wōdi-* < **ueh₂-tí-* and ON *óðr* m. 'mind, feeling; song, poetry', OE *wōð* f. 'sound, noise; voice, song' < **wōþa/ō-*.

wōgi- adj. 'moving a lot' — MDu. *woeg* adj. 'fidgety, restive' (DRV).

A *vr̥ddhi*-gerundive to **wegan-* (q.v.), or perhaps rather to a related, but unattested intensive verb **wagan-* < **uóǵʰ-e-*, for which see **wakk/gōn-*.

wōgjan- w.v. 'to (make) remember' — MHG *wüegen* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

A secondary causative to **wahan-* (q.v.).

wōkra- m. 'growth' — Go. *wokrs* m. 'interest, additional increment', ON *okr* n. 'usury', OE *wōcor* f. 'offspring, interest', OFri. *wōker* m./n. 'interest; usury', Du. *woeker* c. 'rampant growth; usury', OHG *wuohhar* m.,n. 'fruit, harvest, gain', G *Wucher* m. 'usury' ⇒ **h₂uōg-ro-* (IE).

A formation to the PIE root **h₂eug-* 'to grow', for which see **aukan-*. Since the ablaut slot is in front of the **u* in the other PIE languages, the root **wōk-* must have arisen under the influence of the suffixed variant PIE **h₂ueg-s-*, for which see **wahs(j)an-*. It reappears in G Cimb. *büge* adj. 'fat' < **wōkja-* (Matzel 1989: 81) and WPhal. *wauken* w.v. 'to yield; to practice usury'. The latter can be a back-formation to **wōkra-*, however.

wōla- m. 'doom(?)' — OE *wōl* m./f. 'pest, plague', OS *wōl* m. 'pest, ruin', OHG *wuol* m. 'ruin, disaster' (DRV).

A lengthened grade form, quasi PIE **uōlh₃-o-*, closely related to **wala-* 'the slain' (q.v.).

wōnō- f. 'hole in the ice' — MDu. *woene* f. 'id.', MHG *wuone* f. 'id.', G *Wuhne* f. 'id.' (DRV).

A *vr̥ddhi*-formation derived from **wana- 1* (q.v.).

wōrja- adj. 'intoxicated' — ON *ærr* adj. 'raging, furious', OE *wērig* adj. 'tired', E *weary*, OFri. *wirch* adj. 'id.', WFri. *wurch* adj. 'id.', OS *wōrig* adj. 'worn out' ⇒ **h₂uoH-r-io-* (IE) — Gr. ὦρος, Aeol. ἄωρος m. 'sleep' < **h₂uoH-ro-* (cf. ὠρᾰκιάω 'to faint' from an unattested **ὤρᾰξ*).

Also cf. ON *órar* f.pl. 'fits of madness' < **wōrō-* and ON *óra* w.v. 'to rave, wrangle', OE *wōrian* w.v. 'to wander about, ramble' < **wōrōjan-*.

wōstu- adj. 'desert, waste' — OE *wēste* adj. 'id.', OS *wōsti* adj. 'id.', Du. *woest* adj. 'id.', OHG *wuosti* adj. 'id.', G *wüst* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **ueh₂s-tu-* (EUR) — Lat. *vāstus* adj. 'empty, desolate' < **ueh₂s-tu-*; OIr. *fás* adj. 'empty, uninhabited, waste' < **ueh₂s-to-*.

A West Germanic adjective that in all likelihood continues the same *u*-stem as found in Latin. In spite of the cited attestations, it therefore seems best to reconstruct the PGm. form as **wōstu-* rather than **wōstja-*. Further cf. OE *wēsten*, OFri. *wēstene*, OS *wōstin(nia)*, OHG *wuostinna* f. 'desert' < **wōstenjō-*.

wōþja- adj. 'sweet, pleasant' — Go. *woþeis* adj. 'id.', OE *wēðe* adj. 'id.', OS *wōthi* adj. 'id.', OHG *wuodi* adj. 'id.' (GM).

Also cf. ON *œðri* comp. 'preferably, better' < **wōþizan-*. No further etymology.

wraiha- adj. 'crooked' — Sw. dial. *vrå* adj. 'obstinate', ME *wrau* adj. 'contrary, angered, cross' ⇒ **uróiḱ-o-* (IE) — Identical to Gr. ῥοικός adj. 'bent'; also cf. Av. *uruuisia-* 'to turn' < **uriḱ-ie-* and OPru. *per-rēist* 'to link' < **-ureiḱ-*.

An old *o*-stem adjective to the PIE root **ureiḱ-* 'to twist'. Related to **wrīhan-* (q.v.).

wraikwa- adj. 'crooked' — Go. *wraiqus** adj. 'id.', OFri. *wrāk* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **uroiH-uo-*(?) (IE).

An adjective usually compared to Gr. ῥαιβός adj. 'crooked, bent' (cf. Beekes 2010: 1272). This etymology can theoretically be upheld by reconstructing an adjective **ureh₂ig^{w}-o-*, but the root structure of this form is rather intricate. It is more attractive to assume that **wraikwa-* is related to **wraiha-* 'crooked' (q.v.), assuming that it continues a *nu*-stem adjective **uroiḱ-nu-* that under Kluge's law became Pre-Gm. **wraikku-*, thematicized **wraikkwa-*. A third possibility is to assume that the velar of **wraikwa-* arose by velarization of a laryngeal between *-i-* and *-u-*: **uroiH-uo-* > **wraikwa-*, a development paralleled by e.g. **taikwer-* and **kwi(k)wa-*. The word may then be compared to Skt. *vlīnāti* 'to crush, fell', YAv. *uruuīnaitīš* apl.f. 'pressing together') < **uriH-neh₂-*.

wraitjan- w.v. 'to vex, excite' — ON *reita* w.v. 'id.', OHG *reizen* w.v. 'to vex, tease, tempt', G *reizen* w.v. 'id.' (GM).

A causative-iterative formation to **wrītan-* (q.v.).

wraiþa- adj. 'twisted; angry' — ON *reiðr* adj. 'angry', Far. *reiður* adj. 'id.', OE *wræð* adj. 'id.', OS *wrēth* adj. 'wretched, hostile', OHG *reid*, *reidi* adj. 'curly, wavy' (DRV).

An adjective derived from the strong verb **wrīþan-* ~ **wrītan-* (q.v.). Also cf. ON, Icel., Far. *reiði*, OSw. *vrēþe*, Elfd. *rwieðe* m. 'anger' < **wraiþan-*.

wrakjan- m. 'persecutor' — OE *wrecca* m. 'exile, stranger', OS *wrekkio* m. 'foreign warrior, stranger, exile', OHG *reck(e)o* m. 'fugitive, hero', G *Recke* m. 'champion' (DRV).

A *jan*-stem directly derived from **wrekan-* (q.v.). The word probably originally meant 'avenger', i.e. one who ventures into unknown territory, whence both 'champion' and 'exile'. Also note OFr. *garçun*, Fr. *garçon* 'boy, servant', which is assumed to continue OLFra. **wrakkio*.

***wrandan-*(?)** m. 'wren' — ON *rindil-þvari* m. 'id.', Icel. *rindill* m. 'id.', Nw. dial. *rennil* m. 'wagtail', OE *wrenna*, *werna* m. 'wren', E *wren*, OS *wrendo*, *wrendilo* m. 'id.', OHG *wrentilo* m. 'id.' (GM).

A word that is difficult to reconstruct because of the derivational irreconcilability of the attested forms: 1) ON *rindill* < **wrendila-*; 2) OS *wrendilo*, OHG *wrentilo* < **wrandilan-*; 3) OE *wrenna* < **wrandjan-*. No certain etymology. Unrelated to MDu. *wranten* w.v. 'to mope', but possibly connected to Icel. *rindill* m. 'tail'. Elfd. *rwain-fugel* m. 'brambling' does not belong here, but was derived from *rwaina* s.v. 'to wail' < **wrīnan-* (q.v.).

wranga- adj. 'twisted, wrong' — ON *rangr* adj. 'wry, crooked; wrong', Far. *rangur* adj. 'slanted, inside out, wrong', Elfd. *rwaungg* adj. 'contrary, obstinate', OE *wrang* n. 'wrong', E *wrong*, MDu. *wranc* adj. 'bitter, sharp, unfriendly, brave', Du. *wrang* adj. 'bitter' (DRV).

An *o*-grade adjective derived from **wringan-* (q.v.).

wrankjan- w.v. 'to twist, wring' — OE *wrencan* w.v. 'id.', MHG *renken* w.v. 'id.', G *renken* w.v. 'id.' (DRV).

One way of arriving at an etymology is to assume a causative formation related to an unattested verb **wrinkan-*, which in turn could be a nasal present to **werkan-* (q.v.). The verb is more likely to have been derived from the iterative **wrunkōn-* < **urn̥g^{h}-néh$_2$-*, however, for which cf. MDu. *wronckelen* 'to twist, squirm, wrap'. This iterative clearly belongs to the strong verb **wringan-* (q.v.).

wratjōn- f. 'madder' — OE *wrætte* f. 'id.', OHG *rezza* f. 'id.' ⇒ **urod-ieh₂-* (IE).

A formation closely related to **wrōt-* 'root' (q.v.); the madder's roots were used to obtain a red textile dye. See also **madrōn-*.

wratōn- w.v. 'to roam' — Go. *wraton* w.v. 'to travel', ON *rata* w.v. 'to travel; to meet with, find (the way)', MHG *razzeln* w.v. 'to turn' ⇒ **urod-eh₂-* (NEUR) — Lith. *ródyti* (*ródau*), Latv. *rādît* 'to show' < **urod-eie-*.

A Balto-Germanic isogloss. The link with Lith. *ràsti* (*randaũ*) 'to find' (Trautmann 1905: 308ff.) cannot be maintained, as the accentuation of this verb points to PIE **urod^{h}-* rather than **urod-*. Also cf. Go. *wratodus* m. 'trip' < **wratōdu-* and Icel. *rati* m. 'companion' < **ga-wratan-*.

wrekan- s.v. 'to pursue' — Go. *wrikan* s.v. 'to persecute', ON *reka* s.v. 'to hunt, pursue', OE *wrecan* s.v. 'to drive; to punish', E *to wreak*, OFri. *wreka* s.v. 'to revenge', OS *wrekan* s.v. 'id.', Du. *wreken* s.v. 'id.', OHG *rehhan* s.v. 'id.', G *rächen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **(H)urég-e-* (IE) — Hitt. *ūrki-* c. 'trace' < **(H)urg-i-*; Skt. *vrájati* 'to walk, stride', OCS *vrěšti* (*vrьgǫ*) 'to throw', SCr. *vrȉći* 'to put, throw' < **(H)urég-e-*.

A verb that probably had some kind of legal connotation in PIE already, cf. Skt. *parā-vr̥j-* 'outlaw'. Also cf. **wrakjan-* and **wrēkō-* (q.v.).

wrēkō- f. 'persecution, revenge' — ON *rák* f. 'id.', OFri. *wrēke* f. 'revenge', OS *wrāka* f. 'id.', Du. *wraak* c. 'id.', OHG *rāhha* f. 'id.', G *Rache* f. 'id.' (DRV).

A lengthened-grade formation derived from **wrekan-* (q.v.). Also cf. the *vr̥ddhi*-gerundive ON *rækr* adj. 'abominable' < **wrēki-* and Go. *wrekei* f. 'persecution'.

wreskwan- s.v. 'to mature' — Go. *ga-wrisqan* s.v. 'id.', ON *roskinn* adj. 'mature', Icel. *roskinn* adj. 'middle-aged' ⇒ **urésg^{w}-e-* (GM).

Also cf. ON *rǫskr* adj. 'vigorous' < **wraskwa-* (whence ON *rǫskvast* w.v. 'to grow, mature' < **wraskwōjan-*) and Nw. *rusk* m. 'tall man' < **wruskwa-*. All formations were derived from the strong verb which, however, has no certain etymology. The connection with W *gwrysg* f. 'branch' < PCelt. **wre/isk-* is flawed, as this word is more likely to be related to *gwreid* 'roots' (see under **wurti-*). The derivation from **ured^{h}-ske-* (cf. Magnússon 1989: 790), where **ured^{h}-* is taken to be a *Schwebeablaut* form of **uerd^{h}-* 'to grow', is even more unlikely.

wrēþu- m. 'herd (of swine)' — Go. *wriþus* (for expected **wreþus*) m. 'id.', ODa. *vrāth* 'swineherd', Da. *vråd* c. 'id.', OE *wræð* m. 'herd; host' ⇒ **uréh₁-tu-* (IE) — Skt. *vrā́ta-* m. 'troop, herd' < **ureh₁-to-*.

Also cf. ON *ráði* m. 'boar' < **wrēþan-*, ON *ráða* 'to have sex with' < **wrēþōjan-*(?) and Nw. *ræda, vræda* w.v. 'to be in heat' < **wrēþjan-*.

****wrĭhan-*** m. 'instep' — MDu. *wrijghe, wrijch, wrijf* m. 'id.', Du. *wreef* c. 'id.', OHG *rīho* m. 'id.', G *Reihen* m. 'id.' ⇒ **uréiḱ-on-* (IE) — Lith. *ríešas* m., *ríeša* f. 'instep, wrist, knuckle' < **ureiḱ-o-* (with *métatonie rude*).

An ablauting *n*-stem nom. **wrīhō*, gen. **wrikkaz*, dat. **wriheni* < **uréiḱ-ōn, *uriḱ-n-ós, *uriḱ-én-i* (Kroonen 2011a: 261-2). The zero grade forms are attested in late and dialectal Germanic only, cf. Du. dial. *wree*, Swi. (Rhtl.) *reəhə* < **wrihan-* and Du. obs. *wreeg* < **wrigan-*. Related to **wraiha-* (q.v.).

****wrīnan-*** s.v. 'to howl' — Nw. *vrina* s.v. 'to howl; to bare one's teeth', Elfd. *rwaina* s.v. 'to howl, wail' ⇒ **uréiH-ne-* (IE?).

A strong verb, in association with **hrīnan-*, cf. ON *hrína*, Far. *rína* s.v. 'to cry, wail'. Related to OE *wrǣne* adj. 'lascivious' < **wrainja-* and ODu. *wrēnisk* adj. 'id.' < **wrainiska-*. Also cf. OHG *reinnio*, OS *wrēnio*, MDu. *wrene* m. 'stallion' < **wrainjan-*.

****wringan-*** s.v. 'to wring, squeeze' — OE *wringan* s.v. 'to wring, twist', E *to wring*, OS *ūt-wringan* s.v. 'to squeeze out', Du. *wringen* s.v. 'to wring', OHG *ringan* s.v. 'to wring; to wrestle', G *ringen* s.v. 'id.' ⇒ **urénghₓ-e-* (NEUR) — Lith. *rangýti* 'to wind, bend' < **urongʰ-eie-*; Lith. *rañgas* m. 'wrap, clew, ring' < **urongʰ-o-*.

On the basis of the WGm. forms, the verb is traditionally reconstructed as **wringan-*, which could be related to Lith. *rangýti*. There is a possibility, however, that **wringan-* replaced older **wrinhan-*, a formation that perhaps can be retrieved from Icel. *rjá* w.v. 'to wrestle, fight; to move, tear' (related to Far. *ríggin* adj. 'fickle; resentful'?). This would imply a PIE root **urenk-* rather than **urengʰ-*. However, Icel. *rjá* can alternatively be reconstructed as **rewan-* (q.v.). See also **wranga-*, **wrankjan-* and **wrungōn-*.

****wrinþla-*(?)** m. 'a certain plant' — Gutn. *rind* 'clubmoss', ME *wrīthel* 'wild lettuce(?)' (GM).

Etymology uncertain. It is possible that both the formations Gutn. *rind* (< **wrinda-*) and ME *wrīthel* (< **wrinþla-*) were derived from a root **wrinþ-* 'to wind'. This could technically be a nasal infixed root belonging to the strong verb **wrīþan-* ~ **wrītan-* 'to twist' (q.v.).

****wrītan-*** s.v. 'to carve' — OE *wrītan* s.v. 'to write; to carve', OFri. *wrīta* s.v. 'to write', WFri. *write* s.v. 'to tear; to ache, hurt', OS *wrītan* s.v. 'to tear; to write' ⇒ **uréid-e-* (GM).

A strong verb derived from a further unknown root **ureid-*. It merged with **rītan-* 'to tear' (cf. Du. *rijten* s.v. 'id.') in Old Norse and Old High Ger-

man, where initial **w* was lost in front of *r*. Also cf. ***writi-***, ***wraitjan-*** and ***writtōn-***.

writi- m. 'stroke' — Go. *writs* m. 'id.', MDu. *ret* m. 'crack, fissure, lacuna', OHG *riz* m. 'scratching, line, letter', G *Riß* m. 'crack, scratch' (DRV).

An *i*-stem to the strong verb ***wrītan-*** (q.v.).

writtōn- w.v. 'to carve, write' — OHG *rizzōn*, *rezzōn* w.v. 'id.', G *ritzen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ ***urid-néh₂-*** (GM).

The iterative to ***wrītan-*** (q.v.). It is possible that the ***t*** of the strong verb continues ***-tt-***, thus pointing to influence from this iterative.

wrīþan- ~ ***wrītan-*** s.v. 'to twist' — ON *ríða* s.v. 'to turn, ring, tie', OSw. *vrīþa* s.v. 'to ring', Elfd. *rwaiða* s.v. 'to turn, twist, ring', OE *wrīðen* s.v. 'to twist, ring', E *writhe* s.v. 'id.', MDu. *writen* s.v. 'to twist, ring, wrap', OHG *rīdan* s.v. 'to wind, turn', MHG *rīden* s.v. 'to wind, wrap' ⇒ ***uréit-e-*** (NEUR) — Lith. *riẽsti* (*riečiù*) 'to bend, curve, warp', Latv. *rìest* 'to fall off, shed, shoot, sprout' < ***ureit-ie-***; Lith. *rietéti* 'to hatch' < ***ureit-eh₁-***; Lith. *rìsti* 'to roll', Latv. *rist* 'id.' < ***urit-***.

The original meaning was 'to twist', which remarkably enough in both Baltic and Germanic developed into 'to squirm' (cf. WPhal. *vrissen* 'worm' < ***wriþ-man-*** and Lith. *rietéti* 'to hatch') as well as 'to sprout' (cf. OE *wrīdian* 'to bud', Latv. *rìest* 'to sprout'). MDu. *writen* continues ***wrītan-*** from Pre-Gm. ***wrīttan-***, a variant whose geminate implies that it was influenced by an iterative ***writtōn-***, cf. Nw. *ritla* w.v. 'to swerve'. See also ***wraiþa-***.

wrōt- f. 'root' — ON *rót*, p. *rœtr* f. 'id.', Far. *rót*, pl. *røtur* f. 'id.', OSw. *rōt* f. 'id.', Elfd. *ruot*, pl. *ryōter* f. 'id.' (EUR?).

A root noun usually reconstructed as PGm. ***wrōt-***. The loss of the initial ***w*** is unexpected in East Norse, however. This means that the standard etymological connection with ***wurti-*** 'root' can only be maintained by assuming *ad hoc* deletion of ***w***.

wrungōn- f. 'snare' — Go. *wruggo* f. 'snare, noose' (DRV).

Also cf. MDu. *wronc* m. 'noose, wreath; twisting; anger', Du. *wrong* c. 'braid' < ***wrunga-***. Derived from ***wringan-*** (q.v.).

wulan- s.v. 'to well up, boil, seethe' — Go. *wulan* s.v. 'to boil, be hot' ⇒ ***ulH-e-*** (IE).

A zero-grade present closely related to ***wallan-*** (q.v.). With the same vocalism, cf. ON *olmr* adj. 'raging' < ***wulma-*** and Nw. *olle* f. 'wave' < ***wullōn-***, which is fully parallel to OCS *vlьna* 'id.' < ***ulH-neh₂-***.

wulfa- m. 'wolf' — Go. *wulfs* m. 'id.', ON *ulfr* m. 'id.', Far. *úlvur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *ulv* m. 'id.', OE *wulf* m. 'id.', E *wolf*, OS *wulf*, *wolf* m. 'id.', Du. *wolf* c. 'id.', OHG *wolf* m. 'id.', G *Wolf* m. 'id.' ⇒ **uĺkʷ-o-* (IE) — Skt. *vṛ́ka-*, YAv. *vəhrka-* m. 'wolf', NP *gurg* 'id.'; Gr. λύκος m. 'id.', Lat. *lupus* m. 'id.', Lith. *vil̃kas*, Latv. *vìlks* m. 'id.', OPru. *wilkis* 'id.' OCS *vlьkъ*, Ru. *volk*, SCr. *vũk* m. 'id.', Alb. *ujk* m. 'id.'.

The IE word for 'wolf'. In Germanic, the expected form would be ***wulhwaz*, but the **kʷ* was changed into **p* as in **fimfe* '5' < **penkʷe* and **werpan-* 'to throw' < **uérgʷ-e-*. This change seems to have taken place after resonants in words with initial labials. See also **wulgī-* ~ **wulbjō-*.

wulgī-* ~ *wulbjō- f. 'she-wolf' — ON *ylgr*, *ylgja* f. 'id.', Elfd. *ylva* f. 'id.', OHG *wulpa* f. 'id.', MHG *wülpe* f. 'id.' ⇒ **ulkʷ-íh₂-* (IE) — Skt. *vṛ́kī-* f. 'she-wolf', Lith. *vìlkė* f. 'id.', Ru. *volčíca*; SCr. *vùčica* f. 'id.' < **ulkʷ-ih₂-*.

The feminine counterpart of **wulfa-* 'wolf' (q.v.). ON *ylgr* continues the most archaic form, viz. **wulgīz*. (According to Kortlandt 1997a, it proves that the unrounding of **kʷ* was prior to Verner's law, but see the introduction §2.2.4.) The form **wulbjō(n)-*, as supported by OHG *wulpa* and Elfd. *ylva*, is more secondary, but still must have adopted the *p* (< **kʷ*) from the masculine form before the operation of Verner's law.

wulhja- m. 'haze' — ON *ylr* m. 'warmth', Nw. *øl* m. '(mild) warmth; steam' ⇒ **uĺk-i-* (IE) — To Arm. *gałǰ* adj. 'lukewarm' < **ul(H)-i-*?

To be derived either from **wulja-* (Magnússon 1989: 1165; Olsen 1999: 204) or from **wulhja-*. The latter option is supported by the potential link with Icel. *volgur* adj. 'lukewarm' < **walga-*. Also cf. Icel. *ylja* w.v. 'to heat up', Nw. *ølja* w.v. 'to radiate heat' < **wul(h)jōjan-*.

wulk/gōn- w.v. 'to be nauseated' — Icel. *ólga* 'to foam, swell, seethe' (also cf. *ólgra* w.v. 'to ferment, boil'), Far. *ulka* w.v. 'to vomit, be sick', Nw. *ulka* w.v. 'to be nauseated, feel sick', G *wulgern* w.v. 'to be nauseated' ⇒ **ulgʰ-néh₂-* (IE?).

The iterative to **walkan-* (q.v.), originally conjugated as 3sg. **wulkōþi*, 3pl. **wulgunanþi* < **ulgʰ-néh₂-ti*, **ulgʰ-nh₂-énti*. The geminate of the singular was apparently adopted by the strong verb.

wullō- f. 'wool' — Go. *wulla* f. 'id.', ON *ull* f. 'id.', Far. *ull* f., OE *wull* f. 'id.', E *wool*, OFri. *wolle* f. 'id.', Du. *wol* c. 'id.', OHG *wolla* f. 'id.', G *Wolle* f. 'id.' ⇒ **Hulh₁-néh₂-* (IE) — Hitt. *ḫulana-* c. 'wool' < **Hulh₁-(e)no-*(?); Skt. *ū́rṇā-*, YAv. *varənā-* f. 'id.'; Lith. *vìlna*, Latv. *viļ̃na* f. 'id.', OPru. *wilna* 'skirt', OCS *vlьna*, Ru. dial. *vólna*, *volná*, SCr. *vũna* f. 'wool', Lat. *lāna* f. 'id.', OIr. *olann* f. 'id.', MW *gwlan* 'id.' < **Hulh₁-néh₂-*; Gr. λῆνος n. 'id.' < **Hulh₁-no-* (with secondary transfer to the *s*-stems); Lat. *vellus* 'fleece' < **Huelh₁-no-*; Gr. οὖλος adj. 'fleecy' < **Houlh₁-o-*.

Unlike e.g. Skt. *úrṇā-* and Lat. *lāna*, the Germanic word with its double *l* points to a suffix-stressed form **Hulh₁-néh₂-*. This accentual mobility is an additional argument for reconstructing a consonant stem, which is already implied by the potential suffix ablaut of Hitt. *ḫulana-* < **Hulh₁-en-*. The alternative is to reconstruct a mobile neuter *o*-stem **Huĺh₁-n-om*, pl. **Hulh₁-n-éh₂*.

wulþu- m. 'glory' — Go. *wulþus* m. 'id.' ⇒ **ul-tu-* (EUR) — Lat. *vultus* m. 'facial expression, face' < **u(e)l-tu-*; MW *gwelet* 'to see' < **uél-e-*; OIr. *fili, filed* m. 'seer' < **uel-ēt-*.

A *tu*-stem to the PIE root **uel-* 'to see'. Also cf. OE *wuldor* n. 'glory' < **wuldra-* < **ul-tró- / *ul-dʰro-*.

wuna(n)- adj. 'accustomed' — OE *ge-wun* adj. 'id.', OS *gi-wono, gi-wuno* adj. 'id.', Du. *ge-woon* adj. 'id.', OHG *gi-won* adj. 'id.', MHG *ge-won, ge-wone* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **Hunh₁-on-* (IE) — OCS *unii* comp. 'better' < **Hunh₁-iHo-*.

A zero-grade formation closely related to **wana- 2* (q.v.).

wunda- adj. 'wounded' — Go. *wunds* adj. 'id.', OE *wund* adj. 'id.', OS *wund* adj. 'id.', MDu. *wont* adj. 'id.', OHG *wunt* adj. 'id.', MHG *wunde* adj. 'id.' ⇒ **un-tó-* (DRV).

An adjective continuing the past participle of **winnan-* 'to suffer' (q.v.). Also cf. ON *und*, OE *wund*, OFri. *wunde*, OS *wunda*, Du. *wond*, OHG *wunta*, G *Wunde* f. 'wound' < **wundō-*.

wunēn- w.v. 'to be used to' — Go. *un-wunands* adj. 'discontent, unhappy', ON *una* w.v. 'to be content, to enjoy; to dwell, abide', Elfd. *uonå* w.v. 'to rest, stay', OE *wunian* w.v. 'to dwell, remain', OFri. *wona, wuna* w.v. 'id.', OS *wonon, wunon* w.v. 'id.', Du. *wonen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *wonēn* w.v. 'to dwell, be used to', G *wohnen* w.v. 'to dwell, live' ⇒ **Hunh₁-eh₁-* (DRV).

A stative to the adjective **wuna(n)-* (q.v.).

wunni- f. 'suffering' — Go. *wunns* f. 'id.' (DRV).

An *i*-stem derived from the strong verb **winnan-* (q.v.).

wunskjan- w.v. 'to wish' — ON *æskja* w.v. 'id.', OE *wȳscan* w.v. 'id.', E *to wish*, MDu. *wunscen, wenscen* w.v. 'id.', Du. *wensen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *wunscan* w.v. 'id.', G *wünschen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ **Hunh₁-sk-* (DRV) — Skt. *vāñchantu* 3pl.imp. 'to love, desire' < **Hunh₁-sk-* (with a restored nasal).

A *jan*-verb derived from **wunska-* 'wish', cf. OHG *wunsc*, G *Wunsch* m. 'wish, desire', which in turn was created to a PIE *sk*-present **Hnh₁-ske-* 'to desire'. Similarly, ON *óska* w.v. 'to wish' < **wunskōjan-* was derived from ON *óska* f. 'id.' < **wunskō-*. See also **wana- 2*, **weni-* and **wunēn-*.

wurda- n. 'word' — Go. *waurd* n. 'id.', ON *orð* n. 'id.', OE *word* n. 'id.', E *word*, OFri. *word* n. 'id.', OS *word* n. 'id.', Du. *woord* n. 'id.', OHG *wort* n. 'id.', G *Wort* n. 'id.' ⇒ ***(h₂)urdʰ-o-*** (IE?) — (?)Hitt. *ḫuu̯artai ~ ḫurtanzi** 'to curse' < ***h₂uórdʰ-ei***, ***h₂urdʰ-énti***; Lat. *verbum* n. 'word' < ***h₂u(e/o)rdʰ-o-***; Lith. *vařdas*, Latv. *vàrds* m. 'id.' < ***h₂uordʰ-o-***; OPru. *wirds* 'id.' < ***h₂urdʰ-***.

The forms in the European languages straightforwardly point to ***urdʰ-***, but if the Hittite verb belongs here, it proves that the root had an initial laryngeal.

wurdi- f. 'fate, chance' — OE *wyrd* f. 'id.', OS *wurđ* f. 'id.', OHG *wurt* f. 'id.' ⇒ ***urt-í-*** (DRV).

An *i*-stem to the root of ***werþan-*** (q.v.).

wurgjan- w.v. 'to strangle' — OE *wyrigan*, *wirgan* w.v. 'id.', OFri. *wergia* w.v. 'id.', WFri. *wjirgje* w.v. 'id.', Du. *wurgen* w.v. 'id.', OHG *wurgen* w.v. 'id.', G *würgen* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ ***urǵʰ-ie-*** (NEUR).

A zero-grade *jan*-present related to ***wergan-***. Also cf. ON *urga* f. 'strap' < ***wurgōn-***.

wurkjan- w.v. 'to work, produce, effect' — Go. *waurkjan* w.v. 'id.', ON *yrkja* w.v. 'to work; to write verses', Far. *yrkja* w.v. 'to compose, write', OE *wyrcan* w.v. 'to work', OHG *wurchen* w.v. 'id.', MHG *wurken*, *würken* w.v. 'id.' ⇒ ***urǵ-ie-*** (IE) — Identical to YAv. *vərəziieiti* 'to do, act' < ***urǵ-ie-***; also cf. Gr. ἔρδω, ῥέζω 'to act, perform; to sacrifice' (with secondary full grades?).

A zero-grade *ie*-present related to ***werka-*** *1.* It occurs beside the mixed strong and weak verb ***werkjan-***, pret. ***warht-***, cf. OFri. *werkia*, *wertzia*, *wirtza*, pret. *wrocht*, OS *wirka*, pret. *warhta*, OHG *wirchen*, pret. *warahta* 'to work, produce; to perform' < ***uerǵ-ie-***. Also cf. Go. *waurstw* n. 'deed' < ***wurhstwa-***.

wurmi- m. 'worm' — Go. *waurms* m. 'snake', ON *ormr* m. 'id.', Far. *ormur* m. 'id.', Elfd. *uorm* m. 'id.', OE *wyrm* m. 'snake, worm', OFri. *wirm* m. 'worm', WFri. *wjirm* c. 'id.', OS *wurm* m. 'id.', Du. *worm*, *wurm* c. 'id.', OHG *wurm* m. 'worm, snake', G *Wurm* m. 'id.' ⇒ ***urm-i-*** (IE) — Identical to Lat. *vermis* m. 'worm, maggot' < ***urmi-***; further cf. Gr. ῥόμος m. 'wood-worm' < ***urm-o-*** (with dialectal vocalization of ***r̥***?); Lith. *vařmas* m. 'insect, mosquito' < ***uorm-o-***; OCS *vьrmьje* n. 'insects' < ***urm-io-***; OPru. *wormyan* adj. 'red' < ***urm-io-***.

Also note Nw. dial. *yrme* f. 'female snake' < ***wurmjō-*** (quasi PIE ***urm-ieh₂-***) and ON *yrmi* n. 'vermin' < ***ga-wurmja-***, which is formally identical to OCS *vьrmьje*. OHG *wormo* m. 'purple', OFri. *worma* m. 'id.', OE *wurma* m. 'purple snail, woad' is a derivation referring to the color of the earthworm.

wurti- f. '(medicinal) root; herb' — Go. *waurts* f. 'root', ON *urt* f. 'id.', OE *wyrt* f. 'plant, herb', OS *wurt* f. 'id.', MDu. *wort* f. 'id.', OHG *wurz* f. 'root, herb, spice' ⇒ **urd-i-* (EUR) — Gr. ῥίζα 'root' **urd-ieh₂-*(?); Lat. *rādix* f. 'id.' < **urH-d-ik-*; OIr. *frén* f. 'id.' < **u̯rd-neh₂-*; MW *gwreid* m. 'id.' < **ur(e)h₂d-io-*.

A word whose PIE root can hardly be reconstructed. The presumably related PGm. **wrōt-* together with Lat. *rādix* presupposes **ureh₂d-*, but OIr. *frén* < PCelt. **wrid-nā-* < **urd-neh₂-* as well as **wratjōn-* 'madder' < **urod-io-* imply variants without a laryngeal. Equally problematic are Gr. ῥίζα (< **urd-ieh₂-* with *schwa secundum* as per Vine 1999: 5-30?) and W *gwreidd* which points to PCelt. **wradi-* (< **ureh₂d-í-* with pretonic shortening or with *CRHC- > *CRaC-). The appurtenance of Gr. ῥᾰ́διξ, -ῑκος m. 'branch, twig; palm leaf' is uncertain. Within Germanic, also cf. the compound OE *wyrt-wala* m. 'id.', MDu. *wortel(e)* m./f. 'id.', Du. *wortel* c. 'id.', OHG *wurzala* f. 'id.', G *Wurzel* f. 'id.' < **wurti-wala/ōn-* "root-stick" (cf. **walu-*).

wurþi- f. 'mound, elevation' — ON *urð* f. 'heap of stones fallen from a hill', Far. *urð* f. 'scree; collection of stones or boulders', Elfd. *urd* f. 'stony slope', OFri. *wurth* f. 'raised homestead', OS *wurth* f. 'mound, elevated homestead' ⇒ **h₂ur-ti-* (DRV).

A *ti*-stem to the root of **warjan-* (q.v.). Related to Elfd. *ward* m. 'long or high mountain' < **warþa-*?

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Bibliographical abbreviations

AFHw	*Altfriesisches Handwörterbuch*
ChWdW	*Chronologisches Worterbuch des deutschen Wortschatzes*
DIL	*Dictionary of the Irish language*
DWB	*Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*
EWAhd	*Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Althochdeutschen*
EWN	*Etymologisch woordenboek van het Nederlands*
GM	*Grunnmanuskriptet*
IEW	*Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*
LÄGLOS	*Lexikon der älteren germanischen Lehnwörter*
LIV²	*Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben* (2. Auflage)
LothWB	*Wörterbuch der deutsch-lothringischen Mundarten*
MED	*Middle English dictionary*
MHW	*Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*
ODS	*Ordbog over det danske sprog*
OED	*Oxford English dictionary*
OFED	*Old Frisian etymological dictionary*
ONW	*Oudnederlands woordenboek*
SAOB	*Svenska Akademiens ordbok*
VMNW	*Vroegmiddelnederlands woordenboek*
WBD	*Woordenboek van de Brabantse dialecten*
WNT	*Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal*

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The order of the languages is as follows: **Germanic** (Gothic; Old Norse; Icelandic; Faroese; Norwegian; Elfdalian; Old & Modern Swedish (including Gutnish); Old, Early & Modern Danish; Old, Middle & Modern English; Old Frisian as well as Modern West, East & North Frisian; Old Saxon; Middle & New Low German; Old Low Franconian & Old Dutch followed by Middle, Early & Modern Dutch; Old, Middle & New High German plus Swiss German and Lombardic); Other Indo-European languages: **Anatolian** (Hittite; Luvian; Lycian); Tocharian (A & B); **Italic** (Oscan & Umbrian; Old, Classical, Vulgar, Middle and Neo-Latin; Italian; Lombard; Spanish; Portuguese; Old, Middle & Modern French); Venetic; **Celtic** (Celtiberian; Gaulish; Old, Middle & Modern Irish (including Scottish Gaelic); Old, Middle & Modern Welsh; Old, Middle & Modern Breton; Old, Middle & Modern Cornish); **Balkan-Indo-European** (Mycenaean; Ancient & Modern Greek; Phrygian Albanian; Armenian); Thracian; **Iranian** (Old & Young Avestan, Old, Middle & New Persian; Sogdian; Khotanese; Pashto; Wakhi; Kurdish; Ossetic); **Indic** (Sanskrit); **Slavic** (all variants of Church Slavonic plus Old Church Slavonic; Serbian & Croatian; Slovene; Old and Modern Russian; Ukrainian; Byelorussian; Old & Modern Czech; Slovak; Old & Modern Polish); **Baltic** (Old Prussian; Old & Modern Lithuanian; Latvian); Non-Indo-European languages (in alphabetical order).

With minor variations, the alphabetical order of the cited forms is everywhere (except for Greek) the one of the Roman alphabet, and whenever possible, I have brought it in agreement with the official (Roman) orthographies of the modern standard languages.

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